

# The Verbal Sentence in Written Arabic

Submitted by:

Sulaiman Omar Alsuhaibani

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## **Abstract**

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

This thesis consists of eleven chapters. Chapter One is an introduction. Chapter Two presents a brief account of the three schools of Arabic grammatical thought and their methods. In Chapter Three I review the literature related to the verbal sentence. Chapter Four discusses the points of view of medieval and modern grammarians regarding parts of speech and the types of sentence. The first element of the verbal sentence (the predicate) is examined in Chapters Five and Six; Chapter Five focusing on the transitive and intransitive verb while Chapter Six is in a passive voice. The second element of the verbal sentence (the subject) is examined in Chapters Seven and Eight; Chapter Seven showing the difference between agent and subject terminology and the rules related to them. Chapter Eight is on the deputy agent, examining the reasons for the omission of the agent, the types of deputy agent and the element which takes an agent's place. The basic word order of verbal sentence and the alternative word order forms are analysed in detail in Chapter Nine while Chapter Ten concentrates on the concept of the tense and aspect and the primary and secondary types of them. Chapter Eleven summarises the main findings of the study and makes recommendations for future research.

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This thesis consists of eleven chapters. Chapter One is an introduction. Chapter Two presents a brief account of the three schools of Arabic grammatical thought and their methods. In Chapter Three I review the literature related to the verbal sentence. Chapter Four discusses the points of view of medieval and modern grammarians regarding parts of speech and the types of sentence. The first element of the verbal sentence (the predicate) is examined in Chapters Five and Six; Chapter Five focusing on the transitive and intransitive verb while Chapter Six is in a passive voice. The second element of the verbal sentence (the subject) is examined in Chapters Seven and Eight; Chapter Seven showing the difference between agent and subject terminology and the rules related to them. Chapter Eight is on the deputy agent, examining the reasons for the omission of the agent, the types of deputy agent and the element which takes an agent's place. The basic word order of verbal sentence and the alternative word order forms are analysed in detail in Chapter Nine while Chapter Ten concentrates on the concept of the tense and aspect and the primary and secondary types of them. Chapter Eleven summarises the main findings of the study and makes recommendations for future research.



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## Abbreviations

accus	accusative case
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
ap	active participle
d	dual
def	definite
dem	demonstrative
ed	editor
f	feminine
gen	genitive case
indef	indefinite
inte	interrogative
LC	library of congress
m	masculine
n	noun
nd	no date
neg	negative
nom	nominative case
NS	nominal sentence
p	plural
part	particle
pp	passive participle
pre	predicate
prep	preposition
pro	pronoun
rel	relative
S	sentence
s	singular
vol	volume
VS	verbal sentence
VSO	verb, agent (subject) and object
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

## Transliteration Scheme

The Library of Congress transliteration system (LC) has been applied throughout the thesis.

### 1- Consonants

Arabic	LC	Arabic	LC
ء	°	ض	d
ب	B	ط	t
ت	T	ظ	z
ث	<u>Th</u>	ع	c
ج	J	غ	gh
ح	h	ف	f
خ	<u>Kh</u>	ق	q
د	D	ك	k
ذ	<u>Dh</u>	ل	l
ر	R	م	m
ز	Z	ن	n
س	S	هـ	h
ش	<u>Sh</u>	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	y

### 2- Diphthongs

Arabic	LC	Arabic	LC
ي	Ay	و	aw

### 3- Vowels

Arabic vowels	short	Transliteration	Arabic vowels	short	Transliteration
اَ		A	ا		ā
اُ		U	و		ū
اِ		I	ي		ī

### 4- other:

- ال al- (for article)
- l- (for article preceded by word ending with a vowel)

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

The verbal sentence is the most important structure in Arabic, as it combines the event and different tenses of the action. In addition, °Alī al-Jārim (1953: 347) claims that the verbal sentence is the basic expression in Arabic. It has two fundamental elements, namely the predicate and subject or the verb and agent and their relationship within the structure of the sentence. Classical Arabic grammarians, however, analysed the verb and agent elements separately, as they concentrated on the issue of the operator and operated (*qadīyyat al-°āmil wa-l-ma°mūl*), obscuring the relationship between the predicate and the subject. While not denying the importance of the issue of operator and operated, I believe that there should be a balance between this issue and other matters that exhibit the characteristics of the verbal sentence syntactically and semantically.

#### 1.1. The scope of the study:

This study is limited to discussing the structure of the verbal sentence in Written Arabic by examining its main elements i.e. the verb and the agent. The researcher attempts to avoid the inflection theory because from the beginning of Arabic grammar compilation, many studies have already focused on this theory. This study combines the syntactic and semantic analysis in the process of analysing the basic elements of the verbal sentence. It discusses the issues that relate to this structure, evaluating the views of classical grammarians and those of modern linguists where they examine the early grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure. It will demonstrate that Arabic grammar does not rely on inflection marks only, but that the function of every word plays a major role within the structure. It entails an examination of aspect and tense in the verbal sentence, features which were not discussed by classical grammarians in depth. Written Arabic here refers to Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. Classical Arabic is

the language of the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān, Ḥadīth, pre-Islamic and post-Islamic literature etc, whereas Modern Standard Arabic is the language generally used in the media (TV, radio), newspapers, official reports, business or personal letters and formal speeches, and of course in literary and non-literary works.

### **1.2. The aims of the study:**

The first objective of this research is to study the most important structure in Arabic, the verbal sentence, and to consolidate the syntactic issues which relate directly to the verbal sentence system in an attempt to remedy this deficiency and to fill a significant research gap. To date, as far as I am aware, there is no comprehensive or complete research which focuses on the verbal sentence system because the majority of researchers focus on the government tools, inflection and morphological analysis. I should note here that issues related to the verbal sentence tend to be scattered across separate chapters in Classical Arabic grammarians' books. This research attempts to study both the verb and the agent - the fundamental elements of the verbal sentence – and their relationship. The second objective of this research is to present areas of controversy and agreement among grammarians and their points of view as regards this structure and to examine and investigate these views. With regard to the third objective, it is not my intention to conduct a comparative analysis of the Arabic verbal sentence and the English sentence. I present, however, more essential comparative features between their structures. Both languages require two fundamental elements to complete their structure: a verb and a noun. Therefore, this study has drawn on the general characteristics, similarities and differences between the two sentence structures. Finally, it is also the aim of this research to clarify and exemplify characteristics learners need to recognise in their study of the deep structure of the verbal sentence.

### **1.3. The significance of the research:**

The verbal sentence is considered as one of most important structures because it is the only structure that can combine the event and a different tense for the action. To the best of my knowledge, this research is the first to discuss syntactic issues of the verbal sentence as the Early Arabic grammarians analysed it and how modern Arabic grammarians understand it. This study sheds light on the verbal sentence structure and the issues related to it that have not been hitherto addressed, and presents important views that could solve some of the inquiries raised by Modern Arabic linguists in this field. In addition, this study could be used as guide to enable native speakers and Arabic learners to understand the deep structure of the verbal sentence and to identify grammarians' strategies and weaknesses in addressing these issues.

#### **1.4. Research Questions:**

This research attempts to answer the following questions:

This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of

### 1.5. Methodology:

In the first stage, the overall approach is to move from the general to the particular. The best way to study any linguistic issue is to first discuss the whole to which that part belongs; hence, the discussion of the verbal sentence structure requires the study of the parts of speech from which its elements are composed (i.e. the noun and the verb).

I focus on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to the verbs and the agent, mainly because they are the fundamental parts of the verbal sentence. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent.

My inquiry into the verbal sentence has led me to look at and analyse the views of some modern linguists who disagree with the basic rules established by Early and Medieval Arabic grammarians. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure. Essential comparative features between the Arabic verbal



sentence and English structure are observed. At the end of the chapters, I include a discussion section in order to focus on important points mentioned. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent.

### **1.6. Outline of the research:**

This thesis is divided into eleven chapters: the present chapter (Chapter One) is the introduction followed by Chapter Two which discusses the views and methods of three Arabic grammar schools of thought, namely Baṣra, Kūfa and Baghhdad. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure. In addition, the types of sentence and controversy among grammarians with regard to this concept will be discussed.

In the second of the thesis, Chapter Five will focus on transitive and intransitive verbs, discussing their definitions, their characteristics and types of transitive verbs, as well as presenting ways to transform the intransitive to transitive and vice versa. Chapter Six is on the passive voice, examining the ways in which the active verb, whether perfective or imperfective, can be changed to a passive verb. The agent, as the second element of the verbal sentence, is discussed in Chapter Seven, which illustrates the concept of the agent and the difference between agent and subject terminology and the rules related to the agent. Chapter Eight focuses on the deputy agent, explaining the reasons for the omission of the agent, the types of deputy agent and the element that takes the place of the agent. This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent.

Inasmuch as the verbal sentence contains two basic elements, the word order of these elements has to be addressed, a subject covered in Chapter

Nine, which is an inquiry into the basic and alternative word orders of the verbal sentence. Chapter Ten is on the concept of the tense and aspect and displays their primary and secondary forms and Chapter Eleven summarises the important contributions of this thesis.

## CHAPTER TWO

### The Schools of Arabic Grammar

#### 2.1. Introduction:

The history of Classical Arabic grammar is traced back to the Baṣran and Kūfan schools of thought, both of which merged into the Baghdādian school which was known as a mixed school. These schools presented different aspects of grammar, with each having its own ways of dealing with the Arabic language and formulating its own rules to save it from changes or distortion; and although they did not differ in their fundamental sources they did sometimes hold particular views on certain issues in Arabic grammar, as can be seen throughout this thesis.

The three schools were associated with a particular region, though this did not mean that all grammarians were born or lived in these regions. In practice they mainly acquired their knowledge of grammar from scholars who had taught in these regions. It is not my intention here to give an in depth discussion of the grammarians' thinking and mention stages of development in the study of Arabic grammar; however, I will give a relatively brief account of the use of the term 'school', and the schools' method of addressing Arabic grammar, in order to provide an overview of the processes involved.

#### 2.2. Adoption of the term 'school':

In the early sources, the term 'school' is neither found in the writings of those who studied Arabic grammar nor in works in which the history of the Early Arabic grammarians was examined; instead they spoke about the Baṣran, Kūfan and Baghdādian approaches or scholars' thoughts. For example, Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Ḥalabī (d. 351/ 962) in his *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn* (The Classification of Grammarians) and al-Zabīdī (d. 379/ 989) in his *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa-l-lughawīyyīn* (The Categories of Grammarians and Linguists) addressed all these schools, and classified the grammarians

of each school according to a specific category; however they did not mention the ‘school’ term. Abū Sa‘īd al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/ 978) wrote with reference to the Baṣran grammarians, and duly entitled his work *Akḥbār al-naḥwiyyīn al-Baṣriyyīn* (Report on Baṣran Grammarians). On the other hand, Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/ 995) one of the earlier bio-bibliographer provided in his *al-Fihrist* (The Index) information about the Baṣran grammarians and linguists, and later mentioned some of them by name giving a list of their works and lives; he also did the same sort of thing with the Kūfan and Baghdādian grammarians. Scholars who came after them followed the lines of their predecessors. Hence early scholars did not use the term ‘school’ at all, but instead assigned the grammarians to their various regions (*ahl al-Baṣra*, *al-Kūfa* and *Baghdād*), according to their method of thinking. (Figure 1)

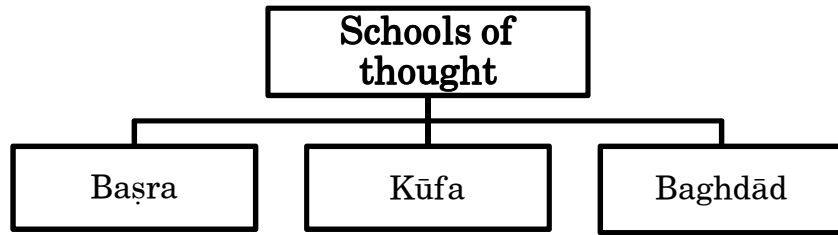


Figure 1: Schools of thought

Modern scholars, influenced by western thinkers, have contributed substantially to this field, by changing the term from ‘thought’ to ‘school’. The term ‘school’ first appeared in *Tārīkh al-adab al-‘Arabī* (The History of Arabic Literature) by the German scholar Brockelman (1961, II: 124). Modern scholars, such as Shawqī Dayf’s *al-Madāris al-naḥwiyya* (The Grammar Schools), and Khadīja l-Ḥudaythī, applying the same title of her work to her predecessor dealt with all the schools of thought; while others were concerned with a specific school, such as in Mahdī l-Makḥzūmī’s *Madrasat al-Kūfa wa-manhajuhā fī dirāsāt al-lughā wa-l-naḥw* (The Kūfan School: its Methodology of Studying Language and Grammar), and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sayyid’s *Madrasat al-Baṣra l-naḥwiyya nash‘atuhā wa-taṭawwuruhā* (The Baṣran School; its Beginning and Development).

## 2.3. The classification of Arabic grammar schools:

### 2.3.1. The Baṣran school:

It was known that Baṣran grammar exemplified the principles of Arabic grammar, since the first work to set up general rules for Arabic grammar was Sibawayh's (d. 180/ 796) *al-Kitāb* (The Book). The Baṣran grammarians depended upon several sources for synthesising the grammar (Figure 2):

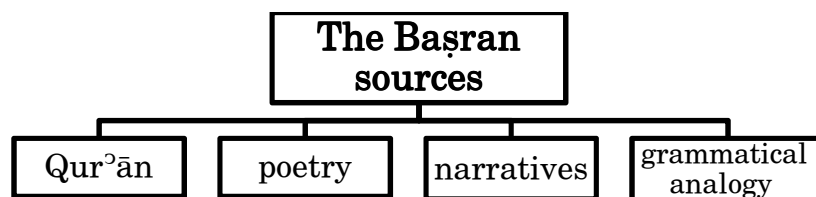


Figure 2: The Baṣran sources

**First**, to date there has been no book in Arabic that has received the high level of attention given to the Qurʾān. This is because it is believed to have been saved from distortion, and that it presents a coherent and ideal language. Several studies were undertaken in Baṣra that focused on the Qurʾānic text and its variant readings,<sup>1</sup> and these studies led to concern for its language because the Qurʾān played a crucial role in developing the Arabic language (Rabin, 1955: 21; Owens, 1990: 5; Versteegh, 1997: 53). Thus classical grammarians regarded the Qurʾān as a first source for creating the rules of Arabic grammar, and looked in depth into its text in order to devise grammatical rules, so that Arabic grammar would conform to Qurʾānic structures.

**Secondly**, the Baṣran grammarians relied on 'poetry' a great deal; for example, Sibawayh alluded to more than a thousand lines. However, they placed a time limit for poetry that could be relied on, whereby they took examples from pre-Islamic poetry and up to the middle of the second/ eighth century (circa 140/ 757). Such citations came from poets such as al-

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<sup>1</sup> The variant Qurʾānic readings refer to the different ways of vocalising a word, case markers, form, and so on.

Farazdag (d. 144/ 761) and Jarīr (d. 144/ 761) (al-Suyūṭī, 2006: 148; see also al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 20; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 76). Certain trustworthy narrators are considered the main source to provide the grammarians with many poems: Abū ʿAmrū b. al-ʿAlā (d. 159/ 775), al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. 178/ 794) and al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 216/ 831), took examples from the Bedouins and poets themselves (cf. al-Zabīdī, 1997: 106).

**Fourthly**, grammarians based their thought on a system called grammatical analogy (*al-qiyās*)<sup>2</sup>. This system is based mainly on the usage in which the grammarians acknowledged the difference and similarity between two things (Versteegh, 1977: 111; Owens, 1990: 2; Sūsūr, 1985: 188). Thus, Classical Arabic grammarians looked into examples from the Qurʾān and spoken Arabic, whether poetry or prose, and then formulated rules in order to create an Arabic grammar on which all Arabic users have since come to rely. They focused on the relationship between the primary (*al-maqīs ʿalayh*) and the secondary (*al-maqīs*) in terms of meaning and form or one of them (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 1995: 129). The Baṣran grammarians depended a great deal on this source from the earliest period, where it appears in Sibawayh's *al-Kitāb* (Ṭurzī, 1969: 121; Agius, 1984: 163-64; al-Zabīdī, 1997: 19).

Many grammarians were reported as belonging to the Baṣran school. I mention here the most important: ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Ishāq (d. 117/ 735); ʿIsā b. ʿUmar (d. 149/ 766); al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 170/ 786); Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (d. 182/ 798); Yaʿqūb al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 205/ 820); and Abū l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash (d. 215/ 830) (cf. al-Zabīdī: nd, 33, 45, 51, 53, 54, 74). However, even though they were reported as the experts of the Baṣran school, none of their works have ever been located. Their contributions can be found in the most important works emanating from the Baṣran school, i.e., Sibawayh's *al-Kitāb*, and al-Mubarrid's *al-Muqṭaḍab* (The Extemporised), in which the views of such previous grammarians were recorded and extensively

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<sup>2</sup> "A parallel or similar instance, referred to because it helps the process of explanation" (Crystal: 1992, 19); or "a process by which words or morphemes are created or re-created on the model of existing linguistic patterns" (Versteegh *et al.* 2006, I: 74).

discussed. The works by Sībawayh and al-Mubarrid provide a clear and detailed record of the thinking of the Baṣran grammarians, and are considered as the most important works during this period, and as such I have chosen them as the basis of my examples and discussions in this thesis.

### 2.3.2. The Kūfan school:

The Kūfan school followed the Baṣran school; though, according to most scholars who have studied the methods of these early schools, the inconsistencies between them do not suggest that Kūfan grammar was in any respect different to Baṣran grammar, but simply that there were some variations in terms of their methods (cf. al-Makhzūmī, 1958: 36 and 327; Dayf, 1968: 5; al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 142; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 24). Moreover, Kūfan grammar was based on Baṣran grammar, and the early grammarians of the Kūfan school, such as al-Kisāʿī (d. 189/ 803) and al-Farrāʿ (d. 207/ 822), studied the fundamentals of knowledge established by the Baṣran grammarians (al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 128). The Kūfan school, nonetheless, used some different terms for certain concepts ; for example, the Baṣran school called the genitive case marker *jarr*, while the Kūfan school called it *khafd* (Versteegh, 1993: 9).

By and large, the Kūfan school of thought relied on the sources on which the Baṣran school had depended, but the Kūfan school differed in the way these sources were dealt with (Figure 3):

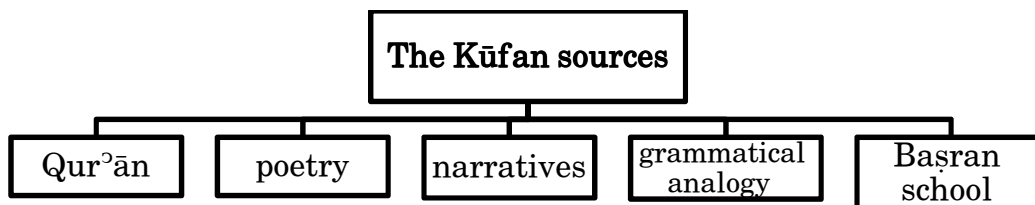


Figure 3: The Kūfan sources

**First**, the Kūfans were more interested in the Qurʾān and its readings than the Baṣran school; evidence of this appears in the way they dealt with

various rules of grammar. In addition, they borrowed certain terminologies from Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic commentary which became standard in Arabic grammar (Ḍayf, 1968: 215; Versteegh, 1993: 174 and 197- 98). The study of Arabic grammar through Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic exegesis arose during this period, as is evident from al-Farrā<sup>ʿ</sup>'s *Ma<sup>ʿ</sup>ānī l-Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān* (Explanations of The Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān) through which he laid the beginnings of Kūfan reasoning.

**Secondly**, the Kūfan like the Baṣran grammarians relied on poetry but expanded the time period from pre-Islamic poetry up to the school's flourishing time in the early fourth/ tenth century. They borrowed from the poets who lived in the city of Kūfa, and also attended the caliphs' courts (al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 139).

**Fifthly**, some linguists claimed that the Kūfan school applied grammatical analogy (*al-qiyās*) more than the Baṣrans, who were critical of *al-qiyās* (Ḍayf, 1968: 6); while others viewed the Kūfans concentrating on the usage of hearing (*samā<sup>ʿ</sup>*) more than *al-qiyās* (cf. Agius, 1984: 164).

### 2.3.3. The Baghdādian school:

This school arose when the science of Arabic grammar was well developed, and the majority of its rules had been created. Therefore, the opinions of the school's grammarians were a mixture of those of the Baṣran and Kūfan schools, so the Baghdādians acknowledged only what was drawn from well established evidence. Their school started after the period of al-Mubarrid and Ṭha<sup>ʿ</sup>lab in the early fourth/ tenth century; thus practically all grammarians of this period had their views influenced by those of the previous grammarians. They commented on the Baṣran and Kūfan views when discussing their own thinking. Dependence on the Ḥadīth in discussing or supporting the rules of Arabic grammar also made its appearance during this period.

Although the grammarians of this school relied on the views of both the other schools, it is possible to divide them into the following groups (Ḍayf, 1968: 245; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 219- 225): a) The first group which, on the



whole, preferred the opinions of the Baṣran grammarians, such as al-Zajjāj (d. 310/ 922), Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/ 928), al-Zajjājī (d. 337/ 948), and Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/ 1001); b) The second which mostly preferred the views of the Kūfan grammarians, for example al-Ḥamiḍ (d. 305/ 917) and Abū Bakr al-Anbārī (d. 327/ 938); c) The third which took on the observations of the Baṣran and Kūfan grammarians equally, such as al-Akhfash al-Ṣaghīr (d. 315/ 927), Ibn Kaysān (d. 320/ 932), and Niṭawayh (d. 323/ 934).

#### 2.4. Conclusion:

By and large, Baṣran and Kūfan Arabic grammatical thinking are revealed by their fixed system of principle and structure, with Sibawayh and al-Mubarrid epitomising the Baṣran school, while the Kūfan school is exemplified by al-Farrā' and *Tha'lab*. In addition, there is no difference between the Baṣran and Kūfan schools in terms of the fundamental rules of Arabic grammar; they differed on some issues largely because they differed in terms of the way they applied their methods (al-Sāmarrā'ī, 1987: 94). Although there is some difference between them regarding terminology, it is the understanding of Modern Arabic linguists, that certain terms are synonymous; however, it seems that the Baṣrans depended on meaning or formal features, whereas the Kūfans based their usage on criteria of meaning (Owens, 1990: 150; Versteegh, 1993: 10- 11). Furthermore, the Kūfan school never presented all its grammatical rules in a complete work, unlike the Baṣran school, where the *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān* and *Majālis Tha'lab* recorded the thinking of the Kūfan school, even though they were unable to expound most of the rules of Arabic grammar. As a result of the difference between the Baṣran and Kūfan schools regarding their methods, controversy appeared over certain rules of Arabic grammar, and subsequently the Baghdādian school grew by absorbing both schools.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Literature Review

#### 3.1. Introduction:

Classical grammarians studied the fundamental elements of the verbal sentence (the verb and agent), but they did not study them as a whole structure. This rendered their studies incoherent. In addition, it seems to me that there are no studies that combine the basic issues that relate to the verbal sentence as a whole structure.

This chapter discusses the most important studies of the verbal sentence and will be divided into: a) Classical Arabic works; and b) Modern works (Figure 4).

#### 3.2. Classical Arabic works:

**First**, to date there has been no book in Arabic that has received the high level of attention given to the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān. This is because it is believed to have been saved from distortion, and that it presents a coherent and ideal language. Several studies were undertaken in Baṣra that focused on the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic text and its variant readings,<sup>3</sup> and these studies led to concern for its language because the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān played a crucial role in developing the Arabic language (Rabin, 1955: 21; Owens, 1990: 5; Versteegh, 1997: 53). Thus classical grammarians regarded the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān as a first source for creating the rules of Arabic grammar, and looked in depth into its text in order to devise grammatical rules, so that Arabic grammar would conform to Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic structures.

**Secondly**, the Baṣran grammarians relied on 'poetry' a great deal; for example, Sibawayh alluded to more than a thousand lines. However, they placed a time limit for poetry that could be relied on, whereby they took

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<sup>3</sup> The variant Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic readings refer to the different ways of vocalising a word, case markers, form, and so on.

examples from pre-Islamic poetry and up to the middle of the second/eighth century (circa 140/ 757). Such citations came from poets such as al-Farazdag (d. 144/ 761) and Jarīr (d. 144/ 761) (al-Suyūṭī, 2006: 148; see also al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 20; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 76). Certain trustworthy narrators are considered the main source to provide the grammarians with many poems: Abū ʿAmrū b. al-ʿAlā (d. 159/ 775), al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. 178/ 794) and al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 216/ 831), took examples from the Bedouins and poets themselves (cf. al-Zabīdī, 1997: 106).

**Thirdly**, the Baṣran grammarians went out to the Bedouins of Najd, Tuhāma, al-Ḥijāz and others found near the city of Baṣra, to listen to the narratives recounted by these people and then to write down what they had heard. In addition, they documented accounts and anecdotes from the tribes of Quraysh, Qays, Tamīm, Asad, Hudhayl and some of the Kināna and Ṭayy<sup>ᶜ</sup> until 150/ 767;<sup>4</sup> however, Quraysh was considered the most eloquent speech because it was distant from foreigners influence (al-Suyūṭī, 2006: 101- 4; see also ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 1995: 103-4; Agius, 1984: 124; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 75).

**Fourthly**, grammarians based their thought on a system called grammatical analogy (*al-qiyās*)<sup>5</sup>. This system is based mainly on the usage in which the grammarians acknowledged the difference and similarity between two things (Versteegh, 1977: 111; Owens, 1990: 2; Sūsūr, 1985: 188). Thus, Classical Arabic grammarians looked into examples from the Qurʾān and spoken Arabic, whether poetry or prose, and then formulated rules in order to create an Arabic grammar on which all Arabic users have since come to rely. They focused on the relationship between the primary

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<sup>4</sup> According to Majmaʿ al-lughā l-ʿArabiyya (1934, I. 202), the Arabic language was modeled, until the second/eighth century, after the way people spoke in urban areas but as the language of the city became corrupt with non-Arabic usages the grammarians sought another model of correct speech, that of the Bedouins in the Arabian Peninsula because of its purity. This was true until the fourth/tenth century; after that there are no agreement as to whether the Bedouins or the urbanised areas were the right model for Classical Arabic.

<sup>5</sup> "A parallel or similar instance, referred to because it helps the process of explanation" (Crystal: 1992, 19); or "a process by which words or morphemes are created or re-created on the model of existing linguistic patterns" (Versteegh *et al.* 2006, I: 74).

(*al-maqīs ʿalayh*) and the secondary (*al-maqīs*) in terms of meaning and form or one of them (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 1995: 129). The Baṣran grammarians depended a great deal on this source from the earliest period, where it appears in Sibawayh's *al-Kitāb* (Ṭurzī, 1969: 121; Agius, 1984: 163-64; al-Zabīdī, 1997: 19).

The Baṣran grammarians did not rely on the Ḥadīth (the sayings and deeds of the Prophet), claiming that the Ḥadīth had not been passed on in the original words spoken by the Prophet Muḥammad. They argued that, the narrators had focused on the meaning of what the Prophet was saying rather than taking his form of expression into account; hence they did not report the Prophet's exact utterances. The Baṣran grammarians also believed that the majority of narrators of Ḥadīth were not Arabic speakers of the Arabian Peninsula. Thus, they could not take the Ḥadīth as supporting evidence for their grammatical/ syntactic rules (al-Makhzūmī, 1958: 52; Dayf, 1968: 19; al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 26; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 77). According to Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḍāʿī<sup>c</sup> (d. 680/ 1281), the first grammarian to rely on Ḥadīth for supporting grammatical rules was Ibn Kharūf (d. 609/ 1212) (al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 27; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 77). Abū Ḥayān (d. 745/ 1344) observed somewhat later that Ibn Mālik (d. 672/ 1273) had also depended a great deal on Ḥadīth; possibly he was the first of the grammarians to use Ḥadīth as a main source for establishing grammatical rules (ibid)<sup>6</sup>.

Many grammarians were reported as belonging to the Baṣran school. I mention here the most important: ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Ishāq (d. 117/ 735); ʿIsā b. ʿUmar (d. 149/ 766); al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 170/ 786); Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (d. 182/ 798); Yaʿqūb al-Ḥadramī (d. 205/ 820); and Abū l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash (d. 215/ 830) (cf. al-Zabīdī: nd, 33, 45, 51, 53, 54, 74). However, even though they were reported as the experts of the Baṣran school, none of their works have ever been located. Their contributions can be found in the most

<sup>6</sup> For more details regarding this issue see: *Fī uṣūl al-naḥw* by al-Afghānī (1994), *al-Sayr al-ḥathīth ilā l-istishhād bi-l-ḥadīth fī l-naḥw al-ʿArabī* by Fajjāl (1997) and *al-Istishhād bi-l-ḥadīth fī l-lughā wa-l-naḥw* by al-Ḍāmin (2002).

important works emanating from the Baṣran school, i.e., Sibawayh's *al-Kitāb*, and al-Mubarrid's *al-Muqṭaḍab* (The Extemporised), in which the views of such previous grammarians were recorded and extensively discussed. The works by Sibawayh and al-Mubarrid provide a clear and detailed record of the thinking of the Baṣran grammarians, and are considered as the most important works during this period, and as such I have chosen them as the basis of my examples and discussions in this thesis.

The Kūfan school followed the Baṣran school; though, according to most scholars who have studied the methods of these early schools, the inconsistencies between them do not suggest that Kūfan grammar was in any respect different to Baṣran grammar, but simply that there were some variations in terms of their methods (cf. al-Makhzūmī, 1958: 36 and 327; Dayf, 1968: 5; al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 142; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 24). Moreover, Kūfan grammar was based on Baṣran grammar, and the early grammarians of the Kūfan school, such as al-Kisāʿī (d. 189/ 803) and al-Farrāʿ (d. 207/ 822), studied the fundamentals of knowledge established by the Baṣran grammarians (al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 128). The Kūfan school, nonetheless, used some different terms for certain concepts ; for example, the Baṣran school called the genitive case marker *jarr*, while the Kūfan school called it *khafḍ* (Versteegh, 1993: 9).

**First**, the Kūfans were more interested in the Qurʾān and its readings than the Baṣran school; evidence of this appears in the way they dealt with various rules of grammar. In addition, they borrowed certain terminologies from Qurʾānic commentary which became standard in Arabic grammar (Dayf, 1968: 215; Versteegh, 1993: 174 and 197- 98). The study of Arabic grammar through Qurʾānic exegesis arose during this period, as is evident from al-Farrāʿ' s *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān* (Explanations of The Qurʾān) through which he laid the beginnings of Kūfan reasoning.

**Secondly**, the Kūfan like the Baṣran grammarians relied on poetry but expanded the time period from pre-Islamic poetry up to the school's

flourishing time in the early fourth/ tenth century. They borrowed from the poets who lived in the city of Kūfa, and also attended the caliphs' courts (al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 139).

**Thirdly**, the Kūfans went to meet the Bedouins of al-Ḥijāz, Najd, and Tuhāma, and the tribes of Tamīm, Asad and Nizār who lived near Kūfa (al-Makhzūmī, 1958: 330-331; Abū l-Makārim, 1973: 36; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 139). They excelled in narration, which they took from the nomads as well as from urban populations, whereas the Baṣran grammarians had focused only on the Bedouins, believing that the urban dwellers had to deal with foreign people through trade, and that their languages were compromised by this mixing with non-Arabs.

**Fourthly**, the Kūfan grammarians based themselves on the Baṣran school, by attending to the discussions presented by their grammarians and what they had to say about one another. A main leading teacher of the Baṣran school reported that al-Farrāʾ, when he slept, put Sībawayh's manuscript under his pillow as an indication of his respect to Sībawayh's *al-Kitāb* (al-Sāmarrāʾī, 1987: 141; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 138).

**Fifthly**, some linguists claimed that the Kūfan school applied grammatical analogy (*al-qiyās*) more than the Baṣrans, who were critical of *al-qiyās* (Ḍayf, 1968: 6); while others viewed the Kūfans concentrating on the usage of hearing (*samāʿ*) more than *al-qiyās* (cf. Agius, 1984: 164).

Many grammarians belonged to the Kūfan school, including, for instance, Muʿādh al-Harrāʾ (d. 187/ 803), al-Kisāʾī, al-Farrāʾ and Thaʿlab (d. 291/ 903) (cf. al-Zabīdī: nd, 125, 130, 133, 150). The broad spectrum of opinions in the Kūfan school was set out in al-Farrāʾ's *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān* and in Thaʿlab's *Majālis Thaʿlab* (Thaʿlab's Sessions).

This school arose when the science of Arabic grammar was well developed, and the majority of its rules had been created. Therefore, the opinions of the school's grammarians were a mixture of those of the Baṣran and Kūfan schools, so the Baghdādians acknowledged only what was drawn from well

established evidence. Their school started after the period of al-Mubarrid and Tha<sup>c</sup>lab in the early fourth/ tenth century; thus practically all grammarians of this period had their views influenced by those of the previous grammarians. They commented on the Baṣran and Kūfan views when discussing their own thinking. Dependence on the Ḥadīth in discussing or supporting the rules of Arabic grammar also made its appearance during this period.

Although the grammarians of this school relied on the views of both the other schools, it is possible to divide them into the following groups (Dayf, 1968: 245; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 219- 225): a) The first group which, on the whole, preferred the opinions of the Baṣran grammarians, such as al-Zajjāj (d. 310/ 922), Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/ 928), al-Zajjājī (d. 337/ 948), and Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/ 1001); b) The second which mostly preferred the views of the Kūfan grammarians, for example al-Ḥāmiḍ (d. 305/ 917) and Abū Bakr al-Anbārī (d. 327/ 938); c) The third which took on the observations of the Baṣran and Kūfan grammarians equally, such as al-Akhfash al-Ṣaghīr (d. 315/ 927), Ibn Kaysān (d. 320/ 932), and Niṭawayh (d. 323/ 934).

By and large, Baṣran and Kūfan Arabic grammatical thinking are revealed by their fixed system of principle and structure, with Sibawayh and al-Mubarrid epitomising the Baṣran school, while the Kūfan school is exemplified by al-Farrā<sup>o</sup> and Tha<sup>c</sup>lab. In addition, there is no difference between the Baṣran and Kūfan schools in terms of the fundamental rules of Arabic grammar; they differed on some issues largely because they differed in terms of the way they applied their methods (al-Sāmarrā<sup>o</sup>ī, 1987: 94). Although there is some difference between them regarding terminology, it is the understanding of Modern Arabic linguists, that certain terms are synonymous; however, it seems that the Baṣrans depended on meaning or formal features, whereas the Kūfans based their usage on criteria of meaning (Owens, 1990: 150; Versteegh, 1993: 10- 11). Furthermore, the Kūfan school never presented all its grammatical rules in a complete work, unlike the Baṣran school, where the *Ma<sup>c</sup>ānī l-Qur<sup>o</sup>ān* and *Majālis Tha<sup>c</sup>lab* recorded the thinking of the Kūfan school, even though

they were unable to expound most of the rules of Arabic grammar. As a result of the difference between the Baṣran and Kūfan schools regarding their methods, controversy appeared over certain rules of Arabic grammar, and subsequently the Baghdādian school grew by absorbing both schools.

### 3.3. Modern works:

In the Modern period, methodological criticism has begun to make an appearance, whereby modern linguists have criticised some of the methodologies of the Classical Arabic grammarians. In addition, they attempt to mention aspects that the classical grammarians omitted, or try to explain their rules clearly. Therefore, several studies have appeared in modern times, the most significant of which are mentioned here; they are divided into: a) Arabic works; and b) English works.

#### 3.3.1 Arabic works:

**First**, to date there has been no book in Arabic that has received the high level of attention given to the Qurʾān. This is because it is believed to have been saved from distortion, and that it presents a coherent and ideal language. Several studies were undertaken in Baṣra that focused on the Qurʾānic text and its variant readings,<sup>7</sup> and these studies led to concern for its language because the Qurʾān played a crucial role in developing the Arabic language (Rabin, 1955: 21; Owens, 1990: 5; Versteegh, 1997: 53). Thus classical grammarians regarded the Qurʾān as a first source for creating the rules of Arabic grammar, and looked in depth into its text in order to devise grammatical rules, so that Arabic grammar would conform to Qurʾānic structures.

**Secondly**, the Baṣran grammarians relied on 'poetry' a great deal; for example, Sībawayh alluded to more than a thousand lines. However, they placed a time limit for poetry that could be relied on, whereby they took

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<sup>7</sup> The variant Qurʾānic readings refer to the different ways of vocalising a word, case markers, form, and so on.



examples from pre-Islamic poetry and up to the middle of the second/eighth century (circa 140/ 757). Such citations came from poets such as al-Farazdag (d. 144/ 761) and Jarīr (d. 144/ 761) (al-Suyūṭī, 2006: 148; see also al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 20; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 76). Certain trustworthy narrators are considered the main source to provide the grammarians with many poems: Abū ʿAmrū b. al-ʿAlā (d. 159/ 775), al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. 178/ 794) and al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 216/ 831), took examples from the Bedouins and poets themselves (cf. al-Zabīdī, 1997: 106).

**Thirdly**, the Baṣran grammarians went out to the Bedouins of Najd, Tuhāma, al-Ḥijāz and others found near the city of Baṣra, to listen to the narratives recounted by these people and then to write down what they had heard. In addition, they documented accounts and anecdotes from the tribes of Quraysh, Qays, Tamīm, Asad, Hudhayl and some of the Kināna and Ṭayy<sup>9</sup> until 150/ 767;<sup>8</sup> however, Quraysh was considered the most eloquent speech because it was distant from foreigners influence (al-Suyūṭī, 2006: 101- 4; see also ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 1995: 103-4; Agius, 1984: 124; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 75).

**Fourthly**, grammarians based their thought on a system called grammatical analogy (*al-qiyās*)<sup>9</sup>. This system is based mainly on the usage in which the grammarians acknowledged the difference and similarity between two things (Versteegh, 1977: 111; Owens, 1990: 2; Sūsūr, 1985: 188). Thus, Classical Arabic grammarians looked into examples from the Qurʾān and spoken Arabic, whether poetry or prose, and then formulated rules in order to create an Arabic grammar on which all Arabic users have since come to rely. They focused on the relationship between the primary

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<sup>8</sup> According to Majmaʿ al-lughā l-ʿArabiyya (1934, I. 202), the Arabic language was modeled, until the second/eighth century, after the way people spoke in urban areas but as the language of the city became corrupt with non-Arabic usages the grammarians sought another model of correct speech, that of the Bedouins in the Arabian Peninsula because of its purity. This was true until the fourth/tenth century; after that there are no agreement as to whether the Bedouins or the urbanised areas were the right model for Classical Arabic.

<sup>9</sup> "A parallel or similar instance, referred to because it helps the process of explanation" (Crystal: 1992, 19); or "a process by which words or morphemes are created or re-created on the model of existing linguistic patterns" (Versteegh *et al.* 2006, I: 74).

(*al-maqīs ʿalayh*) and the secondary (*al-maqīs*) in terms of meaning and form or one of them (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 1995: 129). The Baṣran grammarians depended a great deal on this source from the earliest period, where it appears in Sibawayh's *al-Kitāb* (Ṭurzī, 1969: 121; Agius, 1984: 163-64; al-Zabīdī, 1997: 19).

The Baṣran grammarians did not rely on the Ḥadīth (the sayings and deeds of the Prophet), claiming that the Ḥadīth had not been passed on in the original words spoken by the Prophet Muḥammad. They argued that, the narrators had focused on the meaning of what the Prophet was saying rather than taking his form of expression into account; hence they did not report the Prophet's exact utterances. The Baṣran grammarians also believed that the majority of narrators of Ḥadīth were not Arabic speakers of the Arabian Peninsula. Thus, they could not take the Ḥadīth as supporting evidence for their grammatical/ syntactic rules (al-Makhzūmī, 1958: 52; Dayf, 1968: 19; al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 26; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 77). According to Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḍāʿī<sup>c</sup> (d. 680/ 1281), the first grammarian to rely on Ḥadīth for supporting grammatical rules was Ibn Kharūf (d. 609/ 1212) (al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 27; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 77). Abū Ḥayān (d. 745/ 1344) observed somewhat later that Ibn Mālik (d. 672/ 1273) had also depended a great deal on Ḥadīth; possibly he was the first of the grammarians to use Ḥadīth as a main source for establishing grammatical rules (ibid)<sup>10</sup>.

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The Kūfan school followed the Baṣran school; though, according to most scholars who have studied the methods of these early schools, the inconsistencies between them do not suggest that Kūfan grammar was in any respect different to Baṣran grammar, but simply that there were some variations in terms of their methods (cf. al-Makhzūmī, 1958: 36 and 327; Dayf, 1968: 5; al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 142; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 24). Moreover, Kūfan grammar was based on Baṣran grammar, and the early grammarians of the Kūfan school, such as al-Kisāʿī (d. 189/ 803) and al-Farrāʿ (d. 207/ 822), studied the fundamentals of knowledge established by the Baṣran grammarians (al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 128). The Kūfan school, nonetheless, used some different terms for certain concepts ; for example, the Baṣran school called the genitive case marker *jarr*, while the Kūfan school called it *khafḍ* (Versteegh, 1993: 9).

By and large, the Kūfan school of thought relied on the sources on which the Baṣran school had depended, but the Kūfan school differed in the way these sources were dealt with (Figure 3):

**First**, the Kūfans were more interested in the Qurʾān and its readings than the Baṣran school; evidence of this appears in the way they dealt with various rules of grammar. In addition, they borrowed certain terminologies from Qurʾānic commentary which became standard in Arabic grammar (Dayf, 1968: 215; Versteegh, 1993: 174 and 197- 98). The study of Arabic grammar through Qurʾānic exegesis arose during this period, as is evident

from al-Farrāʿs *Maʿānī l-Qurʿān* (Explanations of The Qurʿān) through which he laid the beginnings of Kūfan reasoning.

**Secondly**, the Kūfan like the Baṣran grammarians relied on poetry but expanded the time period from pre-Islamic poetry up to the school's flourishing time in the early fourth/ tenth century. They borrowed from the poets who lived in the city of Kūfa, and also attended the caliphs' courts (al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 139).

**Thirdly**, the Kūfans went to meet the Bedouins of al-Ḥijāz, Najd, and Tuhāma, and the tribes of Tamīm, Asad and Nizār who lived near Kūfa (al-Makhzūmī, 1958: 330-331; Abū l-Makārim, 1973: 36; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 139). They excelled in narration, which they took from the nomads as well as from urban populations, whereas the Baṣran grammarians had focused only on the Bedouins, believing that the urban dwellers had to deal with foreign people through trade, and that their languages were compromised by this mixing with non-Arabs.

**Fourthly**, the Kūfan grammarians based themselves on the Baṣran school, by attending to the discussions presented by their grammarians and what they had to say about one another. A main leading teacher of the Baṣran school reported that al-Farrāʿ, when he slept, put Sībawayh's manuscript under his pillow as an indication of his respect to Sībawayh's *al-Kitāb* (al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 141; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 138).

**Fifthly**, some linguists claimed that the Kūfan school applied grammatical analogy (*al-qiyās*) more than the Baṣrans, who were critical of *al-qiyās* (Ḍayf, 1968: 6); while others viewed the Kūfans concentrating on the usage of hearing (*samāʿ*) more than *al-qiyās* (cf. Agius, 1984: 164).

Many grammarians belonged to the Kūfan school, including, for instance, Muʿādh al-Harrāʿ (d. 187/ 803), al-Kisāʿī, al-Farrāʿ and Thaʿlab (d. 291/ 903) (cf. al-Zabīdī: nd, 125, 130, 133, 150). The broad spectrum of opinions in the Kūfan school was set out in al-Farrāʿs *Maʿānī l-Qurʿān* and in Thaʿlab's *Majālis Thaʿlab* (Thaʿlab's Sessions).

This school arose when the science of Arabic grammar was well developed, and the majority of its rules had been created. Therefore, the opinions of the school's grammarians were a mixture of those of the Baṣran and Kūfan schools, so the Baghdādians acknowledged only what was drawn from well established evidence. Their school started after the period of al-Mubarrid and Tha<sup>c</sup>lab in the early fourth/ tenth century; thus practically all grammarians of this period had their views influenced by those of the previous grammarians. They commented on the Baṣran and Kūfan views when discussing their own thinking. Dependence on the Ḥadīth in discussing or supporting the rules of Arabic grammar also made its appearance during this period.

Although the grammarians of this school relied on the views of both the other schools, it is possible to divide them into the following groups (Dayf, 1968: 245; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 219- 225): a) The first group which, on the whole, preferred the opinions of the Baṣran grammarians, such as al-Zajjāj (d. 310/ 922), Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/ 928), al-Zajjājī (d. 337/ 948), and Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/ 1001); b) The second which mostly preferred the views of the Kūfan grammarians, for example al-Ḥamiḍ (d. 305/ 917) and Abū Bakr al-Anbārī (d. 327/ 938); c) The third which took on the observations of the Baṣran and Kūfan grammarians equally, such as al-Akhfash al-Ṣaghīr (d. 315/ 927), Ibn Kaysān (d. 320/ 932), and Niṭawayh (d. 323/ 934).

By and large, Baṣran and Kūfan Arabic grammatical thinking are revealed by their fixed system of principle and structure, with Sībawayh and al-Mubarrid epitomising the Baṣran school, while the Kūfan school is exemplified by al-Farrā<sup>ḍ</sup> and Tha<sup>c</sup>lab. In addition, there is no difference between the Baṣran and Kūfan schools in terms of the fundamental rules of Arabic grammar; they differed on some issues largely because they differed in terms of the way they applied their methods (al-Sāmarrā<sup>ḍ</sup>, 1987: 94). Although there is some difference between them regarding terminology, it is the understanding of Modern Arabic linguists, that certain terms are synonymous; however, it seems that the Baṣrans depended on meaning or formal features, whereas the Kūfans based their

usage on criteria of meaning (Owens, 1990: 150; Versteegh, 1993: 10- 11). Furthermore, the Kūfan school never presented all its grammatical rules in a complete work, unlike the Baṣran school, where the *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān* and *Majālis Thaʿlab* recorded the thinking of the Kūfan school, even though they were unable to expound most of the rules of Arabic grammar. As a result of the difference between the Baṣran and Kūfan schools regarding their methods, controversy appeared over certain rules of Arabic grammar, and subsequently the Baghdādian school grew by absorbing both schools.

### 3.3.2. English works:

**First**, to date there has been no book in Arabic that has received the high level of attention given to the Qurʾān. This is because it is believed to have been saved from distortion, and that it presents a coherent and ideal language. Several studies were undertaken in Baṣra that focused on the Qurʾānic text and its variant readings,<sup>11</sup> and these studies led to concern for its language because the Qurʾān played a crucial role in developing the Arabic language (Rabin, 1955: 21; Owens, 1990: 5; Versteegh, 1997: 53). Thus classical grammarians regarded the Qurʾān as a first source for creating the rules of Arabic grammar, and looked in depth into its text in order to devise grammatical rules, so that Arabic grammar would conform to Qurʾānic structures.

**Secondly**, the Baṣran grammarians relied on 'poetry' a great deal; for example, Sibawayh alluded to more than a thousand lines. However, they placed a time limit for poetry that could be relied on, whereby they took examples from pre-Islamic poetry and up to the middle of the second/eighth century (circa 140/ 757). Such citations came from poets such as al-Farazdag (d. 144/ 761) and Jarīr (d. 144/ 761) (al-Suyūṭī, 2006: 148; see also al-Sāmarrāʾī, 1987: 20; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 76). Certain trustworthy narrators are considered the main source to provide the grammarians with many poems: Abū ʿAmrū b. al-ʿAlā (d. 159/ 775), al-Mufaḍḍal al-Dabbī (d.

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<sup>11</sup> The variant Qurʾānic readings refer to the different ways of vocalising a word, case markers, form, and so on.

178/ 794) and al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 216/ 831), took examples from the Bedouins and poets themselves (cf. al-Zabīdī, 1997: 106).

**Thirdly**, the Baṣran grammarians went out to the Bedouins of Najd, Tuhāma, al-Ḥijāz and others found near the city of Baṣra, to listen to the narratives recounted by these people and then to write down what they had heard. In addition, they documented accounts and anecdotes from the tribes of Quraysh, Qays, Tamīm, Asad, Hudhayl and some of the Kināna and Tayy<sup>o</sup> until 150/ 767;<sup>12</sup> however, Quraysh was considered the most eloquent speech because it was distant from foreigners influence (al-Suyūṭī, 2006: 101- 4; see also ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 1995: 103-4; Agius, 1984: 124; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 75).

**Fourthly**, grammarians based their thought on a system called grammatical analogy (*al-qiyās*)<sup>13</sup>. This system is based mainly on the usage in which the grammarians acknowledged the difference and similarity between two things (Versteegh, 1977: 111; Owens, 1990: 2; Sūsūr, 1985: 188). Thus, Classical Arabic grammarians looked into examples from the Qurʾān and spoken Arabic, whether poetry or prose, and then formulated rules in order to create an Arabic grammar on which all Arabic users have since come to rely. They focused on the relationship between the primary (*al-maqīs ʿalayh*) and the secondary (*al-maqīs*) in terms of meaning and form or one of them (ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 1995: 129). The Baṣran grammarians depended a great deal on this source from the earliest period, where it appears in Sibawayh's *al-Kitāb* (Ṭurzī, 1969: 121; Agius, 1984: 163-64; al-Zabīdī, 1997: 19).

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<sup>12</sup> According to Majmaʿ al-lughā l-ʿArabiyya (1934, I. 202), the Arabic language was modeled, until the second/eighth century, after the way people spoke in urban areas but as the language of the city became corrupt with non-Arabic usages the grammarians sought another model of correct speech, that of the Bedouins in the Arabian Peninsula because of its purity. This was true until the fourth/tenth century; after that there are no agreement as to whether the Bedouins or the urbanised areas were the right model for Classical Arabic.

<sup>13</sup> "A parallel or similar instance, referred to because it helps the process of explanation" (Crystal: 1992, 19); or "a process by which words or morphemes are created or re-created on the model of existing linguistic patterns" (Versteegh *et al.* 2006, I: 74).

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result of the difference between the Baṣran and Kūfan schools regarding their methods, controversy appeared over certain rules of Arabic grammar, and subsequently the Baghdādian school grew by absorbing both schools.

### 3.4. Conclusion:

The Baṣran grammarians did not rely on the Ḥadīth (the sayings and deeds of the Prophet), claiming that the Ḥadīth had not been passed on in the original words spoken by the Prophet Muḥammad. They argued that, the narrators had focused on the meaning of what the Prophet was saying rather than taking his form of expression into account; hence they did not report the Prophet's exact utterances. The Baṣran grammarians also believed that the majority of narrators of Ḥadīth were not Arabic speakers of the Arabian Peninsula. Thus, they could not take the Ḥadīth as supporting evidence for their grammatical/ syntactic rules (al-Makhzūmī, 1958: 52; Dayf, 1968: 19; al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 26; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 77). According to Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḍāʿī<sup>c</sup> (d. 680/ 1281), the first grammarian to rely on Ḥadīth for supporting grammatical rules was Ibn Kharūf (d. 609/ 1212) (al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1987: 27; al-Ḥudaythī, 2002: 77). Abū Ḥayān (d. 745/ 1344) observed somewhat later that Ibn Mālik (d. 672/ 1273) had also depended a great deal on Ḥadīth; possibly he was the first of the grammarians to use Ḥadīth as a main source for establishing grammatical rules (ibid)<sup>15</sup>.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### Parts of Speech and Types of Sentence

#### 4.1. Introduction:

Parts of speech are classes of words which combine together to form sentences. The part of speech determines how the word is used within various contexts.

Research into parts of speech started from the earliest studies on language; they represent communication, whether in speech or writing. Types of sentence cannot be studied before studying the parts of speech, since the meaning of the sentence is derived from the function of the parts of speech. It is generally agreed that the classification of parts of speech is one of the most important elements in linguistics (Weiss, 1976: 34; Suleiman, 1990: 245). Discussion about this issue in the Arabic language started, as it is believed, as early in the times of Caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib who said to Abū l-Aswad al-Duʿalī (d. 69/ 688): "all [that concerns] speech is a noun, verb or particle" (al-Qūzī, 1981: 27; al-Ṭanṭāwī, 1995: 24). Following this statement of definition Arabic grammarians took to discussing these parts of speech explaining how every issue in language works in written and formal speech.

Because every sentence or speech is produced from these constituents, this chapter will discuss several issues, as follows:

- A- Parts of speech (noun, verb and particle) and their features.
- B- The definition of some terminology in the description of the Arabic word and sentence.
- C- Common Arabic sentence components.
- D- The structure of Arabic sentences.
- E- Types of sentence.
- F- The structure of the verbal sentence.

## 4.2. Parts of speech:

Every language has parts of speech, but they differ from one to another; Arabic, for example, has three parts of speech, viz, noun, verb and particle (Figure 5). Sībawayh noted in his introduction that (1988, I: 12): "the word is a noun, verb or particle which has a particular meaning independently of a noun or verb"<sup>16</sup>. According to al-Mubarrid, every language has these parts of speech (1994, I: 141). Early Arabic grammarians, whether Baṣran or Kūfan, and other later scholars agreed on this classification (al-Zajjājī (d. 340/ 951) (1979: 41) and Ibn Fāris ( d. 395/ 1004) (1910: 49). However, Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Ṣābir al-Qaysī (d. 662/ 1263) added one more part of speech to these which he called *al-khālifa*, that is, the verbal noun<sup>17</sup> *ism al-fiʿl* (al-Suyūṭī, nd, III: 69). Grammarians who came after Sībawayh observed the features of parts of speech by analysing them morphologically, syntactically and semantically because these parts had been identified without any definition.

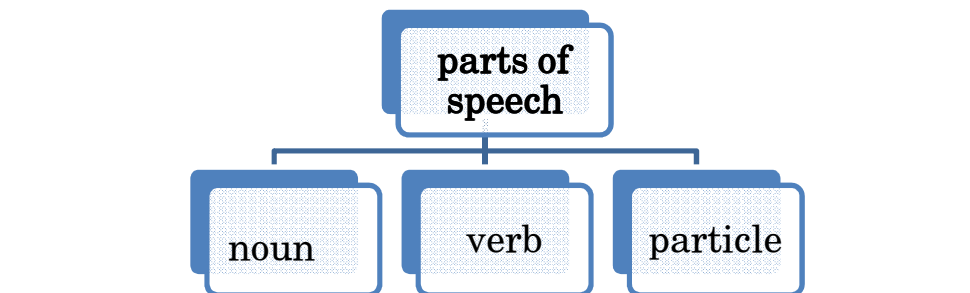


Figure 5: Arabic parts of speech

### 4.2.1. Noun:

The noun is what indicates an individual meaning, whether it is person or thing (Ibn al-Sarrāj, 1973, I: 2). This part is an important element in Arabic, because no type of sentence can be composed without a noun. Some features which distinguish the Arabic noun from other parts of speech are shown in (Figure 6):

<sup>16</sup> "Al-kalimu kulluhu ismun wa-fiʿlun wa-ḥarfun jāʿa li-maʿnan laysa bi-ismīn wa-lā fiʿlin".

<sup>17</sup> Ḥassān (1994, 89) claims that al-Farrāʿ added this part.

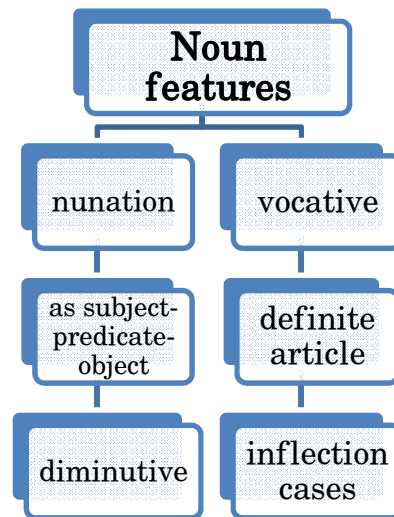


Figure 6: Noun feature

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

This thesis consists of eleven chapters. Chapter One is an introduction. Chapter Two presents a brief account of the three schools of Arabic grammatical thought and their methods. In Chapter Three I review the literature related to the verbal sentence. Chapter Four discusses the points of view of medieval and modern grammarians regarding parts of speech and the types of sentence. The first element of the verbal sentence (the predicate) is examined in Chapters Five and Six; Chapter Five focusing on the transitive and intransitive verb while Chapter Six is in a passive voice.



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Finally, a noun is any of a class of words that are distinguished by having plural and possessive endings; it comes as subject with either types of sentence, or predicate in the nominal sentence and object in the verbal sentence, and it designates persons, places and things (Lyons, 1977: 425).

#### 4.2.2. Verb<sup>18</sup>:

This part of speech comes in the second group of the Arabic parts of speech classification, after the noun, because a sentence could be structured without it (i.e., a nominal sentence). However, there are some features that belong to the Arabic verb which do not occur with other parts of speech, as shown in (Figure 7):

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<sup>18</sup> Every verbal form in Arabic contains a root and stem. The root contains the radical letters of a verbal form, representing the basic meaning of the word and typically is classified according to the number and type of constituent phonemes (Gene, 1962: 360; Beeston, 1970: 72), as *drs* is the root of the verbal form *DaRaSa* 'he studied'. Then the vowels added to the root forms a stem (al-Muzaynī, 1994: 1), as in *jalasa/yajlisu* 'He sat/sits'; both of these stems are taken from *jls* root.

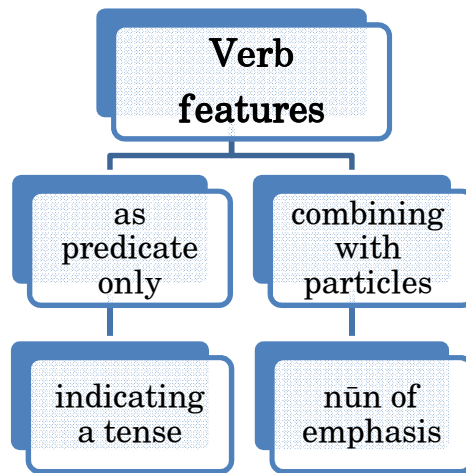


Figure 7: Verb features

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

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Finally, the verb is a class of word which is placed as the predicate element *musnad* of the verbal sentence, and it expresses an action or state, and carries a tense, aspect and mood (Lyons, 1977: 425).

#### **4.2.3. Particle:**

It is a word which does not have the characteristics of the noun or verb. In other words, it is the word which "has a meaning by virtue of referring to another word" (Ibn Jinnī, 1988: 16; Owens, 1989: 215) or the word which has meaning only when it stands together with other words (noun or verb). Accordingly, the particle could change the type of aspect or tense of the nominal or verbal sentence without, however, affecting the type of sentence (Peled, 2009: 14).

#### **4.3. Modern linguists' points of view about parts of speech:**

As said earlier, the majority of Early Arabic grammarians agreed on the part of speech classification of noun, verb and particle. However, some modern linguists disagree with this because they claim that there are some words which cannot be classified in this way. Thus, they have attempted a re-classification<sup>19</sup>. Ibrāhīm Anīs, for example, adds the pronoun (*al-damīr*) to these parts of speech, which he categorises as undefined nouns (*al-asmāʿ*)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The pioneers of the modern classification will be mentioned.

*al-mubhama*). Under this heading, This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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By contrast, English grammar typically defines eight parts of speech (Sweet: 1898, 54- 144; Abbott, 1905: 15- 83; Fries, 1957: 65; Gleason, 1965: 114- 15; Milne *et al.* 1970: 15- 49; Huddleston, 1984: 90- 91) namely (Figure 8):

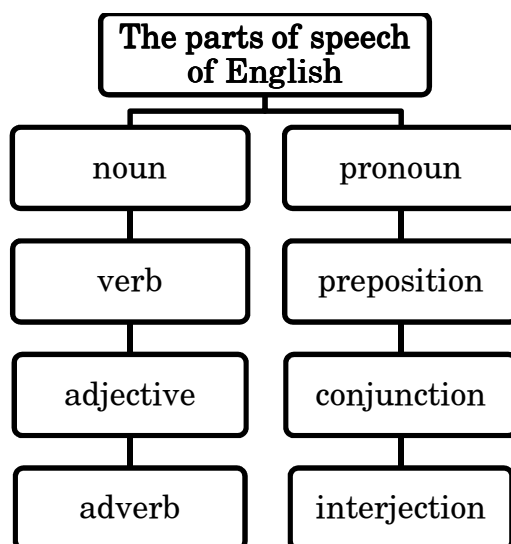


Figure 8: The parts of speech of English

1- noun which indicates substance and the name of living or lifeless being, as illustrated by following two examples 9a and 9b:

*S. 9a)* The **man** came.

*S. 9b)* The **house** was built.

Substance-nouns are divided into two types: a. common nouns, as 'man', 'house', b. proper names, such as 'Mark'.

2- verb which indicates phenomena (i.e., changing attributes), verb, also, denotes actions and carries inflection of aspect and tense, as examples 10a and 10b below show:

*S. 10a)* Tom **studies**.

*S. 10b)* Tom **studied**.

3- adjective that indicates the attributes of substance-words, or the word which describes a noun or pronoun, as the example in 11:

*S. 11)* A **famous** teacher retired.

4- adverbs qualifying time, manner, quantity, cause etc, as exemplified in 12a- 12d:

- S. 12a)*                                 **Today** I am going to Rome.  
*S. 12b)*                                 The boy walks **slowly**.  
*S. 12c)*                                 John will be **greatly** missed by his children.  
*S. 12d)*                                 Rebecca is tired. **Therefore**, she will leave.

5- pronoun which largely expresses a general meaning and used as instead of noun, as illustrated by S. 13:

- S. 13)*   **She** drank water.

6- preposition is a small word which occurs before a noun phrase making a prepositional phrase (Hurford, 1994: 190), as illustrated in S. 14:

- S. 14)*   I will go **to** school after ten o'clock.

7- conjunction which joins sentences or parts of a sentence together, as shown in S. 15:

- S. 15)*   John **and** Mark went home.

It is classified according to its meaning to: a. affirmative, as 'and'; b. alternative, as 'or'; c. negative, as 'neither...nor'; d. adversative, as 'but'; e. concessive, as 'though'; f. hypothetical, as 'if'; g. temporal, as 'before'; and h. causal, as 'because'.

8- interjection that is "an outcry to express pain, surprise, anger, pleasure, or some other emotion" (Huddleston, 1984: 91), like 'oh', and as the example 16:

- S. 16)*   **Hey!** I have not seen you for a while!

The English parts of speech can be classified also into two types: a) the 'open' which includes noun, verb, adjective and adverb; b) the 'closed' type that includes the rest of parts of speech (Huddleston, 1988: 23; Khalil, 2010: 35).

To sum up, although English grammar defines eight parts of speech. Arabic also includes all these. In the traditional classification, however, as discussed, Arabic has three, though it must be said that the Arabic noun corresponds to the English noun, adjective, adverb, and pronoun; the verb part too in Arabic corresponds to the English verb, whereas the particle in Arabic corresponds to the English preposition and conjunction. Moreover, although the Classical Arabic classification is brief, it covers all classes of words. So we do not require Modern classification of Arabic parts of speech. That is, the modern analysis of parts of speech is not consistent, and all parts that are added relate to the noun because the features of the noun which the grammarians mentioned could be applied to those parts. Furthermore, Hurford (1994: 150) claims that a noun and verb are more basic parts of speech than others in almost all languages because the sentence usually contains and relies in many ways on these parts.

#### 4.4. The definition of some terminology regarding the Arabic word and sentence:

Before I discuss the constituents of either word, phrase or sentence, it is useful to examine some terminology which the Early Arabic grammarians used (Figure 9):

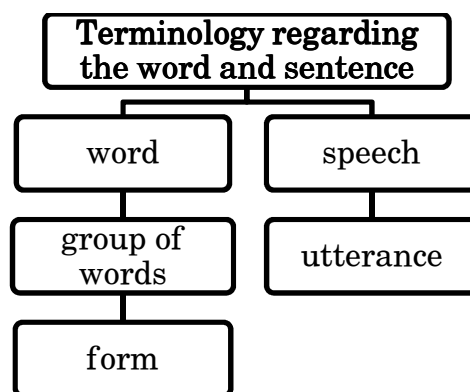


Figure 9: Some terminology regarding the Arabic word and sentence

##### 4.4.1. Word (*al-kalima*):

It denotes one word whether a noun or verb. The noun or verb has a singular meaning; in other words, it is a single unit of vocabulary which expresses a complete singular meaning, as in *al-kursī* 'the chair' (Ibn °Aqīl, 1980, I: 16); this corresponds to the modern linguistic term morpheme<sup>20</sup> (Levin *et al.* 1986: 423).

#### 4.4.2. Speech (*al-kalām*):

The group of words which give a complete meaning, as exemplified in 16:

*S. 16)*      kharaja              °Aliyyun              musri°an  
                                 went out- 3ms    °Alī- nom      indef- quickly- accus  
   = °Alī went out quickly.

#### 4.4.3. Group of words (*al-kalim*):

It is the generic noun (*ism jins*) of *al-kalima* . It means a group of three words or more, whether it gives a complete meaning or not, as shown in the following examples 17a and 17b:

*S. 17a)*      jā°a                          °Aliyyun              ilā                          l-ḥaflati  
                                 came- 3ms    °Alī- nom              prep- to              def-party- gen  
   = °Alī came to the party.

*S. 17b)*      \*in                          jā°a                          °Aliyyun              musri°an  
                                 part- if      came- 3ms    °Alī- nom              indef- quickly- accus  
   = \*If °Alī came quickly.

The difference between 'words' and 'speech' is an independent meaning not a condition with 'words', while it is a condition in 'speech'; so 'words' is more general than 'speech' in terms of the meaning. In addition, 'words' are composed of three words at least, whereas 'speech' could be composed from two words only or more than two, thus 'speech' is more general in terms of the structure.

#### 4.4.4. Utterance (*al-qawl*):

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<sup>20</sup> "Morpheme: the minimal distinctive unit of grammar, and the central concern of morphology. Its original motivation was as alternative to the notion of the word, which had proved to be difficult to work with in comparing languages" (Crystal: 1980, 231).



It is everything which gives meaning; hence it includes all the terminology mentioned above.

#### 4.4.5. Form (*al-lafz*):

It is a group of sounds (*hurūf*) which are pronounced together as one unit whether they give meaning or not, as in *rajul* 'a man' and *qū* 'group of sounds that do not give a meaning' (Ibn ʿAqīl, 1980, I: 14; Levin *et al.* 1986: 430).

#### 4.4.6. Sentence (*al-jumla*):

Although Sībawayh's book is considered to be the first on Arabic grammar and establishes most, but not all, of the terminology of Arabic linguistics, it does not include the term *jumla* because his focus was on clarifying views regarding the use of sentence by employing examples and he was not interested in terminology. Other grammarians who came later added this terminology (ʿAbd al-Latīf, 2003: 30). As far as I know al-Mubarrid (d. 285/898) is the first grammarian who employed *jumla* to explain the function of a sentence<sup>21</sup>. There is though a difference of opinion among Arabic grammarians about the use of terms for 'sentence' and 'speech', where some of them have claimed that they are the same thing. Ibn Jinnī said in his book *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ* (nd, I: 17): 'speech' is everything which gives a complete meaning and has an independent structure; this is what the grammarians called 'sentence'. Consider the following examples in 18a and 18b:

*S. 18a)*                      Zaydun                                      akhū-ka  
    Zayd- nom                      def- brother- nom- pro- your  
    = Zayd is your brother.

*S. 18b)*                                      qāma                                      Zaydun  
    stood up- 3ms                      Zayd- nom  
    = Zayd stood up.

---

<sup>21</sup> He said "*wa-innamā kāna l-fāʿilu rafʿan li-annahū huwa wa-l-fiʿlu jumla*" 'the agent takes a nominative case because the verb and agent is a sentence' (al-Mubarrid, 1994, I: 146).

The majority of the Arabic grammarians have taken the view that 'speech' and 'sentence' are different in meaning. That is, 'speech' is given a complete meaning, while 'sentence' may or may not contain a complete meaning, i.e., the essential point of a 'sentence' is that it includes two elements: predicate (*musnad*) and subject (*musnad ilayh*). Therefore, every 'speech' includes a 'sentence' because a complete meaning is necessary in the 'speech' but not in the 'sentence', and sometimes 'speech' includes more than one 'sentence'<sup>22</sup>. However, not every 'sentence' includes 'speech' because a 'sentence' might or might not have a complete meaning, so the difference between 'sentence' and 'speech' is considered in a complete meaning or not. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143) said:

The speech is called sentence but the right view is that the sentence is more general than speech (as al-Zamakhsharī claimed) because a complete meaning is a condition in the speech unlike the sentence, a view shared by Ibn Hishām (Ibn Hishām, 2000, V: 8).

Finally, some structures could be called either speech or sentence, as in sentences 18a and 18b above, because they give an independent meaning and they are composed from the predicate and subject only.

#### **4.5. The common components of an Arabic sentence:**

Parts of speech are constituents consisting of components that make an Arabic structure of speech, namely (Figure 10):

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<sup>22</sup> A complete meaning cannot be achieved without the predicate and subject. However, the structure that contains these elements may not give a complete meaning.

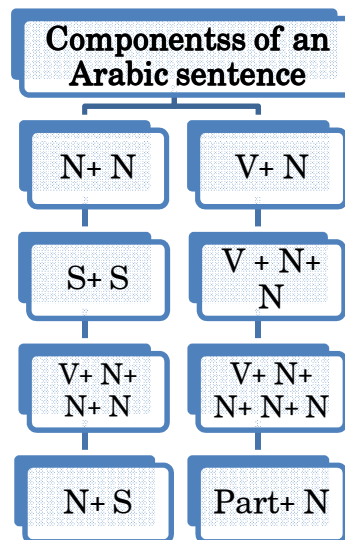


Figure 10: The components of an Arabic sentence

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

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Whereas the English sentence structures has four basic components according to Milne, Jupp (1970: 32) and Palmer (1971: 72- 73), as follows in (Figure 11):

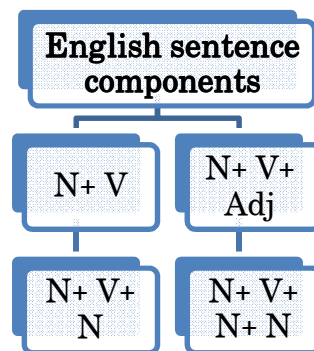


Figure 11: The common English sentence components

1- Noun and verb, (sentence 26):

*S. 26)* Tom comes.

2- Noun, verb and adjective, (sentence 27):

*S. 27)* Tom is tall.

3- Noun, verb and noun, (sentence 28):

*S. 28)* Tom is a teacher.

4- Noun, verb, noun and noun, (sentence 29):

*S. 29)* Tom is a teacher and priest.

#### 4.6. The fundamental elements of an Arabic sentence:

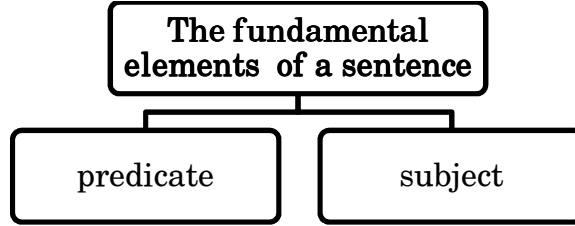


Figure 12: The fundamental elements of a sentence

All languages have a particular structure to form their sentences, and the structure is essentially based on parts of speech. Arabic sentences have two fundamental elements, and neither of them can exist without the other (Levin, 1981: 145), namely, the predicate (*al-musnad*) and the subject (*al-musnad ilayh*) (Figure 12) and the relation holding between these is called the attribution (*al-isnād*). The attribution issue is the result of a syntactic and semantic analysis not a morphological one, where the verb *darasa* 'studies', for example, is not given a complete attribution without its subject (*al-musnad ilayh*), viz, the agent, <sup>ʿ</sup>*Alī*, for example. This subject also supports the sentence to give a complete meaning. Arabic grammarians have discussed these parts since the first ever written Arabic grammar. Sibawayh mentioned this issue at the beginning of his book; he said (1988, I: 23)<sup>23</sup>: "that the predicate and the subject cannot exist one without the other and the speaker cannot avoid using them.'

Arabic grammarians have called these parts (predicate and subject) essential (*ʿumda*) which means that a complete sentence cannot be constituted without them. Thus, the grammarians have defined the Arabic sentence as a structure in which the subject and the predicate are the main components (Weiss, 1985: 610). Other parts are called optional items (*faḍla*) which means that the sentence can be structured without them. They are constituents which are not the subject and the predicate like a direct object (*al-mafʿūl bih*), as the example in (30) shows:

qara<sup>ʿ</sup>a            <sup>ʿ</sup>Aliyyun            kitāban

<sup>23</sup> "*hādhā bābu l-musnadi wa-l-musnadi ilayhi wa-humā mā lā yughnī wāḥidun minhumā ʿini l-ākharī wa-lā yajiydu l-mutakalimu minhu budd*".

*S. 30)*              read- 3ms      °Alī- nom              indef- book- accus  
= °Alī read a book.

Because of the Arabic grammarians' concern with 'attribution' and its significance in the Arabic sentence, it is important to demonstrate it in more detail.

#### 4.6.1. *Al-musnad*:

*Al-musnad* denotes the predicate, which is also called *al-mutaḥaddath bih* or *al-mukḥbar bih*. This part of the sentence occurs as a verb or noun like the comment of the nominal sentence (*al-khabar*). That is, it comes with both types of sentence; the verbal sentence (*al-jumla l-fi'liyya*) and the nominal sentence (*al-jumla l-ismiyya*), as illustrated by the following two examples 31a and 31b:

*S. 31a)*                      darasa                              °Aliyyun  
                                 studied- 3ms                      °Alī- nom  
                                 = °Alī studied.

*S. 31b)*                      Muḥammadun                      sabbākun  
                                 Muḥammad- nom                      indef- plumber- nom  
                                 = Muḥammad is a plumber.

#### 1.6.2. *Al-musnad ilayh*:

*Al-musnad ilayh* denotes the subject, and is also called *al-mutaḥaddath °anh* or *al-mukḥbar °anh*. It occurs only as a noun like the topic and the agent or deputy agent, i.e., it comes with the verbal sentence whether active or passive and the nominal sentence. Consider the structure of the following sentences 32a- 32c:

jā'ā                                      °Aliyyun  
came- 3ms                              °Alī- nom

- S. 32a)* = °Alī came.  
 kusira l-zujāju  
 was broken- 3ms def- glass- nom
- S. 32b)* = The glass was broken.

- S. 32c)* °Aliyyun akhū-ka  
 °Alī- nom def- brother- nom- pro- your  
 = °Alī is your brother.

The predicate element is a wider part than the subject, since the predicate may be a verb or noun, while the subject of a sentence can only be a noun. Abū Ḥayyān claimed (1947, II: 13-15): "some grammarians believed that the subject is *al-musnad ilayh*, and the predicate is *al-musnad*, a view that I share; accordingly, 'Zayd' in sentences *qāma Zaydun* and in *Zaydun qā'imun* is subject, and 'qāma' and 'qā'imun' are predicate."

According to this classification, the predicate may precede or follow the subject whether in the verbal or nominal sentence and this issue will be demonstrated when types of sentences are discussed. By comparison with Arabic, the predicate in English occurs as a verb, and the subject occurs as a noun or pronoun (Vallins, 1966: 66; Crystal, 1986: 94; Burton-Roberts, 1986: 33). The Arabic verbal sentence then could be compared with the English sentence, where both of them contain a verb and noun. i.e., these sentences cannot be structured without these fundamental parts.

#### 4.7. The structure of a sentence:

In Arabic, there are two possible sentence structures, namely (Figure 13):

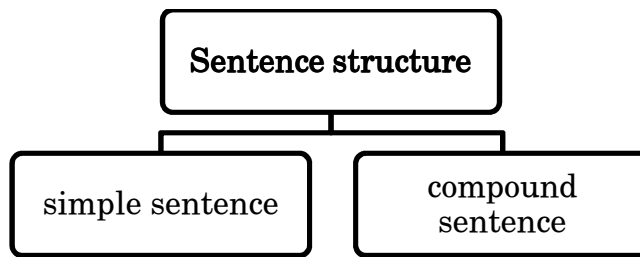


Figure 13: The Arabic structures of a sentence

#### 4.7.1. The simple sentence (*al-jumla l-basīṭa*):

The clause or sentence includes one event (*ḥadath wāḥid*) or a singular attribution *isnād mufrad* only, like components 1, 2, 4 and 8 above. The Arabic sentence cannot be composed by one word in an original constitution because the basic sentence is composed by the predicate (*al-musnad*) and the subject (*al-musnad ilayh*) in the same way as English (Sweet: 1898, 16-17).

#### 4.7.2. The compound sentence (*al-jumla l-murakkaba*):

The compound sentence includes more than one attribution or idea in the same structure, the same as that of a simple sentence, like 3, 5, 6, and 7 components above. In this structure, a compound sentence contains two predicates and two subjects at least. Maṣūma Ḥabd al-Şāhib (2008: 47) claims that a compound sentence, similar to the one in (S. 25), has a predicate clause. However, this claim seems to be inappropriate since other compound sentences, which include more than attribution, do not have clause predicates as in (S. 21) above.

By contrast, English has two structure clauses, namely:

1- The simple structure, consists of subject and verb, or subject, verb and whatever completers<sup>24</sup>. Consider sentences 33a and 33b:

*S. 33a)* Tom comes.

*S. 33b)* Tom is writing an essay.

<sup>24</sup> Completer is any word which comes after basic structure (subject and verb).



2- The compound structure, includes more than one simple sentence joined by means of coordination (Fries, 1957: 30; Clarke *et al.* 1966: 3 and 29), for example (S. 34):

*S. 34)* I bought a gift yesterday and posted it to my brother.

#### 4.8. Types of sentences:

This topic has been the subject of discussion by Modern Arabic grammarians but the Early Arabic grammarians discussed this rather sporadically. we find two types of sentences: nominal and verbal sentences<sup>25</sup> (Figure 14):

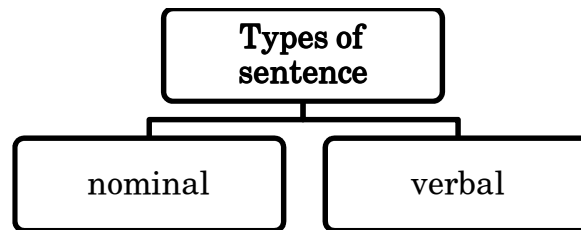


Figure 14: Types of Arabic sentence

1- The nominal sentence (*al-jumla l-ismiyya*), as in (S. 35):

*S. 35)*                    °Aliyyun                    kātibun  
                          °Alī- nom                    indef- writer- nom  
                          = °Alī is a writer.

2- The verbal sentence (*al-jumla l-fi'liyya*), as in the following sentence:

*S. 36)*                    qāma                    °Aliyyun  
                          stood up- 3ms                    °Alī- nom  
                          = °Alī stood up.

There is, however, a controversy among the grammarians in terms of the definition of what a nominal and verbal sentence is in Arabic (Ibn Hishām, 2000, V: 13- 28). It is claimed by some that the nominal sentence always

<sup>25</sup> There is a controversy in terms of the classification of Arabic sentences (cf. al-Dujani: 1978, 77). However, I will point out the well-known view because this does not relate to our topic, namely, the verbal sentence.

starts with a noun, as shown by sentence 35, while the verbal sentence always starts with a verb (sentence 36 above). This is the view of the Baṣran school of thought (cf. al-Sayyid, 2004: 21), who argue that a nominal sentence starts with a noun word even if it contains a verb (Sibawayh, 1988, I: 92; al-Mubarrid, 1994, IV: 128), as in the following example:

*S. 37)*                            °Aliyyun                            qāma  
    °Alī- nom                            stood up- 3ms  
    = °Alī stood up.

In this sentence they argue that °Alī is the topic (*mubtadaʿ*), even though the predicate in both sentences 36 and 37 is still the verb, i. e. *qāma* 'stood up'. These grammarians have, however, taken the view that some structures are verbal sentences, even though they start with a noun. Consider sentence 38:

*S. 38)*    idhā                    l-ḍayfu                    kharaja                    sawfa                    anāmu  
                  part- when    def-guest- nom            left- 3ms            part-will            1ms-sleep  
    = When the guest leaves I will sleep.

i.e., the first part of this structure (*al-ḍayfu kharaja*) is regarded as the verbal sentence by the Baṣran school, irrespective of the noun preceding the verb (Ibn Hishām, 2000, V: 15- 16; see also al-Makhzūmī, 1986: 43). It is noted that this group does not rely upon the attribution structure and meaning of the whole sentence.

Other grammarians considered the nominal sentence to be one starting with a noun, while the verbal sentence is one starting with a verb, neither assumption being precise. They attempted to find a more accurate definition by employing an attribution structure. i.e., the place of predicate and the subject inside these types of sentence (al-Makhzūmī, 1986: 39- 44). They believe that in the nominal sentence the predicate and subject are nouns. Therefore, the topic of this sentence may occur as a proper noun or a pronoun, and the comment of this sentence may be an adjective, a prepositional phrase or adverb, (as in sentences 39a to 39d, respectively), because these parts are a sub-class of noun. In addition, the topic is placed



I believe that a nominal sentence contains a predicate and subject which are nouns, whereas the verbal sentence, has a predicate is a verb and a subject which is a noun whether the verb precedes the noun or not; this is for several reasons, namely<sup>26</sup>:

1- The meaning of both sentence (40a and 40b above) is similar, and the difference between them is that the verb precedes the noun in the first sentence, while the noun precedes the verb in the second. This depends upon two factors, the meaning and rhetorical purpose or pre-posing and post-posing (*al-taqdīm wa-l-ta<sup>ʿ</sup>khīr*). I.e., sentence 40a is concerned with the event and tense (*qāma*), and this is the original constitution in the verbal sentence. However, sentence 40b is concentrated upon the subject of the event (*ʿAlī*) who did the event, while the event and tense of this sentence come on the second stage.

2- When sentence 40b above is regarded as a nominal sentence, this structure becomes compound sentence in terms of its syntactic structure, i.e., the first sentence of this structure is the topic and its comment, and the second sentence is the verb (*qāma*) with its agent, that is, it is a hidden pronoun (*damīr mustatir*) (*huwa* 'he')<sup>27</sup>. Although the Baṣran grammarians claimed that this sentence 40b is the same as sentence 40a in meaning, they differed in the classification of the type of sentence (al-Makḥzūmī, 1986: 42 and 43). This difference is against the general concept which all the Arabic grammarians agree on, namely, *kullu ziyādatin fī l-mabnā tadullu ʿalā ziyādatin fī l-ma<sup>ʿ</sup>nā* 'each addition to the structure denotes on addition in the meaning' (Ibn Jinnī, nd, II: 3; Abū l-Makārīm, 2007: 12; Hawash, 1999: 55). However, even if they believed that such a sentence is a verbal sentence, they have still preserved an important concept.

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<sup>26</sup> These reasons will be mentioned in detail because there is a huge controversy in terms of this issue, so I will attempt to clarify this issue to show the right view, and sometimes I require mentioning another groups evidence in order to clarify this point and respond to this evidence.

<sup>27</sup> This construction contains two kinds of sentence: the first one is a nominal sentence and the other a verbal sentence as the Baṣran's school thought.

3- For Baṣran grammarians, a nominal sentence which is initiated by a noun, can be taken as a verbal sentence when initiated by the conditional particle *ḥarf al-ṣhart*, although the verb is still prefixed by a noun (Ibn Hishām, 2000, V: 15- 16; see also al-Makhzūmī, 1986: 43). This idea is illustrated by the following example:

*S. 41)*      in            °Aliyyun            qāma            fa-sa-°ughādiru  
                  part- if   °Alī- nom       stood up- 3ms    part- will-1ms- leave  
                  = If °Alī stood up I will leave.

The Baṣran grammarians did not give any reasonable evidence for this difference. The Baṣran grammarians hold the view that some particles (i.e. the conditional particles) affect the sentence type. For them, the negative particles lack such influence. This idea is clarified by the following example.

*S. 42)*                    lam                    ya°ti                    °Aliyyun  
                               neg- not            3ms- comes       °Alī- nom  
                               = °Alī did not come.

On the other hand, the Kūfan grammarians see no difference between nominal and verbal sentences even when the sentence is initiated by a conditional particle (al-Farrā°, 1980, I: 422). Accordingly, their classification of the sentence types seems accurate.

4- Ibn Hishām was one of the grammarians who classified the sentence according to its initial constituent. He argued that if the sentence appears after the *wāw* of coordination (as in S. 43 below), it is taken to be a verbal sentence although it starts with a noun.

*S. 43)*    qa°ada            °Aliyyun       wa-Ṭāriqun            qāma  
                  sat down- 3ms   °Alī- nom    part-and-Ṭāriq- nom   stood up- 3ms  
                  = °Alī sat down and -Ṭāriq stood up.

He took the view that there is a verb deleted after the *wāw* 'and' of coordination, because he believed that there is no coordination between a

verbal and nominal sentence<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, the sentence (*qa<sup>c</sup>ada <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun wa- qāma Ṭāriqun qāma*) is here composed of three sentences i.e., 1) *qa<sup>c</sup>ada <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun* 'cAlī sat down', 2) *qāma Ṭāriqun* 'Tariq stood up', and 3) *qāma huwa* 'he stood up' (Ibn Hishām, 2000, V: 27). Ibn Hishām's analysis yields a deviant structure and interpretation which is not common in the Arabic language. What is needed is a simpler analysis which rests on the existence of two verbal sentences in that structure.

5- With the dual and plural, vowel marks suffixed to the verb are preceded by an agent, i.e., /-ā/ with the dual form, and /-ū/ with plural form. This idea can be illustrated by the examples in S. 44a and S. 44b:

*S. 44a)*                      al-mudīrāni                      jā<sup>ᶜ</sup>-ā  
    def- two directors- nom- d      came- 3md  
    = The two directors came.

*S. 44b)*                      al-mudīrūna                      jā<sup>ᶜ</sup>-ū  
    def- directors- nom- p              came- 3mp  
    = The directors came.

These long vowels /-ā/ and /-ū/ suffixed to the verb, however, are not pronouns as grammarians who have relied upon the first word have claimed. In addition, I believe that the possibility of adding a long vowel to a verb is expected as it indicates that this word order (SVO) is not the basic order in the sentence even if two structures (VSO and SVO) can be accepted. According to Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā in his book *Iḥyā<sup>ᶜ</sup> al-naḥw* (1992: 56- 58), he claims that these long vowels are a consequence of the subject advancement whether in the nominal or verbal sentence. When the predicate is placed at the beginning, there is no agreement between the predicate and the subject whether in the nominal or verbal sentence, as in the following examples (S 45a and 45b):

*S. 45a)*                      jā<sup>ᶜ</sup>a                      l-muhandisūna  
    came- 3ms              def- engineers- nom- p  
    = The engineers came.

<sup>28</sup> This idea will be discussed later in the thesis.

*S. 45b)*                    qādimun    al-muhandisūna  
 indef- is coming- nom- ap            def- engineers- nom- p  
 = The engineers are coming.

On the other hand, there is an agreement when the subject precedes the predicate (al-Farrā<sup>2</sup>, 1980, II: 386); consider S 46a and 46b:

*S. 46a)*                    al-muhandisūna    jā<sup>2</sup>-ū  
 def- engineers- nom- p            came- 3mp  
 = The engineers came.

*S. 46b)*                    al-muhandisūna    qādimūn  
 def- engineers- nom- p            indef- are coming- nom- ap  
 = The engineers are coming.

Consequently, the agreement issue is the result of the pre-posing and post-posing feature whether in the nominal or verbal sentence.

6- Banī l-Hārith and Azdi Shanū<sup>2</sup> a dialects of Early Arabic had agreement between the predicate and the subject even if the predicate preceded the subject, and this one finds in the Qur<sup>2</sup>ān, as shown in sentences 47a (Sūrat al-Mā<sup>2</sup>ida, V: 71) and 47b (Sūrat al-Anbiyā<sup>2</sup>, XXI: 3); it could also be used in normal speech as illustrated in sentence 47c:

*s.47a*            thumma                    <sup>c</sup>am-ū    wa-ṣamm-ū  
 part- then            were blind- 3mp            part- and- were deaf-3mp  
 - kathīrun    min-hum  
 indef- many- nom            prep- from- pro- them  
 = "Yet again many of them became blind and deaf". (Ali,  
 1968: 266)

wa-<sup>2</sup>asarr-ū                    l-najwā                    alladhīna                    ḡalam-ū  
 and-concealed            def-counsels            who                    wronged  
 part- 3mp                    - accus                    - rel                    -3mp

*S. 47b)* = "The wrong-doers conceal their private counsels". (Ali, 1968: 822)

*S. 47c)*            *ihmarrat-ā*                            <sup>°</sup>*aynā-hu*  
                          were red- 3md                    def- eyes- nom- d - pro- his  
                          = His eyes were red.

Grammarians called this *luġhat akalūnī l-barāghīth* 'the dialect of the fleas devoured me' or *luġhat yata<sup>°</sup>aqabūna fikum malā<sup>°</sup>ika* 'the dialect angels watch over you'. Interestingly, grammarians regarded these dialects as *fushā* (Literary Arabic) (al-Farrā<sup>°</sup>, 1980, I: 316; see also Wright, 1974, II: 294; Levin, 1989: 40). In brief, the agreement in the verbal sentence occurs even when the predicate precedes the subject as it occurs when the subject precedes the predicate.

7- The Baṣran school claimed that when the agent precedes the verb the sentence cannot be called verbal because the agent may be a definite noun (*ism ma<sup>°</sup>rifa*) or indefinite noun (*ism nakira*). Two examples (48a and 48b) will illustrate this point:

*S. 48a)*                            *jā<sup>°</sup>a*                    *l-rajulu*  
                          came- 3ms            def- man- nom  
                          = The man came.

*S. 48b)*                            *jā<sup>°</sup>a*                    *rajulun*  
                          came- 3ms            indef- man- nom  
                          = A man came.

Here, the agent cannot precede the verb in the verbal sentence, where it is fundamental that the Arabic sentence cannot start with an indefinite noun, and this condition occurs with topic as well (i.e., it must be a definite noun) not with the agent only. If the agent precedes a verb, this condition is violated even if the agent is an indefinite noun (Jamāl al-Dīn, 1984: 252,





attribution is more accurate with respect to the structure and the meaning. The condition that the sentence type is decided upon by its initial constituent seems to contradict the linguistic analysis which follows a fixed system. This condition depends on a deletion strategy in order to account for a given structure which does not require that.

#### 4.9. The structure of the verbal sentence:

The fundamental parts of verbal sentence and its restrictions come in different positions. In addition to this, the verbs in a verbal sentence come in either transitive or intransitive and active or passive form, as will be demonstrated. Therefore, there are several structures for the Arabic verbal sentence as follows in (Figure 15):

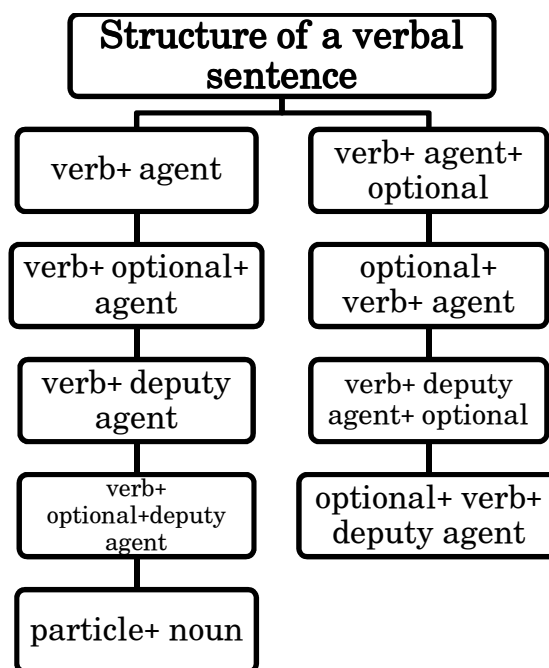


Figure 15: The structure of verbal sentence

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

This thesis consists of eleven chapters. Chapter One is an introduction. Chapter Two presents a brief account of the three schools of Arabic grammatical thought and their methods. In Chapter Three I review the literature related to the verbal sentence. Chapter Four discusses the points of view of medieval and modern grammarians regarding parts of speech and the types of sentence. The first element of the verbal sentence (the predicate) is examined in Chapters Five and Six; Chapter Five focusing on the transitive and intransitive verb while Chapter Six is in a passive voice. The second element of the verbal sentence (the subject) is examined in Chapters Seven and Eight; Chapter Seven showing the difference between agent and subject terminology and the rules related to them. Chapter Eight is on the deputy agent, examining the reasons for the omission of the agent, the types of deputy agent and the element which takes an agent's place. The basic word order of verbal sentence and the alternative word order forms are analysed in detail in Chapter Nine while Chapter Ten concentrates on the concept of the tense and aspect and the primary and secondary types of them. Chapter Eleven summarises the main findings of the study and makes recommendations for future research.

It is noted that the verb is placed before the agent in all these structures and it is possible to combine them in fourways , namely:

- 1- The verb and the nominative case (*al-marfūʿ*).
- 2- The verb, the nominative case and the optional item.
- 3- The verb, the optional item and the nominative case.
- 4- The optional item, the verb and the nominative case.

However, there are other structures in which the agent is placed before the verb, as follows in Figure 16:

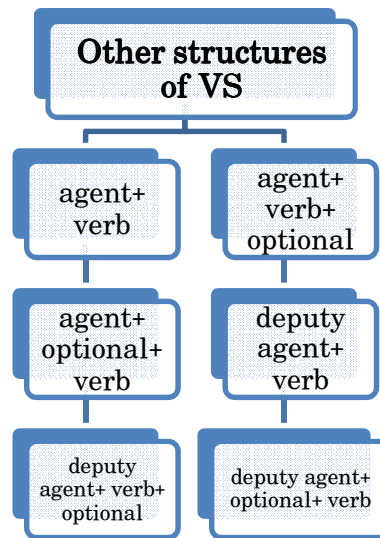


Figure 16: The structures in which the agent precedes the verb

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The common parts in all these structures are the verb, the nominative case and the optional item whether the verb precedes the nominative case or not (Abū l-Makārim, 2007: 71 and 72) and these structures will be discussed in more detail in the word order chapter (Chapter Nine).

#### **4.10. Discussion:**

**4.10.1.** This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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**4.10.2.** The original word order in a verbal sentence is that the agent comes after the verb. In other words, the verb's position is at the beginning of the verbal sentence. However, the agent could be placed before the verb, and this kind of sentence is still called a verbal sentence though some grammarians are in disagreement with this as mentioned earlier. The auxiliary verb *kāna* 'was' is placed before the main verb, as shown in S. 77:

S. 77)	kāna	yal <sup>c</sup> abu	kūrata	qadamin	jayyidan
	used to	plays	indef-ball	indef-foot	indef-well
	- 3ms	- 3ms	- accus	- gen	- accus
	= He used to play football very well.				

Moreover, the optional item *al-fadla* in the Arabic sentence usually appears after the main constituents of the sentence (i.e. the predicate and the subject), as illustrated in 78a:

<i>S. 78a)</i>	yuhibbu	°Aliyyun	Wafā°a
	3ms- loves	°Alī- nom	Wafā°- accus
	= °Alī loves Wafā°.		

The structure of the above sentence<sup>30</sup> is changed for rhetorical purposes (al-Waer, 1987: 86).

The default word order of a nominal sentence is Topic-Comment or Comment-Topic. By contrast, English is an SVO language where the verb should follow the subject. Consider the following Arabic and English examples 78b, 78c and 79, respectively:

<i>S. 78b)</i>	°Aliyyun	fī	l-madrasati
	°Alī- nom	prep- at	def- school- gen
	= °Alī is at the school.		

<i>S. 78c)</i>	fī	l-madrasati	°Aliyyun
	prep- at	def- school- gen	°Alī- nom
	= °Alī is at the school.		

<i>S. 79)</i>	The lesson is interesting.		
---------------	----------------------------	--	--

However, in a question expression the English verb could be placed before the subject (Lado *et al.* 1958: 1), as shown by the following example in 80:

<i>S. 80)</i>	Is the lesson interesting?
---------------	----------------------------

Moreover, the auxiliary verb in English is placed before the main verb like the Arabic auxiliary (S. 77), as the example in 81:

<i>S.81)</i>	He has studied English.
--------------	-------------------------

**4.10.3.** This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

<sup>30</sup> The word order of this sentence will be discussed later in the thesis.



The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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By contrast, the English sentence has several kinds of coordination (Milne *et al.* 1970: 114- 17), as follows in (Figure 19):

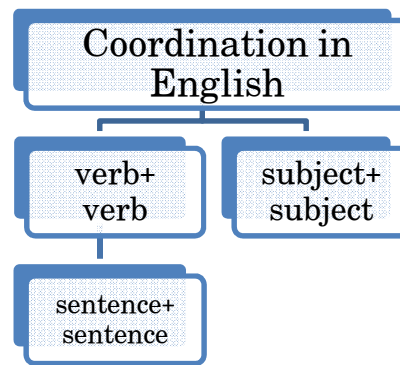


Figure 19: Types of English coordination

i. Coordination between verbs (S. 92):

*S. 92)* I tried and tried but I failed.

ii. Coordination between subjects (S. 93):

*S. 93)* Lemons and mint can be used to make delicious drinks.

iii. Coordination between two sentences (S. 94):

*S. 94)* The visitor rang the bell and Tom opened the door.

In Arabic, it is noted that the particle of conjunction should be placed between each coordinated noun, whether it is single or many. On the other hand, the particle of conjunction in English is placed before the last coordinated noun only.

#### 4.11. Conclusion:

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This

study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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After the discussion of general issues of the Arabic sentence, the following chapters will focus on the verbal sentence structure. Chapters Five and Six investigate the first element of the verbal sentence (the predicate/ the verb); Chapter Five focuses on transitive and intransitive verbs while Chapter Six focuses on the passive voice.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Transitive and Intransitive Verb (*al-fiʿl al-mutaʿaddī wa-l-fiʿl al-lāzim*)

#### 5.1. Introduction:

Transitivity is a category "...used in the grammatical analysis of sentence constructions to define the types of relationship between a verb and the presence or absence of object elements" (Crystal, 1992: 394). Transitivity has a special significance in Arabic because it relates directly to the 'operator issue' (*qaḍiyyat al-ʿāmil*), regarded as the most important in Arabic syntax. It is a transitive verb that governs a direct object, while an intransitive does not, so that this topic relates directly to verbal sentences only, where it shows the relationship between its verb and nouns regardless of whether it is an agent or object in this kind of sentence.

Complete Arabic verbs<sup>31</sup> (*al-afʿāl al-tāmma*) have been divided into two groups according to the number and types of noun which they take. One group includes the verbs which require or take a nominative noun (*marfūʿ*) only to give a complete meaning and in which the receivers do not need a direct object in order to clarify the meaning of the sentence for them, as illustrated in S. 1:

<i>S. 1)</i>	nāma	ʿAliyyun
	slept- 3ms	ʿAlī- nom
	= ʿAlī slept.	

The other group of verbs is that in which the verbs that require a nominative and a direct object to give a complete meaning, while the receivers need the accusative in order to clarify the meaning of the sentence for them, as shown in S. 2:

---

<sup>31</sup> Incomplete verbal forms such as *kāna* and its sisters require an accusative noun. Therefore, they are not classified under this division.

S. 2) fahim al-ṭālibu l-masʿalata  
 understood- 3ms def- student- nom def- issue- accus  
 = The student understood the issue.

Therefore, when the accusative is omitted from this sentence, it does not give a complete meaning and the receiver has many options because the speaker or the writer does not limit the sentence, viz, what the student understood. This chapter deals with the following issues in order to show the relationship between the verb and its agent or direct object by employing transitivity:

- a. Intransitive and transitive verbs.
- b. The characteristics of transitive and intransitive verbs.
- c. Types of transitive verb.
- d. Transformation of the intransitive.
- e. Transformation of the transitive.

## 5.2. Intransitive and transitive verbs

a. Intransitive verb (*al-fiʿl al-lāzim*)

Arabic grammarians called this type (*al-fiʿl al-lāzim*,<sup>32</sup> *al-fiʿl al-qāṣir* or *al-fiʿl ḡhayr al-mutaʿaddī*)<sup>33</sup>; all these terms refer to verbs that cannot govern a direct object directly (al-Istirābādhi, 1996, I: 136), (S. 3) is an example:

S. 3) dhahaba ʿAliyyun ilā l-madrasati  
 went- 3ms ʿAlī- nom prep- to def- school- gen  
 = ʿAlī went to school.

One cannot say \**dhahaba ʿAliyyun al-madrasa* '\*ʿAlī went school', without the preposition particle (*ilā*).

b. Transitive verb (*al-fiʿl al-mutaʿaddī*)

Arabic grammarians call the transitive verb: *al-fiʿl al-mutaʿaddī* or *al-fiʿl al-mujāwiz* which mean the verbs can pass over from a nominative noun to

<sup>32</sup> It is called *al-fiʿl al-lāzim* because it cannot govern the direct object.

<sup>33</sup> It is called *al-fiʿl al-qāṣir* or *al-fiʿl ḡhayr al-mutaʿaddī* because it takes the agent only.

a direct object directly, i.e., they can govern the direct object directly (al-Istirābādihī, 1996, I: 136), as illustrated by the following example:

*S. 4)*      sharaḥa                  °Aliyyun                  al-darsa  
                  explained- 3ms      °Alī- nom          def- lesson- accus  
    = °Alī explained the lesson.

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

This thesis consists of eleven chapters. Chapter One is an introduction. Chapter Two presents a brief account of the three schools of Arabic grammatical thought and their methods. In Chapter Three I review the literature related to the verbal sentence. Chapter Four discusses the points of view of medieval and modern grammarians regarding parts of speech and the types of sentence. The first element of the verbal sentence (the predicate) is examined in Chapters Five and Six; Chapter Five focusing on the transitive and intransitive verb while Chapter Six is in a passive voice. The second element of the verbal sentence (the subject) is examined in Chapters Seven and Eight; Chapter Seven showing the difference between agent and subject terminology and the rules related to them. Chapter Eight is on the deputy agent, examining the reasons for the omission of the agent, the types of deputy agent and the element which takes an agent's place. The











It is important to note here that this feature (i.e., *i*) is observed in a complete sentence structure only, in order to understand that the passive participle requires an adverb or a prepositional phrase to give a complete meaning since a passive participle is derived from any verb when it stands alone. So here, morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics are combined.

ii. The transitive verb could link with a pronoun */-hā/* which refers to a noun, but this noun is not a verbal noun (*maṣdar*), as exemplified in 17:

S. 17)            al-tuffāḥatu            akala-hā            °Aliyyun  
                       def-apple- nom     ate- 3ms           °Alī- nom  
     = °Alī ate the apple.

The feminine pronoun */-hā/* in this sentence refers to 'the apple'. On the other hand, the intransitive verb could not link with */-hā/*, which does not refer to a verbal noun (al-Jawārī, 1974: 64- 65). That is, the */-hā/* is added to a verb, and a noun is placed before this verb. If the structure gives a complete meaning and a correct structure, it is regarded as a transitive verb, but if it does not give a complete meaning or a correct structure, this form will be an intransitive. By contrast, this pronoun cannot be mentioned after a transitive verb in English, as shown in S. 18:

S. 18)                                \* The apple ate it °Alī.

iii. Concerning the question form, Ibn al-Sarrāj (1973, I: 204- 205) added another characteristic to distinguish these types. He observed that a transitive and an intransitive verb could be identified by employing a question form; i.e., a question with a transitive verb is (*bi-man waqa° al-fi°l*) 'to whom did the act happen?', while the question with an intransitive verb is 'when and where did the act happen?'<sup>34</sup>. This is a precise observation

<sup>34</sup> " *wa-i°lam anna hādhā innamā qīla la-hu maf°ūlu bi-hi li-annahu lammā qāla l-qā°ilu daraba wa-qatala qīla la-hu hādhā l-fi°lu bi-man waqa°?... fa- hādhā innamā yakūnu fī l-muta°addī... wa-lā yuqālu fī-mā lā yata°addā... wa-innamā yuqālu matā kāna l-qiyām? wa-fī ayyi waqt? wa-ayna kān?* "

from Ibn al-Sarrāj (ibid), in which he observed the difference between a transitive and an intransitive verb by analysing it semantically and used a question as the instrument, to confirm his observation.

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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the concept of the tense and aspect and the primary and secondary types of them. Chapter Eleven summarises the main findings of the study and makes recommendations for future research.

I believe that the characteristics mentioned above by Ibn Hishām are details of two features noted by grammarians who preceded him; he also repeats the characteristics agreed on by the grammarians, as in i and ii (above).

In English, verbs are also classified into transitive and intransitive; each type has its own characteristics, namely:

- i. The transitive verb takes a direct object, while the intransitive does not. Sentences 21a and 21b are good examples to illustrate this point:

*S. 21a)*    The house faces north.

*S. 21b)*    The students compete with each other.

Here, the verb of S. 21a takes a direct object 'north', while the verb 'compete' does not take a direct object in S. 21b.

- ii. Transitive verbs are verbs which have a receiver of their action, (S. 22):

*S. 22)*    Tom meet Mark at seven o'clock.

- iii. Only transitive verbs have a passive voice, so intransitive verbs have largely the active voice, (S. 23):

*S. 23)*    The car was stolen by thief.

- iv. Intransitive verbs are classified as either linking or complete.

- v. The passive verb must of necessity be intransitive (Walton, 1965: 187), as shown in sentence 23:

#### **5.4. Types of transitive verb:**

Verbs can take more than one direct object, and therefore there are several types of transitive verb in Arabic (Figure 21):

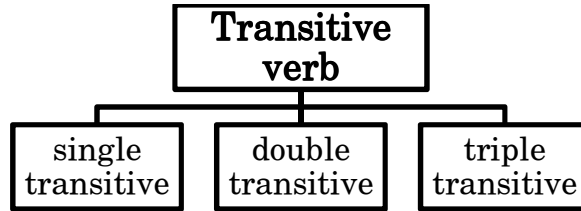


Figure 21: Types of transitive verb

#### 5.4.1. Single transitive:

The verb which requires one direct object (S. 23):

*S. 23)*           qara<sup>ʿ</sup>a           <sup>ʿ</sup>Aliyyun           kitāban  
 read- 3ms   <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī- nom       indef- book- accus  
 = <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī read a book.

All verbs of sense and feeling require one direct object only. This can be illustrated by the following example 24:

*S. 24a)*                                   sami<sup>ʿ</sup>-tu-hu  
 heard- 1ms- 3ms  
 = I heard him.

Others verbs of sense and feeling are *shamamtuhu* 'I smelled it'; *dhuqtuhu* 'I tasted it'; *abṣartuhu* 'I saw him'; and *lamistuhu* 'I touched it'. Abū <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī l-Fārisī (d. 377/ 987) claimed that the verb *sami<sup>ʿ</sup>a*, 'he heard' governs two objects. Consider the following example in 25a:

*S. 25a)*       sami<sup>ʿ</sup>-tu   <sup>ʿ</sup>Aliyyan    yaqūlu    dhā-likā  
 heard- 1ms   <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī- accus   3ms- says   dem-that-part  
 = I heard <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī says that.

The first object is <sup>ʿ</sup>Alī and the second one is the sentence *yaqūlu dhālik*. However, this view goes against a syntactic concept whereby the object could be composed from the sentence as long as the main verb could come

before the topic and comment, like *ẓanna* and its sisters, as the example in sentence 26:

*S. 25b)*    *ẓanan-tu*      <sup>°</sup>Aliyyan      *yaqūlu*      al-ṣidqa  
                  thought- 1ms    °Alī- accus    3ms- says    def- truth- accus  
                  = I thought °Alī says the truth.

However, the verb 'heard' in sentence 25a is not one of these verbs, and thus it governs one direct object only (Ibn Ya<sup>°</sup>ish, 2001, IV: 295- 296). Therefore, the sentence (*yaqūlu dhālik*) after an accusative noun in sentence 25a above is a circumstantial qualifier (*hāl*), as in Sūrat al-Jāthiya, XLV: 8; or an adjective (*ṣifa*), as in Sūrat al-Anbiyā<sup>°</sup>, XII: 60. In addition, the verb *sami<sup>°</sup>a* takes only one object, we have several examples from the Qur<sup>°</sup>ān (see for example Sūrahs al-Qaṣaṣ, XXVIII: 55 and Fāṭir, XXXV: 14).

#### 5.4.2. Double transitive:

This type of verb requires two direct objects, and is divided into three types:

**First**, the verb whose second object originally came with a preposition particle but is omitted because of extensive use (*kathrat al-isti<sup>°</sup>māl*), as the example in 26:

*S. 26)*    *astaghfiru*      Allāha      *dhanban*      kabīran  
                  1ms- forgive    God- accus    indef- sin- accus    indef- great- accus  
                  = I asked God to forgive a great sin.

The second object (*dhanban*) basically comes with a preposition (*min*) but this is deleted (*astaghfiru Allāha min dhanbin*) (cf. Sībawayh, 1988, I: 37). There is, however, a controversy among Arabic grammarians in terms of whether the verb *istaghfara* governs a second object or not. One group viewed that this verb governs the second object by itself; i.e., they did not believe that this verb governs the second object by a preposition. The most popular Arabic grammarians to have believed this view were Ibn al-Ṭarāwa (d. 528/ 1133) and his student al-Suhaylī (al-Suhaylī, 1992: 272, 273). The other group believed that this kind of verb could govern a second object by a

preposition (cf. Abū Ḥayyān, 1998: 2091). So we have to say (*astaghfiru Allāha min dhanbin*).

Al-Suyūṭī (1998, III: 10- 11), on the other hand, limited the verb that are classified under this type, namely: *istaghfara* 'forgave'; *amara* 'ordered'; *sammā* 'named'; *da<sup>ʿā</sup>, kannā* 'called'; *zawwaja* 'married'; *šaddaqa* 'believed'; *hadā* 'guided'; *farrāqa* 'divided'; *fazi<sup>ʿa</sup>* 'appalled'; *jā<sup>ʿa</sup>* 'came'; *rāḥa* 'went'; *ištāqa* 'desired'; *na<sup>ʿā</sup>* 'distanced'; and *ʿayyara* 'taunted'. However, it seems that this verbal type of double transitive is not limited to some verbs because there is no evidence to support that claim. In fact, as there are more than 10 verbs falling within this type, it is certainly not limited.

To sum up, this kind of verb (i.e., the verb whose second object originally came with a preposition) can govern the second object without a preposition, since all grammarians agreed as to whether the second object originally came with a preposition or without. In addition, we cannot find any evidence proving that verb of this kind came originally with a preposition because, like *istaghfara*, it is found in poetry without the preposition, although it comes with a preposition in the Qur<sup>ʾān</sup>, as in Sūrah Maryam, XIX: 47; al-Nūr, XXIV: 62 and al-Mumtaḥana, LX: 12. Moreover, the verb *hadā* 'guided' governs the second object with and without a preposition in the Qur<sup>ʾān</sup>, as in Sūrah al-Nisā<sup>ʾ</sup>, IV: 26 and al-Ḥujurāt, XLIX: 17.

**Secondly**, the verb whose second direct object is related originally to the first one; in other words, this is the verb whose two objects are already in an underlying attribution relationship, i.e., subject and predicate (Badawi *et al.* 2004: 374 and 378), as shown by the following example:

*S. 27)*           $\text{zanan-tu}$            ${}^{\text{ʿ}}\text{Aliyyan}$            $\text{karīman}$   
                   thought- 1ms     ${}^{\text{ʿ}}\text{Alī- accus}$      indef- generous- accus  
                                   = I thought that  ${}^{\text{ʿ}}\text{Alī}$  was generous

The Arabic grammarians called this type (*al-muta<sup>ʿ</sup>addī ilā maf<sup>ʿ</sup>ūlayn ašluhumā l-mubtada<sup>ʾ</sup> wa-l-khabar*) "the verb which governs two objects and



these objects are originally the topic and comment". These objects could compose a complete nominal sentence which would contain the fundamental Arabic sentence, viz., the predicate and subject, or the topic and comment of the nominal sentence, as in *ʿAliyyun karīmun* 'ʿAlī is generous'. Moreover, Arabic grammarians classified under this type *zanna* and its sisters<sup>35</sup> (*zanna wa-akhawātuhā*), as sentence 28:

*S. 28)*

za <sup>c</sup> ama	ʿAliyyun	al-ṭaḡsa	dāfiʿan
claimed- 3mp	ʿAlī- nom	def- weather- accus	indef- warm- accus- ap

= ʿAlī claimed that the weather is warm.

This kind of transitivity is common in the Qurʾān, as in Sūrahs Hūd, XI: 93 and al-Nabaʿ, LXXVIII: 9. In addition, even if the second object is occupied as a verb with its agent, it is considered as a predicate in basic structure, as shown in S. 29:

*S. 29)*

zanan-tu-hu	yal <sup>c</sup> abu
thought- 1ms- 3ms	3ms- plays

= I thought he is playing.

here, *yal<sup>c</sup>abu* 'play' is the second object in this structure.

**Third**, the verb whose second direct object does not relate to the first one in the original structure. This type is called (*al-muta<sup>c</sup>addī ilā maf<sup>c</sup>ūlayn laysa aṣluhumā l-mubtadaʿ wa-l-khabar*) "the verb which takes two objects and these objects are not the topic and comment originally", as exemplified in 30:

*S. 30)*

a <sup>c</sup> ṭay-tu	ʿAliyyan	darāhima
gave- 1ms	ʿAlī- accus	indef- money- accus

= I gave ʿAlī money.

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<sup>35</sup> Like *raʿā, ʿalima, wajada, ḥasiba, za<sup>c</sup>ma and ja<sup>c</sup>ala*.

The verb *a<sup>c</sup>tā* and its sisters<sup>36</sup> (*a<sup>c</sup>tā wa-akhawātuhā*) are classified under this type, as in sentences 30 above. This kind of transitivity is common in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān as well, (Sūrahs Ṭāhā, XX: 50 and al-Kawthar, CVIII: 1).

#### 5.4.3. Triple transitive:

The verb which requires three objects, as represented in S. 32:

S. 32) a<sup>c</sup>lam-tu            <sup>c</sup>Aliyyan    Mājidan            karīman  
 informed- 1ms    <sup>c</sup>Alī- accus    Mājīd- accus    indef-generous- accus  
 = I informed <sup>c</sup>Alī that Mājīd is generous.

One of these objects cannot be mentioned without the other because the second and third objects compose a complete nominal sentence, and the first object does not give a complete meaning (Sibawayh, 1988, I: 41). Classical Arabic grammarians agreed on only two verbs that could be classified under this type, namely, *a<sup>c</sup>lama* 'informed', and *arā* 'showed' (Form IV), derived from the simple verbs *<sup>c</sup>alima* and *ra<sup>a</sup>ʿā*, which require two objects; in this case it is not possible to mention one of them without another. However, al-Farrā<sup>ʿ</sup>, Ibn al-Sarrāj and Ibn Mālik believed that this type was not in fact limited to these verbs only, as there were other verbs which take a third object like *anba<sup>a</sup>ʿa*, *khabbara*, *haddath*, all meaning 'informed'; and *<sup>c</sup>arafa* 'knew' (al-Suyūṭī, 1998, III: 507).

This kind of transitive verb seems originally to have been of a double transitivity, but when these basic verbs changed to the derived forms *af<sup>c</sup>ala* (Form IV) and *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* (Form II), they sometimes govern a third object. In addition to this, it is seen that these verbs, which appear in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān in several verses, govern two objects, and that there is only one position which the verb governs three objects, namely, *arā* (Form IV), as in Sūrat al-Anfāl, VIII: 43 (S. 33):

S. 33)            wa-law                            arā-ka-hum                            kathīran  
 part- and-if    show- 3ms- 2ms- 3mp    indef- much- accus  
 = "If he had shown them to thee as many". (Ali, 1968: 426)

<sup>36</sup> such as *kasā*, *wahaba* and *manaḥa*.

By contrast, English has two types of transitive verbs, as follows:

### 1. Single transitive:

The verb which takes one object which is called a direct object (Hurford, 1994: 67). This kind of transitive is called monotransitive (Gelderen, 2002: 66; Peters, 2004: 548) (S. 39):

*S. 39)* He eats the apple.

### 2. Double transitive:

The verb which takes two objects. One of these is called an indirect object and usually indicate the receiver, and the other is called a direct object and usually denotes something that occurs from the subject to the receiver (Zandvoort, 1966: 55; Young, 1984: 73). In other words, with the verbs that take two objects, the first answers the question 'to whom?' or 'for whom?', and the other answers the question 'what?', as illustrated in 40a:

*S. 40a)* I give my son money.

This kind of transitive is, also, called a ditransitive; in addition, both of these objects must take, if they are pronouns, an accusative case (Burton-Roberts, 1986: 76- 77; Thomas, 1993: 41; Gelderen, 2002: 66), and both of them are obligatory, not optional. However, if one of them is mentioned through the context, it can be omitted thus avoiding repetition (Chalker, 1984: 143; Thomas, 1993: 42), as in the following example:

*S. 40b)* I gave money.

This sentence is a reply to the question:

*S. 40c)* What did you give to your son?

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 727) and Crystal (2004: 95), on the other hand, claim that the indirect object can be omitted in some cases without affecting the meaning relation between other elements of the sentence, as shown in S. 40d:

*S. 40d)* Mark read a book.

The indirect object is largely presented by the prepositions 'to' and less often by 'for' when it follows the direct object (Scheurweghs, 1959: 16; Young, 1984: 73; Burton-Roberts, 1986: 77; Hurford, 1994: 104), as illustrated in the following sentence:

*S. 40e)*                                I give money to my son.

So, the question is 'I give who and what?' 'my son' and 'money'. There are, however, some verbs which cannot take an indirect object without a preposition, as in the following example taken from Scheurweghs (1959: 17):

*S. 41)*                                He transmitted to him a retentive memory.

Here the indirect object precedes the direct. It is preferred for the direct object to precede the indirect object in two positions (Thomson *et al.* 1980: 70 71; Hurford, 1994: 67; Jacobs, 1995: 57):

- a. When the indirect object occurs with a preposition (usually 'to'), as in the following sentence:

*S. 42)*                                I give the book to a person who will benefit from it.

- b. When the direct object is 'it' or 'them' pronoun, as illustrated in:

*S. 43a)*                                I give it or them for my son.

When the indirect and direct object are both pronouns, the indirect object can precede the direct or occur after it, as in the following examples:

*S. 43b)*                                I give him it.

*S. 43c)*                                I give it to him.

To sum up, the intransitive verb in English takes one object at least and it is always the direct object, so the indirect object cannot occur without a direct object. Moreover, indirect objects mainly refer to humans or animals not to inanimate things, while direct objects can indicate inanimate things (Hurford, 1994: 67).

## 5.5. Transformation of the intransitive:

Classical Arabic grammarians were of the view that verbs could be transferred from intransitive to transitive verbs by using some devices within the verb system. According to them there are seven ways which this transfer can be affected (al-Suyūṭī, 1998, III: 8-10; Ibn Hishām, 2000, V: 683-700; see also Ḥasan, 1973: 165-170) (Figure 22):

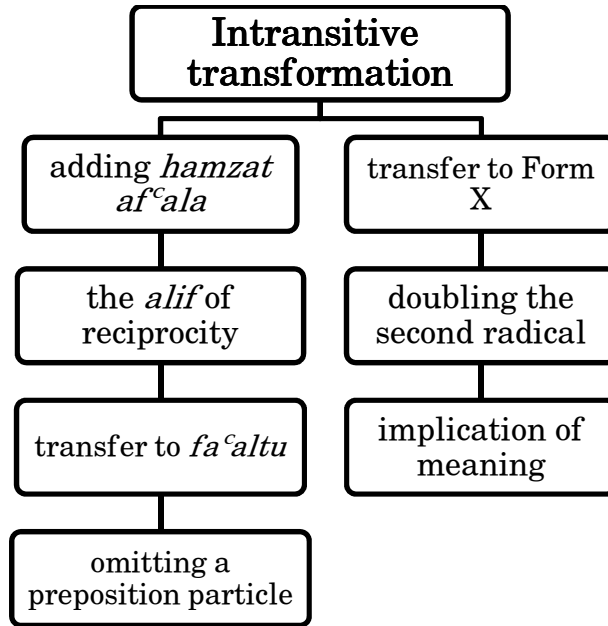


Figure 22: Seven ways of intransitive transformation

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

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On this matter, the *Majma' al-lughā l-ʿArabiyya* in Cairo (1935: 180-81; see also Gully, 1997: 476) takes the view that it can be applied by following three conditions<sup>37</sup>:

- i. The two verbs are similar in meaning.
- ii. There exists an indication that it should not be associated with another verb.
- iii. It follows one of the syntactic rules of the Arabic language (*al-dhawq al-ʿArabī*)

It seems that 'implication of meaning' (*al-taḍmīn*) sets a pattern which Arabic grammarians follow in changing normal methods of use, such as figurative usage (*al-majāz*), and that it relates directly to semantics.

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<sup>37</sup> "wa-majma' al-lughā l-ʿArabiyya yarā annahu qiyāsiyyun lā samāʿiyyun bi-shurūṭin ṭhalāṭha: 1- taḥqīqu l-munāsabati bayna l-fiʿlayn, 2- wujūdu qarīnatin tadullu ʿalā mulāḥazati l-fiʿli l-ākḥari wa-yuʿmanu maʿahā l-labs, 3- mulāʿamatu l-taḍmīni li-dhawqi l-ʿArabī".

g. Omitting a preposition for the purpose of extension (*al-tawassuʿ*): Grammarians cite four examples for this device; three are from the Qurʾān<sup>38</sup> and the fourth is from poetry. They regarded this device as not regular (*qiyāsi*) (Ibn Hishām, 2000, V: 695). I hold the view that in the examples they cited, the verb governs (similar to transitive and intransitive verbs) an accusative rather than a direct object. The only exceptional case is illustrated by the example in Sūrat al-Aʿrāf, VII: 150, (S. 53) below:

S.53)

a- <sup>ʿ</sup> ajil-tum	amra	rabbi-kum
inte- did- haste- 2mp	indef- judgment- accus	def- Lord- gen- pro- your
= "Did ye make haste to bring on the judgment of your Lord?". (Ali, 1968: 385)		

Even though this verb (*ʿajila*) governs a direct object, it seems that it does so because it implies the verb *sabiqa*, meaning 'haste'. Accordingly, this device is not regarded as a means of transformation.

### 5.6. Transformation of the transitive:

Arabic grammarians considered that verbs could be transferred from transitive to intransitive by using various devices with them (Abū Ḥayyān, 1998: 2089; see also Ḥasan, 1973: 183- 85; Abū l-Makārim, 2007: 52) (Figure 23):

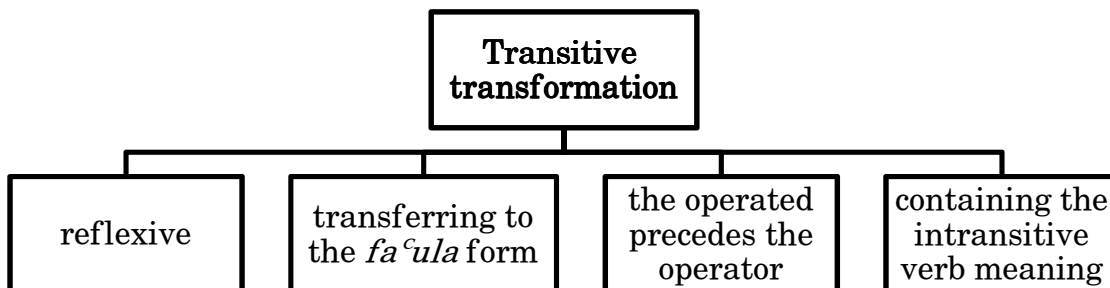


Figure 23: Four ways of transitive transformation

<sup>38</sup> (a) Sūrat al-Baqara, II: 235; (b) Sūrat al-Aʿrāf, VII: 150; (c) Sūrat al-Tawba, IX: 5.

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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## 5.7. Discussion:

5.7.1. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can take different kinds of object and these are "true objects" (Owens, 1988: 167), namely, as Arabic grammarians call them, the absolute object (*al-maf'ūl al-muṭlaq*) (S. 58a); the locative object (*al-maf'ūl fih*) (S. 58b); the purposive object (*al-maf'ūl lah*) or (*al-maf'ūl li-ajlih*) (S. 58c); and the accompanying object (*al-maf'ūl ma'ah*) (S. 58d):

*S. 58a)*    iḥtaram-tu-hu                                    iḥtirāman  
                  respected- 1ms- 3ms                        indef- respecting- accus  
    = I really respected him.

*S. 58b)*    ra'ay-tu            l-qitṭa            fawqa            l-jidāri  
                  saw- 1ms    def- cat- accus    adv- on    def- wall- gen  
    = I saw the cat on the wall.

*S. 58c)*  
                  ji'-tu-ka                    ṭama'an            fī                    birri-ka  
                  came- 1ms- 2ms    indef- needing -accus    prep- on    def- help - gen- pro-your  
    = I came to you needing your help.

The difference between the transitive and intransitive verb is the type of object. The transitive governs a direct object, the intransitive does not. As a result of this, objects are divided into two types according to the verb, namely:

a. an accusative noun which requires transitive verbs, viz., the direct object only.

b. an accusative noun which requires either transitive or intransitive verbs. This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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**5.7.2.** Some grammarians such as Ibn Jinnī (1988: 46) and al-Shalawbinī (1981: 204) are of the view that there are two kinds of transitive verb, namely:

- i. *A direct transitive:*

A verb which governs the direct object without any device, as illustrated in

S. 61:

*S. 61)*                    rasam-tu                                    l-kharīṭata  
                                  drew- 1ms                                    def- map- accus  
                                  = I drew the map.

ii. *An indirect transitive:*

A verb whose direct object is governed by a preposition particle. The following example illustrates the point:

*S. 62)*                    marar-tu                                    bi-<sup>c</sup>Aliyyin  
                                  passed- 1ms                                    prep- with-<sup>c</sup>Alī - gen  
                                  = I passed by <sup>c</sup>Alī.

However, I believe that the second type of the previous division (ii) is not a transitive verb for several reasons, namely that:

a. A transitive verb which governs the direct object does so directly without any device, as explained by the Arabic grammarians.

b. If the type of verb mentioned in (ii) is considered transitive, the Arabic verbs need not be classified into transitive and intransitive since the latter can govern the direct object by a preposition.

c. The noun that comes after the preposition is in the genitive. In other words, although it is an object in the meaning, it is not an accusative noun, as in S. 63:

*S. 63)*    sāfar-tu                    ilā                    madīnatin                    ṣaghīratin  
                                  traveled- 1ms    prep-to                    indef-city-gen                    indef- small-gen  
                                  = I traveled to a small city.

However, this does not mean that these verbs are transitive. This may be explained as follows:

a. *Direct object:*

Verbs that govern their object without a preposition.

*b. Indirect object:*

Verbs that govern their object by a preposition. Here, the classification depends on the noun following a preposition which is an object in meaning but not syntactically.

**5.7.3.** All triliteral perfective and imperfective forms may be transitive or intransitive except the *fa<sup>c</sup>ula* and *yaf<sup>c</sup>ulu* form which is only intransitive only (S. 64 below is an example) because they are placed to assert a particular feature which is linked with some body or thing (Ibn al-Sarrāj, 1973, III: 139), so that all the verbal triliteral forms are transitive and intransitive, or intransitive only:

*S. 64)*                    ḥasuna                    l-jaww  
                               improved- 3ms        def- weather- nom  
                                       = The weather improved.

This analysis may lead to the result that there are more verbal triliteral forms of intransitive rather than transitive verbs where there is a form for an intransitiveonly, something that does not occur specifically with transitive verbs.

**5.7.4.** Although transitivity seems to be a syntactic issue, grammarians gave a morphological and semantic analysis when they distinguished between transitive and intransitive verbs; i.e.,

- a. Morphologically, they determined that there are some forms for intransitive and transitive, such as *fa<sup>c</sup>ala yaf<sup>c</sup>ilu* and *fa<sup>c</sup>ala yaf<sup>c</sup>ulu*. There are, however, forms like *fa<sup>c</sup>ula yaf<sup>c</sup>ulu* and *infa<sup>c</sup>ala* which are only intransitive. Moreover, there are some verbal quadrilateral forms that are transitive verbs, like *fa<sup>c</sup>nal* and *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu*, as in *qalnasa* 'he wore al-qalnas' (it is a kind of garment); and *yarna<sup>u</sup>* 'he dyed

with henna' (al-Ashbīlī, 1996: 125), but these verbs, which are only used in the transitive are not used in normal speech.

- b. Syntactically, grammarians considered that a transitive verb governs a direct object without any device, whereas an intransitive verb does not unless a particular device, such as implication of meaning (*al-taḍmīn*) is added to these verbs.
- c. Semantically, the definition of transitive and intransitive verbs relies upon the meaning of the verb; i.e., if the meaning of the verb requires an object, the verb is transitive and if it does not, the verb is intransitive. In addition, grammarians believe that all verbs of 'sense' are transitive, while the verb which indicates a temporary state or quality is intransitive, as illustrated in 65:

*S. 65)*                    <sup>ʿ</sup>arija                    Muḥammadun  
    hobbled- 3ms                    Muḥammad- nom  
    = Muḥammad hobbled.

Ibn al-Sarrāj (1973, I: 204) holds the view that two verbs may differ in meaning, however, they can share (in)transitivity (i.e., transitive and intransitive). For example, the verbs *qa<sup>ʿ</sup>ada* 'sat' and *qāma* 'stood up' are both intransitive. On the other hand, some verbs which carry similar meanings can also agree in terms of (in)transitivity. For example, the verbs *qa<sup>ʿ</sup>ada* and *jalasa*, both meaning 'sat', are both intransitive. I argue against this idea based on the observation that there are some verbs which carry the opposite meanings but differ in (in)transitivity. For example, the verb *dakhala* 'entered' is transitive, whereas the verb *kharaja* 'went out' is intransitive.

5.7.5. Sibawayh (1988, IV: 5 and 9) mentioned that the verbal noun of an intransitive verb is in the *fu<sup>ʿ</sup>ūl* form, while the verbal noun of a transitive verb is in the *fa<sup>ʿ</sup>l* form; he also claimed that there are a few transitive verbs whose verbal nouns may come in the *fu<sup>ʿ</sup>ūl* and *vice versa*. However, through her study of the verbal noun forms in pre- Islamic poetry,

Wasmiyya l-Manşūr (1984: 139- 146) asserted that these forms (*fu<sup>c</sup>ūl* and *fa<sup>c</sup>l*) occur with intransitive and transitive verbs, without any restrictions. She noted that the *fa<sup>c</sup>l* form is formed with intransitive and transitive verbs at the same level, while *fu<sup>c</sup>ūl* occurs with intransitive more than transitive verbs. In brief, it appears that this concept is not suitable for differentiating between the transitive and intransitive.

**5.7.6.** Both objects or one of them can be omitted with doubled transitivity if this does not affect the meaning (S. 66a and 66b):

*S. 66a)*

ayna	l-aşdiqā <sup>ʔ</sup> u	alladhīna	taz <sup>c</sup> um-ūna?
inte-where	def- friends- nom	rel- which	claim-3mp

= Where do you think the friends are?

*S. 66b)*

ja <sup>c</sup> ala-t	al- <sup>c</sup> ankabūtu	baytan	la-hā
made- 3fs	def- spider- nom	inderf- house- accus	prep-for- pro-her

= The spider made itself a nest.

both objects are omitted in (S. 66a), while only one of them is in (S. 66b). The original sentences, for example, are *ayna l-aşdiqā<sup>ʔ</sup>u alladhīn taz<sup>c</sup>umūna annahum aşdiqā<sup>ʔ</sup>u*; and *ja<sup>c</sup>alat al-<sup>c</sup>ankabūtu hādhā l-makāna baytan lahā*. Both usages are found in the Qur<sup>ʔ</sup>ān, as in Sūrahs al-Baqara, II: 16 and al-Qaşaş, XXVIII: 62. However, if the omission of these objects or one of them affects the meaning, they have to be mentioned, as in example 66c:

*S. 66c)*

a <sup>c</sup> ṭay-tu	<sup>c</sup> Aliyyan	darāhima
gave- 1ms	<sup>c</sup> Alī- accus	indef- money- accus

= I gave <sup>c</sup>Alī money.

**5.7.7.** I believe that it is not possible to transform a verb from intransitive to transitive by using devices unless its form or meaning is changed, whether in Arabic or in English (Sweet, 1998: 90).

## 5.8. Conclusion:

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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*Karīman*, as the third object in this sentence, is the second object in the corresponding basic form *ʿalima ʿAliyyun Mājidan karīman* 'cAlī knew that Mājid is generous'. Most of the verbs which are classified as triple transitive are originally double transitive, where they are derived from the basic form. By contrast, the basic English intransitive verb does not transform to transitive by using a derived verb method (al-Jarf, 1994: 90). However, English transitive verbs can be converted into intransitive and vice versa by changing the meaning of the verb, as in the following example taken from Sweet (1998: 90):

*S. 70)*                      The groom walks the horse about.

Here 'walk' means 'cause to walk' or 'make walk'. It is noted that there is only one method, on a sentence level of transferring the Arabic intransitive verb to transitive (*al-taḍmīn*) (cf. S. 52a and 52b). On the other hand, one can transfer a transitive to intransitive verb both syntactically and semantically.



## CHAPTER SIX

### The Passive Verb (*al-fiʿl al-mabnī li-l-majhūl*)

#### 6.1. Introduction:

The passive is "...a grammatical analysis of voice, referring to a sentence, clause and verb form where the grammatical subject is typically the recipient or goal of the action denoted by the verb" (Crystal, 1980: 259). The form of the active and passive in different languages is frequently discussed since this issue presents different patterns, and the Arabic passive primarily expresses an act whose agent is unknown or suppressed (Badawi *et al.* 2004: 383).

Grammarians have argued about the derivation of these voices, i.e., what the original pattern might have been (Siewierska, 1984: 7). The majority of Arabic grammarians believe that the active voice is basic, and that the verb requires a particular process in order to transfer it to the passive voice (Ibn Abī al-Rabīʿ, 1986: 951; Ibn Yaʿīsh, 2001, IV: 309; see also Saad, 1982: 31).

Some grammarians, such as al-Mubarrid, Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭlayūsī (nd: 211) and Ibn al-Ṭarāwa (ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 1995: 215), view both of these verbs as basic or lexical. The passive voice seems to be derived from the active, as is the case with the English passive (Suleiman, 1998: 164), because, with the active voice, the real actor must be mentioned in the sentence, whether the actor is an external noun (*ism zāhir*) or a hidden pronoun (*damīr mustatir*). On the other hand, with the passive voice, the real actor or agent is omitted, so all grammarians call the noun which comes after the passive voice the deputy agent (*nāʾib fāʿil*). By contrast, with the English language, grammarians disagree as to whether or not the passive construction is derived from the active (Palmer, 1974: 82; Beedham, 1982: 5), but the majority of them believe that it occurs from the active (cf. Chomsky, 1957: 79- 80; Svartvik, 1966: 1- 2; Christophersen *et al.* 1969: 223; Alexander *et*

*al.* 1975: 101; Luelsdorff, 1978 : 51; Freeborn, 1987: 117). Therefore, it is sometimes called it 'passive transform' (Christophersen *et al.* 1969: 223).

The passive voice relates directly to transitivity, where the transitive verb can be directly converted to a passive; this is because a transitive verb governs a direct object which basically takes an agent position, whereas the intransitive requires a condition/state to be able to be transferred to a passive, as will be discussed below. The passive is also associated with both fundamental elements of the verbal sentence (verb and noun), and the direct object. However, in this chapter, the focus will be on the following issues which relate to verbs;<sup>39</sup> 1- General kinds of active verbs; 2- Passive verbs.

## 6.2. General kinds of active verbs (*al-fiʿl al-mabnī li-l-maʿlūm*):

There are three kinds of active verb which are shown in (Figure 24):

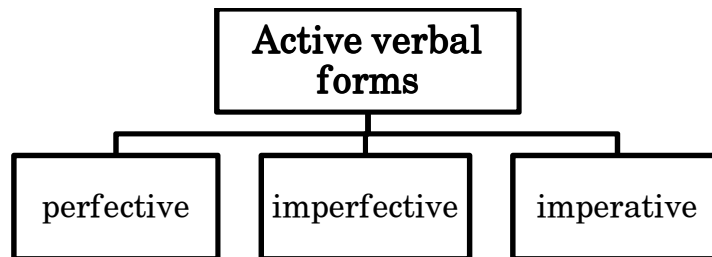


Figure 24: Kinds of active verbs

### 6.2.1. The perfective verb:

This is the basic form, since other kinds are derived from it and there are some obvious characteristics that distinguish it; figure 25 explains the features perfective form of an active verb:

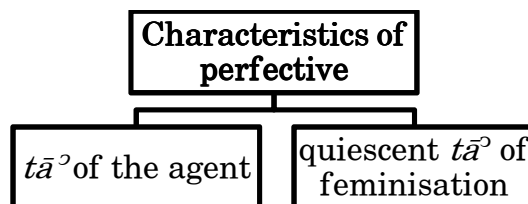


Figure 25: The characteristics of the active perfective

<sup>39</sup> The deputy agent will be discussed in Chapter Eight because it is placed in the agent position when it is omitted.

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

#### **6.2.2. The imperfective verb:**

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

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#### **6.2.3. The imperative verb:**



All kinds of active verbs can be changed to a passive voice except the imperative, since it cannot give a complete meaning without its actor. The passive voice is basically the result of a vowel change, and this change affects not only the phonology and morphology of the verb, but also the syntax and semantics of the verbal sentence. In the following section, the change required to create the perfective and imperfective verbs of the passive is explained.

### 6.3.1. The perfective passive verb:

The verbs of this kind can be converted to a passive by adding the vowel /u/ (*damma*) after the first radical letter, and the vowel /i/ (*kasra*) before the last radical letter, as (S. 8) below shows:

<i>S. 8)</i>	kataba	°Aliyyun	al-darsa/	kutiba	l-darsu
	wrote	°Alī	def- lesson/	was written	def- lesson
	- 3ms	- nom	- accus	- 3ms	- nom
	= °Alī wrote the lesson/ the lesson was written.				

However, there are some forms of the perfective verb which require another process in addition to that mentioned above, as illustrated by the following:

i. Form V (*tafa<sup>cc</sup>ala*) requires a change of three vowels: /u/ vowel after the first and second radical, and /i/ before the last (S. 9):

<i>S. 9)</i>	ta <sup>c</sup> allama	l-ṭullābu	l-Asbāniyyata/	tu <sup>c</sup> ullima-t	l-Asbāniyyatu
	learned	def- students	def- Spanish/	was learned	def- Spanish
	- 3ms	- nom- p	- accus	- 3fs	- nom
	= The students learned Spanish/ Spanish was learned.				

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v. Hollow verbs of Forms VII and VIII (*infa<sup>c</sup>ala* or *ifta<sup>c</sup>ala*) can follow any one of three methods which are used with the trilateral hollow (cf. Item iv above) (Ibn Hishām, 1998, II: 155), as in sentences 16a and 16b:

*S. 16a)*                      inqāda/ inqīda, unqūda or inq(u-i)yda  
    led- 3ms  
    = He led.

<i>S.16)</i>	<u>ikhtāra</u>	<sup>°</sup> Aliyyun	<u>hādhihi</u>	l-madrasata
	chose- 3ms	<sup>°</sup> Alī- nom	dem- this	def- school- accus
	<u>ikhtāra-t</u> , <u>ukhtāra-t</u> or <u>ukht(u-i)ra-t</u>		<u>hādhihi</u>	l-madrasatu
	was chosen- 3fs		dem- this	def-school- nom
	= <sup>°</sup> Alī chose this school/ this school was chosen.			

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

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are analysed in detail in Chapter Nine while Chapter Ten concentrates on the concept of the tense and aspect and the primary and secondary types of them. Chapter Eleven summarises the main findings of the study and makes recommendations for future research.

### 6.3.2. The imperfective passive verb:

This type of basic verb is converted to a passive voice by adding the vowels /u/ after the first radical and /a/ before the last radical (S. 20):

<i>S. 20)</i>	taqra <sup>u</sup>	Fāṭimatu	l-jarīdata
	3fs- reads	Fāṭima- nom	def- newspaper- accus
	tuqra <sup>u</sup>	l-jarīdatu	
	3fs- is read	def- newspaper- nom	
	= Fāṭima reads the newspaper/ the newspaper is read.		

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

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#### 6.4. Discussion:

6.4.1. There are more changes with the perfective than with the imperfective, because the imperfective form starts with a subject marker. Accordingly, the short vowel /u/ is added after the first radical of the perfective which starts with the augmentative *tāʾ*, as in the following example:

*S. 23)*                      tu<sup>c</sup>ullima-t              al-Asbāniyyatu  
                                  was learned- 3fs      def- Spanish- nom  
                                  = Spanish was learned.

This short vowel /u/ is not added with the imperfective Form V, as shown in S. 24:

*S. 24)*                      tuta<sup>c</sup>allamu              l-Asbāniyyatu  
                                  3fs- is learned              def- Spanish- nom  
                                  = Spanish is learned.

Furthermore, the short vowel /i/ which is placed after the second radical of the trilateral perfective in a passive voice can be omitted, as illustrated in S. 25:

*S. 25)*                      qurʾa-t                      al-jarīdatu  
                                  was read- 3fs              def- newspaper- nom  
                                  = The newspaper was read.

This occurs in the dialect of two Arabian tribes, namely Banī Tamīm and Taghlib binti Wāʾil (Abū Ḥayyān, 1998: 1340). In addition, the Arabic grammarians Qutrūb (d. 206/ 823) and Ibn Mālik believed that /i/ could be placed after the first radical in the trilateral perfective passive voice, rather than /u/, *S. 26* is an example:

*S. 26)*                      qirʾa-t                      al-jarīdatu  
                                  was read- 3fs              def- newspaper- nom  
                                  = The newspaper was read.

Ibn Mālik recognised this as *fushā* (ibid). Since the previous verbs lose one of their vowels, a derived verb can also lose one of its derivational element in the passive, as in the following sentence 27:

*S. 27)*                      ḥubba                      ʿAliyyun  
                                  loved- 3ms              ʿAlī- nom  
                                  = ʿAlī was loved.

The active verb of *ḥubba* is *aḥabba* (Form IV). However, the majority of Arabic grammarians disagree with this (al-Istirābādhi, 1996, IV: 133; Abū Ḥayyān, 1998: 1340- 41; see also Owens, 1988: 180). This diversity of thinking is due to multi-dialect influence on the patterning of the passive verb.

**6.4.2.** An un-derivable verb<sup>41</sup> (*al-fiʿl al-jāmid*) cannot be converted from active to passive voice because the passive, in my view, is a kind of derivation and this type of verb is positively not derived. Therefore, it is not feasible to convert the verb *niʿma*, for example, to a passive voice because it is an un-derivable verb. In addition, if the active voice cannot be derived

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<sup>41</sup> The kind of verbal form which comes in one form and from which another forms cannot be derived.

from this kind of verb, it is practically impossible to form a passive voice from it. Furthermore, many Arabic grammarians thought that verbs of 'getting close' (*af<sup>c</sup>āl al-muqāraba*) (e.g., *kāda*, *awshaka*, *asā* and *harā*) could not be passivised. Only al-Kisā<sup>ʿ</sup>ī and al-Farrā<sup>ʿ</sup> took the view that they might be passivised (Ibn Mālik, 1990, II: 130). It seems that some of them may be used in the passive voice because the verb *akhadh*, a verb of 'getting close', comes in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān in the passive voice, e.g., Sūrat al-Aḥzāb, XXXIII: 61, (S. 28):

*S. 28)*    *ukhidh-ū*                      *wa-quttil-ū*                      *taqtīlan*  
               be seized- 3mp    part- and-slain- 3mp    indef-slain- accus  
                   = "They shall be seized and slain". (Ali, 1968: 1127)

As a result, it is difficult to say that all these verbs occur only as active verbs.

There are some verbs that are basically passive. They are not used in the active form (cf. Ibn Manzūr, 1981: 1882 and 3302), The following examples illustrate the point (S. 29a and 29b):

*S. 29a)*                      *zuhiya*                      *alay-nā (ayy: takabbara)*  
                   were arrogant- 3ms    prep- on- pro- us  
   = They were arrogant.

*S. 29b)*                      *ghumma*                      *l-hilālu*  
                   was clouded- 3ms                      def- crescent- nom  
   = The crescent (moon) was clouded.

English also has this feature (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 162; Khalil, 2010: 280), as exemplified in 30:

*S. 30)*                      It is rumoured that John is a burglar.

**6.4.3.** The changes which intervene upon the active voice in order to convert it to the passive are morphological, syntactic and semantic (Osvaldo, 1986: 587). Accordingly, some verbs can be used as passive with a particular

meaning (S. 31a), but cannot be used as passive in another meaning, as (S. 31b) (Palmer, 1974: 85):

*S. 31a)*                      The thief was held by the police.

*S. 31b)*                      \*Oil is held by the jar.

The changes, however, which intervene upon the passive voice are generally phonological in Arabic, whereas in English they are morphological and syntactic, where the auxiliary verb 'to be' is added and the main verb changes to another form. In other words, the Arabic passive has special forms which are taken originally from the active, whereas the English passive construction must contain two elements, namely the verb 'to be' and the past participle (S. 32a):

*S. 32a)*                      The car was stolen.

The auxiliary 'get' can also be used instead of 'be' with the past participle, as in S. 32b), but 'get' is avoided with formal style and the verb 'to be' is more frequent (Hasegawa, 1968: 232; Palmer, 1974: 89; Quirk *et al.* 1985: 161).

*S. 32b)*                      John got beaten in the garden.

Thus, the passive in Arabic requires one process, changing of vowels, while in English it requires two processes, changing the main verb to a past participle form and adding the verb 'to be'. The simplification feature is an aspect of the Arabic language which all linguists attempt to apply. Furthermore, the processes that follow with the English passive are clearer than in Arabic because they are regular with every sentence, whereas there are different processes with the Arabic passive, especially with the perfective.

**6.4.4.** It is important to note here that the three ways of converting active to passive voice in Arabic must not be confused with other active verb forms (cf. no. iv in section 6.3.1 above). In other words, if there is any confusion



There are some who still use a passive, especially in an academic register. The reason, I think, for using a reflexive is because of the simple base form. There are three important points relating to this issue:

a. An active voice which is used when the speaker or writer wants to identify the actor of the verb (S. 36a):

*S. 36a)*            fataḥa            °Aliyyun            al-bāba  
                          opened- 3ms   °Alī- nom        def- door- accus  
                          = °Alī opened the door.

b. A passive voice is used when, for various reasons, the speaker or writer does not identify the actor of the verb, i.e., what is done is more important than who does it (Lewis, 1986: 133), and the verb, here, is derived from an active voice, as the example in 36b:

*S. 36b)*                            futiḥa                            l-bābu  
    was opened- 3ms        def- door- nom  
    = The door was opened.

c. A reflexive pattern is used when the speaker or writer wants to inform the recipient about the act (S. 36c):

*S. 36c)*                            infataḥa                            l-bābu  
    opened- 3ms                            def- door- nom  
    = The door opened.

In my opinion, the second type (cf. b above) is a morphological, syntactic and semantic passive, whereas the third type (c) is a semantic passive only, where the reflexive verb does not have a real actor, i.e., there is no omission agent as a passive voice. In addition to this, it does not take those processes that are required for the passive (S. 36d):

*S. 36d)*                            inšarafa                            °Aliyyun  
    left- 3ms                            °Alī- nom  
    = °Alī left.

°Alī left (by himself); nobody went with him, while the passive verb has a real actor which is omitted for several reasons, as exemplified in 36e:

<i>S. 36e)</i>	şurifa	°Aliyyun
	was gone- 3ms	°Alī- nom
	= °Alī was gone.	

According to Aziz Khalil (2010: 274), who employs the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān to support his point, the active voice is used more than the passive in Arabic, and the regular passive is used more than a reflexive. He notes, therefore, that the total number of verbs used in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān are 18,181, and only 1,145 are passive, while 18 verbs are reflexive. By contrast, English has these usages, though English grammarians differentiate between them. Thus in the passive, the underlying object, resulting from the surface subject and identical to the semantic object, becomes the grammatical subject; in the reflexive, however, the grammatical subject and the underlying object are already identical from the beginning, as exemplified in *S. 37a* and *S. 37b* below. English reflexive is end in /-self/ or /-selves/ (Haiman, 1976: 34; Hurford, 1994: 207). The reflexive is used to speak about the same person or thing as the subject, or when to emphasis that one person and no other does something (Alexander *et al.* 1975: 73; Thomson *et al.* 1980: 42; Greenbaum, 1991: 88). In addition, the reflexive verb is regarded as transitive because the pronoun which comes after the verb is considered as an object (Peters, 2004: 548):

*S. 37a)* Max was kicked by Hortense.

*S. 37b)* Max kicked himself.

Further, the active voice is preferred in most English writing (Espinosa, 1997: 231), although logically the active voice becomes more than a passive because the active is a basic form, and the writer or speaker uses a passive for particular reasons.

**6.4.6.** The passive voice depends basically upon transitive verbs in Arabic. As Ibn Jinnī (1954, I: 24) noted, unless the verb is transitive the verb is not changed to *fuʿīla* (the passive pattern)<sup>42</sup>. According to Siewierska (1984: 8)

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<sup>42</sup> “*wa-l-fiʿlu lā yunqalu ilā fuʿīla ḥattā yakūna mutaʿaddiyan qabla l-naql*”

most linguists claim that the passive voice comes only with a transitive verb. Therefore, it is not possible to study one of them without another because, in my view, the noun which can take and cover the place of the agent is a direct object, and this does not come with an intransitive verb, such as:

*S. 38)*                      māta                      °Aliyyun  
                                  died- 3ms                      °Alī- nom  
                                  = °Alī died.

However, if the intransitive verb takes a locative object (*al-maf<sup>c</sup>ūl fīh*), for example, it can change to a passive voice because it can take the agent place which is omitted (al-Mubarrid, 1994, IV: 51; Ibn al-Sarrāj, 1973, II: 77; Abū Ḥayyān: 1998: 1327), as shown in S. 39:

*S. 39)*                      ṣīma                      Ramaḍānu  
                                  was fasted- 3ms                      Ramadan- nom  
                                  = Ramadan was fasted.

The English passive as well depends upon transitive verbs: transitivity determines the possibility of applying the passive. There is, though, an exception to this rule, where there are some verbs that are transitive but which, nevertheless, do not passivise, especially the verbs which indicate possession (Beedham, 1982: 30-31 and 41; Hudson, 1989: 23; Hurford, 1994: 156) (S. 40a):

*S. 40a)*                      This computer costs 300 pounds.

Moreover, 'have', and 'resemble' do not largely occur in the passive voice, although they are considered as transitive (cf. Christophersen *et al.* 1969: 223- 24; Alexander *et al.* 1975: 114; Quirk *et al.* 1985: 162) (S. 40b and S. 40c):

*S. 40b)*                      I have a car in the city.

*S. 40c)*                      She resembles her mother.



Some transitive verbs do not passivise in Arabic as well, S. 41 is a good example:

<i>S. 41)</i>	yukallifu	shirā <sup>3</sup> u	l-sayyārati	amwālan	kathīratan
	cost	buying	def-car	indef- money	indef- lot
	- 3ms	- nom	- gen	-accus	-accus
	= Buying the car costs a lot of money.				

It is asserted in the previous chapter that the majority of devices that transfer an intransitive verb to a transitive are not really devices as the classical grammarians thought; so we cannot add a causative *hamza* before an intransitive passive voice in order to transfer it to a transitive verb, as shown by the following example:

<i>S. 42)</i>	*afutiḥa	l-bābu
	was opened- 3ms	def- door- nom
	= *The door made be opened.	

**6.4.7.** Ibn Ya<sup>c</sup>īsh (2001, IV: 308-9) argued that the first vowel changes to /u/ in the passive voice. This observation is based on the idea that the suffix which is attached to the end of the agent indicates its case. In passive constructions, the agent is deleted so the vowel /u/ changes to the first radical of the verb in order to substitute the deleted agent. I argue against this assumption of Ibn Ya<sup>c</sup>īsh (ibid) because when the agent is deleted, another noun takes its case and appears in its original position. For al-Mayyāḥ (1967: 119), this change takes place when the real actor of the verbal sentence is deleted, so it is crucial to have a special form for a passive voice to avoid sharing the forms of other patterns. Furthermore, Abū <sup>c</sup>Alī l-Fārisī (1996: 105; see also Owens, 1988: 183) observed the differences between causativization and passivization: the former increases the number of nouns in the verbal sentence by adding an object, whereas the latter decreases the number of nouns by deleting the main subject.

**6.4.8.** All the alterations that occur for passive changes in Arabic mean that we do not need to add any special elements, while English must contain those two elements (i.e., verb 'to be' and past participle) because

both of the passive components occur with the perfect and the progressive; the past participle occurs with the perfect and the verb 'to be' occurs with the progressive.

**6.4.9.** The subject markers (*ḥurūf al-muḍāraʿa*) do not change with external noun (*ism ḡāhir*) when an active converts to a passive voice. Consider the following example:

*S. 43)*    yuṣāfiḥu    °Aliyyun    Ziyādan/    yuṣāfaḥu    Ziyādun  
               shakes hand    °Alī        Ziyād /    hand is shaken    Ziyād  
               - 3ms        - nom     - accus     - 3ms        - nom  
               = °Alī shakes hand with Ziyād/ Ziyād is shaken hands.

However, if we say:

*S. 44a)*        yuṣāfiḥu                    °Aliyyun        Zaynaban  
                   3ms- shakes hand    °Alī- nom        Zaynab- accus  
                   = °Alī shakes hand with Zaynab.

The subject marker is changed to fit with the deputy agent, so we must say:

*S. 44b)*                    tuṣāfaḥu                    Zaynabun  
                   3fs- hand is shaken        Zaynab- nom  
                   = Zaynab is shaken hands.

In addition, the subject markers (*tāʾ and yāʾ*) are changed to (*ʾu*) when an accusative pronoun links with the verb (S. 45a):

*S. 45a)*  
               tuṣāfiḥun-ī    Zaynabun    wa-yuṣāfiḥun-ī    °Aliyyun/    uṣāfaḥu  
               shakes hand    Zaynab    and-shakes hand    °Alī /    hand is shaken  
               - 3fs- 1ms     - nom     part - 3ms- 1ms    - nom        - 1ms  
               = Zaynab shakes hands with me and °Alī shakes hands with me/  
                   someone shakes hands with me.

Likewise, these subject markers change to (*nu*) when the verb links with (*nā*) pronoun at the end of the form (S. 45b):

*S. 45b)*

tuṣāfiḥu-nā    Zaynabun    wa-yuṣāfiḥu-nā    °Aliyyun/ nuṣāfaḥ  
 shakes hand    Zaynab    and-shakes hand    °Alī / hand is shaken  
 - 3fs- 1mp    - nom    part - 3ms- 1mp - nom    - 1mp  
 = Zaynab shakes hands with us and °Alī shakes hands with us/  
 someone shakes hands with us.

Therefore, the subject markers change depending on the agent/ deputy agent or pronoun that comes with the verb. Also the long vowel that is omitted with an active is backed with a passive voice, as (46) below shows:

S. 46)    talidu    Hindun    ṭiflatan/    tūladu    l-ṭiflatu  
           gives birth    Hind    indef-girl/    is born    def-girl  
           - 3fs            - nom    - accus    - 3fs            - nom  
           = Hind gives birth to a girl/ a girl is born.

The vowel /ū/ is returned with a passive voice because the short vowel which precedes is changed from /a/ to /u/.

### 6.5. Conclusion:

A passive is derived from an active voice, so vowel changes are required to transfer to a passive., Here the vowel that is placed after the first radical is /u/, whether the verb is perfective or imperfective, and the general forms are *fu<sup>c</sup>ila* and *yuf<sup>c</sup>alu*, respectively. Furthermore, a long vowel /ā/ converts to another when it is preceded by /u/ or /i/ for a circumstantial purpose (*al-munāsaba*), where a /u/ vowel is appropriate for /ū/, and when the vowel /i/ is appropriate for /ī/ because the pronunciation of these vowels is from one outlet, as in *bū<sup>c</sup>at al-sayyāratu* and *bī<sup>c</sup>at al-sayyāratu* 'the car was sold'. Accordingly, this is basically a phonetic change which may influence the morphology of the verb.

It can be argued that in Arabic, passive constructions are to do with issues of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Moreover, these constructions are accompanied by some changes of form, structure and meaning.

The main imperative verbal form *if<sup>c</sup>al* comes as an active voice only because it occurs in the second person (*al-mukhāṭab*) and the passive voice is for the third person (*ghāʾib*). Nor can the imperative be described as transitive or intransitive either. However, the /lām/ of command (*lām al-amr*) can be added before the imperfective passive to strengthen the meaning to an imperative (ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 1995: 214), as exemplified in 47:

S. 47)	li-yaktuba	ʿAliyyun	al-darsa/	li-yuktaba	l-darsu
	writes	ʿAlī	def-lesson/	is written	def-lesson
	- part- 3ms	- nom	- accus	- part- 3ms	- nom
	= Let ʿAlī writes the lesson/ let the lesson be written.				

In addition, this /lām/ is sometimes omitted and the form still indicates an imperative meaning, especially in labels and instructions for use (Badawi *et al.* 2004: 389), as in *yuhfaẓu fī makānin bāridin* 'It is kept in a cold place'. Nor can stative verbal forms be shaped as a passive voice, since these kinds of verbs require only one noun phrase to complete their meanings (Saad, 1982: 39), as in *qabuḥa ʿAliyyun* 'ʿAlī was ugly'.

Having described the first element of a verbal sentence in the previous two chapters, the next two chapters will look into the second element of this structure (the subject); Chapter Seven will be allocated to the agent while Chapter Eight is for the deputy agent.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Agent (*al-fāʿil*)

#### 7.1. Introduction:

As mentioned earlier, the sentence necessarily contains two fundamental elements, whether in Arabic or in English (Levin, 1981: 145; Börjars *et al.* 2001: 84), i.e., the predicate and the subject. The Arabic verbal sentence is composed of the verb that corresponds to the predicate, and the agent (*al-fāʿil*) that corresponds to the subject. Therefore, the agent comes with both kinds of verb – transitive and intransitive - because this kind of sentence cannot be completed syntactically or semantically without an agent. The first element has been discussed in Chapters five and six.

In this chapter, I will discuss the concept of agent and the difference between agent and subject. Moreover, the rules which relate directly to the agent will be discussed.

#### 7.2. Definition:

The agent is "an element of a clause which typically expresses the person or animate being responsible for a particular action" (Crystal, 1992: 11). 'Agent' is a more accurate term than 'subject' in Arabic, because in Arabic the subject occurs with both kinds of sentences, i.e., as the topic (*al-mubtadaʿ*) in the nominal sentence and the agent in the verbal sentence. Classical Arabic grammarians give this term a specific definition; namely, the plain noun or paraphrase, from which is predicated a complete verb that precedes the agent and occurs in its normal form. i.e., it is an active verb (al-Jurjānī, 1982: 325; Ibn Hishām, 1998, II: 83; Ibn Yaʿīsh, 2001, I: 200; see also Carter, 1981: 150).

However, the Kūfan grammarians did not mention that the verb precedes the agent, because they believed that sometimes the agent could come before the verb. This is a view that I support after having discussed this point in Chapter Four. Even so, it seems that they agreed on two conditions,

namely that the agent must be a noun which is predicated by a complete verb. The subject in English also has to fulfil these conditions, but in English the subject comes typically before the verb, e.g.:

*S. 1)*                                 John travelled to Spain.

where the subject is a noun which governs by the verb 'travelled'.

### 7.3. Rules of the Agent:

Because the agent is a significant element in the verbal sentence, the Arabic grammarians studied this issue in fair detail, giving several rules and characteristics as follows (Figure 26):

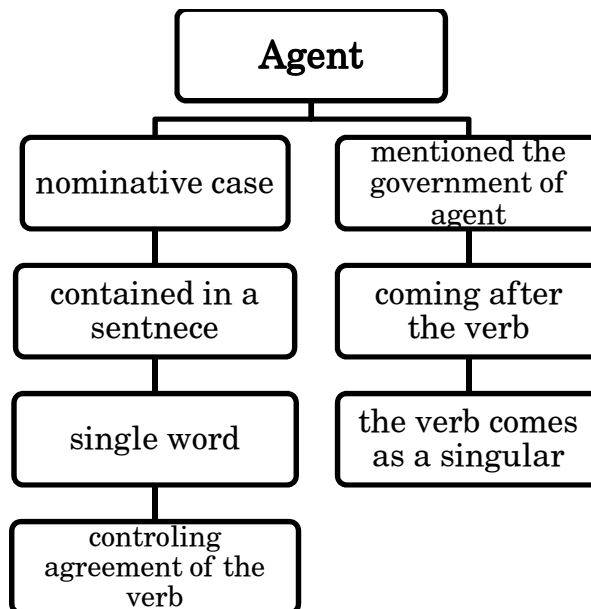


Figure 26: Rules of the agent

#### 7.3.1. Agent takes the nominative case:

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and

the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

This thesis consists of eleven chapters. Chapter One is an introduction. Chapter Two presents a brief account of the three schools of Arabic grammatical thought and their methods. In Chapter Three I review the literature related to the verbal sentence. Chapter Four discusses the points of view of medieval and modern grammarians regarding parts of speech and the types of sentence. The first element of the verbal sentence (the predicate) is examined in Chapters Five and Six; Chapter Five focusing on the transitive and intransitive verb while Chapter Six is in a passive voice. The second element of the verbal sentence (the subject) is examined in Chapters Seven and Eight; Chapter Seven showing the difference between agent and subject terminology and the rules related to them. Chapter Eight is on the deputy agent, examining the reasons for the omission of the agent, the types of deputy agent and the element which takes an agent's place. The basic word order of verbal sentence and the alternative word order forms are analysed in detail in Chapter Nine while Chapter Ten concentrates on the concept of the tense and aspect and the primary and secondary types of them. Chapter Eleven summarises the main findings of the study and makes recommendations for future research.

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### **7.3.2. The verbal sentence cannot be structured without the agent:**

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential



characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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### **7.3.3. The agent must be a single word:**

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential

characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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#### **7.3.4. The government of the agent must necessarily be mentioned:**

However, it appears that there is a difference between the syntactic agent and the semantic agent. Therefore, in my view, the noun occurring after the first one is an agent semantically and is coupled syntactically. In comparison, the English subject usually occurs as a single word, compounded with more than one (S. 18):

*S. 18)*                    Mary, John and David went to Rome.

In addition, it occurs as a clause either introduced by a *wh*-word or by *that* (Huddleston, 1984: 66; Kosur, 2009: 1). Two examples will illustrate this point:

*S. 19a)*                    That Mark was late annoyed the teacher.

*S. 19b)*                What the teacher said confused the class.

Verb with complements are sometimes considered as subject but usually with two special markers; 'to' and '-ing' (Wardhaugh, 1995: 75; Kosur, 2009: 1), as shown in the following examples (S 20a and S 20b), taken from Gleason (1965: 318):

*S. 20a)*                To ride the roller-coaster was exciting.

*S. 20b)*                Giving beggar money is foolish.

The verb preceded by 'to' is called infinitive, while with '-ing' is called gerund. Moreover, a prepositional phrase can cover the subject (Huddleston, 1984: 62; Wardhaugh, 1995: 75), as illustrated in S. 21:

*S. 21)*                From the city centre to university is about ten minutes.

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

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To sum up, it seems that the motivation for the claim (i.e., the omission in the three case a- c) is due to two causes: (i) the grammarians seek the government of the agent which has to be included because the verbal sentence is structured by both these elements; and (ii) the sentence which comes after a conditional particle must be a verbal sentence, so it means that there is a deleted verb if the noun comes after this kind of particle. However, I do not think that there is any evidence for this claim (i.e., the sentence that comes after a conditional particle must be a verbal sentence). This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

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By contrast, the English subject cannot be mentioned without its government (i.e., the verb) in the normal structure because the verb governs the elements of the sentence which are going to be used. The cases (a and b) above, however, can be applied to English as they occur in Arabic (Crystal, 2004: 48).

Arabic grammarians studied other rules of the agent which are mentioned here only briefly since they will be discussed in detail later (Chapter Nine). The rules are:

**7.3.5. The agent comes after the verb (in other words, it cannot precede the verb),** as shown by the following example:

*S. 27)*      bā<sup>c</sup>a              <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun              al-sayyārata  
                  sold- 3ms      <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom              def- car- accus  
    = <sup>c</sup>Alī sold his car.

**7.3.6. The verb is singular, even if the agent is dual or plural.** This can be seen in sentences 28a and 28b:

*S. 28a)*              najaha                                      l-ṭālibāni  
                  succeeded- 3ms      def- two students- nom- d  
    = The two students succeeded.

*S. 28b)*              najaha                                      l-ṭullābu  
                  succeeded- 3ms              def- students- nom- p  
    = The students succeeded.

**7.3.7. The agent controls agreement of the verb according to its gender, person, and number,** as exemplified in 29a and 29b:

*S. 29a)*      shariba              Muḥammadun              qahwatan  
                  drank- 3ms      Muḥammad- nom      indef- coffee- accus  
    = Muḥammad drank coffee.

*S. 29b)*              shariba-t              Hindun              qahwatan  
                  drank- 3fs      Hind- nom      indef- coffee- accus  
    = Hind drank coffee.

#### **7.4. Discussion:**

**7.4.1.** The definitions must be focused on the points upon which the grammarians have agreed (Abū Ḥayyān, 1998: 1320). The Kūfans were more precise than the Baṣrans grammarians because they did not make the verb precede the agent (subject) as a condition for a verbal sentence structure. It is observed that the definition of the agent lies principally on a morphological and syntactic basis (the agent must be as a noun which occurs before or after its verb), on which Classical Arabic grammarians





The meaning of this sentence indicates the agent and the object without looking for the case marker of the two nouns (i.e., the agent is *Muḥammad* and the object is *al-mā'* even if the agent takes an accusative case). On the other hand, the majority of Arabic grammarians considered that the agent takes an accusative case in one verse of the Qurʾān in ʿAbd Allāh b. Kathīr's reading (Sūrat al-Baqara, II: 37), as well as in several lines of poetry (ibid). The accusative case is used in these constructions only so as not to violate the basic rule (the agent takes a nominative case). I hold the view that such an analysis is in line with what is encountered in everyday speech. In addition, the agent takes a nominative case in this verse (Sūrat al-Baqara, II: 37) (S. 33 below) in all readings except for that of ʿAbd Allāh b. Kathīr (Ibn Zinjila, 1982: 19- 20). There seems to be no fixed rule for the use of agent with the accusative case.

*S. 33)*

fa-talaqqā	Ādamu	min	rabbi-hi
part- then-learnt-3ms	Adam-nom	prep- from	def-Lord- gen-pro-his
- kalimātin	fa-tāba		ʿalay-hi
indef- words- gen	part- then- turned- 3ms	prep- on- pro- his	

= "Then learnt Adam from his Lord words of inspiration, and his Lord turned towards him". (Ali, 1968: 26)

## ii. The agent's genitive:

The agent can also take a genitive case in several positions, but there are two circumstances that are more common:

(a) After the preposition *min* 'from' (Ibn Hishām, 1998, II: 84; Ibn Yaʿīsh, 2001, IV: 460- 61); three conditions are required when this preposition is added before the agent, namely: (i) the agent is indefinite; (ii) the sentence gives negative; (iii) this preposition takes a general meaning, as S. 34 shows:

*S. 34)*

mā	yaʿtī-him	min	muʿallimin	illā	rafaḍa	tadrīsa-hum
no	comes	from	indef-teacher	except	refuse	def-teaches-accus

- neg - 3mp    - prep    - gen            - part    - 3ms            - pro- them  
 = They never had a teacher who did not refuse to teach them.

Moreover, this expression arises in several Qur<sup>o</sup>anic verses (Sūrahs al-Mā<sup>o</sup>ida, V: 19; al-Ḥijir, XV: 11 and al-Shu<sup>o</sup>cārā<sup>o</sup>, XXVI: 5).

(b) When the agent is preceded by the preposition /bi-/ 'by or with' and occurs typically after the verb *kafā* 'be enough', as shown in S. 35:

*S. 35)*            kafā                            bi-<sup>c</sup>Aliyyin                            mu<sup>c</sup>alliman  
                          be enough- 3ms    prep-for-<sup>c</sup>Alī- gen            indef- teacher- accus  
                          = For teaching Alī is enough.

This expression is found in several verses as well, for instance in Sūrahs al-Nisā<sup>o</sup>, IV: 6; al-Isrā<sup>o</sup>, XVII: 14 and al-Anbiyā<sup>o</sup>, XXI: 47. The agent of the verb *kafā* comes often with /bi-/ preposition. Ibn Hishām (2000, II: 146-157) divided this preposition /bi-/ preceding the agent into three categories:

(i) obligatory: the agent cannot be mentioned without this preposition, and this occurs with an exclamation mark (*af<sup>c</sup>il al-ta<sup>c</sup>ajjub*), as exemplified in 36a:

*S. 36a)*                            aḥsin                            bi-Zaydin  
                          make something good- 2ms            prep- with- Zayd- gen  
                          = \*Make something good with Zayd.

The basic sentence is (S. 36b):

*S. 36b)*                            aḥsana                            Zaydan  
                          made good- 3ms                            Zayd- accus  
                          = \*He made Zayd good.

However, some grammarians such as al-Farrā<sup>o</sup>, al-Zajjāj, and al-Zamakhsharī, took the view that the agent in this construction is a hidden pronoun (*damīr mustatir*) because morphologically and semantically this expression is an imperative pattern whose agent is a hidden pronoun (Abū Hayyān, 1998: 2067; Ibn Ya<sup>c</sup>īsh, 2001, IV: 420; see also Ḍayf, 1990: 31- 32).

(ii) frequently: the meaning that the agent typically occurs with this preposition, and this case is found with *kafā* 'to be enough' verb, as illustrated in S. 35 above.

(iii) /*bi-*/ which comes with the agent only in poetry.

Finally, it is worth noting here:

(a) there are specific situations where the agent takes the genitive case marker (i, ii and iii above), but this is not so with the accusative case marker. The agent takes an accusative case marker in some examples which have no specific rule: Linguists have disagreed over this marker, and consider that it is not a part of the spoken structure. This case only occur in written Arabic as long as the meaning of the verbal sentence is apparent and obvious, as shown in S. 37:

*S. 37)*            akala            Zaydan            al-tuffāḥatu  
                       ate- 3ms    Zayd- accus        def-apple- nom  
     = Zayd ate the apple.

(b) I believe that the suffix that occurs at the end of the agent differs according to the tool which precedes it, but the case is still a nominative; i.e., the instrument affects the agent literally but the original case remains a nominative. Therefore, when these prepositions are omitted, the agent's basic case (nominative) will appear, as S. 38 below shows:

*S. 38)*            kafā            °Aliyyun            mu°alliman  
                       be enough- 3ms   °Alī- nom            indef- teaching- accus  
     = For teaching °Alī is enough.

In addition, these devices have an effect meaning on, whereby they add emphasis to the meaning of the verbal sentence.

(c) In the examples in which the agent take an accusative case marker, its object takes a nominative case marker as in sentence 37 above. However, this does not happen with a genitive case, where there is no noun to take a nominative case marker as in sentence 35. The examples in which the agent

takes an accusative should therefore be reconsidered because the case marker is not a result of a specific device /*bi-*/ followed by a genitive case. When the agent takes an accusative case marker, the structure cannot be properly understood, so those who pronounced or heard these structures may be mistaken.

**7.4.3.** Arabic grammarians believe that the verbal sentence cannot be structured without its second element (agent); they identified some areas from which the agent is deleted; This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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accusative case marker (i.e., °Aliyyan). It seems that *hāshā* here means 'except' like *illā*, so the agent is not needed (because there is no verb); nor is there any deletion in this usage.

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Moreover, the lexical nature of the verb may change the structure of sentence, for example an active verb requires an agent. Consider the structure of the following sentence:

*S. 52)*                      jalasa                      °Aliyyun  
                                  sat down- 3ms                      °Alī- nom  
                                  = °Alī sat down.

whereas, a passive verb requires an object which is placed in an agent position, whether or not the agent is mentioned, as in the following example:

*S. 53)*                      shuriba                      l-mā'u  
                                  was drunk- 3ms                      def- water- nom  
                                  = Water was drunk.

In addition, the agent is the only noun which takes a nominative case in the verbal sentence structure.

iii. semantically: the agent does not give a complete meaning without its verb and vice versa. In addition, the verb determines the type of agent. The agent (dog), for instance, cannot go with the verb(read) since it requires a human agent like (°Alī). All these aspects (morphological, syntactic and semantic) can be applied to the verb and the subject in an English sentence.

Arabic agent pronouns are more precise than English because there are specific pronouns for the dual and plural in Arabic, whereas in English does not have a pronoun for the dual but has general pronouns for both masculine and feminine in the plural.

**7.4.7.** The Arabic grammarians would consider the °Alī in this sentence:

*S. 56)*                      māta                      °Aliyyun  
                                  died- 3ms                      °Alī- nom  
                                  = °Alī died.

is an agent, although it loses its semantic feature (doing something). Therefore, their analyses focus on a syntactic characteristic (nominative case), where the agent is only the nominal that takes this case in the verbal sentence. Furthermore, there is a difference between category and function because phrasal categories have different functions. That is, the subject is usually a noun but, whether in Arabic or English, not all nouns function as subjects (Börjars *et al.* 2001: 83).

### **7.5. Conclusion:**

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

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By contrast, the subject controls only the number of the English verb, as S. 59a and 59b below show, so the verb relies on the subject (Jacobsson, 1990: 34; Bock *et al.* 1993: 58):

S. 59a) The student attends the lesson.

S. 59b) The students attend the lesson.

Although the instrument affects the word of the agent literally, as the example in 60:

S. 60) kafā                      bi-<sup>c</sup>Aliyyin                      mu<sup>c</sup>alliman  
           be enough- 3ms    prep- for-<sup>c</sup>Alī-gen            indef-teacher- accus  
    = For teaching Alī is enough.

the nominative case is the original case. Therefore, when these prepositions are deleted, the agent's original case (nominative) occurs, as in: *kafā* <sup>c</sup>*Aliyyun mu<sup>c</sup>alliman* 'for teaching <sup>c</sup>Alī is enough'.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Deputy Agent (*nāʿib al-fāʿil*)

#### 8.1. Introduction:

The agent must be mentioned in the original verbal sentence, being considered the second element in this sort of sentence, as illustrated in S. 1:

<i>S. 1)</i>	nāma	°Aliyyun
	slept- 3ms	°Alī- nom
	= °Alī slept.	

For various reasons that will be mentioned later, the agent is sometimes omitted from the verbal sentence; however, there is another nominative noun that must cover its place, S. 2 is an example:

<i>S. 2)</i>	suriqa-t	al-sayyāratu
	was stolen- 3fs	def- car- nom
	= The car was stolen.	

where the object replaces the deleted agent. Thus, the noun which takes its place is called the deputy agent (*nāʿib al-fāʿil*). In addition, it follows all the rules pertaining to the agent that were mentioned earlier, so the deputy agent is a nominative noun which takes an agent-deleted position and occurs with the passive voice.

In this chapter, I discuss the reasons for the omission of the agent and the types of deputy agent. The element which takes an agent's place will, in addition, be examined.

#### 8.2. Reasons for the omission of the agent

Arabic grammarians have cited several reasons for this deletion, the majority of which relate to meaning, namely:

i. the agent is well known; therefore there is no benefit to its being mentioned, as illustrated by the following example:

*S. 3)*     khuliqa-t                      al-samāwātu                      wa-l-arḍu  
                  were created- 3fs    def-heavens- nom-p    part-and-def-earth- nom  
                  = The heavens and the earth were created.

ii. the agent is unknown (S. 4):

*S. 4)*                                      futiḥa                                      l-bābu  
                  was opened- 3ms                      def- door- nom  
                  = The door was opened.

iii. there is scepticism about the agent (*al-tashakkuk fih*), as in S. 5:

*S. 5)*                                      dummira                                      l-manzilu  
                  was destroyed- 3ms                      def- house- nom  
                  = The house was destroyed.

Where we do not know precisely who destroy it (i.e., is it <sup>c</sup>*Alī* or *Muḥammad?*).

iv. to show the agent is contemptuous (*muḥtaqar*); consider the following example:

*S. 6)*                                      ukila                                      l-kalbu  
                  was eaten- 3ms                      def- dog- nom  
                  = The dog was eaten.

We do not want to mention his/her name because he/she did something which not good.

v. fear of the agent who has done something wrong. This can be seen by S. 7:

*S. 7)*                                      zulima                                      <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun  
                  was wronged- 3ms                      <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom  
                  = <sup>c</sup>Alī was wronged.

The speaker or writer fears to mention the actor's name.

vi. to express general meaning, as the example in S. 8:

*S. 8)*

<u>idhā</u>	ḥuyyiy-ta	bi-taḥīyyatin	fa-rudda-hā
when- part	greet-2ms	prep- with- indef- greeting-gen	part-then-2ms-meet- 3ms
- bi-mithli-hā		°alā	l-aqalli
prep- with- def- similar- pro- it		prep- at	def- least

= When a greeting is offered to you, at least meet it with a similar greeting.

It means when any greeting is offered to you return it with a similar greeting without looking for any specification or any purpose.

vii. glorification, as S. 9a shows:

<i>S. 9a)</i>	qutila	l-qātilu
	was killed- 3ms	def- killer- nom

= The killer was killed.

One would not say,

<i>S. 9b)</i>	qatala	l-sultānu	l-qātila
	killed- 3ms	def- sultan- nom	def- killer- accus

= The sultan killed the killer.

where the sultan has great status.

The most common reason in English, on the other hand, is to avoid mentioning the person or thing who carried out the action because it is well known, or unknown, or because it is not necessary (Palmer, 1974: 86; Zandvoort, 1966: 53; Young, 1984: 82; Greenbaum, 1991: 53), as illustrated by the following examples (10a- 10c):

*S. 10a)*                      The lesson was explained.

*S. 10b)*                      The house was sold.

*S. 10c)*                      The criminal was arrested.

### 8.3. The types of deputy agent are:

The agent comes in different types as follow (Figure 27):

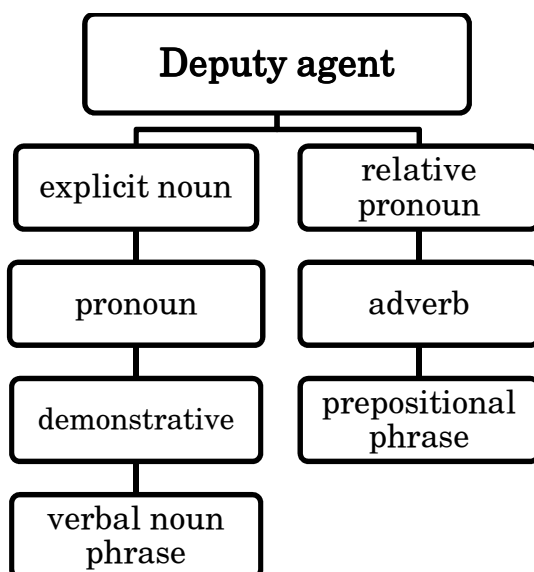


Figure 27: Types of deputy agent

a. explicit noun (*ism šariḥ*) (S. 11):

<i>S. 11)</i>	<u>shuriba</u>	l-mā <sup>ṣ</sup> u
	was drunk- 3ms	def- water- nom
	= Water was drunk.	

b. pronoun, as in sentences 12a and 12b:

<i>S. 12a)</i>	suriq-tu
	was robbed- 3ms- 1ms
	= Someone robbed me.

<i>S. 12b)</i>	suriqa	(huwa)
	was robbed- 3ms-	pro- he
	= Someone robbed him.	

c. demonstrative (*ism al-ishāra*) (S. 13):

<i>S. 13)</i>	uṣliḥa	hād <u>hā</u>	amsi
	was repaired- 3ms	dem- this	adv- yesterday
	= This was repaired yesterday.		

d. relative pronoun (*al-ism al-mawṣūl*) (S. 14):

*S. 14)*      ukrima                      alladhī                      fāza  
                  was honoured- 3ms      rel- who                      won -3ms  
                  = He who won was honoured, or: he was honoured  
                  to have won.

e. adverb, as exemplified in 15a and 15b:

*S. 15a)*      julisa                      fawqa                      l-kursiyyi  
                  was seated- 3ms      adv- on                      def- chair- gen  
                  = Someone was seated on the chair.

*S. 15b)*      ṣīma                      yawmu                      l-Khamīsi  
                  was fasted- 3ms      day- nom                      def- Thursday- gen  
                  = Thursday was fasted.

f. prepositional phrase (*jārrun wa-majrūr*) (S. 16):

*S. 16)*                      sīra                      bi-<sup>°</sup>Aliyyin  
                  was gone travelling- 3ms      prep- with-<sup>°</sup>Alī- gen  
                  = <sup>°</sup>Alī was gone travelling.

g. verbal noun phrase (S. 17a):

*S. 17a)*      yufaḍḍalu      an      tata<sup>°</sup>akkad-ū      min      <sup>°</sup>Aliyyin  
                  be preferable      that      confirm      from      <sup>°</sup>Alī  
                  - 3ms                      - part                      - 2mp                      - prep                      - gen  
                  = It would be preferable to confirm this with <sup>°</sup>Alī.

here, the verb (*tata<sup>°</sup>akkadū*) following the particle (*an*) is transferred into a noun which is regarded as a deputy agent, as shown in S. 17b:

*S. 17b)*  
                  yufaḍḍalu                      ta<sup>°</sup>akkudu-kum                      min      <sup>°</sup>Aliyyin  
                  be preferable- 3ms      def-make sure- nom- pro- you-p      prep- from      <sup>°</sup>Alī- gen  
                  = \*It is preferred that you make sure from <sup>°</sup>Alī.



The noun, pronoun and prepositional phrase can take subject-deleted places in English. These all are represented in sentences 18a to 18c, respectively:

- S. 18a)*                      The computer was sold.  
*S. 18b)*                                      He was hit.  
*S. 18c)*                                      In the house was slept.

#### 8.4. Alternatives to an agent:

When an agent is omitted, another element in the structure occurs in its place. This is considered to be fundamental (Figure 28):

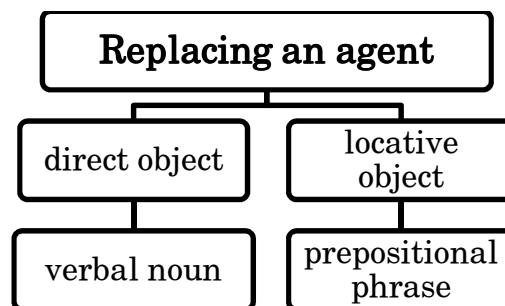


Figure 28: Alternatives to an agent

##### 8.4.1. Direct object:

A transitive construction contains three elements in the following order: verb, agent and object. Sentence (19) is a good example:

- S. 19)*              kataba              °Aliyyun              al-darsa  
                          3rote- 3ms              °Alī- nom              def- lesson- accus  
                          = °Alī wrote the lesson.

Therefore, logically the best element to take an agent after its deleting from the sentence is a direct object and I will call it agent-deleted position/place, as illustrated below in (S. 20 b). There are many places where the direct object takes agent-deleted position in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān<sup>43</sup>, as in Sūrahs al-Baqara, II: 48; Āl-°Umrān, III: 195 and al-Anfāl, VIII: 70.

kutiba                                      l-darsu

<sup>43</sup> I have counted more than two hundred places.

*S. 20b)*                    was written- 3ms            def- lesson- nom  
= The lesson was written.

In addition, the first object takes an agent-deleted position if the verb governs two or three objects. Consider the following examples (21a- 21c):

*S. 21a)*            *zunna*                    <sup>°</sup>Aliyyun                    karīman  
was thought- 3ms    <sup>°</sup>Alī- nom            indef- generous- accus  
= It was thought that <sup>°</sup>Alī is generous.

*S. 21b)*            *u<sup>°</sup>ṭiya*                    <sup>°</sup>Aliyyun                    darāhima  
was given- 3ms    <sup>°</sup>Alī- nom            indef- dirhams- accus  
= <sup>°</sup>Alī was given dirhams.

*S. 21c)*            *u<sup>°</sup>lima*                    <sup>°</sup>Aliyyun                    Mājidan                    karīman  
was informed    <sup>°</sup>Alī                    Mājid                    indef- generous  
- 3ms                    - nom                    - accus                    - accus  
= <sup>°</sup>Alī was informed that Mājid is generous.

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

This thesis consists of eleven chapters. Chapter One is an introduction. Chapter Two presents a brief account of the three schools of Arabic grammatical thought and their methods. In Chapter Three I review the literature related to the verbal sentence. Chapter Four discusses the points of view of medieval and modern grammarians regarding parts of speech and the types of sentence. The first element of the verbal sentence (the predicate) is examined in Chapters Five and Six; Chapter Five focusing on the transitive and intransitive verb while Chapter Six is in a passive voice. The second element of the verbal sentence (the subject) is examined in Chapters Seven and Eight; Chapter Seven showing the difference between agent and subject terminology and the rules related to them. Chapter Eight is on the deputy agent, examining the reasons for the omission of the agent, the types of deputy agent and the element which takes an agent's place. The basic word order of verbal sentence and the alternative word order forms are analysed in detail in Chapter Nine while Chapter Ten concentrates on the concept of the tense and aspect and the primary and secondary types of them. Chapter Eleven summarises the main findings of the study and makes recommendations for future research.

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d. **Third object** of a triple transitive:

This study is concerned with the Arabic verbal sentence structure and the main purpose is to examine the elements of this structure - both the verb and the agent - and their relationship, investigating the classical and modern grammarians' views. Therefore, this research is not based on any single aspect within this structure.

The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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#### 8.4.2. Verbal noun (*al-maṣḍar*):

When the agent is omitted with an intransitive verb, the verbal noun may occupy an agent-deleted place, but there are two conditions that have to be obtainable to achieve this function :

a. variability (*mutaṣarrif*): means that it takes different cases according to its position in the sentence, such as *qawl* 'word (saying)', where it can take nominative, accusative and genitive cases. These all are represented in S. 25a to S. 25c, respectively:

<i>S. 25a)</i>	qawlu	°Aliyyin	mu°aththirun
	word- nom	°Alī- gen	indef- effective- nom- ap
	= °Alī's word is effective.		





*S. 31c)* = People are happy on a festive day.

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The general trend of this research is from the general to the particular; hence a discussion on the parts of speech precedes an analysis of the verbal sentence structure since it is composed of these parts (noun and verb). This study concentrates on syntactic and semantic issues that relate to verbs and the agent. In addition, an attempt is made to compare the essential characteristics of the Arabic verbal sentence with an English sentence structure.

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them. Chapter Eleven summarises the main findings of the study and makes recommendations for future research.

#### 8.4.4. Preposition with the genitive:

There are also two conditions a prepositional phrase that takes an agent place (al-Jawharī, 2004: 341):

a. variability: a preposition can come before different nouns; i.e., there are some prepositions occur with a specific sort of noun, as *rubba* 'many', which occurs with an indefinite noun only, whereas the preposition *ilā* 'to', occurs with any noun whether definite or not, as illustrated in S. 36a and S. 36b:

*S. 36a)*    *dhahaba*    °Alīyyun    *ilā*    *l-jāmi*°ati  
 went- 3ms    °Alī- nom    prep- to    def- university- gen  
 = °Alī went to university.

*S. 36b)*    *sāfara*    °Alīyyun    *ilā*    *madīnatin*  
 travelled- 3ms    °Alī- nom    prep- to    indef- city- gen  
 = °Alī travelled to a city.

However, the agentless (i.e., agent not mentioned at the end of the sentence) in the passive voice is dominant in Arabic, and in English because of the reasons for the use of the passive in the first place (Bryant, 1960: 51; Svartvik, 1966: 141; Huddleston, 1984: 441; al-Tarouti, 1999: 44; Khalil, 2010: 270). Siewierska (84: 35) and al-Tarouti (1999: 44- 45), also believe, the agentless is dominant in all languages of the world because it is the basic structure with the passive voice. In addition, the agent in this voice takes a genitive case, affected by the preposition of phrase that occurs before it.

Saad (1982: 53- 36) claims that there is no agentive passive in Arabic, nor does Arabic have an agentive particle like the English (by) or French (par); he considers that examples such as these are not real passive agentive phrases. Furthermore, it is noted by Saad (1982: 36) that there is no language that has an agentive passive without having an agentless passive.

Finally, it should be noted here that the agent in Arabic can be mentioned or omitted with a passive voice as well as in English (although it is largely omitted), whereas the agent must be mentioned in Arabic and English with an active voice.

On comparison, when a subject is omitted in English, another element in the structure occurs in its place (Figure 29):

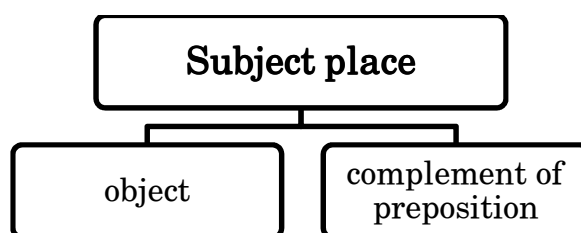


Figure 29: Elements that take a subject place in English

#### i. Object:

The object in English takes a subject-deleted place as well, for example in:

*S. 40)*                      The house has been built.

Moreover, the direct and indirect object can cover this place when the transitive verb takes two objects. Two examples will illustrate this point (S. 41a and S. 41b):

*S. 41a)*                      The book was given Tom by John.

*S. 41b)*                      Tom was given the book by John.

The second usage (S. 41b) is the more frequent (Huddleston, 1984: 440; Burton-Roberts, 1986: 128). Huddleston (1984: 441) and Jacobs (1995: 161-62), however, claim that the direct object with double transitive (ditransitive) cannot take a subject-deleted place, as in the following sentence:

*S. 42a)*                      She was saved a lot of worry by his action.

It cannot be said:

*S. 42b)*                      \*A lot of worry was saved her by his action.

When the object of active voice is an infinitive or a clause, 'it' covers the subject-deleted position (Scheurweghs, 1959: 341), as illustrated by the following two examples (43a and 43b):

*S. 43a)*                    It is decided to write an essay tomorrow.

*S. 43b)*                    It is believed that the student understand the lesson.

## ii. The complement of a preposition:

This complement can cover the subject-deleted place and this kind occurs usually with a prepositional verb, as in Huddleston's example (1988: 177):

*S. 44)*                    The matter was looked into by the management.

## 8.5. Discussion:

8.5.1. As the deputy agent takes an agent-deleted place, the agent rules have to be applied to the deputy agent as follows (Figure 30):

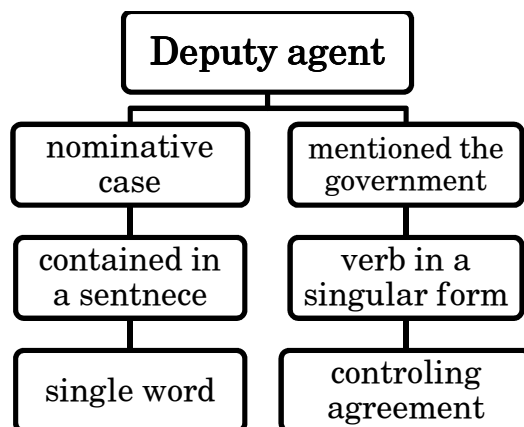


Figure 30: Rules of a deputy agent

However, the agentless (i.e., agent not mentioned at the end of the sentence) in the passive voice is dominant in Arabic, and in English because of the reasons for the use of the passive in the first place (Bryant, 1960: 51; Svartvik, 1966: 141; Huddleston, 1984: 441; al-Tarouti, 1999: 44; Khalil, 2010: 270). Siewierska (84: 35) and al-Tarouti (1999: 44- 45), also believe, the agentless is dominant in all languages of the world because it is the basic structure with the passive voice. In addition, the agent in this voice

takes a genitive case, affected by the preposition of phrase that occurs before it.

Saad (1982: 53- 36) claims that there is no agentive passive in Arabic, nor does Arabic have an agentive particle like the English (by) or French (par); he considers that examples such as these are not real passive agentive phrases. Furthermore, it is noted by Saad (1982: 36) that there is no language that has an agentive passive without having an agentless passive. Finally, it should be noted here that the agent in Arabic can be mentioned or omitted with a passive voice as well as in English (although it is largely omitted), whereas the agent must be mentioned in Arabic and English with an active voice.

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**8.5.2.** In spite of the fact that passive does away with the agent, modern linguists have mentioned other ways to present the agent by using prepositional phrases (Badawi *et al.* 2004: 385). Therefore, Arabic has an agentive passive as well as an agentless one (i.e., the agent can be mentioned at the end of the sentence or omitted). The agent is seen in the passive voice by using several expressions:

a. *min qibali* 'on the part of' (S. 49):

<i>S. 49)</i>	<u>shuriḥa</u>	l-darsu	min	qibali	°Aliyyin
	was explained	def-lesson	from	part of	°Alī
	- 3ms	- nom	- prep	- gen	- gen
	= The lesson was explained by °Alī.				

b. *bi-wāsiṭati* 'by means of' (S. 50):

<i>S. 50)</i>	buniya-t	al-jāmi°atu		bi-wāsiṭati
	was built-3fs	def-university-nom		prep-in-means of-gen
	- <u>sharikatin</u>			kabīratin
	indef- company- gen			indef- large- gen
	= The university was built by a large company.			

c. *min jānibi* 'from the side of' (S. 51):

<i>S. 51)</i>	rufiḍa-t	al-fikratu	min	jānibi	°Aliyyin
	was refused	def-idea	from	side of	°Alī
	- 3fs	- nom	- prep	- gen	- gen
	= The idea was refused by °Alī.				

d. *°alā aydi* 'at (by) the hand of' (S. 52):

<i>S. 52)</i>	qutila	°alā	aydi	°iṣābatin	majhūlatin
	was killed	on	hand of	indef-gang	indef-unidentified
	- 3ms	- prep	- gen	- gen	- gen
	= He was killed by an unidentified gang.				

e. *min ṭarafī* 'on the part of' (S. 53):

<i>S. 53)</i>	sujjila-t	al-ahdāfu	min	ṭarafī	lā°ibin	mashhūrin
---------------	-----------	-----------	-----	--------	---------	-----------

were scored def-goals from part of indef-player indef-famous  
 - 3fs - nom - prep - gen - gen - gen  
 = The goals were scored by a well-famous player.

f. using /*bi-*/ (S. 54):

*S. 54)*

kutiba l-tārīkhu bi-aqlāmi ʿulamāʿa mukhliṣīna  
 was written def-history by-pens indef-scientists indef-dedicated  
 - 3ms - nom - prep- gen - gen - gen  
 = The history was written by dedicated scientists.

Moreover, the agent with the passive voice is occasionally found in traditional texts; for example, the Qurʾān shows the prepositions (*min*) 'from' (e.g., Sūrat Hūd, XI: 1), (*ʿalā*) 'on' (e.g., Sūrat Yūnus, X: 20) and (*bi-*) 'with' (Sūrat al-Māʿida, V: 78) (al-Tarouti, 1999: 41- 42), as shown in Sūrat al-Anʿām, VI: 106 (S. 55):

*S. 55)* ittabi<sup>c</sup> mā uḥiya ilay-ka  
 Follow- 2ms rel- what taught- 3ms prep- to- pro- you  
 - min rabbi-ka  
 prep- from def- Lord- gen- pro- you  
 = "Follow what thou art taught by inspiration from thy  
 Lord". (Ali, 1968: 320)

Thus, the agentive passive is not exclusive to Modern Arabic, where a classical text proves that the agent can be expressed in a passive sentence. By contrast, the subject can be mentioned in English at the end of the sentence by using one of two devices 'by' or 'with' (Parrott, 2000: 297; Khalil, 2010: 270). The two strategies are spelt out in the following examples (56a and 56b):

*S. 56a)* The window was broken by Tom.

*S. 56b)* The window was broken with a stone.

However, the agentless (i.e., agent not mentioned at the end of the sentence) in the passive voice is dominant in Arabic, and in English because

of the reasons for the use of the passive in the first place (Bryant, 1960: 51; Svartvik, 1966: 141; Huddleston, 1984: 441; al-Tarouti, 1999: 44; Khalil, 2010: 270). Siewierska (84: 35) and al-Tarouti (1999: 44- 45), also believe, the agentless is dominant in all languages of the world because it is the basic structure with the passive voice. In addition, the agent in this voice takes a genitive case, affected by the preposition of phrase that occurs before it.

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**8.5.3.** There are three kinds of object that may take an agent-deleted place (Figure 31):

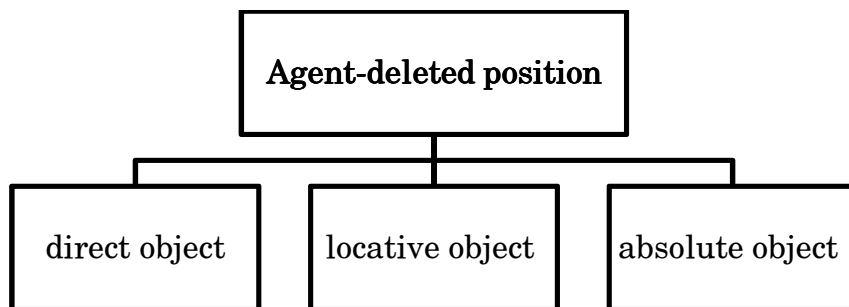


Figure 31: Kinds of objects taking an agent-deleted position

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However, other kinds of object cannot occur in an agent-deleted position, e.g., purposive object (*maf<sup>c</sup>ūl lah/ li-ajlih*); and accompanying object (*maf<sup>c</sup>ūl ma<sup>c</sup>ah*), as in sentences 60a and 60b:

*S. 60a)*

<sup>c</sup> amal-tu	l-ḥaflata	takrīman	li- <sup>c</sup> Aliyyin
made- 1ms	def- party- accus	indef- in honour- accus	prep- for- <sup>c</sup> Alī-gen

= I made the party in honour of <sup>c</sup>Alī.

*S. 60b)*

ḥaḍar-tu	l-ḥafla	alldhī	yatazāmanu	wa-l-mu <sup>ṭ</sup> tamara
attended	def- party	which	coincided	and- def- conference
- 1ms	- accus	- rel	- 3ms	- part - accus

= I attended the party which coincided with the conference.

In these sentences (S. 60a and 60b) the purposive object *takrīman* 'in honour of' and the accompanying object (*wa-l-mu<sup>ṭ</sup>tamara*) 'with the conference' cannot take the agent place when they change to the passive voice, in order not to lose their basic meaning when they cover an agent-deleted position, where the purposive object presents a reasoning meaning, and the accompanying object denotes 'withness'.



However, the agentless (i.e., agent not mentioned at the end of the sentence) in the passive voice is dominant in Arabic, and in English because of the reasons for the use of the passive in the first place (Bryant, 1960: 51; Svartvik, 1966: 141; Huddleston, 1984: 441; al-Tarouti, 1999: 44; Khalil, 2010: 270). Siewierska (84: 35) and al-Tarouti (1999: 44- 45), also believe, the agentless is dominant in all languages of the world because it is the basic structure with the passive voice. In addition, the agent in this voice takes a genitive case, affected by the preposition of phrase that occurs before it.

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Thus, *mu<sup>c</sup>alliman wa-bāḥithan* 'as a teacher and researcher' and *musri<sup>c</sup>an* 'quickly' in sentences 61a and 61b cannot take an agent-deleted place because they occur as an indefinite noun, whereas the noun which covers an agent place should be a definite or assignable indefinite noun, and the *tamyīz* and *ḥāl* cannot be changed to a definite (Ibn Ya<sup>c</sup>īsh, 2001, IV: 310-11).

**8.5.4.** The verb with a prepositional phrase becomes a third person masculine singular in the passive voice (S. 62a and S. 62b):

<i>S. 62a)</i>	murra	bi- <sup>c</sup> Aliyyin
	was passed- 3ms	prep- by- <sup>c</sup> Alī- gen
	= Someone passed by <sup>c</sup> Alī.	

*S. 62b)*                      murra                      bi-Hindin  
    was passed- 3ms                      prep- by- Hind- gen  
    = Someone passed by Hind.

Moreover, the constructions with locative object and absolute object are called impersonal passives (Saad, 1982: 30- 31) (S. 63a and S. 63b):

*S. 63a)*                      ṣīma                      yawmun                      ṭawīlun  
    was fasted- 3ms    indef- day- nom    indef- long- nom  
    = A long day was fasted.

*S. 64b)*                      julisa                      julūsun                      murīhun  
    was sat- 3ms    indef- sitting- nom    indef- comfortable- nom  
    = \*It was a comfortable stay.

The impersonal passive comes in English as well and usually with an intransitive verb, as illustrated in 65;

*S. 65)*                      It is said that Charley is a good teacher.

However, this kind of passive is not common in Arabic as it is in English, especially with formal written style (Parrott: 2000, 291).

**8.5.5.** There are four elements which can cover an agent-deleted position; direct object, verbal noun, locative object and prepositional phrase, and all Arabic grammarians agree that each of these elements take this place if the verbal sentence contains only one of them. However, the agentless (i.e., agent not mentioned at the end of the sentence) in the passive voice is dominant in Arabic, and in English because of the reasons for the use of the passive in the first place (Bryant, 1960: 51; Svartvik, 1966: 141; Huddleston, 1984: 441; al-Tarouti, 1999: 44; Khalil, 2010: 270). Siewierska (84: 35) and al-Tarouti (1999: 44- 45), also believe, the agentless is dominant in all languages of the world because it is the basic structure with the passive voice. In addition, the agent in this voice takes a genitive case, affected by the preposition of phrase that occurs before it.

Saad (1982: 53- 36) claims that there is no agentive passive in Arabic, nor does Arabic have an agentive particle like the English (by) or French (par); he considers that examples such as these are not real passive agentive phrases. Furthermore, it is noted by Saad (1982: 36) that there is no language that has an agentive passive without having an agentless passive. Finally, it should be noted here that the agent in Arabic can be mentioned or omitted with a passive voice as well as in English (although it is largely omitted), whereas the agent must be mentioned in Arabic and English with an active voice.

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## **8.6. Conclusion:**

The verbal sentence cannot be structured without two elements and the agent is considered the second element which must be a noun and is governed by a verb. However, the agent can be omitted for several reasons, especially with the passive voice, so another nominative noun must occupy the agent- deleted position and will take all its rules. However, the agentless (i.e., agent not mentioned at the end of the sentence) in the passive voice is dominant in Arabic, and in English because of the reasons for the use of the passive in the first place (Bryant, 1960: 51; Svartvik, 1966: 141; Huddleston, 1984: 441; al-Tarouti, 1999: 44; Khalil, 2010: 270). Siewierska (84: 35) and al-Tarouti (1999: 44- 45), also believe, the agentless is dominant in all languages of the world because it is the basic structure with the passive voice. In addition, the agent in this voice takes a genitive case, affected by the preposition of phrase that occurs before it.

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The agent, however, can be recalled with the passive voice at the end of the sentence through the use of several means; e.g., *min qibali* 'on the part of'; *bi-wāsīṭati* 'by means of'; *min jānibi* 'from the side of' and using /bi-/; this way of expression being found in the traditional texts as well as in the modern. Because of a verbal sentence contains more than one element as discussed in the previous chapters, the word order of this structure has to be investigated as it will be in Chapter Nine.

## CHAPTER NINE

## Word Order of the Verbal Sentence

## 9.1. Introduction:

Word order is "the sequential arrangement of clause elements or words in a sentence... that [provide] the basis of an important system of classification in the syntactic typology of language" (Crystal, 1992: 420-21). Therefore, word order is regarded as a significant syntactic device in every language, and through this system we can decide if the sentences or clauses are syntactically correct or false. This system guides the speaker and writer who requires a means of presenting useful meaningful and correct structure in order to reach to his/her target correctly. Languages differ in their structures and word order: thus the meaning of the structure is sometimes dependent upon the word order. Consider the following examples in sentences 1 and 2:

*S. 1)*  
                     qatala     °Aliyyun           al-asada  
                     kill- 3ms   °Alī- nom      def- lion- accus  
   = °Alī killed the lion.

*S. 2)*  
                     qatala           l-asadu           °Aliyyan  
                     kill- 3ms   def- lion- nom   °Alī- accus  
   = The lion killed °Alī.

As a result, classical and modern grammarians have always been interested in this topic; for example, classical grammarians addressed this issue in several ways; under the agent topic and the object topic. They discussed the relationship between the verb and other elements because the verb has an important role in the ordering of words, where the transitive verb governs an agent (subject) and object, whereas the intransitive governs only an agent. However, most classical grammarians have not discussed this issue in details because they concentrated instead on 'operator theory' (*naẓariyyat al-°āmil*) and considered every element to be governed by another element:

thus, for instance, the verb governs an agent. In addition, they do not study all the rules of word order, an area where they focused largely on Verb-Subject-Object and Subject-Verb-Object.

In this chapter, I focus upon word order in verbal sentences. I will discuss the basic word order of the verbal sentence and, in addition, will examine the alternative word orders in this type of sentence, as well as looking at other important issues in this topic. I will use the following abbreviations for the verbal sentence elements; V= verb; S= agent (subject) and O= object.

## **9.2. The basic word order of the verbal sentence:**

The verb precedes an agent (subject) in the normal word order, and the object comes after the agent if the verb is transitive, as in sentences 1 and 2 above. Although the Kūfan grammarians considered that the agent can precede the verb in the verbal sentence (see Chapter Four), all Classical Arabic grammarians, however, agree that the VSO order is to be considered as the basic word order in this type of sentence (al-Istirābādhi, 1996, I: 187). Some modern grammarians also believe this, including Cantarino (1974: 41); Thalji (1982: 10); Saad (1982: 8); Badawi *et al.* (2004: 344); al-Jarf (2007: 300) and Khalil (2010: 96). Likewise, Bakir (1979: 10) and Fassi Fehri (1993: 19) take the view that VSO is the basic order in any Arabic sentence, while Thalji (1982: 15) and Holes (1995: 204) also regard VSO as the dominant order in Modern Literary Arabic (cf. Ingham, 1994: 37- 38).

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Finally in a question context, where the verb must follow a question particle, (S. 7):

*S. 7a)* hal                    ḥaḍara            ʿAliyyun            al-darsa?  
 inte- did    attended- 3ms   ʿAlī- nom    def- lesson- accus  
 = Did ʿAlī attend the lesson?

Here the agent follows the verb, but may follow the object, as the example in 7b:

*S. 7b)* hal                    ḥaḍara                    l-darsa                    ʿAliyyun?  
 inte- did    attended- 3ms    def- lesson- accus    ʿAlī- nom  
 = Did ʿAlī attend the lesson?

Both usages are found in the Qurʾān, as in Sūrahs al-Māʾida, V: 112 and al-Ghāshiya, LXXXVIII: 1.

### 9.2.1. Verb/agent agreement:







earlier (see Chapter Four) (cf. Ibn Hishām, 1998, II: 98- 100). In addition, al-Suhaylī said that this usage is frequently found in the Ḥadīth (the sayings and deeds of the Prophet) (al-Murādī, 2001: 586). Therefore, we can say (S. 11a and 11b):

*S. 11a)*                    jā<sup>ʔ</sup>-ā                    l-mudīrāni  
                                   came- 3md                def- two directors- nom- d  
                                   = The two directors came.

*S. 11b)*                    jā<sup>ʔ</sup>-ū                    l-mudīrūna  
                                   came- 3mp                def- directors- nom- p  
                                   = The directors came.

The verb can also take a plural marker when the agent is referring to something in general plural (Cantarino, 1974: 84), (12) is an example:

*S.12)*    yaqūl-ūna                inna                    l-riyāḍata  
                                   3mp- say                part- that                def- exercise- accus  
                                   - ʿilājun                                    li-kulli                                    dā<sup>ʔ</sup>in  
                                   indef- cures- nom    prep- for- indef- every-gen    indef- diseases- gen  
                                   = People say that exercise cures all diseases.

Word order is "the sequential arrangement of clause elements or words in a sentence... that [provide] the basis of an important system of classification in the syntactic typology of language" (Crystal, 1992: 420-21). Therefore, word order is regarded as a significant syntactic device in every language, and through this system we can decide if the sentences or clauses are syntactically correct or false. This system guides the speaker and writer who requires a means of presenting useful meaningful and correct structure in order to reach to his/her target correctly. Languages differ in their structures and word order: thus the meaning of the structure is sometimes dependent upon the word order.

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relationship between the verb and other elements because the verb has an important role in the ordering of words, where the transitive verb governs an agent (subject) and object, whereas the intransitive governs only an agent. However, most classical grammarians have not discussed this issue in details because they concentrated instead on 'operator theory' (*nazariyyat al-<sup>c</sup>āmil*) and considered every element to be governed by another element: thus, for instance, the verb governs an agent. In addition, they do not study all the rules of word order, an area where they focused largely on Verb-Subject-Object and Subject-Verb-Object.

By contrast, the basic word order in English is SVO (Carter *et al.* 2006: 778; al-Jarf, 2007: 310; Swan, 2009: 496), as exemplified in S. 13:

*S. 13)* Mark drove a car.

Also, the verb will be singular with a singular noun or pronoun (S. 14a and S. 14b):

*S. 14a)* Rebecca teaches at a primary school.

*S. 14b)* He studies very hard.

Whereas the verb comes as a plural with a plural noun or pronoun (S. 15a and S. 15b):

*S. 15a)* The students attend the party.

*S. 15b)* They have a good quality.

The collective noun may take both singular and plural markers, relying on the speaker or writer intended. When all the group members act together to do something as one, the verb takes a singular marker, as illustrated in S. 16a:

*S. 16a)* The family has a party.

While if the members of the group act to do something as individuals, the verb comes as a plural pattern (Vallins, 1966: 119; Burton, 1984: 145; Wardhaugh, 1995: 79; Vigliocco *et al.* 1996: 262), as shown in the following example:

*S. 16b)*                               The family give their selections.

However, there is a number of plural subject can take a singular verb (Christophersen *et al.* 1969: 245- 46):

- i.       with names of games and diseases (S. 17a and S. 17b):

*S. 17a)*                               Billiards is a popular game.

*S. 17b)*                               Mumps is a dangerous disease.

- ii.      with names of sciences ending in *-ics/* usage mainly take a singular verb (S. 18):

*S. 18)*                               Politics is a complicated game.

- iii.     with nouns denoting units of measurement when they occur in structure of modification with numeral, as in S. 19:

*S. 19)*                               Ten miles is an exact distance.

Although the SVO order is the basic order with affirmative English structures, a VSO order is permissible in such cases as the following (Christophersen *et al.* 1969: 242- 44; Burton, 1984: 13- 14; Chalker, 1984: 18; Swan, 2009: 280):

- i.       with 'may', implying wishing or hoping (S. 20):

*S. 20)*                               May all the students pass the exam.

- ii.      After 'so', 'neither' and 'nor' in short responses, when they come within the same structure and are followed by an auxiliary verb and subject, as illustrated by the following two examples:

*S. 21a)*                               I am happy.- So am I.

*S. 21b)*                               I do not like running. – Neither/ Nor do I.

- iii.     After 'as' (S. 22):

*S. 22)*                               He was very nervous, as were all his family.

- iv.     With sentences beginning with a negative adverbial, as shown in the following example taken from Christophersen *et al.* (1969: 243):

*S. 23)*

Never was a journey more necessary.

### 9.3. The alternative word orders of a verbal sentence:

The verbal sentence exhibits a number of admissible orders, which are SVO, VOS, OVS, OSV and SOV, as in (Figure 32):

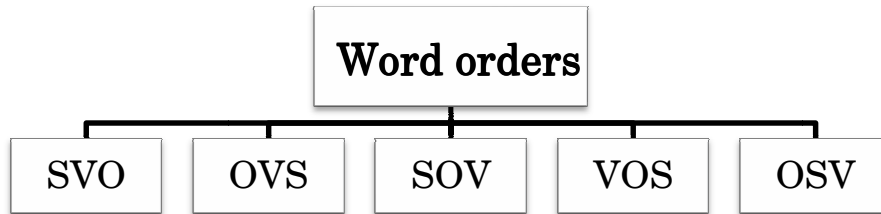


Figure 32: The alternative word orders of a verbal sentence

Despite the free word order in Arabic, these orders affect the agreement between verb and agent. Each order will be discussed in detail below.

The writer or speaker adjusts to an alternative word order so as to present the most important element at the beginning of the sentence (Sībawayh, 1988, I: 34; al-Jurjānī, 1982: 330). Word order is "the sequential arrangement of clause elements or words in a sentence... that [provide] the basis of an important system of classification in the syntactic typology of language" (Crystal, 1992: 420-21). Therefore, word order is regarded as a significant syntactic device in every language, and through this system we can decide if the sentences or clauses are syntactically correct or false. This system guides the speaker and writer who requires a means of presenting useful meaningful and correct structure in order to reach to his/her target correctly. Languages differ in their structures and word order: thus the meaning of the structure is sometimes dependent upon the word order.

#### 9.3.1. SVO:

Although all Arabic grammarians agree that SVO is permissible in Arabic, they disagree in terms of its type, i.e., whether it is a nominal or verbal sentence. I discussed this issue in the types of sentences section (see Chapter Four) and I established that this order is a sort of verbal sentence. If it does not take the basic VSO order, the verbal sentence often takes this

SVO order, frequently occurring in spoken and written Arabic, especially with headlines (Badawi *et al.* 2004: 349). Indeed, Holes (1995: 205) claims that SVO is the main alternative order. This sort of order is similar to the basic word order in an English sentence, as exemplified in S. 25:

S. 25)           <sup>°</sup>Aliyyun           kataba           l-darsa  
                  <sup>°</sup>Alī- nom   wrote- 3ms   def- lesson- accus  
                   = <sup>°</sup>Alī wrote the lesson.

Greenberg (1966: 79) comments that "all languages with dominant VSO order have SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic order." Greenberg's remark is applied to Arabic; though Arabic has other alternatives as we will see. Importantly, however, the verbal sentence cannot take SVO order when the agent appears as an indefinite noun, as represented in sentence 26 below, since the defining of the noun or the assignable indefinite noun at the beginning of the Arabic sentence is a fundamental condition. All the grammarians have agreed on this issue because such defining cannot give a judgment on an unknown thing. Thus, when the agent precedes the verb, the agent must be placed in the defining case or be an assignable indefinite noun.

S. 26)           \*ṭālibun                       kataba           l-darsa  
                  indef- student- nom   wrote- 3ms   def- lesson- accus  
                   = A student wrote the lesson.

Moreover, the verb agrees with the agent in terms of number: singular, dual and plural. This can be illustrated by the following examples 27a- 27c (see also for example Sūrahs Āl-<sup>°</sup>Umrān, III: 122; al-Nahl, XVI: 54 and al-Takwīr, LXXXI: 1):

S. 27)   al-muhandisu           ḥaḍara           l-ijtimā<sup>°</sup>a  
           def- engineer- nom   attended- 3ms   def- meeting- accus  
                   = The engineer attended the meeting.

al-muhandisāni           ḥaḍar-ā           l-ijtimā<sup>°</sup>a  
           def- two engineers- nom-d   attended- 3md   def- meeting- accus

*S. 27b)* = The two engineers attended the meeting.

*S. 27c)* al-muhandisūna      ḥaḍar-ū      l-ijtimā<sup>c</sup>a  
 def-engineers- nom- p    attended- 3mp    def-meeting- accus  
 = The engineers attended the meeting.

In the SVO order, the verb agrees with its agent in terms of gender, whether human or non-human singular noun (Ibn Hishām, 1998, II: 108).

Consider the following examples 28a- 28c:

*S. 28a)*      <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun      akala      tuffāḥatan  
                  <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom    ate- 3ms    indef- apple- accus  
                  = <sup>c</sup>Alī ate an apple.

*S. 28b)*      Hindun      akala-t      tuffāḥatan  
                  Hind- nom    ate- 3fs    indef- apple- accus  
                  = Hind ate an apple.

*S. 28c)*      al-mubārātu      bada<sup>ʔ</sup>a-t  
                  def- match- nom      started- 3fs  
                  = The match started.

However, there are some exceptions to these two rules (that the verb agrees with its agent in terms of gender and number):

i. when the agent is non-human feminine sound plural, the verb comes as singular or plural, as in S. 29:

*S. 29)*      al-sayyārātu    waqaf-na/waqafa-t    fī      l-khāriji  
                  def-cars- nom-p      parked- 3fp-s    prep- in    def-outside- gen  
                  = The cars parked outside.

Both usages are found in the Qur<sup>ʔ</sup>ān (Sūrahs al-Nisā<sup>ʔ</sup>, IV: 160; Maryam, XIX: 90 and al-Jāthiya, XLV: 8).

ii. Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/911) claimed that the verb may or may not agree with a non-human feminine singular agent in terms of gender when the sentence structure comes as SVO (Ibn Hishām, 1998, II: 108- 10); thus, it can be said:

<i>S. 30)</i>	al-mubārātu	bada <sup>o</sup> a-(t)
	def-match- nom	started- 3(m-f)s
	= The match started.	

Here the verb can be masculine or feminine. It seems that he did not rely on any evidence, but he did compare the SVO with the VSO order; in the later also stating that the verb may or may not carry the /*tā*<sup>o</sup>/ particle with a non-human feminine singular agent. There are more than 100 verses in the Qur<sup>o</sup>ān where the verb attaches the feminine /*tā*<sup>o</sup>/ particle with a non-human feminine singular agent, whereas in the SVO order non-verse comes without the /*tā*<sup>o</sup>/ being attached to a non-human feminine agent.

iii. the verb agrees with its broken plural agent (*jam<sup>c</sup> taksīr*) in terms of number whose singular pattern is human masculine, as, for example:

<i>S. 31a)</i>	al-rijālu	qām-ū	bi- <sup>c</sup> amalin	shāqqin
	def- men	worked	in- indef- work	indef- hard
	- nom- p	- 3mp	- prep- gen	- gen
	= The men worked hard.			

The verb sometimes is suffixed by a /-*tā*<sup>o</sup>/ particle without consideration of its masculine agent, as exemplified in 31b:

<i>S. 31b)</i>	al-ṭullābu	ḥadara-t	al-darsa
	def- students- nom-p	attended- 3fs	def- lesson- accus
	= The students attended the lesson.		

Both usages are found in the Qur<sup>o</sup>ān (Sūrahs al-Aḥzāb, XXXIII: 23 and al-Mursalāt, LXXVII: 11). In addition, the verb takes a singular or plural feminine form with a non-human broken plural agent whose singular is masculine. The two strategies are spelt out in the following example (S. 32a and S. 32b):



*S. 32a)*                    al-maṭābikhu                    iḥṭaraqa-t  
                                  def- kitchens- nom- p                    burned- 3fs  
                                  = The kitchens burned.

*S. 32b)*                    al-maṭābikhu                    iḥṭaraq-na  
                                  def-kitchens- nom- p                    burned- 3fp  
                                  = The kitchens burned.

I find both usages in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān (Sūrahs al-Anbiyā<sup>ʿ</sup>, XXI: 79 and al-Infīṭār, LXXXII: 3).

iv. with a collective agent noun<sup>45</sup> (*ism jam<sup>ʿ</sup>*), the verb will be masculine or feminine singular; or else the verb can take a plural marker (S. 33a and S. 33b):

*S. 33a)*    farīqun                                    mina                                    l-ṭullābi  
                                  indef- group- nom- p    prep- from    def- students- gen-p  
                                  - dhahaba-(t)                                    li-l-jāmi<sup>ʿ</sup>ati  
                                  went- 3(m-f)s                    prep- to- def- university- gen  
                                  = A group of students went to university.

*S. 33b)*    farīqun                                    mina                                    l-ṭullābi  
                                  indef- group- nom- p    prep- from    def- students- gen-p  
                                  - dhahab-ū                                    li-l-jāmi<sup>ʿ</sup>ati  
                                  went- 3mp                    prep- to- def- university- gen  
                                  = A group of students went to university.

Such usages are found in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān as in Sūrahs al-Baqara, II: 134; Āl-Umrān, III: 13 and 104. In addition, the verb takes masculine or feminine singular with a generic noun<sup>46</sup> (*ism jins*), as in the following sentence:

al-baqaru                    akala-(t)                    al-<sup>ʿ</sup>ushba

<sup>45</sup> A collective noun is "a noun which denotes a group of entities" (Crystal: 1992, 70).

<sup>46</sup> A generic noun in Arabic is a plural noun, the singular form of which comes by adding /tā<sup>ʿ</sup>/ or /yā<sup>ʿ</sup>/ at the end of the pattern, as in *tamr*/ *tamratun* 'dates' or *Rūm*/ *Rūmiyyun* 'Greek', or a noun which can be used for a singular or plural, as in *mā<sup>ʿ</sup>* 'water'.

*S. 34)* def- cows- nom- p ate- 3(m-f)s def- grass- accus- p  
= The cows ate grass.

Either usage occurs in the Qurʾān as in Sūrahs al-Ḥajj, XXII: 73 and al-Ghāshiyā, LXXXVIII: 17. As discussed earlier, SVO is a normal word order in English (cf. Carter *et al.* 2006: 778; al-Jarf, 2007: 310; Swan, 2009: 496).

### 9.3.2. VOS:

The object can be placed between the verb and the agent (Sibawayh, 1988, I: 34); i.e., the object precedes the agent (S. 35):

*S. 35)* kataba l-risālata ʿAliyyun  
wrote- 3ms def- lesson- accus ʿAlī- nom  
= ʿAlī wrote the letter.

Al-Shalan (1983: 19), Agius (1991: 43), and Holes (1995: 205), relying on examples from Modern Literary Arabic, considered that this order was not a common structure with the verbal sentence. The study by Anshen and Schreiber (1968: 792-97), however, shows that it was the basic order in Arabic. I had thought that this order is in fact common in both Classical and Modern Literary Arabic, given that it occurs in 156 Qurʾānic verses (e.g. Sūrahs al-Baqara, II: 55, 118, 115 and al-Anʿām, VI: 70), though it is not as common as the VSO and SVO orders. This order is allowed as long as it does not lead to ambiguity between the agent and object (al-Mubarrid, 1994, III: 118) i.e., where the case marker does not appear at the end with both of them (i.e., /u/ with the agent and /a/ with the object); consider the following two examples (S. 36a and S. 36b):

*S. 36a)* darrasa Mūsā Yaḥyā  
learnt- 3ms Mūsā- nom Yaḥyā- accus  
= Mūsā taught Yaḥyā.

akhadha hādhā(1) hādhā(2)

*S. 36b)*               took- 3ms    hādhā- nom    hādhā- accus  
                                   = This (man) took this (book).

These examples clearly show no case marker for the agent or the object. Therefore, we have *Mūsā* and *hādhā*(1) as the agent, while *Yaḥyā* and *hādhā*(2) are the object. I found only one verse in the Qurʾān which supports this rule, namely *Sūrat al-Baqara*, II: 282. However, if the structure of the sentence has syntactic evidence (clues), as in sentences 37a to 37c below, or a semantic clue as in sentence 38, the object can precede the agent, even if the case marker does not appear with the agent and object (al-Istirābādhi, 1996, I: 190), as in the examples:

*S. 37a)*               darrasa-t               Mūsā               Hudā  
                                   learnt- 3fs    Mūsā- accus    Hudā- nom  
                                   = Hudā taught Mūsā.

*S. 37b)*           akhadha        hādhā        hādhā        l-rajulu  
                           took- 3ms    this- accus    this- nom    def- man- nom  
                           = This man took this (book).

*S. 37c)*               qābala               l-Yaḥyayayni               l-Mūsāni  
                           met- 3ms    def- two Yaḥyās- accus    def- two Mūsās- nom  
                           = The two Mūsās met the two Yaḥyās.

*S. 38)*               akala               l-kummathrā               Mūsā  
                           ate- 3ms    def- pear- accus    Mūsā- nom  
                           = Mūsā ate the pear.

The feminine /-t/ particle that comes at the end of the verb *darrasat* cannot occur with a masculine singular agent in sentence 37a. In sentence 37b, the noun that intended to mean *al-rajulu* 'the man' removes the problem of ambiguity where the case marker accompanying it displays which *hādhā* is the agent; in addition, the dual case marker points out the agent and object in sentence 37c, where the agent must show /-āni/ while the object shows /-

*ayni/* at the end of the form. The meaning in sentence 38 is obvious. Here 'the pear' was being eaten and as it is impossible for it to eat something, the eater must be the agent. Thus, the objects precede the agent in these sentences, and they can move freely, which means that the sentences which do not have syntactic or semantic clues have a strict word order (VSO), and this order is generally permissible when the agent and object, or one of them, will be carrying an apparent case marker.

It is obligatory for the verbal sentence to take this word order (VOS) in cases such as the following:

i. when the agent is construed with a main exceptive device (*illā*) (Ibn Abī al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>, 1986: 276), (S. 39) (see, also, for example Sūrahs al-An<sup>c</sup>ām, VI: 9 and al-Muddathir, LXXIV: 31):

*S. 39)*        mā    ḥaḍara    l-darsa    illā    °Aliyyun  
                  no    attended    def- lesson    except    °Alī  
                  - neg    - 3ms        - accus        - part        - nom  
                  = No one attended the lesson except °Alī.

ii. when the agent is modified by *innamā* particle (al-Murādī, 2001: 595; Peled, 2009: 75), (S. 40) (see also for example Sūrahs al-Naḥl, XVI: 92 and Fāṭir, XXXV: 28):

*S. 40)*        innamā    ḥaḍara                    l-darsa                    °Aliyyun  
                  part- only    attended- 3ms    def- lesson- accus    °Alī- nom  
                  = Only °Alī attended the lesson.

iii. The agent is attached to a pronoun that refers to the object, (S. 41):

*S. 41)*        iḥtarama                    °Aliyyan                    ibnu-hu  
                  respected- 3ms    °Alī- accus        def- son- nom-pro- his  
                  = °Alī's son respected him.





*S. 46b)*    ḥaḍara-(t)                    al-ḥaflata                    l-mudīrūna  
                  attended- 3(m-f)s    def- party- accus        def- directors- nom- p  
                  = The directors attended the party.

These usages are applied in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān (Sūrah<sup>s</sup> Yūnus, X: 90; Hūd, XI: 10 and al-Jāthiya, XLV: 33). As a result, the VOS order differs from VSO when the agent is a human feminine or masculine sound plural in terms of gender; where the verb agrees with agent when the order is VSO, while it may or may not agrees with the VOS order, as in sentences 46a and 46b.

### 9.3.3. OVS:

The object can precede both the verb and the agent as an optional order in a verbal sentence structure; it is regarded as one of a number of syntactic structures for verbal sentences. Consider the structure of the following sentence (S. 47) (see also Sūrat al-An<sup>c</sup>ām, VI: 84 and 86):

*S. 47)*                    al-ṭa<sup>c</sup>āma                    ṭabakha-t                    Hindun  
                  def- meal- accus        cooked- 3fs        Hind- nom  
                  = Hind cooked the meal.

The verbal sentence is obliged to take this word order (OVS) in the following:

Word order is "the sequential arrangement of clause elements or words in a sentence... that [provide] the basis of an important system of classification in the syntactic typology of language" (Crystal, 1992: 420-21). Therefore, word order is regarded as a significant syntactic device in every language, and through this system we can decide if the sentences or clauses are syntactically correct or false. This system guides the speaker and writer who requires a means of presenting useful meaningful and correct structure in order to reach to his/her target correctly. Languages differ in their structures and word order: thus the meaning of the structure is sometimes dependent upon the word order.

As a result, classical and modern grammarians have always been interested in this topic; for example, classical grammarians addressed this issue in several ways; under the agent topic and the object topic. They discussed the relationship between the verb and other elements because the verb has an important role in the ordering of words, where the transitive verb governs an agent (subject) and object, whereas the intransitive governs only an agent. However, most classical grammarians have not discussed this issue in details because they concentrated instead on 'operator theory' (*naẓariyyat al-ʿāmil*) and considered every element to be governed by another element: thus, for instance, the verb governs an agent. In addition, they do not study all the rules of word order, an area where they focused largely on Verb-Subject-Object and Subject-Verb-Object.

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By contrast, English can take this order if the writer or speaker wishes to give more attention to the object (Khalil, 2010: 93- 94), as illustrated in S. 56:

*S. 56)* Home went Tom.

#### 9.3.4. OSV:

The verbal sentence may take the OSV word order if there is no ambiguity, S. 57 is an example:

*S. 57)*     maqālatan                     al-ṭālibu                     kataba  
               indef- essay- accus    def- student- nom     wrote- 3ms  
   = The student wrote an essay.

However, this order (OSV) and the one that follows (SOV), cannot be considered obligatory orders, in the way the previous ones can. They take the rule of SVO in terms of gender and number because both of these cases the agent precedes the verb in which the verb agrees with its agent in gender and number (S. 58a and S. 58b):

*S. 58a)*    maqālatan                     al-ṭālibāni                     katab-ā  
               indef- essay- accus    def- two students- nom- d     wrote- 3md  
   = The two students wrote an essay.

*S. 58b)*    al-ṭālibatāni                     risālatan                     katabat-ā  
               def- two students- nom    indef- letter- accus             wrote- 3fd  
   = The two students wrote a letter.

English also takes this order, as illustrated in S. 59:

*S. 59)*            Your lesson I have not attended to.

In order to emphasise the element that comes first (Jespersen, 1946: 103; Kirkwood, 1969: 90; Khalil, 2010: 93- 94).

### 9.3.5. SOV:

The verbal sentence may take a SOV word order if there is no ambiguity, as in S. 60, where there is no reason, either syntactically or semantically, that would prevent this order and the previous order (OSV). However, I cannot find any verbal sentence structure in the Qurʾān that takes both word orders.

*S. 60)*                al-ṭālibu                      maqālatan                      kataba  
                                  def- student- nom        indef- essay- accus        wrote- 3ms  
                                  = The student wrote an essay.

### 9.4. Discussion:

**9.4.1.** The dual agent depends on its singular pattern with regard to gender, whether the verb precedes the agent or comes after it. For example, a verb preceding or coming after a dual human masculine or feminine agent is masculine or feminine. This can be seen by the following sentences (61a-61d), respectively:

*S. 61a)*                      jāʾa    l-ṭālibāni  
    came- 3ms                                      def- two students- nom- d  
    = The two students came.

*S. 61b)*                      al-ṭālibāni                                      jāʾ-ā  
    def- two students- nom- d                      came- 3md  
    = The two students came.

*S. 61c)*                      jāʾa-t    al-ṭālibatāni  
    came- 3fs                                      def- two students- nom- d  
    = The two students came.

al-ṭālibatāni    jāʾa-t-ā

*S. 61d)* def- two students- nom- d came- 3fd  
 = The two students came.

Sometimes, however, the dual agent does not have a singular pattern, so it is necessary to find out the original pattern; thus, *qawm* 'people', is regarded as a collective noun; hence, the verb can come as masculine or feminine with the dual as the grammarians thought (see 9.4.3-vi) as (S. 62) shows:

*S. 62)*  
 ḥāṣara-(t) al-qawmāni l-madīnata  
 besieged- 3(m-f)s def- two groups of people- nom- d def- city- accus  
 = The people (dual) besieged the city.

The dual of collective nouns is found in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān, where the verb comes as masculine with a human masculine collective noun and vice versa (Sūrahs Āl-<sup>c</sup>Umrān, III: 122, 155; al-Anfāl, VIII: 48 and al-Shu<sup>c</sup>arā<sup>ʿ</sup>, XXVI: 61).

As for number, the verb comes as a singular or dual with a dual agent when the verb precedes the agent, as illustrated by (63):

*S. 63)* waṣal-(ā) al-musāfirān li-l-madīnati  
 arrived- 3m(s-d) def-two passengers- nom-d prep- to-def-city-gen  
 = The two passengers arrived in the city.

while it will be only dual when the verb comes after the agent, as exemplified in 64:

*S. 64)* al-musāfirān waṣal-ā li-l-madīnati  
 def-two passengers- nom-d arrived- 3md prep- to-def-city-gen  
 = The two passengers arrived in the city.

**9.4.2.** When the verb precedes a group of two or more nouns which are considered as agent, the verb agrees in gender with the agent which immediately follows it, as in sentences 65a and 65b:

*S. 65a)*

nāma            °Aliyyun        wa-Hindun                fī            Pārīsa  
 slept- 3ms   °Alī- nom    part- and- Hind- nom    prep- in    Paris- gen  
 = °Alī and Hind stayed in Paris.

*S. 65b)*

nāma-t            Hindun                wa-°Aliyyun                fī            Pārīsa  
 slept- 3fs    Hind- nom    part- and-°Alī- nom    in- prep    Paris- gen  
 = Hind and °Alī stayed in Paris.

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As a result, classical and modern grammarians have always been interested in this topic; for example, classical grammarians addressed this issue in several ways; under the agent topic and the object topic. They discussed the relationship between the verb and other elements because the verb has an important role in the ordering of words, where the transitive verb governs an agent (subject) and object, whereas the intransitive governs only an agent. However, most classical grammarians have not discussed this issue in details because they concentrated instead on 'operator theory' (*naẓariyyat al-°āmil*) and considered every element to be governed by another element: thus, for instance, the verb governs an agent. In addition, they do not study all the rules of word order, an area where they focused largely on Verb-Subject-Object and Subject-Verb-Object.

**9.4.3.** In spite of the verb preceding an agent and agreeing with it in terms of gender, grammarians have mentioned certain cases in which the verb may or may not agree in gender with the agent, namely:

i. with a non-human feminine agent (Ibn Abī al-Rabi<sup>c</sup>, 1986: 264; Ibn Hishām, 1998, II: 116) (S. 68):

*S. 68)* bada<sup>o</sup>a-(t)            al-ḥarbu            l-sā<sup>c</sup>ata            l-rābi<sup>c</sup>ata  
 started-3(m-f)s    def- war- nom    def- clock- accus    def- four- accus  
 = The war started at four o'clock.

The feminine /*tā*<sup>ʔ</sup>/ particle is omitted with a non-human feminine agent in several Qur<sup>ʔ</sup>ānic verses, as in Sūrahs al-Nisā<sup>ʔ</sup>, IV: 165; al-An<sup>c</sup>ām, VI: 37 and al-Rūm, XXX: 57. The agent, however, is separated from the verb by one or more words in all these verses (i.e., the agent does not follow the verb directly), except in one verse (Sūrat al-Qiyāma, LXXV: 9) (S. 69):

*S. 69)*  
 wa-jumi<sup>c</sup>a                            l-shamsu                            wa-l-qamaru  
 part- and- be joined- 3ms    def- sun- nom    part- and- def- moon- nom  
 = "And the sun and moon are joined together". (Ali, 1968: 1650)

In this verse, we have non-human feminine and masculine agents together. The feminine /*tā*<sup>ʔ</sup>/, on the other hand, occurs in many Qur<sup>ʔ</sup>ānic verses with non-human feminine agents (e.g., Sūrahs al-Baqara, II: 16, 48 and al-An<sup>c</sup>ām, VI: 115). It seems that the verb should be attached to /*tā*<sup>ʔ</sup>/ with a non-human feminine agent not remote from the verb by one or more words, whereas the verb may or may not take this /*tā*<sup>ʔ</sup>/ if the agent is far from the verb as will be discussed in (ii) below. Moreover, this is a common occurrence in the Najdī dialect today.

ii. with a non-human feminine agent when the agent is remote from the verb by one or more words, as shown in (S. 70):

*S. 70)* waqafa-(t)            fī            l-mawāqifi            l-sayyāratu  
 parked- 3(m-f)s    prep- in    def- parking- gen    def- car- nom  
 = The car parked in the parking.

Both usages are found in the Qār<sup>ḥ</sup>ān, as in Sūrahs al-Baqara, II: 55 and al-An<sup>ḥ</sup>ām, VI: 37.

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v. with a broken plural (*jam<sup>ḥ</sup> taksīr*), whether the agent is feminine or masculine (Ibn Abī al-Rabī<sup>ḥ</sup>, 1986: 267), as exemplified in S. 73a and S. 73b:

S. 73a)      ḥaḍara-(t)                      al-rijālu                      l-ḥaflata  
                  attended- 3(m-f)s      def-men- nom- p      def- celebration- accus  
                  = The men attended the celebration.

*S. 73b)*     dhahaba-(t)             al-qabā<sup>2</sup>ilu             li-l-amiri  
                  went- 3(m-f)s     def- tribes- nom- p     prep- to- def- prince- gen  
                  = The tribes went to the prince.

Although grammarians agree that the verb can take a feminine or a masculine marker with a broken plural, I believe that the verb often comes as masculine with a broken plural, the singular form of which is human masculine. This can be illustrated by the following example:

*S. 73c)*                     qāma                             l-aṭfālu  
                  stood up- 3ms                     def- children- nom- p  
                  = The children stood up.

However, a reverse agreement occurs with a broken plural whose singular form is non-human masculine, as illustrated in S. 73d:

*S. 73d)*                     iḥtaraqa-t                     al-maṭābikhu  
                  burned- 3fs                     def- kitchens- nom- p  
                  = The kitchens burned.

My claim is supported by the Qur<sup>3</sup>ān, where the verb comes as masculine, with a broken plural whose singular form is human masculine in around 45 verses (e.g., Sūrahs al-Baqara, II: 142, 282 and al-A<sup>c</sup>rāf, VII: 50) and feminine in about 15 verses (e.g., Sūrahs Āl-<sup>c</sup>Umrān, III: 42 and Hūd, XI: 69). By contrast, the reverse agreement takes place as feminine with a broken plural, the singular of which is non-human masculine in approximately 80 verses (e.g., Sūrahs al-Ra<sup>c</sup>d, XIII: 17; al-Kahf, XVIII: 105 and al-Mu<sup>3</sup>minūn, XXIII: 102), though it comes as masculine in around seven verses (e.g., Sūrahs al-An<sup>c</sup>ām, VI: 5; al-Tawba, IX: 5 and al-Zumar, XXXIX: 21). Furthermore, the verb is feminine or masculine equally with a broken plural whose singular is human feminine (S. 73e):

*S. 73e)*  
                  iḥtafala-(t)                     al-qabā<sup>2</sup>ilu                     bi-l-<sup>c</sup>īdi  
                  celebrated- 3(m-f)s     def- tribes- nom- p             prep- on- def- festive- gen  
                  = The tribes celebrated the <sup>c</sup>īd festivity.

It comes in two Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic verses, as masculine and feminine (Sūrah<sup>s</sup> Yūsuf, XII: 30 and al-Mumtaḥna, LX: 11). On the other hand, it is often feminine with a broken plural, the singular form of which is non-human feminine, as illustrated in S. 73f:

*S. 73f)*

kataba-t	al-jarāʿidu	ʿan	yawmi	l-ummi
wrote- 3fs	def-newspapers- nom-p	prep- about	day- gen	def-mother-gen
= The newspapers wrote about mother's day.				

This is a common usage in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān (e.g., Sūrah<sup>s</sup> al-Zukhruf, XLIII: 71; al-Najm, LIII: 23 and al-Ṭāriq, LXXXVI: 9), but I found only one verse which the verb comes as masculine (Sūrat al-Zukhruf, XLIII: 53).

vi. with a collective noun (*ism jam*<sup>ʿ</sup>) (Ibn Hishām, 1998, II: 116), (S. 74a):

<i>S. 74a)</i>	ḥāṣara-(t)	al-qawmu	l-madīnata
	besieged- 3(m-f)s	def- people- nom- p	def- city- accus
= The people besieged the city.			

Although the majority of grammarians believe that the verb can take both a feminine and a masculine marker with a collective noun agent (ʿAṭṭār, 1998: 275), I think that it should depend on the kind of collective noun:

**a.** the verb comes as feminine and masculine with a human collective noun as in the previous example (S. 74a), but it usually occurs as masculine as one finds it in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān in more than 30 verses (e.g., Sūrat al-Baqara, II: 13, 101), and as feminine in around 14 verses (e.g., Sūrah<sup>s</sup> al-Baqara, II: 113 and Āl-ʿUmrān, III: 69).

**b.** as al-Mubarrid thought (1994, III: 347), the verb comes only as feminine with a non-human collective agent (see also Sūrah<sup>s</sup> Āl-ʿUmrān, III: 101 and al-Anfāl, VIII: 31). Therefore, the verb can take a masculine or a feminine marker with a human collective noun, as in sentence 74a above; whereas it comes as feminine with a non-human collective noun, as shown by the following example in S. 74b:

ḥallaqa-t	al-ṭayru
-----------	----------



*S. 74b)*                      flew- 3fs                      def- birds- nom- p  
 = The birds flew.

vii. with a generic noun (*ism jins*) (Ibn Hishām, 1998, II: 116). Two examples will illustrate this point (S. 75a and S. 75b):

*S. 75a)*            akala-(t)                      al-samaku                      ṭa<sup>c</sup>āma-hā  
                   ate- 3(m-f)s            def-fish- nom- p            def-food- accus- pro- their  
 = The fish ate their food.

*S. 75b)*

dāfa<sup>c</sup>a-(t)                      al-<sup>c</sup>Arabu                      <sup>c</sup>an                      ḥuqūqi-hā  
 defended- 3(m-f)s    def-Arabs- nom- p    prep-about    def-rightsgen-pro-their  
 = The Arabs defended their rights.

The verb comes as feminine in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān with this kind of agent in several verses (e.g., Sūrah al-Rūm, XXX: 2 and al-Mulk, LXVII: 19), while it comes as masculine in two verses (e.g., Sūrah al-Baqara, II: 260 and al-Nūr, XXIV: 43); thus, the verb is often feminine with the generic noun agent.

viii. (*ni<sup>c</sup>ma* or *bi<sup>ʿ</sup>sa*) verbs in the idiomatic usage 'how good... or how bad...' with a human feminine agent takes masculine or feminine marker, as in the following sentence:

*S. 76a)*                      ni<sup>c</sup>ma-(t)/bi<sup>ʿ</sup>sa-(t)                      al-fatātu  
                   what a good/what a bad- 3(m-f)s                      def- girl- nom  
 = What a good girl or what a bad girl she is!

Both *ni<sup>c</sup>ma* and *bi<sup>ʿ</sup>sa* verbs are treated as a collective noun, so they take masculine or feminine marker with a human feminine agent (Ibn Hishām, 1998, II: 112; Ibn Ya<sup>c</sup>īsh, 2001, IV: 402). These verbs take a masculine marker with a non-human and a singular human masculine agent, as illustrated by following two examples (76b and 76c):

                  ni<sup>c</sup>ma/bi<sup>ʿ</sup>sa                      l-dāru  
 what a good/what a bad- 3ms                      def- house- nom

*S. 76b*) = What a good house or what a bad house this is!

*S. 76c*)            ni<sup>c</sup>ma/bi<sup>ʔ</sup>sa                                    l-kātibu  
 what a good/what a bad- 3ms            def- writer- nom  
 = What a good writer or what a bad writer he is!

It is evident that both verbs *ni<sup>c</sup>ma/bi<sup>ʔ</sup>sa* special need not be linked to a human feminine agent. In addition, this would violate a general rule whereby the verb takes a feminine marker when followed directly by a human feminine agent and comes as masculine if followed directly by a human masculine agent

ix. with a feminine and masculine sound plural (*jami<sup>c</sup> al-mu<sup>ʔ</sup>annath/al-mudhakkār al-sālim*), as the Kūfan grammarians claimed: they supported their views with two verses: the first being evidence for feminine Sūrat al-Mumtaḥana, LX: 12 (S. 77a) and the other for masculine Sūrat Yūnus, X: 90 (77b) (Ibn Abī al-Rabī<sup>c</sup>, 1986: 267; al-Murādī, 2001: 593):

*S. 77a*)            idhā                    jā<sup>ʔ</sup>a-ka                    l-mu<sup>ʔ</sup>minātu  
 part- when    come- 3ms- 2ms    def- believing women- nom-p  
 = "O prophet! when believing women come".

(Ali, 1968: 1536)

*S. 77b*)

illā            alladhī            āmana-t            bi-hi            banū            Isrā<sup>ʔ</sup>īla  
 part-except   rel-whom    believe- 3fs    prep-in-pro-it    children- nom-p    Israel- gen  
 = "Except whom the children of Israel believe in". (Ali, 1968: 507)

Here, I believe that the verb carries only the feminine /*tā<sup>ʔ</sup>*/ particle with a human feminine sound, as exemplified in 77c:

jā<sup>ʔ</sup>a-t                    al-ṭālibātu                    ilā            l-madrasati  
 came- 3fs    def- students- nom-p    prep- to    def- school- gen

*S. 77c)* = The students came to the school.

while the verb does not carry it with the masculine sound plural. Consider the following example (S.77d):

*S. 77d)*    sharaḥa                    l-mu<sup>c</sup>allimūna                    l-darsa  
 explained- 3ms    def- teachers- nom- p    def- lesson- accus  
 = The teachers explained the lesson.

The verbs come as masculine with a feminine agent and as feminine with a masculine agent in verses noted above (S. 77a and 77b) because the agent is separated from the verb by one word; i.e., here the object comes between the verb and agent. Therefore, in this case, the verb may or may not carry the feminine /*tāʔ*/ as I have discussed earlier regarding the VOS order. On the other hand, the verb may or may not carry the /*tāʔ*/ with a non-human feminine sound plural (S. 78):

*S. 78)*    fataḥa-(t)                    al-kulliyyātu                    abwāba-hā  
 opened- 3(m-f)s            def-colleges- nom-p            def-doors-accus-p-pro-their  
 - li-lṭullābi  
 prep- for- def- students- gen- p  
 = The colleges opened their doors for the students.

The general view is that the verb carries the feminine /*tāʔ*/ as also supported by the Qurʾān (e.g., Sūrah Yūnus, X: 101 and Hūd, XI: 107), though I found only one verse without it (Sūrat Hūd, XI: 10).

**9.4.4.** Grammarians give a significant role to the issue of word order where the agent cannot precede an un-derivable verb (*al-fiʿl al-jāmid*), as represented in S. 79a:

*S. 79a)*                    \*al-tālibu                    ni<sup>c</sup>ma  
 \*def-student- nom            what a good- 3ms  
 = \*Student what a good.

This is because an un-derivable verb is considered as a weak governor. They also believe that an un-derivable verb can take a masculine and a feminine marker with a human feminine agent (Ibn Ya<sup>c</sup>īsh, 2001, IV: 402), as can be seen in S. 79b:

*S. 79b)*            ni<sup>c</sup>ma-(t)/bi<sup>ʔ</sup>sa-(t)                            al-fatātu  
                           what a good/what a bad- 3(m-f)s            def- girl- nom  
                           = What a good girl or what a bad girl she is!

On the other hand, the agent may precede a derived verb, as the example in S. 79c:

*S. 79c)*            <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun        dhahaba        ilā        Pārīsa  
                           <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom        went- 3ms        prep- to        Paris- gen  
                           = <sup>c</sup>Alī went to Paris.

Moreover, the verb takes the first place in the basic word order, and this is regarded as a normal order on which all classical grammarians agree, since the verb governs the agent and the object in the verbal sentence.

The Arabic verb displays the agreement and disagreement between verb and agent, whether the verb comes as perfective or imperfective, as illustrated in S. 80a and S. 80b:

*S. 80a)*            shariba-t        Hindun        al-mā<sup>ʔ</sup>a  
                           drank- 3fs        Hind- nom        def- water- accus  
                           = Hind drank water.

*S. 80b)*            tashrabu        Hindun        al-mā<sup>ʔ</sup>a  
                           3fs- drinks        Hind- nom        def- water- accus  
                           = Hind drinks water.

By contrast, English does not show agent-verb agreement with the perfective; it appears with the imperfective only as we have seen in the previous examples (S. 80a and S. 80b translation). However, the verb 'to be' and 'have/has' are only the main verb which can show the agent-verb agreement with the perfective, where 'was' occurs with the singular subject,





Agent quantifiers as either masculine or feminine are found in the Qurʾān (Sūrahs al-Anʿām, VI: 158; al-Raʿd, XIII: 8 and al-Ḥaj, XXII: 2).

### 9.5. Conclusion:

English has a largely fixed word order that follows the SVO pattern, as exemplified in 85:

*S. 85)* Mark read a book.

Unlike written Arabic word order, which admits of various orders (VSO, SVO, OVS, VOS, OSV and SOV), although (OSV and SOV) are rare. In spoken Arabic, however, the order is dominantly SVO.

Word order in Arabic plays both an optional and an obligatory part with each of the following orders – VSO, OVS and VOS – while it is optional with the remaining orders – SVO, OSV and SOV. The verb agrees with its agent in gender, whether the verb precedes or comes after it, but as I discussed earlier, this rule is not obligatory. Thus, it is not true to say that the verb always agrees with its agent in gender since there are many cases where the verb may disagree with its agent, as represented in 86:

*S.86)* waqafa-(t)                      fī                      l-mawāqifi                      l-sayyāratu  
 parked- 3(m-f)s    prep- in    def- parking- gen    def- car- nom  
 = The car parked in the parking.

As discussed above (section 9.4.3), this gives the Arabic language the property of flexibility, thereby enabling more than one usage for some structures. On the other hand, it is not obligatory for the verb to agree with its agent in terms of number when the verb precedes its agent, while it is obligatory when the agent precedes the verb.

With regard to the issue of word order, both verb and agent play a major role in which the verb displays agreement or disagreement between them while the agent controls the verb; if the agent is masculine, the verb will be masculine, whereas if the agent is feminine, the verb will be feminine.

However, there are some elements which can affect this role; for example, if the particle 'except' (*illā*) is placed between the verb and a human feminine agent, the verb may or may not agree with its agent, as, for example: *mā nāma(t) illā Hindun* 'None slept except Hind'. Having examined the elements of the verbal sentence and the word order of this structure, the following chapter will investigate how these elements influence aspect and tense, and exploring their types with this structure.



## CHAPTER TEN

### Aspect and Tense in the Verbal Sentence

#### 10.1. Introduction:

The verb is considered an important element in the construction of the Arabic verbal sentence which, as mentioned earlier, is composed of two fundamental elements; namely the predicate or the verb, and the subject or the agent. Additionally this is a matter of interest for the English language because all English sentences contain a verbal element, whether main or auxiliary (Rashīd, 2008: 26). Although the earlier Arabic grammarians focused on the verb, this did not mean that they did not examine important points in terms of the Arabic tense (indicating the temporal location of the event [see below]), and that the verb did not carry tense meaning as some scholars claim (cf. Fandris, 1950: 136; Trttion, 1952: 53; al-Jawārī, 1974: 5-6; al-Makhzūmī, 1986: 144; al-Sāmarrāʿī, 1986: 23).

Grammarians considered the verb as one of the most significant elements which affect aspect (denoting the relation of action to the passage of time [see below]) and tense in Arabic. Sībawayh (1988, I: 12), al-Anbārī (nd: 11) and Ibn ʿAqīl (1980, I: 15) claimed that it is the most significant element. Moreover, there is an apparent relationship between the aspect and tense in the verbal sentence (Juḥfah, 2006: 13 and 94). The focus of this chapter will be on issues which relate to aspect and tense; 1- what is aspect and tense?; 2- what are the tools which affect aspect and tense?; 3- and what are the types of aspect and tense?.

#### 10.2. Definition:

In Arabic, there is a confusion of the distinction between tense and aspect. It is important to understand the general meaning of aspect and tense before discussing this issue. Tense relates to the time of the situation which is denoted by the verb (Jespersen, 1949, III: 1), which is a fundamental

element, and other elements. The commonest tenses found in languages are past, present and future (Crystal, 1980: 352). The past tense describes an occurrence or situation prior to the moment of speaking, as in S. 1:

*S. 1)*            zāra                      °Aliyyun                      al-mathāfa  
                       visited- 3ms            °Alī- nom                def- museum- accus  
   = °Alī visited the museum.

The present describes a situation which is located temporally as simultaneous with moment of the speaking, as illustrated in S. 2:

*S. 2)*            yadrusu                      Muḥammadun                      al-Faransiyyata  
                       3ms- studies            Muḥammad- nom                def- French- accus  
   = Muḥammad studies a French language.

and the future describes events or situations subsequent to the moment of the speaking, as illustrated by the following example:

*S. 3)*            sa-°adhhabu                      ilā                      Pārīsa  
                       part- will- 1ms- go            prep- to                Paris- gen  
   = I will go to Paris.

S. 3, is made as future by adding a particle */sa-/*. Thus, we may describe tense as deictic<sup>47</sup> "i.e. locates situations in time" (Comrie, 1976: 1-2 and 5; Vladimir, 1991: 18); while aspect is not deictic: it is a semantic category of the verb denoting the relation of action to the passage of time, and it refers especially to completion, duration or habit (al-Aswad, 1983: 9). This can be illustrated by the following examples (4a- 4c):

*S. 4a)*                                      nāma                      Muḥammadun  
   slept- 3ms                Muḥammad- nom  
   = Muḥammad slept.

<sup>47</sup>" Deictic is a term used in grammatical theory to subsume those features of language which refer directly to the temporal or locational characteristics of the situation within which an utterance takes place, whose meaning is thus relative to that situation" (Crystal: 1980, 103).

*S. 4b)*    kāna                    yaktubu                    wājiba-hu  
 was-3 ms            3ms- writes            def- homework- accus- pro- his  
 - °indamā                    futiḥa                                    l-bābu  
 adv- when            was opened- 3ms            def- door- nom  
 = He was doing his homework when the door was opened.

*S. 4c)*    yusāfiru    °Aliyyun    ilā    Pārīsa    kulla            shahrin  
 travels            °Alī            to    Paris    indef- every    indef- month  
 - 3ms            - nom    - prep    - gen    - accus            - gen  
 = °Alī travels to Paris every month.

Aspect sometimes give the action more limitation, but tense is not able to do this. Tense determines the temporal location of the event, whereas aspect determines the temporal properties internal to the event (ibid). Consider the examples in 5a and 5b:

*S. 5a)*    kāna    yal<sup>c</sup>abu    kūrata    qadamin            kulla            yawmin  
 used to    plays    indef-ball    indef-foot    indef-every    indef-day  
 - 3ms    - 3ms    - accus    - gen            - accus            - gen  
 = He used to play football every day.

*S. 5b)*    ḡalla    yal<sup>c</sup>abu    fī    l-nādī            l-riyāḡiyyi    ḡattā    ta<sup>c</sup>iba  
 keep    plays    in    def-club            def-sport            until            tired  
 - 3ms    - 3ms    - prep    - gen                    - gen            - part            - 3ms  
 = He kept playing in the sports club until he was tired.

The difference between sentence 5a and sentence 5b is not in the tense because it is indicated as past in both cases, but in the aspect; S. 5a is in a habitual aspect, whereas S. 5b is in the progressive aspect. Accordingly, the aspect describes the verb along with the tense and mood, referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the duration or type of an activity (Crystal, 1980: 34).

It seems, therefore, that aspect expresses or describes the condition or case of the action or event in the verbal sentence (completion, incompleteness, progressive and habitual); while tense expresses the location of time in a situation. As an example of the latter see sentences 6a- 6c:

*S. 6a)*                      ḥaḍara                      °Aliyyun  
    came- 3ms                      °Alī- nom  
    = °Alī came.

*S. 6b)*                      qad                      ḥaḍar-tu                      l-darsa  
    part- just                      attended- 1ms                      def- lesson- accus  
    = I have just attended the lesson.

*S. 6c)*                      kun-nā                      zanan-nā-hu                      rajulan                      ṣāliḥan  
    were- 1mp                      thought- 1mp- 3ms                      indef-man- accus                      indef-good- accus  
    = We had thought he was a good man.

All these sentences indicate one action in Arabic: a completed action which is in the perfective aspect. At the same time, they indicate a specific time; the first sentence (6a) indicates a general past event, the second (6b) a recent past and the third sentence a remote past (6c). Therefore, it notes that tense refers to a specific time, while aspect does not.

### 10.3. The elements which affect Arabic aspect and tense:

In addition to aspect and tense, the difference of meaning and tense in verbs is shown by adding a particle or auxiliary verb; indeed this is, a special feature among other Semitic languages (Bergstrasser, 1994: 88- 89). Therefore, there are some elements that affect Arabic aspect and tense (Figure 33).

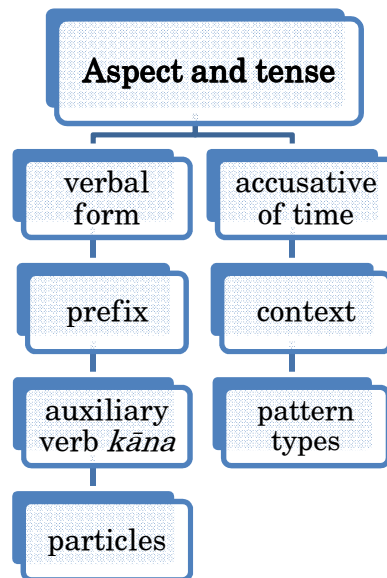


Figure 33: Elements which affect aspect and tense

**a. Verbal forms:**

Verbal forms have a significant impact upon aspect, for instance, the *fa<sup>ˆ</sup>ala* form indicates a perfective aspect in general (S. 7):

*S. 7)*                      kharaja                      <sup>ˆ</sup>Aliyyun    (fa<sup>ˆ</sup>ala)  
 went out- 3ms            <sup>ˆ</sup>Alī- nom  
    = <sup>ˆ</sup>Alī went out.

Whereas the *yaf<sup>ˆ</sup>alu* form indicates an imperfective aspect in general (al-Mayyāḥ, 1967: 21), as the example in 8:

*S. 8)*                              yakhruju                              <sup>ˆ</sup>Aliyyun  
 3ms- goes out                      <sup>ˆ</sup>Alī- nom  
    = <sup>ˆ</sup>Alī goes out.

The verbal form, also plays a major role in assigning different tenses. For example an abstract *fa<sup>ˆ</sup>ala* pattern cannot be used for a future tense in general because it is formed to denote a past tense; while an abstract *yaf<sup>ˆ</sup>alu* pattern is formed to indicate a present tense or future with a particular particle unless prefixed by *lam* or preceded by the auxiliary *kāna* 'was'.



Word order is "the sequential arrangement of clause elements or words in a sentence... that [provide] the basis of an important system of classification in the syntactic typology of language" (Crystal, 1992: 420-21). Therefore, word order is regarded as a significant syntactic device in every language, and through this system we can decide if the sentences or clauses are syntactically correct or false. This system guides the speaker and writer who requires a means of presenting useful meaningful and correct structure in order to reach to his/her target correctly. Languages differ in their structures and word order: thus the meaning of the structure is sometimes dependent upon the word order.

As a result, classical and modern grammarians have always been interested in this topic; for example, classical grammarians addressed this issue in several ways; under the agent topic and the object topic. They discussed the relationship between the verb and other elements because the verb has an important role in the ordering of words, where the transitive verb governs an agent (subject) and object, whereas the intransitive governs only an agent. However, most classical grammarians have not discussed this issue in details because they concentrated instead on 'operator theory' (*naḥariyyat al-<sup>c</sup>āmil*) and considered every element to be governed by another element: thus, for instance, the verb governs an agent. In addition, they do not study all the rules of word order, an area where they focused largely on Verb-Subject-Object and Subject-Verb-Object.

#### **d. Some particles:**

The particles in Arabic do not play a major role on their own; however, some change the temporal direction of verbal forms when combined with the verbal forms like *qad*, *lam* and *lan*. For example, *lan* when combined with subject markers *aḥruf al-mudāra<sup>c</sup>a*, gives a future tense and it does not indicate a present temporal as the direction tense of this form denotes (S. 15):

*S. 15a)* lan taḥḍura Hindun al-ḥaflata  
 neg- not 3fs- comes Hind- nom def- party- accus  
 = Hind will not come to the party.

Whereas *lam* indicates a past temporal action, as in 16:

*S. 16)* lam adḥhab ilā l-sūqi  
 neg- not 1ms- go prep- to def- market- gen  
 = I did not go to the market.

In addition, the *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern form indicates a general past temporal but is changed to a specific tense when preceded by particle *qad*, for example (S. 17):

*S. 17)* qad qāmati l-ṣalātu  
 part started- 3fs def- prayer- nom  
 = Prayer has started.

In this case *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* indicates a 'recent' past. This usage was studied by Ibn Hishām in his book *Mughnī l-labīb* (2000, II: 534).

#### e. Accusative of time (*zarf al-zamān*):

Some studies of the tense system omit the 'accusative of time' in the understanding that it is not part of the aspect and tense system being considered by many linguists as a lexical element (Hassan, 1990: 62). However, this does not mean that 'accusative of time' has no role in assigning different aspect and tense inside the sentence, as illustrated in S. 18a:

*S. 18a)*  
 taktubu Su<sup>c</sup>ādun maqālan <sup>c</sup>an al-tagḥḍhiyati al<sup>o</sup>āna  
 writes Su<sup>c</sup>ād indef- essay on def- nourishment def-now  
 - 3fs - nom - accus - prep - gen - adv  
 = Su<sup>c</sup>ād is now writing an essay on nourishment.



'Now' in this context indicates an imperfective progressive aspect, while sentence (18b) indicates a primary imperfective aspect:

*S. 18b)*     taktubu   Su<sup>c</sup>ādun   maqālan   <sup>c</sup>an   al-taghdhiyati  
               writes   Su<sup>c</sup>ād     indef- essay on   def- nourishment  
               - 3fs        - nom            - accus    - prep        - gen  
                           = Su<sup>c</sup>ād writes an essay on nourishment.

The accusative of time should be suited with the verbal form; that is, we cannot say:

*S. 19a)*     \*kataba        <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun     maqālatan            ghadan  
               \*wrote- 3ms   <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom     indef- essay- accus     adv- tomorrow  
                           = \*<sup>c</sup>Alī wrote an essay tomorrow.

The accusative of time here *ghadan* should be placed with *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* or *sa-yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern not with *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern e.g. (S. 19b):

*S. 19b)*  
               (sa-)yaktubu            <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun     maqālatan            ghadan  
               (part-will)3ms- writes   <sup>c</sup>Alī-nom     indef- essay- accus     adv- tomorrow  
                           = <sup>c</sup>Alī (will) write(s) an essay tomorrow.

Therefore, the Arabic accusative of time can be categorised into four types (Figure 34):

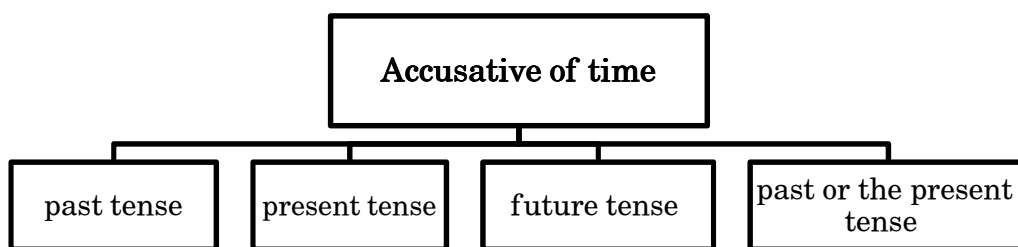


Figure 34: Categories of accusative of time

i. Accusative of time which is used with a past tense such as: *amsi* 'yesterday', *al-shahr al-mādi* 'last month', *al-sana l-mādiya* 'last year' and *fī zamanin mādinin* 'in the past'.

ii. Accusative of time which is used with a present tense like *al'āna* 'now' and *hādhīhi l-laḥẓa* 'this moment'.

iii. Accusative of time which is used with a future tense like *ghadan* 'tomorrow', *al-shahr al-qādim* 'next month', *al-sana l-qādima* 'next year' and *fī l-zaman al-qādim* 'in the future'.

iv. Accusative of time which is used with either the past or the present like *hādhā l-ṣabāḥ* 'this morning' *al-yawm* 'today' and *hādhā l-shahr* 'this month' and *hādhīhi l-sana* 'this year'. For example, *hādhā l-ṣabāḥ* 'this morning' indicates a present time if it is still before afternoon, but a past time if the morning is over.

#### f. Context:

The Arabic verbal forms alone do not necessarily determine aspect and tense, i.e., we cannot classify a particular aspect or tense without context. This could be called a syntactic view of aspect and tense (Ḥassān, 1994: 241) because the verbal forms are composed with other words and all these words give a completed meaning and tense (Ingham, 1980: 137-39). I believe that this is more accurate than a morphological view of aspect and tense because it is syntactic that limits the meaning and types of Arabic tense and aspect. In sentences like 20a to 20d:

*S. 20a)*        yadrusu             °Aliyyun             al-Asbāniyyata  
                      3ms- studies     °Alī- nom             def- Spanish- accus

= °Alī studies a Spanish language.

*S. 20b)*        sa-yadrusu                     °Aliyyun             al-Asbāniyyata  
                      part- will- 3ms- studies     °Alī- nom             def- Spanish- accus

= °Alī will study a Spanish language.

lam                yadrus             °Aliyyun             al-Asbāniyyata

*S. 20c)* neg- not 3ms- studies °Alī- nom def- Spanish- accus  
 = °Alī did not study a Spanish language.

*S. 20d)* lan yadrusa °Aliyyun al-Asbāniyyata  
 neg- not 3ms- studies °Alī- nom def- Spanish- accus  
 = °Alī will not study a Spanish language.

The main verbal form of all these sentences is *yadrus* 'study' but there are differences of aspect and tense due to the context and particles that precede the main verb. Therefore, particles and context with verbal form create in written Arabic accurate distinctions of aspect and tense as will be discussed later.

#### **g. Pattern types:**

There are two pattern types in a sentence, viz., the statement pattern (*al-uslūb al-khabarī*) and the non-statement pattern (*al-uslūb al-inshāʿī*). These patterns are usually what give the sentence a temporal meaning (Ḥassān, 1994: 245); the statement pattern indicates a past, present or future tense, as in the following sentences (21a- 21c):

*S. 21a)* ḥaḍara °Aliyyun al-darsa  
 attended- 3ms °Alī- nom def- lesson- accus  
 = °Alī attended the lesson.

*S. 21b)* yaḥḍuru °Aliyyun al-darsa  
 3ms- attends °Alī- nom def- lesson- accus  
 = °Alī attends the lesson.

*S. 21c)* sa-yaḥḍuru °Aliyyun al-darsa  
 part- will- 3ms- attends °Alī- nom def- lesson- accus  
 = °Alī will attend the lesson.



the majority of aspect types are not always observed from the verbal forms or auxiliary verbs only, although the verbal forms play a major role in determining the type of aspect, for example sentence 23a:

*S. 23a)* akala °Aliyyun tuffaḥatan  
ate- 3ms °Alī- nom indef- apple- accus  
= °Alī ate an apple.

The aspect is observed from the verb *akala* only, but in sentence 23b (below) the aspect type is observed from the expression *kull yawmin* and the verb *ya ʔkulu* together:

*S. 23b)*  
yaʔkulu °Aliyyun tuffaḥatan kulla yawmin  
3ms- eats °Alī- nom indef- apple- accus indef- every- accus indef-day-gen  
= °Alī eats an apple every day.

The aspect type in sentence 23c is observed from the negative particle *lam* and the verb *ya ʔkul* together:

*S. 23c)* lam yaʔkul °Aliyyun tuffaḥatan  
neg- not 3ms- eats °Alī- nom indef- apple- accus  
= °Alī did not eat an apple.

It is clear that if we only concentrate upon the verbal forms in the last two examples in order to classify an aspect type, we will certainly give a wrong category. By contrast, the types of aspect in English are observed from the main verbal forms or auxiliary verbs with main verbs, as illustrated by following examples 24a to 24c:

*S. 24a)* He learned French.

indicating a perfective aspect; *S. 24b* indicating a progressive aspect:

*S. 24b)* He is learning French.

Here the main verbal form contains an auxiliary verb 'is'. The sentence (24c) indicates a predictive aspect, where it is observed from the main verbal form (learn) with an auxiliary verb 'will':

S. 24c)

He will learn French.

The alteration of aspect is noted through the verbal form. It is important to say that English is clearer than Arabic in terms of the aspect as we shall see.

As mentioned earlier, there are two main types of aspect in the Arabic verbal sentence, namely a primary aspect which typically depends upon the basic verbal forms *fa<sup>ʿ</sup>ala* and *yaf<sup>ʿ</sup>alu* combining with the rest of the sentence. Another type is a secondary aspect that typically is constituted from basic verbal forms and a particular particle or expression which combines with the rest of the sentence.

#### 10.4.1. Primary aspect:

The primary aspect has two kinds, namely: the perfective and imperfective (Figure 36):

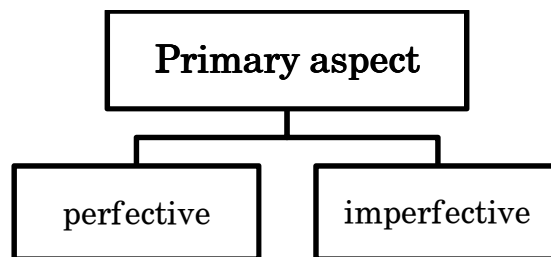


Figure 36: The primary aspect

##### 10.4.1.1. The perfective aspect (*muktamil*):

Perfective aspect indicates a completed action or event and focuses on the beginning and end of a situation, as distinct from a continuing or not necessarily complete action or event. The speaker concentrates upon the boundaries of the event, ignoring its internal structure (Gueron, 2007: 373).

The Arabic perfective aspect is typically classified by a basic verbal form *fa<sup>ʿ</sup>ala* alone, as (S. 25) below shows:

jā <sup>ʾ</sup> a	ʿAliyyun	min	safari-hi
came- 3ms	ʿAlī- nom	prep- from	def- travel- gen- pro- his

*S. 25)* = °Alī came from his travel.

The negative pattern of this perfective aspect is constituted by a *yaf°alu* pattern form combined with the particle *lam* or using the *fa°ala* pattern form with particles *mā* or *lā*, as illustrated in S. 26a to 26c below. However, the particle *lam* with *yaf°alu* is used more than *mā* and *lā* in the Qur°ān, where it is found nearly in (244) verses, and *mā* with *fa°ala* in (214) verses, whereas *lā* is found in two verses (Sūrat al-Qiyāma, LXXV: 31 and al-Balad, XC: 11):

*S. 26a)* lam                      yaḥḍur                      °Aliyyun                      al-darsa  
    neg- not                      3ms- attends                      °Alī- nom                      def- lesson- accus  
    = °Alī did not attend the lesson.

*S. 26b)* mā                      akal-tu                      tuffāḥatan                      ma°a                      wajbati                      l-ghadā°i  
    not                      eat                      def- apple                      with                      meal                      def- lunch  
    - neg                      - 1ms                      - accus                      - adv                      - gen                      - gen  
    = I did not eat an apple with lunch meal.

*S. 26c)* lā                      akal-tu                      wa-lā-sharib-tu  
    neg- not                      eat- 1ms                      part- and- neg- not- drink- 1ms  
    = I did not eat and drink.

The English perfective aspect, on comparison, is indicated by a past form or auxiliary verb 'had' with a past participial, as illustrated by sentences 27a and 27b:

*S. 27a)*    He left last week.

*S. 27b)*    She had left.

While sentences 28a and 28b come with a negative usage.

*S. 28a)*    He did not go to the city centre.

*S. 28b)*    She had not left.

#### 10.4.1.2. The imperfective aspect (*ghayr muktamil*):

Imperfective aspect indicates an event without regarding its beginning or completion (Benmamoun, 1999: 180 and 183).

The imperfective aspect in Arabic is typically presented by subject markers (*aḥruf al-muḏāraʿa*) which denote a present event (S. 29a- 29d):

*S. 29a)*    **tadhhabu**          Hindun          ilā          l-madrasati  
               3fs- goes          Hind- nom   prep- to          def- school- gen  
    = Hind goes to school.

*S. 29b)*    **yuṭīʿu**                  ʿAliyyun                  abā-hu  
               3ms- obeys          ʿAlī- nom    def- father- accus- pro- his  
    = ʿAlī obeys his father.

*S. 29c)*  
               **ʾadhhabu**    maʿa                  aṣḏiqāʾ-ī                  ilā          l-maḥqā  
               1ms- go          adv- with    def-friends-gen-pro-my    prep-to    def-café- gen  
    = I go to the café with my friends.

*S. 29d)*    **namshī**                  ilā          l-madrasati                  maʿan  
               1mp- walk    prep- to    def- school- gen    indef- together- accus  
    = We walk to the school together.

The negative pattern of this type is preceded by negative particles *lā*, *mā* or *laysa*, as illustrated below (S. 30a to 30c), but the *lā* particle is used more than *mā* in the Qurʿān, where *lā* is found in more than 750 verses, while *mā* occurs in about 82. Thus, *lā* is used more than *mā* with a negative imperfective aspect, whereas *mā* is used more than *lā* with a negative perfective aspect, but I cannot find any verse in which *laysa* is combined with the *yafʿalu* pattern, although the Classical Arabic grammarians mentioned that it can negate the imperfective event (see al-Murādi, 1992: 494; al-Māliqī, 2002: 369- 70; Ibn Hishām, 2000, III: 553).

<i>lā</i>	yalʿabu	ʿAliyyun	kūrata	qadamin	kathīran
not	plays	ʿAlī	indef- ball	indef- foot	indef- much
- neg	- 3ms	- nom	- accus	- gen	- accus



S. 30a) = °Alī does not play football too much.

S. 30b) mā yasma°u °Aliyyun al-ḥadītha  
 neg- not 3ms- listens °Alī- nom def- conversation- accus  
 = °Alī does not listen to the conversation.

S. 30c) las-tu adri mā af°alu  
 do not- 1ms 1ms- know rel- what 1ms- do  
 = I do not know what I can do.

By contrast, the English imperfective aspect is usually presented by a present form, as illustrated in S. 31:

S. 31) We cook a delicious dish.

and sentence 32 with a negative usage.

S. 32) They do not speak French.

#### 10.4.2. Secondary aspect:

There are six kinds of a secondary aspect in the Arabic verbal sentence as I have pointed out earlier, namely (Figure 37):

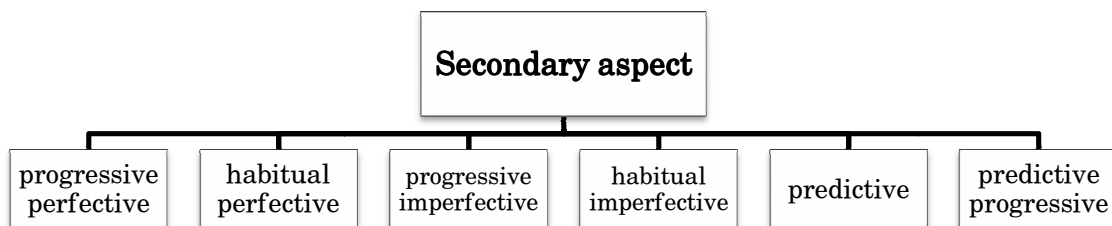


Figure 37: Types of secondary aspect

##### 10.4.2.1. The progressive perfective aspect (*muktamil mutakarrir*):

The progressive perfective indicates a past event happening in a period of time; it is presented by the auxiliary verbs *kāna* or *zalla* with the basic form *yaf°alu*, as illustrated by the following two examples (S. 33a and S. 33b):

*S. 33a)*

kāna	yamshī	ilā	bayti-hi
was- 3ms	3ms- walks	prep- to	def- home- gen- pro- his
- ʿindamā	qābala	mudīra-hu	
when- adv	met- 3ms	def- manager- accus- pro- his	

= He was walking to his home when he met his manager.

*S. 33b)*

zalla	yalʿabu	fī	l-nādī	l-riyāḍiyyi	ḥattā	taʿiba
keep	plays	in	def-club	def-sport	until	tired
- 3ms	- 3ms	- prep	- gen	- gen	- part	- 3ms

= He kept playing in the sports club until he was tired.

*Kāna* is more common in written Arabic as it is found in the Qurʿān (e.g., Sūrahs al-Baqara, II: 10 and al-Māʿida, V: 14) whereas *zalla* is found in only three verses (Sūrahs al-Ḥijir, XV: 14; al-Rūm, XXX: 51 and al-Wāqīʿa, LVI: 65). The negative pattern of this type, however, is presented by the particle *lam* and the auxiliary verb *yakūn/ yaẓall* combined with a *yafʿalu* pattern form (Elder, 1937: 21), as shown by the following example in 34a and 34b:

*S. 34a)*

lam	yakun	yudakhkhinu	ʿindamā	ḥaṣala	l-ḥādithu
not	is	smokes	when	happened	def-accident
- neg	- 3ms	- 3ms	- adv	- 3m	- nom

= He was not smoking when the accident happened.

*S. 34b)*

lam	yazal	yudakhkhinu	ʿindamā	ḥaṣala	l-ḥādithu
not	keeps	smokes	when	happened	def-accident
- neg	- 3ms	- 3ms	- adv	- 3m	- nom

= He was not smoking when the accident happened.

The negative usage can be presented by *mā* before these auxiliary verbs, as shown in the following examples below (34c and 34d):

*S. 34c)*

mā      kāna      yuqābilu      aṣḍiqā<sup>o</sup>a-hu      <sup>c</sup>indamā      mariḍa  
neg- not was- 3ms 3ms- meets def- friends- accus- pro-his adv- when get ill- 3ms

= He was not meeting his friends when he was ill.

*S. 34d)*

mā      ḡalla      yal<sup>c</sup>abu      fī      l-nādī      l-riyāḍiyyi      <sup>c</sup>indamā      ta<sup>c</sup>iba  
not kept plays in def- club def- sport when tired  
- neg - 3ms - 3ms - prep - gen - gen - adv - 3ms

= He was still not playing in the sports club when he was tired.

Or presented by *lā* after the auxiliary verb, as shown in S. 34e:

*S. 34e)*

kāna      lā      yuqābilu      aṣḍiqā<sup>o</sup>a-hu      <sup>c</sup>indamā      mariḍa  
was- 3ms neg- not 3ms- meets def- friends- accus- pro-his adv- when get ill- 3ms

= He was not meeting his friends when he was ill.

All negative usages with *kāna* are found as one would expect in the Qur<sup>o</sup>ān (Sūrahs al-Nisā<sup>o</sup>, IV: 113; al-An<sup>c</sup>ām, VI: 30 and Yūnus, X: 43). The English progressive perfective aspect is indicated by an auxiliary verb 'was' or 'were' and adding /-Ing/ to an infinitive verb, as illustrated by S. 35:

*S. 35)*                      She was cooking when I entered the flat.

and sentence 36 with a negative usage.

*S. 36)*                      They were not studying when a bell rang.

Abdul-Raof (1998: 157) has mentioned that stative verbs do not normally occur in the progressive aspect like sentences 37a and 37b:

*S. 37a)*                                      māta                      <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun  
died- 3ms                      <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom  
= <sup>c</sup>Alī died.

*S. 37b)* wajada            °Aliyyun            kitāba-hu  
 found- 3ms   °Alī- nom      def- book- accus- pro- his  
 = °Alī found his book.

Therefore, it is not feasible to say sentences 37c and 37d:

*S. 37c)* \*kāna        yajidu            °Aliyyun            kitāba-hu  
 \*was- 3ms   3ms- finds   °Alī- nom      def-book- accus- pro- his  
 = °Alī was finding his book.

*S. 37d)*            \*zalla            yamūtu            °Aliyyan  
                  \*keep- 3ms    3ms- dies       °Alī- accus  
                  = °Alī was still dying.

This point is due to the fact that the progressive aspect denotes active on the part of human subject.

#### 10.4.2.2. The habitual perfective aspect (*muktamil mu<sup>c</sup>tād*):

The habitual perfective indicates a repeated event in the past.

The habitual perfective is presented by an auxiliary verb *kāna* with the basic pattern form *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* and a particular expression noting a habitual action, generally with the following expressions: *dā<sup>c</sup>iman* 'always'; *ghāliban* 'often'; *kulla yawm* 'every day'; *kulla usbū<sup>c</sup>* 'every week'; *kull shahr* 'every month' or *kulla sana* 'every year', as shown in the following examples:

*S. 38a)*

kāna	yash <u>r</u> abu	qahwatan	kulla	yawmin	fī	l-ṣabāḥi
was	drinks	indef-coffee	indef- every	indef-day	in	def-morning
- 3ms	- 3ms	- accus	- accus	- gen	- prep	- gen

= He used to drink coffee every day in the morning.

*S. 38b)*

kāna	dā <sup>c</sup> iman	yulqī	kalimatan	fī	ḥafli	l-tak <u>h</u> arruji
was	indef-always	presents	indef-speech	in	ceremony	def-graduation

- 3ms - accus      - 3ms - accus      - prep - gen      - gen

= He used to present a speech in the graduation ceremony.

The negative pattern is presented by adding the negative particle *mā* or *lam* before an auxiliary verb or *lā* after the auxiliary verb, as exemplified in S. 39a- 39c:

*S. 39a)*

mā    kāna-t    tumārisu    riyāḍata    l-sibāḥati    kulla    yawmin  
 not    was    exercises    sport    def-swimming    indef- every    indef-day  
 - neg - 3fs      - 3fs    - accus      - gen      - accus      - gen

= She did not use to swim every day.

*S. 39b)*

lam    takun    tumārisu    riyāḍata    l-sibāḥati    kulla    yawmin  
 not    is    exercises    sport    def- swimming    indef- every    indef-day  
 -neg - 3fs      - 3fs      - accus      - gen      - accus      - gen

= She did not use to swim every day.

*S. 39c)*

kāna-t    lā    tumārisu    riyāḍata    l-sibāḥati    kulla    yawmin  
 was    not    exercises    sport    def-swimming    indef- every    indef-day  
 - 3fs - neg - 3fs      - accus      - gen      - accus      - gen

= She did not use to swim every day.

I cannot find any example in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān of this kind of aspect, but it is used a lot in Modern Written Arabic. By contrast, the English habitual perfective aspect is indicated by an auxiliary verb 'used to' with a bare infinitive form, as shown in S. 40:

*S. 40)*                      She used to do exercise every day.

or sentence 41 comes with a negative usage.

*S. 41)*                      They used not to drink wine.

**10.4.2.3. The progressive imperfective aspect (*ghayr muktamil mutakarrir*):**

The progressive imperfective aspect indicates a present event happening in a period of time (Gueron, 2007: 383- 84). The progressive imperfective aspect in Arabic is presented by a basic verbal form *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* combined with the accusative of time (*ẓarf al-zamān*) like *al<sup>ʔ</sup>āna* 'now', *hādhā l-usbū<sup>c</sup>* 'this week', as illustrated in S. 42a and S. 42b:

*S. 42a)*

yaktubu	°Aliyyun	wājiba-hu		al <sup>ʔ</sup> āna
3ms- writes	°Alī-nom	def- homework- accus- pro- his		def-now- adv

= °Alī is writing his homework now.

*S. 42b)*

yurāji <sup>c</sup> u	°Aliyyun	durūsa-hu	hādhā	l-usbū <sup>c</sup> a
3ms- reviews	°Alī- nom	def-lessons-accus-pro-his	dem-this	def-week- accus

= °Alī is reviewing his lessons this week.

This type is found in the Qur<sup>ʔ</sup>ān, as in Sūrat al-Jinn, LXXII: 9. The negative pattern is presented by adding the particle *lā* or *mā* before the basic verbal form, but *lā* used more than *mā* as discussed earlier (S. 43a and S. 43b):

*S. 43a)*

lā	yaf <sup>c</sup> alu	°Aliyyun	shay <sup>ʔ</sup> an	al <sup>ʔ</sup> āna
neg-not	3ms- does	°Alī- nom	indef- anything- accus	def-now- adv

= °Alī is not doing anything now.

*S. 43b)*

mā	yaf <sup>c</sup> alu	°Aliyyun	shay <sup>ʔ</sup> an	al <sup>ʔ</sup> āna
neg- not	3ms- does	°Alī- nom	indef- anything- accus	def- now- adv

= °Alī is not doing anything now.

In contrast the English progressive imperfective aspect is presented by an auxiliary verb 'is' or 'are' and adds */-Ing/* to an infinitive verb, as in S. 44:

*S. 44)* He is writing an essay.

and sentence 45 comes with a negative usage

*S. 45)* We are not studying French.

#### 10.4.2.4. The habitual imperfective aspect (*ghayr muktamil mu<sup>c</sup>tād*):

The habitual imperfective indicates a repeated event in the present.

The habitual imperfective aspect in Arabic is presented by the basic pattern form *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* combined with a particular expression mentioned above (10.4.2.2), S. 46 is an example:

*S. 46)* tuqābilu          Hindun          ṣadīqata-hā  
 3fs- meets      Hind- nom          def- friend- accus- pro- her  
 - kulla                                  usbū<sup>c</sup>in  
 indef- every- accus      indef- week- gen  
 = Hind meets her friend every week.

This kind of aspect is found in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān (Sūrat Ibrāhīm, XIV: 25). The negative pattern in this type is presented by adding the particle *lā* or *mā* before the basic verbal form, S. 47a and S. 47b are a good examples:

*S.47a)*  
 lā yasta<sup>c</sup>milu <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun al-ḥāsiba-l-āliyya      kulla      yawmin  
 not uses      <sup>c</sup>Alī      def- computer      indef-every      indef-day  
 -neg - 3ms      - nom      - accus      - accus      - gen  
 = <sup>c</sup>Alī does not use the computer every day.

*S.47b)*  
 mā yasta<sup>c</sup>milu <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun al-ḥāsiba-l-āliyya      kulla      yawmin  
 not uses      <sup>c</sup>Alī      def-computer      indef-every      indef-day  
 - neg - 3ms      - nom      - accus      - accus      - gen  
 = <sup>c</sup>Alī does not use the computer every day.

The English habitual imperfective is presented by an infinitive verbal form with similar expressions indicating a repeated event, as exemplified in S. 48

*S. 48)*                      She always goes to her office.

and sentence 49 with a negative usage:

*S. 49)*                      He does not travel to the UK every year.

#### 10.4.2.5. The predictive aspect (*ḥadath mutanabba' bih*):

Predictive aspect is a kind of verb aspect with particles, such as /*sa-*/ 'will' indicating a later of time or what will happen. It is presented by subject markers of the *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern form combined with the particles /*sa-*/, *sawfa*<sup>49</sup> 'will'; *nūn* of emphasis (*nūn al-tawkīd*); or any accusative of time indicating the later time. These are represented in S. 50a to S. 50c:

*S. 50a)* (sa)wfa yusāfiru Muḥammadun  
 part- will 3ms- travels Muḥammad- nom  
 = Muḥammad will travel.

*S. 50b)*  
 la-tadrusa-nna fī l-ṣayfi mā turīdu  
 part-2ms- study prep- in def- summer- gen rel- what want- 2ms  
 = You will study what you want in the summer time.

*S. 50c)*  
 naḥullu hāḍhā l-wājiba mustaqbalan  
 1mp- answer dem- this def- homework- accus indef- future- accus  
 = We will do this homework in the future.

All these usages are found in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān, as in Sūrāhs al-Nisā<sup>ʿ</sup>, IV: 30; Yūsuf, XII: 32; Luqmān, XXXI: 34 and al-Qamar, LIV: 26. The negative pattern is presented by the particle *lan* with the basic verbal form *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu*, as illustrated in S. 51:

*S. 51)* lan yukmila <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun dirāsata-hu  
 neg- not 3ms- completes <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom def- study- accus- pro- his  
 = <sup>c</sup>Alī will not complete his study.

The English predictive is usually indicated by an infinitive form with a particular reference to later time, or preceded by an auxiliary verb such as 'will' or 'is going', as shown in the following examples (S. 52a to 52c):

*S. 52a)* The train leaves at ten o'clock tomorrow.

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<sup>49</sup> These particles are called particles of amplification *ḥurūf al-tanfīs* or particles of futurity *ḥurūf al-istiqbāl*.



*S. 52b)* She will go to London.

*S. 52c)* He is going to London on Monday.

and sentence 53 comes with a negative usage:

*S. 53)* We are not going to the party next Friday.

#### 10.4.2.6. The predictive progressive (*istiqbālī mutakarrir*):

The predictive progressive has the auxiliary verb *yakūnu* combined with /*sa-*/ or *sawfa* particles and the *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern or the auxiliary verb *yakūn* combined with the *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern (Ḥassūn, 1994: 246), as, for example:

*S. 54)*

sa-yakūnu	°Aliyyun	yaṭbak <u>hu</u>	°indamā	taṣilu	l-laylata
will- is	°Alī	cooks	when	arrive	def-tonight
- part- 3ms	- nom	- 3ms	- adv	- 2ms	- accus

= °Alī will be cooking when you arrive tonight.

I found only two verses in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān, as in Sūrahs al-Furqān, XXV: 8 and al-Naml, XXVII: 41. The negative pattern is presented by the particle *lan* preceding the auxiliary verb *yakūn*, as illustrated in S. 55:

*S. 55)*

lan	yakūna	°Aliyyun	yaṭbak <u>hu</u>	°indamā	taṣilu	l-laylata
not	is	°Alī	cooks	when	arrive	def-tonight
- neg	- 3ms	- nom	- 3ms	- adv	- 2ms	- accus

= °Alī will not be cooking when you arrive tonight.

By contrast, the English predictive progressive is usually indicated by an infinitive form preceded by an auxiliary verb such as 'will' plus the verb 'be', as shown in the following example:

*S 56.* Tom will be sleeping when John is watching the film.

and sentence 57 comes with a negative usage:

*S 57.* Tom will not be sleeping when John watches the film.

### 10.5. Types of tense:

Tense in Arabic is considered a part of the verb which cannot be without the tense feature (al-Kafawī, 1998: 680). This issue has been studied since earlier times (Nūr al-Dīn, 1984: 37- 44; Owens, 1988: 228). One of the earlier works the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh elicits some important observations on the types of tense, namely the past (*bunyat limā maḍā'* 'that has elapsed'), the present (*wa-mā huwa kā'inun lam yanqaṭi'* 'that has begun but has not ceased') and the future (*wa-limā yakūnu wa-lam yaqa'* 'that will or what is going to be, or what has not happened') (Sībawayh, 1988, I: 12).

Not many linguists believe that there is a one-to-one correspondence between form and tense in the real world, i.e., past form for past occurrence and tense, present form for present occurrence and tense, and future form for future occurrence and tense because some forms have more than one temporal references (King, 1983: 104). The Arabic tense, in my opinion, is divided into two types<sup>50</sup>, namely, primary and secondary tense (Figure 38):

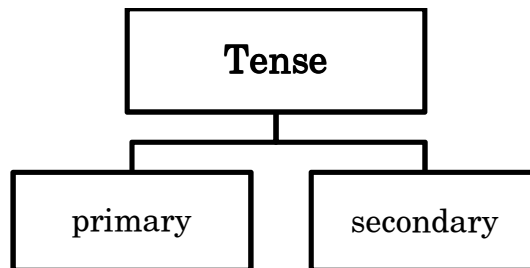


Figure 38: Types of tense

#### 10.5.1. Primary tense:

There are two primary tenses in Arabic; past and present tenses *al-māḍī* and *al-muḍāri'* (Figure 39).

<sup>50</sup> See: Description and Contrastive Analysis of Tense and Time in English and Arabic by al-Khafaji (1972); Tense by Comrie (1985); and Some Temporal, Aspectual, and Modal Features of the Arabic Structure la-qad Prefix Tense Verb by Kinberg (1988), I believe the division which I will demonstrate in this section is the best because it is more accurate than the normal division which divided Arabic tense into two tenses, past and present.

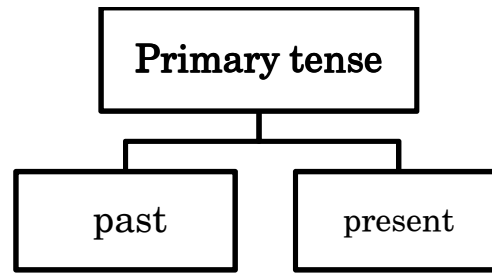


Figure 39: Types of primary tense

#### 10.5.1.1. Past tense (*al-māḍī*):

It is typically presented by a basic verbal form *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern which could be compared with the past simple in English. This is illustrated in S. 59:

S. 59)    *jā<sup>ʔ</sup>a*            <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun        mina            l-maktabati  
           came- 3ms    <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom    prep- from    def- library- gen  
                           = <sup>c</sup>Alī came from the library.

Conversely, the negative pattern of this type is presented by *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern combined with the particle *lā* or *mā*, as in the following example:

S. 60a)            *lā*            *nāma*            <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun  
                   neg- not    slept- 3ms    <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom  
                           = <sup>c</sup>Alī did not sleep.

S. 60b)            *mā*            *jā<sup>ʔ</sup>a*            <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun  
                   neg- not    came- 3ms    <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom  
                           = <sup>c</sup>Alī did not come.

or *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern combined with *lam* which is called the inversion particle (*ḥarf qalb*) because it always inverts the main tense of the form, from present to past tense (Ibn Ya<sup>c</sup>īsh, 2001, V: 34), as illustrated in the following example:

S. 60c)    lam        yashtari    <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun        qāmūsan  
           neg- not    3ms- buys    <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom    def- dictionary- accus  
                           = <sup>c</sup>Alī did not buy a dictionary.

#### 8.5.1.2. Present tense (*al-muḍāri<sup>ʔ</sup>*):

This is typically presented by a basic verbal form *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern which can be equated with the present simple in English, as illustrated in the following sentence:

*S.61)*

yuḥāwīlu °Aliyyun ikhtirā<sup>c</sup>a ālatin jadīdatin  
 3ms- tries °Alī- nom indef- invention- accus indef- machine- gen indef- new- gen  
 = °Alī is trying to invent a new machine.

The negative pattern of this tense, however, is presented by a *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern combined with *lā*, *mā* or *laysa* (S. 62a to S. 62c):

*S. 62a)* lā ya<sup>ḥ</sup>kulu °Aliyyun al-laḥma  
 neg- not 3ms- eats °Alī- nom def- meat- accus  
 = °Alī does not eat meat.

*S. 62b)* mā yafhamu °Aliyyun al-darsa sarī<sup>c</sup>an  
 not understands °Alī def- lesson indef- quickly  
 - neg - 3ms - nom - accus - accus  
 = °Alī does not understand the lesson quickly.

*S. 62c)* las-tu adrī mā af<sup>c</sup>alu  
 neg- not- 1ms 1ms- know rel- what 1ms- do  
 = I do not know what to do.

However, the particle *lā* is the negative particle most used in this pattern because it has a comprehensive meaning and *lā* with this form could indicate a future negative dependent upon context (Muṣṭafā, 1992: 135).

Although verbal forms contain a past and present tense and the grammarians agree on these forms<sup>51</sup>, Arabic does not have a primary future

<sup>51</sup> It was noted that there are some linguists who argued that al-Zajjājī denied the existence of the Arabic present tense. These linguists relied on the sentence which al-Zajjājī cited in his book *al-Jumal fī l-naḥw*. For al-Zajjājī: "wa-l-fi<sup>c</sup>lu mā dalla °alā ḥadathin wa-zamanin mādin wa-mustaqbalin naḥw qāma yaqūmu wa-qa<sup>c</sup>ada yaq<sup>c</sup>udu wa-mā ashbaha dhālika

tense. It requires a specific particle, auxiliary verb or a special usage combined with a main verb, typically with *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern, to present this tense (see below).

### 10.5.2. Secondary tense:

It is presented by the basic verbal forms *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* and *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern combined with particular particles */sa-/, qad* or *sawfa* and auxiliary verb *kāna*. In other words, the primary tenses are able to produce secondary tenses when they are combined with other special structures. Thus, there are several secondary types for every basic form, namely (Figure 40):

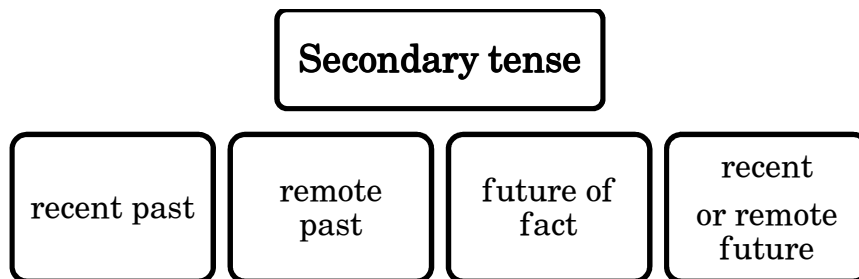


Figure 40: Types of secondary tense

#### 10.5.2.1. Recent past (*mādī qarīb*):

The recent past is presented by the *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern combined with the particle *qad* which equates with the present perfect tense in English (Wright, 1974, II: 4; al-Makhzūmī, 1986: 151- 152), S. 64 as an example:

*S.63*)    *qad*      *akal-tu*      *tīnatan*      *ladhīdhatan*  
 part      ate- 1ms    indef- fig - accus    indef- tasty- accus  
 = I have just eaten a tasty fig.

This usage is found in several Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ānic verses, as in *Sūrahs al-Baqara*, II: 60 and *Āl-<sup>c</sup>Umrān*, III: 165. The negative pattern of this tense, however, is presented by adding *lammā* particle before *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* (cf. *Sībawayh*, 1988, III:

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'the verb is what indicates an event and a past and future tense like 'he stood', 'stands up' and 'he sat', 'sits down', and likewise" (al-Zajjājī, 1983: 1). However, later argued that: "*al-af<sup>c</sup>ālu thalāthatun fi<sup>c</sup>lun mādin wa-fi<sup>c</sup>lun mustaqbalun wa-fi<sup>c</sup>lun fī l-ḥāl* 'the verbs are three types; past, future and present" (ibid. 13). Accordingly, al-Zajjājī mentioned the types of tense briefly when he talked about parts of speech and then he mentioned them in detail when he cited the types of verb. (cf. al-Suḥaybānī, 2006: 60- 62).

114- 15), as shown in S. 64a below, and this pattern is used in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān, (as in Sūrahs Ṣād, XXXVIII: 8 and al-Jumu<sup>ʿ</sup>a, LXII: 3):

*S. 64a)*    lammā            yanam            al-ṭiflu            ba<sup>c</sup>du  
                  neg- not    3ms- sleeps    def- child- nom    adv- yet  
                  = The child has not slept yet.

or *mā* with the *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern (Baalbaki, 1975: 97), as exemplified in S. 64b:

*S. 64b)*    mā            jā<sup>ʿ</sup>a            ʿAliyyun            ḥattā            al<sup>ʿ</sup>āna  
                  neg- not    came- 3ms    ʿAlī- nom    part- until    def-now- adv  
                  = ʿAlī has not come yet.

I have not found this particle with this kind of meaning in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān, but it is used a lot in Modern Written Arabic, especially in official statements, as the following example:

*S. 64c)*  
                  mā            wujida            l-sāriqu            ḥattā            al<sup>ʿ</sup>āna  
                  neg- not    found- 3ms    def- thief- nom    part- until    def-now- adv  
                  = The thief has not been found yet.

#### 10.5.2.2. Remote past (*māḍī ba<sup>c</sup>ʿīd*):

Remote past is indicated by the *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern combined with an auxiliary verb *kāna* or *kāna* and *qad* which could equate with a past perfect tense in English. Two examples will illustrate this point (S. 65a and S. 65b):

*S. 65a)*    kun-tu            zanān-tu-hu            rajulan            sālihan  
                  was- 1ms    thought- 1ms- 3ms    indef-man- accus    indef-good- accus  
                  = I had thought he was a good man.

*S. 65b)*  
                  kun-tu            qad            rabbay-tu            ibnat-ī  
                  was- 1ms    part    brought up- 1ms    def- daughter- accus-pro- my  
                  - fī                    qaryat-ī  
                  prep-in    def-village- gen-pro-my  
                  = I had brought up my daughter in my village.

However, the first one seems to be used more than the second, where it occurs in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān in several verses, as in Sūrahs al-Mā<sup>ʿ</sup>ida, V: 116 and al-Qamar, LIV: 14, while I found only two verses with second usage (Sūrahs al-Mu<sup>ʿ</sup>minūn, XXIII: 66 and al-Aḥzāb, XXXIII: 15). At the same time, the negative pattern of this type is presented by the particle *mā* or *lam* before the auxiliary verb *kāna/ yakūn*, as illustrated by S. 66a and S. 66b:

*S. 66a)*

mā	kun-tu	ẓanan-tu-hu	rajulan	sayyi <sup>ʿ</sup> an
neg- not	was- 1ms	thought- 1ms- 3ms	indef- man- accus	indef- bad- accus

= I had not thought he was a bad man.

*S. 66b)*

lam	akun	qad	rabbay-tu-hā
neg- not	1ms- was	part	brought up- 1ms- 3fs

= I did not bring her up.

I found only *lam* with a negative pattern in the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān in three verses (Sūrahs al-Nisā<sup>ʿ</sup>, IV: 23; al-An<sup>ʿ</sup>ām, VI: 23 and Ibrāhīm, XIV: 44), but *mā* is used a lot in Modern Written Arabic.

### 10.5.2.3. Future of fact (*mustaqbal muḥaddad*):

Word order is "the sequential arrangement of clause elements or words in a sentence... that [provide] the basis of an important system of classification in the syntactic typology of language" (Crystal, 1992: 420-21). Therefore, word order is regarded as a significant syntactic device in every language, and through this system we can decide if the sentences or clauses are syntactically correct or false. This system guides the speaker and writer who requires a means of presenting useful meaningful and correct structure in order to reach to his/her target correctly. Languages differ in their structures and word order: thus the meaning of the structure is sometimes dependent upon the word order.

As a result, classical and modern grammarians have always been interested in this topic; for example, classical grammarians addressed this issue in

several ways; under the agent topic and the object topic. They discussed the relationship between the verb and other elements because the verb has an important role in the ordering of words, where the transitive verb governs an agent (subject) and object, whereas the intransitive governs only an agent. However, most classical grammarians have not discussed this issue in details because they concentrated instead on 'operator theory' (*naẓariyyat al-<sup>°</sup>āmil*) and considered every element to be governed by another element: thus, for instance, the verb governs an agent. In addition, they do not study all the rules of word order, an area where they focused largely on Verb-Subject-Object and Subject-Verb-Object.

#### 10.5.2.4. Recent or remote future (*mustaqbal qarīb/ ba<sup>°</sup>id*):

Recent or remote future is presented by the *yaf<sup>°</sup>alu* pattern prefixed by the particle /*sa-*/ or *sawfa* equating with the future auxiliary verb 'will' in English, as the example in 70a and 70b:

S. 70a)	sa-yadhhabu	<sup>°</sup> Aliyyun	ilā	Pārīsa
	part- will- 3ms- goes	<sup>°</sup> Alī- nom	prep- to	Paris- gen
	= <sup>°</sup> Alī will go to Paris.			

S. 70b)	sawfa	yarji <sup>°</sup> u	<sup>°</sup> Aliyyun	min
	part- will	3ms- comes back	<sup>°</sup> Alī- nom	prep- from
	- safari-hi			
	def- travel- gen- pro- his			
	= <sup>°</sup> Alī will come back from his travel.			

Both usages are found in the Qur<sup>°</sup>ān, but /*sa-*/ is more common, where it occurs in nearly 110 verses and is usually used with /*ya-*/ subject marker, as in Sūrah al-Baqara, II: 142 and al-An<sup>°</sup>ām, VI: 110, while there are 42 verses in the Qur<sup>°</sup>ān with the *yaf<sup>°</sup>alu* pattern preceded by the particle *sawfa* (e.g., Sūrah al-Nisā<sup>°</sup>, IV: 30 and al-Mā<sup>°</sup>ida, V: 14).



On the other hand, the negative pattern of all these types of futurity has the *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern combined with the particles *lan* or *lā*, as illustrated below in S. 71a and S. 71b:

S. 71a) lan taḥḍura Hindun al-ijtimā<sup>c</sup>a  
 neg- not 3fs- attends Hind- nom def- meeting- accus  
 = Hind will not attend the meeting.

S. 71b)  
 lā yadhūq-ūna fī-hā bardan wa-lā sharāban  
 (sūrat al-Naba<sup>o</sup>, LXXVIII: 24)  
 not taste in- it indef- cool and- not indef- drink  
 - neg - 3mp -prep-pro - accus - part- neg - accus  
 = "Nothing cool shall they taste therein, nor any drink". (Ali,  
 1968: 1674)

However, *lan* is more common for the future negative than *lā* because *lan* indicates future exclusively and is used more than 100 times in the Qur<sup>o</sup>ān, as in Sūrahs al-Baqara, II: 55 and al-Mā<sup>o</sup>ida, V: 172, while *lā* could negate a present or future tense dependent upon context as occurred in the Qur<sup>o</sup>ān (see for example Sūrahs al- Baqara, II: 48; Āl-<sup>c</sup>Umrān, III: 5 and al-A<sup>c</sup>rāf, VII: 34).

## 10.5. Discussion:

10.6.1. The *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern mainly indicates a past tense, while the *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern mainly indicates a present tense. However, the time reference of these forms can be changed by context or the addition of other elements. Consider the following examples (S. 72a and S. 72b):

S. 72a) idhā jā<sup>o</sup>a <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun da<sup>c</sup>-hu  
 part- when came- 3ms <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom let- 2ms- 3ms  
 - yanāmu fī l-ghurfati  
 3ms- sleeps prep- in def- bedroom- gen  
 = When <sup>c</sup>Alī comes, let him sleep in the bedroom.

S. 72b)  
 lam yadhhab <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun ilā Pārīsa  
 neg- not 3ms- goes <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom prep- to Paris- gen  
 = <sup>c</sup>Alī did not go to Paris.

Sentence 72a indicates a future event, although the main verbal form in this example is in the *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern (*jā<sup>ʔ</sup>a*). Whereas, sentence 72b indicates a past tense, although the main verb is *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* (*yadhhab*). On the other hand, the time reference of English forms cannot be changed. Past simple forms in English, for example, could not be used to indicate a present or future tense. Thus, there is an accurate process when it is required to change the time reference by adding an auxiliary verb and (or) sometimes alter the main verb, as illustrated by S. 73a:

*S. 73a)* He drank last night.

In order to indicate a present perfect in this sentence (S. 73a), for example, you have to add the auxiliary verb 'has' and change the main verb from a past simple to a past participle (S. 73b):

*S. 73b)* He has drunk.

It seems that the primary types of tense and aspect can be merged into one another as shown earlier (cf. Comrie, 1976: 80). In addition, neither Arabic nor English has a primary future tense. However, there is process for producing Arabic and English future tense by adding a particle or auxiliary verb as pointed out earlier. Malotki (1983: 627) comments that: "formality English has two tenses only; a past and present as in love and loved and all other so-called tenses are composite forms involving an auxiliary as in was loving and will love etc". Ibn Hishām (2000, II: 341- 42) and al-Suyūṭī (1998, II: 498) claimed that the Baṣran grammarians took the view that /*sa-*/ is used for near future, while *sawfa* is for remote, though both of them disagreed with this view (cf. al-Murādī, 1992: 60). It seems that both the particles /*sa-*/ and *sawfa* can be used for near and remote or unknown future and this view is supported by the Qur<sup>ʔ</sup>ān (see for example Sūrahs Āl-<sup>c</sup>Umrān, III: 137; al-Nisā<sup>ʔ</sup>, IV: 146; 168; al-Tawba, IX: 90; Yūsuf, XII: 98 and al-Takāthur, CII: 4). The auxiliary verb *kāna* occurs with past and future tenses only and does not occur with a present tense, as the Qur<sup>ʔ</sup>ān shows in several verses (Sūrahs al-Baqara, II: 10 and al-Muzammil, LXXIII: 20).

**10.6.2.** In conditional sentences Arabic tense is determined by the context.

Consider the following examples (S. 74a and S. 74b):

*S. 74a)*    idhā            wajada            l-nuḥātu            l-quḍamā<sup>ʔ</sup>u  
                  part- when    found- 3ms    def-grammarians-nom    def-early-nom  
                  - baytan            mina            l-shi<sup>c</sup>ri    istashhad-ū    bi-hi  
                  indef-line-accus    prep-from    def-poetry-gen    cited-3mp    prep-in-pro-it  
                  = When the Early Arabic grammarians found a poetry, it  
                  was added as evidence.

*S. 74b)*    idhā            jā<sup>ʔ</sup>a-t            al-sā<sup>c</sup>atu            l-thālithatu            fa-sa-<sup>ʔ</sup>ughādiru  
                  when    came    def- clock            def- three            then- will-leave  
                  - part    - 3fs            - nom            - nom            - part- 1ms  
                  = I will leave at three o'clock.

Sentence 74a indicates a past event and tense, while sentence 74b indicates a future event and tense, although both verbal forms which come after the conditional particle are the same; is in the *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern. However, it seems that the tense is usually future.

Yusuf (1983: 54) observes that a verb, which comes after these particles is a perfective verb (*fa<sup>c</sup>ala*) regardless of whether a past, present or future tense is involved, but there is an exception with the particle *in*, where it can occur with the *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern. It seems that the other conditional particles can occur with an imperfective verb (*yaf<sup>c</sup>alu*) as well, such as the particles *idhā*, and *law*, as, in Sūrah al-Ra<sup>c</sup>d, XIII: 31 and al-Layl, XCII: 1.

**10.6.3.** Arabic has a special form for the imperative mood as do many languages, except Modern English (Wickens, 1987: 61); it is an unmarked form in English (Palmer, 1986: 29 and 108). In addition to this, the imperative form *if<sup>c</sup>al* indicates a general present or future depending upon an accusative of time or the context of the event; sentence 75a indicates a present tense, while sentence 75b indicates a future tense:

                 uktub                            wājiba-ka                            al<sup>ʔ</sup>āna  
                  write- 2ms    def-homework- accus- pro-your    def- now- adv

*S. 75a)* = Do your homework now.

*S. 75b)*      uktub                      wājiba-ka                      ghadan  
 write-2ms      def- homewor- accus- pro-your      adv- tomorrow  
 = Do your homework tomorrow.

According to <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Jabbār Tawwāma (1994: 6), however, the majority of Arabic grammarians claimed that the *if<sup>c</sup>al* (imperative) form indicates a future tense only. However, it seems that this view is not very accurate because this form comes in the most eloquent source, namely, the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān with an apparent present element (*al<sup>ʿ</sup>āna*), as shown in (Sūrat al-Baqra, II:187) (S. 76 below), and this kind of accusative of time cannot come with the future tense:

*S. 76)*                      fa-l<sup>ʿ</sup>āna                      bāshir-ū-hunna  
                                  part-so- def- now- adv      associate- 2mp- 3fp  
 = "So now associate with their wives". (Ali, 1968: 74)

As a result, this form *if<sup>c</sup>al* indicates a present or future tense dependent upon context, as represented in sentences 75a and 75b above, and in all languages (Palmer, 1986: 97, 108 and 111). Moreover, in Arabic a negative particle cannot occur before the imperative form, i.e., a negative particle cannot be used before *if<sup>c</sup>al* pattern. However, it does not mean that there is no negative imperative usage. When the particle *lā* is combined with *yaf<sup>c</sup>al*, they express a negative imperative usage.

**10.6.4.** The particle *qad* could be equated with a perfect tense in English; also as an expression of emphasis, as in the following example:

*S. 77a)*  
 qad      ḥaqqāqa              l-junḍdu              intīṣāran              kabīran  
 part      achieve- 3ms      def- solders- nom      indef- victory- accus      indef- big -accus  
 = Solders did achieve a big victory.

This emphatic meaning is expressed by the particle *qad* and context (Ibn Hishām, 2000, II: 544; Ryding, 2005: 450). Sometimes the basic verbal form *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* with *qad* indicates a current relevance and emphasis meaning like present perfect in English (Holes, 1995: 190). This can be shown in S. 77b:

S. 77b)    qad            najaha            l-ṭālibu            l-mujiddu  
                  part    succeed- 3ms    def- student- nom    def- hard worker- nom  
                  = The hard working student has succeeded.

In addition, *la-qad* has an emphatic meaning (Zayed, 1983: 150), for instance:

S. 77c)    la-qad            fāza            °Aliyyun            bi-l-musābaqati  
                  did- part    win- 3ms    °Alī- nom    prep- in- def-competition-gen  
                  = °Alī did win the competition.

**10.6.5.** The particles sometimes affect the main verbal forms in Arabic like *lam*, where it transfers a verbal form from its original mood, i.e., an indicative mood to jussive, and the negative particle *lan* transfers a verbal form from its original mood to subjunctive, as in the example in S. 78a:

S. 78a)                    taṭbakhu                    Hindun  
                                  3fs- cooks                    Hind- nom  
                                  = Hind cooks.

The verb *taṭbakhu* transfers to a jussive mood after the negative particle, as shown in sentences 78b:

S. 78b)                    lam            taṭbakh            Hindun  
                                  neg- not            3fs- cooks            Hind- nom  
                                  = Hind did not cook.

Whereas *lan* transfers the verb *taṭbakh* to a subjunctive mood in sentence 78c:

S. 78c)                    lan            taṭbakha            Hindun  
                                  neg- not            3fs- cooks            Hind- nom  
                                  = Hind will not cook.

By contrast, when a negative auxiliary verb precedes the English past simple form, it is transferred a main verbal form to a present simple form, but the negative auxiliary becomes in past simple form. In addition to this, 's' letter which comes with the third person is omitted from the present form after the negative auxiliary verb. This is illustrated in S. 79a and S. 79b:

*S. 79a)*                      They did not drive very well.

*S. 79b)*                      She does not use the internet.

It is, also, noted that the negative particles precede the verbal form whether in Arabic or English, but the verb *to be* and the auxiliary verb occur before the negative particles in English, as illustrated in S. 80a and S. 80b:

*S. 80a)*                      They are not happy.

*S. 80b)*                      He has not driven the car.

In addition, the negative particles that occur with a verbal sentence are *lam*, *lammā*, *lan*, and *lā*. These particles occur only with the verbal sentence. However *mā* and *laysa* occur with nominal and verbal sentences as explained earlier. Furthermore, according to al-Makhzūmī (1986: 154-158) and Bergstrasser (1994: 168- 170) the original particles for negative are *lā* and *mā* and other particles derived from these.

**10.6.6.** The *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern refers to other important events and meanings depending on the context:

i. A past event that happen in the past as an action or the part of an action, but this event has always happened e.g. (S. 81):

<i>S. 81)</i>	<u>gh</u> arabat	al- <u>sh</u> amsu
	set down- 3fs	def- sun- nom
	= The sun set down.	

ii. A past event that happened in the past and has finished, but this event continues until the period of the utterance, as shown in (Sūrat al-Baqara, II:47) (S. 82):

*S. 82)*    udhkur-ū                      ni<sup>c</sup>mat-ī                      allatī  
                  call- 2mp                      def- favour- accus- pro- my    rel- which  
                  an<sup>c</sup>am-tu                              <sup>c</sup>alay-kum  
                  bestowed- 1ms                      prep- upon- pro- you-p  
                  = "Call to mind the (special) favour which I bestowed  
                  upon you". (Ali, 1968: 28)

The (special) favour completely happened in the past but it took a period of time until the verse was revealed.

iii. An expression of wish for a good or bad thing, what is called in Arabic *ṣiyagh al-du<sup>c</sup>ā<sup>ʔ</sup>* 'deprecation or prayer moods', as illustrated in S. 83a and S. 83b:

*S. 83a)*                      radiya                      Allāhu                      <sup>c</sup>an-hu  
                  bless- 3ms                      God- nom                      prep- on- pro- him  
                  = God bless him.

*S. 83b)*                                      la<sup>c</sup>ana-hu                      Allāhu  
                  damn- 3ms                      God- nom  
                  = God damn him.

iv. An expression that is happening at the moment of utterance or it is a consequence of request what is called in Arabic *ṣiyagh al-<sup>c</sup>uqūd* 'construction moods', as in the following example:

*S. 84)*                                      bi<sup>c</sup>-tu-ka                                      sayyārat-ī  
                  sell- 1ms- 2ms                                      def- car- accus- pro- my  
                  = I sell you my car.

v. Indicating a temporary or a permanent state or quality (S. 85a and S. 85b):

<sup>c</sup>arija                                      Muḥammadun

*S. 85a)*                    hobbled- 3ms            Muḥammad- nom  
= Muḥammad hobbled.

*S. 85b)*                    karuma                    Muḥammadun  
was generous- 3ms    Muḥammad- nom  
= Muḥammad was generous.

vi. *lammā* before this form indicates two events in the past, the second one happened when the first finished, such as:

*S. 86)*            lammā                    ji<sup>ʔ</sup>-ta-nī                    akram-tu-ka  
when- part    came- 2ms- 1ms            was generous- 1ms- 2ms  
= When you came to me I was generous to you.

vii. Referring to a general and unrestricted meaning (timeless) by using a gnomic pattern (S. 87):

*S. 87)*            man                    jadda                    wajada                    wa-man                    zara<sup>c</sup>a                    ḥaṣada  
whoever    work hard    succeed            and-whoever    cultivate    harvest  
- accus            -3 ms            - 3ms            - part- accus            - 3ms            - 3ms  
= Whoever works hard succeeds, and whoever cultivates harvests.

whereas this usage is presented by a present simple tense in English (Gadalla, 2006: 55).

viii. Indicating a future event by adding *kayfamā* 'whoever or whatever' before this *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* or it is understood to have the future meaning from the context, as in S. 88a and S. 88b:

*S. 88a)*            kayfamā                    kāna                    l-jawwu                    fa-<sup>ʔ</sup>inna-nī  
whoever    was- 3ms            def- weather- nom            part- will- pro- I  
- astaṭī<sup>c</sup>u                    an                    uqābila-ka  
1ms- manages            prep- to            1ms- meet- 2ms  
= Whoever the weather might be, I will manage to meet you.

iqtarab                    yawmu                    l-qiyāmati  
is nigh- 3ms            day- nom            def- Judgment- gen



*S. 88b)* = The Day of Judgment is nigh.

This indicates a future event because it talks about the day of judgment.

**10.6.7.** The basic verbal form *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* refers to other important events and meanings:

i. Indicating a past narration, as shown in (Sūrat al-Baqara, II: 214) (S. 89):

<i>S. 89</i>	wa-zulzil-ū	ḥattā	yaqūla
	part- and- were shaken- 3mp	part- even	3ms- says
	- l-rasūlu	wa-alladhīna	āman-ū
	def- Messenger- nom	part- and- rel- those	faith- 3mp
	- ma <sup>c</sup> a-hu	matā	naṣru
	adv- with- pro- him	when- part	help- nom
			God- gen

= "And were so shaken in spirit that even the Messenger and those of faith who were with him cried: When (will come) the help of God".

(Ali, 1968: 84)

ii. Indicating an expectation/ possible realisation event or action by adding *qad* or *rubbamā* particles before this form. This expression could be equated to the English modal verb 'may'. Consider the following examples, taken from Badawi *et al.* (2004: 367):

<i>S. 90a)</i>	qad	lā	yuwāfiqun-ī	l-ba <sup>c</sup> ḍu
	part	neg- not	3ms- agrees- 1ms	def- some- nom

= Some may will not agree with me.

<i>S. 90b)</i>	rubbamā	yaṣilu	ba <sup>c</sup> da	sā <sup>c</sup> atin
	part	3ms- arrives	adv- after	indef-one hour- gen

= He may/is possible arrive after one hour.

*Qad* usage with this form is contrary to *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern which one of its meaning indicates an emphasis. Moreover, *qad* combines with this form expresses a diminution or expresses a possibility meaning. The two strategies are spelt out in the following examples (S. 91a and S. 91b), taken from Fradkin (1985: 229-230):

*S. 91a)*      qad                      yata<sup>ʾ</sup>akhkharu                      l-qitāru  
                     part                      3ms- delays                      def- train- nom  
    = This train is running a little late.

*S. 91b)*      qad                      yajūdu                      l-karīmu  
                     part                      3ms- gives liberally                      def- generous- nom  
    = The generous person gives liberally.

**10.6.8.** There is a controversy between the Baṣran and Kūfan schools in terms of the *if<sup>c</sup>al* (imperative). The Baṣran school believed that this form is basic (Sībawayh, 1988, I: 12). On the other hand, the Kūfan grammarians considered this form *mu<sup>c</sup>rabun majzūmun bi-lāma l-amri l-maḥdhūfa* 'declinable jussive by omitting the *lām* of the imperative'. Therefore, when you say *idhhab* 'that you go' the original form is *li-tadhhab*, but the *lām al-amr* is omitted for convenience purpose (Ibn Ya<sup>c</sup>īsh, 2001, IV: 294; see also al-Sāmarrā<sup>ʾ</sup>ī, 1986: 21). Consequently, they took the view that this form is not really a true verb form as *fa<sup>c</sup>ala*, and *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu*.

To sum up this point, the Kūfan grammarian's view has not altered the view that *if<sup>c</sup>al* is part of an Arabic verbal form and its tense present or future, because this form occurs in the Qur<sup>ʾ</sup>ān with a limited tense, as shown in (Sūrat al-Baqara, II: 187) (S. 92):

*S. 92)*                      fa-l<sup>ʾ</sup>āna                      bāshir-ū-hunna  
                                     part- so-def- now- adv                      associate- 2mp- 3fp  
                                     = "So now associate with their wives". (Ali, 1968: 74)

Although the *yaf<sup>c</sup>al* pattern is taken from the *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern preceded by one of subject marker, the Kūfan grammarians considered this form as a part of an Arabic verb. Briefly, *if<sup>c</sup>al* is part of the Arabic verbal form and carries a tense like other Arabic verbal forms, present or future tense depending upon the context.

**10.6.9.** I do not discuss the *fā<sup>c</sup>il* form in this connection because there is a controversy between the Baṣran and Kūfan schools in terms of whether this

form is nominal or verbal. The Baṣran school held the opinion that it was nominal because it accepts some nominal characteristics like the definite article (*al al-ta<sup>c</sup>rīf*), as in *al-qā<sup>ʔ</sup>im* 'the standing' and nunation *al-tanwīn*, as illustrated in S. 93:

<i>S. 93)</i> kullu	ṭālibin	jālisun
indef- every- nom	indef- student- gen	indef- sitting- nom
- ma <sup>c</sup> a	ṣadīqi-hi	
adv- with	def- friend- gen- pro- his	
= Every student sits with his friend.		

As al-Sāmarrā<sup>ʔ</sup>i noted these reasons are concentrated around morphological changes (1986: 35). Furthermore, Kūfan grammarians claimed that the *fā<sup>c</sup>il* is parallel to the *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern, because *fā<sup>c</sup>il* is a noun and the *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern is similar to a noun, both of them being inflected (*mu<sup>c</sup>rab*) and inflection is a feature of nouns in their view. Accordingly, as the *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* pattern is affected by the operators (*al-<sup>c</sup>awāmil*) and the effects of the operators are apparent, it is compared with noun. The Kūfans, also, claimed that this form is a verbal form because it carries a tense and an event like other verbal forms. Al-Farrā<sup>ʔ</sup> (1980, I: 20), as a Kūfan grammarian, called this form the permanent verb (*al-fi<sup>c</sup>l al-dā<sup>ʔ</sup>im*) (cf. Tha<sup>c</sup>lab, 1960, II: 477; al-Zajjājī, 1984: 318 and 349)

In conclusion, although the Baṣran and Kūfan schools disagreed with respect to whether this form is nominal or verbal, they agreed that it indicates past, present and future event according to the context of sentence, as in sentences 94a and 94b, where sentence 94a indicates a past event, and sentence 94b a present or future event (al-Sāmarrā<sup>ʔ</sup>i, 1986: 20; Basindī, 2005: 94):

<i>S. 94a)</i>	Māzinun	mu <sup>c</sup> ṭin	<sup>c</sup> Aliyyan	darāhima	amsi
	Māzin-nom	indef-gave- nom-ap	<sup>c</sup> Alī-accus	indef-money-accus	adv-yesterday
	= Māzin gave <sup>c</sup> Alī money yesterday.				

<i>S. 94b)</i>	al-zuhūru	<u>dhā</u> bilatun
	def- flowers- nom	indef-wither- nom- ap
	= The flowers wither.	

However, I believe that this form is not a verbal form for several reasons:

- i. It accepts some nominal characteristics, such as the definite article or nunation, whereas verbal forms cannot accept those as I have demonstrated above (S. 93) (see Chapter Four).
- ii. When this form indicates an event, it does not mean that it is a verbal form because there are other forms that carry accidentence and are operated like verbal forms; but the Kūfan school did not classify them as verbal forms. These are the verbal noun (*al-maṣḍar*) and the assimilate epithet (*al-ṣifa l-muṣhabbaha*).
- iii. This form is an adjective when it stands alone. Accordingly, it does not carry tense in this case, as in *al-qātil* 'the killer', while verbal forms gives a direct tense when they stand alone; *fa<sup>c</sup>ala* pattern, for example, indicates a past event. Therefore, the *fā<sup>c</sup>il* pattern is like a subject not a verb (Hassān, 1994: 253; Rashīd, 2008: 52).
- iv. Verbal forms (*fa<sup>c</sup>ala* and *yaf<sup>c</sup>alu* patterns) typically are placed for a particular tense not for general; past, present and future as the Kūfan grammarians claimed with *fā<sup>c</sup>il* pattern.

#### 10.6. Conclusion:

Arabic grammarians showed great interest in the verbal system right from the beginning. They have classified the usage of verbal forms whether singly or combined with other particles, or auxiliary verbs. In addition, Arabic aspect and tense are affected by both morphological and syntactic elements. It is not possible then to claim that Arabic aspect and tense are part of Arabic forms only. Particular particles and auxiliary verb alter the time reference; typically the basic verbal forms do not present a particular Arabic tense. By contrast, the English tense is changed largely by specific

auxiliary verbs and this makes English tense distinctions more accurate and straightforward.

There is a major role for the accusative of time (*ẓarf al-zamān*) in classifying Arabic aspect and tense, where it changes the type of sentence, for example sentence 95a indicates a primary aspect, viz., an imperfective aspect:

*S. 95a)*           yaktubu           <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun           risālatan  
                   3ms- writes    <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom      indef- letter- accus  
   = <sup>c</sup>Alī writes a letter.

However, when the accusative of time *al'āna* 'now' is added to sentence 95a, it indicates a secondary aspect, viz., an imperfective progressive aspect, as exemplified in 95b:

*S. 95b)*  
                   yaktubu           <sup>c</sup>Aliyyun           risālatan           al'āna  
                   3ms- writes    <sup>c</sup>Alī- nom      indef- letter- accus    def-now- adv  
   = <sup>c</sup>Alī is writing a letter now.

Furthermore, the most important elements in Arabic tense are *fa'ala*; *yaf'alu*; *(sa)wfa yaf'alu* and the accusative of time because these elements with context control the Arabic tense. Thus, one or two of these elements are found in every type of Arabic aspect and tense whether a primary or secondary tense.

The majority of secondary aspect and tense types whether in Arabic or English contain two fundamental elements. A secondary tense occurs by adding a particle, auxiliary verb *kāna* or accusative of time with the main verbal forms. In comparison with English, the secondary aspect and tense is formed by adding an auxiliary verb and changing the form of the main verb. It is observed that negative particles in Arabic differ according to the type of aspect and tense; that is, the negative particles and the verbal form differ according to the aspect and tense. The English negative is typically presented by adding 'not' and 'did' or 'do' with the past and present tense,

respectively, or only 'not' between an auxiliary verb and main verbal forms with other aspects and tenses. Moreover, the negative particle is placed before the main and auxiliary verb in Arabic; by contrast, it is placed between auxiliary and main verb in English.

There are some particles which precede only verbal forms like *sawfa*; /*sa-*/ and the negative particles (e.g. *lam*). That is, these particles cannot come with a nominal form in Arabic. A semantic feature is considered an important quality in the tense issue, where the tense is not a morphology and syntax feature only (Juhfa, 2006: 48), the outcome of which, will be presented in the following concluding chapter.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

## Conclusion

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                      3ms- writes      °Alī- nom      indef- letter- accus  
    = °Alī writes a letter.

However, when the accusative of time *al'āna* 'now' is added to sentence 95a, it indicates a secondary aspect, viz., an imperfective progressive aspect, as exemplified in 95b:

*S. 95b)*  
                yaktubu                °Aliyyun                risālatan                al'āna  
                3ms- writes        °Alī- nom                indef- letter- accus    def-now- adv  
    = °Alī is writing a letter now.

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*S. 95b)*  
                  yaktubu      °Aliyyun      risālatan      al'āna  
                  3ms- writes      °Alī- nom      indef- letter- accus      def-now- adv  
    = °Alī is writing a letter now.

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    = <sup>c</sup>Alī writes a letter.

However, when the accusative of time *al'āna* 'now' is added to sentence 95a, it indicates a secondary aspect, viz., an imperfective progressive aspect, as exemplified in 95b:

S. 95b)

yaktubu	°Aliyyun	risālatan	al°āna
3ms- writes	°Alī- nom	indef- letter- accus	def-now- adv
= °Alī is writing a letter now.			

Furthermore, the most important elements in Arabic tense are *fa°ala*; *yaf°alu*; *(sa)wfa yaf°alu* and the accusative of time because these elements with context control the Arabic tense. Thus, one or two of these elements are found in every type of Arabic aspect and tense whether a primary or secondary tense.

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                  3ms- writes      <sup>°</sup>*Alī-* nom      indef- letter- accus  
    = <sup>°</sup>*Alī* writes a letter.

However, when the accusative of time *alʿāna* 'now' is added to sentence 95a, it indicates a secondary aspect, viz., an imperfective progressive aspect, as exemplified in 95b:

*S. 95b)*  
                  *yaktubu*              <sup>°</sup>*Aliyyun*              *risālatan*              *alʿāna*  
                  3ms- writes      <sup>°</sup>*Alī-* nom      indef- letter- accus      def-now- adv  
    = <sup>°</sup>*Alī* is writing a letter now.

Furthermore, the most important elements in Arabic tense are *fāʿala*; *yafʿalu*; *(sa)wfa yafʿalu* and the accusative of time because these elements with context control the Arabic tense. Thus, one or two of these elements are found in every type of Arabic aspect and tense whether a primary or secondary tense.

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    = °Alī is writing a letter now.

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## Glossary of Arabic linguistic terms used in the thesis

Word	English
af <sup>°</sup> āl al-muqāraba	verbs of getting close
al-af <sup>°</sup> āl al-tāmma	complete verbal forms
al-ta <sup>°</sup> ajjub	exclamation pattern
aḥruf al-muḍāra <sup>°</sup> a	subject markers
ajwaf	hollow verb
al- <sup>°</sup> alam	proper noun
<sup>°</sup> alāqa isnādiyya	attribution relationship
alif al-ithnayn	<i>alif</i> of the dual
alif al-mufā <sup>°</sup> ala	<i>alif</i> of reciprocity
al- <sup>°</sup> āmil	the operator
al-amr	imperative pattern
an/ anna l-maṣḍariyya	( <i>an/ anna</i> ) of a verbal noun
al-asmā <sup>°</sup> al-mubhama	undefined nouns
ḍamīr al-faṣl	pronoun of separation
ḍamīr mustatir	hidden pronoun
ḍamīr muttaṣil	attached pronoun
ḍamīr naṣb munfaṣil	independent accusative pronoun
faḍla	optional item
al-fā <sup>°</sup> il	agent (subject)
al-fi <sup>°</sup> l	verb
al-fi <sup>°</sup> l al-dā <sup>°</sup> im	permanent verb
al-fi <sup>°</sup> l al-jāmid	un-derivable verb
al-fi <sup>°</sup> l al-lāzim	intransitive verb
al-fi <sup>°</sup> l al-mabnī li-l-majhūl	passive verb
al-fi <sup>°</sup> l al-mabnī li-l-m <sup>°</sup> lūm	active verb
al-fi <sup>°</sup> l al-muta <sup>°</sup> addī	transitive verb
ghā <sup>°</sup> ib	third person
ghayr muktamil	imperfective aspect
ghayr muktamil mu <sup>°</sup> tād	habitual imperfective aspect
ḥadath wāḥid	one event
ḥadath mutanabba <sup>°</sup> bih	predictive aspect



ḥāl	circumstantial qualifier
hamzat al-waṣl	artificial <i>hamza</i>
ḥarf qalb	inversion particle
ḥarf sākin	quiescent letter
ḥurūf al-istiqbāl	particles of futurity
ḥurūf al- <u>shart</u>	conditional particles
ḥurūf al-tanfīs	particles of amplification
al-iḍāfa	annexation
al-i <sup>c</sup> rāb	inflection
ism al-fi <sup>c</sup> l	verbal noun
ism <u>ishāra</u>	demonstrative pronoun
ism jam <sup>c</sup>	collective noun
ism jins	generic noun
ism maf <sup>c</sup> ūl tāmm	complete passive participle
ism ma <sup>c</sup> rifa	definite noun
al-ism al-mawṣūl	relative pronoun
ism nakira	indefinite noun
ism ṣarīḥ	explicit noun
ism zāhir	external noun
al-isnād	attribution
jam <sup>c</sup> mud <u>h</u> akkar sālim	masculine sound plural
jami <sup>c</sup> mu <sup>o</sup> annath sālim	feminine sound plural
jam <sup>c</sup> taksīr	broken plural
jarr	genitive case
jārrun wa-majrūr	prepositional phrase
al-jumla	sentence
al-jumla l-basīṭa	simple sentence
al-jumla l-fi <sup>c</sup> layya	verbal sentence
al-jumla l-ismiyya	nominal sentence
al-jumla l-murakkaba	compound sentence
al-kalām	speech
al-kalim	group of words
al-kalima	word

kathrat al-isti <sup>c</sup> māl	extensive use
al-khabar	comment
al-kināya	personal pronoun
al-lafz	form
lām al-amr	<i>lām</i> of command
mā l-maṣḍariyya	(prefix) <i>mā</i> of a verbal noun
māḍī	past tense
māḍī ba <sup>c</sup> īd	remote past tense
māḍī qarīb	recent past tense
maf <sup>c</sup> ūl bih	direct object
al-maf <sup>c</sup> ūl fih	locative object
maf <sup>c</sup> ūl lahu or li-ajlihi	purposive object
maf <sup>c</sup> ūl ma <sup>c</sup> ahu	accompanying object
maf <sup>c</sup> ūl muṭlaq	absolute object
al-majāz	figurative usage
majzūm	jussive mood
al-ma <sup>c</sup> mūl	operated
al-maqīs	secondary element of <i>al-qiyās</i>
al-maqīs <sup>c</sup> alayh	primary element of <i>al-qiyās</i>
marfū <sup>c</sup>	nominative case
al-maṣḍar	verbal noun
ma <sup>c</sup> ṭūf	coupled
al-mubtada <sup>o</sup>	topic
muḍa <sup>cc</sup> af	doubled second or third root consonant
muḍāri <sup>c</sup>	present tense
al-mukhāṭab	second person
muktamil mu <sup>c</sup> tād	habitual perfective aspect
al-munāsaba	circumstantial purpose
muqaddara	implicit
al-mushtaqāt al-ismiyya	derivations of noun
al-musnad	predicate
al-musnad ilayh	subject
mustaqbal ba <sup>c</sup> īd/ qarīb	remote or recent future tense

mustaqbal muḥaddad	future of fact tense
al-mustathnā	excepted
muta <sup>c</sup> addī	transitive
mutaḥarrik	mobile letter
mutakarrir gḥayr muktamil	progressive imperfective aspect
mutakarrir muktamil	progressive perfective aspect
mutaṣarrif	variability
al-muṭāwa <sup>c</sup> a	reflexive
nā <sup>ʔ</sup> ib fā <sup>c</sup> il	deputy agent
al-nidā <sup>ʔ</sup>	vocative
nūn al-niswa	<i>nūn</i> of the feminine plural
nūn al-tawkīd	<i>/-n/</i> of emphasis
qadiyyat al- <sup>c</sup> āmil	operator issue
al-qawl	utterance
al-qiyās	grammatical analogy
samā <sup>c</sup>	oral observation
shabh al-maf <sup>c</sup> ūl	pseudo object
al-ṣifa	adjective
ṣiyagh al-du <sup>c</sup> ā <sup>ʔ</sup>	prayer moods
ṣiyagh al- <sup>c</sup> uqūd	construction moods
al-suhūla wa-l-tawassu <sup>c</sup> fī l-kalām	ease and extensive use
taḍ <sup>c</sup> īf al- <sup>c</sup> ayn	doubling the second radical of the form
al-taḍmīn	implication of meaning
tā <sup>ʔ</sup> al-fā <sup>c</sup> il	<i>/-ta/-ti/-tu</i> personal pronouns
al-ṭalab wa-l-nisba	ordering or attribution purposes
tamyīz	specifying a complement
taqdīm wa-ta <sup>ʔ</sup> khīr	pre-posing and post-posing
al-tanwīn	nunation
(al) al-ta <sup>c</sup> rīf	definite article
al-taṣghīr	diminutive
thulāthī ajwaf	triliteral hollow verb
<sup>c</sup> umda	essential
al-uslūb al-khabarī	statement pattern

al-uslūb al-inshāʾī

wāw al-jamāʿa

ẓarf al-makān

ẓarf al-zamān

non-statement pattern

*wāw* of the masculine plural

locative object

accusative of time

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