

Structure and Function of the Arabic Verb

Maher Bahloul

Routledge Arabic Linguistics Series

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE ARABIC VERB

Structure and Function of the Arabic Verb is a corpus-based study that unveils the morpho-syntax and the semantics of the Arabic verb.

Approaches to verbal grammatical categories – the constituents of verbal systems – often rely on either semantic–pragmatic or syntactic analyses. This research bridges the gap between these two distinct approaches through a detailed analysis of Taxis, Aspect, Tense, and Modality in Standard Arabic. This is accomplished by showing, first, some basic theoretical concerns shared by both schools of thought and, second, the extent to which semantic structures and invariant meanings mirror syntactic representations.

Maher Bahloul's findings also indicate that the basic constituents of the verbal system in Arabic, namely the Perfect and the Imperfect, are systematically differentiated through their invariant semantic features in a markedness relation.

Finally, this study suggests that the syntactic derivation of verbal and nominal clauses are sensitive to whether or not verbal categories are specified for their feature values, providing therefore a principled explanation to a long-standing debate.

This reader-friendly book will appeal to both specialists and students of Arabic linguistics, language, and syntax.

Maher Bahloul is Assistant Professor of English and Linguistics at the American University of Sharjah.

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TO AMAL, NOUR, AND RAYAN

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FOREWORD

There are many publications on tense–mood–aspect (TMA) characteristics, traits, and interrelationships, in general and in specific languages and/or language families, or as Dr Bahloul prefers, ATM categories. However, ATM studies having to do with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) or Arabic dialects are few in number. The present work utilizes parallels in Chomskyan Principles and Parameters theory and the “Theory of Enunciative Operations,” as formulated in a variety of works by Antoine Culioli (see Bahloul’s bibliography) to comment on MSA clausal and verbal structure. It is always beneficial, I believe, to see where different linguistic approaches can be amalgamated, since I have always held that good scholarship should be eclectic and choose the best parts of various theories or hypotheses that serve to integrate all kinds of explanatory adequacy and explanatory parameters. After all, linguistics is, first and foremost, an explanatory science – we linguists want to explain coherently and in an organized fashion the macro- and micro-details of languages and dialects.

What Dr Bahloul achieves in this work, as he so succinctly puts it, is a successful “bridg[ing of] the gap between both syntax and semantics, an achievement which is empirically motivated and theoretically desirable” (p. 27). I am of the opinion that he has succeeded beyond any reader’s expectation of what descriptive and explanatory adequacy are all about. A great strength of the present volume is that the author has sifted through much of the linguistic literature dealing with the semantics of the MSA verbal system – comparing and contrasting the views of many household names in Arabic and general linguistics – luminaries such as A.F.L. Beeston, Noam Chomsky, Bernard Comrie, Östen Dahl, Charles Fillmore, Henri Fleisch, Roman Jakobson, Jerzy Kuryłowicz, John McCarthy, Mohammad A. Mohammad, Linda R. Waugh, William Wright, and the first grammarian to deal with Arabic, the Iranian Sibawayhi. Thus, this tome is for Arabists and Semitists as well as general linguists, who should always be interested in broadening their linguistic horizons and getting involved with non-Indo-European linguistic data.

Let me emphasize that this book does not offer generalizations without first examining the primary linguistic evidence based on the premises of what has come to be labeled corpus linguistics. Bahloul has based his conclusions on a

FOREWORD

sizeable MSA corpus. It consists of the following: (1) 13 articles from 3 widely read newspapers: Asharq Al-Awsat, Al-Quds Al-Arabi, and Al-Ṣalam Al-Yawm); (2) 5 scholarly articles from 2 journals; and (3) 5 contemporary short stories on a variety of interesting themes. These 23 texts form a prototypical corpus of MSA as used throughout the Arab world today. All 13 newspaper articles are included in an appendix for ease of reference by the seasoned Arabist. Thus, it can be appreciated that the MSA “perfect,” although generally referring to a past context, also incorporates what is called by the author “anteriority” and “dimensionality.” The former designation is backed up by the Jakobsonian idea of “axis,” whereas the latter term is aspectual. The idea that MSA is basically taxis–aspectual is quite an improvement over the tense and/or aspectual viewpoints. To explain the MSA “imperfect,” it basically involves tense, but in its invariant meaning involves taxis.

Another major contribution of Bahloul’s book is the thorough treatment of the modal particle *QAD*, which has a variety of meanings depending on the context. Indeed no other publication has offered so many details on this complicated lexeme. The author unveils its historical development, demystifies its semantico-pragmatic function within the verbal system, and spells out the role it plays in the syntax of the MSA verbal clause.

Let me conclude my remarks here by endorsing Bahloul’s summation that “. . . the overall results show that while Tense is certainly present within the Arabic clause, the value of this category is less likely to take part in the values of the invariant of both the Perfect and the Imperfect” (p. 185). There can be little doubt that *Structure and Function of the Arabic Verb* provides numerous innovative analyses and much food for thought for future research by Arabists, morphologists, and language typologists alike. If I may hazard a prediction, this tome will soon become a standard work and remain as such for years to come.

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I can never thank enough my mother and express appreciation for my two brothers and three sisters for the moral support they constantly provide.

My children had to bear with a dad not available on demand. To Amal, Nour, and Rayan, I express my gratitude and full admiration for their intentional and unintentional support.

For the endless understanding, constant encouragement, and invaluable moral support of my wife Raja, I express most gratefulness, offer my earnest love, and give tremendous respect.

ABBREVIATIONS

acc.	accusative
AgrP	Agreement Phrase
asp.	aspect
AspP	Aspect Phrase
AsrtP	Assertive Phrase
ATM	Aspect, Tense, and Modality
atr.	article
AUX	Auxiliary
CP	Complementizer Phrase
d.	dual
EALL	Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics
ECP	Empty Category Principle
f.	feminine
Freq.	frequency
fut.	future
GB	Government and Binding
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperfect
INFL	The Inflectional Constituent
IP	Inflectional Phrase
M	Modality
m.	masculine
MLA	Modern Literary Arabic
MoodP	Mood Phrase
MP	Modal Phrase
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NA	Newspaper Articles
Nb.	number
NegP	Negative Phrase
nom.	nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
P	Proposition

ABBREVIATIONS

p.	plural
Part.	particle
pf.	perfect
pres.	present
Pst.	past
Q.	question marker
RM	Relativized Minimality
S	Sentence
s.	singular
S/P	Subject/Predicate
SA	Scholarly Articles
SS	Short Stories
SVO	Subject Verb Object
Tax–AspP	Taxis–Aspect Phrase
tns.	tense
TP	Tense Phrase
Voc.	vocative
VP	Verb Phrase

SYMBOLS

ṣ	(ص)	emphatic voiceless dental fricative
ṭ	(ط)	emphatic voiceless dental stop
ḍ	(ض)	emphatic voiced dental fricative
ḏ	(ظ)	emphatic voiced interdental fricative
ʕ	(ع)	voiced pharyngeal fricative
x	(خ)	voiceless velar fricative
ʔ	(أ)	voiceless glottal stop
ʕ	(ع)	voiced pharyngeal stop
θ	(ث)	voiceless interdental fricative
ð	(ذ)	voiced interdental fricative
q	(ق)	voiceless uvular stop
ʒ	(ج)	voiced palato-alveolar fricative
ʃ	(ش)	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
ħ	(ح)	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
aa		long vowel [a]
ii		long vowel [i]
uu		long vowel [u]

INTRODUCTION

Since the earliest and most seminal authority on the grammar of Classical Arabic, *Alkitaab* “The Book” by the Persian grammarian Sibawayhi in the eighth century, and until some of the latest and most comprehensive works on Arabic (Fassi Fehri 1993; Badawi *et al.* 2004; Holes 2004; Ryding 2005; Versteegh 2006 – the general editor of the mammoth Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics EALL), studies of the Arabic verb system have always been at the forefront of any major grammatical endeavor. Thus, the Arabic verb has been under scrutiny and microscopic investigations for the past 13 centuries.¹ These investigations are mottled and include scholars belonging to diverse eras and myriad schools of thought from Arab and Western linguistic traditions.² However, the wealth of information has been tainted with a major methodological flaw, in our opinion, represented in the full reliance of decontextualized samples of language. In other words, the overwhelming majority of investigations of the Arabic verb system from the era of Sibawayhi onward kept analyzing verbal forms and their corresponding meanings on the basis of isolated samples represented in a very limited inventory of examples. This shortcoming, in our opinion, which relates to the total absence of any corpus on the basis of which the verbal system is unveiled and analyzed, undermines to a large extent the degree of accuracy of any conclusions relevant to the meaning and function of Arabic verbal forms.

This book constitutes a major breakthrough in the history of studies relevant to the verbal system of Arabic. Thus, it departs from previous approaches through the use of a corpus from a representative sample of actual use of the Arabic language. As such, not only do we examine the text, but we also relate the verbal form to its context of use. In addition, we pay close attention to the modal dimension, reminiscent of writers’ opinions and attitudes toward the propositional content.

At the heart of the Arabic verbal system, and most other verbal systems, are the issues of Aspect, Tense, and Modality (ATM). These verbal categories appear to have puzzled every single relevant research for a number of reasons at the forefront of which might figure (i) the morphological opacity of the Arabic verb, (ii) the mixing of various historical eras of the Arabic language, and (iii) the absolute lack of authentic texts. It is our strong belief that, with the current state of linguistic theory, it is hard to do justice to the study of ATM categories not

relying on corpora and using only the principles of one theoretical framework. This is only natural given the logical limitations of isolated sentences and any theoretical approach, respectively. In this work, we subscribe to two different theoretical frameworks, hoping to offer a comprehensive treatment of the ATM categories. One theory is functionally and semantically oriented, and the other is syntactically oriented. The aim of this work is therefore to provide both semantic and syntactic analyses of verbal categories, with particular reference to Aspect, Tense, and Modality. It is hoped that two fundamental objectives could be achieved in this work: first, to give a characterization of the ATM system of Standard Arabic; second, to bridge the apparent gap between syntax and semantics, through showing the extent to which semantic structures are mapped into syntactic representations.

The language and the data

The form of Arabic under investigation is Standard Arabic (henceforth Arabic), also known as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and Modern Literary Arabic (MLA). It is the uniform variety of Arabic which is used all over the Arabic-speaking world as the usual medium of written communication in books, periodicals, journals, magazines, newspapers, signs, business, and personal letters. It is also the formal means of communication in radio, television, lectures, sermons, debates, interviews, and in general on occasions accompanied by some degree of formality and solemnity, that is, it covers most forms of the formal spoken language. In many ways, SA continues, but only to a certain degree, the phonology, morphology, syntax and largely the vocabulary of Classical Arabic, the revered language of the Holy Koran, pre-Islamic and post-Islamic poetry, literature, philosophy, theology, mathematics, sciences, and so on. It should be stressed, however, that although there is no clear-cut distinction between Classical Arabic, on the one hand, and SA, on the other hand, there are cases where a distinction should be made. Indeed, the more we read classical Arabic grammar books (e.g. Sibawayhi 796, Ibn-Hishaam 1359, among many others) the more we notice differences rather than similarities (see verbal forms and negation p. 50).³ This interrelatedness is best characterized through a continuum with Classical Arabic on one end, and SA on the other end. Each end contains the defining characteristics of each form, with various degrees of interaction in-between.

Standard Arabic is also in constant interaction with all spoken dialects in the Arab world. This has resulted in a context of variation, highly limited to the lexicon. This interaction has given rise to a variety of spoken and written levels and styles – on which see Belazi (1984); Ferguson (1996); Eid (2006) among others.

One of the reasons we have chosen SA for study in this book relates to its relative stability, on the one hand, and to the large number of Arabists who are more familiar with the standard language than the dialects, on the other hand.

As for the sources of the corpus, we have selected a relatively representative body of illustrative examples from three different written genres. The governing

principle is to minimize the degree of restrictiveness, maximizing, therefore, the chances of a thorough investigation. Accordingly, three salient discourse genre-types were selected. They include newspaper articles, scholarly articles, and short stories. We believe that each one of these types has a unique set of defining characteristics which have great bearing on the overall understanding of the issues in question. With respect to the category of tense, and in particular to its interaction with temporality, for example, it is shown that each genre has its own characteristics, and unless every factor is taken into account, the analysis remains partial and the results might be misleading.

More specifically, the corpus embodies 13 Newspaper Articles (henceforth NA), which vary in length and context, taken from three newspapers: *Asharq Al-awsat*, *Al-quds Al-Arabi*, and *Al-Ṣaalam al-yawm* (see Appendix for details); five Scholarly Articles (henceforth SA) from two different journals: the first four are from *AL-INSAAAN* of August 1990, classified as follows: (SA#1) by Driss Ridha *min ʔažli mustaqbalin li-nadwati al-mustaqbali al-ʔislaamii*, pp. 5–10 (SA#2) by Turaabii Hasan *ʔawlawayyaat at-tayyaari al-ʔislaamii li-ḡalaaḡa Ŝuquudin qaadimaat*, pp. 11–15 (SA#3) by Madanii Ṣabbaas *ḡaažaaḡi an-niḡdaam at-tarbawii ʔilaa al-ʔiṣṡaaḡ*, pp. 33–37 (SA#4) by ḡižaažii Mužaaḡid *ḡawla ʔaḡdaadi al-muḡaažiriina al-yahuud as-sufyaat ʔilaa falasṡiin*, pp. 65–70; and the fifth (SA#5) from *Al-mažalla al-maṣriyya li-ddiraasaati an-naḡsiyyati* of September 1991 by Yuusuf žumḡa Sayyid *tartiib ʔaḡdaaḡi al-ḡayaati al-muḡiirati li-l-maṣaaqqati*, pp. 33–59, and finally five contemporary Short Stories (henceforth SS): (SS#1) *bayṡun min laḡm* “A House Of Flesh,” (SS#2) *Al-Maḡtam* “The Funeral Ceremony,” (SS#3) *ʔakaana laabudda “yaa lili” ʔan tuḡiiʔii annuur* “Lili, did you have to turn the light on?,” (SS#4) *ʔarxaṣ layaali* “The Cheapest nights,” and (SS#5) *ʔassaaʔil wa-l-maḡṡuul* “The questioner and the questionee” (the first four are by Yusuf Idris, the fifth by Abu-Al-maḡaati Abu an-nažaa). This gives a total of 23 texts upon which most of our data is based. We should stress the fact that, besides the principled desire to vary the corpus, the texts were randomly selected. The rest of the data in this work comes from three different sources: (i) there are examples from previous work by various authors ranging from eighth century linguists to modern writings, most of which we have not modified (except for corrections to typographical errors, grammar mistakes and the like); (ii) the second source of examples is the author of this work himself; that is, whenever there are types of examples that do not appear in the corpus, or are deemed necessary to advance an argument, we provided the appropriate examples, to the best of our native knowledge; (iii) the third source includes various newspapers and magazines; these were used to provide both French and English examples.

Background assumptions

In this book we assume a general familiarity with, on the one hand, speaker-sensitive French enunciative theories, and at least a basic knowledge of current syntactic practices, as proposed by Chomsky (1991, 1995, 2002b), on the other hand.

The former is referred to as “Theory of Enunciative Operations” (the Culiolian school), and the latter is currently called “The Principles and Parameters Approach” (the Chomskian school). Although the two approaches might be evaluated as two opposing poles, we will show a convergence in the thinking of the two schools. Both schools seem to subscribe to some of the same general linguistic principles, yet their adherents fail to recognize any common ground. The very fact that utterances or surface structures are only analyzable in light of a deeper level of representation and interpretation within both schools supports our view of their convergence.

Theories of enunciation assume that an utterance is ultimately a final product, a result of certain enunciative operations. The role of the linguist is, therefore, to define those operations and reconstruct the utterance. By doing so, questions as to why the enunciator chooses this form, uses this construction, and so on, are straightforwardly accounted for. Likewise, the Principles and Parameters approach interprets surface structures and meanings as a result of deeper representations. The question becomes, therefore, which deep structure is to be assigned to which surface structures. It is our contention that there are commonalities between these two approaches and that, therefore, they can be combined into an overall approach to ATM systems.

Organization of the study

In Chapter 2, we present an approach to clausal structure based on insights from various prevailing schools of thought. We begin with a discussion of the most salient theoretical aspects of sentence structure from such authors as Fillmore (1968), Culioli (1970, 1971, 1973, 1976, 1978, 1982, 1987), Adamczewski (1982a,b, 1986), and Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1991, 1995, 2002b), Koopman and Sportiche (1991), among several others as the basis for defining a syntactic representation sensitive to clausal semantic structure. The claim put forward argues that a clause is best analyzed as composed of a Modality constituent followed by a propositional constituent. We then layout the basic aspects of the Modality constituent. In so doing, we will discuss the question of its internal constituents, the question of its defining characteristics, and the methodological issues which underlie the treatment of the relevant categories, with a particular reference to those of Aspect, Tense, and Modality.

In Chapter 3 we start with a brief sketch of Arabic verbal morphology, where we show that the first vowel within both the Perfect and the Imperfect carries semantic features, which will be later identified as denoting a Taxis–Aspect category. We then present the problem relative to the semantic function of these features through laying out the most relevant competing hypotheses.

In the following Chapters 4–8, we conduct our own investigation of the so-called Aspect–Tense categories, and present an alternative approach to previous analyses, with a particular emphasis on their semantic–pragmatic functions, on the one hand, and their syntactic structures, on the other hand. Chapter 4 focuses

on the Perfect. We discuss its semantic–pragmatic functions through examining its contextual variants from the point of view of temporality. We then propose a classification of the variants according to markedness. Finally, we outline its place within the ATM system as a whole, and propose an invariant meaning which straightforwardly accounts for its temporal and nontemporal features.

In Chapter 5 we undertake the issue of the Compound Perfect, which reduces to unveiling the semantic–pragmatic functions of the modal particle *QAD*. We begin with a brief review of previous analyses, outline their claims, and discuss their shortcomings and inconsistencies. We then present the most relevant aspects which detail its syntactic distribution and unveil the modal system of which it is a part. Finally we discuss its subtle semantic properties and argue that it is an assertive particle which shares common features with both the English *DO* and the French (*BEL ET*) *BIEN*.

In Chapter 6 we investigate the semantic–pragmatic functions of the second member of the opposition within the verbal system, namely the Imperfect. These functions are traced out from the perspective of temporality. Here, an effort is made to sort out the major contextual variants of this verbal form. These variants are then hierarchically classified/organized according to their markedness. The basic meaning of the Imperfect corresponds to its unmarked use, while its specific meaning represents the marked use. After discussing the sub-system of which the Imperfect is a part, and its occurrence with such particles as negators, conditional particles, and auxiliaries, we define the invariant features which underlie the use of this verbal form in all different contextualizations. Finally, we confront the two verbal forms, highlight the semantic features which systematically distinguish one from the other, and discuss some aspects relative to their similarities. Contrary to previous analyses, we shall maintain that the two categories of Taxis and Aspect (Taxis–Aspect) constitute the defining features of the verbal system.

In Chapter 7 we turn to a discussion of the syntax of Taxis–Aspect and Tense where we show an important implication of the results outlined in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 for issues concerning constraints on movement. These involve the inability of the thematic verb to move into Tense. Accordingly, the verb stays under Taxis–Aspect, which we argue is a phrasal projection. Empirical evidence from facts of negation, subject position, compound tenses, and conditional particles is then presented to support the above claim. We finally discuss the syntax of the assertive particle *QAD*, and present evidence for treating it as a head of a phrasal projection which we call Assertive Phrase (AsrtP). This category is also shown to include negation.

Then in Chapter 8 we confront the syntax of nonverbal sentences in Arabic. Here, we show that there are instances where the Modality component shows no surface traces whatsoever. We discuss the conditions under which these modal traces appear and highlight the salient role which the content of the Modality component plays in determining the type of argument it selects. In the final chapter of this work, Chapter 9, we review the main achievements developed in the preceding chapters of this book, and express the need for further research.

INTRODUCTION

An appendix is provided which contains for convenient reference all 13 newspaper articles. Unfortunately, we could not include both magazine articles and short stories because of their length. In fact, unlike newspaper articles, these modal traces appear and highlight the salient role while the content of the latter are easier to obtain and consult.

VERBAL CATEGORIES, CLAUSE STRUCTURE, AND MODALITY

Introduction

Halliday (1994) correctly observes that the current opposition between theories of language is no longer “structuralists” versus “generativists” rather between those that are primarily formal and syntagmatic in orientation (i.e. syntacticians), and others that are paradigmatic (i.e. functional) and semantic in orientation. Our approach is a crosscurrent for it makes use of insights borrowed from one to the other. Thus, while generative syntacticians have been clearly advocating a maximally general phrase structure analysis of nonlexical/functional categories such as tense, aspect, modality, mood, negation and so on (Chomsky 1986, 1995; Pollock 1989; Ouhalla 1989, 1991; Whitman 1989; Bowers 1991; Carstens 1991; Benmamoun 1992, 2000; Fassi Fehri 1993 among several others), which used to be generated under a single structural node, namely Inflectional Phrase (IP), enunciativists and discourse analysts have been trying to advance systematic and uniform accounts for those same verbal categories, especially the ones expressing aspect, tense, and modality (Guillaume 1964; Benveniste 1966, 1970; Culioli 1970, 1976, 1982; Waugh 1975, 1987, 1990; Adamczewski 1982a,b, 1986, 1991; Givón 1982; Dahl 1985, 2000; Pica 1985; Delmas 1987; Joly and Roulland 2001 among many others) on the basis of their salience in any particular speech production. Despite their different theoretical constructs, they appear therefore to share a common objective the essence of which is to do justice to the structure and function of these verbal categories, which, for decades, have been put aside and considered the least salient items in language. As investigators have realized the extent to which the presence of these categories shapes the syntactic representation of the clause and governs its semantic interpretation, more research has recently focused on the behavior of these categories, and even on their universal nature.¹ In addition, the study of such verbal categories as ATM within two different theories of language has theoretical and empirical implications. On the theoretical level, this move enhances the cognitive status of these verbal categories as a fundamental component of human thinking. On the empirical side, it has had a major effect on clausal syntactic representations, on the one hand, and their semantic interpretations, on the other hand.

This chapter focuses, in particular, on the status and characteristics of these verbal categories, elements of a chief component. Its objective is twofold: to reveal, first, the formal/structural properties of the verbal categories, and then to investigate their major inherent semantic features. Accordingly, while the first section focuses on the syntactic status of these functional categories relative to clausal structure, the second section unveils the semantic principles with which they are associated.

Verbal categories and sentence structure

In order to substantiate the universal nature of grammatical categories, relative to the structural properties of sentences, one should probably argue that all languages have a common clause structure whereby these categories constitute one of its basic components. In what follows, the most relevant approaches to clausal structure will be reviewed, and an attempt to suggest a generalized sentence structure will be made. Accordingly, four basic structural models will be presented and discussed. We will first present Fillmore's (1968, 2003) suggestion as to the nature of basic clausal constituents. Second, we will outline Culioli's (1968, 1976) fundamental sentential model. Third, Adamczewski's (1978, 1982a) metalinguistic configuration, based on his "Metaoperational Grammar Theory," will be reviewed. And finally we will discuss the recent developments within the latest Principles and Parameters framework as advocated by the various syntacticians based on the thrust of Chomsky's (1991, 1995) insights, which constitutes, in our view, a salient attempt to reanalyze sentence structures, and abandon the very early Noun Phrase-Auxiliary-Noun Phrase (NP-AUX-NP) model.

Fillmore's analysis

One could not agree more with Wasow's observation that Fillmore's (1968) insightful generalizations relevant to the formal machinery of grammar "remain relevant to current research" (2006: 169). In his "Case for Case," Fillmore (1968 [republished 2003]) proposes that the basic syntactic structure of sentences is made up of two constituents corresponding to a MODALITY and a PROPOSITION. The Modality constituent includes such modalities on the sentence-as-a-whole as negation, tense, mood, and aspect.^{2,3} The proposition, on the other hand, is said to include a tenseless set of relationships involving verbs and nouns (and embedded sentences if there are any). Thus, the first base rule Fillmore suggests is given in (1a) and (1b) (this corresponds to (28) and (28') respectively in his paper).

- (1) a Sentence → Modality + Proposition
 b S → M + P

It should be noted that this representation was by no means a common practice or popular among linguists at that time, a period during which the Chomskian school was growing, and the representation of basic clauses as a combination of three elements: a Noun Phrase (NP), an Auxiliary (AUX), and a Verb Phrase (VP), as illustrated in (2), was getting standardized.⁴

(2) $S \rightarrow NP + AUX + VP$

This raises the question as to what motivated Fillmore's syntactic approach. The answer seems to be that since Fillmore was developing a "case" theory; he was more interested in the arguments that would relate to the verb, and thus in getting them assigned a particular "case." He therefore claimed that Modality should be kept separate, since it does not have a verbal case relation. Moreover, modal cases are sometimes called the "adverbial cases," and range, therefore, over a wide selection of verbs. As such, they are not, by definition, related to the proposition but to the Modality of the sentence as a whole. In other words, they are not related to the central verb as arguments to a predicate, but related to the entire proposition as a Modality. Another characteristic of these modal cases, along with those of Time, Place, Manner, Cause, Purpose, Accompaniment, and Benefactive is the fact that they are generally optional in the structures in which they occur. If a verb is an action verb, for example, this action may be optionally represented in a particular time, place, and circumstantial setting. These details may be added or omitted. An action may be "for someone" (benefactive), "with someone" (accompaniment), "done in a certain way" (manner), "at a certain time" (temporal), "at a certain place" (locative), "for a certain purpose" (purpose), and so on. Thus, according to Fillmore, all of these cases are modal cases; they are outside the case frame of the verb. A modal case accounts, therefore, for every phrase in the sentence which does not already have a role assigned to it from the case frame of the verb. In addition, it has been suggested that modal cases should be relegated to higher predications. According to this theory, the adverbial represents a higher predication in which some event, X, took place. For example, in a sentence such as (3),

(3) He came yesterday.

the event, "he came," would be considered to be one predication, and this predication would be included in a higher predication expressing the time of the event, that is, X took place yesterday. Thus, we can see the extent to which modal cases are different from the propositional case roles demanded by the meaning of the verb. In addition, modal cases differ from propositional cases in that there is no question of a fit between case feature and noun feature. Since modal cases are indifferent to particular verbs, no case role feature is read into the modal case from the verb. Rather, the modal cases depend entirely upon their lexical content for interpretation and differentiation. One associates words like *now*, *then*, with

time, *here, there*, with location, *alone, together*, with accompaniment, and so on. Modal cases can, therefore, be distinguished in terms of general classes of features. Thus, one may speak of locatives, for example, as source, goal, path, extent, area, or point locatives. But these features are derived from an analysis of the meanings of these locatives and are not read into the modal case from elsewhere. In sum, there seems to have been more than one reason which led Fillmore since the late 1960s to reject the then-popular NP-Aux-VP model. Of particular interest to our vision of clausal structure is Fillmore's attempt to include semantic principles within clausal structural projectional representations. Interestingly, and within a different theoretical framework, a similar analysis of the formal machinery of language production has been suggested by a number of French enunciativists among whom we shall examine the works of two prominent and very influential figures, namely Antoine Culioli and Henri Adamczewski.

Culioli's analysis

The shift between the development of modal logic since the beginning of this century (Von Wright 1951, among others) and the special interest in the notion of Modality in linguistics during the second half of the century illustrates the independent directions of these two disciplines. Having established that communication is the basic function of language (Jakobson 1963; Benveniste 1966, among others), linguists came to the conclusion that the transmission of any message is not usually an end in itself. When we communicate some proposition to another person, we do so normally because we wish to influence in some way or another the beliefs, attitudes, behavior, and so on of that person. To produce an utterance, therefore, is to engage in a certain kind of socio-cultural interaction. Such production is not restricted to communication by means of spoken language. Indeed, written language, that is, narratives, newspaper and scholarly articles, among others, obey the same principles (cf. Fleischman 1991). We shall refer to Culioli (1968, 1970, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1975/76, 1978, 1982, 1987) who, on the basis of what we have just mentioned, developed a corresponding theory which explicates the internal grammar machinery and in which the concept of Modality plays a major role, a mirror image of the language functions outlined in Jakobson and Benveniste. His objective is, therefore, to construct "un système de représentations métalinguistiques manipulable qui permet d'établir une correspondance entre des configurations (agencements de marque dans le texte oral et écrit) et des opérations" [a flexible metalinguistic configurational system which establishes correlations between configurations and their corresponding operations] (Culioli 1974: 56). Most importantly, within this configurational system, Modality plays a salient role. The three basic and essential articulations of Culioli's representational system are as follows: First, at a prelexical level, there is (i) on the one hand, a three place schema of Lexis (i.e. an empty schema) of the form $\langle \{0, \{1, \pi\} \rangle$ which

reads: first argument (or departure point of the relation), second argument (or end point of the relation) and a predicate (or relation between the two points), (ii) on the other hand, three lexical terms: R, X, Y (i.e. (eat), (cat), (mouse)) selected by a lexical filter. Second, a first operation, called a “Summon’s operation,” which results in, given the primitive relationship which exists between the three terms, the insertion of these terms within the empty schema (. . .). Third, we therefore obtain a Lexis <X, Y, R> (i.e. <mouse, cat, eat>) which is defined as follows:

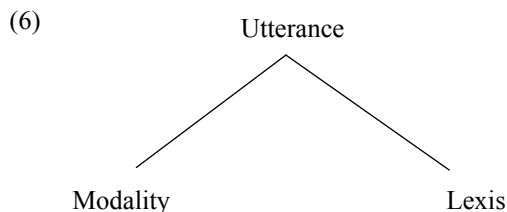
- (4) Lexis “. . . où les termes sont compatibles avec un ordre, mais ne sont pas encore ordonnés, en outre, la Lexis est pré-assertive et le passage à l’assertion (au sens de ‘énonciation par un sujet’) implique une Modalisation” [whereby lexical items are compatible within a particular order, but have yet to be ordered; in other words, Lexis describes a pre-assertive stage, and Modalization is the very act of assertion (in the sense of uttering by a speaker)] (Culioli 1968: 6–8).

The Lexis component appears, therefore, as a restrictive domain, to which both the verb and its basic arguments belong. Most important is the fact that the Lexis component represents the preassertive level, a stage which is prior to the utterance. In contradistinction to the preassertive level, the assertive level, achieved through the very act of enunciation, necessarily implies a Modalization. Having distinguished the Lexis component from the Modal component, Culioli (1968: 8) explains further the notion of Modality, which includes four major domains, as summarized in (5) as follows:

- (5) a affirmative, negative, injunctive, and so on;
 b certain, probable, necessary, and so on;
 c appreciative: it is sad that . . . , fortunately, and so on;
 d pragmatics: in particular, illocutionary mood, causative, and so on.

Within such an approach, it appears that “Modalization” is an operation by which the enunciator appropriates the utterance’s arguments, that is the Proposition in Fillmore’s terms. The propositional content, which defines the Lexis component, lacks, however, an orientational aspect (e.g. active/passive), a qualificational aspect with respect to the type of processes (e.g. aspectual characteristics), and any anchorage (repérage) with respect to the moment of enunciation (e.g. temporal relations) (Culioli 1987). These several operations that participate in the construction of an enunciation on the basis of a Lexis define the basic components of Modalization. Thus, any enunciation is a consequence of the systematic interaction between both the Lexis component and the Modality component. Modality is therefore an inherent characteristic of an utterance. Accordingly, at some deeper level, utterances are said to be composed of these

two components as represented in (6) here:



The representation in (6) clearly illustrates the binary compositional structure of the utterance. The two constituents, Modality and Lexis, constitute the two sides of a single coin. While Lexis represents the primitive domain of both verbs and arguments, Modality is the assertive domain which characterizes the enunciator's appropriation of the Lexis. This implies that the utterance is a complex linguistic construct, as it is the result of the interaction between both domains. Desclès (1980: 8) summarizes this composite nature as follows:

“L ‘énoncé a en fait un double statut, c’est l’objet le plus directement observable, mais c’est aussi un objet déjà chargé de théorie et produit par la théorie” [the utterance has in fact a double status, it is, on the one hand, the most tangible product, but it is also a construct immersed in and reminiscent of theory]

In fact, the metaterm “enunciative operations” is specifically used to refer to the speaker’s activities upon the Lexis. In other words, the utterance is the ultimate result of the various types of operations which the enunciator performs over the Lexis. Culioli’s theory is therefore referred to as *Théorie des opérations énonciatives* [Theory of Enunciative Operations]. In sum, the binary nature of the utterance with the Modality component as a major configurational constituent reminiscent of cognitive processes not only, in our opinion, does echo Fillmore’s proposal, but also lends support to the spirit within which our proposal will be articulated.

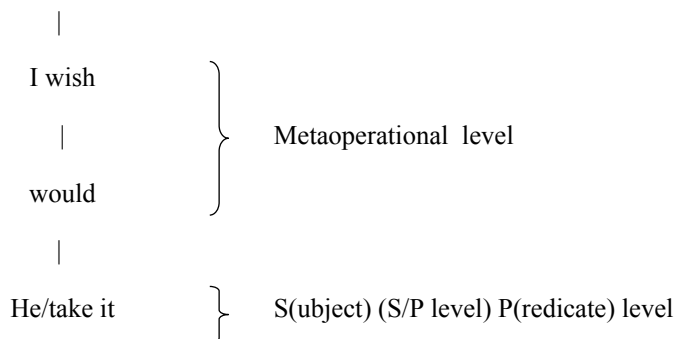
Adamczewski’s analysis

A student of Culioli, Adamczewski was largely inspired by the principles of the Theory of Enunciation (as developed first by Benveniste then elaborated further by Culioli⁵). Although Adamczewski’s work belongs to the enunciative theory (Adamczewski 1976, 1978, 1982a,b, 1983, 1986/7, 1991), he founded his own school in the late 1970s and developed a new approach that came to be known as *Théorie des Phases* “Theory of Phases,” or *Théorie de la Grammaire Métaopérationnelle* “Metaoperational Grammar Theory.”⁶ Discussing the

fundamentals of the theory would take us too far afield. We will, therefore, restrict the presentation to those basic elements which are most relevant to our discussion. In particular, we will discuss the spirit within which the analysis of the clause is conducted. Consider the example in (7), as represented in (8) as follows:

(7) I wish he would take it

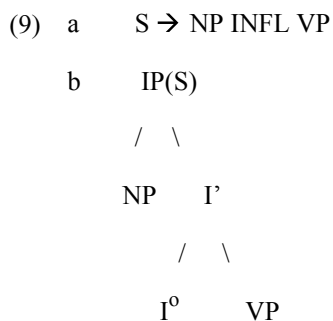
(8) E(nunciator)



From the perspective of sentence structure, the binary distinction between the S/P level and the metaoperational level constitutes the most relevant aspect of the above approach. While the basic level contains the subject “he,” along with the predicate “take it,” the metaoperational level is reminiscent of the metalinguistic level where various modalities are realized, that is, tense, wish, and so on. The spirit behind this representation seems to parallel those we have discussed earlier. It aims at establishing a sentence production machinery with two different components: the metaoperational/modal component, on the one hand, and the S/P/Lexis/Proposition component, on the other hand. Looking closely at the representation in (8), we notice the extent to which the constituents are hierarchically organized. More specifically, it shows the precedence and the dominance of the metaoperational level over the S/P level. In fact, Adamczewski’s approach accords well with this hierarchical structure, as it explicitly foregrounds the scope of the metaoperational level over the S/P level. This entails that metaoperators, such as *would* in the aforesaid example, have scope over the S/P. More generally, “grammatical categories, that is, DO, BE+ING, MAY, WILL, BUT, THE, BIEN, AUSSI, -AIT, etc ... have scope over the predicative relation” (Adamczewski 1983: 5–6), and as such are evaluated with respect to its realization. This correlation between the sentential structure and its semantic interpretation is best summarized in Delmas’s observation that *construire une syntaxe, c’est construire du sens* “constructing a syntax is constructing meaning” (1987: 8).

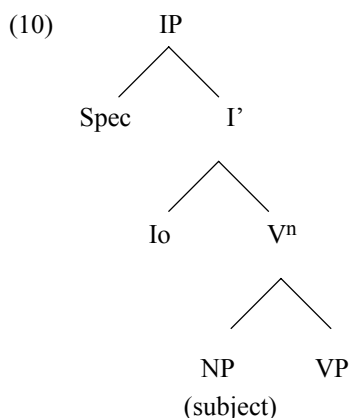
Principles and parameters approach

Operating within a formal syntactic theory of language, Chomsky defines syntax as “the study of the principles and processes by which sentences are constructed” (1957/2002: 1). In other words, Chomsky explains, “in order to satisfy the condition of explanatory adequacy, a theory of language must show how each particular language can be derived from a uniform initial state” (2000: 7).⁷ In relation to clausal structure and the order of constituents, recent developments within the Principles and Parameters Approach (Chomsky 1991, 1995, 2002b), formally known as Government and Binding (GB) theory (Chomsky 1981, 1986), have emphasized two major aspects. The first relates to the position of subjects, while the second extends the X-bar (henceforth X') status of phrases to include functional categories such as Tense, Aspect and Modality, among several others. With respect to the issue of subjects, we shall underscore the early proposals which suggested the inclusion of subjects within the projection of the VP (Kuroda 1986; Koopman and Sportiche 1988; Mohammad 1988, 1989). As for the independent syntactic status of inflectional and functional categories, the early proposals of Bresnan (1970, 1972), Fassi Fehri (1980, 1988), Chomsky (1981, 1986), Abney (1985), and Pollock (1989) have been instrumental in shaping the syntactic structures of such categories. Without going into much detail, it was widely assumed that the clausal structure typically expands into three basic constituents: the NP subject, the Inflectional constituent (INFL), and the VP constituent, as in (9a) (Chomsky 1981: 25). These constituents are hierarchically ordered according to a binary branching principle, yielding the representation in (9b):



In (9), the NP is the base generated position of subjects, INFL is where auxiliaries, modals, and negation are base generated, and the thematic verb along with its complement appear within the VP. Notice that this representation straightforwardly accounts for Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) structures where the subject appears first, followed by the verb, then, if transitive, selects for a direct object. Additional provisions were, therefore, made to accommodate other language types, such as Verb-Subject-Object (VSO) and Subject-Object-Verb (SOV).⁸

This position has recently been challenged by various linguists, whose suggestions came to be known as “The Internal Subject Hypothesis” (Kuroda 1986; Speas 1986; Mohammad 1989; Koopman and Sportiche 1991 among several others). Without going into details concerning the various factors which motivate the above hypothesis, we simply observe that its outcome amounts to separating the INFL constituent from both the NP and VP constituents. In Koopman and Sportiche, for example, it is claimed that the NP subject appears within the maximal projection of the VP, which they call V^n , while the INFL constituent appears outside of the argument structure of the thematic verb.⁹ This is illustrated in (10), where the structural positions of both the subject NP and the VP are within a single small clause V^n .

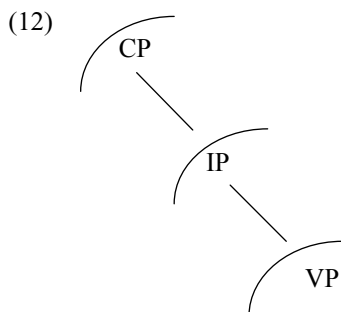


Even though the authors did not intend the separation of the INFL constituent from the V^n constituent to be an analysis parallel to those discussed earlier, one should stress their significant attempt to draw some sort of correspondence between syntax and semantics, from the point of view of clausal structure. Pushing this argument to its logical limits, it might be argued that a clause has a fundamental binary structure, an INFL constituent which contains various types of modalities including tense and aspect, on the one hand, and a small clause (V^n) constituent, which hosts the verb and its arguments, namely a subject, and possibly a direct object, on the other hand. This might be represented in (11) (with the arrow \rightarrow interpreted as: contain).

- (11)
- a S \rightarrow (NP) INFL V^n
 - b INFL \rightarrow Tense, Aspect, Modality, Negation, Mood, and so on
 - c V^n \rightarrow Subject, Verb, Direct Object, and so on

In fact, this hierarchical order of basic clausal constituents has been enjoying near unanimity among linguists operating within the Principles and Parameters approach.

Ouhalla and Shlonsky (2002) provide further details with all clause layers. Thus, they observe that clauses are organized on the basis of three layers: a VP layer, an IP layer, and a Complementizer Phrase layer (CP). While the VP includes the verb and its arguments, IP contains all functional categories such as tense, aspect, mood, and modality, and the CP which includes operator layer and clause typing (i.e. wh-operators, focus operators, and declaratives, interrogatives, exclamatives respectively). The three clausal strata are represented in (12) as follows:



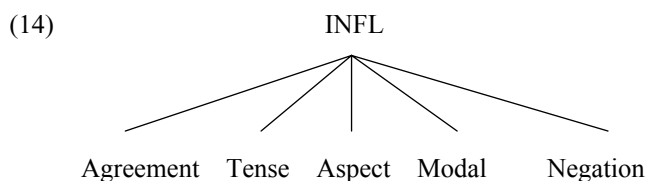
(Ouhalla and Shlonsky 2002: 2)

With a fully articulated structure of the clause, the extent to which proposals within the Principles and Parameters approach parallel those of Fillmore, Culioli, and Adamczewski, becomes clear despite their theoretical differences (i.e. IP/INFL corresponds to Fillmore’s Modality constituent, and [NP VP (Vⁿ)/VP] to his proposition). In what follows, we shall present some aspects of a more articulated version of the IP component.

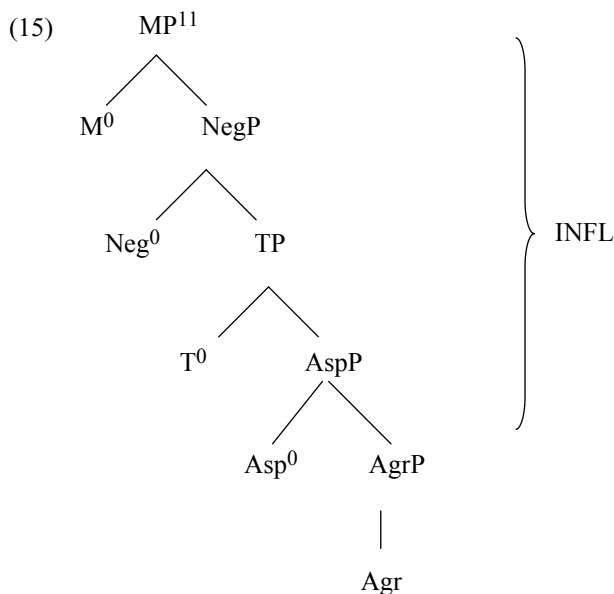
The articulated IP structure

The IP component has been assumed to be the host of tense and agreement. In addition, it is also assumed to be the position where mood, modality, aspect, and negation originate “by means of particles, auxiliaries and inflectional affixes, and in which the verb and its arguments are licensed” (Ouhalla and Shlonsky 2002: 5). Accordingly, given a sentence like (13), it turns out that (14) is a possible structure of INFL in English, and presumably in other languages as well:

(13) The president should not have declared the war



Unlike modals and negation, agreement, aspect and tense appear in all finite clauses. In most cases, especially in simple tense contexts, they are inflectional, and are therefore part of the verbal complex. This raises the question of how to derive them in the syntax, and eventually how to derive the optional categories as well. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, various linguists, such as Ouhalla (1988, 1990), Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1991) among many others, have suggested that these categories should receive a treatment in accordance with the X' template where each grammatical category heads its own phrasal projection.¹⁰ As radical as it may sound, the suggestion has been a highly welcome addition to the syntactic theory in general and to the phrase structure in particular. Since then, grammatical categories are integrated, not only within the clausal structure, but also within the underpinnings of the theory. The order of constituents aside, INFL is thus assigned the structure in (15) (where MP = Modal Phrase, NegP = Negative Phrase, TP = Tense Phrase, AspP = Aspect Phrase, AgrP = Agreement Phrase, and the “⁰” notation refers to the head):



On the theoretical level, this approach enhances the fundamentals of X' theory, as it militates against any flat structure analysis of INFL within a hierarchical approach, on the one hand, and extends to apply equally to both lexical and nonlexical categories, that is, verbs, nouns, and adjectives as well as modals, negators, aspects, and tenses respectively, on the other hand. On the empirical level, it shows the extent to which these categories participate in the internal dynamics of the clause, given the active syntactic role they typically play (see Chapters 7 and 8).

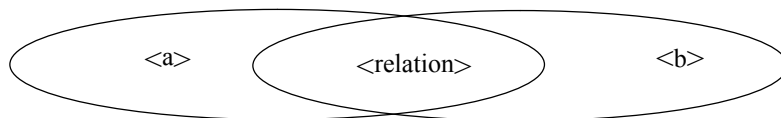
This is also illustrated in Abney (1987) where he shows that nonlexical categories, which he calls “functional elements,” deserve a parallel treatment to lexical categories.¹² The articulated and autonomous role of the functional component lends important support to earlier claims which attempt, not only to separate the Modality component (INFL here), but also to emphasize its fundamental role in the interpretation and the derivation/orientation of the clause.

To summarize the above sections, we have tried to illustrate some of the achievements of various approaches vis-à-vis a unified account of clausal or utterance structure. Independently of the major theoretical differences between all four approaches, we have observed striking similarities as to the underlying constituency of the clause. These approaches can further be classified as being either more, or less, syntactically oriented. To the former belongs those of Fillmore and the Principles and Parameters Approach, to the latter the enunciativists, especially those of Culioli and Adamczewski. Thus, while the first group stresses clause compositionality, composed of a Modality/INFL constituent and a propositional/[NP VP] constituent, the second group proposes a binary division of clausal structure: a Modality/metaoperational level versus a Lexis/(S/P) level. The very fact that these two groups share a fundamental orientation, namely their strong conviction as to the basic clausal constituents, constitutes strong evidence for the salience of these components. As for what is involved in each component, we have shown that while the Lexis/lexical component contains the verb along with its arguments, the Modality/nonlexical component includes such categories as tense, aspect, modality, negation, agreement, mood, among several others.¹³ While the presentation afore focuses more on the syntactic aspect of the sentential structure, the following section will present and discuss some semantic aspects of the Modality component, being the one that is closely related to the issue of ATM.

Verbal categories and modality

To utter is to take a stand on a content of thought in front of an addressee. That stand will be realized within the utterance thanks to Modality. Modality is not, therefore, a static operation. It might be the case that the enunciator proposes a content of thought as true with himself as the guarantor for the truth, a hypothesis that he/she posited, or as a question for the coenunciator. It might also be the case that the message is neither a true nor a false statement, but rather an order, an obligation, a wish or a desire addressed to the listener. Despite these varieties, two basic notions seem to play a major role. First, the relation of the enunciator to the content of what is said (propositional content), which we will refer to as the evaluation of the predicative relation. Following Delmas (1987: 9), this interaction might metaphorically be represented as in (16), where the two elements <a> and correspond to the subject and predicate, respectively, while <relation> corresponds to the predicative relation echoing Leech and Short’s metaterm “discoursal point of view.”¹⁴

(16)



As for the second, it relates to the intersubjective relationship, that is, the relation of the enunciator (speaker, writer) to the coenunciator (hearer, reader). In discourse, any expression of modality, that is, tense, aspect, modals, mood, and so on, will privilege either one of these two, without total neglect of the other. In what follows, we shall first present a brief review of the dynamics of the Modality constituent, with a particular reference to the Culiolian school, then the most relevant criteria which have been proposed to characterize and sharpen Modality will be introduced.

As for the scope of Modality, it is argued within the enunciativist framework to be composed of four components, numbered *a* to *d*, as shown in (5) p. 11, and summarized briefly in Bouscaren and Chuquet (1987: 36–37), as follows: (i) *Modality of type I* which is also called “Assertive Modality” where enunciators define their propositional content (represented by the predicative relation) as valid: either true or false. In case they choose to validate that content, they will make use of the assertion (affirmative or negative). If, on the other hand, they think that the content can be validated, but as far as they are concerned, they are not in a position to accomplish that validation, they will then use interrogation. Thus, Assertive Modality would allow enunciators (i) to define the content of their utterances as true or false (but nothing else and necessarily one or the other), (ii) to not “personally” take a stand between either one, hence the value of scanning associated with interrogation, and (iii) to suggest to the hearer to make a decision (to validate), hence the intersubjective value of interrogation. In English, for example, such stands are realized through surface markers such as DO (which is usually combined with tense markers), HAVE and BE (which combine tense and aspect). Moreover, one might also notice that, besides positive assertion that might not need any marker whereby the assertion might be taken in charge by any speaker (general truth, attribution of properties, etc.), any *activity* upon the predicative relation leaves a trace or a special marker: marker of negation, question, anaphor, contradiction, and so on. Finally, it should be noted that injunction belongs to this modality, as the enunciator takes a simulated position with respect to the validation of the predicative relation, hence supposition and hypothesis; (ii) *Modality of type II* which is also called “epistemic modality.” The particular value of such modality is that it expresses the lack of the enunciator’s certainty concerning the validation of the predicative relation. The enunciator does not choose between valid/nonvalid, but evaluates the chances of realization of the predicative relation. That evaluation is basically quantitative. Markers of such an

operation can be either adverbs (perhaps, possibly, certainly, etc.) or modal auxiliaries, such as, the nondeictic “may” and “must.” Moreover, this lack of certainty often has an argumentative value: it is registered through an “implicit dialogue” with what the speaker assumes that the hearer is thinking about; (iii) *Modality of type III* which is quite often called “Appreciative Modality” where the question of the validation of the predicative relation is irrelevant. Utterances are analyzed beyond the problematic of true and false. Such modality deals with appreciative values, such as: good, bad, normal, abnormal, happy, sad, and so on, of the content of the predicative relation. It is basically a qualitative modality; and (iv) *Modality of type IV* which focuses on the relationship between the thematic subject and the predicate inside the predicative relation. It is congruent to the so-called radical/deontic modality. Here, the question of validation of the predicative relation becomes irrelevant, not because it does not exist, but because the enunciator is situated outside that domain. Such a relation can not be considered from the point of view of true or false: the validation of such a relation is necessarily filtered by other factors, such as the will of the grammatical subject, or better the will, the pressure, the demand that the enunciator exercises on the grammatical subject, hence the “deontic” values of this modality (order, permission, wish, suggestion, will, causation, capability, etc.). It should be stressed, however, that this division is only for convenience, and that these four types are not completely independent. Modalities do overlap, just as functional categories belong in most cases to more than one grammatical type. Injunction, for example, belongs to both type I and type IV (a stand vis-à-vis assertion and intersubjective relations). In both types I and IV, Modality is more concerned with the relationship between the enunciator and the coenunciator. In a question, for example, the task of whether to validate the predicative relation or not is assigned to the coenunciator.

At first sight, one might think that the analysis above raises similar questions to those addressed by Jespersen (1924: 320), Rescher (1968: 24), and Searle (1983: 166), which focus entirely on sentential modality with almost no connection to matters relative to aspect and tense. Although there are some points of interaction, the point of view developed earlier is extended to cover questions inherent to the categories of tense and aspect. Since the use of these categories is bound up with the enunciator, and in particular with the assessment of the predicative relation, tense and aspect are offspring of Modality, and as such, should be considered within the system it constitutes. In other words, within Culioli’s theory, the clausal derivational process involves necessarily two types of underlying operations. First, the predicative operations (*opérations prédictives*), which structure the Lexis into a predicative relationship that is active or passive, that has a specific thematic organization, and so forth. Second, the enunciative operations (*opérations énonciatives*), which are designed to anchor the variables associated with tense, aspect, modality as well as nominal determination and quantification. In order to anchor those variables, it is necessary to locate the Lexis with respect to the enunciator, and the time of the speaker (Bourdin 1991: 272). Thus, it is easy to see the extent to which sentential modality is bound up with questions of aspect

and tense.¹⁵ In what follows, a few other facets of Modality will be investigated, as they relate directly to the understanding of the verbal categories of tense, aspect, and modality.

Subjectivity

It is our contention that Modality in language, especially when marked grammatically, is essentially subjective. As such, Modality is concerned with subjective characteristics of an utterance, and should therefore be associated with subjectivity (Parret 1991; Herslund 2005). It could be further argued that subjectivity is an essential criterion for Modality, its “unmarked feature” (Herslund 2005: 46). This latter could, therefore, be defined as the grammaticalization of the speaker’s (subjective) attitude and opinion.¹⁶ Various uses of the grammatical categories of tense and aspect are reanalyzed as surface traces of the enunciators’ subjectivity, providing evidence, therefore, for the higher importance of emotive and subjective language over cognitive and objective language. We will show, for example, that the difference between the use of the Simple Perfect and the Compound Perfect in Arabic involves quite often the degree to which the enunciator is involved within the verbal process (see the discussion of *QAD*, pp. 72–103). Similarly, Waugh (1986: 12) argues that the Simple Past in French has an expressive function, as it presents the verbal event as independent of the writer’s subjectivity.¹⁷ Smith (1983: 497) demonstrates that “sentential aspect” presents a situation (event, state, etc.) from a particular point of view, which in turn represents the enunciator’s choice of perspective: a situation is presented from different perspectives or viewpoints. Along these same lines, Fleischman (1990: 215) considers the category of tense as an expressive device for carrying out evaluation. Blyth (1990: 104–08) discusses the accelerative effects of the Present in narrative discourse, while maintaining its expressive function. The overall thrust of these observations is to stress the subjective characteristic of Modality, through the use of aspect and tense categories, among others. Another notion that seems to have a direct relationship to subjectivity is what Dahl (1985: 3) calls “impreciseness and focusing.” As enunciators tend not to restrict the use of these categories to one single domain, there has been serious concern about the impreciseness of the borderline between the cases when the category can or should be used. In the following section, we argue that grammatical categories, constituents of the Modality component, are to a certain degree interrelated, since they tend to interact with each other in various ways. The tense category, for example, interacts with those of aspect and modality, and vice versa. We shall, therefore, introduce the term cross-categorial for those categories which exhibit similar behavior.

Cross-categoriality

By a cross-categorial category, we mean a category whose set/subset of features do not necessarily fall under only one category; instead, they might fall under

more than one category. This implies that a careful investigation of tense, aspect, and modal categories, for example, might show that each category has certain features which belong to the other category. For the sake of illustration, let us take the English simple past morpheme “*ED*,” and call it *x*. Assume, for the sake of discussion, that *x* represents the set of past time features [a,b,c,d...]. Let us now consider a modal category, such as “*WISHING*,” call it *y*, where *y* represents the set of modal features [1,2,3,4...]. To start with, recall that past time features, as represented by letters of the alphabet, are regarded as entirely dissociated from *WISH* features, represented by numerals. Thus *x* and *y* denote different categories, as represented in (17):

$$(17) \quad x = [a,b,c,d,\dots] \quad [\dots 4,3,2,1] = y$$

Now, consider the following examples:

- (18) a He left yesterday
- b I wish he left yesterday

It is generally assumed that the contrast between examples (18a) and (18b) is reminiscent of the past time features of the simple past (18a) and its modal features (18b), as it expresses both a factual and a non-factual event, respectively. The representation of both the tense category $\langle x \rangle$, and the modal category $\langle y \rangle$ in (17) fails to account for the semantic contrast in (18), however, as it does not predict some degree of interaction between the set of features in *x* and those in *y*. In order to accommodate such cases, a provision needs to be made. This latter must ensure that the features in *x* and those in *y* are no longer discrete. Instead, they share a common ground, call it *z*. Thus, *z* represents the area of interaction between *x* and *y*, as represented in (19):

$$(19) \quad x = [a,b,c,d,\dots\dots 4,3,2,1] = y$$

[*z*]

It is easy to see, now, the principle underlying cross-categoriality. It clearly shows the extent to which grammatical categories are not discrete and/or compact, but have boundaries which are rather open and allow for interaction of tense and aspect. Some cross-categorial cases in Arabic will be investigated and discussed, with a particular focus on the categories of tense and aspect. Other cases, such as tense and negation, tense and modality, negation and mood, are also observed. The traditional conceptualization of grammatical categories as discrete categories of tense, aspect, mood, modality, and so on fails to capture the widespread interrelationships among these categories.¹⁸ Lyons (1977: 809–23) discusses various instances of interaction between tense and modality, and concludes that “there is not, and can not be, in universal grammar any sharp distinction between tense and aspect, on the one hand, and between tense and modality, on

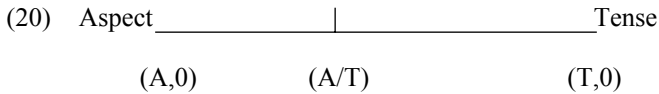
the other.” Likewise, Waugh (1979: 229), analyzing the French verbal morphology, concludes: “All of the four tenses studied [present, imperfect, future, and conditional] have uses which fall in the domain of tense (temporal uses), of aspect (shape of the event), and of mood (subjective evaluation of the speaker): there is no difference between tense/aspect/mood – it is all one category”; or at least, they all overlap with one another with perhaps some systematic differences based on basic vs. marginal uses (Waugh, personal communication). Palmer (1986: 208–25), notices that modality seems sometimes to appear in the same formal system as either tense or aspect, and investigates cases of interaction between modality and tense, modality and negation, and modality and agreement (person) from a broad range of languages. The facts are such that we must agree with Wallace (1982: 202), when he says that “Time, aspectuality, and modality – the semantic fields to which the formal categories of tense, aspect and mode are supposed to refer – are almost inextricably scrambled together.” This conclusion is similarly echoed in Bhat’s (1999) statement that “the variation that has been observed among languages concerning the representation of tense, aspect, and mood derive primarily from the fact that the three categories are closely interconnected” (p. 93). This has led many linguists to create a new metalanguage in order to mark a certain distance from traditional categorization. Instead grammatical categories are referred to as TAM categories (Givón 1982; Dahl 1985, 2000; Fassi Fehri 1993; Bybee *et al.* 1994), T-A categories (Waugh 1987, 1991b), or ATM categories (Bahloul 1994). Once we have accepted the cross-categorial nature of these categories, we are led to the more difficult question of how to account for this type of interaction, and cross-categoriality in general. In the following section, we shall suggest that the concept of continuum might be the most appropriate way to deal with cross-categoriality. The case of aspect and tense will be discussed, and tested against the proposal.

Modality and continuum

The members of the Modality constituent prove to be less discrete and more connected. This is only natural if Modality is interpreted as a system whose functioning relies on its constituents. Unless they are interconnected, these constituents will not function, nor will the system. The concept of continuum is introduced here to organize these interconnections, and show the degree to which grammatical categories might be partly discrete and partly related. In what follows, the categories of tense and aspect will be examined, with respect to the above criterion.

Having carefully and thoroughly examined the features related to tense and aspect within and across several languages and language groups, Dahl (1985: 25) confesses that “the distinction between tenses and aspects is by no means clear, although everyone knows what the typical cases are like.” Although these grammatical categories are interrelated in several ways, and to various degrees, as shown earlier, we believe that it is crucial to maintain the conceptual distinction between tense and aspect, and to have a terminology that is capable of maintaining

this distinction; yet, one should be able to accommodate cases of interactions where such dissociation is not only dubious, but also theoretically undesirable. We therefore subscribe to a continuum analysis, which in effect presents Tense and Aspect as distinct from each other, but not to the extent of exclusion. Thus, if Tense and Aspect are the two end points of the continuum, a middle position is necessarily present, as represented in (20):



The representation in (20) allows for various possibilities of interaction between both categories ranging from (A,0), where Aspect is the basic feature of the verbal system, while Tense is derivative, as indicated by (the presence of) “0,” to (T,0) where the roles are reversed; that is with Tense as the basic feature, and Aspect the derivative one. Both poles are then mediated by a third type, where the two grammatical categories play an equal role within the verbal system. For ease of reference, the three possible cases will be referred to as in (21)

- (21) Type I Aspect, 0 (A, 0)
 Type II Tense, 0 (T, 0)
 Type III Aspect/Tense (A/T)

If this characterization is adequate, then all three possibilities should be found among languages. From this typological point of view, MSA and Russian, are Aspect-oriented languages. In addition, as will be shown in the following examples, MSA combines Aspect with Taxis, not Tense. French on the other hand is most likely a Tense-oriented language, with a well-knit system of “primary” tenses (Waugh 1975: 479, 1987, 1990). Type III is also found in various languages such as Sinhala, Bantu languages, Quechua, and Kinyarwanda where both aspect and tense are realized within the verbal complex, as shown in the following examples:

- (22) a *Mtsuko u-na-gw-a*
 waterpot SP-Past-fall-Asp
 “The waterpot fell.”
 (Baker (1988))
- b *Umwaana y-a-taa-ye igitabo mu maazi*
 child SP-Past-throw-Asp book in water
 “The child has thrown the book into the water.”
- c *Juma a-ta-kuwa a-me-pika chakula*
 Juma 1agr-Fut-be 1agr-Perf-cook food
 “Juma will have cooked food.”
 (b,c: Carstens and Kinyalolo (1989))

From a methodological point of view, the advantage of the continuum analysis lies in its ability to predict the possible occurrence of such complex cases as English, where the verbal system oscillates between both categories. With two tense markers, that is, [\emptyset ,S] and [-ED], on the one hand, and two aspectual markers, that is, [BE + ING] and [HAVE + EN], on the other hand, which all interact in various ways, English is more likely to subscribe to all three types. In his crosslinguistic study, Bhat (1999) concludes that "it is apparently useful to classify languages into tense-prominent, aspect-prominent, and mood-prominent types" (p. 7) which appears to concur with the continuum analysis. It should be noted, however, that this approach to the study of verbal categories, although it is very popular among a large number of linguists and schools of linguistics (e.g. enunciativists, functionalists, structural functionalists, and discourse analysts), remains problematic for other schools, and in particular those which rely on formal logic (e.g. generative semanticists, Montague grammar, and various approaches to logical form). Indeed, the basic difference between the two approaches can be reduced to the restrictive nature of the latter vs. the unrestricted characteristic of the former. With respect to tense categories, for example, while the former incorporates all temporal and nontemporal uses of tenses in the analysis, the latter restricts its domain of study to the temporal ones, and either neglects the other uses, or considers them marginal and deserving, therefore, a separate treatment.

With respect to the subjective value of these categories, while it has received serious consideration from enunciativists, functionalists, structural functionalists, and discourse analysts, it has been overlooked by formal logicians, and those who have contributed to the study of logical form. In other words, while formal approaches in general have restricted their account to the pure referential values of these grammatical categories, others have opted for a more inclusive account which hosts both referential and nonreferential uses of these categories. Hence, the partial nature of formal accounts, and the much thorough characteristic of nonformal accounts.¹⁹ As attempts have been made to account for all occurrences of these categories, serious analytical and methodological issues require particular attention. In the next section, we will discuss two basic concepts which have played a leading role in unveiling the functioning of verbal categories: the notions of Invariant and Markedness.

Modality and invariance

Despite linguistic fossils and small variations, linguists have assumed that language must be very largely regular. Any adequate description should, therefore, reflect this regularity (Guillaume 1919, 1929, 1952; Jakobson 1932, 1957). Verbal categories, for example, despite their compatibility with a large number of unrelated contexts (see Chapters 4, 5, 6), reminiscent of their cross-categorical characteristics, are believed to have stable features. Thus, Guillaume writes:²⁰

Une forme de langue a, dans la langue même, une valeur fondamentale, unique, dont un caractère est de permettre une grande diversité de valeurs

d'emplois, qui, si différentes soient-elles, apparemment ne sont pas en contradiction avec une valeur fondamentale existante [a language form exhibits within its linguistic system a fundamental value and allows for a number of different uses which, no matter how unrelated, are not apparently in contradiction with the existing fundamental value]

It is worth noting that the Guillaumian opposition between “fundamental value” *valeur fondamentale* and “use values” *valeurs d’emplois* is basically the same as the Jakobsonian and the Prague School distinction between “invariance” and “contextual variation.” Invariance is inherent to a particular category, while variation is related to the context. In other words, the invariant is *Generic* in nature and is determined by the relational system of which it is part; the variants, however, are more *Specific* and determined in addition by the context of which they are a part (Waugh 1976: 72). This approach militates against building up a catalogue of different uses, with two or three basic uses and tens of exceptions (see Grévisse 1969: 1287–302). Instead, it attempts to collect together pieces which have previously been seen as different. Moreover, it emphasizes the regularity and coherence of language, and has the psychological effect of making the analysis of verbal categories, or others, seem more logical and more manageable. Likewise, Garcia (1991: 54) observes that “it is only by postulating invariants that lend themselves to creative-imaginative interpretation that we can do justice to the dynamic character of language, and avoid falling into a static listing of an arbitrarily finite list of qualitatively arbitrary uses.”²¹ On the level of the verbal categories, we shall demonstrate the degree to which the category of taxis–aspect, for example, shows that type of regularity within the verbal system. It is worth mentioning that the scope of the problem of invariance in linguistics is not limited to the mere description of intralingual patterns. Such descriptions naturally lead us to a further task, the search for linguistic universals (interlingual invariance) (Jakobson 1971: 225). Finally, it should be stressed that the invariant is quite often composed of more than one semantic component, and as such, it is a composite concept. Waugh (1991b: 242) argues that the invariant can be composed of specific meanings, and does not always have to be of a general value. Another concept which, along with the Invariant, seems to have a major role in analyzing and describing grammatical categories is Markedness. In what follows, we discuss some of its basic aspects.

Modality and markedness

Verbal systems typically involve more than one category (e.g. taxis, aspect, tense, modality, negation, etc.), which, as indicated earlier, establish various degrees of interrelationships. We have already suggested that the two concepts of continuum and invariance are meant to elucidate the functioning of these categories. Nothing has been said, however, about the direct relationship between members of the system, and in particular those which constitute clear cases of opposition. Indeed,

the concept of markedness helps to hierarchize the system, through unveiling the markedness status of each member inside it. Therefore, any system is made up of hierarchical relations, and markedness is one of the relations that help to hierarchize that system. In what follows, the importance of markedness will become clear as we examine the relationship between the terms of any grammatical opposition, that is, the Perfect and the Imperfect, and so on. We will, however, attempt a general introduction here. The underlying idea is that while one member of a binary opposition is marked, the other is unmarked. Waugh (1982: 301) describes this as follows:

... there is a constraining, focusing characteristic for the marked term of any grammatical opposition: the marked term necessarily conveys a more narrowly specified and delimited conceptual item than the unmarked. As a consequence, (. . .) the marked term of any grammatical opposition specifies a particular unit of information x, while the unmarked term does not necessarily specify that particular unit of information.

It is easy to see the degree to which a grammatical system should rely on markedness to evaluate the hierarchical relationships between its members. More specifically, it evaluates the hierarchical relationship of pairs within the system. Any investigation of any verbal grammatical category must take this dialectic into account if it is to correctly characterize one of the ways in which human beings create symbolic and conceptual frameworks (Waugh 1982: 315). Both the marked and the unmarked terms of any opposition have both invariants and contextual variants of meaning. However, the invariant of the unmarked category is more general than the invariant of the marked category.

Concluding remarks

We have proposed in this chapter that clauses have a complex structure, and as such they are underlyingly compositional. We have argued that the two constituents of Modality and Proposition constitute the clausal underlying structural components. An utterance results, therefore, from the interplay between both constituents. This interplay defines the enunciative operations which underlie the use of grammatical categories. It has been argued throughout that the advantage of this approach to clausal structure is its mapping of semantic constituents into syntactic structures, hence it bridges the gap between both syntax and semantics, an achievement which is empirically motivated and theoretically desirable. Thus, our proposal is based on the works of various linguists belonging to different schools of thought: an American-based syntactic approach, represented by Fillmore (1968) and rooted within the Chomskian Principles and Parameters on the one hand, and an enunciative approach, represented by Culioli and Adamczewski and inspired by the early works of Guillaume and Benveniste. The very fact that such different theories seem to share basic intuitions with respect to the constitutional structure

of the clause, is very indicative, in our opinion, of the adequacy and the basis of this orientation, on the one hand, and the destiny of linguistics, on the other hand. Of course, these implications might be too strong, but we have reason to believe they will lead to substantial theoretical and analytical progress. The second part of the chapter discussed some issues relative to the modal component. First, it presented Culioli's analysis of Modality; second, it reviewed such concepts as subjectivity, cross-categoriality, and continuum, which play major roles in elucidating the functioning of grammatical categories. Finally, the notions of invariance and markedness were brought to light, as they constitute the most adequate tools for analyzing members of the system and the verbal system as a whole.

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY, STRUCTURE, AND FUNCTION

Introduction

The most prevalent approach to the characteristic features of Arabic inflectional morphology has been to delineate: first, its consonantal root basis as the origin of all inflectional and derivational morphology; and second, the semantic opposition between its two basic verbal forms: the Perfect and the Imperfect as they are generally called.¹ This is reflected in the contemporary works of McCarthy (1979, 1982), Travis (1979), Fischer (2002), Holes (2004) among many others. In this section, we will first outline the core of this approach, then examine its extent on both verbal forms: the Perfect and the Imperfect.

Identifying verbal morphemes

Without going into the details of previous analyses, the fundamental assumption about verbal morphology emphasizes the fact that all inflected verbal forms (and by extension all lexemes) are related to an invariable root. This latter consists of consonants, one to five in number, but usually three, associated with a basic meaning and occurring always in the same relative order in a number of lexical items. Inflectional morphemes are then attached to the root to derive various verbal forms, such as the Perfect and the Imperfect.² This is illustrated in (1) where the root *ktb* denotes the basic notion of “writing,” *ʒls* “sitting,” and *sʔl* “questioning.”

(1)	Root	Perfect Active	Imperfect Active
	ktb	k_at_ab_a “he wrote”	_{y_a} kt_ub_u “he writes/is writing”
	ʒls	ʒ_al_as_a “he sat”	_{y_a} ʒl_is_u “he sits/is sitting”
	sʔl	s_aʔ_al_a “he asked”	_{y_a} sʔ_al_u “he asks/is asking”

Crucial to our analysis is the fact that the affixes and the root are mutually dependent, given that neither of them can occur as a free morpheme. The root (lexical meaning) needs various grammatical means (e.g. verbal inflections studied here) in order to be expressed. Their grammatico-semantic characteristics are mirrored at the formal level by the fact that the verbal root requires those

affixes to provide it with the necessary vowels that would syllabify its consonants which are non-pronounceable otherwise; while these affixes need the verb to which they attach because they cannot occur as free morphemes, hence the ill-formedness of the examples in (2a) and (3a), and the grammaticality of both (2b) and (3b).³

- (2) a (*ktb) (*-a-a-a) al-waladu darsa-hu
 (*write) (*PF) the-boy lesson-his
- b **kataba** al-waladu darsa-hu
 write.Pf.3m.s the-boy lesson-his
 “The boy wrote his lesson.”
- (3) a (*ktb) (*ya-u-u) al-waladu darsa-hu
 (*write) (*IMPF) the-boy lesson-his
- b **yaktubu** al-waladu darsa-hu
 write.Imp.3m.s the-boy lesson-his
 “The boy writes/is writing his lesson.”

This raises at least two questions: first, as to what grammatical categories these affixes denote; and second, as to how this attachment process is achieved. Below, we will first concentrate on the denotational properties of these verbal affixes, and therefore on the grammatical category each affix or cluster of affixes represent. Having done this, we will then tackle the basic issue of their meaning, with a particular emphasis on both the Perfect and the Imperfect. As for the attachment process, we will return to this issue in Chapters 7 and 8 where we discuss the syntax of verbal categories. Turning our attention to the question of the semantic characterization of the affixes which get attached to verbs, we should note that, according to standard assumptions, both the suffix and the prefix that distinguish the Perfect from the Imperfect, as illustrated in (4a) and (4b) respectively, are said to correspond to both tense and agreement morphology.

- (4) a **katab-a** (Perfect)
 write-**Pst.3ms**
 “He wrote.”
- b **ya-ktubu** (Imperfect)
Pres.3ms-write
 “He writes/is writing.”

This position has been recently challenged, however, in more detailed analyses by Er-Rayyan (1986), R. Bahloul (1991), Benmamoun (1992), and Fassi Fehri (1993). Er-Rayyan (1986: 75–122), who is mostly interested in identifying semantic classes, argues that the /-a-/ first vowel in the Perfect form, that is, *k-a-taba*, designates the actual or completed occurrence of the action denoted by the verbal root. In the Imperfect form, however, the /-u-/ last vowel, that is, *yaktub-u*, designates recurrence in the actual world. R. Bahloul (1991, 1994) considers the /-a-/ first

vowel in the Perfect to be the morpheme which denotes both Aspect and Tense (Aspect–Tense). Agreement morphology is carried solely by the suffix, that is, *katab-a*. She disagrees, however, with Er-Rayyan, and argues instead that it is both the prefix – and specifically the vowel within the prefix – along with the zero morpheme or the absence of the first vowel in the Imperfect stem, that is, *y-a-k-Ø-tubu*, that denotes the Aspect–Tense category. Agreement morphology, on the other hand, appears on both sides of the verb: the prefix and the suffix, that is, *ya-ktub-u*. Benmamoun (1992, 2000) takes a rather radical position concerning the morphological realization of Tense and/or Aspect. In particular, he argues that the /-a/, the last vowel in the perfect, that is, *katab-a*, is a pure agreement morpheme, and therefore there is no morphological realization of the past tense. As for the prefix in the Imperfect, that is, *ya-ktubu*, Benmamoun considers that it is a purely default morphological form of the verb, and therefore that it does not correspond to a temporal or aspectual form. He therefore concludes that “the past tense is an abstract morpheme that does not have any specific phonological realization” (2000: 27).⁴ A similar claim is found in Fassi Fehri (1993) who argues that Arabic tense morphemes are “rather abstract” (p. 145). These differences concerning the morphological identification of grammatical categories, such as Aspect and/or Tense morphemes within both the Arabic Perfect and Imperfect verbal forms, are probably reminiscent of the very opaque nature of “one of the more complicated systems in natural languages” (Kinberg 2001: 151), and call for a much carefully detailed analysis of the morphological structure of both forms. Below, we briefly examine the function of each single affix within the Perfect paradigm first, then within the Imperfect.

The Perfect paradigm

In the tradition of Arabic grammar, the verb form for any root or semantic concept is represented by the same form of the root *fʕl* which carries the semantic concept of “doing.” As such, the Perfect verb consists of that root and three vowel morphs dispersed among the consonants in a consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel ($C_{V1}C_{V2}C_{V3}$) pattern. While the lexical meaning of the verb is generally carried by the consonantal root, each vowel can be argued to behave to some extent as an independent morpheme, carrying its own semantic features. Thus, depending on the features involved, and the rules that govern their combinations, the three vowel-morphs represent a regular pattern which, along with the verbal root, form a simple and well-formed finite verbal form. Accordingly, three different patterns are observed within the Perfect paradigm, as shown in (5):

- (5) a $f_a\zeta_a l_a$ (-a-a-a)
 b $f_a\zeta_i l_a$ (-a-i-a)
 c $f_a\zeta_u l_a$ (-a-u-a)

Each vowel will now be examined, and its function will be discussed.

The first vowel

In contradistinction to both the second and the third vowels, we assume, following Er-Rayyan (1986: 75) and R. Bahloul (1991), that the first vowel /-a-/ expresses the Aspect–Tense properties of the verbal event, and thus, it is the morpheme which denotes this particular category within the morphological verbal structure.⁵ Consider, for example the cases in (6),

- (6) a *kataba* al-walad-u risaalat-an
 write.**Pf** the-boy-nom letter-acc
 “The boy wrote a letter.”
- b *ʁaḏ̣/ba* al-walad-u
 got upset.**Pf** the-boy-nom
 “The boy got upset.”
- c *kaburat* al-bint- u
 become old.**Pf** the-girl-nom
 “The girl got older.”

When carefully examined, the contrast between the three examples above clearly indicates a fundamental difference between the first vowel /-a-/ and both the second and the third vowels. This difference involves the insensitivity in the first vowel, with respect to certain features which are related to both the second and the third vowels. This morpho-semantic insensitivity is indicated by lack of alternants to the first vowel. Indeed, it is argued below that the second and the third vowels express transitivity and agreement, respectively, and neither category has a direct bearing on the first vowel. Further evidence for treating the first vowel as the morpheme which represents the Aspect–Tense category comes from passive constructions. Consider the examples in (7):

- (7) a *kutibat* ar-risaalatu
 written.**Pf.Passive** the-letter
 “The letter is written.”
- b *ruqiša* fii al-bayti
 dance.**Pf.Passive** in the-house
 “It is danced in the house/there was dancing in the house.”

As the cases in (7a) and (7b) indicate, passivization in Arabic is achieved through the two-morph pattern /-u-i-/, independently of the type of verb involved. In other words, passivization is achieved by converting the first vowel to /-u-/ and the second vowel to /-i-/, hence the /-u-i-/ passive pattern. This seems to suggest that the first vowel is indicative of the active voice, in contradistinction to its apparent alternant /-u-/, which along with the affix /-i-/ marks passive morphology.⁶ Although this might be a reasonable suggestion, it is still unclear as to the degree

to which the first vowel /-a-/ represents the active voice, and whether any other vowel is similarly involved. It will be shown later when the second vowel-morphs have been discussed that valence underlies their proper choice. It is, therefore unlikely that activation plays any role. However, the vowel /-i-/ proves to be more compatible with [+/- intransitives], which accords slightly with its obligatory presence in passives.

Another way to interpret the above observations is to say that the /-a,u-/ alternation in the first vowel emphasizes the aspectual-temporal properties of the verbal event, from the perspective of the agent or the patient. In other words, if Aspect-Tense evaluates the predictive relation, and if passivization reduces to the choice of the first term of this relation (e.g. the agent or the patient), it should be reasonable to dissociate both operations, without excluding a possible morphological overlap. Hence the naturalness of the second interpretation. Moreover, it should be stressed that the affix /-u-/ is the only alternant to the first vowel /-a-/. Accordingly, we would like to suggest that the /-a,u-/ alternation indicates the Aspect-Tense features of the verbal event. This latter is presented, however, either from the agent, or from the patient point of view, hence the past indicative (6), or the past passive (7), respectively.

The second vowel

The second vowel in the C_VC_VC_V-pattern can be one of three: /a/, /i/, or /u/, as shown in example (5). The choice between these vowels is mostly determined by the verb's valence. Accordingly, while the /a/ vowel morpheme represents most frequently [+transitive] action verbs, the /u/ vowel morpheme represents [-transitive/+stative] verbs, and the /i/ vowel morpheme typically denotes mental and psychological states with [+/-transitive] verbs. The relevant examples are given in (8), (9), and (10) respectively.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(8) <i>ḍaraba</i> “to hit”
 <i>wadāʕa</i> “to put”
 <i>masaka</i> “to hold”
 <i>šakara</i> “to thank”
 <i>kataba</i> “to write”
 <i>ʔaḥabba</i> “to love”
 <i>ʔakala</i> “to eat”
 <i>qaraʔa</i> “to read”
 <i>šatama</i> “to insult”
 <i>salaba</i> “to afflict”</p> | <p>(9) <i>kabura</i> “to become big”
 <i>šaʕura</i> “to become small”
 <i>kaθura</i> “to be numerous”
 <i>qašura</i> “to become short”
 <i>kaθufa</i> “to become dense”
 <i>karuma</i> “to be noble”
 <i>kasuda</i> “to be stagnant”
 <i>labuqa</i> “to be clever”
 <i>laduna</i> “to be soft”
 <i>nabula</i> “to be of noble birth”</p> |
| <p>(10) <i>hasiba</i> “to think”
 <i>farifha</i> “to become happy/pleased”
 <i>kariha</i> “to hate”
 <i>ʔamila</i> “to hope”</p> | |

qabila	“to accept”
fahima	“to understand”
ṣaḏība	“to get angry”
raḏīya	“to become satisfied”
ḡalima	“to learn”
marīḏa	“to become sick”

The third vowel

As for the third vowel in the C_vC_vC_v-pattern, it signals agreement for all phi features, that is person, number and gender, between the thematic subject of the clause and the lexical verb. This is illustrated in the examples as follows:

- (11) a tafhaddaθ-**a**
 speak.Pf-**3.s.m**
 “He spoke.”
- b tafhaddaθ-**uu**
 speak.Pf-**3.p.m**
 “they spoke.”
- c tafhaddaθ-**tunna**
 speak.Pf-**2.p.f**
 “You spoke.”

Table 3.1 here summarizes the various morphophonemic shapes in which that morpheme appears.

Thus far, I have shown that the Perfect in Arabic is a complex form, whose verbal morphology is based on vowel patterning where each vowel represents one or more grammatical categories. The first vowel is shown to denote Aspect–Tense, the second valence, and the third agreement. As a final remark, I would like to briefly state that the fact that both aspect and valence are more internal to the root than agreement follows straightforwardly from Bybee (1985, 1994) where such categories are shown to be more intrinsic to the verb than others. Let us now examine the other member of the opposition, the Imperfect.

Table 3.1 Morphophonemic shapes of agreement morphemes within the Perfect

Person	Gender	Number		
		Singular	Dual	Plural
Third	m/f	-a/-at	-aa/-ataa	-uu/-na
Second	m/f	-ta/-ti	-tumaa	-tum/-tunna
First	∅	-tu	∅	-naa

The Imperfect paradigm

Turning now to the Imperfect form and to its inflectional morphology, and leaving aside the discussion about whether the Imperfect is derived from the perfect or outside the perfect, I will assume that similar to the Perfect form, the Imperfect is composed of a verbal root and a number of affixes, as shown in (1) and (3) above (pp. 29–30). The root hosts the consonants and denotes the general semantic meaning (or the notional domain). The affixes, as in the perfect, represent various grammatical categories. Unlike the perfect, however, the Imperfect makes use of a CV prefix, a second and a third vowel, but no first vowel intervening between the first and second consonants, as shown in (12) where the verbal root is *fʕl* ‘do.’

- (12) a $ya\ f\underset{a}{\underset{a}{\underset{u}{\text{ʕ}}}}\ l\ u$ (ya-a-u)
 b $C_VCC\ \underset{V}{C}_V$

The prefix and the first vowel

It might seem natural that the Imperfect would not preserve the first vowel, given the fact that that vowel denotes the Aspect–Tense properties of the Perfect. But, as we examine the function of Imperfect affixes, we notice that the same vowel that denotes Aspect–Tense features of the Perfect performs similar functions in the Imperfect, with the only difference that in the Imperfect form, the vowel is part of the prefix, and occurs, therefore, outside the root. The claim being made here is that the morpheme that denotes the Aspect–Tense category is the vowel which occurs within the prefix. The most compelling argument comes from the passive form, where both vowels exhibit similar alternation. Accordingly, both the /-a-/ first vowel in the Perfect, and the /-a-/ first vowel (within the prefix) in the Imperfect change to /-u-/, as illustrated in (13) and (14), respectively.

- (13) a *šariba* al-*maaʔ*-a
 drink.**Pf** the-water-acc
 ‘He drank the water.’
 b *šuriba* al-*maaʔ*-u
 drink.**Pf.Passive** the-water-nom
 ‘The water is drunk.’
- (14) a *yašrabu* al-*maaʔ*-a
 drink.**Imp** the-water-acc
 ‘He drinks/is drinking the water.’
 b *yušrabu* al-*maaʔ*-u
 drink.**Imp.Passive** the-water-nom
 ‘The water is being drunk.’

The medial vowel

As for the medial vowel in the CVCCVCV-pattern, its function is not as straightforward and as easy to discern as the one for the Perfect. Thus, even though the three different vowels, namely {a,i,u}, appear medially, as illustrated in (15b), there does not seem to be any correlation between each one of those vowels and the verb's valence.

(15) a	Perfect		b	Imperfect
	ḍaraba	(to hit)		yaḍribu
	šakara	(to thank)		yaškuru
	kataba	(to write)		yaktubu
	laṣiba	(to play)		yaṣabu

The prefix and the last vowel

Agreement morphology, on the other hand, is realized in the Imperfect on both sides of the verb, that is, not only on the last vowel but also on the initial consonant of the prefix, as illustrated in (16),

(16) a	y-aktub-u
	3.m-write-s
	“he writes.”
b	t-aktub-uuna
	2-write-m.p
	“you write.”
c	t-aktub-na
	2-write-f.p
	“you write”

Table 3.2 shows the various shapes in which agreement morphemes appear on the verb (where the root is: *fʕl* “do,” **N** stands for Number, **P** for Person, **G** for Gender, **s** for singular, **p** for plural, **d** for dual, **m** for masculine, and **f** for feminine). Looking closely at the Table 3.2, we notice the following:

- 1 person morphology is always encoded in the prefix;
- 2 number is encoded in the suffix, except for first person;
- 3 gender is on the suffix when plural or on the prefix when singular except for first person).

These results are further summarized in Table 3.3.

Having examined the functions of various affixes to which verbal roots get attached to derive finite verbal forms, such as the Perfect and the Imperfect, among other categories, it seems quite obvious that both Aspect/Tense and agreement morphologies are overtly realized within both verbal forms. While

Table 3.2 Morphophonemic shapes of agreement morphemes within the Imperfect

<i>Person</i>	<i>N/P</i>		<i>Stem</i>	<i>N/G</i>
First	(s.)	ʔ-a	-fʕal-	-u
	(p.)	n-a	-fʕal-	-u
Second	(s.m)	t-a	-fʕal-	-u
	(s.f)	t-a	-fʕal-	-iina
	(d.f/m)	t-a	-fʕal-	-aani
	(p.m)	t-a	-fʕal-	-uuna
	(p.f)	t-a	-fʕal-	-na
Third	(s.m)	y-a	-fʕal-	-u
	(s.f)	t-a	-fʕal-	-u
	(d.f)	t-a	-fʕal-	-aani
	(d.m)	y-a	-fʕal-	-aani
	(p.m)	y-a	-fʕal-	-uuna
	(p.f)	y-a	-fʕal-	-na

Table 3.3 Summary of agreement morphology

<i>Person</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Prefix</i>	<i>Suffix</i>
First	(s.p)	P, N	∅
Second	(d)	P	N
	(s.p)	P	N,G
Third	(s.d)	P,G	N
	(p)	P	N,G

the /-a-/ first vowel represents both the Perfect and the Imperfect within the two CVCVCV- and CVCCVCV-patterns, the last vowel of the Perfect (CVCVCV) and both the consonant in the prefix along with the last vowel in the Imperfect (CVCCVCV) denote all the various phi features, namely Person, Number, and Gender.⁷ Other processes, such as voice and passivization, are also observed. Discussion of them is beyond the scope of this book. It should be noted, however, that their interaction with the Aspect–Tense category, for example, follows from the common modal domain to which they all belong: the Modality constituent.

Previous analyses of verbal forms

Our primary interest in this section is to shed some light on the semantico-pragmatic properties of the Perfect and the Imperfect in MSA. We will show that despite the systematic differences which typically distinguish each verbal form from the other, the boundary between both forms remains unclear and hard to discern. This is only natural if grammatical categories are said to belong to the same modal domain and therefore are the result of common enunciative operations in the

Culiolian sense. In what follows, we will review the basic claims concerning the nature of the difference between both forms.⁸ The shortcomings of these analyses will be highlighted and an alternative approach will then be presented.

Consider the examples in (17):

- (17) a **daras-a** (Perfect)
 study.**Pf-3s.m**
 “He studied.”
- b **y-a-drus-u** (Imperfect)
 3.m-Imp-study-s
 “He studies/is studying.”

While there is agreement on the morphological distinction between (17a) and (17b), there is little unanimity on the semantic characterization of this opposition. There seems to be some dispute in the literature regarding the essence of the opposition *darasa/yadrusu*. The question remains whether these verbs represent past/nonpast tense, perfective/imperfective aspect, both tense and aspect combined, or something else. This controversy has been apparent in varying degrees over the past century of scholarship about Arabic, although the idea of perfective/imperfective has always been the dominant one. In the next section, we will present the different views that have attempted to characterize the above verbal forms.

Proponents of the aspect view

In his introduction to “the states (senses) of the verb,” Wright⁹ (1859, VI: 51) claims that the two Arabic forms, as in (17a) and (17b) above, express actions which are *finished* or *unfinished* with “no reference to the temporal relations of the speaker (thinker or writer) and of other actions which are brought into juxtaposition with it. It is precisely these relations which determine in what sphere of time (past, present, future) a Semitic perfect or imperfect lies, and by which of our tenses it is to be expressed – whether by our past, Perfect, Pluperfect, or future perfect; by our present, imperfect, or future.” However, Wright does not offer any grammatical term except “state,” to which he does not otherwise refer again, to cover this nontemporal category. The term “aspect” does not occur in Wright’s grammar, but it is clear that he does not consider “state” as deictic in any sense. Similarly, Jusmanov (1961) observes that the Semitic verb has no tenses in the European sense: “Instead of the triple division of action and state in relation to time into past, present, and future, the Semite uses a double division according to *completed* and *incompleted*.” Along the same line, Tritton (1943: 53) states that: “the verb has no tenses. Apart from the imperative, there are two finite forms which denote respectively *completed* and *incompleted* action.” Accordingly, Tritton suggests that it is convenient to call them the perfect and the imperfect, where the perfect “indicates a finished and therefore past act while the imperfect denotes

an unfinished and therefore present or future act.” Likewise, Blachère and Gaudefroyes-Demombynes (1952: 245–46) introduce psychology into the understanding of the verb, speaking for example of the psychological bond between an action deemed “completed” and one presented in the “past.” Following Cohen (1924), they name this verb system phenomenon “aspect.” This is made to accommodate the fact that the Semitic verb “does not express the ‘situated time’ (i.e. to say the time in which a process is located in relation to another moment of time which is the one where the speaker is located), but only the degree of realization of the process in time” (op. cit. 246). In contrast to Indo-European languages, Cohen argues that while the tense values in these languages are more transparent with reference to the speech situation, the Arabic tenses are more action-oriented and therefore fail to present the notion of tense from a definite point of view. Time specification is then expressed through a multitude of lexical and syntactic means. Arabic demonstrates therefore a purely aspectual system with tense being contextually determined.

In like fashion, Fleisch (1957, 1968, 1974) argues at considerable length for the “aspectual” nature of the Arabic verb. His studies attempt to demonstrate and defend the following three characteristic of the Arabic verb: (i) first, in principle, the perfect presents a *finished process*; (ii) second, the imperfect presents a *process (state or action) in course of realization*; (iii) third, the tense emerges from the sentence. The last parameter is the most important for Fleisch. Accordingly, he argues that the verbal form itself is consistent in describing the development or accomplishment of the action, regardless of its temporal relation to the speaker. Any specific tense-marking is the property of the syntagmatic context. Arabic is therefore an “aspect language which expresses ‘different modalities of duration’ through the two primary verbal forms” (1968: 111).

The same line of analysis is also found in Beeston (1970) where it is recognized that time reference is not the essential value of the Arabic verb. More important than time, according to Beeston again, is a factor which he calls *aspectual*. Thus, the Perfect expresses a *dynamic* aspect, and the Imperfect a *static* aspect. Dynamic aspect is shown to be time-marked as past, while for static aspect the time factor may or may not be relevant; it is nevertheless shown to be inherently non-time-marked. Likewise, McCarus (1976) suggests that the primary feature of the Perfect and the Imperfect in Arabic is the expression of Perfective and Imperfective aspects respectively. He further shows that the form of the verb in Arabic does not indicate the tense of the action, but only indicates whether it (the action) is prior to the moment of speaking or, in case of the Imperfect, occurs simultaneously with the utterance or with the main verb of the utterance. Al-Mansouri’s (2002: 37) conclusion that Arabic verbal clauses focus on the very occurrence of the event and do not call for temporality [لا يحتاج الإنسان في بناء الجملة إلى المفهوم الدلالي الزماني، وإنما إلى إثبات الحدث الموصوف] might summarize the wide held view that the Arabic Perfect does not encode temporality; instead, it is Aspect that is shown to be the inherent feature. Fischer (2002: 102) similarly and confidently states “The Perfect indicates completed

action,” and adds that it is used to refer to prior events and to “established facts.” This is, however, what supporters of the tense view intuitively reject.

Proponents of the tense view

The Arabic grammatical tradition began with Abul-Aswad al-Du’ali in the seventh century around 688, but the first well documented written record only appeared a century later after the death of its author Sibawayhi in 796 (Carter 2004). Without going into much detail, we note that the early Arabic grammarians were extremely cautious in their approach to verbal tense categories. Sibawayhi, for instance, uses formal and functional criteria to classify verbal forms. Accordingly, three morphologically distinct verbal forms are said to express three disparate temporal distinctions: (i) *buniyat li-maa maḏaa* “constructed for what has elapsed,” as the examples in (18); (ii) *maa yakuunu wa lam yaqa* “what is going to be and has not happened,” as illustrated in (19); (iii) *maa huwa kaaʔinun lam yanqaʔ* “what is being, not having ceased,” as shown in (20).

- (18) a ḏahab-a (Sibawayhi 696: 1)
 leave.Pf-3s.m
 “He left.”
 b samiʔ-a
 hear.Pf-3s.m
 “He heard.”
- (19) a ʔi-ḏhab (Sibawayhi 696: 1)
 2.m/f-Imp-leave
 “Leave”
 b ʔi-ḏrab
 2.m/f-Imp-beat
 “Hit”
- (20) a y-a ḏhab-u (Sibawayhi 696: 1)
 3.m-Imp-leave-s
 “He is leaving.”
 b y-a-ḏrib-u
 3.m-Imp-hit-s
 “He is hitting.”

Note that in addition to the Perfect and Imperfect verbal forms, the imperative is included as a similarly competing form in terms of temporality and potential occurrence of the event. Most important is the temporal characterization in its tripartite form, namely the past “what has elapsed” (18), the present “what is

going on” (20), and the future “what is yet to occur” (19). The temporal parameter is independently confirmed by Sibawayhi’s use of temporal adverbs such as “today” and “tomorrow” to cast doubt on the well-formedness of verbal sentences with the Perfect and the Imperfect (see Owens 1988: 228). Eight centuries later Aš-širbiinii (1570) suggests that the difference between the two verbal forms is based solely on time. That is, while the Perfect denotes an event and an elapsed time (*maa dalla šalaa hadaθin wa zamaanin inqadaa*), the Imperfect denotes an event and an unelapsed time (*maa dalla wađfan šalaa hadaθin wa zamaanin lam yanqadi*).¹⁰ On the basis of Sibawayhi’s approach along with Aš-širbiinii among others, Aartun (1963) attempts to demonstrate that the Arabic verbal system is wholly time-based. He therefore argues that the examples in (17a) and (17b) above express a “past” versus “nonpast” tense. Likewise, Khrakovsky (1965) argues that the Arabic verbal forms are separate tenses, not aspects. Furthermore, he considers *sa-yaktubu* “will-write” a separate form along with *kataba* “wrote” and *yaktubu* “writes/writing.” Accordingly, he concludes that *kataba* is a past, *sa-yaktubu* an independent future, and *yaktubu*, in fact, neither. That is, the opposition of past and future is neutralized in *yaktubu*. In his latest work, Benmamoun (2000: 24–28) also argues that the Perfect expresses “past tense.” Finally, it is worth noting that current Arabic grammar handbooks tend to favor the Tense view. Thus, Wightwick and Gaafar (1998: 13) introduce both verbal forms as “the past” and “the present”; Banat (2001: 49–61) similarly uses “the present tense,” and “the past tense” for the Imperfect and the Perfect respectively.¹¹ It is therefore clear that proponents of the Tense view are quite rooted in the history of the Arabic grammatical tradition. Other proposals, dissatisfied with the either Tense or Aspect views, propose a much more synthesized suggestion where the two features are shown to co-occur.

Combined tense and aspect

Comrie (1976: 78–81) sees a combined tense/aspect system in Arabic. He rightly finds this double-pronged opposition questionable, since neither tense nor aspect is clearly the central feature with the other merely accessory.¹² Having developed the notion of “relative tense,” by which one is to understand a process relative to another process rather than to the speech situation, Comrie cites a typical instance of a subordinate clause with *ʔiḏaa* “when,” when only the perfect is possible:

- (21) ʔažiiʔu-ka ʔiḏaa ʔmarr-a l-buṣru
 come.lmp.1s.-you when become-red-Pf.3sm. the-dates
 “I shall come to you when the unripe date ripens.”

The clearly temporal reference of the perfect ʔmarr-a “ripen” is a consequence of the knowledge of the season, but it is nonetheless “past” relative to the expected arrival. Comrie concludes that: “the perfective indicates both perfective meaning and relative past time reference, while the imperfective indicates everything

else (i.e. either imperfective meaning or relative non-past tense). The Arabic opposition Imperfective/Perfective incorporates both aspect and (relative) tense” (op. cit. 80). In a recent paper, Comrie (1991: 7) reiterates his position suggesting again that the usual interpretation of the opposition, in the absence of contextual factors to the contrary, is that the Perfect encodes past tense and perfective aspect, while the Imperfect encodes present (or more generically nonpast) tense and imperfective aspect. Messaoudi (1985: 241–43) agrees partially with Comrie’s analysis, but adds that “only compound tenses present some symmetry for they equally express tense and aspect” [*seuls les “temps composés” présentent une certaine symétrie et expriment de manière égale temps et aspect*]. The aspect/tense claim is similarly found in much recent work. Fassi Fehri (1993), for instance, argues that “Arabic inflected verbs alternate Tense and Aspect uses” (p. 150), and so does Fischer “Both perfect and imperfect refer to time and aspect” (1997: 207). In the same vein, Bateson (2003) writes in an Arabic language handbook that the Arabic Perfect “refers to past time (or completed action) and the Imperfect to present or future time (and incompleted action)” (p. 23).¹³ In sum, the suggestion that Arabic verbal forms, namely the Perfect and the Imperfect, combine the two features of Tense and Aspect marks a tendency among several Arabists and shows potential from both theoretical and empirical perspectives.

Neither tense nor aspect

Kurylowicz (1973: 118) claims that neither the category of Aspect (as in Slavic) nor detailed time reference (as in Romance) exist in Arabic. Instead, the value of the opposition is one of the “*anteriority*” of *darasa* “he studied” (20a) versus the “*simultaneity*” of *yadrusu* “he is studying” (20b).¹⁴ The necessary corollary to this statement, according to the author again, is that neither form is aspectual, and neither form indicates particular time reference. Accordingly, the functions of Arabic verbal forms are neither tense nor aspect. According to the author again, the two member system *darasa/yadrusu* can not admit aspect, since aspect can exist only if there is already tense.¹⁵ Furthermore, there can not even be talk of tense, since *yaktubu* can have both present and past time reference. Therefore, the value of these forms is strictly relational, anteriority versus simultaneity. Benmamoun (1992: 215) partially agrees with Kurylowicz, suggesting that the morpheme that is traditionally analyzed as the imperfective does not correspond to a temporal or aspectual form but rather to a purely default morphological form of the verb and the temporal interpretation results from an abstract morpheme that has no phonetic content (2000: 27). The neither/nor view is echoed in a much recent pedagogical Arabic grammar book by Schulz who observes that the Perfect “does not actually express a certain tense; it merely states the action” (2004: 12). As for the Imperfect, it is “neutral regarding tense and merely describes the verbal action in its course” (op. cit. 13). *Mere stating of the action* and *mere description of the verbal action* do not appear to mark any particular aspectual concept, hence the lack of both Tense and Aspect features.

Summary

In this overview, we have presented the basic claims of various views concerning the semantic basis of the Arabic verbal system. These presentations illustrate confusions in the literature as to how to characterize the underlying nature of the opposition as illustrated in examples (17a) and (17b). Thus, it is shown that at least four hypotheses have been suggested to determine the basic feature of the Arabic verbal system. These suggestions are summarized in Table 3.4 here.

One might argue that this divergence over the semantic basis of the Arabic verbal system is due to the complex nature of the system itself. Although it might be complex, it is not so complex, in our estimation, as to give rise to contradictory results, as the analyses suggested earlier seem to imply. As a matter of fact the alternative analysis suggested below amounts to showing that when a large body of data is examined, and the entire verbal system is analyzed, which hopefully will unveil the characteristics of the entire Arabic verbal system, the underlying feature(s) of the opposition Perfect/Imperfect straightforwardly follows. In other words, we believe that unless the whole verbal system is carefully considered and many (types of) examples are considered, claims pertaining to some of its aspects remain merely speculative and partial at best.

Table 3.4 Summary of previous analyses of the Perfect and the Imperfect in Arabic

<i>Semantic interpretation</i>	<i>Nature of the opposition</i>	<i>Claims made by</i>
Aspect	Perfective/Imperfective	Wright, Jusmanov, Tritton, Blachere and Gaudefroys, Fleisch, Beeston, Al-Mansouri, Fischer
Tense	Past/Non-past	Sibawayhi, Aartun, Khravosky, Wightwick and Gaafar, Benmamoun, Banat
Aspect and Tense	Perfective-Relative Past/ Imperfective- Relative-nonpast	Comrie, Messaoudi, Fischer, Fassi Fehri, Bateson
Neither Aspect nor Tense	Anteriority/Simultaneity	Kurylowicz, Benmamoun, Schulz

THE PERFECT, USE, AND INVARIANT MEANING

Introduction

The previous attempts which tried to capture the semantic essence of both the Perfect and the Imperfect in Arabic have been inconclusive and/or unsuccessful for at least two basic reasons: one theoretical and another empirical. On the theoretical level, they have dealt too much in individual variants and not sought out semantic invariants, which are to be differentiated from the range of contextual variations found for a particular form. In order to do so, one should carefully study all the uses of the verbal form in question, and try to extract from the range of reference of that form a common denominator (a *Gesamtbedeutung*, or an invariant) of meaning upon which these various uses are based.¹ Moreover, little, if anything at all, has been said concerning the verbal forms in relation to each other, and from and within the entire verbal system. In other words, a common denominator of meaning is usually not extractable in isolation: that is, it is never extractable for one form alone, but rather only for one form as opposed to other forms which constitute the verbal system.² On the empirical level, not having based their analyses on actual data, previous analyses have failed to recognize the contribution of the surrounding context to the particular variation of the meaning of the form they examined. That is, whenever it is possible to attribute a usage of the form to automatic syntactic government they do so without looking for the semantic motivation for such government rules, or they attribute to the general meaning, semantic values which come from the use of the form in context, that is, from contextual meanings. In other words, most generalizations relative to the function of the verbal forms from Sibawayhi until the most recent studies mentioned in our previous chapters remain extremely hasty for the very limited sample of language they rely on.³

In the following analysis, we will first present the most relevant characteristics of each verbal form, with particular reference to temporality, and then isolate the system of oppositions they constitute in terms of the enunciative operations we believe they represent, comparing them with English, French, and other verbal systems whenever such comparison is deemed instructive.

The Perfect construction

The Perfect in Arabic, or the suffixed form as it is referred to by many linguists (Messaoudi 1985; Belazi 1993 among others), is found in a broad range of contexts, some of which, as will be shown later, lack systematic correspondences in other languages (see also Comrie 1976: 78–80; Dahl 1985: 80). Moreover, Sibawayhi (796: vol. 1: 460) notices that the Perfect in Arabic appears in three different forms: it occurs either by itself, or preceded by the particle *QAD* yielding the complex [*QAD* + Perfect], or preceded by the complex particle *LA-QAD* yielding [*LA-QAD* + Perfect]. This is evidenced by the fact that each verbal form exhibits a different negator: *LAM*, *LAMMAA*, and *MAA* respectively, as shown in Table 4.1 (*kataba* “he wrote”).

It should be stressed that Sibawayhi’s three-way distinction applies mainly to Classical Arabic.⁴ In MSA, however, the second negator *lammaa* seems to have disappeared, as its use is not observed anywhere in the language, that is, is not attested in our corpus. Moreover, although the negator of the third form *maa* is still observed, its frequency is too low to gain statistical significance and to make it as operative as *lam* (see pp. 139–40 for more details). Thus, all three verbal complexes are currently negated with *lam*, and very rarely with *maa*.⁵ Moreover, there is probably no need to consider these forms as independent, as they might have been during an earlier stage. The use of *QAD* prior to the Perfect remains, however, an intriguing issue to which we will devote the next chapter. Accordingly, one may argue that two forms of the Perfect are attested in MSA: a simple form (henceforth: the Simple Perfect), and a complex form (henceforth: the Compound Perfect).⁶ In what follows, we will first examine the contextual variants of the Simple Perfect with a particular emphasis on its interpretations relative to the temporal context in which it occurs. We then attempt to discern the ATM system of which it is part, and finally discuss the basic components which constitute its invariant marks. Our conclusions remain, however, partial, until we discuss both the Compound Perfect and the Imperfect, the subjects of the two following chapters respectively.

Daily newspapers are meant to provide the latest news in as much detail as possible (see also Engel 1990: 9). Therefore, writers and reporters are generally required to present extensive but very informative texts. Moreover, presenting the latest news generally imposes certain constraints as to what type of verbal form should be used. If reports are mostly concerned with elapsed events, it is more

Table 4.1 Verbal forms according to Sibawayhi

<i>Verbal forms</i>	<i>Negation</i>	<i>Semantic interpretation</i>
1 <i>kataba</i>	<i>lam yaktub</i>	he did not write
2 <i>qad kataba</i>	<i>lammaa yaktub</i>	he has not written (yet)
3 <i>la-qad kataba</i>	<i>maa kataba</i>	he DID not write

likely that the Perfect, whose temporal interpretation accords well with this function, would be the best candidate. Consider the following examples:⁷

- (1) **waƧadat** ad-duwalu aš-šinaaƧiyyatu al-Ƨaniyyatu fii al-Ƨaalami
 promise.Pf the-countries the-industrial the-rich in the-world
 bi-taqdiimi 150 milyuun duulaar ka-maƧuunatin Ƨaažilatin
 with-giving 150 million dollar like-help urgent
 li- Ƨalbaaniyaa ...
 to-Albania

“The rich industrial countries in the world **promised** to provide 150 million dollars in urgent help to Albania...” (NA#6)

- (2) **Ƨittahama** “Nikuulaas Briidii,” waziiri al-xizaanati al-Ƨamriikii,
 accuse.Pf “Nicholas Brady,” minister the-treasury the-american
 Ƨunduuqa an-naqdi ad-dawlii, bi-al-buƧi fii musaaƧadati
 bank the-monetary the-international with-the-slow in helping
 al- Ƨittihaadi as-sufyaatii ...
 the-union the-soviet

“‘Nicholas Brady’, minister of the US treasury, **accused** the International Monetary Fund of slowing the aid process to the Soviet Union...” (NA#7)

- (3) **waafaqat** ad-duwalu al-Ƨaniyyatu al-ƧaƧdaaƧu bi-naadii baariis
 agree.Pf yesterday the-countries the-rich the-members in-club Paris
 Ƨalaa ƧiƧaadati žadwalati ad-duyuuni al-mustafaƧqati Ƨalaa Biiruu
 on redoing scheduling the-debts the-demanded on Peru ...

“The rich countries, members of the Paris Club, **agreed** *yesterday* to reschedule the debts payment agenda of Peru...” (NA#8)

The sentences in (1), (2), and (3) illustrate the use of the Perfect at the very beginning of each article for reporting about past events; the promise in (1), the accusation in (2), and the agreement in (3). Notice that while (3) contains a temporal adverb *Ƨams* “yesterday” which specifies the time in which the event took place, both (1) and (2) bear no time specification whatsoever. The past time interpretation is nevertheless salient. The question that arises is the following: is the temporal interpretation, that is, past time, inherent to the temporal properties of the Perfect or to the immediate or general context, or is it a result of the interaction of both factors, and perhaps others as well? In order to determine which underlying factor or cluster of factors govern the temporal interpretation of the Perfect, one needs to investigate the semantic–pragmatic and discourse functions/properties of this form. In what follows, we will briefly present the various uses of the Perfect according to the above criteria.

The Perfect and temporal relations

In this section, I address the question of the interaction between the Perfect and temporality with a particular emphasis on its semantic–pragmatic interpretations from the point of view of its contextual categorization. The Perfect might be categorized in the following way, where its major contextual variants are: (i) “past time” (with no further specification as to whether the verbal event is close or remote in time); (ii) “present time,” (iii) “gnomic” utterances, and (iv) “future time.”

Past time reference

In his cross-language examination of various ATM systems, (Dahl 1985: 79) correctly notices a general tendency for the Perfect to refer to past time events. In MSA, the Perfect is quite often used to refer to events which have occurred prior to the moment of enunciation in discourse, or to the moment of writing in narratives, journalistic or literary. Consider the examples in (4), (5), and (6):

- (4) a A: ʔayna aḏ-ḏuyūufu allaḏiina **kaanuu** hunaa?
 where the-guests who were here
 “Where are the guests who were here?”
- b B: aṭ-ṭābiibu **ʔamara** bi-xuruuʔi-him firʕan ʕalaa raafati-ka
 the-doctor ask.Pf with-leaving-them caring on comfort-your
 “The doctor ordered them to leave for your own comfort” (SS#5)
- (5) a fa-fii ʕaami 1988 **qaama** sunduuqu an-naqdi ad-dawlii
 so-in year 1988 do.Pf bank the-monetary the-world
 bi-taʕliiqi al-quruuḏi li-l-ʔarʕantiin...
 with-suspending the-debts to-the-argentina
 “In 1988, the International Monetary Fund **suspended** the loans to Argentina...” (NA#10)
- b wa fii ʕahri yuuniyuu al-maadji **ʔaxaḏa** ‘Duuminguu
 and in month January the-last take.Pf ‘Domingo
 kaafloo’ waziira al-ʔiqtiʕaadi al-ʔarʕantiini bi-naʕiifati
 Kaflo’ minister the-economy the-argentinian with-advice
 al-banki ad-dawlii...
 the-bank the-world...
 “Last January, the Argentinean minister of economy ‘Domingo Kaflo’ **followed** the suggestions of the World bank...” (NA#10)
- (6) a wa-l-ḥaqqiqtu ʔanna laaʔikiyyatu at-tarbiyati **ḏaharat** fii
 and-the-truth that laicity the-education appear.Pf in

faransaa fii ሃahdi žuul ferrii hallan li-muškilati aṣ-ṣiraaṣi
france in era Jules Ferri solving the-problem the-conflict

al-maḍhabiyyi...
the-factional...

“In reality, secular educational systems in France **appeared** during the era of Jules Ferry to put an end to the problem of conflicts between factions.” (SA#3)

- b wa (qad) **tabayyana** min baḍḍi ad-diraasaati allatii
and (*QAD*) appear.Pf from some the-studies that
- Ḍihtammāt** bi-muqaranati al-ḡansaaqi al-qiiimiyati
focus.Pf on-comparing the-types the-qualities
- bayna al-muḡtamaṣi al-maṣrii wa al-muḡtamaṣi
between the-people the-egyptian and the-people
- al-ḡamriikii wuḡuuda tafaawutin fii tartiibi al-qiyami fii
the-american existance disparity in classifying the-values in
- kullin mina al-muḡtamaṣayn, hayḡu **tafawwaqa** aṭ-ṭullaabu
both from the-countries, where excel.Pf the-students
- al-maṣriyyuun ḡalaa aṭ-ṭullaabi al-ḡamriikiyyiin fii
the-egyptians on the-students the-americans in
- al-qiiimati al- ḡiḡtimaaṣiyyati.
the-values the-social

“Some comparative studies which **investigated** the difference in values between the Egyptian and the American societies (**had**) **revealed** differences in the hierarchical classification of values between both societies; the Egyptian students **excelled** in social values.” (SA#5)

The conversation in (4) describes a situation where the enunciator wonders about where his friends are after he awoke from a deep sleep. He knows for a fact that they were standing next to him a moment before. This is illustrated by the relative clause in (4a) *allaḍiina kaanuu hunaa* “who were here” which relates to a past time state during which his guests were there. No temporal adverbs which refer to earlier states are used, and the only indicator of past time is the perfect form of the copula *kaanuu* “were.” The co-enunciator is aware of what has happened, and responds accordingly. In (4b), she – the coenunciator – informs him that the doctor *ḡamara* “ordered” his friends to leave. Once again the Perfect form acts alone as the only vehicle of describing a previous event, without the mediation of any other past temporal adverbs. In short, the examples in (4) illustrate the use of the Perfect in discourse, locating the previous presence of the guests and the order of the doctor in the past. The examples in (5) are taken from a newspaper article. Both (5a) and (5b) describe past events which occurred

a long time prior to the moment of narration. In (5a) the narrator-enunciator informs the readers/coenunciators about an action that the International Monetary Fund took against Argentina. The use of the temporal adverb *fa-fii Ŷaami* 1988 “in 1988” to describe the time of the decision, clearly “detaches” the event described from the present moment (1992). Moreover, the verb which describes the decision appears in the Perfect, which is a clear indication of the compatibility between this verbal form and these temporal adverbs. This conclusion is supported by the example in (5b) where the temporal adverb *wa fii Ŷahri yuuniyuu al-maad̄ii* “last January” co-occurs with the perfect verb *Ŷaxaḏa* “took.”

The examples in (6) are from different scholarly journals. In (6a) the enunciator-narrator discusses secular education systems from a historical perspective. Thus, he informs the reader-coenunciator about the era during which the first secular educational system *ḏaharat* “appeared” in France along with the underlying reason for its appearance. Both the whole historical context which involves the participation of a nineteenth century major figure “Jules Ferry” (1832–1893), and the Perfect are used by the enunciator-narrator to encode a past time event, namely the appearance of the first secular system in France. In (6b), the enunciator evaluates previous research relative to the social differences between the United States and Egypt. Similar to the example in (6a), the Perfect is again used in order to refer to previous research and outline previous results. In sum, the examples in (4), (5), and (6) demonstrate that, independent of the type of enunciation, the Perfect in Arabic, whether accompanied by temporal adverbs or not, denotes a past time event, that is an event located prior to the time of narration. Closely related to the issue of “past time” reference is the question of “remoteness,” which involves the possibility of encoding various degrees of “pastness” with respect to the moment of enunciation. The question is therefore whether Arabic is capable of encoding such “past time” distinctions. Although the resolution of this question is bound up in an intimate way with the question of how the ATM system is structured, and with the related question of the more complex temporal relations which involve the analysis of Compound Tenses, a quite straightforward answer can be offered once we compare MSA to languages such as Haya which distinguish degrees of remoteness in its ATM system. This can be established by observing that while the temporal adverbs *alyawma* “today,” *Ŷamsi* “yesterday,” and *Ŷawwala Ŷamsi* “the day before yesterday” are compatible with the Perfect in Arabic, as shown in (7), only *nyeigolo* “yesterday” is compatible with the past tense verb *tukomile* “tied” in Haya, as shown in (8).⁸

(7) rabaṭ-ṭu-hu alyawma/Ŷamsi/Ŷawwala Ŷamsi
 tie up.Pf-I-him today/yesterday/two days ago
 “I tied him up today/yesterday/two days ago.”

(8) tukomile nyeigolo/*mbweenu/*ijo
 tied.I yesterday/*today/*the day before yesterday
 “I tied yesterday/*today/*the day before yesterday.”

The examples in (7) and (8) demonstrate that unlike languages such as Haya, the Perfect in MSA is not sensitive to temporal distance. Thus, there is no specific verbal form sensitive to the relative temporal distance of the actual event – its closeness or its remoteness – with respect to the enunciator in MSA, just as there is no such form in other languages. Finally, I would like to stress that the Perfect’s ability to encode past time is not restricted to its syntactic position, namely its appearance in main clauses, as in the cases aforesaid. Indeed, the Perfect is frequently used in relative and complement clauses, as illustrated in (9) and (10) respectively.

- (9) wa **şarrafa** waziiru al-maaliyyati fii hukuumati biiruu “Karluus
and declare.Pf minister the-finance in government Peru “Carlos
Buuluunaa” Şaqiba al-ʔižtimaaʔi bi-ʔanna aš-şuruuṭa allatii
Buluna” after the-meeting with-that the-conditions which
Şaraḍa-haa naadii Baariis ʔafḍala mina aš-şuruuṭi allatii
present.Pf-it club Paris better than the-conditions that
wadaʔa-haa an-naadii bi-n-nisbati li-Buulandaa... (NA#8)
present.Pf-it the-club with-the-respect to-Poland...

“The minister of finance in Peru ‘Carlos Buluna’ **announced** after the meeting that the conditions which the ‘Paris Club’ (**had**) **presented** are better than those put forward for Poland...”

- (10) fii nafsi al-waqti **şarrafa** safiiru al-braaziil “Ruubnin
in same the-time announce.Pf ambassador the-Brazil “Rubnin
Riikbiiruu” *bi-ʔanna* tilka al-buldaana **qaddamat** ʔakṯara mimmaa
Rikbiro” with-that those the-countries present.Pf more than
yanbaʔii ʔan tuqaddima...
must that present.Imp...

“At the same time the ambassador of Brazil ‘Rubnin Rikbiro’ **declared** *that* those countries ***gave/had given*** more than they should...” (NA#9)

In both examples (9) and (10) above, the Perfect continues to refer to events occurring prior to the time of narration and to some other events. Thus, the presentation of the conditions for Poland put forward by the Paris Club took place prior to the Minister of Finance’s announcement in (9), and the “countries giving” in (10) occurs prior to the ambassador’s declaration. Notice that both the announcement in (9) and the declaration in (10) occur prior to the enunciator’s writing of the article, and therefore denote past time. Thus, the Perfect in both subordinate clauses refers naturally to events which took place prior to those in the main clause. Nevertheless, it is the Perfect, and not the pluperfect for example, which

the enunciator chose to use. In English and French, for example, such contexts typically trigger the use of the pluperfect, a tense which refers to events which occur before a particular point in past time (Lewis 1986: 78), as illustrated in (11) and (12) respectively.⁹

- (11) The Marines denied saying anything about Clinton. And defense attorneys **said** Pridgen **had picked** a fight and **had met** his match. (*Ithaca Journal*. April 14, 1993, p. 7A)
- (12) *La Maison Blanche a confirmé, hier, que des missiles américains avaient été tirés contre une installation liée au programme nucléaire irakien proche de Bagdad.* (*Tunis Hebdo* January 18, 1993, p. 1)

Thus far, our investigation shows that the Arabic Perfect is used to refer to events occurring prior to the time of the reporting speech independently of how distantly remote they are or whether or not they occur prior to other events. Within a Reichenbachen's framework where E = Event time, R = Reference time, S = Speech time, the comma “,” represents *associativity*, and the underscore symbol “_” represents *linearity*, the Arabic Perfect appears to conform to two representations: (i) E,R_S, and (ii) E_R_S typically used for the simple past, where both the reference and the event are prior to the speech time, and for the past perfect, where the event is prior to the reference point which is also prior to the speech time, respectively in English. Now, we shall investigate another contextual variant of the Perfect in Arabic, namely “present time.”

Present time interpretation

Unlike the earlier contexts in which there is a clear distinction between the moment at which the event occurs and the moment of enunciation, other contexts are more oriented towards the situation of enunciation, and are therefore tied to the present time. The Perfect continues, however, to be observed and preferred over the Imperfect. Consider the following examples:

- (13) a ʔuriidu-ka ʔan taʕtaniya bi-ʔixwati-ka, hal **fahim**-ta?
want.1s-you that care of-brothers-your, Q.understand.Pf-you
“I would like you to take care of your brothers, do you understand?”
- b naʕam, **fahim**-tu
yes, understand.Pf-1s
“Yes, I do/understand/I’ve understood.”
- (14) ʔunḍur, **wāʕad**-tu saaʕat-ii
look, find.Pf-1s watch-my
“Look, I found my watch.”

- (15) a ʔayna Nabiil
 where Nabil
 “Where is Nabil?”
- b ʔinna-nii **xaraž**-tu wa sa-ʔaržiŋu laylan
 ʔINNA-1s leave.Pf-1s and will-return.Imp night
 “I am leaving and I will be back at night.”

The examples in (13), (14), and (15) represent different contexts in which the use of the Perfect is observed. In (13) for example, the Perfect refers to a mental activity *fahim* “understood”; in (14) it denotes a sudden event *wažad* “found”; in (15) it expresses a physical activity *xaraž* “left.” Generally speaking, each verb has a set of semantic features which distinguish it from the other two. To account for such semantic differences, the tradition uses the criterion of “verb classification” (see Vendler 1967; Dowty 1972 among many others). It is beyond the scope of this section to include a discussion of “verb classification”; nevertheless, it should be emphasized that, although we acknowledge the salient role which lexical aspect plays in the semantic interpretation of many (types of) verbs, we believe that previous attempts have led to suspicious and quite often misleading results, which made language rather opaque, while its use dictates otherwise. Stative verbs in English, for example, are typically distinguished from non-stative verbs through their resistance to the *ING-construction*. They include verbs which express emotions, such as *love*, *hate*, *like*, and so on, and those which denote mental states, such as *understand*, *know*, *believe*, and so on. Accordingly, sentences such as (16) and (17) which follow are said to be ungrammatical:

- (16) *The FBI are **loving** the cult members.
- (17) *Clinton is **understanding** the difficulties which people face.

The examples in (16) and (17) are shown to be ungrammatical for the purpose of distinguishing them from non-stative verbs, such as *work*, *do*, *write* and so on which are compatible with the progressive form, illustrated as follows:

- (18) The FBI is **working** to end the stand off in Waco.
- (19) The police are **doing** the best they can to stop the riot in LA.
- (20) They are **writing** the speech for the president.

The grammatical contrast between the examples in (16), (17), (18), (19), and (20), as traditionally observed to argue for verb classification, is very simplistic and superficial at best. This contrast disappears as soon as (16) and (17) are used in the appropriate context in which both “stative verbs” are evaluated differently by

the enunciator, as illustrated in (21) and (22):

(21) The FBI are **loving** more and more the cult members.

(22) Clinton is **understanding** more and more the difficulties which people face.

In short, it is not clear to what extent Vendler's criterion and alike account adequately for the temporal relations which each verb represents. Besides, the criteria upon which various tests of verb classification are conducted are too strong to account for the salient differences involved. We therefore resist such analyses and suggest that unless more consideration is given to the context, that is, to the situation of enunciation (sit_0), one's analysis remains weak and partial at best. The question we wish to address here focuses on the relationship that each verb establishes between the moment of enunciation and the verbal event, independently of the semantic class to which each verb is said to belong.

The example in (13) is taken from a conversation between a mother and her son during which the mother tries to explain the guidelines which the boy should follow during his organized trip. The mother was still elaborating on a few points when she stopped and asked him (13a), that is, whether he is following her and understand what she is saying or not. The son's positive response in (13b) assures her; thus, she carries on her conversation. What concerns us most here is the use of the Perfect in both (13a) and (13b). In (14a) the verbal event *fahimta* "you understood" concerns the son's understanding of the mother's instructions. The boundaries of this understanding include previous and current instructions up to the point she asked the question. If we were to use the concept of interval to represent the verbal process, we should be able to represent both the first point and the last point of the interval. Notice that the last point, which corresponds to the last word the mother says, has a very close tie with the moment of utterance of (13a), if it does not coincide with it.

Likewise, the boy's answer which uses the Perfect *fahimtu* "I understood" is quite revealing. Indeed, the boy might still be processing the mother's instructions, and might not be very clear as to his mother's intentions. The use of the Perfect basically expresses the son's obedience and agreement with his mother up to the moment the question in (13a) is uttered, and most probably include this latter. Here again, it is not clear whether the use of the Perfect imposes some sort of detachment from the moment of enunciation. In other words, it is not clear that the use of the Perfect *fahimtu* "I understood" blocks the interpretation which suggests that the process of understanding is still in progress when the utterance is being uttered. In fact, the boy can follow up his answer by *laakin maaḍaa taqṣidiina?* "but what do you mean?," which then suggests that the use of *fahimtu* "I understood" does not result from a full understanding, but rather from a partial one. In sum, there seem to be reasons to believe that the use of the Perfect in both (13a) and (13b) has a present time interpretation, or better, lacks an exclusively past time interpretation. This conclusion is supported by the compatibility between the

Perfect and a present time adverb, such as *alʔaana* “now”; while the presence of a past time adverb such as *munḏu qaliilin* “earlier” renders the sentence unacceptable, or at least extremely odd in this particular context. This is illustrated in (23a) and (23b) respectively.

- (23) a hal **fahim** -ta alʔaana ?
 Q. understand.Pf-you now
 “Do you understand now?”
- b *hal **fahim**-ta munḏu qaliilin ?
 Q. understood-you during little
 “*Do you understand earlier?”

More evidence for the present time interpretation of the Perfect comes from the use of the present tense in both English and French in similar contexts. Consider the examples in (24) and (25):

- (24) a I would like you to take care of your brothers, do
 you understand?
 b Yes, I do.
- (25) a *Je voudrais que tu prennes soin de tes frères, tu comprends?*
 b *Oui, je comprends.*

Although the fact of understanding refers to something which has already been uttered, and is therefore about a past time event, the enunciator and the coenunciator in both (24) and (25) use the present tense form of the verb. Note, however, that the use of the past tense in similar contexts is also observed. The possibility of using the past tense in both English and French in these contexts is certainly not excluded. It should be stressed, however, that this use is the marked case, and appears, therefore, in rather specific contexts. In fact, in both (24) and (25), the enunciator could also have said “did you understand,” “*est-ce que tu as compris,*” and the coenunciator would have answered accordingly “yes I did understand/understood,” “*oui j’ai compris.*” It seems, however, that the use of the present as in (24) and (25) is reminiscent of its unmarked nature with respect to past tense. In addition, the resultative properties of the verbal event, namely the process of understanding, which extends to the present time, that is to the time of enunciation, forces the emergence of the present interpretation, hence the use of the present tense. We take the contrast between the examples in (23) from Arabic, and those in (24) and (25) from English and French, respectively as more evidence for the compatibility of the Perfect in Arabic with present time interpretations.

Now, consider the example in (14). Here the enunciator is looking for his watch inside the room. Suddenly, he sees a little part of the watch band from underneath

the sofa. Delighted, he announces to his brother, while he is leaning to pick it up, that he found his watch. This raises the question of the temporal relationship between the verbal event, namely finding the watch, and the moment of enunciation of (14). Two possible scenarios might result in two different answers. In one case, one would argue that the moment of enunciation in (14) follows chronologically the finding of the watch, hence the past time interpretation of the Perfect *wažadtu* ‘‘I found.’’ In the second, one could show that although the finding of the watch precedes the moment of enunciation, the process of finding the watch has not come to a complete certainty, and is therefore perceived as simultaneous with the moment of enunciation, that is, the relationship between the utterance and the finding process are temporally too close to separate, hence the present time interpretation of the Perfect. To decide between these two competing hypotheses, one can apply a time adverbial test and see whether (14) is compatible with present or past time adverbs. Indeed, similar to the examples in (13a) and (13b), (14) only co-occurs with *ʔalʔaana* ‘‘now’’ type adverbs, and does not admit ‘‘before now’’/‘‘earlier’’ type adverbs, that is, *munðu laħđatin* ‘‘a second ago.’’ This is illustrated in (26a) and (26b) respectively.¹⁰

- (26) a ʔunđur, **wažad**-tu saaʕat-ii ʔalʔaana
 look, find.Pf-1s watch-my now
 ‘‘Look, I (have) found my watch now.’’
- b *ʔunđur, **wažad**-tu saaʕat-ii munðu laħđatin
 look, found-1s watch-my since second
 ‘‘*Look, I found my watch a second ago.’’

Likewise, the examples in (15) earlier show the use of the Perfect *xaražtu* ‘‘I left’’ in a context where the use of the present progressive in English is appropriate. Indeed, Nabil was still on his way to the exit door when he uttered (15b), and the choice of the Perfect does not imply that the event has already occurred and therefore has a past time interpretation; instead, it expresses an ongoing activity which has not come to its end. This is not particular to Arabic, however. Consider the French examples in (27):

- (27) a *Vous fermez à quelle heure ce soir?*
 ‘‘What time do you close this evening?’’
- b *Nous sommes pratiquement fermés maintenant.*
 ‘‘We are practically closed now.’’

The following incident, despite its anecdotal attribute, appears to lend further support to the claim at stake. I was inside a drug store (pharmacie) when a gentleman came in. Thinking he was late, he asked the young lady in the store what time the pharmacy closes (27a). Interestingly, the door of the pharmacy was still wide open and people were still entering the store when she uttered (27b), strongly stating

that the store is officially closed, as suggested by the use of the auxiliary *être* “be” and the past participle *fermés* “closed.”¹¹ This case resembles the one in (15), where the use of the Perfect is not associated with a past time event. This suggests that the present time interpretation of both the Perfect and the past participle shows the compatibility of these verbal forms with such time intervals. More evidence for the present time interpretation of the Perfect is found in its use in present conditional clauses, as illustrated in (28):

- (28) *ʔiðaa ʔataa ʔax-ii al-ʔaana, sa-ʔaxružu maʕa-hu*
 if **come.Pf** brother-my now, will-leave.1s with-him
 “If my brother comes (came) now, I will go out with him.”

Since conditional constructions require more theoretical background and careful examination as they operate within a noncertain domain (Culioli 1987), qualitatively different from the indicative whose domain is actual and certain, we limit the discussion to a simple comparison between Arabic and English. Thus, a closer look at the contrast between the use of the Perfect *ʔataa* “came,” and the use of the present tense *comes* in the English translation in (28), reveals that the present time interpretation of the Perfect is most appropriate.¹² This latter is further supported by the presence of the present temporal adverb *alʔaana* “now” on the one hand, and by the use of *ʔiðaa*, which typically expresses an actual possibility/realis present, in contrast to *law* “if” which expresses an irrealis past (see pp. 156–57 for further details).¹³ Other cases of the present time interpretation of the Perfect involve its use in such contexts as in (29) and (30).

- (29) a *ʔiðan, nusaafiru žamiʕan ʕadan!*
 so, travel.Imp.1p together tomorrow
 “So we travel together tomorrow!”
- b **ʔittafaqnaa**
 agree.Pf.1p
 “Lit. we agreed (it is fine with *met* OK/I agree).”
- (30) a *hal taqbalu ʕiʕriina diinaaran?*
 Q. accept.Imp.2s.m twenty dinars
 “Do you accept 20 dinars?”
- b **biʕtu-ka ʔiyyaahaa**
 sell.Pf-you it
 “Lit. I’ve sold it to you (you take it/OK sold).”

In both (29b) and (30b), the coenunciator is forced to make a decision in response to the enunciator’s questions (29a) and (30a), respectively. Although expressing one’s instant agreement with somebody (29b) and accepting an offer (30b) are activities which are temporally bound within the present time interval/boundaries,

it is the Perfect which is observed rather than the Imperfect. In other words, the verbal events *ʔittafaqnaa* “we agreed” and *biʔtu* “I sold” are simultaneous with the moment of enunciation, and therefore have a present time interpretation. This is further illustrated through the use of the present in English, as shown in the translation in both (29b) and (30b), and French, as in (31b) and (32b) respectively.

- (31) a *Donc, nous partons ensemble demain?*
 b *Je suis d'accord.*
- (32) a *Tu acceptes 20 dinars?*
 b *Oui, je te la laisse/vends.*

Finally, while examining various translated versions of Arabic short stories, I have quite often noticed that the Perfect is rendered a present in various contexts in the English translation. This is illustrated in (33).

- (33) maaḏaa ʔafʔalu wa qad **raawadanii** aṣ-ṣabiyyu ʕan
 what do.Imp and QAD seduce.Pf the-boy on
 nafsii hiina **ʔarsala-hu** al-muʕallimu bi-l-xuḏari wa
 myself when send.Pf-him the-instructor with-vegetables and
ʕalabanii aṣ-ṣaiṭaanu ʔamaaḏaa ʔafʔalu wa qad **ʕalimtu**
 win.Pf the-devil what do.Imp and QAD dream.Pf
 bi-ka yaa mawlaanaa? (SS#3)
 with-you Voc.Part. sir?

“What can I do when the boy whom the greengrocer **sends** with the vegetables **leads** me astray, and I **succumb** to the temptation? what can I do, Sir, when I **dream** about you?!”

In sum, we have shown that the Perfect in Arabic, which typically refers to past time events, is observed in a broad range of cases with a present time interpretation. In other words, the Speech, the Reference, and the Event times are all simultaneous, and may therefore be represented in Reichenbach’s terms as close to contemporaneous if not indeed contemporaneous (i.e. S,R,E). In what follows, we will examine another contextual variant of the Perfect in so-called gnomic contexts.

Gnomic interpretation

Consider the examples in (34)–(38):

- (34) man **ʒadda** **waʒada** wa man **zaraʕa** **ʕaṣada**
 whoever strive.Pf find.Pf and whoever cultivate.Pf harvest.Pf
 “whoever works hard succeeds, and whoever cultivates harvests.”

- (35) man **saara** ʕalaa ad-darbi **waʕala**
 whoever walk.Pf on the-path arrive.Pf
 “whoever gets going on the (right) path attains success.”
- (36) man **ʕamila** ʕaalifan fa-li-nafsi-hi
 whoever do.Pf good than-for-self-his
 “It’s for one’s own benefit to do the right thing.”
- (37) ʔittaqi ʕarra man **ʔafsan-ta** ʔilay-hi
 fear evil whoever **treat.Pf-well-you** to-him
 “Fear (the evil of) whoever you treat (him) well.”
- (38) xayru-kum man **taʕallama** al-ʕilma wa **ʕallama-hu**
 best-you who(ever) **learn.Pf** knowledge and **teach.Pf-it**
 “The best among you is the one who acquires knowledge and passes it on.”

The examples in (34)–(38) illustrate a peculiar use of the Perfect in Arabic. Despite the fact that they all belong to the category/class of proverbs, which are generally atemporal/timeless, the use of the Perfect appears as the unmarked case in Arabic. This peculiarity is revealed through its sharp contrast with other verbal forms in other languages, such as English, as shown in the translation. The example in (34), for instance, is a famous Arabic proverb to which most educators in the Arab world refer when teaching children social values such as work, endurance, and success. These values are not temporally bound, and are therefore valid at only one point in time. Their validity is certainly based on previous and current human experience(s). As for future experience, although it remains unknown, its validity is taken for granted and is thus considered equivalent to previous and current experiences. Being interpreted as gnomic, that is, valid anywhere anytime (34) is meant to enhance the capabilities of children, build confidence and trust in themselves and encourage younger generations to work and to work hard in order to succeed. The use of the Perfect to express such timeless conceptual values illustrates its unrestrictedness to past time events. Not only does it refer to present time activities, as shown in the previous section, but also to temporally boundless concepts. A comparison with French is instructive with respect to the use of the perfect here. Consider the French proverb below:

- (39) a *qui sème récolte* [whoever cultivates harvests]
 b **qui sèyait récoltait* [whoever is cultivating is harvesting]
 c **qui a sèmé a récolté* [whoever has cultivated has harvested]

Although the semantic–pragmatic interpretation of the example in (39) corresponds to the second part of the example in (34), it differs with respect to the verbal form used to express this concept. Thus, while French uses exclusively the present

tense, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (39b) and (39c), Arabic uses the Perfect, typically described as a past tense. This illustrates that the Perfect in Arabic is equivalent to the present tense in French in at least two of its functions: (i) its ability to encode present time events, that is, performatives, and so on, and (ii) its capability of expressing boundless time, that is, proverbs (34) and (39).

More evidence for the Perfect's second function is illustrated by its frequent use in these contexts. The examples in (35), (36), (37), and (38) bear witness to such usage. Indeed, most proverbs in Arabic make use of the Perfect while English and French, for example, use the present tense. What makes Arabic more peculiar is the mere fact that while other verbal forms are possible in similar contexts (see the use of the Imperfect, pp. 108–13), other languages restrict such uses to a certain verbal form, namely the present tense. It might be argued that a possible interpretation of this use follows from what we shall call the “subjective value” of verbal forms (see also Aronson 1991: 125), that is, when their deictic features become less relevant; instead they are used to characterize the grammatical subject (Adamczewski's 1982: 46–48).¹⁴ When one looks closely at the aforesaid examples, it is easy to see that all of them are indeed oriented toward the grammatical subject whether to qualify its current or potential property. The frequentative use of the Perfect is another instance of this more general value. This is illustrated in (40):

- (40) kullamaa **saʔal-tu-hu** **qaal-a** laa ʔadrii
 whenever **ask.Pf-1s-him** **say.Pf-3s.m** neg know.Imp.1s
 “whenever I ask(ed) him, he says (would say) I don't know.”

This claim, that the use of the Perfect in these cases is more to characterize the grammatical subject than anything else in the clause, is further evidenced by common interpretations of similar clauses, for example, *huwa min nawʕi laa ʔadrii* “he is an I-don't-know-type person,” hence the irrelevance of the temporal interpretation. It should be noted that this function of the Perfect is quite operative in narratives where characters are subject to detailed descriptions. We will finish our discussion of the Perfect in Arabic by showing that in addition to the aforesaid uses, the Perfect is capable of referring to future time events.

Future time interpretation

Another contextual variant of the Perfect in Arabic is observed in certain conditional and hypothetical contexts where the future interpretation is predominant. Consider the following examples:

- (41) ʔin **daras-ta** **naʕaf-ta**
 if **study.Pf-you** **succeed.Pf-you**
 “If you study, you will succeed.”

- (42) ʔaʒiiʔu-ka ʔiðaa ʔihmarr-a al-buʃru
 I come-you when **ripen.Pf**-it the-unripe date
 “I shall come to you when the unripe dates ripen (shall ripen).”
- (43) ʔiðaa tafhaʃsal-a al-waladu ʃalaa al-maali sa-yaʃtarii
 if **get.Pf**-3s.m the-boy on the-money will-buy .3s.m
 hadiyyatan li-l-binti
 gift to-the-girl
 “If the boy gets the money, he will buy a present for the girl.”

Examples (41), (42), and (43) share the common feature of belonging to the same modal domain, namely the “hypothetical/irrealis,” as given contextually by the conjunction. This is illustrated by the use of the irrealis/fictive markers *ʔin* “if” in (42), and *ʔiðaa* “if, when” in both (42) and (43). The example in (41), although very complex, is presented in Abboud and McCarus (1992: 178) as the prototypical example of a conditional clause in MSA. Its complexity stems from its frequent use of the Perfect when compared to (42) and (43) for example. Thus, while both examples in (42) and (43) use the Perfect in the if-clause only, this latter is observed in both the main clause *naʒah-ta* “you will succeed,” and in the if-clause *ʔin darasta* “if you study” in (41). It should be stressed, however, that *ʔin darasta* is only interpreted as in the English translation “if you study,” that is, involving an actualized “from now on” reading suggesting a likely-to-occur condition for which the present tense is appropriate in English.¹⁵ As for the use of the Perfect *naʒah-ta* in the main clause, it expresses a future event, whose realization depends on the actual validation of the predicative relation <you/study> as described in the if-clause. Thus, the Perfect *naʒah-ta* follows the if-clause, and has, therefore, a future time interpretation. We take the difference between English and Arabic in (41) as an indication of a difference in the range of possible uses of verbal forms. Accordingly, while English makes use of a present tense verbal form *study*, and a future tense verbal form *will succeed* in hypothetical contexts, Arabic only uses the Perfect verbal form to express both an actualized present hypothesis *ʔin darasta*, and a prediction *naʒah-ta* with a clear future time interpretation.

The future time interpretation of the Perfect is further supported by the examples in (42) and (43). Comrie (1976: 79) refers to the example in (42) to show that the use of the Perfect *ʔihmarra* “ripened,” as it appears in the subordinate clause, has a future time reference since the dates have not yet ripened. Likewise, Dahl (1985: 80) uses the example in (43) to demonstrate that the Perfect “may refer to the future in certain subordinate clauses.”¹⁶ This is not particular to Arabic, however. The Perfect in other languages, such as Japanese, Modern Greek, some Bantu and most Slavic languages, exhibits similar behavior (Dahl 1985: 80). Likewise, Lewis (1986: 69) observes that the English simple past has some uses which refer to future time, as illustrated in (44).

(44) If you did this for me next week, I would pay you much money.

Another illustration of the use of the Perfect with future time interpretation in Arabic is found within the *maa* “as long as” construction, as illustrated in (45):

(45) sa-ʔaškuru la-ka faḍla-ka maa **hayiit-u**
 will-thank.ls to-you kindness-your as long as **live.Pf-ls**
 “I will be thankful to you for your kindness as long as I live.”

The future time interpretation of the Perfect *hayiitu* “I (will) live” comes from both the syntagmatic context set by *sa-ʔaškuru* “I will be thankful,” and the presence of the adverbial particle *maa* “as long as.” This latter is used in other contexts, known as “indefinite conditionals” in the Arabic grammatical tradition, where the Perfect exhibits a similar function. Such cases are given in (46) and (47):

(46) kayfa-maa **kaan-a** al-ʔamru fa-ʔinnanii ʔastatiʔu ʔan ʔaxruʒ-a
 how-ever **be.Pf-3.s.m** the-matter than-indeed can to leave.Imp-ls
 “However that may be, I will manage to leave.”

(47) **hafida-ka** allaahu ʔayna-maa **ḍahabt-a**
 protect.Pf-you God where-ever go.Pf-2s.m
 “May God protect you wherever you go.”

The examples in (46) and (47) show another use of the perfect with a future time interpretation. This latter is forced by the immediate context which implies and favors such a reading, that is, possibility in (46) and wish in (47). Indeed, good wishes are most often expressed with the Perfect in Arabic, while French, for example, uses the present subjunctive, and English the modal auxiliary *may*. This is illustrated in (48) and (49) respectively:

(48) a **hafida-ka** allaahu yaa walad-ii¹⁷
 protect.Pf-you God Voc.Part. boy-my
 “May God protect you, son!”
 b **rahima-ka** allaahu
 bless.Pf-you God
 “(May God) bless you!”
 c **šafaa-ka** allaahu yaa ʔax-ii
 cure.Pf-you God Voc.Part. brother-my
 “May God cure you, my brother/have a good recovery!”

(49) a *Que Dieu te **garde**, mon petit!*
 “May God protect you, son!”

- b *Que Dieu te bénisse!*
“May God bless you!”
- c *Que Dieu te guérisse!*
“May God cure you!”

The contrast between the examples in (48) and those in (49) again illustrates the broader contextual distribution of the Perfect in Arabic. Although the French subjunctive exhibits both present and past verbal forms, it is the present tense form that is appropriate in contexts such as “good wishes” (49), while Arabic uses the Perfect (48), a verbal form typically described as a past tense. Despite their apparent differences, they occur in identical contexts in which the future time interpretation is preponderant.

Summary and proposal

In this section, we have examined the contextual variants of the so-called Perfect in Arabic. We have shown that when a wider range of data is examined, it appears that this verbal form is not temporally restricted, as some researchers were led to believe, and may therefore occur with either a clear temporal indication, with past, present and future time interpretations, as indicated earlier, or with a nontemporal indication. This latter is typically found in gnomic contexts where the enunciator is located outside of the time line with almost no interaction between him and the verbal temporality. Again, the focus here is in many instances on the grammatical subject. Table 4.2 here summarizes the major contextual variants of the Perfect.

The question becomes therefore how to characterize the Perfect given its broad range of uses. In other words, is it feasible to search for the invariant given all these contextual variants whose functions seem to be at times in contradiction with each other? Before answering this question, two issues, at least, need to be discussed. First, all contextual variants of the Perfect should be evaluated within a hierarchy which stresses their markedness status. Second, the Perfect needs to

Table 4.2 Contextual meanings of the Perfect

<i>Contextual meanings</i>	<i>Prototypical examples</i>
Past time	Waşala (ʔamsi) “He arrived (yesterday)”
Present time	ʔittafaqnaa “Deal/I agree”
Gnomic (time)/omnitemporal	man ʒadda waʒada “Whoever works/has worked seriously succeeds/has succeeded”
Future time	ʔiðaa ʕamilta naʒaʕta “If you work, you will succeed”

be evaluated within the verbal system of which it is a part, with particular reference to complex Perfect forms.¹⁸

Contextual variants and markedness

In order to ascertain the invariant of any particular grammatical category, it is important to attempt a hierarchization of its corresponding contextual variants. This not only makes the task easier, but also sheds more light on the grammatical category in question. Various criteria have therefore been put forward for such a classification. The most important, for our purposes, is basic (nuclear or core) vs. marginal, literal vs. figurative, the marginal uses often being divided into more general/generic and more specific. The most straightforward cases of the Perfect are those with a past time interpretation. A closer look at all the contextual variants of the Perfect examined earlier shows that contrary to the past time uses, all present, gnomic, and future time cases are contextually conditioned. In other words, while past time obtains within the most neutral contexts, as further illustrated in (50a), all other interpretations are impossible (50b), as they require rather specific contexts.

- (50) a katab-tu risaalatan
 write.Pf-1s letter
 “I wrote a letter.”
- b *I am writing (present)/* I write (gnomic)/* I will write (future)

The cases discussed earlier involving a present time interpretation of the Perfect are restricted to certain types of verbs, such as: *fahima* “understand,” *?ittafaqa* “agree,” *baa?a* “sell,” *xara?a* “leave,” which, within certain contexts, bear close ties to the moment of enunciation, weakening therefore their past time features. The cases involving a gnomic interpretation belong either to the class of proverbs with an omnitemporal reading, where the verb is interpreted as encompassing a period of time beginning in the past and extending into the future, or to iterative/frequentative uses involving the use of such adverbs as *kullamaa* “whenever.” As for the future time interpretation, we have shown that typically it is found either in conditional and hypothetical contexts, or in “good wishes” contexts. Accordingly, with respect to its temporal meanings, we analyze the Perfect in the following way: (i) the basic meaning is past time (anteriority with respect to the moment of enunciation); (ii) there is a general/generic meaning which is gnomic (omnitemporal/atemporal); and (iii) there are two kinds of specific, non-basic meanings: (a) done in the past, and (b) done in the past of the future. The issue naturally arises as to whether the reference to time in the Perfect is deictic or not. It would seem to be in the past time usage (the basic one), but in the future use, for example, it is not, since what is there at stake is the anteriority of one event before another future event.

This brings up the concern as to whether it is strictly tense which is a problem in the Perfect, that is, whether it is invariantly a deictic indicator of time. We will return to this problem later. But there is more, since each of these temporal interpretations is also bound up with aspectual and modal meanings. All of these uses for the most part also entail that the action is seen as complete(d) at some point in time which is either the moment of enunciation, as in the basic use, or some moment which is contextually given, as in the gnomic, present, and future uses. Moreover, there is an implication of the relevance of the completeness of that action, relevance either at the moment of enunciation for the present time usage, and relevance for some time in the future for the future time usage. This means that another issue is whether the Perfect also combines its temporal meaning with aspect invariantly. And finally, the future time uses also combine modality with the temporality and aspectuality, since it is used in conditional, hypothetical, and “good wishes” contexts. The combination of futurity and modality is perhaps easiest to explain since many others (e.g. Comrie) have pointed out that future time reference and modalities such as hypotheticality and prediction as well as possibilities and probabilities, even wishes about the future, are more often than not related to each other. The modality of the Perfect is, then, easiest to explain, but the issue of deixis in its temporal meanings, and of the place of its completeness (aspectual) meaning have to be discussed further. But before discussing these issues further, and in order to provide further data for the analysis to be proposed, we will take a closer look at the Perfect within the Perfect paradigm, a subset of the Arabic verbal system.

The Perfect within the ATM system

The advantage of examining any verbal form within its ATM system is to determine the extent to which it is stable. This linguistic stability relates to its formal characteristics, that is, its morphological structure, as well as its denotational properties, that is, its semantic–pragmatic values. Table 4.3 here shows the Perfect within the ATM system:

Table 4.3 The Perfect constructions

<i>Modals</i>	<i>Auxiliaries</i>	<i>Verbs</i>	<i>Semantic interpretation</i>
—	—	ʔakal-tu eat.Pf.-1s	“I ate”
—	Knu-tu be.Pf.-1s	ʔakal-tu eat.Pf.-1s	“I had eaten”
(Sawfa) (will)	ʔakuunu be.Imp.1s	ʔakal-tu eat.Pf.-1s	“I will have eaten”
(Qad) (may)	ʔakuunu be.Imp.1s	ʔakal-tu eat.Pf.-1s	“I might have eaten”

Table 4.3 raises the following points: (i) first, it should be stressed that the dash /-/ sign does not necessarily imply the total absence of the corresponding features; (ii) second, the Perfect acts alone within the system as a simple verbal form; (iii) third, while in compound tenses there is in addition an auxiliary, the Perfect remains stable and does not change according to the relative complexity of the verbal structure, as exemplified in (51).

- (51) a *fiina waṣaltu kaan-a ʔittalaṣ-a Ṣalaa al-waṭaaʔiqi*
 when arrived.l.s be.Pf-3s.m look.Pf-3.s.m on the-documents
 “When I arrived, he had examined the documents.”
- b *fiina ʔaṣilu (sawfa) y-a-kuun-u ʔittalaṣ-a Ṣalaa*
 when arrive.ls (will) be.Pf-3s.m examine.Pf-3.s.m on
al-waṭaaʔiqi
 the-documents
 “When I arrive, he will have examined the documents.”
- c *fiina ʔaṣilu qad y-a-kuun-u ʔittalaṣ-a Ṣalaa*
 when arrive.ls might be.Pf-3s.m examine.Pf-3.s.m on
al-waṭaaʔiqi
 the-documents
 “When I arrive, he might have examined the documents.”

In (51), while the main verb **ʔittalaṣa** “examined” stays unchanged in (51a), (51b), and (51c), the auxiliary appears as the basic controller of tense, that is, *kaana* “was” in (51a), and *yakuunu* “is/will” in (51b).¹⁹ In other words, while auxiliaries ensure deictic temporality of the verbal event: past with respect to the moment of enunciation in (51a) (Aux < T₀), and future in (51b) (Aux > T₀), the Perfect emphasizes its aspectual features, namely its completeness (see also Waugh 1987 and the discussion earlier). And, as we shall see (Chapter 6), the same results obtain within the Imperfect constructions.

With the aim of being suggestive rather than exhaustive, we will now turn to a brief discussion of the points raised earlier. With respect to the first point, we have already shown that the Perfect has various contextual variants, including the expression of futurity and good wishes, which are reminiscent of its modal features. Accordingly, although no overt morpheme is realized, it should always be assumed that such features are present to a certain degree. As for the second observation, it is only when compared to other ATM systems, such as French which exhibits three verbal forms, that questions about the unicity of the Perfect arise. Notice that English has only two verbal forms: the Preterite and the Present Perfect. For the sake of comparison, consider the following examples:

- (52) **ʔinfazarat** al-qunbulatu
 explode.Pf the-bomb
 “The bomb exploded.”

- (53) a The bomb **exploded**.
 b The bomb **has exploded**.
- (54) a *La bombe explosa*.
 b *La bombe explosait*.
 c *La bombe a explosé*.

The contrast between the example in (52) and those in (53) and (54) shows that while Arabic uses a single verbal form, the Perfect, to describe the occurrence of an extralinguistic event, namely the explosion of the bomb, English has two verbal forms, the preterite (53a) and the present perfect (53b), and French has three verbal forms: the simple past (54a), the Imperfect (54b), and the *passé composé* (54c).²⁰ Discussing the differences between these various uses and the discourse constraints which govern the occurrence of each verbal form would take us too far afield. However, it should be stressed that the broad range of uses of the Perfect in Arabic, as shown earlier, demonstrates its capability of being used for various nuances for which both English and French use separate verbal forms.

This course of events raises the question as to whether the Perfect in MSA behaves like other perfects, which typically establish a relationship between previous events and the moment of enunciation, and expresses therefore the current relevance of such events. Previous analyses are not conclusive, and therefore do not provide a clear answer to this question. Thus, the Perfect is randomly translated either as a simple past, as in (55), or a present perfect, as in (56):

- (55) **naam-a** muddata saaḡatin
 sleep.Pf-3s.m period an hour
 “He slept for an hour.”
 Al-Aswad (1983: 43)

- (56) **ḡihtaw-a** al-maḡraḡu ḡalaa ḡišriin lawḡa
 contain.Pf-3s.m the-exhibition on twenty painting
 “The exhibition *has contained* twenty paintings”²¹
 Hassan (1987: 74)

The example in (55) is from Al-Aswad’s thesis in which he compares the aspectual and temporal system of MSA to that of English. According to Al-Aswad, the English past tense corresponds to the Arabic Perfect, while the English present perfect is equivalent to the Perfect when preceded by the particle *QAD*, as illustrated in the contrast between (57a) and (57b) (Al-Aswad 1983: 38):

- (57) a **qad kataba** ar-risaalata
 qad he wrote the-letter
 “He has written the letter.”

- b **kataba** ar-risaalata
 he wrote the-letter
 “He wrote the letter.”

The issue of *QAD* is rather complex, and will therefore be considered in the following chapter. It should be stressed, however, that if Al-Aswad were correct, there would not be cases where [*QAD* + Perfect] was observed where the present perfect in English is impossible. This prediction is not borne out, as shown in the contrast between (58a) and (58b):

- (58) a **qad žaaʔ-a** al-waladu ʔamsi
 qad come.Pf-3s.m the-boy yesterday
 “The boy came yesterday.”
- b *The boy **has come** yesterday

What is of interest to our discussion here is Al-Aswad’s implicit suggestion that the Arabic Perfect is more like the simple past than the present perfect in English, a suggestion to which we will come back later in our discussion (Chapter 6). As for the example in (56) from Hassan (1990: 74), the author offers no explanation as to why the Perfect is rendered by a present perfect as shown in the rather peculiar English translation. This lack of justification is further observed in the translations he offers for examples (59) and (60): a present perfect for the former, and a preterite for the latter (op. cit. 77), while attempting to show that both verbs share similar semantic features, that is, they are accomplishment verbs.

- (59) **rasam-tu** daaʔiratan
 draw.Pf-1.s circle
 “I **have drawn** a circle.”
- (60) **šanaḥ-tu** kursiyyan
 make.Pf-1.s chair
 “I **made** a chair.”

In ascertaining whether the Perfect in Arabic corresponds to the preterite or to the present perfect in English, one should be cautious and avoid simplistic and misleading generalizations. Unlike English and French, the Perfect in Arabic acts by itself to refer to various types of past time events. Accordingly, while English uses the preterite and the present perfect (53), and French the simple past, the imperfect, and the *passé composé* (54), Arabic would use the Perfect in all of these contexts (52). This does not necessarily imply that the Perfect in Arabic expresses the various nuances which all of these other verbal forms in English and French denote. Instead, it simply shows that some semantic–pragmatic interpretations are not grammaticalized in Arabic, while they are in both English and

French, and vice versa. More important is the fact that some of these interpretations are not inherent to the Perfect in Arabic, but rather to the context in which this latter is used. Current relevance, and resultative states, for example, while inherent to the present perfect in English and to one type of *passé composé* in French,²² are in most cases expressed through the context and verbal lexical properties in Arabic.

This course of events obviously raises the salient question concerning the nature of the basic value(s) of the Perfect. Recall that according to previous analyses, as presented earlier (p. 43), four possibilities remain: the temporal hypothesis, the aspectual hypothesis, the temporal–aspectual hypothesis, and finally the neither–nor hypothesis and the temporal nature of each of these could be deictic or not. Having discussed the contextual variants of the Perfect, the sub-system of which it is part, and some related issues, we will now attempt to discuss the components of its invariant with the aim of being rather suggestive than exhaustive. A holistic account involves necessarily a discussion of the Imperfect, the other member of the opposition. In other words, the Perfect possesses its invariant meaning insofar as it is opposed to the Imperfect (cf. Waugh 1991a: 3) and thus an examination of the entire verbal system (Chapter 6).

The Perfect and the invariant

The claim being put forward here is that the Perfect in Arabic signals a unique operation by which the enunciator evaluates the predicative relation as represented by the verbal event. This operation has a set of invariant properties which underlie all the contextual variants. After a careful examination of all variants, we were led to conclude that the use of the Perfect involves systematically the two semantic concepts of anteriority and dimensionalization (cf. Waugh and Monville-Burston 1986: 851–53; Waugh 1987). This means that the verbal event is presented as anterior with respect to a particular moment, and dimensionalized: that is evaluated by the enunciator as global whole, a figure with clear-cut contours or dimensions. It should be emphasized that, although the two semantic features are syncretically combined, one or the other is dominant in particular contexts. This means that the two give different but intertwined semantic information.

Now, if this is the correct characterization, then how does it account for the contextual variants? It is easy to see how anteriority and dimensionalization are inherent to the basic meaning of the Perfect, namely the expression of deictic temporality. In all of its basic uses, the Perfect systematically refers to past time events. The predicative relation is, therefore, evaluated by the enunciator as being anterior to the moment of enunciation (T_0). In fact, the expression of past time results from the anteriority of the verbal event with respect to T_0 . This is exemplified in our corpus by cases where, although no past time expressions are present, for example, dates, adverbs, and so on, the Perfect denotes anteriority to T_0 . Further evidence for this invariant feature of the Perfect comes from the Perfect constructions, where an auxiliary verb is added to the thematic verb to refer to

more complex cases (Table 4.3, p. 64). In like fashion, the Perfect denotes invariantly *anteriority*, the only difference being the location of the point of reference. That is, when used by itself, the Perfect expresses anteriority with respect to a present moment, hence the simple past. On the other hand, when it is used with auxiliaries, the Perfect denotes anteriority either with respect to a past reference established by the auxiliary *kaana* “was,” hence the past perfect interpretation; or with respect to a future reference established by the auxiliary *yakuunu* “will,” hence the anterior future.

In addition to anteriority, the Perfect presents the verbal event with clear-cut dimensions, without referring to its internal dynamics. That is, it is blind to its individual instances, namely to its beginning, to its development, and to its end. As such, the process is represented as punctual, given the irrelevance of the notion of continuity which normally exists between the boundaries of the event. The event can be represented as in (61), where the right and left boundaries of the interval are coalesced so that, no matter what its duration in the real world, the enunciator views the verbal process as a global whole:²³

(61) _____ []

The invariant *dimensionalized* feature of the Perfect is further evidenced by the compatibility of this verbal form with dates: *fafii ʒaami* 1988 “in 1988” (6), temporal adverbs: *ʒamsi* “yesterday” (52), and so on, which in most cases trigger the visualization of verbal processes in their entirety rather than in their continuity. In various discourse genre-types, and narratives, in particular, this very feature underlies the use of the Perfect for advancing main events, or for entities which are foregrounded (Wallace 1982; Waugh 1986: 852). As we shall see, in Chapter 6, the lack of this feature in the Imperfect allows it to be used for evaluation, description, and entities which are backgrounded. Now, as we turn our attention to uses of the Perfect for hypothetical and conditional cases, on the one hand, and good wishes, on the other hand, we should like to argue that they can be explained in the same way as earlier, the only difference being the degree to whether it is *anteriority* and/or *dimensionalization* which is dominant. In other words, we would like to emphasize that one or the other is more important, but neither is absent. Accordingly, one feature might be the dominant in certain contexts, while the other gets reduced. Moreover, we should like to stress that the focus on either invariant feature applies at the level of the enunciator’s perception and evaluation of the predicative relation, as represented by the verb. This entails that a non-dimensionalized verbal process might be evaluated by the enunciator as a dimensionalized entity, the same way that a stative type verb is sometimes evaluated as involving some degree of progressivity (see p. 53).

Turning now to the future/modal meanings of the Perfect, it is easy to see that all conditional cases involve, indeed, anteriority, as illustrated by the temporal interdependency between every two verbal processes in question (see examples (41)–(43)). In (41), for example, studying occurs prior to succeeding. Moreover, both verbal

processes are presented as global wholes with no focus whatsoever on the internal aspect–temporal dynamics of each verbal form, hence the naturalness of the Perfect. As for the “good wishes” cases, the enunciator stresses there more the invariant dimensionalized features of the Perfect, and much less the anteriority ones. In other words, the wish is evaluated as bounded from within (Waugh 1986: 851), as if it were completed and realized, which, in fact, accords well with the enunciator’s actual intentions. In like fashion, dimensionalization proves quite transparent within the specific meaning of the perfect, the present time interpretation, in particular. Again, the enunciator presents the events with clear-cut dimensions, although the verbal process did not come to a complete end, as in ((13)–(15)) earlier. Various discourse–pragmatic factors underlie the dimensionalization of the process. Such factors might include, fear (13), anticipation (14), and so on. What’s important in (15) is the anteriority of *xaražtu* “leave” before the later *ʔarž iʕu* “return.” Likewise, with *agree* and *sell* type verbs, as in (29) and (30), the enunciator presents the event as a dimensionalized process, most likely, to express a (full) satisfaction. Having evaluated the verbal process as bounded, the enunciator seems to consider it anterior with respect to a point which is psychologically established, hence the sense effect of completeness. As for the gnomic cases ((34)–(38)), both anteriority and dimensionalization prove to play a salient role, underlying therefore the use of the Perfect. What is important in (34) and (35), for example, is the relationship between *work* and *success*, *cultivating* and *harvesting*, *walking* on the path and *reaching* the goal. The underlying principle is the anteriority of one process over the other, the completion of one before the other, hence the naturalness of the Perfect. Notice, however, that even with movement type verbs, *saara* “walk,” as in (35), the verbal process is evaluated as bounded and dimensionalized.

Thus, the invariant of the Perfect in Arabic is shown here to be made up of two main components: anteriority and dimensionalization, where the latter relates to its boundedness, that is, closed interval, clear-cut dimensions, punctuality, and lack of dynamicity, while the former refers to its anteriority with respect to a point of reference independently of both its temporal location (present, past, or future), and its linguistic status: real or fictitious. In its basic use it is anterior to the time of enunciation (T_0) and real. The other uses differ from this in specific ways. The overall thrust of these observations is that the analysis of any ATM system must be rich enough to admit all possible cases, and provide a principled explanation to those uses which might appear to be marginal within the internal dynamics of the system.²⁴

Conclusion

In sum, we have examined here the functioning of the Perfect in Arabic. The main concern was to determine the basic values of this verbal form through the search for the invariant. Based on data from both the corpus and outside, we first presented the various uses of the Perfect showing its nonrestrictedness with

respect to the type of temporal interpretations it receives. This latter appears highly contextualized, that is, relative to the context in which the Perfect participates, although in the absence of a constraining context, the Perfect is typically interpreted as past (the basic use). We then briefly presented the system within which the Perfect operates, and finally suggested an account as an alternative to the previous analyses discussed at the beginning of the chapter. Our alternative suggests that the Perfect has an invariant which is made up of two components, which naturally account for the broad range of uses which we first presented: *anteriority* and *dimensionality*. Since anteriority is not always deictically defined, it is not an example of tense but rather of taxis (as defined in Jakobson 1957, see footnote 11, p. 69); and dimensionality is the realization of aspect. Arabic has, therefore, a taxis–aspect system, a choice not envisaged earlier. We will return to these issues later. Some other issues related to the Perfect will be raised and discussed in the following chapters which attempt a similar investigation for the Compound Perfect and the Imperfect.

THE COMPOUND PERFECT, AND THE MODAL *QAD*

Introduction

Consider the contrast between the examples in (1) and (2):

- (1) ***wa Ø şarraf̣a*** Karlus Buuluunaa bi-ʔanna aš-šuruuṭa
and announce.Pf Carlus Buluna with-that the-conditions
- allatii ʕarada-haa naadii baariis ʔafḏala mina aš-šuruuṭi
which present-them club Paris better than the-conditions
- allatii waḏaʕa-haa an-naadii li-Buulandaa.
that put-them the-club for-Poland

“Carlos Buluna **declared** that the conditions outlined by the Club in Paris are far better than those it had outlined for Poland.” (NA#8)

- (2) ***wa QAD şarraf̣a*** Frans Andersin bi-ʔanna al-mažmuuṭata 24
and QAD announce.Pf Franz Andersin with-that the-group 24
- sa-tuzawwidu Albaaniyaa bi-ʔakθara min 250.000 tun.
will-supply Albania with-more from 250.000 Ton

“Franz Anderson **declared** that the group of 24 will supply Albania with more than 250.000 tons.” (NA#6)

While the verb *şarraf̣a* in (1) is only preceded by *wa*, a coordinating conjunction which typically relates the current context to the previous one, the verb *şarraf̣a* in (2) is preceded by both the coordinating conjunction *wa* and the particle *QAD*.¹ This raises the question as to why the writer–enunciator would resort to the use of a complex verbal structure, that is, [*QAD*[Verb]], when a simpler form, that is, [Verb] is available. The following sections are devoted to answering this question. In order to do so, a deeper investigation relative to the characteristics of *QAD* is essential. Accordingly, we organize the discussion as follows: the first part presents and discusses the major competing hypotheses concerning the properties and functions of *QAD*. The second part outlines the shortcomings of previous

analyses, and presents an alternative based on the wide range of data on which our study was conducted and on the results of various tests which have helped to unveil the syntactic and semantic properties of *QAD*.

Previous analyses

Early and medieval Arabic grammarians scantily wrote about the function of *QAD* classified among the set of “particles”; besides, recent scholarship has not sufficiently addressed issues relevant to its syntactic and semantic properties. Thus, a complete and thorough investigation has never been conducted as far as I know. Previous descriptions can be divided into three major approaches. The first type of approach considers *QAD* to be a temporal particle, and therefore outlines its interaction with verbal temporal structures (Ibn Hishaam 1359; Gaudefroy and Blachère 1952; Nouredine 1980; Al-Aswad 1983; Er-Rayyaan 1986; Hassan 1990; Al-Mansouri 2002). The second one analyzes *QAD* as an aspectual marker and incorporates it within the major aspectual oppositions inside the verbal system (Reckendorf 1921; Beeston 1970; Al-Aswad 1983; Fradkin 1985; Wright 1989; Hassan 1990; Fischer 2002). As for the third hypothesis, probably the most popular one among the Arab grammarians as well as most Orientalists, it relates to the emphatic function of *QAD*. It is advocated by several linguists such as Sibawayhi (796), Ibn Hishaam (1359), Diver (1964), Dahl and Talmoudi (1979), Hassaan (1979), Messaoudi (1985), Azmi (1988), Fassi Fehri (1993), Ryding (2005), among others.

QAD and the temporal hypothesis

Although the literature presents several inconsistencies as to what temporal functions *QAD* might have, the general assumption as described in Gaudefroy and Blachère (1952: 212) is either to accentuate the remoteness meaning of the Perfect or to highlight its use for the recent past.² Indeed, the latter function can be traced back to Ibn Hishaam (1359), who shows that one of the functions of *QAD* when it occurs with the perfect is to highlight a recent past.³ Consider the following examples:

- (3) a qaama Zaydun
 stand.Pf up Zayd
 “Zayd stood up.”
- b QAD qaama Zaydun
 QAD stand.Pf up Zayd
 “Zayd (has) just stood up.”

According to Ibn Hishaam again (vol. 1: 294), example (3a) makes no specific temporal indication other than the fact that the event occurred prior to the speech time. Accordingly, the event is either very remote or quite recent, thus the ambiguity of (3a).

Example (3b) indicates, however, a recent past, as shown through the use of “just” in the English translation. This contrast is attributed to the presence of *QAD*, described therefore as a temporal indicator of a recent past. Along the same lines, Sayed (1983: 24) suggests that when *QAD* precedes the Perfect, as in (3b) here, it denotes “a past ending at present” (recent past). Likewise, Hassan (1990: 127) notes that when used with the past form of a full verb, *QAD* indicates very recent events or incidents. Whether it is a recent past or a past ending at present, proponents of this view suggest that *QAD* interacts with the temporal interpretation of the event. In other words, it plays the same role as the English adverb “just,” “just... now,” as in (4),⁴ and their French counterparts “*venir de*,” “*venir juste de*...,” as shown in (5):

- (4) a I have just finished.
 b I just woke up now.
- (5) a *Je viens d’arriver.*
 b *Je viens juste de finir.*

In compound tenses where the auxiliary *kaana* “was” is used along with the main verb, the particle *QAD* is usually used to derive the equivalent of the English past perfect, that is, at an earlier time than the established time in question (Al-Aswad 1983: 36; Er-Rayyaan 1986: 149; Fischer 2002: 107). Consider the examples in (6),

- (6) a **kaana** **ḍakara** Xaalidun maa hadaθ.
 be.Pf mention.Pf Xaalid what happen.Pf
 “Xalid (has) mentioned what happened.”
- b **kaana** **QAD** **ḍakara** Xaalidun maa hadaθ.
 be.Pf QAD mention.Pf Xaalid what happen.Pf
 “Xalid had mentioned what happened.”

According to Er-Rayyaan again, the verbal complex [*kaana* + *QAD* + *ḍakara*] stands as the counterpart of the English past perfect, as illustrated in the English translation (6b). Without the particle *QAD*, [*kaana* + *ḍakara*] is ambiguous between the past and the present perfect, as shown in (6a).⁵

QAD and the aspectual hypothesis

The most explicit characterization of *QAD* as an aspectual particle is best found in Fradkin (1985: 215–16). Consider the following examples,

- (7) a hal **qaraʔ-ta** “al-ʔayyaam” (a novel by Taha Hussein)
 Q. read.Perf-2s.m “al-ʔayyaam”
 “Have you read ‘al-ʔayyaam’?”

- b naḥam **qaraʔ-tu-hu**
 yes read.Perf-Is-it
 “Yes I (have) read it.”

According to Fradkin, the answer in (7b) is ambiguous. The question of “reading to the end” or “casually leafing through” is still open-ended. (7b) could simply imply “yes, I have looked at it but put it down half way through.” The question is therefore whether Arabic provides any mean to specify further the nature of the reading. According to Fradkin again, the answer is positive, and it is through the use of *QAD* which creates the impression of telic completion by relating the process to the given situation, as illustrated in (8).⁶

- (8) a LA-QAD qaraʔ-tu haaḏaa al-kitaab
 LA-QAD read.Pf-Is this the-book
 “I have (now) read this book.”
- b LA-QAD ʔakmal-tu qiraaʔata-hu
 LA-QAD finish.Pf-Is reading-its
 “I have finished reading it.”

Compared to (7b), the example in (8a) is more straightforward. Not only does it state that the book is being read, but it also implies that its reading is being completed. This implication is shown to follow from the presence of *LA-QAD*. This is further supported by the example in (8b), given to illustrate the logical extension of (8a).⁷ Although the aspectual function of *QAD* does not appear to be central in several other analyses, it is nevertheless mentioned every now and then. Wright (1989, II: 3) first notices that, when preceded by *QAD*, “the Perfect implies that the act is really finished and completed just at the moment of speaking.” Al-Aswad (1983: 47) adds that *QAD* + Perfect “usually expresses a completed action in present time.” Likewise, Er-Rayyaan (1986: 149) mentions that the particle *QAD* “denotes the factual completion of a situation.” Besides this apparent function of completion, Hassan (1990: 127–9) suggests another aspectual function, called the “Experiential Perfect,” which, according to Hassan again, is similar to the English experiential perfect found in examples like the one in (9), shouted by somebody who saw a flash of lightning.⁸

- (9) I’ve seen it as well.

QAD and the emphatic hypothesis

In his first volume, Ibn Hishaam (1359, I: 297) observes that Emphasis is one of the functions of the particle *QAD*, that is introduced to stress the occurrence of the event *daxalat litawkiidi alḥadaḥi*. Indeed, the same function can be traced back to Sibawayhi (Vol. I: 460), where he shows that the verbal complex

[*La-QAD* + Perfect] requires a different negator than the Perfect. Consider the examples in (10) and (11) below,

- (10) a faʕal-a
do.Pf-3s.m
“He did (it).”
- b LAM yafʕal
Neg do.lmp.3.s.m
“He did not do (it).”
- (11) a LA-QAD faʕal-a
LA-QAD do.Pf-3s.m
“He (really) did (it)/or He DID (it).”
- b MAA faʕal-a
Neg do.Pf-3s.m
“He (really) did not do (it) / or He did NOT do (it).”

According to Sibawayhi again, the difference between the examples in (10) and (11) can further be illustrated through the insertion of *wallaahi*, “By God” an oath word, in front of both (11a) and (11b). Accordingly, the examples in (11) are far more emphatic than those in (10). Recent analyses such as Diver (1964), Dahl and Talmoudi (1979), Hassaan (1979), Messaoudi (1985), Azmi (1988), Hassan (1990), and Ryding (2005) have shown, one way or another, that the presence of *QAD* in front of the Perfect is basically to add emphasis and stress the occurrence of the action. Accordingly, Diver and Hassaan would equate *QAD* with the English emphatic *DO*, which also expresses a degree of “certainty” that comes nearest to factual assertion, as shown in the examples in (12).⁹

- (12) a ibtasam-a Zaydun
smile.Pf-3s.m Zayd
“Zayd smiled”
- b LAQAD ibtasam-a Zaydun
LAQAD smile.Pf-3s.m Zayd
“Zayd did smile”

Likewise, Dahl and Talmoudi (1979: 55) argue that the main function of *QAD* is to indicate that the speaker does have adequate evidence for his statement. Azmi (1988: 94) states that *QAD* expresses the fact that certain things (whether expected or unexpected) actually have happened. He therefore suggests that it be translated by *already*, *really*, and *now*. Messaoudi (1985: 166) refers to *QAD* as an assertive particle expressing assertive modality. Hassan (1990: 126–30) suggests that *QAD* indicates both emphasis and recent past or experiential perfect.

Ryding (2005) adds “The use of *qad* (. . .) serves to confirm the meaning of the past tense by emphasizing that the action did indeed happen” (p. 450). In examples with compound tenses, as shown in (13), the meaning of anteriority in the past is conveyed, according to Hassan again, by the verb *kaana* “to be” not the particle *QAD*. What *QAD* does in such a structure is to add emphasis.¹⁰

- (13) *kaana al-qīṭaarū QAD intālaqa ʿindamaa waṣaltu al-mahattata*
 be.Pf the-train QAD leave.Pf when arrive.Pf the-station
 “The train had already gone when I reached the station.”

Conclusion

Since the eighth century, remarkably few specific synchronic studies on the linguistic behavior of the verbal particle *QAD* have been conducted. Moreover, there seems to be some dispute in the literature regarding the function of *QAD*. The question remains whether this verbal particle interacts with the temporal, aspectual, or modal (emphatic) interpretation of the verbal event. The Tense, Aspect, or Modal argument seems to have escalated somewhat in recent years.¹¹ However, even those few who have shown a specific interest in the question of *QAD*, have never produced empirical studies based on empirical data. Their results have relied solely on the theoretical assumptions with which the question of *QAD* was approached. This has led to further confusions. All of these observations underscore the need for a different perspective on *QAD* in MSA. The different perspective that we wish to follow is to consider the problem of *QAD* as both a problem of syntactic distribution and semantic/pragmatic interpretation.

An alternative approach

From an empirical point of view, the issue seems to be defined essentially by the interaction of *QAD* with the verb in the Perfect.¹² Two questions are therefore in order. First, how frequently and under which conditions does this interaction take place; second, why does a speaker resort to using a verbal structure involving the use of *QAD*, when a simpler form is sometimes available? Although the two issues address different facets of the problem under consideration, they are closely related. Frequency and distributional properties of verbal categories such as *QAD* are best viewed within a speaker-based framework which accurately addresses issues related to linguistic variation and salience. Accordingly, the discussion will be presented in the following order. First, we will begin with a brief presentation of the syntactic distribution of *QAD*. Second, we will present and discuss the results of the distributional properties of *QAD* within the framework of markedness. Having determined the status of *QAD* within the system of Arabic, we will then examine its functions within the parameters of Invariance.

The syntactic distribution of *QAD*

According to the results of our corpus, the verbal particle *QAD* appears in a broad range of contexts, but not in every context where a perfect verb occurs.¹³ These contexts can be divided into three major types, according to their relative salience: (i) the sentence initial type, (ii) the sentence medial type, (iii) and inside the verbal complex. We will demonstrate that the semantico-pragmatic function of *QAD* differs according to each one of those contexts.

QAD in sentence initial position

Whether one is reading a newspaper article, a paper in a scholarly journal, or a short story in MSA, one notices the use of the verbal particle *QAD* every now and then in front of the Perfect near the beginning of the clause (preceded only by *WA* or *LA*), whether that clause is at the beginning of a paragraph or inside it. This is illustrated in the examples ((14)–(16)),

- (14) a wa **QAD** qaala raadiyuu ʔisraaʔiil
and QAD say.Pf radio Israel
“Radio Israel announced . . .” (NA#12)
- b wa **Ø** qaala masʔuuluuna kibaar
and say.Pf officials high
“Some high officials said . . .” (NA#12)
- (15) a wa **QAD** tabayyana min baʕḏi ad-diraasaat . . .
and QAD appear.Pf from some the-studies
“A number of studies suggest . . .” (SA#5)
- b wa **Ø** tabayyana mina al-ʔadwali as-saabiqi . . .
and appear.Pf from the-table the-previous
“The previous table suggests . . .” (SA#5)
- (16) a LA-**QAD** ḥadaḥa fii ḥayaati-naa ʕayʔun faḏiiʕun
LA-QAD happen.Pf in life-our something terrible
“Something terrible happened in our life.” (SS#5)
- b **Ø** ʔintahaa ʕaʕru al-muʕʔizaat
finish.Pf era the-miracles
“The era of miracles is gone.” (SS#5)

The examples in (14a) and (14b) are taken from an article which describes the situation in the southern region of Lebanon where recent fighting between Israeli troops and the resistance forces had forced the local residents to leave their homes. The entire article contains 11 short paragraphs. Each paragraph starts with a verb in the Perfect, which is quite common in this type of discourse. Of these 11 perfect verbs, there are six uses of the reporting verb *qaal* “to say/announce”

among which only one is preceded by the verbal particle *QAD*. Leaving the puzzling question concerning its semantic/pragmatic interpretation aside, this use of *QAD* appears marginal given its low frequency. Indeed, when every occurrence of the Perfect in initial position within all 13 newspaper articles – with and without *QAD* – is taken into account, we counted 141 cases among which only 19 are preceded by *QAD*, while 122 occur without it. This represents 13 percent of the total number of Perfects (with and without *QAD*), which although is a small number, requires a principled explanation. Table 5.1 below provides more details for the frequency of *QAD* in initial position.

The examples in (15) are taken from a paper which appeared in *The Egyptian Review for Psychological Studies*, where the author deals with the classification of life events which lead to stress. There were 24 cases of verbs in the Perfect in initial position, among which seven cases were preceded by *QAD*. Compared to the frequency in newspaper articles as shown, this number is relatively high. Indeed, this higher frequency is maintained throughout the other four scholarly articles. This is illustrated in Table 5.2.

Table 5.1 The frequency of initial *QAD* in newspaper articles

<i>NA.Nb</i>	<i>Nb.Pfs (-qad)</i>	<i>Nb.Pfs (+qad)</i>	<i>Total (±qad)</i>
1	22	4	26
2	12	0	12
3	29	1	30
4	3	1	4
5	1	1	2
6	3	3	6
7	1	1	2
8	4	1	5
9	7	1	8
10	6	0	6
11	7	2	9
12	10	1	11
13	17	3	20
Total	122	19	141
Frequency (%)	87	13	100

Table 5.2 The frequency of initial *QAD* in scholarly articles

<i>NA.Nb</i>	<i>Nb.Pfs (-qad)</i>	<i>Nb.Pfs (+qad)</i>	<i>Total (±qad)</i>
1	5	4	9
2	8	5	13
3	3	5	8
4	17	4	21
5	17	7	34
Total	50	25	75
Frequency (%)	66	34	100

Similar to the examples in (14) and (15), while the a-example contains *QAD*, the b-example does not. In narratives, the use of *QAD* is extremely limited. Its frequency is very low compared to the two other types of discourse, namely newspaper articles and the scholarly articles. In this short story for example, there were 44 verbs in the Perfect in sentence initial position, in which only one case is preceded by *QAD*, however. This very low frequency of *QAD* turns to be a feature of this type of discourse, as illustrated in Table 5.3.

The foresaid results are summarized in Table 5.4.

To conclude, the study of the distribution and frequency of *QAD* in initial position reveals that its occurrence is genre-sensitive. Accordingly, it is more frequent in scholarly articles than newspaper articles and much less used in narratives. The overall thrust of the aforesaid presentation is to show that the use of *QAD* is subject to discourse constraints which need to be addressed and discussed, among other things, in order to adequately ascertain its functioning within the modal system within which it is a part. The said results are, however, partial and the question now is whether similar results are observed in other contexts, namely, non-initial positions, which is the subject of the following section.

QAD in non-initial position

The verbal particle *QAD* is far more frequent in non-initial position, that is, 66 percent of the total number, as shown in Table 5.5. In addition, its distribution is much more complex. There are various contexts, for instance, where the use of *QAD* is quite systematic and a few other cases where its use appears much

Table 5.3 The frequency of initial *QAD* in short stories

<i>SS.Nb</i>	<i>Nb.Pfs (-qad)</i>	<i>Nb.Pfs (+qad)</i>	<i>Total (±qad)</i>
1	13	0	13
2	15	0	15
3	32	1	33
4	18	3	21
5	43	1	44
Total	121	5	126
Frequency (%)	96	4	100

Table 5.4 Summary of the frequency of *QAD* in initial position

<i>Discourse genre</i>	<i>Nb.Pfs (-qad)</i>	<i>Nb.Pfs (+qad)</i>	<i>Total (±qad)</i>
Journalistic	122	19	141
Academic	50	25	75
Fiction	121	5	126
Total	293	49	342
Frequency (%)	86	14	100

Table 5.5 Frequency of *QAD* in initial and non-initial positions

Context	<i>N</i> = 140	%
Initial position	48	34
Non-initial position	92	66

less systematic. We will therefore present the distribution of *QAD* according to the most relevant and transparent contexts.

The high frequency of *QAD* in non-initial position is due to the broad range of contexts with which it is compatible, and to the specific constructions within which it appears.

QAD inside the verbal complex

As mentioned earlier (p. 74), *QAD* appears between the auxiliary and the thematic verb. This use is observed in all three types of discourse: journalistic, academic, and literary. This is illustrated in examples (17), (18), and (19) respectively.

- (17) wa **kaana** yaašku **QAD** ʔablaʕa haaðihi ad-duwal (...)
and be.Pf Yaašku QAD inform.Pf these the-countries

ʔanna al-ʔaʔfaala yuʕaanuuna min maʕaaʕatin...
that the-children suffer.Imp from starving

“Yašku had informed these countries that the children suffer from starvation...” (NA#6)

- (18) wa yuqaddimu (John Diwi) badiilan yatamaθθalu fii
and present.Imp J.D. alternative represents in
“at-tarbiyati at-taqaddumiyati” allatii **kaana Qad naadaa**
the-education the-revolutionary that be.Pf QAD call.Pf

bi-haa Barker wa William James...
upon-it Barker and W.J.

“John Dewey puts forward an alternative called “revolutionary education” which Barker and William James had already suggested.” (SA#3)

- (19) wa baynamaa al-ʕamiiʕu saaʕiduuna..., **kuntu Qad tasallaltu**
and while the-majority praying, be.Pf QAD slip out.Pf

ʔabra an-naafiðati al-mulaasiqati li-l-qiblati...
through the-window the-next to-the-Qibla

“While they were all praying..., I **slipped out** through the window next to the Qibla.” (SS#3)

Table 5.6 The frequency of *QAD* across discourse genres

<i>Discourse genre</i>	<i>N = 25</i>	<i>%</i>
Fiction	14	56
Journalistic	10	40
Academic	1	04

The verbal complex in (17) appears within the matrix clause, while it occurs inside a relative clause in (18) and in a subordinate clause in (19). This distribution does not seem to have any particular effect on the appearance of *QAD* inside the verbal complex. Its frequency relative to the type of discourse shows, however, different results from those observed in the previous section. The majority of cases are found in narratives, while one single case is observed in scholarly articles. This is illustrated in Table 5.6.

QAD in complement clauses

The use of the verbal particle *QAD* is also observed in complement clauses headed by the complementizer *ʔanna/ʔinna* “that.” This use is not particular to any discourse genre-type. The examples in (20), (21), and (22) illustrate this particular use in scholarly articles, narratives, and newspaper articles, respectively.

- (20) fa-kayfa yumkinu al-qawlu bi-ʔanna al-ʔašhura
and-how possible the-saying with-that the-months
at-taaliyata QAD šahidat mawžaata hižratin muđaaʕafatin...
the-last QAD witness.Pf vague immigration doubled
“How could it be possible that during the past months the number of immigrants has dramatically increased...” (SA#4)
- (21) ʔaḥsastu ʔanna šayʔan li-i QAD ḥadaṯa...
feel.Pf.1s that something to-me QAD happen.Pf
“I felt (that) something had happened to me...” (SS#3)
- (22) ʔaṯtaqidu ʔanna al-waqta QAD ḥaana li-yufakkira raaʔiyan
believe.Imp.1s that the-time QAD come.Pf to-think considering
al-muḥaadaṯaati wa-l-ṯaalama bi-židdiyyatin...
the-talks and-the-world with-seriousness
“I believe that the time to consider seriously the talks and the world had come...” (NA#3)

Although the number of cases in this context is limited to nine, it is statistically significant for it represents 10 percent of the total number of *QAD* used in non-initial position.

QAD within the “ʔammaa...fa...” construction

Another typical use of the verbal particle *QAD* is observed within a particular type of topic construction, the *ʔammaa...fa* “As for...” construction. This use is attested within all three types of discourse genres: academic, fiction, and journalistic as illustrated in (23), (24), and (25), respectively.

- (23) wa ʔammaa al-maqṣuudu bi-haa **fa-QAD** kaana duʕaatu
 and as for the-intention of-it fa-QAD be.Pf preachers
 faṣli ad-diini ʕani ad-dawlati fii firansaa wa ruusiyya
 separation the-religion from the-government in France and Russia
 al-bulṣiifiyya yuriiduuna ʔidʕaafa sulṭata ad-diini...
 the-bolchevic want.Imp weakening power the-religion...

“As for the intentions, those who were calling for the separation between the government and the church in France and in Bolshevik Russia wanted to weaken the power of the Church...” (SA#3)

- (24) **ʔammaa** al-ʔaʕlabiyya fa-QAD badaʔa šayʔun mina
 As for the-majority fa-QAD start.Pf something from
 al-ʔistiʕraabi al-qaliili yuxaaližu-haa.
 the-surprise the-little feel-it

“As for the majority, they started feeling somehow surprised.” (SS#3)

- (25) **ʔammaa** al-xilaafaat al-wizaariyya fa-QAD saqaʔa haamišu-haa...
 As for the-differences the-ministerial fa-QAD fall.Pf irrelevant-it

“As for the disagreements between the ministers, most trivial ones were settled...” (NA#2)

As the English translation of each one of the three examples suggests, it is quite clear that this Arabic topic construction highly resembles its “As for...” English counterpart for it seems to induce the same semantic effect. As for the frequency of *QAD* in this particular context, we counted eight occurrences among a total number of 92 (relative to the use of *QAD* in non-initial position), which is a little less than 10 percent.

QAD in emphatic contexts

Another use of *QAD* that is quite revealing occurs within what could generally be described as Emphatic Contexts. These contexts are not particular to any specific

construction. They tend, however, to center around periphrastic modality. Accordingly, *QAD* is found in a broad range of environments where various degrees of emphasis are expressed. This is illustrated in the examples (26)–(29).

- (26) **Laabudda** ʔanna šayʔan **QAD** **hadaθa** wa manaʕa
 necessary that something QAD happen.Pf and prevent.Pf
 aš-šayxa min ʔitmaami as-saždati.
 the-Sheik from completing the-prostration

“Something **must have happened** to prevent the Sheik from completing the prostration.” (SS#3)

- (27) wa li-maziidin mina at-taʔkiidi ʕalaa ḏaalika, **FA-QAD** bayyanat
 and for-more from the-emphasis on that, FA-QAD show.Pf
 al-ʔanbaaʔu...
 the-news...

“And to stress that again, the news has/had shown...” (SA#4)

- (28) ...fa-ʔinna kasba-hu (...) **QAD taxallafa** ʕan muwaazaati ḏaalika
 and-indeed winning-its (...) QAD fail.Pf about equivalence that
 al-mustawaa wa muwaafaati haažaati-hi...
 the-level and fulfillment needs-its

“Its earnings have really dropped and could not keep up with that standard in order to fulfill its needs...” (it = the Islamic movement) (SA#2)

- (29) **ʔakkada** ʔanna ad-daaʔiniin al-fukuumiyyiin **QAD waafaquu**
 confirm.Pf that the-creditors the-governmental QAD agree.Pf
 bi-ʕaddi al-barnaamiž allaḏii ʔaʕlanat-hu biiruu...
 with-preparation the-program that announce.Pf-it Peru

“(the report) confirmed that the official creditors have agreed to prepare the program that Peru had made public...” (NA#8)

The example in (26) demonstrates the co-occurrence between epistemic modality *laa-budda* “it must be/it is necessary” in the matrix clause and *QAD* in the complement clause. In (27) the use of *QAD* is preceded by an adverbial phrase which emphasizes the truth value of the proposition. The example in (28) begins with the emphatic particle *ʔinna* generally described as a “particle introducing a main clause,” and translated sometimes as “verily, truly,” and so on. Likewise, the example in (29) starts with the verb *ʔakkada* meaning “to stress, to confirm.” Note that the adverbial constructions typically found in all these cases whose main verb is preceded by *QAD* are those which express in one way or another

some form of assertive modality. As for the frequency of such contexts where the verbal particle *QAD* co-occurs with assertive adverbials, we counted 15 obvious cases distributed among the three types of discourse genres. In sum, the number of cases which we have accounted so far represents almost two-thirds of the total number of *QAD* in non-initial position, that is 62 percent. The remaining 38 percent are found in a variety of contexts inherent to the logical construction of the argumentation. In these cases, the use of *QAD* in front of the perfect to mark a logical transition or a resultative event is often accompanied by coordinating conjunctions like *FA-* and *WA*.¹⁴

In conclusion, we have shown that the verbal particle *QAD* appears in a broad range of syntactic contexts. It is used in both matrix and relative clauses, between an auxiliary and a thematic verb, and after various assertive adverbials. This investigation not only shows the discourse constraints which underlie the use of *QAD*, but also presents supportive evidence for the invariant meaning of this latter, as will be discussed later. Finally, we have noticed that the appearance of *QAD* is not attested after various temporal adverbs such as *lammaa* “after, since, when,” *ʕindamaa* “as soon as,” *fiinamaa* “while; when, as.” Indeed, its appearance is banned in such contexts, as illustrated in the following examples below.¹⁵

- (30) a Lammaa ʒaaʔ-a Muhammad xaraʒ-naa
 after/when come-Pf.3.s.m Muhammed leave-Pf.1.p
 “We left when Muhammed came.”
- b *Lammaa QAD ʒaaʔ-a Muhammad xaraʒ-naa
 after/when QAD come-Pf.3.s.m Muhammed leave-Pf.1.p
- (31) a ʕindamaa istayqaḍ-naa badaʔ-naa aš-šuuʔ
 as soon as wake up-Pf.1.p start-Pf.1.p the-work
 “We started working as soon as we woke up.”
- b *ʕindamaa QAD istayqaḍ-naa badaʔ-naa aš-šuuʔ
 as soon as QAD wake up-Pf.1.p start-Pf.1.p the-work

The invariant function of *QAD*

Having briefly presented the syntactic distribution of the verbal particle *QAD* along with the structures with which it typically interacts, we can now discuss its semantico-pragmatic functions. In order to offer an adequate account, however, we must digress somewhat to discuss some aspects of the system within which the use of *QAD* is involved. In other words, unless an accurate representation of the system and the major oppositions between *QAD* and other grammatical terms is discussed, our study would fail to provide a plausible account of the properties of *QAD*. We therefore suggest discussing the functioning of *QAD* within the principles of markedness.

QAD and markedness

In light of what has already been presented in relation to the concept of “markedness” (see pp. 44–46), it seems necessary to elaborate an analysis of *QAD* that incorporates the major oppositions between all members of the system. In the following section, we motivate this analysis and discuss the major oppositions.

QAD vs. Ø

In MSA, and according to our data, *QAD* can safely be considered and analyzed as a verbal particle. If that is the case, it follows that no adverbial element or other element of any sort intervenes between *QAD* and the verb.¹⁶ This is indeed the case as the examples in (32) illustrate.

- (32) a LAQAD (*musriʕan) (*baakiran) xaraʒ-a (musriʕan) (baakiran)
 LAQAD (*quickly) (*early) left-3s.m (quickly) (early)
 “He left (quickly) (early)”
- b LAQAD (*daaʕirnan) kaan-a (daaʕirnan) ʕadiiq-ii
 LAQAD (*always) was-3s.m (always) friend-my
 “He has always been my friend.”

Thus, we may say that there exists an opposition between the Verb Phrase with *QAD* (that is, [*QAD* + Perfect]), on the one hand, and the Verb Phrase without (that is, [Ø + Perfect]), on the other hand. In other words, the grammatical opposition in this case consists of the Compound Perfect as opposed to the Simple Perfect, respectively. This raises the question as to which member of the opposition is marked and which one is unmarked. Recall that it is often the case that the unmarked member has a higher frequency over the marked; the marked term is more likely to be found in a smaller number of different contexts; the marked term tends to be less universal than the unmarked (see also Waugh 1982). Now, consider the results outlined in Table 5.7 here.

Table 5.7 shows that the verbal form which contains *QAD* is far less frequent than the other form without *QAD*. This is certainly due to its marked nature. This is also supported by the fact that it occurs in a small number of different contexts, as shown in the previous section. Thus, the dynamic dialectic between the unmarked member [Ø Perfect] and the marked member [*QAD* Perfect] predicts that the former is of a more general meaning while the latter is more narrowly

Table 5.7 Frequency of *QAD* within the Perfect constructions

Verbal form	<i>N</i> = 1721	%
[Ø Perfect]	1581	92
[<i>QAD</i> Perfect]	140	8

specified, and more contextually conditioned. The wider distribution and frequency of the unmarked member is an illustration of its more general meaning. The limited distribution of [*QAD* Perfect] and the specific constructions within which it appears illustrate the extent to which it is contextually conditioned. Moreover, if we consider that the unmarked member of an opposition has generally both a “a more generic/general interpretation” and a “more specific interpretation” (Waugh 1982: 302–04), and might have a “plus interpretation,” which is simply that interpretation that could also be signaled by the marked term, it can be argued that the unmarked member [Ø Perfect] can also have a “plus interpretation.” Consider the following examples:

- (33) a **kaanat** quraa fuduudiyya lubnaaniyya Ø **ʔinhaalat**
 be.Pf villages border Lebanese bombard.Pf

ʕalay-haa al-qaḏaaʔif fii al-ʔayymi al-ʔaxiirati...
 on-it the-rockets in the-days the-last

“Some border Lebanese villages have been heavily bombarded the past few days...” (NA#2)

- b **kaanat** ʔisraaʔiil **QAD ʔanḏarat** sukkaana θalaaθa
 be.Pf Israel QAD warned residents three

quraa žanuubiyya...
 villages southern

“Israel had already warned the residents of three southern villages...”

The presence of *QAD* between the auxiliary verb and the thematic verb is generally believed to be obligatory (see among others, Comrie 1991: 8; Doss 1984: 362), or highly desirable. The contrast between the example in (33a) and the one in (33b) clearly demonstrates that the presence of *QAD* in these contexts is not obligatory, a conclusion also supported in Cuvalay-Haak (1997: 210–34). For now, it suffices to say that the general meaning, namely the signal of anteriority and dimensionalization, is equally expressed, yet to be determined the subtleties between both cases. It should be stressed, moreover, that there were 25 cases of compound tenses in our corpus among which five did not include *QAD*, a total of 20 percent. The lack of *QAD* in these cases might be due to the unmarked status of the verbal form [Ø Perfect].

QAD vs. LA-, ʔINNA

When a wider range of facts is examined, it appears that *QAD* is only one facet of a triangular system where at least two other particles are involved. These particles are the verbal prefix *LA-*, and the sentence initial *ʔINNA*. Consider first the examples in (34) and (35),

- (34) a **wa Ø şarraḥ-a** waziiru al-maaliyyati...
 and announce-Pf minister the-finance
 “The minister of finance announced...” (NA#8)
- b **wa QAD şarraḥa** Franz Anderson...
 and QAD announce-Pf Franz Anderson
 “Franz Anderson affirmed...” (NA#6)
- (35) a **wa Ø maa** yatahaddadu at-tayyaara al-ʔislaamli...
 and what threaten.Imp the-movement the-islamic
 “What threatens the Islamic movement...” (SA#2)
- b **wa ʔINNA maa** tuqbilu ʕalay-hi al-bilaadu...
 and ʔINNA what faces on-it the-country
 “What will indeed face the country...” (SA#2)

The examples in (34) and (35), despite the varying contexts in which they occur, share a common grammatical feature. The absence vs. the presence of *QAD* and *ʔINNA* in (34) and (35) respectively demonstrates a striking parallelism between the two sets of sentences. The nature of this parallelism is both syntactic and semantico-pragmatic. While the syntactic parallelism involves common structural properties (see pp. 164–66), the semantico-pragmatic one is illustrated through the assertive features with which both *QAD* and *ʔINNA* are associated.

The only apparent difference seems to involve the scopal properties of each category. While the grammatical subject is not necessarily under the scope of *QAD* in subject initial clauses, that is, a SVO structure, it is always under the scope of *ʔINNA*, as this latter is obligatorily followed by an NP subject (see also Mohammad 1988 and Ghazali, forthcoming). The scopal difference might be due to the fact that both word orders are attested in MSA. This raises the question of whether *QAD* and *ʔINNA* can occur in the same context/clause. Examples of their co-occurrence are quite abundant, as illustrated in (36).

- (36) ...fa-ʔinna kasba-hu(. . .) **QAD** taxallafa ʕan muwaazaati ʔaalika
 and-indeed earning-its(. . .) QAD fail.Pf about equivalence that
 al-mustawaa wa muwaafaati haaʔaati-hi...
 the-level and fulfillment needs-its

“Its earnings have really dropped and could not keep up with that standard in order to fulfill its needs...” (it = the Islamic movement) (SA#2)

Although this may appear at first to be a complex result, I believe it is exactly the right prediction, given that the scope of each category ranges over different elements inside the clause. Note, however, that *QAD* in (34b) and (36) is followed by a perfect verb, which raises the question of whether an Imperfect can similarly

be modalized. As a matter of fact, the use of the verbal prefix *LA-* with the Imperfect seems to assume this very function, as illustrated in (37).

- (37) *ʔINNA* haaḏaa al-ʔistirsala fii at-tanḏiiri (. . .) *LA-*yahmilu
ʔINNA this the-continuation in the-envisionment *LA-*carries
 fii ṭayyaati-hi ʔistiiṣaaban li-l-muṣṭayyaati (. . .). (SA#1)
 in inside-its understanding of-the-facts

“This ease of envisioning DOES reveal an understanding of the facts . . .”

To recapitulate the main argument in this section: after having shown the contrast which exists between both the simple perfect and the compound perfect, we have demonstrated that there exists some type of complementary distribution between the use of *QAD* and *ʔINNA* in sentence initial contexts, followed by a co-occurrence possibility of both within the sentence. Finally, we noted an opposition involving the use of both *QAD* and *LA-* in the presence of *ʔINNA*. This seems to suggest that the verbal particle *QAD* is part of a modal system, and as such, it should be evaluated according to its status within that system in order to discern its distinctive function.

More on the characteristics of *QAD*

Having shown various syntactic aspects of the particle *QAD* along with the major particles and oppositions with which it interacts, we would like now to examine the basic functions of this verbal particle. The challenging question to which previous analyses failed to provide an adequate answer is why a speaker or a writer would resort to using a modal particle such as *QAD*? Although this question is empirical, its answer requires more careful examination. The first question we would like to address concerns the role and functions of the connectors and conjunctions which precede or get prefixed to *QAD* in a variety of contexts.

QAD and the coordinators *WA*, *LA*, and *FA*

The fact that *QAD* is usually preceded by one of these three coordination particles invites us to inquire deeply into their functions. In fact each particle seems to have one or more functions according to the context in which it can be used. The use of *QAD* along with each coordination particle results quite often in a semantic interdependence between both categories.

QAD and the coordinator *WA*

WA is typically used as a conjunction in coordinate structures with an additive function, as shown in (38).

- (38) a qadim-a maahir WA ražaa
 come-Pf.3s.m Maher and Raja
 “Maher and Raja came.”
- b al-waladu WA ʔaxuu-hu fii al-bayti
 the-boy and brother-his in the-house
 “The boy and his brother are in the house.”

Another discourse function of the coordinator *WA* is frequently observed in MSA. Although *WA* never appears at the very beginning of any discourse, that is, the beginning of an article, a short story, and so on, it is consistently used to associate and connect sections (i.e. paragraphs, sentences) to previous ones, independently of the type of semantic relationship holding between both discourses and with no apparent additive power. The examples in (39a), (39b), and (39c), which show a series of paragraph initial verbs from newspaper articles, scholarly articles, and short stories, respectively, all preceded by the coordinator *WA*, illustrate this type of use.

- (39) a WA qaala..., WA ʔadaafa..., WA rafaḍa..., WA ḍakara...
 and said..., and added..., and refused..., and said...(NA#1)
- b WA taʔtii..., WA yaraa..., WA yantahii..., WA mimmaa...
 and comes..., and sees..., and gets..., and what...(SA#1)
- c WA laakin..., WA taḥawwala..., WA ʔatfaʔat..., WA lam...
 and but..., and changes..., and turns off..., and not...(SS#1)

In almost all cases, this type of discourse connection is altogether absent in other languages.¹⁷ This is certainly due to the fact that the flow of discourse itself in these languages is capable of establishing these semantic connections between various parts of the discourse, that is, paragraphs in a large text, independently of their specific logical relations. The use of *QAD* along with the coordination particle *WA* in this context is not obligatory, however. This is shown in (34) earlier, repeated as (40) now for convenience.

- (40) a **wa Ø ʃarrafa** waziiru al-maaliyyati...
 and announce.Pf minister the-finance
 “The minister of finance announced...” (NA#8)
- b **wa QAD ʃarrafa** Franz Anderson...
 and QAD announce.Pf Franz Anderson
 “Franz Anderson affirmed...” (NA#6)

As noted earlier, the frequency of *QAD* in this context is not particularly high (14 percent). This is not, however, the only context where *QAD* co-occurs with the coordinator *WA*. In fact, they are also found inside the clause, as illustrated in (41) and (42).

- (41) a maaḏaa ʔafʔalu **WA QAD raawadanii**(Pf) aṣṣabiyyu ʔan nafsii...
 wa **ḡalabanii** (Pf) aš-šayṭaanu?
 “What can I do **when** the boy **leads** me astray, and I **succumb** to the temptation” (SS#3)
- b wa zaʔama (**Pf**) Ishaq šaamiir ʔams al-ʔawwal ʔanna Aš-šubkii
 wa Al-fuuraanii laysaa bi-l-fiʔli ʔiḏwayni fii
 al-wafdi al-filiṣṭiini **WA QAD ʔirtakabaa** (Pf)
 muxaalafaatin li-l-qaanuuni.
 “Izhaq Shamir claimed two days ago that Al-Shubki and Al-Hurani are not indeed members of the Palestinian delegation, **since** they **have violated** the law...” (NA#3)
- (42) a ...wa yazuumu **WA QAD ʔaṭbaqa** fama-hu...
 ...and mutter.Imp AND QAD clench.Pf mouth-his...
 “He muttered, **clenching** his teeth...” (SS#4)
- b wa maaḏaa fii az-zuqaqi aḏ-ḏayyiqi **WA QAD laffa**
 and what in the-street the-narrow AND QAD clasp.Pf
 yada-hu waraaʔa ḏahri-hi...
 hand-his behind back-his
 “(he) hurried down the narrow street, one hand **clasp**ing the other tightly behind his back.” (SS#4)

Note that the use of both *WA* and *QAD* in (41) marks a logical correspondence between cause and effect, that is, the wondering and its cause in (41a) and the decision taken and its basis in (41b), hence the causal function of *WA QAD*. In both cases, *WA QAD* could easily be replaced by a causal conjunction such as *because of*. As for the cases in (42a) and (42b), the use of *WA QAD* introduces a circumstantial description. The use of the participle in English seems to fulfill similar functions, as suggested in the English translations. In addition to these examples of specific use, our corpus contains (but less often) uses of *WA QAD* in discourse elaboration contexts to mark parts of the development. In all these cases, the use of *WA QAD* is always felt to be contextually required for semantico-pragmatic considerations. This requirement leaves almost no room for optionality, as in the case of *QAD* in initial position. As for the frequency of *QAD* preceded by the coordinator *WA*, our corpus shows that they represent the highest percentage, that is, 39 percent of the total occurrences of *QAD* (see also Ghazali “forthcoming” for similar statistical results).

QAD and the coordinator FA-

Like the coordinator *WA*, *FA-* is typically used to associate a coordinated phrase with its antecedent. The type of relationship which the coordinator *FA-* mediates

differs substantially from the one in which *WA* typically appears, however. Thus, the coordinator *FA* marks, with very few exceptions, consequential/resultative, explicatory and topic/comment relationships. This is illustrated in (43), (44), and (45) respectively.

- (43) wa lam yanfaṣ ṣawtu-hu al-ṭaxnaf al-haadi? **FA-QAD**
 and not profits voice-his the-twangy the-calm **FA-QAD**
 ḍaaṣa nidaaṭu-hu fii haalati ar-raniini ...
 lost calling-his in hum the-sound
 “His twangy and calm voice was useless, his callings were lost in the midst of humming sounds...” (SS#2)
- (44) a wa li-maziidin mina at-taṭkiidi Ṣalaa ḍaalika, **FA-QAD**
 and for-more from the-emphasis on that, **FA-QAD**
 kaṣafat al-ṭanbaaṭu ...
 revealed the-news
 “And to stress that, it was made public in the news...” (SA#4)
- b wa maṣa ḍaalika **FA-QAD** ṭakkada Yuuṣi Biiliin ṭanna
 and with that **FA-QAD** confirmed Yushi Beelen that
 iqtīṣaada ṭisraaṭiila qaadirun Ṣalaa 320.000 muhaaṣir
 economy Israel capable of 320.000 immigrant ...
 “In spite of that, Yushi Belen insisted that Israel’s economy is capable of accommodating 320.000 immigrants...” (SA#4)
- (45) ṭammaa al-xilaafaat al-wizaariyya **FA-QAD** saqaṭa haamiṣu-haa.
 As for the-differences the-ministerial **FA-QAD** fell marginal-its
 “As for the disagreements between the ministers, most trivial ones were settled...” (NA#2)

The example in (43) is about a voice which was lost in the hum that rose from the prostrated worshippers. The obvious cause was its being twangy and calm. The obligatory use of *FA-QAD* between the cause and effect is meant to mediate such relationship. The examples in (44a) and (44b) illustrate the frequent use of *FA-QAD* in elaboration, that is, in mediating extensive argumentation. This argumentation involves in many cases the overt use of various expressions of emphasis such as the underlined ones. The example in (45) shows the obligatory use of *FA-QAD* in topic/comment contexts, a context where a certain degree of emphasis through the construction itself is implied. According to our corpus, 35 percent of the total cases of *FA-QAD* are found within this construction. The frequency of *FA-QAD*, however, is only 16 percent of the total number of cases involving the use of *QAD*.

QAD and the assertive particle LA-

As noted earlier, the use of the verbal prefix *LA-* in front of the Imperfect marks some degree of emphasis when compared to the unmarked use of the Imperfect. Consider the examples in (46).

- (46) a ʔinna haaḏaa al-ʔistirsaaala fii at-tanḏiiri (. . .) **LA-**yaḥmilu
 Pinna this the-continuation in the-environment LA-carries
 fii ʔayyaati-hi ʔistiiʕaaban li-l-muʕṭayaati (. . .).
 in inside-its understanding of-the-facts

“This ease of envisioning **does** reveal an understanding of the facts.”
 (SA#1)

- b ʔinna haaḏaa al-ʔistirsaaala fii at-tanḏiiri (. . .) **Ø-**yaḥmilu
 Pinna this the-continuing in the-environment Ø-carries
 fii ʔayyaati-hi ʔistiiʕaaban li-l-muʕṭayaati (. . .).
 in inside-its understanding of-the-facts

“This ease of envisioning reveals an understanding of the facts.”

Although this use of the verbal prefix *LA-* is highly marked given its extremely poor frequency (two cases in the entire corpus), its modal function as an assertive particle is perfectly inherent to the verbal system in MSA (Kinberg 2001: 89–90), as noted in an earlier section (see pp. 163–66). This is also supported by its co-occurrence with *QAD*, which is capable of assuming similar functions. This is illustrated in (47) and (48)

- (47) a **LA-QAD** ḥadaḥa fii ḥayaati-naa ʕayʔun faḏiiʕun...
 LA-QAD happen.Pf in life-our something awful
 “Something awful did happen to our life.” (SS#5)

- b **LA-QAD** taḥaṭṭamat ʕarabatu-ki wa taḥaṭṭamat maxaawifi-i...
 LA-QAD destroy.Pf car-your and destroy.Pf fears-my
 “Your car was indeed destroyed and so are my fears.” (SS#5)

- (48) a . . . ʕafwu-ka yaa ʔilaahi-i . . . **fa-LA-QAD** ʔaxfaytu ʕank-i
 forgiveness-your oh God-my fa-LA-QAD hide.Pf from-you
 al-ḥaqqiqata.
 the-truth

“Forgive me, God! I **DID** conceal/**Concealed** the truth from you.”
 (SS#3)

- b haaḏaa **wa LA-QAD** ʔaθaara haaḏihi a l-qadiyyata
 this and LA-QAD bring up.Pf this the-issue
 murabbuuna kaθiiruun... (SA#3)
 educators numerous
 “Besides, many educators **DID** bring up this issue.”

Note that the use of *LA-QAD* in (47) and (48) is optional. In other words, there do not seem to be any structural or semantico-pragmatic constraints which render its use obligatory. However, the interpretation of each one of the above examples is in sharp contrast with their counterparts without both *LA* and *QAD*, that is, the unmarked interpretation with no additional assertion of the very occurrence of verbal events. The cases in (47a), (47b), and (48a) occur within narrative discourse: (47a) appears in a direct discourse context, and so do both (47b) and (48a). This lends considerable support to the fact that *LA-QAD* is frequently used in conversational discourse. In fact, a typical answer to a question involving the use of *QAD* is very likely to contain *LA-*, as illustrated in (49).

- (49) a maaḏaa faʕalt-i ʔamsi?
 what do-Pf.2s.f yesterday
 “What did you do yesterday?”
 b (*WA)-(*FA) LA-QAD nimt-u ʔuula al-yawmi
 (*WA)-(*FA) LA-QAD sleep-Pf.1s all the-day
 “I slept all day long.”

Note that both coordinators *WA* and *FA-* are banned from occurring in this context, and in sentence/text initial contexts in general. This is only natural since there is no previous coordinating context. This conclusion is further supported by the presence of the coordinators *FA-* in (48a) and *WA* in (48b), given the existence of a preceding context. The use of the assertive particle *LA-*, on the other hand, does not crucially depend on a coordinating context, hence its natural use in sentence/text initial contexts. As for its frequency along with *QAD*, there were 17 cases in the corpus, which represents 12 percent of the total number of *QAD*.

QAD with no preceding particles

There are two contexts in which the verbal particle *QAD* occurs without any preceding particle of any sort. These bare contexts are (i) the verbal complex context, and (ii) the subject initial context, as exemplified in (50) and (51) respectively.

- (50) a wa lam yasmaʕ-hu ʔaḥadun, fa-ʔabdulmutawallii kaana (Pf)
 and not hear.Imp-him one, because-Abdelmutwalli be.Pf
QAD ʔixtafaa (Pf) bi-l-lafaafati fii zaḥmati an-naasi.
 Qad disappear.Pf with-the-bundle in crowd the-people

“But nobody heard him because Abdou’l Metwalli and his bundle **had already vanished** in the crowd.” (SS#2)

- b *kuntu QAD badaʔtu ʔaʕriqu.*
 Be.Pf QAD start.Pf.ls drown.Imp.1s
 “I had started to drown.” (SS#3)

(51) a *θumma... ʔal-masaaʔu QAD daxala...*
 besides... the-afternoon QAD enter .Pf
 “Besides, it was indeed late...” (SS#3)

- b *ʔaʕtaqidu ʔanna al-waqtu QAD ʔaana (Pf) li-yufakkira*
raaʕiyan al-muʔaadaθaati wa-l-ʕaalama bi-ʕiddiyyatin...
 “I believe the time had indeed come for him to seriously consider the talks and the world...” (NA#3)

The examples in (50) and (51) show that the verbal particle *QAD* is not preceded by any of the particles discussed earlier, that is, the additive and causal conjunctions *WA* and *FA-*, respectively, in addition to the assertive particle *LA-*. In fact, our corpus does not provide any single exception to this generalization, and it can be said therefore that there is a ban on the occurrence of these particles in the two contexts described earlier. Note that in SV(O) contexts it does not make a difference whether the presence of *QAD* is in a matrix clause (51a) or a complement clause (51b). Likewise, the use of *QAD* is not sensitive to whether the subject is a lexical or a pronominal NP. As for the frequency of *QAD* in each construction, we counted 25 cases within the verbal complex (i.e. [kaana *QAD* Perfect]), and 21 within SV(O) contexts (i.e. NP *QAD* Perfect]). Combined together, there are 46 cases which represent 33 percent of the total number of bare *QAD* cases. Table 5.8 below summarizes the frequency of the various particles which precede *QAD* including the null cases.

The aforesaid results show that none of the particles which precede the use of *QAD* can be considered marginal or statistically insignificant. Instead, the occurrence of each particle with *QAD* should be considered while searching for its invariant, and integrated within the analysis of its functioning in discourse in general and the verbal system in particular. An attempt to characterize *QAD* is thus made in the following section.

Table 5.8 The frequency of *WA*, *FA-*, *LA-*, and \emptyset in front of *QAD*

Particles	<i>N</i> = 141	%
<i>WA (QAD)</i>	55	39
<i>FA-(QAD)</i>	23	16
<i>LA-(QAD)</i>	17	12
\emptyset -(<i>QAD</i>)	46	33

Towards a solution

In light of the above results and considerations, it seems necessary to elaborate an analysis of *QAD* which incorporates its syntactic and semantico-pragmatic characteristics into the modal system of MSA. As noted earlier (pp. 87–89), the verbal particle *QAD* is only a part of a larger system which includes other particles such as *ʕINNA*, and *LA-*. However, unlike other particles, *QAD* seems to interact with a broad range of grammatical categories, such as Tense, Aspect, and Modality. In this sense it may be argued that *QAD* has a cross-categorial status. In what follows, we will show that the verbal particle *QAD* is indeed an ATM category.

QAD as an ATM category

If *QAD* were an ATM category, the prediction would be that it carries features of each individual term of the triad. In other words it combines semantico-pragmatic features of temporal, aspectual, and modal character. It is further assumed that, universally or nearly so, an ATM category, although it has an invariant and contextual meaning, combines very often some features which remain in serious competition resulting in various degrees of dominance relative to appropriate contexts in which the category is involved. In other words, the modal features of *QAD*, for example, might at times be the dominant features within a given context; but they would appear to be less dominant in other contexts, and instead either the temporal or the aspectual features appear as more dominant. Nevertheless, independently of the competition between features, it should always be the case that some common denominator of *QAD* is maintained. Let us now look at the individual terms of the triad, starting by giving paradigmatic examples. Consider the following examples,

- (52) a wa **QAD** qaala raadiyu ʔisraaʔiil (. . .)ʔanna ʕadadan kabiiran
 and QAD say.Pf Radio Israel (. . .) that number big
 mina as-sukkaani fii šamaali ʔisraaʔiil ʔamđaw al-layla
 from the-residents in East Israel spend.Pf the-night
 fii al-malaažiʔ.
 in the-shelters

“Radio Israel did announce that a large number of residents in East Israel spent the night in shelters.”

- b wa **Ø** qaala maşdarun siyaasiyyun muwaalin li-ʔiiraan
 and say.Pf source political associated with-Iran
 li-ruytir ʔanna ar-radda yažibu ʔan yakuuna hužuuman
 to-Reuters that the-reply necessary that be.Imp.3.s.m attack
 fii mustawaa ʔiɛtiyaali aš-šayxi Al-musawii.
 in level assassination the-Sheikh AL-Musawii

“Some political source linked to Iran said to Reuters that the retaliation should be an attack as serious as the assassination of Sheikh Al-Musawii.”

Examples (52a) and (52b) are taken from an article where 12 cases of the Perfect are observed. Six of these cases use the verb *qaala* “announced” preceded by the coordination conjunction *WA* “and.” The use of *QAD* is observed, however, only once (52a). Recall that this is a case where the use of *QAD* is not obligatory, that is not triggered by any syntactic context (see also Ghazali “forthcoming” for such triggers). In other words, there does not seem to be any structural constraint which would trigger its use. The question remains therefore why would the writer of this article resort to using *QAD* in this particular context, but not in others. Put differently, what is the type of constraint or requirement which triggers its use?

When a wide range of data is examined, we noticed that some considerations of salience are indeed involved. That is to say, the importance of the reported event within the entire discourse seems to play a major role in the choice of *QAD*. In this article, for example, which deals with the continuous fights between Israel and the fighters in South Lebanon, the example in (52a) is the only official Israeli report among various other reports from other sources. This might be considered as a discourse constraint which led the writer of this article to include *QAD* along with the reporting verb. In contradistinction to (52b) and similar examples, (52a) highlights the relevance of this radio report by adding more emphasis and therefore foregrounding it for a number of pragmatic effects. This is not particular to this article or to this type of discourse, however. Similar examples from other discourse genres also support such conclusion. Consider the following passage from a scholarly magazine (SA#5, p. 48),

- (53) *tamma taḥbiiqu ʔistimaaratu al-baḥḥi* (...) *taḥbiiqan fardiyyan*
 finish.Pf application questionnaire the-research in-a-way single
fii šakli istixbaar. wa QAD qum-naa... *wa QAD bada?-a...* *wa*
 in form inquiry. and QAD do.Pf-1p. and QAD start.Pf-3.s.m. and
QAD qum-naa... *wa QAD bada-a...*
QAD do.Pf.1p. and QAD seem-Pf.3.s.m

“The questionnaire was conducted on an individual basis in a form of inquiry. We did do... We did start... We did do... It did seem...”

In this passage, the author of the article, in which he deals with the classification of the events which trigger stress, outlines the methodology of the research he conducted. Although the whole passage consists of five sentences which all begin with a Perfect, four of these Perfects are preceded by the modal particle *QAD*. This is rather unusual, giving the “normal” distributional pattern of *QAD*. The empirical question is: why did the author choose in this particular paragraph to use *QAD*, while he did not use it in a similar way in summarizing his findings, for example, or in other contexts within the article? We believe that it is probably for the same reason as the use of *QAD* in the previous article, namely to demonstrate

the relevance and the salience of these major methodological steps. Such measures are indeed meant to boost the credibility of the author before the readers, hence the naturalness of foregrounding such methodological steps. This modal function, which is assertive in nature, seems to be central to the basic meaning of the verbal particle *QAD*. Further support for this conclusion comes from the frequent use of *QAD* in assertive contexts such as those in (54).

- (54) a **Laabudda** ʔanna šayʔan QAD hadaða wa manaʕa
 must that something QAD occur.Pf and prevent.Pf
 aš-šayxa min ʔitrnaami as-saždati.
 the-sheik from finishing the-prostration

“Something must have happened to prevent the Sheik from completing the prostration.” (SS#3)

- b **fa-ʔinna** kasba-hu (...) **QAD** taxallafa ʕan muwaazaati
 and-indeed earning-its (...) QAD fail.Pf about equivalence
 ðaalika al-mustawaa wa muwaafaati haažaati-hi ...
 that the-Ievel and fulfillment needs-its

“Its earnings have really dropped and could not keep up with that standard in order to fulfill its needs...” (it = the Islamic movement) (SA#2)

- c ... ʕafwu-ka yaa ʔilaahi-i... **fa-LA-QAD** ʔaxfaytu ʕank-a
 forgiveness-your oh God-my fa-LA-QAD hide.Pf from-you
 al-ħaqiiqata.
 the-truth

“Forgive me, God! I did conceal/**concealed** the truth from you.” (SS#3)

The examples in (54a), (54b), and (54c) contain modal elements such as *Laabudda* “certainly,” *ʔinna* “indeed,” and the assertive particle *LA-*. These elements express a certain degree of the authors’ commitment to the truth and certainty of the events involved. These contexts constitute a powerful trigger for the appearance of *QAD*, as illustrated earlier. Such results follow naturally only if the verbal particle *QAD* is analyzed as part of the modal system of MSA denoting assertive modality. Note that this is not particular to MSA. The English auxiliary *DO* and the French adverb *BIEN* share common features with *QAD*. This is illustrated in (55) and (56) respectively:

- (55) a Observers say Mr. Chirac **DOES indeed want** to deliver a knockout blow to Noir. (*The Christian Science Monitor*, Vol. 85, No. 76, p. 6, March 1993)

- b “Chirac **Ø** wants to kill [Noir] as a message against any more wavering in the ranks,” says one right wing senator. (same page/the following paragraph)
- (56) a *Jean a gagné le premier prix.*
 Jean has won the first prize.
 “Jean won the first prize.”
- b *Jean a BIEN gagné le premier prix.*
 Jean has BIEN won the first prize
 “Jean **did** win the first prize.”
- c *Les travaux ont BEL ET BIEN commencé* (underneath a picture of a man working) (*Tunis Hebdo* September 28, 1992, p. 5)
 “The work has **indeed** started.”
- d *Xenophobie pour les uns, racisme pour les autres. Peu importe le terme, le phénomène s’installe BEL ET BIEN dans toute l’Europe ou presque et prend des dimensions fort inquiétantes.*
 (*Tunis Hebdo* November 30, 1992, p. 1)
 “Xenophobia for some, racism for others. Irrespective of used terms, the phenomenon is **indeed** surfacing in all Europe or so and taking a quite alarming magnitude.”

In contradistinction to (55b) and (56a), both (55a) and (56b–d) contain the modal elements, *DOES/DID* and *BIEN/BEL ET BIEN* respectively. In these and other similar contexts, we propose that like the modal *QAD*, *DID* and *BIEN* signal an “Emphatic Affirmation,”¹⁸ and should therefore be incorporated into the modal system of both English and French (see also Aronson 1991: 113–19). Further examples (57) from Adamczewski (1991: 156–58) support our conclusion and demonstrate once again the parallelism between the function of both modals.¹⁹

- (57) a *Le Président Reagan a confirmé que des avions de l’US Air Force avaient BIEN abattu un avion de ligne iranien au-dessus du Golfe Persique.* (France Inter)
- b President Reagan confirmed in a press-conference that the US Air Force DID shoot down an Iranian liner.

The contexts in which *DID* and *BIEN* are used in both (57a) and (57b) are strikingly similar to those of *QAD* in (54a) and (54b). While there are several differences between each of these modal elements, however, we may note that their striking similarities are an indication of a common underlying principle by which they are governed. This principle is reminiscent of the speaker’s intention to foreground a particular event through the use of assertive modality. Let us now

examine the other terms of the triad, and here is an example which illustrates a typical Aspect–Tense distinction.

- (58) **kaana** aš-šawtu **QAD** **ʔistaħaala** ʔilaa ʕiṭrin nafaaðin ʔaliifin
 be.Pf the-voice QAD change.Pf to perfume penetrating intimate
 “The voice **had changed** into an intimate penetrating perfume.” (SS#3)

The use of the modal particle *QAD* between the auxiliary verb *kaana* “was” and the thematic verb *ʔistaħaala* “changed” in this and other similar cases calls for a principled explanation. In order to adequately discern its exact function in these contexts, it seems necessary to first analyze its frequency and the conditions of its use. In response to the first question and according to our corpus, it is indeed the case that the modal particle *QAD* tends quite often to occur inside the verbal complex, that is, between the auxiliary verb and the thematic verb,²⁰ as in (58) above. Similar examples are given here,

- (59) **Lam** **ʔakun** **QAD** **ʕaraftu** ʔanna al-ʕiffata muḩriyatun
 Neg be.Imp QAD know.Pf.1s that the-chastity tempting
 ʔilaa haaðaa al-ħaddi.
 till this the-limit

“**I had never realized** that chastity could provide such a temptation.”
 (SS#3)

- (60) ʔin **kaana** bašar-ii **QAD** **aaʕa**, fa-laaziltu ʔamtaliku
 if be.Pf sight-my QAD loose.Pf, so-still.Pf.1s own.Imp.1s
 aš-šawta wa al-ħunžurata.
 the-voice and the-throat

“If I **indeed** lost my sight, I would still have a voice left and a throat.”
 (SS#3)

- (61) wa ħabbaðaa **law** **kaana** **QAD** **baqaa** šayʔun mina al-faṭīirati...
 and luckily if be.Pf QAD remain.Pf something from the-pie
 “With luck **there might be** a piece of pie left over too...” (SS#5)

Although this tendency is quite noticeable, it is not absolute, contrary to widespread belief (e.g. Doss 1984: 362; Comrie 1991: 8; among others). In our corpus, there are 30 cases of compound tenses. Among these cases, 25 contain the modal particle *QAD*, yielding the verbal complex [kaan *QAD* Perfect] and 5 do not. Thus the frequency of the VP comprising the auxiliary and the main verb (i.e. [kaan Ø Perfect]) represents 20 percent of the total occurrences of such compound structures. Some examples are given in (62), (63), and (64).

- (62) wa yabduu ṭanna Bawčir lam **yakun Ø** **ṭittalaṭa** ṭalaa taṣriifi
 and seems that Boucher Neg be.Imp look.Pf at declaration
 (. . .) ṭahmad
 Ahmad

“It seems that Boucher did not look at Ahmad’s declaration.” (NA#3)

- (63) **kaanat** quraa ḥuduudiyya lubnaaniyya Ø **ṭinhaalat** ṭalay-haa
 be.Pf villages border Lebanese bombard.Pf on-them
 al-qaḏaaʔif fii al-ṭayyaarni al-ṭaxiirati
 the-rockets in the-days the-last

“Some border Lebanese villages have been heavily bombarded lately.”
 (NA#12)

- (64) **law kaana Ø maat-a**
 if be.Pf die.Pf.3.s.m
 “(what) if he had died” (SS#1)

The rare absence vs. the frequent presence of the modal particle *QAD* inside the verbal complex raises the following question: why would a writer or a speaker resort to using or not using the modal *QAD*? Previous analyses either neglected the possibility of not having *QAD* in similar contexts, given its modest frequency, and therefore equated the verbal complex [*kaana* + *QAD* + Perfect] with the English past perfect [had + Past Participle] (Al-Aswad 1983: 36; Comrie 1991: 8), or avoid discussing its use in this context (Fradkin 1985: 215–16; Sayed 1983: 150–54). We believe, however, that *QAD* maintains an invariant function throughout its various and varying uses.

***QAD* and invariance**

Although it has temporal, aspectual, and modal variants, we would like to suggest that the use of *QAD* invariantly asserts the occurrence of the verbal process, and as such, it is inherently assertorial. Now, if this is the correct characterization, how do the variants derive from our claimed invariant. First and foremost, it is easy to see that all uses of *QAD* in emphatic contexts, as discussed earlier, follow straightforwardly. Being assertorial, it is only consistent that *QAD* shows a strong compatibility with such cases where the enunciator intends to stress the validity of the predicative relation. The aspectual interpretation of *QAD* can be derived from its invariant assertive function. Similar to the English “have-en constructions,” which typically involve an accomplished event (past participle) evaluated with respect to the present time (*have*), and to the French *passé composé* “compound tense,” which through the use of the present of the auxiliary *avoir* “have” and the

past participle of the verb is able to convey the same information as the present perfect in English, the use of *QAD* in similar contexts can be argued to assume similar functions. In other words, emphasizing the very occurrence of the event can be reinterpreted as asserting its current relevance.²¹ In this sense, *QAD* seems to be establishing a relationship between an anterior and dimensionalized event and the present context. As such, it represents the present relevance of the verbal process (see also Waugh 1986 for an extensive discussion). In Culioli's terms, *QAD* signals an operation of differentiation in which the "event time" (T1) differs from the "point of view time" (T2) (reference time) (T1 ≠ T2). Most important, is the fact that the *mise en relation* interconnectedness of these two times expresses a certain evaluation of the verbal event with respect to the present reality of the enunciator/narrator.

In like fashion, the temporal interpretation of *QAD* whereby it signals immediate past, can be syncretically combined with the aspectual one, and one or the other is dominant in particular contexts. This means that current relevance can be inferred from immediate past when this latter is the dominant feature, and vice versa. Again, asserting the occurrence of the event in certain contexts is reinterpreted as emphasizing its immediacy, hence the temporal interpretation of *QAD*. As for the cases involving the use of *QAD* within the verbal complex, we believe that while the modal particle *QAD* retains its assertive function, the assertion itself has a wider scope over the aspectual-temporal properties of the event than just the event itself. That is, if the Perfect preceded by the auxiliary invariably expresses anteriority and dimensionalization, than it may be argued that *QAD* emphasizes these Taxis-Aspect properties of the verbal complex, namely the invariant features of the Perfect. This might be the reason for which several investigators would rather equate this construction with the past perfect in English or the pluperfect in French, neglecting therefore the possibility of the verbal complex without *QAD*. It goes without saying that the absence of *QAD* either signals the speaker's intention not to include, or to exclude, the corresponding features of *QAD* from that particular context or is more neutral neither assertion or non-assertion. The example in (62) for instance, where the verb of the matrix clause *yabduu* "it seems" is far from being assertive like *ʔakkada* "confirm/insist" illustrates the point in question, hence the naturalness of the absence of *QAD*.²²

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined the co-occurrence of *QAD* with the Perfect in MSA from the perspective of possible syntactic and semantico-pragmatic restrictions on the type of constructions in which it is involved. The data, based on authentic corpus, reveals that while the Compound Perfect ([*QAD* + Perfect]) occurs in various constructions, it remains a marked form when contrasted to the Simple Perfect. This is shown in Table 5.9:

Table 5.9 Frequency of the compound perfect

<i>Discourse genres</i>	<i>N [Ø Perfect]</i>	<i>N [QAD Perfect]</i>	<i>Total</i>
Journalistic	296	28	324
Academic	478	64	542
Fiction	806	49	855
Total	1580	141	1721
Frequency (%)	92	08	100

However, it is well integrated within the verbal system of MSA and therefore can not be treated as a marginal category. Furthermore, we have shown that *QAD* shares many features with ATM categories. Its invariant centers around assertive modality, and extends to embody some aspect–tense distinctions.

6

THE IMPERFECT, USE, AND INVARIANT MEANING

Introduction

In this chapter, we examine the second member of the morphological opposition in the verbal system in MSA, namely the Imperfect. Our investigation concentrates on its semantico-pragmatic and discourse properties in order to determine its invariant meaning through the basic components of which it is typically composed. We will therefore discuss its aspectual, temporal, and modal properties, through examining (i) the major temporal contexts in which it participates, and (ii) its status and representation within the Arabic verbal ATM system. Then, we will suggest an alternative analysis to those discussed in Chapter 3, and defend the nature of the invariant features which underlie the functioning of the two verbal forms, the Perfect and the Imperfect, the basic dichotomy of which the verbal system is composed.

The Imperfect and temporal relations

There are several ways to examine the semantico-pragmatic and discourse functions of a particular verbal form. If we have chosen to investigate these functions through examining the relations which the form establishes with temporality, it is for methodological and empirical reasons, as evidenced by the findings in the previous chapters. Moreover, we believe that, given the close ties which the verb has with evoking questions of a temporal nature, especially in simple verbal affirmative structures, it would be (more) accurate to examine the form from that particular angle. In what follows, we will therefore scan the various functions of the Imperfect according to its relation to present time, future time, gnomic time, and past time. Meanwhile, questions of a modal and aspectual nature will be addressed and partially discussed.¹

Present time reference

Unlike the Perfect, only some of the uses of which evolve around present time interpretations (see pp. 51–57), the Imperfect typically refers to present time events,

that is, processes which are simultaneous with the moment of enunciation. Consider the following examples:

- (1) a **maaḏaa tafʿalu** yaa nabiil?
 what do.Imp.2s.m Voc.Part. Nabil
 “Nabil, what are you doing?”
- b **ʔatahaddaθu** maʿa ṣadiiq-ii
 talk.Imp.1.s with friend-my
 “I am talking with my friend.”
- (2) a **yataqaddam... yataqaddam... wa yaqōif... wa hadaf!**
 advance.Imp... advance.Imp and shoot.Imp. and goal
 “He advances... advances... he shoots... goal!”
- b **taḏaʿu** al-laḥma... θumma **taḏaʿu** al-xuḏara...
 put.Imp.2.s.m the-meat... then put.Imp.2.s.m the-vegetables.
 “You put the meat, then you put the vegetables...”
- (3) a **ʔuʿlinuku-maa** zawʒun wa zawʒatun
 declare.Imp.1.s-you.dual husband and wife
 “I declare you husband and wife.”
- b **ʔarfudu** haaḏaa as-suluuka
 disapprove.Imp.1.s this the-behavior
 “I object to this behavior.”

Although the examples in (1), (2), and (3) represent different types of enunciations, they all make use of the same verbal form, the Imperfect. This is indicative of the compatibility of this verbal form with these three types of enunciations. The examples in (1), for example, describe a dialogue between the mother and her son Nabil. The mother is inside the house, but is wondering why her son has not entered yet. The use of the Imperfect in her question *maaḏa tafʿalu...* “what are you doing...” (1a), has an identificational value between the moment of enunciation (T_0) and the moment of the event (T_1). That is, the relationship between the subject *nabiil* “Nabil” and the predicate *yafʿalu-šayʔan* “doing-something” is evaluated as simultaneous with the situation of enunciation. Nabil’s response, as in (1b), accords well with the mother’s intentions, namely her concern about the present situation. Thus, the use of the Imperfect in (1b) ensures the felicity and the well-formedness of his utterance. This is achieved through the identificational value between the moment of enunciation and the moment of the event which the Imperfect expresses. The enunciator *nabiil* actualizes in his present time the predicative relation (*ʔanaa*)/*ʔatahaddaθu-maʿa-ṣadiiqii* “(I)/speaking-with-my-friend.” It might be said, therefore, that the Imperfect has the value of *actualizing* the predicative relation, along with that of *identification* between the moment of

enunciation and the moment of the event. In Monville-Burston and Waugh terms (see 1991), the Imperfect expresses the “present present” (PrPr), that is synchronicity between the verbal process and “now,” the deictic zero point. Metaphorically, if we represent the event by an interval, its right boundary should be open, and the process is evaluated as not having come to its end (non-accomplished), while the left boundary is indifferent.² This is represented in (4):

- (4) _____]-----[_____ (T₀ = T₁)
 ← T₁ → (verbal process)
 ← T₀ → (enunciative process)

Similar uses of the Imperfect are most often triggered by the situation of enunciation, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (5) ʔunḍur! ʔazaalatun taʕburu aṭ-ṭariiqa
 look deer cross.Imp.3.s.f the-road
 “Look! A deer is crossing the road!”
- (6) ʔaḥmil saḥaabata-ka; al-mataru yanzilu bi-ʔazaaratin
 take umbrella-your the-rain fall.Imp.3.s.m with-heavily
 “Take your umbrella; it is raining very hard.”

In both (5) and (6), the use of the Imperfects *taʕburu* “crossing” and *yanzilu* “raining” is triggered by characteristics of the situation of enunciation. This latter indicates that the predicative relation has already been evaluated by the enunciator. For example, in (5), *ʔunḍur* “look” is the trace of that evaluation.

Accordingly, it can be argued that the Imperfect has an anaphoric value, as it is used to describe situations which were already observed by the enunciator at some prior moment. The predicative relation is presupposed, and its status is therefore thematic (Adamczewski 1982a: 64).³ Similar to the examples in (1), the enunciator in (5) and (6) actualizes in his present time the predicative relation. In contradistinction to the Perfect, the process is evaluated as non-anterior to the moment of enunciation, but simultaneous with it, hence the sense effect of progressivity and non-completeness.

Another use of the Imperfect which is bound up with the question of present time interpretation is observed among the speech of reporters, and demonstrators as illustrated in (2a) and (2b) respectively. In (2a), the football game reporter describes the actions of the players as they are performed. Thus, while the player is advancing *yataqaddam* with the ball, the reporter is describing his action. The aim is to faithfully represent what is happening during the game, the extralinguistic world, for those who are sitting next to their radios so that they can reconstruct the events in as lively a manner as possible. It is important to note, however, that unlike its use in (1), the Imperfect in these contexts represents more the

occurrence of the event than its temporal interpretation. In other words, although the moment of enunciation is simultaneous with the moment of the event, the focus is more oriented towards the event itself. Bouscaren and Chuquet (1987: 12) suggest that the Imperfect has an “eventive value” (*valeur d'évènement*) in such cases. Indeed, this value is more transparent in *yaqðif* “kicks” where the Imperfect can not be represented by an interval with boundaries. This is due to the punctual characteristic of the action.

A similar account can be given for (2b) where the demonstrator, as he/she appears on TV, or other places, addresses an audience while performing the actual actions and demonstrating the various steps of a recipe. The focus of the Imperfect is again on the event itself rather than its temporal properties. It should be stressed, however, that both the identification and the actualization values of the Imperfect, as noticed earlier, are present, but their relevance is reduced to a certain minimum. The enunciator focuses more on the validation of the predicative relation. The English translation lends significant support to the analysis advanced earlier, as indicated by the use of the present tense instead of the present progressive, especially with verbs such as *advance* which admit a progressive interpretation.

Another example is given in (7) where the description of the Queen’s walking to the throne is rendered by the simple present.

- (7) And now the Queen **walks** to the throne ...
(Adamczewski 1982a: 44)

Likewise, French soccer reporters quite often describe a kick in soccer through the use of a noun phrase, as illustrated in (8):

- (8) *Coup de pied de Rocheteau*
Kick of foot of Rocheteau
“Rocheteau kicks the ball.”
(Bouscaren and Chuquet 1987: 13)

The examples in (8), (7), and (2) illustrate a specific use of the Imperfect, which, although describes a situation simultaneous with the moment of enunciation, relates to the occurrence of the event, hence its “eventive value” (see also Benmamoun 2000: 6; Al-Mansouri 2002: 37). As for the examples in (3), they are generally called performatives, that is language acts, which are performed by virtue of the sentence having been uttered. In (3a), for example, the man and the woman became husband and wife as the *sheick* “priest” declares it, using the performative verb *ʔuʕlinu* “declare.” In like fashion, the enunciator announces his resentment and rejection of a particular behavior, as he expresses his disapproval through the verb *ʔarfuðu* “disapprove/reject.” A full discussion of the semantic properties of performatives is above the scope of the present work. It should be stressed, however, that (i) their close ties with the moment of enunciation is inherent to their contextual use, and (ii), similar to its use in (2), the Imperfect is more oriented towards the event or the process in question than to temporality. In (3a)

it is the marriage declaration itself which is at stake, and so is the disapproval in (3b). Thus, even though performatives constitute a separate type of enunciation than demonstrations and reporting, the use of the Imperfect with either type shows that they share certain features. Indeed, in both cases, the enunciator aims at validating the predicative relation at the moment of enunciation, with a particular emphasis on the occurrence of the event. Thus, notions such as progressiveness, incompleteness, and durativity are not relevant in these cases. Metaphorically, one might represent the event as it is expressed by the Imperfect in examples (2), (3), and the like, with no internal structure, that is the lack of the interval altogether, as represented by the vertical line in (9) here.

- (9) ---|--- ($T_0 = T_1$)
 <-- T_1 --> (verbal process)
 <-- T_0 --> (enunciative process)

In what follows, we will examine another set of cases where the Imperfect is used for habitual, generic, and atemporal processes. We will use the term Gnomic to refer to all such cases, since any potential distinction between them is not pertinent in Arabic.

Gnomic interpretation

Consider the following examples:

- (10) a $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}indamaa}$ **yartakibu** $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}afadun}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}muxaalafatan}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}li-l-qaanuuni}$
 when commit.Imp.3.s.m someone violation to-the-law
 $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}fa-min}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}waa\textasciixchar{2018}zi}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}as-sulu\textasciixchar{2018}taati}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}al-qab\textasciixchar{2018}da}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}alay-hi}$
 so-from duty the-authorities the-catching on-him
 “When someone **commits** a violation, it is the duty of the authorities to catch him.” (NA#3)
- b $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}wa}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}allaqat}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}a\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}fa\textasciixchar{2018}hifatu}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}alaa}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}al-\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}adadi}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}al-\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}i\textasciixchar{2018}zmaali}$
 and comment.Pf the-paper on the-number the-total
 $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}bi-\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}anna-hu}$ **yusaawii** $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}adada}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}al-muhaa\textasciixchar{2018}ziiriina}$
 with-that-it equals.Imp number the-immigrants
 $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}al-qaadimiina}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}iwaala}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}aami}$ 1988.
 the-coming during year 1988
 “The paper made a comment about the number of immigrants, stating that it **equals** the number of new immigrants during 1988.” (SA#4)
- c $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}at-ta\textasciixchar{2018}yiiru}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}al-\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}adaariyyu}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}huwa}$ $\text{\textasciixchar{2018}\textasciixchar{2018}amaliyyatun}$
 the-change the-civilizational it process

tabiiyyatun **taxdaʻu** li-šuruuṭin taariixiyatin.
 natural observe.Imp to-constraints historical

“A civilizational change is a natural process which **is subject to** historical constraints.” (SA#3)

d **yamiilu** at-tafkiiru baaliban ʔilaa at-tabsiṭi wa
 tend.Imp the-thinking usually to the-simplification and
 at-taḡmiimi wa ʔistiʔaarati huluuli al-maaḡi li-mašaakili
 the-generalization and borrowing solutions the-past to-problems
 al-haaḡiri wa al-mustaqbali.
 the-present and the-future

“Thinking generally **tends** to oversimplify, overgeneralize, and adopt previous solutions to current and future problems.” (SA#1)

e wa liḡaa fa-ʔinna aš-šaḡša allaḡi **yattaḡifu**
 and therefore so-ʔINNA the-person who characterize.Imp
 bi-ʔinxifaaḡi al-muruunati huwa aš-šaḡsu allaḡi
 with-decrease the-flexibility he the-person who

yaʔzizu ʔani at-takayyufi ʔaw at-tawaafuqi maḡa
 incapacitate.Imp from the-integration or the-conformity with
 al-mawaaḡifi al-ʔiḡtimaaʔiyyati.
 the-situations the-social

“Therefore, the person who **lacks** flexibility is the one who **fails** to adapt to or to cope with social situations.” (SA#5)

f fii aḡ-ḡalaami **taḡmaa** al-ḡuyuuṇu
 in the-dark blind.Imp.3.s.f the-eyes
 “In the dark, eyes can’t see.” (SS#1)

g kullu laylatin **ʔaḡḡanu**
 every night concede.Imp.l.s
 “I concede (voluntarily) every night.” (SS#3)

The examples in (10) make use of the Imperfect to describe a broad range of situations from various discourse genres. Despite their contextual differences, however, we would like to suggest that they not only share the use of the Imperfect, but also its basic value which bears on the semantic interpretation of the sentence. The fundamental value of the Imperfect, we propose, relates to the enunciator’s perception of the predicative relation. This latter is presented as independent of any particular point of view, that is, the verbal event is not relative to any particular enunciative situation.⁴ In (10a) for example, the use of the Imperfect does not relate to any particular situation, that is, it is neither evaluated

with respect to the moment of enunciation nor with respect to any other moment. The presence of *ʕindamaa* “when,” interpreted here as “whenever,” at the beginning of the sentence, illustrates this type of detachment, and as such it is reanalyzed as a surface trace of the Imperfect’s gnomic value. This value is further illustrated by the example in (10b), where the Imperfect is used to simply establish an equivalence between two elements, that is, numbers. In fact, the Imperfect verb *yusaawii* “equals,” is typically used in Mathematics/Calculus for equations. As such, it is represented by the symbol (=), as illustrated in the following examples:

- (11) a 1 + 1 = 2
 waahid wa waahid **yusaawii** ʔiθnaani
 one plus one **equal.Imp** two
 “One plus one equals two.”
- b X = 5
 iks **yusaawii** xamsatun
 X **equal.Imp.** five
 “X equals five.”

Thus, the examples in (10b) and (11) clearly show the correlation between the use of the Imperfect and the necessary lack of any particular point of view, given the irrelevance of this latter. These cases and others are generally referred to as general truths, for which English and French use the present tense. This is illustrated in (12) and (13) respectively:

- (12) a The sun **rises** in the East
 b oil **floats** on water
 c Dogs bark
- (13) a *La terre est ronde*
 “The earth is round.”
- b *L “huile flotte sur l”eau*
 “Oil floats on water.”
- c Un plus un **egalent** deux
 “One plus one equals two.”

The gnomic value of the Imperfect is similarly attested in a large number of Arabic proverbs.⁵ This is shown in (14).

- (14) a al-ʕaaqu **yaʕluu** wa laa **yuʕlaa** ʕalay-hi
 the-truth rise.Imp and not rise.Imp.Passive above-it
 “The truth prevails and nothing overcomes it.”

- b man **yufhibbu** laa **yaʕrifu** al-kurha
 whoever love.Imp.3.s.m not know.Imp.3.s.m the-hate
 “If you love you can not hate.”

All of the aforesaid cases share the common feature of being independent of any point of view. That is, the validation of the predicative relation does not relate to any particular moment of enunciation from which utterances are generally evaluated. Moreover, the role of the enunciator in these cases is certainly reduced to zero, that is, to a non-quantifiable level. The same analysis advanced above applies to the examples in (10c–g).

Similar to the aforesaid cases, which characterize the general and the non-restricted character of the verbal event with respect to any temporal anchor, whether it be in a generic or habitual manner, the Imperfect is used to characterize the grammatical subject. Such cases are given in (15):

- (15) a wa an-nufuuðu al-ʔiiraanii ʔaqwaa maa yakuunu fii
 and the-influence the-Iranian stronger what be.Imp in
 taaʒikstaan allatii **tatahaddaðu** al-faarisiyyata...
 Tajikistan that speak.Imp the-persian
 “Iranian influence is most observed in Tajikistan which **speaks** Persian.” (NA#1)
- b wa maa raʔyu-ka fii al-kutubi allatii **tastawfiu**
 and what opinion-your in the-books which inspire.Imp
 taʒaariba al-waaqiʕi
 experiences the-reality
 “And what do you think of books which **derive** their inspiration from genuine experiences.” (SS#5)
- c hum allaðiina **yamlikuuna** niʕmata al-yaqiini
 they who possess.Imp blessing the-certainty
 “It is they who **possess** the blessing of certainty.” (SS#1)
- d wa al-ʔatqiyaaʔu tamaaman **yufaddiluuna** ʒaamaʕa
 and the-devouts fully prefer.Imp mosque
 al-Azhari al-qariibi.
 the-Azhar the-nearby
 “The devout believers **prefer** to go to the nearby Al-Azhar Mosque.” (SS#3)
- e fa-l-ʔiwaaru laa **yaʕtarifu** at-tamaahii wa ʔinnamaa
 so-the-discussion Neg necessitate.Imp the-agreement and but
yaquumu ʕalaa ʔardiyyati al-xilaafi. wa laakin laysa
 revolve.Imp on background the-difference. and but Neg

li-yuwassiŋa hawiyyata-haa wa ŋinnamaa **li-yabŋaθa**
 to-increase sphere-its and but to-search.Imp
 duuna-haa ŋammaa **yaŋmaŋu** wa **yuwafŋidu**.
 without-it about assemble.Imp and unify.Imp

“A debate **does not stipulate** agreement. On the contrary, it is **based on** disagreement. However, the intention is not **to widen** its sphere, but **to search** for whatever **assembles** and **unifies**.” (SA#1)

f xaaʔifun ʔanaa. ʔanaa xaaʔifun. laa mina aš-šayṭaani
 scared I. I scared. not from the-devil

xaaʔifun... min nafs-ii **ʔaxaafu**
 scared... from self-my fear.Imp.1.s

“scared I am... scared **I** am... not from the devil I am scared... **I fear** myself.” (SS#3)

As one reads the set of examples in (15a–f), one immediately realizes the extent to which actual use of verbal forms goes beyond temporality, resisting therefore, operator-type analyses (Enç 1986 among others), Reichenbachan and neo-Reichenbachan models, and the like.⁶ What the Imperfect denotes in this particular context is basically an inherent property or properties of the grammatical subject, where time is irrelevant (Monville-Burston and Waugh 1991: 88; Benmamoun 2000: 6; Al-Mansouri 2002: 37 among others). In (15a), it is the language which the residents of Tajikistan speak; in (15b), it is the property of particular books; in (15c–d) the property of a particular people; and in (15e) it is the definition of *al-fiwaar* “the debate” which the enunciator outlines. Note that none of these examples is presented relative to any particular enunciative situation. The enunciator presents the event as if it were classified in a catalogue or an encyclopedia whose objective is to define and present the inherent characteristics of linguistic elements. The absence of a particular point of view characterizes the use of the Imperfect in these and similar contexts, as further illustrated here:

- (16) a maaḏaa **taštaʔilu?**
 what work.Imp.2.s.m
 “What do you do?”
- b **ʔudarrisu**
 teach.Imp.1.s
 “I teach.”
- c ʔanaa mudarrisun
I teacher
 “I (am) a teacher.”

The example in (16a) is a typical question when inquiring about the profession of any individual. The use of the bare Imperfect, with no further temporal adverbs of

any sort, indicates the irrelevance of temporal distinctions given the subject-oriented nature of the utterance. The coenunciator's answer in (16b) denotes the type of professional activity in which he is involved. The use of the Imperfect *ʔudarrisu* "I teach" reveals not only the type of activity, but also one of his defining properties. This latter is not only evaluated as being simultaneous with the moment of enunciation, or indicating undifferentiated moments of a state (Smith 1983: 490), but also as denoting an inherent property of the coenunciator. This is further supported by the availability of (16c) which represents the value of the Imperfect in such contexts. In other words, the property that is attributed to the coenunciator *mudarrisun* "teacher" appears outside of any temporal locator, as indicated by the total absence of any realized verbal or temporal element in the utterance.⁷ It should be stressed that even though the implication is, "this is valid of me now," the enunciator places no emphasis on the actual validity of the utterance, hence the irrelevance of that particular factor. We, therefore, interpret the absence of the copula in Arabic as direct evidence for the analysis advanced for the Imperfect. A similar case is noted in (15f) where the enunciator uses both the Imperfect and the active participle to describe and characterize himself "fearing himself."

In sum, whether the Imperfect denotes a general truth, a definition, a habitual action, or a property of the grammatical subject, it should be stressed that the gnomic interpretation results from its value of being capable of encoding events with respect to no particular point of view. In what follows, we will investigate the use of the Imperfect in other contexts where it receives a future time interpretation.

Futurity and modality

Unlike the past and the present time interpretation, whose realization is typically ensured by the Perfect and the Imperfect respectively, future time is generally expressed through modal elements, such as *sawfa* "will" and its elided prefixal form *sa-* "will". Although this similarity with English might be coincidental, it indicates at least the independent status of the future expression. The peculiar properties of future time follow from its predictive nature. As such, it differs from both the present and the past, as it belongs to a different operative domain, namely non-certainty. In Arabic, the future interpretation does not always require the presence of the modal particles *sawfa* and *sa-*, however. In this section, we will show that the Imperfect receives similar interpretations in various contexts involving future time. In order to conduct a deeper investigation, we would like to digress and present first an analysis of the modal particles which are typically used to denote future time.

The modal particles sawfa/sa-

Consider the contrast between (17) and (18):

- (17) a ʔafmad, maaḏaa **tafʕalu**
 Ahmad, what do.Imp.2.s.m
 "Ahmad, what are you doing?"

- b **ʔaktubu** dars-ii
 write.Imp.1.s lesson-my
 “I am writing my lesson.”
- (18) a **ʔahmad**, maaḏaa **sa-tafʔalu**
 Ahmad, what will-do.Imp.2.s.m
 “Ahmad, what are you going to do?”
- b **sawfa/sa-ʔaktubu** dars-ii
 will/'ll-write.Imp.1.s lesson-my
 “I will write my lesson.”

The difference between the examples in (17) and those in (18) resides in the different types of relationships which exist between the enunciators and the predicative relations. In other words, while the relationship between the subject Ahmad and the predicate *ʔaktubu darsii* “write my lesson,” for example, is validated with respect to the moment of enunciation in (17b), it is only intended to occur in (18b). This intention follows from the use of *sawfa/sa-*, which expresses Ahmad’s will to validate the predicative relation, namely “write his lesson.” The future time interpretation in (18b) results from the interaction between the intentional and predictive value of the modal *sawfa/sa-* and the moment of enunciation. The modal value of this latter derives therefore from the scope it has over the realization of the predicative relation. As such, both *sawfa* and *sa-* are analyzed similar to the modal *QAD* “may/might” which also bears on the possible realization of the predicative relation.⁸ The questions in both (17a) and (18a) are analyzed along the same line as the answers in (17b) and (18b), with an additional modal feature, namely the interrogation which denotes the lack of (taking) a stand with respect to the predicative relation.

In order to identify the salience of the modal *sawfa* as a grammatical category, one should not only investigate its semantico-pragmatic functions, but also define its place within the system of which it is a part. Having already suggested a characterization of the value of *sawfa*, at least two empirical questions remain unanswered: first, to what extent its presence is obligatory, and second, whether there is a semantic difference between *sawfa* and the elided form *sa-*. As for the first question, a consideration of certain cases largely comparable to the examples in (17) and (18) provides evidence for a rule-governed approach to the use of *sawfa*. This use appears to be either obligatory, optional, or illicit. An exhaustive investigation is certainly needed to isolate the various contexts in which *sawfa* appears and those in which it does not, and to determine the basic governing factors. An attempt to provide an answer is made here on the basis of both our data and our strong intuitions about the use of *sawfa*.

Consider the examples in (19) and (20):

- (19) a **ʔahmad**, maaḏaa **tafʔalu**
 Ahmad, what do.Imp.
 “Ahmad, what are you doing?”

- b (***sawfa**) **ʔaktubu** dars-ii
 (*will) write.Imp lesson-my
 “I (*will) am writing my lesson.”
- (20) a **ʔahmad**, **maaḏaa** **sa-tafʕalu**
 Ahmad, what will-do.Imp
 “Ahmad, what are you going to do?”
- b *(**sawfa/sa-**) **ʔaktubu** dars-ii
 *(will/’11-) write.Imp lesson-my
 “I *(will) write my lesson.”

The contrast between the cases in (19) and those in (20) shows that while the presence of *sawfa* is not tolerated in (19b), it is obligatory in (20b). Given the discourse context in both (19) and (20), which is a dialogue involving both participants (the enunciator and the coenunciator), one can argue that the constraints on the presence of *sawfa* follow from a violation of the felicity conditions for both (19b) and (20b). The fact that this contrast relates entirely to the occurrence of the modal *sawfa* provides strong evidence for its salient role. It is yet to be determined whether these constraints relate to the expression of future time or depend largely on the context. In other words, is it possible to express future time without resorting to using the modal *sawfa*, and if so, what are the basic factors? In developing an answer to the questions in the aforesaid examples, let us first examine the examples in (21):

- (21) a wa **sa-tabdaʕu** biiruu *fii al-waqti* *ar-raahini*
 and will-start Peru *in the-period* *the-current*
 mubaaḏaḥaatin mutaʕalliqaatin bi-masʕalati al-mutaʕaxxiraati
 discussions concerning with-problem the-delays
 al-mustafaqqati wa allatii tabluḥu 6.6 miilyaar duulaar
 the-demanded and that amount.Imp 6.6 billion dollars
 li-fatrati ḥamaani sanawaatin.
 to-period eight years
 “Peru **will start** *during this period* discussions relative to the late 6.6 billion dollar payments in eight years.” (NA#8)
- b wa **(Ø)yabdaʕu** al-barlamaanu bafḥa-haa *fii ʔuktuubar*
 and start.Imp the-parliament discussing-it *in October*
al-qaadima wasaṭa tawaquʕaatin bi-ʔidxaali
the-coming within predictions with-introducing
 taʕdiilaatin ʕalay-haa.
 amendments on-it
 “The Parliament (**will**) **start** examining it *next October* under some possible predictions of amending it.” (NA#9)

The examples in both (21a) and (21b) are very compelling, as they show a rather surprising asymmetry, as indicated by the use of *sa-* in (21a) and its absence in (21b). What seems to be puzzling in the aforesaid examples is the apparently uneven distribution of the temporal expressions. At first sight, one might think that the temporal *fii ʔuktuubar al-qaadima* “next October,” should co-occur with the Imperfect preceded by *sa-* in (21b), while the one in (21a) *fii al-waqti ar-raahini* “during this period” makes a better fit with the Imperfect in (21b). The question which immediately arises is why the enunciator did not use the modal *sa-* in (21b), where the sentence shows a clear future time reference, while it appears in (21a) where the future time interpretation is less straightforward. Two possible answers can be suggested. The first would claim that the use of the modal *sa-* is free, and the enunciator can either use it or just ignore it, hence (21a) and (21b) respectively. As for the second hypothesis, it argues that the presence of the temporal expression *fii ʔuktuubar al-qaadima* “next October” in (21b) is sufficient to express future time, while the presence of *sa-* in (21a) results from the lack of clear future time reference. While both hypotheses account for the contrast observed in (21), the first one fails to account for the contrast between (19b) and (20b) where the use of *sa-* is not free, and therefore should be rejected on empirical grounds. As for the second hypothesis, it requires careful examination, as it relates the appearance of *sa-* to some contextual governing principles.

In order to determine these principles, we have scanned many future time contexts and focused on those cases which contain the modal *sa-*, on the one hand, and those which exclude it, on the other hand. A representative set of examples is given in (22) and (23) respectively:

- (22) a kaanat tuʔminu tamaaman ʔanna-haa yawman maa
 be.Pf believeImp strongly that-her day what
sa-tuʂbifu sittu as-sittaati, wa **sa-yasʒudu** la-haa
 will-become.Imp lady the-ladies, and will-bow.Imp to-her
 al-ʕaalama... wa takuunu ʔaʕhara wa
 the-world and be.Imp more. famous and
 ʔamtaʕa ʔimraʔatin fii-hi.
 satisfied lady in-it.

“She used to *deeply* believe that *one day* she **will become** the first lady, the whole world **will bow** before her, and she will be the most famous and satisfied lady.” (SS#3)

- b Lan yaqdima ʕalaa haaðihi al-muxaaʕarati? Pillaa fii ʔaaxiri
 Neg take.Imp on these the-risks until in last
 laħɖatin: fii aθ-θaaniiyati allatii yataʔakkadu fii-haa mill
 moment in the-second which make.sure.Imp in-it from

ʔanna-hum **sa-yarawna-hu!**
that-them will-see.Imp-him

“He will not take this risk *until the last second*: the moment when he is *sure* they **will see** him.” (SS#5)

- c thumma *ʔakkada* ʔanna al-mutawaqqaʔa wuʕuulu-hum
than confirm.Imp that the-expected arrival-their
sa-yablugu 100.000 faqat
will-be.Imp 100.000 only

“then, he *confirmed* that the number of those expected to come **will reach** 100.000 only.” (SA#4)

- d wa maa daama mahruuman min-hu fa-**sa-yaɗallu**
and what last.Pf deprived from-it so-will-remain.Imp
mahruuman mina al-yaqiini... (-hu = vision)
deprived from the-certainty

“And as long as he is deprived of it (his sight), he **will remain** deprived of faith...” (SS# 1)

- (23) a qaala šeifer ʔanna al-masʔuuliina al-ʔiiraaniyyiina
say.Pf Sheifer that the-delegates the-iranians

yatafaawaɗuuna li-širaaʔi xamsa ɓawwaaɕaatin
negotiate.Imp to-bying five submarines

ɕaɕiiratin li-taʔmala ʔilaa ʒaanibi ɓawwaaɕatayni
small to-work.Imp to next submarines

(Ø) **tatasallamu-haa** ʔiiraan min muuskuu *fii waqtin*
receive.Imp-it Iran from Moscow *in time*

laaʔhiqin mina al-ʕaami al-ʔalii.
coming from the-year the-current

“Sheifer said that the Iranian delegates are negotiating the purchase of five small submarines to operate next to two submarines which Iran **(will) receive** from Moscow *soon this year*.” (NA#1)

- b wa ɓadan (Ø) **taʒoibu** aɗ-ɗaʔakaatu ar-riɕaala.
and *tomorrow* attract.Imp the-laughs the-men
“and *tomorrow*, the laughs (will) attract men.” (SS#1)

- c ɓadan (Ø) **yaʒiiʔu** ar-riɕaalu wa (Ø) **yafillu** al-ʕirsaanu.
tomorrow come.Imp the-men and appear the-grooms
“*Tomorrow* men (will) come, and grooms **(will) settle in**.” (SS#1)

d wa (Ø) **tastaʔnifu** muhaadaθaati as-salaami al-ʕarabiyati
 and resume.Imp talks the-peace the-Arab
 al-ʕisraaʔiiliyyati fii waaʕinton *al-ʔusbuuʕa* *al-muqbila.*
 the-Israeli in Washington *the-week* *the-coming*

“The Arab-Israeli peace talks in Washington (**will**) **resume** *next week*.”
 (NA#3)

Looking carefully at the examples in both (22) and (23), one notices a clear correlation between the presence of *sa-* and the lack of “conspicuous” future time reference on the one hand, and its absence and the presence of future time adverbials, such as *ʕadan* “tomorrow” in both (23b) and (23c), on the other hand. One might therefore be tempted to suggest the following governing principle (24) to capture the use of the modal *sa-*:

(24) The more future time is lexically specified in the clause, the less likely the modal *sa-* is used, and vice versa.

The principle in (24) would adequately account for the complementary distribution between the use of *sa-* and the temporal adverbs, as observed in (22) and (23). Moreover, the ungrammaticality of (20b) can be shown to follow from the aforesaid principle, as the presence of *sa-* is required when temporal adverbs are missing. This complementary distribution is not particular to Arabic, and is also observed in other languages.⁹ In fact, Comrie (1985: 50–51) notes a more rigid complementary distribution between tense and time adverbials in Jamaican Creole, where the presence of the past morpheme *en* is highly questionable when the past temporal adverb *yeseide* “yesterday” is inserted. This is illustrated in (25):

(25) a mi en a sing
 I past progressive sing
 “I was singing.”
 b ?*yeseide mi en a sing
 yesterday I past progressive sing

This line of analysis would certainly be promising if the modal *sa-* were a pure temporal marker, with no other modal function. Indeed, when a broader range of cases is closely examined, the results show that the future time interpretation of *sa-* derives from its general value, which is based upon the enunciator’s beliefs, predictions, intentions or factual statements. In fact, the examples under (22) involve a strong presence of one of these modal elements in each example: a strong belief in (22a), a certainty in (22b), a confirmation in (22c), and a logical entailment in (22d). More examples which illustrate the modal interpretation of *sa-* are given under (26).

- (26) a wa yuđiifu al-masʔuulu ʔanna miθla haađihi al-žuhuudi
 and add.Imp the-official that like these the-efforts
- law* qaama bi-haa al-banku ad-dawlii fa-ʔinna đaa lika
 if do.Pf with-it the-bank the-world so-ʔINNA that
- sawfa** **yufassinu** min šuurati-hi al-ʕaalamiiyyati wa
 will improve.Imp from picture-its the-international and
- xaaşşatan fii duwali al-ʕaalami aθ-θaaliθi, wa yastadriku
 especially in countries the-world the-third, and digress.Imp
- qaaʔilan ʔinna-hu mina al-muʔakkadi ʔin ʕaaʔilan ʔaw
 saying ʔINNA-it from the-certain whether sooner or
- ʔaaʔilan **fa-sawfaa** **takuunu** miθla haađihi al-mahaammi
 later so-will be.Imp like these the-issues
- maṭruufhatan ʕalaa raʔiisi al-banki ad-dawlii.
 facing on president the-bank the-world
- “The official adds that if the World Bank makes similar efforts, it **will improve** its international image especially before Third World countries. He then digresses saying that, sooner or later, such concerns **will** for sure **be** a subject matter for the President of the World Bank.” (NA#10)
- b wa hasba ʔaqaali “raayx” fa-ʔinna ađ-đawʔa
 and according declarations “Reich” so-ʔINNA the-pressure
- sa-yatazaayadu** ʕalaa ʔaʕđaaʔi al-kuungriis al-ʔamriiki
 will-increase.Imp on members the-congress the-American
- kullamaa* ʔintaşarat fii al-wilaayaati al-muttafiiidati fikratu
 whenever spread.Imp in the-states the-united idea
- ʔanna ʔisraaʔiila bayru muhayyaʔatin li-muwaazahati
 that Israel not ready to-face
- ʔistiʕaabi al-hižrati mina al-ʔittifaadi as-suvyaatiyyi.
 accommodating the-immigration from the-united the-Soviet
- “According to Reich, the pressure on the members of the Congress in the United States **will increase** whenever the idea that Israel is not ready to accommodate the Soviet immigrants spreads out.” (SA#4)
- c wa ʔadaafa “ʔinna-naa **sa-nuʔaalibu** al-ʔixwata al-ʕaraba
 and add.Pf ʔINNA-us will-demand.Imp the-brothers the-Arab
- bi-al-wafaaʔi bi-ltizaamaati-him allatii ʕuqidat fii
 with-the-keeping with-promises-their which occur.Pf.Passive in

qimmatu tunis”...
 summit Tunis ...

“He added ‘we **will ask** the Arab brothers to keep their promises made during the summit in Tunis.’” (NA#2)

In (26a), for example, the modal *sawfa* appears within the conditional construction *law* “if,” in (26b) it has a habitual interpretation, as in the English *would*, and finally in (26c) it has a performative interpretation, which is the same as in the present tense in English.¹⁰

Before closing this digression, we would like to stress, with respect to the second question we addressed at the very beginning of this section, that the semantico-pragmatic differences between the use of *sa-* and *sawfa* involve the enunciator’s degree of commitment to his utterance. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (27) a A: **sa-**ʔusaafiru ʔilaa miʃr
 will-travel.Imp.ls to Egypt
 “I’ll go to Egypt.”
- b B: maaḏaa taqul?
 what say.Imp.2s.m
 “What are you saying?”
- c A: **sawfa** ʔusaafiru ʔilaa miʃr
 will travel.Imp.ls to Egypt
 “I **WILL** go to Egypt.”

The conversation between A and B in (27) presents a particular context which clearly indicates the nature of the difference which governs the use of each modal form. Since the coenunciator (B) does not understand the decision made by the enunciator (A), this latter resorts to using the modal *sawfa* to show his greater/stronger commitment to going to Egypt. We contend that the use of the elided form *sa-* is TO INFORM, while the use of *sawfa* is TO CONFIRM. Accordingly, the elided form behaves as a weaker form of the modal *sawfa*. If this is the correct characterization of the difference between both forms, it follows that *sawfa* will only appear in specific and highly marked contexts, and its frequency should not therefore be higher than the elided form *sa-*. This conclusion is born out, as illustrated in Table 6.1 where *sawfa* shows a very low frequency of six percent compared to its counterpart *sa-* with 94 percent. Table 6.1 summarizes the frequencies relative to the three different discourse genres, while *sa-* (6%), when compared to *sa-* (94%).

The very fact that the frequency of the elided form is much higher than the regular form might be an indication of its unmarked status, which might explain, among other things, why unlike *sa-*, the appearance of *sawfa* is banned in certain syntactic contexts, for example, the compound tense constructions, as illustrated in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 The distribution and frequency of *sawfa/sa-*

Discourse genres	N = 6 (sawfa)	%	N = 106 (sa-)	%
Journalistic	3	50	45	42.45
Academic	2	33.33	31	29.25
Fiction	1	16.66	30	28.30

- (28) a Kaana **sa**-yusaafiru ʔilaa mişr
 be.Pf will-travel.Imp to Egypt
 “He was going to travel to Egypt.”
- b *Kaana **sawfa** yusaafiru ʔilaa mişr

A detailed discussion of the various factors which govern the difference between the two forms would be very fruitful. Unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this work. It is enough to indicate, however, that similar phenomena are observed in a large variety of languages. Turning now to our main concern, it seems that the modal *sa-* interacts with both temporality and modality. While temporality involves the expression of future time, its modal features are bound up with predictability, intentionality, and factuality. In either case, the fundamental value of *sa-* is to characterize the chances of realization of the predicative relation. In what follows we will provide more evidence for the use of the Imperfect with a future time interpretation.

The Imperfect and future time

It has already been established that the Imperfect appears in contexts where future time is lexically specified. This is illustrated earlier in (21b) and (23a–d). This compatibility is further illustrated in good wishes or curse contexts which are interpreted as projected to occur in the future. Such cases are shown in (29) and (30) respectively.

- (29) a ruuhii allaahu **yaʔfiru** la-ki wa **yusahhilu** la-ki
 Go.2.s.f God forgive.Imp for-you and ease.Imp for-you
 “Go! **May** God **forgive** you and **ease** (things) for you!” (SS#3)
- b allaahu **yaʔmaʕu** šamla al-ʕaaʔilati
 God unite.Imp.3.s.m whole the-family
 “**May** God **reunite** the whole family!”
- (30) a allaahu **yaxribu** bayta-ka yaa ʔantaawii
 God destroy.Imp house-your Voc. Tantaawii
 “Tantaawii, **may** God **destroy** your house!” (SS#4)

- b allaahu **yuḏḥimu** ruuḥaka yaa ṭantaawii...
 God frown.Imp soul-your Voc. Tantaawii
 “Tantaawii, **may** God **frown** on your soul!” (SS#4)

A brief comparison with the English parallel construction of the Imperfect in these contexts is fruitful, as it helps elucidate its basic values. As the translation of the examples in (29) and (30) shows, it is clear that the Imperfect is rendered by the “*may* + verb” construction. This construction is typically used to express all types of possible future events and processes, as shown in the following examples:

- (31) a The Congress **may pass** this law very soon
 b I **may finish** next month
 c The ceremony **may begin** tomorrow

Thus, both sets of examples in (29), (30), and (31) express future possibilities with the only difference that in the former case, another modal feature is present, namely the wish. Moreover, the presence of *may* is necessary in these contexts, as it expresses a possible realization of the predicative relation. Such obligatoriness follows from the fact that in the least marked contexts, the examples in (32) are either ill-formed – for a particular semantic interpretation – or have a different interpretation.

- (32) a (?)God protects you from evil.
 b (?)God reunites the whole family.

We can safely say therefore that the modal features which *may* represent in the “good wishes construction” are expressed by the Imperfect in Arabic. The future time interpretation of the utterance results from the interaction between the Imperfect and the construction in question. Further insights into the future time interpretation of the Imperfect can be gleaned from its occurrence in hypothetical and conditional contexts, as in (33) and (34).

- (33) a maaḏaa **yaḥdoṯu** ṭiḏaa kaana haaḏaa?...
 what happen.Imp if be.Pf this
 “What will happen if this occurs?” (SS#4)
 b hal **tantaqilu** al-maḥṭṭatu min makaani-haa?!...
 Q. move.Imp the-station from place-its
 “Will the station be moved from its place?!” (SS#4)
 c wa hal **yaḡmalu** al-ḡumdatu laylatan li-waḏḥi al-laahi?...
 and Q. work.Imp the-mayer one.night to-face the-God
 “And will the mayor work one night for free?” (SS#4)

d wa hal **tanṭabiqu** as-samaaʔu ḡalaa žurni al-qamfi?
 and Q. fall.Imp the-sky on bin the-grain
 “And will the sky fall down on the grain bin?” (SS#4)

(34) a ʔin **yadrus** **yanžaf**
 if study.Imp succeed.Imp
 “If he studies, he will succeed.”
 (Abboud and McCarus 1992: 178)

In the first set of examples, the narrator-enunciator wonders about what will happen if the wife of his main character starts to behave and serve her husband like any ordinary wife. Nothing will happen and everything will stay the same. The three rhetorical questions in (33b–d) are meant to ensure that the future world will not differ from the present one. It is, therefore, the interaction between the hypothetical context, as indicated by the presence of the modal particle *ʔidaa*, and the Imperfect which confines the future time interpretation to this latter. Likewise, in (34), it is the presence of the conditional marker *ʔin* “if” along with the Imperfect which enhances the future time reading of the main clause *yanžaf* “he will succeed.” The conclusion that emerges from this discussion is that the Imperfect might receive a future time interpretation without having to resort to the presence of the modal *sawfa/sa-*. Note, however, that in similar contexts the presence of the modal *will* in English is preferred, if not necessary, as suggested in the translation of the examples aforesaid. Further evidence for the future time interpretation of the Imperfect comes from its co-occurrence with the modal particles *qad/laḡalla/rubbamaa* “may/might” to express possible future events; consider the examples in (35), (36), and (37).

(35) a **qad** **yuwaaṣiluuna** as-sayra žaaniban, wa **qad**
 may continue.Imp the-walking aside, and may
yuwaaṣiluuna ad-dawaraana.
 continue.Imp the-circling

“They **may continue** walking on the side, and they **may continue** turning around.” (SS#5)

b wa **qad** **yuʔaddii** haaḏaa al-qaraaru (...) ʔilaa fardi
 and may lead.Imp this the-decision (...) to imposing
 ḡuquubaatin muṣaddadatin ḡalaa waaridaati al-ḡaafilaati
 sanctions strong on imports the-buses
 al-yaabaaniyyati aṣ-ṣaḡiirati...
 the-Japanese the-small...

“and this decision **may lead** to imposing serious sanctions on Japanese imports of mini-buses...” (NA#13)

- c ...waḍaalika bi-ttixaaḍi tadaabiira **qad** **yakuunu**
 ...and that with-taking measures may be.Imp

la-haa taḥiiraatun ḡalaa at-tiḡaarati...
 to-it impacts on the-commerce...

“... and this is through taking some measures which **may have** impacts on commerce...” (NA#9)

- (36) **laḡalla** baḡḡu-hum **yahtadii**.
 may some-them repent.Imp
 “Some of them **may repent**.” (SA#2)

- (37) fii al-badʔi kaanat an-nuktatu, wa fii an-nihaayati
 in the-beginning be.Pf the-joke, and in the-end

rubbamaa ʔayḡan **takuunu**,
 may also be.Imp

“It all began as a joke; and it **may end** as one too.” (SS#3)

The aforesaid examples illustrate the use of the Imperfect along with the modal particles *qad* in (35), *laḡalla* in (36), and *rubbamaa* in (37). Although all three modals express possibility, that is the possible realization of the predicative relation, there are some pragmatic and structural factors which govern the use of each modal. These differences are not relevant to our discussion and will not therefore be investigated here.¹¹ It is, nevertheless, noteworthy that the modal *QAD* has a higher frequency than both *laḡalla* and *rubbamaa* in all types of discourse genres.¹² This is illustrated in Table 6.2.

For the moment, let us have a close look at the temporal interpretation attributed to the Imperfect in the aforesaid examples. In (35), the enunciator is certainly interested in the future outcome of the verbal processes, whether that outcome is immediate or rather remote. The case in (35a) for example, describes a soldier who plans to throw a hand grenade at the enemy’s border patrol troops. His assessment of their next move is expressed through the use of the modal *QAD* “may” along with the Imperfect. The expression of futurity,

Table 6.2 The frequency of *QAD*, *laḡalla*, and *rubbamaa*

Discourse genres	N = 54		
	N = 35 (QAD)	N = 13 (laḡalla)	N = 6 (rubbamaa)
Journalistic	7	0	1
Academic	19	12	2
Fiction	9	1	3
Frequency (%)	65	24	11

however, is not inherent to the modal *QAD* but rather to the Imperfect. This can be demonstrated (i) through showing the neutrality of the modal *QAD* with respect to the temporal interpretation of the verbal process, (ii) through the basic interpretation of this latter when the verbal complex [*QAD* + Verb] appears in the least context dependent form. This is illustrated in (38) and (39) respectively:

- (38) a **qad** yakuunu al-waladu **yalʕabu**
 might be.Imp the-boy play.Imp.
 “The boy might be playing.”
- b **qad** yakuunu al-waladu laʕiba
 might be.Imp the-boy play.Pf.
 “The boy might have played.”
- (39) **qad** **yalʕabu** al-waladu alyawma/ʕadan/*ʔamsi
 might play.Imp. the-boy today/tomorrow/*yesterday
 “The boy might play today/tomorrow/*yesterday.”

The contrast between (38a) and (38b) shows that the temporal interpretation of each clause relies on the verbal complex *yakuunu yalʕabu* “(will) be playing” in (38a) and *yakuunu laʕiba* “(will) have played” in (38b), yielding a future time interpretation and a past time interpretation respectively. The modal *QAD* remains outside of the temporal domain, and expresses possibility, whether it belongs to the past or to the future. As for the case in (39), the exclusion of the temporal adverb *ʔamsi* “yesterday” suggests that only a nonpast interpretation is available. Moreover, the natural interpretation of the clause disallows the simultaneous reading, which in turn leaves future time as the only possible interpretation of the clause. Thus, having already shown that the modal *QAD* operates outside of temporality, it is safe to conclude that the future time interpretation results from the use of the Imperfect. The same analysis can be extended to account for the future time interpretation of the Imperfect in both (35b) and (35c). Likewise, the modals in (36) and (37), *laʕalla* and *rubbamaa* respectively, express the possible realization/validation of the predicative relation. Moreover, they can be combined with both verbal forms: the Perfect and the Imperfect, denoting in each case a past and a present/future possibility. Thus, similar to the case in (35), the Imperfect receives a future time interpretation. This is further supported by the fact that the modal particles *QAD*, *laʕalla*, and *rubbamaa* do not exhibit verbal properties, that is, they do not inflect for any verbal features such as aspect, taxis, tense, and agreement, and as such they do not participate in the temporal evaluation of the sentence. Having shown that the Imperfect might receive a present, a gnomic, and a future time interpretation according to the context in which it appears, we will now investigate its use in other environments where it bears a past time interpretation.

The Imperfect and past time

Independently of the type of discourse, the Imperfect is sometimes used to refer to verbal events, actions, states, and processes which have occurred prior to the moment of enunciation, whether in the real or the fictional world. Consider the following examples:

- (40) a ṭamriikaa **tattahimu** ṣunduuqa an-naqdi bi-l-buṭʔi fii
 America accuse.Imp bank the-monetary with-the-slowng in
 musaaṣadati al-ṭiqṭiṣaadi as-sufyaatii.
 helping the-economy the-Soviet

“America **accused** the International Monetary Fund of slowing the aid process to Russia.” (NA#7)

- b al-qalaqu **yaṣuudu** ṭilaa ṭaḏwaaʔi al-ṭiqṭiṣaadi fii
 the-anxiety return.Imp to spheres the-economy in
 waaṣinton maṣa taraaḏuṣin ḏadiidin.
 Washington with decrease new.

“Anxiety about the economy **came back** to Washington following a new decline.” (NA#13)

- c “diitruuyt” **tattahimu** al-yaabaaniyyiina bi-muḥaawalati
 “Detroit” accuse.Imp the-Japanese with-trying
 kasbi as-suuqi al-ṭamriikii.
 winning the-market the-American

“Detroit **accused** the Japanese of trying to win over the American market.” (NA#13)

- d **yataḥaddaṯu** ṭakbaru maṣrafiyyin fii ṭifriiqiyaa ṣalanan
 speak.Imp biggest banker in Africa openly
 ṣan ḥulmin laa yuraawidu ṭillaa ṣadadan ḏaʔiilan...
 about dream Neg share.Imp only number small

“The biggest banker in Africa **talked** openly about a dream which only few people share.” (NA#13)

- e **yaquulu** “ruubirt maakinmaaraa” ar-raʔiisu as-saabiqu
 say.Imp “Robert McNamara” the-president the-previous
 li-l-banki ad-dawlii... wa **yudiiḥu** al-masʔuulu ṭanna miṯla
 to-the-bank the-world... and add.Imp the-responsible that like
 haaḏihi al-ḏuhuudi
 these the-efforts...

“The previous president of the World Bank “Robert McNamara” **said** . . . (and) the official **added** that such efforts . . .” (NA#10)

The examples in (40) share two basic characteristics: (i) they all belong to the same discourse genre, namely journalistic discourse, (ii) they all make use of the Imperfect to refer to events which have already occurred at the time the writer-enunciator reported them, (iii) they all refer to events which are still relevant since they are presented as having news value. Moreover, there do not seem to be strong constraints as to the specific news context to which the use of the Imperfect is confined. While the first three cases (40a–c), for example, appear as titles, highlighting the occurrence of major events: the accusation against the International Monetary Fund (40a), the reappearance of anxiety in Washington (40b), and Detroit’s accusation of Japan (40c); the cases in (40d–e) are part of the main text, and report about actions that have already been performed: the words of the most important banker (40d), and the speech of the previous president (40e). When compared to other languages, a similar use of the Imperfect is generally mirrored by the use of the present tense. The examples in (41) and (42), from both French and English, respectively, illustrate this phenomenon (the plain text is the headline, and the italic is the article).

- (41) a Le chef de l’état inaugure la Foire internationale de Tunis
*“Le président Ben Ali **a inauguré** samedi après-midi la Foire Intemationale de Tunis . . .”*
 (Tunis Hebdo October 26, 1992, p. 2)
- b En avion, il **rentre** dans le salon pour voir sa belle
*“Randy est fou amoureux et mercredi dernier il **a employé** les grands moyens. Il **a jeté** son avion dans la salle a manger de son inaccessible dulcinée.”*
 (Tunis Hebdo September 28, 1992, p. 10)
- c Un accident d’un bus tunisien **fait** un mort en Algérie
*“...l’accident **a cause** la mort d’un des voyageurs . . .”*
 (Tunis Hebdo November 16, 1992, p. 7)
- d Elle **porte plainte** contre celui qui lui a restitué sa virginité
*“... le médecin **est accusé** ‘coups et blessures volontaires avec préméditation.’”*
 (Tunis Hebdo September 21, 1992, p. 7)
- (42) a Delegates **approve** dues increase
*“The RA delegates overwhelmingly **approved** a constitutional amendment that increases dues by 3 percent in each of the next two years.”*
 (New York Times May 17, 1993, p. 10)
- b Union convention **focuses** on school violence . . . (The Assembly took place from April 29 to May 1, and the article appeared on May 17)
 (New York Times May 17, 1993, p. 2)

- c Professor **details** existence of UFOs, alien abductions
*(A Temple University history professor **discussed** his belief that abduction by UFOs is an actual and prevalent phenomenon in two three-hour lectures Friday and Saturday night)*
(Cornell Daily Sun April 12, 1993, p. 7)
- d Residents of Campton, Calif. **march** in a “Keep It Good in the Hood” rally *yesterday* in hopes of abating the possibility of violence following the verdicts in the Rodney King beating case.
(Cornell Daily Sun April 12, 1993, p. 1)

The sets of examples in both (41) and (42) constitute clear evidence for the use of the present tense in both French and English to report on past time verbal events, actions and processes (see also Monville-Burston and Waugh 1991). The past time interpretation is further supported by the sentences in italics which provide the appropriate temporal context of each clause. In (41a), for example, the inauguration of the President took place on Saturday, while the report in the paper appeared the following Monday, that is two days later. The event belongs therefore to the past at the time the paper appeared, as illustrated by the use of the *passé composé a inauguré* in the clause in italics. Moreover, the co-occurrence between the present tense *march* and the temporal adverb *yesterday* in (42d), presents additional evidence for the apparent insensitivity of the present tense to past time events.¹³ This insensitivity is equally observed in the English cases (42) and in the Arabic examples (40). The empirical question is, therefore, why the writer-enunciator would use the present tense or the Imperfect to present a past time verbal event. Before answering such a intriguing question, we would like to present similar cases from other text types, namely academic articles and narratives. Consider the examples in (43) and (44):

- (43) a wa **yušiiiru** ʔaablii wa trumbaal... ʔanna-hu laa
and point.out.Imp Apply and Trumball... that-him Neg
- yuužadū munabbih yumaθθilu mašaqqatan li-kulli
exist.Imp stimulus represent.Imp stress to-all
- al-ʔafraadi allaðiina yataʔarrađuuna la-hu.
the-individuals who subject.Imp to-it.
- “Apply and Trumball **point out** (. . .) to the non-presence of a stimulus which represents stress for all individuals who are subjected to it.” (SA#5)
- b ʔammaa ʒaan diiwii fa-yaraa ʔanna al-madrasata...
As for John Dewey so-argue.Imp that the-school...
- tanmuu fii-haa al-muyuulu al-ʔižtimaaʕiiyyatu... wa
grow.Imp in-it the-tendencies the-social... and

yantahii **žaan** diiwii bi-naqdi-hi haaḍaa ḡilaa
conclude.Imp John Dewey with-criticisim-his this to

ḡiqaamati al-fužžati ḡalaa fašali ḍaalika al-namuuḍaži
building the-argument on failure that the-type

al-tarbawii al-ḡamriikii at-taqliidii wa **yuqaddimu**
the-educational the-American the-traditional and present.Imp

badiilan yatamaḍḍalu fii “at-tarbiya at-taqaddumiyya”
alternative correspond.Imp in “the-education the-progressive.”

“As for John Dewey, he **argues** that social tendencies start to grow at school... and he (John Dewey) **reaches** the point where he establishes an argument for the failure of the traditional American educational model, and **presents** an alternative represented in ‘progressive education’.” (SA#3)

- (44) a wa **yandafiḡlu** bi-surḡatin xaaṡifatin li-yartamii ḡilaa
and rush.Imp with-quick sudden to-plunge Imp in
- žaanibi at-talli ar-ramlii... **yamuḍdu** ḍiraaḡa-hu ḡilaa
side the-dune the-sandy... extend.Imp arm-his to
- al-waraaḡi... wa **yamḍii** ḡaḡmad haadiḡan fii
the-back... and continue.Imp Ahmad confident in
- ḡittižaahi al-ḡarabati!
towards the-car

“Quickly he **runs and hides** behind the sand dune ... he **extends** his arm behind him ... confidently, he **walks** away towards the car!” (SS#5)

- b wa al-ḡašaaḡu **yažiiḡu...** wa aš-šaabbu **yunakkitu**
and the-dinner come.Imp.. and the-young man joke.Imp
- laa yazaalu, wa **yubannii** wa **yadḡaku...** wa
Neg still, and sing.Imp and laugh.Imp... and
- tataḡammalu** al-kubraa ḍaata yawmin xaatama ḡummi-haa
observe.Imp the-eldest some day ring mother-her
- fii ḡiḡbiḡi-haa, wa fii ḡamtin **tashabu**-hu min ḡiḡbiḡi-haa
in finger-her, and in silence take.off.Imp-it from finger-her
- “... Dinner **comes** ... and the young man is still **telling** jokes, **singing** and **laughing**... One day the eldest **looks** at the ring on her mother’s finger... and silently, she **takes** it off . . .” (SS#1)

The examples in (43) illustrate another use of the Imperfect, whose function is yet to be investigated. In (43a), for example, although Apply and Trumball’s suggestion

was presented years before the author-enunciator brings it about, to use the Imperfect to report on the existence of such a past event is not only possible, but also highly recommended in this academic discourse. Likewise, in (43b), the author-enunciator uses the Imperfect while he evaluates Dewey's work on education, which goes back to the beginning of the century. In fact, in most scholarly writings, the Imperfect is often observed whenever previous ideas, claims, suggestions, and statements are presented and discussed. Generally, it is even recommended and preferred over the Perfect. This is not particular to Arabic, however. French and English, for example, also make use of the present tense to evaluate and discuss previous work, especially written work which is still available. This is illustrated in (45) and (46) respectively:

(45) a Quirk (1972: 775) dans sa présentation **tend** à diluer le fonctionnement sous-jacent de cet opérateur (ENOUGH).

(Delmas 1983: 85)

b Rien ne résume mieux cette "réflexibilité" de la langue que la définition que nous en **donne** Robert Lafont (1972: 5) dans Le Travail et la Langue...

(Bahloul 1986: 5)

(46) a Grimes (1975: 55–60) **defines** background more restrictively; Longacre and Levinsohn 1978 and Langacre 1979b use the term "backbone" rather than foreground.

(Waugh and Monville-Burston 1986: 847)

b Arabic is generally classified among the tenseless languages, for example, in the tradition of French orientalisists such as Fleisch 1979, Cantineau 1960, who **argue** that the finite verb **denotes** mainly aspect and not tense.

(Belazi 1993: 1)

Now, if we take a close look at the examples in (44a) and (44b) here, we notice a similar pattern relative to the use of the Imperfect. Example (44a) is taken from a short story about a soldier's adventures next to the enemy's border line. The main events center around the soldier's movements and actions while he is on duty. The narrator-enunciator presents the character's main movements from the point of view of either the Perfect or the Imperfect. This latter is illustrated in (44a). In (44), the narrator-enunciator explores issues relative to family relations, through detailed descriptions of each member's finest actions and activities. Similar to the aforesaid case, the use of the Imperfect is again observed. It should be noted, however, that the general theme of narratives usually relates to previous experiences (whether they be fictional or other), and according to standard assumptions, the Perfect or past tenses are the most "typical" verbal forms with which a short story is narrated. The use of the Imperfect is seen as some type of

“intrusion” or “deviation,” and should therefore be isolated and treated according to its odd behavior. I would argue that the metaterm “historical present” that the grammatical tradition has for a long time assigned to the Imperfect or the present tense is a direct result of the feeling of oddity which has been linked to its specific use in narrative contexts and fiction in general. Finally, it is worth noting that this particular use of the Imperfect tends to be found among various languages and language groups.¹⁴ The empirical question it raises, however, relates to the reason or reasons for which the narrator-enunciator switches from using the Perfect to the Imperfect. The major hypotheses, as summarized in Blyth (1990: 94–114), widely recognize that the historical present is an internal evaluation device. Accordingly, Fleischman (1990: 210), for example, suggests that the historical present has an accelerative function: “the diegetic present is used to speed up the pace of narration, particularly when present tense verbs cluster.” Although this might hold true for certain contexts, where acceleration is involved, it can not be an inherent feature of the Imperfect. In fact, the case in (44a) shows a rather slow process, where the soldier’s fear slows down all his movements. In any case, I would argue that, unless the analysis of the Imperfect takes into consideration its major contextual variants, its use in most major discourse genre-types, along with its place within the ATM system, any value confined to it remains superficial and partial at best.

Summary and proposal

Thus far, we have unveiled another contextual variant of the Imperfect. Having examined its use in journalistic articles, scholarly writings, and narratives, we have noticed again the unrestricted temporal characteristic of the Imperfect. This is demonstrated through its capability of appearing in a past time context. This appearance is usually termed as atypical, given its intrusive character. As such, the Imperfect competes with the other member of the opposition, namely the Perfect, creating therefore a subtle and complex case on which we will comment later (see pp. 140–47).

To summarize, we have sought in this section to deepen our understanding with respect to the functioning of the Imperfect, with particular reference to temporality. In order to do so, we have looked closely at the use of the Imperfect within the four major temporal contexts: present, gnomic, future, and past. The conclusion that emerges from this discussion clearly stresses the compatibility and the unrestricted nature of this verbal form. With respect to present time, our discussion stresses both the actualization and the identificational values of the Imperfect, on the one hand, and its eventive value, on the other hand. While the former results in the present time interpretation of the verbal event, the latter is predicate-oriented and emphasizes therefore the occurrence of the verbal event. It should be noted again, that the presence of temporal reference, that is, temporal adverbs, in both cases is almost irrelevant, given the simultaneous relationship which obtains between the moment of enunciation and the moment of the verbal event. In gnomic contexts, the use of the Imperfect relates to the lack of any particular point of view; that is, the predicative relation is not evaluated with respect to any particular

situation of enunciation. Accordingly, the Imperfect either characterizes the nontemporal nature of the verbal event, that is, omnitemporal, atemporal, habitual, generic, and so on, or denotes an inherent property of the grammatical subject.

As for the future time interpretation which the Imperfect receives, it should be emphasized that this latter is highly contextualized, and is, therefore, an inherent property of the linguistic context, that is, the utterance, rather than a feature of the Imperfect, it is not given invariantly by the tense itself (Waugh 1976: 451). What is important, however, is the fact that the Imperfect in such contexts continues to express the enunciator's perception of the verbal event, denoting either simultaneity, a property of the grammatical subject, or the occurrence of the event. The only factor which differentiates the Imperfect here from the one before is the domain within which it operates. While it belongs to the Non certain domain in the latter case, that is, possibility, probability, it functions within the Certain domain in the former case, that is, validation, truth, and so on.

Finally, the use of the Imperfect in past time contexts, whether to present past time events in journalistic discourse, or previous ideas, claims, and theories in scholarly articles, or to describe foregrounded events in narratives, should come as no surprise given the unmarked nature of the Imperfect within the verbal system, as will be shown later. Temporality remains a property of the context, and, at times, inherent to the type of enunciation, that is, historical texts, and so on. Adamczewski considers that the temporal information in such contexts is presupposed, and that it therefore does not interact with the verbal form the same way a new temporal information would do. Accordingly, the temporal adverb, for instance, becomes either a "built-in" part of the predicate (*thematic*: when it is presupposed), or an independent element which bears on the enunciator's perception of the verbal event (*rhematic*: when it is not presupposed), resulting in an obligatory semantic interdependence between the verbal form and the temporal information. This amounts to saying that the temporal information, whether it be a date, a temporal adverb, a temporal expression, or other, is evaluated with respect to its status in the sentence, which results from the enunciator's perception of the verbal event according to the relationship this latter establishes with both the moment and the situation of enunciations. These contextual variants of the Imperfect are further summarized in Table 6.3.

Variation and invariance

The conclusion that emerges from the above characterization of the Imperfect is not only that its use evidences a broad variety of possible contextualizations, but questions also the actual existence of any invariant meaning, which might underlie this variation and yet, it is only invariance that provides a principled analytic control for the description of observable variation (see also Garcia 1991), and offers a natural explanation for the variety in the variation. However, unless variation is internally structured according to the organizing principles of hierarchy, the search for invariance becomes harder if not impossible.

Table 6.3 The contextual variants of the Imperfect

<i>Temporal context</i>	<i>Variants</i>	<i>Prototypical examples</i>
Present time	Actualization and Identification Eventive value	ʔaktubu risaalatan “I am writing a letter.” yataqaddam wa yaqðif “He advances and shoots.”
Gnomic	Atemporal	X yusaawii xamsatun “X equals 5.”
	Omnitemporal	azzaytu yaʔfu fawqa almaaʔi “Oil floats on water.”
	Subject-characterization	Tajikistan tataʔaddaθu al-faarisiyyatu “Tajikistan speaks Persian.”
Future time	Modal value	ʔallaahu yaʔmiika “May God protect you.”
	Predictive value	qad yanʔaʔu “He might succeed.”
	Future value	yaʔtii ʔadan “He comes tomorrow.”
Past time	Historical Present Evaluation device and stylistic	wa-l-ʔaʔaaʔu yaʔiiʔu “and dinner comes.”

Table 6.4 The contextual meanings of the Imperfect

<i>Types of contextual meanings</i>	<i>Contextual meanings</i>
1 Basic meaning a present time b eventive value	[–past] ([–future])
2 General/genetic meanings Gnomic	
a Omnitemporal	[+past] ([+future])
b Subject characterization	[0 past] ([0 future])
c Atemporal	[0 past] ([0 future])
3 Specific meanings	
a past time	[+past]
b future time	[+future]

Note

- ‘+’ refers to relevant presence of the feature,
- ‘–’ refers to the negative presence of the feature,
- ‘0’ refers to the absence and/or irrelevance of the feature.

Similar to the analysis advanced for the Perfect in Chapter 4, we would like to suggest that the contextual variants of the Imperfect are best evaluated according to the criterion which differentiates between a *basic meaning*, a *general/generic meaning*, and a *specific meaning*. This is illustrated in Table 6.4.

The question may fairly be raised, now, concerning the features the invariant meaning of the Imperfect is composed of. Given the relational and oppositional nature of the invariant (Waugh 1991a: 3), we argue that the Imperfect and Perfect are in an unmarked–marked relationship, with the Imperfect being unmarked and the Perfect being marked. This means that if the marked Perfect signals both [+anteriority] and [+dimensionalization], then the unmarked Imperfect can signal on the one hand [–anterior] (the opposite of [+anteriority]) and [–dimensionalization] (the opposite of [+dimensionalization]), and on the other hand, [±anteriority] and [±dimensionalization], that is the combination of each of the opposites. In addition, when the Imperfect signals [–anteriority], it also signals its conceptual counterpart, namely, [+unbounded], that is, the lack of (closed) boundaries of the verbal process. This is its basic meaning. It accounts for the ability of the Imperfect to refer to present time ([+simultaneous], with the time to which it is simultaneously normally being given by the moment of enunciation) and for its ability to give “eventive value” ([+unbounded] and thus, by inference, in progress). With respect to the latter, where verbal events are being narrated as they are performed, simultaneity obtains with respect to the moment of enunciation, and unboundedness relates to the ongoing process.¹⁵ Moreover, depending on the type of narration, the enunciator may implicitly or explicitly express the beginning of the verbal process, in which case the presence of a temporal adverb, such as *alʔaana* “now,” is deemed necessary, as illustrated in the following example:

- (47) wa alʔaana **t-a-taqaddamu** naʔiwa aṭ-ṭaawilati
 and now 3f-Imp-move towards the-table
 “And now, she moves towards the table.”

In other cases, the verbal process is typically simultaneous with (non-anterior to) the moment of enunciation, on the one hand, and unbounded with no focus whatsoever on any initial or final boundary, on the other hand. Typically, the enunciator evaluates the predicative relation, as expressed by the verbal process, as [+simultaneous] and [+unbounded], yielding the equivalent of the present progressive interpretation in English, as illustrated in the relevant data in our corpus. Notice that, while simultaneity necessarily involves a second anchor with which the verbal process is evaluated (in the typical case, it is the moment of enunciation), the concept of boundedness is self contained, as it only focuses on the internal quality of the verbal process. In other words, simultaneity is relational, but unboundedness is not – and neither one is deictic, at least inherently.

As for the generic meaning of the Imperfect, these involve the gnomic contexts which are divided into three sub-types: omnitemporal, subject characterization, and atemporal; it should be stressed that in all three contexts, both [±anterior] and [±dimensionalization] are relevant: that is, the process is evaluated neither as being placed in any particular time, nor as pertaining to actions which are inherently bounded. In the omnitemporal interpretation, therefore, the predicative relation is presented as valid over all time, and as such, there is a total lack of temporal specification, and the process is also presented as not being inherently

bounded. The same analysis applies to subject characterization, since the Imperfect denotes a property of the subject as valid all the time and thus also unbounded. The atemporal uses may also receive a similar interpretation: neutralization with respect to time and the total lack of boundaries of the verbal process. And in all cases, the validity of the predicative relation may be ascertained at the present moment, but it is not assumed to be specific to the present moment only.

As for the use of the Imperfect in past and future time contexts, there does not seem to exist any type of overlap between the validation of the predicative relation, as described by the verbal event, and the present moment. This results in specific meanings consisting of both a future time interpretation and typically some type of modality. All three types of future give an event as possible in some future time, given what one knows (or wants) in the present. Thus the knowing/wanting is simultaneous with the moment of speaking. The unboundedness is less focused upon. That is, the enunciator presents the wishes without specifying any boundaries which may restrict its extensions.¹⁶ The past time interpretation is also very specific. It designates an event that happened in the past but whose relevance for the present is more important, thus, it is [\pm anterior] (both anterior and simultaneous). Its neutrality with respect to boundedness is also linked to current relevance: whether or not it was bounded in the past, its relevance to the present is unbounded.

It should also be emphasized that the use of the Imperfect to express both futurity and pastness is fully predictable, since the Imperfect constitutes the unmarked member in the verbal system, and thus, it is not incompatible with such temporal references. However, while it is true that this usage of the Imperfect could be characterized as [+past] and [+future] respectively, there is a major difference between these contextual variants and those given earlier: namely, that the Imperfect does not and can not make an explicit and direct reference to past or future time in the same way it can be used to denote present time (Monville-Burston and Waugh 1991: 89). In the case of past time, for example, simultaneity is achieved through the enunciator's desire to actualize the verbal process within the present moment of the coenunciator. In newspaper articles, for instance, this is typically illustrated by the use of the Imperfect while commenting on past photographed events. In all these cases, it is important to stress that it is the context which specifies past time or future time, not the verbal form itself, which does not in itself refer to either the past or the future. The next question to be addressed is whether or not there is any independent evidence to confirm this line of analysis. In what follows, we will show that our conclusions are further supported by the basic constituent structure of the Imperfect in both its simple and compound forms within the ATM system.

The Imperfect within the ATM system

Similar to the behavior of the Perfect within the ATM system, the Imperfect functions as a stable verbal form, from both the formal, that is, morphological, and the semantico-pragmatic perspectives. Consider Table 6.5 here.

Table 6.5 The Imperfect constructions

<i>Modal</i>	<i>Auxiliary</i>	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Semantic Interpretation</i>
a —	—	ʔalʕabu	“I play/I am playing.”
b —	kuntu	ʔalʕabu	“I used to play/ I was playing.”
c (<i>sawfa/sa-</i>)	—	ʔalʕabu	“I will play.”
d (<i>sawfa/sa-</i>)	ʔakuun	ʔalʕabu	“I will be playing.”
e <i>qad</i>	ʔakuunu	ʔalʕabu	“I might be playing.”

Table 6.5 shows the basic compositional characteristic of complex temporal relations in Arabic. This compositionality is marked by a system of combinations whose nucleus is the thematic verb and whose periphery are auxiliaries and modal particles. We will now focus on the use of the Imperfect in this system. The table clearly demonstrates that the complex temporal relations, present, past, or future, do not affect and are not affected by the basic verbal form. Instead, these relations are entirely governed by auxiliaries and modals. This amounts to saying that, while auxiliaries and modals control the temporal and modal features of the verbal complex, the verbal form denotes basic invariant features. The only difference between simple and compound verbal structures, however, resides in the temporal anchor from which the verbal event is evaluated, whether it is a past as in (Table 6.5, b) or a future as in (Table 6.5, d). The fact that verbal forms are neutral with respect to temporality in compound tenses, a feature which then becomes a property of auxiliaries, is not particular to Arabic, however. Both English and French ATM systems, for example, exhibit a similar phenomenon. The examples in (48) and (49), respectively, illustrate this similarity.¹⁷

- (48) a I am playing.
 b I was playing.
 c I will be playing.

- (49) a *J' ai joué.*
 b *J' avais joué.*
 c *J' aurais joué.*

Turning now to the Imperfect itself, we have already discussed the simple progressive reading (Table 6.5, a). Now, consider the cases in (Table 6.5, b) and (Table 6.5, d), as illustrated in the following examples:

- (50) a Kuntu **ʔalʕabu** fiina waʕalat zawʕa-tii
 be.Pf play.Imp when arrive.Pf wife-my
 “I was playing when my wife came in.”
 b (*sawfa/sa-*) ʔakuunu **ʔalʕabu** fiina ʕaʕilu zawʕa-tii
 (will/ll) be.Imp play.Imp when arrive.Imp wife-my
 “I will be playing when my wife comes in.”

The examples in (50a) and (50b) illustrate the use of the Imperfect in both a past time context, as indicated by the auxiliary *kuntu* “I was” in (50a), and in a future time context, as indicated by the auxiliary *ʔakuunu* “I will be” in (50b).

Crucial to our analysis is the fact that while auxiliaries control the temporal interpretation of clauses, the Imperfect invariantly signals the simultaneity and the unboundedness of the verbal process. In both cases, the moment with which the process is simultaneous is given by the auxiliary. Moreover, nothing is said about the boundaries of the verbal process, that is, the playing is presented with no specific beginning or ending. This follows naturally from the unbounded feature inherent to the verbal form. Now, consider the second set of contextual variants in both (Table 6.5, a) and (Table 6.5, b), as illustrated in the following examples:

- (51) a Maher **y-a-lʕabu** kurata al-qadam
 Maher 3m-Imp-play ball the-foot
 “Maher plays soccer.”
- b Kaana Maher **y-a-lʕabu** kurata al-qadam
 was Maher 3m-Imp-play ball the-foot
 “Maher used to play soccer.”

In both cases, the Imperfect characterizes the grammatical subject; thus, (51a) can be paraphrased as “Maher is a soccer player,” and (51b) as “Maher was a soccer player.” Here, it is the generic interpretation that is uppermost, but in (51b) that genericity is confined to past time.¹⁸ Finally, the analysis of the cases in (Table 6.5, c) and (Table 6.5, e) which involve the use of modal elements such as *sawfa/sa-* “will/ll” and *qad* “may/might” in front of the Imperfect,¹⁹ follows the same line of explanation as advanced earlier for its future and predictive values. In what follows, we will discuss some aspects relative to the use of negative particles with the Imperfect.

The Imperfect and negation

Consider the examples in (52):

- (52) a wa tamaššaa Abd-Alkariim fii al-waasiʕati wa ʔuðnu-hu
 and walk.Imp Abd-Alkarim in the-desert and ear-his
- laa **tasmaʕu** hissaa wa laa ʕarakatan
 Neg hear.Imp sound and Neg noise

“Abd-Alkarim walked in the desert; his ear does not **hear** any sound or noise...” (SS#4)

- b wa baʕda ʔusbuuʕin saafara, wa baʕda-haa lam
 and after week travel.Pf, and after-it Neg

yaʕud! maata fii al-ʕarbi
return.Imp die.Pf in the-war

“He left after a week, and he did not **come back** afterwards! he died in the war.” (SS#3)

- c ʔabadan... LAN **yafduθa** šayʔun min haaðaa
never... Neg happen.Imp something from this
“never... none of this will **happen**.” (SS#4)

If we take a close look at the contrast between all three examples in (52a), (52b), and (52c), we notice that while the verbal form remains unchanged, it is rather the morphological shape of the negative particles which undergo changes according to the temporal context, present in (52a), past in (52b), and future in (52c). It is not a coincidence that this verbal form happens to be the Imperfect. It is probably expected given the analysis advanced earlier. In negative contexts, the Imperfect becomes entirely blind to temporality, and can be used in contexts with present, past, and future reference. On the strength of the evidence, we suggest that the very possibility of occurrence of the Imperfect in these contexts implies that temporality is not a necessary feature of the verb (see also Benmamoun 2000 for a similar conclusion). In this particular context, temporality is associated with the negative particles: *laa* in (52a), *lam* in (52b), and *lan* in (52c). Accordingly, I would like to stipulate that each particle is morphologically complex, and expresses therefore both negation and temporality. Thus, given the morphological structure of these particles, we suggest the following reanalysis, as illustrated in Table 6.6.

This analysis illustrates another type of interaction between grammatical categories, namely between tense and negation. It should be noted, however, that MSA has another negator, *maa*, whose behavior might constitute a challenge to the claims advanced earlier. Consider the examples in (53).

- (53) a ʔinna al-manðuumaati at-tarbawiyati al-ʔislaamiyyati
ʔINNA the-systems the-educational the-Islamic
maa taʔaxxarat ʕan rakbi al-ʕayaati
Neg fall behind.Pf from stirrup the-life

“The Islamic educational systems did not become old fashioned.” (SA#3)

Table 6.6 The structure of negators

Negation	Tense	Interpretation (with do)
LA	A (present)	LAA “does not”
LA	M (past)	LAM “did not”
LA	N (future)	LAN “will not”

- b ʔinna-hu **maa** yaʔuuzu la-naa ʔan natahaddaθa
 ʔINNA-it Neg approve.Imp for-us to talk.Imp
- ʕan mustaqbali al-ʕaalami wa al-haɗaarati mutaʔaahiliina
 about future the-world and the-civilization neglecting
- waaʔiba-naa fii al-musaahamati al-faʕaalati fii ʕunʕi-hi.
 duty-our in the-participation the-effective in creation-its
- “We can not talk about the future of the world and civilization while we are neglecting the duty of our effective participation.” (SA#1)

The examples in (53a) and (53b) show that, unlike the negators *laa*, *lam*, and *lan*, *maa* does not seem to control the temporal interpretation in either example. This is illustrated first, by the fact that it can be followed by both the Perfect and the Imperfect, as indicated in (53a) and (53b), and second, by its invariable morphology. Instead, it is the Perfect which controls the past time interpretation in (53a), while the present time interpretation in (53b) results from the use of the Imperfect. This seems to suggest that negation and temporality are not necessarily interrelated. Although the negator *maa* constitutes a clear problematic case for the earlier argument, we would like to suggest that its statistical insignificance makes its case too weak to constitute a real challenge. Consider Table 6.7.

The results of our quantitative investigation show that the frequency of the negator *maa* is very low, that is, 1 percent, which makes it very marginal. As for its distribution between the Perfect and the Imperfect, we have counted one single occurrence with the former, and four with the latter. That is, among 151 perfect verbs, 150 are negated by *lam*, and one by *maa*; and among 285 imperfect verbs, 281 are negated by *laa*, and only four by *maa*. Notice, moreover, that the negator *maa* is temporally restricted to both the present and the past, and does not negate any form of future events, as illustrated in Table 6.7.

- (54) a (sawfa) ʔusaafiru ʕadan
 (will) travel.Imp tomorrow
 “I (will) leave tomorrow.”
- b (*maa sawfa) *maa ʔusaafiru ʕadan

Table 6.7 The frequency of negators: *laa*, *lam*, *lan*, and *maa*

Negators	N = 455	%
<i>Laa</i>	281	62
<i>Lam</i>	150	30
<i>Lan</i>	19	4
<i>Maa</i>	5	1

In addition to its low frequency, and to its temporal restrictedness, the use of *maa* seems also to be restricted to some discourse genres. In our corpus, we have not encountered any single use of *maa* in newspaper articles. The five occurrences of *maa* are only found in scholarly articles and narratives: two uses in the former, and three in the latter. It is easy to see now the reasons for which the negator *maa* does not qualify as a competing form which could have resulted in a case of variation, which in turn would have required a more careful consideration. *Maa*, I would argue, is a marginal negator which was probably more used in Classical Arabic, and, similar to the other three negators, *lammaa*, *ʔin* and *laata*, which are no longer attested in MSA,²⁰ the use of *maa* is probably in its disappearing stage, as the system of negation is getting stabilized. A final piece of evidence might come from the fact that the majority of Arabic dialects have adopted the negator *maa*, some as a full negative form and others as a discontinuous form along with the suffix /-s/ (see Benmamoun 2000: 67–118). On the basis of the above evidence, we would like to claim that, within the ATM system in Arabic, the temporal interpretation is controlled basically by both auxiliaries and negators. Now, we would like to present some final remarks concerning the contrast between both verbal forms in Arabic, the Perfect and the Imperfect, discuss their frequencies, markedness and show the degree to which the presence of semantico-pragmatic and discourse factors favor or disfavor the occurrence of a particular alternative.

The Imperfect vs. the Perfect

As we investigated some relevant aspects inherent to the semantico-pragmatic and discourse characteristics of both the Perfect and the Imperfect, we have noted the basic similarities and differences which characterize both members of the verbal system. We have demonstrated, for example, that while each verbal form may appear in a broad range of temporal contexts, that is, present, past, future, and so on, there are some systematic differences which distinguish each verbal form from the other. These differences are reminiscent of their relative invariant meanings. Table 6.8 summarizes these differences.

Table 6.8²¹ captures a straightforward generalization as to the oppositional nature which underlies the use of both verbal forms. Accordingly, the Perfect is characterized

Table 6.8 Semantic values of the Perfect and the Imperfect

<i>Verbal forms</i>	<i>Semantic</i>	<i>Values</i>
Perfect	+Anteriority (= –Simultaneity)	+Dimensionalization (= –Unboudedness)
Imperfect	–Anteriority and ±/∅ Anteriority (and + Anteriority)	–Dimensionalization and ±/∅ Dimensionalization (and + Dimensionalization)

by anteriority and the lack of simultaneity [+anteriority, –simultaneity], on the one hand, and by dimensionalization and the lack of unboundedness [+dimensionalization, +unboundedness], on the other hand. The Imperfect appears both as the Perfect’s corollary, since it is characterized by simultaneity and the lack of anteriority [+simultaneity, –anteriority], and by boundedness and the lack of dimensionalization [+unbounded, –dimensionalization], and as more general than the Perfect since it gives [\pm anterior], [\emptyset anterior], and [\pm dimensionalization] [\emptyset dimensionalization]. Moreover, the table shows that, although they exhibit systematic differences, their semantic values are interconnected with each other. In fact, it is the relational aspect of the two verbal forms, and the contrast which they represent, that governs both their differences and their similarities.

Having discussed the differences between the two verbal forms, we than pass on and examine some aspects of their similarities. Consider the contrast between the following pair of examples:

- (55) a ʔinna ʕarḏan sariiʕan li-l-ʔarqaami allatii
 ʔINNA presentation quick of-the-numbers which
tadaawalat-haa wasaaʔili al-ʔiʕlaami...
 circulate.Pf-it means the-media

“A brief presentation of the numbers which the media **circulated**...”
 (SA#4)

- b ʔinna at-tamwii li al-ʔamriikii... laa yadaʕu maʕaalan
 ʔINNA the-financing the-American Neg leave.Imp way
 li-š-šakki fii al-ʔarqaami allatii **tadaawalu-haa**
 to-the-doubt in the-numbers which circulate.Imp-it
 wasaaʔilu al-ʔiʕlaami...
 means the-media...

“American financing... does not leave any doubt about the numbers which the media **has been circulating**...” (SA#4)

- (56) a wa **yatabayyanu** mina al-ʔadwali as-saabiqi ʔanna...
 and appear.Imp from the-table the-previous that...
 “It **appears** from the previous table that...” (SA#5)

- b wa **tabayyana** mina a1-ʔadwali as-saabiqi ʔanna...
 and appear.Pf from the-table the-previous that...
 “It **appeared** from the previous table that...” (SA#5)

- (57) a wa **taquulu** ruuytir ʔinna ʕarikaatin
 and say.Imp Reuters that corporations

muşannaḡatin li-s-sayyaaraati fii diitruuyt ʔittahamat
 producing of-the-cars in Detroit accuse.Pf
 a l-yaabaaniyyiina bi-bayʔi as-sayyaaraati fi as-suuqi
 the-Japanese with-selling the-cars in the-market
 al-ʔamriikiyyati bi-saḡrin ʔaqalla min saḡri-haa fii
 the-American with-price less than price-its in
 a l-yaabaani.
 the-Japan.

“Reuters **says** that some automobile makers in Detroit accused the Japanese of selling cars in the American market below their cost in Japan.” (NA#13)

- b wa **qaalat** al-wazaaratu ʔinna maazdaa tabiiʔu
 and say.Pf the-ministry that Mazda sell.Imp
 al-ḡaaḡilaati aṣ-ṣaḡiirati bi-saḡrin yaqilly bi-nisbati 12.7
 the-buses the-small with-price lessen.Imp with-ratio 12.7
 fii al-miʔati ʔani as-saḡri as-saaʔidi wa tuuyuutaa
 in the-hundred from the-price the-usual and Toyota
 bi-nisbati 6.75 fii al-miʔati wa ṣarikaatin yaabaaniyyatin
 with-ratio 6.75 in the-hundred and firms Japanese
 ʔuxraa bi-nisbati 9.88 fii al-miʔati.
 others with-ratio 9.88 in the-hundred.

“The ministry **said** that Mazda sells mini-buses for 12.7% less than their average price, Toyota for 6.75% less, and other Japanese firms for 9.88% less.” (NA#13)

The cases in (55), (56), and (57) are a straightforward illustration of a kind of neutralization whereby an extralinguistic event could be referred to equally by either verbal form, the Perfect or the Imperfect. In (55), for example, the writer-enunciator discusses the issue of the recent Russian Jews immigrating to Israel, with a particular focus on the accurate numbers released. Although the numbers of the new immigrants have already been released by the media, the enunciator presents this particular event from the point of view of the Perfect first, (55a) *tadaawalat* “presented,” then from the point of view of the Imperfect (55b) *tatadaawalu* “present,” since the numbers are still being circulated and still relevant. In (56), a similar alternation is observed. The evaluation of the previous table is also presented from either point of view: the Imperfect in (56a) *yatabayyanu* “appears,” since they are still relevant (and being discussed), and the Perfect in (56b) *tabayyana* “appeared.” In (57) the writer-enunciator chooses the reporting verb in the Imperfect first, *taquulu* “says” (57a), then in the Perfect,

qaala “said” (57b).²² This raises an empirical question as to why the enunciator would resort to using the Imperfect in a context where the Perfect is quite likely to be used. More important is the question about the extent to which this alternation is rule-free or rule-governed. These questions are of major theoretical concern since the frequency of this alternation is far from being marginal. Indeed, we looked at all newspaper articles in our corpus, and when we counted the number of occurrences of both the Perfect and the Imperfect in sentence initial position, a context where the use of reporting verbs, such as *qaala* “to say,” *ḍakara* “to mention,” *ṭakkada* “to confirm,” *bayyana* “to show” and so on are only governed by the writer-enunciator, our results have shown that more than one-fifth of the total number of verbal forms appear in the Imperfect. The relative details are summarized in Table 6.9.

In scholarly articles, our results show an even distribution between the Perfect and the Imperfect with slightly more of the latter. This is only natural given the characteristics of this discourse genre which includes less reporting and more evaluation and presentation. Table 6.10 summarizes the results.

Now, it is easy to see the number of cases which previous analyses have either deliberately left out, or said too little about.²³ In our opinion, unless the analysis includes and accurately accounts for these cases, the characterization of the major opposition within the Arabic verbal system remains misleading, and partial at best. In order to best characterize this major opposition, we suggest that it be evaluated both from within and from without. Evaluation from without relates to the broader context in which the verbal form is used, and in particular to the expressive, pragmatic, textual, and discourse factors which in effect have greater influence on the use of each verbal form. Evaluation from within involves seeing the Perfect and Imperfect in relation to each other. This is represented schematically in Figure 6.1.

Table 6.9 Frequency of the Perfect/Imperfect in sentence initial clauses (newspaper articles)

<i>Article Nb.</i>	<i>Nb.Pfs</i>	<i>Nb.Imps</i>
1	26	7
2	12	3
3	30	1
4	4	1
5	2	5
6	6	0
7	2	1
8	5	2
9	8	5
10	2	4
11	9	1
12	11	0
13	20	10
Total	136	40
Frequency (%)	77	23

Table 6.10 The frequency of the Perfect/Imperfect in sentence initial clauses (scholarly articles)

Article Nb.	Nb.Pfs	Nb.Imps
1	9	29
2	13	21
3	8	9
4	21	13
5	24	22
Total	75	97
Frequency (%)	44	56

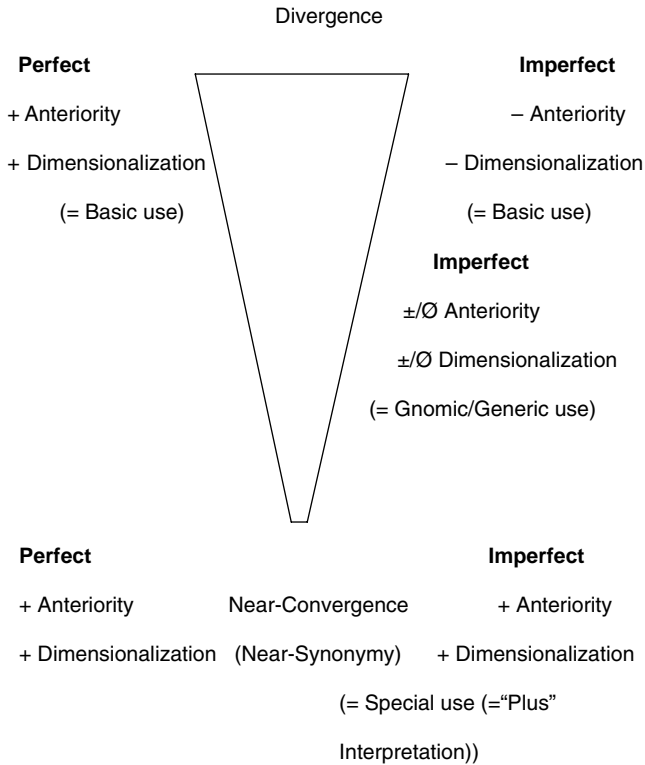


Figure 6.1 The dynamic relationship between the Perfect and the Imperfect.

In other words, the Imperfect may be either the opposite of the Perfect (the basic use), or closer to the Perfect because it encompasses both the meaning of the Perfect and its opposite (the gnomic/generic use), or nearly synonymous with the Perfect when both can refer to past, bounded events. This is a special use of

the Imperfect, and highly contextually conditioned. There is always some difference in interpretation between the Imperfect and Perfect in such contexts. Consider the case in (55). While the use of the Perfect *tadaawalat* “circulated” in (55a) invariantly expresses anteriority and dimensionalization and focuses on one past event, the use of the Imperfect *tatadaawalu* “has been circulating” in (55b) denotes simultaneity and unboundedness, and is much more generic in its scope: it includes various numbers which have been, and continue to be, circulated. One more provision is needed to the basic components of the Imperfect. This provision should relativize both simultaneity and unboundedness to the reality of the writer-enunciator, to the intentions and the point of view vis-à-vis the type of message the latter would like to present. Now, if we look closely at the immediate context, we notice that the writer-enunciator rejects the numbers that the media circulated in (55a) and agrees with the other numbers which the media circulates/has been circulating in (55b). Thus, there is a strong correlation between the use of the Perfect, and the context, as much as there is cohesion between the Imperfect and the enunciator’s intentions. The rejection correlates with anteriority and dimensionalization, hence the use of the Perfect, while appropriateness correlates with simultaneity and unboundedness, hence the choice of the Imperfect.

Pursuing the same line of reasoning, the fact that in both “good wishes” and omnitemporal cases, the two verbal forms are observed, we believe that they should be accounted for in a similar way. The examples in (58) and (59) illustrate this use.

- (58) a **rafima**-hu al-llaahu
 bless.Pf-him the-God
 “May God bless him!”
- b al-laahu **y-a-rhamu-hu**
 the-God 3m-Imp-bless-him
 “May God bless him!”
- (59) a ʔin **daras**-ta **naʒaʃ**-ta
 if study.Pf-you succeed.Pf-you
 “If you study, you (will) succeed.”
- b ʔin **t-a-drus** **t-a-nʒaʃ**
 if 2m-Imp-study 2m-Imp-succeed
 “If you study, you (will) succeed.”

Although the examples in (58) and those in (59) shoot at the same target, the results are very close but not exactly the same. In other words, while the choice of the Perfect in (58a) and (59a) implies some type of distancing inferred by the invariant meaning of this verbal form, namely anteriority and the lack of simultaneity; the use of the Imperfect in (58b) and (59b) implies more sympathy suggested by its possible reference to simultaneity and the lack of anteriority.

Again, even when there is a choice, this latter is motivated by the invariant meaning of these verbal forms. Finally, we would like to stress, with respect to the marked status of each member of the opposition, that the Imperfect remains unmarked, while the Perfect is marked. The Imperfect appears in a broader range of contexts, as shown in our discussion earlier. In addition, it is observed in contexts where infinitival forms in both English and French, for example, appear. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- (60) a kaana ṡalay-hi ʔan **yaxmida** ʔanfaasa-hu wa **yanaama**
 be.Pf on-him to suppress.Imp breathings-his and sleep.Imp
 “He had to **stay** silent and go to **sleep**.”
- b fa-laabudda min takθiifi musaahamati-naa ʔattaa
 so-necessary to intensifying participations-our in order to
yartafiṡa raṡiidu-naa fii ṡunṡi ar-raʔyi al-ṡaammi
 increase.Imp share-our in creation the-opinion the-general
 al-ṡaalarniyyi...
 the-international
 “We have to intensify our participation in order to **increase** our influence on the international point of view.” (SA#1)
- c yumkinu ʔan **naquula**...
 possible to say.Imp
 “It is possible to **say**...” (SA#1)
- d nuriidu ʔan **naqifa**...
 want Imp to stand up.Imp
 “We would like to **stand up**...” (SA#1)
- e ḡahaba **yuṡaalifu** ʔirnraʔata-hu min xaali-haa
 go.Pf reconcile.Imp wife-his from uncle-her
 “He went to **reconcile** with his wife through her uncle.” (SS#4)
- f ʔanaa allaḡi **ṡaaʔa** **yaṡrudu** min hunaa aṡ-ṡayṡaan...
 I who come.Pf chase.Imp from here the-devil...
 “I am the one who came to **chase** away the devil.” (SS#3)
- g Lam **yabdaʔ** an-naasu **yastayqiḡuuna** li-ʔanna ṡawta-hu
 Neg start.Imp the-people wake up.Imp because-that voice-his
 al-ṡaalii ʔaqlaqa manaama-hum.
 the-loud disturb.Pf sleep-their
 “People did not start **waking up** because his loud voice has disturbed their sleep.” (SS#3)

h wa lasnaa **nuxfii** šayʔan fii žamiʕi haaðihi
 and Neg hide.Imp something in all these
 al-ṣalaaqaati.
 the-relationships

“And we are not **hiding** anything in all these relationships.” (NA#1)

In fact, when the number of occurrences of each verbal form is tabulated for the corpus, our results clearly show the higher frequency of the unmarked Imperfect over the marked Perfect. This is illustrated in Table 6.11.

It should also be noted, however, that within the Perfect, the Compound Perfect constitutes another case of concern. Its frequency is low, but not marginal, and its presence should therefore be addressed, just as carefully as the alternation between the Perfect and the Imperfect (see Chapter 5). The frequency of the Compound Perfect in sentence initial clauses, a context where the use of *QAD* is primarily governed by the enunciator, is summarized in Table 6.12.

The Compound Perfect, a sub-category of the Perfect, appears in certain specific contexts, as its low frequency might suggest. Although its use is not fully predictable, we argue that it should be analyzed and interpreted according to its invariant features, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Concluding remarks

The focus of this chapter has been the complex nature of both the Imperfect and the verbal dichotomy, namely the Perfect and the Imperfect. It shows the multifunctional aspect of both verbal forms, from a temporal perspective. Thus, each verbal form is shown to display various degrees of compatibility with both

Table 6.11 The frequency of the Perfect and the Imperfect

<i>Verbal form</i>	<i>N = 4618</i>	<i>Frequency (%)</i>
Imperfect	2897	63
Perfect	1721	37

Table 6.12 The frequency of the Perfect/Compound Perfect in sentence initial clauses

<i>Discourse genres</i>	<i>Nb.Pfs</i>	<i>Nb.Comp.Pfs</i>
Journalistic	136	19
Academic	75	35
Fiction	127	5
Total	308	49
Frequency (%)	85	15

temporal and non-temporal events, actions and processes. The temporal aspect of the verbal forms clearly shows their unrestrictedness as to the temporal interpretation they both receive. This is demonstrated through their appearance in present time, future time, and past time contexts. As for their nontemporal characteristics, it is shown to follow from their occurrence in modal and gnomic contexts where temporality is not involved. Moreover, independently of the temporal context, it has been demonstrated that the Imperfect either denotes a characteristic of the grammatical subject, or represents the verbal event, and as such, it is either subject-oriented or event-oriented. This means that reference to time, or better, reference to a variety of time periods can be understood in the following way: simultaneity is not deictic and thus can be defined as simultaneity with any moment, whether past, present, or future. Thus, it is similar to Jakobson's *Taxis*. However, the basic interpretation of simultaneity is simultaneity with the present moment, that is, as present time. So, in its basic meaning, it is tense, but in its invariant meaning it is *Taxis*; and in all cases there is aspect (see also Fassi Fehri 1993: 141; Kinberg 2001: 132–52).

On the basis of the aforesaid results, we are led to disagree with traditional approaches to verbal grammatical categories. For the last decades, these approaches have stressed the referential properties of verbal grammatical categories, that is, past/nonpast, perfective/imperfective, finished/unfinished, completed/uncompleted, and have overlooked, or considered marginal, cases which do not seem to conform to their respective assumptions and hypotheses. Our analysis can not, in fact, deny the capability of the verbal forms to express each one of those concepts, but stresses the fact that they are misleading, since they only cover certain interpretations; hence the shortcoming of their characterization of the verbal dichotomy. In particular, they do not allow for a category other than tense or aspect; but we have shown that *Taxis* is more basic than tense to the Arabic verbal system. Having shown the degree to which the verbal forms express temporality, aspectuality and modality, we were led to dissociate them from any pure notion of tense in the traditional sense, that is, present, past, future, or aspect, that is, perfective, imperfective and so on. Instead, we argued for an invariant meaning with a cluster of features proper to each verbal form. These features combine the category of *Taxis*, as defined in Jakobson (1971: 135), which contains the features of simultaneity and anteriority, and the category of Aspect, an enunciator-based approach, from which the evaluation of features of unboundedness and dimensionalization follow.

ATM CATEGORIES, DERIVATION, AND THE VERBAL CLAUSE

Introduction

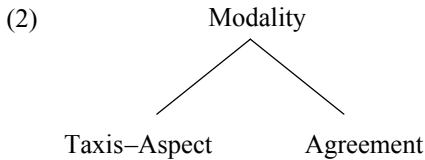
Recent Arabic syntactic analyses, such as, Ouhalla (1988, 1991, 1997, 2002), Benmamoun (1992, 1999, 2000), Fassi Fehri (1989, 1993, 2004), Mohammad (1989) among others have devised an analysis of the Arabic clause structure within the framework of Principles and Parameters as first suggested in Ouhalla (1988), Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1991), Johnson (1991) among several others. Accordingly, the INFL node (which corresponds to Modality in this work) is no longer analyzed as a singular host to multiple grammatical categories, such as aspect, tense, agreement, modality, and so on; instead, each morphological category is argued to head its own projection. This chapter is a refinement and extension of this line of inquiry. On the basis of our findings, as outlined in the previous chapters, and on the general assumption that verbal inflectional morphology is achieved at S-structure through verb movement into each phrase of which the corresponding affix is the head, we argue that, in MSA simple root clauses, both perfect and imperfect verb forms are derived first through (i) obligatory verb movement into Taxis–Aspect Phrase (henceforth Tax-AspP) of which the morphological hybrid affix is the head,¹ (ii) then, whenever possible, into a TP headed by a morphologically null T⁰. The so called V(erb) to I(nfl) movement is therefore reanalyzed as “V to Tax-Asp⁰ to T⁰ movement.”²

The chapter is divided into two sections in which an attempt will be made to motivate the aforesaid analysis in some depth. The first section demonstrates that facts from compound tenses, negation, conditionals and subject position in Arabic provide empirical evidence for the decomposition of the Infl node into two projections, namely a Tax–AspP and a TP. The last section examines recent claims, relative to the syntax of negation, and suggests that the NegP hypothesis, should be extended in favor of a more general category, which we call AsrtP. This claim is supported, in large, by the functioning of the modal particle *QAD*, discussed in Chapter 5. Meanwhile, we will show that further motivation for these results comes from various other nonrelated languages such as Chichewa, Kinyarwanda, Swahili and Welsh among many others.

The derivation of ATM categories

We have argued in the beginning of Chapter 3 that the morphological structure of Arabic verbs carries, among other things, Aspect/Tense, which we reanalyzed later as Taxis–Aspect, and agreement features. Thus, given a sentence like (1), it follows that (2) is a possible structure of INFL/Modality in Arabic.³

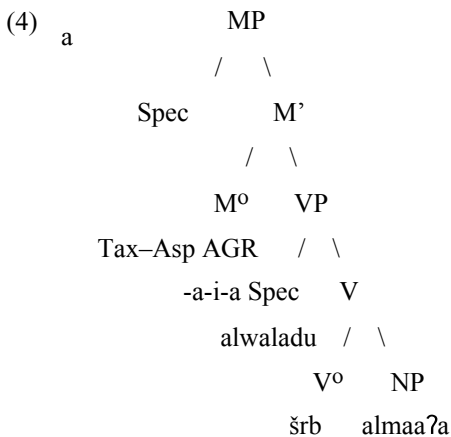
- (1) šarib-a al-walad-u al-maaʔ-a
 drink.Pf-3.s.m the-boy-nom the-water-acc
 “The boy drank the water.”

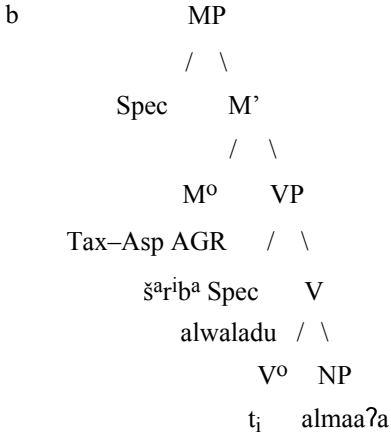


It should also be noted that the lack of either one of the categories, or both, results in ill-formedness, as illustrated in (3):

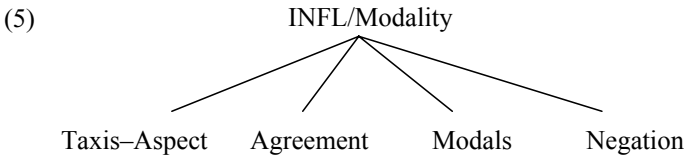
- (3) * š(*a)rib-(*a) al-walad-u al-maaʔ-a

Thus, the representation in (2) correctly predicts that verbs in Arabic must always carry both Taxis–Aspect morphology and agreement morphology. If the corresponding morphemes belong to the Modality component, then the verbal complex [Verb[Taxis/Aspect[Agreement]]] results, therefore, from an attachment process of the verbal root *šrb* “drink” to the corresponding vowel-pattern of which Taxis/Aspect and Agreement are a part. This is typically achieved through the movement of the verbal root from its base generated position, that is, the proposition constituent or the VP, to Modality.⁴ This is illustrated in (4), where (4a) represents the underlying level, and (4b) the surface level.





In the same spirit, Benmamoun (2000) assumes that Mood and Negation are generated under INFL, together with taxis–aspect and agreement, yielding the structure in (5).



It is easy to see the dead end to which this approach is leading, especially when faced with cases where a flat structure of this type fails to derive their surface structures. Indeed, within the Chomskian approach, flat structures have always been disfavored in favor of hierarchical representations. This raises the question as to whether the constituents of Modality should be treated just like lexical elements, such as verbs, nouns, and adjectives. During the past seven or eight years, various linguists, working on a broad range of languages, have attempted an analysis of the Modality constituent where it is strongly argued that, indeed, each of the Modality elements participates in the projection of the clausal argument structure. Later, we shall present an alternative analysis to the structure in (5b), where each functional category is shown to head its own projection. In particular, we will argue that not only the category of Taxis–Aspect head its phrasal projection, the category of Tense should also be incorporated within the clausal structure. We base our claim for this splitting of the tree on the syntactic characterization of both verbal forms: the Perfect and the Imperfect. Our argumentation includes facts from Negation, compound tenses, conditionals, and the position of subjects. This characterization will be shown to correlate with the semantico-pragmatic functioning of the verbal system as a whole. As for the derivation of agreement

morphology, the reader is advised to refer to Harbert and Bahloul (2002), for a detailed analysis of the agreement facts in Arabic. Our discussion is therefore restricted to the derivation of both taxis–aspect and tense, with a brief account of negation, since it interacts with the category of tense.

The structure of Taxis–Aspect and tense

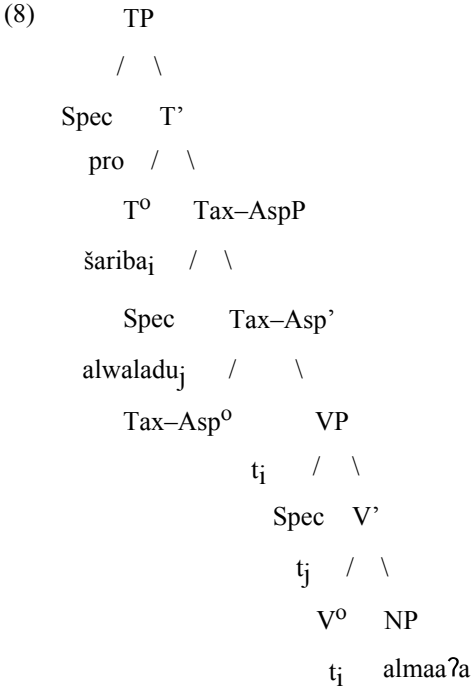
Recall that according to the Aspect–Tense typology we have developed in Chapter 2 (pp. 40–42), based on the concept of continuum, three basic types are assumed to be found across languages, and probably language groups. These types are repeated here for convenience:

- (6) Type I (A, 0): where Aspect is omnipresent and Tense
reduced to zero/inferred
Type II (T, 0): where Tense is omnipresent and Aspect
reduced to zero/inferred
Type III (A/T): where both categories are equally present

It should be stressed that while Type III is probably more straightforward, types I and II present a specific challenge since they are based on Saliency, and require therefore deeper investigations. In fact, Chapters 4 and 6 are devoted to discuss various issues related to the semantic features of these categories within the verbal system. There, we argue that Taxis and Aspect are the invariant features which underly the distinction between the two verbal forms. By process of elimination, Arabic is less likely to belong to type II, where tense is the basic category upon which the verbal system is based. Type III is mostly found among languages which separately mark Aspect and Tense on the thematic verb. Arabic falls more likely within type I, with an additional provision, however. This latter extends the category of Aspect to include Taxis, as our findings suggest. As for the category of Tense, we argue that, as a sentential category, it is not always available to host the thematic verb. From a syntactic point of view, we will show that the movement of the thematic verb to tense is highly restricted.

It is therefore safe to conclude that the two categories should in principle be generated within the constituent structure of the clause in order to license both the taxis–aspectual features of the verbal process and the temporal interpretation of the clause. On the basis of these results, we would like to suggest that this is mirrored in the syntax through an obligatory movement of the verbal root to Tax–AspP of which the verbal morpheme is the head, then to TP headed by T⁰. Accordingly, example (1), repeated here under (7), would have the configuration in (8).

- (7) *šarib-a* al-walad-u al-maa?-a
drink.Pf-3.s.m the-boy-nom the-water-acc
“The boy drank the water.”



The representation in (8) shows that the verbal root along with its arguments start out inside the VP (e.g. the NP subject *alwaladu* “the boy” in Spec VP in accordance with the subject internal hypothesis, the NP object *almaaʔa* “the water,” a complement of V^o). The Modality component (INFL) contains the two projections of Taxis–Aspect and Tense. Given the primacy of the taxis–aspectual features in the Arabic verb, we suggest that the Taxis–Aspect morphology is base generated under Taxis–Aspect (Tax–Asp^o) leaving T^o phonologically null, which does not imply that it is void of features, rather its features are not strong enough to have a phonetic content. This metaphoric representation accords well with its semantic status within the verbal system. Now, the question is what motivates verb movement into Tax–Asp^o and to T^o, as shown in (8). In the analysis of clausal structure we have advanced in Chapter 2, we have demonstrated that a well-formed utterance is governed by an enunciative operation which results in an interaction between the VP/lexis constituent and the Modality/INFL constituent. In (8), this interaction results in the attachment of the verbal root with the relevant taxis–aspectual morpheme. The verbal complex moves then to T^o in accordance with syntactic principles, namely the lack of syntactic barrier.⁵ More evidence for the verb movement into Tax–Asp^o comes from the general ban on stranded affixal morphemes, as defined in (Anderson 1988), among others. This ban is again a well formed condition which regulates proper morphological attachments

at S-structure. On the theoretical level, this suggestion enhances the status of movement theory as a component of Universal Grammar which treats and constrains the structural representation of all categories, that is both substantive (e.g. lexical categories) and functional (e.g. grammatical categories). On the empirical level, we will show that this line of analysis accounts for the distribution of both Taxis–Aspect and Tense elements in a wide range of contexts in Arabic, and probably in a variety of languages.

Closely related to the issue of derivation is the order of constituents within the Modality component. Up to now, we have assumed that Taxis–Aspect is closer to the verbal root than Tense, as illustrated in the aforesaid representations. In accordance with our findings in the previous chapters, we would like to suggest that this is the correct order. This order is further supported by the fact that while Taxis–Aspect relates typically to the thematic verb, Tense exhibits a rather different behavior, appearing therefore on various other phrasal heads. Later, we shall present evidence which, we hope will clearly show that Taxis–Aspect and Tense must head their own projections, on the one hand, and unless Taxis–Aspect is closer to the thematic verb than Tense, structural ill-formed/ungrammaticality results, on the other hand.

Taxis–Aspect, tense, and negation

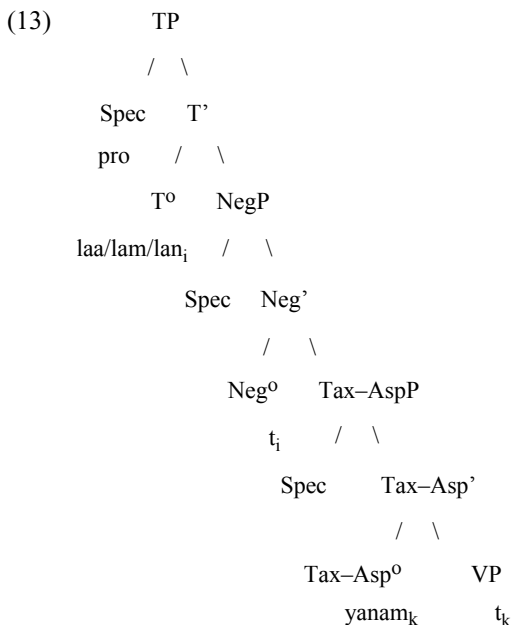
Assuming that affixes carrying taxis–aspect and tense are affixed to their hosts via head movement, which we take following Chomsky (1986) to be subject to the Empty Category Principle (ECP) in (9), and that this gives rise to the locality effects characterized by Relativized Minimality (RM) (Rizzi 1990), as in (10) and (11), the prediction is that both RM along with the ECP impose a strict cyclic movement of the verb, thus guaranteeing that only a specific order, that is the attested order, of the constituent elements of the verbal complex is derived.

- (9) A nonpronominal empty category must be properly governed.
- (10) X antecedent-governs Y only if there is no Z such that
- (i) Z is a typical potential antecedent-governor for Y, and
 - (ii) Z m-commands Y and does not m-command X.
- (11) X antecedent-governs Y if
- (i) X and Y are coindexed
 - (ii) X c-commands Y
 - (iii) no barrier intervenes
 - (iv) Relativized Minimality is respected

Now, consider the following examples:

- (12) a laa y-a-naam-u
 Neg+Pres. 3m-**Imp**-sleep-s
 “He does not sleep.”
- b lam y-a-nam-Ø
 Neg+Pst. 3m-**Imp**.-sleep-s
 “He did not sleep.”
- c lan y-a-naam-a
 Neg+Fut. 3m-**Imp**.-sleep-s
 “He will not sleep.”

In (12a–c), the negative morpheme carries tense and varies in form according to the type of tense (present, as in (12a), past as in (12b), and future as in (12c)). In all three clauses, however, the lexical verb appears in the Imperfect form carrying therefore imperfect morphology. It is easy to see here that, while taxis–aspect morphology appears on the thematic verb, tense appears on another phrasal category, namely negation. This seems to suggest that the presence of negation results in preventing the verb from being associated with tense, in the same way that negation in English prevents the verb from being associated with tense and AGR. Such a blocking effect is accounted for in a principled way if we assume that negation in Arabic is base generated below Tense, a position from which it raises and gets attached to Tense, as illustrated in (13).



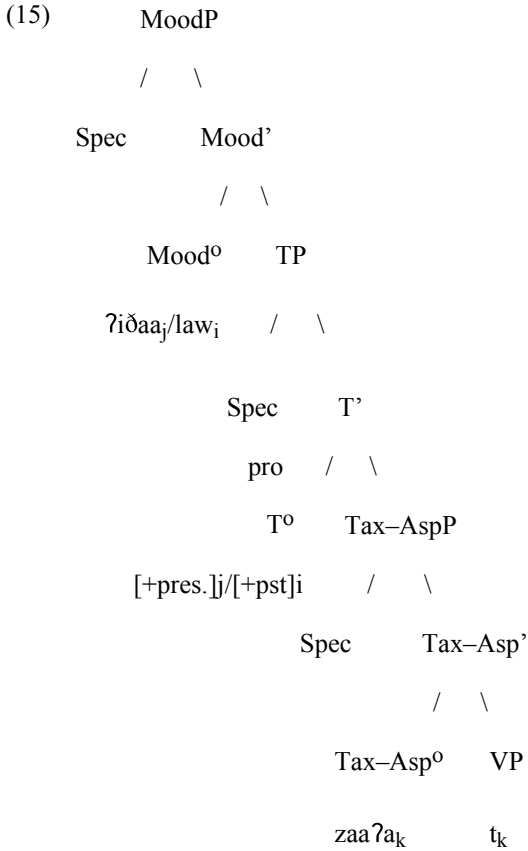
Interestingly, it is the verb and not the negative that carries Taxis–Aspect. This is direct evidence for separating tense and taxis–aspect. Notice that in an analysis where both tense and taxis–aspect are subsumed under the same inflectional projection (INFL, TP, or Tax–AspP), the aforesaid sentences should not be possible, since it is the negative that gets tense and the verb that gets taxis–aspect morphology, as illustrated earlier.⁶

Taxis–Aspect, tense, and conditionals

Another context where the tense category proves to be independent from the thematic verb is observed in conditional constructions. Consider the examples as follows:

- (14) a $\eta\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\alpha$ $\eta\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\alpha$ $x\acute{a}\rho\alpha\acute{z}\text{-naa}$
 if come.Pf.3.m.s leave.Pf-1 p
 “If he comes, we will go out.”
- b **Law** $\eta\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\alpha$ $la\text{-}x\acute{a}\rho\alpha\acute{z}\text{-naa}$
 if come.Pf.3.m.s LA-leave.Pf-1.p
 “If he had come, we would have gone out.”

The contrast between the example in (14a) and the one in (14b) shows that both verbs $\eta\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\alpha$ “came” and $x\acute{a}\rho\alpha\acute{z}\text{-naa}$ “left,” do not intervene in both the mood and temporal interpretations of the clause. Although both forms are in the Perfect, it is the present/future interpretation that arises in (14a), and the past perfect/future-past interpretation that (14b) conveys. Moreover the prefix *LA*- which appears along with $x\acute{a}\rho\alpha\acute{z}\text{-naa}$ “left” in (14b) is an emphatic particle, and does not interact therefore with the observed temporal contrast. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that tense relates somehow to the conditional particles. Indeed, the very fact that the particle changes according to the temporal interpretation is strong evidence for their interrelatedness. In light of this conclusion, we suggest that the conditional particles $\eta\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\alpha$ and *law* “if” should be reanalyzed as conditional–temporal particles, with $\eta\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\alpha$ encoding the present “If + present,” and *law* encoding the past “if + past.” One way to capture this generalization is to base-generate the conditional particles above Tense, under a separate projection which we call Mood Phrase (MoodP), allowing therefore for a principled attachment process. In other words, unlike the negative particles, the conditional particles select for different values of tense. While the mood particle $\eta\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\alpha$ selects for a [+ present] tense, *law* selects for a [+ past] tense. The configuration in (15), where selection is marked through coindexation, illustrates this process.



In what follows, we present another supportive argument which militates against the treatment of both Taxis–Aspect and Tense as elements which belong to a single syntactic node, the compound tense constructions.

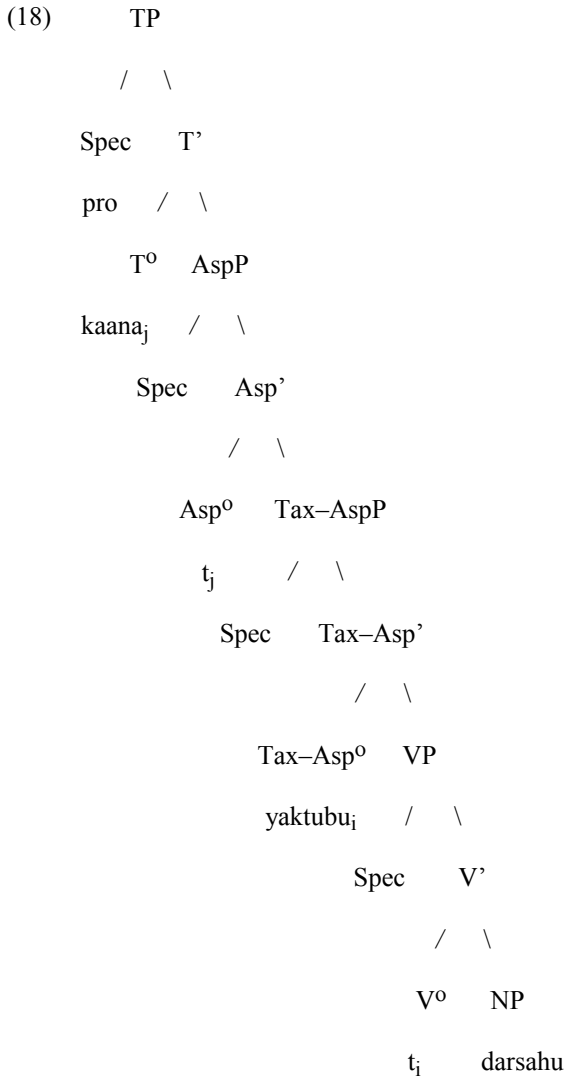
Taxis–Aspect, tense, and compound tenses

Consider the examples in (16) and (17):

- (16) a kaana katab-a darsa-hu
was write.Pf-3sm lesson-his
‘‘He has written his lesson.’’

- b *yakuunu* *katab-a* *darsa-hu*
 is write.**Pf**-3sm lesson-his,
 “He will have written his lesson.”
- (17) a *kaana* *y-a-ktub-u* *darsa-hu*
 was 3m-**Imp**-write-s lesson-his
 “He was writing his lesson.”
- b *yakuunu* *y-a-ktub-u* *darsa-hu*
 is 3m-**Imp**-write-s lesson-his
 “He will be writing his lesson.”

The data here illustrates the fact that in compound tenses both Taxis–Aspect and Tense are present. The latter appears, however, attached to an auxiliary verb, while the former appears on the thematic verb. Accordingly, while the main verb in both (16) and (17) stays in the perfective and imperfective form respectively, temporal relations are solely controlled by the auxiliary, *kaana* “was” in (16a–b) and *yakuunu* “is” in (17a–b). The question that suggests itself is why taxis–aspect and tense morphology can’t both appear on the thematic verb of a compound tense? We would like to suggest that this is due to the overt presence of the auxiliary *kaana*. If that is indeed the case, how would their presence interact with both Taxis–Aspect and Tense? Recall that under standard belief (that is, Pollock (1989); Chomsky (1988)) auxiliaries are argued to originate inside VP and move to T⁰ to acquire the tense features. Following Ouhalla (1990), we argue against such analysis, and maintain that the fundamental distinction between auxiliaries and main verbs is mainly categorial. Unlike lexical verbs, auxiliaries seem to belong to closed class elements (i.e. *kaana* and its sisters), which we would like to analyze as aspectuals,⁷ and as such they project an AspP rather than a VP. I will refer to this projection as AspP. Moreover, the fact that they control the temporal interpretation of the clause suggests that they are base-generated between TP and Tax–AspP, then raised into T⁰. This is illustrated in the configuration (18) which corresponds to the sentence in (17a). The difference between (8) and (18) resides, however, in the selectional properties of T⁰. While in (8) T⁰ selects a Taxis–Aspect complement, it selects an AspP in (18) of which the auxiliary is the head. If this is correct, one could still ask why it is the case that in (4b) the verb moves all the way to support the abstract tense features, while in (18) the verb stays in its Taxis–Aspect position. The answer is as follows: whereas in (4b) verb movement to Tax–Asp⁰ and to T⁰ does not give rise to any violation of either the ECP or Relativized Minimality, if the verb were to move to T⁰ in (18) it would be crossing over an Aspect category (i.e. *kaana*) which is a violation of both principles (9) and (10), the ECP and RM respectively. This conclusion is borne out as the ungrammaticality of (19) illustrates.



- (19) *ya-ktub-u_i kaana [t]_i darsa-hu.
 Imp.3m-write-s was lesson-his.

Indeed, in compound tenses, it is the auxiliary instead that rises to acquire the tense features. Such rising is licensed by the auxiliary's ability to host tense features in accordance with both the ECP and RM. If such rising occurs previous to S-structure, this in turn leaves no place for the verb to move to since the auxiliary is in T⁰ and Tax-Asp⁰ is occupied by its trace. The claim being made

here is that aspectual auxiliaries belong presumably to the same class of categories as the verbal morphemes discussed earlier, with the simple difference that while auxiliaries are free morphemes, the latter are bound morphemes. As such they are basically functional categories which differ from verbs in that they lack a thematic grid, the property that accounts for their inability to subcategorize for arguments. Moreover, auxiliaries can not be members of the argument structure of main verbs, in the sense that they do not bear any thematic relation to the main verb or to any of its arguments, and therefore are excluded from VP. In sum, evidence from compound tenses shows that raising of the complex [Tax–Asp + V] to T° is blocked for reasons having to do with the ECP and RM. Thus, various temporal relations are expressed by the auxiliary, which becomes the only candidate that raises and supports the tense features (see Ouhalla (1990) and Carstens and Kinyalolo (1989) for different analyses). A final argument in favor of this split between Taxis–Aspect and the Tense category as separate phrasal projections comes from the positionality of subjects in compound tenses. Consider the sentences in (20):

- (20) a kaan-at t-a-ktub-u al-bint-aani darsa-humaa
 be.past-3s.f 3.f-**Imp**-write-s the-girl-d. lesson-3.f.d
 “The two girls were writing their lesson.”
- b kaan-at al-bint-aani_i t-a-ktub-aani [t]_i darsa-humaa
 be.past-3s.f the-girl-d. 3.f-**Imp**-write-s lesson-3.f.d
 “The two girls were writing their lesson.”
- c al-bint-aani_i kaan-ataa [t]_i t-a-ktub-aani [t]_i darsa-humaa
 the-girl-d. be.past-3d.f 3.f-**Imp**-write-s lesson-3.f.d
 “The two girls were writing their lesson.”

Given the structure of a compound tense clause in (18) here, I would like to note first that I am assuming with Mohammad (1991), that there is a null expletive subject in Spec TP (Spec IP, in Mohammad’s terms), and that the thematic subject position is internal to VP (cf. Stowell (1983); Speas (1985); Kuroda (1986)). The auxiliary *kaanat* occupies T° and the thematic verb *taktubaani* occupies a lower position in the structure, namely Tax–Asp°. As for the subject *albintaani* in (20a), it is clear that it can stay in its D-structure position, namely specifier of VP. When the subject is preposed, as in (20b), it occurs in a spec position between the auxiliary *kaanat* and the verb *taktubaani*. In (20c), the subject is preposed all the way to Spec T°. What is relevant to our analysis here is the fact that the lexical subject appears between the verb and the auxiliary. If both Taxis–Aspect and Tense were not separated, no possible spec position would be available for the thematic subject, and therefore the derivation of (20b) would either be impossible or very complex. Under our analysis, the subject in (20b) raises to the specifier position of the taxis–aspect. This constitutes one more piece of evidence in support of the split between both categories.

From a cross-linguistic point of view, the aforesaid claim is less likely to be particular to Arabic. If we consider the grammatical categories of Tense and Aspect, we notice that several languages and language groups are even more articulate as to the separation between both categories. Consider the following examples:

- (21) a Juma a-**ta**-kuwa a-**me**-pika chakula
 Juma lagr-**Fut**-be lagr-**Perf**-cook food
 “Juma will have cooked food.”
- b Juma a-**li**-kuwa a-**ki**-pika chakula
 Juma lagr-**Pst**-be lagr-**Cont**-cook food
 “Juma was cooking food.”
- c* Juma a-**ta-me**-pika chakula
 Juma lagr-**Fut-Perf**-cook food
 “Juma will have cooked food.”
 (Carstens and Kinyalolo (1989))

The data in (21) illustrate the fact that a Swahili verb can not be inflected for both Aspect and Tense, as the ungrammaticality of (21c) shows. Instead, Aspect and Tense affixes appear to be distributed over two separate verbal complexes. Although this type of separation between Aspect and Tense is common within compound tenses, it is not always the case, since it might occur within simple tenses. Indeed, the interpretation of the example from Hindi below suggests that this pattern is observed in the simple present/progressive tense/aspect:

- (22) Raam baith-**taa** hai
 Ram sit-**Imp.** AUX
 “Ram sits/is sitting.”
 (Gair and Wali 1988: 92)

Note that the very availability of the two interpretations follows straight-forwardly if we assume, similar to the Imperfect in Arabic, that the structure provides the necessary syntactic environment, namely Aspect and Tense. On the assumption that this analysis is correct, the difference between languages like Arabic on the one hand, and those like English and French, on the other hand, reduces to a minimal morphological difference of the Taxis-Aspect and Tense categories. In other words, while maintaining the fact that all these languages can be considered to have identical D-structures, as in (8), the only difference between them is the extent to which tense and/or (taxis)-aspect morphemes have phonological content, and therefore are overtly realized at S-structure. This analysis is supported by the fact that this difference is not only observed between various

languages and/or language groups, but also within the same language, as illustrated in (23) from Swahili (Carstens and Kinyalolo 1989).

- (23) a Juma a-**li**-pika chakula
 Juma 1agr-**Pst**-cook food
 “Juma cooked food.”
- b Juma a-**me**-pika chakula
 Juma 1agr-**Perf**-cook food
 “Juma has cooked food.”

However, given the fact that in Bantu languages, Chichewa and Kinyarwanda examples (24a–b), the verb appears with both aspect and tense morphology on its opposite sides, contrary to Swahili examples (21a–c), where Aspect and Tense appear on different complexes, we are led to the conclusion which can be summarized in the generalization in (25):

- (24) a Mtsuko u-**na**-gw-a
 waterpot SP-**Past**-fall-**Asp**
 “The waterpot fell.”
 (Baker (1988))
- b Umwaana y-**a**-taa-ye igitabo mu maazi
 child SP-**Past**-throw-**Asp** book in water
 “The child has thrown the book into the water.”

- (25) Finite lexical verbs are derived through their obligatory movement to both (Taxis)–Aspect and Tense, whenever they can.

Now, the above generalization, if correct, depends crucially on the assumption that both Aspect and Tense head their own maximal projections. The failure of the verb movement to Tense in Swahili is due therefore to failure on the part of the verbal complex (Aspect–Verb) to move to Tense. These constraints are made to follow from both principles: the Head Movement Constraint, on the one hand, and RM, on the other hand.

In sum, the data from both Arabic and other languages provide empirical evidence for treating (Taxis)–Aspect and Tense as two separate categories, which in turn militates strongly against representations where both are subsumed under the same syntactic node. This latter fails to predict: (i) that (Taxis)–Aspect and/or Tense can appear in different complexes; (ii) that there might be a hierarchical order between both categories, that is one element might be inside or outside the other. Before ending this chapter, we would like to offer a brief account for the syntactic behavior of the modal particle *QAD*, when it precedes the Perfect. Having established that *QAD* interacts with assertive modality, affirmative in

particular, we would like to suggest that its syntax is indeed related to its semantic values. Consider the examples in (26):

- (26) a qad ʔaʕʒaba-nii haaḏaa al-film
 QAD please.Pf-me this the-film
 “I did like this movie.”
- b maa ʔaʕʒaba-nii haaḏaa al-film
 Neg please.Pf-me this the-film
 “I did not like this movie.”

If assertiveness might either have a positive or a negative value, yielding therefore a positive assertion, and a negative assertion, respectively, the contrast between the examples in (26a) and (26b) might as well be interpreted as illustrative of this particular operation. In other words, while positive assertion is illustrated through the use of the modal particle *QAD*, negative assertion is indicated by the presence of the negator *maa*. If this is indeed the case, the prediction would be that *QAD* and *maa* should not occur in the same context, and as such they are in a complementary distribution, since they constitute the two sides of one single coin. This prediction is borne out as the ungrammaticality of both (27a) and (27b) illustrates.

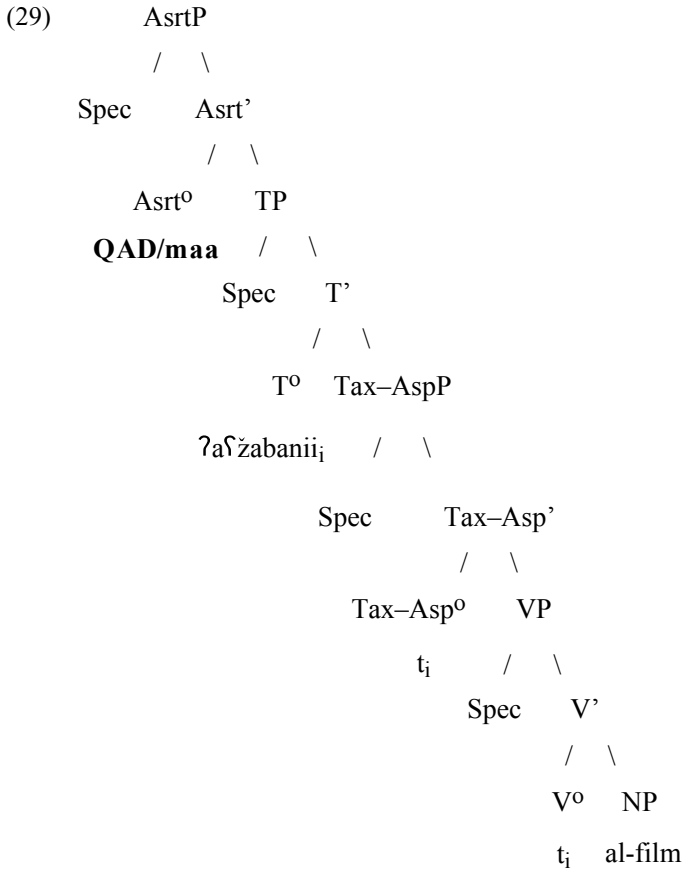
- (27) a *qad maa ʔaʕʒaba-nii haaḏaa al-film
 b *maa qad ʔaʕʒaba-nii haaḏaa al-film

The idea here is that, if *QAD* were simply an emphatic particle, there would be nothing to prevent an emphatic negation. In English, for example, emphatic negation is typically realized through an additional stress on the emphatic *DO/DID*, and the use of the full form of the negator *NOT*, as illustrated in the contrast between (28a) and (28b):

- (28) a I didn't do it.
 b **I DID NOT** do it.

Thus, the unavailability of the co-occurrence between *QAD* and *maa* suggests that they share similar syntactic properties. This is a quite reliable criterion when determining whether two or more elements are part of the same syntactic category. Given that *QAD* and *maa* satisfy the above criterion, it is safe to conclude that they are two elements of the same set, rather than categories of their own. We shall, therefore, suggest that both *QAD* and *maa* are surface traces of a more abstract operation, Assertion, and as such they are generated in the same position in the Phrase Marker, which we shall call *AsrtP*.

Sentences such as those in (26a) and (26b) are therefore represented as in (29) as follows:



The claim that AsrtP is an independent projection is further evidenced by facts from a similar alternation between the sentential emphatic particle *ʔinna* “indeed, really,” and the sentential negator *maa* in nonverbal clauses. Consider first the examples in (30):

- (30) a al-walad-u fii al-madrasat-i
the-boy-nom in the-school-gen
“The boy is at school.”
- b ʔinna al-walad-a⁸ fii al-madrasat-i
ʔINNA the-boy-acc in the-school-gen
“The boy **IS** at school.”

The difference between the examples in (30a) and (30b) resides in the presence of the emphatic particle *ʔinna*. This latter is typically used to express “affirmation” (Gully 1995: 125) in contexts where English, for example, puts stress on the copular verb, as indicated by the bold capital letters “**IS**.” Most important is the fact that the emphatic particle *ʔinna* does not co-occur with negation, similar to *QAD* above. This is illustrated in (3):

- (31) a maa al-walad-u fii al-madrasat-i
 Neg the-boy-nom in the-school-gen
 “The boy is not at school.”
- b *ʔinna maa al-walad-u fii al-madrasat-i

The ungrammaticality of (31b) shows that *ʔinna* and *maa* are indeed in complementary distribution, and as such they share certain syntactic distributional values. Similar to the treatment of *QAD*, we would like to suggest that a nonverbal clause can also be headed by an AsrtP with either a positive value, hence the use of *ʔinna*, or a negative value, hence the use of the negator *maa*. This is represented in (32) here:

- (32) AsrtP
 / \
 Spec Asrt'
 / \
 Asrt⁰ PP
 ʔinna/maa / \
 Spec P'
 alwalada / \
 p⁰ NP
 fii almadrasati

Thus far, facts from both types of clauses in Arabic, verbal and nonverbal, provide empirical evidence for the AsrtP projection, as a principled explanation for the deep syntactic similarity between negation and affirmation. It should be noted, however, that other languages show similar behavior with respect to Assertion. Laka (1990: 84–168), for example, argues at length that the behavior of negative and affirmative markers in both English and Basque provide enough evidence for the AsrtP projection (which she calls “Sigma Phrase”). Likewise, Pinon (1993)

shows that Hungarian has an emphatic particle which is in complementary distribution with negation, suggesting therefore that, similar to English and Basque, Hungarian also has a “Sigma Phrase.” The overall thrust of these observations is to abandon the NegP projection in favor of a more general/abstract projection which also includes other sentence operators, such as affirmation and emphasis, an effort which underlies a desire to minimize phrasal projections, within the principles and parameters approach. The AsrTP is one step toward that direction (see also Mitchell 1991 for a similar claim for Finnish).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we started with the assumption that the Modal node should no longer be analyzed as a host for multiple grammatical categories, such as Taxis–Aspect, Tense, Modals, Negation, and Agreement; instead each category should head its own phrasal projection. On conceptual and empirical grounds, we have argued for the existence of a phrasal category called Taxis–Aspect Phrase which occurs between TP and VP. Accordingly “V⁰ to I⁰ movement” is reanalyzed as a “V⁰ to Tax–Asp⁰ to T⁰ movement.” Ample evidence from various languages is shown to support this conclusion. In compound tenses, however, facts from Arabic and Swahili are shown to support the fact that the realization of (Taxis)–Aspect and Tense appear on two different complexes. In accordance with the conclusions in Chapters 4 and 6 above concerning the inherent semantic features of verbal forms, the category of Taxis–Aspect is shown to always appear on the thematic verb which can be derived from its selectional properties, while Tense is argued to appear attached to the auxiliary as a result of a syntactic movement. Facts from negation, conditional particles, and subject positionality are also shown to argue in favor of this split. The fact that Taxis–Aspect and Tense elements appear in different head complexes, along with various other syntactic phenomena, constitutes empirical evidence for having them as separate syntactic categories rather than as elements which belong to a single syntactic node. Finally, we touched upon the syntactic properties of the modal particle *QAD*, showing that it patterns with negation. Evidence is therefore brought from nonverbal clauses, which altogether suggest that both negation and emphatic/assertive elements belong to a broader category, which we called the AsrTP.

ATM CATEGORIES, DERIVATION, AND THE NOMINAL CLAUSE

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an analysis for the contrast between two types of main root clauses in MSA, shown in (1) and (2).

- (1) *qadima* *al-walad-u*
 come.Pf.3s.m the-boy-nom
 “The boy came.”
- (2) *al-walad-u* *fii* *al-bayt-i*
 the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
 “The boy (is) at home.”

Whereas the sentence in (1) contains a verb *qadima* inflected for Taxis–Aspect and Agreement, (2) appears without any lexically realized verbal element.¹ To account for this contrast, the analysis proposed in this chapter explores the range of possible arguments that the Modality component is allowed to select. More precisely, it assumes that the content of Modality imposes some restrictions as to what type of complement Mod^o takes. Accordingly, the feature [\pm taxis–Aspect] in Modality for instance is shown to be crucial as to whether Mod^o selects for a VP complement headed by a lexical verb as in (1), or for a pp complement headed by a preposition as in (2).

The analysis we propose differs fundamentally from previous analyses; some of these have relied crucially on deletion processes (Bakir 1980; Abdul- Ghany 1981; Farghal 1986; Al-Waer 1987), on the presence of phonetically unrealized or abstract heads (Fassi Fehri 1982, 1993), and on Small Clauses (Mouchaweb 1986). A full discussion of these analyses will take us too far afield (see Benmamoun 2000: 39–50 and Bahloul 2006a for informative discussions). But it is important to note that an analysis that derives sentences like (2) from underlyingly verbal ones, where the verb undergoes a deletion process under present/timeless reference as, for example in Farghal (1986: 51), can not provide the most adequate account, since it fails to account for the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (3b), where the presence of the copula in a present/timeless context is not even optional, but obligatory.

- (3) a qad takuunu al-ʔarḏ-u mustadiirat-an
 may be the-earth-nom round-acc
 “The earth may be round.”
- b *qad al-ʔarḏ-u mustadiirat-un
 may the-earth-nom round-nom

The obligatory presence of the copula is also observed in nonpresent time contexts, such as those referring to remote or forthcoming events, as illustrated in (4) and (5), respectively.

- (4) a kaana al-walad-u fii al-madiinat-i bi-al-ʔamsi
 was the-boy-nom in the-city-gen in-the-yesterday
 “The boy was in the city yesterday.”
- b *al-walad-u fii al-madiinat-i bi-al-ʔamsi
 the-boy-nom in the-city-gen in-the-yesterday
- (5) a sa-yakuunu al-ḥall-u ʒaahiz-an ʕadan
 fut-be the-solution-nom ready-acc tomorrow
 “The solution will be ready tomorrow.”
- b *al-ḥall-u ʒaahiz-an ʕadan
 the-solution-nom ready-nom tomorrow

Given the obligatory presence of the copula in (3)–(5), we suggest that temporal information is not the only factor to which the presence of the copula is sensitive. If the presence of the copula becomes obligatory in present, past, and future time contexts, it becomes less likely that specific temporal contexts are playing a crucial role in determining the presence and/or absence of the copula. But, if this is indeed the case, why would the occurrence of the copula always be impossible in clauses such as those in (6)–(8)?²

- (6) a al-bayt-u kabiir-un
 the-house-nom big-nom
 “The house (is) big.”
- b *yakuunu al-bayt-u kabiir-an
 is the-house-nom big-acc
- (7) a zayd-un mudiir-un
 zayd-nom director-nom
 “Zayd is a director.”
- b *yakuunu zayd-un mudiir-an
 is zayd-nom director-acc

- (8) a al-walad-u fii al-madiinat-i
the-boy-nom in the-city-nom
“The boy is in the city.”
- b *yakuunu al-walad-u fii al-madiinat-i
is the-boy-nom in the-city-gen

In answering this question, the present chapter will consider selectional properties of functional categories from the perspective of recent developments within the Principles and Parameters Approach, as discussed in Chapter 2, pp. 24–30, with particular attention to the Modality component. In the next section, we will outline the general outlines of our proposal. Subsequent sections will deal with various apparently problematic constructions where the presence of the copula is found to be obligatory. We show that the suggested analysis would straightforwardly account for such cases.

Nominal clauses and modality

Consider now the sentences in (9):

- (9) a al-walad-u fii al-bayt-i
the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
“The boy is at home.”
- b kaana al-walad-u fii al-bayt-i
was the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
“The boy was in the house.”
- c sa-yakuunu al-walad-u fii al-bayt-i
fut-be the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
“The boy will be at home.”

The absence of any overt verbal form in (9a) is, we suggest, related to the type of features on the Modality constituent. Modality, like all other heads, can take any phrasal category as a complement, as illustrated in (10).³

- (10) ModP
/ \
Spec Mod'
/ \
Mod⁰ XP(VP, NP, AP, PP)

Accordingly, whereas in (9a) Mod⁰ selects a PP complement, it selects a VP in both (9b) and (9c). Now, if we acknowledge that (10) is the correct representation, two issues need to be addressed. First, having assumed that the content of Modality determines the type of complement it selects, it becomes crucial to investigate the featural composition of Modality, and the distribution of its specified and unspecified feature values.⁴ The second issue concerns the features involved in the selection of each complement since complements in general are neither randomly selected, nor can they all co-occur at once.

Some properties of modality

If both lexical and nonlexical categories are composed of features, as it is generally assumed, it is quite important to note that the featural composition of nonlexical categories (Aspect, Taxis, Tense, C, DP, etc.) differs in many ways from that of lexical categories (Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs). This is best demonstrated by the fact that while lexical heads are generally fully specified for the values of their features, nonlexical heads are mainly unspecified for some of their feature values, or are specified for none. For example, while the lexical NP *al-ṭawlaadu* ‘the boys’ is always specified for its feature values (person, gender, number of 3m.p),⁵ nonlexical Modality, containing modal categories such as tense, taxis–aspect, negation, interrogation (wh), mood and modality, may either be specified for some of the feature values of these categories or for none, as illustrated in (11) and (12).⁶

(11) a kaana al-walad-u fii al-bayt-i
 was the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
 ‘The boy was at home.’

b Modality → [tense, PST]

(12) a al-waladu fu al-bayt-i
 the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
 ‘The boy is at home.’

b Modality → [tense, Ø]

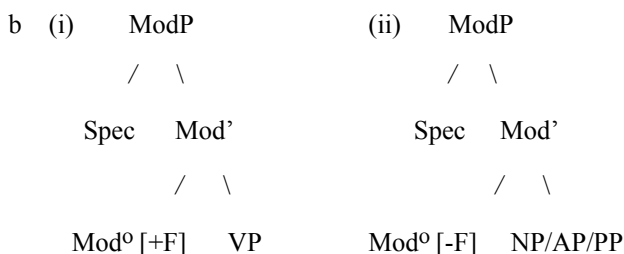
However, if features of lexical items are generally specified in the lexicon, how does Modality get its features (including its null features)? Following Dubinsky (1988), we shall assume that Modality’s modal features are directly instantiated on the structure without the mediation of the lexicon. They are features whose values are set in accordance with the pragmatic context. Under this assumption, the Modality node would encode modal features such as taxis–aspect, tense, negation, interrogation, mood, modality, hierarchically ordered, or would be empty, as shown in (13) according to the input of pragmatic information.⁷

(13) Modality → [TNS, ASP, NEG, INT, MOOD, MOD]

[Ø]

To illustrate, unless the feature value NEG, for instance, is specified on Modality, the sentence can be all but negative. Accordingly, if the feature value TNS is not present in Modality, Modality can select any complement but a VP. Therefore, the presence or absence of a VP complement is somehow licensed by the tense features in Modality,⁸ as represented in (14).

(14) a Modality---> [+/-F(atures)] (F=TNS)



As will be shown later, there are independent reasons to believe that the content of Modality plays a salient role in accounting for various syntactic phenomena, and for the contrast between the two constructions under consideration.

Verb movement into modality

I will assume with Mohammad (1989), Fassi Fehri (1989, 1993), and Benmamoun (2000) that SA is underlyingly an SVO language, and that VSO word order is achieved through verb movement to T⁰.⁹ Such movement is rendered obligatory in SA in order for verbs to pick up the taxis–aspect and/or tense features, thus “creating a finite verb” (Holmberg 1986: 132). There is good evidence of such a movement across languages (See Emonds 1978 and Pollock 1989 for French; Morikawa 1989 for Japanese; Holmberg 1986 for Scandinavian languages; Sproat 1985 for VSO languages; and our discussion in Chapter 7). We argue that verb movement to Tax–Asp⁰ and/or T⁰ is determined by the following principle:¹⁰

- (15) a All verbs include in their theta grid an event features that must be saturated by the head Tax–Asp⁰ and/or T⁰ in the syntax
- b Verbs obligatorily move to Tax–Asp⁰ and/or T⁰ to support those features.

Principle (15) can be evaluated as a criterion of clause well formedness, defining how finite verbs are derived at S-structure as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a kataba al-walad-u tamriin-a-hu
 write.Pf the-boy-nom exercise-acc-his
 “The boy wrote his exercise.”
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>b TP</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">/ \</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Spec T'</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">/ \</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">T° VP</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">[TNS] / \</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">NP V'</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">alwaladu / \</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">V NP</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">ktb tamriinahu</p> | <p>c TP</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">/ \</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Spec T'</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">/ \</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">V+T° VP</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">kataba_i / \</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">NP V'</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">alwaladu / \</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">V NP</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">t_i tamriinahu</p> |
|---|--|

Having argued that taxis–aspect and tense features head their own projections (Chapter 7), it follows that verbs are base-generated without both features, as shown in (16b). Thus, (16a) is derived through verb movement into T°, as illustrated in (16c).¹¹ This is supported by the fact that in MSA, as in other languages, both verb and inflectional morphology are bound morphemes, hence neither of them can appear by itself.¹² This is shown in (17).

- (17) a ktb + -a-a-a □ kataba “He wrote.”
- | | |
|--|--|
| | |
|--|--|
- “write” “perfect active”
- b ktb + ya-u-u □ yaktubu “He writes/is writing.”
- | | |
|--|--|
| | |
|--|--|
- “write” “imperfect active”

So far we have established that the content of Modality, specifically tense features (and of course taxis–aspect features), is the main trigger for verb movement and the lack of such features result in verbless clauses. I now extend this hypothesis to account for various cases of the copula occurring in the present tense case which are also discussed in Bahloul (1994, 2006a).

The copula in wh-contexts

Another context where the copula is obligatory involves certain wh-phrases, illustrated in (18).

- (18) a abuu-ka fii al-bayt-i
 father-your in the-house-gen
 “Your father is at home.”
- b *mataa abuu-ka fii al-bayt-i
 When father-your in the-house-gen
- c mataa yakuunu abuu-ka fii al-bayt-i?
 when is father-your in the-house-gen
 “When is your father at home?”

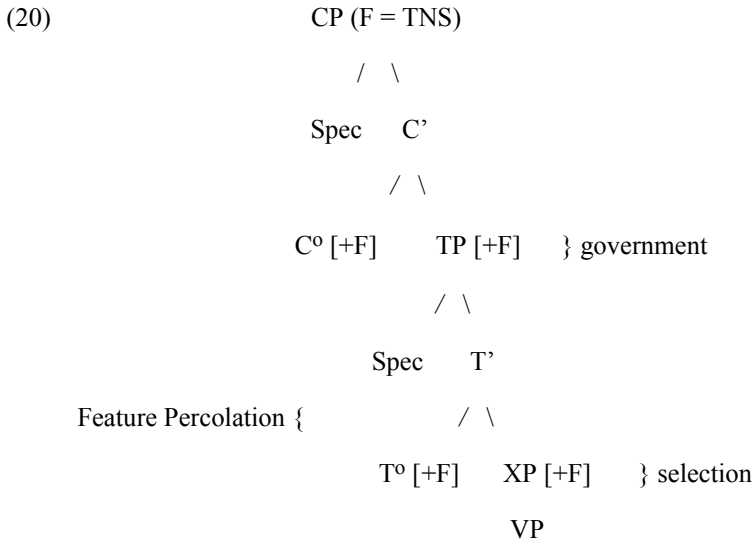
Other cases requiring the presence of the copula involve what we call “temporal complementizers” such as *ʕindamaa*, *lammaa*, *fiina* all meaning “when, whenever, as.” These are illustrated in (19).

- (19) a abuu-ka fii al-bayt-i
 father-your in the-house-gen
 “Your father is at home.”
- b *ʕindamaa l*fiina/*lammaa abuu-ka fii al-bayt-i, ...
 when father-your in the-house-gen
- c ʕindamaa/fiina/lammaa yakuunu abuu-ka fii al-bayt-i, ...
 when is father-your in the-house-gen
 “When/whenever your father is at home, ...”

The question we raise then is: Why would a wh-phrase or a temporal complementizer require the presence of the copula, as can be seen from the ungrammaticality of (18b) and (19b)? According to our proposal, both (18c) and (19c) involve a structure where Modality is tensed, and therefore selects for a VP complement headed by a verbal element that obligatorily moves to support the tense features in T⁰. Having said this, we ask how the tense features would relate to the presence of complementizers such as *mataa*, *ʕindamaa*, *fiina* and *lammaa*.

This apparent interdependency between complementizers, on the one hand, and tense features in T⁰, on the other, we would suggest, follows from two

principles: agreement in the domain of Comp and feature percolation. The former ensures agreement of C^0 with its specifier and with its complement (= TP) with respect to the relevant features [+WH/+TNS] (see also Rizzi 1990: 57); the latter transmits the features to T^0 . If complementizers are in head positions of CPs, they would pass their inherent features to the complement through government. In the case at hand, a closer examination of the complementizers involved reveals that they all share the [+TNS] feature. Accordingly, C^0 would acquire that same feature and would transmit it to its complement. So the question now becomes: How does T^0 acquire the feature [+TNS]? One can argue that C^0 selects the feature values of its complement (TP), namely, a tensed complement so that T^0 would in its turn receive these same features via feature percolation.¹³ With tense features in it, T^0 in accordance with principle (15) selects a VP complement since a verb would be forced to move and pick up these tense features. This process can be represented as in (20).



Adjunct How-clauses behave in a similar way, although some educated native speakers of Arabic felt the obligatoriness of the copula here represents a more elaborate and preferred style, as in (21).

- (21) a aḍ-ḍuʕf-u quwwat-un fii baʕḍi al-afyaani
the-weakness-nom strength-nom in some the-times
“weakness is sometimes strength.”
- b ?*kayfa aḍ-ḍuʕf-u quwwat-un fii baʕḍi al-afyaani
How the-weakness-nom strength-nom in some the-times

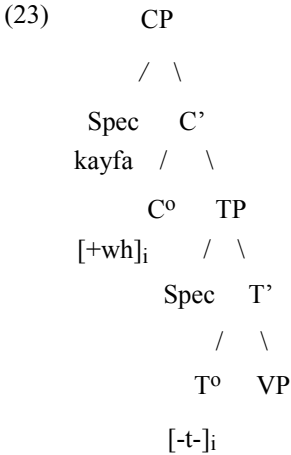
- c kayfa yakuunu al;l-l;lu'lf-u quwwat-an fii ba<J.l;li
 how is the-weakness-nom strength-acc in some
 al-afiyaani.
 the-cases

“How weakness is a strength sometimes?”

The case in (21) raises an interesting question as to whether the occurrence of the copula is related to the presence of tense features in T^0 or to some other principles of grammar. At this point, it is not clear why a *wh*-phrase like *kayfa* “how” should carry tense features. There are, however, two competing alternative explanations: (a) the Selectional Hypothesis, or (b) the F(eature)-Movement Hypothesis. Alternative (a) ensures that just as verbs in English select either a [+wh] or a [-wh] complement (e.g. wonder -[+wh], say -[-wh]), the *wh*-feature in C^0 will similarly select either a [+TNS] complement or a [-TNS] complement. Alternative (b) is based on work by both Rizzi (1989) and Whitman (1989), who argue that *wh*-features originate in INFL and move into Comp at S-structure. Having features in it, INFL then requires a verb to move and pick up those features. Both alternatives would correctly account for the data in (21). The Selectional Hypothesis will force the *wh*-feature in C^0 to select a tensed TP which in turn will pass its feature to its head. Having tense features, T^0 would obligatorily select for a VP, as shown in (22).

- (22) CP
 / \
 Spec C'
 kayfa / \
 C⁰ TP [+F] (F = TNS)
 [+wh] / \
 Spec T'
 / \
 T⁰[+F] VP

The F-Movement Hypothesis, on the other hand, goes one step further by assuming that not only tense features trigger verb movement into T^0 , but *wh*-features can also do so. Having features such as [TNS] or [WH] in it, T^0 will then require a lexical head to support such features. In the absence of other heads, a VP complement is thus selected, as shown in (23).



How do we decide among these two competing hypotheses? Recall that we have assumed earlier that modal features such as TNS, TAX–ASP, INTER (WH), MOOD, NEG, and MOD must, in principle, head their own phrasal projections. Such an assumption is part of alternative (b), the F-Movement Hypothesis, thus making it the more attractive route to take. The obligatoriness of feature support and verb movement can now be made more concrete. We have argued that tense features, being generated in T°, require verbal support, thus making verb movement obligatory as stated earlier in principle (15). But if we assume that wh-features originate in T°, then these features would also trigger verb movement, and therefore T° would select for a VP. Accordingly, (15a) should be modified so as to generate wh-features in T°, as in (24a), which in its turn would trigger verb movement. The principle in (24) should now modify (15).

- (24) a Tense and wh-features are base-generated in T°.
 b Copular Verbs obligatorily move to support those features.

The copula and modality

Another environment where the copula is required in the present tense involves modality with *qad* ‘may,’ *yažibu lan* ‘must,’ *yastatiiŋu lan* ‘can.’¹⁴ These are illustrated in (25)–(27), respectively.

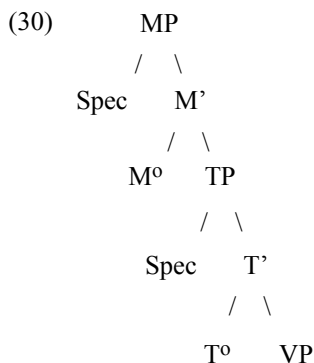
- (25) a al-walad-u fii al-bayt-i
 the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
 ‘The boy is at home.’
 b *qad al-walad-u fii al-bayt-i
 may the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
 c qad yakuunu al-walad-u fii al-bayt-i
 may is the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
 ‘The boy may be at home.’

- (26) a *yažibu ʔan al-walad-u fii al-bayt-i
 must the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
 b yažibu ʔan yakuuna al-walad-u fii al-bayt-i
 must be the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
 “The boy must be at home.”
- (27) a huwa mudiir-un
 he director-nom
 “He is a director.”
 b *yastaʔiiʔu ʔan mudiir-un
 can director-nom
 c yastaʔiiʔu ʔan yakuuna mudiir-an
 can is director-acc
 “He can be a director.”

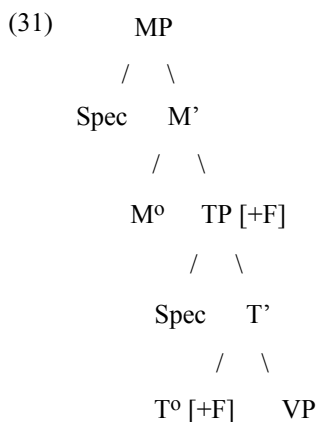
The examples here indicate that just like *wh*-phrases, modals do seem to require the copula to move into T^0 . A closer look into the internal structure of modals in English, for example, shows that they are tensed, and therefore base generated in T^0 . Thus, one might argue that modals in T^0 will count as a feature context. Therefore, a verb has to move to support those features. There is no clear evidence, however that in SA modals are base generated in T^0 . While in English, verbs following modals are nonfinite, as in (28), they are finite in MSA, as shown in (29). This would clearly suggest that if in English tense and modals are generated under one node, they are clearly generated under different nodes in MSA.

- (28) a He can work.
 b He could work.
 c She may come.
 d They might come.
- (29) a qad yakuunu fii al-bayt-i
 may is in the-house-gen
 “He may be at home.”
 b rubbamaa kaana fii al-bayt-i
 might was in the-house-gen
 “He might have been at home.”

The fact that modals in (29)¹⁵ head their clauses and do not inflect for tense, a feature carried by the copula, suggests that there are fundamental differences between the syntactic position of modals in MSA and their position in English. I will propose that modals are the “highest” category in the clause, heading a MP above tense, as shown in (30).



Under this analysis, the MP has its own projection which is in a position higher than Tense. Interestingly, Whitman (1989: 345) argues that Mood is the highest category in Modality in Korean and Japanese just as Tense is the highest category in the clause structure of Germanic and Romance. Such results do in fact support our previous conclusion and would suggest that the identity of the head category is subject to parametric variation: it is TP in English and French, but MP in *MSA*, Korean and Japanese. We now address the question of the obligatoriness of the copula in MPs, and whether it can be related to the content of T° . We suggest that the content of T° remains crucial in these structures, and that the case of modals is no different from that of temporal complementizers, the only difference being that CP is replaced by MP. Accordingly, M° would select for a tensed MP, which in turn will pass its features to T° . The presence of tense features in T° triggers principle (24), which when applied yields (25c), (26b), and (27c). In other words, once a tensed T° is selected by a modal phrase, it instantiates the tense feature on its head, as in (31), thus triggering the movement of the copula to support the tense features.



Some other cases involving Mood Phrases include conditional *ʔin* “if” in (32) and imperative *laa* “don’t” in (33) both of which also require the presence of the copula are accounted for in accordance with the Selectional Hypothesis by which the head of the Mood Phrase selects a tensed TP which in turn passes its TNS features into T⁰. This latter will then obligatorily select a VP.

- (32) a ʔanta kasuul-un
you lazy-nom
“You are lazy.”
- b *Laa kasuul-an
Imperative lazy-acc
- c Laa takun kasuul-an
Imperative is lazy-acc
“Don’t be lazy.”
- (33) a al-ʔamr-u xaʔiir-un
the-matter-nom dangerous-nom
“The situation is serious.”
- b ?? ʔin al-ʔamr-u xaʔiir-un,¹⁶
if the-matter-nom dangerous-nom
- c ʔin kaana/yakun al-ʔamr-u xaʔiir-an, ...
if was/is the-matter-nom dangerous-acc
“If the situation is serious, ...”

Co-occurrence relation between ATM categories

What is more interesting from our perspective here is that MPs, Mood Ps, Temporal Complementizers, and Wh-Phrases never occur together, as (34) shows.

- (34) a qad/*kayfa/*ʔiina/*ʔin yakuunu fii al-bayt-i
may/*how/*while/*if is in the-house-gen
- b kayfa/*qad/*ʔiina/*ʔin yakuunu al-ʔamr-u sahl-an
how/*may/*while/*if is the-matter-nom easy-acc
- c ʔin/*qad/*ʔiina/*kayfa yakun al-ʔamr-u sahl-an
if/*may/*while/*how is the-matter-nom easy-acc
- d ʔiina/*qad/*kayfa/*ʔin yakuunu al-ʔamr-u sahl-an
while/*may/*how/*if is the-matter-nom easy-acc

They seem to occur in complementary distribution, which suggests that perhaps they should be generated under the same syntactic node. Under current

assumptions, one might argue that they are all under CP, if this category is extended to house different types of functional categories. Another competing hypothesis might favor the modal phrase approach (Whitman 1989), which would be more attractive if the notion of modality is extended to cover all modal categories as discussed at the beginning of this work. The structures suggested in (35a) and (35b) leaves the door open for either possibility.

(35) a CP (MP)	b CP
/ \	/ \
Spec C' (M')	Spec C'
/ \	/ \
C ^o (M ^o) IP	C ^o MP

To sum up, we have argued so far that the occurrence and non-occurrence of the copula is very sensitive to the content of Modality, and in particular to tense features. Contrary to previous analyses, this alternative approach assumes that in nonverbal sentences, a VP is altogether absent. Principle (15) along with its revised version in (24) clearly attribute the presence or the absence of the copula and probably any verbal element, copula or otherwise, to the features that Modality contains. If Modality is empty or featureless, other categories than VP would occur (NP, AP, or PP). On the other hand, if Modality contains features such as TNS or WH, a copular verb is needed to move into Modality (T^o) to support those features. We were able to show that this is achieved by adopting either the Selectional Hypothesis or the F-Movement Hypothesis, thus providing a straightforward account for the co-occurrence of the copula with modal/mood phrases and with temporal complementizers. Those phrases were shown to select a tensed TP, which in turn instantiates its features on its head T^o thereby triggering verb movement. Certain types of modal and Wh-Phrases, however, require a word of caution. These are addressed in the next section.

Why and yes/no questions

Rizzi (1990) observes that a contrast exists in French between *pourquoi* “why” and other Wh-Phrases. Unlike the syntactic behavior of *quoi* “what,” and *comment* “how,” *pourquoi* “why” is only possible in a sentence initial position as illustrated in (36).

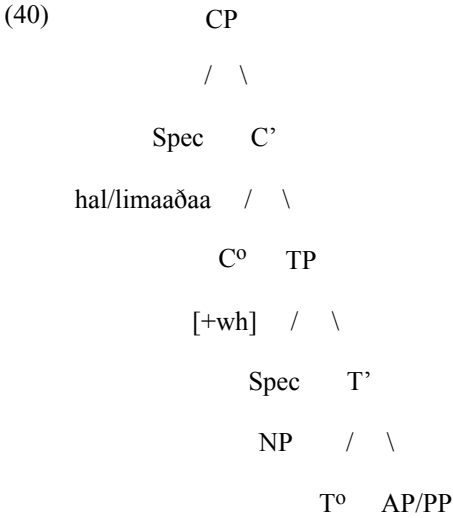
- (36) a il a [parlé de quoi]
 “He spoke about what”

- b il a [parlé comment]
 “He spoke how”
- c *? il a [parlé] pourquoi
 “He spoke why”
- d Pourquoi a-t-il parlé ?
 “Why did he speak?”

To account for the ungrammaticality of (36c), Rizzi argues that the Wh-Phrase *pourquoi* “why” is base-generated in Comp, as illustrated in (36d). Now consider the following cases from Arabic:

- (37) a abuu-ka fii al-bayt-i
 father-your in the-house-gen
 “Your father is at home.”
- b hal abuu-ka fii al-bayt-i
 Q. father-your in the-house-gen
 “Is your father at home?”
- (38) a al-walad-u farih-un
 the-boy-nom happy-nom
 “The boy is happy.”
- b hal al-walad-u farih-un
 Q. the-boy-nom happy-nom
 “Is the boy happy?”
- (39) a al-mudiir-u fii al-qism-i
 the-director-nom in the-classroom-gen
 “The director is in the classroom.”
- b limaaḏaa al-mudiir-u fii al-qism-i
 why the-director-nom in the-classroom-gen
 “Why is the director in the classroom?”

Both (37) and (38) are well formed yes/no questions. Contrary to what has been observed earlier, the Wh-Phrase *hal* does not seem to have left any feature in T⁰; hence no copular verb is required to move and support them. Tense is, therefore, empty, with a nonverbal category as its complement: a PP in (37) and an AP in (38). Following Rizzi’s earlier suggestion, I would like to suggest that in such cases and others in (39), the Wh-Phrase is base-generated in the Spec of CP. Thus, it does not get to leave any feature in T⁰, and no verb is therefore needed. This is shown in (40).



There are many advantages to this analysis. First, it provides a straightforward account for this apparent asymmetry; second, the asymmetry is claimed to follow from a positional difference; and third, it does not weaken our main claim that the occurrence and/or non-occurrence of the copula is related to the content of Tense. Moreover, it makes a clear cut distinction between different types of Wh-Phrases whereby some are base-generated in the Spec of CP and others are generated in TP. In the former case, since a wh-feature is needed to license the Wh-Phrase Rizzi (1989), the assumption is that the wh-feature is also base-generated in Comp. In the latter case, however, we assume that the wh-feature has originated in Tense and subsequently moved into Comp to license the Wh-Phrase. If the position of features is free, we would reach the contradictory result that the same wh-phrase would originate in two different positions, as the well-formedness of both (41)¹⁷ and (42) shows. In order to solve this apparent contradiction, it would be necessary to allow some kind of optionality and allow wh-features to be optionally base-generated either in Comp or in Tense.

- (41) a pourquoi l'a-t-il prise ?
 "Why did he take it?"
 b il l'a prise pourquoi ?
 "He took it why?"
- (42) a kayfa at-ṭaqs-u fii al-xariif-i?
 how the-weather-nom in the-fall-gen
 "How is the weather in the fall?"

- b kayfa yakuunu at-ṭaqs-u fii al-xariif-i ?
 how is the-weather-nom in the-fall-gen
 “How is the weather in the fall?”

Even though (42a) and (42b) are about the same fact, namely, the state of the weather in the Fall, native speakers can have different interpretations. There is a subtle ambiguity that the English translation can not convey: while (42a) has a factual interpretation, (42b) seems to involve a modal interpretation, that of possibility. In (42a), the enunciator presupposes that his interlocutor knows fully about the weather situation. In (42b) this presupposition is weaker. This distinction is accounted for, in line with the conditions governing the occurrence of the copula outlined in this chapter, if we assume that (42b) differs from (42a) in that it has a MP headed by an abstract operator which, just like other modals, has selected a tensed TP. Recall that with complementizers such as *mataa* “when,” *ṣindamaa/hiina/lammaa* “when,” we argued (pp. 173–75) that even though they are base-generated in CP, they get to pass their inherent TNS features to TP. Why would the same mechanism fail to apply in (43a)? One can say that the *wh*-feature in *kayfa* does not encode any temporality and fails therefore to select a tensed complement once it is in Comp. By allowing *wh*-features or others to be in Comp and to select a tensed or a nontensed complement, we straightforwardly account for all argument *wh*-phrases inside TP that fail to select a tensed phrase, as shown in (43).

- (43) a maa (*yakuunu) haaḏaa ?
 what is this
 “What (is) this?”
- b man (*takuunu) ʔanti ?
 who is 2s.f
 “Who (are) you?”

We are therefore led to the conclusion that the base generation of WH-features along with the Selectional Hypothesis complement each other and should be allowed to operate in a principled way.

Summary and conclusion

This chapter began with the observation that in MSA, two types of main root clauses are observed, one with a verb inflected for taxis–aspect and the other without any lexically realized verbal element. It then briefly discussed the shortcomings of previous accounts, which rely crucially on either deletion processes or the invisible nature of the copula to account for this contrast. An alternative approach was suggested whereby this contrast is shown to derive from the inherent temporal features of the copula and the properties of the sentential

phrasal head (T^0). Accordingly, we have demonstrated that while the presence of both TNS and WH features in T^0 force this latter to select for a VP complement, their absence imposes selectional restrictions on T^0 , which will be allowed to select for only non-VP complements. Thus, the naturalness of verbless clauses is directly related to the selectional properties of Tense. The adequacy of this analysis is revealed through its ability to extend and account for a large number of cases involving the occurrence of the copula in wh-contexts, with temporal complementizers as well as modals and mood phrases. We then demonstrated that even cases which at first seem problematic can be accounted for within the same framework of the suggested analysis, if we allow the two hypotheses, Selectional and F-Movement, to operate together in a principled way. The view that the absence or the presence of an overt verbal element can be related to the nature of Modality and to its content sounds attractive and less likely to prove controversial. This chapter sheds some light on a very traditional and controversial dichotomy in Arabic grammar, the nominal and the verbal sentences. More research is certainly needed to develop the insights suggested in this work and to extend the analysis so as to cover a larger body of data.

CONCLUSION

The main contribution of the book resides in three groups of chapters. The first group consists of Chapter 2, where a discussion of clause structure unveils common insights of two different schools of thought: one syntactically oriented, the other semantico-pragmatic and discourse-based. The second group consists of Chapters 4, 5, and 6. There we conducted a semantico-pragmatic and discourse analysis of the basic verbal forms: the Perfect and the Imperfect, the main components of the verbal system in Arabic. This investigation included a detailed analysis of the modal element *QAD* when it occurs with the Perfect, yielding a complex structure we called the “Compound Perfect.” The third and last group includes Chapters 7 and 8, where a syntactic analysis of the two verbal and nominal clauses in Arabic is presented. The overall thrust of these chapters stresses the fact that the basic semantic features of the Arabic verb combine the ATM categories of Taxis and Aspect. As for the category of Tense, we have shown that, although it is not a necessary feature of the verb (i.e. it is subsidiary), it is an obligatory feature of the clause. This claim is largely instantiated through a detailed investigation of the basic constituents of the Arabic verbal system (e.g. the paradigms of the Perfect, Imperfect and the assertive modal *QAD*). In simple declarative contexts, for example, both verbal forms, the Perfect and the Imperfect, host Taxis and Aspect features, as evidenced by both their invariant values (e.g. Taxis–Aspect interpretations) and their syntactic structures (e.g. their ability to move to Tax–Asp⁰). In negative contexts, however, while Taxis and Aspect show close ties to the verb, Tense gets attached to negation, and similarly it attaches to conditional particles and to auxiliaries. In sum, the overall results show that while Tense is certainly present within the Arabic clause, the value of this category is less likely to take part in the values of the invariant of both the Perfect and the Imperfect.

The second issue we address in this work is the relationship between both members of the opposition within the verbal system: the Perfect and the Imperfect. Our results show that their divergence is not absolute, admitting therefore convergence tendencies; in other words, despite their systematic differences, they have some similarities. While their differences relate to their invariant meanings and basic uses, their similarities reside from the gnomic and specific uses of the

Imperfect when the enunciator's subjective evaluation of the verbal process, as shown by their uses in journalistic contexts, is salient. This is related to the fact that, as shown by the relative frequencies of the Imperfect (63%) and the Perfect (37%), the Imperfect is unmarked and thus can take on uses which encompass in whole or in part the semantic values of the Perfect.

This work has also addressed the issue of the modal particle *QAD*. As far as we know, this book has a leading role in investigating in some detail its distributional properties, its frequency, and its semantics, along with its syntax. With respect to its semantics, empirical evidence suggests that its invariant meaning relates to assertive modality, a conclusion which is highly supported by its syntactic behavior. Here, *QAD* is shown to alternate with negation, which indicates that they both share the same syntactic position. Accordingly, we suggested that both *QAD* and *maa* (negator) are part of a more general phrasal category, Assertive Phrase (AsrtP) of which they are its heads.

The first and last issues to which this book pays particular attention are bound up with the question of clausal structure and the Modality constituent. With respect to clausal structure, it argues against syntactic representations which do not separate the VP component from the INFL component, and suggests that syntactic representations should mirror clausal semantic structures. The Modality component is theoretically the domain where surface traces of enunciative operations, that is, Taxis, Aspect, Tense, Modals, Negation, Assertion, and so on . . . , are supposed to be generated, hence its salience within the structure. In accordance with recent developments within the Principles and Parameters Approach, we argue that the syntactic structure of the clause in Arabic must include phrasal projections such as Tax–AspP, TP, AsrtP, and so on, hierarchically ordered according to their selectional properties. Facts from negation, subject position, compound tenses, and conditionals are brought to light to support the aforesaid conclusion. The presence of these syntactic projections proves to be reminiscent of clausal well formedness conditions, since they are subject to the ECP and RM

In contradistinction to verbal clauses are those cases where no lexical verb appears. Chapter 8 looks into those cases, and suggests that they should be treated similar to those which contain verbs, hence the rationale behind including them in this book whose main focus is the verb. One major common feature they do share, for instance, with the verbal clauses is the Modality constituent. As such, it emphasizes that the difference between clauses with verbs and clauses without reduces to the feature compositionality of Modality, which determines its selectional properties. Accordingly, the lack of Taxis–Aspect and Tense features, in particular, results in a nonverbal clause, while the presence of these and other modal features that is, wh-features, temporal features, and so on, result in a verbal clause.

Finally, it is hoped that this book has contributed to a better understanding of both the semantics and the syntax of the Arabic verbal system, with the ultimate goal of contributing even minimally, not only to linguistic theory, but also to closely interrelated disciplines as well. When compared to other languages, that is,

CONCLUSION

English, French, Russian, and so on, Arabic is still considered an exotic language. Further research is certainly needed in all major areas of Arabic linguistics, since very little research has been conducted on such a language which has important things to say to the linguistic world at large (Comrie 1991: 4); this is illustrated in the structure and function of the Arabic verb as treated in this book.

APPENDIX

ایران تنفی نية تصدير الثورة للجمهوريات الإسلامية وتؤكد رغبتها بعلاقات اقتصادية وضمان أمن حدودها

■ طهران، واشنطن، جلف، من ألبتر یون

تلكی ایران انها لخطت لتصدير الثورة الإسلامية الی الجمهوريات الإسلامية الجديدة التي خرجت انبارا من ظل ٢٠ عاما من الحكم الشیخي. وقد اعطى الإيرانيون طابعا إسلاميا لثقتهم في طهران في الاوسمة الأخيرة وتميزت خيالاتها خمس سنن الجمهوريات السوفيتية السابقة الی الأفغان والباكستان وتركيا وعبودية الثورة.

لكن طهران لم تكن باستفاحتها استقلالاً الفاسية بصورة صريحة في حشد انريجستان وكريغستان واوزبكستان وكازخستان واوزبكستان على اتعاع المثال الإيراني الی وجود تركيا العثمانية. ويبدو ان رغبات ایران خصوصا ان الی الدعاية المباشرة ان تصمم اهدافه آسيا الوسطى.

وقال عباس صالحی نائب وزير الخارجية في تصريح خلال قمة منظمة التعاون الاقتصادي مدینا لا تزعم اننا نريد تصدير الثورة الی هذه البلدان، وخصوصا لم نقل ابدا ان ایران تحاول ذلك، وقال ان رغبة طهران في اقربها روابط مع هذه الدول ترجع الی اقربها الجرائل من ایران ووجود علاقات تاريخية وارتباطات ثقافية واردة سببية مشتركة.

وقال صالحی مدینا لا نصحی بتحقيق اهداف اخرى... نريد نريد إقامة علاقات الاقتصادية ووثيقة الاستقرار والان على طول حدودنا.

وقال صالحی قولسنة ان ایران وسخت خلافا للجمهوريات غير الإسلامية الی الاتحاد السوفيتي القديم بنفس المرسمة التي فعلت بها ذلك مع الجمهوريات الإسلامية واستشهد بعلاقات في مجال النفط والتغاز فيتها مع دولان مع اورناتما.

وقال صالحی ایران خلال قمة منظمة التعاون الاقتصادي انها شغف من انريجستان واوزبكستان وكازخستان واوزبكستان وروسيا مجموعة تعاون الدول العظيمة على خمس اسبوعين. ويحسون مسفر المدعوة طهران.

وقال صالحی انه كان تقيم علاقات مع

الجمهوريات الإسلامية فذلكه لأن شعوبها وخصوصاها ترجمه بذلك وانسبا نغفي شيئا في جميع هذه العلاقات.

ورفض فكرة ان ایران تخشى من تحول ولاء الاكثريين الإيرانيين والفرنكافية بعد ان اصبح بإمكانها التطلع الی دولتي كويين غير الحدود. وقال صالحی مدینا لا تخشى من تحول ولاء الاكثريين الإيرانيين. تطرون مهم يتوسلون صاحب حكومة رئيسية ولا توجد تفرقة.

وعرب من اعتقاد ان الخطيبيات الرئيسية في الجمهوريات الجديدة هي الاستعمار والتكنولوجيا المتقدمة والتهارات الارابية، وقال مستشرق على الحالات والهام التي يمكن ان تفر عاتقا في اقتصاد السوق الحرة.

وقال صالحی ان ایران تتلق مع اقترابها في تشجيعها على تشجيع القطاع الخاص ولا تحاول منافسة تركيا او أي دولة اخرى لها مصالح واعتمادات بالقطعة. ويتلقى صوف، إيران للثقل من الجمهوريات الإسلامية الجديدة مع حملة الرئيسية على اقره هشاشسي ورضنجاني لتحويل محور شرق-غرب الساسة الإيرانية بعدما عن تصدير الثورة ونسج التقدم الاقتصادي بسماعة الاستثمارات والتكنولوجيا الغربية.

وقال صلوماني عربي مستشار الإيرانيون ان الجمهوريات السوفيتية السابقة ارض غير صالحة لتدعو الثورة الإسلامية فاستلها سنة وايضا شجعة كما انها علمانية الی حد كبير.

وتابع الريجستان وهي الجمهورية الوحيدة التي بها القذمة شععية كبيرة بالفعل نحو تركيا اكثر مما تعيل الی ایران. وتذكر ایران التي تعاني من صعوبات الاقتصادية شديدة الی الفكر اللازم ليعمل الی رسالة إسلامية اكبر انماها ليمان شتجاج الی استثمارات كبيرة وليس الی مجرد اسواق لا لاقامة مدارس دينية.

وتقول الإيرانيون ان ما يكون في طاجيكستان التي نضمت الفرسية وتتمون الآن الی اتفاقية بحروفها المضمنة من العرسمة وتقوم طهران بتسريع ١٤ بيلوسماسيا من طاجيكستان.

وتعترض ایران الی الجمهوريات الجديدة خطوة جديدة للعلاقات

والقال لا سيما البلدان التي لا تكل على بحر والواقعة شرق بحر آزوين وقد تجد اسواقا لتساع الاستهلاك التي تعد من الصعي بعدا في أي مثال اخرى.

لكن من الشكوك همه ان يتشكل رجال الاعمال الإيرانيين من مباداة الشروط والاتمانات التي يعرضها لتراهم الأثر.

ومن المرجح ان تقلل الصلاحيات القصدية وغيرها من الضمان وجود هيئة علمانية ديماغية في الدول الإسلامية الجديدة تتولى العمل مع الجمهوريات الإسلامية الی طهران يتخلصون موائع داخل الحكومة الإيرانية.

وقال الصلوماني الغربي «الخاص لا يزالون لا يتقنون لغات الی الإيرانيين حتى على الرغم من انهم خصوصا على ما يبدو ان الی الطريق الی القلوب والعقول هو الطريق الاقتصادي وليس معارضة الضغوط».

من جهة اخرى قال الامرال شيد شايغر رئيس المخابرات البحرية الأمريكية ان التسؤلین الإيرانيين يتفاوضون لشراء خمس بوصات صغيرة لتعمل الی جنسب هوستن تشيخما ایران من موسكو في وقت لاحق من العام الحالي.

والصاف شايغر قوله لصديقه (ديفيس نيوتن) الأميركيين ان الغواصات الصغيرة من طراز ستعمل الی جانب غواصتين من طراز كايوتش مائة مرور شلالات النفط في صديق فرنسي.

ورفض شايغر في حديثه مع الصديقه الذي نشر الاثن وصف العلاقات والخصائص او اسم الدولة التي قد تقوم باعداد ايران بها.

الا انه ذكر ان ایران تتفاوض مع دولة غير شجعية ولم تكن خاضعة للتزام الشيعي الی الثاني، وقال شايغر ان الخطر الذي تملكه الغواصات الإيرانية ليس وشيئا حدث مسكون على الإيرانيين لتفادي اسواق واقامة مراكزها.

وقال صالحی انه تقي معلومات عن الذين يتبعون من السفر للخارج، وقال صالحی ان نظام القضاء الإيراني خاصة في القضايا السياسية والقران ماتينج لا تقيم لهم في كثير من الاماين متورقة قانونية بما ذكر ان الاجراءات القضائية لا تتشرفق عليها سوى وضع مقننين.

وقال صالحی ان الإيرانيين لديهم خبرات شره غواصة ثلاثة من موسكو شرار

كبار وانهم طلبوا الحصول على الترات بيع ٢٩ من موسكو.

وعرب شايغر من مواضعه من ان حصول ایران على الغواصات الجديدة القصدية صوبع قوى بحرية اخرى في المنطقة الی الحصول على مزيد من الاسلحة في مودية هذا الياهد الجديد.

وفي حديثهم تهم تقرير للاحم القصدية ایران الثلاثة، سابقا لم تحقق لعدما مقدوسا فيما يتعلق باعداد حقوق الانسان مما يزيد التجنيد الإيرانية الخاصة الی انها مسكون من سرقية المنظمة الدولية لاسلحة.

وفي تقرير للاحم الذي ١٩٩١ تهم التقرير ایران باستفاد عيوبه الاحكام بصورة غير شرعية وينطبق احكامه قضائية غير شجعة وبتامين الدين.

وقال التقرير الذي وزع في اجتماع لجنة حقوق الانسان التابعة للاحم القصدية في جنيف ان ايران لم تتقدم بتعهداتها بتطبيق اصلاحات والامتثال لايحاف الدولية.

واوصى التقرير الذي اعدته لجنة حقوق الانسان السوفيتي وبتامدو حاشدو بان تستمر اللجنة في مراقبة الاوضاع في ایران.

وقال ان هناك تقرير من تموز ٨٩١ عفا بالاعدام في ایران في الفترة من اوتن كاتون تقاضي (بيمان) من القضاء سن قسائون الاول (بشير) من القضاء الثاني، وكسان معظم من حشد عليهم بالاعدام من تجار القطن والفلن في حالات فترة حكمها للتقرير كانت العلاقات ذات طبيعة سياسية اكثر من أي شيء اخر.

وقال جانيكو في قضى صومعا في ایران في كاسيون الاول (بشير) وذلك في تمام زيارة له خلال ثلاث سنوات.

وبحسب القصدية قد قبرت لأول مرة مرافقة الضحايا الإيرانية في عام ١٩٩١ الی في سيم حاشيها بتقول البلاد.

وقال جانيكو انه تلقى معلومات عن سياسة عامة بالتيسير ضد البهائين الذين يتبعون من السفر للخارج، وقال صالحی ان نظام القضاء الإيراني خاصة في القضايا السياسية والقران ماتينج لا تقيم لهم في كثير من الاماين متورقة قانونية بما ذكر ان الاجراءات القضائية لا تتشرفق عليها سوى وضع مقننين.

(ردية)

في معرض تأكيده إجراء الانتخابات النيابية الخامسة

الهرراوي: لن أكون فريقاً بل حكماً والأستاذ دوري كرئيس للجمهورية

بيروت من طارق ترشيحي

يتوقع ان يكون الاسبوع المقبل في لبنان اسبوع اقرار مشروع تعديل قانون الانتخاب في مجلس النواب المنتظر ان يعقد الثلاثاء او الخميس المقبلين. على ان يجتمع مجلس الوزراء ويصدر قراراً رسمياً بإجراء الانتخابات النيابية العامة هذا الصيف ويحدد موعداً وآلية إجرائها.

وقال نقيب المحررين الصحافيين ملحم كرم أمس عن رئيس الجمهورية الباس الهمراوي قوله ان الحرية في لبنان حسنة وانها شأن لا يجرى به لعب كل يوم. فهي من الثواب اللبنانية. ونقل نقيب المحررين عن الرئيس الهمراوي قوله ان الانتخابات ستجرى وان كل التدابير اتخذت لان تجري وان تتحقق.

أما ما بثار عن ضغوط وأجواء معينة، فإن الذين يشيرونها هم المحررون. وقال الهمراوي انه يتعدى أياً كان ان يثبت ان في سجون لبنان موقوفاً سياسياً واحداً لانه ابيدي رأياً معيناً او اتخذ تغييراً ما. أما الذين يتوعدون اشخاصاً معارضين لوهم ميل غير ميل الدولة فهؤلاء اصحاب حقوق معنائة بصحبها الدستور وتعرض الدولة على ان تكون فيها من العاعة ومن الدافعين.

واعتبر الرئيس الهمراوي ان أداء الحكومة الآن كان أداء ناجحاً وانها سائرة في الطريق القويم، أما الخلافات الوزارية فقد سقط هامشها.

وفي ما يتعلق بالمساعدات المنتترة للبنان، قال الرئيس الهمراوي وانها ليست مساعدات، يعتقد البعض انها

مساعدات ولكنها في الواقع فروع ولاجال بشروط متساهلة. وروى ان الوضع اللبناني يسير من عافية الى عافية وان السيد الاقتصادي صعيد فيه الكثير من الصحة التي ستعكس ايجاباً على كل اللبنانيين وعلى الوضع الاقتصادي عموماً، واصفاً التعامل مع صندوق النقد الدولي بأنه تعامل سليم وان اللجنة المكلفة وضعت رؤيتها ونظرتها الى الصوية واننا في هذا المجال ساترون.

واضاف الرئيس الهمراوي: أما الذين يتحدثون عن تسييق ومن اجواء مصنوعة يقيسها الحكم والحكومة فإني اصعوم الى المقارنة بين ما كان يحصل وما هو قائم اليوم ليرى بام اعينهم ان الاحوال تتحسن وان كل ما كان يسير في الماضي على نمط ترتيب يتعاظم شكله اليوم ويتحسن وهو في طريقه الى اوفساح تميزيز الوضع اللبناني ولما عند ابناءه الشموخ بأن هذا البلد هو للجمع.

أكد الرئيس الهمراوي انه لن يكون فريقاً في الانتخابات ولن تكون له لوائح وسيكون حكماً ولا شيء، غير حكم والا سقط دوره كرئيس للجمهورية وهذا شأن يصير عليه، كما قال.

وعن قضية المهجرين، قال الهمراوي انها طلبة القضايا، معتبراً ان ما تحقق في شأنها كان خاصة صالحة لإتجازات سريعة ستتخذ قريباً وتعطي ثمارها والاجابيات الصالحة.

من جهة ثانية سافرت وزير الخارجية فارس بوزي الى القاهرة لتتروى الوفد اللبناني الى اجتماع مجلس جامعة الدول العربية المنعقد في القاهرة بدعوة من لبنان للبحث في

الاعتمادات الاسرائيلية المتكررة على الجنوب اللبناني.

وقال بوزي لدى سفره: «اننا نامل من الاخوة العرب ان يكون هذا الاجتماع ليس منطلقاً الى تسييق الحدود العربية بمقدار ما يكون منطلقاً الى اعادة تفعيل الشفان العربي ووحدة الحاصصة العربية واتلاقاً جديدة بهذه الجامعة في دورها الثالث».

وقال ان الاجتماع مخصص للجنوب بالدرجة الاولى واذا وددت بعض الجوانب الاقتصادية فليست الا فقرات من عنوان اساسي هو العنوان السياسي الجنوبي.

واكد ان لبنان سيطلب بالبحاج بتضامن عربي جديد وبني صفة الماضي التي لصفت للرفق العربي وتعاقب لجهة قه تزور الامم المتحدة وبعهدا من الدول المعنية والفاطحة في شأن الشرق الاوسط، فمسل عن المطالبة باجراءات حثيية تطبيقاً لشرعة الامم المتحدة وتطبيق الفقرة السابعة من شرعة الامم المتحدة بشأن الضفط على اسرائيل بالاعتماد من الجنوب تطبيقاً للقرار ٤٢٥. واشارت اننا سنطالب الاخوة العرب بالوفاء بالتزاماتهم التي عقدت في قمة تونس وفي القمم العربية المتتالية، والتي اعتبرت وضع الجنوب مسؤولية عربية مشتركة، كما اعتبرت ان مسؤولية الدول العربية هي ان تساهم في دعم محمود لبنان في وجه الاعتمادات الاسرائيلية.

وقال بوزي للصحافيين في مطار بيروت قبل سفره لحضور الاجتماع الذي يعقد مساء على طلف من لبنان: نغول لا استقرار في العالم العربي ما دامت هناك جبهة مفتوحة.

واضاف: الشعب اللبناني الذي اعطى المعرفة واعطى الثقافة واعطى العلم يجب الا يترك ليصل الى درجة الياس لانه كما صدر هذه المعرفة فقد يصدر ايضاً الياس وقد يصدر ايضاً الشعب الناتج عن هذا الياس. وذلك في اشارة الى الوضع في الجنوب حيث اصبحت قرى لبنانية مسرحة دائماً للمعارك فهجروا معظم سكانها وبعو كثير من منازلها نتيجة القصف والغارات الجوية الاسرائيلية التي اوقعت بينهم قتلى وجرحى.

واشنطن تحتج على احتجاز الشوبكي وحوارني الصيني يناقش مع بيكر اعتقال ايراني لمفاوضين فلسطينيين

واحد من النظم، تنكح مجموعات كبيرة تليد ان
اجرة الاستخبارات الإسرائيلية ضد لاعباته على
قادة فلسطينيين ومسؤولين في حزب الله من مون ان
بيدي مزيد من التفاصيل.
وقالت المفوضية الفلسطينية حسان شراوي
(الرويتز) واعلم ان الوقت قد حان ليقدر راعيا
لمعادنات والعالم بمجدي.. في نوعه حد اعني من
الحرية والمقوق لوفد الفلسطيني.
واضافت قولها ان اعتقال العضول هو احدث
واقعة في اطار مسابقة العضول المتسيرة لا
للمفاوضين وحدهم بل وللشعب الفلسطيني ككل
والوقت في اشارة الى الفلسطينيين في الاراضي المحتلة
ان اعم ما يشقنا هو انهم (الارثرائيين) يرهضون
السكان ابري هنا.
وروي شراوي التي نطمح في رام الله بالمفوضة
للغربية تجربتها مع خطر ائتسول اشمي تعرضه
اسرائيل على الفلسطينيين بصورة متسيرة على مدار
الساعة في بعض الاحيان وانه اسطيع في المرة
الواقعة.
وقالت ماتي اشعر بالجزء.. التي اعاني مثل اي
شخص اخر من الاحتجاز.
مخضت فاشقة ان الجنود الاسرائيليين يعاملون
الوثنيين الفلسطينيين معاملة خاصة خلال حظر
التحول ثمي الى نقل التلة بهم لدى الشعب. وقالت
انا اعلم الجنود انا.. فانهم في بعض الاحيان
يلفون لثامتي.. انهم ان حان لتدفع ثمن هذا.. او..
احضوا عليه السلام تدفع ثمن هذا.. وعضت تقول
ان الفلسطينيين يشعرون بانه يجب ان يكون هناك
مقابل ما استخدموا للتشاقة في معاديات السلام
لكهم لو يروا شيئا من ذلك بعدد. وقالت بوجه
يتفعلون تينا طليا لحلول ونحن لا نملك من الناحية
الفعلية اي حل عاجز.. هناك شعور بالجزء.
وايحت المفوضة الأوروبية بالمفاوضين الفلسطينيين اسس
الاول مطالب المجموعة الأوروبية بالمفاوضين اسس
عملية السلام في الشرق الاوسط.
وقالت شراوي في مقابلة مع التلفزيون الاثني
انه يمكن للمجموعة الأوروبية ان تلوم بيور عم في
الشرق الاوسط وتدعموا على قرب دول المجموعة في
المنطقة والروابط القوية التي تربطها من التومسي
السيسية والتاريخية والثقافية والاقتصادية
والثقافية.
وتناقضت معاديات السلام العربية - الاسرائيلية
في واشنطن الاسوع المظلم.

بمواصلة المفاوضات هنا في واشنطن الاسوع المظلم.
ويبدو ان باونشرتم يكن اعني على تصريح الناطق
الرسمي باسم منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية لعدم عدم
الرحمن الذي اعان اسس الاول ان الوفد الفلسطيني الى
معاديات السلام العربية الاسرائيلية سيكون في
الثنائية في ٢٤ شباط (فبراير)
ورفض باونشر التعليق بشأن الاساس القانوني
لعدم حوارني والشوبكي الى عضوية السوفد
الفلسطيني.
وقال مسؤول في وزارة الخارجية الامريكية ان
الولايات المتحدة تحاول التوسط من منتمها
بالتوسط المطلوبة لعدم الانتماء الى منظمة التحرير
الفلسطينية وعدم تاييد العطف.
وقال اسس الاول مصدر عسكري اسرائيلي انه تم
القاء القبض على جمال الشوبكي في ١٦ شباط
(فبراير) لانه وقام الصلات مع شبكات متوسرة في
اعتمديات في اسرائيل وفي الخارج. وقال الجيش
الاسرائيلي ان الشوبكي المولود في العام ١٩٥٠ في ارضه
جنوب الضفة الغربية المحتلة سبق ان اعتقل
والانتماء الى حركة فتح (الفصائل الرشي في منظمة
التحرير الفلسطينية) ولاشراكه في اغتيبي تاجر
فنازل.
اما محمد حوارني (٣٢ عاما) فسبق ان حكم عليه
في العام ١٩٨١ بالسجن سنحت لانتمائه الى حركة
فتح وكان اعتقاله الاحتجاز الابري لعام ونصف
في بداية الانتفاضة في شانون الاول (سبتمبر) ١٩٨٧
والقي القبض عليه من جديد في التاسع من كانون
الثاني (يناير) الماضي.
من ناحية اخرى قال باونشر ان جميع الاطراف
واقفت على التسوية التي واصلت في اجل الجولة
الرابعة من مفاوضات السلام التي بدأت في بداية
شترين الثاني (يناير) في مدريد.
واعان بسم ابو شريف لعدم مستشاري الرئيس
الفلسطيني ياسر عرفات اسس الاول في ليبيا ان اعتقال
اسرائيل عضول من الوفد الفلسطيني الى مفاوضات
السلام يعرض للخطر مسيرة السلام.
وفي تصريح لوكالة (فرانس برس) اعتبر ابو
شريف ان على عربي مسيرة السلام وخصوصا
الولايات المتحدة تحمل مسؤولياتها والضغط على
الحكومة الاسرائيلية.
واحد ان منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية ينبغي من
جنبها متزمنة بقوة مسيرة السلام. ولا تعترض
مقاطعة المفاوضات. واهاف ان عرفات يتسوجه الى
عمان ومدى قبل به المفاوضات الثنائية الاسرائيلية
العربية في الرابع والعشرين من شباط (فبراير)
الجاري في واشنطن.
واضاف ابو شريف ان هذا الاعتقال المسافة الى
الغالب رئيس حزب الله اللبناني عباس الموسوي
بعدا ايضاً سوي برهانين جديدين على ان اسرائيل
تريد نسف مسيرة السلام.

■ عمان - القدس - بيور - رويتر - انه قد قال
فيمس الحسيني رئيس مستشاري الوفد الفلسطيني
في معاديات السلام مع اسرائيل انه سيسافر الى
واشنطن اليوم (اسس) لتلاقي مع وزير الخارجية
الامريكي جيمس بيكر واجراء مناقشات بشأن اعتقال
اسرائيل اثنين من المفاوضين الفلسطينيين.
وقال الحسيني (رويتر) ان الوفد لا يزال ينتظر
اجراء مشاورات مع واشنطن قبل ان يتوجه الى الارمن
من الاراضي العربية المحتلة.
وقال الحسيني (رويتر) قبل ان يتوجه الى انظار
ان المفاوضين الفلسطينيين لا يتحسسون في عدم
الذهاب الى واشنطن لانهم سيذهبون بالفعل ولكن
الوفد لم يسافر الى الارمن اسس.
وقال وفد المفاوضين الفلسطينيين قد تراسر
الاحتجاز انه سرحي معارنه الى عمان احتجاسا على
احتجاز اسرائيل لعدم حوارني وجمال الشوبكي
غير ان الحسيني ومنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية
اوعضا في وقت لاحق ان الفلسطينيين لن يقاطعوا
المعاديات. وقال الحسيني انه سيناقش اعتقال
الفلسطينيين ومواقفهم اشمي مع بيكر اليوم
وسيطع بالي الشوبكي على نتائج معاديات.
وقال الحسيني ان اعتقال الفلسطينيين هو احد
الواقعي التي يجري بحثها واهرب عن قلته في ان
ذلك سيعدو بافائة.
وقال الحسيني ان من المقرر ان يقام التديوسون
الارديوسون السنين سيحضرون المعاديات مع
الفلسطينيين في اطار وفد مشترك الى واشنطن السبت.
وشجبت عمان اسس الاول اعتقال اسرائيل
للمشوبكي ولكن مسؤولا كبيرا ذكر ان الارديين
يشؤون حضور المعاديات على الرغم من تديوس
تركانهم الفلسطينيين بعدم الحضور.
وزعم رئيس الوزراء الاسرائيلي اسحق شامير اسس
الاول ان الشوبكي والحوارني ليسا بالمعلق عضولين
في الوفد الفلسطيني وقد ارتكبا مخالقات للقانون.
وفي رد على سؤال صحافي اثر معادياته مع رئيس
الوزراء الاسلندي ديفيد هولموون انه شامير ليس في
الحقيقة عضول في الوفد الفلسطيني بل يقوم فقط
ببعض الاعمال الادارية. وعندما يرتكب احد مخالفة
للقانون فمن واجيد السلطات القبط عليه.
وتلحقت الولايات المتحدة اسس الاول على الاحتجاز
اسرائيل فلسطينيين لغضا شجبت على ان السوفد
الفلسطيني سيأتي رغم ذلك الى مفاوضات السلام
المثومة الاثنان لقط في واشنطن.
وقال الناطق باسم وزارة الخارجية الاسريكية
برششار باونشر ان الولايات المتحدة ابلغت اسرائيل
ان في واشنطن او في القدس معارضتها لاحتجاز
الفلسطينيين الذين مقرروا معهما ان اعضاء السوفد
الفلسطيني. وقر بان الولايات المتحدة تراسر
مند قد طويل الاحتجاز الاداري لسكان الاراضي
المحتلة. وقال باونشر ايضا في الوقت ذاته نحت
الفلسطينيين على العمل وفق مصالحهم المشافسة

Source: Newspaper Article #3 / AL-QUDS AL-SARABI (02/20/92)

١٠٠. اجواى:

بيع شركات التليفونات
والسيارات للقطاع الخاص

□ اسولسيون - باراجواى - رويتر:

أعلن وزير الصناعة والتجارة في باراجواى «أوبالدو سكاڤوتى» أن الحكومة ستسبل إلى البرلمان هذا الأسبوع مشروع قانون لتحويل الشركات التي تملكها الدولة إلى القطاع الخاص.

وقال سكاڤوتى إنه يرغب في تحديث هذه الشركات وزيادة فعاليتها ولذلك فإن التركيز سيتم على تحويل ملكية الشركات الخاصة إلى القطاع الخاص.

وأشار إلى أن حكومته ترغب في تحويل ملكية شركات التليفونات والأسمنت والصلب والسيارات التي تملكها الدولة للقطاع الخاص. وقال إن هذه الشركات المملوكة للدولة كانت السبب الرئيسي في ٩٠٪ من ديون باراجواى الأجنبية البالغة ١.٦ مليار دولار.

وكانت معظم الشركات المملوكة للدولة في باراجواى قد أنشأت خلال الأعوام الـ ٣٤ الماضية أثناء تولي الرجل القوي «الفريدو استروينر» حكم البلاد.

وقد أطبع «ياستروينر» في إنقلاب عسكري عام ١٩٨٩ قاده الرئيس الحالي الجنرال «أنديس رودريجز».

Source: Newspaper Article #4 / AL-SALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)

المجموعة الأوروبية

المهنات لوكو وشرق أوروبا على حساب المسالم الثبات

□ بروكسل - وكالات الأنباء:

إن معونة المجموعة الأوروبية تستخدم حالياً وبشكل متزايد لمحاربة خطر الهجرة الجماعية. ويعتقد خبراء المجموعة الأوروبية أن الهجرة من الكتلة الشرقية يمكن أن تضع المجموعة الأوروبية أمام أضخم تحد اجتماعي خلال التسعينات. من المتوقع أن يؤدي الانهيار الاقتصادي في شمال أفريقيا والذي يتفاقم بسبب معدل المواليد الأخذ في الارتفاع بصورة كبيرة في المنطقة إلى زيادة تدفق الشباب الذي يسعى إلى العثور على عمل في أوروبا الغربية. ويعكف وزراء العسندل في دول المجموعة الأوروبية بالفعل على وضع خطط لزيادة إمكان الحدود الخارجية للمجموعة. إلا أنه يوجد إحساس بأن بناء حصن أوروبي لن يكون كافياً لوقف تدفق موجة ممن يسعون إلى دخول دول المجموعة الأوروبية.

أكد المسؤولون في المجموعة الاقتصادية الأوروبية أن الأولويات الجديدة للمعونات التي تقدمها المجموعة ستؤثر بشكل حتمي على اعتمادات المجموعة الأوروبية المخصصة لدول العالم الثالث في آسيا وأفريقيا.. وأشار المسؤولون إلى أن هذه الأولويات الجديدة تشمل الاتحاد السوفييتي وأوروبا الشرقية وشمال أفريقيا. وقد بدأت المجموعة الاقتصادية الأوروبية دراسة وتعديل أولويات برامج التنمية التقليدية الخاصة بها بسبب مخاوفها من تدفق سيل من المهاجرين واللاجئين من جيرانها في الشرق والجنوب الذين يعانون من نقص حاد في الموارد المالية. (وريمياً تظل مكافحة الجوع والفقر والمرضى على رأس قائمة الأولويات إلا

Source: Newspaper Article #5 / AL-ṢAALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)

الباتنيا

١٥٠ مليون دولار معمونة أوروبية عاجلة

٥ بروكسل - رويتر :

وعدت الدول الصناعية الغنية في العالم بتقديم ١٥٠ مليون دولار كمعمونة عاجلة لالبنانيا أفقر الدول الأوروبية على الإطلاق. وقد جاءت تلك الموافقة من جانب ٢٤ دولة تشكل ما يسمى بالمجموعة الـ ٢٤ التي تشكلت مؤخرا لدعم الإصلاح في أوروبا الشرقية والوسطى، وذلك استجابة لمناشدة نائب رئيس الوزراء الالباني «جرامور ياشكو».

وكان «ياشكو» قد أبلغ هذه الدول في اجتماع في بروكسل أن الأطفال يعانون من مجاعة، وأضاف: أن واحد من كل ١٠ أطفال تحت الثالثة في العاصمة تيرانا يعاني من سوء التغذية وواحد من كل ٣ يعاني من سوء التغذية في الأحياء المجاورة أما في الريف فإن ٥٠٪ من الأطفال يعانون من المجاعة.

وطالب بمعونات غذائية وطبية عاجلة، وقال إن بلاده تحتاج أيضا إلى مساعدات مالية لدعم ميزان مدفوعاتها ومساعدات تكنولوجية لمساعدتها على تطبيق نظام السوق.

وقال الوزير الالباني إن أفضل وسيلة لوقف الهجرة الالبانية إلى الخارج للبحث عن مكان أفضل في اليونان أو إيطاليا، هي توفير ما يبحثون عنه من مستوى معيشي أفضل.

وقد صرح «فرانس أندرسن» المفوض الأوروبي للعلاقات الخارجية بأن المجموعة ٢٤ ستزود الباتنيا بأكثر من ٢٥٠ ألف طن من المواد الغذائية خلال العام الحالي.

أمريكا تتهم صندوق النقد بالبطء في مساعدة الاقتصاد السوفييتي

□ شانون (أيرلندا) رويتر:

ومن المقرر أن يجرى «بريدي» محادثات في موسكو مع الرئيس السوفييتي «ميخائيل جورباتشوف» و«يوريس يلتسين» رئيس جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية وعدد من المسؤولين السوفييت. وكان زعماء الدول الصناعية السبع قد وافقوا في مؤتمر القمة الذي عقد في يوليو الماضي على اتخاذ صندوق النقد الدولي والبنك الدولي زمام المبادرة في مساعدة الاتحاد السوفييتي على الانتقال من الشيوعية إلى الرأسمالية.

اتهم «نيكولاس بريدي» وزير الخزانة الأمريكي، صندوق النقد الدولي، بالبطء في مساعدة الاتحاد السوفييتي على تنفيذ الإصلاحات الاقتصادية. وقال «بريدي»، للصحفيين وهو في طريقه إلى موسكو، «أحس بشيء من خيبة الأمل بسبب الإجراءات البيروقراطية في الصندوق» وأضاف قائلاً «إننا لم نبدأ في مساعدة الاتحاد السوفييتي حتى الآن. رغم أن ماحدث يعد أهم تطور منذ مائة عام»

Source: Newspaper Article #7 / AL-SALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)

نادى باريس : جدولة ٢٢ مليار دولار ديوناً متحققة على بيرو

□ باريس - رويتر:

شطب للديون المستحقة على بيرو معرباً عن
أمله في أن يخفف النادي من تلك الديون
كخطوة قريبة لما تم اتخاذه بالنسبة لبولندا.
وسوف تقوم بيرو بمسد يسومين في
المباحثات الشاقة مع نادي باريس، بإعادة
دفع ٢٠٠ مليون دولار على مدى الشهر
الـ ١٥ القادمة بدلاً من ٧٠٠ مليون دولار.
وأكد نادي باريس في تقرير له أن
التزامات إعادة جدولة الديون ستم
بالنسبة لبيرو على مدى الـ ٢٠ عاماً القادمة
بالنسبة لقروض التنمية العامة و ١٥ عاماً
بالنسبة للاعتمادات أو الائتمان الأخرى.
وستبدأ بيرو في الوقت الراهن مباحثات
متعلقة بمسألة المتأخرات للمستحقة والتي
تبلغ ٦,٦ مليار دولار لفترة ثماني سنوات.
وكان تقريراً لصندوق النقد الدولي قد
أكد الأسبوع الماضي أن الدائنين الحكوميين
قد وافقوا بعد البرنامج الذي أطلقته بيرو
ويشمل إجراءات التقشف الشديدة التي
اتخذتها الحكومة.

وافقت أمس الدول الغنية الأعضاء
بنادى باريس على إعادة جدولة الديون
المستحقة على بيرو والتي تبلغ ٢٢ مليار
دولار كخطوة إيجابية ومكافئة لخطوة
برنامج التقشف التي وضعها رئيس بيرو
«البرنو فيجيمودي».
وصرح وزير المالية في حكومة بيرو
«كارلوس بولوناه» عقب الاجتماع بأن
الشروط التي عرضها نادي باريس أفضل
من الشروط التي وضعها النادي بالنسبة
لبولندا والتي تم بمقتضاها شطب نصف
الديون المستحقة على بولندا في مارس
الماضي استجابة للإصلاحات السياسية
والاقتصادية التي تتم في وارسو.
وقال وزير مالية بيرون إنه لضخامة
للتأخرات المستحقة على بلاده، فإن أعضاء
نادى باريس لا يمكنهم الموافقة على أي

Source: Newspaper Article #8 / AL-SALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)

إنجاح دورة «الأورجواي» متوقف على سرعة المفاوضات

□ جنيف - العالم اليوم:

صرح المدير العام لمنظمة «الجات» بآرثر وينكل، بأن الأطراف المعنية التي تشارك في

دورة الأورجواي، والتي تنتظر قراراتها الدول النامية بطرح الصفر. عليها من الآن الإسراع في الأعمال التفاوضية المهمة للدورة إذا كانت ترغب في نجاحها. وخاصة

أن الأطراف المتعاقدة متسولجة مبرحة. حاسمة وصعبة في فترة التفاوض التي ستشتمل خلال شهري أكتوبر ونوفمبر القادمين.

وإن كانت المفاوضات الثانية والتعمدة الإشراف غير الرسمية مستطيل على المفاوضات بتشكل كبير مع اعتبار أهمية وضع نصوص جديدة في وثيقة بروتكول لبيان التقدم الذي حققته المفاوضات.

في نفس السوق صرح سفير البرازيل ديمون ريكويرو المتحدث باسم البلدان النامية بأن تلك البلدان أصبحت أكثر مما ينبغي أن تقدم. وإنما تقوم حالياً بتحرير التجارة بنسب متفاوتة وهي بهذا العمل تتلخظ أكثر من نصف الطريق باتجاه الإنعاق مع البلدان الصناعية المتقدمة.

أضاف إنه ينبغي على قادة العالم الصناعي العمل على تسهيل القفوة بين التصريحات التي يبدون بها وبالثق الأخرى التي يتفاوضون بها. وبالتالي ينبغي عليهم إعطاء توجيهات لهم إلى مندوبيهم الذين يتفاوضون ضمن «الجات» وهو ما وعدوا به وأعتقد أنهم سيفعلون.

من ناحية أخرى أعرب المدير العام السويسري «رشر دونكل» عن تشاؤمه بوجود فرصة مبرحة مسانحة للإنعاق من المفاوضات خلال هذا العام خاصة وأن العديد من الدول النامية والأوروبية الشرقية قد اتخذت قراراتها في تحرير سياساتها التجارية. وكذلك صاغت الدول التجارية الكبيرة إلى حد ما في هذه العملية وهو ما يعنى التسامح المالي لإنجاح دور الأورجواي. بعد أن أصبحت القيادات السياسية في العالم كله على دراية بأهمية المفاوضات وضرورة التوصل إلى حلول في

كل الدول من القرها إلى ألمانيا. وهو ما يجعلنا نتوقع تقديم بعض التفضيلات والبرونة في مناقشة بعض الأهداف وكذلك المزيد من الحررة السياسية للدورة.

أضاف أن معظم المشاكل التفاوضية تتركز في الاعتقاد السائد لدى بعض البلدان الأطراف المتعاقدة بأن هناك قانوناً لأعضاء «الجات» الأكثر قوة وأخر مختلف القائل البلدان الأضعاف. في حين أن نظام «الجات» يتيح الفرصة للبلدان المتخسرة من أجل تكاملها في الاقتصاد العالمي من ناحية. ومن ناحية أخرى فهو يشكل نظاماً للقسمة الخارجية يسمح بتطبيق الإصلاحات الداخلية الضرورية.

وأعاد المدير العام حاشية الأمتزاز واللاوضوح التجارية الأولية على مستوى دول العالم إلى تشوئته للمفاوضات لفترة طويلة فون الرجوع إلى البلدان النامية التنازعات وعرض إنهاء المشاكل التجارية الثنائية وخاصة من جهة البلدان التجارية الكبرى. وفي إطار البث غير المباشر «بقضا الأرض» التي ستهلك في البرازيل في منتصف العام القادم ١٩٩٢ ناقشوا مشاكل البيت والتنمية قبال. إننا مدعوون للتفكير في التدابير التي ينبغي للإنعاق العام لتحات في شكله الحالي الرقوف عليها للاستقامة وبشكل مناسب لاحتياجات الحكومات التي تحاول الوصول لأهداف معينة في مسانة البيئة وذلك باتخاذ تدابير قد يكون لها تأثيرات على التجارة. مع ملاحظة أنه ينبغي أن تؤخذ هذه التدابير إلى حمايات بشكل جنيد مبطن.

كريسون : لزيادة في الضرائب أو عجز الميزانية

□ باريس - رويتر:

نصحت الحكومة الفرنسية حالياً للتمسك الأخيرة على موازنة معادفة لعام ١٩٩٢ وتامل الحكومة أن تحقق البروتية لها قاعدة تحقيق الفوز التحزب الاشتراكي في الانتخابات البرلمانية المقرر إجرائها في عام ١٩٩٢

وقد تعهدت «إديث كريسون» رئيسة الوزراء و«بيير برهوفوا» وزير المالية بعدم رفع الضرائب أو زيادة عجز الميزانية وذلك في مواجهة دعوات اليسار لزيد من الإنفاق العام لمواجهة معدلات البطالة المرتفعة.

ويجادل آلان ميشو في التكوين القادم وسط توقعات بإسجال تعديلات عليها. ويتوقع الاقتصاديون الأيتجاوز معدل النمو الاقتصادي في فرنسا هذا العام ٢.٩. متفصلاً بذلك عما كان متوقفاً في الموازنة الأصلية وهو ٢.٧. مما سيؤدي بالتالي إلى نقص إيرادات الضرائب بحوالي اربعين مليار فرنك (حوالي سبعة مليارات دولار أمريكي).

ورغم الضغوط التي تواجهها الحكومة من أجل زيادة الإنفاق إلا أنها تعصرت بشكل متحاش من خلال زيادة الإيرادات وحفض الإنفاق بحوالي ٢٦ مليار فرنك (حوالي ٤.٥ مليار دولار). وتعزم الحكومة نقادياً لجملة تقشف أخرى خلال العام القادم. أن تعد الموازنة على أساس توقع تحقيق نمو اقتصادي بمعدل ٢.٢. فقط خلال عام ١٩٩٢. وبعد هذا المعدل أقل من المعدل الذي يتوقعه كل من صندوق النقد الدولي ومنظمة التعاون الاقتصادي والتنمية خلال ١٩٩٢ بحوالي ٢.

وتساعد الموازنة المتشددة والتي تهدف إلى الإبتينو معدل الإنفاق العام إلا بنسب خسيلة. ومع بعبور في، في مداولاته لتعويض وإصلاح عجز موازنة العام الجاري الذي تجاوز ماسبق تقديره.

ويتوقع الاقتصاديون أن يصل العجز في موازنة العام الجاري إلى حوالي ٩٥ مليار فرنك (حوالي ١٦.٦ مليار دولار أمريكي) بينما كان العجز قد يقدر من قبل بحوالي ٨٠ مليار فرنك (حوالي ١٢.٩ مليار دولار).

Source: Newspaper Article #9 / AL-SALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)

تقاير دولية حول:

صراع خفي بين البنك وصندوق النقد حول السيطرة الاقتصادية على العالم الثالث

□ واشطن - العالم اليوم:

يلتزم رؤيتهم مكملاء الرئيس السابق لـ البنك الدولي إن أفضل عمل يمكن أن يقوم به هذا المعلق هو حل المشكلات العالمية مثل الجائحة دون إتمام أزمة الجامعة في العالم والعمل على وقف انتشار مرض نقص المناعة المكتسبة المعروف بالإيدز، والتحد من الصراعات التي يواجهها العالم خلال القرن القادم.

ويضيف المسئول أن مثل هذه الجهود لم تقم بها البنك الدولي فإن ذلك سوف يحسن من صورته العالمية وخاصة في دول العالم الثالث. ويستدرك قائلا إنه من المؤكد إن عاجلا أو آجلا سوف تكون مثل هذه البرامج مطروحة على رئيس البنك الدولي. ويقول تقرير لجنة نيبورينغ الأمريكية - تحت عنوان - «من يحتاج لـ البنك الدولي» أن البنك ما زال مؤثرا وله نفوذ واسعة في دول العالم الثالث وأنه يسيطر هذا العالم أكثر من ١٨ مليار

دولار، وأنه أصبح وثيق العنقبة بموضوع ديون العالم الثالث.

ويقول التقرير أنه على الرغم من أن البنك الدولي منخرط حاليا في مشكلة الديون في العالم إلا أنه في عام ١٩٨٢ وعدما تدهورت هذه الأزمة بشدة ظل يبعثا وترقت دول مثل ساحل العاج والفيجي إلى الخلف وتراجعت اقتصادياتها بسبب عدم تقدم البنك الدولي لمساعدتها.

البنك الأوروبي بدلا من البنك الدولي

وبعد انهيار الحكومات الشيوعية في دول أوروبا عام ١٩٨٩ أحرزت المجموعة الأوروبية على قيام مؤسسة منفصلة ذات سيطرة أوروبية هي البنك الأوروبي للتعمير والتنمية ليقيم بالعمل في دول أوروبا الشرقية بدلا من البنك الدولي الذي يهيمن عليه الولايات المتحدة. وليست تلك هي المشكلة الوحيدة

التي تواجه البنك الدولي. فكلجنا من سياسات البنك تبدو متخفية وليس لها أساس علمي - كما يقول تقرير النيوزويك - فعلى سبيل المثال فإن الخبراء - الاقتصاديين في البنك الذين يدفعون الدولي للقيام بالإنعاش السوقي إل تنفي سياسات الاقتصاد السوقي الحر. هم أنفسهم الذين يكتبون هذه الدول على تنفي سياسات الاقتصاد الموجه مركزيا وكتبوا يقولون لهذه الدول إن التخطيط المركزي للاقتصاد هو أفضل أسلوب فعالية لزماتها الاقتصادية في الخمسينات ولتأخذ حالة مالي الأرجنتين على سبيل المثال والتي تعد إحدى الدول المثقلة بالديون وتشكل لها الديون مشكلة كبرى منذ بداية الثمانينات ففي عام ١٩٨٨ قام صندوق النقد الدولي بتعليق القروض لـأرجنتين بعد أن أعلنت حكومة بيسوس أيرس أنها ترفض البرنامج الخاص بمكافحة ارتفاع معدلات التضخم. وبعد قيام حكومة الرئيس السابق رونالد ريغان

بالت على ذلك قدم البنك الدولي برغم الاعتراضات من جانب عدد من الاقتصاديين بمسئولي دول الأرجنتين في إظهار التمسك مع صندوق النقد كما انهارت الخطة التي صمم بها صندوق النقد لعلاج ارتفاع معدلات التضخم في الأرجنتين واللعنة كما تقول النيوزويك لم تنته للأسف عند هذا الحد بل إن البنك الدولي وافق في السبوع الماضي على مساعدة الأرجنتين على إلغاء الضرائب التي تفرضها على الصادرات حتى تعثر تجارتها وهي إحدى السياسات المهمة للبنك الدولي.

غير أن صندوق النقد الدولي أبلغ حكومة الأرجنتين بضرورة عسوية الضريبة على الصادرات وعمل توازن ميزانيته. ولما شعر بوجوب الماضي أخذ دوميغو كابلو وزير الاقتصاد الأرجنتيني بتسيحة البنك الدولي وتجاهل صندوق النقد لأن التصانح التي قدمها البنك كانت تتماشى مع رغبات حكومة الأرجنتين.

Source: Newspaper Article #10 / AL-SALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)

سيصدر بياناً يدين العنف في المنطقة بطرس غالي يدعو الى ضبط النفوس في الشرق الاوسط

بيان معد سلفاً ان الامين العام للامم المتحدة «يرقب بقلق بالغ الاحداث التي وقعت في الشرق الاوسط في الايام القليلة الماضية والتي أدت الى تصعيد العنف في المنطقة».

وقال البيان ان الامين العام للامم المتحدة «يستنكر بشدة ازهاق ارواح ابرياء وفي الوقت الذي تجري فيه مفاوضات تهدف الى تحقيق تسوية شاملة للصراع العربي الاسرائيلي يناشد الامين العام للامم المتحدة ويحث جميع الاطراف على الامتناع عن العنف الذي يؤدي الى عرقلة عملية السلام وتصعيد التوتر في منطقة مضطربة بالفعل».

وقال دبلوماسيون ان مجلس الامن يعتزم اصدار بيان بشأن احداث العنف الاخيرة في لبنان واسرائيل في اعقاب مناشدة الامين العام بطرس غالي للاطراف المعنية ممارسة ضبط النفس. وقال السفير الامريكي توماس بيكرنج للصحافيين امس الاول ان من المرجح ان يدين بيان المجلس «تصاعد العنف في المنطقة».

ومن الواضح ان البيان المزمع للمجلس يأتي استجابة لطلب من السفير اللبناني خليل مكاوي بان يعقد المجلس اجتماعاً لبحث الهجمات الاسرائيلية الاخيرة في جنوب لبنان.

■ الامم المتحدة - رويتر: قال المتحدث باسم الامم المتحدة امس الاول ان بطرس بطرس غالي الامين العام للامم المتحدة دعا الى التحلي بضبط النفس في اعقاب تصاعد اعمال العنف من جديد في الشرق الاوسط في الوقت الذي طلب فيه لبنان عقد جلسة لمجلس الامن الدولي.

وقال المتحدث للصحافيين ان بطرس غالي تلقى مذكرة من خليل مكاوي مندوب لبنان لدى الامم المتحدة يطلب فيها عقد جلسة لمجلس الامن.

وقد طلب لبنان عقد الجلسة بعد اغتيال السيد عباس الموسوي زعيم جماعة «حزب الله» في لبنان وزوجته وابنه في غارة اسرائيلية بطائرات الهليكوبتر في جنوب لبنان يوم الاحد.

وقد قتل ثلاثة جنود اسرائيليين بالبلط والدى ومذرة في غارة شنها عرب على معسكر في شمال اسرائيل يوم السبت الماضي.

واعتارت طائرات اسرائيلية يوم الاحد الماضي على قواعد لمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية في معسكرين للاجئين الفلسطينيين في جنوب لبنان مما أدى الى استشهاد اربعة اشخاص وجرح عشرة آخرين.

وقال المتحدث باسم الامم المتحدة في

مستوطنو الجليل يبيتون ليلهم في الملاجئ

الوف من الناس تغادر جنوب لبنان خوفا من المعارك المحتدمة بين إسرائيل ورجال المقاومة

■ مرجعيون (لبنان) - من على تامر:

والبقاء في قراهم.
وكانت إسرائيل قد انذرت سكان ثلاث قرى جنوبية
مواجهة للحزام وقالت ان عليهم مغادرة قراهم بحلول
الساعة الخامسة من صباح امس (الساعة ٣٠٠ بتوقيت
غرينتش) حتى لا يتعرضوا لردات فعل مكثفة تستهدف
رجال المقاومة.

وقد قال راديو اسرائيل كما قالت مصادر أمنية في منطقة
الحزام الامني ان عددا كبيرا من السكان في شمال اسرائيل
امضوا الليل في الملاجئ. بينما كانت الصواريخ تتساقط.
وقامت طائرات حربية اسرائيلية بغارات وهمية على
مواقع فلسطينية ومواقع لحزب الله امس الاول وامس
والثالث فقتل مضيئة مما أدى الى اطلاق الجيش اللبناني
نيران مدافعه المضادة للطائرات عليها.

وقال مسؤولون كبار في حزب الله امس الاول ان الحزب
ينوي شن هجوم مفاجيء على اسرائيل التي قتلت الشيخ
الموسوي وزوجته وطفلهما في غارة شتمها طائرات هليكوبتر
على موكبهم في جنوب لبنان. الا ان العلامة محمد حسين
فضل الله المرشد الروحي للحركة الإسلامية في لبنان قال في
ماتم الشيخ الموسوي امس الاول ما يفهم منه انه يجب اخذ
الوقت في تقرير كيفية الرد على اغتيال الشيخ الموسوي.
وقال «هذه المسألة ليست مسألة عاطفية او انفعالية..
هذه مسألة عقل ومسألة تخطيط لذلك علينا ان نعمل لصنع
قوتنا.. النزاع طويل طويل.. واسلحة المجاهدين ستبقى
قوية وسترفع عاليها في كل مرة يسقط شهيد او ينطلق
مقاوم».

وقال مصدر سياسي موال لايران لرويتر ان الرد يجب ان
يكون هجوما في مستوى اغتيال الشيخ الموسوي.

(رويتر)

كانت قرى حدودية لبنانية انتهالت عليها القذائف في الايام
الاخيرة شبه مهجورة امس بعد هرب السوف الناس من
المعارك المدفعية والصاروخية التي تدور بين الاسرائيليين
وجبال المقاومة اللبنانيين.

وكانت صفوف طويلة من السيارات التي تقل لبنانيين
خائفين مع ما امكنهم حملة من ممتلكاتهم تنتقل الى مدينة
صيدا الساحلية ومدينة صور المجاورة وبلدة النبطية خلال
الليل المنصرم بعد ان دخلت المعارك المدفعية والصاروخية
يومها الثالث على التوالي.

وفي صور قال علي درويش احد سكان المدينة «اننا في حالة
حرب حقيقية. الطائرات الاسرائيلية تحلق باستمرار فوق
رؤوسنا ومدافع الجيش (اللبناني) المضادة للطائرات تطلق
النار عليها. وازداد قوله «انها الاجواء نفسها التي كانت
سائدة قبيل الاجتياح الاسرائيلي للبنان سنة ١٩٨٢».

وقال شهود عيان ان مقاتلي حزب الله الاصولي الموالي
لايران انطلقوا حوالي ٥٠ صاروخا من نوع كاتيوشا على
شمال اسرائيل ومنطقة الحزام الامني التي قامتها في جنوب
لبنان في التبادل الاخير في القصف الذي اعقب اغتيال اسرائيل
الشيخ عباس الموسوي يوم الاحد.

واضاف الشهود ان القوات الاسرائيلية وميليشيات جيش
لبنان الجنوبي، المتحالفة معها انطلقت حوالي ٢٠٠ قذيفة على
مواقع حزب الله والفري التي تقع الى الشمال من الحزام
الامني. وقالت المصادر ان الفري الشيعية فريخا وملبخ
وباطر والنويزة وكفرا وبرعشيت كانت مهجورة عمليا ولم
يعد فيها سوى عدد قليل من المسنين الذين فروا المضطرة

Source: Newspaper Article #12 / AL-QUDS AL-SARABI (02/20/92)

شؤون اقتصادية

سوق افريقية مشتركة لمواجهة التهميش الدولي
ديترويت - تنهم اليابانيين بمحاولة كسب السوق الأمريكي
القلق يعود الى اجواء الاقتصاد في واشنطن مع تراجع جديد

وجدد نداءات مجلس الاحتياط الاتحادي/البنك المركزي/الذي يضم صناع السياسة بخفض أسعار الفائدة مرة اخرى لدعم قطاع بناء المساكن الذي نشط في الربع الاول من العام .
وقال كنت كولتون نائب رئيس الرابطة القومية لشركات بناء المساكن في حفل في البيت الابيض يوم الاثنين الماضي للقلق الحقيقي للاقتصاد هو انه في الربع الاول من عام ١٩٩٢ جاءت ٢٤ في المئة من الزيادة في نيو اجمالي الناتج المحلي من تشييد المساكن .
واضاف كولتون هذا النمو معرض الان للخطر اذا استمر انخفاض التاني مثلما حدث في نيسان .

وزاد اجمالي الناتج المحلي بقدر اثنين في المئة فقط سنويا في الاشهر الثلاثة الاولى وان كان من المتوقع ارتفاع ذلك في نهاية هذا الشهر .
لكن مارلين فيترووتر المتحدث باسم البيت الابيض قال للصحفيين امس انه لا يشعر بالارتياح نتيجة لاحتمالات الخسارة بقطاع البناء .

وقال فيترووتر انه انخفاض في نشاط الاسكان في شهر واحد وهو لا يعتبر النتيجة الاساسية وهو ان الاقتصاد ينتعش واذ ان نشاط بناء المساكن بصفة عامة يزداد كاتجاه .

ويتوقع اقتصاديون امريكوسون ان يستمر هذا الاتجاه وذكوت رويترز ان الانخفاض في نشاط بناء المساكن في الشهر الماضي الى معدل سنوي يبلغ ١.١٥ مليون وحدة كان اكبر انخفاض في اي شهر منذ ان بلغ الانخفاض ٢٦ .

محادثات صغيرة للبيع في الولايات المتحدة بأسعار منخفضة تقل عن الاسعار السائدة .
وقد يؤدي هذا القرار الذي توصلت اليه الوزارة اول امس الى فرض عقوبات مشددة على واردات الحفلات اليابانية الصغيرة التي تمتع بشعبية كبيرة ويكودي على الارواح الى زيادة توتر العلاقات التجارية بين القوتين الاقتصاديتين .
وقالت الوزارة :
وجدنا ان اكثر من ٩٠ في المئة من مبيعات شركتي مارزا وتويوتا تسم بأسعار اقل من التكلفة الانتاجية .
وقد توصلت الوزارة الى هذه النتيجة بعد يوم واحد من اجتماع مسؤولين امريكيين ويابانيين في صناعة السيارات بالقرب من شيكاغو واتفاق الجانبين على التعاون لتحسين العلاقات .
وتقول رويترز ان شركات مصنعة للسيارات في ديترويت اتهمت اليابانيين ببيع السيارات في السوق الامريكية بسعر اقل من سعرها في اليابان .

وقالت الوزارة ان ماذا تبنيع الحفلات الصغيرة بسعر يقل بنسبة ١٢.٧ في المئة عن السعر السائد وتويوتا بنسبة ٦.٧٥ في المئة وشركات يابانية اخرى بنسبة ٩ في المئة .

X واشنطن ..
ذكرت وزارة التجارة الامريكية ان تشييد المنازل والشقق الجديدة شهد اكبر انخفاض في ثلثي سنوات خلال شهر نيسان الماضي ليضع بذلك احد العوامل الرئيسية في التناقص الاقتصادي .
وكان انخفاض معدل التشييد بنسبة ١٧ في المئة في الشهر الماضي اكبر انخفاضا في تاريخه .

ويعتقد ندياي ان التناقص اقتصاد جنوب افريقيا الذي يشكل نحو ٤٠ في المئة من انتاج دول القارة جنوبي الصحراء سيكون له تأثير على المنطقة وبخاصة في وقت اوشكت فيه اوروبا على الاندماج في سوق مشتركة كما تعمل بكتلات اخرى في امريكا الشمالية و آسيا .
وقال اننا بحاجة الى جنوب افريقيا على هذا المستوى المحرك من اجل محاربة التهميش في افريقيا .
وذكرت رويترز ان البنك اميح ستمتد بالفعل لمساعدة جنوب افريقيا حالما تتاهل للمعونة وذلك بعد انضمامها الى منظمة الوحدة الافريقية .

واقترح ندياي اقامة صندوق خاص لتوفير المعونة للقطاع الذي ينتمي الى العالم الثالث في جنوب افريقيا حيث يعاني معظم السود الذين يشكلون الاغلبية بنسبة خمسة الى واحد من الحرمان مما يتبع به البيض .
ويقول ان البنك الذي يضم بين حمله اسهمه من الاجانب الدول الصناعية يمكنه المساعدة لا عن طريق تقديم قروض مباشرة فحسب بل ولكن بتبعية الموارد من المنظمات الاخرى .

ويرى ندياي ان جنوب افريقيا يمكن ان تكون مشريرا للموارد الخام التي تتجهها افريقيا ومصدرا للتكنولوجيا وقاعدة صناعية اقليمية للشركات المتصدرة الجنسيات ومركزا ماليا .
ويخشى بعض المسؤولين الافارقة من الهيمنة الاقتصادية لجنوب افريقيا .

X واشنطن ..
قالت وزارة التجارة الامريكية ان الشركات المانسة تطرح

X داكار ...
يتحدث اكبر معدل في افريقيا علناً عن حلم ابروود الا عدد ضئيل حتى الان اقامة سوق مشتركة تمتد من كيب تاون الى القاهرة .
ويعتقد باباكار ندياي رئيس البنك الافريقي للتعمية ان اندماج جنوب افريقيا في التيار الرئيسي للقارة بعد تطبيق نظام ديمقراطي ونيد المنعوية سيؤدم اقتصاديات القارة المصحبة ويعطيها موقعا فعالا في شؤون العالم .
وقال ندياي في ندوة عقدت قبل الاجتماع السنوي للبنك هنا في منتشف ابار وعندها تبدأ افريقيا الاخلاق سيكون لها صوت مختلف في المحافل الدولية انهم سيضمون البنا .

وقد وافق البنك الافريقي للتعمية ومنظمة الوحدة الافريقية واللجنة الاقتصادية لافريقيا التابعة للأمم المتحدة على مقترحات باقامة سوق اقتصادية افريقية مشتركة بحلول عام ٢٠٢٥ .

وحذر ندياي اعضاء البنك من انه عندما تضم جنوب افريقيا الى البنك فانها ستفقد ذلك في البداية كمفترض لا كما هم في موارده ولم ترواتها المدنية وغيرها من الثروات .
ويقول البنك ان مستويات المعيشة في باقي الدول الافريقية الان اسوأ مما كانت عليه في السنوات التي تلت استقلالها .
وقد نكبت القارة بعدة موجات

من الجفاف والحروب الاهلية ويقدر البنك ان افريقيا ستحتاج الى تحقيق نمو اقتصادي بمعدل اربعة في المئة سنويا خلال العقد الحالي اي نحو ثلثي ما تحدد للمقد المتأثبات وذلك لجرد استعادة المستويات المعيشية في عام ١٩٨٠ .

Source: Newspaper Article #13 / AL-SALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)

NOTES

1 INTRODUCTION

- 1 It is worth noting that in Sibawayhi's eighth-century book, verbal categories such as tense and aspect appear in the first book's opening paragraph as he describes the correlation between three verbal forms, namely the perfective, imperfective, and imperative and the ways their occurrence relates to time and completion of events (for more details on Sibawayhi's work, see Carter (2004)). Leech (2004) observes that some of the most fascinating issues in English relate to tense, aspect, mood, and modality. Despite the historical gap, the apparent convergence between the two linguists appears to highlight the salience of verbal categories.
- 2 See Versteegh (1997) and Suleiman (2003) for a stimulating description of the major landmarks of the Arabic linguistics tradition along with their counterparts in the West.
- 3 See in particular Cowan (1968: 29–34), McLoughlin (1972: 57–73), Blau (1973, 1976) for an extensive presentation and discussion of this issue. See also Eid (2006) for an analysis of current mixing of MSA with colloquial forms of language in media discourse.

2 VERBAL CATEGORIES, CLAUSE STRUCTURE, AND MODALITY

- 1 See in particular Bybee *et al.* (1994) whose work aims at identifying the universal features of Tense, Aspect, and Mood across 76 unrelated languages. See also Dahl (1985, 2000), whose initial work on the universal nature of these categories relies on a corpus of more than 60 languages from various language groups and group types; the latest work focuses much more on the European group, however. Comrie (1976, 1985) and Kinberg (2001: 132–52) are similarly recommended for advancing the treatment of such verbal categories within TMA systems.
- 2 Throughout the chapter and the rest of the book, we shall write Modality with a capital letter “M”, to distinguish it from the other metaterm “modality” which refers to the category of modals.
- 3 In his footnote #28, Fillmore throws out the idea that “there are probably good reasons for regarding negation, tense and mood as associated with the sentence as a whole, and the perfect and progressive ‘aspects’ as features on the verb.” Nevertheless, his first intuition is to include aspect within the modality component.
- 4 For a detailed review of both pre-Chomskian and Chomskian approaches to sentence structure, see in particular Newmeyer (1980, 1996).
- 5 In fact, many of the principles of the enunciation theory find their roots in the writings of Jakobson, although, for some unknown reasons, most enunciativists of this school refer to Benveniste as its Godfather; Gustave Guillaume's (1963) Psychomechanical

- Theory of Language appears to have had a large influence on French-based enunciative theories. It is, however, somewhat a less acknowledged source of inspiration.
- 6 See, in particular, Adamczewski (1983: 5–16), where a brief and concise discussion unveils various aspects of the theory. See also Bahloul (1986: 18–22, 1987: 7–28), for an extended discussion.
 - 7 It is easy to see the great extent to which Chomsky's statements echo the previously reviewed analyses, namely those of Fillmore, Culioli, and Adamczewski. They all appear to share the desire to develop a sentence-representational machinery that transcends beyond any particular language.
 - 8 See Chomsky (1981: 27–28), Sproat (1985), Mohammad (1988b, 1989) in particular, for such accommodations; see Comrie (1989: 86–104), Hawkins (1990) for an extensive discussion of issues related to word order.
 - 9 It should be noted that, according to Koopman and Sportiche again, while the internal subject position is restricted to D-structure for class 1 languages, such as English, French, Vata, and so on, it may not be so for class 2 languages, such as Italian, Welsh, Japanese, Chinese, and so on (see Koopman and Sportiche for more details).
 - 10 The metaterm 'X' is reminiscent of "'X' Theory" which was developed in the 1970s and plays an important role in the early stages of the Principles and Parameters Approach (see Radford (1988); Haegeman (1991); Adger (2003) among others for a general characterization). Central to this theory is the notion of head. In the present context, the head of the tense category, for example, is the tense affix itself.
 - 11 Each phrasal projection is assumed to generate a specifier position above the head. We have omitted that position for ease of exposition.
 - 12 Ever since, there have been myriad studies on the syntax of functional categories within and across a large number of languages and language groups. For Arabic, we especially note the valuable works of Benmamoun (1992, 2000), Fassi Fehri (1993), Ouhalla (1993, 1997), Harbert and Bahloul (2002), M. Bahloul (2006a,b) for their thorough and detailed analyses of a variety of Arabic functional categories. For English and Spanish, see Cowper (2005).
 - 13 In relation to modality, Ingham (1994), for example, cites 12 different modal verbs in Najdi Arabic. This is an illustration of how rich and how complex this component might be.
 - 14 We borrowed this term from Leech and Short (1981: 272), where it is used to refer to the relationship expressed between the implied author and fiction. We believe that it can be generalized to characterize similar relationships in all types of discourses, whether they are written or oral.
 - 15 For further details of the formal representations of these operations, see Bourdin (1991: 273–77).
 - 16 Interestingly, Nuyts (2005) suggests to replace the term "modality" with "attitude" showing it to be the "cleanest solution" (p. 28).
 - 17 See also Monville-Burston and Waugh, 1985, 1991, Waugh and Monville-Burston, 1986, Waugh 1987, 1991b for analyses of various context-sensitive meanings and functions of tense and aspect with a particular focus on modal, affective, pragmatic, and textual considerations.
 - 18 It should be stressed here that degrees of interaction vary from 0 to 1, with 0 for far less obvious cases and 1 for more transparent ones. Thus, one could safely say that categories can be discrete and still interact.
 - 19 We use the term "non-formal" here for non-mathematical accounts vs. mathematical accounts, such as Predicate Calculus Semantics (Chierchia and McConnell-Ginet 1990, among others); both types of approaches have their own formalism otherwise.
 - 20 Cited in Lancri (1984: 3).
 - 21 For a detailed discussion relevant to the question of Invariance, see the volume *New Vistas in Grammar: Invariance and Variation* Waugh and Rudy (eds), pp. 11–223.

3 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY, STRUCTURE, AND FUNCTION

- 1 This binary characteristic of the Arabic verbal system contrasts sharply with other non-binary verbal systems such as French, for example, where three distinct morphological verbal categories, a present tense form, as in *je marche* (I walk), a past tense form, as in *je marchais* (I walked/was walking), and a future tense form, as in *je marcherai* (I will walk), constitute the heart of its verbal system, along with the periphrastic perfects and go-future. For a detailed discussion of the French verbal system, the reader is referred to Waugh (1975: 436–85, 1987: 1–47, 1991: 241–59).
- 2 For detailed studies of all various derived verbal forms, see Er-Rayyan (1986: 74–141), Fischer (2002: 35–184). For a competing view which advocates a stem-based approach to Arabic verbal morphology, see in particular Moutaouakil (1988), McCarthy (1993), Cuvalay-Haak (1997), Benmamoun (1999), Ratcliffe (1998), Gafos (2002).
- 3 This approach accords well with the clausal structure outlined in Chapter 2. Accordingly, the verbal root belongs to the proposition/lexis component, and as such, it has not been appropriated. Recall that an utterance results from the interaction between the Modality component, and the lexis component, through enunciative operations. Since grammatical categories belong to the Modality component, it is only natural that, unless they are properly appropriated, they fail to otherwise appear, and so does the verbal root.
- 4 Benmamoun rightly observes that the vocalic melody is involved in passive and active verbs; he therefore rejects that one form carries more than one function, especially that voice is derivational while tense is inflectional. In addition, he notes that the /a-a/ vocalic melody is limited to active verbs. On the one hand, it is not clear why the entire vocalic melody is assumed to express tense and/or passive. On the other hand, there was no discussion of such possible cases of morphological homonymy or polysemy in addition to the “hierarchy of meaning” along the line found in Kinberg (1991, 2001: 133–51).
- 5 Until we present the results of our semantico-pragmatic investigation, we will keep using the aspect–tense denotation to refer to the relevant morphemes.
- 6 We refer the reader to Al-Shalan (1983: 188–254) where various issues related to passivization in Arabic are discussed.
- 7 The realization of phi features is subject to configurational constraints. For relevant discussions, see Fassi Fehri (1993: 34–44), Benmamoun (2000: 119–55), Harbert and Bahloul (2002).
- 8 Throughout this review, we will use the examples of the authors in question to illustrate the difference between the basic verbal forms. Note that most of them, if not all, are samples of language taken out of context, a methodology that we believe contains various shortcomings related to adequacy and reliability; hence our reliance on a representative corpus.
- 9 Note that Wright’s work (1859) still serves as the traditional basis for various descriptive studies pertaining to both Classical and MSA within Western-based scholarship.
- 10 Although Aš-širbiinii’s analysis is based on the notion of Time, it differs in many ways from that of Sibawayhi. While Sibawayhi, for example, refers to the tridimensional characteristic of time, namely, past, present and future; Aš-širbiinii considers the dynamic binary nature of time more relevant in characterizing verbal tenses. Accordingly, time is evaluated either as elapsed, as in past time; or as unelapsed, as in present and future times (see also Guillaume 1973: 184–219 for a similar approach).
- 11 It is worth noting that textbooks used for native speakers throughout the Arab world refer to the Perfect and the Imperfect in temporal terms. Thus, while the former is referred to as *al-maad’ii* and defined to denote “past tense,” the latter is referred to as *al-mudaari’u* referring to “present and future tense” (Abu-Obaida *et al.* 2005).
- 12 See Al-Aswad (1983: 20) for a different characterization. There, he suggests, contrary to Comrie, that “aspect” is the primary feature of the Arabic verb.

- 13 Even though the aspectual features are expressed parenthetically and inconsistently with “or” for the Perfect and “and” for the Imperfect, the very fact that they are included in the definition is a sufficient indication that they are prominent.
- 14 Jakobson (1957) incorporates this distinction within a larger category which includes such notions as simultaneity, anteriority, interruption, concessive connection, and so on. He names this category “Taxis,” and defines it as follows: “Taxis characterizes the narrated event in relation to another narrated event and without reference to the speech event.” We will show that such a notion plays a salient role in characterizing the semantico-pragmatic function of the verbal system.
- 15 This particular point of view, although it might hold true in some languages, does not seem to be supported by facts from Arabic as will be clarified in this book. In particular, we will demonstrate that the dynamics of the ATM categories allows for full dissociation.

4 THE PERFECT, USE, AND INVARIANT MEANING

- 1 For an extensive discussion, see Waugh (1975: 438–40). Note that the invariant might be made up of various components. Among others, see Waugh and Monville-Burston (1986), Waugh (1991a,b), for such claims.
- 2 See Cowper (2005) for a principled account of the Tense systems in English and Spanish on the basis of recent works in morphosyntactic feature geometry which makes use of such relational concepts as “distinctiveness” and “opposition” which in essence militates against treating verbal grammatical categories in isolation.
- 3 In relation to the use of corpus for writing grammars, Dash (2005: 27) sensibly notes that early (pre-corpus) grammarians used to “depend on the works of their predecessors as well as the examples collected by them” to analyze grammatical forms. This is indeed the case for most early, medieval, and contemporary Arabic grammarians tend to use exactly the same examples (i.e. *qatala/yaqtulu* “killed/kills”) while illustrating the contrast in question.
- 4 As for the semantic interpretation of these three negators, we had to reply on Sibawayhi’s analysis of both the first and the third forms, that is, *kataba*, and *laqad kataba*, respectively, and on Ul-Haq’s (1984: 203) characterization of the negative particle *lammaa* for the negation of the second form *qad kataba*.
- 5 This diachronic change, which has eliminated more complex forms in favor of simpler ones, accords well with the principle of “simplification” which underlies some types of language change (Hock 1988: 254–58).
- 6 The metaterm Compound Perfect is a mere a heuristic device to clearly distinguish the Perfect preceded by *QAD* from the bare form. It should therefore not be interpreted as an attempt to introduce a new verbal form to the existing morphologically grammaticalized ones, namely the Perfect and the Imperfect.
- 7 Irrelevant details are omitted from examples for convenience.
- 8 The example in (8) is cited in Comrie (1985: 47). Grammaticalizing temporal distance is similarly mentioned in Dahl (1985: 120–28) with data from a number of languages such as Kamba (a Bantu language), Hixharyana (a Carib language). It is worth noting that this tendency in some languages has led Bhat (1999) to classify languages as tense-prominent, aspect-prominent, or mood-prominent.
- 9 It should be stressed here that the use of the Pluperfect in general not only requires an event occurring before another event, but also a relational aspect within which the two events are evaluated. But see Triki and Bahloul (2001) and Bahloul (forthcoming) for a different characterization of the past-in-the-past hypothesis that has been long assumed to trigger the use of the Past Perfect.
- 10 The example in (26b) is only possible in a context where the enunciator has not only seen the watch, but also certain to have got it.

- 11 With respect to the temporal properties of the French past participle, it is generally argued that it typically refers to completed events. The event in the following example, for example, is usually interpreted as having already taken place (see also Waugh (1987: 18–19) for a similar view).
- (i) *je suis tombé(e)*
 I am fallen. s.m.(f)
 “I fell down.”
- 12 Note that *came* is also possible in English, but it has a more hypothetical value, which is not the case here.
- 13 Having taught Arabic as a foreign language to English native speakers, I have noticed the difficulties they encounter when they study the conditional, and in particular when they have to use a Perfect verb with a present time interpretation, as in (28); they always want to translate it as an irrealis past.
- 14 Indeed, Jakobson (1932: 6) cites Aksakov and Nekrasov who proposed a similar interpretation of the Russian preterite observing that “. . . this form expresses, in fact, no particular time, but solely a break in the direct connection between the subject and the action (. . .) the action, properly speaking, loses its character of action and becomes simply the distinguishing property of the subject.”
- 15 This raises the questions of (i) whether a present verbal form, that is, the Imperfect, is possible in such conditional contexts, and (ii) how Arabic would express an unlikely non-actualized condition if the Perfect expresses a likely condition. An answer to the first question is given in Chapter 6, pp. 234–36. As for the second question, see our discussion of Tense and conditional particles in Chapter 7, pp. 304–06.
- 16 I made some appropriate changes to Dahl’s example involving a typographical mistake *bi-l-waali* “to the money” > *ʕalaa al-maali* “with the money,” and a poor choice of the verb in the subordinate clause *?ittaʕala* > *tafiʕaʕala* “to get.” The meaning remains the same, however.
- 17 Notice that in Arabic when someone is directly addressed by name or title, the vocative particle *yaa* is used right before the noun.
- 18 Of course the results remain partial until the Compound Perfect and the Imperfect are discussed, then all three forms are contrasted (see pp. 140–47). For a similar approach, see Kinberg (2001: 132–52).
- 19 The optionality of the presence of the modal *sawfa* “will” results from the capability of the Imperfect to refer to future time events (but see our discussion relative to the use of the modal *sawfa* “will” in Chapter 6). As for the modal *QAD* “might” in (45c), it has the effect of neutralizing the temporal interpretation of the auxiliary (nonpast, past). Therefore, the context disambiguates as to whether it is a past or a nonpast event.
- 20 Waugh points out that Russian typically uses the perfective past in similar contexts, although it does not exclude the imperfective past (personal communication). The availability of both forms suggests that the contrast has little to do with temporality, and more with the enunciator’s subjective assessment of the verbal process.
- 21 It is unclear to me why would the author choose the present perfect “has contained” to translate the Perfect, where the present is more appropriate.
- 22 Waugh argues that there are two types of *passé composé* in French: *passé composé* I and *passé composé* II. While type I relates to the moment of enunciation acting therefore like a perfect, type II does not. The one to which we refer here is type I.
- 23 These properties have often been associated with the aspectual definition of the meaning of the perfective (Comrie 1976: 16).
- 24 We depart from the traditional belief which assumes that “the exception confirms the rule.” In most cases, it is the existing generalization that is at fault, and a better characterization ought to be sought (see among others Triki and Bahloul 2001).

5 THE COMPOUND PERFECT, AND THE MODAL *QAD*

- 1 In similar contexts, that is, sentence initially, the coordinating conjunction *wa* “and” also precedes prepositions, adverbs, and imperfect verbs; in such cases, it is never translated. For a discussion of this conjunction, see Fischer (2001: 175–76), Kinberg (2001: 85–88), Ghazali (forthcoming).
- 2 The fact that the two functions are quite contradictory illustrates the opaque nature of *QAD*. The reason for this confusion will become clearer as we progress in the analysis of this particle.
- 3 It is particularly interesting from a historical point of view to notice that while some functions of *QAD* are still observed in MSA to a certain extent, that is, the assertive function, other functions have totally disappeared; See especially Ibn Hishaam (vol. 1, 289–92) for the pre-nominal *QAD*, Kinberg (2001: 112–20) for a special function of *LA-QAD*, and Cuvalay-Haak (1997: 150–63) for unusual classical, medieval, and modern uses of *QAD* along with its current reflexes.
- 4 It should be noted that (4b) is not attested, or is marginal, in British English. However, it is commonly used in American English.
- 5 In all of his work, Al-Aswad never discussed or even mentioned the verbal complex [*kaana* + Perfect]. This is probably due to an erroneous belief which considers that *QAD* is obligatorily used between *kaana* and the main perfect verb (see also Doss 1984: 362 and Comrie 1991: 8). Therefore [*kaana* + Perfect] is assumed to be not a well formed verbal complex. This is simply a false characterization according to my own findings, where among 25 cases of compounds with *kaana*, five occur without the particle *QAD*, which represents 20%, a proportion which can not be disregarded or overlooked.
- 6 Although the particle *QAD* is not used alone, and is preceded by *LA*, *WA*, or *FA*, this has no bearing on the analysis suggested for *QAD*. We will therefore use *QAD* to refer to all of its prefixed forms whose functions will be discussed later (see pp. 89–94).
- 7 The contrast observed between (7b) and (8a) is not particular to Arabic. Indeed, a similar contrast is observed in Chinese through the use of various particles. According to Ijic (1986: 28–29) this contrast is illustrated through the two verbal suffixes *-LE* and *-GUO*. Consider the following examples,

- (i) **wo kan-le zhei ben xiaoshuo, keshi mei kanwan.*
I read (-*LE*) this (*CI.*) short story but (Neg) read.finish
“I’ve read this short story but have not finished it.”
- (ii) *wo kan-guo zhei ben xiaoshuo, keshi mei kanwan.*
I read (-*GUO*) this (*CI.*) short story but (Neg) read.finish
“I’ve read this short story but have not finished it.”

The use of the verbal complex [*Verb* + *GUO*] in (ii) would correspond to the Perfect in Arabic without the particle *QAD*, since the two verbal forms are neutral as to the resultative nature of the action involved. The use of the verbal suffix *-LE*, however, as in (i), accords more with the function of (*LA*)*QAD*, given that both verbal forms imply the completion of the action in question. But see (Li and Thompson 1981: 226–32) for a different characterization of this contrast in Chinese.

- 8 The verbal particle *GUO* in Chinese is also assumed to denote experiential aspect, as shown in (i) as follows:
 - (i) *wo chi GUO Riben fan*
I eat (EXP) Japan food
“I’ve eaten Japanese food (before).”
(Li and Thompson 1981: 226)

- 9 We have no way of knowing whether the contrast between (12a) and (12b) involves factual assertion, since both examples were given out of context.
- 10 The Emphasis Hypothesis is the one found in several Arabic teaching manuals and textbooks. In Bishai (1971: 74) for instance, it is suggested that “*QAD* and sometimes *LA-QAD* may introduce a perfect verb only for purposes of emphasis without any tense significance.” This interpretation is not, however, maintained throughout the book. In p. 76, for example, we read “*QAD*: with Perfect = already.” In some other grammar textbooks, the occurrence of *QAD* with the Perfect is fully absent while its occurrence with the Imperfect is attested (see Schulz 2004: 12–14 for example).
- 11 Readers are referred to Culavay-Haak (1997: 150–65), Kinberg (2001: 121–31), Ghazali (forthcoming), for recent discussions.
- 12 The cooccurrence of *QAD* with the Imperfect is far less problematic, since it expresses possibility (see pp. 124–25).
- 13 There are several contexts in which the use of *QAD* is disallowed, that is, with the coordination particle *thumma* “then, afterwards”; and adverbs such as *lamma. fiinamaa, findamaa, kullamaa* “when, whenever.” This ban is due to various syntactic, semantic/pragmatic and stylistic constraints, some of which will be discussed later in the chapter. Along the same line, Kinberg (2001: 121–22) mentions a number of contexts such as negative clauses, questions initiated by *hal*, protases of conditional sentences initiated by *in*, and contexts which exhibit different degrees of negativity, in which the use of *QAD* is not attested.
- 14 For more details on the function of coordinating conjunctions, see pp. 89–94.
- 15 This ban might be due to some type of semantico-pragmatic and modal conflicts the specifics of which require deeper investigation. But see pp. 179–80 for a possible account. See also Kinberg (2001: 121–31) for the analysis of some other contexts where the use of *QAD* is blocked.
- 16 The only apparent exception to this is the oath word *wallaahi* “by God” which can appear between *QAD* and the Perfect (see among others Ibn Hisham vol. I, 291–92). This is only attested for Classical Arabic, however, and there seems to be no indication that this still occurs in MSA. This phenomenon is not particular to MSA, however. In Chinese there is a similar verbal particle *LE* which always follows the verb to express aspect–tense distinctions, and which allows no element to intervene in-between (see, among others, Li and Thompson (1981: 184–202).
- 17 We have noticed that both the French conjunction *puis* “then,” quite often reduced to *pis* in oral discourse, and the conjunction *and* in English reduced to ‘*n*, are redundantly used just like the Arabic *wa* “and.” In written discourse, however, such redundant use in French and English is not attested.
- 18 Jakobson (1971: 134) refers to *DO* as a marker of an “affirmative assertion” (assertorial), and classifies it within a larger category he calls “STATUS,” which basically “defines the logical quality of the event.”
- 19 Adamczewski (1982: 104, 1991: 268–72) considers the emphatic *DO* and *BIEN/BEL ET BIEN des métaopérateurs de prédication* “predication metaoperators” whose main function is to saturate, thematize, and confirm the truth of the predicative relation.
- 20 The cases where the thematic verb which follows the auxiliary is other than a Perfect are excluded here, given that neither the Imperfect nor the Active Participle can be preceded by the verbal particle *QAD* in compound tenses.
- 21 Our thanks to Wayne Harbert for suggesting this line of analysis.
- 22 Ghazali (forthcoming) shows a number of cases of *QAD* used with *yabduu* “it seems” type verbs. Such finding does not necessarily constitute a challenge to our analysis. Within our speaker-based approach, what might appear at first contradictory should find a principled explanation within the various mystification strategies and the factors determining the use or otherwise of such modal tools.

6 THE IMPERFECT, USE, AND INVARIANT MEANING

- 1 Some ATM issues will be left out but will be discussed in the last section of this chapter where both verbal forms, the Perfect and the Imperfect, are contrasted and discussed.
- 2 Note that the left boundary does not always remain indifferent. Indeed, it differs according to whether the beginning 'of the event is relevant or not. Thus, if adverbs like *munðu* "since/for" are used, as follows in (i), the left boundary is represented as closed.
 - (i) *al-wilaqyaatu al-muttafidatu tuṣaariḏu munðu waqtin ṭawiilin...*
 the-states the-united oppose. Imp.3.s.f Since time long.
 "The United States has for a long time opposed..." (NA#3)
- 3 Adamczewski holds the view that the predicative relationship is either "thematic" or "rhematic." In the former case, it is typically a secondary assertion either referring back to a primary predication (e.g. when a young lady marries an old man, she is marrying him for money), or reflecting the situational given (e.g. Look! your neighbor is washing his car). In the latter case, events lack any anaphoric value, and are therefore presented in a rather neutral way (e.g. my grandmother goes to church every Sunday morning, etc.). (See also Delmas 1990.)
- 4 Notice the extent to which the semantic difference between the Imperfect and the Perfect might be reduced in these particular contexts, a convergence on which we will comment later.
- 5 Recall that many proverbs make use of the Perfect as well (see pp. 57–62). The capability of both the Perfect and the Imperfect to express similar processes will be later shown to follow from the common characteristics which they both share (see the discussion in pp. 140–47).
- 6 See in particular Hornstein (1990) who labels his theory of tense "Neo-Reichenbachian"; that is, a revised version of the 1947 theory put forward by the logician Hans Reichenbach. Each tense in this theory corresponds to a representation like the one which follows:
 - (i) E,R-S

where E,R, and S are 'event time', 'reference time', and 'moment of speech', respectively. A comma between two points indicates that they are 'contemporaneous', while a line, as in R-S, indicates that the first point precedes the second one. For a critical survey, see Dahl's (1992) review of Hornstein's work.
- 7 For more details, see our discussion of the nominal constructions in Chapter 8.
- 8 The modal *QAD* presents a complex case of polysemy, as it is capable of asserting both the certainty of the realization of the predicative relation (e.g. when used with the Perfect), as well as its uncertainty (e.g. when it precedes the Imperfect), as will be shown later (see pp. 124–25) (see also Dahl and Talmoudi 1979: 54–55; Kinberg 2001: 121–31).
- 9 In English, for instance, it is generally observed that fixed time adverbials such as *yesterday*, *two days ago*, and alike are not compatible with the present perfect.
- 10 Notice that the modal *will* in English has a similar performative interpretation in examples like the following:
 - (i) Now, *I will ask* everybody to leave the court room
 - (ii) We *will suggest* that there is indeed need to refer independently to future time reference, but it is of course possible that subsequent work may lead to revision of this claim...

(Comrie 1985: 78)
- 11 For a discussion of the difference between these modals, see Sayed (1983).

- 12 The higher frequency of the modal *QAD* might be due to some morphological reasons having to do with *QAD* being the simplest form, that is, one syllable, compared to *Laʕalla* and *rubbamaa* which are both trisyllabic. The privileged status of *QAD* might also be associated with its frequent use with the Perfect as well.
- 13 For an extensive discussion on the functioning of the temporal adverb “**YESTERDAY**,” in newspaper articles, see Delmas (1984: 77–93).
- 14 See Declerck (1991) for English, Waugh (1991a,b) for French, Belazi (1993) for Tunisian Arabic. Needless to say that the term “Historical Present” has been used as a label to either isolate this function of the Imperfect or completely ignore it, while most stories we hear daily tend to use this form rather than the Perfect or the past tense. Adamczewski (1982a: 45) expresses a strong rejection of this term: “Inutile de dire que l’*étiquette* ‘*présent historique*’ est absolument inutile.”
- 15 It should be stressed, however, that the unboundedness of the event receives different interpretations depending on the lexical properties of the verb, and might therefore get reduced to its logical limit.
- 16 Recall that when used in similar contexts, the Perfect presents the wish as dimension-alized, as if it were realized.
- 17 See Kharma and Hajjaj (1997) for more details of contrastive analysis of Arabic and English, Blyth (2005) for French, Cowper (2005) for English.
- 18 Notice that the context may locate the verbal event relative to another one, bringing therefore simultaneity into the scene, that is, *Kaana Maher y-a-ʕSabu kurata al-qadam fiina kaana saʕiiran* “Maher used to play soccer when he was a kid.”
- 19 For a general presentation and discussion of both types of modals in Arabic, periphrastic and others, see Sayed (1983), Cuvalay-Haak (1997), Kinberg (2001).
- 20 For a recent discussion of these negators, see UI-Haq (1984: 188–204).
- 21 Special thanks to Linda Waugh for suggesting the form and content of this table.
- 22 Notice that, unlike the French and English examples discussed earlier where a similar variation is observed within the headline/article alternation (see pp. 127–28), all the examples here are only observed within the article. See Ghazali (forthcoming) for findings relevant to this issue.
- 23 Linda Waugh informed us that these results are compatible with the findings concerning the historical present in various European languages.

7 ATM CATEGORIES, DERIVATION, AND THE VERBAL CLAUSE

- 1 See our discussion of Arabic verbal morphology in Chapter 3, pp. 29–43, for specific details.
- 2 It should be stressed that the movement of the thematic verb to Tense does not mean that it is inherently temporal. In fact, we will show that the category of Tense is a property of the clause and can be realized within various other categories.
- 3 We will use Modality instead of INFL for reasons discussed in Chapter 2. Recall that Modality should not be confused with modals (see Chapter 2 for details).
- 4 Throughout this chapter and the following one, we will use Modality Phrase (MP) as a heuristic device, when we do not refer individually to the relevant categories. Accordingly, MP has the same X’ status as other phrasal projections.
- 5 Note that this attachment process may also obtain in the lexicon. However, the syntactic constraints which might block such attachment, provides evidence for deriving the relevant affixes in the syntax.
- 6 More details about negation are discussed in Chapter 6, pp. 137–40.
- 7 Treating auxiliaries as aspectual elements is theoretically desirable, not only because they interact with Aspect, that is, *be + ing* “progressive aspect”; *have + en* “prospective aspect” in English; but also because of the salient role they play as surface traces of

the enunciator's point of view. In this context, the fact that they are aspectuals and controllers of temporality at the same time should not be interpreted as inconsistent, rather the opposite since they follow the same pattern observed here for negators and conditional particles, being also controllers of temporality despite their categorial differences. Moreover, this type of interaction follows straightforwardly from their intrinsic cross-categorial characteristics (see pp. 21–23).

- 8 Note that the particle *?inna* assigns accusative case to the NP that it governs, a property that typically defines phrasal heads. This property follows naturally if *?inna* is shown to head a phrasal projection.

8 ATM CATEGORIES, DERIVATION, AND THE NOMINAL CLAUSE

- 1 It is worth noting that this contrast is not particular to MSA. Indeed, languages such as: Spoken Sinhala (Sumangala 1991), Russian (Babby 1980), Hebrew (Doron 1983; Borer 1986; Rapoport 1987; Shlonsky 2000; Greenberg 2002), and various other languages and language groups (cf. Hagège 1984) also demonstrate the absence of the copula. These languages seem to differ as to whether the copula is altogether absent in the language (e.g. Spoken Sinhala) or only missing in certain contexts (e.g. MSA) as we will show later.
- 2 Given the unmarked nature of the Imperfect in MSA (see Chapter 6), the verbal form *yakuunu* is subject to different interpretations given the various contexts in which it can occur. The reading with which we are concerned, and under which each of the b-examples in (6)–(8) is ungrammatical is a present stative reading, where neither futurity nor habituality are involved. Example (8a) should be interpreted as the only possible answer to the question: *?ayna alwaladu?* “Where is the boy?”
- 3 For similar claims and discussions, see Gair and Paolillo (1988) and Eid (1991).
- 4 We adopt the proposals made in Gazdar *et al.* (1985), where they argue that a feature consists of a feature name/feature value pair. In other words, one can say that a particular feature is part of the composition of a category X, whether or not that feature has a specified feature value in a particular case.
- 5 In fact, unlike person and gender, in Bahloul and Harbert (1993) and Harbert and Bahloul (2002), we argue that number is syntactically derived through movement of the lexical head to Num^o (for more details, see Bahloul and Harbert 1993; Harbert and Bahloul 2002).
- 6 The use of the term “modal” for the categories found under the INFL node is inspired partly by Fillmore’s (1968) suggestion, discussed in Chapter 2, pp. 8–10, that the basic syntactic structure of sentences is made up of two constituents corresponding to a MODALITY and a PROPOSITION. Recall that Fillmore includes within the modality constituent modalities such as negation, tense, mood, and aspect.
- 7 Notice that we omit reference to agreement features (AGR) because they are of a different type under this hypothesis. However, agreement features can be assumed to be a property of Spec–Head relations.
- 8 Although it takes a deeper investigation to decide whether the invariant features of the copular verb *kaan* “be” in Arabic are similar to other verbs which, as we have shown in earlier chapters, combine taxis and aspect or are basically temporal; here, we will assume that in accordance with its function in compound tense constructions, the copular verb *kaan* denotes temporality, and as such will be analyzed as a simple tense marker.
- 9 But unlike Mohammad, I assume that Subjects in Arabic are internal to VP and base generated in their specifier positions. It is only at that level where no movement has occurred that SVO order is achieved.
- 10 For ease of exposition, we will omit Tax-AspP. Recall that this latter is systematically selected by T^o.

- 11 A similar claim is found in Abd El-Moneim (1989: 17–26) among several others.
- 12 Because of the nonconcatenative nature of Arabic morphology, the triconsonantal root *KTB* is not pronounceable unless the vowels representing the “aspect-tense, and agreement morphemes” are present (see our discussion of verbal morphology in Chapter 3, pp. 29–43). Viewed this way, other languages, for example, English and French, are no exception (Lasnik 1981).
- 13 Feature percolation is simply a mechanism that ensures, minimally, that all features associated with a maximal projection will appear on its head, and vice versa.
- 14 MSA uses the periphrastic modals *yażibu ʔan* “it is obligatory that,” *yastatii ʔuʔran* “it is possible that.” For ease of reference, I have glossed them as “must” and “can,” respectively.
- 15 Unlike *qad*, *Rubbamaa* and *laʕalla*, both meaning “may,” optionally select either a tensed or a nontensed complement, as shown in (i):
- (i) a *ʔayna axuu-ka*
 where brother-your
 “Where is your brother?”
- (ii) b *rubbamaa/laʕalla-hu (yakuumu) fii al-bayt-i*
 may (is) in the-house-gen
 “He may be in the house.”
- 16 Both *ʔin* and *iḏaa* “if” can also select a nontensed TP. But this usage is viewed as being a rather less elegant style.
- 17 Contrary to what Rizzi had observed, native speakers of French that I consulted did accept (4Ib). They were, however, in agreement with Rizzi’s claim that *pourquoi* “why” is impossible with the verb *parler* “to speak.” To explain this discrepancy, one might allow some optionality in the behavior of *pourquoi* “why.”

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