Structure and Function of the Arabic Verb

Maher Bahloul
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.
The Routledge Arabic Linguistics Series publishes high-quality, academically rigorous research on Arabic linguistics to two main readerships: non-Arabist general linguists with an interest in Arabic, and students and researchers already in the field of Arabic language and linguistics. Both synchronic and diachronic studies of Arabic are welcome which aid our understanding of the historical evolution and the present state of Arabic, whether dialectal or standard. Works written from a sociolinguistic (e.g. language variation), socio-historical (e.g. language history), sociological (e.g. language planning), or psycholinguistic (e.g. language acquisition) perspective are welcome, as are studies of Arabic stylistics, pragmatics, and discourse analysis. Descriptive dialectological works also fall within the scope of the Series, as do works which focus on the evolution of medieval Arabic linguistic thought. Proposals or scripts for the Series will be welcomed by the General Editor.

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STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE ARABIC VERB
Maher Bahloul
TO AMAL, NOUR, AND RAYAN
CONTENTS

List of illustrations xi
Foreword xiii
Acknowledgments xv
List of abbreviations xvii
List of symbols xix

1 Introduction 1

The language and the data 2
Background assumptions 3
Organization of the study 4

2 Verbal categories, clause structure, and modality 7

Introduction 7
Verbal categories and sentence structure 8
Verbal categories and modality 18
Concluding remarks 27

3 Verbal morphology, structure, and function 29

Introduction 29
Identifying verbal morphemes 29
The Perfect paradigm 31
The Imperfect paradigm 35
Previous analyses of verbal forms 37
Summary 43

4 The Perfect, use, and invariant meaning 44

Introduction 44
The Perfect construction 45
CONTENTS

The structure of Taxis–Aspect and tense 152
Taxis–Aspect, tense, and negation 154
Taxis–Aspect, tense, and conditionals 156
Taxis–Aspect, tense, and compound tenses 157
Conclusion 166

8 ATM categories, derivation, and the nominal clause 167
   Introduction 167
   Nominal clauses and modality 169
   Some properties of modality 170
   Verb movement into modality 171
   The copula in wh-contexts 173
   The copula and modality 176
   Co-occurrence relation between ATM categories 179
   Summary and conclusion 183

9 Conclusion 185
   Appendix 188
   Notes 201
   Bibliography 212
   Index 225
ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure
6.1 The dynamic relationship between the Perfect and the Imperfect 144

Tables
3.1 Morphophonemic shapes of agreement morphemes within the Perfect 34
3.2 Morphophonemic shapes of agreement morphemes within the Imperfect 37
3.3 Summary of agreement morphology 37
3.4 Summary of previous analyses of the Perfect and the Imperfect in Arabic 43
4.1 Verbal forms according to Sibawayhi 45
4.2 Contextual meanings of the Perfect 62
4.3 The Perfect constructions 64
5.1 The frequency of initial QAD in newspaper articles 79
5.2 The frequency of initial QAD in scholarly articles 79
5.3 The frequency of initial QAD in short stories 80
5.4 Summary of the frequency of QAD in initial position 80
5.5 Frequency of QAD in initial and non-initial positions 81
5.6 The frequency of QAD across discourse genres 82
5.7 Frequency of QAD within the Perfect constructions 86
5.8 The frequency of WA, FA-, LA-, and Ø in front of QAD 95
5.9 Frequency of the compound perfect 103
6.1 The distribution and frequency of sawfa/sa- 121
6.2 The frequency of QAD, laSalla, and rubbamaa 124
6.3 The contextual variants of the Imperfect 133
6.4 The contextual meanings of the Imperfect 133
6.5 The Imperfect constructions 136
6.6 The structure of negators 138
ILLUSTRATIONS

6.7 The frequency of negators: laa, lam, lan, and maa 139
6.8 Semantic values of the Perfect and the Imperfect 140
6.9 Frequency of the Perfect/Imperfect in sentence initial clauses (newspaper articles) 143
6.10 The frequency of the Perfect/Imperfect in sentence initial clauses (scholarly articles) 144
6.11 The frequency of the Perfect and the Imperfect 147
6.12 The frequency of the Perfect/Compound Perfect in sentence initial clauses 147
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
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-ʕAlam 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 “taxis,” 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

xvii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>Part.</td>
<td>particle</td>
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<td>pf.</td>
<td>perfect</td>
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<td>pres.</td>
<td>present</td>
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<td>Pst.</td>
<td>past</td>
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<td>Q.</td>
<td>question marker</td>
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<td>RM</td>
<td>Relativized Minimality</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Sentence</td>
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<td>s.</td>
<td>singular</td>
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<td>S/P</td>
<td>Subject/Predicate</td>
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<td>SA</td>
<td>Scholarly Articles</td>
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<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Short Stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>Subject Verb Object</td>
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<td>Tax–AspP</td>
<td>Taxis–Aspect Phrase</td>
</tr>
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<td>tns.</td>
<td>tense</td>
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<td>TP</td>
<td>Tense Phrase</td>
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<td>vocative</td>
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<td>VP</td>
<td>Verb Phrase</td>
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SYMBOLS

\( \breve{s} \) (حس) emphatic voiceless dental fricative
\( \breve{t} \) (ط) emphatic voiceless dental stop
\( \breve{d} \) (ض) emphatic voiced dental fricative
\( \breve{\dot{d}} \) (ظ) emphatic voiced interdental fricative
\( b \) (غ) voiced pharyngeal fricative
\( x \) (خ) voiceless velar fricative
\( \breve{\breve{\gamma}} \) (تا) voiceless glottal stop
\( \breve{\gamma} \) (ع) voiced pharyngeal stop
\( \theta \) (ث) voiceless interdental fricative
\( \delta \) (ذ) voiced interdental fricative
\( q \) (ق) voiceless uvular stop
\( \breve{\breve{\breve{\breve{\zeta}}} \) (چ) voiced palato-alveolar fricative
\( \breve{\breve{\breve{\breve{s}}} \) (ش) voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
\( h \) (خ) voiceless pharyngeal fricative

\( a a \) long vowel [a]
\( i i \) long vowel [i]
\( u u \) 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. These investigations are mottled and include scholars belonging to diverse eras and myriad schools of thought from Arab and Western linguistic traditions. 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). 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-ʕaalam al-yawm* (see Appendix for details); five Scholarly Articles (henceforth SA) from two different journals: the first four are from *AL-INSAAN* of August 1990, classified as follows: (SA#1) by Driss Ridha min ʔaʔzli mustaqbalin li-nadwaτi al-mustaʔabali al-ʔislaami, pp. 5–10 (SA#2) by Turaabii Hasan ʔawlawiyyaat at-tayyaari al-ʔislaami li-ʔaʔalaaθa ʔuquddin qaadimaτ, pp. 11–15 (SA#3) by Madanii ʔaaθaτi an-niθdaam at-tarbaθwii ʔilaa al-ʔislaamθ, pp. 33–37 (SA#4) by fiʔaazii Muʔzaahid ʔawla ʔaθdaadθi al-muʔaʔeθiriθa al-yahuud as-suθfaθat ʔilaa falaasθiθin, pp. 65–70; and the fifth (SA#5) from Al-ʔaʔalal al-maθriyya li-ddiθrasaθi τi an-naθsθiθiθiθ of September 1991 by Yuusuf ʔumθa Sayyid tαriθiθ ʔaθdaθiθi al-ʔayaθi τi al-muθiθiθiθiθ li-l-ʔaθraθiθi τaθaqqaθi, pp. 33–59, and finally five contemporary Short Stories (henceforth SS): (SS#1) ḏayθtun min laθθ “A House Of Flesh,” (SS#2) Al-θaθam “The Funeral Ceremony,” (SS#3) ʔakaθna laθbuθθa “yaa liiθli θαn tuθθiθii anmuθθ “Lili, did you have to turn the light on?,” (SS#4) ʔarxaθ ləyaθalθii “The Cheapest nights,” and (SS#5) ʔaθθaθθi τaθ lθ-wa-l-masθθul “The questioner and the questionee” (the first four are by Yusuf Idris, the fifth by Abu-Al-θaθatii Abu an-θaθza). 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 \textit{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 (\textit{BEL ET} \textit{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 \textit{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.
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.
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. 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 Culioi’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. 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).

\[
\begin{align*}
(1) & \quad \text{a} \quad \text{Sentence} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{Modality} + \text{Proposition} \\
& \quad \text{b} \quad \text{S} & \rightarrow & \quad \text{M} + \text{P}
\end{align*}
\]
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.

(2)  \[ S \rightarrow \text{NP} + \text{AUX} + \text{VP} \]

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 explicated 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 a 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:

(6) Utterance
   /   \
  /     \
Modality  Lexis

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 Culioli). 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 Métaoctionnelle “Metaoperational Grammar Theory.” 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(nunciatort)
    |
    I wish                  Metaoperational level
    |
    would
    |
    He/take it              S(ubject) (S/P level) P(redicate) level

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). 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):

\[
\begin{align*}
(9a) & \quad S \rightarrow \text{NP INFL VP} \\
(9b) & \quad \text{IP}(S) \\
& \quad / \backslash \\
& \quad \text{NP I'} \\
& \quad / \backslash \\
& \quad I^0 \quad \text{VP}
\end{align*}
\]

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. 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.

(10)  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{IP} \\
\text{Spec} \quad \text{I'} \\
\text{Io} \quad \text{V^n} \\
\text{NP} \quad \text{VP} \\
(\text{subject})
\end{array}
\]

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 → interpreted as: contain).

(11)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \quad \text{S} \quad \rightarrow \quad (\text{NP}) \quad \text{INFL} \quad \text{V^n} \\
\text{b} & \quad \text{INFL} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Tense, Aspect, Modality, Negation, Mood, and so on} \\
\text{c} & \quad \text{V^n} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Subject, Verb, Direct Object, and so on}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

(12)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{IP} \\
\text{VP}
\end{array}
\]

(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 (V^n)/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

(14)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{INFL} \\
\text{Agreement} \\
\text{Tense} \\
\text{Aspect} \\
\text{Modal} \\
\text{Negation}
\end{array}
\]
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):

\[
\text{INFL}
\]

\[
\text{M}^0
\]

\[
\text{Neg}^0
\]

\[
\text{TP}
\]

\[
\text{Asp}^0
\]

\[
\text{Agr}
\]

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. 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 \(<b>\) correspond to the subject and predicate, respectively, while \(<\text{relation}>\) corresponds to the predicative relation echoing Leech and Short’s metaterm “discoursal point of view.”
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 Jesperson (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 prédicatives*), 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. 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. 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. 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 $[a,b,c,d,\ldots]$. Let us now consider a modal category, such as “WISHING,” call it $y$, where $y$ represents the set of modal features $[1,2,3,4,\ldots]$. 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):

$$x = [a,b,c,d,\ldots] \quad [\ldots 4,3,2,1] = y$$

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 $<x>$, and the modal category $<y>$ 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):

$$[z]$$

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

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. 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):

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Aspect} & \text{Tense} \\
(A,0) & (A/T) \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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)

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Type I} & \text{Type II} & \text{Type III} \\
\text{Aspect}, 0 & \text{Tense}, 0 & \text{Aspect/Tense} \\
(A,0) & (T,0) & (A/T) \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \quad \text{Mtsuko} \quad u-na-gw-a \\
& \quad \text{waterpot SP-Past-fall-Asp} \\
& \quad \text{“The waterpot fell.”} \\
& \quad \text{(Baker (1988))}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
b & \quad \text{Umwaana} \quad y-a-taa-ye \quad igitabo mu maazi \\
& \quad \text{child SP-Past-throw-Asp book in water} \\
& \quad \text{“The child has thrown the book into the water.”}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
c & \quad \text{Juma} \quad a-ta-kuwa \quad a-me-pika \quad \text{chakula} \\
& \quad \text{Juma 1agr-Fut-be 1agr-Perf-cook food} \\
& \quad \text{“Juma will have cooked food.”} \\
& \quad \text{(b,c: Carstens and Kinyalolo (1989))}
\end{align*}
\]
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, \([\text{BE }/\text{H}11001\text{ING}]\) and \([\text{HAVE }/\text{H}11001\text{EN}]\), 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. 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-categorial characteristics, are believed to have stable features. Thus, Guillaume writes:

> Une forme de langue a, dans la langue même, une valeur fondamentale, unique, dont un caractère est de permettre une grande diversité de valeurs.
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.” 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.
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. 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. This is illustrated in (1) where the root \( \text{ktb} \) denotes the basic notion of “writing,” \( \text{lös} \) “sitting,” and \( \text{sʔl} \) “questioning.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Perfect Active</th>
<th>Imperfect Active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ktb} )</td>
<td>( \text{kt_a_b} ) “he wrote”</td>
<td>( \text{kt_u} ) “he writes/is writing”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{lös} )</td>
<td>( \text{l_s} ) “he sat”</td>
<td>( \text{l_u} ) “he sits/is sitting”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{sʔl} )</td>
<td>( \text{sʔ_l} ) “he asked”</td>
<td>( \text{sʔ_u} ) “he asks/is asking”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  kataba
      write-Pst.3ms

      “He wrote.”

  b  ya-kktubu
      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, karataba, 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, yaktubu, 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, \textit{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, \textit{y-a-k-a-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, \textit{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, \textit{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, \textit{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).\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 (CV1CV2CV3) 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):

\[
\begin{align*}
(5) & \quad a \quad f_\text{a} \text{ʔ}_\text{a} \text{ʔ}_\text{a} \quad (-a-a-a) \\
& \quad b \quad f_\text{a} \text{ʔ}_\text{i} \text{ʔ}_\text{a} \quad (-a-i-a) \\
& \quad c \quad f_\text{a} \text{ʔ}_\text{u} \text{ʔ}_\text{a} \quad (-a-u-a)
\end{align*}
\]

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),

\[(6) \ a \ kat\text{\textipa{ba}} \ al-walad-u \ risaalat-an \ \text{write.Pf the-boy-nom letter-acc} \ \text{“The boy wrote a letter.”} \\
\ b \ wa\text{\textipa{d\textipa{ba}}} \ al-walad-u \ \text{got upset.Pf the-boy-nom} \ \text{“The boy got upset.”} \\
\ c \ kab\text{\textipa{urat}} \ al-bint-u \ \text{become old.Pf the-girl-nom} \ \text{“The girl got older.”} \]

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):

\[(7) \ a \ kut\text{\textipa{bat}} \ ar-risaalatu \ \text{written.Pf.Pactive the-letter} \ \text{“The letter is written.”} \\
\ b \ ru\text{\textipa{q\textipa{isa}}} \ fii \ al-bayti \ \text{dance.Pf.Pactive in the-house} \ \text{“It is danced in the house/there was dancing in the house.”} \]

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 activization 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 aspæctual–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 morpho-
logical 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.

(8) ḏaraḥa “to hit” (9) kabaḥa “to become big”
waḥaḍa “to put” ṣaḥaḍa “to become small”
masaḥa “to hold” kahaḍa “to be numerous”
šaḥara “to thank” qaṣaḥa “to become short”
kamaba “to write” kahaṭa “to become dense”
ʔaḥaḥba “to love” karuma “to be noble”
ʔaḥaḥla “to eat” kasuḍa “to be stagnant”
quaḥa “to read” labuqa “to be clever”
šaṭama “to insult” laḍuṇa “to be soft”
salaba “to insult” nabuła “to be of noble birth”

(10) ḥaṣiba “to think”
farīfa “to become happy/pleased”
kariḥa “to hate”
ʔamaḥla “to hope”
The third vowel

As for the third vowel in the C\textsubscript{V}C\textsubscript{V}C\textsubscript{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  ta\textipa{f}add\textipa{a}-\textipa{a}  
      speak.Pf-3.s.m
      “He spoke.”

b  ta\textipa{f}add\textipa{a}-\textipa{uu}  
   speak.Pf-3.p.m
   “they spoke.”

c  ta\textipa{f}add\textipa{a}-\textipa{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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>m/f</td>
<td>-a/-at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>m/f</td>
<td>-ta/-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 Morphophonemic shapes of agreement morphemes within the Perfect
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 \( f\mathcal{F}l \) “do.”

(12)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a) } & \text{ ya} f\mathcal{F} \text{ a} l \text{ u} \quad \text{(ya-a-u)} \\
\text{b) } & \text{ CVCC VCV}
\end{align*}
\]

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)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a) } & \text{ šari} \text{ ba al-maaʔ-a} \\
& \text{drink.Pf the-water-acc} \\
& \text{“He drank the water.”} \\
\text{b) } & \text{ šuri} \text{ ba al-maaʔ-u} \\
& \text{drink.Pf.Passive the-water-nom} \\
& \text{“The water is drunk.”}
\end{align*}
\]

(14)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a) } & \text{ yaš} \text{ ra} \text{ bu al-maaʔ-a} \\
& \text{drink.Imp the-water-acc} \\
& \text{“He drinks/is drinking the water.”} \\
\text{b) } & \text{ Yus} \text{ ra} \text{ bu al-maaʔ-u} \\
& \text{drink.Imp.Passive the-water-nom} \\
& \text{“The water is being drunk.”}
\end{align*}
\]
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.

\begin{align*}
\text{(15)} & \quad \text{a Perfect} & \quad \text{b Imperfect} \\
\quad & \quad \text{daraba} & \quad \text{yadribu} \\
\quad & \quad \text{šakara} & \quad \text{yaškur} \\
\quad & \quad \text{kataba} & \quad \text{yaktubu} \\
\quad & \quad \text{lašība} & \quad \text{yalšabu}
\end{align*}

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),

\begin{align*}
\text{(16)} & \quad \text{a y-aktub-u} \\
& \quad 3.\text{m-write-s} \\
& \quad \text{“he writes.”} \\
\quad & \quad \text{b t-aktub-uuna} \\
& \quad 2.-\text{write-m.p} \\
& \quad \text{“you write.”} \\
\quad & \quad \text{c t-aktub-na} \\
& \quad 2.-\text{write-f.p} \\
& \quad \text{“you write”}
\end{align*}

Table 3.2 shows the various shapes in which agreement morphemes appear on the verb (where the root is: \textit{fīl} “do,” \textit{N} stands for Number, \textit{P} for Person, \textit{G} for Gender, \textit{s} for singular, \textit{p} for plural, \textit{d} for dual, \textit{m} for masculine, and \textit{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.
Table 3.2 Morphophonemic shapes of agreement morphemes within the Imperfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>N/P</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>N/G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>(s.)</td>
<td>ʔ-a-</td>
<td>-ʕal-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(p.)</td>
<td>n-a-</td>
<td>-ʕal-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>(s.m)</td>
<td>t-a-</td>
<td>-ʕal-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s.f)</td>
<td>t-a-</td>
<td>-ʕal-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(d.f/m)</td>
<td>t-a-</td>
<td>-ʕal-</td>
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<td>(p.m)</td>
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<td>-ʕal-</td>
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<td>(p.f)</td>
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<td>-ʕal-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>(s.m)</td>
<td>y-a-</td>
<td>-ʕal-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s.f)</td>
<td>t-a-</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(p.f)</td>
<td>y-a-</td>
<td>-ʕal-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 Summary of agreement morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>(s.p)</td>
<td>P, N</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(s.p)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>N,G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>(s.d)</td>
<td>P,G</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(p)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>N,G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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
Culian sense. In what follows, we will review the basic claims concerning the nature of the difference between both forms. 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 incompletely.” 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 incompletely 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 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-ma’a ma’daa “constructed for what has elapsed,” as the examples in (18); (ii) maa yakuunu wa lam yaqat “what is going to be and has not happened,” as illustrated in (19); (iii) maa huwa kaa’inun lam yanqat “what is being, not having ceased,” as shown in (20).

(18) a ḍahab-а leave.Pf-3s.m “He left.”
   b samiʕ-a hear.Pf-3s.m “He heard.”

(19) a ṭi-ḍhab 2.m/f-Imp-leave “Leave”
   b ṭi-ḍrab 2.m/f-Imp-beat “Hit”

(20) a y-a- ḍhab-u 3.m-Imp-leave-s “He is leaving.”
   b y-a-ḍrab-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 ʕāla hadaθin wa zamaanin ingadaq), the Imperfect denotes an event and an unelapsed time (maa dalla wađθan ʕalaa hadaθin wa zamaan in lam yanqaθi). 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. 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. 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 ʔiðaa “when,” when only the perfect is possible:

(21) ʔažiiʔu-ka ʔiðaa hмarr-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 hмarr “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 incompletely action)” (p. 23). 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). 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. 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.

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<th>Semantic interpretation</th>
<th>Nature of the opposition</th>
<th>Claims made by</th>
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<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>Perfective/Imperfective</td>
<td>Wright, Jusmanov, Tritton, Blachere and Gaudefroys, Fleisch, Beeston, Al-Mansouri, Fischer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Past/Non-past</td>
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<td>Perfective-Relative Past/ Imperfective-Relative-nonpast</td>
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<td>Neither Aspect nor Tense</td>
<td>Anteriority/Simultaneity</td>
<td>Kurylowicz, Benmamoun, Schulz</td>
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</table>
THE PERFECT, USE, AND IN Variant 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 \textit{QAD} yielding the complex \ ([\textit{QAD} + \text{Perfect}]), or preceded by the complex particle \textit{LA-QAD} yielding \ ([\textit{LA-QAD} + \text{Perfect}]). This is evidenced by the fact that each verbal form exhibits a different negator: \textit{LAM}, \textit{LAMMAA}, and \textit{MAA} respectively, as shown in Table 4.1 (\textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{maa} is still observed, its frequency is too low to gain statistical significance and to make it as operative as \textit{lam} (see pp. 139–40 for more details). Thus, all three verbal complexes are currently negated with \textit{lam}, and very rarely with \textit{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 \textit{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

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Verbal forms according to Sibawayhi}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\hline
Verbal forms & Negation & Semantic interpretation \\
\hline
\textit{kataba} & \textit{lam} yaktub & he did not write \\
\textit{qad kataba} & \textit{lammaa} yaktub & he has not written (yet) \\
\textit{la-qad kataba} & \textit{maa} kataba & he DID not write \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

45
likely that the Perfect, whose temporal interpretation accords well with this function, would be the best candidate. Consider the following examples:

1. **waṣadāt** ad-duwalu ʾaṣ-šināṣiyiyatu al-ʿaṣaṃiyiyatu fī al-ʿaalamī promise.Pf the-countries the-industrial the-rich in-the-world bi-ṭaqdiimī 150 milyuun duulaar ka-maṣūnumatin ʾaażilatin with-giving 150 million dollar like-help urgent li-ʔalbaaniyaa...
to-Albania

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

2. ʾittahāma ʿNikuulaas Briidii,” waziiri al-xizaanati al-ʔamriikii, accuse.Pf “Nicholas Brady,” minister the-treasury the-american ṣunduqqa an-naqdi ad-dawlii, bi-al-buṭi fī musaaṣadati bank the-monetary the-international with-the-slow in helping al-ʾittīhaadi as-suftyaaṭii...
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. waafaqāt ad-duwalu al-ʿaṣaṃiyiyatu al-ʔaṣdanaʔu bi-naadii baarīis agree.Pf yesterday the-countries the-rich the-members in-club Paris ʾalaa ʾiṣaḍadii ẓaḍvalati ad-duyuuni al-mustaʔaqqati ʾalaa 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 ʔams “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 aḍ-duyuufu allaðiina kaanuu hunaa?
   where the-guests who were here
   “Where are the guests who were here?”

   b B: at- tabindex ʔamara bi-xuruži-him ʕiʃaʃ an ʕalaa raafatika-
   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 ŋaami 1988 qaama sunduuqu an-naqdi ad-dawlii
   so-in year 1988 do.Pf bank the-monetary the-world
   bi-taʃliiqi al-quruudi li-l-ʔarʃantiin . . .
   with-suspending the-debts to-the-argentina

   “In 1988, the International Monetary Fund suspended the loans to
   Argentina . . .” (NA#10)

   b wa fii ʕaʃri yuuniyuu al-maadʃii ʔaxaʃa ‘Duuminguu
   and in month January the-last take.Pf ‘Domingo
   kaafluu’ waziira al-ʔiqtiʃaadi al-ʔarʃantiini bi-naʃiʃati
   ‘Domingo 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-ʔaqiiqatu ʔanna laaʔiikiyyatu at-tarbiyati ʔaharat fii
   and-the-truth that laicity the-education appear.Pf in

   b wa l-ʔaʃri yuuniyuu al-ʔiʃaʃii ʔaxaʃa ʕiʃaʃa ʕiʃaʃa
   and month January the-last ʕaxaʃa ‘Duuminguu
   al-ʔiʃaʃii ʕiʃaʃa ʕiʃaʃa ʕiʃaʃa ʕiʃaʃa
   ‘Domingo’
faransaa fii ʕahdi žuul ferrii ʕallan li-muškilati aṣ-ṣiraaʕi france in era Jules Ferri solving the-problem the-conflict al-maðhabiyyi…
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 baʕdī ad-diraasati allatii and (QAD) appear.Pf from some the-studies that ʕihtammat bi-muqaaranati al-ʔansaaqi al-qimiyiyati focus.Pf on-comparing the-types the-qualities bayna al-mužtamaʕi al-maʃrii wa al-mužtamaʕi between the-people the-egyptian and the-people al-ʔamriikii wužuada tafaawutin fii tertiibi al-qiyami fii the-american existance disparity in classifying the-values in kullin mina al-mužtamaʕayn, ʕayθu tafawwaqa at-tullaabu both from the-countries, where excel.Pf the-students al-maʃriyyuun ʕalaa at-tullaabii al-ʔamriikiiyyiiin fii the-egyptians on the-students the-americans in al-qimati al-ʔižtimaaʕiyati.

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) alladiiina 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 ʔamara “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 ʕaami 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 šahri yuuniyyu al-maadī*i “last January” co-occurs with the perfect verb *ʔaxaða “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 *daharat* “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,” ʕamsi “yesterday,”* and *ʔawwala ʔamsi “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).*

(7) rabat-tu-hu alyawma/ʔamsi/ʔawwala ʔamsi
    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 šarraḥa waziiru al-maaliyyati fii ḥukuumati biiruu “Karluus and declare.Pf minister the-finance in government Peru “Carlos Buulunaa” ʔaqiba al-ʔiẓtimaaʃi bi-ʔanna aš-šuruutə allatii Buluna” after the-meeting with-that the-conditions which šaraḥa-haa naadii Baariis ʔafdaʃala mina aš-šuruutɨ allatii present.Pf-it club Paris better than the-conditions that waḍaḥa-haa an-naadii bi-n-nisbat li-Buulanda…(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-waqtı šarraḥa saфиiru al-braaziil “Ruubnin in same the-time announce.Pf ambassador the-Brazil “Rubnin Riikbiiruu” bi-ʔanna tilka al-buldaana qaddamat ʔakθara mimmaa Rikbiro” with-that those the-countries present.Pf more than yanbaşıi 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 taʔtaniya 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  naʔam, fahim-tu
   yes, understand.Pf-1s
   “Yes, I do/understand/I’ve understood.”

(14) ʔundur, wažad-tu saaʔat-ii
   look, find.Pf-1s watch-my
   “Look, I found my watch.”
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.), 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 maadaa taqsidiiina?* “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
THE PERFECT, USE, AND INVARIANT MEANING

Perfect and a present time adverb, such as ʔaana “now”; while the presence of a past time adverb such as mundu 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 ʔaana ?
Q. understand.Pf-you now
“Do you understand now?”

b  *hal  fahim-ta mundu 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 ważadtu “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 laḥdatin “a second ago.” This is illustrated in (26a) and (26b) respectively.10

(26) a ʔunḏur, ważad-tu saaʕat-ii ʔalʔaana
look, find.Pf-1s watch-my now
“Look, I (have) found my watch now.”

b *ʔunḏur, ważad-tu saaʕat-ii munðu laḥdatin
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.”\textsuperscript{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 maʔa-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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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 žamiiʔan ʔadan! 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 ʔišriina diinaaran?
     Q. accept.Imp.2s.m twenty dinars
     “Do you accept 20 dinars?”

b bištłu-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 biʕtu “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 trans-
lation 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) maaðaa ʔafʕalu wa qad raawadanii aš-šabiyyu ʕan
what do.Imp and QAD seduce.Pf the-boy on
nafsii ɦiina ʔarsala-bu al-muʕallimu bi-l-xuɗari wa
myself when send.Pf-him the-instructor with-vegetables and
galabanii aš-šaiṭaanu ʔamaadaa ʔafʕalu wa qad faliimtu
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 vege-
tables 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 inter-
pretation. 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 ẓadda wažada wa man zaraʕa ʕaṣṣada
whoever strive.Pf find.Pf and whoever cultivate.Pf harvest.Pf
“whoever works hard succeeds, and whoever cultivates harvests.”
THE PERFECT, USE, AND INVARIANT MEANING

(35) man șalaa ʕalaa ad-darbi wașala
whoever walk.Pf on the-path arrive.Pf
“whoever gets going on the (right) path attains success.”

(36) man ʕamila șaaliʕan ʕa-li-nafsi-hi
whoever do.Pf good than-for-self-his
“It’s for one’s own benefit to do the right thing.”

(37) ʕittqaʕi șarra man ʕaʕilai-ta ʕilay-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 sémait récoltait [whoever is cultivating is harvesting]

c *qui a sémé 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). 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 nawi 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 naʔah-ta
if study.Pf-you succeed.Pf-you
“If you study, you will succeed.”
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 nažah-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 nažah-ta in the main clause, it expresses a future event, whose realization depends on the actual validation of the predicative relation /H11021 you/study /H11022 as described in the if-clause. Thus, the Perfect nažah-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 nažah-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 ʔiḥmarr “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).
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 ɲayiit-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 *ɲayiitu* “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 ʔastāṭī乏力 ʔan ʔaxruż-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)  ɲafiða-ka allaahu ʔayna-maa ʔahabt-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 ɲafiða-ka allaahu yaa  walad-ii
       protect.Pf-you God Voc.Part. boy-my
       “May God protect you, son!”

       b raḥima-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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contextual meanings</th>
<th>Prototypical examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past time</td>
<td>Wasala (ʔamsi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“He arrived (yesterday)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present time</td>
<td>ʔittafaqnaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Deal/I agree”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnomic (time)/omnitemporal</td>
<td>man ʔadda wažada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Whoever works/has worked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>seriously succeeds/has succeeded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future time</td>
<td>ʔiðaa ʕamilta nažafta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“If you work, you will succeed”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2 Contextual meanings of the Perfect

62
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,”
ʔittafaqa “agree,” baaʕa “sell,” xaraʕa “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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modals</th>
<th>Auxiliaries</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Semantic interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ʔakal-tu</td>
<td>“I ate”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>Knu-tu</td>
<td>ʔakal-tu</td>
<td>“I had eaten”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sawfa)</td>
<td>be.Pf.-1s</td>
<td>ʔakal-tu</td>
<td>“I will have eaten”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(will)</td>
<td>be.lmp.1s</td>
<td>ʔakal-tu</td>
<td>“I might have eaten”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Qad)</td>
<td>be.lmp.1s</td>
<td>ʔakal-tu</td>
<td>“I might have eaten”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(may)</td>
<td>be.lmp.1s</td>
<td>ʔakal-tu</td>
<td>“I might have eaten”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ḥiina wašałtu kaan-a ʔitṭalaa-ʔa ʕalaa al-waθaaʔiqi 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 ḥiina ʔašilu (sawfa) y-a-kuun-u ʔitṭalaa-ʔa ʕalaa when arrive.ls (will) be.Pf-3s.m examine.Pf-3.s.m on al-waθaaʔiqi the-documents “When I arrive, he will have examined the documents.”

c ḥiina ʔašilu qad y-a-kuun-u ʔitṭalaa-ʔa ʕalaa when arrive.ls might be.Pf-3s.m examine.Pf-3.s.m on al-waθaaʔiqi the-documents “When I arrive, he might have examined the documents.”

In (51), while the main verb ʔitṭalaa “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). In other words, while auxiliaries ensure deictic temporality of the verbal event: past with respect to the moment of enunciation in (51a) (Aux<\(T_0\)), and future in (51b) (Aux>\(T_0\)), 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) ʔinaʃarat al-qunbulatu explode.Pf the-bomb “The bomb exploded.”
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 saaʕatin
sleep.Pf-3s.m period an hour
“He slept for an hour.”
Al-Aswad (1983: 43)

(56) ʔihtaw-a al-maʕraḍu ʕalaa ʕiʃriin lawʃia
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 żaaʔ-a al-waladu ʔamsi
quad 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-l.s circle
“I have drawn a circle.”

(60) ṣanaʔ-tu kursiyyan
make.Pf-.l.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, 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 interwined 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:

\[(61) [ ]\]

The invariant *dimensionalized* feature of the Perfect is further evidenced by the compatibility of this verbal form with dates: *fafii ūaami* 1988 “in 1988” (6), temporal adverbs: *ʔamsi* “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 interdependence 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 ťarž ištu “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 (T₀) 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: *anteriorty* 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.
5

THE COMPOUND PERFECT, AND THE MODAL QAD

Introduction

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

(1) **wa Uuid sarrafa** Karlus Buuluunaa bi-ʔanna aš-suruuṭa
    and announce.Pf Carlus Buluna with-that the-conditions
    allatii ʕaraḍa-haa naadii baariis ʔafḍala mina aš-suruuṭi
    which present-them club Paris better than the-conditions
    allatii waḍaʕa-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 sarrafa** Frans Andersin bi-ʔanna al-maẓmuuʕata 24
    and QAD announce.Pf Franz Andersin with-that the-group 24
    sa-tuzawwidu Albaaniyaa bi-ʔakthara 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 ***sarrafa*** in (1) is only preceded by ***wa***, a coordinating conjunction which typically relates the current context to the previous one, the verb ***sarrafa*** in (2) is preceded by both the coordinating conjunction ***wa*** and the particle ***QAD***. 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 scantly 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; Noureddine 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. 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. 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), 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 ðakara Xaalidun maa hadaθ.
    be.Pf mention.Pf Xaalid what happen.Pf
    “Xalid (has) mentioned what happened.”
   b kaana QAD ðakara 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 + ðakara] stands as the counterpart of the English past perfect, as illustrated in the English translation (6b). Without the particle QAD, [kaana + ðakara] is ambiguous between the past and the present perfect, as shown in (6a).

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 นāfām 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).  

(8) a LA-QAD qaraʔ-tu haaðaa al-kitaab
   LA-QAD read.Pf-ls this the-book
   “I have (now) read this book.”

b LA-QAD ʔakmal-tu qiraaʕata-hu
   LA-QAD finish.Pf-ls 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).  

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.  

(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 al坊adaθi. 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.Imp.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.\footnote{10}

(13) kaana al-qitaaru QAD intalaqa sindamaa wasaltu al-mafatata be.Pf the-train QAD leave.Pf when arrive.Pf the-station “The train had already gone when I reached the station.”

\section*{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.\footnote{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.

\section*{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.\footnote{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. 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 bədî ad-diraasaat . . . and QAD appear.Pf from some the-studies “A number of studies suggest . . .” (SA#5)

b wa Ø tabayyana mina al-žadwali as-saabiqi . . . and appear.Pf from the-table the-previous “The previous table suggests . . .” (SA#5)

(16) a LA-QAD ŋađaθa fii ḥaṭaati-naa ṣayʔun ʔadifθun LA-QAD happen.Pf in life-our something terrible “Something terrible happened in our life.” (SS#5)

b Ø ʔintahaa ʔaʃru al-muʔzizaat 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

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<tr>
<th>NA.Nb</th>
<th>Nb.Pfs (– qad)</th>
<th>Nb.Pfs (+ qad)</th>
<th>Total (+ qad)</th>
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<td>19</td>
<td>141</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frequency (%)</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
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**Table 5.2** The frequency of initial QAD in scholarly articles

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<th>Nb.Pfs (+ qad)</th>
<th>Total (+ qad)</th>
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</tbody>
</table>
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

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

Table 5.4 Summary of the frequency of QAD in initial position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse genre</th>
<th>Nb.Pfs (-qad)</th>
<th>Nb.Pfs (+qad)</th>
<th>Total (+qad)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Journalistic</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiction</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency (%)</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ?ablāfa haaāīhi ad-duwal (.)
and be.Pf Yaašku QAD inform.Pf these the-countries
ʔanna al-ʔafāala yuʕaanuuna min maʔaaSatin...
that the-children suffer.Imp from starving

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

(18) wa yuqaddimu (John Diwi) badiilan yatamaʔalu fii
and present.Imp J.D. alternative represents in
“at-tarbiyati at-taqaddumiyyati” 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-ʔamīsā suʔaadīuuna..., kuntu Qad tasallaltu
and while the-majority praying, be.Pf QAD slip out.Pf
ʔabra an-naffaʔati al-mulaasīqati 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>N = 140</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial position</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-initial position</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

THE COMPOUND PERFECT, AND THE MODAL QAD
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 muḍaaʔafatin… 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 ḥadaθa… feel.Pf.1s that something to-me QAD happen.Pf “I felt (that) something had happened to me…” (SS#3)

(22) ʔaʃtaqidu ʔanna al-waqta QAD ʔaana li-yufakkira raaʔiyan believe.Imp.1s that the-time QAD come.Pf to-think considering al-muḥaadaθaati wa-l-ʔaalama bi-żiddiyyatin… 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-maqṣūdu bi-haa fa-QAD kaana duʿaatu
and as for the-intention of-it fa-QAD be.Pf preachers
fašli ad-diini ʔani ad-dawlati fii firansaa wa ruusiyaa
separation the-religion from the-government in France and Russia
al-bulšiiifiyya 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-ʔašlabiyya fa-QAD badaʔa šayʔun mina
As for the-majority fa-QAD start.Pf something from
al-ʔistiʔraabi 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 saqaṭa 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, \( Q\text{AD} \) 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** ?anna šay?an \( Q\text{AD} \) ŋada?a wa mana?a necessary that something \( Q\text{AD} \) happen.Pf and prevent.Pf aş-šayxa min ?itmaami 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-ta?kiidi\( \text{\textsl{a}} \) Salaa δaali\( \text{\textsl{ka}} \), FA-Q\( \text{AD} \) bayyanat and for-more from the-emphasis on that, FA-Q\( \text{AD} \) show.Pf al-ʔanbaaʔu… the-news…

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

(28) ...fa-ʔinna kasba-hu (...). \( Q\text{AD} \) taxallafa ŋan muwaazaati δaali\( \text{\textsl{ka}} \) and-indeed winning-its (...). \( Q\text{AD} \) fail.Pf about equivalence that al-mu\( \text{\textsl{stawa}} \)a wa muwaafaa\( \text{\textsl{at}} \) 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-daa?iniin al-ḥukuumiyi\( \text{\textsl{i}} \)in Q\( \text{AD} \) waafa\( \text{\textsl{qu}} \) confirm.Pf that the-creditors the-governmental Q\( \text{AD} \) agree.Pf bi-ʔaddi al-barnaamiż allaði? ʔa?lanat-hu biiru… 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 \( Q\text{AD} \) in the complement clause. In (27) the use of \( Q\text{AD} \) is preceded by an adverbial phrase which emphasizes the truth value of the proposition. The example in (28) begins with the emphatic particle ʔ*inna* 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 ʔ*akkada* meaning “to stress, to confirm.” Note that the adverbial constructions typically found in all these cases whose main verb is preceded by \( Q\text{AD} \) 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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{QAD} in front of the perfect to mark a logical transition or a resultative event is often accompanied by coordinating conjunctions like \textit{FA} and \textit{WA}.\textsuperscript{14}

In conclusion, we have shown that the verbal particle \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{QAD} is not attested after various temporal adverbs such as \textit{lammaa} “after, since, when,” \textit{ʕindamaa} “as soon as,” \textit{ḥiinamaa} “while; when, as.” Indeed, its appearance is banned in such contexts, as illustrated in the following examples below.\textsuperscript{15}

(30) a Lammaa žaaʔ-a Muhammad xaraž-naa  
.after/when come-Pf.3.s.m Muhammed leave-Pf.1.p  
“We left when Muhammed came.”

b *Lammaa QAD žaaʔ-a Muhammad xaraž-naa  
.after/when QAD come-Pf.3.s.m Muhammed leave-Pf.1.p

(31) a ʕindamaa istayqa d-naa badaʔ-naa aš-šuwal  
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 istayqa d-naa badaʔ-naa aš-šuwal  
as soon as QAD wake up-Pf.1.p start-Pf.1.p the-work

\textbf{The invariant function of \textit{QAD}}

Having briefly presented the syntactic distribution of the verbal particle \textit{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 \textit{QAD} is involved. In other words, unless an accurate representation of the system and the major oppositions between \textit{QAD} and other grammatical terms is discussed, our study would fail to provide a plausible account of the properties of \textit{QAD}. We therefore suggest discussing the functioning of \textit{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) xaraż-a (musriʕan) (baakiran)
   "He left (quickly) (early)"

   b LAQAD (*daaʔirnan) kaan-a (daaʔirnan) šadiiq-ii
   "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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal form</th>
<th>N = 1721</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Ø Perfect]</td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[QAD Perfect]</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ɦuduudiyya lubnaaniyya Ø ʔinhaalat
   be.Pf villages border Lebanese bombard.Pf
   ᵱalay-haa al-qɑðαɑʔif 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 ʔanðarat sukkaana ʔalaaʔa
   be.Pf Israel QAD warned residents three
   quraa ʔanuubiyya…
   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),
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).

(34) a wa Ø ʂаraɿ-a waziiru al-maaliyyati . . .
and announce-Pf minister the-finance
“The minister of finance announced . . .” (NA#8)

b wa QAD ʂаraɿа 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.lmp the-movement the-islamic
“What threatens the Islamic movement . . .” (SA#2)

b wa ʔINNA maa tuqbilu ʕalay-hi al-bilaad . . .
and ʔINNA what faces on-it the-country
“What will indeed face the country . . .” (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 \textit{LA}- with the Imperfect seems to assume this very function, as illustrated in (37).

(37) ʔINNA haaðaa al-ʔistirsala fii at-tandiri (. . .) LA-yaĥmilu ʔINNA this the-continuation in the-envisionment LA-carries fii ʕayyati-hi ʔistiiʔaaban li-l-muʕtayati (. . .). (SA#l)
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 \textit{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 \textit{QAD} and \textit{LA}- in the presence of ʔINNA. This seems to suggest that the verbal particle \textit{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.

\textbf{More on the characteristics of \textit{QAD}}

Having shown various syntactic aspects of the particle \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{QAD} in a variety of contexts.

\textbf{\textit{QAD} and the coordinators \textit{WA}, \textit{LA}, and \textit{FA}}

The fact that \textit{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 \textit{QAD} along with each coordination particle results quite often in a semantic interdependence between both categories.

\textbf{\textit{QAD} and the coordinator \textit{WA}}

\textit{WA} is typically used as a conjunction in coordinate structures with an additive function, as shown in (38).
(38) a qadim-a maahir WA rażaa
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 W A qaal a..., W A ʔ a a f a..., W A  r a fa... , W A  ðakara . . .
and said..., and added..., and refused..., and said...(NA#l)

b W A  t aʔ tii..., W A  y ara..., W A  yantahii..., W A  mimmaa... 
and comes..., and sees..., and gets..., and what...(SA#l)

c W A laakin..., W A  t aʔ hawwala..., W A  ʔatfaʔat..., W A  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  şarrafa  waziiru a1-maaliyyati...
and announce.Pf minister the-finance “The minister of finance announced...” (NA#8)

b wa QAD şarrafa  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 maaðaa ʔafʕalu WA QAD raawadanii(Pf) aṣṣabiyuu ʔan nafsii . . .
   wa ʔalabanii (Pf) aš-šayṭaana?n?
   “What can I do when the boy leads me astray, and I succumb to the temptation” (SS#3)

   b wa zaʃama (Pf) Iṣḥaqq ʃaamiir ʔams al-ʔawwal ʔanna Aš-ṣuubkii
   wa Al-huuraanii laysaa bi-l-fišli ʕiʃdwayni ʕii
   al-wafdi al-filisṭiiini  WA QAD ʔirtakabaa (Pf)
   muxaalaafatīn li-l-qaanuuni.
   “Izḥaq Șanmir claimed two days ago that Al-Shubkī 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 ʔatbaqa fama-hu . . .
   . . . and mutter.Imp AND QAD clench.Pf mouth-his . . .
   “He muttered, clenching his teeth . . .” (SS#4)

   b wa maaðaa fii az-zaqqaqi aʃ-ʤaʃyyiqi  WA QAD laʃa
   and what in-the-street the-narrow AND QAD clasp.Pf
   yada-hu waraaʔa ʤahri-hi . . .
   hand-his behind back-his
   “(he) hurried down the narrow street, one hand clasping 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

91
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 yanfaʕ sawtu-hu al-ʔaxnaʕ al-haadiʔ *FA-QAD*
and not profits voice-his the-twangy the-calm *FA-QAD*

daaʕa nidaaʔu-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-taʔkiidi ʕalaʕ dalika, *FA-QAD*
and for-more from the-emphasis on that, *FA-QAD*

kaʃafat al-ʔanbaarʔu . . .
revealed the-news

“And to stress that, it was made public in the news . . .” (SA#4)

b wa maʕa dalika *FA-QAD* ʔakkada Yuusi Biiliin ʔanna
and with that *FA-QAD* confirmed Yushi Beelen that

iqtiʃaada ʔisraaʔiila qaadirun ʕalaa 320.000 muhaаžir
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) ʔammaa al-xilaafaat al-wizaariyya *FA-QAD* saqaʕa 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*. 

92
**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 haaðaa al-ʔistirsala fii at-tanḍiiri (...) LA-yafmilu
Pinna this the-continuation in-the-envisonrnent LA-carries

fii ʔayyaati-hi ʔistiifaaaban li-l-muʔtayaati (...).
in inside-its understanding of-the-facts

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

(47) a LA-QAD ʔadaða fii ʔayyaati-naa šayʔun ʔadiiʔun…
LA-QAD happen.Pf in life-our something awful

“Something awful did happen to our life.” (SS#5)

b LA-QAD ʔaʔatṭamat ʕarabatu-ki wa ʔaʔatṭamat maxaawifi-i…
LA-QAD destroy.Pf car-your and destroy.Pf fears-my

“Our car was indeed destroyed and so are my fears.” (SS#5)

(48) a ....ʔafwu-ka yaa ʔilaahi-i… fa-LA-QAD ʔaxfaytu ʕank-i
forgiveness-your oh God-my fa-LA-QAD hide.Pf from-you

al-faqqiqaṭa.
the-truth

“Forgive me, God! I DID conceal/Concealed the truth from you.”

(SS#3)
b haaðaa ṭaʔaara haaðihi al-qadîyyata
this and LA-QAD bring up.Pf this the-issue
murabbituuna kaʔiirun... (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 maaða 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 yasmaʔ-hu ʔahadun, fa-ʔabdulmutawalli ʔaana (Pf)
and not hear.Imp-him one, because-Abdelmutwalli be.Pf
QAD ʔixtafaa (Pf) bi-l-laʔaafati fii zafimati 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 ʔauriqu.  
Be.Pf QAD start.Pf.Is drown.Imp.1s  
“I had started to drown.” (SS#3)

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

b ʔaʕtaqidu ʔanna al-waqtə QAD ʔaana (Pf) li-yufakkira  
raʕiyən al-muʕaadəʔatwi wa-l-ʔaalama bi-ʔaddiyyatin . . .  
“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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particles</th>
<th>N = 141</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WA (QAD)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FA-(QAD)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA-(QAD)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-(QAD)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.8 The frequency of WA, FA-, LA-, and Ø in front of QAD
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 OAD qaala raadiyu ʔisraaʔiil (...)ʔanna ʕadadan kabiiran and QAD say.Pf Radio Israel (...) that number big mina as-sukkaani fii šamaali ʔisraaʔiil ʔamdaq al-layla from the-residents in East Israel spend.Pf the-night fii al-malaʔziʔ. 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 mašdarun 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 ʔištiyaali 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 taṭbiiqū ḥistimāaru t ḥ al-baḥtū (...) taṭbiiqan fardiyyan
finish.Pf application questionnaire the-research in-a-way single

fī šakli istiixbaar. wa QAD qum-naa... wa QAD badaʔ-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 ḥadaða wa manaʔa must that something QAD occur.Pf and prevent.Pf aš-šayxa min ?itrnaami as-saʔdati. 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 ʔan muwaazaati and-indeed earning-its (....) QAD fail.Pf about equivalence ʔaalika al-mustawaa wa muwaaafaati ɣaaʔaati-hi... that 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)

c. ...ʕafwu-ka yaa ʔilaahi-i... fa-LA-QAD ʔaxfaytu ʕank-a forgiveness-your oh God-my fa-LA-QAD hide.Pf from-you ʔaqiiqata. 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,” ʔ*inna* “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:

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 gagne le premier prix.
Jean has won the first prize.
“Jean won the first prize.”

b Jean a BIEN gagne 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
The compound perfect, and the modal QAD

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

(58) `kaana aṣ-ṣawtu QAD ʔistaḥfaala ʔilaʔ ʕiṭrin naʔaadīn ʔalīfīn be.Pf the-voice QAD change.Pf to perfume penetrating intimite “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 ʔistaḥfaala “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 QADʕaraftu ʔanna al-ʕiffata muq̱riyatin Neg be.Imp QAD know.Pf.1s that the-chastity tempting ʔilaʔ haʔadāa al-ʕaddi. till this the-limit “I had never realized that chastity could provide such a temptation.” (SS#3)

(60) ʔin `kaana baṣar-ii QAD aʔaʔa, fa-laaziltu ʔamtaliku if be.Pf sight-my QAD loose.Pf, so-still.Pf.1s own.Imp.1s aṣ-ṣawta wa al-ʕunẓurata. 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 ḥabbaʔa law `kaana QAD baqaa ŋayʔun mina al-faṭiḥrati… 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).
and seems that Boucher Neg look.Pf at declaration

(63) **kaanat** quraa huduudiyya lubnaaniyya Ø **tinhaalat** yatay-haa be.Pf villages border Lebanese bombard.Pf on-them al-qadaa?if fii al-?ayyaarni al-?axiirati the-rockets in-the-days the-last

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

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 \[kaana + QAD + \text{Perfect}\] with the English past perfect [\text{had} + \text{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. 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 invariantly 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.

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

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

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 maaða tafʕalu yaa nabiil?
what do.Imp.2s.m Voc.Part. Nabil
“Nabil, what are you doing?”

b ʔataḥaddaθu maʕa ʔadiiq-ii
talk.Imp.1.s with friend-my
“I am talking with my friend.”

(2) a yataqaddam... yataqaddam... wa ʔaqðif... wa hadaf!
advance.Imp... advance.Imp and shoot.Imp. and goal
“He advances... advances... he shoots... goal!”

b taɗaʔu al-lafima...θumma taɗaʔu al-xuɗara...
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 ʔulinuku-maa zawjun wa zawzatun
declare.Imp.1.s-you.dual husband and wife
“I declare you husband and wife.”

b ʔarfuɗu haaɗaʔa 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 maaða tafʕalu... “what are you doing...” (1a), has an identificational value between the moment of enunciation (T₀) and the moment of the event (T₁). That is, the relationship between the subject nabiil “Nabil” and the predicate yafʕalu-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 (ʔatalaʔ)/ʔataḥaddaθu-µaʕa- ʔadiiqiʔ “(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) \[ \text{[---]} \leadsto \text{[---]} \quad (T_0 = T_1) \]
\[ \leftarrow T_1 \rightarrow \text{(verbal process)} \]
\[ \leftarrow T_0 \rightarrow \text{(enunciative process)} \]

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

(5) \( \text{ʔunđur! ʷazaalatun taʕburu at-ᵗariqa} \)
look deer cross.Imp.3.s.f the-road
“Look! A deer is crossing the road!”

(6) \( \text{ʔafnil safaabata-ka; al-mataru yanzilu bi-ʔazaaratin} \)
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 \( \text{taʕburu} \) “crossing” and \( \text{yanzilu} \) “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), \( \text{ʔunđur} \) “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 \( \text{yataqaddam} \) 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 yâqðif “kicks” where the Imperfect cannot 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 ʔarfûdû “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)  ____  
|     |     |
| T₀  | T₁  |

<-- T₁--> (verbal process)
<-- T₀--> (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 ʕindamaa yartakibu ṣaḥadun muxaalafatan li-l-qaanuuni
when commit.Imp.3.s.m someone violation to-the-law
fa-min waaḏibi as-sulutaati al-qabda ṣalay-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 wa ʕallaqat as-ṣaḥiīfatu ṣalaa al-ṣadadi al-ẓižmaali
and comment.Pf the-paper on the-number the-total
bi-ʔanna-hu yusaawii ṣadada al-muḥaaẓiirīna
with-that-it equals.Imp number the-immigrants
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 at-taṣyīrū al-ḥaḍaariyyu huwa ṣamaliyyatun
the-change the-civilizational it process
“A civilizational change is a natural process which is subject to historical constraints.” (SA#3)

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

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

“In the dark, eyes can’t see.” (SS#1)

“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. 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  \[ 1 + 1 = 2 \] 
\text{waafhid wa waafhid yusaawii ʔiθnaani} 
\text{one plus one equal.Imp two} 
\text{“One plus one equals two.”} 

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{b X} &= 5 \\
\text{iks yusaawii xamsatun} \\
\text{X equal.Imp. five} \\
\text{“X equals five.”} 
\end{align*} \]

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 \text{The sun rises in the East} 
b \text{oil floats on water} 
c \text{Dogs bark} 

(13)  
a \text{La terre est ronde} 
\text{“The earth is round.”} 
b \text{L “huile flotte sur l”eau} 
\text{“Oil floats on water.”} 
c \text{Un plus un egalent deux} 
\text{“One plus one equals two.”} 

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

(14)  
a al-ʕaqqu yaʕluu wa laa yuʕlaa ʕalay-hi 
\text{the-truth rise.Imp and not rise.Imp,Passive above-it} 
\text{“The truth prevails and nothing overcomes it.”}
b man yuḥibbu laa yaꜜrifu 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 ʔaqwa maa yakuunu fii
and the-influence the-Iranian stronger what be.Imp in
taażikstaan allatii tatafaddaðu al-ʔaarisiyyata…
Tajikistan that speak.Imp the-persian
“Iranian influence is most observed in Tajikistan which speaks Persian.” (NA#l)

b wa maa raʔyuu-ka fii al-kutubi allatii tastawfii
and what opinion-your in the-books which inspire.Imp
taʔaariba al-ʔawaaqiʃi
experiences the-reality
“And what do you think of books which derive their inspiration from genuine experiences.” (SS#5)

c hum allaðiina yamlikuuna niʃmata 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 yuʃaʃdiʃuuna žamaʃa
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-ʃiwaaru laa yaʃtaritu at-tamaahii wa ʔinnamaa
so-the-discussion Neg necessitate.Imp the-agreement and but
yaʃquumu ʃalaʔ ʔarɗiyati al-xilaafi. wa laakin laysa
revolve.Imp on background the-difference. and but Neg
THE IMPERFECT, USE, AND INVARIANT MEANING

li-yuwassiʔa hawiyyata-haa wa ʔinnamaa li-yabhaθa
to-increase sphere-its and but to-search.Imp
duuna-haa ʔammaa yaʔmaʔu wa yuwaŋhidu.
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#l)

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. 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-ɦiwaar “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 maaðaa taʃtaɡiɭu?
what work.Imp.2.s.m
“What do you do?”

b ʔudarrisiɭu
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- “-’ll’. 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) ʔahmad, maaðaa tafʕalu
Ahmad, what do.Imp.2.s.m
“Ahmad, what are you doing?”

113
b ʔaktubu dars-ii
d write.Imp.1.s lesson-my
“\(I\) am writing my lesson.”

\((18)\)  
a ʔaf\(\text{mad},\) ma\(\text{aad}a\) sa-t\(\text{fu}l\)u
Ahmad, what will-do.Imp.2.s.m
“Ahmad, what are you going to do?”

b sawfa/sa-ʔaktubu dars-ii
d 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.

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 ʔaf\(\text{mad},\) ma\(\text{aad}a\) t\(\text{fu}l\)u
Ahmad, what do.Imp.
“\(A\)hmad, what are you doing?”
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-waqtī ar-raahini and will-start Peru in-the-period the-current
mubaaðaθaatin mutaʕalliqatin bi-masʔalati al-mutaʔaxxiraati discussions concerning with-problem the-delays
al-mustafaqqati wa allatii tabluʁu 6.6 miilyaar duulaar the-demanded and that amount.Imp 6.6 billion dollars
li-fatrati ☺amaani 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)yabdaʔu* al-barlamaanu baθa-haa fii ʔuktuubar and start.Imp the-parliament discussing-it in October
al-qaadima wasaθa tawaqquʕaatin bi-ʔiđxaαli 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 ṭaktuubar 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 ṭaktuubar 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 ḥanna-haa yawman maa be.Pf believeImp strongly that-her day what
    sa-tuʃbihu sittu as-sittaați, wa sa-yasʔudu la-haa will-become.Imp lady the-ladies, and will-bow.Imp to-her
    al-ʕaalama... wa takuunu ḥașhara wa the-world and be.Imp more. famous and
    ḥamtaʕa ḥimraʔatin 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 ḥaaðihi al-muxaatarati? Pillaa fii ʔaaxiri Neg take.Imp on these the-risks until in last
    lafdatin: fii aθ-ʔaaniyyati allatii yataʔakkadu fii-haa mill moment in the-second which make.sure.Imp in-it from

116
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-mutawaqqqaʔa  **wuṣuulu-hum**
than confirm.Imp that the-expected arrival-their

**sa-yablugu**  100.000 faqaṭ
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 mafruuman min-hu  **fa-sa-yadallu**
and what last.Pf deprived from-it so-will-remain.Imp

mafruuman 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

yatafaawāḍuuna li-širaaʔi  xamsa  **ʔawwaashaatin**
negotiate.Imp to-by-ing five submarines

șaṣiiratīn li-taḍmala ʔilaa  žaanibī  **ʔawwaashaṭayni**
small to-work.Imp to next submarines

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

laaḥiqin mina al-ʕaami al-ḥalii.
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  **ʔadan** (Ø)  **taẓīibu**  aḍ-ḍaḥiakaatu ar-riṣaala.
and tomorrow attract.Imp the-laughs the-men

“and tomorrow, the laughs (will) attract men.” (SS#1)

c  **ʔadan** (Ø)  **yaẓiīṭu** ar-riṣaalu wa (Ø)  **yaḥillu** al-ṣirsaanu.
tomorrow come.Imp the-men and appear the-grooms

“Tomorrow men (will) come, and grooms (will) settle in.” (SS#1)
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 *ʔadan* “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 *yeside* “yesterday” is inserted. This is illustrated in (25):

(25) a mi en a sing
I past progressive sing
“I was singing.”

b *(yeside) 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 yudifū al-masʔulu ʔanna miθla haaðihi al-žuhuudi and add.Imp the-official that like these the-efforts law qaama bi-haa al-banku ad-dawlii fa-ʔinna ʔaaliika if do.Pf with-it the-bank the-world so-ʔINNA that sawfa yuḥassINU min ʃusurati-hi al-ʃaalamiyyati wa will improve.Imp from picture-its the-international and xaaʃṣatan fii duwali al-ʃaalami aθ-ʔaaaliθi, wa yastadriku especially in countries the-world the-third, and digress.Imp qaaʔilan ʔinna-hu mina al-muʔakkadi ʔin in ʔaažilan ʔaw saying ʔINNA-it from the-certain whether sooner or ʔaažilan fa-sawfAA takuunu miθla haaðihi al-mahaammi later so-will be.Imp like these the-issues matruufhata ʕalaa raʔiiisi 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#l0)

b wa ḡasba ʔaqwaali “raayx” fa-ʔinna ad-ḍaṣṭa and according declarations “Reich” so-ʔINNA the-pressure sa-yatazaayadu ʕalaa ʔaʃdaʔi al-kuongris al-ʔamriikii will-increase.Imp on members the-congress the-American kullamaa ʔintaʃrāt fii al-wilaayaaatī al-muttafiidati fikrātu whenever spread.Imp in the-states the-united idea ʔanna ʔisraʔiila ʔayru muhayyaʔatin li-muwaʔahati that Israel not ready to-face ʔistiiʕaabi al-ḥižrati mina al-ʔittiʔaadī as-suvaatiyyī. 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 ʔaʃdafa “ʔinna-naa sa-nuṭaalibU al-ʔixwata al-ʕaraba and add.Pf ʔINNA-us will-demand.Imp the-brothers the-Arab bi-al-wafaaʔi bi-ltiẓamaaati-him allatii ʕuqdat fii with-the-keeping with-promises-their which occur.Pf.Passive in
qimmati tuunis”...
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: saʔusaafiruʔilaa mísr
will-travel.Imp.ls to Egypt
“I’ll go to Egypt.”

b B: maaðaa taquul?
what say.Imp.2s.m
“What are you saying?”

c A: sawfaʔusaafiruʔilaa mísr
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.
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 ruḥḥii allahu ẓafr ṭtā ki wa ẓus’ilahlu ṭtā 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 allahu ẓaṣmaʕ al-ʕaʔilati
God unite.Imp.3.s.m whole the-family
“May God reunite the whole family!”

(30) a allahu ẓuxribu bayta-ka yaa ṭaṭṭawii
God destroy.Imp house-your Voc. Tantaawii
“Tantaawii, may God destroy your house!” (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 maaðaa yahdoðu ṭiðaa kaana haaðaa?…
    what happen.Imp if be.Pf this
    “What will happen if this occurs?” (SS#4)
    b hal tantaqilu al-maʃṭṭatu min makaani-haa?!…
    Q. move.Imp the-station from place-its
    “Will the station be moved from its place?!” (SS#4)
    c wa hal yaʃmalu al-ʃumdatsu laylatan li-wažhi 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)

122
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 ʔidāa, 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 yanžāf “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 sawfā/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/laʔalla/rubbamaa “may/might” to express possible future events; consider the examples in (35), (36), and (37).

(35) a qad yuwaasīluuna as-sayra ẓaaniban, wa qad  
may continue.IMP the-walking aside, and may  
yuwaasīluuna 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 haaðaa al-qaraaru (. . .) ʔilaa fardī  
and may lead.IMP this the-decision (. . .) to imposing  
Yuqubaatatin muṣaddadatin ʔalaa waaridaati al-ḥaafilaati  
sanctions strong on imports the-buses  
al-yaaabaaniyyati as-ṣaṣīirati . . .  
the-Japanese the-small . . .  
“and this decision may lead to imposing serious sanctions on Japanese imports of mini-buses . . .” (NA#13)
The aforesaid examples illustrate the use of the Imperfect along with the modal particles qad in (35), lafalal 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 lafalal 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,
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/ʔamani
    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 ʔamani “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 ʔamriikaa *tattahimu* ṣunduuqa an-naqdi bi-l-buṭʔi fīī America accuse.Imp bank the-monetary with-the-slowing in musaaʔadati al-ʔiqtiṣaadi as-sufyaatii. helping the-economy the-Soviet

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


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

c “diitruuyt” *tattahimu* al-yaabaaniyyiina bi-muʃaaawalati “Detroit” accuse.Imp the-Japanese with-trying kasbi as-suƣqi al-ʔamriikii. winning the-market the-American

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

d *yatфеddaθu* ʔakbaru maʃraʃiyyin fīī ʔiʃraʃiyaa ʕaʃalan speak.Imp biggest banker in Africa openly ʕaʃan ʕuʃlmin laa yuraawidu ʔiʃlaa ʔaʃadad ʔaʔiʃlan… 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 *yaqqulu* “ruubirt maakinmaaraa” ar-raʔiisu as-saabiqu say.Imp “Robert McNamara” the-president the-previous li-l-banki ad-ḍawlii… wa *yuʃiifu* al-masʔulu ʔanna miθla to-the-bank the-world… and add.Imp the-responsible that like haaʔihi al-ʔuʃhuudi 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 Internationale 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 à 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.”

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 yušiiru ?aablii wa trumbaal... ?anna-hu laa and point.out.Imp Apply and Trumball... that-him Neg yuuzuđu munabbih yumaṭīlū mašaqqaṭan li-kullī exist.Imp stimulus represent.Imp stress to-all al-ʔafraadi allađiina yataʕarraḍuuna 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 ?ammaa ẓaan diiwi fa-yaraa ?anna al-madrasata... As for John Dewey so-argue.Imp that the-school... tanmuu fii-haa al-muyuulu al-ʔiẓtimaašiyyatu... wa grow.Imp in-it the-tendencies the-social... and
THE IMPERFECT, USE, AND INVARIANT MEANING

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)


   (Waugh and Monville-Burston 1986: 847)

   b Arabic is generally classified among the tenseless languages, for example, in the tradition of French orientalists 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.
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 [+antiority] and [+dimensionalization], then the unmarked Imperfect can signal on the one hand [−antiority] (the opposite of [+antiority]) and [−dimensionalization] (the opposite of [+dimensionalization]), and on the other hand, [±antiority] and [±dimensionalization], that is the combination of each of the opposites. In addition, when the Imperfect signals [−antiority], 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. 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 naḥwa at-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 [±antiority] 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 simul-
taneous 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.\textsuperscript{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 \([\pm\text{anterior}]\) (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 \([+\text{past}]\) and \([+\text{future}]\) 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 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)  
\begin{align*}  
a & \text{ I am playing.} 
b & \text{ I was playing.} 
c & \text{ I will be playing.} 
\end{align*}  

(49)  
\begin{align*}  
a & \text{ J’ ai joué.} 
b & \text{ J’ avais joué.} 
c & \text{ J’ aurais joué.} 
\end{align*}  

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)  
\begin{align*}  
a & \text{ Kuntu ʔalʕabu ḥīna waṣalat zawẓa-tii be.Pf play.Imp when arrive.Pf wife-my “I was playing when my wife came in.”} 
b & \text{ (sawfa/sa- ) ʔakuunu ʔalʕabu ḥīna ṭašilu zawẓa-tii (will/’ll) be.Imp play.Imp when arrive.Imp wife-my “I will be playing when my wife comes in.”} 
\end{align*}  

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

THE IMPERFECT, USE, AND INVARIANT MEANING
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-ʕabu kurata al-qadam
    Maher 3m-Imp-play ball the-foot
    “Maher plays soccer.”

    b Kaana Maher y-a-ʕabu 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. 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, 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 hissan wa laa ʕarakan
     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 ʔusbuʕsin saafara, wa baʕda-haa lam
    and after week travel.Pf, and after-it Neg

137
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-tarbawiyyati al-ʔislaamiyyati ʔINNA the-systems the-educational the-Islamic
maa taʔaxxarat ʕan rakbi al-ʔaayaati Neg fall behind.Pf from stirrup the-life

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Interpretation (with do)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>A (present)</td>
<td>LAA “does not”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>M (past)</td>
<td>LAM “did not”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LA</td>
<td>N (future)</td>
<td>LAN “will not”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negators</th>
<th>N = 455</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laa</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lan</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.7 The frequency of negators: laa, lam, lan, and maa
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, 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 /-š/ (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 6.8 captures a straightforward generalization as to the oppositional nature which underlies the use of both verbal forms. Accordingly, the Perfect is characterized
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 [± anterior], [Ø anterior], and [± dimensionalization] [Ø 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 ʔarḍan sariʔan li-l-ʔarqaami allatii
ʔINNA presentation quick of-the-numbers which

tadaawalat-haa wasaaʔili al-ʔiʃlaami…
circulate.Pf-it means the-media

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

b ʔinna at-tamwi1i al-ʔamriikii… laa yadaʔu maʔaalan
ʔINNA the-financing the-American Neg leave.Imp way
li-ʃ-ʃakki fii al-ʔarqaami allatii tatadaawalu-haa
to-the-doubt in the-numbers which circulate.Imp-it
wasaaʔilu al-ʔiʃlaami…
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 al-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 ʃarikaatin
and say.Imp Reuters that corporations
muşannaʕatin li-s-sayyaraati fii diitruuyt ʔittahamat producing of-the-cars in Detroit accuse.Pf

a1-yaabaaniyyiina bi-bayʕi as-sayyaraati fi as-suqui the-Japanese with-selling the-cars in the-market

alʔamriikiyyati bi-saʕrin ʔaqalla min saʕri-haa fii the-American with-price less than price-its in

a1-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-wazaaratū ʔinna maazdaa tabiʕu and say.Pf the-ministry that Mazda sell.Imp

al-ɦaafilaati as-saaʔiirati bi-saʕrin yaqilly bi-nisbati 12.7 the-buses the-small with-price lessen.Imp with-ratio 12.7

fii al-miʔati ʔani as-saʕri as-saaʔidi wa tuuyuutaa in the-hundred from the-price the-usual and Toyota

bi-nisbati 6.75 fii al-miʔati wa ʃarikaatin 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). 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,” ḏakara “to mention,” ṭakkada “to confirm,” bayyana “to show” and so on are only governed by the writer-enunciator, our results have shown that more then 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. 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>
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<th>Article Nb.</th>
<th>Nb.Pfs</th>
<th>Nb.Imps</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency (%)</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.10 The frequency of the Perfect/Imperfect in sentence initial clauses (scholarly articles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Nb.</th>
<th>Nb.Pfs</th>
<th>Nb.Imps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency (%)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Divergence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Anteriority</td>
<td>− Anteriority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Dimensionalization</td>
<td>− Dimensionalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(= Basic use)</td>
<td>(= Basic use)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperfect

±/Ø Anteriority

±/Ø Dimensionalization

(= Gnomic/Generic use)

Perfect

+ Anteriority  Near-Convergence  + Anteriority

+ Dimensionalization  (Near-Synonymy)  + Dimensionalization

(= Special use (=“Plus” Interpretation))

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 \textit{tadaawalat} “circulated” in (55a) invariently expresses anteriority and dimensionalization and focuses on one past event, the use of the Imperfect \textit{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.

\begin{align*}
(58) \quad & a \quad \text{rahi}ma-hu \quad \text{al-llaahu} \\
& \quad \text{bless.Pf-him the-God} \\
& \quad \text{“May God bless him!”} \\
& b \quad \text{al-llaahu y-a-}rhamu-hu \\
& \quad \text{the-God 3m-Imp-bless-him} \\
& \quad \text{“May God bless him!”} \\
(59) \quad & a \quad \text{ʔ} \text{in} \quad \text{daras-ta nažaf-ta} \\
& \quad \text{if study.Pf-you succeed.Pf-you} \\
& \quad \text{“If you study, you (will) succeed.”} \\
& b \quad \text{ʔ} \text{in} \quad \text{t-a-drus t-a-nžaf} \\
& \quad \text{if 2m-Imp-study 2m-Imp-succeed} \\
& \quad \text{“If you study, you (will) succeed.”}
\end{align*}

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 ʕalay-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 takʔiifi musaahamati-naa ʔattaa
so-necessary to intensifying participations-our in order to
yartafiʔa raʃiidxu-naa fii ʃunʕi ar-raʔyi al-ʕaammi
increase.Imp share-our in creation the-opinion the-general
al-ʕaalarlniyyi . . .
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 ʔababa yuʃaaliʕu ʔirranʔata-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 allaʔi ʔaaʔa yaʔrudu min hunaa aʃ-ʃayṭaan . . .
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 yabd̠aʔ an-naasu yastayqiʔuuna li-ʔanna ʃawta-hu
Neg start.Imp the-people wake up.Imp because-that voice-his
al-ʕaaliʔi ʔaqlaʔa manaama-hum.
the-loud disturb.Pf sleep-their
“We people did not start waking up because his loud voice has disturbed their sleep.” (SS#3)
Table 6.11 The frequency of the Perfect and the Imperfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal form</th>
<th>N = 4618</th>
<th>Frequency (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>2897</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>1721</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse genres</th>
<th>Nb.Pfs</th>
<th>Nb.Comp.Pfs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Journalistic</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiction</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency (%)</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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.
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, (ii) then, whenever possible, into a TP headed by a morphologically null To. The so called V(erb) to I(nfl) movement is therefore reanalyzed as “V to Tax-AspP to To movement.”

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.”

(2) Modality
    Taxis–Aspect
    Agreement

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.

(4) a
    MP
    / \ Spec M’
    / \ M° VP
    Tax–Asp AGR / \ -a-i-a Spec V
    alwaladu / \ V° NP
    šrb almaaʔa
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).

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{t} \\
\text{almaa?a}
\end{array} \]

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

---

(5)

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{INFL/Modality} \\
\text{Taxis–Aspect} \\
\text{Agreement} \\
\text{Modals} \\
\text{Negation}
\end{array} \]
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:

1. **Type I (A, 0):** where Aspect is omnipresent and Tense reduced to zero/inferred
2. **Type II (T, 0):** where Tense is omnipresent and Aspect reduced to zero/inferred
3. **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 Salience, 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 T^0_. Accordingly, example (1), repeated here under (7), would have the configuration in (8).

(7) \[ \text{\texttt{\textasciitilde{sa}rib-a al-walad-u al-maa7-a}} \]
\[ \text{drink.Pf-3.s.m the-boy-nom the-water-acc} \]
\[ \text{“The boy drank the water.”} \]
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 Vo). 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–Asp0) leaving To 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–Asp0 and to To, 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 To in accordance with syntactic principles, namely the lack of syntactic barrier.5 More evidence for the verb movement into Tax–Asp0 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  lāa 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  lān 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).

(13)    TP
     /  \  
    Spec  T’  
     pro  /  \  
     T0  NegP  
    lāa/lam/lān̂  /  \  
         Spec  Neg’  
     /  \  
    Neg0  Tax–AspP  
     t_i  /  \  
         Spec  Tax–Asp’  
     /  \  
    Tax–Asp0  VP  
     yana.mk  t_k
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 ʔiðaa ʔataa xaraž-naa
    if come.Pf.3.m.s leave.Pf.-l p
    “If he comes, we will go out.”

   b Law ʔataa la-xaraž-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 ʔataa “came” and xaraž-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 xaraž-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 ʔiðaa and law “if” should be reanalyzed as conditional–temporal particles, with ʔiðaa 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 ʔiðaa 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 To 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 T°. 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 T°. While in (8) T° 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–Asp° and to T° does not give rise to any violation of either the ECP or Relativized Minimality, if the verb were to move to T° 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.
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 T° and Tax–Asp° is occupied by its trace. The claim being made

(18) TP
    / \ Spec    T’
    pro      / \ T° AspP
    kaana_j  / \ Spec    Asp’
    / \ Asp° Tax–AspP
    t_j      / \ Spec    Tax–Asp’
    / \ Tax–Asp° VP
    yaktubu_i / \ Spec    V’
    / \ V° NP
    t_i      darsahu

(19) *ya-ktub-u_i, kaana [t]_i darsa-hu. Imp.3m-write-s was lesson-his.
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 latters 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 \([\text{Taxis–Aspect} + V]\) to \(T^o\) 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):

\begin{align*}
(20) & \quad a \quad \text{kaan-at} \quad t-a-ktub-u \quad \text{al-bint-aani} \quad \text{darsa-humaa} \\
& \quad \text{be.past-3s.f} \quad \text{3.f-}\text{Imp-write-s} \quad \text{the-girl-d.} \quad \text{lesson-3.f.d} \\
& \quad \text{“The two girls were writing their lesson.”} \\
\quad b \quad \text{kaan-at} \quad \text{al-bint-aani} \quad t-a-ktub-aani \quad [t] \quad \text{darsa-humaa} \\
& \quad \text{be.past-3s.f} \quad \text{the-girl-d.} \quad \text{3.f-Imp-write-s} \quad \text{lesson-3.f.d} \\
& \quad \text{“The two girls were writing their lesson.”} \\
\quad c \quad \text{al-bint-aani} \quad \text{kaan-ataa} \quad [t] \quad t-a-ktub-aani \quad [t] \quad \text{darsa-humaa} \\
& \quad \text{the-girl-d.} \quad \text{be.past-3d.f} \quad \text{3.f-Imp-write-s} \quad \text{lesson-3.f.d} \\
& \quad \text{“The two girls were writing their lesson.”}
\end{align*}

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 \textit{kaanat} occupies \(T^o\) and the thematic verb \textit{taktabaani} occupies a lower position in the structure, namely \text{Tax–Asp}^o. As for the subject \textit{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 \textit{kaanat} and the verb \textit{taktabaani}. In (20c), the subject is preposed all the way to Spec \(T^o\). 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 ʔaʃžaba-nii  haaðaa  al-film
       QAD  please.Pf-me  this  the-film
       “I did like this movie.”

       b  maa ʔaʃžaba-nii  haaðaa  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 ʔaʃžaba-nii  haaðaa  al-film
       b  *maa qad ʔaʃžaba-nii  haaðaa  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:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{AsrtP} \\
\text{Spec} \quad \text{Asrt'} \\
\text{Asrt}^0 \quad \text{TP} \\
\text{QAD/maa} \\
\text{Spec} \quad \text{T'} \\
\text{T}^0 \quad \text{Tax–AspP} \\
\text{ʔaʔzabanii_i} \\
\text{Spec} \quad \text{Tax–Asp'} \\
\text{Tax–Asp}^0 \quad \text{VP} \\
t_i \\
\text{Spec} \quad \text{V'} \\
\text{V}^0 \quad \text{NP} \\
t_i \quad \text{al-film}
\end{array}
\]

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):

\[
\begin{array}{c}
a \quad \text{al-walad-u} \quad \text{fii al-madrasat-i} \\
\text{the-boy-nom} \quad \text{in the-school-gen} \\
\text{“The boy is at school.”} \\
b \quad \text{ʔinna} \quad \text{al-walad-a}^\circ \quad \text{fii al-madrasat-i} \\
\text{ʔINNA} \quad \text{the-boy-acc} \quad \text{in the-school-gen} \\
\text{“The boy IS at school.”}
\end{array}
\]
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'
    / \AsrtPP
    ʔinna/maa / \Spec P'
alwalada / \p^0 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 “Vo to I0 movement” is reanalyzed as a “Vo to Tax–Asp0 to To 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.
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 Modo takes. Accordingly, the feature [± taxes–Aspect]
in Modality for instance is shown to be crucial as to whether Modo 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.
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-fall-u ŋaahiz-an ŋadan
    fut-be the-solution-nom ready-acc tomorrow
    “The solution will be ready tomorrow.”

    b *al-fall-u ŋaahiz-an ŋadan
    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)?

(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
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)  
(9)  

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
Accordingly, whereas in (9a) Mod 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. 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-ʔawlaadu* “the boys” is always specified for its feature values (person, gender, number of 3m.p), 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).

\[(11)\]

a kaana al-walad-u fii al-bayt-i
was the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
“The boy was at home.”

b Modality $\rightarrow$ [tense, PST]

\[(12)\]

a al-waladu fu al-bayt-i
the-boy-nom in the-house-gen
“The boy is at home.”

b Modality $\rightarrow$ [tense, $\emptyset$]

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.
(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(eatures)] (F=TNS)

   b (i) ModP                  (ii) ModP

   / \                       / \

   Spec  Mod’                 Spec  Mod’

   / \                       / \

   Mod⁰ [+F]  VP               Mod⁰ [-F]  NP/AP/PP

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 To.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 To 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 To in the syntax

   b Verbs obligatorily move to Tax–Asp⁰ and/or To 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.”

b TP c TP
   / \        / \
Spec T’ Spec T’
   / \        / \

T° VP V+T° VP

[TNS] / \       kataba / \

NP V’ NP V’
alwaladu / \       alwaladu / \

V NP V NP

ktb tamriinahu tj tamriinahu

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, ɦiina 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*ɦiina/*lammaa abuu-ka fii al-bayt-i,…
      when father-your in the-house-gen

   c ʕindamaa/ɦiina/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, ɦiina 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 $C^o$ with itsspecifier and with its complement ($= TP$) with respect to the relevant features $[+WH/+TNS]$ (see also Rizzi 1990: 57); the latter transmits the features to $T^o$. 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, $C^o$ would acquire that same feature and would transmit it to its complement. So the question now becomes: How does $T^o$ acquire the feature $[+TNS]$? One can argue that $C^o$ selects the feature values of its complement (TP), namely, a tensed complement so that $T^o$ would in its turn receive these same features via feature percolation. With tense features in it, $T^o$ 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).

\[(20)\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP (F = TNS)} \\
\text{/ \ /} \\
\text{Spec C'} \\
\text{/ \ /} \\
\text{C^o [+F] TP [+F]} \} \text{government} \\
\text{/ \ /} \\
\text{Spec T'} \\
\text{Feature Percolation \{} \\
\text{/ \ /} \\
\text{T^o [+F] XP [+F]} \} \text{selection} \\
\text{VP}
\end{array}
\]

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).

\[(21)\]
\[
a \text{ ad-\textit{d\textipa{y}y-f-u quwwat-un fii ba\textipa{y}di al-\textipa{y}aani \}} \\
\text{the-weakness-nom strength-nom in some the-times} \\
\text{“weakness is sometimes strength.”}
\]

b \text{*kayfa ad-\textipa{y}y-f-u quwwat-un fii ba\textipa{y}di al-\textipa{y}aani \}} \\
\text{How the-weakness-nom strength-nom in some the-times}
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) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{Spec} \quad C' \\
\text{kayfa} \\
\end{array}\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{C}^0 \\
\text{TP [+F]} (F = \text{TNS}) \\
\text{[+wh]} \\
\text{Spec} \quad T' \\
\end{array}\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{T}^0[+F] \\
\text{VP} \\
\end{array}\]

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 T0, require verbal support, thus making verb movement obligatory as stated earlier in principle (15). But if we assume that wh-features originate in T0, then these features would also trigger verb movement, and therefore T0 would select for a VP. Accordingly, (15a) should be modified so as to generate wh-features in T0, 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 T0.
   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,” yaṣib ʔan “must,” yastatii ʔu ʔan ‘can.’ 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.”
The examples here indicate that just like wh-phrases, modals do seem to require the copula to move into To. A closer look into the internal structure of modals in English, for example, shows that they are tensed, and therefore base generated in To. Thus, one might argue that modals in To 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 To. 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
      was in the-house-gen
      “He might have been at home.”

The fact that modals in (29) 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 To. We suggest that the content of To 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, M₀ would select for a tensed MP, which in turn will pass its features to To. The presence of tense features in To triggers principle (24), which when applied yields (25c), (26b), and (27c). In other words, once a tensed To 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.

(31) MP
    / \ Spec M’
    / \ M₀ TP
    / \ Spec T’
    / \ T₀ [F] VP
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 T°. 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 xaṭṭiir-un
the-matter-nom dangerous-nom
“The situation is serious.”

b ?? ʔin al-ʔamr-u xaṭṭiir-un,₁⁶
if the-matter-nom dangerous-nom

c ʔin kaana/yakun al-ʔamr-u xaṭṭiir-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/*hiina/*ʔin yakuunu fii al-bayt-i
may/*how/*while/*if is in the-house-gen

b kayfa/*qad/*hiina/*ʔin yakuunu al-ʔamr-u sahl-an
how/*may/*while/*if is the-matter-nom easy-acc

c ʔin/*qad/*hiina/*kayfa yakun al-ʔamr-u sahl-an
if/*may/*while/*how is the-matter-nom easy-acc

d hiina/*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’
/ \ / \ C⁰(M⁰) IP C⁰ 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 (T⁰) 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 T⁰ 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 farif-un
   the-boy-nom happy-nom
   “The boy is happy.”

b hal al-walad-u farif-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 limaaðaa 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)\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{(40)}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
    \node (cp) {CP}
    child {node (spec) {Spec}}
    child {node (cprime) {C'}}
    child {node (hal) {hal/limaad\aa}}
    child {node (tp) {TP}}
    child {node (wh) [+wh]}
    child {node (spec) {Spec}}
    child {node (tprime) {T'}}
    child {node (np) {NP}}
    child {node (to) {T\textsuperscript{0}}}}
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

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)\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{(41) a} pourquoi l’a-t-i\textsuperscript{1} prise ?
   “Why did he take it?”
\textbf{b} il l’a prise pourquoi ?
   “He took it why?”

\textbf{(42) a} kayfa at-taqs-u fii al-xariif-i?
   \begin{tabular}{l}
   \hdashline
   how the-weather-nom in the-fall-gen
   \end{tabular}
   “How is the weather in the fall?”

\begin{flushleft}
\textbf{ATM CATEGORIES AND THE NOMINAL CLAUSE}
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushright}
182
\end{flushright}
“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,” ñindamaa/ñiina/ñammaa “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) haaðaa ?
    what is  this
    “What (is) this?”

b  man (*takuunu) ?anti ?
   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°). Accordingly, we have demonstrated that while the presence of both TNS and WH features in T° force this latter to select for a VP complement, their absence imposes selectional restrictions on T°, 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.
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 \textit{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 \textit{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–Aspo). 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 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,
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

Source: Newspaper Article #1 / AL-QUDS AL-ʕARABI (02/20/92)
في معرض تاكيد إجراء الانتخابات التشريعية العامة:

لا تكون فريقةً بل حكماً
والإسقاط دوري كرئيس للجمهورية

الهراوي: لن أكون فريقةً بل حكماً
والإسقاط دوري كرئيس للجمهورية

بيروت، من طابق تشيềبي

ينتخب أن يكون الإسقاط للحزب في
لبنان، وهو الأمر الذي تميزه
بالإسقاطات المكثفة، وربما بعض
من الناس لكي يكونوا في شبه معتزلة.
ولكن إذا قررت حزباناً أن يكون
الإسقاط والاصطدام في كل الحزام
مباحًا، فلن نستثمر في phiếuي.
ولكن إذا أدرجت الحزبان في
الأعمال، فإنها ستتحزم...

source: Newspaper Article #2 / ASHARQ AL-AWSAT (07/05/92)
واشنطن تفتتح على احتجاج الشوبويه وحوراني

الحسيني يناقش مع بيكري اعتقال إسرائيلي مهاجرين فلسطينيين

١٩٠

Source: Newspaper Article #3 / AL-QUDS AL-ʕARABI (02/20/92)
بيع شركات التليفونات والسيارات للقطاع الخاص

اسولسيون-باراجويا-رويتر:

أعلن وزير الصناعة والتجارة في باراجويا، أن الحكومة سترسل إلى الجريدة هذا الأسبوع مشروع قانون لتحويل الشركات التي تملكها الدولة إلى القطاع الخاص.

وقال سكافوني 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 والاسمنت والصلب والسيارات التي تملكها الدولة للقطاع الخاص. وقال إن هذه الشركات المملوكة للدولة كانت السبب الرئيسي في 90% من دين باراجويا الجرئبية البالغة 1.1 مليار دولار.

وكان معظم الشركات المملوكة للدولة في باراجويا قد أُنشئت خلال الأعوام الـ 24 الماضية أثناء تولي الرجل الفأر «الفريديو استرسنر» حكم البلاد.

وقد أبلغ باراجويا، إن إقبال عسكري عام 1989 قاد الرئيس الحالي الجنرال أندرس رويديجي.
المجموعة الأوروبية

المعوننات لموسكو وشرق أوروبا
على حساب المسالم الشهادات

بروكس - وكالات الأنباء:

أكد المستشارون في المجموعة الاقتصادي الأوروبية أن الألوان الجديدة للمعوننات التي تقدمها المجموعة ستعود بشكل هام على اهتمامات المجموعة الاقتصادية الأوروبية المخصصة لدول العالم الثالث في أوروبا وأفريقيا. وأشار المستشارون إلى أن هذه الألوان الجديدة تشمل الاتحاد السوفيتي وأوروبا الشرقية وشمال أوروبا.

وقد بدأت المجموعة الاقتصادية الأوروبية دراسة وتعديل أولويات برامج التنمية التقليدية الخاصة بها بسبب معافرة من تدفق سلسل من الهامشين واللاجئين من جيرانها في الشرق والجنوب الذين يعانون من نقص جديد في الولادة.

وهيكلة تقل مكافحة الجوع والفقر والمرض على رأس قائمة الأولويات، إلا أن هناك أوروبا ليكون كافياً لوقف تدفق موجة من يعودون إلى دخول دول المجموعة الأوروبية.

أن معونن المجموعة الأوروبية تستخدم حالياً بشكل متزايد للحربة خطر الهجرة الجماعية.

ويعتقد خروج المجموعة الاقتصادية أن الهجرة من الكتلة الشرقية يمكن أن تضع المجموعة الأوروبية أمام أضخم تحدي اجتماعياً خلال التسعينات.

من المشروط أن يؤدي الانفصال الاقتصادي في شمال أوروبا والذي يفاقم بسبب معدل الوفيات الإختبئ في الارتفاع بصورة كبيرة في المنطقة إلى زيادة تدفق الشياب الذي يسعى إلى العثور على عمل في أوروبا الغربية.

ويعكف وزارة المساعدات في دول المجموعة الأوروبية بالفعل على وضع خطط جديدة لإنداش السلمية للمجموعة.

هذا أوسع إحساس بأن بناء حصن أوروبا ليكون كافياً لوقف تدفق موجة من يعودون إلى دخول دول المجموعة الأوروبية.

Source: Newspaper Article #5 / AL-YAALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)
البانيكا
150 مليون دولار
معونة أوروبية عاجلة

بروكسل-رويتر:

وعمد الدول الصناعية الفنية في العالم بتقديم 150 مليون دولار
كمعونة عاجلة لليابانيا أكبر الدول
الأوروبية على الإطلاق.

وقد جاءت تلك المواقف من جانب
24 دولة تشكل ما يسمى بالمجموعة الـ
24 التي تشكل مؤخراً لدعم الإصلاح
في أوروبا الشرقية والوسطى، وذلك
استجابة لمناشدة نائب رئيس الوزراء
الألباني جورجور باشكوه.

ولكن باشكوه قد أبلغ هذه الدول
في اجتماع في بروكسل أن الأطفال
عانون من مجاعة، وأضاف أن واحد
من كل 10 أطفال تحت الثامنة في
العاصمة ساران يعاني من سوء التغذية
وواحد من كل 3 يعاني من سوء
التغذية في الأحياء المجاورة أما في الريف
فإن 50% من الأطفال يعانون من
المجاعة.

وطالب بمعونات غذائية طبية
عاجلة، وقال إن بلاده تحتاج أيضاً إلى
مساعدات مالية لدعم ميزان ميزانياتها
ومساعدات تكنولوجية لساعدها على
تطبيق نظام السوق.

وقال الوزير الألباني إن أفضل
وسيلة لتوفير المجهزة الألبانية إلى
الخارج للبحث عن مكان أفضل في
اليونان أو إيطاليا، هي توفير مبلغ 100
ظهري من مستوى معيشي أفضل.

وقد صرح فرانسيس أندورس،
المفوض الأوروبي للعلاقات الخارجية
بأن المجموعة الـ24 ستوزع اليابانيا بقدر
من 200 ألف طن من المواد الغذائية
خلال العام الحالي.

Source: Newspaper Article #6 / AL-YAALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)
أمريكا تتهم صندوق النقد بالبطء في مساعدة الاقتصاد السوفيتي

ومن المقرر أن يجري محادثات في موسكو مع الرئيس السوفيتي ميخائيل جورباتشوف، وديربريس ينتسين، رئيس جمهورية روسيا الاتحادية، وعدد من المسؤولين السوفيتيين.

وكان زعماء الدول الصناعية السبع قد وافقوا في مؤتمر القمة الذي عقد في يوليو الماضي على اتخاذ صندوق النقد الدولي والبنك الدولي في مساعدة الاتحاد السوفيتي على الانتقال بشكل شعوبي إلى الرأسمالية.

شانون (أيرلندا) روتي: اتهم دنكولس بريدي، وزير الخزانة الأمريكي، صندوق النقد الدولي بالبطء في مساعدة الاتحاد السوفيتي على تنفيذ الإصلاحات الاقتصادية. وقال بريدي، "للمصورين في طريقه إلى موسكو..." لاحس بشيء من خيبة الأمل بسبب الإجراءات العرفوية في الصندوق، وأضاف قائلا، "إننا نبدأ في مساعدة الاتحاد السوفيتي حتى الآن رغم أن ماحدث يعد أهم تطور منذ مائة عام.

Source: Newspaper Article #7 / AL-YAALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)
APPENDIX

نادي باريس:
جددولة 23 مليار دولار
ديوننا متحقة على بيرو

شطب للديون المستحقة على بيرو تم تبرعه على الامام في نادي باريس قبل تبرع من تلك الدول التي تمكنها من الامانة بعد أن تبرعت بهم. وسوف تقوم بيرو بتقديم هذه الديون المستحقة على بيرو. بإعادة دفع 300 مليون دولار على مدى الـ20 عاماً للدولة المستحقة بـ200 مليون دولار.

وأكد نادي باريس في تقرير له أن الشروط المفيدة لإعادة جدولة الأموال ستتم بالنسبة إلى بيرو في مدى الـ20 عاماً. بالنسبة للإعاقة الناتجة عن الديون المستحقة ونادي باريس أن الشروط التي تفرضها على الامام أثناء أداء الديون المستحقة بهم. بيرو تم استلامها بعد البرنامج الذي أطلقته بباريس وتم إجراءات التكامل الشديدة التي اتخذتها الحكومة.

وأقرّ وزير المالية في حكومة بيرو، كارلوس بولونا، عقب الاجتماع بأن الشروط التي أطلقتها نادي باريس أطلقت من الشروط التي وضعها الدائنين بالنسبة إلى بيرو. والدول المستحقة كانوا يختارون طبيعة الترتيبات السياسية والاقتصادية التي تم في بيرو.

وقال وزير المالية في بيرو إنه لضمانة النتائج المستحقة على بيرو، فإن أعضاء نادي باريس لا يمكنهم الموافقة على أي

Source: Newspaper Article #8 / AL-SALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)
ألجاح دورة (الأورجواي) متوقف عن سرعة المفاوضات

كامل الموافقة على قرار تمثلية، وهو سامعي التوفيق ب_CEتنصبين بعض
المشاكل في هذه القضايا، وفي سياقها، بخصوص
الباشر والملخص هؤلاء الشروط ودورهم
النظامية للإحاطة بالأعمال.

أعمال هذه الدورة مطلوبة من
تكرار النظامية في مΕرات أعلى، مما
الأنشطة ذات الأهمية، مع ما
تتطلب موافقة هذه الأمور، في
 всего العالم.

وقد حددت بوديم، رئيسة الوزاء، بعد قراءة زيارة حسب
مجال الصناعات، التي يشترطها الأطراف، إذا فهي تتجاوز
المجمل من هذه الصناعات، أو سعرًا أو مساعدات
الالتزامات الأخرى، لتأتي في

Source: Newspaper Article #9 / AL-ΣAALAM AL-YAYM (09/19/91)
تقدير دولية حول:
صراع خفي بين البنك وصندوق النقد
 حول السيطرة الاقتصادية على العالم الثالث

تتمحسرة البنوك الدولية. فكلما تقدمت البنوك الدولية في بتهاة سياسات البنك الدولي وبنوك أخرى، يزيد من التحديات التي تواجهنا في العالم.</n>
سيصدر بيانا يدين العنف في المنطقة بطرس غالي يدعو إلى ضبط النفس في الشرق الأوسط

بيانا معد سلفا ان الامن العام للامم المتحدة سيرقب بكفاح الساحة التي وقعت في الشرق الأوسط في الأيام القليلة الماضية والتي أدت الى تصعيد العنف في المنطقة.

وقال البيان ان الامن العام للامم المتحدة يستذكر بشدة ازمة ارهاق ارباح ابرياء في الوقت الذي تجري فيه مفاوضات لهدف التحقيق التسوية شاملة للصراع العربي الإسرائيلي بناشت الامن العام للامم المتحدة وبحث جميع الاطراف على الامتناع عن العنف الذي يهدد الا تعرف عملية السلام وتصعيد التوتر في منطقة مضتركة بالفعل.

وقال دبلوماسيون ان مجلس الأمن يتعزز اصدر بيان بيان احداث العنف الاخيرة في لبنان وإسرائيل في اعقاب مناشدة الامن العام بطرس غالي للاطراف العينية ممارسة ضبط النفس.

وقال السفير الأمريكي توماس يكرت للصحافيين امس الأول ان من الدرجات يدين بيان المجلس تصاعد العنف في المنطقة.

ومن المباذرة أن البيان الجمعية نقلت إلى اجتماعا يدفع الى توضيح المشاكل الأولى في مجلس الأمن.

الامم المتحدة: رويتر: قال المتحدث باسم الامم المتحدة امس الأول ان بطرس بطرس غالي الامن العام للامم المتحدة دعا الى التحلي بضبط النفس في اعقاب تساعد أعمال العنف من جديد في الشرق الأوسط في الوقت الذي طلبه فيه لبنان عند جلسة مجلس الأمن الدولي.

وقال المتحدث للصحافيين ان بطرس غالي تلقى مكالمة من خلال مكالمات مندوب لبنان لدى الامم المتحدة في عقد جلسة مجلس الأمن.

وقد طلب لبنان عند جلسة بعد اغتيال السيد عباس الموسوي زعيم جماعة حزب الله في لبنان وزوجته وابنه في غارة اسرائيلية بطائرات الهليكوبتر في جنوب لبنان يوم الاربعاء.

وقد قتل ثلاثة جنود اسرائيليين بالبلط والدى ومدروة في غارة شنها على مسجد في شمال اسرائيل يوم السبت الماضي واغارت طائرات اسرائيلية يوم الاربعاء على مواقع للجيش الفلسطينيين في معسكرات الأفصل الفلسطينيين في جنوب لبنان مما ادى الى استهداف أربعة أشخاص وجرح عشرة اخرين.

وقال المتحدث باسم الامم المتحدة في

Source: Newspaper Article #11 / AL-QUDS AL-SARABI (02/20/92)
الوفد من الناس تغادر جنوب لبنان خوفاً من المعارك المحتدمة بين إسرائيل ورجال المقاومة

المراجع (لبنان) - على تأثير

كانت قرى حدودية لبنانية تهتالت على الغالب في البناء، الأخرية شبة مهجورة أمست بعد هرب المدافعين من المعارك الدفيلة والمعركة التي تدور بين الإسرائيليين ورجال المقاومة اللبنانيين.

وكان صامداً طويلة من السيناريوهات التي تقل لبنان تخطيطاً خافياً مع ما انعكس جملة من مخلفاتها تنقل إلى مدينة صبيا الساحلية ومنطقتية صورة الجاورة وردت الشروط خلال الليل المurmور بعد أن دخلت المعارك الدفيلة والصاروخية.

ويتم الليل بعد ذلك على توالي:

ويقرر قانون المعتقلات الأنفاسة لتنبيه المدينة أثناه في حالة حرب حقيقية، الطائرات الإسرائيلية تحقق باستمرار فوق رؤوسنا ومدفع الجيش (اللباني) المضادة للطائرات تطلق النار عليها، وتضاعف فوزها من الإجواء نفسها التي كانت تشتمل قبل الاجتياز الإسرائيلي للبنان سنة 1982.

وجرى تفيض عبر الأطلال نحو 34 صاروخاً من نوع كابانوست على شكل ناقص ومنطقة الهروب التي تقلت في جنوب لبنان في التدابير الداخلية التي تقدم في اتفاق الهدنة وكان في الاختبار، الدفيلة في الغيب الذي انعكس اتفاق إسرائيل.

الجيش عاصم الموسوي يوم الأحد، أعداد وأفكار المشهد Zot المطلبة ومنصهات محذرة:

وكان صور دماني جوان لبنان بروشت أن نشر به بيع في جنوب لبنان، الدفيلة المتعاقبة معها تطلق حول 200 صاروخ على حجوزات الله للدروع التي تقرر آنئماً من البناء من الحزام الإقليمي، وعاصم الدفيلة أدى إلى تشعيبية فرقاء وتعيين وإطارات المحاور وكرآ وبرع وراء كانت محوراً علنية ولم يعد فيه سوى عدد قليل من السيناريوهات الممطرة.

Source: Newspaper Article #12 / AL-QUDS AL-SARABI (02/20/92)
سوق الأفريقيا مشتركة لمواجهة النهوض للدولي
ديترويت تلبم البلاتينيين بمحاولة كسب السوق الأمريكي

وقد ذكرت أن اقتصاد المنطقة tưلية وبالتالي حاولوا أن يكون من الأفريقيا يشكل
الذكور إلى جانب اللعب على التجزئة الجديدة.

وفيما يلي بعض النصوص:

- تقدر النساء الأفريقيا بسعيها على الحفاظ على التنوع والتنوع في الأفريقيا.
- إن النساء الأفريقيا ضختم في العمل والحياة، وتمكين ومكانة

Source: Newspaper Article #13 / AL-SAALAM AL-YAWM (09/19/91)
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.


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.


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.


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).


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).


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-maadī* and defined to denote “past tense,” the latter is referred to as *al-mudāarišu* 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.
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.”

Note that *came* is also possible in English, but it has a more hypothetical value, which is not the case here.

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.

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.”

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.

I made some appropriate changes to Dahl’s example involving a typographical mistake *bi-l-waali* “to the money” > *šalaa al-maali* “with the money,” and a poor choice of the verb in the subordinate clause *ʔittaʃala* > *t̠aʔaʃala* “to get.” The meaning remains the same, however.

Notice that in Arabic when someone is directly addressed by name or title, the vocative particle *yaa* is used right before the noun.

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 Kimberg (2001: 132–52).

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.

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.

It is unclear to me why the author choose the present perfect “has contained” to translate the Perfect, where the present is more appropriate.

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.

These properties have often been associated with the aspectual definition of the meaning of the perfective (Comrie 1976: 16).

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).
NOTES

5 THE COMPOUND PERFECT, AND THE MODAL QAD

1 In similar contexts, that is, sentence initially, the coordinating conjunction "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 Iljic (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 (CL) 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 (CL) 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).


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 /θumma “then, afterwards”; and adverbs such as /lamma, /hiinama, /hindamaa, 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 semantic-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 Hishaam 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 métapérateurs 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 munū “since/for” are used, as follows in (i), the left boundary is represented as closed.

(i) al-wilaayatu al-muttahidatu tuSaaridtu munū waqtin tawiilin…
    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-Reichenbachan”; 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).
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 LaValla and rubbamaa which are both trisyllabic. The privileged status of QAD might also be associated with its frequent use with the Perfect as well.

For an extensive discussion on the functioning of the temporal adverb “YESTERDAY,” in newspaper articles, see Delmas (1984: 77–93).

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.”

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.

Recall that when used in similar contexts, the Perfect presents the wish as dimension-alyzed, as if it were realized.


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-ibur kurata al-qadam hiina kaana sa-riiran “Maher used to play soccer when he was a kid.”

For a general presentation and discussion of both types of modals in Arabic, periphrastic and others, see Sayed (1983), Cuvalay-Haak (1997), Kinberg (2001).

For a recent discussion of these negators, see UI-Haq (1984: 188–204).

Special thanks to Linda Waugh for suggesting the form and content of this table.

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.

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

See our discussion of Arabic verbal morphology in Chapter 3, pp. 29–43, for specific details.

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.

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).

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.

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.

More details about negation are discussed in Chapter 6, pp. 137–40.

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 ʔinna assigns accusative case to the NP that it governs, a property that typically defines phrasal heads. This property follows naturally if ʔinna 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: ʔayna 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 Num0 (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 T0.
A similar claim is found in Abd El-Moneim (1989: 17–26) among several others.

Because of the nonconcatenative nature of Arabic morphology, the triconsonantal root \textit{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).

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.

MSA uses the periphrastic modals \textit{yažibu ʔan} “it is obligatory that,” \textit{yastatīʔuʔran} “it is possible that.” For ease of reference, I have glossed them as “must” and “can,” respectively.

Unlike\textit{ qad}, \textit{Rubbamaa}\textit{ and }\textit{la ʕalla}, 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/la ʕalla-hu (yakuunu) fii al-bayt-i
may (is) in the-house-gen
“He may be in the house.”

Both \textit{ʔin} and \textit{idaa “if” can also select a nontensed TP. But this usage is viewed as being a rather less elegant style.

Contrary to what Rizzi had observed, native speakers of French that I consulted did accept (4lb). They were, however, in agreement with Rizzi’s claim that \textit{pourquoi} “why” is impossible with the verb \textit{parler} “to speak.” To explain this discrepancy, one might allow some optionality in the behavior of \textit{pourquoi} “why.”
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INDEX

This index preserves the structure and terminology used throughout the text, although initial capitals are used only for proper names. French and English examples are used as comparators throughout the text and are not indexed. Substantive endnotes are indexed with the suffix ‘n’.

Aartun, K., tense view of verb 41
Abney, S., nonlexical categories 18
action verbs, in Fillmore’s theory 9
Adamczewski, Henri: analysis of verbal categories 12–13; predicative relationship 208n; temporality of imperfect 132
adverbs, temporal 118
agreement morphology 36–37
Al-Aswad, M.: comparison of perfect and simple past 66–67; functions of QAD 75; kaana+perfect 206n
Al-Mansouri, A.J., aspectual nature of verb 39
anteriority: of imperfect 134; of perfect 68–69
Aš-širbinii: binary nature of time 203n; tense view of verb 41
Asmi, M., functions of QAD 76
aspect-tense continuum 24, 40–42, 152–54
ATM (aspect, tense, modality) system: as basis of Arabic verbal system 1–2; co-occurrence between categories 179–83; derivation of categories 150–52; and perfect 64–68; QAD as category 96–102; why questions 180–83; yes/no questions 180–83
auxiliaries: as aspectual elements 209; compound tenses 158–59; functions with imperfect 136–37
Bahloul, R., agreement morphology 30–31
Beeston, A.F.L., aspectual nature of verb 39
Benhamoun, E.: anteriority-simultaneity opposition 42; generation of mood and negation 151; morphological realization of tense 30–31; tense view of verb 41; vocalic melody 203n
Blachère, R.: temporal functions of QAD 73–74; understanding of verb 39
Bouscaren, J., eventive value of imperfect 107
categories, not discrete 21–23
Chinese language, verbal particles 206–07n
Chomsky, N., analysis of verbal categories 14–16
Chuquet, J., eventive value of imperfect 107
clauses: derivation 20; and modality 169–70; structure 186
Cohen, M., contextual determination of tense 39
complementizer phrase (CP) 16
compound perfect 45
Comrie, B., combined tense/aspect system 41–42
conditional constructions 56–57; of perfect 69–70
contextual variation 26; of perfect 68
continuum: aspect-tense 24, 40–42, 152–54; and modality 23–25
copula: and modality 176–79; obligatory presence 167–69, 173–76
cross-categoriality 21–23
Culholi, A.: analysis of verbal categories 10–12; clausal derivation 20
Dahl, O.: functions of QAD 76; universal nature of ATM 201n
dimensionalization: of imperfect 134; of perfect 68, 69–70
Diver, W.: QAD and emphatic hypothesis 76
emphatic hypothesis 207n; and QAD 75–77
Empty Category Principle 154
enunciation, and verbal event 53–55
enunciative operation 20
Enunciative Operations, Theory of 11–12
enunciator, relation to content 18–19
Er-Rayyan, M.R.: agreement morphology 30–31; functions of QAD 74, 75
FA, and QAD 91–92
Fehri, Fassi: combined tense/aspect system 42; tense morphemes 31
Fillmore, C.: analysis of verbal categories 8–10, 201n, 210n
Fischer, W.: aspeetual nature of verb 39–40; combined tense/aspect system 42
Fleisch, H., aspeetual nature of verb 39
Fleischman, S., accelerative function of historical present 131
Frudkin, R.A.: functions of QAD 74–75
fundamental value (valeur fondamentale) 26
futurity, and imperfect 113–21
Gaudfroye, D.: temporal functions of QAD 73–74; understanding of verb 39
Government and Binding Theory 14–16
Guillaume, G., values 25–26
Hassaan, T., QAD and emphatic hypothesis 76
Hassan, M.H., functions of QAD 74, 75, 76–77
Haya language 49–50
hierarchies 27, 63
Hornstein, N., Neo-Reichenbachen theory of tense 208n
hypothetical mode 60, 69
Ibn-Hishaam, A.J.: functions of QAD 73–74; QAD and emphatic hypothesis 75
imperfect: anaphoric value 106; anteriority 134; within ATM system 135–37; characterizing grammatical subject 111–12; dimensionalization 134; evasive value 107, 134; frequency of use 140–47; function of auxiliaries 136–37; function of modals 136; and future time 121–25, 135; futurity and modality 113–21; gnomic interpretation 108–13, 134–35; ‘good wishes’ construction 122; independent of point of view 110–12; and modal particles sawfa/sa 113–21; and modal QAD 124–25; and negation 137–40; and past time 126–31, 135; present time reference 104–08; relationship to perfect 140–47, 185–86; simultaneity 134; and temporal relations 104; temporality 131–32, 147–48; as unmarked 134, 146; variation and invariance 132–35
imperfect paradigm: medial vowel 36; prefix and first vowel 35; prefix and last vowel 36–37
indefinite conditionals 61
INFL constituent 14–18
inflection phrase (IP) 16–18
Internal Subject Hypothesis 15
invariance: and imperfect 132–35; and modality 25–26; and perfect 68–70; and QAD 85–89, 101–02
irreals mode 60
Jakobsen, R., taxi 204n
Jusmanov, N., semitic verb as tenseless 38
Kharkovsky, V.S., tense view of verb 41
Koopman, H., Internal Subject Hypothesis 15
Kurylowicz, J., anteriority-simultaneity opposition 42
INDEX

LA, and QAD 87–89, 93–94
Laka, I, Sigma Phrase 165–66
language: acts 107; coherence 26;
function of 10; subjectivity 21;
thories of 7
lexis: binary division of clausal structure
18; in Culioli’s theory 10–12
locatives, in Fillmore’s theory 9–10

McCarus, E., aspectual nature of verb 39
markedness: in classification 5, 62; and
contextual variants 26, 63–64; perfect
and imperfect 146; and QAD 86–87
markedness, and modality 26–27
Messaoudi, L.: combined tense/aspect
system 42; functions of QAD 76
metalanguage, in linguistics 23

Metaoperational Grammar

Theory 12–13
methodology: background assumptions
3–4; described 2–3; flaws in earlier
studies 1; structure of research 4–6
modal particles: functions 118–20; and
imperfect 113–21, 136
modality: analysis of 151; appreciative
20; assertive 19; and clausal structure
186; combined with aspect 63;
combined with temporality 63; and
continuum 23–25; and copula 176–79;
in Culioli’s theory 10–12; in
enunciative framework 19; epistemic
19–20; in Fillmore’s theory 8–10; and
imperfect 113–21; and invariance
25–26; in linguistics 10; and
markedness 26–27; and nominal
classes 169–70; not static 18;
properties 170–71; radical/deontic 20;
sentential 20–21; subjectivity 21;
taking a stand 18; types I-IV 19–20;
verb movement 171–73; and verbal
categories 18–27; verbal root 150
modalization see modality
mood phrases 177–79
morphemes: affixal 153–54; agreement
34, 36, 37; aspect-tense 30–31;
bound 160, 172; free 160; identifying
verbal 29–31; modality 150;
taxis–aspect 161
morphology: agreement 30–31, 36, 37,
150; approaches to 29; of imperfect
35; of perfect 34; taxis–aspect 150,
153, 158; tense 158

newspapers, use of perfect 45–46
nominal clauses, and modality 169–70
non-stative verbs 52–53
nonlexical categories 18

operation: enunciative 20; predicative
operation 20
Ouhalla, J., clausal strata 16

paradigms: imperfect 35–37; perfect
31–34
particles: emphatic 87–89, 165; negative
138–40, 163–64
passive constructions, first vowel 32–33
passivization 32–33
past participle 205n
perfect 31; anteriority 68–69; aspect
and modal meanings 63; within ATM
system 64–68; basic meaning 68;
conditional constructions 69–70;
construction 45; contextual variants
68; dimensionalization 68, 69–70;
equivalence to present tense 59;
expression of timelessness 58;
frequency of use 140–47; frequentive
use 59; future time interpretation
59–62, 63; gnomic interpretation
57–59, 63; ‘good wishes’ cases 70;
hierarchization 63; hypothetical mode
69; interaction with QAD 77; and the
invariant 68–70; not temporally
restricted 62; past time reference
47–51; present time interpretation
51–57, 63; relationship to imperfect
140–47, 185–86; temporality 147–48;
use in newspaper reports 45–46
perfect paradigm 31–34: first vowel
32–33; second vowel 33–34; third
vowel 34

Phrases, Theory of 12–13
pluperfect 50–51
predicative operation 20
principles and parameters approach to
verbal categories 14–16; 149
proposition: in Culioli’s theory 11; in
Fillmore’s theory 8–9
psychology, of understanding of verb 39

QAD: within ‘as for’ construction 83; in
assertive contexts 98–99; and assertive
particle LA 93–94; as assertorial
101–02, 186; as ATM category 96–102;
QAD (Continued)
in complement clauses 82–83; and coordinator FA 91–92; and coordinator WA 89–91; disallowed usage 207n; in emphatic contexts 83–85; and emphatic hypothesis 75–77; and emphatic particles 87–89; and FA 91–92; frequency of use 80–82, 85; and imperfect 124–25; inside the verbal complex 81–82; interaction with perfect 77; and invariance 101–02; invariant function 85–89; versus LA 87–89; and markedness 86–87; in non-initial position 80–81; with no preceding particles 94–95; versus Ø (unmarked member) 86–87; polysemy 208n; in sentence initial position 78–80; syntactic behavior 162–66; syntactic distribution 78–85; and temporal hypothesis 73–74; usage triggers 97; used with yabduu 207n; and WA 89–91
relationships, oppositional 27
Relativized Minimality 154
Ryding, K., functions of QAD 77
Sayed, H.Z., functions of QAD 74
Schulz, E., anteriority-simultaneity opposition 42
sentence structure, and verbal categories 8–18
sentences, hierarchical structure 13
Shlonsky, U., clausal strata 16
Sibawayhi, A.B.Q.: cautious use of tense categories 40–41; QAD and emphatic hypothesis 75–76; three way distinction 45; verbal categories 201n
Sigma Phrase 165
simple perfect 45
Sportiche, D., Internal Subject Hypothesis 15
stative verbs 52–53
subjectivity, of modality 21
suffixed form see perfect
Swahili 161–62
Talmoudi, F., functions of QAD 76
taxi–aspect: structure 152–54; and tense 152–54; tense and compound tenses 157–66; tense and conditionals 156–57; tense and negation 154–56
temporal adverbs 118
temporal hypothesis, and QAD 73–74
theories: enunciation 201–02n; of Enunciative Operations 10–12; Government and Binding 14–16; of language 7; Metaoperational Grammar Theory 12; of Phases 12; X’ 202n
thinking, role of verbal categories 7
Tritton, A.S., semitic verb as tenseless 38–39
use value 26
utterances, binary structure 11–12
valeurs d’emploi 26
variation, contextual 26, 63–64
verb classification 52–53
verbal categories: Adamczewski’s analysis 12–13; aspect view 38–40; binary system 203n; combined tense/aspect system 41–42; critique of semantic theories 44; Culioli’s analysis 10–12; Fillmore’s analysis 8–10; Government and Binding Theory 14–16; implications of 7; and modality 18–27; neither tense nor aspect 42; perfect 31; Principles and Parameters approach 14–16; in semantic interpretation 7; and sentence structure 8–18; tense view 40–41
verbal event, and enunciation 53–55
verbal morphemes, identifying 29–31
verbal phrase (VP) 16
verbal root: appropriation 203n; and modality 150
verbs: importance in study of Arabic 1; movement into modality 171–73; stative and non-stative 52–53
WA, and QAD 89–91
wallaahi 207n
Waugh, L.R. 27; passé composé 205n; perfective past 205n
Wright, W.: functions of QAD 75; states of the verb 38
X’ template 14, 17
X’ theory 202n