

# Conditional sentences in Modern Standard Arabic and the Taif Dialect

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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March, 2014

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# Abstract

The objective of this thesis is to provide a description and analysis for conditional sentences and relative clauses that express conditional meanings in *Modern Standard Arabic* and the *Taif Dialect*. It argues that the conditional sentence that is introduced by the conjunction *ʔin* in *Modern Standard Arabic* is always a *real conditional*, whereas the conditional sentence that is introduced by the conjunction *law* is an *unreal conditional*. In addition, the thesis suggests that the apodosis in *the Taif Dialect* plays a main role in identifying the type of conditional. In this case, if the apodosis contains *kān* or *yikūn*, the conditional is *unreal*. Otherwise, the conditional sentence is *real*. Also, the thesis argues that the conditional sentence is a complex sentence that has two clauses, a subordinate clause and matrix clause. The subordinate clause is introduced by the conditional conjunction and expresses the condition while the matrix clause gives the result. The subordinate or the protasis is analysed as an adjunct in this thesis and the thesis provides evidence for the adjunct analysis.

Also, the thesis discusses relative clauses that express conditional meaning in both *Modern Standard Arabic* and *the Taif Dialect*. There are three types of relative clauses that can express conditional meaning, namely, a restrictive relative clause, headless relative clause and free relative clause. In the restrictive relative clause, the relative clause is introduced by the relative pronoun *alladī* in *Modern Standard Arabic* and *allī* in *the Taif Dialect*. The head noun and the relative clause provides the condition while the main clause gives the result. Similarly, the relative clause is introduced by the same relative pronouns in the headless relative clause in both dialects and expresses the condition and the main clause the result. Also, the free relative clause gives the condition and the main clause the result. However, there are two types of free relative clauses that express conditional meanings. In the first type, the free relative clause functions as an argument, whereas it functions as an adjunct in the second type. The conditional sentence and the relative clause construction will be analysed within *the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar* in this thesis.

Conditional constructions in *Modern Standard Arabic* are briefly discussed in the literature while conditional constructions in *the Taif Dialect* has not been studied before.



# Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude and thanks to a number of people who have been helpful and kind enough so that this work is finally accomplished. First, I am very grateful to Professor Louisa Sadler, my dissertation supervisor, for her valuable comments, support, patience and above all her constant help during all stages of this study. It would have been impossible to accomplish this piece of work without her help. Also, I am very grateful to Dr Enam Al-Wer for her help and support. I would also thank Dr Mike Jones and Prof Bruce Ingham for examining this thesis. I am also very grateful to all my family members (and especially my mother) for their love and kind support. Your help has meant a lot to me. I would also like to thank the staff and members in the department of Language and Linguistics at Essex university for their help and support. Last, but by no means least, I would like to thank the university of Salman bin Abdalaziz for the scholarship.



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# List of Abbreviations

1 = First Person  
2 = Second Person  
3 = Third Person  
ACC = Accusative  
CA = Classical Arabic  
DEF = Definite  
DU = Dual  
F = Feminine  
FUT = Future  
GEN = Genitive  
IMP = Imperative  
INDF = Indefinite  
IPFV = Imperfective  
LFG = Lexical Functional Grammar  
M = Masculine  
MAR = Mark  
MSA = Modern Standard Arabic  
NEG = Negation  
NOM = Nominative  
OBJ = Object  
PASS = Passive  
PFV = Perfective  
PL = Plural  
PRS = Present  
Q = Question Particle  
REL = Relative  
SUBJ = Subject  
SBJV = Subjunctive  
SG = Singular  
TD = Taif Dialect



# List of Transliteration Symbols

	ARABIC LATTER	SYMBOL
1.	Bah	b
2.	Tah	t
3.	Thah	<u>t</u>
4.	Geem	ġ
5.	Hhah	ḥ
6.	Khah	ḫ
7.	Dal	d
8.	Dhal	<u>d</u>
9.	Rah	r
10.	Zay	z
11.	Seen	s
12.	Sheen	š
13.	Ssad	ṣ
14.	Ddad	<u>d</u>
15.	Ttah	<u>t</u>
16.	Tthah	<u>z</u>
17.	Ayn	ʿ
18.	Ghain	ġ
19.	Fah	f
20.	Qaf	q
21.	Kaf	k
22.	Lam	l
23.	Meem	m
24.	Noon	n
25.	Hah	h
26.	Waw	w
27.	Yah	y
28.	Hamza	ʔ
29.	Long V	ā, ū, ī
30.	Short V	a, u, i



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to describe and provide an analysis of some structures used to express types of conditional meaning in *Modern Standard Arabic* (MSA) and *the Taif Dialect* (TD). It is assumed that conditional meanings in both dialects can be expressed by two constructions. The first is introduced by conditional conjunctions and the second is a relative clause construction. As for the first construction, this study will focus on two conditional conjunctions, namely, *ʔin* and *law* in both dialects because the two conjunctions are the basic conditional conjunctions in MSA and the only conditional conjunctions in TD.

The thesis follows researchers such as Jarvis (1971), Palmer (1974), Sweet (1898) and others in classifying conditionals into two groups. The first group will be called *real conditionals* and includes all conditional sentences that are expressed by a speaker who has no knowledge about the fulfilment of the condition and does not make any prediction about this fulfilment. In contrast, the second group will be called *unreal conditionals* and will include all conditionals that are expressed by a speaker who has a negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition. The English examples in (1) are *real conditionals* while the ones in (2) are *unreal conditionals*:

(1) a. If he was **in** jail yesterday, he had a bad time. **Past**

b. If he is **in** jail now, he is having a bad time. **Present**

c. If he is **in** jail tomorrow, he will have a bad time. **Future**

(2) a. If he had been **in** jail yesterday, he would have had a bad time. **Past**

b. If he were **in** jail now, he would be having a bad time. **Present**

c. If he were **in** jail tomorrow, he would have a bad time. **Future**

This study will analyse conditional sentences within *the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar*. The conditional sentence in MSA and TD will be analysed as a sentence that contains two clauses, namely, a subordinate clause which expresses the condition and a matrix clause which expresses the result. The subordinate clause or the protasis will be analysed as an adjunct and the thesis will provide some evidence supporting this analysis. The rules that license conditional sentences in TD will be proposed and the c-structure and f-structure for the conditional sentence in TD will be given.

As for the second construction, it will be assumed that there are three types of relative clauses in MSA and TD that can express conditional meanings, namely, *a restrictive, headless and free relative clause*. The thesis will focus on relative clauses that are introduced by the relative pronoun *alladī* in MSA and *allī* in TD and will assume that they express *real conditional* meaning. Also, it will discuss *ever* relative clauses that express conditional meaning in TD. The relative constructions that express conditional meaning contain two clauses. In this case, the relative clause can function as an argument in some construction and as an adjunct in others. The thesis will choose one construction, namely, the one that has a relative clause functioning as an argument and it will provide the c-structure and f-structure of this construction.

This thesis contains seven chapters. It is organised as follows: the first chapter is an introduction and the last chapter is a conclusion. The second chapter explains some syntactic issues that are relevant to the discussion of conditional sentences and relative clauses in the following chapters. In particular, this chapter is divided into two parts. The first

part will discuss two issues in MSA. The first issue is the structure of MSA. The discussion of the structure of MSA will focus on the VSO and SVO orders and it will argue against analysing the subject in SVO order as a topic. The second issue in MSA is the tense and aspect. The chapter will explain the possible types of tense and aspect in MSA. It will argue that there are four types of past in MSA and two types of future. Also, the regular types of aspect that are progressive and habitual will be explained in MSA. The second part will highlight the same issues in TD. It will discuss the structure of TD and it will argue that the possible word orders in TD are VSO and SVO. Also, the subject in SVO order will not be analysed as a topic. The tense and aspect in TD will be explained in more detail.

The third chapter serves as a background chapter for the fourth and fifth chapter. It is divided into three parts: the first part provides an overview of conditional sentences. It defines the conditional sentence and discusses the role of the conditional conjunction in conditional sentences. Also, it explains the conditional meanings which are *real* and *unreal* and it discusses the relation between the two clauses in conditional sentences. The second part presents an overview of relative clauses and *ever conditionals* in the English language. It discusses the types of relative clauses in general and the conditional meanings that may be expressed by relative constructions. The third part provides an overview of Arabic studies of conditionals.

The fourth chapter describes conditional sentences in MSA and TD. It is divided into two parts: the first part is devoted to conditional sentences in MSA. It explains the types of sentences that are used in the protasis and apodosis with both conditional conjunctions in MSA. Also, it discusses the verb forms that are used in both clauses and the conditional meanings that are expressed by these verb forms. The second part is devoted to TD. It explains the types of sentences that are used in the protasis and apodosis with both conditional conjunctions. Also, it discusses the verb forms and conditional meanings in TD.

The fifth chapter will discuss relative clauses that express conditional meanings in MSA and TD. It will explain the types of relative clauses that are introduced by the relative pronoun *alladī* in MSA and *allī* in TD and discuss the conditional meanings that are expressed

by both constructions. Also, this chapter will discuss *ever* conditionals in TD.

The sixth chapter is devoted to the analysis of conditional sentences and relative clauses. It starts with providing an overview of the LFG framework which is used for analysing conditionals and relative clauses in this thesis. In addition, this chapter discusses the possible analyses for conditional sentences and it argues that the conditional sentence should be analysed as a complex sentence that has two clauses: the protasis and the apodosis. The protasis should be analysed as an adjunct in this case. The chapter provides some evidence that support analysing the protasis as an adjunct. Then, this chapter will suggest the rules that license conditional sentences in TD and provide the c-structure and f-structure. Also, this chapter will discuss the rules that license the relative clauses in TD and provide the c-structure and f-structure of the relative clause construction that expresses conditional meaning.



# Chapter 2

## General Characteristics of MSA and TD

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter will mainly present some syntactic issues in MSA and TD. These issues are relevant to the discussion in the following chapters in this thesis. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to MSA and it addresses two topics, namely, the structure of sentences and tense and aspect in MSA. This section will focus on the VSO and SVO order in MSA and argue against analysing the subject in the SVO order as a topic. The possible types of tense and aspect in MSA will be briefly discussed and the chapter will argue that there are four types of past tense in MSA and two types of future. Also, progressive and habitual aspect in MSA will be described.

The second part will discuss the same issues in TD in more detail. It will discuss the structure of TD which is different from MSA. It will propose that the only possible word orders in TD are VSO and SVO. Like MSA, the subject in the SVO order will not be analysed as a topic. Next, the possible types of tense and aspect in TD will be discussed.

## 2.2 The structure in MSA

The structure of the sentence in MSA and TD is very important for the discussion of conditional sentences and relative clauses that express conditional meanings. This section will discuss the structure of MSA and it is divided into three subsections. The first subsection will explain the possible word orders in MSA and focus on the most important orders which are VSO versus SVO. The second subsection will discuss the possible analyses for the preverbal NP in the SVO order. It will follow Fassi Fehri (1993) in assuming that the preverbal NP is ambiguous between two functions when it is definite. The preverbal NP can be a subject or topic when it is definite. However, when the preverbal NP is indefinite, it must be analysed as a subject. Analysing the preverbal NP as a subject will make a problem in explaining the asymmetry in agreement between the two word orders because the verb agrees in person, gender and number with the preverbal subject, but it only agrees in person and gender with the postverbal subject. The third subsection will discuss the asymmetry in the agreement between the two orders.

### 2.2.1 Word order

The word order in MSA is free and it can exhibit all the possible word orders. However, some authors such as Mohammad (1985), Fassi Fehri (1993) and Ouhalla (1994) argue that the basic word orders in MSA are VSO and SVO. This is because the two orders are the predominant word orders in MSA. Also, the two word orders received most of the attention in the literature because of the debate in the principle and parameters framework about the positions that genuine subjects can occupy.

In the principle and parameters framework, there are two analyses for the two orders in MSA (see Aoun et al. (2010)). The first assumes that there are two positions that can be occupied by genuine subjects within the clause. It is assumed that the SVO is derived from the VSO, whereby the subject is originated in the specifier position of the VP in both orders. In the VSO order, the subject remains in-situ while it raises to the specifier of the IP in the SVO order. In both orders, the verb raises to the I position (for more information about

this type of movements, see Kuroda (1968), Koopman and Sportiche (1991) and Kitagawa (1994)).

The second assumes that the only genuine subject occurs in the VSO order and it occupies the specifier position of the VP. In this case, the preverbal subject is not a genuine subject, rather it is a topic that is related to a resumptive pronoun. In this analysis, it is argued that the agreement between the verb and the subject in number when the subject precedes the verb is evidence that the subject is a topic. The next section will discuss the analysis of Fassi Fehri (1993) for the preverbal NP which is believed to be the right analysis in this section.

### 2.2.2 Subject VS. Topic

The two analyses in the previous section mean that the preverbal NP can be analysed as a subject or topic. This section follows Fassi Fehri (1993) in assuming that the two analyses are possible. Specifically, the preverbal NP can be a topic or subject when it is definite. On the other hand, when the preverbal NP is indefinite, it must be a subject.

Fassi Fehri (1993) believes that when the preverbal NP is definite, the sentence is ambiguous between two interpretations, namely, the preverbal NP can be a subject or topic. The following sentence is illustrative:

- (3) al-ʔwlad-u            dahabū            ʔilā al-madrasat-i.  
 DEF-children-NOM go.PFV.3PLM to DEF-school-GEN  
 ‘The children, they went to the school/The children went to the school’

Fassi Fehri (1993) argues that sentences such as the sentence in (3) are ambiguous between two meanings. The sentence in (3) can mean that *the children, they went to the school* or *the children went to the school*. In the first meaning, *the children* is a topic and the subject is the pronoun *they*<sup>1</sup>. In contrast, *the children* in the second meaning is the

<sup>1</sup>The long vowel *ū* which suffixed at the end of the verb *dahab* is analysed as a pronoun and it is the subject in this case.

subject (see Fassi Fehri (1993)).

On the other hand, the preverbal NP can be analysed as a topic or subject without ambiguity. If the preverbal NP has a nominative case and it is not the subject, it is a topic.

The following example illustrates:

- (4) al-ʔwlad-u,                    qābal-tu-hum.  
 DEF-children-NOM meet.PFV-1SGM.SUBJ-3PLM.OBJ  
 ‘The children, I met them’

In example (4), *the children* is a topic and it is linked to the predicate by anaphorically binding its argument. *The children* is the antecedent of the pronoun *hum* which functions as the object of the verb *qābal* ‘met’.

In contrast, if the preverbal NP is indefinite, it must be analysed as a subject and can never have the status of a topic. The following examples which are quoted from Fassi Fehri (1993, 28) have two preverbal NPs and both are indefinite<sup>2</sup>:

- (5) a. ‘baqarat-un            takallamat’.  
 INDF-cow-NOM talk.PFV.3SGF  
 ‘A cow has spoken’
- b. ‘jāsus-un            ʔaqbala            ‘alay-nā’.  
 INDF-spy-NOM appear.PFV.3SGM on-1PL  
 ‘A spy has appeared to us’

The preverbal NPs in (5a) and (5b) are indefinite and they function as subjects in both sentences which are grammatical. This is strong evidence against the position that all preverbal NPs are topics and not subjects. The topic is usually old information and the hearer has knowledge about it. The topic is defined as *the thing that the sentence is about*. In this

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<sup>2</sup>The hearer must benefit from the sentence that has an indefinite preverbal subject and that is why Fassi Fehri (1993) uses sentences such as these sentences. It is very strange that *a cow talked* and *a spy appeared to us*.

connection, Kroeger (2004, 134) states that ‘in order to say something about a particular entity, the speaker must assume that the hearer can identify that entity’. In the case of MSA, when the subject that appears before the verb is indefinite noun, it is a new information and the hearer has no knowledge about it. Also, the speaker assumes that the hearer cannot identify it.

Also, Fassi Fehri (1993, 28) states that ‘Arabic topics are necessarily definite, whereas preverbal subjects can be indefinite’. This claim means that the preverbal NP in (3) is ambiguous between topic and subject because it is definite and both topic and subject can be definite. In contrast, the preverbal NPs in (5a) and (5b) are only subjects because they are indefinite and topics in MSA cannot be indefinite.

One evidence in support of claiming that topics in MSA cannot be indefinite is the ungrammaticality of the following example which is quoted from Fassi Fehri (1993, 29). The preverbal NP in this example is a topic but it is indefinite and this makes the sentence ungrammatical:

- (6) \**baqarat-un dabah-tu-ha*.  
 INDF.cow-NOM cut.throat.PFV-1SG.NOM-3SGF.ACC  
 ‘\*A cow, I cut its throat’

The preverbal NP *baqarat-un* ‘a cow’ is a topic and it is the antecedent of the pronoun *ha* ‘it’ which functions as an object. However, the sentence is not grammatical because the topic is not definite. In this connection, Fassi Fehri (1993, 29) claims that ‘the antecedent of a resumptive pronoun has to be referentially strong’. He believes that this condition can give an interpretation for the ungrammaticality of example (6) above in the sense that indefinite nouns are not referentially strong. Also, this condition supports analysing the preverbal NP in example (5a) as a subject and the agreement on the verb as an agreement and not resumptive pronoun because the antecedent of a resumptive pronoun must be referentially strong.

Also, preverbal subjects differ from topics in their structural properties. Fassi Fehri (1993) states that subjects are different from topics in that subjects are in the domain of IP, whereas topics are outside this domain. There are some tests that can support this claim. One of these tests is negation. Fassi Fehri (1993) argues that negation in MSA selects an IP. In the IP, the verb may be initial or a subject or object may be fronted. The following examples which are quoted from Fassi Fehri (1993, 30, 31) are illustrative:

- (7) a. ‘mā ʔaḥad-un fa<sup>c</sup>ala hādā’.  
 NEG INDF.one-NOM do.PFV.3SGM this  
 ‘(It is) no one (that) did this’
- b. ‘mā baqarat-an šāhadd-tu’.  
 NEG INDF.cow-ACC see.PFV-1SG  
 ‘(It is) not a cow (that) I saw’

The preverbal NP *ʔaḥad-un* ‘one’ that follows the negative particle in example (7a) is the subject while the NP *baqarat-an* ‘a cow’ that follows the negative particle in (7b) is the object of the verb. Both examples are grammatical because the negative particle in each sentence precedes an IP. In contrast, topics cannot occur in a negative phrase. Therefore, the following sentence which is quoted from Fassi Fehri (1993, 31) is not grammatical:

- (8) \*mā zayd-un raʔay-tu-hu.  
 NEG Zayd-NOM see.PFV-1SG.NOM-3SGM.ACC  
 ‘\*(It is) not Zayd (that) I saw him’

Also, a question marker can precede a sentence that has a fronted subject or object, but it cannot precede a topic, as shown in the following examples which are quoted from Fassi Fehri (1993, 31):

- (9) a. ‘ʔa zayd-un qāla hādā?’  
 Q Zayd-NOM say.PFV.3SGM this  
 ‘(Is it) Zayd (who) said this’
- b. ‘ʔa zayd-an raʔay-ta?’  
 Q Zayd-ACC see.PFV-2SGM  
 ‘(Is it) Zayd (that) you saw’
- c. ‘\*ʔa zayd-un raʔay-ta-hu?’  
 Q Zayd-NOM see.PFV-2SGM.NOM-3SGM.ACC  
 ‘\*(Is it) Zayd (that) you saw him?’

The crucial problem in assuming that the preverbal NP can be analysed as a subject is that the agreement between the verb and its preverbal subject is full while it between the verb and its postverbal subject is partial. This asymmetry between the two orders is illustrated in the following examples:

- (10) a. baqar-un takallam-ū. **SV**  
 INDF.cow.3PLM-NOM talk.PFV-3PLM  
 ‘Cows talked’
- b. takallama baqar-un. **VS**  
 talk.PFV.3M INDF.cow.3PLM-NOM  
 ‘Cows talked’

The verb *takallam-ū* ‘talked’ in example (10a) agrees with the preverbal subject (it must be analysed as a subject because it is indefinite) in person, gender and number. By contrast, the same verb in example (10b) agrees with the postverbal subject in person and gender only. The following section will discuss this asymmetry in agreement between the two orders.

### 2.2.3 Asymmetry in the agreement

Researchers who analyse the preverbal NP as a topic use the asymmetry in agreement between the verb and the subject in the two orders VSO and SVO as evidence supporting their analysis (see Soltan (2007) and Aoun et al. (2010)). This section will discuss some solutions made by researchers who do not adopt the topic view for this asymmetry. In the VS(O), the verb agrees with the subject in person and gender, but not in number. In contrast, the agreement between the preverbal subject and the verb in SV(O) order is full agreement. The following repeated examples below show this asymmetry between the two structures:

- (11) a. baqar-un                      takallam-ū.      **SV**  
           INDF.cow.3PLM-NOM talk.PFV-3PLM  
           ‘Cows talked’
- b. takallama    baqar-un.                      **VS**  
           talk.PFV.3M INDF.cow.3PLM-NOM  
           ‘Cows talked’

In the *Government Binding framework*, it is assumed that the agreement between the subject and verb is the result of a configurational relation between a head and specifier. Within this framework, there are some analyses for the asymmetry in the agreement in MSA. One analysis is the *null expletive analysis* which is proposed by Mohammad (1990, 2000), Ouhalla (1994) and others. Under this analysis, the full agreement with the preverbal subject is the result of the relationship between the head I which is occupied by the verb and its specifier which is occupied by the lexical subject which is not a topic. In contrast, the partial agreement between the verb and the postverbal subject is also the result of the relationship between the head and the specifier, however, the specifier in this case is occupied by a *null expletive*.

Aoun et al. (1994) propose a similar analysis for the asymmetry in agreement in MSA. This analysis is called *agreement loss* and it assumes that the agreement between the head which contains the verb and the specifier which contains the subject occurs. However, the



verb in VSO order raises from I to a head called F in this analysis and because of this raising the agreement between the verb and the subject is lost.

It is clear that the two analyses which are proposed within *the government Binding Framework* are not acceptable in other frameworks, specially nontransformational theories. In addition, *the agreement loss analysis* seems inappropriate and there is no evidence supporting it. Also, the *null expletive analysis* has some problems, namely, it does not account for the agreement between the verb and the postverbal in gender. The following sentences are illustrative:

- (12) a. ya-dhabu            al-ṭullāb-u                            ʔilā al-madrasat-i    kull-a  
           3SGM-go.IPFV DEF-student.3PLM-NOM to    DEF-school-GEN every-ACC  
           yawm-in.  
           day-GEN  
           ‘The students go to the school every day’

- b. ta-dhabu            al-ṭālibāt-u                            ʔilā al-madrasat-i    kull-a  
           3SGF-go.IPFV DEF-children.3PLF-NOM to    DEF-school-GEN every-ACC  
           yawm-in.  
           day-GEN  
           ‘The students go to the school every day’

In (12a), the postverbal subject is third person masculine and plural and the verb agrees with it in person and gender only. By contrast, the postverbal subject in example (12b) is third person, feminine and plural. The verb also agrees with the subject in gender and person. If the *null expletive analysis* is the right analysis, both verbs should agree with the null expletive which is third person and masculine in MSA (see Soltan (2007)).

In addition, there is an analysis for the asymmetry in the agreement between the two word orders SVO and VSO in traditional grammar. Traditional grammarians analyse the postverbal NP in VSO order as a subject. However, some of them always analyse the preverbal NP in SVO order as a *mubtada*<sup>3</sup> and they believe that the subject is an incorporated

<sup>3</sup>It seems that the *mubtada* is not a topic. This thesis assumes that the *mubtada* is a category that is created by traditional grammarians to solve the asymmetry in agreement between the two

pronominal which is cliticized onto the verb. Therefore, in SVO order, they assume that the morphological agreement between the verb and the subject is the real subject in this order.

This analysis has some problems. One of them is that it analyses the agreement between the verb and the subject in SVO as a pronoun, however, the agreement between the verb and the postverbal subject in VSO order is analysed as an agreement because the verb does not agree with the subject in number. Also, Benmamoun (2000) argues that this analysis faces a problem in the constructions that contain auxiliaries. In this case, both the auxiliary and the verb will show full agreement which means that there are two incorporated pronominal subjects. The following examples which is quoted from Benmamoun (2000, 126) are illustrative:

- (13) a. ‘kun-na            yaʔkul-na’.  
           be.PFV-3PLF eat.IPFV-3PLF  
           ‘They were eating’
- b. ‘\*kun-at            yaʔkul-na’.  
           be.PFV-3SGF eat.IPFV-3PLF  
           ‘They were eating’

In example (13a), the auxiliary and the verb contain full agreement and the sentence is grammatical. By contrast, example (13b) is not grammatical because the auxiliary does not agree in number. Under the incorporation analysis, example (13a) has two incorporated pronominal subjects and this is not plausible assumption.

Another analysis for the asymmetry in the agreement in MSA is a morphological analysis and it is called *the subject-verb merger analysis*. This analysis is proposed by Benmamoun (2000). Benmamoun (2000) suggests that agreement features are not always realised by agreement affixes. Under this assumption, he states that the number feature in the VSO order in MSA is spelled-out by the lexical subject which merges with the verb. The merger between the subject which is specified for number features and the verb amounts to spelling-out the number features on the verb. It means that the number agreement in MSA can be orders. **The term *mubtada* in traditional grammar is used for topics and subjects that precede verbs.**

spelled-out by two alternative ways. It can be spelled-out as an affix or suffix that is attached to the verb, or periphrastically when the verb is merged with the subject. The first occurs when the subject precedes the verb in MSA while the second occurs when the subject follows the verb.

*The subject-verb merger analysis* has a problem in that some other elements, such as objects, are able to intervene between the verb and the postverbal subject. Benmamoun (2000) tries to solve this problem by assuming that the merger is between the postverbal subject and the copy of the verb when other elements intervene between the verb and the subject. Then, Benmamoun (2000, 132) states that ‘merger with one copy entails merger with all copies’. Obviously, this assumption may be plausible in transformational theories, however, it is not acceptable in nontransformational theories.

To sum up, this thesis agrees with Fassi Fehri (1993) in assuming that the preverbal NP is ambiguous between a topic and subject when it is definite and it is a subject when it is indefinite. The asymmetry in the agreement between the two orders in MSA is problematic. There are some analyses that are proposed for this asymmetry, however, they do not give a real solution for this problem. This thesis follows Benmamoun (2000) in assuming that the verb does not agree with the postverbal subject in number because the subject is specified for number. However, it disagrees that a copy of the verb merges with the subject when some elements intervene between the verb and the subject. In contrast, it argues that the verb in this case optionally agrees with the subject in number. It means that the verb does not always disagree in number with the postverbal subject when the object intervenes between the verb and the postverbal subject (see Alaqili (nd)). Agreement in MSA is complicated and needs further study. The next section will discuss the tense and aspect in MSA.

## 2.3 Tense and Aspect in MSA

This section will describe tense and aspect in MSA. It is divided into three subsections. The first subsection is devoted to the types of past in MSA. It argues that there are four levels of past in MSA and they differ from each other in the degree of remoteness from the speech time. Also, this subsection discusses some types of aspect that are possible with past tense in MSA, such as progressive and habitual. The second subsection explains the present and assumes that there are three types of present, specifically, habitual present, present progressive and present simple. The fourth subsection discusses the future. It argues that there are two levels of future in MSA and they are different in the degree of remoteness from the speech time. Also, this subsection discusses the habitual future and future progressive in MSA.

This section follows Reichenbach (1947) and Michaelis (2006) in assuming that tense does not express the relationship between the time of the utterance and the time of the situation that is described in the utterance. Instead, tense expresses the relationship between the time of the utterance or speech time (S) and reference time (R). Reference time is defined by Klein (1992, 535) as ‘the time for which, on some occasion, a claim is made’. For example, in a sentence like *Mary has moved now*, the claim is made in the present at the time of the speech. However, the event occurred in the past and she is not at her place when the speaker utters the sentence.

Reichenbach (1947) assumes that the meaning of tense can be presented by a sequence of three points of time: event time (E), reference time (R) and speech time (S)<sup>4</sup>. These points are separated by a line or comma. The line indicates that the left hand point precedes the right hand point while the comma means that both points occur at the same time. For example, the previous sentence *Mary has moved now* can be presented as (E - S, R) which means that the event time (E) precedes both the speech time (S) and reference time (R) which are occurred at the same time.

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<sup>4</sup>The three points will show the difference between the use of tense in declarative sentences in this chapter and the use of tense in conditionals in the following chapters.

### 2.3.1 Past Tense

This section assumes that there are four levels of past in MSA. The first level is formed by *kāna* and a verb in the perfective form. In this type of past tense, the occurrence of the event or the situation is far from the speech time. The second level is formed by three words, namely, *kāna*, *qad* and a verb in the perfective form. This level is closer to the speech time. The third level is indicated by a verb in the perfective form and it is closer than the second level to the speech time. Finally, the fourth level is formed by *qad* and a verb in the perfective form. This level is very close to the speech time. Importantly, the order between *kāna*, *qad* and the verb in the perfective form must be preserved. Three levels of these levels of past are suggested by Hassan (1994). Hassan (1994) ignores the past that is indicated by the perfective form only. The following examples illustrate the four levels respectively:

- (14) a. ?muḥmmad-un    kāna            ḍahaba            ?ilā alriyād-i    fī  
 Muhammad-NOM be.PFV.3SGM go.PFV.3SGM to Riyadh-GEN in  
 al-sanat-i            al-māḍiyat-i.  
 DEF-year-GEN DEF-last-GEN  
 ‘Muhammad had gone to Riyadh last year’
- b. ?muḥmmad-un    kāna            qad ḍahaba            ?ilā alriyād-i    qabla  
 Muhammad-NOM be.PFV.3SGM MAR go.PFV.3SGM to Riyadh-GEN before  
 sittat-i    ?ašhur-in.  
 six-GEN month-GEN  
 ‘Muhammad had gone to Riyadh before six month’
- c. muḥmmad-un    ḍahaba            ?ilā alriyād-I    al-šahr-a  
 Muhammad-NOM go.PFV.3SGM to Riyadh-GEN DEF-month-ACC  
 al-māḍiy.  
 DEF-last.GEN  
 ‘Muhammad went to Riyadh in the last month’
- d. muḥmmad-un    qad ḍahaba            ?ilā alriyād-i    ?ams-i.  
 Muhammad-NOM MAR go.PFV.3SGM to Riyadh-GEN yesterday-GEN  
 ‘Muhammad went to Riyadh yesterday’

The types of past tense in (14a) and (14b) are not usually used without another past sentence containing a verb in the past form and the question marks in both examples indicate that they are odd. It means that both forms are used with a sentence that contains a verb in the perfective form and cannot be used with a sentence such as the sentence in example (14d). The following examples illustrate the possible use of the two examples:

- (15) a. muḥammad-un      kāna              ḍahaba              ?ilā alriyāḍ-i      ʿindama  
 Muhammad-NOM be.PFV.3SGM go.PFV.3SGM to Riyadh-GEN when  
 ḡāʿa                      ḥālīd-un.  
 come.PFV.3SGM Khaled-NOM  
 ‘Muhammad had gone to Riyadh when Khaled came’
- b. muḥammad-un      kāna              qad ḍahaba              ?ilā alriyāḍ-i  
 Muhammad-NOM be.PFV.3SGM MAR go.PFV.3SGM to Riyadh-GEN  
 ʿindama ḡāʿa                      ḥālīd-un.  
 when come.PFV.3SGM Khaled-NOM  
 ‘Muhammad had gone to Riyadh when Khaled came’

In example (15a), the matrix clause indicates the past by using *kāna* preceding a verb in the perfective form while the adverbial clause has only the verb in the perfective form. The event in the matrix clause occurred before the event in the adverbial clause. It means that *Muhammad had gone to Riyadh* before the coming of *Khaled*. In this case, the event time (E) and the reference time (R) are identical in the adverbial clause and they precede the speech time (S). This information is represented as (E,R\_S). As for the matrix clause, the event time (E) precedes the reference time (R) and the reference time (R) precedes the speech time (S). This information is represented as (E,R\_S). Importantly, the reference time (R) and the speech time (S) in both clauses are identical. The combination of the matrix clause and the subordinate clause obeys the constraint that is proposed by Hornstein (1990, 44) which states that ‘a sentence that modifies another sentence [must] share its S point and its R point’ (as observed in Michaelis (2006, 6)). Also, according to Hornstein (1990), the linking of the speech time (S) and the reference time (R) preserves the basic tense structure of both the matrix clause and the subordinate clause. The basic tense structure is preserved by two conditions that are proposed by Hornstein (1990, 15) and they are quoted in (16) below:

- (16) a. ‘No points are associated in DTS (derived tense structure) that are not associated in BTS (basic tense structure)’
- b. ‘The linear order of points in DTS is the same as that in BTS’. (as observed in Michaelis (2006, 5))

Obviously, the basic tense structure is preserved in both clauses in example (15a) above.

Also, the event in the matrix clause in example (15b) occurred before the event in the adverbial clause. The R and S in both clauses are identical while the E is different because the event in the matrix clause occurred before the event in the subordinate clause. The basic tense structure of the matrix clause before the combination is (E\_R\_S) and the subordinate clause is (E,R\_S) and both are still the same after the combination.

In addition, the past tense in MSA can be habitual or progressive. Both interpretations are possible from the combination of *kāna* and a verb in the imperfective form. The following sentence can be interpreted as either habitual past or past progressive:

- (17) muḥammad-un      kāna                      yamšī                      fī al-ḥadīqat-i.  
 Muhammad-NOM be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden-GEN  
 ‘Muhammad was walking/ used to walk in the garden’

The following section will explain present tense in MSA.

### 2.3.2 Present Tense

The present tense in MSA is usually indicated by the imperfective form. The imperfective form in MSA is an ambiguous form. It can express all types of present tense in MSA, namely, it can be used to give a right now reading, habitual present and present progressive.

When researchers discuss the present tense, they usually distinguish between two main groups of verbs that are state verbs<sup>5</sup> and dynamic or event verbs<sup>6</sup> (see Comrie (1976), Michaelis (2006), Riemer (2010) and Kearns (2011)). In MSA, the two types of verbs influence the interpretation of the imperfective form. State verbs usually give **the** right now reading. For example, the following verbs which are in the imperfective form have the right now reading only:

- (18) a. *ʿāmir-un yaʿrifu al-muškilat-a al-ʔān-a.*  
 Amir-NOM know.IPFV.3SGM DEF-problem-ACC DEF-now-ACC  
 ‘Amir knows the problem now’
- b. *ḥālid-un yuṣaddiq-u al-ḥabar-a al-ʔān-a.*  
 Khalid-NOM believe.IPFV.3SGM DEF-statement DEF-now-ACC  
 ‘Khalid believes the statement now’

In both examples above, the event time (E), the reference time (R) and the speech time (S) are identical.

In contrast, dynamic verbs in the imperfective form in MSA usually have two possible interpretations and the context or adverbs determine one of them. For example, verbs in the imperfective form such as *yamšī* ‘walk’ or *yaʔkulu* ‘eat’ can have the two interpretations. Therefore, both verbs can be used with adverb like *kull-a yawm-in* ‘every day’ which denotes a habitual interpretation or adverb like *al-ʔān* ‘now’ which denotes a progressive

<sup>5</sup>Also, they are called stative or static verbs. They are verbs like *know, believe, see, hear* etc in the English language and they do not express actions. In addition, these verbs are not usually used in progressive form (e.g. \*I am knowing) nor in the imperative form (e.g. \*know) (Crystal, 2008).

<sup>6</sup>These verbs include activity, process (e.g. change, grow) bodily sensation (e.g. feel, hurt), etc. In contrast to **statives**, They can be used in **the progressive** form or in **the imperative**. (Crystal, 2008).



interpretation. The following sentences indicate the habitual present because of the adverb *kull-a yawm-in* ‘every day’:

- (19) a. <sup>◌</sup>āmīr-un yamšī kull-a yawm-in fī al-ḥadīqt-i.  
 Amir-NOM walk.IPFV.3SGM every-ACC day-GEN in DEF-garden-GEN  
 ‘Amir walks every day in the garden’
- b. ḥālīd-un yaʔkulu kull-a yawm-in fī al-mat<sup>c</sup>am-i.  
 Khalid-NOM eat.IPFV.3SGM every-ACC day-GEN in DEF-restaurant-GEN  
 ‘Khalid eats every day in the restaurant’

Both examples above have a habitual interpretation. In example (19a), the event (Amir walks in the garden) is repeated every day. In the same way, the event in example (19b) is repeated every day. This section follows Michaelis (2006) in assuming that the event time, the reference time and the speech time are identical in the habitual present (E, R, S) in spite of the fact that the event is not ongoing at the speech time. Michaelis (2006) assumes that the present is a state selector and it imposes stative readings on dynamic verbs.

In contrast, the same verbs indicate the present progressive in the following examples because they are used with the adverb *al-ʔān* ‘now’:

- (20) a. <sup>◌</sup>āmīr-un yamšī al-ʔān-a fī al-ḥadīqt-i.  
 Amir-NOM walk.IPFV.3SGM DEF-now-ACC in DEF-garden-GEN  
 ‘Amir is walking now in the garden’
- b. ḥālīd-un yaʔkulu al-ʔān-a fī al-mat<sup>c</sup>am-i.  
 Khalid-NOM eat.IPFV.3SGM DEF-now-ACC in DEF-restaurant-GEN  
 ‘Khalid is eating now in the restaurant’

The events in both examples are ongoing at the speech time. In example (20a) *Amir is walking* at the speech time. Similarly, *Khalid is eating* in example (20b) at the speech time.

In both examples, the event time, the reference time and the speech time are identical (E, R, S).

### 2.3.3 Future

MSA uses the prefix *sa* ‘will’ and the particle *sawfa* ‘will’ for indicating the future. However, they have a different interpretation. *sa* is used for near future while *sawfa* is used for far future. This difference in the degree of remoteness between *sa* ‘will’ and *sawfa* ‘will’ is discussed by traditional grammarians (see, for example, Alansari (ndb), Ebn-yaaysh (nd), Abu-hayyan (nd) and Alsuyawti (nd)). The following examples are illustrative:

- (21) a. *sa-yadhabu*                    *ʔaḥmad-u*    *ʔilā al-madrasat-i*    *ḡad-an.*  
 FUT-go.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM to DEF-school-GEN tomorrow-ACC  
 ‘Ahmad will go to the school tomorrow’
- b. *sawfa yadhabu*                    *ʔaḥmad-u*    *ʔilā al-riyaḍ-i*    *al-sanat-a*  
 FUT go.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM to DEF-Riyadh DEF-year-ACC  
*al-qadimat-a.*  
 DEF-next-ACC  
 ‘Ahmad will go to Riyadh next year’

In both examples above, the event will occur in the future. It means that the event time in both examples is identical to the reference time and both follow the speech time (S, E, R). In addition, the future in (21a) is near from the speech time while the future in (21b) is far from the speech time.

The habitual future can be expressed by a dynamic verb in the imperfective form following *sa* or *sawfa*. The following examples are illustrative:

- (22) a. ʔaḥmad-u sa-yamšī fī al-ḥadiqat-i kull-a  
 Ahmad-NOM FUT-walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden-GEN every-ACC  
 yawm-in.  
 day-GEN  
 ‘Ahmad will walk in the garden every day’
- b. ʔaḥmad-u sawfa yamšī fī al-ḥadiqat-i kull-a  
 Ahmad-NOM FUT walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden-GEN every-ACC  
 yawm-in.  
 day-GEN  
 ‘Ahmad will walk in the garden every day’

In addition, the future progressive is possible in MSA. It is indicated by *sa-yakūnu* or *sawfa yakūnu* preceding a dynamic verb in the imperfective form. The former is closer to the speech time than the latter. The following examples illustrate the future progressive in MSA:

- (23) a. ʔaḥmad-u sa-yakūnu yamšī fī al-ḥadiqat-i  
 Ahmad-NOM FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden-GEN  
 ḡad-an.  
 tomorrow-ACC  
 ‘Ahmad will be walking in the garden tomorrow’
- b. ʔaḥmad-u sawfa yakūnu yamšī fī al-ḥadiqat-i  
 Ahmad-NOM FUT be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden-GEN  
 al-sanat-a al-qādimat-a.  
 DEF-year-ACC DEF-next.ACC  
 ‘Ahmad will be walking in the garden next year’

To sum up, this section has briefly discussed tense and aspect in MSA. It assumes that there are four levels of past tense in MSA. The first level which is far from the speech time is formed by *kāna* preceding a verb in the perfective form. The second level which is closer to the speech time is formed by *kāna* preceding *qad* which precedes a verb in the perfective form. The third level which is closer to the speech time is formed by a verb in the perfective form. The fourth level is the closest one to the speech time and it is formed by *qad* preceding a verb in the perfective form. Also, the past progressive and the habitual past

are possible in MSA by using *kāna* preceding a verb in the imperfective form. In addition, the imperfective form in MSA usually expresses present tense. However, there are more than one possible reading for the present tense in MSA. The imperfective form can denote a right now reading when the verb is a state verb. In contrast, the imperfective form is ambiguous between habitual present and present progressive when the verb is a dynamic verb. In addition, there are two levels of future in MSA. The near future and it is indicated by using the prefix *sa* preceding a verb in the imperfective form and the far future and it is indicated by using *sawfa* preceding a verb in the imperfective form. In addition, the habitual future is indicated by a dynamic verb following *sa* or *sawfa* while the future progressive is indicated by using *sa-yakūn* or *sawfa yakūn* preceding a dynamic verb in the imperfective form. The following table summarises the types of tense and aspect in MSA, whereby past1 is the closest past to the speech time and future1 is the closest future to the speech time.

Tense	Forms	Realization
1. Past1	qad+PFV	qad sāra walked
2. Past2	PFV	sāra walked
3. Past3	kāna+qad+PFV	kāna qad sāra had walked
4. Past4	kāna+PFV	kāna sāra had walked
5. Past progressive	kāna+ IPFV (dynamic)	kāna yasīru was walking
4. Habitual past	kāna+ IPFV (dynamic)	kāna yasīru used to walk
(24) 1. Habitual present	IPFV (dynamic)	yasīru walk
2. Present progressive	IPFV (dynamic)	yasīru is walking
3. Present simple	IPFV (state)	ya <sup>c</sup> rifu know
1. Future1	sa+IPFV	sayasīru will walk
2. Future2	sawfa+IPFV	sawfa yasīru will walk
3. Future progressive	sa/sawfa+yakūnu+IPFV (dynamic)	sayakūnu yasīru will be walking
4. Habitual Future	sa/sawfa+IPFV (dynamic)	sayasīru will walk

The following section will discuss the structure of TD.

## 2.4 The structure in TD

Arabic dialects lost case marking which gives MSA the freedom to have various word orders. Aoun et al. (2010) state that there are three possible word orders in all Arabic dialects, namely, they are SVO, VSO and VOS. They give some examples from *Palestinian, Lebanese and Moroccan Arabic* illustrating the three orders. However, TD only allows two orders, namely, SVO and VSO. The third order that is allowed in the three Arabic dialects is not possible in TD. The following examples which are quoted from Aoun et al. (2010, 47) illustrate the VOS order in *Palestinian* and *Lebanese Arabic*:

- (25) a. ‘qābal                      mona    ʔahmad’. (Palestinian Arabic)  
 meet.PFV.3SGM Mona.F Ahmad.M  
 ‘Ahmad met Mona’
- b. ‘bessit                      ḥalil      maya’. (Lebanese Arabic)  
 kiss.PFV.3SGF Khalil.M Maya.F  
 ‘Maya kissed Khalil’

In both examples above, the order is VOS. In example (25a), the object which is *Mona* follows the verb and precedes the subject which is *Ahmad*. The hearer understands that the subject is *Ahmad* because the verb requires a masculine subject and there are two nouns, one of them is masculine. However, if the two words in this example are masculine, this order will be impossible. The case in example (25b) is the same.

As for TD, the following examples which exhibit VOS order are not grammatical:

- (26) a. \*qābal                      dalal      faris.  
 meet.PFV.3SGM Dalal.F Faris.M  
 ‘Faris met Dalal’
- b. \*kallamt                      sālim      laylā.  
 talk.PFV.3SGF Salim.M Layla.F  
 ‘Maya kissed Khalil’

Like MSA, the preverbal NP can be a topic or a subject in TD when it is definite. The preverbal NP in the following example is ambiguous between the two interpretations:

- (27) al-ṭullāb                      rāḥ-ū                      li-al-madrasah.  
 DEF-student.3PLM go.PFV-3PLM to-DEF-school  
 ‘The student, they went to the school. The student went to the school’

The preverbal NP *al-ṭullāb* ‘*the students*’ can be a topic and the sentence means *the students, they went to the school*. In this case, the topic is linked to the pronoun which is suffixed to the verb and it functions as a subject. In contrast, the preverbal NP can be the subject and the sentence means *the students went to the school*.

On the other hand, the preverbal NP must be the subject when it is indefinite and TD in this case is like MSA. The following examples are illustrative:

- (28) a. bis                      daḥal                      ʿalā al-duḡāḡ                      wa ʔakal  
 INDF.cat.3SGM enter.PFV.3SGM on DEF.chicken and eat.PFV.3SGM  
 ḥamsah duḡāḡāt.  
 five INDF.chicken  
 ‘A cat entered the place of the chickens and it ate five of them’
- b. walad                      yisūq                      traylah quddam al-šurṭah.  
 INDF-child.3SGM drive.IPFV.3SGM truck in.front.of DEF-police  
 ‘A child drives a truck in front of the police’

In both examples (28a) and (28b), the preverbal nouns are indefinite and they must be analysed as subjects because topics in TD are like topics in MSA in that they cannot be indefinite.

In addition, TD is like MSA in that it shows asymmetry in agreement between the two word orders: VSO and SVO. It means that the agreement between the verb and the preverbal subject is full agreement while it is partial agreement between the verb and the

postverbal subject. The following examples are illustrative:

- (29) a. al-ṭullāb                      ḡa-w                      min al-madrasah.  
 DEF-student.3PLM come.PFV-3PLM from DEF-school  
 ‘The student came back from the school’
- b. ḡa                      al-ṭullāb                      min al-madrasah.  
 come.PFV.3M DEF-student.3PLM from DEF-school  
 ‘The student came back from the school’

In example (29a), the verb agrees with the preverbal subject in person, gender and number. However, the verb in (29b) agrees with the postverbal subject in person and gender only.

The best interpretation for this asymmetry in agreement in TD is *the subject-verb merger* which is suggested by Benmamoun (2000) for MSA (it is discussed above in the structure of MSA). This section argues that the reason of partial agreement in the VSO order is that the verb merges with the postverbal subject which is inflected for number. Interestingly, the verb in TD shows full agreement when some elements intervene between it and its postverbal subject. Thus, example (30a) below is grammatical while example (30b) is ungrammatical:

- (30) a. ḡa-w                      min al-madrasah al-ṭullāb.  
 come.PFV-3PLM from DEF-school DEF-student.3PLM  
 ‘The student came back from the school’
- b. \*ḡa                      min al-madrasah al-ṭullāb.  
 come.PFV.3M from DEF-school DEF-student.3PLM  
 ‘The student came back from the school’

Also, some speakers of TD have no asymmetry in agreement. In other words, the verb shows full agreement with both the preverbal and postverbal subject in their dialect. The following section will explain tense and aspect in TD.



## 2.5 Tense and Aspect in TD

This section will discuss tense and aspect in TD in detail. The aim of this discussion is to explain the possible types of tense and aspect in TD. In TD, some type of verbs combine with **lexical** verbs to express various types of tense and aspect. This section will argue that these verbs should be analysed as auxiliaries. This section is divided into four subsections. The first subsection will shed some light on the properties of auxiliaries and it will argue that TD has the auxiliary category. The second subsection will discuss the possible types of tense and aspect that are expressed by the two forms of verbs in TD. The third subsection will explain the possible types of tense and aspect that are expressed by auxiliaries. The fourth subsection will discuss the types of tense and aspect that are expressed by the combination of auxiliaries and **lexical** verbs.

### 2.5.1 Auxiliaries vs. serial verbs

There is a debate in the literature about the existence of the category of auxiliary in Arabic dialects (see Brustad (2000), Eisele (1992), Ingham (1994a), Jelinek (1983a), Jelinek (1983b) and Steele et al. (1981)). Researchers usually distinguish between two ambiguous constructions: a serial verb construction versus an auxiliary construction. Steele (1978) describes the auxiliary as an element that occurs with a **lexical** verb in the same clause and it expresses tense, aspect and mood. However, the auxiliary is separate from the verb.

The auxiliary is different from the **lexical** verb in that it does not function as an independent semantic predicate, it does not select its arguments like normal verbs, it has grammatical semantic content, rather than lexical content, it expresses meaning that is expressed by affixes in other languages, such as tense, aspect, mood etc., it cannot appear as a main verb in a clause because it cannot select arguments and assign semantic roles, the auxiliary is inflected for agreement, tense etc., whereas the verb that follows it usually is not inflected, auxiliaries usually precede main verbs and auxiliaries always have a unique word order. It means that the auxiliary occupies a specific position in the clause and it is usually the second position in languages such as English or Warlpiri (see Hale (1981) and

Kroeger (2004)).

As for a serial verb<sup>7</sup>, Kroeger (2004, 251) defines a serial construction as ‘a single clause that contains two or more verbs, neither of which is an auxiliary’. A serial verb usually has lexical semantic content, assigns semantic roles to its arguments and can function as a main verb. Also, all the verbs in the serial verb construction inflect for agreement, tense etc.

In TD, there are some verbs that can combine with **lexical** verbs to express various types of tense and aspect. There are two different uses for these verbs in TD. In the first use, they are used as **lexical** verbs and they have lexical semantic content in this use. In the second use, they lose their lexical semantic content and combine with **lexical** verbs to express various types of tense and aspect. Importantly, there is no relationship between the two uses in the semantic meaning. These verbs resemble auxiliaries in that they do not function as independent semantic predicates, they do not select their arguments, they have no lexical content when they combine with **lexical** verbs, they express tense and aspect, they do not assign semantic roles and they always precede **lexical** verbs and cannot follow them.

On the other hand, these verbs are unlike auxiliaries and similar to serial verbs in that they are inflected for tense and agreement and **lexical** verbs that follow them are inflected too and they can be separated from **lexical** verbs by the subject of the sentence only.

Based on these properties, this chapter will argue that these verbs are auxiliaries. The facts that these verbs have no lexical semantic content and they express tense and aspect when they combine with verbs suggest this analysis. In addition, there are some active participles that are used like auxiliaries in TD, as will be discussed below. The following section will explain the types of tense and aspect that are expressed by single **lexical** verbs in TD.

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<sup>7</sup>The combination of verbs in TD may be analysed as a serial verb.

## 2.5.2 Verbs

As in MSA, two verb forms are used in declarative sentences in TD and they are perfective and imperfective. The perfective form is usually used with past interpretation while the imperfective form is used with present interpretation. The following examples illustrate the perfective form:

- (31) a. ʔaḥmad ḡaa.  
 Ahmad come.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘Ahmad came’
- b. ʔaḥmad rāḥ.  
 Ahmad leave.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘Ahmad left’

In both examples above, the event occurred in the past and they occupy one point in the past. In this case, the event time (E) and the reference time (R) are identical and they precede the speech time (S), (E, R - S).

In contrast, the imperfective form in TD has more than one interpretation. It can indicate a right now reading if the verb is a state verb. The following examples are illustrative:

- (32) a. sālim yiʿrif kul wāḥid fī al-bayt.  
 Salem know.IPFV.3SGM every one in DEF-house  
 ‘Salem knows every one in the house’
- b. sālim yiṣaddiq kul wāḥid fī al-bayt.  
 Salem believe.IPFV.3SGM every one in DEF-house  
 ‘Salem believes every one in the house’

Both examples above have a right now interpretation. In example (32a), the event time (E), the reference time (R) and the speech time (S) are identical, (E, R, S). It means that *Salem* in this example knows every one in the house at the time of the utterance. In the same way, the event time (E), the reference time (R) and the speech time (S) are identical in example (32b), (E, R, S).

In addition, the dynamic imperfective form in TD is usually ambiguous between two types of aspect, namely progressiveness and habituality. It means that the following sentence has two interpretations that are progressive present or habitual present:

- (33) ʔaḥmad yimšī.  
 Ahmad walk.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘Ahmad walks/ is walking’

This sentence might mean that *Ahmad is walking* at the speech time and this will be present progressive. On the other hand, it might mean that *Ahmad* repeats this action from time to time and this will be habitual present. Therefore, the sentence is grammatical with an adverb like *ḍaḥḥīn* ‘now’ which is used with progressive meaning and it is grammatical with an adverb like *kul yawm* ‘every day’ which is appropriate to habitual meaning, as shown below respectively:

- (34) a. ʔaḥmad yimšī                      ḍaḥḥīn.  
 Ahmad walk.IPFV.3SGM now  
 ‘Ahmad is walking now’
- b. ʔaḥmad yimšī                      kul yawm.  
 Ahmad walk.IPFV.3SGM every day  
 ‘Ahmad walks every day’

The adverb *ḍaḥḥīn* ‘now’ in example (34a) above indicates that the interpretation of the sentence is progressive while the adverb *kul yawm* ‘every day’ in example (34b) indicates that the interpretation of the sentence is habitual.

To sum up, there are two verb forms in TD that are used in declarative sentences, namely, the perfective form and the imperfective form. The perfective form is used to denote the past simple. In contrast, the imperfective form has more than one interpretation. The imperfective form can be used to give a right now reading if the verb is a state verb. Also, the imperfective form can have a present progressive or habitual present interpretation if the verb is dynamic. The following section will discuss the possible types of tense that can be expressed by using *kān* and *yakūn* as main verbs.

### 2.5.3 Auxiliaries

*kān* and *yikūn* in TD have no lexical semantic content and they are used to express tense only. They can be used without or with another verb. This section will discuss the first case.

*kān* in the perfective form is used with a past interpretation in TD. *kān* in this use requires a complement. The complement can be a noun phrase, adjective or prepositional phrase, as shown below respectively:

- (35) a. ḥālid kān mudarris.  
Khaled be.PFV.3SGM INDF.teacher  
'Khaled was a teacher'
- b. ḥālid kān muğtahid.  
Khaled be.PFV.3SGM diligent  
'Khaled was diligent'
- c. ḥālid kān fī al-baīt.  
Khaled be.PFV.3SGM in DEF-house  
'Khaled was in the house'

All these examples denote the past time. For example, *Khaled* in example (35a) was a teacher in the past and he is not a teacher now. Similarly, *Khaled* was diligent in example (35b) and in the house in example (35c). All of these situations held in the past. It means that the event time (E) and the reference time (R) are identical and they precede the speech time (S), (E, R - S).

As for the imperfective form of *kān* which is *yikūn*, it can have two interpretations, namely, it can be used to indicate either the present or future. The context or adverbs usually specify one of the two interpretations. In the following examples, *yikūn* is used with the present adverb *ḍaḥḥīn* 'now' and they are grammatical:

- (36) a. ḥālid yikūn mudarris ḍaḥḥīn.  
Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM INDF.teacher now  
'Khaled is a teacher now'

- b. ḥālid yikūn muḡtahid ḍaḥḥīn.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM diligent now  
 ‘Khaled is diligent now’
- c. ḥālid yikūn fī al-baīt ḍaḥḥīn.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-house now  
 ‘Khaled is in the house now’

The examples above indicate the present tense. They indicate ‘right now’ reading. In example (36a), *Khaled* is a teacher at the time of the utterance. Also, *Khaled* is *diligent* in example (36b) at the time of the utterance. In the same way, *Khaled* is *in the house* in example (36c) at the time of the utterance. Thus, in the three examples the event time (E), the reference time (R) and the speech time (S) are identical, (E, R, S). Importantly, *yikūn* in the above examples can be omitted and the sentences will have the same interpretation.

In addition, *yikūn* can be used with a future adverb like *bukrah* ‘tomorrow’ and the time reference of the sentence will be the future. In TD, the future prefix *bi* ‘will’ which will be discussed later is usually used with imperfective forms to indicate the future. However, *yikūn* is used in the following examples without this prefix:

- (37) a. ḥālid yikūn mudarris bukraḥ.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM INDF.teacher tomorrow  
 ‘Khaled will be a teacher tomorrow’
- b. ḥālid yikūn muḡtahid bukraḥ.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM diligent tomorrow  
 ‘Khaled will be diligent tomorrow’
- c. ḥālid yikūn fī al-baīt bukraḥ.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-house tomorrow  
 ‘Khaled will be in the house tomorrow’

In all examples above, the speech time (S) precedes both the event time (E) and the reference time (R), (S- E, R). In example (37a), *Khaled* will be a teacher in the future. In the same way, *Khaled* will be *diligent* in the future in (37b) and *in the house* in the future

in (37c).

To sum up, *kān* in the perfective form and *yikūn* in the imperfective form are used without other verbs in TD. Both forms need a complement that can be a noun phrase, adjective or prepositional phrase. *kān* in this use denotes the past time while *yikūn* can denote either the present or the future time. The context or adverbs can restrict *yikūn* to one interpretation. The next section will discuss the types of tense and aspect that are expressed by the combination of an auxiliary and **lexical** verb in TD.

## 2.5.4 Auxiliaries preceding verbs

This section will discuss the possible types of tense and aspect that are expressed by the combination of auxiliaries and **lexical** verbs. The auxiliaries that combine with verbs in TD are *kān*, *yikūn*, *qām*, *qāyim*<sup>8</sup>, *qā<sup>c</sup>ad* and *qā<sup>c</sup>id*<sup>9</sup>. All these words have no semantic content when they combine with **lexical** verbs, as shown below.

### 2.5.4.1 *kān*

*kān* is used with another verb to express a variety types of tense and aspect. When *kān* in the perfective form is used with a verb, the verb must be in the imperfective form. In other words, the combination of *kān* in the perfective form and a verb in the perfective form is not possible in TD (unlike some Arabic dialects like Egyptian). Therefore, the following examples are not grammatical:

- (38) a. \*ʔaḥmad kān                      katab                      qaṣidah.  
 Ahmad    be.PFV.3SGM    write.PFV.3SGM    INDF.Poem  
 ‘Ahmad had written a poem’
- b. \*ʔaḥmad kān                      tfarraġ                      al-musalsal.  
 Ahmad    be.PFV.3SGM    watch.PFV.3SGM    DEF-serial  
 ‘Ahmad had watched the serial’

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<sup>8</sup>qāyim is an active participle, but it is assumed to be an auxiliary here because it functions like auxiliaries in this use.

<sup>9</sup>qā<sup>c</sup>id is also an active participle.

The past perfect which is expressed by *kān* preceding a verb in the perfective form in some Arabic dialects is expressed by a verb in the perfective form in TD and the use of adverbs can indicate the meaning of the past perfect. The following sentence is illustrative:

- (39) ḥālīd ʔaḥad al-dukturah al-sanah al-maḍiyah wa  
 Khaled get.PFV.3SGM DEF-doctorate DEF-year DEF-last and  
 tzawaġ al-sanah dī.  
 marry.PFV.3SGM DEF-year this  
 ‘Khaled had got his PhD last year and he got married this year’

The construction which contains *kān* in the perfective form with another verb in the imperfective form can indicate two types of past. In other words, it is ambiguous between two interpretations, namely, past progressive and habitual progressive. The two interpretations are possible when the verb that follows *kān* is a dynamic verb. The following examples have the two interpretations:

- (40) a. ʔaḥmad kān yuktub qaṣīdah.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM write.IPFV.3SGM INDF.Poem  
 ‘Ahmad was writing/used to write a poem’
- b. ʔaḥmad kān yiġrī fī al-ḥaḍīqah.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM run.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad was running/ used to run in the garden’

In both examples above, the event time (E) and reference time (R) are identical and they precede the speech time (S), (E, R - S). The context can specify one reading for these two sentences. Thus, when the two sentences are used with an adverb like *ʔams* ‘yesterday’, they will have past progressive interpretation and the hearer will understand that *Ahmad* in both examples spent the whole night doing the events in the two examples. The following sentences only have past progressive interpretation:

- (41) a. ʔaḥmad kān yuktub qaṣīdah ʔams.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM write.IPFV.3SGM INDF.Poem yesterday  
 ‘Ahmad was writing a poem yesterday’



- b. ʔaḥmad kān                      yiğrī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    ʔams.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM run.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden yesterday  
 ‘Ahmad was running in the garden yesterday’

The hearer of the sentence in (41a) will understand that *Ahmad* spent the whole night yesterday writing a poem. Similarly, the hearer will understand from example (41b) that *Ahmad* spent the whole night yesterday running in the garden.

In addition, using an expression like *min tis<sup>c</sup>ah lī <sup>c</sup>ašarah* ‘from nine to ten’ will show the progressive aspect in the two examples clearly, as shown below:

- (42) a. ʔaḥmad kān                      yuktub                      qaṣidah            ʔams            min tis<sup>c</sup>ah lī  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM write.IPFV.3SGM INDF.Poem yesterday from nine    to  
<sup>c</sup>ašarah.  
 ten  
 ‘Ahmad was writing a poem from nine to ten yesterday’
- b. ʔaḥmad kān                      yiğrī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    ʔams            min tis<sup>c</sup>ah  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM run.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden yesterday from nine  
 lī <sup>c</sup>ašarah.  
 to ten  
 ‘Ahmad was running in the garden from nine to ten yesterday’

As for the habitual past, both examples above can indicate a habitual past interpretation when they are used with an adverb like *kul yawm* ‘every day’. The following examples are habitual past:

- (43) a. ʔaḥmad kān                      yuktub                      qaṣidah            kul    yawm.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM write.IPFV.3SGM INDF.Poem every day  
 ‘Ahmad used to write a poem every day’
- b. ʔaḥmad kān                      yiğrī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    kul    yawm.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM run.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden every day  
 ‘Ahmad used to run in the garden every day’

The events in both examples above were repeated in the past every day. In example (43a) *Ahmad* used to *write a poem* every day in the past. In the same way, *Ahmad* in example (43b) used to *run* in the garden every day in the past. In both examples, the event time (E) and the reference time (R) are identical and they precede the speech time (S), (E, R - S).

To sum up, *kān* in the perfective form can be used with another verb which must be in the imperfective form. The aim of using it with another verb is to indicate the past progressive or habitual past. The past progressive and the habitual past are possible when the verb that follows *kān* is a dynamic verb. Like other types of past tense, the event time and the reference time in this construction are identical and they precede the speech time. The following section will discuss *yikūn* preceding another verb.

#### 2.5.4.2 *yikūn*

The imperfective form of *kān* which is *yikūn* can be used with another verb in TD. The verb that follows *yikūn* can be either in the imperfective or perfective form. The following examples illustrate the imperfective form after *yikūn*:

- (44) a. ḥāmid yikūn                      yimšī                      fī al-šari<sup>c</sup>.  
           Hamed be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-street  
           ‘Hamed is walking in the street’
- b. ḥāmid yikūn                      yakul                      fī al-maṭ<sup>c</sup>am.  
           Hamed be.IPFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-restaurant  
           ‘Hamed is eating in the restaurant ’

Both examples denote the present progressive. It means that *Hamed is walking* in example (44a) at the time of the utterance and *Hamed is eating* in example (44b) at the time of the utterance. In other words, the event time (E), the reference time (R) and the speech time (S) in both examples are identical.

The present progressive interpretation can be proved in the two examples by using an adverb like *daḥḥīn* ‘now’ and the two examples will be grammatical, as shown below:

- (45) a. ḥāmid yikūn                      yimšī                      fī al-šari<sup>c</sup>                      daḥḥīn.  
           Hamed be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-street now  
           ‘Hamed is walking in the street now’

- b. ḥāmid yikūn yakul fī al-maṭʿam ḍaḥḥīn.  
 Hamed be.IPFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-restaurant now  
 ‘Hamed is eating in the restaurant now’

However, the habitual interpretation which is usually possible with **lexical** verbs in the imperfective form in TD is not possible in this construction where *yikūn* combines with a verb in the imperfective form. Therefore, when the previous examples are used with an adverb like *kul ywm* ‘every day’, they will be ungrammatical, as shown below:

- (46) a. \*ḥāmid yikūn yimšī fī al-šariʿ kul ywm.  
 Hamed be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-street every day  
 ‘\*Hamed is walking in the street every day’
- b. \*ḥāmid yikūn yakul fī al-maṭʿam kul ywm.  
 Hamed be.IPFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-restaurant every day  
 ‘\*Hamed is eating in the restaurant every day’

This construction which contains *yikūn* in the imperfective form preceding a verb in the imperfective form is only possible if and only if the verb that follows *yikūn* is a dynamic verb. With state verbs, the sentence will be ungrammatical. For example, when verbs like *yiʿīš* ‘live’, *yišddiq* ‘believe’ or *yiʿrif* ‘know’ are used after *yikūn*, the sentences will be ungrammatical, as shown below:

- (47) a. \*ʿali yikūn yiʿīš fī al-ryād.  
 Ali be.IPFV.3SGM live.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-Riyadh  
 ‘Ali is living in Riyadh’
- b. \*ʿali yikūn yišddiq ḥalid .  
 Ali be.IPFV.3SGM believe.IPFV.3SGM Khaled  
 ‘\*Ali is believing Khaled’
- c. \*ʿali yikūn yiʿrif al-ḡawab.  
 Ali be.IPFV.3SGM know.IPFV.3SGM DEF-answer  
 ‘\*Ali is knowing the answer’

In addition, *yikūn* can be used with a verb in the perfective form. In this case, the sentence will indicate the present perfect. It means that this construction will denote a complex time that spans past and present. This construction describes an event that occurred in the past, but the result of this event is a state of affairs that holds at the speech time. The following examples below show *yikūn* with a verb in the perfective form:

- (48) a. *sālim yikūn rāḥ al-šūḡul.*  
 Salem be.IPFV.3SGM go.PFV.3SGM DEF-work  
 ‘Salem has gone to work’
- b. *sālim yikūn nāqaš risālat al-dukturāh.*  
 Salem be.IPFV.3SGM discuss.PFV.3SGM research DEF-doctorate  
 ‘Salem has taken the viva examination’

In both examples, there are events that occurred in the past, but the results of these events still hold in the present. For example, in example (48a) the event *go to work* occurred in the past, but the result of this event *Salem is at work* holds at the time of the utterance. Similarly, the event in example (48b) *taken the viva examination* occurred in the past, but the result *Salem passed the viva* holds at the time of the utterance. This type of present perfect is like the first type of present perfect that is discussed by Comrie (1976) and called *perfect of result*. It is called *perfect of result* because the event occurred in the past and the result of this event is a state of affairs, this state of affairs holds in the present. It is like the English example *John has gone to France* (he is now in France). The event time (E) in both examples precedes both the speech time (S) and the reference time (R) which are identical, (E - S, R).

In addition, the two examples above which is assumed to be present perfect usually take present adverbs. Thus, they will be grammatical with an adverb like *al-yawm* ‘today’, as shown below:

- (49) a. *sālim yikūn rāḥ al-šūḡul al-yawm.*  
 Salem be.IPFV.3SGM go.PFV.3SGM DEF-work today  
 ‘Salem has gone to work today’

- b. sālim yikūn                    nāqaš                    risālat al-dukturāh al-yawm.  
 Salem be.IPFV.3SGM discuss.PFV.3SGM research DEF-doctorate today  
 ‘Salem has taken the viva examination today’

Moreover, they can be used with an adverb like *daḥḥīn* ‘now’, as shown below:

- (50) a. sālim yikūn                    rāḥ                    al-šugul daḥḥīn.  
 Salem be.IPFV.3SGM go.PFV.3SGM DEF-work now  
 ‘Salem has just gone to work’
- b. sālim yikūn                    nāqaš                    risālat al-dukturāh daḥḥīn.  
 Salem be.IPFV.3SGM discuss.PFV.3SGM research DEF-doctorate now  
 ‘Salem has just taken the viva examination’

On the other hand, the two examples are not compatible with past adverbs. Therefore, both examples will be ungrammatical with an adverb like *?ams* ‘yesterday’, as shown below:

- (51) a. \*sālim yikūn                    rāḥ                    al-šugul ?ams.  
 Salem be.IPFV.3SGM go.PFV.3SGM DEF-work yesterday  
 ‘\*Salem has gone to work yesterday’
- b. \*sālim yikūn                    nāqaš                    risālat al-dukturāh ?ams.  
 Salem be.IPFV.3SGM discuss.PFV.3SGM research DEF-doctorate yesterday  
 ‘\*Salem has taken the viva examination yesterday’

The use of this construction with present adverbs in spite of that the event occurred in the past shows that it spans past and present, like the present perfect in the English language.

In addition, this construction which contains *yikūn* with a verb in the perfective form can express another meaning of perfect, it can be used for *perfect of recent past* as Comrie (1976) calls it. The two meanings of perfect (*perfect of result* and *perfect of recent past*) depend on the lexical meanings of verbs that follows *yikūn*. For example, with verbs like

*wiṣil* ‘arrive’ or *t<sup>c</sup>ašša* ‘eat.dinner’, the meaning of the perfect will be *perfect of recent past*.

The following examples illustrate the two verbs in the perfect form in TD:

- (52) a. ḥalid yikūn wiṣil ḡiddah.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM arrive.PFV.3SGM Jeddah  
 ‘Khaled has arrived in Jeddah’
- b. ḥalid yikūn t<sup>c</sup>ašša.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM eat.dinner.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘Khaled has eaten his dinner’

In both examples, the event occurred in the recent past. For example, *Khaled* in example (52a) *has just arrived in Jeddah* and *Khaled* in example (52b) *has just eaten his dinner*. Therefore, the two examples can be used with adverb like *daḥḥīn* ‘now’, as shown below:

- (53) a. ḥalid yikūn wiṣil ḡiddah daḥḥīn.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM arrive.PFV.3SGM Jeddah now  
 ‘Khaled has just arrived in Jeddah’
- b. ḥalid yikūn t<sup>c</sup>ašša daḥḥīn.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM eat.dinner.PFV.3SGM now  
 ‘Khaled has just eaten his dinner’

Both examples above are like the examples of *the perfect of result* in that the event time (E) precedes both the speech time (S) and the reference time (R), (E – S, R).

In contrast, the two examples are not grammatical with a past adverb like *?ams* ‘yesterday’, as shown below:

- (54) a. \*ḥalid yikūn wiṣil ḡiddah ?ams.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM arrive.PFV.3SGM Jeddah yesterday  
 ‘\*Khaled has arrived in Jeddah yesterday’

- b. \*ḥalid yikūn t<sup>c</sup>ašša ʔams.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM eat.dinner.PFV.3SGM yesterday  
 ‘\*Khaled has eaten his dinner yesterday’

In addition, this construction which contains *yikūn* preceding a verb in the perfective form and denotes the present perfect in TD is usually possible with dynamic verbs. However, there are some restrictions on the use of state verbs after *yikūn* in this construction. For example, state verbs like <sup>c</sup>*āš* ‘lived’, *šaddaq* ‘believed’ and <sup>c</sup>*irif* ‘knew’ can not be used in this construction. Therefore, the following sentences are not grammatical:

- (55) a. \*ʔḥmad yikūn <sup>c</sup>*āš* in ḡiddah.  
 Ahmad be.IPFV.3SGM live.PFV.3SGM Jeddah yesterday  
 ‘Ahmad has lived in Jeddah’
- b. \*ʔḥmad yikūn šaddaq ḥalid.  
 Ahmad be.IPFV.3SGM believe.PFV.3SGM Khaled  
 ‘Ahmad has believed Khaled’
- c. \*ʔḥmad yikūn <sup>c</sup>*irif* ḡawab al-suʔāl.  
 Ahmad be.IPFV.3SGM know.PFV.3SGM answer DEF-question  
 ‘Ahmad has known the answer of the question’

On the other hand, some other state verbs like *simi<sup>c</sup>* ‘heard’ or *šāf* ‘saw’ are possible after *yikūn* in this construction. Therefore, the following sentences are grammatical:

- (56) a. ḥalid yikūn simi<sup>c</sup> al-ššawt .  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM hear.PFV.3SGM DEF-sound  
 ‘Khaled has heard the sound’
- b. ḥalid yikūn šāf ṭalāl.  
 Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM see.PFV.3SGM Talal  
 ‘Khaled has seen Talal’

Both examples above express a recent past event. In addition, the two examples can be used only with present adverbs. Therefore, they are grammatical with present adverbs like

*al-yawm* ‘today’ or *dahḥīn* ‘now’ and ungrammatical with a past adverb like *ʔams* ‘yesterday’, as shown below respectively:

(57) a. ḥalid yikūn simi<sup>c</sup> al-ṣṣawt al-yawm/ḍahḥīn.  
Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM hear.PFV.3SGM DEF-sound today/now  
‘Khaled has just heard the sound’

b. ḥalid yikūn šāf ṭalāl al-yawm/ḍahḥīn.  
Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM see.PFV.3SGM Talal today/now  
‘Khaled has just seen Talal’

(58) a. \*ḥalid yikūn simi<sup>c</sup> al-ṣṣawt ʔams.  
Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM hear.PFV.3SGM DEF-sound yesterday  
‘\*Khaled has heard the sound yesterday’

b. \*ḥalid yikūn šāf ṭalāl ʔams.  
Khaled be.IPFV.3SGM see.PFV.3SGM Talal yesterday  
‘\*Khaled has seen Talal yesterday’

To sum up, this section discusses *yikūn* in the imperfective form preceding a verb. The verb that follows *yikūn* can be either in the imperfective or perfective form and the meaning will be different in each case. If the verb that follows *yikūn* is in the imperfective form, the sentence will have a present progressive interpretation. In addition, this construction which contains *yikūn* preceding a verb in the imperfective form and indicates the present progressive is only possible with dynamic verbs.

On the other hand, if *yikūn* is used with a verb in the perfective form, the sentence will have a present perfect interpretation. There are two types of present perfect that can be denoted by this construction, they are: *perfect of result* and *perfect of recent past*. In the first type the perfect of result, the event occurred in the past, but the result of this event holds in the present. In the second type the perfect of recent past, the event occurred in the recent past. In addition, this construction (*yikūn* + perfective) is usually possible with dynamic verbs. As for state verbs, it is not possible with verbs like *ʿāš* ‘lived’, *ṣaddaq* ‘believed’ and *ʿirif* ‘knew’ while it is possible with state verbs like *šāf* ‘saw’ and *simi<sup>c</sup>* ‘heard’.



The following table illustrates the use of *kān* and *yikūn* in TD:

(59)

Tense	AUX	Form of V	Realization
1.Habitual past	<i>kān</i>	IPFV	<i>kān yimšī</i> used to walk
2.Past progressive	<i>kān</i>	IPFV	<i>kān yimšī</i> was walking
3.Present progressive	<i>yikūn</i>	IPFV (dynamic)	<i>yikūn yimšī</i> is walking
4.Present perfect	<i>yikūn</i>	PFV	<i>yikūn mišī</i> has walked

The following section will discuss the use of *qām* which is assumed to be an auxiliary that precedes a verb in TD.

### 2.5.4.3 qām

The verb *qām* in TD is in the perfective form. The imperfective form is *yiqūm* and it means *stand* or *wake up*. The perfective form *qām* can be used as a main verb expressing the past meaning of the imperfective which *stood* or as an auxiliary and it has no semantic content in this case. The imperfective form is not used as an auxiliary in TD. However, the active participle *qāyim* which will be discussed in the next section is used as an auxiliary instead of *yiqūm* in the imperfective form to indicate the present. The following examples illustrate the lexical meaning of *qām* and *yiqūm* in TD:

- (60) a. nāṣir qām.  
Nasir stand/wake.PFV.3SGM  
'Nasir stood up/woke up'
- b. nāṣir yiqūm.  
Nasir stand/wake.IPFV.3SGM  
'Nasir stands up/wakes up'

*qām* is used as an auxiliary in a variety of Arabic dialects. However, the use of *qām* is different from dialect to another. For example, Al-Hilal (2011) states that *qām* is used in the Dialect of Deir Ezour as a present progressive marker. The following example which is quoted from Al-Hilal (2011, 37) illustrates *qām* in the Deir Ezour Dialect:

- (61) 'li-wlād qām yaklūn'.  
DEF-boys are eat.IPFV.3PLM  
'The boys are eating'

In this example, *qām* is used preceding a verb in the imperfective form to indicate the present progressive. *qām* is only used with a verb in the imperfective form in this dialect. In addition, *qām* does not inflect for person or number in the Deir Ezour Dialect.

However, the case in TD is different. In TD, *qām* inflects for person, gender and number when it precedes a **lexical** verb. Also, it is used with both forms of verb and the interpretation is different with each form. First, *qām* can be used with a verb in the perfective

form to indicate that the event that is expressed by this form occurred in the past following another event that completed prior to this past. In other words, this form is always used with another sentence that indicates past simple. The time reference of this form is the past but this past is more recent than the past simple in the sentence that is uttered with it. The following sentences are illustrative:

- (62) a. nāṣir mišī li ʔāḥir al-šāri<sup>c</sup>, wa qām  
 Nasir walked.PFV.3SGM to end DEF-street and be.PFV.3SGM  
 ḡalas.  
 sit.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘Nasir had walked until the end of the street and then he sat down’

- b. nāṣir saʔal <sup>c</sup>an ḡawab al-suʔāl, wa qām  
 Nasir ask.PFV.3SGM about INDF.answer DEF-question and be.PFV.3SGM  
 ʕirif-ha.  
 know.PFV.3SGM-3SGF.ACC  
 ‘Nasir had asked about the answer of the question and then he knew it’

In example (62a), the first event is *Nasir had walked* and it had occurred first, and then the second event *he sat down* occurred. It means that the event time (E) and the reference time (R) of the second sentence in this example *he sat down* are identical and they precede the speech time (S), they should be presented as (E, R – S). In contrast, the first sentence in this example function like the past perfect in the English language in spite of that the form is simple form. The event time (E) *Nasir had walked* precedes the reference time (R) which precedes the speech time (S), they are presented as (E – R – S). The reference time (R) and the speech time (S) in the two sentences are identical.

In the same way, the first event in example (62b) *Nasir had asked* had occurred first and then the second situation occurred *he knew*. The event time (E) and the reference time (R) in the second sentence are identical and they precede the speech time (S), (E, R – S). In the first sentence, the event time (E) precedes the reference time (R) and it precedes the speech time (S), (E.R.S).

In addition, the following examples show that *qām* inflects for person, gender and number. The subject is first person in example (63a), plural in (63b) and feminine in (63c):

- (63) a. mišīt                                    li ʔāḥir al-šāri<sup>c</sup>,    wa qumt                                    ḡalast.  
 walked.PFV.1SGM to end DEF-street and be.PFV.1SGM sit.PFV.1SGM  
 ‘I had walked until the end of the street and then I sat down’
- b. al-ṭullāb                    mišīw                                    li ʔāḥir al-šāri<sup>c</sup>,    wa qāmū  
 DEF-student walked.PFV.3PLM to end DEF-street and be.PFV.3PLM  
 ḡalasū.  
 sit.PFV.3PLM  
 ‘The student had walked until the end of the street and then they sat down’
- c. salmā mišyat                                    li ʔāḥir al-šāri<sup>c</sup>,    wa qāmat                                    ḡalasat.  
 Salma walked.PFV.3SGF to end DEF-street and be.PFV.3SGF sit.PFV.3SGF  
 ‘Salma had walked until the end of the street and then she sat down’

This form which contains *qām* preceding a verb in the perfective form is always used with another sentence that expresses a meaning that is similar to the past perfect in the English language. Therefore, the following sentences are unacceptable in TD:

- (64) a. \*nāṣir qām                                    ḡalas.  
 Nasir be.PFV.3SGM sit.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘Nasir sat down’
- b. \*nāṣir qām                                    ʕirif-ha.  
 Nasir be.PFV.3SGM know.PFV.3SGM-3SGF  
 ‘Nasir knew it’

Second, *qām* can be used with a verb in the imperfective form to indicate habitual past. The following sentences are illustrative:

- (65) a. ʕalī qām                                    yimšī                                    fī al-šāri<sup>c</sup>.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-street  
 ‘Ali used to walk in the street’

- b. <sup>c</sup>alī qām                      yakul                      samak.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish  
 ‘Ali used to eat fish’

The interpretation of both sentences above is the habitual past. In sentence (65a) and (65b), *Ali* used to do these actions habitually in the past. It is assumed that *qām* in both examples is functioning as an auxiliary. Without *qām*, both sentences are ambiguous between two interpretations that are habitual present and present progressive while they only denote habitual past with *qām*. The event time (E) in both examples and the reference time (R) are identical and they precede the speech time (S), (E, R - S).

In addition, both examples are acceptable with a habitual adverb like *kul yawm* ‘every day’. The following sentences are illustrative:

- (66) a. <sup>c</sup>alī qām                      yimšī                      fī al-šari<sup>c</sup>                      kul yawm.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-street every day  
 ‘Ali used to walk in the street every day’
- b. <sup>c</sup>alī qām                      yakul                      samak kul yawm.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish every day  
 ‘Ali used to eat fish every day’

In example (66a), *Ali* used to *walk every day* in the past. Similarly, *Ali* used to *eat fish every day* in the past in example (66b).

In addition, the two examples will be ungrammatical with present adverbs like *daḥḥīn* ‘now’ or *al-yawm* ‘today’, as shown below respectively:

- (67) a. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qām                      yimšī                      fī al-šari<sup>c</sup>                      daḥḥīn.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-street now  
 ‘Ali used to walk in the street (now)’
- b. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qām                      yakul                      samak daḥḥīn.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish now  
 ‘Ali used to eat fish (now)’

- (68) a. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qām                      yimšī                      fī al-šari<sup>c</sup>                      al-yawm.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-street today  
 ‘Ali used to walk in the street (today)’
- b. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qām                      yakul                      samak al-yawm.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish today  
 ‘Ali used to eat fish (today)’

This construction which contains *qām* preceding a verb in the imperfective form is possible with dynamic verbs and the meaning of this constructions is habitual past, as illustrated above. In addition, some stative verbs like *yīšūf* ‘see’ or *yisma<sup>c</sup>* ‘hear’ can be used following *qām*, however, the interpretation with stative verbs is different in that the event that occurred in the past habitually continued until the present. The following examples are illustrative:

- (69) a. sālim qām                      yīšūf                      ḥālid.  
 Salem be.PFV.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM Khaled  
 ‘Salem started to see Khaled’
- b. sālim qām                      yisma<sup>c</sup>                      ṭaḡanī.  
 Salem be.PFV.3SGM hear.IPFV.3SGM music  
 ‘Salem started to hear music’

In example (69a), *Salem* started at some point in the past to see *Khaled*. However, *Salem* keeps seeing *Khaled* habitually from time to time until the time of the utterance. Similarly, *Salem* in example (69b) started to hear music in the past and he habitually continues to hear music until the time of the utterance. In both examples above, the event time (E) precedes both the reference time (R) and the speech time (S), (E\_R, S). Thus, both examples above can be used with a present adverb like *daḥḥīn* ‘now’, as shown below:

- (70) a. sālim qām                      yīšūf                      ḥālid                      daḥḥīn.  
 Salem be.PFV.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM Khaled now  
 ‘Salem started to see Khaled now’
- b. sālim qām                      yisma<sup>c</sup>                      ṭaḡanī                      daḥḥīn.  
 Salem be.PFV.3SGM hear.IPFV.3SGM music now

‘Salem started to hear music now’

In contrast, both examples are not grammatical with a past adverb like *ʔams* ‘yesterday’, as shown below:

- (71) a. \*sālīm qām                      yīšūf                      ḥālid ʔams.  
 Salem be.PFV.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM Khaled yesterday  
 ‘Salem started to see Khaled yesterday’
- b. \*sālīm qām                      yisma<sup>c</sup>                      ʔaḡanī ʔams.  
 Salem be.PFV.3SGM hear.IPFV.3SGM music yesterday  
 ‘Salem started to hear music yesterday’

However, not all stative verbs denote the same meaning. For example, a verb like *yīṣaddiq* ‘believe’ cannot easily be given a habitual interpretation. Therefore, when this verb is used after *qām*, the situation will start in the past and it will continue until the present, but the occurrence of the situation is not habitual. The following example illustrates:

- (72) sālīm qām                      yīṣaddiq                      ḥālid.  
 Salem be.PFV.3SGM believe.IPFV.3SGM Khaled  
 ‘Salem started to believe Khaled’

In this example, the speaker states that *Salem* started to believe *Khaled* in the past and *Salem* continued to believe *Khaled* until the time of the utterance. It is the same as example (69a) and (69b) in that the event time (E) precedes both the reference time (R) and the speech time (S), (E\_R, S).

In addition, there are some stative verbs that can not be used after *qām*. For example, verbs like *yī<sup>c</sup>iš* ‘live’ or *yī<sup>c</sup>rif* ‘know’ are not acceptable after *qām*. Therefore, the following examples are not grammatical:

- (73) a. \*sālīm qām                      yi<sup>c</sup>iš                      fī al-riyaḍ.  
 Salem be.PFV.3SGM live.IPFV.3SGM in Riyadh  
 ‘Salem started to live in Riyadh’
- b. \*sālīm qām                      yi<sup>c</sup>rif                      ḥālid.  
 Salem be.PFV.3SGM know.IPFV.3SGM Kaled  
 ‘Salem started to know Kaled’

To sum up, this section has discussed the use of *qām* in TD. It states that *qām* in TD can be used as either a main verb or auxiliary. It means *stood up* or *woke up* when it is used as a main verb. On the other hand, *qām* has no semantic content when it is used as an auxiliary. If *qām* is used as an auxiliary, it can combine with both verb forms in TD. If *qām* precedes a verb in the perfective form, the sentence must be used with another past sentence. The sentence which contains *qām* will denote a recent past in this case.

However, if *qām* is used with a verb in the imperfective form, the interpretation will depend on the type of the verb. If the verb that is following *qām* is a dynamic verb, the sentence will denote a habitual past interpretation. On the other hand, there are two types of stative verbs that can be used with *qām*. In the first type, the event occurred in the past and habitually continued until the present. This meaning is expressed by verbs like *yišūf* ‘see’ or *yisma<sup>c</sup>* ‘hear’. In the second type, the event occurred in the past and continued until the present, but the meaning is not habitual. This meaning is expressed by a verb like *yišaddiq* ‘believe’. However, stative verbs such as *yi<sup>c</sup>iš* ‘live’ or *yi<sup>c</sup>rif* ‘know’ are not acceptable with *qām*. The next section will discuss the use of *qāyim* which is the active participle of *qām* in TD.



#### 2.5.4.4 qāyim

*qāyim* is the active participle of the verb *qām*. *qāyim* can be used as an active participle in TD. In this case, it means *standing* or *awake*. The following example illustrates *qāyim* as an active participle:

- (74) ḥusām qāyim.  
 Husam standing/awake.A-PTCP.3SGM  
 ‘Husam (is) standing/awake’

*qāyim* can be used as an auxiliary in TD. In this case, it has no semantic content and it precedes a verb in the imperfective form only to indicate present progressive. It means that *qāyim* cannot be used before a perfective form. Therefore, the following sentences are not grammatical:

- (75) a. \*fāris qāyim mišī fi al-ḥadīqah.  
 Fāris be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.PFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Fāris has walked in the garden’
- b. \*fāris qāyim ʔkal samak fi al-bayt.  
 Fāris be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.PFV.3SGM fish in DEF-house  
 ‘Fāris has eaten fish in his house’

The following examples illustrate *qāyim* preceding verbs in the imperfective form in TD:

- (76) a. fāris qāyim yimšī fi al-ḥadīqah.  
 Fāris be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Fāris is walking in the garden’
- b. fāris qāyim yakul samak fi al-bayt.  
 Fāris be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish in DEF-house  
 ‘Fāris is eating fish in his house’

The interpretation of both examples above is present progressive. In example (76a), *Faris is walking in the garden* at the time of the utterance. Similarly, *Faris is eating fish in his house* when the speaker is uttering the sentence in (76b). In both examples, the event time (E), the reference time (R) and the speech time (S) are identical, (E, R, S).

Both examples above are acceptable with present adverbs like *dahḥīn* ‘now’ or *al-yawm* ‘today’, as shown below, respectively:

- (77) a. fāris qāyim                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    dahḥīn.  
 Faris be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden now  
 ‘Faris is walking in the garden now’
- b. fāris qāyim                      yakul                      samak fī al-bayt    dahḥīn.  
 Faris be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish    in DEF-house now  
 ‘Faris is eating fish in his house now’
- (78) a. fāris qāyim                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    al-yawm.  
 Faris be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden DEF-today  
 ‘Faris is walking in the garden today’
- b. fāris qāyim                      yakul                      samak fī al-bayt    al-yawm.  
 Faris be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish    in DEF-house DEF-today  
 ‘Faris is eating fish in his house today’

On the other hand, both examples are not grammatical with a habitual adverb like *kul yawm* ‘every day’. It means that they cannot be used to indicate habitual aspect. Therefore, both examples below are not grammatical:

- (79) a. \*fāris qāyim                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    kul    yawm.  
 Faris be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden every day  
 ‘Faris walks in the garden every day’
- b. \*fāris qāyim                      yakul                      samak fī al-bayt    kul    yawm.  
 Faris be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish    in DEF-house every day  
 ‘Faris eats fish in his house every day’

Moreover, this construction is not possible with past adverbs like *?ams* ‘yesterday’ or future adverbs like *bukrah* ‘tomorrow’, as shown below, respectively:

- (80) a. \*fāris qāyim                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    ?ams.  
 Fāris be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden yesterday  
 ‘Fāris was walking in the garden yesterday’
- b. \*fāris qāyim                      yakul                      samak fī al-bayt    ?ams.  
 Fāris be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish    in DEF-house yesterday  
 ‘Fāris was eating fish in his house yesterday’
- (81) a. \*fāris qāyim                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    bukraḥ.  
 Fāris be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden tomorrow  
 ‘Fāris is walking in the garden tomorrow’
- b. \*fāris qāyim                      yakul                      samak fī al-bayt    bukraḥ.  
 Fāris be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish    in DEF-house tomorrow  
 ‘Fāris is eating fish in his house tomorrow’

In addition, *qāyim* cannot be used with stative verbs, because stative verbs are not usually comfortable with progressive aspect. Therefore, stative verbs like *yišūf* ‘see’, *yisma<sup>c</sup>* ‘hear’, *yi<sup>c</sup>rif* ‘know’ or *yi<sup>c</sup>iš* ‘live’ are not acceptable after *qāyim*, as shown below:

- (82) a. \*fahad qāyim                      yišūf                      sa<sup>c</sup>ad.  
 Fahad be.A-PTCP.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM Saad  
 ‘Fahad is seeing Saad’
- b. \*fahad qāyim                      yisma<sup>c</sup>                      ?aḡanī.  
 Fahad be.A-PTCP.3SGM hear.IPFV.3SGM music  
 ‘Fahad is hearing music’
- c. \*fahad qāyim                      yi<sup>c</sup>rif                      sa<sup>c</sup>ad.  
 Fahad be.A-PTCP.3SGM know.IPFV.3SGM Saad  
 ‘\*Fahad is knowing Saad’

- d. \*fahad qāyim                      yi<sup>c</sup>iš                      fī al-damam.  
 Fahad be.A-PTCP.3SGM live.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-damam  
 ‘Fahad is living in Damam’

To sum up, *qāyim* is the active participle of the verb *qām*. It can be used as either an active participle or an auxiliary in TD. If it is used as an auxiliary, it is used with a verb in the imperfective form only and the interpretation will be present progressive. In addition, the verb in the imperfective form must be dynamic. It means that *qāyim* cannot be used with stative verbs. The table below illustrates the use of *qām* and *qāyim* in TD:

Tense	AUX	Form of V	Realization
1. Recent past	qām	PFV	qām mišī walked
2. Habitual past	qām	IPFV (dynamic)	qām yimšī used to walk
3. Present perfect	qām	IPFV (stative)	qām yišaddiq has believed
4. Present progressive	qāyim	IPFV (dynamic)	qāyim yimšī is walking

The following section will explain the use of *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* which usually precedes a **lexical** verb in TD and functions as an auxiliary.

2.5.4.5 *qa<sup>c</sup>ad*

Like *qām*, there are two uses of *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* in TD. *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* which is a perfective form can be used as either a main verb or auxiliary in TD. It means *sat down* or *waited* when it is used as a main verb. The following examples illustrate this use:

- (84) a. <sup>c</sup>imad *qa<sup>c</sup>ad*                      <sup>c</sup>ala al-ʔarḍ.  
Emad sit.PFV.3SGM on DEF-floor  
'Emad sat down on the floor'
- b. <sup>c</sup>imad *qa<sup>c</sup>ad*                      layn al-ṣubuh                      fī al-maktab.  
Emad wait.PFV.3SGM until DEF-morning in DEF-office  
'Emad waited until the morning in the office'

On the other hand, *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* can be used as an auxiliary to indicate past progressive in TD. However, unlike *qām*, *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* is only possible with imperfective form. Therefore, the following examples are not grammatical:

- (85) a. \*<sup>c</sup>alī *qa<sup>c</sup>ad*                      mišī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
Ali be.PFV.3SGM walk.PFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
'Ali had walked in the garden'
- b. \*<sup>c</sup>alī *qa<sup>c</sup>ad*                      ʔakal                      samak fī al-bayt.  
Ali be.PFV.3SGM eat.PFV.3SGM fish in DEF-house  
'Ali had eaten fish in his house'

In the following examples, *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* is used as an auxiliary preceding verbs in the imperfective forms and the meaning of each example is past progressive:

- (86) a. <sup>c</sup>alī *qa<sup>c</sup>ad*                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
Ali be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
'Ali was walking in the garden'

- b. <sup>c</sup>alī qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yakul                      samak fī al-bayt.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish      in DEF-house  
 ‘Ali was eating fish in his house’

In example (86a), *Ali was walking in the garden* for a while at some point in the past. Similarly, in example (86b) *Ali was eating in his house* in the past for a period of time. The event time (E) and the reference time (R) are identical and they precede the speech time (S) in both examples, (E, R - S).

The two examples are grammatical with past adverbs like *al-barīḥ* ‘last night’ or *?ams* ‘yesterday’, as shown below:

- (87) a. <sup>c</sup>alī qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah      al-barīḥ/?ams.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden DEF-last.night/yesterday  
 ‘Ali was walking in the garden last night/yesterday’
- b. <sup>c</sup>alī qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yakul                      samak fī al-bayt  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish      in DEF-house  
 al-ḥadīqah/?ams.  
 DEF-last.night/yesterday  
 ‘Ali was eating fish in his house last night/yesterday’

On the other hand, the two examples are not grammatical with a present adverb like *daḥḥān* ‘now’ or a future adverb like *bukrah* ‘tomorrow’, as shown below, respectively:

- (88) a. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah      daḥḥān.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden now  
 ‘Ali was walking in the garden (now)’
- b. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yakul                      samak fī al-bayt      daḥḥān.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish      in DEF-house now  
 ‘Ali was eating fish in his house (now)’
- (89) a. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah      bukraḥ.  
 Ali be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden tomorrow  
 ‘Ali was walking in the garden (tomorrow)’

- b. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yakul                      samak fī al-bayt                      bukraḥ.  
 Ali   be.PFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish    in DEF-house tomorrow  
 ‘Ali was eating fish in his house (tomorrow)’

In addition, *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* must be followed by dynamic verbs only. It means that all stative verbs cannot follow *qa<sup>c</sup>ad*. Therefore, verbs like *yīšūf* ‘see’, *yisma<sup>c</sup>* ‘hear’, *yī<sup>c</sup>rif* ‘know’ or *yī<sup>c</sup>iš* ‘live’ are not acceptable after *qa<sup>c</sup>ad*, as shown below respectively:

- (90) a. \*fayiz qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yīšūf                      sa<sup>c</sup>ad.  
 Fayiz be.PFV.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM Saad  
 ‘Fahad was seeing Saad’
- b. \*fayiz qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yisma<sup>c</sup>                      ṭaḡanī.  
 Fayiz be.PFV.3SGM hear.IPFV.3SGM music  
 ‘Fayiz was hearing music’
- c. \*fayiz qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yī<sup>c</sup>rif                      sa<sup>c</sup>ad.  
 Fayiz be.PFV.3SGM know.IPFV.3SGM Saad  
 ‘Fayiz was knowing Saad’
- d. \*fayiz qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yī<sup>c</sup>iš                      fī al-damam.  
 Fayiz be.PFV.3SGM live.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-damam  
 ‘Fayiz was living in Damam’

To sum up, *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* can be used as either a main verb or auxiliary. *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* means *sat down* or *waited* when it is used as a main verb. On the other hand, if *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* is used as an auxiliary, it must be used with a dynamic verb in the imperfective form. The meaning of this construction is past progressive. The following section will discuss the use of *qā<sup>c</sup>id* in TD.

### 2.5.4.6 qā<sup>c</sup>id

*qā<sup>c</sup>id* is the active participle of the verb *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* in TD. It means *sitting* when it is used as an active participle. The following example is illustrative:

- (91) ḥālīd qā<sup>c</sup>id                                    ʿala al-kursī.  
 Khaled sitting.A-PTCP.3SGM on DEF-chair  
 ‘Khaled (is) sitting on the chair’

In addition, *qā<sup>c</sup>id* is used as an auxiliary in TD to indicate present progressive. *qā<sup>c</sup>id* is only used with verbs in the imperfective form. Therefore, the following sentences are not grammatical:

- (92) a. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qā<sup>c</sup>id                                    mišī                                    fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ali be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.PFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ali is walking in the garden’  
 b. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qā<sup>c</sup>id                                    ʔakal                                    samak fī al-bayt.  
 Ali be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.PFV.3SGM fish in DEF-house  
 ‘Ali is eating fish in his house’

The following examples are grammatical, because *qā<sup>c</sup>id* precedes a verb in the imperfective form in each example:

- (93) a. <sup>c</sup>alī qā<sup>c</sup>id                                    yimšī                                    fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ali be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ali is walking in the garden’  
 b. <sup>c</sup>alī qā<sup>c</sup>id                                    yākul                                    samak fī al-bayt.  
 Ali be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish in DEF-house  
 ‘Ali is eating fish in his house’

In example (93a), *Ali is walking in the garden* at the speech time. Similarly, *Ali is eating fish in his house* at the speech time in (93b). It means that the event time (E), the reference



time (R) and the speech time (S) are identical in both examples, (E, R, S).

Therefore, both examples above are acceptable with a present adverb like *daḥḥīn* ‘now’, as shown below:

- (94) a. <sup>c</sup>alī qā<sup>c</sup>id                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    daḥḥīn.  
 Ali be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden now  
 ‘Ali is walking in the garden now’
- b. <sup>c</sup>alī qā<sup>c</sup>id                      yākul                      samak fī al-bayt    daḥḥīn.  
 Ali be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish    in DEF-house now  
 ‘Ali is eating fish in his house now’

On the other hand, both examples are not grammatical with a past adverb like *?ams* ‘yesterday’ or *al-bariḥ* ‘last night’ or with a future adverb like *bukrah* ‘tomorrow’, as shown below, respectively:

- (95) a. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qā<sup>c</sup>id                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    ?ams/al-bariḥ.  
 Ali be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden yesterday/last.night  
 ‘Ali is walking in the garden (yesterday/last night)’
- b. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qā<sup>c</sup>id                      yākul                      samak fī al-bayt  
 Ali be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish    in DEF-house  
 ?ams/al-bariḥ.  
 yesterday/last.night  
 ‘Ali is eating fish in his house (yesterday/last night)’
- (96) a. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qā<sup>c</sup>id                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    bukraḥ.  
 Ali be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden tomorrow  
 ‘Ali is walking in the garden tomorrow’
- b. \*<sup>c</sup>alī qā<sup>c</sup>id                      yākul                      samak fī al-bayt    bukraḥ.  
 Ali be.A-PTCP.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM fish    in DEF-house tomorrow  
 ‘Ali is eating fish in his house tomorrow’

Finally, unlike *qa<sup>c</sup>ad*, *qā<sup>c</sup>id* can be used with only two stative verbs which are *yišūf* ‘see’, *yisma<sup>c</sup>* ‘hear’ or ‘listen’ and the interpretation with stative verbs is not different, it is present progressive, as shown below:

- (97) a. aḥmad qā<sup>c</sup>id                      yišūf                      al-duktur.  
 Ahmad be.A-PTCP.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM DEF-doctor  
 ‘Ahmad is seeing the doctor’
- b. aḥmad qā<sup>c</sup>id                      yisma<sup>c</sup>                      ʔuġniyah.  
 Ahmad be.A-PTCP.3SGM listen.IPFV.3SGM INDF.song  
 ‘Ahmad is listening to a song’

Other stative verbs like *yi<sup>c</sup>rif* ‘know’ or *yi<sup>c</sup>iš* ‘live’ cannot be used with *qā<sup>c</sup>id*. Therefore, the following examples are not grammatical:

- (98) a. \*aḥmad qā<sup>c</sup>id                      yi<sup>c</sup>rif                      sālim.  
 Ahmad be.A-PTCP.3SGM Know.IPFV.3SGM Salem  
 ‘Ahmad knows Salem’
- b. \*aḥmad qā<sup>c</sup>id                      yi<sup>c</sup>iš                      fi al-ṭāyif.  
 Ahmad be.A-PTCP.3SGM live.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-Taif  
 ‘Ahmad is living in Taif’

To sum up, *qā<sup>c</sup>id* is used as either an active participle or auxiliary in TD. It means *sitting* when it is used as an active participle. If *qā<sup>c</sup>id* is used as an auxiliary, it only precedes a verb in the imperfective form and the meaning of the sentence will be present progressive. In addition, *qā<sup>c</sup>id* can be followed by two stative verbs which are *yišūf* ‘see’, *yisma<sup>c</sup>* ‘hear’ or ‘listen’ and the meaning will be present progressive too. The following table summarises the use of *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* and *qā<sup>c</sup>id*:

	Tense	AUX	Form of V	Realization
(99)	1. Past progressive	qa <sup>c</sup> ad	IPFV (dynamic)	qa <sup>c</sup> ad yimšī was walking
	2. Present progressive	qā <sup>c</sup> id	IPFV	qā <sup>c</sup> id yimšī is walking

The following section will discuss the prefix *bi* ‘will’ in TD.

#### 2.5.4.7 *bi* ‘will’

The prefix *bi* ‘will’ usually precedes a verb in the imperfective form. The meaning of this form which contains *bi* ‘will’ is future. However, there are more than one type of future in TD, as will be discussed below.

If the prefix *bi* ‘will’ attaches to a verb in the imperfective form, the meaning of the sentence will be ambiguous between two interpretations, namely, simple future and habitual future. The following example is illustrative:

- (100) ḥālid bi-yirūḥ colchester.  
Khaled FUT-go.IPFV.3SGM Colchester  
‘Khaled will go to Colchester’

This example may mean that *Khaled will go to Colchester* in the future. *Khaled* will do this action once in the future and will not repeat it. In addition, this example can be used to indicate habitual future which means that *Khaled* will do this action several times in the future and the context identifies one of the two meanings. The use of a habitual adverb like *kul sanah* ‘every year’ will prove that this example may indicate habitual future. The example above is grammatical with this adverb, as shown below:

- (101) ḥālid bi-yirūḥ colchester kul sanah.  
Khaled FUT-go.IPFV.3SGM Colchester every year  
‘Khaled will go to Colchester every year’

In both future meanings, the speech time (S) precedes both the reference time (R) and the event time (E), (S - E, R).

However, there is no place for progressive interpretation in this sentence in spite of the fact that the imperfective form usually denotes habitual and progressive aspect in TD.

In addition, there are two forms in TD for future progressive. The first form contains the prefix *bi* ‘will’ preceding *yikūn* that is followed by a verb in the imperfective form. The following examples are illustrative:

- (102) a. ḥasan bi-yikūn                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Hasan FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Hasan will be walking in the garden’
- b. ḥasan bi-yikūn                      yākul                      fī al-matʿam.  
 Hasan FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-restaurant  
 ‘Hasan will be eating in the restaurant’

In example (102a), *Hasan will walk* in the future and this action is durative action. Similarly, *Hasan continuously will eat in the restaurant* in the future in example (102b). This can be demonstrated by using an expression like *min tisʿah li ʿašarah* ‘from nine to ten’ and a future adverb like *bukrah* ‘tomorrow’ with the two examples above and they will be grammatical, as shown below:

- (103) a. ḥasan bi-yikūn                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    bukraḥ    min  
 Hasan FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden tomorrow from  
 tisʿah li ʿašarah.  
 nine    to ten  
 ‘Hasan will be walking in the garden tomorrow from nine to ten’
- b. ḥasan bi-yikūn                      yākul                      fī al-matʿam    bukraḥ    min  
 Hasan FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-restaurant tomorrow from  
 tisʿah li ʿašarah.  
 nine    to ten  
 ‘Hasan will be eating in the restaurant tomorrow from nine to ten’

The second form that expresses the future progressive contains the prefix *bi* ‘will’ preceding the imperfective form of *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* which is *yiq<sup>c</sup>ud* if *yiq<sup>c</sup>ud* is used as an auxiliary and precedes a verb in the imperfective form (*yiq<sup>c</sup>ud* is only used as an auxiliary in this case). The following examples are illustrative:

- (104) a. ḥasan bi-yiq<sup>c</sup>ud                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Hasan FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Hasan will be walking in the garden’
- b. ḥasan bi-yiq<sup>c</sup>ud                      yākul                      fī al-maṭ<sup>c</sup>am.  
 Hasan FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-restaurant  
 ‘Hasan will be eating in the restaurant’

Both examples above have the same interpretation that is given to the future progressive with *yikūn* above. Therefore, the two examples can be used with *min tis<sup>c</sup>ah li <sup>c</sup>ašarah* ‘from nine to ten’ and *bukrah* ‘tomorrow’, as shown below:

- (105) a. ḥasan bi-yiq<sup>c</sup>ud                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah    bukraḥ    min  
 Hasan FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden tomorrow from  
 tis<sup>c</sup>ah li <sup>c</sup>ašarah.  
 nine    to ten  
 ‘Hasan will be walking in the garden tomorrow from nine to ten’
- b. ḥasan bi-yiq<sup>c</sup>ud                      yākul                      fī al-maṭ<sup>c</sup>am    bukraḥ    min  
 Hasan FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-restaurant tomorrow from  
 tis<sup>c</sup>ah li <sup>c</sup>ašarah.  
 nine    to ten  
 ‘Hasan will be eating in the restaurant tomorrow from nine to ten’

Moreover, future perfect is possible in TD. This meaning is expressed by using the prefix *bi* ‘will’ preceding *yikūn* which precedes a verb in the perfective form. The following examples are illustrative:

- (106) a. ḥasan bi-yikūn                      mišī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Hasan FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM walk.PFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Hasan will have walked in the garden’

- b. ḥasan bi-yikūn                      ʔakal                      fī al-maṭʿam.  
 Hasan FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM eat.PFV.3SGM in DEF-restaurant  
 ‘Hasan will have eaten in the restaurant’

In both examples above, the speech time (S) precedes the event time (E) which precedes the reference time (R), (S - E- R).

To sum up, TD uses the prefix *bi* ‘will’ to express future. However, there are four types of future in TD. The first type is the simple future which is expressed by *bi* ‘will’ preceding a verb in the imperfective form. In addition, this form (*bi* ‘will’ preceding a verb in the imperfective form) can be used to express the second type of future which is the habitual future. The third type of future is the future progressive which can be expressed by two forms: the first form contains *bi* ‘will’ preceding *yikūn* which precedes a verb in the imperfective form while the second form contains *bi* ‘will’ preceding *yiḳʿud* which precedes a verb in the imperfective form. The fourth type of future is the future perfect which contains *bi* ‘will’ preceding *yikūn* which precedes a verb in the perfective form. The following table summarises the use of *bi* ‘will’ in TD:

	Tense	Future marker	AUX	Form of V	Realization
	1. Simple future	bi		IPFV	bi-yimšī will walk
	2. Habitual future	bi		IPFV	bi-yimšī will walk
(107)	3. Future progressive	bi	yikūn	IPFV	bi-yikūn yimšī will be walking
	4. Future progressive	bi	yiḳʿud	IPFV	bi-yiḳʿud yimšī will be walking
	5. Future perfect	bi	yikūn	PFV	bi-yikūn mišī will have walked

The following section will give a summary of all types of tense and aspect in TD.

### 2.5.5 Summary

This section will summarise the types of tense and aspect in TD. All types of tense and aspect that were discussed above will be grouped in three sections below. The first section is called *past tense* and it will include all types of past tense in TD. The second section is called *present tense* and it will include all types of present in TD. The third section is called *future tense* and it will include all types of future tense in TD.

#### 2.5.5.1 Past Tense

This section distinguishes between four types of past tense in TD. The first type is past simple, the second type is recent past (that occurs after past simple), the third type is habitual past and the fourth type is progressive past.

The simplest past form in TD is expressed by using a verb in the perfective form or *kān* without another verb. The following examples are illustrative:

- (108) a. aḥmad mišī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad walk.PFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad walked in the garden’
- b. aḥmad kān                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad was in the garden’

The recent past in TD is expressed by using *qām* preceding a verb in the perfective form. This sentence must be used with another past sentence which occurred first. The following sentence is illustrative:

- (109) aḥmad mišī                      fī al-ḥadīqah, qām                      qabal                      sālīm.  
 Ahmad walk.PFV.3SGM in DEF-garden be.PFV.3SGM meet.PFV.3SGM Salem  
 ‘Ahmad walked in the garden, and then he met Salem’

There are two forms in TD that can express habitual past. The first form is a possible interpretation for the form that contains *kān* preceding a verb in the imperfective form. The second form contains *qām* preceding a dynamic verb in the imperfective form. Both constructions are illustrated below, respectively:

- (110) a. aḥmad kān                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad used to walk in the garden’
- b. aḥmad qām                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad used to walk in the garden’

Finally, there are two forms that express progressive past in TD. The first form is the second possible interpretation for the form that contains *kān* preceding a verb in the imperfective form. The second form contains *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* preceding a dynamic verb in the imperfective form. The following examples are illustrative:

- (111) a. aḥmad kān                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad was walking in the garden’
- b. aḥmad qa<sup>c</sup>ad                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad was walking in the garden’



### 2.5.5.2 Present Tense

There are three types of present tense in TD: the first type is habitual present, the second type is present progressive and the third type is present perfect.

The habitual present can be simply expressed by using a verb in the imperfective form. However, the habitual present is a possible interpretation for this form. The following example is illustrative:

- (112) aḥmad yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad walks in the garden’

The second type of present tense, which is present progressive, can be expressed by four forms in TD. The first form includes a verb in the imperfective form (the second interpretation of this form). The second form contains *yikūn* preceding a dynamic verb in the imperfective form. The third form contains *qāyim* preceding a dynamic verb in the imperfective form. The fourth form contains *qā'id* preceding a verb in the imperfective form. The following examples illustrate these forms respectively:

- (113) a. aḥmad yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad is walking in the garden’
- b. aḥmad yikūn                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad is walking in the garden’
- c. aḥmad qāyim                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad is walking in the garden’
- d. aḥmad qā'id                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad be.A-PTCP.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad is walking in the garden’

The third type of present tense is the present perfect, there are two forms that can be used to express present perfect in TD. The first form contains *yikūn* preceding a verb in the perfective form. The second form contains *qām* preceding a stative verb in the imperfective form. The following examples illustrate both form respectively:

- (114) a. aḥmad yikūn mišī fi al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad be.IPFV.3SGM walk.PFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad has walked in the garden’
- b. aḥmad qām yiṣaddiq ʿalī.  
 Ahmad be.PFV.3SGM believe.IPFV.3SGM Ali  
 ‘Ahmad has believed Ali’

### 2.5.5.3 Future Tense

As stated above, the future can be denoted in TD by using *yikūn* as a main verb. The following example is illustrative:

- (115) aḥmad yikūn fi al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad FUT.be.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad will be in the garden’

However, the popular way for expressing future tense in TD is by using the prefix *bi* ‘will’ before a verb in the imperfective form or *yikūn* if it precedes a verb. As stated above, the prefix *bi* ‘will’ can be used to express four types of future in TD: the first and second types are simple and habitual future. Both types are denoted by using the prefix *bi* ‘will’ preceding a verb in the imperfective form. The following example is illustrative:

- (116) aḥmad bi-yimšī fi al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad FUT-walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad will walk in the garden’

The third type of future is the future progressive which can be expressed by two forms: *bi* ‘will’ precedes *yikūn* which precedes a verb in the imperfective form or *bi* ‘will’ precedes *yiq‘ud* which precedes a verb in the imperfective form. The following examples are illustrative:

- (117) a. aḥmad bi-yikūn                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad will be walking in the garden’
- b. aḥmad bi-yiq‘ud                      yimšī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad will be walking in the garden’

Finally, the fourth type is the future perfect that contains *bi* ‘will’ preceding *yikūn* which precedes a verb in the perfective form. The following example is illustrative:

- (118) aḥmad bi-yikūn                      mišī                      fī al-ḥadīqah.  
 Ahmad FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM walk.PFV.3SGM in DEF-garden  
 ‘Ahmad will have walked in the garden’

The following table summarises the types of tense and aspect in TD:

Tense	Future marker	AUX	Form of V	Realization
1. Past simple			PFV	mišī walk
2. Recent past		qām	PFV	qām mišī walked
3. Habitual past		kān	IPFV	kān yimšī used to walk
		qām	IPFV (dynamic)	qām yimšī used to walk
4. Past progressive		kān	IPFV	kān yimšī was walking
		qa <sup>c</sup> ad	IPFV (dynamic)	qa <sup>c</sup> ad yimšī was walking
(119) 1. Habitual present			IPFV	yimšī walk
2. Present progressive			IPFV	yimšī walk
		yikūn	IPFV (dynamic)	yikūn yimšī is walking
		qāyim	IPFV (dynamic)	qāyim yimšī is walking
		qā <sup>c</sup> id	IPFV	qā <sup>c</sup> id yimšī is walking
3. Present perfect		yikūn	PFV	yikūn mišī has walked
		qām	IPFV (stative)	qām yiṣaddiq has believed

Tense	Future marker	AUX	Form of V	Realization
1. Simple future			yikūn	yikūn will be
	bi		IPFV	bi-yimšī will walk
2. Habitual future	bi		IPFV	bi-yimšī will walk
3. Future progressive	bi	yikūn	IPFV	bi-yikūn yimšī will be walking
4. Future progressive	bi	yiq <sup>c</sup> ud	IPFV	bi-yiq <sup>c</sup> ud yimšī will be walking
5. Future perfect	bi	yikūn	PFV	bi-yikūn mišī will have walked



# Chapter 3

## Overview of conditional constructions

### 3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to give an overview of conditional meanings that are expressed by conditional sentences and relative clauses. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part gives a general overview of conditional sentences and is divided into four sections: the first section defines conditional sentences and the second explains the roles of the conditional conjunction. The third section discusses the meanings of conditional sentences. The fourth section explains the relation between the protasis and apodosis in a conditional sentence. The second part in this chapter is devoted to relative clauses and briefly discusses the long-distance dependency focusing on relative clauses and their types. It also discusses the conditional meanings that may be expressed by relative clauses in the English language. Finally, the third part in this chapter provides an overview of Arabic studies of conditionals.

### 3.2 Overview of conditionals

The aim of this section is generally to highlight and discuss the concept of conditionals i.e. it is a theoretical background section which will serve as the framework of the study of conditionals in this thesis. Hence, this section is organised as follows: Part 1 defines

conditional sentences and part 2 explains the roles of the conditional particle. Part 3, on the other hand, is devoted to discussing the meanings of conditional sentences. Part 4 aims to explain the relation between the protasis and apodosis in conditional sentence.

### 3.2.1 Conditional definition

There are many definitions for the term *conditional* in the literature. Some of these definitions focus on the presence of a conditional conjunction and some on the relation between the two clauses. For example, Dancygier (1998, 1) follows **traditional** grammarians and uses the term *conditional* to refer to ‘complex sentences, composed of the main clause (sometimes also called *q* or the apodosis) and a subordinate clause (*p* or the protasis)’. The protasis is introduced by a conjunction which is *if* in the English language. Dancygier (1998) also mentions the special meaning that is indicated by normal patterns in conditional sentences (also see Fillmore et al. (1988) and Shibatani and Thompson (1999)).

Similarly, Bennett (2003) defines a conditional sentence as a sentence that contains two clauses: the main clause and the subordinate clause and the subordinate clause is introduced by a conditional conjunction. The two definitions use the conditional term to refer to sentences that are introduced by conditional conjunctions. A similar definition is given by Crystal (2008, 99) who defines *conditionals* as ‘clauses whose semantic role is the expression of hypotheses or conditionals. In English, these are introduced by *if*, *unless* and a few other conjunctions’. This definition adds a few conjunctions to *if* in the English language.

Other researchers such as Hacking (1998) and Bhatt and Pancheva (2007) focus on the causal relation between the two clauses. For example, Hacking (1998, 1) points out that ‘a conditional relationship between two events is one in which the realization of one event is dependent upon or conditioned by another’. Similarly, Bhatt and Pancheva (2007) state that ‘conditional structures are interpreted, in general terms, with the proposition expressed by the antecedent clause specifying the (modal) circumstances in which the proposition expressed by the main clause is true’ (similar definitions in Declerck and Reed (2001) and Kaufmann (2006)). Both definitions entail a causal relation between the two clauses in a



conditional sentence and they do not entail the presence of a conditional conjunction. In other words, the two definitions include other types of conditional sentences in which the conditional meaning is expressed without the occurrence of the conditional conjunction. The following examples which are quoted from Bhatt and Pancheva (2007, 641) express conditional meaning and are not introduced by a conditional conjunction:

(120) a. ‘Kiss my dog and you will get fleas’.

b. ‘For you to do that would be nice’.

The meaning of sentence (120a) is similar to *if you kiss my dog, you will get fleas* while (120b) is similar to *it would be nice if you do that*. Bhatt and Pancheva (2007) believe that this observation is not only in English and it can be extended to many languages. Moreover, they state that in many languages, a structure which contains an imperative clause which is combined with a non-past indicative clause has a conditional interpretation. In this case, the imperative clause serves as the condition whereas the indicative clause will be the result (also, see Declerck and Reed (2001)).

As for the sentence in (120b), there are two factors that derive the conditional interpretation in this sentence: the non-finite sentential subject *For you to do that* and the conditional mood in the main clause. In fact, the non-finite sentential subject is the antecedent and the main clause is the consequent (see Bhatt and Pancheva (2007)).

Although sentences similar to examples (120a) and (120b) carry conditional interpretations, researchers usually ignore them and focus on the normal (standard) conditional structure which contains a conjunction introducing a subordinate clause and main clause (there are few studies which deal with these kind of sentences, such as Clark (1993), Han (2000) and von Stechow (2011)).

In addition, some researchers such as König (1986), Zaefferer (1990, 1991), Lin (1996), Haspelmath and König (1998) and others use the term *conditional* to refer to relative constructions that indicate conditional meaning or what is called *ever conditionals*. This thesis

will use this term in a broad sense and it will assume that conditional meaning can be indicated by sentences that are introduced by conditional conjunctions or relative constructions<sup>1</sup>. Also, the term will include conditional constructions that have no causal relation between the two clauses as long as the occurrence of the event is in doubt in the conditional clause. The following section will discuss the conditional conjunction in conditional sentences.

### 3.2.2 Conditional conjunction

As it has been formerly stated, most studies investigating the concept of conditionals usually focus on standard conditional constructions which consist of a conjunction with two clauses, namely, the protasis and apodosis. In this section, the role of the conditional conjunction in conditional sentences will be briefly explained.

Dancygier (1998, 23) suggests that a conjunction in a conditional sentence can have two roles. First, it is a marker of non-assertiveness<sup>2</sup>, whereby its position in front of an assumption shows that there are reasons for presenting the assumption as unassertive. Second, it introduces the conditional clause showing that there is a connection between the conditional and result clause in the conditional sentence (also see Fauconnier (1994)).

Similarly, Tynan and Lavín (1997) believe that the main role of the connective conjunction in a conditional sentence is to express the assumptions of the speaker regarding the relation between the two clauses in the conditional. They interpret the conditional sentence to mean that if the conditional clause is true, the result clause will be true and the speaker does not assert that the conditional clause is true. The following section will explain the conditional meanings.

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<sup>1</sup>Conditional sentences such as the ones in (120a) or (120b) will not be discussed in this thesis.

<sup>2</sup>The speaker uses assertive conjunction or particle to commit himself to what he is saying (Matthews, 2007).

### 3.2.3 Conditional meanings

This section discusses conditional meanings in general and is divided into two subsections: the first subsection discusses the meaning of conditionals. It argues that conditional sentences should be grouped into two types, namely, *real conditionals* and *unreal conditionals*. *Real conditionals* are expressed by a speaker who has no negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition, whereas *unreal conditionals* are uttered by a speaker who has a negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition. The second subsection will discuss a special type of conditional that is *generic conditional*. The discussion of *generic conditional* is important for discussing conditional sentences in MSA and TD, specially in the conditional meanings that are expressed by relative clauses in the fifth chapter.

#### 3.2.3.1 Real vs. Unreal:

Traditional grammarians (for example, Azar (1981), Carter and McCarthy (2006) and Murphy (2012)) classify conditional sentences in the English language into three types: *real*, *hypothetical* and *unreal* conditional. The three types are illustrated below respectively:

- (121) a. If it rains, the match will be cancelled.
- b. If it rained, the match would be cancelled.
- c. If it had rained, the match would have been cancelled.

This classification is based on the forms that are used to express conditional meaning in English. However, there are more time references that can be indicated in conditional sentences. Fore example, *real conditionals* can indicate the past or the present, as shown respectively in the following examples:

- (122) a. If he was at the jail yesterday, he had a bad time.
- b. If he is at the jail now, he is having a bad time.

Therefore, some linguists usually classify conditional sentences regarding their semantic meanings into two types. The first type includes all *real conditionals* and the second type includes all *unreal conditionals*. There are more than one definition and term that describe the two types of conditionals. For example, Sweet (1898) classifies conditionals into two types: *open* versus *rejected* conditionals. Sweet (1898) states that *open conditionals* do not imply any thing in relation to the fulfilment of the condition, however, they leave the truth of the statement open. In contrast, *rejected conditionals* imply the rejection of the condition (also see Krusinga and Erades (1960)).

In the same way, Jarvis (1971) divides conditional sentences into two groups: *non-counterfactual* versus *counterfactual*. Jarvis (1971) states that the speaker in *non-counterfactual conditionals* does not commit himself to the realization of the event in the protasis. In contrast, the knowledge of the speaker in *counterfactual conditionals* typically indicates that the protasis is false. Similarly, Palmer (1974) uses the terms *real* and *unreal* conditionals to refer to *non-counterfactual* and *counterfactual*. Palmer (1974) suggests a relation between the past forms and the unreality in conditional sentences in the English language. On the other hand, he suggests a relation between an expected tense and reality.

Also, Dancygier (1998) states that two types of conditionals are distinguished in the literature. The first type is *open conditionals* ( it is also called *real, factual or neutral*). Dancygier (1998, 30) states that *open conditionals* ‘do not make any predictions about the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of the condition’. The second type is *hypothetical conditionals* (it is also called *closed, unreal, rejected, non-factual or counterfactual*) and Dancygier (1998, 30) describes it as ‘express the speaker’s negative belief as to the fulfilment of the condition’. Also, Dancygier (1998, 34) adds that ‘*open conditionals* are seen as neutral with respect to the fulfilment of the condition, and *hypothetical* ones are said to present it as contrary to expectation, assumption or fact, depending on time reference’.

This thesis follows the linguists above in assuming that conditionals should be classified into two groups. The first group will be called *real conditionals* and it will include all conditionals that are expressed when the speaker has no knowledge about the fulfilment of the

condition and does not make any prediction about this fulfilment. Also, this type includes all the possible types of time references. It means that it will involve the past, present and the future. The following conditional sentences are *real conditionals* in the English language:

- (123) a. If he was at the jail yesterday, he had a bad time.
- b. If he is at the jail now, he is having a bad time.
- c. If he is at the jail tomorrow, he will have a bad time.

In contrast, the second group will be called *unreal conditionals*. The *unreal conditionals* will include all conditionals that are expressed when the speaker has a negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition. This type will include the *unreal conditionals* that indicate the past and they are contrary to fact, the present and contrary to assumption, or the future and contrary to expectation. The following examples illustrate the three types of *unreal conditionals* in the English language<sup>3</sup> :

- (124) a. If he had been at the jail yesterday, he would have had a bad time.
- b. If he were at the jail now, he would be having a bad time.
- c. If he were at the jail tomorrow, he would have a bad time.

The next subsection will discuss *generic conditionals*.

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<sup>3</sup>English has more *unreal conditionals* , however, they are not relevant to the discussion here (see von Stechow (2011)).

### 3.2.3.2 Generic Conditionals

There is more than one view in the literature about *generic sentences* and *generic conditionals*. This section will discuss the interpretation of *generic conditionals* in Ter Meulen (1986) and Dancygier (1998). Ter Meulen (1986) notes that the *generic* interpretation of a sentence is the result of the interaction between three things: the interpretation of the subject of the sentence, the tense and the aspect. Obviously, the aspect of *a generic sentence* should be habitual, but the tense can be past, present or future. As for the interpretation of the subject, Ter Meulen (1986, 124) discusses the following sentences and shows the influence of the interpretation of the subjects on the generic meaning.

(125) a. ‘Donkeys are stubborn’.

b. ‘A donkey is stubborn’.

c. ‘The donkey is stubborn’.

Ter Meulen (1986) argues that the three sentences above can convey the generic meaning if and only if the three types of nouns that function as subjects denote a kind of animals rather than members of this kind. The generic meaning cannot be conveyed if the bare noun in example (125a) denotes a set of donkeys. Also, the generic interpretation will be lost if the indefinite noun in (125b) selects any arbitrary donkey. In the same way, the sentence in (125c) will not be generic if the definite noun denotes a donkey that was introduced in the discourse. The most important property that is shared between *generic sentences* and *generic conditionals* is that both share ‘the persistence of expressed information’ (Ter Meulen, 1986, 123).

Ter Meulen (1986) states that the two clauses in a conditional sentence can be *generic*, however, this is not necessary. It means that a generic protasis can be used with non-generic apodosis and vice versa. Example (126a) which is quoted from Ter Meulen (1986, 133) illustrates *a generic* protasis with *non-generic* apodosis, whereas example (126b), which is quoted from Ter Meulen (1986, 140), illustrates *a generic* apodosis with *generic* protasis:

(126) a. ‘If a donkey is stubborn, Pedro beats it’.

b. ‘Donkeys are stubborn if they have green eyes’.

The protasis in example (126a) is *generic* in one interpretation, namely, if the indefinite noun *a donkey* denotes the kind of this animal. In contrast, the apodosis is not *generic* because the subject is a proper noun. In the same way, the apodosis in example (126b) is *generic* if the bare noun *donkeys* denotes the kind of the animal, whereas the protasis is not *generic* because the subject is a pronoun.

The term *generic* is used in Ter Meulen (1986) to refer to a sentence that has a subject denoting all its kind. Therefore, a sentence such as *if I cut onion, I cry* is not a *generic conditional*. However, Dancygier (1998) uses the term *generic conditional* to refer to a different type of conditionals. *Generic conditionals* in Dancygier (1998) includes all conditionals that express general statement and have **causal** relation between the two clauses.

Dancygier (1998) argues that *generic conditionals* share some features of *predictive conditionals* and some of *non-predictive conditionals* which are two classes of conditionals. Dancygier (1998, 61) defines *predictive conditionals* as conditionals ‘represent predictive reasoning and they are therefore marked with *if*-backshift in the protases and have a predictive modal in their apodoses’. She uses the term *backshift* to refer to the case of language when it uses a verb that refers to time that is later than the time that marked in the form of the verb. It means that the time that marked in the form of verb is earlier than the time that is referred to by this verb. For example, the uses of the verbs *rain*, *rained* and *had rained* in the following examples are examples of *backshift* because the verb *rain* in example (127a) is marked for the present but it refers to the future. In the same way, the verb *rained* in (127b) is marked for the past, but it refers to the future. Also, the form *had rained* in (127c) is marked for the past perfect but it refers to the past. In this case, all the conditional sentences below are *predictive conditionals*.

(127) a. If it rains, the match will be cancelled.

- b. If it rained, the match would be cancelled.
  
- c. If it had rained, the match would have been cancelled.

In contrast, the verb forms in *non-predictive conditionals* are marked for the time that they refer to. It means that the verbs in *non-predictive conditionals* are not *backshifted* and their use in conditional sentences is the same as their use in regular sentences. Also, the two clauses in *non-predictive conditionals* are not constrained to the usual sequences of tenses in conditional sentences. In other words, **the event in the apodosis may occur before the event in the protasis** in this type of conditionals. The following sentences which are quoted from Dancygier (1998, 62) illustrate *non-predictive conditionals* in the English language:

- (128) a. ‘If he will not arrive before nine, there is no point in ordering for him’.
- 
- b. ‘If she is in the lobby, the plane arrived early’.

Dancygier (1998) states that *generic conditionals* are similar to *non-predictive conditionals* in that their verb forms are used outside the format of conditionals. It means that the use of verbs in *generic conditionals* is the same as the use of them in regular sentences. On the other hand, *generic conditionals* share the type of the relation between the two clauses with *predictive conditionals*. In other words, the apodosis in *generic conditionals* is the result of the protasis. Also, *generic conditionals* usually express general statements and the events in both clauses are iterative. The following example which is quoted from Dancygier (1998, 63) illustrates *generic conditionals* in the English language:

- (129) ‘If I drink too much milk, I get a rash’.

In example (129), the use of the verbs is similar to their use in regular sentences such as *I drink too much milk* and *I get a rash*. The two forms of the verbs are present and they are used to indicate the present with habitual aspect. This feature is shared between *generic* and *non-predictive conditionals*. In addition, the apodosis which is *I get a rash* is the result of the protasis *I drink too much milk* and this feature is shared between *generic*



and *predictive conditionals*. This thesis follows Dancygier (1998) in assuming that *generic conditionals* express general statement and have **causal** relation between the two clauses.

To sum up, conditional sentences in English and other languages should be grouped into two semantic types: *real* and *unreal conditionals*. In *real conditionals*, the speaker has no knowledge about the fulfilment of the condition. On the other hand, the speaker in *unreal conditionals* has a negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition. The time reference of a conditional sentence in both types can be the past, present or future. In addition, *generic conditionals* are a special type of conditionals, whereby the tense of verbs in this type of conditional sentences is the same as regular sentences. The time reference of *generic conditionals* can be the past, present or future. As for the semantic meaning, *generic conditionals* can be *real* or *unreal conditionals*. The following table summarises the two semantic types of conditionals in English:

(130)

MEANING	TENSE	EXAMPLE
REAL	PAST	<i>If he was at the jail yesterday, he had a bad time.</i>
	PRESENT	<i>If he is at the jail now, he is having a bad time.</i>
	FUTURE	<i>If he is at the jail tomorrow, he will have a bad time.</i>
UNREAL	PAST	<i>If he had been at the jail yesterday, he would have had a bad time.</i>
	PRESENT	<i>If he were at the jail now, he would be having a bad time.</i>
	FUTURE	<i>If he were at the jail tomorrow, he would have a bad time.</i>

The following section sheds some light on the relation between the two clauses in conditional sentences.

### 3.2.4 Relations between the two clauses

It is stated above that the conditional conjunction which introduces the protasis indicates that the protasis cannot be asserted. Moreover, the apodosis also cannot be asserted in the conditional construction. However, the assertion is made in the conditional construction about the relation between the two clauses. This case is clear in *unreal conditional*, where the two clauses are seen as contrary to expectation or fact. In this case, the speaker aims to communicate the relation between the protases and apodoses (see Dancygier (1998) and Sweetser (1990)). Therefore, the relation between the clauses is important for the interpretation of conditionals. In the following sections, some types of relations between the protasis and apodosis will be explained.

#### 3.2.4.1 Sequentiality

Sequentiality is a criterion which distinguishes between two kinds of conditionals: *predictive* versus *non-predictive conditional*<sup>4</sup>. In the *predictive conditional*, the time of the protasis precedes the time of the apodosis, as shown in the following example:

(131) If it rains, the party will be cancelled.

On the contrary, in *non-predictive conditional*, the time of the apodosis can precede the time of the protasis as shown in the following example which is quoted from Dancygier (1998, 77):

(132) ‘If she is a blonde now, she dyed her hair’.

However, Dancygier (1998, 77) thinks that the sequentiality in the previous example can be interpreted at different level. She assumes that the order is between premises and conclusions. In this case, the example adheres to the main idea in sequentiality which is ‘putting things one after another’ and the things in this case are premises and conclusions. The premise in this example is *if she is a blonde* and the conclusion that is inferred by the

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<sup>4</sup>Both types of conditionals are defined in the previous section.

speaker is *she dyed her hair*.

Moreover, the occurrence of both clauses in a conditional sentence can be simultaneous. In this case, simultaneity is possible in *predictive*, *non-predictive* and *generic conditionals*, as shown respectively in the following examples that are quoted from Dancygier (1998, 77):

- (133) a. ‘If public transport is on strike tomorrow, getting to work will be a nightmare’.
- b. ‘If the baby is asleep, Mary is typing’
- c. ‘If you live in a dorm, you do not have enough privacy’.

### 3.2.4.2 Causality

Sweetser (1990) argues that causal relation in conditional sentences is understood in the *content domain* when the two clauses in a conditional sentence refer to the real world. This domain in the classification of Sweetser (1990) includes all conditional sentences that have a causal relation between their two clauses. Also, in the classification of Bhatt and Pancheva (2007), the term *hypothetical conditional* includes all conditionals that have a causal relation between the two clauses.

Wilson (1990) does not distinguish between *causality* and *sequentiality*<sup>5</sup> and believes that *causality* in conditional sentences is determined by pragmatical facts. She argues that the context or the knowledge of the hearer motivate the causal interpretation of a conditional sentence. Wilson (1990) supports her assumption by the **causal** relation that can occur between the two sentences in a coordinate structure. For example, the two sentences in (134a) below **have** a causal relation because the hearer knows that *Dived was doing a PhD*. In the same way, the two sentences in example (134b) below has a **causal** relation because the hearer knows that *ice* causes *slip*.

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<sup>5</sup>Some researchers such as Dancygier and Mioduszewska (1984) and Comrie (1986) believe that they are close to each other.

(134) a. Dived passed his viva and he became a doctor.

b. The street was icy and Louise slipped.

In addition, Dancygier (1998) agrees that the context or the knowledge of the hearer may play an important role in the causal interpretation of conditional sentences in some cases, but not always. For example, the knowledge of the hearer may motivate the **causal** relation between the two clauses in an example such as (135a) which is quoted from Dancygier (1998, 9), however, they cannot make a conditional sentence, such as the one in (135b) (which is quoted from Dancygier (1998, 14)) **causal**.

(135) a. ‘If you add whipped cream, the fruit salad will taste better’.

b. ‘If you are interested, he is my husband’.

Thus, Dancygier (1998, 84) argues that the causal relation depends on the type of conditional, whereby ‘*predictive conditionals*, which mark a content connection between their clauses, will be most likely to receive causal or enablement interpretation’. On the contrary, *non-predictive conditionals* are open to different kinds of relations between the two clauses.

### 3.2.4.3 Epistemic relation

*Epistemic conditional* has no sequential or causal relation between the protasis and apodosis. The following examples which are quoted from Sweetser (1990, 116) and Dancygier (1998, 86) respectively are epistemic:

(136) a. ‘If John went to the party, (then) he was trying to infuriate Miriam’.

b. ‘If Mary is late, she went to the dentist’.

The causal relation between the clauses in the two examples is in the reverse direction. That is to say, the fulfilment of the apodosis causes the fulfilment of the protasis. For example, *Mary is late* (the protasis) in the last example because *she went to the dentist* (the

apodosis) (See Dancygier (1990, 1993, 1998) and Dancygier and Sweetser (2005)).

Sweetser (1990), however, disagrees with the above statement and argues that there is a causal relation between the clauses in *epistemic conditional*, whereby the knowledge in the protasis causes the conclusion in the apodosis.

In addition, Dancygier (1998, 88) suggests two tests for distinguishing *epistemic conditional* from other conditionals. Test (1) refers to the use of the epistemic modal *must*, whereas test (2) involves using the expression *it means that*, as shown below respectively:

(137) a. ‘If Mary is late, she must have gone to the dentist’.

b. ‘If Mary is late, it means that she went to the dentist’.

#### 3.2.4.4 Speech act relation

Similar to *epistemic conditionals*, the relation between the clauses in *speech act conditionals* is not sequential or causal. Sweetser (1990) calls this kind of conditionals *speech-act conditionals*. She means that the condition of the performance of the speech act which is represented in the apodosis is the fulfilment of the protasis. This means that the protasis enables or causes the speech act in the apodosis. Sweetser (1990, 121) believes that the common fact about *speech-act conditionals* is that they can be paraphrased by the expression ‘if [protasis], then let us consider that I perform this speech act (i.e., the one represented as the apodosis)’. Sweetser (1990, 118) suggests the following example as an example of *speech act conditionals*:

(138) ‘If I have not already asked you to do so, please sign the guest book before you go’.

This example can be paraphrased as *If I have not already asked you to do so consider that I ask you to sign the guest book before you go.*

### 3.2.4.5 Relevance relation

Bhatt and Pancheva (2007) discuss a type of conditionals called *relevance conditionals*. In this type of conditionals, the proposition in the protasis does not specify the circumstances in which the proposition in the apodosis is true. In other words, the relation between the clauses is not causal. Bhatt and Pancheva (2007, 639) suggest the following example as an example of *relevance conditional*:

(139) ‘If you are thirsty, there is beer in the fridge’.

This conditional sentence can be paraphrased as ‘if you are thirsty, then it is relevant to know that there is beer in the fridge’.

In addition, this kind of conditional is addressed by Athanasiadou and Dirven (1997) and they called it *pragmatics conditionals*. Also, it is discussed by Dancygier (1998) and she called it *metatextual conditionals*.

To sum up, there are different relations between the two clauses in conditional sentences. The relation between the two clauses can be a sequential relation when the protasis occurs before the apodosis. Also, the relation between the clauses can be causal when the occurrence of the protasis causes the occurrence of the apodosis. In contrast, the apodosis can cause the protasis in *epistemic conditionals*. In addition, the protasis might cause the fulfilment of a speech act in the apodosis in *the speech act conditional*. Also, the apodosis might be relevant to the protasis in *the relevant conditional*. Importantly, there is an overlap between the semantic classification of conditionals and the classifications that are based on the type of relations between the two clauses in conditional sentences. For example, *relevance conditionals* can be a *real conditional* if the speaker has no negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition or an *unreal conditional* if the speaker has a negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition. The following section will provide an overview of long-distance dependency.

## 3.3 Wh-conditionals

In MSA and TD, relative clauses are used to express conditional meaning. Chapter 5 in this thesis will discuss conditional meanings that are expressed by relative constructions in MSA and TD. This section will provide an overview of long-distance dependency focusing on relative clauses and it will discuss the conditional meaning that is expressed by relative clauses in the English language. Long-distance dependency constructions are identical in that they have a displaced constituent that bears a syntactic function which is associated with other position in the sentence. In English and many languages, topicalization constructions, wh-question and relative clauses are examples of long-distance dependency. The following section will briefly discuss topicalization and wh-question.

### 3.3.1 Topicalization Constructions and Wh-questions

In a topicalization sentence such as the following sentence, the displaced constituent *Mary* is the topic of the sentence. This type of topics is called *contrastive topic*<sup>6</sup>. The clause in *contrastive topic* contains a gap and the topic fills this gap. In example (140), the object of the verb *like* is missing and the topic *Mary* is interpreted as filling the object function in the sentence. In this construction, the topic phrase always bears a grammatical function in the clause that follows it (see Zaenen (1985), Fehri (1988), Dalrymple (2001) and Kroeger (2004)).

(140) Mary, John likes.

In the same way, the question word in **the** English language bears two functions: the focus function and a grammatical function within the sentence. The following example illustrates wh-question in **the** English language (see Dalrymple (2001):

(141) Who does Mary like?

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<sup>6</sup>In contrastive topic, the topic is selected from a set of possible topics. Other types of topic are left-dislocation topic and external topic and both are not related to this discussion because they have no a displaced constituent that bears a syntactic function that is associated with other position in the sentence (see Kroeger (2004)).

In this example, the question word *who* bears the focus function and a grammatical function inside the utterance. It fills the role of the object of the predicate *like*. The following section will discuss relative clauses.

### 3.3.2 Relative Clauses

A relative clause construction is a noun phrase containing a clausal modifier. The following example is illustrative:

(142) The woman [REL *who I like*] hates me.

In this example, the subject noun phrase *the woman who I like* contains the head noun *woman* and the modifying clause *I like* which is introduced by a relative pronoun.

Relative clauses are also examples of long-distance dependency. However, a relative clause construction is more complex than topicalization construction or Wh-question. A relative clause in the English language involves two long-distance dependencies: the first dependency is between the fronted phrase and the grammatical function which it fills in the clause. It is assumed that the fronted phrase bears the topic function and the topic function must be associated with a grammatical function within the clause. The second dependency is between the relative pronoun and the head noun (see Kaplan and Bresnan (1982a), Bresnan and Mchombo (1987a), Butt et al. (1999), Dalrymple (2001) and Falk (2001)).

In the previous example of a relative clause, the relative pronoun *who* bears the topic function and it is understood to assign a grammatical function within the modifying clause *I like*, namely, it is the object of the verb *like*. It means that when the modifying clause is evaluated for Completeness and Coherence<sup>7</sup>, the relative pronoun must be involved. In addition, the head noun of the matrix clause which is *woman* is the antecedent of the relative pronoun *who*. The following section will explain two types of relative clauses, namely,

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<sup>7</sup>If a clause contains all the governable grammatical functions which its verb governs, the clause is complete. If all the governable grammatical functions in the clause are allowed by the verb, the clause is coherent (see Dalrymple (2001), Falk (2001) and Kroeger (2004)).



*restrictive* and *non-restrictive*.

### 3.3.2.1 Restrictive vs. non-restrictive relative clauses

Researchers distinguish between *restrictive* relative clause and *non-restrictive* relative clause. The function of a relative clause in *restrictive* relative clause is to identify a specific head noun because the head noun in this type of relative clauses usually does not refer to a specific individual. In other words, the head noun in *the restrictive* relative clause determines a class that involves the identity of the referent and then the relative clause restricts the identity of the referent to one member of the class. In this case, the relative clause in *the restrictive* relative clause is old information that is shared between the speaker and the hearer, whereas the head noun is new information (see Kroeger (2004, 2005)).

In contrast, the relative clause in *the non-restrictive* relative clause construction simply adds additional information about the head noun. Thus, the head noun which is known by the hearer is old information, whereas the relative clause gives more information about it (also see Kroeger (2004, 2005)). The following examples illustrate *restrictive* and *non-restrictive* relative clause in the English language:

(143) a. The teacher is looking for the student [REL*who escaped from*  
*the school yesterday*]. (**restrictive**)

b. The teacher is looking for Paul, [REL*who escaped from the school yesterday*].  
(**non-restrictive**)

The following section will distinguish between two types of relative clauses. In particular, it will discuss *the headless* relative clause and *the free relative clause*.

### 3.3.2.2 Free and headless relative clauses

The basic parts of a relative clause construction are the head noun and the modifying clause which might be introduced by a relative pronoun or a relativizer. Some languages contain a special type of a relative clause construction, namely, *headless* relative clause. In *the headless* relative clause, there is no head noun in the relative clause construction. Kroeger (2005, 238-239) discusses a headless relative clause in the Tagalog language and gives the following examples, whereby (a) examples are normal relative clauses and (b) examples are *headless* relative clauses in the Tagalog language:

- (144) a. ang mga baro-ng binili ko.  
 NOM PL dress-REL bought by.me  
 ‘The dresses that I bought’
- b. ang mga binili ko.  
 NOM PL bought by.me  
 ‘The ones that I bought’
- (145) a. ang babae-ng nagbabasa ng-diyaryo.  
 NOM woman-REL read GEN-newspaper  
 ‘The woman reading a newspaper’
- b. ang nagbabasa ng-diyaryo.  
 NOM read GEN-newspaper  
 ‘The one reading a newspaper’

The (b) examples above are *headless* relative clauses. Both examples have the normal NP markers (case, determiners, etc.) and contain a modifying clause. However, they lack a head noun. Kroeger (2005) states that the interpretation of *the headless* clause depends on the context, but *the headless* relative clause is usually used to refer to people, therefore, the last example can be translated to *the person reading a newspaper*.

From the English translations of *headless* examples above, it is clear that the English language does not allow a real *headless* relative clause. The closest construction to *headless* relative in English is *the free* relative construction. The following examples illustrate *the*

*free* relative clause in the English language:

(146) a. You get [REL *what you want*].

b. He ate [REL *what he bought*].

As stated above, the normal relative clause contains a head noun and a modifying clause which functions as a modifier modifying the head noun. In contrast, the head noun in *the free* relative clause is missing and *the free* relative clause functions as an argument. In both examples above *the free* relative clause bears an object function. In example (146a), *the free* relative clause *what you want* is the object of the verb *get*. Similarly, *the free* relative clause *what he bought* in example (146b) is the object of the verb *ate* in the matrix clause. It means that *the free* relative clause is not a modifier such as the normal relative clause, but it is an argument and it is governed by the predicate of the matrix clause.

In addition, there is a dependency in *the free* relative clause. The dependency is between the relative pronoun which introduces *the free* relative clause and the within-clause grammatical function that the relative pronoun fills. In other words, the relative pronoun *what* in example (146a) functions as an object of the predicate *want* in *the free* relative clause. Similarly, the relative pronoun *what* in example (146b) is the object of the verb *bought* in *the free* relative clause.

To sum up, a relative clause contains a head noun and a modifier clause which modifies the head noun. However, the modifier clause might modify a covert noun in *the headless* relative clause. The interpretation of the covert head noun in *the headless* relative clause depends on the context. In addition, the closest construction in the English language to *the headless* construction is *the free* relative clause. *The free* relative clause differs from *the headless* relative clause in that the head noun of *the free* relative clause is missing. It means that *the free* relative clause does not modify a head noun in this construction, instead, *the free* relative clause functions as an argument in the matrix clause. The relative pronoun which introduces all the types of relative clauses fills a grammatical function within its

clause. In addition, the morpheme *ever* can be suffixed to a question word in the English language and it can introduce a *free* relative clause. The following section will explain *ever relative pronouns*.

### 3.3.2.3 Ever relative pronouns

An *ever free* relative clause in the English language can function as an argument. In this case, the whole clause can bear a subject or an object function. The following examples are illustrative:

(147) a. [REL **Whatever you want**] is great. (**subject**)

b. I will say [REL **whatever I like**]. (**object**)

In both examples, the free relative clauses bear grammatical functions. In example (147a), the free relative clause *whatever you want* is the subject of the verb *is* in the matrix clause. Similarly, the free relative clause *whatever I like* in example (147b) is the object of the predicate *say* in the matrix clause. In addition, there is a dependency between the relative pronoun and the within-clause grammatical function which is filled by the relative pronoun. It means that the relative pronoun *whatever* which introduces the free relative clause in example (147a) is the object of the verb *want* in the free relative clause. Similarly, the relative pronoun *whatever* which introduces the free relative clause in example (147b) fills the object function of the verb *like* in the free relative clause.

In addition, two dependencies may be involved in a free relative clause construction. The following examples are illustrative:

(148) a. [REL *Whatever she knows*], she tells.

b. [REL *Whatever he cooks*], he eats.

Example (148a) contains two dependencies. The first dependency links the free relative clause *Whatever she knows* to the matrix clause, whereby the free relative clause is the object of the verb *tell* in the matrix clause. The second dependency is between the relative pronoun and the within-clause grammatical function which is an object function in this example. It means that *whatever* is the object of *know* in the free relative clause (see Chatsiou (2010)). This example can be paraphrased as *she tells whatever she knows*.

In example (148b), there are also two dependencies. The first dependency is between the free relative clause and a grammatical function in the matrix clause, whereby the free relative clause *whatever he cooks* is the object of the verb *eat* in the matrix clause. The second dependency is between the relative pronoun *whoever* and the within grammatical function which is an object function. It means that *whoever* is also the object of the verb *cooks* in the free relative clause. Like the previous example, this example can be paraphrased as *he eats whatever he cooks*.

There is another type of free relative clauses, whereby there is no a logical connective linking the free relative clause to the matrix clause. Izvorski (2000) states that this type of free relative clauses functions as *free adjunct*. He defines *free adjunct* as ‘...sentence-level adverbials which do not have an overt logical connective linking them to the main clause’ (Izvorski, 2000, 232). The free relative clause in this case is not an argument such as the free relative clauses in the previous sentences. However, the free relative functions as an adjunct<sup>8</sup>. The following examples are illustrative:

(149) a. [REL *Whatever you do*], I will love you.

b. [REL *Whatever Mary cooks*], she will win the competition.

In example (149a), the free relative *whatever you do* is not an argument of the matrix clause *I will love you*, because the matrix clause is complete which means that it contains

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<sup>8</sup>Adjuncts: non-arguments; clausal dependents which are not selected by the verb, but which are added to the sentence to provide various kinds of information’ (Kroeger, 2005, 341) (see also Dalrymple (2001))

all the governable grammatical functions that the predicate governs. In other words, the verb of the matrix clause *love* selects a subject and an object and both of them are available in the clause, the subject is the pronoun *I* and the object is the pronoun *you*. Therefore, the free relative functions as adjunct. Similarly, the matrix clause in example (149b) *he will win the competition* is complete. The verb *win* selects a subject and an object and both of them are available in the clause. Therefore, the free relative functions as an adjunct.

The two free relative clauses above lack the dependency that linked the free relative clause to the matrix clause in example like *whoever Julie loves Mary hates him* (as stated above, there is a dependency between the relative pronoun *whoever* and the the pronoun *him* in the matrix clause) or *Whatever he cooks, he eats* (it is stated that there is a dependency between the relative pronoun and the grammatical function in the matrix clause, whereby the relative pronoun fills the object function in the matrix clause).

Examples like the examples in (148) and (149) are claimed to express conditional meaning. They are called *concessive conditionals* or *ever conditionals*. For example, example (148a) means that *if Julie loves anyone, Mary hates him* and example (149b) *if Mary cooks anything, she will win the competition*. The following section will discuss this claim.

To sum up, the free relative clause which is introduced by *ever* relative pronoun can function as either an argument or adjunct. If the free relative clause functions as an argument, it can be the subject or the object of the verb in the matrix clause. In this case, the free relative clause can be in its position in an example such as *I will say whatever I like* or the construction can include a dependency between the relative clause and the matrix clause in an example like *whatever he cooks, he eats*. The following section will discuss the meanings of three types of adverbial clauses, namely, conditional, concessive and concessive conditionals.

### 3.3.2.4 Conditionals, concessives and concessive conditionals

The term *conditionals* is used with different explanations by different linguists. Some linguists use the term for constructions that are introduced by *if*. Others use it for any sentence that can be paraphrased as *a conditional* (see Dancygier (1998)). In this connection, König (1986), Zaefferer (1990, 1991), Lin (1996), Haspelmath and König (1998), Izvorski (2000), Gawron (2001), Huddleston and Pullum (2002), Rawlins (2008) and others suggest that *ever conditionals* have a meaning that is similar to *conditionals*. König (1986) and some linguists use the term *concessive conditionals* to refer to *ever conditionals*, whereas Zaefferer (1987) and Rawlins (2008) use the term *unconditional* to refer to the same construction.

König (1986) distinguishes between three types of adverbial clauses, namely, *conditionals*, *concessives* and *concessive conditionals*. König (1986) claims that *conditionals* are usually marked by the conjunction *if* and *concessive* by *although*, as shown below:

(150) a. If it rains, the match will be cancelled. (**conditional**)

b. Although it is raining, the match will not be cancelled. (**concessive**)

There is a semantic difference between *conditionals* and *concessives*. König (1986) states that *conditionals* do not entail the two clauses (the protasis and the apodosis) while *concessives* entail both clauses. It means that the speaker in *a conditional* sentence does not assert the fulfilment of the condition and its result and both clauses may occur and may not. In contrast, the two clauses in *a concessive* sentence must be fulfilled. For example, in example (150a) above, there are two possibilities: the first: *it rains* and then *the match will be cancelled*. The second: *it does not rain*, and then *the match will not be cancelled*. However, in example (150b), the event in the first clause has occurred and the event in the main clause must be fulfilled. It means that *it is raining* and *the match will not be cancelled*.

As for *concessive conditionals*, König (1986) states that there are three groups of *concessive conditionals*: the first group includes constructions that have disjunctions of conditions as their protases. The second group contains constructions which have protases that are

introduced by a universal quantifier like *whatever* (the free relative clause). The third group contains constructions that bring one of a set of conditions to focus, they are usually introduced by a particle like *even if* (also see Dancygier (1998) and Danoygieb (1988)). The following examples illustrate the three groups of *concessive conditionals* respectively:

- (151) a. Whether she is right or not, we must listen to her.
- b. [REL *Whatever you tell her*], she does what she wants.
- c. Even if it rains, the match will not be cancelled.

Rawlins (2008) who calls *concessive conditionals unconditionals* divides *unconditionals* into two groups: the first group is called *alternative unconditionals* and examples that are introduced by *whether*, such as example (151a) illustrate this type. The second group is called *constituent unconditionals* and it involves examples, such as example (151b) which is introduced by *wh-ever*.

*Concessive conditionals* or *unconditionals* share some properties with *conditionals* and some with *concessives*, therefore, some researchers analyse them as *conditionals* and others as *concessives*. König (1986), Lin (1996) Haspelmath and König (1998) state that a *concessive conditional* or *unconditional sentence* can be paraphrased as a list of *if conditionals*. Example (152b) below shows the list of *if conditionals* that equal the *concessive conditional* in (152a):

- (152) a. Whoever comes to the meeting, it will be serious.
- b. If Joanna comes to the meeting, it will be serious, and if David comes to the meeting, it will be serious, if Mary comes to the meeting, it will be serious.....

However, König (1986, 231) claims that the main difference between simple *conditionals* and *concessive conditionals* is that ‘*concessive conditionals* relate a set of antecedent conditions to a consequent’ while *conditionals* relate an antecedent condition to a consequent.



In example (151a) above, the set contains disjunctions of conditions *she is right or she is not right* and there is only one consequent *we must listen to her*. In example (151b), the set is specified by a universal quantifier which expresses many conditions *every thing you can tell her*, but the result is only one *she does what she wants*. In example(151c), the focus particle *even if* brings one of a set of conditions to focus that is *it rains* which is the worst weather possibility, however, the result is only one *the match will not be cancelled*. In all examples, the apodosis is asserted to be true under any of the conditions that are specified in the protasis. In this case, *concessive conditionals* only entail the consequent while there are more than one possibility in the antecedent.

In addition, Rawlins (2008) states that the main semantic difference between *unconditionals* and *conditionals* is that *a conditional* makes a claim in the main clause that depends on the condition in the subordinate clause while *an unconditional* makes a claim that is independent of the subordinate clause. The following examples are illustrative:

(153) a. If the president comes to the meeting, it will be serious.

b. Whoever comes to the meeting, it will be serious.

In example (153a), the claim that is made in the main clause which is *the meeting will be serious* holds if and only if the subordinate clause is fulfilled which means that *the president comes to the meeting*. However, in example (153b), the claim that is made about the meeting is independent of the *ever* clause. In other words, the claim *the meeting will be serious* is independent of who comes. Thus, the *unconditional* sentence entails the main clause.

Based on this semantic difference between the two constructions, Dancygier (1998) claims that *concessive conditionals* or *unconditionals* are not *conditionals*, because the consequent clause in *concessive conditionals* happens in spite of the antecedent clause, not because of it. It means that the relation between the two clauses in *concessive conditionals* is not a causal relation, while such a relation usually assumed to hold between the two clauses in *conditional* constructions.

However, Rawlins (2008) argues that the same meaning that is expressed by *concessive conditionals* or *unconditionals* can be expressed by *conditional sentences*. The main clauses in the following *conditional* sentences which are quoted from Rawlins (2008, 13) will happen in spite of the *if* clauses and not because of them:

(154) a. ‘I would not marry you if you were the last man on earth’.

b. ‘They will get you if it is the last thing they do’.

Moreover, Rawlins (2008) indicates that *unconditionals* also differ from *conditionals* in that *unconditionals* carry *the indifference implication* while *conditionals* cannot convey it.

In addition, Izvorski (2000) analyses *concessive conditionals* as *concessives* and not *conditionals*. However, he states that *concessives* might be analysed as a reversed *conditional*. Quirk et al. (1985a) (as observed in Izvorski (2000, 234)) suggest that *concessives* are ‘indicating circumstances in which a result would ensue irrespective of the content of the *concessive* clause’<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, Izvorski (2000) notes that a free relative clause like the one in the following example may be interpreted as *a relevance conditional*, whereby the relationship between the two clauses is not causal relationship, instead, the apodosis is relevant to the protasis.

(155) [REL *Whatever she cooks*], she will win the competition.

It means that this example is like the conditional example *if you are thirsty, there is beer in the fridge* which can be paraphrased as *if you are thirsty, then it is relevant to know that there is beer in the fridge* and this type of conditionals has been discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Similarly, the example of the free relative clause can be paraphrased as *Whatever she cooks, then it is relevant to know that she will win the competition*.

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<sup>9</sup>In conditionals the conditional clause specifies the circumstances in which a result is true (see Bhatt and Pancheva (2007)).

Moreover, some researchers (for example, Al-Hilal (2011) and Brustad (2000)) analyse some types of *ever* sentences as *generic conditional* sentences. They assume that the following sentences are *generic conditionals*.

- (156) a. [REL *Whatever Mary knows*], she tells to her friends.  
 b. [REL *Whoever she loves*], you hate him.

Both examples above express *generic conditional* meaning. For example, example (156a) means that *if Mary knows any thing, she tells it to her friends*. The two events in both clauses occur habitually. Similarly, example (156b) means that *if she loves any one, the hearer hates him*. The two events in the protasis and apodosis are repeated more than once.

To sum up, the term *conditionals* is ambiguous. However, it is usually applied to constructions that can be paraphrased as *conditional* constructions. The closest construction to conditionals is the *concessive*, but the main difference between them is that *conditionals* do not entail both clauses while *concessives* do. However, there is an overlap between *conditionals* and *concessive* in a third class which is called *concessive conditionals* by König (1986). *Concessive conditionals* can be paraphrased as a list of *if conditionals*. In contrast, the main difference between *concessive conditionals* and *conditionals* is that *concessive conditionals* relate a set of antecedent conditions to one result while *conditionals* relate a condition to a result. In addition, Dancygier (1998) claims that *concessive conditionals* are not *conditionals* because the relationship between the two clauses is not causal relation while Izvorski (2000) argues that *concessive conditionals* are *concessive* construction and the *ever* free relative clause construction is a *relevance conditional*. This thesis will assume that *concessive conditionals* and *conditionals* are close to each other specially in MSA and TD. The conditional meanings that are expressed by relative clauses in both dialects will be discussed in chapter 5. The following section will provide an overview of Arabic conditional studies.

### 3.4 Studies of Arabic conditionals

This section will describe the main works in the literature that dealt with conditional sentences in Arabic language. It will provide an overview of the studies that treated conditional sentences in *Classical Arabic*, *Modern Standard Arabic* and *Arabic Dialects*. This section will start with the concept of *government* in traditional grammar because it affects the treatment of conditional sentences in traditional grammar books and the studies that follow them.

Traditional grammarians based their analysis of Arabic sentences on the concept of *government* (al<sup>c</sup>amal), whereby each sentence has a *governor* (cāmīl) word which causes other words to inflect in specific ways. This inflection that is caused by the *governor* indicates the syntactic function of the word and the relationship between this word and other words in the sentence. *Governors* are usually verbs, particles and prepositions. For example, the verb *ate* in example (157) governs the subject *Ali* in the nominative case and the object *the apple* in the accusative case (Ryding (2005) briefly explains the syntactic principle of *government* in [chapter 4](#)).

(157) ʔakala                    cāli-un    al-tuffāḥat-a.  
eat.PFV.3SGM Ali-NOM DEF.apple-ACC  
'Ali ate the apple'

Therefore, when traditional grammarians analysed *conditional sentences*, they used the concept of *government* as a framework. They tried to find a *governor* in the conditional sentence and the effect of this *governor*. They found the conditional conjunction and analysed it as a *governor* and argued that this *governor* inflects the two verbs in the two clauses in a conditional sentence and causes *al-ḡazm* 'the *jussive*' in some type of conditional sentences. However, the other types of conditional sentence contain verbs that are not inflected. Therefore, traditional grammarians divided *the governors* (conditional conjunctions) that *govern* conditional sentences into two classes: the first class includes the conjunctions that inflect the two verbs and they called it *al-ʔadawat al-ḡāzimah* '*jussive particles*' while the second class includes the conjunctions that do not inflect the verbs in conditional sentences and they called it *al-ʔadawat ḡayr al-ḡāzimah* '*non-jussive particles*'. Importantly, the term *ʔadawat* '*particles*' in this analysis includes all the words that introduce conditional sentences and

there is no distinction between the conditional conjunctions and relative pronouns or complementizers such as *man* ‘who’, *mā* ‘which’...etc. The following table shows the two groups of conjunctions:

(158)

JUSSIVE PARTICLES	NON-JUSSIVE PARTICLES
<i>ʔin</i> ‘if’	<i>law</i> ‘if’
<i>man</i> ‘who’	<i>ʔidā</i> ‘when’
<i>mā</i> ‘which’	<i>lawlā</i> ‘if’
<i>mahmā</i> ‘whatever’	<i>lawmā</i> ‘if’
<i>ʔay</i> ‘any’	
<i>ʔayyāna</i> ‘whenever’	
<i>ʔaynamā</i> ‘wherever’	
<i>ʔidmā</i> ‘whenever’	
<i>ḥaytumā</i> ‘wherever’	
<i>ʔannā</i> ‘whenever’	

In addition, they stated that these particles, except *lawlā* ‘if’ and *lawmā* ‘if’, as *governors* require two sentences: the first sentence is called *ḡumlatu al-šart* ‘the sentence of the condition’ and the second sentence is called *ḡumlatu ḡawabi al-šart* ‘the sentence of the result of the condition’. Also, they briefly discussed the types of sentences and the possible forms of verbs in both clauses. This type of analysis for conditional sentences is found in the first book that discussed Arabic grammar, which is Sibawayh (nd) and the rest of traditional books, such as Al-mubarrid (nd), Alansari (nda), Ebn-yaaysh (nd), Abu-hayyan (nd), Al-suyawti (nd) and others.

The modern books that discuss the syntax of *classical Arabic* and adopt the concept of *government* keep analysing conditional sentences in the same way as Sibawayh (nd). For example, Alxos (1993), Abu-alabbas (1996), Hasan (1998) among others follow Sibawayh (nd) and explain the same issues in conditional sentences using the concept of *government*.

Also, Almasdi and Altarabulsi (1985) discuss conditional sentences in *alQurʾān alkarīm*. They discuss the conditional conjunctions that are used in *alqurʾān alkarīm* and their frequency of occurrence. They focus on the conditional conjunctions and the relative pronouns that introduce conditional sentences and follow traditional grammarians in assuming that the conditional conjunctions and the relative pronouns are particles causing the inflection of verbs. In the same way, Bin-Ismaʿyl (2006) discusses conditional sentences in *ṣaḥīḥ Albuḥārī* and *ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*<sup>10</sup>.

Peled (1992) provides a syntactic analysis for conditional sentences in *classical Arabic*. His analysis focuses on three conditional conjunctions: *ʔin* ‘if’, *law* ‘if’ and *ʔidā* ‘when’. The data that is used in Peled (1992) is confusing. He tries to bring his data from old Arabic books. However, he usually ignores these books and follows traditional grammarians such as Sibawayh (nd) and Alzubayrī (nd). For example, when he explains *ʔidā* ‘when’, he states that it is not pure CP and this statement based on its analysis in traditional grammar. The use of Sibawayh (nd) and Alzubayrī (nd) which are the first and the second book that were written in traditional grammar is not accurate because the books that followed Sibawayh (nd) and Alzubayrī (nd) are much better in their organizations and explain all the issues that were discussed in both books.

In addition, Peled (1992) argues against analysing a conditional sentence in *classical Arabic* as a complex sentence containing a subordinate and main clause. In contrast, he claims that the two clauses should be analysed as mutually dependent **constituents**. This is because he believes that the perfective form in the main clause in a conditional sentence that is introduced by *ʔin* ‘if’ refers to the future while the main clause would refer to the past without the subordinate clause. Also, Peled (1992) discusses the relationship between the two clauses in conditional sentences and divides conditional sentences in *classical Arabic* into two groups: *modally interdependent conditional sentences* and *modally split conditional sentences*. He argues that the conditional sentences is *modally interdependent conditional sentences* when the apodosis is not introduced by *fa* and it is *modally split conditional sentences* when the apodosis is introduced by *fa*. This is not precise division because in some

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<sup>10</sup>The two books contain the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad.

cases the apodosis is introduced by *fa* and the conditional sentence is *modally interdependent*, as will be shown below.

In addition, comprehensive grammar books such as Ryding (2005) which analyses MSA do not provide a systematic description for conditional sentences. For example, Ryding (2005) briefly discusses some conditional conjunctions, such as *ʔin* ‘if’, *ʔidā* ‘if’ and *law* ‘if’ and some relative pronouns such as *man* ‘who’, *mā* ‘which’ and *mahmā* ‘whatever’. She gives some examples of conditional sentences and distinguishes between *unreal conditionals* that are expressed by the conjunction *law* ‘if’ and *real conditionals* which are expressed by *ʔin* ‘if’, *ʔidā* ‘if’ or the relative pronouns. Cantarino (1974), Wickens (1980), Badawi and Gully (2004) and Holes (2004) provide a similar analysis for conditional sentences in MSA.

Furthermore, some researchers discuss conditional sentences in some Arabic Dialects. Ingham (1991, 1994b) discusses conditional sentences in Bedouin Dialects. Ingham (1991) points out that conditional and time clauses in Bedouin Dialects are in some cases indistinguishable. In other words, they are difficult to be translated into *if* or *when* sentences in English. Ingham (1991, 44) defines time clauses as ‘one where the occurrence of the action is not in question, but where the time of the occurrence is, at least in future events, not known’ and a conditional clause as ‘one where the occurrence of the action is itself in doubt’. Also, the conditional and time clauses are the same in that both usually take a verb in the perfective form and they precede the main clause.

In addition, Ingham (1991, 1994b) divides conditional clauses in Bedouin Dialects into four types. The first type is called *open punctual condition* and it is defined as ‘clauses which have reference to the future marked by *ila*, *in* or *lo* (*law*) or to the general present marked by *ila* all being followed by a verb in the perfective’ (Ingham, 1991, 46). He states that *lo* (*law*) in this type of conditional is not used to indicate that the conditional is *unreal*, rather the use of it here is a matter of showing politeness or formality. The second type is *open habitual condition* and this type of conditional indicates a habitual or repetitive action. Also, the time reference can be past or present and this depends on context, linguistics or extra-linguistics. The third type is *open stative condition*. In this type, the conditional clause is introduced

by a *čan* preceding a participle, a non-verbal or a verb in the imperfective form and the conditional clause in this case is a stative clause in contrast to action clauses such as the conditional clauses in *open punctual* or *open habitual condition*. The last type is *unfulfilled or unreal condition*. Ingham (1991) states that *unfulfilled conditions* in Bedouin Dialects are not always introduced by *lo* (law) and *lo* in this type of conditionals is the same as *in* and *ila*. Also, when *lo* (law) is used in *unfulfilled conditionals*, the main clause has *čan* as a marker preceding an active participle, a non-verbal clause or a verb in the imperfective form.

In addition, Brustad (2000) briefly discusses conditional sentences in four dialects: Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian and Kuwaiti. She explains the conditional conjunctions that are used in the four dialects and provides analysis for *kān* in conditional sentences in the four dialects. Brustad (2000, 260) argues that ‘all four dialects contains reflexes of *kān* that mark hypothetical distance’. She explains the use of frozen *kān*<sup>11</sup> in the past and future *unreal conditionals*. In addition, Brustad (2000) discusses *ever conditionals*. Brustad (2000, 265) states that the four dialects (Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian and Kuwaiti) share the habitual conditional in which the morpheme *-mā* suffixed to a question word to give the meaning of the morpheme *ever* in the English language. She gives some examples from these dialects, for instance, ‘*fayn-mā wherever*’ from Moroccan dialect, ‘*šū-mā whatever, kill-mā every time*’ and ‘*min-mā whoever*’ from the Syrian dialect, ‘*mah-mā whatever*’ from the Egyptian dialect<sup>12</sup> and ‘*wayn-mā wherever*’ from the Kuwaiti dialect.

Finally, Al-Hilal (2011) provides a descriptive study of conditional sentences in *the Dialect of Deir Ezour* which is a spoken dialect in Syria. Al-Hilal (2011) divides conditional sentences into two semantic types: *realis* and *irrealis*. *Realis* conditionals include *future, inferential, non-causal, past realis* and *generic conditionals* while *irrealis* conditionals include *hypothetical* and *counterfactual*. He uses *the mental space theory* as a framework for his discussion of the semantic meaning of conditional sentences in *the Dialect of Deir Ezour*. In addition, Al-Hilal (2011) discusses the tense of conditional sentences in this dialect. Also, he describes the conditional meaning that is expressed by coordinate structures and called *paratactic conditionals*. Also, Al-Hilal (2011, 103-113) discusses *-mā ‘ever’* conjunctions in

<sup>11</sup>*kān* is frozen when it does not agree with the subject.

<sup>12</sup>In Brustad (2000) *mah-mā* in the Egyptian dialect means *however*.



the dialect of Deir Ezour. He lists *-mā* ‘*ever*’ conjunctions in the following table<sup>13</sup>:

Question Word	Insertion of <i>-mā</i>
wein (where)	wein.mā (wherever)
škūn (what)	škūn.mā (whatever)
ʔeimta (when)	ʔeimta.mā (whenever)
minu (who)	minu.mā (whoever)

The following chapter will discuss conditional sentences in MSA and TD.

<sup>13</sup>For further information about *ever* conjunctions in Syrian dialect, see Cowell (1964).



# Chapter 4

## Conditional sentences in MSA and TD

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with conditional sentences in MSA and TD. It focuses on conditional sentences that are introduced by the conjunctions *?in* and *law* in both dialects. It is divided into two parts. The first part discusses conditional sentences in MSA. It is organised as follows: the first section explains conditional sentences that are introduced by the conjunction *?in* and is divided into three subsections: the first one deals with the protasis, the second is devoted to the apodosis and the third discusses verb forms. The second section explains conditional sentences that are introduced by the conjunction *law* and is divided into the same subsections, which are the protasis, the apodosis and verb forms. The second part is devoted to TD. It is organised as follows: the first section discusses the protasis with both conjunctions *?in* and *law* and the second section deals with the apodosis of both conjunctions while the third section discusses the meanings of conditional sentences and verb forms.

## 4.2 Conditional sentences in MSA

The main conditional conjunctions in MSA are *?in* and *law*. The two conjunctions can introduce the two types of conditionals: *real* and *unreal conditionals*. This section will be divided into two sections. The first section will discuss the conditional sentence that is introduced by the conjunction *?in* while the second section will discuss the conditional sentence that is introduced by the conjunction *law*.

### 4.2.1 The conditional sentence with *?in*

Conditional sentences with the conjunction *?in* are cases of *real conditionals* in MSA. The time reference of the protasis that is introduced by *?in* is always the future and the time reference of the apodosis is also the future if the relation between the two clauses is *causal* or *sequential*. This means that *?in* has two roles in the conditional sentence: it is used as a conditional conjunction and indicates the future. The following section will discuss the possible types of sentences in the protasis.

#### 4.2.1.1 The protasis

The aim of this section is to highlight the types of sentence which are used in the protasis with the conjunction *?in*. The protasis with the conjunction *?in* always occurs in a sentence with a verb otherwise it is ungrammatical. The sentence in the protasis must be a declarative sentence<sup>1</sup> i.e. it cannot be interrogative<sup>2</sup>, imperative<sup>3</sup>, or exclamative<sup>4</sup>. The sentence in the protasis with *?in* can contain a verb in the perfective or imperfective form and the different meanings that are indicated by the two forms will be discussed later in the section of verb forms. Importantly, the perfective and imperfective form in this clause do not refer to the past or present such as the case in regular sentences. Also, the protasis can

<sup>1</sup>The role of declarative sentence is to make statements. Thus *Paul has come* is a declarative sentence (Matthews, 2007).

<sup>2</sup>The role of interrogative sentence is to ask questions. It is opposite to the declarative sentence. Thus, *Has Paul come?* is an interrogative sentence (Matthews, 2007).

<sup>3</sup>The role of imperative sentence is to give orders. Thus, *go home* is an imperative sentence (Matthews, 2007).

<sup>4</sup>It is opposite to questions, statements, requests, etc. It is a sentence like *How wonderful that would be!* (Matthews, 2007).

contain *kāna* in the perfective and imperfective forms. The following examples illustrate the imperfective and perfective forms of **lexical** verb in the protasis, respectively:

(160) a. ?in yudākir faris-un yangħ.  
 if study.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Faris-NOM succeed.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS  
 ‘If Faris studies, he will succeed’

b. ?in dākara faris-un yangħ.  
 if study.PFV.3SGM Faris-NOM succeed.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS  
 ‘If Faris studies, he will succeed’

In addition, the following examples illustrate the use of *kāna* in the perfective form and *yakūnu* in the imperfective form in the protasis. Importantly, both forms do not denote *unreal* interpretation and they indicate the same tense and mood as **lexical** verbs<sup>5</sup>.

(161) a. ?in kāna ?aħmad-u qā?im-an yaqum  
 if be.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM standing.3SGM-ACC stand.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS  
 faris-un.  
 Faris-NOM  
 ‘If Ahmad is standing, Faris will stand’

b. ?in yakun ?aħmad-u qā?im-an  
 if be.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Ahmad-NOM standing.3SGM-ACC  
 yaqum faris-un.  
 stand.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Faris-NOM  
 ‘If Ahmad is standing, Faris will stand’

As it can be noticed from the sentences above, *kāna* does not refer to the past tense. The difference between *kāna* in the perfective and imperfective form is the same difference between **lexical** verbs in the two forms in the protasis which will be discussed later in the

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<sup>5</sup>In declarative sentences, the only difference between *kāna* and *yakūnu* on one side and **lexical** verbs in both forms on the other is that *kāna* and *yakūnu* denote tense while **lexical** verbs denote tense and event. The type of tense that is indicated by *kāna* and **lexical** verbs is the same in conditional sentences, as will be discussed below.

section of the forms of verbs. Also, *kāna* in the perfective form and *yakūnu* in the imperfective form in the protasis can be used as auxiliaries preceding **lexical** verbs. In this case, the time reference of the protasis will be the future as well. The following examples are illustrative:

- (162) a. ?in kāna faris-un yuḏākiru, yaṅḡaḥ.  
 if be.PFV.3SGM Faris-NOM study.IPFV.3SGM succeed.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS  
 ‘If Faris is going to be studying/studies, he will succeed’
- b. ?in yakun faris-un yuḏākiru,  
 if be.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Faris-NOM study.IPFV.3SGM  
 yaṅḡaḥ.  
 succeed.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS  
 ‘If Faris is going to be studying/studies, he will succeed’

In addition, another type of *kāna* can be used in the protasis. In this type, *kāna* indicates the existence and requires a subject only. The following sentence is illustrative:

- (163) ?in kāna dū maraḏ-in, fa-sa-yu<sup>c</sup>ālaḡu.  
 if exist.PFV.3SGM with Illness-GEN then-will-treat.IPFV.3SGM.PASS  
 ‘If there is any ill, he will be treated’

Importantly, the future progressive and habitual future in the protasis or the apodosis can be expressed by *kāna* or *yakūnu* preceding **lexical** verbs such as the examples in (162) above or they can be expressed by the imperfective form of **lexical** verbs and the context helps the hearer to understand the intended meaning. For example, the imperfective forms in the following sentence can express the future progressive or the habitual future:

- (164) ʔin yamši                      sālim-un      nişf-a      al-yawm-i/kull-a  
if walk.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Salem-NOM half-ACC DEF-day-GEN/all-ACC  
yawm-in, yamši                      fāris-un      kull-a-hu/kull-a  
day-GEN walk.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Faris-NOM whole-ACC-3SGM/all-ACC  
yawm-in.  
day-GEN
- ‘If Salem is walking the half of the day/walks every day, Faris will be walking the whole of it/walks every day’

The following section will explain the types of sentences in the apodosis with the conjunction *ʔin*.

#### 4.2.1.2 The apodosis

Unlike the protasis, the apodosis does not have many syntactic constraints. This is why; there are many different types of sentences in the apodosis in MSA. These types of sentences in the apodosis will be explained through the discussion of two types of apodoses in MSA which are: the apodosis that is introduced by the prefix *fa* ‘then’ or the particle *ʔidan* ‘then’ (*ʔidan* is optional when the sentence is without a verb) and the bare apodosis. However, if the apodosis contains a verb in the imperfective form, the apodosis that is introduced by *fa* and the bare apodosis are possible, as will be shown later. This section will start with the first type of apodosis.

*fa* in ordinary sentences in MSA is used to convey several distinct types of meaning which are ‘a sequential meaning ‘and then’, a resultative meaning ‘and so’, a contrastive meaning ‘yet; but’, a slight shift in topic ‘and also; moreover’, or a conclusive meaning, ‘and therefore; in conclusion’ (Ryding, 2005, 410). Accordingly, the varieties of meaning which could be expressed by *fa* in ordinary sentences make the investigation of the roles and meanings fulfilled by *fa* in conditional sentences in MSA more challenging mission to hold.

Badawi and Gully (2004) state that there are many cases in which the apodosis is not the result of the protasis. In such cases, MSA uses various kinds of sentences starting with *fa*. They think that when MSA uses different types of sentences, such as a sentence without a

verb, an imperative sentence, an interrogative sentence ... etc, the apodosis is not the result of the protasis and therefore the particle *fa* gives more flexibility to the apodosis so as the latter is able to allow these kinds of sentences. Moreover, they believe that *fa* emphasizes the time or sequential aspect of the apodosis regarding to the protasis. In a similar vein, Peled (1992) maintains that *classical Arabic* uses *fa* in the apodosis when there is no causal or conditional relationship between the protasis and the apodosis.

However, according to Cantarino (1974, 23), *fa* can imply a **causal** relationship between two sentences. In his words ‘it (fa) may refer back to the preceding statement as a necessary premise for the action of the second’. Furthermore, he thinks that *fa* in the conditional sentence is an example of this meaning.

Based on the aforementioned statements, two major interpretations can be drawn with respect to conditional sentences which have *fa* in their apodoses. The first interpretation describes a sentence of this type as a special conditional sentence which has a special relationship between the protasis and the apodosis, whereby the apodosis is not the result of the protasis. The second interpretation perceives it as a normal conditional sentence which has a **causal** relationship between the protasis and the apodosis. Below, both assumptions will be examined, so as to find out what is exactly the nature of the relationship between the protasis and the apodosis in this particular type of conditional sentences.

With the conjunction *?in*, the apodosis in the conditional sentence is introduced by *fa* in the following cases:

1-If the sentence in the apodosis is without a verb, it must be introduced by *fa* or *?idan*. The two conditional sentences in (165a) and (165b) are acceptable while the conditional sentence in (165c) is not:

- (165) a. *?in* ḡāʔa                      ʔahmad-u,      fa-ḥālid-un                      nāʔim-un.  
           if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-Khaled-NOM asleep.3SGM-NOM  
           ‘If Ahmad comes, (then) it is relevant for him to know that Khaled is sleeping’



- b. ?in ḡāʔa                      ?aḥmad-u,    ?idan ḥālid-un            nāʔim-un.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then    Khaled-NOM asleep.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, (then) it is relevant for him to know that Khaled is sleeping’

- c. \*?in ḡāʔa                      ?aḥmad-u,    ḥālid-un                      nāʔim-un.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-Khaled-NOM asleep.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, it is relevant for him to know that Khaled is sleeping’

In (165a) and (165b), the protasis does not identify the circumstances in which the proposition of the apodosis is true. In other words, *Khaled is sleeping whether the protasis is fulfilled or not* (i.e. whether or not Ahmad comes). In this case, the apodosis is clearly not the result of the protasis. In fact, the apodosis in both examples ((165a) and (165b)) seems to have been fulfilled before the speaker has uttered the sentence whereas the protasis has not been fulfilled yet. This is evidenced by using *?in* which is used for the future. However, the actual result of the protasis in this example might be that *Ahmad will not meet Khaled*. Therefore, the sentence can be paraphrased as follows *if Ahmad comes, then it is relevant for him to know that Khaled is sleeping*. This kind of conditional sentences is called *relevance conditional* (It is equivalent in meaning to *If you are thirsty, there is beer in the fridge* (relevance conditionals have been explained in chapter 3 page 90).

In addition, this statement can be further tested by using a preposition phrase like *mina al-bāri ḥat-i* ‘*since yesterday*’ in the apodosis, as illustrated below:

- (166) ?in ḡāʔa                      ?aḥmad-u,    fa-ḥālid-un                      nāʔim-un                      mina  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-Khaled-NOM asleep.3SGM-NOM **since**  
 al-bāriḥat-i.  
 DEF-yesterday-GEN  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, (then) Khaled is asleep **since** yesterday’

The sentence in example (166) above is acceptable, which means that there is no a causal relationship between the protasis and the apodosis.

However, it seems that this interpretation does not apply to all apodoses which have no verb. As a matter of fact, in some examples, it is possible that the apodosis is interpreted as the result for the protasis. The following example best illustrates this point:

- (167) ?in ta?tin-ī                                  fa-?anta                                  šuġā<sup>c</sup>-un.  
if come.IPFV.2SGM-1SG.ACC then-3SGM.NOM brave.3SGM-NOM  
'If you come to me, then you are brave'

The difference between the example in (167) and the previous in (166) is that the subject of the two clauses in (167) is the same which is the pronoun *you*. Therefore, this example has two readings. In the first reading, the apodosis is the result for the protasis. In other words, if the hearer comes to the speaker and the protasis is fulfilled, then he will be brave (as the speaker thinks).

In the second reading, the speaker thinks that the hearer is always brave. This kind of conditionals (which is slightly different from the relevance conditional) is called *epistemic conditional*. It is similar to the English example *If Mary is late, she went to the dentist* which is discussed in chapter 3 (see page 88). There are no **causal** or sequential relations between the protasis and the apodosis in the English example *If Mary is late, she went to the dentist*. This means that the fulfilment of the apodosis in this example [i.e. Mary went to the dentist] is not caused by the fulfilment of the protasis [i.e. Mary is late]. On the contrary, the causal relation is in the reverse direction, which means that Mary went to the dentist first and then the result of this action might be that Mary is late. Obviously, the speaker does not assert the fulfilment of the protasis in this conditional.

In the same way, the causal relation between the protasis and apodosis in the Arabic example is in the reverse direction. Saying it differently, the fact that the hearer is brave causes him to be able to come to the speaker and fulfil the protasis.

To sum up, the discussion of the sentence without a verb in the apodosis shows that the apodosis may not be the result of the protasis and this fact is against the statement of

Cantarino (1974).

2-If the sentence in the apodosis is interrogative, the apodosis must be introduced by *fa*, as shown below:

- (168) ?in ġā?a                      ?aḥmad-u,    fa-hal    sa-tuqābilu-hu.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-Q FUT-meet.IPFV.2SGM-3SG.ACC  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, then will you meet him?’

This type of conditionals is called *speech-act conditionals*, (see page 89 in chapter 3 for further details on this type of conditionals). It means that the condition of the performance of *the speech act* which is represented in the apodosis is the fulfilment of the protasis. Hence, the protasis enables or causes *the speech act* in the apodosis. As stated above, Sweetser (1990) argues that the common fact about *speech-act conditionals* is that they can be paraphrased by the expression ‘if [protasis], then let us consider that I perform this speech act (i.e., the one represented as the apodosis)’. With regards to the aforementioned example, it can be paraphrased as *if Ahmad comes, then consider that I ask you whether you will meet him or not*. According to Sweetser (1990), the relation between the protasis and the apodosis is a causal relation.

However, this idea is not corroborated by some linguists including Dancygier (1998) and Bhatt and Pancheva (2007). In fact, they treat this kind of conditionals as having a different relationship between the two clauses from causal conditionals. Obviously, the reason is that the apodosis has no truth value and therefore cannot be treated as expressing a proposition (also, see Declerck and Reed (2001)). In spite of this fact, they do not ignore the fact that there is a **causal** relationship between the two clauses which makes them different from other conditional sentence as in *if you are hungry, the food on the table* where the apodosis is fulfilled before the speaker utters the sentence. In *speech act conditionals* the causal relationship is not between the protasis and the proposition of the apodosis, rather it is between the protasis and *the speech act* performed in the apodosis.

To conclude, in example (168) above, the relationship between the protasis and the apodosis is **causal**. The fulfilment of the apodosis which is a question depends on the fulfilment of the protasis. This observation is against the statement of Badawi and Gully (2004) and Peled (1992).

3-If the sentence in the apodosis is imperative, the apodosis must be introduced by *fa*, as illustrated below:

- (169) ?in ġā?a                      ?aḥmad-u,      fa-qum                      la-hu.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-stand.IMP.2SGM.JUSS for-3SGM.GEN  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, then stand for him’

Like interrogative sentences, the imperative apodoses belong to the category of *speech act conditionals*. Following Sweetser (1990), this example can be paraphrased as *if Ahmad comes, then consider that I ask you to stand for him*. Clearly, the causal relationship is not between the protasis and the proposition of the apodosis, but between the protasis and *the speech act* which is performed by the speaker. In addition, the reaction of the hearer towards the interrogative or imperative sentence does not make any difference in the relationship between the protasis and the apodosis. For example, if the hearer in example (169) decides to refuse the request proposed by the speaker, the causal relation will still **hold** between the protasis and *the speech act*.

4-If the sentence in the apodosis is exclamative, the apodosis must be introduced by *fa*, as shown below:

- (170) ?in ġā?a                      ?aḥmad-u,      fa-mā      ?ġmal-a                      dālika!  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-that nice.3SGM-ACC this  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, then how nice it would be!’

Likewise, it can be assumed that exclamative sentence is a kind of *speech act conditional*. It has no truth value; therefore, it cannot express a proposition which can be either true or

false. Besides, example (170) can be paraphrased as *if Ahmad comes, then consider that I perform the exclamation.*

5-If the apodosis is negated by the particle *lā*, *lan*, or the negative imperative particle *lā*, the apodosis must be introduced by *fa*.

The negative particle *lā* can be used to negate the apodosis of the conditional sentence in MSA and *fa* will be therefore obligatory, as shown below:

- (171) ?in ġā?a                      ?aḥmad-u,    fa-lā            yuqābilu-hu  
       if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-NEG meet.IPFV.3SGM-3SG.ACC  
       <sup>c</sup>ali-un.  
       Ali-NOM  
       ‘If Ahmad comes, then Ali will not meet him’

The most important question raised here is what is the meaning of *lā* in the apodosis in a conditional sentence?

In fact, there are two readings for the apodosis of example (171). In the first reading, *Ali will not meet Ahmad* in the future. This reading can be proved by using the adverb *ġad-an* ‘tomorrow’ in the apodosis and the sentence will be consequently acceptable, as illustrated below:

- (172) ?in ġā?a                      ?aḥmad-u,    fa-lā            yuqābilu-hu  
       if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-NEG meet.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC  
       <sup>c</sup>ali-un    ġad-an.  
       Ali-NOM tomorrow.ACC  
       ‘If Ahmad comes, then Ali will not meet him tomorrow’

Clearly, the relationship between the protasis and the apodosis is **causal** according to this reading. This means that *if Ahmad comes*, then the apodosis will be fulfilled and *Ali will not meet him*.

The second possible reading is *Ali does not meet him* with habitual present interpretation. This can be evidenced by using the adverb *dāʔim-an* ‘always’ in the apodosis and the sentence is acceptable, as shown below:

- (173) ʔin ǧāʔa                    ʔaḥmad-u,    fa-lā        yuqābilu-hu  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-NEG meet.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC  
 ʕali-un    dāʔim-an.  
 Ali-NOM always-ACC  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, then Ali do not always meet him’

Conversely, the relation between the two clauses is not a **causal** relation. That is to say, *Ali does not meet Ahmad* whether he comes or not. Consequently, the relationship between the two clauses is not a **causal** relation.

As for *lan*, it is used for negating the future. Therefore, there is one possible reading for the sentence below which is the following *he will not go to the school*. As the example shows, the time reference of this sentence is the future:

- (174) lan    yaḏhaba                    ʔilā al-madrasat-i.  
 NEG go.IPFV.3SGM to    DEF-school-GEN  
 ‘He will not go to the school’

Consequently, *lan* is used to negate the apodosis in conditional sentences and therefore the conditional sentence below is indeed grammatical:

- (175) ʔin ǧāʔa                    ʔaḥmad-u,    fa-lan        yuqābilu-hu  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-NEG meet.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC  
 ʕali-un.  
 Ali-NOM  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, then Ali will not meet him’

Moreover, the relationship between the protasis and the apodosis is **causal**. *If Ahmad comes*, the result will be that *Ali will not meet him*. Obviously, this is against the statement

of Badawi and Gully (2004) and Peled (1992).

The final negative particle to be discussed in this part is the negative imperative particle *lā*. The meaning of the apodosis with this particle is similar to the meaning of the imperative sentence above. This means that the relationship between the protasis and the apodosis in the following sentence is also **causal**:

- (176) ?in ġā?a                      ?aḥmad-u,    fa-lā            tuqābil-hu.  
       if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-NEG meet.IPFV.2SGM.JUSS-3SG.ACC  
       ‘If Ahmad comes, then do not meet him’

This example can be paraphrased as in *if Ahmad comes, then consider that I forbid you to meet him*.

6-If the apodosis contains *qad*, the apodosis must be introduced by *fa*. *qad* occurs before a verb in the perfective or imperfective forms. If *qad* occurs before a verb in the perfective or imperfective form in the apodosis, the apodosis must be introduced by *fa*. The following example illustrates *qad* preceding a verb in the perfective form in the apodosis:

- (177) ?in fāza                      ʿali-un,    fa-qad            fāza            ?aḥmad-u.  
       if    win.PFV.3SGM Ali-NOM then-indeed win.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM  
       ‘If Ali wins, (then) Ahmad won’

In this example, *qad* confirms the meaning of the verb, which is in the perfective form, in the apodosis. Moreover, the time reference of the apodosis is the past. This means that *Ahmad* won already, before the speaker utters this sentence while *Ali* is likely to win in the future. The aim of the speaker here is to state that it will not be surprising if *Ali wins*, because *Ahmad* (which should be the same or worse) *won*. This kind of conditionals is like *epistemic conditionals* which was discussed above. In order to prove the aforementioned statement, the adverb *?amsi* ‘yesterday’ will be used in the apodosis and the sentence will still be grammatical, as illustrated below:

- (178) ?in fāza                    °ali-un,    fa-qad            fāza                    ?aḥmad-u  
 if    win.PFV.3SGM Ali-NOM then-indeed win.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM  
 ?ams-i.  
 yesterday-GEN  
 ‘If Ali wins, (then) Ahmad won yesterday’

Nevertheless, if the same adverb is used in the protasis, the sentence will be ungrammatical, as shown below:

- (179) \*?in fāza                    °ali-un    ?ams-i,                    fa-qad            fāza  
 if    win.PFV.3SGM Ali-NOM yesterday-GEN then-indeed win.PFV.3SGM  
 ?aḥmad-u.  
 Ahmad-NOM  
 ‘\*If Ali wins yesterday, (then) Ahmad won’

As mentioned earlier, the particle *qad* can be used with a verb in the imperfective form. The following sentence is an example of *qad* with a verb in the imperfective form:

- (180) ?in ḡā?a                    °ali-un,    fa-qad            yafūzu.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ali-NOM then-might win.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘If Ali comes, then he might win’

*qad* in this sentence means that the fulfilment of the apodosis is possible. The speaker means that *if Ali comes*, then the apodosis might be fulfilled and might not. Obviously, the relationship between the two clauses is **causal**, but it is weak relationship.

7-If the apodosis contains *sa* or *sawfa*, the apodosis must be introduced by *fa*, as illustrated below respectively:

- (181) a. ?in ḡā?a                    °ali-un,    fa-sa-yafuzu                    fi  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ali-NOM then-FUT-win.IPFV.3SGM in  
 al-sibāq-i.  
 DEF-competition-GEN  
 ‘If Ali comes, then he will win in the competition’



- b. ?in ḡāʔa                      ʿali-un,    fa-sawfa    yafuzu                      fī  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM    Ali-NOM    then-FUT    win.IPFV.3SGM    in  
 al-sibāq-i.  
 DEF-competition-GEN  
 ‘If Ali comes, then he will win in the competition’

As discussed in chapter two, there is a difference between the meaning of *sa* and *sawfa* in MSA in that the future with *sawfa* is far from the time of the utterance. However, both indicate the future tense. Similar to the particle *will* in the English language, *sa* and *sawfa* are used as markers of prediction in the conditional sentence. Generally, the speaker does not make the prediction in the protasis because he has no justified assumptions about the condition in the protasis. Because of that, the protasis usually does not have a marker of prediction in many languages. On the other hand, the speaker uses the assumption in the protasis with other assumptions (from the context) to arrive at the prediction in the apodosis. Because the apodosis makes the prediction, it must contain marker of prediction in many languages (see Dancygier (1993)). At this level, the question which should be asked is why the apodosis in the conditional sentence without *fa*, which is illustrated below, lack a marker of prediction?

- (182) ?in ḡāʔa                      ʿali-un,    yafuz                      fī al-sibāq-i.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM    Ali-NOM    win.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS    in    DEF-competition-GEN  
 ‘If Ali comes, he will win in the competition’

The prediction is understood in this example from the conditional conjunction which is used for the future. There is a difference in the interpretation between the two examples. In the last example, which is without *fa* and *sa* or *sawfa*, the hearer understands that the fulfilment of the apodosis will follow the fulfilment of the condition in the protasis immediately and therefore the relation between the two clauses is a strong relation. For instance, *Ali will win in the competition* after he comes immediately. On the other hand, when the apodosis is introduced by *fa* and when there is no marker of prediction as in example (183) below. This example can have two interpretations, as follows:

- (183) ?in ġā?a                      °ali-un,    fa-yadhabu                      ?ahmad-u.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ali-NOM then-leave.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM  
 ‘If Ali comes, then Ahmad will go/ goes’

*fa* here is optional and the meaning is ambiguous between two readings. In the first reading, *Ali comes first*, and then *Ahmad will go*. In the second reading, the apodosis has a habitual present interpretation. It means that *Ahmad usually goes* and there is no a **causal** relationship between the protasis and the apodosis.

In the case **where** *sa* or *sawfa* are used, the example will have only one reading which is the first reading, *Ali comes first*, and then *Ahmad will go*. The fulfilment of the apodosis with *sa* will be closer than *sawfa*.

In addition, it is clear that there is a **causal** relationship between the protasis and the apodosis in the conditional sentence with *sa* or *sawfa*.

8-If the sentence in the apodosis is introduced by *?inna*, *li?anna* ‘because’ or *la<sup>c</sup>alla* ‘perhaps’, the apodosis must be introduced by *fa*. The following example illustrates *?inna* :

- (184) ?in ġā?a                      °ali-un,    fa-?inna    ḥālid-an                      nā?im-un.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ali-NOM then-that Khaled-ACC asleep.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘If Ali comes, then Khaled is indeed asleep’

The apodosis **in example (184) is like the apodosis of the sentence without a verb which is addressed above in examples (165a) and (165b)**. The difference between the two examples is only that the speaker with *?inna* aims to assert the statement in the apodosis. Clearly, the relationship between the two clauses is not a **causal** relation. For example, *Khaled is sleeping* in this example whether *Ali comes* or not. This kind of conditional sentences is called *relevance conditional* as explained above.

Moreover, the apodosis can have two readings, like the sentence without a verb, as shown below:

- (185) ?in ḡā?a                      ʿali-un,    fa-?inna-hu                      šuḡā<sup>c</sup>-un.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ali-NOM then-that-3SGM.ACC brave.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘If Ali comes, then he is /will be indeed brave’

In example (185), the subject of the verb in the protasis is the same subject of the verb in the apodosis. Therefore, there are two readings. In the first reading, *Ali is always brave* while in the second reading, *he will be brave if he comes*. Obviously, the relationship between the two clauses is **causal** only in the second reading, whereas the conditional sentence in the first reading is entitled *epistemic conditionals*, as stated above.

The example of *li?anna* ‘because’ is:

- (186) ?in naḡaḡa                      ʿali-un,    fa-li?anna-hu                      muḡtahid-un.  
 if    succeed.PFV.3SGM Ali-NOM then-because-3SGM.ACC diligent.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘If Ali succeeds, (then because) he is diligent’

As example (186) shows, the relation between the protasis and the apodosis is not logical. The fulfilment of the protasis does not cause the fulfilment of the apodosis. On the contrary, the fact that *Ali is diligent* causes him to succeed. In other words, the example means that *if Ali succeeds then it is a consequence of his diligence*. This kind of conditionals has been discussed above and it is called *epistemic conditional*.

The example of *la<sup>c</sup>alla* ‘perhaps’ is:

- (187) ?in ḡā?a                      ʿali-un,    fa-la<sup>c</sup>alla    ḡālid-an    fī al-bayt-i.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ali-NOM then-perhaps Khaled-ACC in DEF-house-GEN  
 ‘If Ali comes, then Khaled might be in the house’

In example (187), the speaker thinks that the apodosis might be fulfilled when the protasis is fulfilled. He thinks that *Khaled might be in the house when Ali comes*. Clearly, the relation between the protasis and the apodosis is a **causal** relationship.

9-If the subject in the apodosis precedes its verb, as shown below:

- (188) ?in ġā?a                      ?aḥmad-u,    fa-<sup>c</sup>ali-un  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-Ali-NOM  
 yukrimu-hu.  
 honour.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, then Ali will honour/honours him’

There are two readings for example (188). In the first reading, the relationship between the protasis and the apodosis is a **causal** relation. In other words, the apodosis will be fulfilment (Ali honours Ahmad) if the condition in the protasis is satisfied (Ahmad comes). This interpretation is similar to the interpretation of the conditional sentence when the verb *yukrim-u* ‘honour’ precedes the subject *Ali*, as shown in (189) below. The difference only is that in (189), the speaker aims to emphasise the relation between the two clauses while the speaker in the example above shows that there is no strong relation between the fulfilment of the protasis and the fulfilment of the apodosis.

- (189) ?in ġā?a                      ?aḥmad-u,    yukrim-hu  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM honour.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS-3SGM.ACC  
<sup>c</sup>ali-un.  
 Ali-NOM  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, Ali will honour him’

In the second reading for example (188), the apodosis has a habitual present interpretation and *Ali always honours Ahmad*. It means that there is no **causal** relationship between the two clauses. Besides, this reading can be evidenced by inserting the adverb *dāʔim-an* ‘always’ in the apodosis. The sentence remains grammatical and therefore proves the statement. See this example below:

- (190) ?in ġā?a                      ?ahmad-u,    fa-<sup>c</sup>ali-un  
 if come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM then-Ali-NOM  
 yukrimu-hu                              dā?im-an.  
 honour.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC always-ACC  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, (then) Ali always honours him’

To sum up, there are nine types of sentences that cause the apodosis to be introduced by *fa*. The first is the sentence without a verb. The second is interrogative sentence. The third is imperative sentence. The fourth is exclamative sentence. The fifth is the sentence that is negated by *lā*, *lan*, or the negative imperative particle *lā*. The sixth is the sentence that is introduced by *qad*. The seventh is the sentence that is introduced by *sa* ‘will’ or *sawfa* ‘will’. The eighth is the sentence that is introduced by *?inna* ‘that’, *li?anna* ‘because’ or *la<sup>c</sup>alla* ‘perhaps’. The ninth is the sentence that starts with its subject.

Taken into considerations most points raised and discussed, it can be concluded that *fa* introduces the apodoses in conditional sentences in MSA with some particular types of sentences which have already listed above. When *fa* is used then there are three types of relationships between the two clauses. First, a **causal** relationship which can be divided into two kinds. One is a direct **causal** relationship including the negative apodosis which is negated by the particles *lā* (in one reading), and *lan*, the apodosis with *qad* if it precedes a verb in the imperfective form, the apodosis without a verb in one reading and the apodosis with *sa* and *sawfa*. The other types of **causal** relationship is an indirect **causal** relation which is called *speech act conditionals* including interrogative, imperative, exclamative apodoses, and the negative imperative apodosis.

Second, a non-**causal** relationship which has two groups: *relevance conditionals* which include the apodosis without a verb in one reading and *epistemic conditionals* which include the rest of the kinds of apodoses.

It seems that *fa* is used to indicate that the apodosis is not the result of the fulfilment of the protasis when the relation between the two clauses is not **causal** or to indicate that there is no strong relation between the fulfilment of the two clauses when the relation between

the two clauses is **causal** relation.

The second kind of apodosis is the bare apodosis. The apodosis must be bare if and only if it contains a verb in the perfective form. The following sentence illustrates:

- (191) *ʔin ǧāʔa sālīm-un, dahaba ḥālid-un.*  
 if come.PFV.3SGM Salem-NOM go.PFV.3SGM Khaled-NOM  
 ‘If Salem comes, Khaled will go’

In contrast, the apodosis can optionally be bare if it contains a verb in the imperfective form. In this case, the apodosis can occur with or without *fa*, as shown in the following examples, respectively:

- (192) a. *ʔin ǧāʔa sālīm-un, yaḏhab ḥālid-un.*  
 if come.PFV.3SGM Salem-NOM go.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Khaled-un  
 ‘If Salem comes, Khaled will go’
- b. *ʔin ǧāʔa sālīm-un, fa-yaḏhab ḥālid-un.*  
 if come.PFV.3SGM Salem-NOM then-go.IPFV.3SGM Khaled-un  
 ‘If Salem comes, Khaled will go’

The following section will discuss the possible verb forms in the conditional sentence with *ʔin* and their meanings.

### 4.2.1.3 Verb forms

A conditional sentence in MSA with the conjunction *?in* allows two verb forms in both the protasis and the apodosis, namely, the perfective and the imperfective form. However, each form is used in a special and different way in conditional sentences. For instance, the perfective form (which has the past interpretation in declarative sentences) is used with the future interpretation in the protasis that is introduced by *?in* and in the apodosis if the relation between the two clauses is causal relation. Moreover, the imperfective form (which usually has the present interpretation) is also used with the future interpretation in the protasis and in the apodosis if the relation is **causal**.

The time reference of the whole conditional sentence with *?in* is always the future if the relation between the two clauses is **causal**, whereby the fulfilment of the apodosis follows the fulfilment of the protasis. Because of space, the focus will only be restricted to the causal relation between the two clauses. In this case, some questions are raised, namely, which item in the conditional sentence with *?in* determines the time reference of that sentence, why do we use different forms of verbs in the conditional sentence with *?in*? And finally, what does the form of the verb add to the interpretation of the conditional sentence?

This section suggests that the conjunction *?in* in MSA functions as a marker of non-assertiveness and shows the connection between the subordinate and main clause, such as conditional conjunctions in other languages. Moreover, following the trends of Arabic traditional grammarians, it should be assumed that *?in* in conditional sentences indicates the future interpretation. Because of this, the time reference of the protasis is always the future and the time reference of the apodosis is also the future if the relation between the two clauses is **causal**.

Further discussion on forms of verbs is provided in below. The discussion is divided into two topics. The first will address the use of the same forms in both the protasis and the apodosis. Consequently, there will be an attempt to interpret verbs in the perfective and in the imperfective forms in both the protasis and the apodosis. The second, however, will discuss the use of different forms in the protasis and the apodosis.

In MSA, the form of the two verbs in the protasis and apodosis can be the perfective form, as shown below:

- (193) ?in ḡāʔa                    ḥāmid-un,    ḍahaba                    sālim-un.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Hamed-NOM    leave.PFV.3SGM Salem-NOM  
 ‘If Hamed comes, Salem will leave’

The time reference of the conditional clause in example (193) is the future. It means that *Hamed* should come after the speaker utters the sentence and if he comes, the apodosis will be fulfilled and *Salim will leave*. The protasis in this sentence which is *?in ḡāʔa ḥāmid-un* ‘if Hamed comes’ is a *derived tense structure* (DTS). It is derived by the combination of the conditional conjunction and the sentence *ḡāʔa ḥāmid-un* ‘Hamed came’. In the *basic tense structure* (BTS) (before the combination), the event time (E) and reference time are identical and they precede the speech time (S), (E, R\_S) because the form of the verb is the perfective form. However, after the combination between the conditional conjunction and the sentence, the speech time (S) becomes before the reference time (R) and the event time (E), (S\_ E, R). It means that the BTS is (E, R\_S) while the DTS is (S\_ E, R). In this case, the conditions that should constrain the derived tense structure which are quoted in (16) and repeated in (194) are not applied (see page 16-19 for more details about E, R, S, BTS and DTS).

- (194) a. ‘No points are associated in DTS (derive tense structure) that are not associated in BTS (basic tense structure)’

- b. ‘The linear order of points in DTS is the same as that in BTS’. (as observed in Michaelis (2006, 5))

In the same way, the sentence *ḍahaba sālim-un* ‘Salem left’ in the apodosis in example (193) before the combination with the protasis denotes the past. The event time (E) and the reference time (R) are identical and they precede the speech time (S), (E, R\_S). However,



the derived tense structure after the combination with the protasis is (S- E, R) and it is also do not obey the constraints on the derived tense structure. Michaelis (2006) states that it is not clear that the constraints in (194) can be applied to conditional sentences where the verb forms are used to express the judgement of the speaker. In conditional sentences in the English language, the present and the past form are used to denote the future while the past perfect is used to denote the past. Michaelis (2006, 7) concludes that verb forms in conditional sentences ‘do not denote the relationship between E and S, or E and R’ in the same way as declarative sentences.

This interpretation that was given to example (193) can be evidenced by using an adverb like *ġad-an* ‘tomorrow’ in the protasis and *ba<sup>c</sup>d-a ġad-in* ‘after tomorrow’ in the apodosis and the sentence will remain grammatical, as shown in the example below:

- (195) *ʔin ġāʔa*                      *ḥāmid-un*      *ġad-an,*                      *ḍahaba*                      *sālim-un*  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Hamed-NOM tomorrow-ACC leave.PFV.3SGM Salem  
*ba<sup>c</sup>d-a*      *ġad-in.*  
 after-ACC tomorrow-GEN  
 ‘If Hamed comes tomorrow, Salem will leave after tomorrow’

On the other hand, when an adverb referring to the past, such as *ʔams-i* ‘yesterday’ or the present, such as *al-ʔāna* ‘now’ is used in the protasis or the apodosis, the sentence will be ungrammatical, as shown below:

- (196) a. *\*ʔin ġāʔa*                      *ḥāmid-un*      *ʔams-i/al-ʔān-a,*  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Hamed-NOM yesterday-GEN/DEF-now-ACC  
*ḍahaba*                      *sālim-un*  
 leave.PFV.3SGM Salem  
 ‘If Hamed had come yesterday/comes now, Salem would have left/leaves’
- b. *\*ʔin ġāʔa*                      *ḥāmid-un,*      *ḍahaba*                      *sālim-un*  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Hamed-NOM leave.PFV.3SGM Salem  
*ʔams-i/al-ʔān-a.*  
 yesterday-GEN/DEF-now-ACC  
 ‘If Hamed had come/Hamed comes, Salem would have left yesterday/leaves now’

The two verbs in the protasis and apodosis can also be in the imperfective form, as shown in the example below:

- (197) ?in ya?ti                      ḥālīd-un,      yaḍhab                      fāris-un.  
if   come.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Khaled-NOM   leave.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Faris-NOM  
‘If Khaled comes, Faris will leave’

The time reference of the conditional sentence here is the future. The sentence in the protasis before it combines with the conditional conjunction can be represented as (E, R, S) and as (S\_ E, R) after the combination. Also, the sentence in the apodosis is (E, R, S) before it combines with the protasis and (S\_ E, R) after the combination. Both derived tense structures violate the constraints in (194). The future interpretation for example (197) can be further evidenced via inserting two adverbs in the sentences being namely either *ḡad-an* ‘tomorrow’ or *ba<sup>c</sup>d-a ḡad-in* ‘after tomorrow’. After the insertion of these adverbs the sentence will be still grammatical as shown below.

- (198) ?in ya?ti                      ḥālīd-un      ḡad-an,                      yaḍhab  
if   come.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Khaled-NOM tomorrow-ACC   leave.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS  
fāris-un      ba<sup>c</sup>d-a      ḡad-in.  
Faris-NOM after-ACC tomorrow-GEN  
‘If Khaled comes tomorrow, Faris will leave after tomorrow’

Nevertheless, the sentence will be ungrammatical with an adverb like *?ams-i* ‘yesterday’ or *al-?ān-a* ‘now’ in the protasis or apodosis, as illustrated below:

- (199) a. \*?in ya?ti                      ḥālīd-un      ?ams-i/al-?ān-a,  
if   come.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Khaled-NOM yesterday-GEN/DEF-now-ACC  
yaḍhab                      fāris-un.  
leave.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Faris-NOM  
‘If Khaled had come yesterday/comes now, Faris would have left/leaves’

- b. \*ʔin yaʔti    ḥālīd-un,         yaḍhab    fāris-un  
 if        come.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Khaled-NOM leave.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Faris-NOM  
 ʔams-i/al-ʔān-a.  
 yesterday-GEN/DEF-now-ACC  
 ‘If Khaled had come/comes, Faris would have yesterday/leaves now’

As it can be seen from the examples above, when verbs are used in the perfective or imperfective form in the conditional sentence with the conjunction *ʔin*, the time reference of the protasis will be the future and the time reference of the apodosis will be the future if the relation between the two clauses is **causal**. Moreover, the time reference of the protasis precedes the time reference of the apodosis. The conditional sentence with the conjunction *ʔin* is a *real conditional* and it is similar to the English example *If it rains, I will stay at home*, whereby verb forms do not determine the type of the conditional with the conjunction *ʔin* in MSA. It means that the case in MSA is unlike the case in the English language regarding verb forms.

The question raised here is therefore what is the role of the verb forms in a conditional sentence with the conjunction *ʔin*? Put it in another way, what are the differences between the verb in the perfective form and the verb in the imperfective form with the conjunction *ʔin*?

Obviously, there are differences between the two forms in the meaning. These differences are related to the belief of the speaker towards the fulfilment of the protasis or the apodosis. When the speaker uses a verb in the perfective form in the clause, he suggests that the clause will be fulfilled. On the other hand, when the speaker uses a verb in the imperfective form, he aims to show that the fulfilment of the clause is uncertain but it is possible (see Almasdi and Altarabulsi (1985)).

In contrast, the verb in the protasis can be different in the form from the verb in the apodosis. For example, the protasis can contain a verb in the perfective form while the apodosis contains a verb in the imperfective form, as shown in the following example:

- (200) ?in ḡāʔa                      ḥāmid-un,    yadhab                      sālim-un.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Hamed-NOM leave.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Salem-NOM  
 ‘If Hamed comes, Salem will leave’

The time reference of the protasis is the future and the time reference of the apodosis is also the future because the relation between the two clauses is **causal**. However, the speaker in this example shows that he is more confident about the fulfilment of the protasis. In other words, the speaker suggests that *Hamid will come* and the protasis will be fulfilled. On the other hand, the speaker aims to show that there is a weak relation in the fulfilments of the two clauses by using a verb in the imperfective form in the result clause.

Conversely, a verb in the imperfective form can be used in the protasis with a verb in the perfective form in the apodosis, as shown below:

- (201) ?in yaʔti                      ḥāmid-un,    ḍahaba                      sālim-un.  
 if    come.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Hamed-NOM leave.PFV.3SGM Salem-NOM  
 ‘If Hamed comes, Salem will leave’

As it can be observed from the example above, the time reference of the protasis is the future and the time reference of the apodosis is the future too because the relation between the two clauses is **causal**. However, the speaker aims to be neutral about the assumption in the protasis by using a verb in the imperfective form. In addition, the speaker uses a verb in the perfective form in the apodosis to show that there is a strong relation between the fulfilments of the two clauses.

To sum up, all the constructions of conditionals with the conjunction *?in* are *real conditionals*. It means that the speaker does not have negative belief towards the fulfilment of the conditional with this conjunction. In addition, the use of a verb in the perfective or imperfective form expresses the speaker’s suggestion about the fulfilment of the clause. For instance, when the speaker uses a verb in the perfective form in the protasis, he aims to show that he is more confident about the fulfilment of the clause. On the other hand,

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when the speaker uses a verb in the imperfective in the protasis, he aims to show that he is neutral about the fulfilment of the clause. By using a verb in the perfective in the apodosis, the speaker intends to show that the relation between the fulfilment of the protasis and the apodosis is strong. On the other hand, when using a verb in the imperfective in the apodosis, the speaker aims to show that the relation between the two clauses is weak. The following section will be devoted to conditional sentences that are introduced by the conjunction *law*.

### 4.2.2 The conditional sentence with *law*

*law* in MSA is used to introduce *unreal conditionals*. As stated earlier, there are two major types of **conditional**: *real* and *unreal conditionals*. It has also been stated that there are three types of *unreal conditional* and the difference between them is in the time reference. The time reference of the first type is the future, as shown below:

(202) If the king quitted, the country would be very rich.

The speaker in this example expects that the king will not quit. Therefore, the fulfilment of the condition is contrary to expectation.

The time reference of the second type is the present, as shown below:

(203) If I had a pen, I could write the answer.

The speaker in this example assumes that he has no pen when he utters the sentence. Therefore, the fulfilment of the condition is contrary to assumption.

The time reference of the third type is the past, as shown below:

(204) If I had answered the last question, I would have passed the exam.

What happened is that the speaker did not answer the last question. Therefore, the fulfilment of the condition is contrary to fact.

In MSA, these meanings of *unreal conditional* are ambiguous out of context<sup>6</sup>. For instance, the sentence below could have three interpretations. They are stated respectively below:

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<sup>6</sup>This is the case in other languages, such as Russian and Kabyle (see Hacking (1998) and Amellal (1988)).

- (205) law ḡāʔa                      zayd-un,      la-fāza                      bi-al-ḡāʔizat-i.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM    Zayd-NOM    indeed-win.PFV.3SGM    with-DEF-prize-GEN  
 ‘If Zayd came/had come, he would/could win/would have won the prize’

There are three readings for this sentence: it might mean that (i) *if Zayd came, he would win the prize* in the future, or (ii) *if Zayd came, he could win the prize now*, or (iii) *if Zayd had come, he would have won the prize* in the past. This can be clearly evidenced by using adverbs like, *ḡad-an* ‘tomorrow’, *ʔalʔan-a* ‘now’ and *ʔams-i* ‘yesterday’ in the conditional sentence which will remain grammatical, as shown respectively:

- (206) law ḡāʔa                      zayd-un      ḡad-an,                      la-fāza  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM    Zayd-NOM    tomorrow-ACC    indeed-win.PFV.3SGM  
 bi-al-ḡāʔizat-i.  
 with-DEF-prize-GEN  
 ‘If Zayd came tomorrow, he would win the prize’

In example (206), the speaker expects that *Zayd* will not come tomorrow; therefore, *he will not win the prize*.

- (207) law ḡāʔa                      zayd-un      ʔalʔan-a,                      la-fāza  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM    Zayd-NOM    DEF-now-ACC    indeed-win.PFV.3SGM  
 bi-al-ḡāʔizat-i.  
 with-DEF-prize-GEN  
 ‘If Zayd came now, he could win the prize’

In example (207), the speaker assumes that *Zaid does not come now*; therefore, *he could not win the prize*.

- (208) law ḡāʔa                      zayd-un      ʔams-i,                      la-fāza  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM    Zayd-NOM    yesterday-GEN    indeed-win.PFV.3SGM  
 bi-al-ḡāʔizat-i.  
 with-DEF-prize-GEN  
 ‘If Zayd had come yesterday, he would have won the prize’

In example (208), *Zaid did not come yesterday; therefore, he did not win the prize.*

The next part will be divided into three sections. The first section discusses possible types of **sentence** in the protasis with the conjunction *law*. The second section discusses possible types of **sentence** in the apodosis with *law*, whereas the third section highlights the role of verb forms in the protasis and apodosis with the conjunction *law*. Like the case with the conjunction *?in*, any type of sentence in the protasis can be connected with any type of sentence in the apodosis.

#### 4.2.2.1 The protasis

The protasis with the conjunction *law* in MSA is slightly different from the protasis with the conjunction *?in*. In fact, with *law*, the sentence in the protasis can be a sentence without a verb if it is introduced by *?anna*. Also, *kāna* is usually used in the protasis in a different way with the conjunction *law*. In spite of these differences, the protasis with *law* is similar to the protasis with *?in* in that it must be a declarative sentence and cannot be interrogative, imperative, or exclamative.

The protasis with *law* can contain a verb in the perfective and imperfective form, as shown below respectively:

- (209) a. *law qāma*                      *?aḥmad-u,*    *qāma*                      *sālim-un.*  
           if stand.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM stand.PFV.3SGM Salem-NOM  
           ‘If Ahmad stood/had stood, Salem would/could stand/ would have stood’
- b. *law yaqūmu*                      *?aḥmad-u,*    *yaqūmu*                      *sālim-un.*  
           if stand.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM stand.IPFV.3SGM Salem-NOM  
           ‘If Ahmad stood, Salem would/could stand’

The sentence in (209a) has three interpretations out of the context. The time reference of the protasis can be the future, the present, or the past, as stated above. However, the



conditional sentence in (209b) has a different interpretation because the use of the imperfective form. The time reference of the protasis can be the future or the present. The meaning of conditionals with *law* will be discussed below in more detail.

In addition, the sentence in the protasis can be either a sentence with a verb, as illustrated above or a sentence without a verb if it is introduced by *?anna*, as shown below:

- (210) *law ?anna muḥammad-an qā?im-un, qum-tu.*  
 if that Muhammad-ACC stand.3SGM-NOM stand.PFV-1SG.NOM  
 ‘If Muhammad was standing/ had stood, I would/could stand/ would have stood’

Cantarino (1974, 322) states that ‘since *law* cannot be followed by a noun, when it introduces a nominal or an inverted verbal sentence, *?anna* is used after the conditional particle’. In addition, this section suggests that when the speaker uses *?anna* in the protasis, he aims to emphasise that there is a strong relation between the protasis and the apodosis because *?anna* is always used to emphasise the statement in a sentence and the emphasis in an *unreal conditional* sentence means the emphasis of the relation between the two clauses. This means that the speaker shows that if the protasis was fulfilled, the apodosis would be definitely fulfilled.

In spite of this meaning which is added by *?anna*, the conditional sentence still has the three interpretations which the conditional sentence with *law* has out of the context.

As for *kāna*, it can be used in the protasis with *law*. However, when *kāna* is used in the protasis, it can be either in the perfective or the imperfective form as shown below:

- (211) *law kāna al-ṭālib-u ḥāḍir-an, nağāḥa.*  
 if be.PFV.3SGM DEF-student-NOM present.3SGM-ACC succeed.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘If the student were present / had presented, he would/ could succeed/ would have succeeded’

As shown in example (211) above, *kāna* which is used in the perfective form is not used to indicate the past like the case in normal sentences. Therefore, this sentence has three interpretations. In the first interpretation, the speaker expects that *the student will not present* in the future; therefore *he will not succeed*. In the second interpretation, the speaker assumes that *the student is not present* in the present time and therefore *he does not succeed*. In the third interpretation, *the student was not present* and *he did not succeed*.

The aforementioned three readings can be evidenced by inserting either of the following three adverbs in the conditional sentence, being respectively: *ḡad-an* ‘tomorrow’, *alʔāna* ‘now’ and *ʔams-i* ‘yesterday’. As the examples below confirm, the three sentences has remained grammatical:

- (212) a. law kāna                    al-ṭālib-u                    ḡad-an                    ḡad-an,  
           if    be.PFV.3SGM DEF-student-NOM present.3SGM-ACC tomorrow-ACC  
           naḡaḡa.  
           succeed.PFV.3SGM  
           ‘If the student were present tomorrow, he would succeed’
- b. law kāna                    al-ṭālib-u                    ḡad-an                    al-ʔān-a,  
           if    be.PFV.3SGM DEF-student-NOM present.3SGM-ACC DEF-now-ACC  
           naḡaḡa.  
           succeed.PFV.3SGM  
           ‘If the student were present now, he could succeed’
- c. law kāna                    al-ṭālib-u                    ḡad-an                    ʔams-i,  
           if    be.PFV.3SGM DEF-student-NOM present.3SGM-ACC yesterday-GEN  
           naḡaḡa.  
           succeed.PFV.3SGM  
           ‘If the student had presented yesterday, he would have succeeded’

As for the imperfective form, the example below is an example of *kāna* in the imperfective form.

- (213) *law yakūnu*            *al-ṭālib-u*            *ḥāḍir-an,*            *nağaḥa.*  
 if    be.IPFV.3SGM DEF-student-NOM present.3SGM-ACC succeed.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘If the student were present, he would/ could succeed’

There are only two interpretations for this type of sentences. On the one hand, this sentence can be interpreted as the speaker does not expect the fulfilment of the protasis in the future which means that he expects that the student will not be present in the future. The second interpretation, on the other hand, is that the speaker does not assume the fulfilment of the protasis in the present which means that the student is not present when the speaker utters the sentence. Accordingly, this means that this example cannot be used as an example of a past *unreal conditional*.

This can be proved by using the adverb *?ams-i* ‘yesterday’ in the protasis and the sentence will be ungrammatical as shown below:

- (214) \**law yakūnu*            *al-ṭālib-u*            *ḥāḍir-an*            *?ams-i,*  
 if    be.IPFV.3SGM DEF-student-NOM present.3SGM-ACC yesterday-GEN  
*nağaḥa.*  
 succeed.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘If the student had presented yesterday, he would have succeeded’

Like the case with *?in*, the habitual and the progressive aspect can be indicated in the **protasis** with *law* by using the imperfective form. The following section will discuss the types of sentences in the apodosis with the conjunction *law*.

### 4.2.2.2 The apodosis

The **clause** in the apodosis with the conjunction *law* is always declarative. There are two kinds of **clauses** that can be used in the apodosis. In the first kind, the apodosis is a bare **clause**. This means that the **clause** of the apodosis is not introduced by any particle. In this case, the **clause** can have a verb in either the perfective or the imperfective form, as shown below respectively:

(215) a. *law dākara al-ṭālib-u, nağāḥa.*  
 if study.PFV.3SGM DEF-student-NOM succeed.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘If the student studied/had studied, he would/could succeed/ would have succeeded’

b. *law dākara al-ṭālib-u, yanğāḥu.*  
 if study.PFV.3SGM DEF-student-NOM succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘If the student studied/had studied, he would/could succeed/ would have succeeded’

The second kind of **clause** is introduced by the emphatic prefix *la*. However, this prefix is only used with a verb in the perfective form, as shown below:

(216) *law dākara al-ṭālib-u, la-nağāḥa.*  
 if study.PFV.3SGM DEF-student-NOM indeed-succeed.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘If the student studied/had studied, (indeed) he would/could succeed/ would have succeeded’

In this example, the speaker uses *la* to emphasise the fulfilment of the apodosis as a result of the protasis (for more information about this prefix see Cantarino (1974)). In other words, the speaker indicates that there is a strong relationship between the fulfilments of the two clauses.

In addition, the declarative **clause** in the apodosis in a conditional sentence with the conjunction *law* must be a **clause** with a verb. The verb can be a **lexical** verb like the previous examples and also can be *kāna*. In addition, *kāna* can be used in the perfective or the imperfective form, as illustrated below respectively:

- (217) *law* ḡāʔa                      muḥammad-un,      kāna                      al-fawz-u  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM    Muhammad-NOM    be.PFV.3SGM    DEF-win-NOM  
 la-hu.  
 for-3SGM.GEN  
 ‘If Muhammad came/ had come, he would/could win/ would have won’

In this example, the relationship between the two clauses is a causal relationship. Thus, the condition of the fulfilment of the apodosis is the fulfilment of the protasis. *kāna* is used here without another verb and the speaker uses the perfective form of *kāna* in this example to emphasise the fulfilment of the apodosis.

Moreover, *kāna* can also be used in the imperfective form to show that the fulfilment of the apodosis is less likely to happen. In this case, the speaker has a negative belief about the fulfilment of both clauses, however, he also believes that the relationship between the two clauses is weak. The sentence below is an example of *kāna* in the imperfective form in the apodosis.

- (218) *law* ḡāʔa                      muḥammad-un,      yakūnu                      al-fawz-u  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM    Muhammad-NOM    be.IPFV.3SGM    DEF-win-NOM  
 la-hu.  
 for-3SGM.GEN  
 ‘If Muhammad came/ had come, he would/could win/ would have won’

The following section will shed light on verb forms in the conditional sentence that is introduced by the conjunction *law*.

### 4.2.2.3 Verb forms

This section will explain verb forms in conditional sentences that are introduced by *law*. The verb forms in the two clauses in this type of conditional sentences can be in the same form or in different forms. Thus, this section will discuss the conditional sentences that have two verbs in the same form and then it will discuss the conditional sentences that have different forms of verb.

The verbs in the protasis and the apodosis can be in the imperfective form and the conditional sentence will be ambiguous between two **interpretations**, namely, the present and future. The following example is illustrative:

- (219) *law yadhabu zayd-un yaʔtī ʕamr-un.*  
 if go.IPFV.3SGM Zayd-NOM come.IPFV.3SGM Amr-NOM  
 ‘If Zaid went, Amr would/could come’

This conditional sentence is *an unreal conditional*. However, there are two interpretations for this sentence. In the first interpretation, the time reference of the sentence is the present which means that the speaker assumes that *Zayd does not go* in the present; hence, *Amr does not come*. Obviously, the adverb *al-ʔāna* ‘now’ can be used in the protasis for demonstrating this interpretation and the sentence will be grammatical, as shown below:

- (220) *law yadhabu zayd-un al-ʔāna, yaʔtī ʕamr-un.*  
 if go.IPFV.3SGM Zayd-NOM DEF-now.ACC come.IPFV.3SGM Amr-NOM  
 ‘If Zaid went now, Amr could come’

In example (220), the sentence in the protasis is (E, R, S) before and after it combines with the conditional conjunction. In the same way, the sentence in the apodosis is (E, R, S) before and after it combines with the protasis.

In the second interpretation, the time reference of the conditional sentence is the future. It means that the speaker expects that the protasis will not be fulfilled in the future. This

suggestion can be evidenced by the fact that by inserting the adverb *ġad-an* ‘tomorrow’ in the protasis, the sentence will still be grammatical, as shown below:

- (221) *law yadhabu zayd-un ġad-an, yaʔtī ʕamr-un.*  
 if go.IPFV.3SGM Zayd-NOM tomorrow.ACC come.IPFV.3SGM Amr-NOM  
 ‘If Zaid went tomorrow, Amr would come’

In example (221), the sentence in the protasis is (E, R, S) before it combines with the conjunction and it is (S\_E, R) after the combination. In the same way, the sentence in the apodosis is (E, R, S) before it combines with the protasis and it is (S\_E, R) after the combination.

On the other hand, the time reference of the sentence cannot be the past. This is because of the imperfective forms of the verbs. Therefore, when the adverb *ʔams-i* ‘yesterday’ is used in the protasis, the sentence will be ungrammatical, as shown below:

- (222) \**law yadhabu zayd-un ʔams-i, yaʔtī ʕamr-un.*  
 if go.IPFV.3SGM Zayd-NOM yesterday.GEN come.IPFV.3SGM Amr-NOM  
 ‘If Zaid had gone yesterday, Amr would have come’

As for the perfective form, a conditional sentence that is introduced by *law* and has verbs in the perfective forms in both clauses is ambiguous between three interpretations, whereby the context is what helps the hearer decide which one is the correct interpretation. The sentence below is an example of verbs in the perfective forms in both the protasis and apodosis:

- (223) *law dākara ḥālid-un, naġaḥa.*  
 if study.PFV.3SGM Khaled-NOM succeed.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘If Khaled studied/ had studied, he would/could succeed / would have succeeded’

The sentence in the protasis in (223) should be represented as (E, R.S) before the combination with the conjunction. In the same way, the sentence in the apodosis before it

combines with the protasis is (E, R<sub>-</sub>S). However, when the sentence in the protasis combines with the conjunction, the derived tense should be (E, R, S) in the first interpretation (if Khaled studied, he could succeed), (S<sub>-</sub> E, R) in the second interpretation (if Khaled studied, he would succeed), or (E, R<sub>-</sub> S) in the third interpretation (if Khaled had studied, he would have succeeded). The derived tense of the sentence in the apodosis is the same when it combines with the protasis.

The forms of verbs in the conditional sentence with the conjunction *law* are not always the same in both clauses. In other words, there are four patterns with the conjunction *law*. Two verbs in the perfective form or two in the imperfective form can be used in the two clauses. Moreover, the following scenario is possible: a verb in the perfective form can be used in the protasis with a verb in the imperfective form in the apodosis and conversely a verb in the imperfective form can be used in the protasis with a verb in the perfective form in the apodosis. The following discussion aims to explain the meanings of these two patterns.

The following example shows a verb in the perfective form in the protasis with a verb in the imperfective form in the apodosis:

- (224) *law* ḡāʔa                      ʔaḥmad-un,    yaḏhabu                      ḥālid-un.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM    go.IPFV.3SGM Khaled-NOM  
 ‘If Ahmad came/had come, Khaled would/ could go/ would have gone’

This example is ambiguous as it has three possible interpretations in the future, the present or the past. It means that if the verb in the protasis is in the perfective form, the conditional sentence will have the three interpretations. Otherwise, it will have two interpretations in the future or present. Moreover, the speaker in this example shows that the fulfilment of the apodosis will not be strongly guaranteed. In other words, the relationship between the fulfilment of the protasis and the fulfilment of the apodosis is not strong relationship. In other words, the speaker believes that the protasis might be fulfilled (in spite of the speakers doubt) and the apodosis is not fulfilled.



This assumption can be proved by adding another conditional clause to the result clause in the previous example, as shown below:

- (225) *law* ḡāʔa                      ʔaḥmad-un,    yaḏhabu                      ḥālid-un                      ʔin  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM go.IPFV.3SGM Khaled-NOM if  
 astṭā<sup>c</sup>a.  
 can.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘If Ahmad came, Khaled would go (if he can)’

The clause *ʔin astṭā<sup>c</sup>a* ‘if he (Khaled) can’ assigns one interpretation to the sentence. This interpretation is the future, because *ʔin* indicates the future tense as stated above. The speaker in this example doubts the fulfilment of the first conditional clause which is *law ḡāʔa ʔaḥmad-un* ‘If Ahmad came’ by using *law*. Then, the speaker shows that there is another condition for the fulfilment of the result clause which is *ʔin astṭā<sup>c</sup>a* ‘if he can’. It means that the relationship between the protasis which is introduced by *law* and the apodosis is not strong. The speaker uses the verb in the imperfective form in the apodosis to show this weakness.

Moreover, this assumption can be further evidenced by the oddness of the following sentence when a verb in the perfective form is used in the apodosis instead of a verb in the imperfective form, as shown below:

- (226) ʔ*law* ḡāʔa                      ʔaḥmad-un,    ḏahaba                      ḥālid-un                      ʔin  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM go.PFV.3SGM Khaled-NOM if  
 astṭā<sup>c</sup>a.  
 can.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘If Ahmad came, Khaled would go (if he can)’

The oddness of this sentence is because the speaker uses the verb in the perfective form in the apodosis which indicates that the apodosis is likely to be fulfilled, and then the speaker uses another condition for the fulfilment of the apodosis. In other words, the speaker indicates that the relation between the protasis and the apodosis is a strong relation, but

he uses another condition for the fulfilment of the apodosis at the same time showing that there is a weakness in this relation.

The fourth pattern of verb forms with *law* is the case in which a verb in the imperfective form is used in the protasis and a verb in the perfective form is used in the apodosis:

- (227) *law yaʔtī*                      ʔaḥmad-un,    *ḍahaba*                      ḥālid-un.  
       if    come.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM go.PFV.3SGM Khaled-NOM  
       ‘If Ahmad came, Khaled would/ could go’

There are only two readings for this example as *an unreal conditional* either in the present or the future. In addition, the speaker in the protasis shows that the fulfilment of the protasis is not expected, however, the possibility of its fulfilment is more than the perfective form. On the other hand, the verb in the perfective form in the apodosis indicates that the speaker asserts that the apodosis will be fulfilled if the condition in the protasis is satisfied. In other words, the speaker shows that the relationship between the fulfilment of the protasis and the apodosis is a strong relationship.

In addition, the use of *la* (which emphasises the apodosis) with a verb in the perfective form supports the aforementioned interpretation with respect to the use of a verb in the perfective form in the apodosis. As stated above, the speaker uses the perfective form to emphasise the fulfilment of the apodosis while he uses the imperfective form to indicate that the fulfilment of the apodosis is not guaranteed. It means that if the speaker aims to emphasise the fulfilment of the apodosis, he uses a verb in the perfective form and if he aims to show more emphasis, he uses *la* with the perfective form. The speaker cannot use *la* with a verb in the imperfective form.

In sum, verbs can be used either in the perfective or imperfective forms in both the protasis and apodosis with the conjunction *law*. The meanings of the perfective and imperfective forms differ depending on their use in the protasis and the apodosis. As a matter of fact, when a verb in the perfective form is used in the protasis, that makes the conditional

sentence subject to the three possible interpretations: being respectively an interpretation in the past, the present, or in the future. On the other hand, when a verb is used in the imperfective form in the protasis, this makes the sentence subject to two interpretations in the present or the future. Moreover, the fulfilment of the protasis is less likely to happen when using a verb in the perfective form and more likely to occur when using a verb in the imperfective form.

Finally, in the apodosis, the meanings of the perfective and imperfective forms are different. The speaker uses the perfective form to show that there is a strong relation between the conditional clause and the result clause. On the other hand, the speaker uses the imperfective form to show that the relation between the protasis and the apodosis is weak. In other words, when the speaker uses the imperfective form, then he is less confident about the fulfilment of the apodosis. The following table summarises the conditional meanings and verb forms in MSA with the two conjunctions, whereby (+) means more reality and (-) less reality:

(228)

MEANING	CONJUNCTION	TENSE	PROTASIS	apodosis
REAL	<i>?in</i>	FUT	PFV+	PFV+
			IPFV-	IPFV-
			PFV+	IPFV-
			IPFV-	PFV+
UNREAL	<i>law</i>	PAST/PRS/FUT	PFV-	PFV+
		PRS/FUT	IPFV+	IPFV-
		PAST/PRS/FUT	PFV-	IPFV-
		PRS/FUT	IPFV+	PFV+

The following sections will be devoted to conditional sentences in TD.

## 4.3 Conditional sentences in TD

The aim of this section is to discuss conditional sentences in the Taif<sup>7</sup> Dialect (TD). More precisely, the focus will be on conditional sentences which are introduced by the conjunctions *?in* and *law* which are the only conditional conjunctions in TD. Given the differences between conditional sentences in MSA and TD, the organisation of this section will be different. This section is divided into three parts. The first part discusses the nature of the protases with both conjunctions. The second part sheds light on the apodoses with both conjunctions. Finally, the third section deals with the meanings which are expressed by conditional sentences and verb forms with both conjunctions.

### 4.3.1 The protasis

The sentence in the protasis must be a declarative sentence and cannot be interrogative, imperative or exclamative sentence in TD with both conjunctions *?in* and *law*. However, there are some differences between the two conjunctions in relation to the types of sentences in the protases. Therefore, this part is divided into two sections. The first section is about the protasis of the conjunction *?in*. The second section discusses the use of the protasis with the conjunction *law*.

#### 4.3.1.1 The protasis with *?in*

The declarative sentence in the protasis with the conjunction *?in* should be a sentence with a verb in the perfective form or with *kān* in the perfective form, as well. Accordingly, this section will explain two issues. The first one is the use of the protasis with a **lexical** verb while the second is the use of *kān* in the protasis.

The perfective form is used in the protasis that is introduced by *?in* with future interpretation as long as the apodosis is introduced by *bi* ‘will’<sup>8</sup>. The sentence in the protasis can

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<sup>7</sup>Taif is a city that is located on the west of Saudi Arabia.

<sup>8</sup>It seems that the apodosis and the context influence the time reference of the protasis. This observation will be discussed later in the meanings of conditionals.

be a sentence with a **lexical** verb in the perfective form and cannot be a sentence without a verb or with a verb in the imperfective form. The following conditional sentences illustrate the protasis with a verb in the perfective form:

- (229) a. ?in dākār                      fāris, bi-yiṅḡaḥ.  
           if study.PFV.3SGM Faris FUT-succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
           ‘If Faris studies, he will succeed’
- b. ?in ḥaraḡ                      sālim min al-bayt,      bi-yiḡī  
           if leave.PFV.3SGM Salem from DEF-house FUT-come.IPFV.3SGM  
           al-mistaḡir al-ḡadīd.  
           DEF-tenant DEF-new  
           ‘If Salem leaves the house, the new tenant will come’

The verb *study* in the perfective form in (229a) is used in the protasis and the time reference of the protasis is the future. In the same way, the verb in the protasis in example (229b) is in the perfective form and the time reference of the protasis is the future.

In addition, *kān* can be used in the protasis with the conjunction *?in*. In this connection, Brustad (2000) believes that *kān* is used in *unreal conditionals* in spoken Arabic. She bases her observation on four dialects, which are: Kuwaiti, Syrian, Egyptian and Moroccan. She thinks that *kān* can be used as a marker for *unreal conditional* sentences in spoken Arabic. Similarly, Cowell (1964) claims that Syrian dialect uses *kān* as a marker of *unreal conditional*.

However, *kān* in the protasis with the conjunction *?in* in TD is different in that it is used to express two meanings. In the first meaning, the speaker shows that he is neutral about the fulfilment of the protasis. The example below best exemplifies this usage:

- (230) ?in kān                      ?aḥmad fī al-bayt,      ?a-ba-ḡī-h.  
           if be.PFV.3SGM Ahmad in DEF-house 1SGM-FUT-go.IPFV-3SGM.ACC  
           ‘If Ahmad is in the house, I will go to him’

As the example shows, the speaker does not know whether *Ahmad is in the house* or not. Moreover, this meaning in the protasis is different from the meaning of the **lexical** verb *study* which is illustrated above in that with the **lexical** verb, the speaker is more confident of the fulfilment of the protasis. This means that *kān* and the **lexical** verb in the perfective form in TD are similar to verbs in the perfective and imperfective forms in MSA. It seems that TD (which does not use a verb in the imperfective form in the protasis with the conjunction *ʔin*) uses *kān* to achieve the meaning of the imperfective form in the protasis.

In other words, there are two levels of *real conditionals* in TD with *ʔin*. In the first level, the speaker uses a **lexical** verb in the perfective form in the protasis showing that he thinks that the protasis will be fulfilled. In the second level, the speaker uses *kān* showing that he is neutral about the fulfilment of the protasis. It does not mean that the conditional sentence with *kān* in the protasis becomes *unreal conditional* (it is not like *if Ahmad were in the house, I would go to him*) because the speaker does not aim to express a negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition.

In the second meaning, *kān* is used in the *unreal conditional* if and only if the apodosis is introduced by *kān*, as shown below.

- (231) ʔin kān                      ʔaḥmad fī al-bayt,      kān  
       if    be.PFV.3SGM Ahmad in DEF-house be.PFV.3SGM  
       qābaln-ī.  
       meet.PFV.3SGM-1SG.ACC  
       ‘If Ahmad had been in the house, he would have met me’

In this example, *Ahmad* was not in the house and *he did not meet the speaker*. It seems that the apodosis in this example plays the main role in expressing the meaning of the sentence. Further details and explanations on which clause expresses the conditional meaning will be discussed again later.

In TD, there are two uses of *kān* in the protasis. In the first use, *kān* is functioning as the main verb of the sentence, as shown in the last two examples. Therefore, the clause *ʔin*

*kān ʔaḥmad fī al-bayt* is the equivalent of the English clause *if Ahmad is in the house*. In the second use, *kān* is used with another verb, as illustrated below:

- (232) ʔin kān                      ḡā                      ḥālid, bi-yiḡīb                      al-ḡāyizah.  
if be.PFV.3SGM come.PFV.3SGM Khaled FUT-bring.IPFV.3SGM DEF-prize  
'If Khaled comes, he will bring the prize'

*kān* in this example indicates that the speaker is neutral about the fulfilment of the protasis. Moreover, when it is used with an apodosis which is introduced by *kān*, the conditional sentence will be *unreal conditional*. It means that *kān* in the two uses (without another verb or with another verb) plays the same role in the conditional sentence which is to indicate that the speaker is neutral about the fulfilment of the clause.

In addition, the progressive future or the habitual future can be indicated in the protasis by using *kān* preceding a verb in the imperfective form and the context will identify the intended meaning. In contrast, the apodosis which has a verb in the imperfective form is ambiguous between future progressive, habitual future and simple future. The following example contains a protasis that can indicate the progressive or the habitual aspect:

- (233) ʔin kān                      yimšī                      ḥālid    daḥḥīn/kul yawm,  
if be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM Khaled now/every day  
bi-yikūn                      ʔaḥsan min sālim.  
FUT-be.IPFV.3SGM better than Salem  
'If Khaled is walking now/walks every day, he will be better than Salem'

To sum up, the protasis with the conjunction *ʔin* can be a sentence that contains a verb in the perfective form or *kān*. In contrast, the protasis cannot contain a verb in the imperfective form or a sentence without a verb. *kān* is used in the protasis with *ʔin* to express two meanings. In the first meaning, the speaker shows that he is neutral about the fulfilment of the protasis if *kān* is not used in the apodosis, as well. In the second meaning, the conditional sentence is *unreal conditional* with past interpretation if the speaker uses *kān* in both the protasis and the apodosis. Also, *kān* can precede a verb in the imperfective

form and in this case it indicates the progressive or the habitual aspect. The following section will discuss the protasis with the conjunction *law* in TD.

#### 4.3.1.2 The protasis with *law*

Like the protasis with the conjunction *?in*, the sentence in the protasis with the conjunction *law* should be a declarative sentence. However, there are fewer constraints on the protasis with *law*. In other words, the protasis with *law* has more freedom in the type of sentences. In the protasis with *law*, a sentence can be used either with a verb in the perfective or imperfective form or with *kān*. Thus, this section will discuss the protasis with **lexical** verbs and then the protasis with *kān*.

In the protasis with the conjunction *law*, a sentence with a verb in the perfective form can be used, as shown below:

- (234) *law* *dākar*                      *fāris*, *bi-yinḡaḥ*.  
       if    study.PFV.3SGM    Faris    FUT-succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
       ‘If Faris studies, he will succeed’

This conditional sentence is *a real conditional*. It means that the speaker has no negative belief towards the fulfilment of the conditional sentence. However, this meaning can be expressed by this sentence if and only if it is used with this apodosis which has no *kān*. This issue will be discussed in more details below. With regard to the form of the verb in the protasis, the perfective form is used to show that the speaker is more confident about the fulfilment of the clause.

Moreover, a verb in the imperfective form can be used in the protasis with the conjunction *law*, as illustrated below:



- (235) *law yidākīr fāris, bi-yiṅḡaḥ.*  
 if study.IPFV.3SGM Faris FUT-succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘If Faris studies, he will succeed’

In this example, the speaker is neutral about the fulfilment of the protasis. In other words, when the speaker uses a verb in the imperfective form, he aims to show that he is less confident about the fulfilment of the clause. Also, the imperfective form in the protasis can indicate the progressive or habitual aspect.

Also, *kān* can be used in the protasis with the conjunction *law* to show that the conditional sentence is *unreal*. However, *kān* is used in the protasis with the conjunction *law* if and only if the apodosis is introduced by *kān* as well. In addition, there are two uses for *kān* in the protasis, it is used as a main verb or with another verb as illustrated below respectively:

- (236) *law kān muḥammad fī al-bayt, kān*  
 if be.PFV.3SGM Muhammad in DEF-house be.PFV.3SGM  
*qābaln-ī.*  
 meet.PFV.3SGM-1SG.ACC  
 ‘If Muhammad had been in the house, he would have **met** me’

The speaker aims to show that *Muhammad was not in the house* in the past and *he did not meet the speaker*. On the other hand, *kān* is used in the apodosis to indicate that the apodosis has not been fulfilled in the past. Moreover, *kān* in the apodosis is obligatory and the sentence without it is ungrammatical, as shown below:

- (237) \**law kān muḥammad fī al-bayt, bi-yiqābiln-ī.*  
 if be.PFV.3SGM Muhammad in DEF-house FUT-meet.IPFV.3SGM-1SG.ACC  
 ‘If Muhammad had been in the house, he would have meet me’

In the second use of *kān*, it is used in a compound tense form preceding a **lexical** verb, as shown below:

- (238) *law* *kān*                      *ǧā*                      *ḥālid*    *kān*                      *daḥal*.  
 if    be.PFV.3SGM    come.PFV.3SGM    Khaled   be.PFV.3SGM    enter.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘If Khaled had come, he would have entered’

It seems that *kān* in the apodosis determines the time reference of the sentence. Moreover, *kān* is obligatory in the apodosis, therefore, the sentence below is not grammatical:

- (239) \**law* *kān*                      *ǧā*                      *ḥālid*    *daḥal*.  
 if    be.PFV.3SGM    come.PFV.3SGM    Khaled   enter.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘If Khaled had come, he would have entered’

To sum up, the sentence in the protasis with the conjunction *law* can be a sentence with a **lexical** verb or with *kān*. The use of the perfective and imperfective forms in the protasis with the conjunction *law* is similar to their use in MSA with the conjunction *ʔin*. When the speaker uses the perfective form, then the intended aim is to show more confidence about the fulfilment of the clause. On the other hand, when the speaker uses the imperfective form, he aims to show that he is neutral about the fulfilment of the clause. As stated above, the perfective and imperfective forms fulfil these meanings with the conjunction *law* if and only if the apodosis does not contain *kān*. Finally, *kān* can be used in the protasis as long as the apodosis contains *kān* too. In this case, the conditional sentence will be *unreal* in the past. The following section will explain the types of sentences in the apodosis with both conjunctions.

## 4.3.2 The apodosis

The sentence in the apodosis can be either declarative, interrogative, imperative, or exclamative. Furthermore, if the apodosis is a declarative sentence, it can have different types of declarative sentences. In addition, there are no differences between the apodoses of the two conjunctions *ʔin* and *law*. Therefore, the apodoses of these aforementioned conjunctions are further explained in details in this part. Hence, this part is divided into two sections. The first section will be devoted to briefly discuss some kinds of sentences in the apodosis (except declarative sentence) while the second section will focus on the different types of declarative sentences in the apodosis.

### 4.3.2.1 Kinds of sentences

The apodosis in conditional sentences in TD can have one of the following kinds of sentences:

1-Interrogative sentence, as shown below:

- (240) ʔin/law ǧā                         sālim, mīn bi-yiqābil-ū?  
       if            come.PFV.3SGM Salem who FUT-meet.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC  
       ‘If Salem comes, who will meet him?’

Noteworthy here that this type of conditional has been discussed in MSA and has been called *a speech act conditional*. As stated above, the relationship between the protasis and the apodosis in this kind of conditional is a causal relationship. In other words, the fulfilment of the protasis causes the performance of *the speech act*.

2-Imperative sentence, as illustrated below:

- (241) ʔin/law ǧā                         sālim, qull-ū                                 ʔudḥul.  
       if            come.PFV.3SGM Salem tell.IMP.2SGM-3SGM.ACC enter.IMP.2SGM  
       ‘If Salem comes, tell him enter’

Similarly, the conditional in this sentence is a *speech act conditional*. The fulfilment of the condition in the protasis will cause the performance of *the speech act* in the apodosis.

3-Exclamative sentence, as shown below:

- (242) ʔin/law ġā                                sālīm, fa-šay            ʔayīb!  
       if            come.PFV.3SGM Salem then-thing nice.3SGM  
       ‘If Salem comes, then how nice it would be!’

The conditional in this example is a *speech act conditional*, as well. Moreover, the sentence in the apodosis which is a declarative sentence is a sentence without a verb but the intonation of this sentence has an exclamative meaning. Also, the apodosis is introduced by the prefix *fa* which is obligatory in this sentence.

To sum up, the apodosis in TD can contain various types of sentences. It can contain a declarative, interrogative, imperative or exclamative sentence. The relationship between the two clauses in the conditional sentence if the apodosis contains an interrogative, imperative or exclamative sentence is a *speech act* relation. It means that the fulfilment of the protasis in the conditional sentence causes the performance of *the speech act*.

### 4.3.2.2 Declarative sentence

This section will explain three topics. The first topic is the sentence without a verb in the apodosis. The second is the sentence with a verb, whereas the third is the use of *kān*.

In TD, the sentence in the apodosis can be a sentence without a verb, as shown below:

- (243) ?in/law ḡā                            sālim, ḥālīd    fī al-bayt.  
 if            come.PFV.3SGM Salem Khaled in DEF-house  
 ‘If Salem comes (to the house), Khaled in the house’

The sentence in example (243) above is an example of *relevance conditionals*. It means that there is no **causal** relationship between the protasis and the apodosis. On the contrary, the fulfilment of the apodosis precedes the fulfilment of the protasis. This claim can be demonstrated by using an adverb like *al-yawm* ‘today’ in the protasis and prepositional phrase like *min al-bāriḥ* ‘from yesterday’ in the apodosis and the sentence will be acceptable, as shown below:

- (244) ?in/law ḡā                            sālim al-yawm, ḥālīd    fī al-bayt    min  
 if            come.PFV.3SGM Salem DEF-today Khaled in DEF-house from  
 al-bāriḥ.  
 DEF-yesterday  
 ‘If Salem comes today (to the house), Khaled in the house from yesterday’

In addition, the apodosis in example (243) can be optionally introduced by the prefix *fa*, as shown below:

- (245) ?in/law ḡā                            sālim, fa-ḥālīd    fī al-bayt.  
 if            come.PFV.3SGM Salem then-Khaled in DEF-house  
 ‘If Salem comes (to the house), then Khaled in the house’

The use of the prefix *fa* is inherited from *classical Arabic*, but it is not obligatory in this example. This can be demonstrated by comparing this use of *fa* with the use of it in *classical Arabic*. The apodosis must be introduced by *fa* in *classical Arabic* when the sentence in the apodosis is without a verb. Similarly, the apodosis in TD may be introduced by *fa* when the sentence in the apodosis is a sentence without a verb. The difference between them is that the use of *fa* in TD is optional in this case, but it is obligatory in *classical Arabic*.

Moreover, the use of *fa* in conditional sentence in TD in this case is only the possible use. In other words, TD does not use *fa* in other types of sentences while *classical Arabic* uses it in several meanings in other types of sentences.

In addition, the reason behind the use of *fa* in the previous example may be that the speaker feels that the sentence of the apodosis (which is a sentence without a verb) is different from the sentence of the protasis (which is a sentence with a verb). Therefore, he tries to correlate the two sentences by using *fa*.

In some cases, the use of *fa* can be obligatory. As a matter of fact, the apodosis must be introduced by *fa* when the apodosis (which has a sentence without a verb) is fulfilled after the protasis. In other words, the apodosis must be introduced by *fa* if the relationship between the protasis and the apodosis (which has no verb) is a **causal** relationship. The following example is a good example of this case:

- (246) ?in/law nağah                      ḥāmid, fa-ḥāmid      ḍakī.  
       if            succeed.PFV.3SGM Hamed then-Hamed clever.3SGM  
       ‘If Hamed succeeds, then he will be clever’

In **example (246)**, the apodosis must be introduced by *fa*. Otherwise, the sentence will be ungrammatical, as shown below:

- (247) \*ʔin/law nağah                                      ḥāmid, ḥāmid dakī.  
 if                      succeed.PFV.3SGM Hamed Hamed clever.3SGM  
 ‘If Hamed succeeds, then he will be clever’

In example (246), the apodosis is the result of the protasis. This can be evidenced by paraphrasing this conditional sentence using an expression like *bi-yitbit ʔinnū dakī* ‘he will demonstrate that he is clever’, as shown below and the meanings of the two sentences will be similar:

- (248) ʔin/law nağah                                      ḥāmid, bi-yitbit                                      ʔinn-ū  
 if                      succeed.PFV.3SGM Hamed FUT-demonstrate.IPFV.3SGM that-3SGM  
 dakī.  
 clever.3SGM  
 ‘If Hamed succeeds, he will demonstrate that he is clever’

Therefore, this section suggests that there should be two roles played by *fa* in TD. The first role is to connect a sentence with a verb in the protasis with a sentence without a verb in the apodosis when the relationship between the two clauses is not a causal relation. In the second role, it is used to indicate that the fulfilment of the protasis precedes the fulfilment of the apodosis and the relationship between the two clauses is therefore a **causal** relation.

In contrast, if the sentence in the apodosis is with a **lexical** verb, the verb should be in the imperfective form and it may be preceded by the prefix *bi* ‘will’ which is the marker of the prediction, as shown below:

- (249) ʔin/law ġā                                      sālim, bi-yiğī                                      ʕalī.  
 if                      come.PFV.3SGM Salem FUT-come.IPFV.3SGM Ali  
 ‘If Salem comes, Ali will come’

In a conditional sentence, the speaker usually does not make a prediction in the protasis, because the speaker has no knowledge about the assumption in the protasis. However, the speaker uses the assumption in the protasis with other assumptions from the context to

arrive at the prediction in the apodosis. Because the apodosis makes the prediction in a conditional sentence, it should contain the marker of the prediction ( see Dancygier (1993) and Tynan and Lavín (1997)).

Therefore, it is expected that the apodosis in TD makes the prediction by using *bi* 'will' which is the marker of the prediction. Moreover, *bi* 'will' in TD is only used with a verb in the imperfective form. Consequently, the apodosis cannot have a sentence with a verb in the perfective form with the marker of prediction, as illustrated below:

- (250) \*ʔin/law ǧā                                sālim, bi-ǧā                                ʕalī.  
 if                come.PFV.3SGM Salem FUT-come.PFV.3SGM Ali  
 'If Salem comes, Ali will come'

If the verb which is in the imperfective form in the apodosis does not occur with the prefix *bi* 'will', the time reference of the apodosis will be the present. The following example is illustrative:

- (251) ʔin/law ǧā                                fāyız, yiǧī                                ʕalī.  
 if                come.PFV.3SGM fayz   **come.IPFV.3SGM** Ali  
 'If Fayz comes, Ali comes'

In addition, *kān* can be used in the apodosis in conditional sentences in the perfective or imperfective form. Unlike the protasis, *kān* can be only used with another verb in the apodosis, as shown below:

- (252) ʔin/law ǧā                                ʔaḥmad, kān                                qābal                                ḥālid.  
 if                come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad   be.PFV.3SGM meet.PFV.3SGM Khaled  
 'If Ahmad had come, he would have met Khaled'

*kān* cannot be used in the apodosis without a **lexical** verb following it and the reason behind this is that *kān* is used in the apodosis to indicate that the conditional is *unreal*. In



this sentence for example, *Ahmad did not come* and *he did not meet Khaled*. This fact can be proved by using the adverb *ʔams* ‘yesterday’ in the apodosis and the sentence will still be acceptable, as shown below:

- (253) ʔin/law ǧā                      ʔaḥmad, kān                      qābal                      ḥālid  
 if                      come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad    be.PFV.3SGM meet.PFV.3SGM Khaled  
 ʔams.  
 yesterday  
 ‘If Ahmad had come, he would have met Khaled yesterday’

In addition, if *kān* is used in the apodosis, then it should be used with a verb in the perfective form. This means that it is not possible to use *kān* with a verb in the imperfective form, as shown below:

- (254) \*ʔin/law ǧā                      ʔaḥmad, kān                      yiqābil                      ḥālid.  
 if                      come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad    be.PFV.3SGM meet.IPFV.3SGM Khaled  
 ‘If Ahmad had come, he would have met Khaled’

The reason of this ungrammaticality is that the time reference of the apodosis is the past and it requires a verb in the perfective form to indicate this time. It means that the apodosis is like normal sentences in that the perfective form indicates the past, whereas the imperfective form indicates the present or the future when it is used with *bi* ‘will’.

To sum up, if the sentence in the apodosis with both conditional conjunctions is a declarative sentence, it can be a sentence with a verb or without a verb. If the sentence in the apodosis contains a verb, it must be in the imperfective form and it may be preceded by the prefix *bi* ‘will’. Also, *kān* can be used in the apodosis preceding a verb in the perfective form. In this case, the conditional sentence will be *unreal*. The following section will discuss conditional meanings and verb forms in conditional sentences in TD.

### 4.3.3 Conditional meanings and verb forms

In this section, two issues are highlighted. The first issue is the meanings of conditional sentences in TD. This section will try to explain how TD expresses the two types of conditionals which are *the real* and *unreal conditionals*. The second issue is related to verb forms. The meanings of perfective versus imperfective form in the two clauses are to be discussed in this section.

In fact, in TD, there are two types of conditionals which are expressed via the conjunctions *‘in* and *law*. The apodosis plays the main role in identifying the type of a conditional sentence and the time reference of it if the relation between the two clauses is causal. On the other hand, the protasis which can have more than one type of verb forms adds some meanings on the interpretation of the conditional sentence. This section will focus on conditional sentences that have a causal relation between the two clauses. The two types of conditionals in TD are as follows:

#### 4.3.3.1 Unreal Conditionals

The time reference of *unreal conditionals* can be the past, present and future in TD. The *unreal conditional* with the past interpretation is achieved when the apodosis is introduced by *kān*. This kind of apodosis which is introduced by *kān* is possible with three types of protases in conditional sentences in TD. It is possible with the conjunction *‘in* if the protasis has *kān* as well, as shown below:

- (255) ?in kān                      ġā                      ‘alī, kān                      mar                      ḥālīd.  
           if    be.PFV.3SGM    come.PFV.3SGM    Ali    be.PFV.3SGM    visit.PFV.3SGM    Khaled  
           ‘If Ali had come, he would have visited Khaled’

The hearer in this example believes that *Ali did not come* and therefore *he did not visit Khaled*. In addition, the speaker aims to assert that the protasis was not fulfilled and he uses the apodosis which was not fulfilled as evidence.

The second and third possible protases in the past *unreal conditionals* are used with the conjunction *law*. There are two kinds of protases with *law* in this case. The first one has no *kān* and the second has *kān*, as shown below respectively:

- (256) law ḡā                                    °alī, kān                                    mar                                    ḥālid.  
if come.PFV.3SGM Ali be.PFV.3SGM visit.PFV.3SGM Khaled  
'If Ali had come, he would have visited Khaled'

The protasis in this example was not fulfilled in the past and also the result did not occur.

- (257) law kān                                    ḡā                                    °alī, kān                                    mar                                    ḥālid.  
if be.PFV.3SGM come.PFV.3SGM Ali be.PFV.3SGM visit.PFV.3SGM Khaled  
'If Ali had come, he would have visited Khaled'

The example in (257) has almost the same meaning to the sentence which is introduced with the conjunction *?in* in (255). It seems that *?in* in example (255) above is used in the meaning of *law* which is usually used to express *unreal conditionals*. The speaker in example (257) which has *kān* with *law* in the protasis aims to demonstrate that *Ali did not come* using the result clause which was not fulfilled (and the hearer agrees with that) as evidence.

In all the examples of the past *unreal conditionals* above, the sentence in the protasis is (E, R\_ S) before the combination with the conditional conjunction and it is still the same after the combination. The sentence in the apodosis is the same as the sentence in the protasis before and after it combines with the protasis.

To sum up, the apodosis of the past *unreal conditionals* in TD is always introduced by *kān* and the protasis can have *kān*. Moreover, the protasis can have a verb in the perfective form without *kān*. In this case, the speaker aims to show that he regrets that the protasis was not fulfilled. In addition, the protasis with a verb in the imperfective form is not acceptable in *unreal conditionals* that has a past time reference and the sentence below is not grammatical:

- (258) \*ʔin/law yiġī                                    ʿalī, kān                                    mar                                    ḥālid.  
 if                                    come.IPFV.3SGM Ali    be.PFV.3SGM    visit.PFV.3SGM    Khaled  
 ‘If Ali had come, he would have visited Khaled’

In addition, the time reference of *unreal conditionals* in TD can be the future. There is only one form for the *unreal conditionals* in the future. In this type of conditionals, the conditional sentence is introduced by the conditional conjunction ʔin and has a perfective form in the protasis and *bi-yikūn* in the apodosis which is followed by a verb in the perfective form. The following example illustrates:

- (259) ʔin ġā                                    ʿalī, bi-yikūn                                    mar                                    ḥālid.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ali    be.IPFV.3SGM    visit.PFV.3SGM    Khaled  
 ‘If Ali came, he would visit Khaled’

In this example, the speaker has negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition in the future. In this case, the sentence in the protasis is (E, R\_ S) before it combines with the conjunction and it is (S\_R, E) after the combination. On the other hand, the sentence in the apodosis is (S\_R, E) after and before the combination with the protasis.

Also, the time reference of *unreal conditionals* can be the present and in this case the protasis will be introduced with the conjunction *law* and the apodosis will contain *yikūn* in the imperfective form. The following example is illustrative:

- (260) law ḡā                                      ḡalī, yikūn                                      wafī.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM Ali    be.IPFV.3SGM honest.3SGM  
 ‘If Ali comes, he is honest’

In this example, the speaker has negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition in the present. In this case, the sentence in the protasis is (E, R, S) before it combines with the conjunction and it is (S, R, E) after the combination. On the other hand, the sentence in the apodosis is (S, R, E) after and before the combination with the protasis.

Importantly, *kān* or *yikūn* in the apodosis which are used to express *unreal* inflect for agreement. The following examples show that *kān* and *yikūn* agree with the plural subjects in number:

- (261) a. law kān                                      ḡā                                      al-mudarrsīn,                                      kānū  
 if    be.PFV.3SGM come.PFV.3SGM DEF-teachers.3PLM be.PFV.3PLM  
 marrū                                      al-ʔidārah.  
 visit.PFV.3PLM DEF-management  
 ‘If the teachers had come, they would have visited the management’
- b. law ḡā                                      al-ṭullāb,                                      yikūnū                                      fī al-ḡaṣīl.  
 if    come.PFV.3SGM DEF-student.3PLM be.IPFV.3PLM in DEF-class  
 ‘If the students came, they could be in the class’

#### 4.3.3.2 Real Conditionals

The rest of conditional constructions in TD are *real conditionals*. The apodosis in these kinds of *real conditionals* must be free of *kān* and it may contain a verb in the imperfective form. Also, the prefix *bi* ‘will’ which is a marker of prediction may precede the verb in the imperfective form. If the prefix attaches the verb, the sentence in the apodosis will be (S, R, E) before and after it combines with the protasis and if the verb occurs without the prefix, the sentence will be (S, R, E) before and after the combination.

In addition, the apodosis in *real conditionals* is used with various types of protases. For instance, with the conjunction *ʔin*, the protasis can have *kān* or a verb in the perfective

form. In both cases, the sentence will be (E, R\_ S) before it combines with the conjunction and (S\_E, R) after the combination. The following examples illustrate the protasis with *kān* and the perfective form respectively:

- (262) ?in kān                      ġā                      ?aḥmad, bi-ymur                      ḥālid.  
 if be.PFV.3SGM come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad FUT-visit.IPFV.3SGM Khaled  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, he will visit Khaled’

In this example, the speaker shows that he is neutral about the fulfilment of the protasis by using *kān* with a verb in the perfective form in the protasis. Moreover, the protasis can only contain *kān* without another verb and the same meaning will still be expressed.

In the following example, the protasis contains a **lexical** verb in the perfective form.

- (263) ?in ġā                      ?aḥmad, bi-ymur                      ḥālid.  
 if come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad FUT-visit.IPFV.3SGM Khaled  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, he will visit Khaled’

The use of the perfective form in the protasis in this example indicates that the speaker is more confident about the fulfilment of the protasis.

In addition, the conjunction *law* can be used to express a *real conditional*. In this case, the protasis can have two kinds of verb forms which are the perfective and imperfective form. With the perfective form, the sentence will be (E, R\_S) before it combines with the conjunction and (S\_E, R) after the combination. In contrast, the sentence in the protasis will be (S, E, R) with the imperfective form before the combination and (S\_E, R) after the combination. The following examples illustrate the perfective and imperfective form in the protasis, respectively:

- (264) law ġā                      ?aḥmad, bi-ymur                      ḥālid.  
 if come.PFV.3SGM Ahmad FUT-visit.IPFV.3SGM Khaled  
 ‘If Ahmad comes, he will visit Khaled’

In this example, the speaker is more confident about the fulfilment of the protasis and he shows that by using a verb in the perfective form.

(265) *law yiġī*                                      *ʔaḥmad, bi-ymur*                                      *ḥālid.*  
 if    come.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad    FUT-visit.IPFV.3SGM Khaled

‘If Ahmad comes, he will visit Khaled’

The speaker in this example aims to show that he is neutral about the fulfilment of the protasis by using a verb in the imperfective form.

Importantly, in all the *real conditional* sentences above, the time references of the protases are the future because they occur with apodoses that have future time references. In other words, the time reference of the protasis in conditional sentences in TD is usually indicated by the apodosis or the context.

To sum up, the apodosis in *real conditional* must not contain *kān*. Also, there are two levels of assertions which be expressed by the protasis. In the first level, the speaker is neutral about the fulfilment of the protasis and he uses *kān* with *ʔin* or a verb in the imperfective form with *law*. In the second level, the speaker is more confident about the fulfilment of the protasis and he uses a verb in the perfective form with both conjunctions. In addition, there is usually no difference in the meaning between the two conditional conjunctions *ʔin* and *law* in *real conditional*. The following table summarises the conditional meaning and verb forms in the protasis and apodosis in TD.

(266)

MEANING	CONJUNCTION	PROTASIS	apodosis
REAL	<i>ʔin</i>	PFV	bi-IPFV, IPFV or NON-VERBAL
	<i>ʔin</i>	<i>kān</i>	
	<i>law</i>	IPFV	
	<i>law</i>	PFV	
PAST UNREAL	<i>law</i>	<i>kān</i>	<i>kān</i> +PFV
	<i>law</i>	PFV	
	<i>ʔin</i>	<i>kān</i>	
PRESENT UNREAL	<i>law</i>	PFV/IPFV	<i>yikūn</i>
FUTURE UNREAL	<i>ʔin</i>	PFV	<i>bi+yikūn</i>

The following chapter will discuss the conditional meanings that are expressed by relative clauses in MSA and TD.



# Chapter 5

## Relative conditionals in MSA and TD

### 5.1 Introduction

In MSA, TD and other languages, conditional meanings can be expressed by constructions that are not introduced by conditional conjunctions. Relative clauses in MSA and TD are usually used to express *real conditionals*, whereby the speaker has no negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition. Three types of relative clauses can express conditional meanings in each dialect. The first is *the restrictive* relative clause, the second *the headless* relative clause and the third *the free* relative clause or what is called *ever conditionals*. The main aim of this chapter is to discuss relative constructions that express conditional meanings in MSA and TD. It is organised as follows: the first section will briefly address the types of relative clauses that are introduced by the relative pronoun *alladī* in MSA. It will discuss the conditional meaning that can be expressed by the *alladī* constructions. The second section will discuss the types of relative clauses that are introduced by the relative pronoun *allī* in TD and it will discuss the conditional meaning that can be expressed by the *allī* construction. Finally, this chapter will explain *ever conditionals* in TD.

## 5.2 *alladī* in MSA

*alladī* in MSA is used as a relative pronoun and it contains two parts: the definite article *al* and a demonstrative pronoun (the analysis of *alladī* as a relative pronoun will be discussed in the next chapter). It can be used to express a conditional meaning in MSA. This section will give an overview of the inflection of this relative pronoun and the type of relative clauses that can be introduced by *alladī* in MSA. Then, the conditional meaning that is expressed by *alladī* will be explained.

This relative pronoun is inflected for gender, number and case. *alladī* is used with masculine and singular head noun, *allatī* with feminine and singular, *alladāni* with masculine, dual and in nominative case, *allatāni* with feminine, dual and in nominative case, *alladayni* with masculine, dual and in accusative or genitive case, *allatayni* with feminine, dual and in accusative or genitive case, *alladīna* with masculine and plural and *allātī* or *allāʔī* with feminine and plural head noun. The following table summarises the inflection of *alladī*:

(267)

	M	F
SG	<i>alladī</i>	<i>allatī</i>
DU-NOM	<i>alladāni</i>	<i>allatāni</i>
DU-ACC/GEN	<i>alladayni</i>	<i>allatayni</i>
PL	<i>alladīna</i>	<i>allātī / allāʔī</i>

In addition, the relative pronoun *alladī* can occur in four types of relative clauses: restrictive, non-restrictive and headless relative. The following section will discuss restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses that are introduced by the relative pronoun *alladī*.

### 5.2.1 Restrictive vs. Non-restrictive

The relative pronoun *alladī* can introduce restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses.

The following examples illustrate the non-restrictive relative clauses:

- (268) a. *faris-un alladī qabala-nī ḥalūq-un.*  
 Faris-NOM REL meet.PFV.3SGM-1SG.ACC polite.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘Faris who met me is polite’

- b. *salem-un alladī ḡaʔa ṭawil-un.*  
 Salem-NOM REL come.PFV.3SGM tall.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘Salem who came is tall’

In example (268a), the head noun is a proper noun which is known by the hearer. The relative clause here is only give more information about the head noun. Similarly, the head noun in example (268b) is a proper noun and the relative clause gives more information about it.

As for restrictive relative clauses, when *alladī* introduces a restrictive relative clause, the head noun must be definite and cannot be indefinite. The following examples are illustrative:

- (269) a. *al-raḡul-u alladī qabala-nī ḥalūq-un.*  
 DEF-man-NOM REL meet.PFV.3SGM-1SG.ACC polite.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘The man who met me is polite’

- b. *al-ṭifl-u alladī ḡaʔ-a ṭawil-un.*  
 DEF-child-NOM REL come.PFV.3SGM tall.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘The child who came is tall’

- (270) a. *\*raḡul-un alladī qabala-nī ḥalūq-un.*  
 INDF.man-NOM REL meet.PFV.3SGM-1SG.ACC polite.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘A man who met me is polite’

- b. \*ṭifl-un                      alladī ḡaʔa                      ṭawil-un.  
 INDF.child-NOM REL come.PFV.3SGM tall.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘A child who came is tall’

In example (269a), the head noun is *al-raḡul-u* ‘the man’ and it is a definite noun. Thus, it can be modified by the relative clause *alladī qabala-nī* ‘who met me’ which is introduced by the relative pronoun *alladī*. In the same way, the head noun *al-ṭifl-u* ‘the child’ in example (269b) is a definite noun and it is modified by the relative clause *alladī ḡaʔa* ‘who came’ which is introduced by the relative pronoun *alladī*. In contrast, (270a) and (270b) are not grammatical because the head noun is indefinite.

In addition, the relative pronoun *alladī* can fill more than one type of grammatical function within a relative clause. It can function as a subject, as illustrated in (269a) and (269b) above. Also, it can fill the object function within the relative clause. The following examples are illustrative:

- (271) a. al-raḡul-u                      alladī qabal-tu                      ḡalūq-un.  
 DEF-man-NOM REL meet.PFV-1SG.NOM polite.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘The man who I met is polite’
- b. al-ṭifl-u                      alladī raʔay-tu                      ṭawil-un.  
 DEF-child-NOM REL see.PFV-1SG.NOM tall.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘The child who I saw is tall’

In example (271a), the relative pronoun fills the role of the object of the verb *qabal* ‘met’ in the relative clause. In the same way, the relative pronoun in example (271b) fills the object function in the relative clause. It functions as the object of the verb *raʔā* ‘saw’. The gap strategy which is used in examples (271a) and (271b) is not obligatory with the object function and the resumptive pronoun can appear, as shown below:

(272) a. al-rağul-u            alladī qabal-tu-hu            ḥalūq-un.  
 DEF-man-NOM REL meet.PFV-1SG.NOM-3SGM.ACC polite.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘The man who I met is polite’

b. al-ṭifl-u            alladī raʔay-tu-hu            ṭawil-un.  
 DEF-child-NOM REL see.PFV-1SG.NOM-3SGM.ACC tall.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘The child who I saw is tall’

Also, the relative pronoun can function as an antecedent of a resumptive pronoun that functions as an object of a preposition or a complement of a noun, as shown below respectively:

(273) a. al-rağul-u            alladī marra            salem-un    ʿalay-hi  
 DEF-man-NOM REL visit.PFV.3SGM Salem.NOM on-3SGM.GEN  
 ḥalūq-un.  
 polite.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘The man who Salem visited is polite’

b. al-ṭifl-u            alladī raʔay-tu            abu-hu            ṭawil-un.  
 DEF-child-NOM REL see.PFV-1SG.NOM father-3SGM.GEN tall.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘The child who I saw his father is tall’

The following section will attempt to explain the headless relative clause which is the third type of relative clauses in MSA.

### 5.2.2 Headless relative clauses in MSA

Like *Tagalog*, MSA has headless relative clauses. The relative pronoun *alladī* can introduce a headless relative clause in MSA. The following examples are illustrative:

(274) a. *alladī ḡāʔa kabir-un fī al-sin.*  
REL came.PFV.3SGM old.3SGM-NOM in DEF-age

‘(The man) who came is old’

b. *allatī ḡāʔat ṭawīlat-un.*  
REL came.PFV.3SGF tall.3SGF-NOM

‘(The woman) who came is tall’

Both examples above illustrate headless relative clauses in MSA if the hearer knows the head nouns from the context. In example (274a), the relative clause is *alladī ḡāʔa* ‘who came’. The head noun is missing in the sentence, but it is known by the hearer from the context. The understood head noun in example (274a) is *the man* which is a definite noun and cannot be an indefinite noun. In the same way, the relative clause *allatī ḡāʔat* in example (274b) is a headless relative clause and the hearer understands the head noun from the context. The missing head noun in this example is the definite noun *the woman*. In both examples of headless relative clause, the head noun can appear optionally. Thus the following examples are grammatical:

(275) a. *al-raḡul-u alladī ḡāʔa kabir-un fī al-sin.*  
DEF-man-NOM REL came.PFV.3SGM old.3SGM-NOM in DEF-age

‘The man who came is old’

b. *al-marʔat-u allatī ḡāʔat ṭawīlat-un.*  
DEF-woman REL came.PFV.3SGF tall.3SGF-NOM

‘The woman who came is tall’

In contrast, the two examples are ungrammatical with an indefinite head noun, as shown below:

- (276) a. \**rağul-un alladī ġāʔa kabir-un fī al-sin.*  
 man-NOM REL came.PFV.3SGM old.3SGM-NOM in DEF-age  
 ‘A man who came is old’
- b. \**marʔat-un allatī ġāʔat ʔawīlat-un.*  
 woman REL came.PFV.3SGF tall.3SGF-NOM  
 ‘A woman who came is tall’

As for the function of the headless relative clause in the sentence, it can fill the subject function, as illustrated in (274a) and (274b) above. Also, the headless relative clause can function as an object of a verb, an object of a preposition, or a complement of a noun in a construct construction. The following examples illustrate the three functions, respectively:

- (277) a. *raʔay-tu alladī ġāʔa.*  
 see.PFV-1SG.NOM REL came.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘I saw (the man) who came’
- b. *marar-tu bi-alladī zara-nī.*  
 visit.PFV-1SG.NOM with-REL visit.PFV.3SGM-1SG.ACC  
 ‘I visited (the man) who visited me’
- c. *raʔay-tu bayt-a alladī zara-nī.*  
 see.PFV-1SG.NOM house-ACC REL visit.PFV.3SGM-1SG.ACC  
 ‘I saw the house of (the man) who visited me’

The use of *alladī* as a free relative clause is possible in MSA when the relative clause that is introduced by *alladī* does not modify a specific head that is known to the hearer. This kind of relative clauses is not relevant to the discussion of conditionals in this thesis.

In addition, MSA has other examples of free relative clauses that can express conditional meanings. This type of free relative clauses in MSA is usually introduced by *man* or *mā*. The following examples are illustrative:

- (278) a. *man ḡāʔa raḡul-un karīm-un.*  
 REL came.PFV.3SGM man-NOM generous.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘Who came is a generous man’
- b. *mā ḥadaṭa šayʔ-un ʕaḡīb-un.*  
 REL happen.PFV.3SGM thing-NOM strange.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘What happened is a strange thing’

In example (278a), the free relative clause is *man ḡāʔa* ‘who came’ and there is no known head noun. Also, the free relative clause in example (278b) is *mā ḥadaṭa* ‘what happened’ and the hearer does not understand any head noun from the context. Moreover, the two free relative examples above cannot occur with any head noun, therefore, the two examples below are not grammatical:

- (279) a. *\*al-raḡul-u man ḡāʔa raḡul-un karīm-un.*  
 DEF-man-NOM REL came.PFV.3SGM man-NOM generous.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘The man who came is a generous man’
- b. *\*al-ʔamr-u mā ḥadaṭa šayʔ-un ʕaḡīb-un .*  
 DEF-thing REL happen.PFV.3SGM thing-NOM strange.3SGM-NOM  
 ‘The thing that happened is a strange thing’



### 5.2.3 *alladī* with conditional meaning

The relative clause that is introduced by *alladī* in MSA can express a conditional meaning. In this case, the *alladī* clause expresses the condition and the matrix clause gives the result. Importantly, all conditional meanings that are expressed by *alladī* construction are *real conditionals*. It means that the speaker has no negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition.

Both the headless relative clause and the restrictive relative clause in MSA can express conditional meaning. However, this meaning is expressed if and only if the head noun does not denote a specific person or thing. It is stated above that the head noun of the relative clause that is introduced by the relative pronoun *alladī* must be a definite noun. In MSA, there are two types of definite nouns: the definite noun that denotes a specific individual and the one denotes a specific type (see Ryding (2005)). For example, the definite noun *al-marʔat-u* ‘the woman’ illustrates the two types of definiteness in the following examples:

- (280) a. *al-marʔat-u*                    *ʔaǧmal-u*                    *min al-raǧul-i*.  
 DEF-woman-NOM more.beautiful.3SGF-NOM than DEF-man-GEN  
 ‘Women are more beautiful than men’
- b. *al-marʔat-u gabalat-nī*                    *fi al-sūq-i*.  
 DEF-thing meet.PFV.3SGF-1SG.ACC in DEF-shop-GEN  
 ‘The woman met me in the shop’

In example (280a), *al-marʔat-u* ‘women’ is a definite noun, however, it does not denote an individual woman. In contrast, the speaker in example (280b) talks about a specific woman who met him in the shop.

This section argues that the *alladī* construction can express a conditional meaning if the head noun does not denote a specific individual. The *alladī* clause in this construction functions as an argument in the matrix clause. The following examples are illustrative:

- (281) a. al-ṭālib-u                      alladī yaqraʔu                      sa-yafhamu  
 DEF-student-NOM REL read.IPFV.3SGM FUT-understand.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-māddat-a.  
 DEF-model-ACC  
 ‘The (any) student who reads will understand the model’

- b. al-ṭifl-u      alladī yasharu                      sa-yamraḍu.  
 DEF-child REL stay.up.IPFV.3SGM FUT-be.ill.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) child **who** stays up will be ill’

The example in (281a) expresses a conditional meaning. It means that *if any student reads, he will understand the model*. The clause *al-ṭālib-u alladī yaqraʔu* ‘any student who read’ expresses the condition and the matrix clause *sa-yafhamu al-māddat-a* ‘he will understand the model’ gives the result. In other words, the first clause gives a circumstance on which the action in the matrix clause depends. In the same way, example (281b) means ‘*if any child stays up, he will be ill*’.

The head noun in (281a) and (281b) can be dropped and the two examples will be grammatical and express the same conditional meaning, as shown below:

- (282) a. alladī yaqraʔu                      sa-yafhamu                      al-māddat-a.  
 REL read.IPFV.3SGM FUT-read.IPFV.3SGM DEF-model-ACC  
 ‘(The (any) student) who reads will understand the model’
- b. alladī yasharu                      sa-yamraḍu.  
 REL stay.up.IPFV.3SGM FUT-be.ill.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘(The (any) child) stays up will be ill’

In addition, MSA uses a variety of complementizers and relative pronouns to express conditional meaning. These complementizers and relative pronouns do not have an equivalent in TD. Thus, they will be ignored here.

To sum up, the relative pronoun *alladī* in MSA is inflected for gender, number and case. This relative pronoun contains two parts: the definite article *al* and a demonstrative pronoun. It can introduce three types of relative clauses, namely, restrictive, non-restrictive and headless relative clauses. *alladī* always modifies a definite noun and it can fill a subject, an object of a verb with a gap or resumptive pronoun, an object of a preposition with a resumptive pronoun or a complement of a noun with a resumptive pronoun within the relative clause. In addition, the conditional meaning can be expressed by the restrictive relative clause or the headless relative clause. The type of this conditional meaning is always *real* which means that the speaker has no negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition.

### 5.3 *allī* in TD

This section assumes that *allī* in TD is used as a relative pronoun introducing a relative clause. The evidence for this assumption will be discussed in the next chapter where the *allī* clause will be analysed. Unlike relative pronouns, *allī* does not inflect for person, number or gender. Therefore, *allī* can be used to modify first, second or third person without any inflection, as shown below respectively:

- (283) a. *ʔanā allī sabbab-t al-muškillā ʔa<sup>c</sup>tadir.*  
 1SG.NOM REL cause.PFV-1SG.NOM DEF-problem apologise.IPFV.1SG  
 ‘I (who caused the problem) apologise’
- b. *ʔinta allī sabbab-t al-muškillā ti<sup>c</sup>tadir.*  
 2SGM.NOM REL cause.PFV-2SGM.NOM DEF-problem apologise.IPFV.2SGM  
 ‘You (who cause the problem) apologise’
- c. *huwa allī sabbab al-muškillā yi<sup>c</sup>tadir.*  
 3SGM.NOM REL cause.PFV.3SGM DEF-problem apologise.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘He (who cause the problem) apologises’

In addition, *allī* can be used to modify singular, dual or plural without any inflection, as shown below respectively:

- (284) a. *al-ṭālib allī dakar nağah.*  
 DEF-student REL study.PFV.3SGM succeed.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘The student who studied succeeded’
- b. *al-ṭāliba-yn allī dakar-w nağah-w.*  
 DEF-student REL study.PFV-3DUM succeed.PFV-3DUM  
 ‘Both students who studied succeeded’
- c. *al-ṭullāb allī dakar-w nağah-w.*  
 DEF-student REL study.PFV-3PLM succeed.PFV-3PLM  
 ‘The students who studied succeeded’

Also, *allī* can modify a masculine or feminine noun without inflection, as shown below respectively:

- (285) a. al-ṭālib allī ḍakar nağaḥ.  
 DEF-student REL study.PFV.3SGM succeed.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘The student who studied succeeded’
- b. al-ṭālibah allī ḍakara-t nağaḥa-t.  
 DEF-student REL study.PFV-3SGF 3SG.succeed.PFV-3SGF  
 ‘The student who studied succeeded’

In addition, *allī* can modify an animate noun, as illustrated above, or inanimate noun, as shown below:

- (286) al-bayt allī fī ʔāḥir al-šāri<sup>c</sup> kabiyr.  
 DEF.house REL at end DEF-street big.3SGM  
 ‘The house which is at the end of the street is big’

The relative pronoun *allī* can fill two types of grammatical functions within the relative clause that is introduced by it. It can fill a subject or object function. The following examples illustrate the subject function:

- (287) a. al-walad allī ġā ʔaḥū-ya.  
 DEF-child REL come.PFV.3SGM brother-1SG.GEN  
 ‘The child who came is my brother’
- b. al-mudaris allī yišraḥ al-dars mumtaz.  
 DEF-teacher REL explain.IPFV.3SGM DEF-topic excellent.3SGM  
 ‘The teacher who is explaining the topic is excellent’

In example (287a), the relative pronoun fills the subject function in the relative clause, namely, it fills the role of the subject of the verb *ġā* ‘came’ in the relative clause. In the same way, the relative pronoun in (287b) fills the role of the subject of the verb *yišraḥ* ‘explain’

in the relative clause.

As for the object function, TD uses one strategy in this case. It is the resumptive strategy, whereby the resumptive pronoun fills the function of the object and the relative pronoun functions as its antecedent. The following examples are illustrative:

- (288) a. al-walad allī qabal-t-ū                                ʔaḥū-ya.  
 DEF-child REL meet.PFV-1SG.NOM-3SG.ACC brother-1SG.GEN  
 ‘The child who I met is my brother’
- b. al-mudaris allī šuf-t-ū   ʕamm-ī.  
 DEF-teacher REL see.PFV-2SGM.NOM-3SGM.ACC uncle-1SG.GEN  
 ‘The teacher who you saw is my uncle’

In example (288a), the verb *qabal* ‘met’ in the relative clause requires an object and the resumptive pronoun *ū* fills this requirement. The antecedent of this resumptive pronoun is the relative pronoun. Similarly, there is a resumptive pronoun functioning as an object of the verb *šuf* ‘see’ in example (288b) and the antecedent of the resumptive pronoun is the relative pronoun.

Also, TD uses the resumptive pronoun strategy for the object of a preposition and the complement of a noun function. The following examples illustrate the two functions which are possible with *allī*, respectively:

- (289) a. al-walad allī ruḥt   l-ū                         ʔaḥū-ya.  
 DEF-child REL go.PFV-1SG.NOM to-3SGM.GEN brother-1SG.GEN  
 ‘The child who I go to is my brother’
- b. al-mudaris allī šuf-t   walad-ū                     ʕamm-ī.  
 DEF-teacher REL see.PFV-2SGM.NOM son-3SGM.GEN uncle-1SG.GEN  
 ‘The teacher who you saw his son is my uncle’

The following sections will discuss the types of relative clauses that can be introduced by *allī* in TD, namely, restrictive, non-restrictive and headless.

### 5.3.1 Restrictive vs. Non-restrictive

*allī* can introduce restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. The following examples illustrate a restrictive and non-restrictive relative clause, respectively:

(290) a. *al-raġġāl allī ġā ʔams ʔaḥū-ya.* (restrictive)  
 DEF-man REL come.PFV.3SGM yesterday brother-1SG.GEN  
 ‘The man who came yesterday is my brother’

b. *fāris allī ġā ʔams ʔaḥū-ya.* (non-restrictive)  
 Faris REL come.PFV.3SGM yesterday brother-1SG.GEN  
 ‘Faris who came yesterday is my brother’

Example (290a) above exemplifies a restrictive relative clause that is introduced by *allī*. The relative clause in this example modifies a common noun (*al-raġġāl* ‘the man’) which refers to a large number of individuals. The role of the relative clause in this case is to determine the specific reference of the common noun. However, example (290b) illustrates a non-restrictive relative clause that is introduced by *allī*. This relative clause modifies a proper noun whose referent is known, therefore, the relative clause is only gives more information about the head noun.

### 5.3.2 Headless relative clauses

The third type that can be introduced by *allī* in TD is the headless relative clause. Like the Tagalog language, the real headless relative clause is possible in TD with the relative pronoun *allī*. In this case, the relative clause modifies a missing head noun that is known by the context. The following examples illustrate the headless in TD:

(291) a. *allī ġā-t ʔams tukūn ʔummi-y.*  
 REL come.PFV-3SGF.NOM yesterday be.IPFV.3SGF mother-1SG.GEN  
 ‘(The woman) who came yesterday is my mother’

- b. allī fāz                      bi-al-ǧāʔizah    yikūn                      ʔaḥū-ya.  
 REL win.PFV.3SGM with-DEF-prize be.IPFV.3SGM brother-1SG.GEN  
 ‘(The man) who won the prize is my brother’

Both examples of relative clauses above lack a head noun. In example (291a), the relative clause modifies a missing head noun (the woman) which is understood from the context. It means that the hearer knows that the speaker talks about *a woman*. Similarly, the relative clause modifies a missing head noun (the man) in (291b) which is understood from the context. In other words, the hearer knows that the speaker talks about *a man*. In both examples above, the missing head is the subject of the matrix clause. In example (291a), the missing head noun, which is *the woman*, is the subject of the verb of the matrix clause *tu-kūn* ‘is’. Similarly, the missing head noun which is *the man* in example (291b) is the subject of the matrix predicate *yikūn* ‘is’. Also, the missing head noun can be the object of the verb in the matrix clause. The following examples are illustrative:

- (292) a. šuft                      allī rāḥ                      al-riyaḍ                      ʔams.  
 see.PFV.1SGM REL go.PFV.3SGM DEF-Riyadh yesterday  
 ‘I saw (The man) who went to Riyadh yesterday’
- b. qabalt                      allī fāz                      bi-al-ǧāʔizah                      ʔams.  
 meet.PFV.1SGM REL win.PFV.3SGM with-DEF-prize yesterday  
 ‘I met (The man) who won the prize yesterday’

In example (292a), the missing head *the man* is the object of the verb in the matrix clause *šuft* ‘I see’. Likewise, the missing head *the man* in example (292b) is the object of the verb *qabal-t* ‘I met’ in the matrix clause.

Also, the headless relative clause can function as an object of a preposition or a complement of a noun in a construct construction, as shown below:

- (293) a. simi<sup>c</sup>t                      <sup>c</sup>an allī rāḥ                      al-riyaḍ                      ʔams.  
 hear.PFV.1SGM about REL go.PFV.3SGM DEF.Riyadh yesterday  
 ‘I heard about (the man) who went to Riyadh yesterday’



- b. qabalt            abu    allī    fāz                            bi-al-ǧāʔizah    ʔams.  
 meet.PFV.1SG father REL win.PFV.3SGM with-DEF-prize yesterday  
 ‘I met the father of (the man) who won the prize yesterday’

In example (293a), the missing head is the object of the preposition *ʿan* ‘about’ while the missing head in (293b) is the complement of the noun *abu* ‘father’.

In addition, the headless relative clause construction is optional in TD. It means that the head noun in the four examples above can appear and the examples will be grammatical, as shown below:

- (294) a. al-ḥurmah    allī    ǧā-t                            ʔams    ʔummi-y.  
 DEF-woman REL come.PFV-3SGF.NOM yesterday mother-1SG.GEN  
 ‘The woman who came yesterday is my mother’
- b. al-raǧǧāl    allī    fāz                            bi-al-ǧāʔizah    ʔaḥūy-a.  
 DEF-man REL win.PFV.3SGM with-DEF-prize brother-1SG.GEN  
 ‘The man who won the prize is my brother’
- c. šuft            al-raǧǧāl    allī    rāḥ                            al-riyaḍ    ʔams.  
 see.PFV.1SG DEF-man REL go.PFV.3SGM DEF.Riyadh yesterday  
 ‘I saw the man who went to Riyadh yesterday’
- d. qabalt            al-raǧǧāl    allī    fāz                            bi-al-ǧāʔizah    ʔams.  
 meet.PFV.1SG DEF-man REL win.PFV.3SGM with-DEF-prize yesterday  
 ‘I met the man who won the prize yesterday’

The headless relative clause can be only used to modify an animate missing head noun or the word *al-šay* ‘the thing’ in TD. Example (295a) below illustrate the *allī* clause modifying the word *al-šay* ‘the thing’ while this head is missing in example (295b):

- (295) a. al-šay            allī    atqāl                            šaḥīḥ.  
 DEF-thing REL say.PFV.PASS.3SGM right.3SGM  
 ‘The thing which is said is right’
- b. allī    atqāl                            šaḥīḥ.  
 REL say.PFV.PASS.3SGM right.3SGM  
 ‘(The thing) which is said is right’

On the other hand, the following sentences are not grammatical because the missing head noun is neither animate nor the word *al-šay* ‘the thing’:

- (296) a. \*allī anbana kabir.  
REL build.PASS.PFV.3SGM big.3SGM  
‘(The house) which is built is big’
- b. \*allī aštarayt-ha ġadīdh.  
REL buy.PFV.1SG-3SGF.ACC new.3SGF  
‘(The car) which I bought is new’

If the hearer and the speaker talk about a house in example (296a), the speaker cannot use the headless relative construction. This is because the missing head noun must be an animate noun or the word *al-šay* ‘the thing’. Therefore, example (296a) is not grammatical. Similarly, example (296b) is not grammatical even if the hearer knows that the missing head noun (the car).

The missing head is the same in other functions, therefore, the following sentences are also not grammatical:

- (297) a. \*šuft allī anbana.  
see.PFV.1SG REL build.PASS.PFV.3SGM  
‘I saw (the house) which is built ’
- b. \*ʔaḥadt allī aštarayt-ha.  
take.PFV.1SG REL buy.PFV.1SG-3SGF.ACC  
‘I took (the car) which I bought is new’

To sum up, *allī* in TD functions as a relative pronoun. It is invariant relative pronoun. It means that it does not agree with the head noun. This relative pronoun can function in the relative clause as a subject, object of a verb, object of a preposition or complement of a noun. This section discusses three types of relative clauses that can be introduced by *allī* in TD, namely, restrictive, non-restrictive and headless relative clauses. The missing head in the headless construction can function as a subject, object of a verb, object of a preposition, or complement of a noun in a construct structure. The following section will explore the conditional meaning that can be expressed by *allī* construction.

### 5.3.3 allī with conditional meaning

Like MSA, TD has two groups of definite nouns. In the first group, the noun denotes a specific individual while the noun in the second group denotes the whole type. It means that the noun is definite in the semantic and syntax in the first group while the noun is only definite in the syntax in the second group. For example, the definite noun *al-fiʿl* ‘the verb’ is used in (298a) as an example of the first group and in (298b) as an example of the second group:

- (298) a. al-fiʿl      qām māḍī.  
 DEF-verb qām past.3SGM  
 ‘The verb qām is past’
- b. al-fiʿl      ʔahamm                      min al-ʔism.  
 DEF-verb more.important.3SGF than DEF-noun  
 ‘Verbs are more important than nouns’

In (298a), the definite noun refers to a specific verb which is *qām*. In contrast, the definite noun in example (298b) refers to the whole type. It means that the speaker states that all verbs are more important than all nouns.

It is stated above that the head noun of the relative clause that is introduced by the relative pronoun *allī* is always definite. The term *definite* here includes the two types of definite nouns in TD. The following examples illustrate the two types of head nouns:

- (299) a. al-raʔīs              allī yinhab                      al-dawlah      labud  
 DEF-president REL steal.IPFV.3SGM DEF-country must  
 yitḡayar.  
 change.PASS.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘Presidents who steal from their countries must be changed’
- b. al-raʔīs              allī atḡayar                                      fī al-siġn.  
 DEF-president REL change.PASS.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-jail  
 ‘The president who is changed (is) in the jail’

In example (299a), the head noun of the relative clause is *al-raʔūs* and it is definite, however, it does not denote a specific individual. It means that the speaker does not speak about a specific president. In contrast, the head noun in example (299b) denotes a specific president who is in the jail.

The *allī* relative clause construction in TD can express conditional meaning when the definite head noun denotes the whole type. Importantly, all the type of conditional meaning that are expressed by the *allī* construction are *real conditionals*. It means that the speaker has no negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition in *allī* conditionals. The following examples are illustrative:

- (300) a. al-ṭālib      allī   yifham                      al-dars      yiḥl  
 DEF-student REL understand.IPFV.3SGM DEF-lesson solve.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-wāǧīb.  
 DEF-homework  
 ‘the (any) student who understands the lesson will do the homework’
- b. al-walad    allī   yākul                      kaṭir   yinām                      kaṭir.  
 DEF-child REL eat.IPFV.3SGM much sleep.IPFV.3SGM much  
 ‘The (any) child who eats much food will sleep much’

In example (300a), the sentence expresses conditional meaning. The head noun and the relative clause express the condition while the verb in the matrix clause and its object express the result. The condition here is *if any student understands the lesson* and the result is *he will do the homework*. The condition that is given by the head noun and the relative clause gives the circumstances on which the event in the matrix clause depends.

Similarly, the head noun and the relative clause in example (300b) give the condition, they express meaning similar to *if any child eats much*. The verb in the matrix clause with its complement express the result of the event in the relative clause which is *he will sleep much*.

The two relative clauses in (300a) and (300b) can be used without the head noun and the conditional meaning will be the same. The following examples are examples of headless

relative clause expressing conditional meaning:

- (301) a. *allī yifham al-dars yiḥl al-wāğib.*  
 REL understand.IPFV.3SGM DEF-lesson solve.IPFV.3SGM DEF-homework  
 ‘(The (any) student) who understands the lesson will do the homework’
- b. *allī yākul kaṭir yinām kaṭir.*  
 REL eat.IPFV.3SGM much sleep.IPFV.3SGM much  
 ‘(The (any) child) who eats much food will sleep much’

The only possible function for the head noun of the relative clause that is used to express a conditional meaning is as an argument. When it functions as an argument of the matrix clause, there are two possible grammatical functions, namely, subject and object function. The following section will discuss the head noun as a subject in the matrix clause.

### 5.3.3.1 The head noun as a subject

This section will discuss the *allī* construction that expresses conditional meaning when the head noun that is modified by the *allī* clause functions as a subject. It will focus on the types of tense and aspect that can be used in the two clauses in this construction. The use of tense and aspect in this construction is similar to their use in declarative sentences. In addition, all conditional meanings here are *real*. The following sentences illustrate the subject function:

- (302) a. *al-ṭālib allī yidākir yingğaḥ.*  
 DEF-student REL study.IPFV.3SGM succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) student who studies will succeed’
- b. *al-ṭālib allī yifham al-muḥāḍarah yuktub*  
 DEF-student REL understand.IPFV.3SGM DEF-lecture write.IPFV.3SGM  
*al-wāğib.*  
 DEF-assignment  
 ‘The (any) student who understands the lecture will write the assignment’

In example (302a), there are two predicates *yidākir* ‘study’ and *yinḡaḡ* ‘succeed’. Both of them require a subject. *allī* fills the requirement of the verb *yidākir* ‘study’. It means that *allī* is the subject of this verb and its antecedent is the head noun. As for *yinḡaḡ* ‘succeed’, the head noun *al-ṭālib* ‘the student’ with its modifier fills the requirement of this verb. The function of the head noun with the relative clause as a subject links the condition which is expressed by them to the matrix clause which expresses the consequent.

In the same way, example (302b) contains two predicates: *yifham* ‘understand’ and *yuktub* ‘write’. The first predicate *yifham* ‘understand’ requires a subject and object. The relative pronoun *allī* fills the requirement of the subject, whereas *al-muḡāḡarah* ‘the lecture’ fills the requirement of the object. Likewise, the second predicate *yuktub* ‘write’ requires a subject and object. In this case, the head noun *al-ṭālib* ‘the student’ with the relative clause *allī yifham al-muḡāḡarah* ‘who understands the lecture’ functions as the subject while *al-wāḡib* ‘the assignment’ fills the object function.

The two sentences (302a) and (302b) express a conditional meaning such as the examples in the previous section. The head noun and the relative clause give the circumstances on which the consequent in the matrix clause depends. The condition in example (302a) for any student wants to succeed is to study. *In other words, example (302a) means if any student studies, he will succeed. Similarly, example (302b) means if any student understands the lecture, he will write the assignment.*

In addition, all the verbs in examples (302a) and (302b) are in the imperfective form and the imperfective form in this construction can express more than one meaning. The imperfective form in the first clause can be used to express habitual present or present progressive. If the meaning of the verb is habitual present, there are two possible meanings. In the first meaning, the construction relates the event in the antecedent, which is repeated more than once, to one consequent which is introduced in the matrix clause. This possible interpretation can be proved by using an adverb like *kul yawm* ‘every day’ in the first clause and both sentences will be grammatical, as shown below:

- (303) a. al-ṭālib      allī    yidākīr                      kul    yawm, yinğāḥ.  
 DEF-student REL study.IPFV.3SGM every day    succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) student who studies every day will succeed’
- b. al-ṭālib      allī    yuktub                      kul    yawm, yiḥalliṣ  
 DEF-student REL write.IPFV.3SGM every day    finish.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-baḥṭ                      b-sur<sup>c</sup>h.  
 DEF-assignment with-fast  
 ‘The (any) student who writes every day will finish the assignment early’

In examples (303a) and (303b) above, the events in both relative clauses (*yidākīr* ‘study’ and *yuktub* ‘write’) are repeated more than once. It means that the event time (E), the reference time (R) and the speech time (S) are identical (E, R, S). However, the result in the matrix clause occurs once in both examples. It means that *yinğāḥ* ‘succeed’ and *yiḥalliṣ* ‘finish’ are not repeated, instead, they are fulfilled in the future, after the fulfilment of the events in the *allī* clause. The imperfective form here expresses future meaning in the matrix clause, whereby the speech time (S) precedes the event time (E) and the reference time (R) which are identical, (S- E, R). Therefore, the two examples above are grammatical with a future adverb like *ʔāḥīr al-sanah* ‘the end of the year’ in the matrix clause, as shown below:

- (304) a. al-ṭālib      allī    yidākīr                      kul    yawm, yinğāḥ                      ʔāḥīr  
 DEF-student REL study.IPFV.3SGM every day    succeed.IPFV.3SGM end  
 al-sanah.  
 DEF-year  
 ‘The (any) student who studies every day will succeed at the end of the year’
- b. al-ṭālib      allī    yuktub                      kul    yawm, yiḥalliṣ  
 DEF-student REL write.IPFV.3SGM every day    finish.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-baḥṭ                      ʔāḥīr al-sanah.  
 DEF-assignment end    DEF-year  
 ‘The (any) student who writes every day will finish the assignment at the end of the year’

Moreover, the prefix *bi* ‘will’ can attach to the verb in the matrix clause in both examples above and the meaning will be the same, as shown below:

- (305) a. al-ṭālib allī yidākir kul yawm, bi-yinḡaḥ  
 DEF-student REL study.IPFV.3SGM every day FUT-succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ḡāḥir al-sanah.  
 end DEF-year  
 ‘The (any) student who studies every day will succeed at the end of the year’
- b. al-ṭālib allī yuktub kul yawm, bi-yiḡalliṣ  
 DEF-student REL write.IPFV.3SGM every day FUT-finish.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-baḡt ḡāḥir al-sanah.  
 DEF-assignment end DEF-year  
 ‘The (any) student who writes every day will finish the assignment at the end of the year’

In addition, the habitual present in the *allī* clause can be used with habitual present in the second clause. In this case, the event time, the reference time and the speech time will be identical showing (E, R, S) in the *allī* clause and also in the matrix clause. The following examples are illustrative:

- (306) a. al-ṭālib allī yidākir kul sanah, yinḡaḥ kul  
 DEF-student REL study.IPFV.3SGM every year succeed.IPFV.3SGM every  
 sanah.  
 year  
 ‘The (any) student who studies every year will succeed every year’
- b. al-ṭālib allī yifham al-muḡāḍarah kul yawm,  
 DEF-student REL understand.IPFV.3SGM DEF-lecture every day  
 yuktub al-wāḡib kul yawm.  
 write.IPFV.3SGM DEF-assignment every day  
 ‘The (any) student who understands the lectures every day will write the assignment every day’

The two examples above express *generic conditionals*<sup>1</sup>. It means that the two sentences above express generalizations about the two events in the two clauses and the events will occur in a repeatable way. In example (306a), the condition is repeatable study and the result is also repeatable success. In other words, if any student does the event in the *allī* clause every year, he will get the result every year, as well. In the same way, if any student

<sup>1</sup>Generic conditionals are explained in chapter three.



repeats the event in the first clause in example (306b) every day, he will get the result in the second clause every day.

The second possible interpretation with the imperfective form is the present progressive. The *allī* clause may be given a present progressive interpretation. In this case, *allī* clause denotes the right now reading and it is still (E, R, S). This can be proved by using an adverb like *daḥḥīn* ‘now’ in the first clause and the examples below will be grammatical<sup>2</sup>:

- (307) a. al-ṭālib allī yidākir daḥḥīn, yingāḥ.  
 DEF-student REL study.IPFV.3SGM now succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) student who is studying now will succeed’
- b. al-ṭālib allī yisma<sup>c</sup> al-muḥāḍarah daḥḥīn, yuktub  
 DEF-student REL listen.IPFV.3SGM DEF-lecture now write.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-wāḡib.  
 DEF-assignment  
 ‘The (any) student who is listening to the lecture now will write the assignment’

The time reference of the relative clauses in both examples above is present progressive. It means that the condition in example (307a) is that *a student is studying now* and the consequent will be the success in the future. The imperfective form here has a future interpretation and it is (S-E, R). Thus, the adverb *daḥḥīn now* is not possible in the matrix clause, therefore, the following sentences are ungrammatical:

- (308) a. \*al-ṭālib allī yidākir daḥḥīn, yingāḥ daḥḥīn.  
 DEF-student REL study.IPFV.3SGM now succeed.IPFV.3SGM now  
 ‘\*The (any) student who is studying now will succeed now’
- b. \*al-ṭālib allī yisma<sup>c</sup> al-muḥāḍarah daḥḥīn, yuktub  
 DEF-student REL listen.IPFV.3SGM DEF-lecture now write.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-wāḡib daḥḥīn.  
 DEF-assignment now  
 ‘\*The (any) student who is listening to the lecture now will write the assignment now’

<sup>2</sup>The verb *yisma<sup>c</sup>* ‘listen’ is used here instead of *yifham* ‘understand’, because *yifham* ‘understand’ is a stative verb and it is not usually used to express the present progressive meaning.

On the other hand, a future adverb like *bukrah* 'tomorrow' is possible and the following sentences are grammatical:

- (309) a. al-ṭālib allī yidākir dahḥīm, yingāḥ bukraḥ.  
 DEF-student REL study.IPFV.3SGM now succeed.IPFV.3SGM tomorrow  
 'The (any) student who is studying now will succeed tomorrow'
- b. al-ṭālib allī yisma<sup>c</sup> al-muḥāḍarah dahḥīm, yuktub  
 DEF-student REL listen.IPFV.3SGM DEF-lecture now write.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-wāḡib bukraḥ.  
 DEF-assignment tomorrow  
 'The (any) student who is listening to the lecture now will write the assignment tomorrow'

Moreover, the future form that contains the prefix *bi* 'will' can be used in the matrix clause to express the meaning of the previous examples, as shown below:

- (310) a. al-ṭālib allī yidākir, bi-yingāḥ bukraḥ.  
 DEF-student REL study.IPFV.3SGM FUT-succeed.IPFV.3SGM tomorrow  
 'The (any) student who is studying will succeed tomorrow'
- b. al-ṭālib allī yisma<sup>c</sup> al-muḥāḍarah dahḥīm,  
 DEF-student REL listen.IPFV.3SGM DEF-lecture now  
 bi-yuktub al-wāḡib bukraḥ.  
 FUT-write.IPFV.3SGM DEF-assignment tomorrow  
 'The (any) student who is listening to the lecture now will write the assignment tomorrow'

In addition, the present progressive form in TD can be used in the first clause in this construction. It means that the *allī* clause can comprise *yikūn*, *qāyim*, or *qā'id* preceding a dynamic verb in the imperfective form<sup>3</sup>. The following examples are illustrative:

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<sup>3</sup>*yikūn* and *qāyim* usually precede a dynamic verb in the imperfective form

- (311) a. al-ṭālib allī yikūn yimšī li-al-madrasah,  
 DEF-student REL be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM to-DEF-school  
 yūṣal ba<sup>c</sup>d sā<sup>c</sup>ah.  
 arrive.IPFV.3SGM after hour

‘The (any) student who is walking to the school will arrive after an hour’

- b. al-ṭālib allī qāyim yimšī li-al-madrasah,  
 DEF-student REL be.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM to-DEF-school  
 yūṣal ba<sup>c</sup>d sā<sup>c</sup>ah.  
 arrive.IPFV.3SGM after hour

‘The (any) student who is walking to the school will arrive after an hour’

- c. al-ṭālib allī qā<sup>c</sup>id yimšī li al-madrasah,  
 DEF-student REL be.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM to DEF-school  
 yūṣal ba<sup>c</sup>d sā<sup>c</sup>ah.  
 arrive.IPFV.3SGM after hour

‘the (any) student who is walking to the school will arrive after an hour’

The time reference of the *allī* clause in the tree examples above is present progressive, whereas the matrix clause indicates the future in the three examples. In addition, the matrix clause in the three examples above might contain a future form, as shown below:

- (312) a. al-ṭālib allī yikūn yimšī li al-madrasah,  
 DEF-student REL be.IPFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM to DEF-school  
 bi-yūṣal ba<sup>c</sup>d sā<sup>c</sup>ah.  
 FUT-arrive.IPFV.3SGM after hour

‘The (any) student who is walking to the school will arrive after an hour’

- b. al-ṭālib allī qāyim yimšī li al-madrasah,  
 DEF-student REL be.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM to DEF-school  
 bi-yūṣal ba<sup>c</sup>d sā<sup>c</sup>ah.  
 FUT-arrive.IPFV.3SGM after hour

‘The (any) student who is walking to the school will arrive after an hour’

- c. al-ṭālib allī qā<sup>c</sup>id yimšī li al-madrasah,  
 DEF-student REL be.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM to DEF-school  
 bi-yūṣal ba<sup>c</sup>d sā<sup>c</sup>ah.  
 FUT-arrive.IPFV.3SGM after hour

‘The (any) student who is walking to the school will arrive after an hour’

Also, the *allī* construction can be used with a past interpretation if it contains verbs in the perfective form. However, the conditional meaning here is *real* and the speaker has no negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition. The past tense in this case can be simple, as shown below:

- (313) a. al-ṭālib allī dākar, nḡaḥ.  
 DEF-student REL study.PFV.3SGM succeed.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) student who had studied succeeded’
- b. al-ṭālib allī fihim al-muḥāḍarah, katab  
 DEF-student REL understand.PFV.3SGM DEF-lecture write.PFV.3SGM  
 al-wāḡib.  
 DEF-assignment  
 ‘The (any) student who had understood the lecture wrote the assignment’

The time reference of both clauses in each construction is past simple. In example (313a), the condition that is given by the head noun and the relative clause must be fulfilled in the past. The result is given by the matrix clause and it should be fulfilled in the past after the fulfilment of the condition. It means that the relative clause should be (E\_R\_S) while the matrix clause is (E, R\_S) because the fulfilment of the relative clause precedes the fulfilment of the matrix clause. The past interpretation can be demonstrated by using an adverb like *?ams* ‘yesterday’ in the first clause or in the second clause and the examples will be grammatical, as shown below:

- (314) a. al-ṭālib allī dākar ?ams, nḡaḥ.  
 DEF-student REL study.PFV.3SGM yesterday succeed.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) student who had studied yesterday succeeded’
- b. al-ṭālib allī fihim al-muḥāḍarah ?ams,  
 DEF-student REL understand.PFV.3SGM DEF-lecture yesterday  
 katab al-wāḡib.  
 write.PFV.3SGM DEF-assignment  
 ‘The (any) student who had understood the lecture yesterday wrote the assignment’

- (315) a. al-ṭālib allī dākar, nḡaḥ ʔams.  
 DEF-student REL study.PFV.3SGM succeed.PFV.3SGM yesterday  
 ‘the (any) student who had studied succeeded yesterday’
- b. al-ṭālib allī fihim al-muḥāḍarah, katab  
 DEF-student REL understand.PFV.3SGM DEF-lecture write.PFV.3SGM  
 al-wāḡib ʔams.  
 DEF-assignment yesterday  
 ‘The (any) student who had understood the lecture wrote the assignment yesterday’

The past adverb *ʔams* ‘yesterday’ can be used in the matrix clause in both examples above, because the time reference of the clause is the past.

Also, the imperfective form can be used in the matrix clause when the verb in the relative clause is in the perfective form. In this case, the imperfective form in the matrix clause will indicate the future. The following examples are illustrative:

- (316) a. al-ṭālib allī dākar, yinḡaḥ.  
 DEF-student REL study.PFV.3SGM succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) student who studied will succeed’
- b. al-ṭālib allī fihim al-muḥāḍarah, yuktutb  
 DEF-student REL understand.PFV.3SGM DEF-lecture write.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-wāḡib.  
 DEF-assignment  
 ‘The (any) student who understood the lecture will write the assignment’

The consequent of the condition in both examples above will occur in the future. In this case, the relative clause will be (E, R.S) while the matrix clause is (S\_ E, R). The use of the imperfective form in the matrix clause in the examples above with a future interpretation can be proved by using a future adverb in the matrix clause. The two examples above are grammatical with a future adverb like *bukrah* ‘tomorrow’ in the matrix clause, as shown below:

- (317) a. al-ṭālib allī dākar, yinḡaḥ bukraḥ.  
 DEF-student REL study.PFV.3SGM succeed.IPFV.3SGM tomorrow  
 ‘The (any) student who studied will succeed tomorrow’
- b. al-ṭālib allī fihim al-muḥāḍarah, yuktutb  
 DEF-student REL understand.PFV.3SGM DEF-lecture write.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-wāḡib bukraḥ.  
 DEF-assignment tomorrow  
 ‘The (any) student who understood the lecture will write the assignment tomorrow’

Moreover, the future form can be used in the matrix clause to express the meaning of the previous examples. The following examples are illustrative:

- (318) a. al-ṭālib allī dākar, bi-yinḡaḥ.  
 DEF-student REL study.PFV.3SGM FUT-succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) student who studied will succeed’
- b. al-ṭālib allī fihim al-muḥāḍarah,  
 DEF-student REL understand.PFV.3SGM DEF-lecture  
 bi-yuktutb al-wāḡib.  
 FUT-write.IPFV.3SGM DEF-assignment  
 ‘The (any) student who understood the lecture will write the assignment’

In addition, the past progressive is possible in the *allī* clause. It means that the *allī* clause can contain *kān* or *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* preceding a verb in the imperfective form. When the past progressive is used in the *allī* clause, the matrix clause can be past simple and both examples will be (E, R\_S). The following examples are illustrative:

- (319) a. al-raḡḡāl allī kān yimšī, wiṣil.  
 DEF-man REL be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM arrive.PEV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) man who had been walking arrived’
- b. al-raḡḡāl allī qa<sup>c</sup>ad yimšī, wiṣil.  
 DEF-ma REL be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM arrive.PEV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) man who had been walking arrived’

Also, the matrix clause can indicate the future by using a verb in the imperfective form or the prefix *bi* ‘will’ preceding a verb in the imperfective form, as shown below respectively:

- (320) a. al-raġġāl allī kān yimšī, yuṣal.  
 DEF-man REL be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM arrive.IPEV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) man who was walking will arrive’
- b. al-raġġāl allī kān yimšī, bi-yuṣal.  
 DEF-man REL be.PFV.3SGM walk.IPFV.3SGM FUT-arrive.IPEV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) man who was walking will arrive’

The habitual past is also possible in this construction. If the *allī* clause indicates the habitual past, the matrix clause can denote the habitual past too and the construction will express generic conditional. In this case, both clauses will be (E, R\_S). Also, the matrix clause can denote the future and it will be (S\_E, R). The following examples are illustrative:

- (321) a. al-ṭālib allī kān yidākir kul sanah,  
 DEF-student REL be.PFV.3SGM study.PFV.3SGM every year  
 kān yinġaḥ kul sanah.  
 be.PFV.3SGM succeed.IPFV.3SGM every year  
 ‘The (any) student who used to study every year used to succeed every year’
- b. al-ṭālib allī kān yidākir kul yawm,  
 DEF-student REL be.PFV.3SGM study.IPFV.3SGM every day  
 bi-yinġaḥ bukraḥ.  
 will-succeed.IPFV.3SGM tomorrow  
 ‘The (any) student who used to study every day will succeed tomorrow’

Moreover, the future form is possible in the *allī* clause, this form indicates that the fulfilment of this clause will be in the future. Obviously, the form in the matrix clause must be a future form, because it will be fulfilled after the fulfilment of the *allī* clause. In this case, the relative clause will be (S\_E, R) while the matrix clause is (S\_R\_E). The following examples are illustrative:

- (322) a. al-ṭālib allī bi-yidākir, bi-yinġaḥ.  
 DEF-student REL FUT-study.IPFV.3SGM FUT-succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘The (any) student who will study will succeed’

- b. al-ṭālib            allī    bi-yifham    al-muḥāḍarah,  
 DEF-student REL FUT-understand.IPFV.3SGM DEF-lecture  
 bi-yuktutb    al-wāğib.  
 FUT-write.IPFV.3SGM DEF-assignment  
 ‘The (any) student who will understand the lecture will write the assignment’

In both examples above, the fulfilment of the condition should be in the future and the consequent will occur after the fulfilment of the condition. In example (322a), the condition is *if any student studies* in the future and the result is *he will succeed*. In the same way, the condition in example (322b) is *if any student understands the lecture* in the future and the result is *he will write the assignment*.

Importantly, all the relative clauses above which give the condition can be used without heads and the meaning will be the same. It means that restrictive relative clauses and headless relative clauses in TD are used to express conditional meaning in the same way.

To sum up, the head noun that is modified by the *allī* clause can function as a subject in the matrix clause. This construction can express two types of generic conditionals, namely, past generic conditional if the time reference of the two clauses is habitual past and present generic conditional if the time reference of the two clauses is habitual present. There are no restrictions on the tense and aspect in the two clauses as long as the matrix clause is fulfilled after the *allī* clause. The interpretation of the *allī* clause can be habitual present with habitual present too, or future in the matrix clause. Also, the interpretation of the *allī* clause can be the present progressive with the future in the matrix clause. In addition, the past simple can be used in the *allī* clause with past simple too, or future in the matrix clause. Moreover, the past progressive can be used in the *allī* clause with past simple, or future in the matrix clause. Also, the habitual past can be used in the *allī* clause with habitual past or future in the matrix clause. Finally, the two clauses can express the future. Importantly, all conditional meanings here are *real*. The next section will discuss *allī* as an object.



### 5.3.3.2 allī as an object

The head noun of the *allī* clause can be the antecedent of a resumptive pronoun which functions as an object in the matrix clause. In this case, *allī* can be the antecedent of another resumptive pronoun which functions as an object within the *allī* clause. It means that the *allī* construction can contain two resumptive pronouns functioning as objects, the antecedent of the resumptive pronoun in the *allī* clause is *allī* while the antecedent of the resumptive pronoun in the matrix clause is the head noun of the *allī* clause. Because of the space, this section will focus on the object function in the two clauses.<sup>4</sup> The following sentences are illustrative:

- (323) a. al-šay allī yišūf-ū <sup>c</sup>alī, yiqūl-ū.  
 DEF-thing REL see.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ali tell.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC  
 ‘The (any) thing which Alli sees, he tells it’
- b. al-šay allī yilqā-h <sup>?</sup>aḥmad,  
 DEF-thing REL find.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ahmad  
 yākl-ū.  
 eat.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ahmad finds, he eats it’

In example (323a), the resumptive pronoun *ū* ‘it’ is attached to the verb *yišūf* ‘see’ in the *allī* clause and the antecedent of this resumptive pronoun is the relative pronoun *allī* which refers back to the head noun. Likewise, the resumptive pronoun in the matrix clause *ū* ‘it’ is attached to the verb *yiqūl* ‘tell’ and the antecedent of the resumptive pronoun is the head noun of the *allī* clause. The two resumptive pronouns in both clauses function as objects. Similarly, there are two resumptive pronouns in example (323b). The first resumptive pronoun *h* ‘it’<sup>5</sup> functions as the object of the verb *yilqā* ‘find’ and the second resumptive pronoun *ū* in the matrix clause functions as the object of the verb *yākl* ‘eat’. The antecedent of the resumptive pronoun *h* in the *allī* clause is *allī*, whereas the antecedent of the resumptive pronoun *ū* in the matrix clause is the head noun. In addition,

<sup>4</sup>The function in the *allī* clause can be different from the function of the matrix clause.

<sup>5</sup>*h* and *ū* have the same meaning. However, some verbs in TD such as *yilqā* ‘find’ is only used with *h* while the majority of verbs in TD (for example, *yišūf* ‘see’ *yiqūl* ‘tell’ and *yākl* ‘eat’) are used with either *h* or *ū* without any difference in the meaning.

the subject of the two verbs *yīšūf* ‘see’ and *yīqūl* ‘tell’ in example (323a) above is *Ali*. In the same way, the subject of the verbs *yīlqā* ‘find’ and *yākl* ‘eat’ in example (323b) is *Ahmad*.

As for the conditional meaning, there is no significant differences between the subject function examples which was discussed in the previous section and the object function examples in relation to the conditional meaning. Thus, example (323a) means that *if Ali sees any thing, he tells* and example (323b) means that *if Ahmad finds any thing, he eats it*.

Similar to the subject function, the imperfective form in the *allī* clause here has two interpretations, namely, habitual present and present progressive. The habitual present in *allī* clause can be used with a matrix clause that has a future interpretation. The following examples are illustrative:

- (324) a. al-šay      allī    yīšūf-ū    °alī kul    yawm,  
 DEF-thing REL see.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ali every day  
 yīqūl-ū    ba<sup>c</sup>d ?usbu<sup>c</sup>.  
 tell.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC after week  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ali sees every day, he will tell after one week’
- b. al-šay      allī    yīlqā-h    ?ahmad kul    yawm,  
 DEF-thing REL find.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ahmad every day  
 yākl-ū    ?ahir al-šahar.  
 eat.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC end    DEF-month  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ahmad finds every day, he will eat at the end of the month’

In addition, the habitual present in the first clause can be used with a habitual present in the second clause and the meaning of the construction will be generic conditional, as shown below:

- (325) a. al-šay      allī    yīšūf-ū    °alī kul    yawm,  
 DEF-thing REL see.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ali every day  
 yīqūl-ū    kul    yawm.  
 tell.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC every day  
 ‘The (any) thing which Alli sees every day, he tells every day’

- b. al-šay allī yilqā-h ʔaḥmad kul yawm,  
 DEF-thing REL find.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ahmad every day  
 yākl-ū kul yawm.  
 eat.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC every day  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ahmad finds every day, he eats every day’

If the imperfective form in the first clause indicates the present progressive<sup>6</sup>, the time reference of the matrix clause must be the future. The following examples are illustrative:

- (326) a. al-šay allī yišūf-ū ʕalī dahḥīm,  
 DEF-thing REL see.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ali now  
 yiqūl-ū bukraḥ.  
 tell.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC tomorrow  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ali is seeing now, he will tell tomorrow’
- b. al-šay allī yilqā-h ʔaḥmad dahḥīm,  
 DEF-thing REL find.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ahmad now  
 yākl-ū bukraḥ.  
 eat.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC tomorrow  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ahmad is finding now, he will eat it tomorrow’

In addition, the two clauses in this construction can indicate the future by using the prefix *bi* ‘will’ preceding verbs in the imperfective forms, as shown below:

- (327) a. al-šay allī bi-yišūf-ū ʕalī bukraḥ,  
 DEF-thing REL FUT-see.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ali tomorrow  
 bi-yiqūl-ū baʕad bukraḥ.  
 FUT-tell.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC after tomorrow  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ali will see tomorrow, he will tell after tomorrow’
- b. al-šay allī bi-yilqā-h ʔaḥmad bukraḥ,  
 DEF-thing REL FUT-find.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ahmad tomorrow  
 bi-yākl-ū baʕad bukraḥ.  
 FUT-eat.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC after tomorrow  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ahmad will find tomorrow, he will eat after tomorrow’

<sup>6</sup>Like the subject function, the use of *yikūn*, *qāyim*, or *qāʕid* in the first clause preceding a dynamic verb in the imperfective form is possible.

Moreover, the perfective form can be used in both clauses denoting a past interpretation. The past can be simple in both clauses, habitual in both clauses, or progressive in the first clause. If the time reference of the first clause is the past simple, the second clause can be a past simple too, or future. The following examples illustrate the two possibilities, respectively:

- (328) a. al-šay allī šāf-ū <sup>°</sup>alī ʔams,  
 DEF-thing REL see.PFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ali yesterday  
 qāl-ū ʔams.  
 tell.PFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC yesterday  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ali saw yesterday, he told yesterday’
- b. al-šay allī lqī-h ʔaḥmad ʔams,  
 DEF-thing REL find.PFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ahmad yesterday  
 ʔakal-ū ʔams.  
 eat.PFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC yesterday  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ahmad found yesterday, he ate yesterday’
- (329) a. al-šay allī šāf-ū <sup>°</sup>alī ʔams,  
 DEF-thing REL see.PFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ali yesterday  
 bi-yiqūl-ū bukraḥ.  
 FUT-tell.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC tomorrow  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ali saw yesterday, he will tell tomorrow’
- b. al-šay allī lqī-h ʔaḥmad ʔams,  
 DEF-thing REL find.PFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ahmad yesterday  
 bi-yākl-ū bukraḥ.  
 FUT-eat.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC tomorrow  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ahmad found yesterday, he will eat tomorrow’

In the same way, if the time reference of the first clause is the habitual past, the second clause can be a habitual past too, or future, as shown below respectively:

- (330) a. al-šay allī kān yišūf-ū <sup>°</sup>alī kul yawm,  
 DEF-thing REL be.PFV.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ali every day  
 kān yiqūl-ū kul yawm.  
 be.PFV.3SGM tell.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC every day  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ali used to see every day, he used to tell every day’

- b. al-šay allī kān yilqā-h ʔaḥmad kul  
 DEF-thing REL be.PFV.3SGM find.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ahmad every  
 yawm, kān yākl-ū kul yawm.  
 day be.PFV.3SGM eat.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC every day  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ahmad used to find every day, he used to eat every day’

- (331) a. al-šay allī kān yišūf-ū ʕalī kul yawm,  
 DEF-thing REL be.PFV.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ali every day  
 bi-yiqūl-ū bukraḥ.  
 FUT-tell.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC tomorrow  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ali used to see every day, he will tell tomorrow’

- b. al-šay allī kān yilqā-h ʔaḥmad kul  
 DEF-thing REL be.PFV.3SGM find.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ahmad every  
 yawm, bi-yākl-ū bukraḥ.  
 day FUT-eat.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC tomorrow  
 ‘The (any) thing which Ahmad used to find every day, he will eat tomorrow’

As for the past progressive, if the time reference of the first clause is the past progressive, the time reference of the second clause will be past or future, as shown in the two examples below, respectively:

- (332) a. al-šay allī qaʕad yišūf-ū ʕalī ʔams,  
 DEF-thing REL be.PFV.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM-i3SGM.ACC Ali yesterday  
 qāl-ū.  
 tell.PFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC

‘The (any) thing which Ali was seeing yesterday, he told’

- b. al-šay allī qaʕad yišūf-ū ʕalī ʔams,  
 DEF-thing REL be.PFV.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ali yesterday  
 bi-yiqūl-ū bukraḥ.  
 FUT-tell.PFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC tomorrow

‘The (any) thing which Ali was seeing yesterday, he will tell tomorrow’

Like the subject function, all the above examples can be used without the head noun. In other words, the relative clause can be a headless relative clause with the same conditional meaning. For example, the two examples in (332) will give the same conditional meaning when they are used without head nouns, as shown below:

- (333) a. *allī qa<sup>ʿ</sup>ad yišūf-ū <sup>ʿ</sup>alī ʔams,*  
 REL be.PFV.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM-i3SGM.ACC Ali yesterday  
*qāl-ū.*  
 tell.PFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC  
 ‘(The (any) thing) which Ali was seeing yesterday, he told’
- b. *allī qa<sup>ʿ</sup>ad yišūf-ū <sup>ʿ</sup>alī ʔams,*  
 REL be.PFV.3SGM see.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC Ali yesterday  
*bi-yiqūl-ū bukraḥ.*  
 FUT-tell.PFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC tomorrow  
 ‘(The (any) thing) which Ali was seeing yesterday, he will tell tomorrow’

To sum up, the *allī* clause can function as an object in the *allī* construction. The conditional meaning that is expressed in the object function is the same as the subject function. In addition, the resumptive pronoun must be used in the object position. The antecedent of the resumptive pronoun in the *allī* clause is *allī*, whereas the antecedent of the resumptive pronoun in the matrix clause is the head noun of the *allī* clause. As for the tense and aspect in the two clauses, there are no differences between the subject function and the object function. It means that the habitual present in the *allī* clause can be with habitual present, or future in the matrix clause. The present progressive in the *allī* clause must be used with the future in the matrix clause. The past simple in the *allī* clause can be used with past simple, or future. The past progressive in the *allī* clause can be used with past simple, or future in the matrix clause. The habitual past in the *allī* clause can be used with habitual past, or future in the matrix clause. Finally the two clauses can have a future interpretation. Importantly, all conditional meanings here are *real*. The following table summarises the possible types of tense and aspect in the two clauses of the *allī* construction when the *allī* clause functions as either a subject or object in the matrix clause.

<i>alli</i> clause	V FORM	matrix clause	V FORM
Past Simple	PFV	Past Simple Future	PFV IPFV/bi+IPFV
Past Progressive	Kān/qa <sup>c</sup> ad+IPFV	Past Simple Future	PFV IPFV/bi+IPFV
(334) Habitual Past	Kān/qām+IPFV	Habitual Past Future	Kān/qām+IPFV IPFV/bi+IPFV
Habitual Present	IPFV	Habitual Present Future	IPFV IPFV/bi+IPFV
Present Progressive	IPFV/yikūn+IPFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Future	bi+IPFV	Future	bi+IPFV

The following sections will discuss *ever conditionals* in TD.

## 5.4 ever conditionals in TD

*Ever conditionals* are similar to *allī* conditionals in that both constructions use relative clauses to express conditional meanings. In the *allī* construction, the condition is expressed by a restrictive relative clause and the result is expressed by the matrix clause while the condition is expressed by the free relative clause in *ever conditionals* and the result by the matrix clause. Both constructions express *real conditionals*. It means that the speaker in both conditional constructions has no negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition<sup>7</sup>. This section will discuss *ever conditionals* in TD.

Like other Arabic dialects, *ever conditionals* are possible in TD. TD contains two *ever conjunctions* which are *mahmā* ‘whatever’ and *waynmā* ‘wherever’ and both contain the morpheme *mā* ‘ever’ and introduce *ever conditionals* meaning in TD. The *ever clause* can function as an argument or adjunct. It may be required by the predicate in the matrix clause and in this case it will be analysed as an argument. In contrast, it may not be required by the predicate in the matrix clause and in this case it will be analysed as an adjunct. In addition, there is a dependency between the *ever conjunction* and a grammatical function within its clause. In other words, it fills a grammatical function within the subordinate clause. This function can be either a subject function or object function.

### 5.4.1 mahmā

In some Arabic dialects, the morpheme *mā* ‘ever’ is suffixed to a question word to express the meaning of *ever* relative pronouns such as *whoever*, *whatever*, or *wherever* in the English language. *mahmā* is slightly different from these words in that it consists of a relativizer which is *mā*<sup>8</sup> and the adverb *mā* ‘ever’. As stated in Arabic traditional books<sup>9</sup>, *mahmā*

<sup>7</sup>Some researchers such as Rawlins (2008) who believes that *ever conditionals* are not *conditionals* argue that this type of constructions involves *indifference* reading. For example, a sentence such as *whatever you do, you will lose* means that *it does not matter what you do*. However, this section will follow König (1986) in assuming that this sentence relates a set of conditions that is expressed in the *ever clause* to a result that is expressed in the matrix clause. Also, *ever* construction may express *generic conditionals*, as will be shown below.

<sup>8</sup>It is used as a question word in modern standard Arabic in an example like *mā fa<sup>c</sup>al al-ṭṭālib-u?* ‘what did the student do?’.

<sup>9</sup>See Alaqili (nd), Alansari (ndb) and Hasan (1998).



consists of *mā* and *mā*. However, the first *mā* is changed to *māh* for avoiding repeating the same word *mā*.

*mā* in TD is used as a relativizer introducing a free relative clause. In this case, *mā* means *whatever*, *what*, *that* or *which* in the English language. *mā* refers to non-specified inanimate entity. The relative clause which is introduced by *mā* can function as a subject or object. The following examples illustrate the two functions respectively:

- (335) a. *ǰā-k* *mā* *titmanna*.  
 come.PFV.3SGM-2SGM.ACC REL hope.IPFV.2SGM  
 ‘What you hope comes to you’
- b. *šuf-t* *mā* *ǰā-k*.  
 see.PFV.1SG REL come.PFV.3SGM-2SGM.ACC  
 ‘I saw what happened to you’

In example (335a), the free relative clause *mā titma-nna* ‘*what you hope*’ is the subject of the verb *ǰā* ‘*come*’ in the matrix clause. In addition, *mā* fills an object function within the free relative clause, namely, it is the object of the verb *titmanna* ‘*hope*’ in the free relative clause. On the other hand, the free relative clause *mā ǰā-k* ‘*what happened to you*’ in example (335b) is the object of the verb *šuf-t* ‘*I saw*’ in the matrix clause. Also, *mā* is the subject of the verb *ǰā* ‘*come*’ in the free relative clause.

*māhmā* ‘*whatever*’ in TD can be used to express conditional meaning and the conditional meaning in this case is always *real*. This section will distinguish between two conditional constructions. In the first construction, *māhmā* clause functions as an argument of the verb in the matrix clause, it can be a subject of the verb in the matrix clause or an object. In the second construction, *māhmā* clause functions as an adverb. Thus, the following sections will discuss three topics, namely, *māhmā* clause as a subject of the matrix clause, *māhmā* clause as an object of the matrix clause and *māhmā* as an adverb.

### 5.4.1.1 *mahmā* clause as a subject

*mahmā* clause can function as a subject of the verb in the matrix clause. The following examples are illustrative:

- (336) a. *mahmā* *tiqra*                      *yianfa*<sup>c</sup>*a-k*                      *fi* *al-mustaqbal*.  
 REL    read.IPFV.2SGM    help.IPFV.3SGM-2SGM.ACC    in DEF-future  
 ‘Whatever you read will help you in the future’
- b. *mahmā* *tiqūl*                      *yinfa*<sup>c</sup>                      *al-nās*.  
 REL    say.IPFV.2SGM    help.IPFV.3SGM    DEF-people  
 ‘Whatever you say helps people’

In example (336a), the *mahmā* clause *mahmā tiqra* ‘whatever you read’ fills a grammatical function in the matrix clause, namely, it functions as the subject of the verb *yianfa*<sup>c</sup> ‘help’ in the matrix clause. In addition, *mahmā* fills a grammatical function within the clause, it functions as an object of the verb *tiqra* ‘read’. In the same way, *mahmā* clause functions as a subject of the verb *yinfa*<sup>c</sup> ‘help’ in the matrix clause in example (336b). Also, *mahmā* fills the within grammatical function which is an object function. It means that *mahmā* is the object of the verb *tiqūl* ‘say’.

There are two possible conditional meanings that can be expressed by this construction. In the first meaning, the first clause contains a set of antecedent conditions which is related to one result. For example, in the following repeated example, the set includes all the stuff that is read by the hearer, however, the result is only one which is the help in the future.

- (337) *mahmā* *tiqra*                      *yianfa*<sup>c</sup>*a-k*                      *fi* *al-mustaqbal*.  
 REL    read.IPFV.2SGM    help.IPFV.3SGM-2SGM.ACC    in DEF-future  
 ‘Whatever you read will help you in the future’

In the second meaning, the construction expresses a *generic conditional*. It means that the events will be repeated in both clauses more than once. In this case, both clauses must have a habitual interpretation. For example, if it is assumed that the hearer of the following repeated example is a wise man and his advice always help people and it is assumed

that both clauses have habitual present interpretation, the example will express *the generic conditional*. In other words, the wise man will talk more than once and he will help people more than once.

- (338) mahmā tqūl                      yinfa<sup>c</sup>                      al-nās.  
 REL    say.IPFV.2SGM help.IPFV.3SGM DEF-people  
 ‘Whatever you say helps people’

In addition, there are some differences between this construction which contains *mahmā* introducing the subordinate clause and the *allī* construction which was discussed above in relation to the tense and aspect. In the *mahmā* construction, the matrix clause must not have a past interpretation. However, there is no plausible reason for the ungrammaticality of the past tense in the matrix clause.<sup>10</sup> The following examples are not grammatical:

- (339) a. \*mahmā qrīt                      nfa<sup>c</sup>a-k                      fī al-mustaqbal.  
 REL    read.PFV.2SGM help.PFV.3SGM-2SGM.ACC in DEF-future  
 ‘Whatever you read helped you in the future’
- b. \*mahmā qūlt                      nfa<sup>c</sup>                      al-nās.  
 REL    say.PFV.2SGM help.PFV.3SGM DEF-people  
 ‘Whatever you said helped people’

It means that both clauses in the *mahmā* construction can be habitual present or future. Also, the first clause can be past simple with future in the second clause, habitual past with future, past progressive with future, habitual present with future or present progressive with future. The next section will discuss the function of *mahmā* clause as an object.

<sup>10</sup>It might be because *mahmā* has the indefinite suffix *mā* and this makes its scope wider and the future result is more suitable for this kind of indefinite relativizer.

### 5.4.1.2 *mahmā* clause as an object

The *mahmā* clause can function as an object in the matrix clause. The following examples are illustrative.

- (340) a. *mahmā* *tiqra*                      *tinsa*                      *fī* *al-mustaqbal*.  
 REL    read.IPFV.2SGM    forget.IPFV.2SGM    in DEF-future  
 ‘Whatever you read, you forget in the future’
- b. *mahmā* *tqūl*                      *yisma<sup>c</sup>*                      *al-nās*.  
 REL    say.IPFV.2SGM    listen.IPFV.3SGM    DEF-people  
 ‘Whatever you say, people listen to’

In example (340a), the *mahmā* clause functions as an object of the verb *tinsa* ‘forget’ in the matrix clause. Also, *mahmā* fills the within grammatical function which is an object function, namely, *mahmā* is the object of the verb *tiqra* ‘read’ in the subordinate clause. Likewise, *mahmā* clause functions as an object of the verb *yisma<sup>c</sup>* ‘listen’ in the matrix clause in (340b). Also, *mahmā* functions as an object of the verb *tqūl* ‘say’ in the subordinate clause. Unlike the *allī* construction, in both examples above, there is no resumptive pronoun referring to the *mahmā* clause in the matrix clause or to *mahmā* in the free relative clause. This is because the wide scope of *mahmā* in this construction.

The *mahmā* clause in (340a) and (340b) above can be in the normal order after the verb in the matrix clause. It can come straight after the verb, as shown in examples (341a) and (341b) or it can be separated from the verb by a prepositional phrase, as shown in example (342a) or by the subject as shown in (342b):

- (341) a. *tinsa*                      *mahmā* *tiqra*                      *fī* *al-mustaqbal*.  
 forget.IPFV.2SGM    REL    read.IPFV.2SGM    in DEF-future  
 ‘You forget whatever you read in the future’
- b. *al-nās*                      *yisma<sup>cū</sup>*                      *mahmā* *tqūl*.  
 DEF-people    listen.IPFV.3PLM    REL    say.IPFV.2SGM  
 ‘People listen to whatever you say’

- (342) a. tinsa                                      fī al-mustaqbal mahmā tiqra.  
 forget.IPFV.2SGM in DEF-future REL read.IPFV.2SGM  
 ‘You forget in the future whatever you read’
- b. yisma<sup>c</sup>                                      al-nās                      mahmā tqūl.  
 listen.IPFV.3SGM DEF-people REL say.IPFV.2SGM  
 ‘People listen to whatever you say’

The conditional meaning in examples (341) and (342) has been lost and they are statements. For example, the speaker in (341a) and (342a) states that *the hearer forgets whatever he reads in the future*. In the same way, the speaker in (341b) and (342b) states that *people listen to whatever the hearer says*.

In addition, there is no difference in the conditional meaning between the subject function and the object function. In other words, there are two possible conditional meanings too when the *mahmā* clause functions as an object, namely, *a concessive conditional* when there is a set of conditions in the subordinate clause that are related to one result and *a generic conditional*. Moreover, the types of tense and aspect in the two clauses in the object function resemble the types of tense and aspect in the subject function. The following table summarises the possible types of tense and aspect in the two clauses when the *mahmā* clause functions as an argument:

<i>mahmā</i> clause	V FORM	matrix clause	V FORM
Past Simple	PFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Past Progressive	Kān/qa <sup>c</sup> ad+IPFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Habitual Past	Kān/qām+IPFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Habitual Present	IPFV	Habitual Present	IPFV
		Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Present Progressive	IPFV/yikūn+IPFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Future	bi+IPFV	Future	bi+IPFV

The following section will discuss the function of *mahmā* clause as an adjunct.

### 5.4.1.3 *mahmā* clause as an adverb

The *mahmā* clause can function as an adjunct. This construction resembles the English construction *Whatever he cooks, I will win the competition*. In addition, there is still a dependency between *mahmā* and a grammatical function within its clause. This function can be either a subject function or object function. The following examples illustrate the two functions respectively:

- (344) a. *mahmā* *yigī* min al-*mudīr*, <sup>c</sup>*ali* *bi-yištaġil* fī  
 REL come.IPFV.3SGM from DEF-manager Ali FUT-work.IPFV.3SGM in  
 al-*šarikah*.  
 DEF-company  
 ‘Whatever comes from the manager, Ali will work in the company’
- b. *mahmā* *tṭakir*, bi-*tursub* fī al-*ḥtibar*.  
 REL study.IPFV.2SGM FUT-fail.IPFV.2SGM in DEF-exam  
 ‘Whatever you study, you will fail in the exam’

In example (344a), *Ali* has some problems with the manager of the company and the speaker states that *Ali* insists to stay in the company in spite of these problems. The verb *yištaġil* ‘work’ in the matrix clause requires one argument, namely, it requires a subject and the subject is available in the same clause (it is *Ali* in the matrix clause). It means that the *mahmā* clause is not required by the predicate in the matrix clause. Thus, the *mahmā* clause functions as an adjunct in this example which is similar to the function of the protasis in a normal conditional sentence. In addition, *mahmā* fills a grammatical function within the subordinate clause, it is the subject of the verb *yigī* ‘come’.

Similarly, in example (344b), the speaker states that *whatever the hearer studies, he will fail in the exam*. The verb *tursub* ‘fail’ in the matrix clause only requires a subject and it is available (it is the hearer and it is known from the agreement of the verb). Therefore, the *mahmā* clause functions as an adjunct. In addition, *mahmā* fills the object function in its clause, namely, it is the object of the verb *tṭakir* ‘study’.

As for the meaning of this construction, there is only one possible conditional meaning which is *a concessive conditional*. It means that the construction relates a set of antecedent conditions in the first clause to one result in the second clause. For example, in example (344a) above, the set of conditions contains all possible offences that come from the manager, whereas the result is only one which is *Ali will keep working in this company*. Likewise, the sentence in example (344b) relates a set of conditions to one result. The set of conditions contains all the stuff that will be studied by the hearer, whereas the result is only one which is the fact that the hearer will fail. In addition, there are some differences between this construction when the *mahmā* clause functions as an adjunct and the subject or object construction when the *mahmā* clause functions as a subject or object in relation to the types of tense and aspect. When the *mahmā* clause functions as an adjunct, the tense of the matrix clause must be the future. The following table shows the possible types of tense and aspect when the *mahmā* clause functions as an adjunct:

<i>mahmā</i> clause	V FORM	matrix clause	V FORM
Past Simple	PFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Past Progressive	Kān/qa <sup>c</sup> ad+IPFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
(345) Habitual Past	Kān/qām+IPFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Habitual Present	IPFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Present Progressive	IPFV/yikūn+IPFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Future	bi+IPFV	Future	bi+IPFV

To sum up, this section has discussed the *mahmā* construction in TD. The *mahmā* clause has three possible grammatical functions, namely, it can function as a subject, object or adjunct in the matrix clause. When the *mahmā* clause functions as an argument (subject or object) in the matrix clause, there are two possible conditional meanings which are *a concessive conditional* and *generic conditional*. On the other hand, if the *mahmā* clause functions as an adjunct, there is only one possible meaning which is *a concessive conditional*. With regard to the tense and aspect, the *mahmā* construction is slightly different from the *allī* construction in that the matrix clause must not have a past tense. If the *mahmā* clause functions as an argument, it can be past simple with future in the matrix clause, habitual

past with future, past progressive with future, habitual present with habitual present or future, present progressive with future or future with future. In addition, if the *mahmā* clause functions as an adjunct, the tense of the matrix clause will be different in that it must be future. The following section will discuss *waynmā*.

### 5.4.2 waynmā

*waynmā* in TD is composed of *wayn* ‘where’ and *mā* ‘ever’. *wayn* in TD can be used as a question word. In this case, it can occupy the initial position in the sentence or the final position, as shown below respectively:

- (346) a. wayn al-kitab?  
 QW DEF-book  
 ‘Where (is) the book?’
- b. al-kitab wayn?  
 DEF-book QW  
 ‘Where (is) the book?’

Both sentences above have the same meaning. In both sentences, the speaker asks about the place of the book. The use of *wayn* as a question word is not restricted to verbless sentences such as the two sentences above. It can be used as a question word in normal verbal sentences. In this case, there are **three** possible positions for *wayn*, namely, it can be positioned at the beginning of the sentence, at the medial or at the end. All the three sentences below are grammatical:

- (347) a. wayn raḥ                      ḥālid?  
 QW go.PFV.3SGM Kaled  
 ‘Where (did) Kaled go?’
- b. ḥālid wayn                      raḥ?  
 QW go.PFV.3SGM Kaled  
 ‘Where (did) Kaled go?’
- c. ḥālid raḥ                      wayn?  
 QW go.PFV.3SGM Kaled



‘Where (did) Kaled go?’

In addition, when *wayn* combines with the indefinite adverb *mā*, it introduces a free relative clause and can express a conditional meaning. The *waynmā* clause can fill two types of functions in the main clause. It can function as an object as shown in example (348a) or as an adjunct as shown in example (348b):

- (348) a. waynmā trūḥ                      liylā, bi-yirūḥ                      qīs.  
 REL    go.IPFV.3SGF    Lyla    FUT-go.IPFV.3SGM    Qays  
 ‘Wherever Lyla goes, Qays will go’
- b. waynmā yudrus                      ʿali, yiṭlaʿ                      al-ʔawal.  
 REL    study.IPFV.3SGM    Ali    become.IPFV.3SGM    DEF-first  
 ‘Wherever Ali studies, he becomes the best’

In example (348a), *Qays* loves *Lyla* and he will follow her everywhere. The verb *yirūḥ* ‘go’ in the matrix clause requires a subject and object. The subject is *Qays* and it is available in the matrix clause. However, the object is not in the matrix clause and the *waynmā* clause functions as the object of the verb *yirūḥ* ‘go’. In addition, *waynmā* functions as a locative adverb within its clause. In contrast, in example (348b), *Ali* is very clever and he is always at the top. The verb *yiṭlaʿ* ‘become’ in the matrix clause requires two arguments, namely, a subject and object. Both arguments are available, the subject is a pronoun which is incorporated in the verb and it refers to *Ali* in the *waynmā* clause<sup>11</sup>, whereas, the object is *al-ʔawal* ‘the first’ and it is available in the same clause. Hence, the *waynmā* clause functions as an adjunct, namely, it is a locative adverb. Moreover, *waynmā* functions as an adjunct within its clause, it functions as a locative adverb. It means that the verb *yudrus* ‘study’ in the *waynmā* clause is a one place predicate requiring a subject which is *Ali* in the same clause, therefore, the verb is complete and *waynmā* is not required to fill an argument function within the clause.

With regard to the conditional meaning, this construction can express a *concessive conditional* meaning. Thus, the following repeated example relates a set of antecedent conditions

<sup>11</sup>Arabic is pro-drop language in the sense that verbs might incorporate their subjects and separate pronouns are not always necessary (See Ryding (2005)).

to one consequent.

- (349) waynmā trūḥ                      liylā, bi-yirūḥ                      qīs.  
 REL    go.IPFV.3SGF Lyla FUT-go.IPFV.3SGM Qays  
 ‘Wherever Lyla goes, Qays will go’

In this example, the set of conditions includes all the possible places that *Lyla* goes to and the result is that *Qays* will follow her.

In addition, *the generic conditional* meaning is possible in this construction when the two clauses have a habitual aspect. For example, the events in the following repeated example are repeated more than once expressing *generic conditional*:

- (350) waynmā yudrus                      ʿali, yiṭlaʿ                      al-ʔawal.  
 REL    study.IPFV.3SGM Ali    become.IPFV.3SGM DEF-first  
 ‘Wherever Ali studies, he becomes the best’

In this example, *Ali* studies in more than one school and becomes the best in his class more than once. It means that the two verbs in both clauses are repeated expressing *a generic conditional*.

As for the tense and aspect, the *waynmā* construction is different from the *mahmā* construction when its clause functions as an adjunct in the matrix clause in that there are more options with the *waynmā* construction. The *waynmā* clause can be past simple, habitual past or past progressive with future in the matrix clause, habitual present with habitual present or future, present progressive with future, or future with future. However, the matrix clause must not have past tense. The following table summarises the possible types of tense and aspect in the *waynmā* construction:

<i>waynmā</i> clause	V FROM	matrix clause	V FROM
Past Simple	PFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Past Progressive	Kān/qa <sup>c</sup> ad+ IPFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Habitual Past	Kān/qām+IPFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Habitual Present	IPFV	Habitual Present	IPFV
		Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Present Progressive	IPFV/yikūn+IPFV	Future	IPFV/bi+IPFV
Future	bi+IPFV	Future	bi+IPFV

To sum up, the *waynmā* clause can function as an object or adjunct. In addition, there are two possible conditional meanings that can be expressed by the *waynmā* construction. The first meaning is the *generic conditional* meaning which is expressed by the *waynmā* construction when the two clauses have a habitual present interpretation. The second meaning is the *concessive conditional* meaning when the construction relates a set of conditions in the first clause to one result in the second clause and this meaning is expressed when one of the two clauses is not habitual. The following chapter will consider the analysis of conditional structures in TD.



# Chapter 6

## The analysis of conditional sentences

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section will give an overview of the LFG framework. It will explain the c-structure, f-structure and the correspondences between the two structures. Also, this section will discuss the analysis of adjuncts and restrictive relative clauses in LFG because the conditional clause will be analysed as an adjunct and the *allī* clause as a restrictive relative clause. The second section will discuss the analysis of conditional sentences. It will discuss three possible analyses for the conditional clause, namely, as a conjunct in a coordinate structure, a topic and an adjunct. This chapter will argue for analysing the conditional clause as an adjunct and provide some evidence supporting this analysis. Also, the second section will provide an illustration of the analysis. The third section will analyse the relative clause in TD that express conditional meanings. It will argue that *alladī* in MSA and *allī* in TD are relative pronouns rather than complementizers. Also, this section will provide an illustration of the analysis.

## 6.2 An overview of the LFG framework

This section will give an overview of *the Lexical Functional Grammar framework*, the theory that will be used for analysing the syntactic aspects of conditionals. First, this section will explain the name of the theory. Second, phrase structure rules and c-structure in LFG will be discussed. Third, the f-structure will be discussed. Fourth, mapping between the two structures will be explained. Finally, this section will briefly consider adjuncts and their analysis in LFG because this thesis argues that conditional clauses are adjuncts and this will include the analysis of restrictive relative clauses because the analysis of the *allī* construction which expresses conditional meanings in MSA and TD.

*Lexical Functional Grammar* (LFG) was developed by Joan Bresnan and Ronald Kaplan in the 1970s. It is *lexical* because a lot of work in LFG is done in the lexicon. A number of phenomena that are treated in the syntax in some theories such as transformational theories are treated as lexical in LFG. Also, all the information that is in the f-structure starts in the lexicon entities of the words. It is *functional* because grammatical functions such as subject and object are central in the formalism of LFG and they are represented in a separate structure called *functional structure* or *f-structure*. The following section will explain the *c-structure* in LFG.

### 6.2.1 c-structure

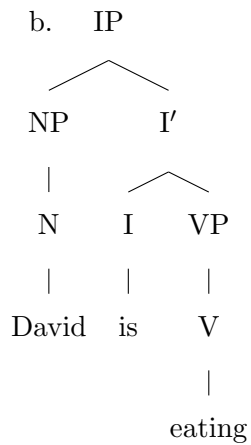
LFG is similar to other syntactic theories in assuming that the words in sentences are organised into constituents. These constituents are represented in a tree and licensed by rules. LFG uses the principle of x-bar theory which assumes that ‘lexical items appear as heads of phrases and may be associated with specifier or complement positions within the same phrase’ (Dalrymple, 2001, 56). In x-bar theory, the lexical or functional category is related to projections in the phrase, the maximal projection or nonmaximal projection (also see Jackendoff (1977) and Chomsky (1986)).

In LFG, there are two types of categories: lexical and functional category. The major lexical categories are noun (N), preposition (P), verb (V), adjective (A) and adverb (Adv). The lexical categories are heads of phrases of the same category. The noun (N) is the head of a noun phrase (NP), the preposition (P) is the head of a preposition phrase (PP), the verb (V) is the head of a verb phrase, the adjective (A) is the head of an adjective phrase (AP) and the adverb is the head of an adverb phrase (AdvP) (see Bresnan (2001), Dalrymple (2001) and Falk (2001)). These phrases are illustrated in (352) below:

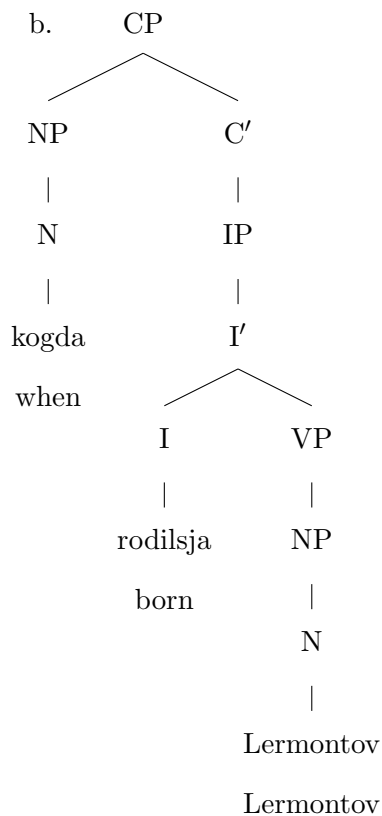
- (352) a. the lady ( **NP**).
- b. on the table ( **PP**).
- c. meet the manager ( **VP**).
- d. proud of the country ( **AP**).
- e. quite quickly ( **AdvP**).

As for the functional categories, they are I and C. The functional position *I* is the head of a finite clause *IP*. This category is originally proposed for English auxiliaries by Falk (1984). However, languages are different in which lexical category fills the functional category *I*. For instance, the tensed auxiliary occupies *I* position in the English language while it is occupied by finite verbs in a language like Russian (see Dalrymple (2001) and Falk (2001)). The following trees show *I* position in the English language in (353b) and in the Russian language (quoted from (King, 1995, 172)) in (354b):

(353) a. David is eating.



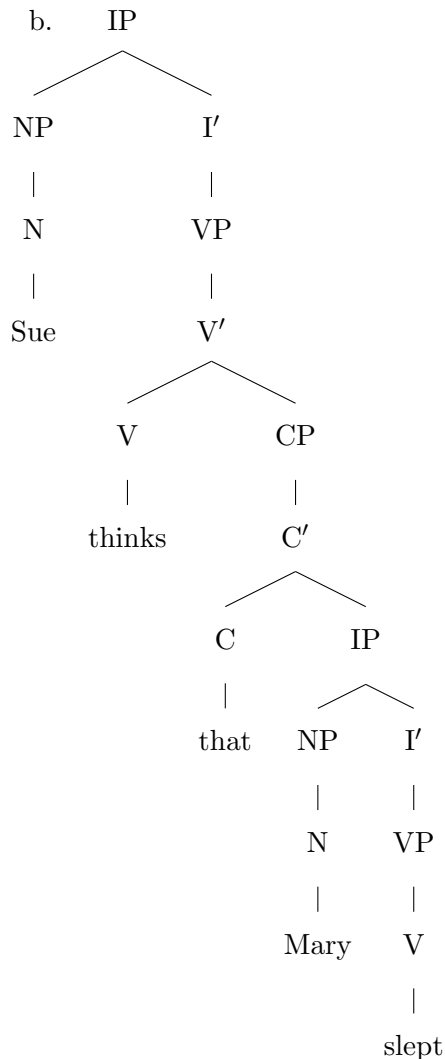
(354) a. kogda rodilsja Lermontov  
 when born Lermontov  
 ‘when was Lermontov born?’



As for the functional category *C*, it is the head of CP. It can be filled by a verb or other elements. In English, for example, *C* position can be filled by a complementizer (see Bresnan (2001) and Dalrymple (2001)), as shown in the following tree:



(355) a. Sue thinks that Mary slept.

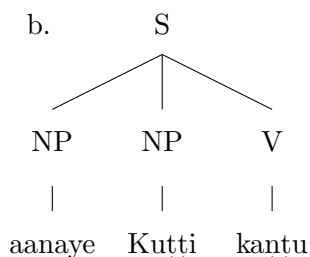


Some researchers use the functional category *D* as a head of a DP. They treat a noun phrase like *the man* as a DP. They assume that the determiner *the* is the head of the phrase rather than the noun (see Brame (1982), Abney (1987) and Dalrymple (2001)). Also, the functional category *K* is proposed by some researchers in some languages like Hindi and Urdu, whereby *k* stands for a case marking and it is the head of a KP.

In addition, LFG allows two types of categories, namely, *endocentric* versus *exocentric category*. In *endocentric* category, there is a head in the phrase. For example, the maximal projection XP and nonmaximal category X' are headed by X. All phrases have heads and these heads are from the same category. The noun phrase, for example, is headed by a noun and the verb phrase is headed by a verb, etc. English and some **other** languages

are *endocentric*. In contrast, other languages permit an *exocentric* category. This category has no lexical head and it is presented in the tree as *S*. *S* in these languages contains the predicate with some or all its arguments ( see Bresnan (1982a), Kroeger (1993), Austin and Bresnan (1996a), Nordlinger (1998) and Dalrymple (2001)). The following example from Malayalam, which is quoted from Falk (2001, 50), illustrates *the exocentric* category:

- (356) a. Aanaye            Kutṭi            kaṇṭu.  
 elephant.ACC child.NOM saw  
 ‘The child saw the elephant’



In this type of clauses which is illustrated in (356), the basic concepts of x-bar theory does not apply. There is no a specifier, head and complement in this clause. A clause without a head is called *exocentric*. Also, the words in example (356) may appear in any order. However, Bresnan (2001) states that *the exocentric* category is not always nonconfigurational.

In addition, a language can use a mix of both *the endocentric* and *exocentric* organisation in the structure of the sentence. This is the case in a language like Warlpiri (see Dalrymple (2001)).

Like other syntactic theories, LFG uses phrase structure rules to show the possible phrase structure configurations. Phrase structure rules license or permit the nodes of a language in a tree. The following **rule** is a simple example:

- (357) VP  $\rightarrow$                     V                    NP

This rule allows a node named VP in the left-hand side to dominate two nodes in the right-hand side, a V and an NP, with the V preceding the NP. Phrase structure rules in LFG are descriptions of admissible trees and the trees of a language must be licensed by these rules (see McCawley (1968) and Dalrymple (2001)).

The phrase structure rules in the LFG framework are more expressive than other theories because the right-hand side of the rule consists of a regular expression and this allows optionality, disjunction and recursion (see Kaplan and Bresnan (1982b) and Dalrymple (2001)). For example, the parentheses around the NP in the following rule indicate that it is optional:

(358) IP  $\longrightarrow$  (NP) I'

The rule in (358) abbreviates the two rules below:

(359) IP  $\longrightarrow$  I'

(360) IP  $\longrightarrow$  NP I'

However, some researchers do not use the parentheses around optional nodes and they follow *the Economy of Expression principle* which states that ‘all c-structure nodes are optional’ (Falk, 2001, 47).

In addition, the rule in (361) indicates that the node in the specifier position might be an AP or NP. It is indicated by using the curly brackets with a vertical bar.

(361) IP  $\longrightarrow$  {AP | NP} I'

The rule in (361) abbreviates the two rules below:

(362) IP  $\longrightarrow$  AP I'

(363) IP  $\longrightarrow$  NP I'

Moreover, the kleene star (\*) on the PP node in the following rule indicates that any number of PPs can appear in the right-hand side.

$$(364) \text{ VP} \longrightarrow \text{V} \quad \text{PP}^*$$

The following section will discuss the f-structure in LFG.

## 6.2.2 F-structure

Function information in LFG is represented in the functional structure (f-structure). The f-structure is assumed to contain a function from attributes to values or a set of pairs in which the first member of this pair is an attribute and the second member is its value (see Kaplan and Bresnan (1982b), Bresnan (2001) and Dalrymple (2001)). The following f-structure which is quoted from Dalrymple (2001, 30) shows how attributes and values are presented:

$$(365) \begin{bmatrix} \text{ATTRIBUTE1} & \text{VALUE1} \\ \text{ATTRIBUTE2} & \text{VALUE2} \end{bmatrix}$$

The attributes in the f-structure may be the governable grammatical functions (SUBJ, OBJ, XCOMP, COMP, OBJ<sub>θ</sub> and OBL<sub>θ</sub>) or the modifiers (ADJ and XADJ). Also, the attributes can be morphosyntactic features like NUM (number), PERS (person) or TENSE. The discourse functions (TOPIC and FOCUS) are also represented in the f-structure as attributes. The values are atomic elements like SG (singular) for the attribute NUM or PAST for the attributes TENSE. Also, the value can be a semantic form which is represented in single quotes indicating that the value is unique, such as 'Mary' when it is a value of the attribute PRED in the following f-structure for the proper noun *Mary*:

$$(366) \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \text{'MARY'} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix}$$

The f-structure for an English sentence like *John met Mary* is the following f-structure:

$$(367) \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'MEET' } \langle \text{SUB,OBJ} \rangle \\ \text{TENSE} & \text{PAST} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'JOHN'} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{OBJ} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'MARY'} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The f-structure in (367) contains four attributes: the first attribute is PRED and it is a special attribute in that its value is always *a semantic form* and this is indicated by the single quotes surrounding the value. The semantic form here is *the argument list*. The argument list contains the arguments that are required by the predicate. The predicate in this example is the verb *meet* and it requires two arguments, namely, subject and object. The second attribute in the f-structure is TENSE and its value is PAST. The third and fourth attributes are SUBJ and OBJ and the values of both are f-structures. The f-structure, as shown in this example, can be a value of an attribute in the main f-structure. The f-structure that is the value of the attribute SUBJ contains information about the subject and the f-structure of OBJ contains information about the object.

Like the c-structure which is described by phrase structure rules, the f-structure in LFG is described by functional equations called *functional description* (f-description). The equation in (368) is a simple f-description that consists of a single equation:

$$(368) (f \text{ NUM}) = \text{SG}$$

The f-structure in (369) satisfies the constraint in (368) because it has an attribute NUM whose value is SG. Although many other f-structures satisfy the constraint in (368), the f-structure in (369) is *the minimal solution* to the f-description in (368) because it satisfies all the constraints in that f-description and has no additional features.

(369)  $f$  [NUM SG]

The  $f$ -structure for an utterance is required to be *the minimal solution* that satisfies all the constraints in the  $f$ -description for the utterance without additional properties that are not in the  $f$ -description. This is implied by the definition in (370) which is quoted from Dalrymple (2001, 101):

(370) ‘The  $f$ -structure for an utterance is the minimal solution satisfying the constraints introduced by the words and phrase structure of the utterance’.

In addition,  $f$ -structures must meet *wellformedness conditions* which are *Completeness*, *Coherence* and *Consistency* (see Kaplan and Bresnan (1982b) and Dalrymple (2001)). *The completeness* and *coherence* imply that all the arguments that are required by the predicate are represented in the  $f$ -structure and the  $f$ -structure has no additional arguments that are not required by the predicate. *The consistency* implies that each an attribute has a value.

The definition in (371) which is quoted from Dalrymple (2001, 37) defines *completeness*:

(371) **‘Completeness:**

An  $f$ -structure is *locally complete* if and only if it contains all the governable grammatical functions that its predicate governs. An  $f$ -structure is *complete* if and only if it and all its subsidiary  $f$ -structures are locally complete’.

Based on this definition, the sentence in (372) and its  $f$ -structure are not complete because the verb *saw* governs two arguments, a subject and object, and the object is missing.

(372) a. \*Louise saw.

b. 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'SEE' } \langle \text{SUB, OBJ} \rangle \\ \text{TENSE} \quad \text{PAST} \\ \text{SUBJ} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'LOUISE'} \\ \text{NUM} \quad \text{SG} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

As for *the coherence*, it is defined in (373):

(373) **‘Coherence:**

An f-structure is *locally coherent* if and only if all the governable grammatical functions that it contains are governed by a local predicate. An f-structure is *coherent* if and only if it and all its subsidiary f-structures are locally coherent’ (Dalrymple, 2001, 39).

The sentence in (374) and its f-structure are incoherent because the predicate *saw* requires two arguments, a subject and object, however, the sentence contains three arguments, a subject and two objects. Thus, the sentence and the f-structure are not coherent.

(374) a. \*Louise saw David Marry.

b.

PRED	‘SEE ⟨SUB,OBJ⟩’				
TENSE	PAST				
SUBJ	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; border: 1px solid black;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">PRED</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">‘LOUISE’</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">NUM</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">SG</td> </tr> </table>	PRED	‘LOUISE’	NUM	SG
PRED	‘LOUISE’				
NUM	SG				
OBJ	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; border: 1px solid black;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">PRED</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">‘DAVID’</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">NUM</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">SG</td> </tr> </table>	PRED	‘DAVID’	NUM	SG
PRED	‘DAVID’				
NUM	SG				
OBJ	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; border: 1px solid black;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">PRED</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">‘MARY’</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 5px;">NUM</td> <td style="padding-left: 5px;">SG</td> </tr> </table>	PRED	‘MARY’	NUM	SG
PRED	‘MARY’				
NUM	SG				

Finally, the consistency is defined in (375).

(375) **‘Consistency:**

In a given f-structure a particular attribute may have at most one value’ (Dalrymple, 2001, 39).

The sentence in (376) is not grammatical because the subject is singular in spite of **the fact** that the verb requires a plural subject. Also, the f-structure is ill-formed because the attribute NUM in the f-structure of the subject has two values SG and PL.

(376) a. \*The man cry.

$$b. \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'CRY' } \langle \text{SUB} \rangle \\ \text{TENSE} & \text{PRS} \\ \text{SUBJ} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'MAN'} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG/PL} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

The following section will discuss the correspondences between the c-structure and f-structure in LFG.

### 6.2.3 Correspondences

There are two types of functions in LFG. The term function in LFG is usually used to refer to the familiar grammatical functions: subject, object etc. However, this term is also used in LFG to refer to the principles that map the c-structure and f-structure. In LFG, The relation between the c-structure and f-structure is given by a function  $\emptyset^1$ . This function relates the nodes in the c-structure to f-structures, whereby each node in the c-structure is related to a specific f-structure. However, each node must be related to one f-structure because  $\emptyset$  is a function. In contrast, the f-structure may be related to more than one node (see Dalrymple (2001)).

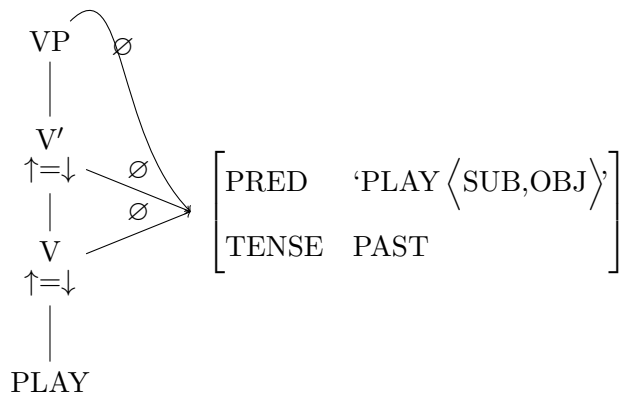
The phrase and its head are always related to the same f-structure because the head and its phrasal projections have the same functional properties and requirements (see Bresnan (2001) and Dalrymple (2001)). In the following example, the head of the phrase and its projections correspond to the same f-structure:

---

<sup>1</sup>A function is a special kind of relation which assigns a unique value to its argument. For example, the relation between a person and his or her age is a function, since every person has exactly one age. The relation between a person and his or her children is not a function, since some people have no children and some people have more than one child' (Dalrymple, 2001, 30).



(377)



The specifier of a functional category such as IP in the English language, for example, is always mapped to SUBJ function or the discourse function TOPIC, whereas the specifier of a function category like CP is mapped to the discourse function FOCUS.

Finally, complements of functional categories are always f-structure co-heads and they are mapped to the same f-structure as their heads. However, complements of lexical categories including modifiers are mapped to their function in the f-structure.

Importantly, there are some f-structures that are not related to any node. In a pro-drop languages, for example, the verb can occur without an overt subject. In this case, the f-structure contains an f-structure for the subject while there is no a c-structure node for it.

The following section will briefly discuss adjuncts and their analysis in LFG because this thesis assumes that conditional clauses should be analysed as adjuncts.

### 6.2.4 Adjuncts

In LFG, there is a difference between arguments and modifiers or adjuncts. The arguments of a predicate are governed by this predicate or subcategorized by it. In contrast, modifiers modify their phrase and the predicate does not govern them. In LFG, the governable grammatical functions are SUBJ, OBJ, XCOMP, COMP, OBJ<sub>θ</sub>, and obl<sub>θ</sub>, whereas modifiers are ADJ and XADJ ( see Dalrymple (2001) and Falk (2001)).

The common types of adjuncts or modifiers are adverbs, prepositional phrases and **adjunct** clauses. The following sentences illustrate the three types, respectively:

- (378) a. David **quickly** eats his dinner. (**adverbs**)
- b. David eats dinner **on Wednesdays**. (**prepositional phrase**)
- c. David eats his dinner **when he goes home**. (**adjunct clause**)

In LFG and other frameworks, researchers usually use some tests to distinguish between governable grammatical functions and adjuncts ( see Dalrymple (2001)). Dowty (1982) suggests two tests that can distinguish between arguments and adjuncts, namely, *entailment* and *subcategorization* test. He states that the use of the predicate entails all its arguments and it does not entail its modifiers. As for subcategorization test, it states that a predicate must occur with all its arguments while modifiers can be omitted.

In addition, Kaplan and Bresnan (1982b) note that modifiers can multiply occur in a sentence while arguments cannot. For example, in (379a), two prepositional phrases optionally occur in the sentence and it is grammatical. In contrast, example (379b) is not grammatical because there are two subjects.

- (379) a. John left the school on Wednesday in the morning.
- b. \*John David eats fish and chips.

Also, pronouns can be used to distinguish between arguments and modifiers. For example, in a language such as Norwegian language, the reflexive *seg selv* needs its antecedent to be an argument of the same predicate (see Hellan (1988) and Dalrymple (1993, 2001)).

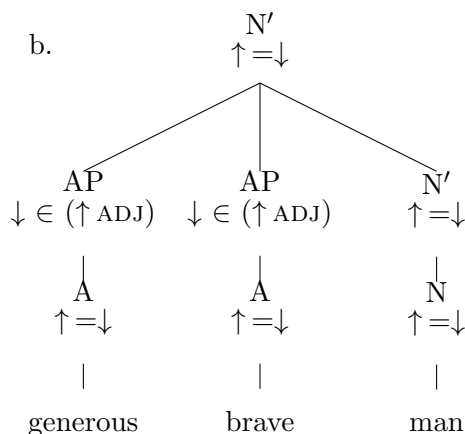
Moreover, if the order of modifiers in a sentence is changed, the meaning of the sentence may change. However, changing the order of arguments in a sentence might affect the rhetorical structure of it. Finally, a *wh*-phrase cannot be related to a position inside an adjunct in the English language (see Pollard and Sag (1987) and Dalrymple (2001)).

As for the c-structure and f-structure, adjuncts in LFG are represented in both c-structure and f-structure. Dalrymple (2001, 257) proposes the following rule for adjective phrase modifiers in the English language:

$$(380) \quad N' \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c} AP^* \\ \downarrow \in (\uparrow ADJ) \end{array} \quad (N') \quad \uparrow = \downarrow$$

This rule states that  $N'$  node dominates its head which is  $N'$  in the right-hand side and any number of adjectives are allowed to adjoined the  $N'$ . The annotation  $\downarrow \in (\uparrow ADJ)$  beneath the adjective phrase node shows that each adjective phrase is a member of the adjunct set  $ADJ$ . This rule licenses the following clause and c-structure:

(381) a. Generous brave man.



As for the f-structure, each adjectival modifier is represented as a member of the ADJ set. The following f-structure represents the phrase:

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'MAN'} \\ \text{ADJ} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[ \text{PRED} \quad \text{'GENEROUS'} \right] \\ \left[ \text{PRED} \quad \text{BRAVE} \right] \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$$

The following section will discuss the analysis of restrictive relative clauses in the LFG framework.

### 6.2.5 Restrictive relative clause

The relative clause is a modifier modifying a noun phrase. The construction that contains the relative clause usually includes three parts: a head noun which is *the woman* in example (382), a relative pronoun which is *who* in (382) or a relativizer, and a clause which is *I love* in (382) (See Dalrymple (2001), Falk (2001, 2010) and Kroeger (2004)).

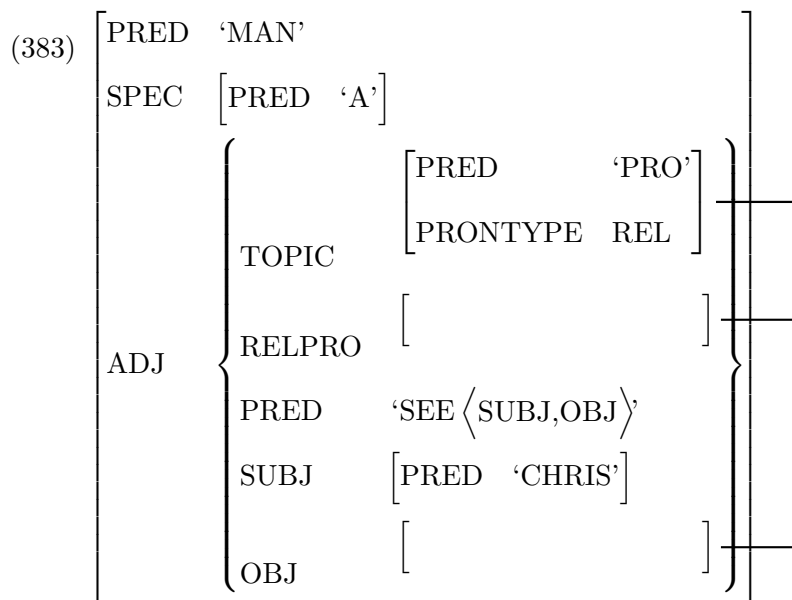
(382) The woman who I love.

The standard view of relative clauses analyses them as involving two long-distance dependencies. The first dependency is between the fronted phrase and the grammatical function within the relative clause. The second dependency is between the relative pronoun and the head (see Kaplan and Bresnan (1982b), Bresnan and Mchombo (1987b) and Dalrymple (2001)).

Dalrymple (2001) follows Kaplan and Bresnan (1982b) and Bresnan and Mchombo (1987b) in representing the dependency between the relative pronoun and the within-clause grammatical function in the f-structure. She uses the TOPIC discourse function and links the TOPIC to a grammatical function in the relative clause by the *Extended Coherence Condition*<sup>2</sup>. Also, the f-structure of the relative pronoun is represented as the value of the feature

<sup>2</sup>‘Extended Coherence Condition: FOCUS and TOPIC must be linked to the semantic predicate argument structure of the sentence in which they occur, either by functionally or by anaphorically binding an argument’ (Dalrymple, 2001, 390).

RELPRO and it appears in the relative clause. The analysis in Butt et al. (1999) and Falk (2001) is similar. The f-structure that is suggested by Dalrymple (2001, 401) for an English sentence such as ‘a man who Chris saw’ is in (383) below:



Dalrymple (2001, 402-403) proposes the following rules for her analysis of relative clauses:

$$(384) \quad N' \longrightarrow (N') \quad CP^*$$

$$\quad \quad \quad \uparrow = \downarrow \quad \quad \quad \downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ADJ})$$

$$(385) \quad CP \longrightarrow (\text{RelP}) \quad (C')$$

$$\quad \quad \quad (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow \quad \quad \quad \uparrow = \downarrow$$

$$\quad \quad \quad (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = (\uparrow \text{RTOPICPATH})$$

$$\quad \quad \quad (\uparrow \text{RELPRO}) = (\uparrow \text{TOPIC RELPATH})$$

$$\quad \quad \quad (\uparrow \text{RELPRO PRONTYPE}) =_c \text{REL}$$

RelP in (385) stands for all phrase structure categories that can occur in initial position in a CP. It involves NP, PP, AP and ADVP in the English language, as shown in (386)

$$(386) \quad \text{RelP} = \{ \text{NP} | \text{PP} | \text{AP} | \text{ADVP} \}$$

In addition, the annotation  $(\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow$  in (385) implies the f-structure of RelP to fill the role of the TOPIC in the f-structure. The annotation  $(\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = (\uparrow \text{RTOPICPATH})$  implies that the f-structure of the TOPIC fills a grammatical function in the clause. Dalrymple

(2001, 403) defines RTOPICPATH as ‘the path relating the front constituent in a relative clause to its within-clause grammatical function’.

The **annotations**  $(\uparrow \text{RELPRO}) = (\uparrow \text{TOPIC RELPATH})$  and  $(\uparrow \text{RELPRO PRONTYPE}) =_c \text{REL}$  ensure that the f-structure of the relative pronoun appears as the value of RELPRO. The former requires the value of RELPRO to be at the end of RELPATH in the f-structure of the TOPIC. The latter is a *constraining equation* and it requires the value of RELPRO to be a relative pronoun. The following section will consider the analysis of conditional sentences.

## 6.3 The analysis of conditionals

Languages usually allow two ways in which a clause can be joined to another clause, they are: coordination and subordination. A conditional sentence contains two clauses and a conjunction in which the conjunction specifies the type of the relationship between the two clauses. Hence, a conditional sentence logically can be analysed as a coordination or subordination as suggested by Lycan (2001), Bhatt and Pancheva (2007) and others.

Based on that, this section is divided into four sections. The first section will discuss the possibility of analysing the conditional sentence as a coordinate structure. The second section will consider the analysis of conditional clauses as topics. The third section will argue that the conditional sentence contains two types of clauses, specifically, a main clause and subordinate clause in which the subordinate clause should be analysed as adjunct. The fourth section will discuss the rules that licence conditional sentences in TD and provide the c-structure and f-structure within the LFG framework.

### 6.3.1 coordination

Lycan (2001) states that logicians believe that the antecedent and consequent in conditional sentences are syntactically coordinate (also, see Bhatt and Pancheva (2007) and Jespersen (1954)). In addition, Jespersen (1954) assumes that *if* in the conditional construction functions as a true conjunction. Moreover, Heinamaki (1974) (as observed in Geis (1985)) suggests that a temporal connective like *when* in the English language, which is similar to *if* and can introduce a conditional sentence, can be analysed as a coordinating conjunction. Obviously, the reason behind analysing conditionals as a coordinate structure is the similarity between the two constructions. Both constructions have two clauses with a conjunction specifying the type of the relationship between the two clauses.

### 6.3.1.1 Some Differences

Bhatt and Pancheva (2007) argue against analysing a conditional sentence as a coordinate structure. They list some important differences between conditional and coordinate constructions. First, the *if*-clauses can be positioned in initial or final positions while this is not the case in coordinate structures including *and*, *or* and *but* conjunctions. The following examples clarify this point:

(387) a. Julie will walk and/ or /but Mary will drive. (**coordination**).

b. \*and/ or /but Mary will drive, Julie will walk. (**coordination**)

(388) a. The match will be cancelled if it rains. (**conditional**)

b. If it rains, the match will be cancelled. (**conditional**)

In (387a) and (388a) above, the coordinator *and*, *or* and *but* and the conditional conjunction *if* are positioned between the two clauses and the two examples are grammatical. On the other hand, in (387b) and (388b), the coordinator and the conditional conjunction are positioned at the beginning of the sentences. In this case, the coordinate sentence is not grammatical while the conditional sentence is grammatical.

This observation is not only restricted to the English language. Many other languages exhibit the same difference between coordinate structures and conditionals. MSA and TD are similar to English in relation to the position of the conjunction. A conditional clause can occupy either initial or final position in both dialects while coordinators in coordinate structures must be between the two sentences in both dialects. The following examples illustrate this point in MSA:

(389) a. ḥaraġa                      ʔaḥmad-u    min al-bayt-i                      wa ḍahaba                      ʔlā  
 leave.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM from DEF-house-GEN and go.PFV.3SGM to  
 al-madrasat-i.(MSA)  
 DEF-school-GEN  
 ‘Ahmad left the house and went to school’



- b. \*wa dahaba ʔahmad-u ʔlā al-madrasat-i, ɥaraɣa min  
and go.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM to DEF-school-GEN leave.PFV.3SGM from  
al-bayt-i.(MSA)  
DEF-house-GEN

‘\*And Ahmad went to the school, left the house’

- (390) a. ʔin yaɣtahid bandar-un, yaŋɣaḥ fi  
if strive.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS Bander-NOM, pass.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS in  
al-ʔiḥtibār-i.(MSA)  
DEF-exam-GEN

‘If Bader strives, he will pass the exam’

- b. yaŋɣaḥ fi al-ʔiḥtibār-i ʔin yaɣtahid  
pass.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS in DEF-exam-GEN if strive.IPFV.3SGM.JUSS  
bandar-un.(MSA)  
Bander-NOM

‘Bander will pass the exam if he strives’

In the coordinate examples, example (389a) is acceptable because the coordinator *wa* ‘and’ is positioned between the two sentences while example (389b) is not grammatical because the coordinator occupies the initial position. On the other hand, both conditional sentences above are grammatical, irrespective of whether the protasis is initial or final. The situation is the same in TD, as shown in the following examples:

- (391) a. ʕalī rāḥ al-madrasah wa ḥalīd nām fi al-bayt.(TD)  
Ali go.PFV.3SGM DEF-school and Khaled sleep.PFV.3SGM in DEF-house

‘Ali went to the school and Khaled slept in the house’

- b. \*wa ḥalīd nām fi al-bayt, ʕli rāḥ  
and Khaled sleep.PFV.3SGM in DEF-house Ali go.PFV.3SGM  
al-madrasah.(TD)  
DEF-school

‘\*And Khaled slept in the house, Ali went to school’

- (392) a. ʔin naɣaḥ Sālim fi al-ḥtibar, bi-yiṣiyr mudiyir  
if pass.PFV.3SGM Salem in DEF-exam, FUT-became.IPFV.3SGM manager  
al-ṣarikah.(TD)  
DEF-company

‘If Salem passes the exam, he will be the manager of the company’

- b. bi-yiṣiyr    mudiyr    al-ṣarikah                          ?in nağah                          Sālim  
 FUT-became.IPFV.3SGM manager DEF-company if    pass.PFV.3SGM Salem  
 fī al-ḥtibar.(TD)  
 in DEF-exam  
 ‘Salem will be the manager of the company if he passes the exam’

In addition, Bhatt and Pancheva (2007) suggest that the second difference between conditionals and coordinate structures is that the protasis in a conditional sentence can be modified by adverbs such as *only* and *even* in the English language while the two adverbs cannot modify the second conjunct in a coordinate structure. The following examples illustrate these adverbs with conditional sentences:

(393) a. The match will be cancelled *only* if it rains.

b. The match will not be cancelled *even* if it rains.

In example (393a), the adverb *only* modifies the conditional clause *if it rains* and the sentence is grammatical. In the same way, the adverb *even* modifies the conditional clause *if it rains* in (393b) and the sentence is grammatical.

As for coordinate structures, the following example shows that the second conjunct cannot be modified by neither *only* nor *even*:

(394) a. \*Julie will walk *only* and Mary will drive.

b. \*Julie will walk *even* and Mary will drive.

In MSA and TD, the adverb *ḥatta* ‘*even*’ can be used to modify the protasis. However, in both dialects, *ḥatta* ‘*even*’ can modify the protasis if it contains a verb in the perfective form. The following examples show that in MSA and TD, respectively:

- (395) a. lan                    yangāḥa                    ʔḥmad-u fī al-ʔiḥtibār-i                    ḥatta ʔin  
 FUT.NEG pass.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad in DEF-exam-GEN even if  
 aḡtahada.(MSA)  
 strive.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘Ahmad will not pass the exam even if he strives’
- b. bi-yiṣiyr                    ʔḥmad mudiyr al-ṣarīkah                    ḥatta ʔin mā  
 FUT-became.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad manager DEF-company even if NEG  
 naḡaḥ                    fī al-ḥtibar.(TD)  
 pass.PFV.3SGM in DEF-exam  
 ‘Salem will be the manager of the company **even** if he passes the exam’

The two examples above will not be acceptable if the protasis contains a verb in the imperfective form, as shown below:

- (396) a. \*lan                    yangāḥa                    ʔḥmad-u fī al-ʔiḥtibār ḥatta ʔin  
 FUT.NEG pass.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad in DEF-exam even if  
 yiḡtahid.(MSA)  
 strive.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘Ahmad will not pass the exam even if he strives’
- b. \*bi-yiṣiyr                    ʔḥmad mudiyr al-ṣarīkah                    ḥatta ʔin mā  
 FUT-became.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad manager DEF-company even if NEG  
 yinḡaḥ                    fī al-ḥtibar.(TD)  
 pass.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-exam  
 ‘Salem will be the manager of the company **even** if he passes the exam ’

In spite of this restriction in MSA and TD, this test still shows a difference between conditionals and coordinate structures in MSA and TD because *ḥatta* cannot be used to modify the second conjunct in a coordinate structure in both dialects. Therefore, the following examples are not grammatical:

- (397) a. \*ḥaraġa                    ʔaḥmad-u    min al-bayt-i                    ḥatta wa dahaba  
 leave.PFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM from DEF-house-GEN even and go.PFV.3SGM  
 ʔlā al-madrasat-i.(MSA)  
 to DEF-school-GEN  
 ‘\*Ahmad left the house even and went to school’

- b. \*<sup>c</sup>alī rāḥ                    al-madrasah ḥatta wa ḥālid    nām                    fī  
 Ali go.PFV.3SGM DEF-school even and Khaled sleep.PFV.3SGM in  
 al-bayt.(TD)  
 DEF-house  
 ‘\*Ali went to school even and Khaled slept in the house’

In addition, Lycan (2001) states that coordinate sentences allow a process which is called *conjunction reduction*, whereby example (398a) can be shortened to example (398b) below:

- (398) a. I closed the door and I opened the windows.  
 b. I closed the door and opened the windows.

Also, Lycan (2001) states that coordinate sentences permit *gapping* in which some constituents of the right conjunct can be deleted when the left conjunct has a copy of them, as shown in the two examples (399a) and (399b) below:

- (399) a. I closed the door and Sue closed the windows.  
 b. I closed the door and Sue the windows.

Lycan (2001) points out that conditional sentences allow neither *conjunction reduction* nor *gapping*, therefore, the two examples below are not grammatical. This shows that conditionals are not coordinate structures.

- (400) a. \*I closed the door if opened the windows.  
 b. \*I closed the door if Sue the windows.

As for MSA and TD, the *conjunction reduction* does not distinguish between coordinate structures and conditionals because MSA and TD are pro-drop languages. In addition, MSA and TD do not allow *gapping*. It means that the verb cannot be deleted from the right conjunct when the left conjunct has a copy of it in coordinate structures. Therefore, the following coordinate sentences in MSA and TD are not grammatical because the verbs are missing in the right conjunct:

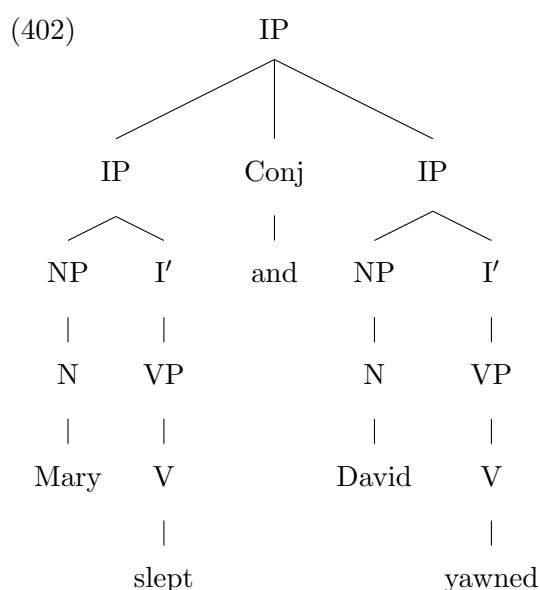
- (401) a. \*ḥaraġa                    sālīm-un    min al-bayt-i                    wa ʿalī-un    min  
 leave.PFV.3SGM Salem-NOM from DEF-house-GEN and Ali-NOM from  
 al-madrasat-i.(MSA)  
 DEF-school-GEN  
 ‘Salem left the house and Ali the school’

- b. \*fāris rāḥ                    al-madrasah wa ḥālīd    al-sūq.(TD)  
 Faris go.PFV.3SGM DEF-school and Khaled DEF-shop  
 ‘Faris went to the school and Khaled the shop’

The following section will consider the analysis of coordinate structures.

### 6.3.1.2 The analysis of coordinate structures

In a coordinate structure, ‘two constituents belonging to the same category are conjoined to form another constituent of that category’(Kroeger, 2005, 218). This structure is assumed to be doubly headed in the sense that both clauses function as heads of the larger construction. Therefore, a simple coordinate structure such as *Mary slept and David yawned* is analysed by Kaplan and Maxwell (1988) as an IP containing two IPs with a conjunction. They provide the following constituent structure for a similar coordinate sentence:



In this coordinate sentence, two IPs function as daughters of a higher IP. Each IP has an independent sentence and neither is included by the other. This structure is completely different from the structure of conditional sentences, whereby a conditional sentence does not contain independent clauses. The conditional sentence contains a matrix clause which is the apodosis and a subordinate clause which is the protasis. In addition, when the protasis occurs in the final position it is embedded in the apodosis as will be shown later in the constituency tests.

Moreover, the conjunctions which link the two clauses in the two constructions are different in that the conjunction in the coordinate structure is **an** independent conjunction in the sense that it is separate from both sentences while the conjunction in a conditional construction introduces the protasis and therefore it is a part from the protasis.

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To sum up, conditional and coordinate structures are similar in that both contain two clauses and a conjunction specifying the relationship between the two clauses. However, this section discussed some evidence against analysing a conditional construction as a coordinate construction. One argument against the coordination analysis comes from the position of the second clause. In the conditional sentence the protasis can be positioned either before or after the apodosis while the second conjunct in the coordinate structure must follow the first conjunct. This might lead to the assumption that the conjunction in a coordinate structure is independent while the conjunction in a conditional construction is a part from the protasis. Further argument against the coordination analysis comes from adverbs modification, namely, the protasis in a conditional sentence can be modified by adverbs like *only* or *even* while this is impossible with the second conjunct in a coordinate structure. Moreover, coordinate sentences allow *conjunction reduction* and *gapping* while conditionals do not allow both of them. In addition, the coordinate structure is analysed as a structure has two independent IPs while the conditional structure has two types of clauses a matrix clause and subordinate clause. The following section will discuss the second possible analysis of a conditional clause which is as a topic.

### 6.3.2 Topic

The protasis in a conditional sentence is analysed as a topic by some scholars. The protasis can appear in two positions, it can appear before or after the apodosis. Some authors such as Haiman (1978) believe that a conditional clause is a topic in both positions. Other authors like Ford and Thompson (1986) argue that a conditional clause is a topic when it is in the initial position. Both groups have a similar argument for analysing a conditional clause as a topic. Generally, they think that the protasis is old information or shared information between the speaker and hearer. This section will focus on the view of Haiman (1978) who argues that the protasis is a topic in the initial and final position. This section will focus on his argument because it shares with other analyses the main idea of analysing conditional clauses as topics which is that the protasis is shared information between the speaker and hearer. Also, his analysis adds some morphological evidence from other languages.

Haiman (1978) suggests that all types of conditional clauses are topics. His suggestion is based on data from some languages and the definition of topic as given or old information. Haiman (1978) argues that the definitions of conditionals which are mainly defined by logicians and the definitions of topics which are mainly defined by linguists are surprisingly convergent. Thus, Haiman (1978, 564) states that ‘conditionals, like topics, are givens which constitute the frame of reference with respect to which the main clause is either true (if a proposition), or felicitous (if not)’. The if-clauses which are analysed as topics by Haiman (1978) include a variety of if-clauses in English appearing in the initial and final position. Haiman (1978, 564) states that all if-clauses in the following sentences are topics:

- (403) a. ‘If Max comes, we will play poker’.
- b. ‘If Max had come, we would have played poker’.
- c. ‘If ice is left in the sun, it melts’.
- d. ‘Even if it rains, the game will continue’.



- e. 'If you are so smart, why are not you rich?'
- f. 'If you are so smart, fix it yourself'.
- g. 'There is food in the fridge, if you are hungry'.
- h. 'If I was a bad carpenter, I was a worse tailor'.
- i. 'She is over forty, if she is a day'.

In addition, Haiman (1978, 583) criticises two distinct definitions of topic: the first is 'topic what the speaker is talking about-the comment is what he says about it' (also, see Halliday (1967), Brekle (1970), Hornby (1971) and Kuno (1972)). The second is 'the topic is the given or old information in the sentence-the comment is the new information' (also, see Firbas (1964), Halliday (1967), Chafe (1972) and Dressler (1974)). Haiman (1978) states that these definitions are not completely identical and they are not clear. Haiman (1978, 585) defines a topic as follows 'the topic represents an entity whose existence is agreed upon by the speaker and his audience. As such, it constitutes the framework which has been selected for the following discourse'.

In this connection, Haiman (1978) states that conditional clauses are like topics in that they are presuppositions of their sentences. It means that they are shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer. Moreover, Haiman (1978, 572) argues that conditional clauses are like *contrastive topics* because they are selected from a list of possible conditions.

In addition to the similarity between conditional clauses and topics in their semantic meaning, Haiman (1978) uses morphological evidence to support his analysis. He states that conditional clauses in Hua usually carry the desinence<sup>3</sup> *ma* and the suffix *mo* and both are always attached to given information which is shared between the speaker and the hearer. The following examples, which are quoted from Haiman (1978, 581), show *mamo* attaching

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<sup>3</sup>Desinence is an old term for inflectional ending (Matthews, 2007).

to a conditional clause in example (404a) and topic clause in example (404b):

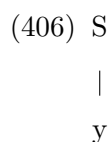
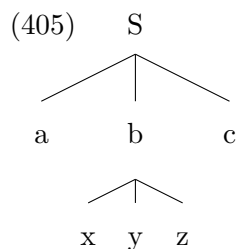
(404) a. ‘hi-su-mamo’.

‘If I do it’

b. ‘hu-mamo’.

‘given that I do it’

Also, Haiman (1978, 567) states that the suffix *-mo* is a connective particle and he states that the occurrence of this particle is restricted by the following general constraint ‘the connective particle may follow only those constituents which are immediately dominated by S, but which cannot be exclusively dominated by S in surface structure’. It means that the connective particle might occur with the constituents that labelled a,b,c in the following trees, but it does not occur with x,y,z:



Haiman (1978) argues that the above constraint for the occurrence of the connective particle specifies that the constituent which occurs with the particle *-mo* does not occur alone in a sentence. This **behaviour** is similar to the **behaviour** of topics which are the given or old information in the sentence. A sentence which only consists of a topic which is shared by the speaker and hearer is senseless. In addition, this constraint specifies that the constituent which occurs with the connective particle *-mo* must be dominated by S and

this is true of topics.

Haiman (1978, 586) suggests two assumptions regarding this morphological evidence ‘the first is that superficial similarities of form are reflections of underlying similarities of meaning. The second is that the morphology of any language will tend to undergeneralize’. In other words, the similarity between conditionals and givens in the form means that they are similar in their semantic meaning and if conditional clauses behave like topics in one language, they should have the same function in other languages.

Akatsuka (1986) also analyses conditional clauses as topics. She follows Haiman (1978) in using the morphological facts in Hua as evidence supporting this analysis. However, Akatsuka (1986) disagrees with Haiman (1978) in his claim that conditional clauses are old information. She states that many researchers divide topics into two types, thematic and contrastive. Akatsuka (1986, 347) defines thematic and contrastive topic based on Kuno (1972) as follows:

(407) a. ‘Thematic = speaking of X- X must be old information’.

b. ‘Contrastive = As for X - X be new information’.

Akatsuka (1986) agrees with Haiman (1978) conditional clauses are contrastive topics, but she disagrees with him in that contrastive topics are old information. Instead, she believes that contrastive topics are new information.

In contrast, Dancygier (1998) argues against analysing conditional clauses as topics. She states that the function of the protasis in a conditional sentence is to present an assumption which is not assertable by the speaker, even if the protasis quotes a preceding utterance, the speaker does not necessarily **ensure** that the protasis is true. Therefore, she believes that the protasis is neither given nor shared knowledge. Instead, Dancygier (1998, 134) states that ‘the most we can claim about such assumptions is that they are accessible to both the hearer and the speaker, though not in any direct manner’. In addition, Dancygier (1998)

adds that Haiman (1978)'s claim is too strong and the data from Hua, which is considered by Haiman (1978) as evidence for his claim, can be interpreted in different ways. Moreover, Jacobsen (1992) states that Japanese conditionals which are very similar to topics cannot be analysed as topics.

Importantly, researchers who analyse the protasis as a topic usually have a different view of topic, namely, the analysis of topic in their arguments is from a pragmatic perspective. They usually do not focus on the syntactic structure. This is shown by the types of topics that are discussed in these papers. They usually distinguish between two kinds of topic, namely, resumptive versus contrastive topic (see Kuno (1972), Haiman (1978), Schiffrin (1987) and Schiffrin (1992)).

Although there is overlap between syntax and pragmatics in relation to topics, it is easy to prove that resumptive and contrastive topics are pragmatic topics. For example, Schiffrin (1992) explains what they mean by a resumptive and contrastive topic. Schiffrin (1992) states that *Bill* is a resumptive topic because example (408a) (it is quoted from Schiffrin (1992, 168)) mentioned to him and he continues to be talked about in example (408b)<sup>4</sup> (also quoted from Schiffrin (1992, 168)).

(408) a. 'Bill likes to go to any movie'.

b. '[And speaking of Bill] He could see Casablanca forever'.

In Schiffrin (1992)'s view, *Bill* in example (408b) above is a resumptive topic because the speaker uttered *Bill* before in example (408a). Clearly, the pronoun *he* in example (408b) has nothing to do with topic in syntax. It is simply a subject in this sentence. The same view regarding the resumptive topic is found in Haiman (1978, 572) who illustrates the resumptive topic in the following example:

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<sup>4</sup>Schiffrin (1992) adds the expression *and speaking of Bill* at the beginning of example (408b) to clarify the meaning.

(409) ‘Max found a walrus the other day. It was quite friendly’.

As for the contrastive topic, Schiffrin (1992) states that the topic is contrastive when it was not spoken about. In the following examples, which are quoted from Schiffrin (1992, 168), *Bill* in example (410b)<sup>5</sup> is a contrastive topic because the speaker did not speak about him before.

(410) a. ‘Ann likes to go to any movie’.

b. ‘[But as for Bill] Bill only likes old **movies**’.

*Bill* in example (410b) is a contrastive topic because the speaker did not speak about him before. The topic here which is *Bill* in example (410b) above is not a syntactic topic. *Bill* in example (410b) above is a subject in syntax.

Also, Haiman (1978) discusses contrastive topics, however, he has a different thought about it. He believes that all topics are given including contrastive topics. The difference between resumptive and contrastive topics in Haiman (1978, 584)’s view is how they are established as given. Resumptive topics are uttered in the previous context, whereas contrastive topics ‘are selected by the speaker apropos of thoughts which he has not yet communicated to his listener’. In other words, the disagreement between Schiffrin (1992) and Haiman (1978) is a pragmatic issue, namely, **whether** contrastive topics are given or not. However, Haiman (1978) and others agree that *Bill* in example (410b) above is a contrastive topic.

In contrast, syntactic researchers usually care about two phenomena when they analyse topics. They focus on the gap in the main clause which is filled by the topic or the resumptive pronoun which refers back to the topic. Therefore, King (1995) divides topics into two types, namely, internal versus external topic and the difference between them is a syntactic difference. The internal topic is an argument that binds a trace in the clause and is not

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<sup>5</sup>Schiffrin (1992) adds the expression *But as for Bill* at the beginning of example (410b) to clarify the meaning.

associated with a resumptive pronoun and in transformational theories, it is assumed that the internal topic is moved from an argument position to the topic position. On the other hand, the external topic is generated in the topic position and is not an argument of the predicate.

However, the analysis of topic in some syntactic work may overlap with some pragmatic analysis. For example, Kroeger (2004) divides topics in the English language into three types based on syntactic and pragmatic issues. In Kroeger (2004)'s view, the three types of topic are contrastive, left-dislocation and external topics. There are syntactic differences in this classification between contrastive topic in one side and left-dislocation and external topic in other side. Precisely, the syntactic relation between the topic and the clause in contrastive topic is gap-filler relation. It means that there is a missing argument in the clause and the topic fills this gap and functions as an argument in the clause. On the contrary, there is usually a resumptive pronoun in the clause in both left-dislocation and external topic and the topic functions as the antecedent of this pronoun. The following examples which are quoted from Kroeger (2004, 137) illustrate the three types of topic, namely, contrastive, left-dislocation and external topic respectively:

(411) a. 'This ice cream I like, but the stuff we had yesterday was awful'.

**Contrastive Topic**

b. 'My friend John, a snake bit him on the hand and he lost three fingers'.

**Left-dislocation Topic**

c. 'As for Clinton, most of the voters still do not trust him'. **External Topic**

In example (411a) above, *this ice cream* is the topic of the sentence. In addition, there is a gap in the sentence, specifically, the object of the predicate *like* is not following it. In this case, the topic fills this gap and functions as the object of the predicate. However, in example (411b), the sentence *a snake bit him on the hand and he lost three fingers* is complete and does not have a gap requiring a filler. In other words, the predicate occurs

with all its arguments in the same clause. However, this clause needs an antecedent for the pronoun *him* which is the object of the predicate. This requirement is fulfilled by the topic *my friend*. In the same way, the predicate *trust* in example (411c) occurs with all its arguments and *Clinton* in the topic functions as the antecedent of the object of the predicate, namely, it functions as the antecedent of the pronoun *him*.

On the other hand, there are pragmatic differences between the three types of topics. Kroeger (2004, 138) states that the contrastive topic ‘frequently has the effect of selecting one topic from among a set of possible topics’<sup>6</sup>. As for the left dislocation and external topic, the former is used to begin a new story while the latter is used to signal a return to a mentioned topic.

If it is assumed that conditional clauses are shared information between the speaker and the hearer or they are old information, this assumption will not make a significant syntactic difference. The conditional clauses do not fill a **gap** in the main clause and do not function as an antecedent of a resumptive pronoun. Therefore, this chapter will assume that the protasis in conditional sentences is not topic in a syntactic sense.

To sum up, some researchers analyse conditional clauses as topics. Some of them believe that conditional clauses are old information or shared information between the speaker and the hearer. In addition, Haiman (1978) uses morphological facts from Hua to support analysing conditional clauses as topics. In contrast, Dancygier (1998) argues against this analysis. She thinks that the protasis contains an assumption which is not assertable by the speaker and cannot be old or shared information between the speaker and the hearer. Instead, she thinks that the protasis is an accessible information. This section assumes that the protasis in a conditional sentence is not a topic. In addition, the plausible analysis for the protasis in a conditional sentence is as an adjunct. The following section will discuss analysing conditional clauses as adjuncts.

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<sup>6</sup>The same view of contrastive topic is found in pragmatic papers like Akatsuka (1986), Haiman (1978) and Schiffrin (1992).

### 6.3.3 Adjunct

Kroeger (2005, 227) defines adjuncts as ‘elements which are not subcategorized by the verb, but which are added to the sentence to provide various kinds of information’. The common types of adjuncts are adverbs, prepositional phrases and adverbial or adjunct clauses. The following examples illustrate the three types in the English language respectively:

- (412) a. The storm *completely* destroyed the city. **Adverb**
- b. The storm destroyed the city *on Thursday*. **Prepositional phrase**
- c. The storm destroyed the city *when people left it*. **Adjunct clause**

Many linguists analyse the protasis in conditional sentences as an adverbial clause or adjunct (see Collins (1998), Izvorski (2000), Lycan (2001), Huddleston and Pullum (2002), Kroeger (2005) and Bhatt and Pancheva (2007)). This section will discuss some evidence in support of analysing conditional clauses as adjuncts. First, constituency tests will be applied to conditional sentences when the protasis is in the final position and these tests prove that the conditional sentence contains two types of clauses, namely, the main clause and the subordinate clause which is analysed as an adjunct. Second, **the** fronting test will be used to demonstrate that the protasis is an adjunct because it behaves like relative and temporal clauses. Third, some adjunct tests will be applied to the conditional clause to demonstrate that it is an adjunct. Finally, the conditional conjunctions which introduce conditional clauses will be discussed. The following section will discuss constituency tests.



### 6.3.3.1 Constituency tests

Radford (1981, 1988a), McCawley (1988), Dalrymple (2001), Tallerman (2005) and Kim and Sells (2008) discuss some tests that can be used to determine constituents boundaries. This section will apply some of them to conditional constructions. The aim of applying these tests is to prove that the protasis in a conditional sentence forms a constituent and when the protasis occurs in the final position, it is embedded in the verb phrase in the main clause and this supports analysing the protasis as an adjunct. This part will discuss the substitution by a pronoun, coordination, ellipsis and distribution of adverbs tests. The following section will discuss substitution by a pronoun.

*Substitution by a proform:*

*The substitution by a proform test shows that the verb in the main clause and the protasis form a constituent. In the following examples, the elements *eat if you do* in example (413a) below which is assumed to form a verb phrase by Bhatt and Pancheva (2007) can be deleted and substituted by *do so*, as shown in example (413b) below. This test shows that *eat if you do* forms a constituent.*

(413) a. I will eat if you do and Mary will **eat if you do**, too.

b. I will *eat if you do* and Mary will **do so** too.

The two examples above show that the bold-printed words in example (413a) *eat if you do* constitute a verb phrase. This verb phrase can be replaced by *do so* in example (413b).

This test can be used in MSA and TD and it shows the same result which is the verb in the matrix clause and the protasis form a constituent. *yaf<sup>c</sup> alu dālīka* ‘do so’ in example (414b) replaces the verb and the protasis in example (414a), as shown below:

- (414) a. sa-yaktubu                    ḥālīd-un            al-wāğīb-a            ʔin  
 FUT-write.IPFV.3SGM Khaled-NOM DEF-assignment-ACC if  
 qaraʔa                    al-kitab-a            wa ʔaḥmad-u            ʔayḍ-an  
 read.PFV.3SGM DEF-book-ACC and Ahmad-NOM too-ACC  
 sa-yaktubu                    al-wāğīb-a            ʔin qaraʔa  
 FUT-write.IPFV.3SGM DEF-assignment-ACC if read.PFV.3SGM  
 al-kitab-a.(MSA)  
 DEF-book-ACC  
 ‘Khaled will write the assignment if he reads the book and Ahmad will write the assignment if he reads the book, too’

- b. sa-yaktubu                    ḥālīd-un            al-wāğīb-a            ʔin  
 FUT-write.IPFV.3SGM Khaled-NOM DEF-assignment-ACC if  
 qaraʔa                    al-kitab-a            wa ʔaḥmad-u            ʔayḍ-an  
 read.PFV.3SGM DEF-book-ACC and Ahmad-NOM too-ACC  
 sa-yafʿalu                    dālika.(MSA)  
 FUT-do.IPFV.3SGM so  
 ‘Khaled will write the assignment if he reads the book and Ahmad will do so, too’

Examples (414a) and (414b) above show that the verb phrase in the matrix clause which is headed by the verb *yaktubu* ‘write’ and includes the protasis *ʔin qaraʔa al-kitab-a* ‘if he reads the book’ can be replaced by the verb phrase *yafʿalu dālik-a* ‘do so’.

As for TD, *yisawwī hāda* ‘do so’ can replace the verb in the matrix clause and the protasis, as shown below:

- (415) a. sālim bi-yitʿašša                    ʔin riğīʿ                    al-bayit            wa ʿalī  
 Salem FUT-have.dinner.IPFV.3SGM if return.PFV.3SGM DEF-house and Ali  
 kaman bi-yitʿašša                    ʔin riğīʿ                    al-bayit.(TD)  
 too FUT-have.dinner.IPFV.3SGM if return.PFV.3SGM DEF-house  
 ‘Salem will have dinner if he returns to the house and Ali will have dinner if he returns to the house, too’
- b. sālim bi-yitʿašša                    ʔin riğīʿ                    al-bayit            wa ʿalī  
 Salem FUT-have.dinner.IPFV.3SGM if return.PFV.3SGM DEF-house and Ali  
 kaman bi-yisawwī                    hāda.(TD)  
 too FUT-do.IPFV.3SGM so  
 ‘Salem will have dinner if he returns to the house and Ali will do so, too’

The verb phrase *yitʿašša ʔin riğīʿ al-bayit* ‘have dinner if he returns to the house’ in example (415a) is replaced by the verb phrase *yisawwī hāda* ‘do so’ in example (415b) and

this shows that the verb in the matrix clause and the protasis form a constituent in TD.

*Coordination test:*

Further evidence in support of analysing the protasis as a constituent comes from coordination test. Coordination can be used as a constituent test. Conjunctions can coordinate words or constituents, however, each conjunct in a coordinate structure is the same type of constituent as the other conjunct (see Radford (1988a) and Kim and Sells (2008)). The following examples are illustrative:

(416) a. The man ate [fish] and [chips].

b. The man [finished work] and [went home].

In example (416a), the conjunction *and* coordinates two words, namely, *fish* and *chips* (they might be assumed to be NPs) while the conjunction in example (416b) coordinates two verb phrases which are *finished work* and *went home*.

On the other hand, if a coordinate structure contains different types of constituents, it will not be grammatical. For instance, the conjunction in a coordinate sentence can not coordinate a verb phrase with a noun as in example (417a) below or a preparation phrase with an adjective as in example (417b) below:

(417) a. \*The man [went home] and [a car].

b. \*The lady [went to the hotel] and [angry].

This test can be used to examine conditionals and it proves two things: first the protasis is a constituent and second the verb in the matrix clause forms a constituent with the protasis.

The following examples show that the protasis is a constituent in the English language, therefore, it can be a conjunct in a coordinate structure, as shown below:

(418) a. I will study [if you come] and [if you study].

b. I will leave [if you come] or [if you call].

The two examples above show that the protasis forms a constituent in each example. In example (418a), the protasis *if you come* is coordinated with another constituent which is *if you study*. Similarly, the protasis *if you come* in example (418b) is coordinated with another constituent which is *if you call*. It means that the protasis in conditionals in the English language forms a constituent and this is proved by the coordination test in the two examples above.

In addition, the protasis as a constituent is embedded within another constituent in conditional constructions when it occurs in the final position, namely, it is embedded within the verb phrase which is headed by the verb in the main clause. The coordination test can prove that the verb in the main clause forms a constituent with the protasis. The following examples are illustrative:

(419) a. I will [study if you study] and [play if you play].

b. I will [teach if you come] or [stop teaching if you leave].

In both examples above, the verb in the main clause forms a constituent with the protasis. In example (419a), the verb in the matrix clause which is *study* forms a constituent with the protasis *if you study*, therefore, the verb phrase *study if you study* is coordinated with another verb phrase *play if you play*. In the same way, the verb *teach* in the matrix clause in example (419b) forms a constituent with the protasis *if you come* and this constituent can be coordinated with the verb phrase *stop teaching if you leave*.

MSA and TD are the same as the English language in that the same types of constituents are usually coordinated in a coordinate sentence. In MSA, the two conjuncts in a coordinate structure can be noun phrases, verb phrases or preposition phrase etc. The following examples illustrate three types of conjuncts that are coordinated in a coordinate sentence, namely, noun phrases, verb phrases and preposition phrases, respectively:

(420) a. [al-rağul-u]            wa [al-şabiyy-u]            dahabā            ʔlā al-madrasat-i.(MSA)  
 DEF-man-NOM and DEF-child-NOM go.PFV.3DUM to DEF-school-GEN  
 ‘The man and the child went to the school’

b. sālim-un            [dahaba            ʔlā al-sūq-i]            wa [aštara  
 Salem-NOM go.PFV.3SGM to DEF-shop-GEN and buy.PFV.3SGM  
 qalam-an].(MSA)  
 pen-ACC  
 ‘Salem went to the shop and bought a pen’

c. al-ṭālib-u            dahaba            ʔlā al-madrasat-i            [fī al-ṣabah-i]  
 DEF-student-NOM go.PFV.3SGM to DEF-school-GEN in DEF-morning.GEN  
 wa [fī al-masāʔ-i].(MSA)  
 and in DEF-afternoon-GEN  
 ‘The student went to the school in the morning and in the afternoon’

In example (420a) above, the bracketed noun phrase *al-rağul-u* ‘the man’ is coordinated with the same constituent, namely, the bracketed noun phrase *al-şabiyy-u* ‘the child’. In the same way, both conjuncts in example (420b) are verb phrases and in example (420c) are preposition phrases.

Consequently, the coordination test can be used to determine the boundaries of the constituents in conditional sentences in MSA. If a conditional clause in a conditional sentence is coordinated with another conditional clause, the sentence will be grammatical. It means that the conditional clause forms a constituent in conditional sentences in MSA. The following sentences are illustrative:

- (421) a. sa-yuṣbiḥu                      zayd-un      ṭālib-an      ġayid-an    [ʔin  
 FUT-become.IPFV.3SGM Zayd-NOM student-ACC good-ACC if  
 dakara                      kul-a              yawm-in] wa [ʔin altazama  
 study.PFV.3SGM every-ACC day-GEN and if    follow.PFV.3SGM  
 bi-ta<sup>c</sup>līmat-i      al-madrasat-i].(MSA)  
 with-rules-GEN DEF-school-GEN  
 ‘Zayd will be a good student if he studies every day and if he follows the rules of  
 the school’

- b. sa-yaḥruġu                      ʔaḥmad-u      mina al-mustašfā    [ʔin  
 FUT-leave.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad-NOM from DEF-hospital if  
 taḥassanat                      ṣiḥḥatu-hu]              ʔaw [ʔin lam yadfa<sup>c</sup>i  
 improve.PFV.3SGF health-3SGM.ACC or    if    NEG pay.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-taman-a].(MSA)  
 DEF-cost-ACC  
 ‘Ahmad will leave the hospital if his health improves or if he does not pay the cost’

In example (421a), the protasis *ʔin dakara kul-a yawm-in* ‘if he studies every day’ is coordinated with the same type of constituent that is *ʔin altazama bi-ta<sup>c</sup>līmat-i al-madrasat-i* ‘if he follows the rules of the school’. In the same way, the protasis *ʔin taḥassanat ṣiḥḥatu-hu* ‘if his health improves’ in example (421b) is coordinated with the constituent *ʔin lam yadfa<sup>c</sup>i al-taman-a* ‘if he does not pay the cost’. The coordination test in both examples above shows that the protasis in conditional sentences in MSA forms a constituent.

In addition, the verb phrase can be coordinated with another verb phrase in conditional sentences in MSA. The following sentences are illustrative:

- (422) a. zayd-un    [yuṣbiḥu                      ṭālib-an      ġayid-an    ʔin dakara  
 Zayd-NOM become.IPFV.3SGM student-ACC good-ACC if    study.PFV.3SGM  
 kul-a              yawm-in] wa [yuṣbiḥu                      ṭālib-an      miṭāliyy-an    ʔin  
 every-ACC day-GEN and become.IPFV.3SGM student-ACC perfect-ACC if  
 altazama              bi-ta<sup>c</sup>līmat-i      al-madrasat-i].(MSA)  
 follow.PFV.3SGM with-rules-GEN DEF-school-GEN  
 ‘Zayd will become a good student if he studies every day and become a perfect  
 student if he follows the rules of the school’

- b. <sup>c</sup>aliyy-un [yaʔkulu fī al-maḍ<sup>c</sup>am-i ʔin qābala  
Ali-NOM eat.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-restaurant-GEN if meet.PFV.3SGM  
sa<sup>c</sup>d-an] ʔaw [yaʔkulu fī al-bayt-i ʔin lam  
saad-ACC or eat.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-house-GEN if NEG  
yuqābil-hu].(MSA)  
meet.IPFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC  
‘Ali will eat in the restaurant if he meets saad or eat in the house if he does not  
meet him’

Both examples above show that the verb in the matrix clause forms a constituent with the subordinate clause, therefore, the verb phrase which contains the verb in the matrix clause with the protasis is coordinated with another verb phrase in both examples. In example (422a), the whole verb phrase *yušbiḥu ṭālib-an ǧayid-an ʔin dakara kul-a yawm-in* ‘become a good student if he studies every day’ is coordinated with the verb phrase *uṣbiḥu ṭālib-an miṭāliyy-an ʔin altazama bi-ta<sup>c</sup>līmat-i al-madrasat-i* ‘become a perfect student if he follows the rules of the school’. Similarly, the verb phrase *yaʔkulu fī al-maḍ<sup>c</sup>am-i ʔin qābala sa<sup>c</sup>d-an* ‘eat in the restaurant if he meets Saad’ in example (422b) is coordinated with the verb phrase *yaʔkulu fī al-bayt-i ʔin lam yuqābil-hu* ‘eat in the house if he does not meet him’.

Also, the coordination test can be applied to TD too. The protasis in a conditional sentence in TD can be coordinated with another protasis and the sentence will be grammatical. It means that the protasis forms a constituent in conditional sentences in TD. The following sentences are illustrative:

- (423) a. ba-t<sup>c</sup>šša ma<sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup>alī [ʔin ǧāb samak] wa [ʔin  
FUT-have.dinner.IPFV.1SG with Ali if bring.PFV.3SGM fish and if  
ǧā badri].(TD)  
come.PFV.3SGM early  
‘I will have dinner with Ali if he brings fish and if he comes early’
- b. sālim bi-yištari sayyarah [ʔin astalam al-mukafʔah] ʔaw  
Salem FUT-buy.IPFV.3SGM car if receive.PFV.3SGM DEF-reward or  
[ʔin bā<sup>c</sup> sayyarat-ū].(TD)  
if sell.PFV.3SGM car-3SGM.GEN  
‘Salem will buy a car if he receives the reward or if he sells his car’

In example (423a), the protasis *ʔin ǧāb samak* ‘if he brings fish’ is coordinated with the phrase *ʔin ǧā badri* ‘if he comes early’. In the same way, the protasis *ʔin astalam al-mukafʔah* ‘if he receives the reward’ in example (423b) is coordinated with *ʔin bā<sup>c</sup> sayyarat-ū* ‘if he sells his car’. It means that the protasis forms a constituent in conditional sentences in TD.

In addition, the verb in the matrix clause with the subordinate clause in a conditional sentence in TD forms a verb phrase. Therefore, this verb phrase can be coordinated with another verb phrase, as shown below:

- (424) a. *sālim bi-[yit<sup>c</sup>ašša ma<sup>c</sup> ʔalī ʔin ǧāb samak] wa*  
 Salem FUT-have.dinner.IPFV.3SGM with Ali if bring.PFV.3SGM fish and  
*[yirūḥ li ḥālīd ʔin ma ǧā al-<sup>c</sup>aša].(TD)*  
 go.IPFV.3SGM to Khaled if NEG come.PFV.3SGM DEF-dinner  
 ‘Salem will have dinner with Ali if he brings fish and go to Khaled if he does not come to the dinner’
- b. *ʔādīl bi-[yirūḥ al-bayt ʔin liqī waqt] ʔaw*  
 Adil FUT-go.IPFV.3SGM DEF-house if have.PFV.3SGM time or  
*[yinam fī al-maktab ʔin kān mašǧūl].(TD)*  
 sleep.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-office if be.IPFV.3SGM busy.3SGM  
 ‘Adil will go home if he has time or sleep in the office if he is busy’

In example (424a), the verb phrase *yit<sup>c</sup>ašša ma<sup>c</sup> ʔalī ʔin ǧāb samak* ‘have dinner with Ali if he brings fish’ is coordinated with another verb phrase which is *yirūḥ li ḥālīd ʔin ma ǧā al-<sup>c</sup>aša* ‘go to Khaled if he does not come to the dinner’. In the same way, the verb phrase in example (424b) *yirūḥ al-bayt ʔin liqī waqt* ‘go home if he has time’ is coordinated with the verb phrase *yinam fī al-maktab ʔin kān mašǧūl* ‘sleep in the office if he is busy’. The coordination test shows that the verb in the main clause forms a constituent with the protasis in conditional sentences in TD, therefore, this verb phrase is coordinated with another verb phrase in the examples above.



*Ellipsis test:*

In English and other languages, different categories have different properties. For example, a verb phrase can be usually omitted if it is identical to another verb phrase occurring elsewhere in the same sentence or discourse (see Radford (1981, 1988a) and Falk (2001)). The following discourse between two speakers clarifies this point:

(425) a. **Speaker A:** Paul will not clean the flat.

b. **Speaker B:** I bet he will (clean the flat).

The verb phrase *clean the flat* in example (425b) can be freely omitted because it is uttered by speaker A and it is a verb phrase. However, other constituents cannot be omitted even if they occurred in the same discourse. For example, the noun phrase *the flat* in the previous discourse cannot be omitted, therefore, example (426b) below is not acceptable without the noun phrase:

(426) a. **Speaker A:** Paul will not clean the flat.

b. **Speaker B:** \*I bet he will clean (the flat).

When this test is applied to a conditional sentence, it shows that the verb in the matrix clause forms a constituent with the protasis. The following discourse shows that in the English language:

(427) a. **Speaker A:** Paul will not clean the flat if he is still angry.

b. **Speaker B:** I bet he will (clean the flat if he is still angry).

The discourse above shows that the verb *clean* in the matrix clause forms a verb phrase with the subordinate clause *if he is still angry*, therefore, the verb phrase is optionally omitted in the utterance of speaker B.

MSA is different from English in that the verb phrase in MSA cannot be omitted from a sentence or discourse even if it occurred in the same sentence or discourse. Therefore, the reply of speaker B in the discourse below is not grammatical:

- (428) a. **Speaker A:** ʔaḥmad-u lan yuḡādira al-bayt-a  
 Ahmad-NOM NEG leave.IPFV.3SGM DEF-house-ACC  
 ḡad-an.(MSA)  
 tomorrow-ACC  
 ‘Ahmad will not leave the house tomorrow’
- b. **Speaker B:** \*ʔa<sup>c</sup>taqīdu ʔnna-hu sawfa (yuḡādiru  
 think.IPFV.1SGM that-3SGM.ACC FUT leave.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-bayt-a ḡad-an).(MSA)  
 DEF-house-ACC tomorrow-ACC  
 ‘I think he will (leave the house tomorrow)’

In example (428b) which contains the utterance of speaker B, the deletion of the verb phrase *yuḡādira al-bayt-a ḡad-an* ‘leave the house tomorrow’ made the sentence ungrammatical.

However, other types of constituents can be omitted in MSA if they occurred elsewhere in a discourse or sentence, namely, the noun phrase, preposition phrase, adjective phrase, adverb phrase or complementizer phrase can be omitted if they occur in the same sentence or discourse. The following discourse shows the deletion of a noun phrase in spite of the function of this noun phrase which functions as an object:

- (429) a. **Speaker A:** ʔaḥmad-u lan yuḡādira al-bayt-a.(MSA)  
 Ahmad-NOM NEG leave.IPFV.3SGM DEF-house-ACC  
 ‘Ahmad will not leave the house’

- b. **Speaker B:** ?a<sup>c</sup>taqīdu                     ?nna-hu                     sawfa yuḡādiru  
                                 think.IPFV.1SGM that-3SGM.ACC FUT leave.IPFV.3SGM  
 (al-bayt-a).(MSA)  
 DEF-house-ACC  
 ‘I think he will leave the house’

In the utterance of speaker B, the noun phrase *al-bayt* ‘*the house*’ which is the object of the verb is omitted and the sentence is acceptable.

Giving that all types of constituents can be omitted in MSA except the verb phrase, the ellipsis test can be used in MSA for demonstrating that the protasis in conditional sentences in MSA forms a constituent. The following discourse is illustrative:

- (430) a. **Speaker A:** ?aḥmad-u     lan     yabqā                     fī al-bayt-i                     ?in  
   Ahmad-NOM NEG stay.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-house-GEN if  
 waḡada                     fī-hi                     ḡālīd-an.(MSA)  
 find.PFV.3SGM in-3SGM.GEN Khalid-ACC  
 ‘Ahmad will not stay in the house if he finds Khalid in it’

- b. **Speaker B:** ?a<sup>c</sup>taqīdu                     ?nna-hu                     sawfa yabqā                     fī  
                                 think.IPFV.1SGM that-3SGM.ACC FUT stay.IPFV.3SGM in  
 al-bayt-i                     (?in waḡada                     fī-hi                     ḡālīd-an).(MSA)  
 DEF-house-GEN if find.PFV.3SGM in-3SGM.GEN Khalid-ACC  
 ‘I think he will stay in the house if he finds Khalid in it’

The discourse above shows that the protasis *?in waḡada fī-hi ḡālīd-an* ‘*if he finds Khalid in it*’ can be omitted from the utterance of speaker B because it occurred in the utterance of speaker A. The omission of the protasis proves that it forms a constituent in MSA.

On the other hand, if the verb phrase is omitted from the utterance of speaker B above the sentence will be ungrammatical, as shown below:

- (431) a. **Speaker A:** ʔaḥmad-u lan yabqā fī al-bayt-i ʔin  
 Ahmad-NOM NEG stay.IPFV.3SGM in DEF-house-GEN if  
 waḡada fī-hi ḡalīd-an.(MSA)  
 find.PFV.3SGM in-3SGM.GEN Khalid-ACC  
 ‘Ahmad will not stay in the house if he finds Khalid in it’
- b. **Speaker B:** \*ʔa<sup>c</sup>taqīdu ʔinna-hu sawfa (yabqā fī  
 think.IPFV.1SGM that-3SGM.ACC FUT stay.IPFV.3SGM in  
 al-bayt-i ʔin waḡada fī-hi ḡalīd-an).(MSA)  
 DEF-house-GEN if find.PFV.3SGM in-3SGM.GEN Khalid-ACC  
 ‘I think he will (stay in the house if he finds Khalid in it)’

The utterance of speaker B above is ungrammatical when the verb phrase *yabqā fī al-bayt-i ʔin waḡada fī-hi ḡalīd-an* ‘stay in the house if he finds Khalid in it’ is omitted.

As for TD, TD is similar to MSA in that the verb phrase can not be omitted even if it occurs in the same sentence or discourse. The utterance of speaker B below is not acceptable because the verb phrase is omitted:

- (432) a. **Speaker A:** sālim mā bi-yīdakir al-yawm.(TD)  
 Salem NEG FUT-study.IPFV.3SGM DEF-today  
 ‘Salem will not study today’
- b. **Speaker B:** \*ʔaḡunn-ū bi(-yīdakir  
 think.IPFV.1SGM-3SGM.ACC FUT-study.IPFV.3SGM  
 al-yawm).(TD)  
 DEF-today  
 ‘I think he will (study today)’

The utterance of speaker B above is not acceptable because the verb phrase *yīdakir al-yawm* ‘study today’ is omitted and this kind of omission is not acceptable in TD.

Like MSA, TD allows the deletion of all types of constituent except the verb phrase. Therefore, the ellipsis test can be used in TD to show that the protasis in a conditional

sentence in TD forms a constituent. The following discourse is illustrative:

- (433) a. **Speaker A:** sālim mā bi-yīdakir                     ʔin šīḥī  
   Salem NEG FUT-study.IPFV.3SGM if wake.PFV.3SGM  
   mitʔaḥīr.(TD)  
   late  
   ‘Salem will not study if he wakes late’
- b. **Speaker B:** ʔaḏunn-ū   bi-yīdakir                     (ʔin  
   think.IPFV.1SGM-3SGM.ACC FUT-study.IPFV.3SGM if  
   šīḥī   mitʔaḥīr).(TD)  
   wake.PFV.3SGM late  
   ‘I think he will study (if he wakes late)’

The utterance of speaker B above is grammatical in spite of the omission of the protasis *ʔin šīḥī mitʔaḥīr* ‘if he wakes late’ because the omitted elements form a constituent and this type of omission is acceptable in TD.

Like MSA, the deletion of the verb phrase will make the utterance of speaker B ungrammatical, as shown below:

- (434) a. **Speaker A:** sālim mā bi-yīdakir                     ʔin šīḥī  
   Salem NEG FUT-study.IPFV.3SGM if wake.PFV.3SGM  
   mitʔaḥīr.(TD)  
   late  
   ‘Salem will not study if he wakes late’
- b. **Speaker B:** \*ʔaḏunn-ū   bi-(yīdakir                     ʔin  
   think.IPFV.1SGM-3SGM.ACC FUT-study.IPFV.3SGM if  
   šīḥī   mitʔaḥīr).(TD)  
   wake.PFV.3SGM late  
   ‘I think he will (study if he wakes late)’

The deletion of the verb phrase *yīdakir ʔin šīḥī mitʔaḥīr* ‘study if he wakes late’ made the utterance of speaker B above unacceptable.

*Distribution of adverbs:*

This test is used to examine the boundaries of constituents in some languages. The distribution of adverbs can be used as a test in a language such as English where the distribution of adverbs is not free, however, it is not a sufficient test in languages such as Icelandic where adverbs may have a free distribution ( see Thráinsson (1986), Kaplan and Zaenen (1989) and Sells (1998)). Also, in MSA and TD, adverbs usually have a free distribution, therefore, this test will not be useful for determining the boundaries of constituents in MSA and TD.

This test is usually used in the English language to determine the boundaries of constituents because adverbs in the English language usually occur in specific positions in the sentence (see Falk (2001) and Kroeger (2004)).

Radford (1981, 1988b) distinguishes between two classes of adverbs in English: the first one contains adverbs such as *certainly* and the second contains adverbs such as *completely*. The two classes may occupy different positions in a simple sentence like ‘*the team can rely on my support*’ (Radford, 1988b, 73). The following sentences which are quoted from Radford (1988b, 73) show the distribution of *certainly* and *completely* in this sentence:

- (435) a. ‘Certainly/\*completely, the team can rely on my support.’
- b. ‘\*The certainly/completely team can rely on my support.’
- c. ‘The team certainly/\*completely can rely on my support.’
- d. ‘The team can certainly/completely rely on my support.’
- e. ‘The team can rely completely/\*certainly on my support.’
- f. ‘\*The team can rely on certainly/completely my support.’

g. ‘\*The team can rely on my certainly/completely support.’

h. ‘The team can rely on my support completely/certainly.’

Radford (1981, 74) states that adverbs such as *certainly* are ‘S-adverbs, and hence can only be attached to an S-node’. On the other hand, adverbs such as *completely* are VP-adverbs and only attached to a VP-node. In other words, the adverb *certainly* can occur at the beginning or end of the sentence (e.g. 435a and 435h) and can occur between the subject *the team* and the modal *can* (e.g. 435c) or between the modal *can* and the verb *rely* (e.g. 435d). However, the adverb *certainly* cannot occur inside the verb phrase, for example, between the verb *rely* and the preposition *on* (e.g. 435e, 435f and 435g).

As for the adverb *completely*, it can occur where it is attached to the verb phrase, at the beginning of the verb phrase (e.g. 435d), at the end of the verb phrase (e.g. 435h) and in the middle of the verb phrase (e.g. 435e).

Adverbs such as *certainly* in the English language can be used to examine the boundaries of constituents in the conditional construction. The adverb *certainly* as stated above occurs before or after the verb phrase and it does not occur in the middle of the verb phrase. If the verb and the protasis in a conditional sentence such as *I will clean the flat if I have time* form a verb phrase, the adverb *certainly* should occur before the verb phrase *clean the flat if I have time*, namely, between *will* and *clean* or after the verb phrase, at the end of the sentence. The following sentences show that the adverb *certainly* occurs in the two positions:

(436) a. I will certainly clean the flat if I have time.

b. I will clean the flat if I have time, certainly.

On the other hand, the adverb *certainly* does not occur inside the phrase *clean the flat if I have time* which supports that this phrase is a verb phrase. The following sentences are not grammatical:

(437) a. \*I will clean certainly the flat if I have time.

b. \*I will clean the flat certainly if I have time.

This test proves that the verb in the main clause forms a constituent with the protasis.

To sum, constituency tests prove that the protasis in a conditional sentence is a constituent and it is embedded in the main clause when it is in the final position. This section has discussed four tests determining the boundaries of constituent. The first test is the substitution by a proform and it shows that the verb in the matrix clause and the protasis form a constituent in conditionals sentences. The second test is coordination and this test shows that the protasis can be coordinated with another constituent demonstrating that it forms a constituent. Moreover, the verb in the matrix clause with the protasis can be coordinated with another verb phrase and this proves that the verb in the main clause forms a constituent with the protasis. The third test is ellipsis and this test shows that the verb in the main clause forms a constituent with the protasis in English, therefore, they can be omitted. In addition, the protasis in MSA which only disallows the deletion of verb phrases can be omitted showing that it forms a constituent. The fourth test is the distribution of adverbs and this test proves that the verb in the matrix clause forms a constituent with the protasis in the English language. The following section will discuss fronting in conditional clauses which supports that the protasis is a subordinate clause and should be analysed as an adjunct because it resembles relative and tempoal clauses.



### 6.3.3.2 Fronting

Danckaert and Haegeman (2012, 134) state that ‘in English, conditional clauses are incompatible with argument fronting’. It means that the argument of the verb in the conditional clause cannot be fronted to a position immediately after the conjunction *if*. Example (438b) below which is quoted from Danckaert and Haegeman (2012, 134) shows that the argument fronting in the conditional clause makes the example ungrammatical, whereas example (438a) shows the canonical words order of the conditional clause:

(438) a. If you do not pass these exams, you will not get the degree.

b. ‘\*If these exams you do not pass, you will not get the degree’.

In example (438b) above, *these exams* is the object of the verb *pass* in the conditional clause. The sentence is not grammatical because *these exams* is an argument in the conditional clause and it is fronted (also, see Emonds (1970), Hooper and Thompson (1973), Emonds (1976), Maki et al. (1999) and Emonds (2004)).

Argument fronting is a *main clause phenomenon* because it is usually restricted to main clauses. In addition to the argument fronting, subordinate clauses are incompatible with so called *locative inversion* (it is also called *VP topicalization*). Conditional clauses are incompatible with *locative inversion* as shown in the following examples which are quoted from Danckaert and Haegeman (2012, 134):

(439) a. ‘\*If present at the party are under age children, they will not be able to show the X-rated films’.

b. ‘\*If passed these exams you had, you would have had the degree’.

The canonical word order of the two conditional clauses above is showing in the two examples below:

(440) a. If under age children are present at the party, they will not be able to show the X-rated films.

b. If you had passed these exams, you would have had the degree.

The incompatibility of conditional clauses with the two *main clause phenomena*, namely, *argument fronting* and *locative inversion* which are discussed above shows that the conditional clause behaves like subordinate clauses.

Moreover, Danckaert and Haegeman (2012) argue that conditional clauses are compatible with *adjunct fronting*. In other words, adjunct phrases can appear to the left of the subject in the conditional clause while argument phrases cannot. In the following examples which are quoted from Danckaert and Haegeman (2012, 134) two preposition phrases are fronted:

(441) a. ‘If by Monday we have not found him, we will call the RSPCA’.

b. ‘If on Monday the share price is still at the current level then clearly their defence does not hold much water’.

In example (441a) above, the adjunct *by Monday* is fronted and it precedes the subject *we*. In the same way, the adjunct *on Monday* in example (441b) is fronted and it is before the subject *the share price* in the conditional clause. Rizzi (1997), Aboh (2004) and Endo (2007) argue that the adjuncts in examples such as (441a) and (441b) above are topicalized.

Danckaert and Haegeman (2012) state that this asymmetry between arguments and adjuncts in relation to fronting in conditional clauses is found in other constructions in the English language, namely, it is found in temporal adverbial clauses and relative clauses. For example, the following examples illustrate temporal clauses which disallow the argument fronting in example (442a) and allow the adjunct fronting in example (442b):

(442) a. \*When her Ph.D. she had finished last Monday, I thought she will be a great researcher.

b. When last Monday she had finished her Ph.D., I thought she will be a great researcher.

In example (442a), the object *her Ph.D.* is fronted in the temporal clause and the sentence is not grammatical because temporal clauses do not allow the argument fronting. Conversely, the adjunct *last Monday* in example (442b) is fronted and the sentence is grammatical because temporal clauses allow adjunct fronting.

In the same way, the following examples show that the relative clause disallows argument fronting in example (443a) and allows adjunct fronting in example (443b):

(443) a. \*I met the student who, his thesis, began to write last year.

b. I met the student who, last year, began to write his thesis.

In example (443a) above, the object *his thesis* is fronted and the sentence is ungrammatical because relative clauses do not allow argument fronting. In example (443b), the adjunct *last year* is fronted and the sentence is grammatical because relative clauses allow adjunct fronting.

The similarity between conditional clauses on one side and temporal and relative clauses on the other leads this section to argue that conditional clauses **have** the same analysis as temporal and relative clauses which are analysed as adjuncts.

To sum up, the protasis in conditional sentences disallows both of *main clause phenomena*, namely, *argument fronting* and *locative inversion*, therefore, this behaviour supports that the protasis is a subordinate clause. In addition, the protasis allows *adjunct fronting*. This asymmetry between arguments and adjuncts in the protasis makes it similar to temporal and relative clauses which are surely adjuncts. Therefore, this section argues in support

of analysing the protasis (like temporal and relative clauses) as an adjunct. Danckaert and Haegeman (2012) discuss *argument fronting*, *locative inversion* and *adjunct fronting* in the protasis when it is in the initial position. The protasis in the final position is the same and this means that the protasis is a subordinate and adjunct clause in both positions. The following section will apply some adjunct tests to the protasis in conditional sentences.

### 6.3.3.3 Adjuncts tests

Dowty (1982), Kaplan and Bresnan (1982b), Dalrymple (2001) and Kroeger (2005) discuss some tests for distinguishing between arguments and adjuncts. This section will discuss some of these tests, namely, it will discuss *multiple occurrence*, *entailment* and *subcategorization* and it will show that the protasis in conditional sentences behaves like adjuncts. The following section will discuss *the multiple occurrence* test.

#### *Multiple occurrence:*

Kaplan and Bresnan (1982b) state that adjuncts or modifiers can multiply occur in the sentence but arguments cannot. In other words, the predicate should have one of any specific type of argument. In contrast, the sentence can have more than one adjunct. For instance, example (444a) below is not grammatical because the predicate has two objects while it requires one. On the other hand, example (444b) is grammatical in spite of that there are two adjuncts:

(444) a. \* John saw Mary Kim.

b. Mark gave his wife a gift on Wednesday in the morning.

In example (444a) above, the predicate *saw* requires a subject and object. However, there are a subject and two objects in the sentence, therefore, the sentence is not grammatical because it is not coherent. On the contrary, example (444b) is grammatical in spite of that there are two preposition phrases, namely, *on Wednesday* and *in the morning*. This is because the two preposition phrases are adjuncts and adjuncts are *multiple occurrence*.

Interestingly, this test can be used in conditional sentences in MSA to demonstrate that the protasis is an adjunct. In MSA, the apodosis can occur with two protases or more. This phenomenon is widely discussed in Arabic traditional grammar<sup>7</sup>. The following examples

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<sup>7</sup>Alansari (nda) and others discuss this phenomenon.

are illustrative:

- (445) a. *ʔin tadhab ʔlā al-madrasat-i ʔin tudākir*  
 if go.IPFV.2SGM.JUSS to DEF-school-GEN if study.IPFV.2SGM.JUSS  
*tanğah fī al-iḥtibar-i.(MSA)*  
 pass.IPFV.2SGM.JUSS in DEF-exam-GEN  
 ‘If you go to the school (and) if you study you will pass the exam’
- b. *ʔin taʔkul bi-antizām-in ʔin tašrab*  
 if eat.IPFV.2SGM.JUSS with-regularity if drink.IPFV.2SGM.JUSS  
*bi-antizām-in taslam mina al-ʔamraḍ-i.(MSA)*  
 with-regularity survive.IPFV.2SGM.JUSS from DEF-diseases-GEN  
 ‘If you regularly eat (and) if you regularly drink you will be protected from diseases’

In example (445a) above, the apodosis *tanğah fī al-iḥtibar-i* ‘you will pass the exam’ occurs with two conditional clauses, namely, *ʔin tadhab ʔlā al-madrasat-i* ‘if you go to the school’ and *ʔin tudākir* ‘if you study’ and the example is grammatical. In the same way, example (445b) contains two conditional clauses which are *ʔin taʔkul bi-antizām-in* ‘if you regularly eat’ and *ʔin tašrab bi-antizām-in* ‘if you regularly drink’ and they occur with one apodosis which is *taslam mina al-ʔamraḍ-i* ‘you will be protected from diseases’.

As for TD, the apodosis can occur with two protases too. The following examples are illustrative:

- (446) a. *ʔin kān bağaīt tiṣḥa ʔin kān*  
 if be.PFV.2SGM want.PFV.2SGM wake.PFV.2SGM if be.PFV.2SGM  
 numt badrī kān ṣiḥīt.(TD)  
 sleep.PFV.2SGM early be.PFV.2SGM wake.PFV.2SGM  
 ‘If you had wanted to wake up (and) if you had slept early, you would have woke up’

- b.  $\int$ in q $\bar{r}$ it                      kul   yawm  $\int$ in katabt                      kul   yawm  
 if read.PFV.2SGM every day   if write.PFV.2SGM every day  
 bi-tuktub                      al-risalah                      bi-sur<sup>c</sup>ah.(TD)  
 FUT-write.IPFV.2SGM DEF-dissertation with-speed  
 ‘If you read every day (and) if you write every day, you will write the dissertation quickly’

In example (446a) above, the apodosis *kān ṣiḥīt* ‘you would have woke up’ occurs with two protases which are *∫in kān baġaīt tiṣḥa* ‘if you had wanted to wake up’ and *∫in kān numt badrī* ‘if you had slept’. In the same way, the apodosis *bi-tuktub al-risalah bi-sur<sup>c</sup>ah* ‘you will write the dissertation quickly’ in example (446b) above occurs with two protases *∫in q $\bar{r}$ it kul yawm* ‘if you read every day’ and *∫in katabt kul yawm* ‘if you write every day’.

*Entailment and Subcategorization:*

Dowty (1982) suggests two tests for distinguishing between arguments and adjuncts, they are *entailment* and *subcategorization* test. When the two tests apply to a conditional sentence, they show that the protasis is not an argument. As assumed in this research, the apodosis in conditional sentences is the main clause, therefore, the predicate in the apodosis is the main predicate. The main predicate in the following conditional sentences which is *continue* entails that there is an event in progress. Therefore, the verb entails the subject which is *the match*. However, the predicate does not entail the protasis which is *if it is rain* in both positions:

(447) a. If it rains, the match will continue.

- b. The match will continue if it rains.

The second test is *subcategorization* test. This test entails that arguments are always obligatory while adjuncts are optional. In other words, arguments are implied by the verb while adjuncts are not. The following examples are illustrative:

(448) a. Mary met Julie.

b. \*Mary met.

c. \*met Julie.

The predicate in the three examples above is *met* and it requires a subject and object. Therefore, example (448a) is complete because it contains the subject and the object. On the contrary, example (448b) and (448c) are not complete because the former lacks the object while the latter lacks the subject. As for adjuncts, they are optional, as shown below:

(449) a. Mary met Julie on Friday.

b. Mary met Julie.

In example (449a) above, the preposition phrase *on Friday* which is an adjunct is optional adding more information to the sentence. This adjunct can be omitted and the sentence will be grammatical, as shown in example (449b) above.

*The subcategorization* test supports analysing conditional clauses as adjuncts. As assumed in this chapter, the main clause in a conditional sentence is the apodosis and the verb in this clause is the main verb. The verb in the main clause does not imply the protasis. Thus, the protasis is optional and both examples below are grammatical, in spite of that example (450b) does not contain a conditional clause:

(450) a. If it rains, the match will be cancelled.

b. The match will be cancelled.

What is assumed in the two examples above is that there is an event which is *the match will be cancelled* and the speaker optionally correlates the fulfilment of this event with a condition which is *if it rains*. In the same way, the verb in the main clause does not require the protasis in the final position and both examples below are grammatical:

(451) a. The match will be cancelled if it rains.



- b. The match will be cancelled.

Based on the evidence above, this chapter assumes that the conditional structure contains two types of clauses, namely, a main and subordinate clause. The subordinate clause is analysed as an adjunct. This analysis is suitable in the two positions that can be occupied by the protasis. Therefore, the two protases in both examples below are adjuncts:

- (452) a. If it rains, the match will be cancelled.

- b. The match will be cancelled if it rains.

To sum up, this section has discussed three tests that are used to distinguish between arguments and adjuncts and applied them to the protasis in conditionals. The first test was *the multiple occurrence* and the protasis in MSA and TD shows that it is *multiple occurrence*. The second and third test were *entailment* and *subcategorization*. *The entailment* test shows that the protasis is not entailed by the predicate in the matrix clause. In the same way, *the subcategorization* test shows that the protasis is not subcategorized by the predicate in the main clause. The following section will discuss the analysis of the conjunction in conditional sentences.

### 6.3.3.4 The conjunction

Conditional conjunctions do not behave like relative pronouns in many languages because they do not fill a gap within the protasis and they are invariant. Thus, the discussion in this section will focus on analysing these conjunctions in MSA and TD as prepositions or complementizers which are the possible analyses for conditional conjunctions.

It is well known that many prepositions in the English language that usually are used to introduce prepositional phrases can be used to introduce adjunct clauses. *Before* is one example of preposition that can introduce prepositional phrases and adjunct phrases. The following examples which are quoted from Kroeger (2005, 227) are illustrative:

- (453) a. ‘Mary opened her presents [before dinner]’.
- b. ‘Marry opened her presents [before finishing her dinner]’.
- c. ‘Mary opened her presents [before John finished his dinner]’.

In example (453a) above, the preposition *before* introduces a prepositional phrase while it introduces a non-finite clause in (453b) and a finite clause in (453c). Based on this fact, Kroeger (2005) suggests that all adverbial clauses should be analysed as prepositional phrases. Kroeger (2005, 228) states that ‘this analysis requires us to modify our PS rules for English slightly, to allow prepositions to take objects which belong to one of two categories, NP or S’.

Kroeger (2005)’s analysis includes subordinating conjunctions like *because*, *while*, *if*, *unless*, *although* etc. which always introduce clauses. This is because he believes that all adjunct clauses should have unified analysis.

However, others argue that elements such as *if* are in fact complementizers (see Bhatt and Pancheva (2007)). They argue that *if* is different from prepositions like *until*, *before* and *after*. The anaphora possibilities can show the differences between the complement of *if*

and the complement of a preposition. The following examples which are quoted from Bhatt and Pancheva (2007, 651) are illustrative:

(454) a. ‘I will work until Joe leaves and Harry will work until then too’.

b. ‘\* I will leave if Joe leaves and Harry will leave if then, too’.

Example (454a) above is grammatical because the proform *then* can refer back to the complement of the preposition which is *Joe leaves*. In contrast, example (454b) is not grammatical because the proform cannot refer back to the complement of *if*. In addition, a proform can refer to the whole of the protasis and cannot refer to the whole prepositional phrase, as shown in the following examples below:

(455) a. \*I will work until Joe leaves and Harry will work then too.

b. I will leave if Joe leaves and Harry will leave then, too.

The differences between *if* and prepositions suggest that conditional conjunctions should be analysed as complementizers. In addition, prepositions in MSA and TD always take noun phrases as complements and this generalization would be lost if these elements were also treated as prepositions.

Moreover, *?in* which is a conditional conjunction in MSA and TD can be used as a complementizer in a declarative sentence. In the following sentence *?in* introduces a complement in MSA:

(456) qad    <sup>c</sup>alim-nā                      ?in    kunta                      lamuḡtahid-an.(MSA)  
indeed know.PFV-1PL.NOM    that be.PFV.2SGM    diligent.2SGM-ACC  
‘Indeed, we knew that you are diligent’

In this sentence, the verb *ʿalim* ‘knew’ in the matrix clause is a transitive verb. It requires a subject and object or complement. The subject is the pronoun *nā* ‘we’ whereas the complement is the sentence that is introduced by the complementizer *ʔin* which is *ʔin kun-ta lamuġtahid-an* ‘that you are diligent’. In this example, *ʔin* is clearly functioning as a complementizer. Thus, This section suggests that *ʔin* in MSA and TD is used as a complementizer and it usually introduces a subordinate clause in declarative and conditional sentences. The following section will discuss the c-structure and f-structure of conditionals in TD.

### 6.3.4 Rules and Structures

This section will provide the c-structure and f-structure of conditional sentences in TD. It will start with the rules that allow conditional sentences in TD to occur. As discussed above, a conditional sentence in TD contains two clauses: a main clause and subordinate clause. The main clause contains a regular sentence while the subordinate clause contains a sentence that is introduced by a conditional conjunction which is a complementizer and this clause functions as an adjunct. Therefore, three types of rules will be discussed below, namely, the rules that license finite clauses in TD, the rules that allow clauses that are introduced by complementizers to occur and the rules that allow the combination between main clauses and adjuncts.

This chapter follows Kroeger (1993), King (1995), Bresnan (2001) and Dalrymple (2001) in assuming that all constituents are optional because all subcategorization requirements in LFG are specified at the f-structure and there is no need for these requirements to be reflected in the c-structure. Therefore, all nodes in the rules and c-structures are optional.

#### 6.3.4.1 IP Rules

It is stated in the second chapter in this thesis that TD allows two word orders. The verb can precede the subject and object in VSO order and the subject can precede the verb in SVO order. However, unlike MSA, the subject must precede the object in TD and the VOS order is not allowed. The following sentences illustrate the two orders in TD:

(457) a. qābal                                   <sup>c</sup>alī sālim.(TD)  
           meet.PFV.3SGM Ali Salem  
           ‘Ali met Salem’

b. <sup>c</sup>alī qābal                                   sālim.(TD)  
       Ali meet.PFV.3SGM Salem  
       ‘Ali met Salem’

The following rules permit sentences in the two orders in TD:

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 (458) \text{ IP} & \longrightarrow & \text{NP} \qquad \text{I}' \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) = \downarrow \qquad \uparrow = \downarrow \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{COMPFORM}) \neq \{\text{?in} \mid \text{law} \mid \text{?dā}\}
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 (459) \text{ I}' & \longrightarrow & \text{I} \qquad \text{S} \\
 & & \uparrow = \downarrow \qquad \uparrow = \downarrow
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 (460) \text{ S} & \longrightarrow & \text{NP} \qquad \text{VP} \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) = \downarrow \qquad \uparrow = \downarrow
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 (461) \text{ VP} & \longrightarrow & \text{V} \qquad \text{NP} \\
 & & \uparrow = \downarrow \qquad (\uparrow \text{OBJ}) = \downarrow
 \end{array}$$

In (458), the rule indicates that the IP dominates an NP and I'. The annotation  $(\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) = \downarrow$  implies that the noun phrase which occupies the specifier position functions as a subject and because this node is optional it might not occur when the sentence has VSO order. Moreover, the annotation  $(\uparrow \text{COMPFORM}) \neq \{\text{?in} \mid \text{law} \mid \text{?dā}\}$  implies that the subject does not precede the verb when the complementizer is a conditional conjunction such as *?in* or *law* or a temporal conjunction such as *?dā*. As for I', it has the annotation  $\uparrow = \downarrow$  which shows that it is the same as its mother node.

In (459), I' node dominates I and S and both have the annotation  $\uparrow = \downarrow$  showing that they are the same as the mother node in that they occur in the same f-structure. S node is an *exocentric* category which has no lexical head (see Bresnan (1982b, 2001), Kroeger (1993), Austin and Bresnan (1996b), Nordlinger (1998) and Dalrymple (2001)). 'S is a constituent structure category that contains a predicate together with any or all of its arguments' (Dalrymple, 2001, 64).

The *exocentric* category S in (460) dominates an NP and VP. The NP functions as a subject and this function is ensured by the annotation  $(\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) = \downarrow$ . It means that the subject can optionally appear under S. Thus, the above rules allow the subject in TD to occur

before the verb and between the verb and the object.

As for the rule in (461), it indicates that the VP node dominates a V and NP node. The V node has the annotation  $\uparrow = \downarrow$  which shows that it corresponds to the same f-structure as its mother node while the NP node has the annotation  $(\uparrow \text{OBJ}) = \downarrow$  which means that the NP functions as an object and it corresponds to an embedded f-structure which is named OBJ.

This section suggests that the verb in TD appears under I node because it is finite. However, it may appear under V when it follows an auxiliary and in this case the auxiliary appears under I. The following section will discuss the rules that license CPs in TD because the protasis in a conditional sentence in TD is assumed to be a CP.

#### 6.3.4.2 CP Rules

Unlike MSA, TD contains few complementizers. The possible complementizers in TD are the conditional conjunctions *?in* and *law*, the temporal conjunction *?dā* and *?inn* ‘that’. The temporal conjunction *?dā* is similar to the conditional conjunctions in that it adjoins the verb and cannot precede a noun. Thus, examples (462a) and (462b) below are grammatical while examples (462c) and (462d) are not:

(462) a. *?dā wiṣil fāris, bi-yirūḥ al-bayt.(TD)*  
 when arrive.PFV.3SGM Faris FUT-go.IPFV.3SGM DEF-house  
 ‘When Faris arrives, he will go to the house’

b. *?dā kibir sālim, bi-yisīr mudarris.(TD)*  
 when grow.PFV.3SGM Salem FUT-become.IPFV.3SGM INDF.teacher  
 ‘When Salem grows up, he will become a teacher’

- c. \*ʔdā fāris wiṣil, bi-yirūḥ al-bayt.(TD)  
 when Faris arrive.PFV.3SGM FUT-go.IPFV.3SGM DEF-house  
 ‘When Faris arrives, he will go to the house’
- d. \*ʔdā sālim kibir, bi-yisīr mudarris.(TD)  
 when Salem grow.PFV.3SGM FUT-become.IPFV.3SGM INDF.teacher  
 ‘When Salem grows up, he will become a teacher’

In contrast, the complementizer *ʔinn* ‘that’ in TD can precede a noun. The following examples illustrate:

- (463) a. yi<sup>c</sup>ḡibn-ī ʔinn al-sayyarah bayḍa.(TD)  
 attract.IPFV.3SGM-1SG.ACC that DEF-car white  
 ‘That the car is white attracts me’
- b. ʔaḏunn ʔinn ʿalī fī al-bayt.(TD)  
 think.IPFV.1SG that Ali in DEF-house  
 ‘I think that Ali is in the house’

This means that TD has two types of complementizers. The first type always precedes the verb and it includes *ʔin*, *law* and *ʔdā*. The second type can be separated from the verb and precede a noun and *ʔinn* is the only complementizer in this type. Therefore, the rules that are suggested in this section must cover both types. In this case, the rule below will make use of the non-projecting category  $\hat{C}$ . It will be argued that the three complementizers are non-projecting words following the proposal of Toivonen (2003). This will allow the complementizer which is a head to adjoin to another head which is the verb and the complementizer in this case will not project. The circumflex ( $\hat{\quad}$ ) means that this category has a roof and it cannot project any further (also, see Asudeh (2002)). The complementizers that always precede verbs will appear in  $\hat{C}$ . The following rules are suggested to license CPs in TD:



$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 (464) \text{ CP} & \longrightarrow & \text{XP} \qquad \qquad \text{C}' \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow \qquad \qquad \uparrow = \downarrow \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{COMPFORM}) =_c \{?in \mid law \mid ?d\bar{a}\} \\
 & & \rightarrow \neg (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 (465) \text{ C}' & \longrightarrow & \text{C} \qquad \qquad \text{IP} \\
 & & \uparrow = \downarrow \qquad \qquad \uparrow = \downarrow
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 (466) \text{ I} & \longrightarrow & \hat{\text{C}} \qquad \qquad \text{I} \\
 & & \uparrow = \downarrow \qquad \qquad \uparrow = \downarrow \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{COMPFORM}) =_c ?in \\
 & & \rightarrow (\uparrow \text{VFORM}) = \text{PFV}
 \end{array}$$

The rule in (464) indicates that the CP dominates an XP<sup>8</sup> and C'. The annotation  $(\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow$  means that the XP which occupies the specifier position functions as a topic. The C' has the annotation  $\uparrow = \downarrow$  which means that it is the same as its mother node. The constraint  $(\uparrow \text{COMPFORM}) =_c \{?in \mid law \mid ?d\bar{a}\} \rightarrow \neg (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow$  disallows the occurrence of the topic with any complementizer from the three complementizers *?in*, *law* or *?dā*.

The rule in (465) shows that the C' node dominates a C and IP. The annotation  $\uparrow = \downarrow$  beneath both nodes indicates that they are the same as the mother node. The complementizer *?inn* occurs under C in TD.

In rule (466), the I dominates a  $\hat{\text{C}}$  and I. Both have the annotation  $\uparrow = \downarrow$  which means that they are the same as their mother. The  $\hat{\text{C}}$  is a non-projecting head and it adjoins to the verb. The three complementizers *?in*, *law* and *?dā* occur in this node. In addition, the constraint  $(\uparrow \text{COMPFORM}) =_c ?in \rightarrow (\uparrow \text{VFORM}) = \text{PFV}$  beneath the node implies that when the conditional conjunction *?in* is used, the verb in the protasis must be in the perfective form. The following section will discuss the combination of the IP and CP in TD.

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<sup>8</sup>XP is an abbreviation for any maximal phrase category.

### 6.3.4.3 The combination of IP and CP

In TD, several types of expression may function as adjunct and express information such as time, place, reason, etc. Adjunct clauses are one of them. In TD, adjunct clauses usually appear before the main clause or after it. The following examples illustrate some adjunct clauses that are headed by *qabil* ‘before’, *ba<sup>c</sup>d* ‘after’ and *ʔdā*, whereby each clause can appear into two positions, namely, before the main clause and after it.

(467) a. ʔdā ḥaraġ ḥālid, bi-yirūḥ al-bayt.(TD)  
 when leave.PFV.3SGM Khaled FUT-go.IPFV.3SGM DEF-house  
 ‘When Khaled leaves, he will go home’

b. bi-yirūḥ ḥālid al-bayt ʔdā ḥaraġ.(TD)  
 FUT-go.IPFV.3SGM DEF-house Khaled when leave.PFV.3SGM  
 ‘Khaled will go home when he leaves’

c. sālim bi-yitharraġ min al-ġāmi<sup>c</sup>ah qabil/ba<sup>c</sup>d  
 Salem FUT-leave.IPFV.3SGM from DEF-university before/after  
 yudrus samīr fī-hā.(TD)  
 study.IPFV.3SGM Samir in-3SGF  
 ‘Salem will leave the university before/after Samir studies in it’

d. qabil/ba<sup>c</sup>d yudrus samīr fī al-ġāmi<sup>c</sup>ah, sālim  
 before/after study.IPFV.3SGM Samir in DEF-university Salem  
 bi-yitharraġ min-hā.(TD)  
 FUT-leave.IPFV.3SGM from-3SGF  
 ‘Before/after Samir studies in the university, Salem will leave it’

This chapter has argued that the protasis in conditional sentences functions as an adjunct and it can appear in two positions: it can appear before the main clause or inside the VP. The analysis of adjunct clauses such as the ones in the previous examples will be the same. Hence, the rules in this section are generally applicable to adjunct clauses in TD. The following rules permit the CP to join the IP and this is the case when an adjunct clause precedes the main clause:

$$(468) \text{ IP} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{cc} \text{CP} & \text{IP} \\ \downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ADJ}) & \uparrow = \downarrow \end{array}$$

The rule in (468) indicates that the IP node dominates a CP and IP node, whereby the annotation  $\downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ADJ})$  ensures that the CP node functions as an adjunct. This annotation means that the f-structure of the CP is a member of the ADJ set of the f-structure of the mother, as will be shown later. Also, this rule shows that the IP in the right-hand side corresponds to the same f-structure as the IP in the left-hand side and this is required by using the annotation  $\uparrow = \downarrow$ . This rule licenses conditional sentences in TD and allows the apodosis to occur with more than one protasis and this is possible in TD as discussed above. Also, this rule allows other adjunct clauses in TD to occur.

In addition, the following rule permits the VP node to dominate a VP and CP node. This rule allows adjunct clauses in TD to occur after the main clause. It allows the protasis in a conditional sentence to occur in the final position.

$$(469) \text{ VP} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{cc} \text{VP} & \text{CP} \\ \uparrow = \downarrow & \downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ADJ}) \end{array}$$

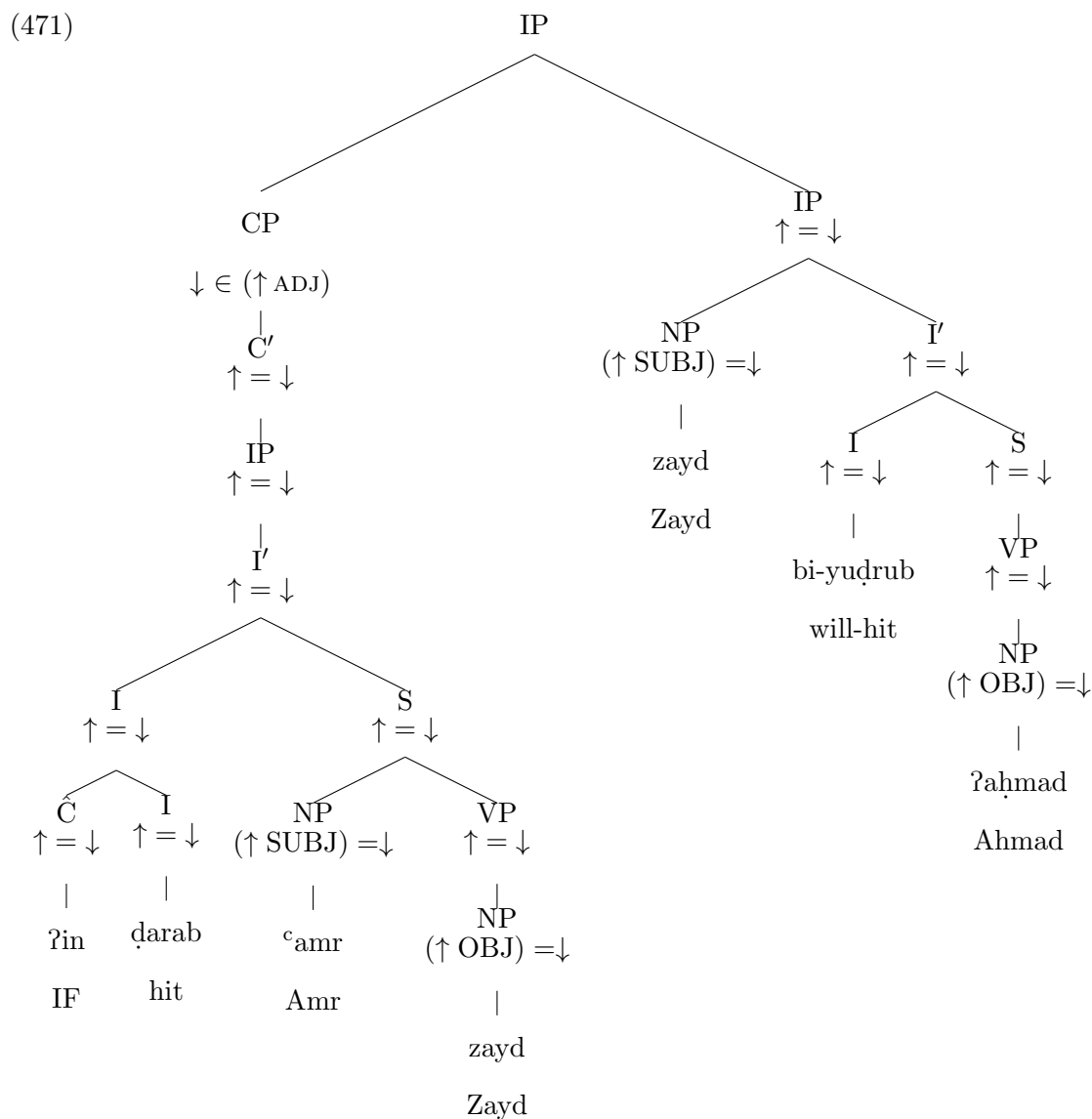
The following section will provide the possible c-structures for conditional sentences which are licensed by these rules in this section.

## 6.3.4.4 C-structure

As discussed above, a conditional sentence in TD contains two clauses, namely, the protasis and apodosis. The apodosis is the main clause while the protasis is a subordinate clause functioning as an adjunct. The protasis can occur in the initial position before the main clause or in the final position after the main clause and the phrase structure rules in the previous section allow the two possibilities. The following sentence is an example of a conditional sentence that contains a protasis occurring in the initial position:

- (470) ?in ɖarab                    ʕamr zayd, zayd bi-yuɖrub                    ?aḥmad.(TD)  
 if hit.PFV.3SGM Amr Zayd Zayd FUT-hit.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad  
 'If Amr hits Zayd, Zayd will hit Ahmad'

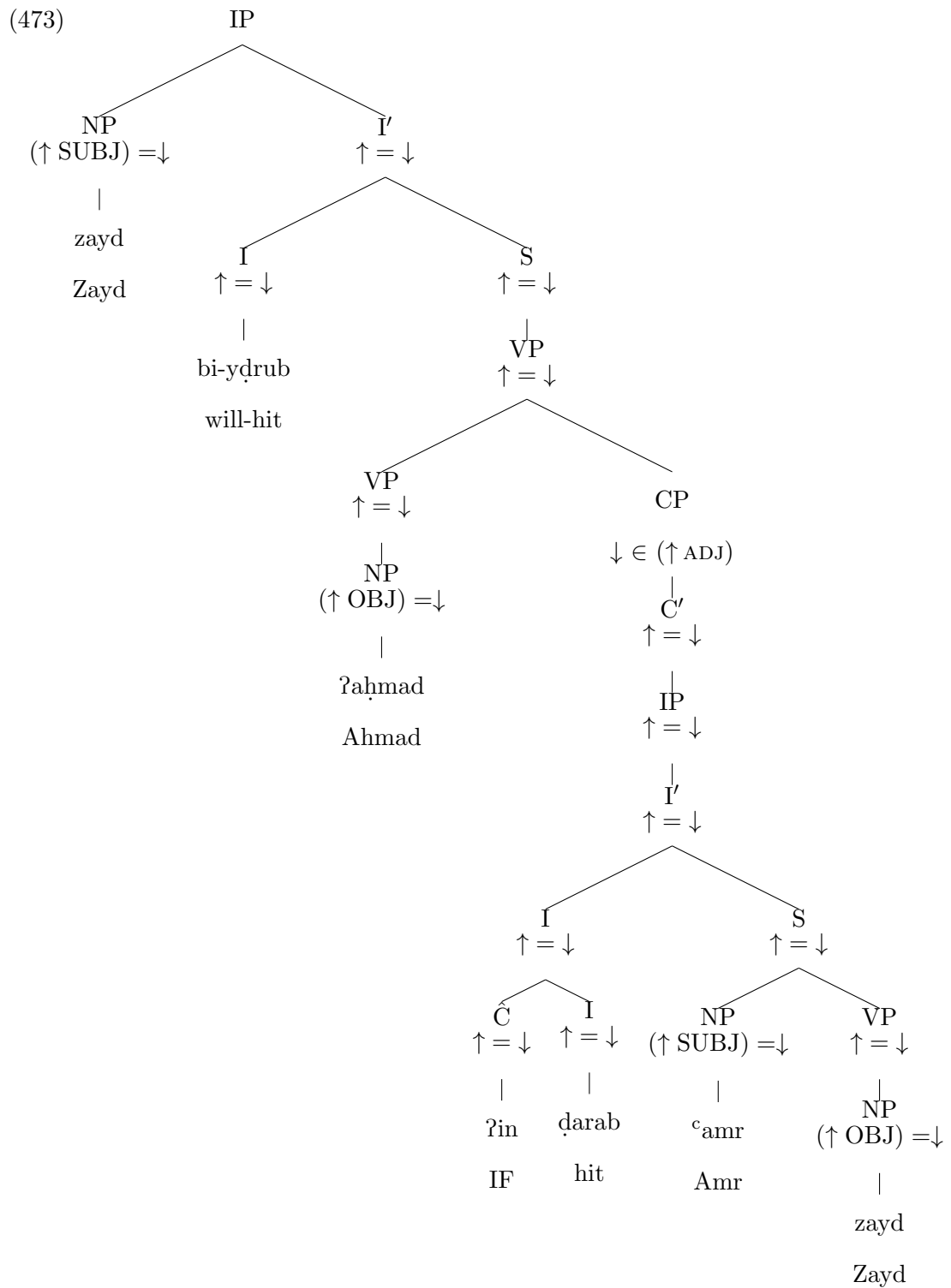
The c-structure of this sentence is the following c-structure:



Also, the rules in the previous section allow the protasis to occur in the final position, as shown in the following example:

- (472) zayd bi-yuḍrub                      ʔaḥmad ʔin ḍarab                      ʕamr zayd.(TD)  
 Zayd FUT-hit.IPFV.3SGM Ahmad if hit.PFV.3SGM Amr Zayd  
 ‘Zayd will hit Ahmad If Amr hits Zayd’

The c-structure of this sentence is displayed below:



### 6.3.4.5 F-structure

There are two verbs in the conditional sentence above occurring in the two clauses. The protasis contains a verb in the perfective form and it is used for the future because it is used in a conditional sentence following the conditional conjunction *?in*. This verb agrees in gender and person with its subject. The lexical entry of the verb in the protasis is displayed below:

(474) *ḍarab I* (↑ PRED) = ‘hit < SUBJ, OBJ >’  
 (↑ VFORM) = PFV  
 (↑ TENSE) = PAST  
 (↑ GEND) = M  
 (↑ PERS) = 3

The lexical entry of the verb *ḍarab* ‘hit’ in (474) provides information about the f-structure that corresponds to the *I* node<sup>9</sup> in the protasis. The f-structure that corresponds to the *I* which dominates the verb *ḍarab* ‘hit’ in the protasis has an attribute PRED and the value of the attribute is the semantic form ‘hit < SUBJ, OBJ >’. The single quotes indicate that the value of the semantic form is unique. The semantic form contains a list of grammatical functions called *argument list* (see Dalrymple (2001)). The argument list shows that the verb requires a subject and object. If this requirement is not fulfilled, for example, there is only a subject, the sentence will not be *complete*<sup>10</sup>. Also, if there are more than two arguments, for example, a subject and two objects, the sentence will not be *coherent*<sup>11</sup>.

Also, the lexical entry in (474) shows that the f-structure contains an attribute VFORM whose value is PFV and this means that the form of the verb is perfective. It also contains

<sup>9</sup>The verb in TD is assumed to appear in I and this is discussed in the section of rules.

<sup>10</sup>‘An f-structure is locally complete if and only if it contains all the governable grammatical functions that its predicate governs. An f-structure is complete if and only if it and all its subsidiary f-structures are locally complete’ (Dalrymple, 2001, 37).

<sup>11</sup>‘An f-structure is locally coherent if and only if all the governable grammatical functions that it contains are governed by a local predicate. An f-structure is coherent if and only if it and all its subsidiary f-structures are locally coherent’ (Dalrymple, 2001, 39).

an attribute TENSE whose value is PAST showing that the tense of the verb is the past. The past is the morphological tense which is indicated by the perfective form in TD. However, the future meaning in conditional sentences which is denoted by perfective forms should be presented in the semantic structure in LFG. The rest of the lexical entry asserts that the verb agrees with its subject in gender and person and it does not agree with the subject in number because the subject follows the verb.

The lexical entry of the verb *bi-yidrub* ‘will-hit’ in the apodosis is in (475). The equation  $(\uparrow \text{VFORM}) = \text{FUT}$  and  $(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{FUT}$  show that the form of the verb is future and the tense that is indicated by this form is also future. The rest of the equations will assert that the verb agrees with its subject in gender, person and number.

$$\begin{aligned}
 (475) \quad & \textit{bi-yidrub} \quad I \quad (\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{‘will-hit} < \text{SUBJ, OBJ} >’ \\
 & (\uparrow \text{VFORM}) = \text{FUT} \\
 & (\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{FUT} \\
 & (\uparrow \text{GEND}) = \text{M} \\
 & (\uparrow \text{PERS}) = 3 \\
 & (\uparrow \text{NUM}) = \text{SG}
 \end{aligned}$$

The lexical entry below provides information about the f-structure of *Amr* (*Zayd* and *Ahmad* will have the same lexical entry). This lexical entry has an attribute PRED whose value is a semantic form. The single quotes surrounding the semantic form show that its value is unique. The rest of the lexical entry indicates that *Amr* is third person, masculine and singular.

$$\begin{aligned}
 (476) \quad & \textsuperscript{c}\textit{amr} \quad N \quad (\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{‘AMR’} \\
 & (\uparrow \text{NUM}) = \text{SG} \\
 & (\uparrow \text{GEND}) = \text{M} \\
 & (\uparrow \text{PERS}) = 3
 \end{aligned}$$

The last lexical entry in (477) provides information about the conditional conjunction *ʔin* ‘if’. It contains an attribute COMPFORM whose value is ‘IF’.

(477) *ʔin Ĉ* ( $\uparrow$ COMPFORM) = 'IF'

The following f-structure is the minimal solution to all the constraints above:

(478)	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">PRED</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">‘WILL-HIT <math>\langle</math> SUB,OBJ <math>\rangle</math>’</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">VFORM</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">FUT</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">TENSE</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">FUT</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">SUBJ</td> <td style="padding: 5px;"> <table style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">PRED</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">‘AMR’</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">NUM</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">SG</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">GEND</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">M</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">PERS</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">3</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">OBJ</td> <td style="padding: 5px;"> <table style="border-left: 1px solid black; 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## 6.4 allī Construction

This section will analyse the *allī* construction within the LFG framework. It is divided into two sections. The first section will discuss the case of *alladī* in MSA and *allī* in TD. *alladī* in MSA will be discussed here because it is believed that *allī* in TD is developed from *alladī* in *Classical Arabic* which is the same as *alladī* in MSA and **both can be analysed as complementizers or relative pronouns**. The second section will provide the c-structure and f-structure of *allī* construction in TD.

### 6.4.1 *alladī* and *allī*

There are some differences between relative pronouns and complementizers. Radford (1988a) proposes some differences between them in the English language. First, a relative pronoun can function as a complement of a preposition while a complementizer cannot. The following examples which are quoted from Radford (1988a, 482- 483) are illustrative:

(479) a. ‘The book [PP *about which*] they were arguing’ .

b. ‘The man [PP *to whom*] he was talking’.

(480) a. ‘\*The book [PP *about that*] they were arguing’.

b. ‘\*The man [PP *to that*] he was talking’.

Second, noun phrases and pronouns have a genitive case form such as *John’s* or *his*. Relative pronouns in the English language also have a genitive case form, for example, *whose* is the genitive form for *who* or *which*. As for the complementizer *that*, it has no a genitive form.

Third, relative pronouns usually are marked for animacy and gender, whereas complementizers cannot be marked for animacy or gender. The following examples are illustrative:

(481) a. The woman *who/that/!which* I saw yesterday.

b. The car *which/that/!who* I saw yesterday.

Fourth, typical wh-noun phrases can occur in either infinitive or finite clauses, whereas complementizers are usually restricted to one type of clauses. For example, *what* can occur in an infinitive clause as in (482a) and in a finite clause as in (482b).

(482) a. I do not know what to say.

b. I do not know what I should do.

In contrast, a complementizer like *for* always introduces infinitive clauses, as shown in (483).

(483) I brought a gift for you.

Also, relative pronouns such as *who* or *which* in the English language can occur in finite relative clauses as in (484a) or infinitive relative clauses as in (484b), whereas a complementizer like *that* always introduces finite relative clauses, as shown in the two examples in (485) which are quoted from Radford (1988a, 483).

(484) a. The man *which* I met is very generous. (**finite**)

b. ‘She is not a person on whom to reply’(Quirk et al., 1985b, 1267). (**infinitive**)

(485) a. ‘She is not a person [that you can rely on]’. (**finite**)

b. ‘\*She is not a person [that to rely on]’. (**infinitive**)

In this connection, Alsayed (1998) uses the first and second difference between relative pronouns and complementizers in English to demonstrate that *alladī* in MSA is a complementizer and not a relative pronoun. He argues that *alladī* in MSA cannot function as an object of a preposition while wh-phrases can. Alsayed (1998) uses the following examples as evidence:

- (486) a. ‘ma<sup>c</sup>a man dahab-ta?(MSA)  
with whom went-you  
‘With whom did you go?’ (Alsayed, 1998, 39).
- b. ‘\*al-rağulu ma<sup>c</sup>a alladī dahab-ta.(MSA)  
the-man with that went-you  
‘The man with that you went’ (Alsayed, 1998, 39).

In the second difference, Alsayed (1998) assumes that wh-phrases can function as a complement of a noun in a construct construction. He states that *alladī* cannot function as a complement of a noun in a construct construction. He uses the following examples to show that:

- (487) a. ‘[NP ʔummu man] matat?(MSA)  
mother who died  
‘Whose mother died?’ (Alsayed, 1998, 39).
- b. ‘\*al-rağulu [NP ʔummu alladī] matat.(MSA)  
the-man mother that died  
‘The man whose mother died’ (Alsayed, 1998, 39).

In addition, the third point that is considered by Alsayed (1998) is that the dual form of *alladī* which inflects for case agrees with the head noun and not with the gap. The following example is illustrative:

- (488) ‘ġāʔa al-raġulāni alladāni qābal-ta.(MSA)  
 arrived the-two-men-NOM that-dual-NOM met-you  
 ‘The two men that you met arrived’ (Alsayed, 1998, 40).

In (488), *alladāni* is nominative agreeing with the head noun *al-raġulāni* and does not match the gap because the missing argument is the object of the verb *qābal-ta* and the object is always accusative. In other words, *alladāni* in (488) is assumed to fill the function of the object but it is nominative.

Based on these examples, Alsayed (1998) analyses *alladī* in MSA as a complementizer. Also, Alqurashi (2012) and Alqurashi and Borsley (2012) follow Alsayed (1998) in his analysis and use similar evidence for analysing *alladī* in MSA as a complementizer. Also, some researchers such as Aoun et al. (2010) suggest the same analysis for *alladī*. This research suggests that this analysis is possible, however, it will try to consider analysing *alladī* in MSA as a relative pronoun. Analysing *alladī* as a relative pronoun is suggested in traditional grammar ( see Alaqli (nd)) and in modern books such as Badawi and Gully (2004) and Ryding (2005).

Alsayed (1998) states that relative pronoun in MSA can function as a complement of a preposition and *alladī* cannot as shown in (486b). Although the example in (486b) is not grammatical, the ungrammaticality is because the preposition is inserted between the head noun and *alladī* which modifies the head noun. In MSA, adjectives and relative clauses must follow the noun that is modified by them.

In the second evidence that *alladī* is a complementizer, Alsayed (1998) argues that *alladī* cannot function as a complement of a noun in a construct construction, as shown in (487b) above. The problem in this example is the same as the problem in example (486b). *alladī* must follow the head noun in MSA.

The third argument that is used by Alsayed (1998) may be good argument against analysing *alladī* as a relative pronoun. However, the problem is that *alladī* must agree with the head noun in case. Thus, it cannot agree with the head noun and carry the case of the

gap when they have different case marking.

Very important evidence in support of analysing *alladī* in MSA as a relative pronoun is that it is inflected for number, gender and case. In MSA, relative pronouns usually are inflected for number and gender, whereas complementizers are not. The inflection of *alladī* in MSA is discussed in the previous chapter and summarised in table (267) above.

Moreover, this research follows some researchers such as Hasan (1998) and Ryding (2005) in suggesting that *alladī* contains two parts: the prefix *al* which is a definite article in MSA and a demonstrative pronoun. There is some evidence in support of this assumption. The second parts in some of the relative pronouns in table (267) above are the same as their equivalent demonstrative pronouns. The following table compares between the inflectional forms of *alladī* and their equivalent demonstrative pronouns in MSA:

(489)

	REL	DEM
SG-F	<i>alla-tī</i>	<i>tī</i>
DU-M-NOM	<i>alla-dāni</i>	<i>dāni</i>
DU-M-ACC/GEN	<i>alla-dayni</i>	<i>dayni</i>
DU-F-NOM	<i>alla-tāni</i>	<i>tāni</i>
DU-F-ACC/GEN	<i>alla-tayni</i>	<i>tayni</i>

As for the relative pronoun for singular and masculine, it is *alladī* while the equivalent demonstrative pronoun is *dā* with the long vowel *ā* instead of the long vowel *ī*. In MSA, the long vowel *ā* is changed sometimes to the long vowel *ī*. This operation is called *eqlab* in traditional morphology (see Alhamlawy (1900)).

Importantly, Kroeger (2005, 234) states that ‘relative pronouns in other languages may be derived from question words, definite articles or demonstratives’. Also, the headless construction which is discussed supports analysing *alladī* in MSA as a relative pronoun, specially because *alladī* can function as an antecedent of a pronoun, as discussed in chapter

four.

To sum up, this section assumes that *alladī* in MSA can be analysed as a relative pronoun. There is some evidence supporting this assumption. First, *alladī* in MSA is inflected for number, gender and case. In MSA, complementizers do not inflect for gender, number or case. Second, *alladī* in MSA is derived from the demonstrative pronouns. Third, the headless construction in MSA supports analysing *alladī* as a relative pronoun. Based on these evidence, this section assumes that *alladī* in MSA can be a relative pronoun. Importantly, analysing *alladī* as a complementizer is possible and both analyses will not make a significant difference in the analysis of the conditional construction.

As for *allī* in TD, this chapter suggests that *allī* in TD can be analysed as a relative pronoun<sup>12</sup>. This chapter argues that *allī* in TD can be a relative pronoun containing two parts: *all* which is a definite article in TD and the pronoun *ī*. One argument in support of analysing *allī* as containing the definite article *all* is that *allī* only modifies definite nouns in TD. The following examples are illustrative:

- (490) a. al-raġġāl allī ġā mudarris.(TD)  
 DEF-man REL come.PFV.3SGM teacher  
 ‘The man who came (is) a teacher’
- b. \*raġġāl allī ġā mudarris.(TD)  
 man REL come.PFV.3SGM teacher  
 ‘A man who came (is) a teacher’

Example (490a) is grammatical because *allī* clause modifies a definite noun which is *al-raġġāl* ‘the man’. In contrast, example (490b) is not grammatical because *allī* clause modifies an indefinite noun. This behaviour supports that *all* in *allī* is a definite article.

The fact that *allī* is invariant in form and it is not inflected for person, number and gender, as discussed in chapter 5 (see page 184), might suggest that *allī* is a complementizer. However, the fact that *allī* is developed from *alladī* in *Classical Arabic* and *alladī*

<sup>12</sup>Brustad (2000) analyses *allī* as a relative pronoun in Arabic dialects. However, she does not give any evidence supporting this analysis.

is inflected for person, gender, number and case, as discussed above, leads to assume that *allī* resembles *alladī* in that both can be analysed as relative pronouns and *allī* lost the inflection for person, number and gender. It might be because the inflection of the verb which usually follows it makes the inflection of *allī* not necessary. In contrast, analysing *allī* as a complementizer is possible and it will not make a significant difference in the analysis of the conditional construction below.

### 6.4.2 Relative conditionals in TD

As discussed above, the conditional meaning may be expressed by relative conditionals in TD. The relative clause which is introduced by *allī* in this case is assumed to be a restrictive relative clause or headless relative clause. As explained in chapter 5, the head noun which is modified by *allī* clause can appear in the sentence or disappear and if it disappears, the relative clause is a headless relative clause. This section will analyse the two constructions of relative clauses focusing on the subject function of the relative clause. The following examples will be analysed in this section:

- (491) a. *allī yidākir yinğah.(TD)*  
 REL study.IPFV.3SGM succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘(The student) who studies, will succeed’
- b. *al-ṭālib allī yidākir yinğah.(TD)*  
 DEF-student REL study.IPFV.3SGM succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘The student who studies, will succeed’

In (491a), the relative clause is a headless relative clause. In contrast, the head noun of the relative clause appears in (491b). Both examples have the same meaning. The following section will propose phrase structure rules allowing these constructions to occur.

### 6.4.3 Phrase structure rules

The rule in (458) which is repeated in (492) allows the subject to precede the verb in TD. This rule permits the head noun with the relative clause to function as a subject. In other words, the head noun and the relative clause form an NP. The NP functions as the subject of the verb in the main clause.

- (492) IP → NP I'  
 (↑SUBJ) =↓ ↑ =↓



The rule in (492) indicates that the IP dominates an NP and I'. The specifier of the IP bears the annotation ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ)  $=\downarrow$  and it ensures that it is associated with the subject function. The head I' bears the annotation  $\uparrow=\downarrow$  ensuring that it corresponds to the same f-structure as its mother. The following section will consider the rule that permits relative clauses in TD to occur.

### 6.4.3.1 Relative clauses rules

This section will propose a rule covering all the structures of relative clauses in TD. The function of the relative pronoun within the relative clause in TD can be a subject function, object or object of an oblique. However, in the object and the object of an oblique function, TD uses the resumptive pronoun strategy, whereby the relativized function is assigned to a pronoun that occurs in situ and takes the relative pronoun as its antecedent. The following examples illustrate the three constructions in TD:

- (493) a. al-ṭālib      allī   rasab                      fī al-iḥtibār   ḍakī.(TD)  
 DEF-student REL fail.PFV.3SGM in DEF-exam clever  
 'The student who fails in the exam is clever'
- b. al-ṭālib      allī   aḥtar-ū                                      al-mudaris  
 DEF-student REL choose.PFV.3SGM-3SGM.ACC DEF-teacher  
 li-al-musābaqah      kasūl.(TD)  
 for-DEF-competition lazy  
 'The student who the teacher chose for the competition is lazy'
- c. al-ṭālib      allī   al-mudaris   aḥṭā                      l-ū                      al-ḡāyzaḥ  
 DEF-student REL DEF-teacher give.PFV.3SGM to-3SGM.GEN DEF-prize  
 muḡtahid.(TD)  
 diligent  
 'The student who the teacher gave the prize to'

The rule of the CP in TD which is created through the discussion of conditional sentences above covers the occurrence of relative clauses here. However, some constraints should be added to the rule to make it sufficient. This section suggests the rule in (494) for CPs in TD:

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 (494) \text{ CP} & \longrightarrow & \text{XP} & & \text{C}' \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow & & \uparrow = \downarrow \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{TOPIC})\sigma = (\{ \text{XCOMP} \mid \text{COMP} \}^* \{ \text{OBJ} \mid \text{OBL OBJ}_\theta \})\sigma & & \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{RELPRO PRONTYPE}) =_c \text{REL} & & 
 \end{array}$$

The rule in (494) indicates that the relative pronoun appears in the specifier position. The annotation  $(\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow$  ensures that the f-structure that corresponds to the XP node fills the topic role. The annotation  $(\uparrow \text{TOPIC})\sigma = (\{ \text{XCOMP} \mid \text{COMP} \}^* \{ \text{OBJ} \mid \text{OBL OBJ}_\theta \})\sigma$  allows the use of the resumptive pronoun. It indicates that the grammatical function that is filled by the resumptive pronoun is an object or object of an oblique and it can be embedded inside any number of COMPS or XCOMPS. The symbol (\*) permits any number of COMP or XCOMP. The function  $\sigma$  relates the f-structure to *the semantic structure*. Finally, the annotation  $(\uparrow \text{RELPRO PRONTYPE}) =_c \text{REL}$  is constraining equation requiring the value of the RELPRO attribute in the f-structure to be a relative pronoun. The following section will discuss the rules of the head noun and the whole NP that includes the head noun and the relative clause.

### 6.4.3.2 The head noun rules

As stated above, the relative clauses that are used to express conditional meaning in TD can be restrictive relative clauses or headless relative clauses. The rule in this section should cover both possibilities. Thus, this section proposes the following rule for the head noun of relative clauses in TD:

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 (495) \text{ N}' & \longrightarrow & \{ \epsilon & \mid & \text{N} \} \\
 & & \uparrow = \downarrow & & \uparrow = \downarrow
 \end{array}$$

The rule in (495) covers the head nouns in the two constructions of relative conditionals. It indicates that there are two possibilities for the head noun: it might appear or disappear. This section follows Simpson (1991) in using the empty category<sup>13</sup>. The symbol  $\epsilon$  stands for the empty category. It shows that the head noun does not appear. The rule does not permit

<sup>13</sup>Simpson (1991) uses the empty category for auxiliaries in Warlpiri when they disappear.

the empty category to appear in the c-structure. It only shows that there is an absent word that has a function in the f-structure. The curly brackets and the vertical bar indicate that the head noun may appear or disappear. The annotation  $\uparrow=\downarrow$  ensures that the node has the same f-structure as the mother node.

In addition, the following rules permits the occurrence of the whole NP which contains the head noun and relative clause:

$$(496) \text{ NP} \longrightarrow \text{N}'$$

$$\uparrow = \downarrow$$

$$(497) \text{ N}' \longrightarrow \text{N}' \qquad \text{CP}$$

$$\uparrow = \downarrow \qquad \downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ADJ})$$

The N' node in (497) dominates two nodes: an N' and CP. The N' bears the annotation  $\uparrow=\downarrow$  ensuring that it is the head and corresponds to the same f-structure as the mother node. The CP bears the annotation  $\downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ADJ})$  and it means that the f-structure that corresponds to the CP is a member of ADJ set in the f-structure of the mother node. This rule allows the relative clause in TD to modifies the head noun or the empty category.

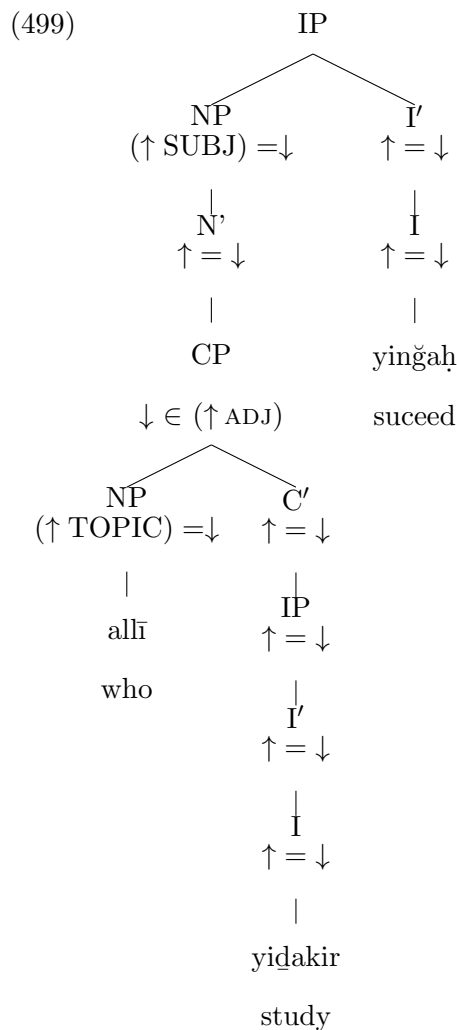
The rules above permit the two sentences of relative conditionals to occur. The following section will provide the c-structure and f-structure of the two sentences.

### 6.4.4 C-structure and F-structure

This section will start with the sentence that contains a headless relative clause. It is repeated below:

- (498) allī yidākir yinğah.(TD)  
 REL study.IPFV.3SGM succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘(The student) who studies, will succeed’

As stated above, the rule does not permit the empty category to be presented in the c-structure. The c-structure in (499) is proposed for the sentence in (498).



The main verb in the sentence is the one in the matrix clause, namely, it is the verb *yinğah* ‘succeed’. The lexical entry of this verb is in (500):

- (500) *yinğah* *I* (↑ PRED) = ‘succeed < SUBJ >’  
 (↑ VFORM) = IPFV  
 (↑ TENSE) = PRS  
 (↑ GEND) = M  
 (↑ PERS) = 3  
 (↑ NUM) = SG

The lexical entry in (500) provides information about the f-structure that corresponds to the *I* node in the main clause. This f-structure has an attribute PRED and the value of this attribute is the semantic form ‘*succeed* < SUBJ >’. The argument list in the semantic form shows that the verb requires a subject. The omitted noun fills this requirement in this sentence. The function of this noun will be presented in the f-structure, as will be shown later.

Also, the lexical entry in (500) shows that the f-structure contains an attribute VFORM whose value is IPFV and this shows that the form of the verb is imperfective. Also, it contains an attribute TENSE whose value is PRS and it means that the tense of the verb is present. Moreover, the lexical entry shows that the verb agrees with its subject in person, number and gender.

The lexical entry of the verb *yidākir* ‘*study*’ in the relative clause is shown in (501) below:

- (501) *yidākir* *I* (↑ PRED) = ‘study < SUBJ >’  
 (↑ VFORM) = IPFV  
 (↑ TENSE) = PRS  
 (↑ GEND) = M  
 (↑ PERS) = 3  
 (↑ NUM) = SG

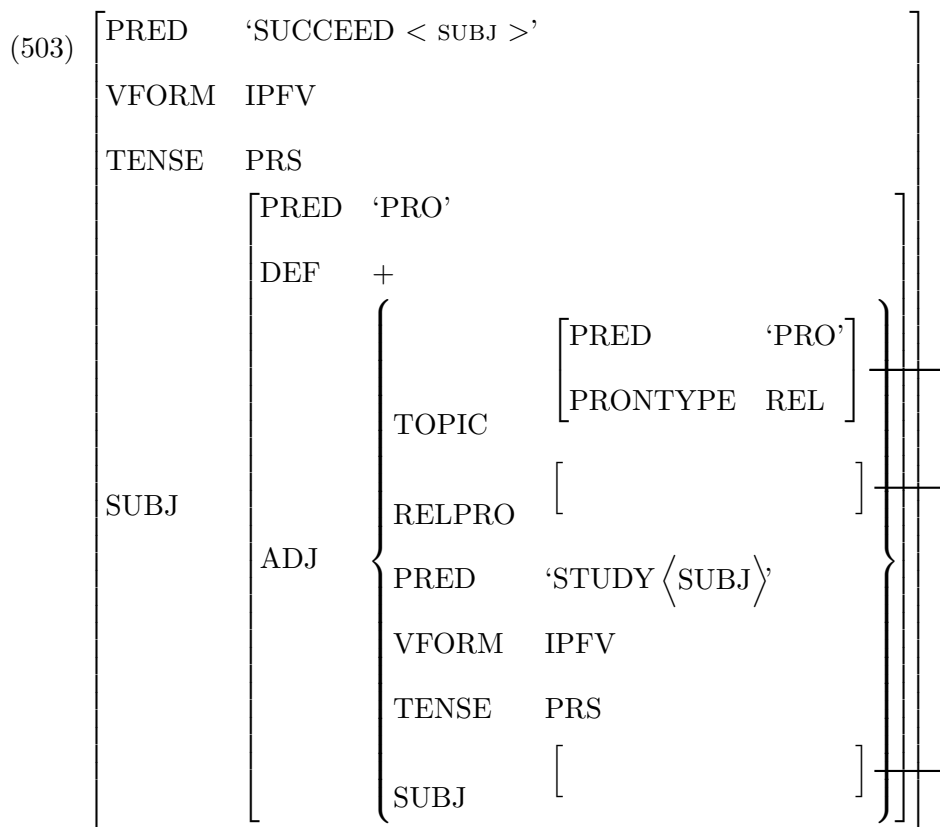
The lexical entry in (501) shows that the f-structure of the *I* node contains an attribute PRED whose value is the semantic form ‘*study* < SUBJ >’. The argument list in the semantic form indicates that the verb is intransitive verb and it only requires a subject. This requirement is fulfilled by the relative pronoun which fills the role of the subject. The lexical entry

also indicates that the verb has an imperfective form indicating present tense and agrees with the subject in person, gender and number.

The lexical entry in (502) is the lexical entry of the relative pronoun *allī*. It shows that the f-structure of *allī* contains an attribute PRED whose value is the semantic form ‘*who*’.

(502) *allī* *N* ( $\uparrow$  PRED) = ‘*who*’

The following f-structure is the minimal solution for the constraints in the lexical entries above:

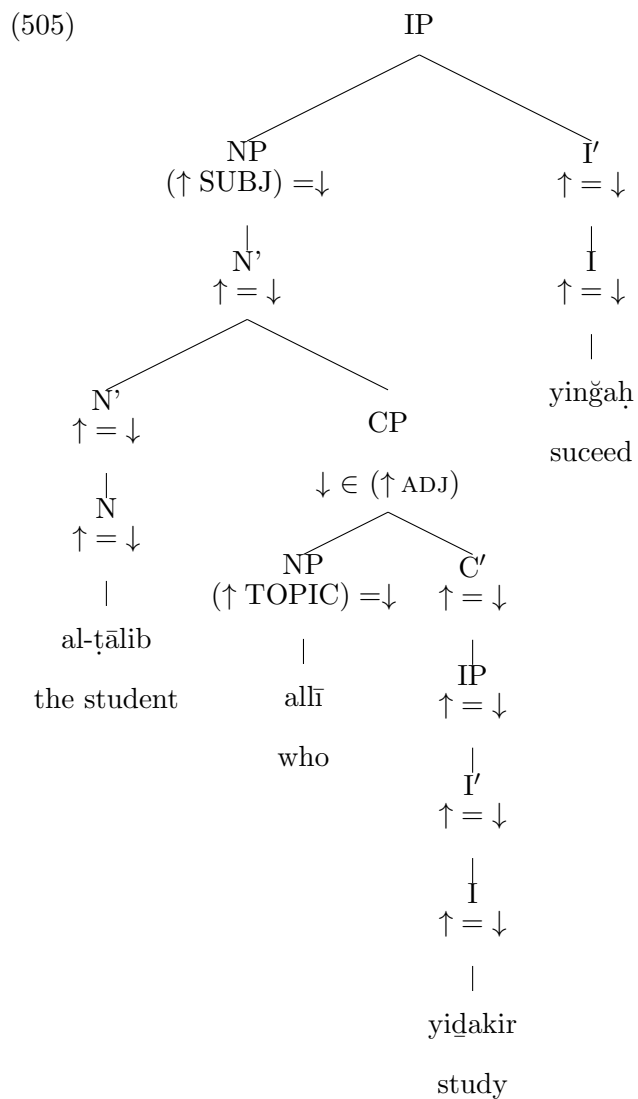


The f-structure in (503) shows that the omitted head noun with the relative clause functions as a subject of the verb in the main clause.

The second example is the one with a head noun which is repeated below:

- (504) al-ṭālib      allī    yidākīr                    yingāḥ.(TD)  
 DEF-student REL study.IPFV.3SGM succeed.IPFV.3SGM  
 ‘The student who studies, will succeed’

The c-structure of this example is in (505):



The lexical entries of the two verbs and the relative pronoun will be the same. However, the lexical entry of the head noun is added below:

- (506) *al-tālib* N (↑ PRED) = 'student'  
 (↑ DEF) = +  
 (↑ GEND) = M  
 (↑ PERS) = 3  
 (↑ NUM) = SG

The f-structure of the sentence in (504) will be similar to the f-structure in (503). The only difference between the two is the value of the attribute PRED in the f-structure of the subject. The following f-structure is for the sentence in (504).

- (507) 
$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'SUCCEED < SUBJ >'} \\ \text{VFORM} \quad \text{IPFV} \\ \text{TENSE} \quad \text{PRS} \\ \text{SUBJ} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'STUDENT'} \\ \text{DEF} \quad + \\ \text{NUM} \quad \text{SG} \\ \text{GEND} \quad \text{M} \\ \text{PERS} \quad 3 \\ \text{TOPIC} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'PRO'} \\ \text{PRONTYPE} \quad \text{REL} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{RELPRO} \quad [ ] \\ \text{ADJ} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad \text{'STUDY < SUBJ >'} \\ \text{VFORM} \quad \text{IPFV} \\ \text{TENSE} \quad \text{PRS} \\ \text{SUBJ} \quad [ ] \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$



# Chapter 7

## Conclusion

The aim of this thesis is to provide a descriptive study and a syntactic analysis for conditional sentences in *Modern Standard Arabic* (MSA) and *the Taif Dialect* (TD). This conclusion will summarise the main issues that has been discussed in this thesis and main findings.

### 7.1 Summary

The thesis has been divided into seven chapters. The first chapter is an introduction and the last chapter is a conclusion. The second chapter has outlined the relevant syntactic features to the discussion in the following chapters. It contains two parts: the first part has been devoted to MSA and has addressed the word orders and the types of tense and aspect in MSA. This part has argued that MSA can show all the possible word orders which are VSO, VOS, SVO, SOV, OVS and OSV. Also, it has followed researchers such as Fassi Fehri (1993) in assuming that the preverbal NP can be a topic or subject when it is definite while it must be a subject when it is indefinite. As for tense and aspect, this part has distinguished between four levels of past tense in MSA. The first level is far from the speech time and it is formed by *kāna* preceding a verb in the perfective form. The second level is closer to the speech time and it is formed by *kāna* preceding *qad* which precedes a verb in the perfective form. The third level is closer to the speech time and it is formed by a verb in the perfective form. The fourth level is the closest past to the speech time and it is formed by *qad* preceding a verb in the perfective form. Also, this part has explained the present

which is indicated by the imperfective form and the future which is indicated by the prefix *sa* which indicates the near future and *sawfa* which indicates the far future. In addition, the types of aspect have been described in this part.

The second part in this chapter was devoted to TD. It has argued that TD exhibits two word orders which are SVO and VSO. This part has argued that the preverbal NP in TD is like the preverbal NP in MSA in that it can be a topic or subject when it is definite and it must be a subject when it is not definite. Also, the types of tense and aspect that are expressed by verbs or by auxiliaries and verbs have been discussed in this part. This part has discussed the following auxiliaries in TD: *kān*, *yikūn*, *qām*, *qāyim*, *qa<sup>c</sup>ad* and *qā<sup>c</sup>id*. In addition, this chapter has followed Reichenbach (1947) and Michaelis (2006) in assuming that tense expresses the relationship between the speech time and the reference time and the meaning of tense can be presented by a sequence of three points of time which are event time (E), reference time (R) and speech time (S).

The third chapter has served as a background for the study of conditionals in MSA and TD. This chapter has been divided into three parts. The first part has provided an overview of conditional sentences. It has defined conditional sentences in general and divided conditional sentences depending on the semantic meaning into two types: *real* and *unreal conditionals*. In *real conditionals*, the speaker has no knowledge about the fulfilment of the condition. In contrast, the speaker in *unreal conditionals* has a negative belief about the fulfilment of the condition. In addition, this chapter has addressed a special type of conditionals which is called *generic conditionals*, where the event in both clauses are iterative and it has also discussed the relation between the two clauses in conditional sentences. The second part has given an overview of relative clauses in general and their types. It has also discussed the conditional meaning that may be expressed by relative clauses. The third part has devoted to Arabic studies that discuss conditionals in *Classical Arabic*, *Modern Standard Arabic* and *Arabic dialects*.

The fourth chapter has described conditional sentences in MSA and TD. It has been divided into two parts. The first part has been devoted to conditional sentences in MSA and discussed two conditional conjunctions, namely, *ʔin* and *law*. This is because the two conjunctions are the predominant conditional conjunctions in MSA and they are used in TD. This part has assumed that the conditional conjunction *ʔin* is only used in *real conditionals* that have a future interpretation. In contrast, *law* is used in *unreal conditionals* with past, present or future time reference. The types of sentences and verb forms in the protasis and apodosis with both conjunctions have been discussed in this part. The second part has been devoted to conditional sentences in TD. It has described the only conditional conjunctions that are used in TD which are *ʔin* and *law*. This part has argued that the meaning of conditionals in TD depends on the type of apodosis. *Unreal conditionals* can be denoted by an apodosis containing *kān* or *yikūn* preceding a **lexical** verb. This part has also discussed the type of sentences and verb forms in the protasis and apodosis.

The fifth chapter has discussed relative clause constructions that indicate conditional meaning in MSA and TD. It has explained the use of the relative pronoun *alladī* in MSA to indicate conditional meaning. This chapter has focused on TD and discussed the conditional meaning that is indicated by the *allī* construction and *ever conditionals* in TD.

The sixth chapter has been devoted to the syntactic analysis of conditionals within *the lexical functional grammar framework*. It has provided an overview of *the lexical functional grammar framework*. This chapter has argued against analysing the conditional clause as a conjunct in a coordinate structure or a topic. It has argued in support of analysing the conditional sentence as a sentence containing a subordinate clause which is the conditional clause and should be analysed as an adjunct and a matrix clause. This chapter has provided some evidence supporting this analysis and provided the c-structure and f-structure of conditional sentences in TD. In addition, this chapter has provided the analysis of relative clauses that are used to indicate conditional meaning and provided the c-structure and f-structure. The following section is devoted to the findings and further research.

## 7.2 Findings and Further research

This thesis has revealed a number of findings that have been discussed through the previous chapters. This study is the first study that has addressed *conditional sentences* in the *Taif Dialect*. The conditional sentences have been classified into two types, namely, *real* and *unreal conditionals*. This thesis has argued that the apodosis in TD plays the main role in identifying the type of conditionals. If the apodosis contains *kān* or *yikūn*, the conditional sentence is *unreal*, otherwise it is *real*. In other words, the meaning of conditionals in TD is not determined by the type of the conjunction and this makes TD different from MSA where the conditional conjunction *ʔin* introduces *real conditionals* and *law unreal conditionals*.

Also, this research has provided evidence in support of analysing conditional sentences as a sentence that contains a matrix clause which is the apodosis and a subordinate clause which is the protasis and the protasis is analysed as an adjunct. To the best of knowledge, conditional sentences have not been analysed within the *Lexical Functional Grammar framework* and this study has provided an analysis of conditional sentences within this framework.

In addition, this study has discussed conditional meaning that is indicated by relative clauses in TD. It has argued that conditional meaning in TD can be indicated by restrictive, headless and free relative clauses. Also, this thesis has showed that the use of verb forms in conditional sentences that are introduced by conditional conjunctions is completely different from relative clause constructions that indicate conditional meanings.

This thesis is difficult to discuss all conditional issues due to the time and space. The semantic analysis of conditional sentences within the LFG framework is very important and it is required another study in the future. In LFG, the relation between syntax and meaning is an important relation specially in conditional constructions. Recent research in LFG assumes the existence of a *semantic structure* that is related to the f-structure by a *correspondence function* (see Dalrymple (2001)).

**Further** studies should study the syntax and semantic of conditional sentences in other Arabic dialects. Also, the differences and similarities between conditional sentences in Arabic dialects should be studied.



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