

THE MAJOR CLAUSE TYPES OF EGYPTIAN COLLOQUIAL ARABIC  
A PARTICIPANT-PROCESS APPROACH

by

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ABSTRACT

The ultimate aim of this study is to present a classification and a description of the clause types common among educated speakers of E.C. Arabic and used by them in their normal speech situations of everyday life within the framework of systemic grammar.

Apart from the "Introduction", the thesis falls into three Parts, comprising thirteen chapters.

Part I "Theoretical Orientation" briefly traces the origin of the theory applied in this study and its components in an attempt to set the background against which the analysis is carried out. It comprises three chapters which deal with:

- (1) The Primitives of the Theory;
- (2) Components of Systemic Grammar;
- (3) Transitivity in Hallidayan Grammar.

In Part II "Clause Types" we give a classification of ECA Clauses in terms of Halliday's three types of process: action, mental and relational process; also given is an account of the participant roles and the structural elements to which they correspond.

This classification depends basically on the type of process expressed by the verb-root or in the absence of a verb the relationship obtaining between the noun-phrases concerned. In other words, we deal here with a "Classification-System", which is in part, at least, lexical.

This Part comprises the following chapters:

- (4) Action Clauses (i)  
Extensive;
- (5) Action Clauses (ii)  
Descriptive, Stative;
- (6) Action Clauses (iii)  
Semantic Systems;
- (7) Mental Process Clauses;
- (8) Relational Clauses.

In Part III "Transitivity Systems" the clauses are analysed along the axis of systems involving the relation of transitivity roles to the process types concerned. These systems are more purely grammatical than the clause types (process types) described under Part II which are, in a sense, a semantico-syntactic classification. In other words, the 'Systems' treated in this Part involve a system of choices, or a "Commutation-System" inherently and in most cases in fact applicable to more than one process type.

The systems dealt with separately in Chapters 9-13, which this Part comprises are:

- (9) Causative V. non-causative;
- (10) Emphatic V. non-emphatic;
- (11) Reciprocal V. non-reciprocal;
- (12) Benefactive V. non-benefactive;
- (13) Operative V. Receptive and thematization.

We also include a diagram which represents the main process types and the transitivity systems which have emerged from this study.

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## INTRODUCTION

There are a number of competing grammatical models in linguistics and of course most of the studies made on Arabic, especially the Egyptian variety, make use of the particular grammatical model in vogue at a particular time. This thesis is, to the best of my knowledge, the first attempt to study the major clause types of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA for short) within the framework of systemic grammar, a grammar outlined by M.A.K. Halliday and his associates in several articles and a few books. The description given in the present work, particularly Part I and II, is based mainly on the original ideas expressed in Halliday's "Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English", and expounded by M. Berry in "Introduction to Systemic Linguistics", Volume I.

The aspects of systemic grammar which are most relevant to our present purpose are transitivity, a principal part of the experiential component, and voice which, broadly speaking, comes under the textual component.

In describing ECA clause types, we focused attention on two main points: (i) the process-participant relationship exhibited by the clause types considered, and (ii) the inter-relationship between transitivity and voice. This logically led to bringing into the picture some of the thematic options available to the speaker in ECA in so far as the operative/receptive distinction is concerned.

Material on which the description is based

Data for the present study have been drawn from various sources, but the main source has been the speech of the writer, a native speaker of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic.

This, however, was supplemented by a number of informants who were born and educated in Cairo. Other sources were also consulted, namely, a number of collections of Egyptian stories and some recordings of radio plays.

In most cases, my speech agrees with that of my informants. However, when differences occur, they are pointed out.

Language

"Egyptian Colloquial Arabic" is a term used here to refer to that variety of Arabic spoken in Egypt in contradistinction to varieties spoken in the rest of the Arabic-speaking countries. "Standard Arabic" is a term used, now and then, to refer to the educated and most prestigious variety of Arabic understood by the educated all over the Arabic-speaking countries.

Dialect

The dialect is characteristic of Lower Egypt generally, and Cairo, particularly, where the writer and

the informants were educated. It is to be noted that in Lower Egypt Cairene Arabic is accorded a special status, Cairo being the centre of political and social life. No mention is made of Upper Egyptian dialect, which represents the second main dialectal division in Egypt; the first is being represented by Lower Egypt.

### Notational Conventions

The notational conventions used in this study are those of systemic grammarians, particularly Halliday (1967), "Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English".

### Transcription

The transcription used here is intended to give the examples a readable form; hence it is a reading transcription. It comprises the following symbols:

#### Vowels

i	a short, front, unrounded vowel ranging between close and half-open.
u	a short, back, rounded vowel, between close and half-open.
a	a short, open, front vowel.
e	a short, half-open, front vowel.
o	a short, half-open, back, rounded vowel.
i:	a long, close, unrounded, front vowel.
u:	a long, close, rounded, back vowel.
a:	a long, open, front vowel.
e:	a half-close, front, unrounded, long vowel.

o: a half-close, back, rounded, long vowel.

### Consonants

The description given below applies to the symbols when they represent sounds occurring in initial position, though in other positions they may have different values.

b	a voiced, bilabial plosive.
f	a voiceless, labio-dental fricative.
m	a voiced, bilabial nasal.
s z	voiceless and voiced denti-alveolar fricatives.
t d	voiceless and voiced denti-alveolar plosives.
l	a voiced apical lateral.
n	a voiced denti-alveolar nasal.
r	a voiced apical trill.
<u>s</u>	a voiced alveo-palatal fricative.
k g	voiceless and voiced velar plosives.
x <u>g</u>	voiceless and voiced uvular fricatives.
<u>h</u> 8	voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives.
ʔ	a glottal stop.
h	a voiced laryngeal fricative.
w	a labio-velar semi-vowel.
y	a palatal semi-vowel.

Note: Gemination is represented by doubling the letter, e.g. "Xarrag", "He made somebody go out."

### Emphatics

T	a voiceless denti-alveolar plosive.
S	a voiceless denti-alveolar fricative.
D	a voiced denti-alveolar fricative.
Z	a voiced inter-dental fricative.

(These phonemes correspond to the unemphatic t, s, d and z respectively.)

Where reference to Standard Arabic is made, the following symbols are used to represent phonemes which do not exist in Colloquial:

θ	a voiceless inter-dental fricative
ð	a voiced inter-dental fricative.
q	a voiceless uvular plosive.
j	a voiced alveo-palatal fricative.

### Translation

In general, the translation is intended to show correspondence with the items of the Arabic examples. But where the Arabic usage is idiomatic, or needs more clarification, both a "literal" translation and a "normal" equivalent are given.

### Symbols and abbreviations

α	main element
β	subordinate element
S	subject
C	complement
P	predicator
ECA	Egyptian Colloquial Arabic
SA	Standard Arabic
Ex	extensive
In	intensive
Eff	effective
Des	descriptive

Ben	beneficiary
Cf	compare
lit	literal
e.g.	example
V	versus
*	ungrammatical

PART ONE

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

CHAPTER ONETHE PRIMITIVES OF THE THEORYGeneral

Systemic grammar is the name given to the contemporary linguistic model developed by M.A.K. Halliday and his associates. This model, according to Hudson, has started taxonomic and under a different name "Scale and Category Grammar". By 'taxonomic' is meant that it provided a conceptual framework that could be used in describing texts of specific languages. Or as Hudson puts it:

"[it] provided a set of intuitively convincing pigeon-holes into which any grammatical item from a word to a whole sentence could be popped to show its similarities to and differences from other comparable items."<sup>1</sup>

"Scale and Category Grammar" was born with the publication of Halliday's "Categories of the Theory of Grammar" in 1961. Around 1966 it went generative and was rechristened 'Systemic Grammar'. We will discuss briefly the main themes propounded in "Categories" since they serve as a theoretical foundation for the present model of systemic grammar, in addition to their significance in more recent work.

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1. R.A. Hudson, "Systemic Generative Grammar", Linguistics, 139, 1974, p. 5.

## Scales and Categories

The fundamental categories which Halliday postulates for the theory of grammar are four: unit, structure, class, and system. These Categories are 'of the highest order of abstraction', and they are required to account for the data language. In 1957 Halliday wrote: "A complete analysis at the grammatical level ... requires the establishment of grammatical categories ordered as terms in interrelated systems ..."<sup>1</sup>

The category "unit" is set up to account for stretches of language that carry recurrent grammatical patterns. The number of units varies from language to language. English and Arabic have five grammatical units namely, sentence, clause, group, word, and morpheme.

### Examples

#### Sentence

|||Lamma tiygi issa:8a xamsa, haddi:k ikkita:b|||

'When you come at five o'clock, I shall give  
you the book.'

(Three vertical lines mark the boundary of a sentence.)

#### Clause

||Lamma tiygi issa:8a xamsa||haddi:k ikkita:b||

'When you come at five o'clock, I shall give  
you the book.'

---

1. M.A.K. Halliday, "Some Aspects of Systematic Description and Comparison in Grammatical Analysis", Studies in Linguistic Analysis, Oxford, Blackwell, 1957, pp. 54-67.

(Two vertical lines mark the boundary of a clause.)

Group

|?i:l waladiTTawi:l | ?a8ad yiktib | iddars | filo:Da|

'The tall boy kept writing the lesson in the room.'

Word

|?i:lwalad | iTTawi:l | ?a8ad | yiktib | iddars |

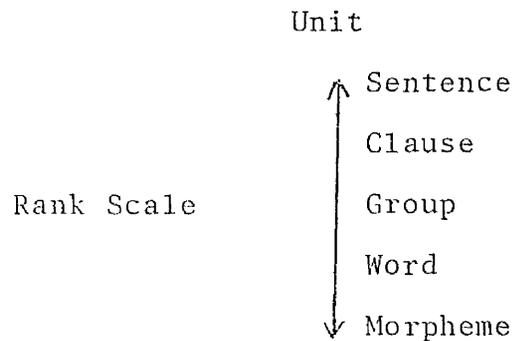
fi | ilo:Da|

'The tall boy kept writing the lesson in the room.'

Morpheme

|?ikkita:b| 'The book'

These five units are related to one another through the scale of rank which is the hierarchical ordering of the units recognized in the description of a particular language. This may be shown diagrammatically as follows:



Arranged in a hierarchy, or rank scale, the units are thought of as descending from the most inclusive unit, the sentence, to the least inclusive unit, the morpheme. This means that a sentence consists of one or more clauses, a clause of one or more groups, a group of one or more words and a word of one or more morphemes.

Thus, the reply /na8am/ 'yes' is a sentence which consists of one clause, containing one group. The group itself consists of one word, containing one morpheme. Conversely a unit at any rank operates in the unit next ~~above~~.

A structure is an arrangement of elements in linear progression, or as Halliday puts it "A structure is made up of 'elements' which are graphically represented as being in linear progression; but the theoretical relation among them is one of 'order'. Order may, but does not necessarily, have as its realization 'sequence', the formal relation carried by linear progression; sequence is at a lower degree of abstraction than order and is one possible exponent of it."<sup>1</sup>

The category 'structure' applies to all units on the rank scale except the smallest one, the morpheme. The description of clause structure in English and Arabic requires four primary elements: Subject (S), Predicator (P), Complement (C), and adjunct (A).

#### Examples

SPCA	S	P	C
	?ittilmi:z issa:Tir	za:kir	iddars iSSa8ab
	A		
	filmaktabah		

The clause elements 'S' and 'C' are normally

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Categories of the Theory of Grammar', Word, 17, 1961, pp. 254-5.

associated with the nominal groups, 'P' with the verbal group, and 'A' with adverbial or prepositional groups.

The unit "group" may be subdivided into the classes "nominal", "verbal" and "adverbial". The clause

|8amm Sayyid | wa:?if | fiSSa:ri8 |

'Uncle Sayyid is standing in the street.'

contains the groups:

Nominal	8amm Sayyid	'Uncle Sayyid'
verbal	wa:?if	'is standing'
adverbial	fi <u>SS</u> a:ri8	'in the street'

The fourth category 'system', is set up to account for the finite set of choices available within the structure of a unit. It is the distinguishing feature from which systemic linguistics derives its name. The essential properties of a system may be summed up as follows:<sup>1</sup>

- a) The terms in a system are mutually exclusive.
- b) A system is finite.
- c) The meaning of each term in a system depends on the meaning of the other terms. If a new term is added, the meaning of the other terms in the system will change. This may be exemplified by the mood system

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1. See M. Berry, "Introduction to Systemic Linguistics", Vol. 1, 1975, Chapter 8.

in ECA:

Mood system	[	affirmative (SP) e.g. '8ali gih'
		'Ali came.'
		interrogative (SP) e.g. '8ali gih'
		'Did Ali come?'
	imperative (PS) e.g. 'ta8ala ya 8ali'	
		'Come, Ali.'

The scale of exponence or exemplification relates the categories of the theory which are of the highest degree of abstraction to the data. In accordance with this scale the structure of a sentence consists of a number of elements (denoted by the Greek symbols  $\alpha$   $\beta$ ), each of which is represented by a clause-unit. The structure of each clause is expressed in terms of the primary elements SPCA, which are expounded by units of group rank. At group rank the class of unit whether nominal, verbal or adverbial is normally stated. Each group has its internal structure e.g. the nominal group is describable in terms of modifier-head-qualifier. The elements of this structure are expounded by units of word rank. Again the class of word is normally given. Catford writes, "Exponence is related to rank in the sense that an element of structure of a unit at one rank is expounded by - or has as its exponent - a unit or units of the rank next below."<sup>1</sup>

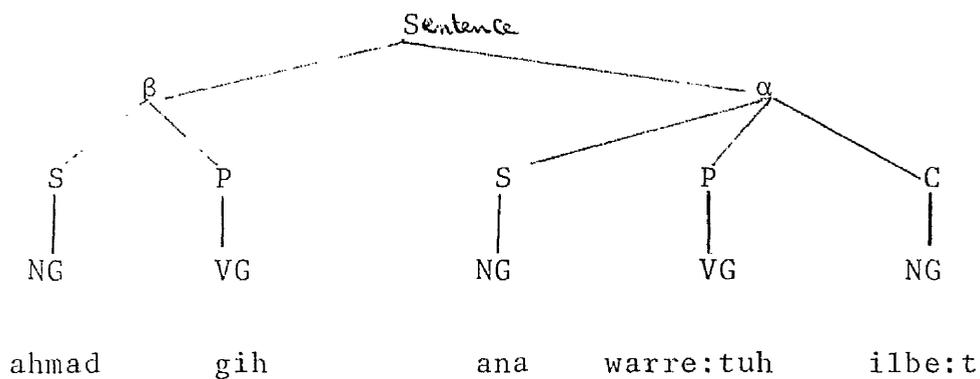
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1. J.C. Catford, "A Linguistic Theory of Translation", Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 9.

The sentence

$\beta$   $\alpha$   
 S    P            S            P            C  
 |||Lamma ahmad gih ||| ana warre:tuh ilbe:t|||  
 'When Ahmad came, I showed him the house.'

is represented in a tree diagram to show the operation of the scale of exponence.



Delicacy is the scale of "differentiation or depth in detail". A more delicate description is a more detailed description. The scale thus provides a framework for distinguishing an increasing measure of grammatical detail in description. In contrast with the scale of exponence, the scale of delicacy is rank-bound. This signifies that it does not involve changes of rank. Halliday suggests that "... increase in delicacy delays the move to the exponents and thus increases the grammaticalness of the description."<sup>1</sup>

1. M.A. <sup>k.</sup>Halliday, "Categories of the Theory of Grammar", ... p. 272.

By way of exemplification we may take the transitivity system of Causative Clauses to show how the concept of delicacy works. At the primary degree of delicacy clauses are classified into Extensive and Intensive, e.g.

- a) '8ali xarag' Extensive  
'Ali went out.'
- b) '8ali huwwa ilmudarris' Intensive  
'Ali is the teacher.'

At the next degree of delicacy Extensive Clauses are classified into Effective and Descriptive, e.g.

- a) 'huwwa katab iddars' Effective  
'He wrote the lesson.'
- b) 'huwwa ?a8ad 8akkursi' Descriptive  
'He sat on the chair.'

A more 'delicate' description will classify Effective Clauses into Effective : Causative and Effective non-causative, e.g.

- a) 'huwwa ṣirib iddawa:' Effective, non-causative  
'He drank the medicine.'
- b) 'huwwa Sarrab axu:h iddawa:' Effective, causative  
'He caused/made his brother drink the medicine.'

Descriptive Classes will be classified into Descriptive : Causative and Descriptive : non-causative, e.g.

- a) 'huwwa ?a8ad 8akkursi' Descriptive, non-causative  
'He sat on the chair.'
- b) 'huwwa ?a88ad irra:gil 8akkursi'  
'He caused/made the man sit on the chair.'

The element of clause structure 'C' may be subdivided in terms of the scale of delicacy into intensive complement ( $C^i$ ), and extensive complement ( $C^e$ ), e.g.

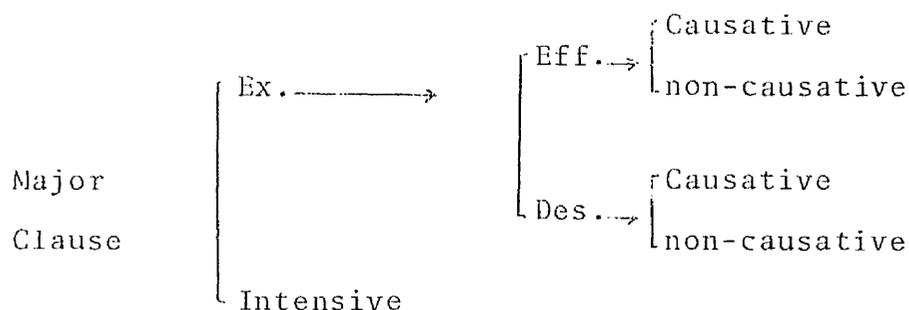
- a)           S            $C^i$   
huwwa | Suga:8  
'He is courageous.'
- b)           S           P            $C^i$   
huwwa | ka:n | fa?i:r  
'He was poor.'
- c)           S           P            $C^e$   
'huwwa | Darab | axu:h  
'He hit his brother.'

Extensive complements may be further analysed to distinguish between the traditional direct and indirect objects.

Example           S           P           C           C  
'huwwa | idda | Sahbu | hidiyya  
'He gave his friend a present.'

Delicacy, however, is not only a matter of the fineness of semantic distinctions; it is also a matter of

dependency. This means that the terms of a system which occur to the right are more delicate than those to the left and at the same time they are dependent upon them for their realization.<sup>1</sup> Given a system like the following:



The terms "causative", "non-causative" provide a more 'delicate' description than Effective, which in turn provides a more delicate description than Extensive. Moreover, the terms to the right depend upon those to the left for their realization. For a clause to be Causative it must have the feature Extensive as its entry condition. The options Effective and Descriptive have Extensive as their precondition.

We have tried to characterise briefly the primitives of Halliday's theory of grammar as put forward in his "Categories". To recapitulate, the primitives are three scales: "rank", "exponence", and "delicacy"; and four categories: 'unit', 'structure', 'class', and 'system'. As was stated earlier, the Scale and Category model serves as a foundation for the operation of systemic grammar.

1. See M. Berry, 'Introduction to Systemic Linguistics', Vol. 1, 1975, p. 180.

## CHAPTER TWO

### COMPONENTS OF SYSTEMIC GRAMMAR

#### Introduction

In the previous chapter we attempted a brief description of the origins of systemic grammar and how it started under a different name viz. 'Scale and Category Grammar'. The various scales and categories were briefly touched upon for their relevance to the development of the contemporary systemic model.

In his article "Some Notes on Deep Grammar", Halliday provided the link between 'Scale and Category Grammar' and Systemic Grammar. He recognizes that the concepts of class and sequence alone are not adequate for the representation of syntagmatic relations in language. A distinction is drawn, when representing syntagmatic relations, between a linear sequence of classes such as adjective followed by a noun and a non-linear configuration of functions such as modifier-head relations. An arrangement of classes, Halliday argues, is referred to as a syntagm, whereas the configuration of functions is referred to as structure. Both syntagm and structure comprise syntagmatic functions.

On the other hand paradigmatic relations are those of a system. "A system is thus a representation of relations on the paradigmatic axis, a set of features

contrastive in a given environment."<sup>1</sup> Looked at from this perspective, a system may be glossed as a 'deep' paradigm, a paradigm dependent on functional environment. The essential properties of a system were outlined in the previous chapter. For the sake of convenience we repeat them here:

- (i) The list of terms is exhaustive.
- (ii) Each term excludes all the others.
- (iii) If a new term is added, at least one of the other terms changes its meaning.

An adequate grammatical description of a language will involve a structural component and a systemic component; the structural accounts for the syntagmatic and the systemic for the paradigmatic relationships. In other words, a grammar should contain both a structural and a systemic component operating in such a way that the systemic is complementary to the structural. However, Halliday suggests that if a systemic description of a linguistic item is presented as its underlying grammatical representation, then the structural description will turn out to be derived from it.<sup>2</sup>

Description in terms of the systemic component appears as a set of features representing a selection from among the possibilities recognized by the grammar. Put differently, a systemic component comprises systems, each

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, "Notes on 'Deep' Grammar", Journal of Linguistics, vol. 2, p. 60.

2. Ibid., p. 62.

representing a set of features which are in contrast with each other.

The aim of such an approach is to designate systemically that aspect of grammar which borders on semantics; hence the recognition of semantically functional roles such as actor and goal which operate in the syntax. The features specifying those roles are 'semantico-syntactic' features. Each verb, or rather, each process combines inherently with one or more roles.

After showing the link between 'Scale and Category Grammar' and the contemporary model of systemic grammar, we proceed to discuss the components of systemic grammar.

Systemic grammar, to Halliday, is built upon the 'multiple function' view of language which is a well-established concept. To support this assumption he mentions particularly the work of Bühler and Malinowski in the 1930s. Bühler's well-known classification of the functions of language is tripartite: Conative (language as social control), expressive (language as the expression of feelings), and ideational/representational (language as the communication of ideas). Malinowski's division is based upon the ethnographic account of the functions of language into 'pragmatic' and 'magical'. These two views, Halliday maintains, highlight different aspects of the multiple function of language.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See M.A.K. Halliday, "Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English", Part III, Journal of Linguistics, Vol. 4, 1968.

Language, in Halliday's analysis, possesses four functions, which are accounted for by four components in the grammar; these are: the experiential, the logical, the textual and the interpersonal. A component is "a relatively independent set of grammatical options defined by reference to one of the functions of language; together with the structural relations which realize these functions".<sup>1</sup>

So the options that make up the grammatical system of a language are in fact divided into 'blocks' along two different axes; one defines the relationship 'in series' according to the structural unit with which the options are associated, the other defines the relationship 'in parallel' according to the area of meaning to which the options relate. All the options are interconnected but they group themselves into sub-systems (components) corresponding to the different functions of language.

#### A. The Experiential Component

The experiential (or the ideational) component corresponds to the ideational function of language. It is closely related to Bühler's representational function and to Danes's 'semantic structure'. To Halliday this

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'The Functions of Language', London: University College (Mimeograph), 1969.

component is the most central one since it reflects the speaker's experience of the external world, including the inner world of his own consciousness and encoding it in linguistic framework. The term "experience", Halliday comments, makes it clear that the underlying function is the expression of 'content', of patterns of experience.

At clause rank, the transitivity systems represent the experiential component of grammar. Transitivity thus accounts for the relations between processes, participants, and circumstances. Halliday uses the term 'process' to 'cover all phenomena to which a specification of time may be attached'. This definition of process is wide enough to include actions, events, states, and relation; physical, abstract, or mental.

The dividing line between participants and the attendant circumstances is not sharply drawn. Generally speaking, circumstances are to be considered as being less immediate than participants to processes. As a rough guide, Halliday suggests that participants are associated with nominal groups and circumstantial elements with prepositional and adverbial groups.

#### B. The Logical Component

Halliday holds the view that, though some grammarians have stressed the importance of the logical component at the expense of the other components of language, it is in fact the one that is least documented. He summarizes it as the component which handles "options

concerned with abstract and functionally neutral relations."<sup>1</sup>

This component tends to be expressed through the medium of univariate (linearly recursive) structures.

These univariate structures may be either:

- a) paratactic where the relationship is one of co-ordination or apposition.

#### Examples

Co-ordination |ra:Su | wṢa8tu | whdu:mu | niDi:fa|

'His head, his hair, and his clothes are clean.'

Apposition |?irra:gil da | Ṣayyid ibra:hi:m | la88i:b ko:ra|

'This man, Sayyid Ibrahim, is a football player.'

- b) hypotactic structures where the relationship is one of subordination.

#### Example

Subordination |lamma ille:l gih | 8ali na:m|

'When night came, Ali slept.'

In 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme', Halliday treats the experiential and the logical components of grammar separately, but in more recent works he prefers to regard them as sub-classes of the ideational component. This new grouping of both components under one heading provides the resources for the expression of content, including both the phenomena of experience and the abstract logical patterns of relationships. His justification for

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1. See M.A.<sup>k.</sup> Halliday, 'The Functions of Language', London: University College (Mimeograph), 1969.

this combination of functions is that, though the logical type of options in a grammar are distinct, they are closely associated with ideational choices; hence they do not constitute an independent block.

### C. The Textual Component

The textual (or discoursal) component is concerned with the creation of texts. It accounts for the function whereby language creates texts. This component deals with such areas as cohesion, theme, and voice.

Theme is concerned with the information structure of the clause; with the status of elements not as participants in extralinguistic process, but as components of a message; with the relation of what is being said to what has gone before in the discourse, and its organization into an act of communication.

However, thematization alone, which is an aspect of the study of theme, takes a unit at clause rank and structures it into two parts: theme and rheme. This kind of structuring is realized by the sequence of elements, independent of what has gone before: the theme is assigned initial position and represents the point of departure for the clause as a message; all that follows represents the rheme.<sup>1</sup>

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English', Part II, Journal of Linguistics, Vol. 4, 1967, pp. 205-212.

Example:

'8ali ka:n biyi18ab kutse:na'

theme rheme

'Ali was playing cards.'

It is thus basically a form of the organization of clause structures.

The other important function of the textual component is the division into information units. A given text is divided into information units in accordance with the speaker's distribution of the components of the message. Each unit is assigned a structure in terms of the functions "given" and "new". These terms are different from those of theme and rheme, though they may overlap on occasions.

"Given" means "what we were talking about" (or 'what I was talking about before').<sup>1</sup> It is the information which is regarded by the speaker as recoverable from what has gone before in the discourse.

On the other hand, 'new' is that clause element which the speaker does not regard as retrievable information.

Example:

John was playing	cricket.
given	new (one interpretation)

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1. Ibid., p. 212.



thematic while remaining unmarked.

Example:

'ilfakha ittaklit min 8ali'      unmarked theme

'The fruit was eaten by Ali.'

The same thematic structure may also be achieved in Arabic without passivizing, by fronting of the verb object, i.e.

'ilfakha kalha 8ali'

'The fruit (he) ate it, Ali.'

(for a more detailed discussion on thematization, see Chapter 13).

b) that the actor, or causer will be either

(i) unspecified

Examples:

'ilfakha ittaklit'

'The fruit was eaten.'

'8ali itnayyim'

'Ali was caused/made to go to sleep.'

(ii) if the actor, or causer is specified, it will carry the information focus.

Examples:

'ilfakha ittaklit min 8ali'

'The fruit was eaten by Ali.'

'8ali itnayyim biwaSTiT issaggala:

'Ali was put to sleep by the woman servant.'

#### D) The Interpersonal Component

This component corresponds to the interpersonal function of language, that is, the function whereby language serves to establish and maintain social relations: the expression of social roles, which include communication roles created by language itself e.g. questioner or respondent. Through this function, again, social groups are delimited and individuality is identified and reinforced by virtue of the expression of interpersonal relations.

In his article "On Finiteness and Modality in the English Verb", Halliday remarks that in the past grammarians have been inclined to lay emphasis on types of sentence function: statement, question, command, exclamation ... etc. These functions are expressed grammatically through the mood system of the clause: declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamatory.

But the mood system is only one aspect of the interpersonal component. "Modality is expressed either by a verbal auxiliary or by ... a modal adjunct."<sup>1</sup>

Examples:

a) Verbal auxiliary:

'Ali must take the five o'clock train.'

(i.e. I think it is probable that Ali takes the train.)

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'On Finiteness and Modality in the English Verb', London: University College (Mimeograph), 1969.

## b) Modal adjuncts:

- (i) it is possible that he is sick.
- (ii) there is a possibility that he is sick.
- (iii) he is possibly sick.

Halliday draws a sharp distinction between modality and pseudo-modality. The first "is the expression of [the speaker's] views of the probability of his thesis"<sup>1</sup> and belongs to the interpersonal component. Pseudo-modality, on the other hand, "forms part of the content of the clause"<sup>2</sup> and therefore belongs to the ideational component rather than to the interpersonal component.

## Example:

'Ali must take the five o'clock train.'  
(i.e. it is his duty to take that train).

The study of modality is undertaken in terms of two kinds of elements: the 'modal' and the 'residual'/'proposition'.

## Examples:

Ali was	playing tennis.
Ali must	take the five o'clock train.
modal	residual/proposition

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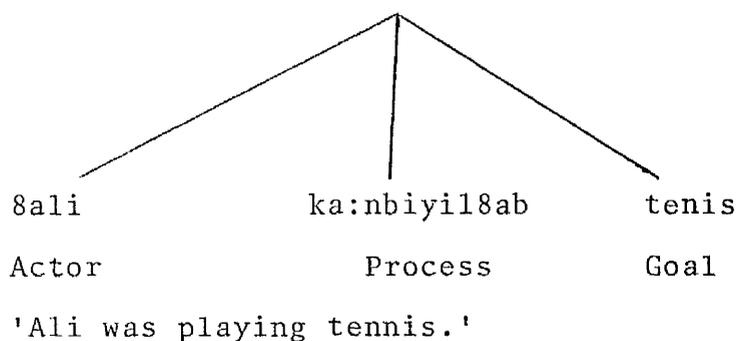
1. Ibid., p. 8-9.

2. Ibid., p. 9.

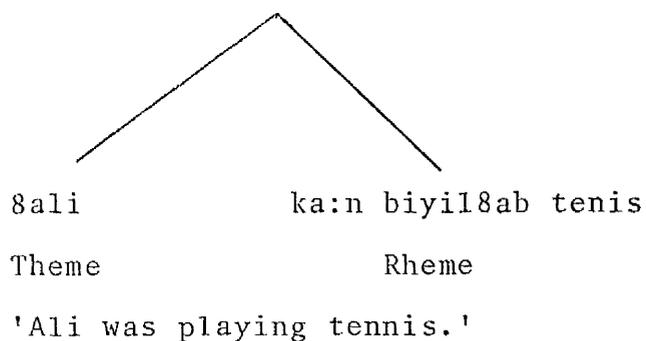
The modal constituent involves the subject and the finite auxiliary verb. The subject, Halliday remarks, is fully predictable from the mood structure. To conclude his argument Halliday states that the 'meaning' of the text is not confined to its 'content'. All components of grammar contribute simultaneously and in different ways to the total meaning of the text.

To finish off this discussion of the components of grammar, we represent them diagrammatically:

(1) Transitivity (experiential component)



(2) Theme (textual component):





CHAPTER THREETRANSITIVITY IN HALLIDAYAN GRAMMARIntroduction

In Chapter two a brief illustration of the functions of language and the components of grammar which correspond to these functions was given. For the purpose of the present study two aspects of systemic grammar will be considered in more detail. These are:

- (i) transitivity, the grammar of the clause in its experiential aspect;
- (ii) voice which constitutes an area of interaction between the experiential and the textual components of systemic grammar.

The term 'transitivity' is used in this thesis in accordance with the following definition given by M.A.K. Halliday: "Transitivity is the name given to a network of systems whose point of origin is the 'major' clause, the clause containing a predication; it is thus simultaneous at the point of origin with other networks such as those of mood and theme. The transitivity systems are concerned with the type of process expressed in the clause, with the participants in this process, animate and inanimate, and with various attributes and circumstances of the process and the participants."<sup>1</sup>

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1. See M.A.K. Halliday, "Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English", ... Part I, p. 38.

The process is associated with the predicator, participants with the subject and extensive complement, and attributes with the intensive complement. Within the framework of systemic grammar, Halliday remarks, the structural element S(subject) is derived from the mood system and corresponds to the surface subject of transformational grammar. Consequently there is no need for the concept of a "deep subject" since the relations it accounts for are handled systemically.<sup>1</sup>

Halliday suggests that, on the dimension of transitivity, there are two underlying forms of clause organization which he labels the "transitive pattern" and the "ergative pattern". In the following two sections we will discuss and compare both patterns independently.

### The Transitive Pattern

The transitive pattern is the one adopted in this thesis since it is thought to capture a generalization among the various clause types in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic and to reflect the process-participant relationships involved. This pattern represents one way of interpreting our experience of the processes around us. The participant roles which figure most prominently in the transitive interpretation are 'initiator', 'actor', 'goal', 'beneficiary' and attribuant. Circumstantial

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1. Ibid (footnote), p. 38.

elements include time, manner, location ... etc., but we will focus attention in this study on two only, i.e., range and attribute.

In his exposition of the transitive pattern Halliday initially classifies clauses into Extensive and Intensive; this classification is undertaken according to whether the process is one of action or ascription respectively. In other words the variable is the extension of the process. These two options, Extensive - Intensive, constitute the primary system.

The process in Extensive clauses is then classified according to whether it is inherently associated with one participant or two participants. If it is associated with one participant, it is labelled 'Descriptive'; if it is associated with two, it is labelled 'Effective'.

Examples:

Descriptive:     He walked  
                   actor - process  
                   He washed his shirt.  
                   actor - process - goal.

The distinctive feature of the process in Effective clauses is thus its "goal-directedness" in the sense that the action is directed towards a goal. So the process handles the relationship between two participant roles: actor-goal; whereas in Descriptive clauses, by way of contrast, the same feature is absent. The process involves non-directed action. The participant roles which figure

in Descriptive clauses are actor and initiator; the first of these is obligatory while the second is not, e.g.

- (i) He           walked  
       Actor     process
- (ii) He           walked     his dog.  
       Initiator - process - actor

In the first illustrative example, the role of 'initiator' is conflated with that of 'actor'; in the second the two roles are separated. The features Effective and Descriptive thus form a system whose point of entry is "extensive".

The options in the voice system are:

- a) Middle  
 b) non-middle.

A 'middle' clause is a clause where the process is associated with only one inherent participant; a 'non-middle' is that involving two participants.

Examples:

Extensive : Effective : non-middle: The boy washed (his clothes).  
 Extensive : Descriptive : middle: The boy walked.

With "non-middle" clauses there are two further options: operative/receptive. In Effective : operative clauses the participant role 'goal' may be either specified or non-specified. If it is specified, it is labelled "goal-transitive".

Example:

She washed the clothes.  
goal-transitive.

If it is not specified, it is called 'goal-intransitive'.

She washed (e.g. the dishes).  
goal-intransitive

In receptive clauses the structural element S  
(subject) usually realizes the function 'goal'.

Example:

S                    P  
The dishes were washed by Mary.  
goal

Again the choice of receptive allows a further  
option between 'process-oriented' and 'agent-oriented'.

Example:

Process-oriented:     The books sell well.

Agent-oriented:       The books were sold (by John).

In Descriptive : operative clauses the action may  
be initiated by the subject and performed by the actor at  
C (Complement).

Example:	S	P	C	
Descriptive:	operative:	he	marched	the soldiers
		initiator	process	actor

The situation is reversed in receptive clauses where the initiator may or may not be present:

Example:

The soldiers were marched.

The soldiers were marched by the sergeant.

As regards Intensive clauses the process, Halliday states, is one of ascription. The only role of the subject is that of 'Attribuand', the carrier of the attribute in question. The presence of an attribute in an Intensive Clause is obligatory, since it provides a formal marking of this specific type. Attributes may be either adjectival or substantival:

Example:

adjectival: He looks miserable.

substantival: He is a miserable boy.

Intensive Clauses display a middle-non-middle distinction of voice. In 'middle' voice a copulative verb links the attribuand to the attribute as the above examples illustrate.

Non-middle : operative Intensive clauses have as subject an "attributor" who is responsible for the ascription.

The "attribuand" is expounded by the structural element  $C^e$  (Complement extensive) and the attribute by the element  $C^i$  (Complement intensive).

In receptive clauses the attribuand is related to the attribute through a passive process.

Example:	S	P	$C^i$
Middle:	She	seems	happy.
	attribuand	process	attribute

Non-middle operative:	S	P	$C^e$	$C^i$
	We think her miserable.			
	They make her miserable.			

attributor - process - attribuand - attribute

receptive: She was made miserable.

In this section we have tried to give a rough outline of the transitive pattern of clause organization, on the dimension of transitivity, as expounded by Halliday with a view to comparing it with the ergative pattern.

### The Ergative Pattern

In Part ~~III~~ of 'Notes ...' and in more recent<sup>1</sup> work, Halliday puts forward the thesis that the underlying form of clause organization may be the ergative: "The

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1. See M.A.K. Halliday, 'Language structure and language function', J. Lyons (ed.), "New Horizons in Linguistics", Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970.

basic pattern of organization in the English Clause seems thus to be more readily describable not primarily in terms of actor-goal but rather in terms of cause and effect ... In English, transitive and ergative co-exist, but the predominant pattern is the ergative."<sup>1</sup>

He further suggests that the transitive functions are basically those of action clauses, showing the relation of a participant to a certain type of action; whereas the ergative functions seem common to all process types, including relations and mental processes. The ergative "... represents the more general form of organization of the clause into processes and participants, underlying the voice system (middle/non-middle) and the principal types."<sup>2</sup>

The roles that figure most prominently in an ergative pattern are those of 'Affected' and 'Causer'. Each process thus will be accompanied by an obligatory participant common to all clause types, i.e. 'Affected' and an 'optional' 'Causer'.

The only case where no 'Affected' is involved is that of clauses containing meteorological verbs.

Examples:

It is raining.

It is snowing.

The subject 'it' in the above examples serves no

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English', Part III, pp. 188-89.

2. Ibid., p. 189.

participant function; it cannot be substituted for an actual participant. Hence meteorological clauses have no participants at all.

If one opts for a description of the clause in terms of an ergative pattern, the participant roles 'actor' and 'goal' in Effective Clauses and initiator-actor in Descriptive Clauses will be replaced by 'Affected' and 'Causer'.

Thus the clauses

John threw the ball                      Effective : operative

John marched the soliders              Descriptive : Operative,

will be given the same structural description. The participant relationship will be in both cases 'Causer-Affected'.

A corollary to the above analysis will be the abandonment of the distinction between directed action and non-directed action which lies at the core of the transitive pattern, towards one kind of action which may be associated either with one key participant the 'Affected' or two participants.

In Halliday's conception an ergative interpretation of the clause will solve problems posed by a class of English clauses containing verbs such as 'open', 'stop', 'cook'...etc.

Examples:

John opened the door.

The door opened.

The door was opened by John.

In a transitive pattern, clauses like those above,

display both middle and non-middle forms, "yet [they] are describable equally well either as initiator-actor structures, or as actor-goal structures".<sup>1</sup>

As the previous examples illustrate, the difficulty with the actor-goal analysis is that in English:

- (i) one has to make an arbitrary choice between the features Descriptive or Effective;
- (ii) or to assign both features, Descriptive and Effective, to structures like those above and thus create an ambiguity.

To provide a solution for this problem Halliday sets up a clause type which stands midway between Descriptive and Effective. This he labels 'nuclear'. For English this clause type neutralizes the distinction between Descriptive and Effective. This treatment yields three features of action clauses instead of two: (i) Effective, (ii) Nuclear, and (iii) Descriptive; Effective clauses are associated with two inherent participants, Descriptive clauses are associated with one participant and Nuclear clauses are associated with either one or two participants.

Examples:

Effective:        Ali threw the ball.

Descriptive:    He marched.

Nuclear:        The door opened.

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1. See M.A.K. Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity ...', p. 184., *Part III*.





some attribute ascribed to it, the second represents the attribute in question.

Examples:

Ali                    is            happy.

Attribuand - process - attribute

Ali                    is            a happy man.

Attribuand - process - attribute.

Yet the relation in clauses like those above is not an exclusive one since the attribute does not serve to identify the 'attribuand', but only serves to describe it. The ascriptive relation is thus one of class membership.

In contrast with ascriptive clauses, equative clauses do not describe but identify; in other words, one element is being described by reference to another element. In the sentences

Ali is the king.

Hasan is the headmaster.

identified            identifier

the nominals 'Ali' and 'Hasan' fulfil the role of 'identified' whereas 'the king' and 'the headmaster' have the transitivity function 'identifier'.

Contrasted with ascriptive clauses, the relation in equatives is an exclusive one. This signifies that 'the king' and 'the headmaster' in the above examples uniquely identify 'Ali' and 'Hasan' respectively. In the context of the utterance they are being designated as the only ones

who realize those functions. The relation thus is one of equivalence or class exclusion.

Moreover, equative clauses are reversible while ascriptive clauses normally are not.

Examples:

<u>ascriptive</u> :	she is miserable
but not	"miserable is she"
<u>equative</u> :	Ali is the king.
	The King is Ali.

As to the roles assigned to the participants under an ergative interpretation, the 'attribuand' will be the 'affected' and the 'attributor', if there is one, the 'causer'.

Example:

<u>She</u> made <u>him</u> happy.
Causer    attribuand

However Halliday regards an equative clause as displaying two simultaneous structures: identified-identifier and value-variable. "A decoding equative is one in which the identifier is more abstract than (is realized by) the identified; an encoding equative is one in which the identifier is less abstract than (is a realization of) the identified."<sup>1</sup> The reversibility of equative clauses

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme ...', Part III, p. 191.

referred to above is considered as a type of voice opposition depending on the coding. The following examples from Halliday illustrate this point.<sup>1</sup>

Decoding: Which am I?

operative: You're the tall one  
subject/variable

receptive: The tall one is you.  
subject/value

Encoding: Which is me?

operative: The tall one is you.  
subject/variable

receptive: You're the tall one.  
subject/value

The last type of clause to be discussed is the so-called 'mental' process clause. In a mental process clause the relation between the participants and the process is different. Hence a description in terms of actor-goal will not appropriately account for the 'mental' action indicated by the verb. Halliday suggests that the roles that figure in such a clause are those of a 'processer' and a 'phenomenon'.

Examples:

Everybody liked the gift.

Processer                      phenomenon

---

1. Ibid.

The gift pleased everybody.

Phenomenon            processer

The 'gift' in both examples represents the 'phenomenon', the element which impinges upon the consciousness of the 'processer'; and 'everybody' represents the 'processer', the participant whose consciousness is impinged upon.<sup>1</sup>

In an ergative interpretation, 'everybody' in both illustrations has the function 'affected'. 'The gift' has two functions: in "the gift pleased everybody", it has the function 'causer', and in "everybody liked the gift", it may have the function 'range' which basically defines the scope of the process.

Halliday further divides clauses of mental process into four sub-types:

- (i) reaction
- (ii) perception
- (iii) cognition
- (iv) verbalization.

These may be illustrated by the following structures:

- (i) Jane hates thrillers.
- (ii) Jane saw her friend.
- (iii) Jane believed the story.
- (iv) He said she was ill.

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1. See M.A.K. Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme ...', p. 193. See also Halliday, 'Language Structure and Language Function', p. 153.

The 'phenomenon' of a mental clause, whether it acts as a 'causer', or as 'range' is distinguishable by its ability to take the form of a 'thing' or a 'metathing' (phenomenon' or 'metaphenomenon'). 'Things' include objects, persons, qualities ... etc.; 'metathings' include facts and reports.

Halliday illustrates the distinction between 'things' and 'metathings' as follows:<sup>1</sup>

- (i) He saw (watched) John/the fight/John fight(ing) Bill.  
(thing)
- (ii) He saw (took in) that John was fighting Bill. (fact)
- (iii) He saw (read) that John had been fighting Bill.  
(report)

So clauses involving 'mental' action normally have one animate participant 'which processes', perceives, reacts ... etc. That participant is the processer; in ergative terms it is the 'affected' in all types of mental process clauses. The other participant is 'the phenomenon', that which is 'processed'. The 'phenomenon' may be a 'thing' or a 'metathing' as was shown earlier.

In conclusion, we have tried to bring together into shape the main and salient points of both the transitive and the ergative patterns of clause organization for their relevance to the study undertaken in this thesis.

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme ...', Part III, p. 194.

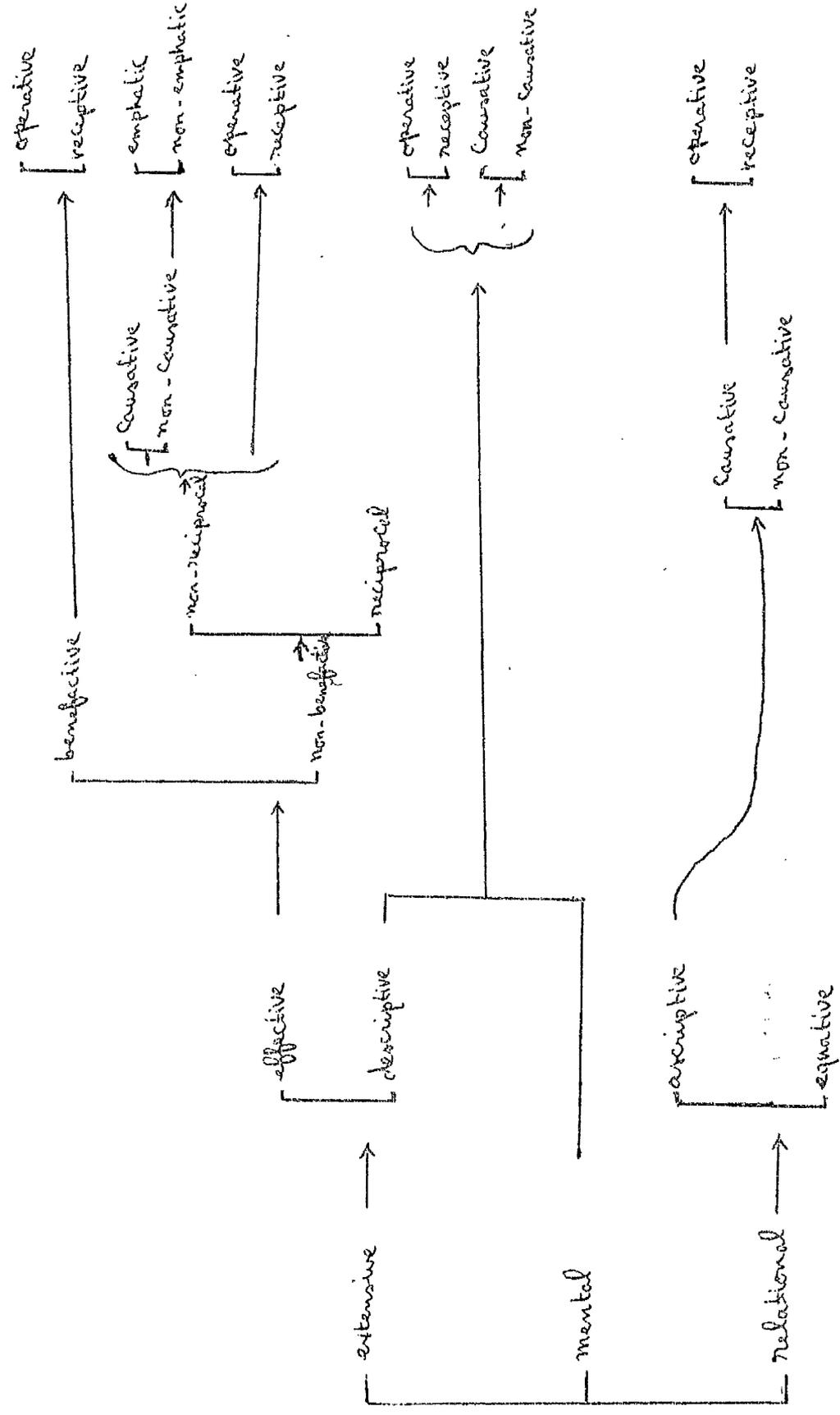
It should be emphasized again that the analysis given in the present study is based on the transitive pattern.

PART TWO

CLAUSE TYPES

# Major Process Types and Transitivity Systems

## Transitivity Systems



CHAPTER FOUR

ACTION CLAUSES (i)

EXTENSIVE

Introduction

In Part 1 'Theoretical' an attempt was made at providing a brief review of the grammatical model adopted in the present study. Here we will attempt an application of that model with special reference to action clauses which will take three chapters to cover. By action clauses is meant clauses involving 'material' or 'physical' action as opposed to 'mental' and 'relational' clauses, e.g.

- |                                    |                   |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| (i) /huwwa garr <u>issiwa</u> :l/  | 'material action' |
| 'He pulled the sack.'              |                   |
| (ii) / <u>hasan</u> simi8 ilxabar/ | 'mental action'   |
| 'Hasan heard the news.'            |                   |
| (iii) / <u>hasan</u> ra:gil gani/  | 'relational'      |
| 'Hasan (is) a rich man.'           |                   |

Firstly, we propose to give a small-scale map of the transitivity clauses types by way of introduction; then our description will be centred on two contrastive types of action clauses, namely, Effective and Descriptive. However before describing the two types referred to above and giving our reasons for their treatment under the same heading, we will start by comparing two viewpoints on transitivity, the traditional and the systemic, for their relevance to the present study.

On the one hand, traditional grammarians tended to look upon transitivity as a feature of the verb; hence it was described at word rank, or at best at verbal group rank. A transitive verb is defined as that verb which expresses action, passing over to an object; an intransitive verb as that which denotes an action affecting only the object. Many verbs, in this way, are used both transitively and intransitively.

The traditional viewpoint is represented by Treble and Vallins in the following quotation:

"A verb is said to be used transitively when the action or state that it denotes is regarded as 'going over' to, i.e. directed towards an object. When the action or state is regarded as affecting only the subject, i.e. as not directed towards an object, the verb is called intransitive; in 'birds fly', the verb is intransitive, in 'boys fly kites', it is transitive. Many verbs can thus be used transitively and intransitively."<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand systemic grammarians treat transitivity as a feature of the whole clause, accounting for the participants, processes and circumstances. The meaning of transitivity in systemic linguistics was given in Chapter 3. For the sake of comparison we repeat it here.

"Transitivity is the name given to a network of systems whose point of origin is the 'major clause', the clause containing a predication; it is thus simultaneous at the point of origin with other networks such as those of mood and theme. The transitivity systems are concerned with the type of process expressed in the clause, with the participants in the process, animate and inanimate and with various attributes and circumstances of the process and

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1. This view is quoted by J. Muir in 'A Modern Approach to English Grammar', p. 104.

the participants."<sup>1</sup>

The latter view is the one adopted in this study.

### Transitivity Clause Types

We do not propose to give a full treatment of the various clause types in this section. Our purpose is to give a small-scale outline of the three main types, viz. action, mental and relational clauses before proceeding with our description of Extensive clauses. Three distinct processes can be recognized in the Arabic clause. The following three sets of examples illustrate this:

#### Set I

1a) /huwwa Darab ilbint/

'He hit the girl.'

1b) /Darab ilbint/

'He hit the girl.'

1c) /?irra:gil xarag milbe:t/

'The man went out of the house.'

1d) /xarag milbe:t/

'He went out of the house.'

1e) /?il walad fatah ilba:b/

'The boy opened the door.'

1f) /fatah ilba:b/

'He opened the door.'

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme ...', Part I, p. 38.

Set II

- 2a) /hiyya aqna8at ilmuxrig/  
'She convinced the director.'
- 2b) /?ana habbe:t fustanha/  
'I liked her dress.'
- 2c) /hasan ma\$adda?S ilhikaya/  
'Hasan did not believe the story.'
- 2d) /?iSSawwa:? ?a:l ilha?i:?a/  
'The driver spoke the truth.'
- 2e) /huwwa naZar liSSu:ra/  
'He looked at the picture.'

Set III

- 3a) /huwwa ka:n tamargi zama:n/  
'He was a male nurse a long time ago.'
- 3b) /?ilmari:D ba:n 8ale:h ilya?S/  
'The sick person seemed desperate.'
- 3c) /8ali huwwa iTTabi:b/  
'Ali (is) the medical doctor.'
- 3d) /?iTTabi:b huwwa 8ali/  
'The medical doctor (is) Ali.'
- 3e) /Muhammad huwwa ibn irrayyis/  
'Muhammad (is) the son of the boss.'
- 3f) /?il8e:la figgine:na/  
'The family (is) in the garden.'

One can recognize three types of process in the above three sets of examples: action process, mental (action) process and a relational process respectively. In set (1) we are concerned with actions and events which involve the role of actor, either implicitly or explicitly expressed. The morphology of the verb in Arabic signals

the existence of the subject, its gender and number according to the linguistic context. In other words the subject may occur as a separate entity as in examples (1a), (1c) and (1e); or it may be just implied through the morphology of the verb as in (1b), (1d) and (1f).

The 'actor' in set (1) can be said to have performed some sort of 'material' action. This type of clause is labelled 'action clauses'. In set (II) one cannot really talk of an action in the same sense as that occurring in set (1) since the action expressed by the verb in Set (II) is a 'mental', not a material action. It is not possible for example to say:

\*/?illi huwwa 8amalu lilhikaya innu Sadda?ha/

'What he did to the story was to believe it.' (Set IIc)

\*/?illi 8amalu lifustanha innu habbu/

'What (he) did to her dress was to like it.' (Set IIb).

The same situation arises in English as regards this type of 'mental' action clause. Halliday gives examples from English where he talks of the distinction between the roles actor and goal in material on the one hand and those of 'processer' and 'phenomena' in 'mental' action clauses on the other hand.

The quotation below reflects his interpretation:

"In mental process clauses such as

'I liked your hairstyle'

we cannot talk of an actor and goal; it is not possible to say, for example, what I did was like your hairstyle, or what I did to your hairstyle was to like it. The inherent roles are those of a human, or at any rate animate, being whose consciousness is impinged upon and some phenomenon which impinges upon it." 1

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1. See Halliday, 'Language Structure and Language Function', In Lyons, J. (ed), 'New Horizons in Linguistics', p. 62.

So the participant roles in set (II) above are those of animate being (i.e. the processer) and a phenomenon. Again mental process clauses are distinguishable from other types in that the phenomenon - that which is perceived, reacted to, verbalized, etc., is not limited as are the participants in action clauses. They embrace persons, objects, abstractions and the rest of phenomena on the plane of human experience. Mental clauses will be dealt with in detail below (Chapter 7).

In set (III) the process is simply a form of relation between the two roles involved. The process 'relational' thus contrasts with the mental and the material ones. This clause type will be given a full treatment later on (Chapter 8).

The clause being the structural unit which acts as the entry condition for the transitivity choices, we have so far a system containing three types of process:

Transitivity →	material process mental process relational process.
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Material process as well as mental and relational are subject to further divisions and subdivisions according to the 'finer distinctions in meaning' which they involve. Each will be dealt with separately later on.

### Extensive Clauses

In the foregoing section we gave, by way of introduction, a small-scale outline of the main transitivity

process types recognized in the Arabic clause, be it verbal (set I and II above) or nominal (set III).

Here our attention will be focused on two points:

- (i) Extensive clauses; (ii) The Circumstantial element 'range'.

The main reasons why the two clause types 'Effective' and 'Descriptive' are described under one heading may be summed up in

- (i) Both types represent contrastive terms in the initial system given by transitivity.  
 (ii) They have the same entry condition i.e. 'Extensive'.  
 (iii) The process denoted by the verb in such clauses is a 'material' process.  
 (iv) They contrast in that the action in Effective clauses is 'directed towards a goal' whereas that in Descriptive clauses is non-directed.

The clause is the rank of unit which involves the various transitivity systems; at the same time it is the rank of unit where the mood systems are realized. In ECA a variety of well-defined sentence types and patterns are available. The one that concerns us in the present study is the simple, declarative sentence.

If we consider the illustrations below:

Set I

1a) /ʔiftakart in ilusta:z hayitʔaxxar/

'I thought the teacher will be late.'

1b) /ʔil walad illi xarag iSSubh maga:s/

'The boy who went out in the morning did not come back yet.'

1c) /?iSSamak illi iStare:tu fa:Sid/  
 'The fish you bought is spoilt.'

Set II

2a) /?ilwalad ra:h fe:n/  
 'Where did the boy go?'

2b) /?ilbint safrat min imtah/  
 'When did the girl travel?'

2c) /8Sa:n e:h Satamt Sahbak/  
 'Why did you insult your friend?'

Set III

3a) /?irkab ilutube:s/  
 'Get on the bus.'

3b) /kul ilfakha ya wa:d/  
 'Eat the fruit (you) boy.'

3c) /matigri:s biSur8a/  
 'Do not run quickly.'

Set IV

4a) /?iTTaba? itkaSar/  
 'The plate was broken.'

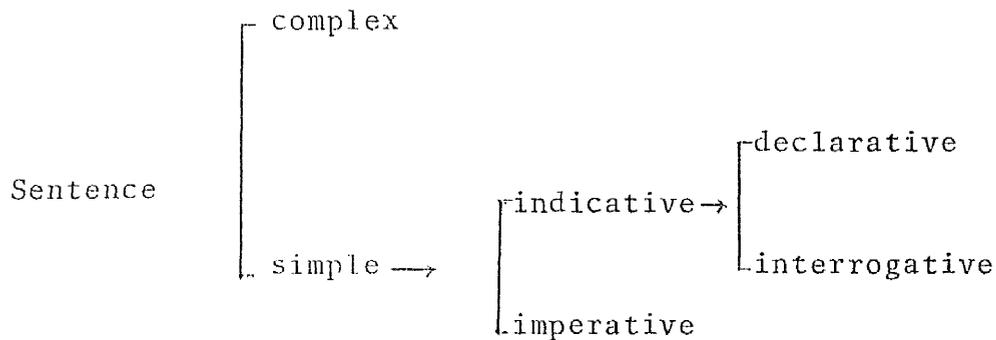
4b) /?ilxaddama xaragat/  
 'The woman servant went out.'

4c) /?ilbuS Tagi wazza8 iggawaba:t/  
 'The postman distributed the mail.'

We notice that the sentences in set I are complex sentences; those in sets II, III and IV are simple sentences, that is one dimension. The other dimension is that the sentences in II and IV are indicative while those in set III are imperative, that is to say, indicative versus imperative. Indicative is the entry

condition for the declarative and the interrogative.

These options may be represented systemically as follows:



The user of the language has at his disposal a variety of options which he selects from when he makes demand on the language to express a specific function in his daily life. Thus, for instance, if he selects a simple sentence to express his need, he has to select either the indicative, or the imperative mood; if he selects the indicative, he has two options: the declarative and the interrogative and so on.

As was stated earlier our description is limited to the simple declarative sentence.

Extensive : Effective : operative clauses involve 'directed action'. The class of verbs which occur in these clauses is Class II verbs, the traditional transitive verbs. Consider:

Set I

1a) /hiyya Darabat il walad/

'She hit the boy.'

1b) /?iSSitta:t gaSalu ilhudu:m/

'The women washed the clothes.'

- 1c) /ʔilawla:d kalu ilfakha/  
 'The boys ate the food.'
- 1d) /ʔilfalla:h zara8 ʔamh/  
 'The farmer planted wheat.'
- 1e) /ʔitta:gir iStara huSa:n/  
 'The merchant bought a horse.'

An examination of the illustrations above shows that all the clauses are action clauses - process type. They are characterized by the feature of 'goal-directedness' with two participant roles: actor (/hiyya/ 'she', /ʔissitta:t/ 'the women', /ʔil walad/ 'the boy', /ʔil falla:h/ 'the farmer', /ʔitta:gir/ 'the merchant') and goal (/ʔilwalad/ 'the boy', /ʔilhudu:m/ 'the clothes', /ʔilfakha/ 'the fruit', /ʔamh/ 'wheat', /huSa:n/ 'horse'). The entity representing the subject fulfils two conflated roles: actor/initiator.

From the point of view of structure the process is associated with the verb, or rather with the clause-lement P (Predicator), more specifically P<sup>act</sup> (Predicator active). The participants are associated with the nominal elements S (subject) and C (complement). The complement in all the above examples is C<sup>ext</sup> (extensive complement) as opposed to C<sup>int</sup> (intensive complement). The underlined words are exponents of intensive complements which normally appear in the relational type of clause (see Chapter 8).

#### Set I

- 1a) /ʔissitt il8agu:za ganiyya/  
 'The old lady (is) rich.'
- 1b) /Sa:hib ilbe:t gaba:n/  
 'The landlord (is) a coward.'

Set II

2a) /?il walad inDarab/

'The boy was hit.'

2b) /?ilhudu:m itgaSalat/

'The clothes were washed.'

2c) /?ilfakha ittaklat/

'The fruit was eaten.'

2d) /?il?amh itzara8/

'The wheat was planted.'

2e) /?ilhuSa:n itSara/

'The horse was bought.'

The above clauses, like those in set I, are action clauses - process type. They involve 'directed action' with only one participant role i.e. goal which fills the slot of the subject. The predicator is passive.

Set III

3a) /?ilbana:t xaragu/

'The girls went out.'

3b) /?inna:s misyu/

'The people walked.'

3c) /?ittalamza wi?fu/

'The pupils stood up.'

3d) /humma daxalu ilho:S/

'They entered into the yard.'

3e) /?issabba:h giTiS finni:l/

'The diver dived into the Nile.'

Examples (3) above are Extensive : Descriptive clauses. They have one transitivity feature in common namely, non-directed action; hence the participant role

'goal' does not figure in this type of clause. They contrast with the examples in set I and set II in this respect. The class of verbs which appear in Extensive : Descriptive clauses is Class I, the traditional intransitive verbs.

So far six notions have been put forward in connection with Extensive Clauses; two process types, directed action, non-directed action and three participant roles actor, goal and initiator. One of the process types dealt with is associated with only one participant viz. Descriptive Clauses (set III); the other with either one or two (set I and II) depending upon the options selected by the speaker.

Structurally the participant is the grammatical subject in each case fulfilling one or more of the transitivity features. In sets I and II, for instance, which are directed action clauses, the process is associated with two participants, actor and goal, either of which may be the grammatical subject according to the options taken by the user of the language in terms of the voice system of ECA.

We may have those structural and notional features yielded by transitivity grouped as follows:

Subject=actor	Complement=goal	Process
1a) / <u>hiyya</u> Darabat	<u>ilwalad</u> /	directed action
	'She hit the boy.'	
1b) / <u>humma</u> gaSalu	<u>ilhudu:m</u> /	directed action
	'They washed the clothes.'	
1c) / <u>hasan</u> katab	<u>gawa:b</u> /	directed action
	'Hasan wrote a letter.'	

Subject = goal	Process
2a) /ʔilwalad inDarab/ 'The boy was hit.'	directed action
2b) /ʔilhudu:m itgasalat/ 'The clothes were washed.'	directed action
2c) /ʔiggawa:b ikkatab/ 'The letter was written.'	directed action

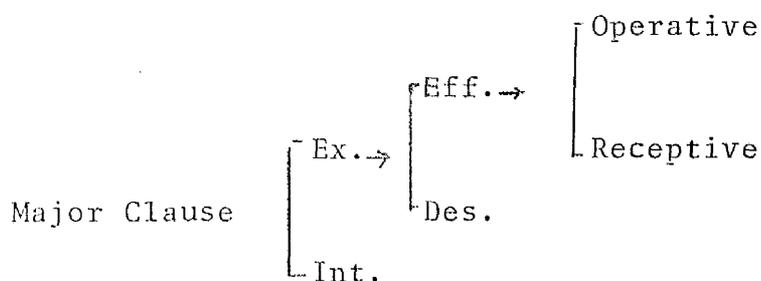
Subject = actor	
3a) /ʔilbana:t xaragu/ 'The girls went out.'	non-directed action
3b) /ʔinna:s misyu/ 'The people walked.'	non-directed action
3c) /ʔiDDe:f ʔa:m/ 'The guest stood up.'	non-directed action

To represent these notions in terms of grammatical features of the clause, we shall make use of Halliday's labels:

- (a) Extensive clause with 'action' process type.
- (b) Effective clause with 'directed action' process type.
- (c) Operative clause with 'directed action', subject as actor.
- (d) Receptive clause with 'directed action', subject as goal.
- (e) Descriptive clause with 'non-directed action' process type.

The grammatical features referred to above contrast with those involved in 'Intensive Clauses' (Chapter 8) where the process is one of 'ascription' - process type.

These features may be organized in system networks as follows:



A systemic description of the action clauses shows which features are selected from the network, e.g.

- (1) /hiyya Darabat ilwalad/ (Extensive:effective:operative)  
'She hit the boy.'
- (2) /?ilwalad inDarab/ (Extensive:effective:receptive)  
'The boy was hit.'
- (3) /?inna:s misyu/ (Extensive:Descriptive)  
'The people walked.'
- (e) /?iSSama Safya/ (intensive)  
'The sky (is) clear.'

In this way we see that each of the three primary elements of clause structure: subject, predicator and complement, expresses different notions from among those shown previously: S may be actor, goal, attribuant; P may be action, mental action, or ascription (see Chapter 7 on mental action clauses, Chapter 8 on relational clauses).

If we go back to clauses with the feature Extensive : descriptive we can recognize one more participant.

Contrast the following two sets of examples:

Set I

Subject = initiator and actor

1a) /?ilbint xaragat/

'The girl went out.'

1b) /?il8agu:z ?a8ad/

'The old man sat down.'

1c) /?iTtifl sikit/

'The child calmed down.'

### Set II

Subject = initiator      complement = actor

2a) /?ilbint xarragat ilwalad/

'The girl caused/made the boy go out.'

2b) /huwwa ?a88ad il8agu:z/

'He caused/made the old man sit down.'

2c) /?issaggala sakkittit iTTifl/

'The woman servant caused/made the child calm down.'

We notice that, in set I, the subject slot is filled by elements which have the transitivity feature 'actor + initiator'. In more clear terms /?ilbint/ 'the girl', for instance, is the person who 'did' and 'initiated' the act of going out; nobody initiated the process for her and then she performed it. This is not the case with set II where the roles of initiator and actor are separated in the clause structure; each performing a different participant role. For example, in 2a) /?ilbint/ 'the girl' initiates the action, but does not do it. Therefore she is only an 'initiator'; /?ilwalad/ 'the boy' is the one who does the act of going out; hence he is the actor. Consequently the 'initiator + actor' form a single entity in the surface syntax of the illustrations in set I, while in set II they are two different entities separated in the surface structure. This separation of the two roles is overtly marked in Descriptive clauses

(Set II) by the presence of a Form II Causative verb which requires one more participant (see Chapter 9).

Compare the verbs occurring in set I with those occurring in set II:

<u>Form I intransitive</u>	<u>Form II transitive</u>
xarag 'go out'	xarrag 'cause to go out'
?a8ad 'sit down'	?a88ad 'cause to sit down'
sikit 'calm down'	sakkat 'cause to calm down'

In clauses of 'directed action' involving verbs like (/zara8/ 'plant', /gasal/ 'wash', /Darab/ 'hit', /hadam/ 'demolish', /?iStara/ 'buy', /bana/ 'built') which normally do not occur in Form II with a causative meaning, the roles of initiator and actor are always combined.<sup>1</sup>

Examples:

S = actor + initiator      C = goal

- (i) /?igganayni zara8 ward/  
'The gardener planted roses.'
- (ii) /?issit gasalat iSSuhu:n/  
'The woman cleansed the plates.'
- (iii) /?inna:Zir Darab ittilmi:z/  
'The headmaster beat the pupil.'

Each of the underlined nominals (/?igganayni/ 'the gardener', /?issit/ 'the woman', /?inna:Zir/ 'the headmaster') fulfills two roles simultaneously, 'initiator and actor' of the process; the other element filling the slot of the complement acts as the goal of the process. What is peculiar about the verbs in the above examples is that, though they are class II, the traditionally transitive verbs, they do not have corresponding causative verbs

1. The verbs /gasal/ 'wash', /hadam/ 'demolish' occur in Form II with an emphatic meaning. See below 'Emphatic clauses'.

(Form II). The syntactic effect of that peculiarity which characterizes the verbs mentioned above is that the roles 'actor' and 'initiator' are always combined and form a single entity in the structure of the clause.

However, contrary to the situation referred to above, a substantial class of verbs which figure in 'directed action' clauses accept causativization; a corollary to this is the separation of the two participant functions of 'initiator' and 'actor'. The number of participants in an operative causative clause will thus be three: initiator + actor + goal (see Chapter 9, part III).

Consider:

Set I

Effective ; non-causative

- 1a) /?uxti katabat gawa:b/ (initiator and actor  
'My sister wrote a letter.' conflated)
- 1b) /8ammi ba:8 ilaraD/  
'My uncle sold the land.'
- 1c) /?iSSayya:l sa:l issanTa/  
'The porter carried the bag.'

and

Set II

Effective : causative

- 2a) /?ana kattabt uxti gawa:b/ (initiator and actor  
'I caused/made my sister separated)  
write a letter.'
- 2b) /hasan bayya8 8ammi ilaraD/  
'Hasan caused/made my uncle sell the land.'
- 2c) /?ilha:ris sayyil iSSanTa liSSayya:l/  
'The caretaker caused/made the porter carry the bag.'

To finish off our discussion of Extensive clauses, we give a table of the clause types described under this heading with their accompanying transitivity features.

Extensive Clauses:

Participant roles	Operative	Receptive
	S (= actor)	S (= goal)
Effective (directed action)	non-causative: /huwwa katab iddars/ 'He write the lesson.'	non-causative: /?iddars itkatab/ 'The lesson (was) written.'
	S (= initiator) C (= actor)	S (= goal)
Descriptive (non-directed action)	Causative: /Sayyid kattab 8ali iddats/ 'Sayyid caused/made Ali write the lesson.'	Causative: /?iddars itkattib/ 'The lesson was written.'
	S (= initiator + actor)	S (range)
	non-causative: /Sayyid ?a8ad 8akkursi/ 'Sayyid sat on the chair.'	non-causative: /?ikkursi it?a8ad 8alə:h) 'The chair was sat on.'
	S (= initiator) C (= actor)	S (goal)
	causative: /Sayyid wa??af iTTifl/ 'Sayyid caused/made the child stand up.'	causative: /?iTtIf1 itwa??af/ 'The child was caused/ made to stand up.'

Range

Since the concept of 'range' is one of the obscure points in systemic grammar, this section will start with discussing the idea of 'range' as expounded by Halliday in his article 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme'; then it will proceed to describe its status in ECA and the types of clause it combines with.

Halliday defines 'range' as that clause-element which specifies the scope, extension, or relevance of the process. Like beneficiary (see Benefactive Clauses, Chapter 12) range is a kind of a secondary goal. Both may function as complement in operative and subject in receptive clauses. However, while the feature 'Benefactive' specifies the recipient or beneficiary of the process who is usually animate, range specifies the extent of the process and is usually inanimate.

Again whereas 'goal' - a primary participant - only occurs in clauses of 'directed action', range is regarded by Halliday as a 'pseudo-participant' which may figure in Extensive clauses whether they are Effective or Descriptive.

Examples:

- |                                     |               |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|
| range                               |               |
| - He gave the paint a <u>stir</u> . | 'Effective'   |
| range                               |               |
| - She sang <u>a song</u> .          | 'Descriptive' |

Halliday goes on to specify two types of range, cognate and non-cognate; both of them are a nominalization of the process. e.g.

- (1) He sang a song.
- (2) He played a game.
- (3) He turned the corner.

The range and the process in (1) are related etymologically; in (2) and (3) they are not related etymologically, though they are a nominalization of the process.

The range may be either qualitative, specifying type of process, e.g.

- (1) He played tennis.
- (2) He climbs mountains.
- (3) He suffered a severe shock.

or quantitative, specifying measures, e.g.

- (1) He climbed the mountain.
- (2) He ran five miles.
- (3) He paid five shillings.
- (4) He moved five yards.

However the distinction between 'quality range' and 'quantity range' is by no means clear cut. This may be exemplified by Halliday's examples:

- (1) He climbed the mountains.
- (2) He climbed the mountain.

where he regards 'the mountains' in the first example as 'quality range' and 'the mountain' in the second as 'quantity range'.<sup>1</sup> Finally Halliday admits in a recent work that "there are uncertainties, the types of clause

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1. See Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme', Part I, p. 59.

which could be analysed in more than one way"<sup>1</sup> e.g.

	<u>The teacher</u>	<u>taught</u>	<u>the student</u>	<u>French.</u>
material:	actor	process	beneficiary	goal
material:	actor	process	goal	range
mental:	agent	process	cognizant	range
verbal:	agent	process	speaker	range

To these different analyses provided by Halliday, one may add one more:

mental:        processer (cognizant) process    phenomenon.  
The point to be made here is that the function range merges into that of goal. Most of the time they are indistinguishable.

Our discussion of 'range' in ECA will be confined to one type of range, i.e. cognate-range which combines freely with Extensive Clauses.

### Range in ECA

With ECA only one type of range will be dealt with, that is, the traditionally called 'cognate-object' which leads to a mutual expectancy of collocation between the noun and the verb involved.

As to quality and quantity, range, they will be subsumed under the generalized function 'goal' for ECA. The underlined words in the illustrations below are regarded

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1. Halliday (forthcoming), 'The Meaning of Modern English'.

as 'goal' in its generalized function, though they might specify quality or quantity:

- (1) /huwwa kal tuffa:h/  
'He ate apples.'
- (2) /?itta:git iStara hari:r/  
'The merchant bought silk.'
- (3) /hasan iStara 8ašar timTa:r Su:f/  
'Hasan bought ten metres of wool.'
- (4) /?ilgafi:r Sa:l xamsa ke:lu sukkar/  
'The night watchman carried five kilos of sugar.'
- (5) /humma dafa8u 8ašara gine:h dahab/  
'They paid ten pounds in gold.'
- (6) /?ittilmi:z 8a mal galTiTe:n/  
'The pupil made two mistakes.'

In this thesis 'range' is treated as both co-extensive with the process and at the same time as a nominalization of the process: the nearest approximation to this in English is 'She sang a song.', where the element 'range' is realized by an etymologically cognate item. Consider the following:

- (1) /?ilawla:d li8bu li8ba gidi:da/  
'The boys played a new game.' Lit. 'The boys played  
a new play.'
- (2) /?ilfu?ara kalu ?akla dasima/  
'The poor people had a rich meal.' Lit. 'They ate a  
rich eating.'
- (3) /huwwa na:m no:m 8ami:k ba8d itta8ab/  
Lit. 'He slept a deep sleep after being exhausted.'

- (4) /ʔiDDiu:f ʔa8adu ʔa8da Tawila/  
 'The guests had a long sitting.' Lit. 'The guests sat  
 a long sitting.'
- (5) /ʔilmugrim ma:t mo:ta wihsa/  
 'The criminal had a bad end.' Lit. 'The criminal died  
 a bad death.'
- (6) /hiyya ma:tat 8asar mota:t milxo:f/  
 'She died ten times.' Lit. 'She died ten deaths.'
- (7) /ʔil8aruSa daxalat duxla hayla/  
 'The bride had a wonderful wedding party.' Lit. 'The  
 bride entered a wonderful entry.'
- (8) /humma wiʔfu waʔfit ra:gil wa:hid/  
 'They stood up as one man.' Lit. They stood the  
 standing of one man.'
- (9) /ʔirra:gil da biySalli Sallah Tawi:la/  
 'This man says long prayers.' Lit. This man prays a  
 long praying.'
- (10) /ʔiTta:lib katab kitaba mumta:za/  
 'The boy's writing was excellent.' Lit. The boy wrote  
 an excellent writing.'
- (11) /ʔilʔa:Di fihim il mawDu8 fahm 8ami:q/  
 'The judge understood the subject thoroughly.'  
 Lit. 'The judge understood the subject a thorough  
 understanding.'
- (12) /ʔibni18umda biyilbis libs ga:li/  
 'The mayor's son wears expensive clothes.' Lit. 'The  
 mayor's son wears good wearing.'

These illustrations demonstrate the fact that  
 the range element may combine with a Descriptive or an

effective clause. In this way it is an extension of the process realized by the verbal noun, or what is called in Arabic traditional linguistics /ʔalmaf8y:l almuTlaq/ 'the absolute object'. Morphologically speaking the verbal noun functioning as the circumstantial element 'range' in ECA must be derived from the same lexical verb occurring in the clause; in more concrete terms the process and the range are related etymologically, e.g.

<u>Process</u>	<u>range</u>
/xarag/ 'go out'	/xuru:g/ 'going out'
/daxal/ 'enter'	/duxu:l/ 'entering'
/katab/ 'write'	/kita:ba/ 'writing'
/sata <sub>m</sub> / 'insult'	/siti:ma/ 'insulting'
/hagg/ 'pay a pilgrimage'	/higg/ 'paying a pilgrimage'.

With ECA 'range' has no status as a full participant in the process since it is an optional element which is deletable without affecting the grammaticality of the process, e.g.

- (1) /huwwa katab iddars (kita:ba waDha)/  
 'He wrote the lesson clearly.' Lit. 'He wrote the lesson a clear writing.'
- (2) /ʔissit gasalat ilbadla (gasla niDi:fa)/  
 'The woman gave the suit a good washing.'
- (3) /hasan fa:z (fo:z ba:hir)/  
 'Hasan won.' Lit. 'Hasan won a good winning.'
- (4) /ʔilʔa:til nidim (nadam murr)/  
 'The murderer repented bitterly.' Lit. 'The murderer repented bitter repentance.'

(5) /Sahbi ?a8ad (?a8da muri:ha)/

'My friend relaxed.' Lit. 'My friend sat a relaxable  
sitting.'

### The Function of the Range Element

In ECA 'Cognate' range-elements have the status of carriers for further modification of the process indicated by the verb. Arab grammarians have described these elements under the label /?almaf8u:l almuTlaq/ 'the absolute object', by which term they meant that the 'absolute object' may occur in every sentence type without the 'interposing' of a preposition.<sup>1</sup> They designated four functions for the 'cognate object' which we adopt here since the situation in SA (Standard Arabic) is similar to that in the dialect under consideration as regards range. These functions are:

(1) It is used for enumeration, e.g.

a) /Darabtu Darbite:n /

'(I) beat him twice.' Lit. 'I beat him (two) beatings.'

b) /8ali galad hasan galdite:n/

'Ali whipped Hasan twice.' Lit. 'Ali whipped Hasan  
(two) whippings.'

c) /?ilxaTi:b wi?if wa?fite:n/

'The orator paused twice.' Lit. The orator paused  
(two) pauses.'

(2) It is used to describe the quality of the process, provided it is followed by an adjectival element, e.g.

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1. See M. Kinawi (et al.), 'Sarh ibn Saqi:l', Part I, Al-Azhar University Press, Cairo (1973), pp. 335-47. See also W. Wright, 'A Grammar of the Arabic Language', Vol. II, Cambridge (1971), p. 56.

a) /?il8askari misi masya Sari:8a/

'The soldier walked quickly.' Lit. 'The soldier  
marched a quick march.'

b) /Sayyid ?a8ad ?a8da muri:ha/

'Sayyid sat comfortably.' Lit. 'Sayyid sat a  
relaxed sitting.'

c) /?ilmudi:r giliT galta wihsa/

'The manager made a terrible mistake.' Lit. The  
manager (made) a mistake a terrible mistake.'

(3) It is used to emphasize the process when it satisfies two conditions: (i) when it does not show number-gender concord with the participants, (ii) when no other element follows the cognate object. The range-element in the illustrations below does not show the number nor the gender of the subject; it is uniform and unvaried all through:

a) /?il walad wi?if wu?u:f/

'The boy paused (a pause).'

b) /?ilbint wi?fit wu?u:f/

'The girl paused (a pause).'

c) /?ilawla:d wi?fu wu?u:f/

'The boys paused (a pause).'

d) /?ilbana:t wi?fit wu?u:f/

'The girls paused (a pause).'

e) /?ihna wi?ifna wu?u:f/

'We paused (a pause).'

f) /?inta wi?ift wu?u:f/

'You paused (a pause).'

g) /?inti wi?ifti wu?u:f/

'You (girl) paused (a pause).'

h) /ʔintum wiʔiftu wuʔu:f/

'You (boys, girls) paused (a pause).'

(4) A Cognate range-element functions as an adverb of manner, or rather as a noun in an adverb of manner, giving further modification to the process. A comparison of a) and b) below demonstrates that the semantic content of a range-element is similar to that of its adverbial counterpart:

1a) /huwwa katab kita:ba waDha/

'He wrote clearly.'

1b) /huwwa katab biwDu:h/

'He wrote clearly.'

2a) /ʔana nimt no:m 8ami:q/

'I slept deeply.'

2b) /ʔana nimt bi8umq/

'I slept deeply.'

3a) /ʔilʔa:til nidim nadam murr/

'The murderer repented bitterly.'

3b) /ʔilʔa:til nidim bimarara/

'The murderer repented bitterly.'

4a) /ʔilfaʔi:r kal aki kiti:r/

'The poor man ate much.'

4b) /ʔilfaʔi:r kal bikutrah/

'The poor man ate much.'

5a) /8ammi raza8 ilba:b raz8a Sidi:da/

'My uncle banged the door strongly.'

5b) /8ammi raza8 ilba:b biSidda/

'My uncle banged the door strongly.'

As to the options 'range-active' versus range-passive' where the latter has range as subject, e.g.

- She struck a blow.<sup>1</sup>            range-active
- A blow was struck.            range-passive.

ECA does not allow cognate range-elements to occur as subjects. The following sentences are unacceptable:

\*/maw?if itwa?af/

Lit. 'A pause was paused.'

\*/?akl itta:kil/

Lit. 'Eating was eaten.'

\*/no:m itna:m/

Lit. 'Sleep was slept.'

\*/li8b itla8ab/

Lit. 'Play was played.'

To recapitulate, our description of the 'Cognate' range-element in ECA has shown that it combines with Extensive Clauses as an extension and a nominalization of the process. Besides, there is always a mutual expectancy of collocation between the verb and the verbal noun involved.

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1. The examples are from Halliday's 'Notes ...', Part III, p. 201.

CHAPTER FIVE

ACTION CLAUSES (ii)

DESCRIPTIVE STATIVE

Introduction

In the previous chapter our analysis of descriptive clauses involved the so-called 'verbs of motion' like /ʔa:m/ 'stand up', /xarag/ 'go out', etc. This chapter is devoted to another type of action: that involved in the class of clauses labelled 'descriptive stative'. The nomenclature rests upon the assumption that the class of verbs which occur in this type 'express a state or a condition ... which is, by its very nature, confined to the person of the subject and cannot pass on to another individual, or thing as its object. Arab grammarians aptly call this class of verbs 'neuter' since they are neither really active nor really passive, but something between the two.'<sup>1</sup> Another distinctive characteristic of this verb class is that the subject, in most cases, is the 'instigator of the action' as is the case with /xarag/ 'to go out', for instance.

However, the verbs which enter in this clause type constitute a subclass of Class II verbs (i.e. the traditionally transitive ones) which belong again to

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1. See W. Wright, 'A Grammar of the Arabic Language', C.U.P., London, 1971, p. 50.

Form I.<sup>1</sup> This subclass has no passive correlate.

Consider the illustrations below:

- (1) /?iTtIf1 kibir/  
'The child grew up.'
- (2) /?iTtIf1 waznu Sigir/  
'The child's weight decreased.'
- (3) /?ilhuSa:n miriD/  
'The horse became sick.'
- (4) /?ana 8aSSilt/  
'I became drowsy.'
- (5) /?il8ayya:n Sixin/  
'The patient had a temperature.'
- (6) /?inna:s hiznu/  
'People became sad.'
- (7) /?ilhiml ti?il/  
'The burden became heavy.'
- (8) /hiyya firhit/  
'She became happy.'

We notice that these sentences have the transitivity feature 'descriptive'; however they differ from those described earlier (Chapter Four) in that the verbs involved express a 'state', or a 'condition' which is confined to the element S (subject).

In terms of participant roles, the primary element S fulfils the roles of 'actor +initiator'. So the subject is, in fact, the 'instigator' of the action indicated by

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1. Form I verbs occur with the vocalic pattern /fi8il/. Generally it is transitive in nature.

the verb. The state of being 'sick' (ex. 3) or 'sad' (ex. 6), for instance, is to be taken as brought about by the actor himself.

The following list of examples of descriptive stative clauses is sufficient to show that their occurrence in receptive form is unacceptable:

- \*/?il bint itfirhit/
- \*/?iSSitt itSixnit/
- \*/?ilhiml itti?il/
- \*/?irra:gil ikkibir/

The point to be stressed here is that those verbs constitute a subclass of Class II verbs which are traditionally transitive; again they belong to Form I verbs which are mostly transitive. Yet here they are intransitive, hence occur in descriptive clauses associated with one participant role.

It is noticeable that the predicator in descriptive stative clauses may be followed by a temporal or locative adjunct; the adjunct being an optional constituent of the clause, e.g.

- (1) /?ilwalad na:m iSSubh/
- 'The boy slept in the morning.'
- (2) /?ilwalad na:m iSSa8a sitta/
- 'The boy slept at six o'clock.'
- (3) ?ilwalad na:m fil?oDa iggiwaniyya/
- (4) /?ilwalad na:m fissiri:r/
- 'The boy slept in his bed.'

The most striking characteristic that these clauses have in common is that they refer to a state or a

quality rather than to an action in the physical or material sense of the term.

### Colour Terms

Colour-terms occur in clauses, which according to Arab grammarians, accept no passivization. By way of exemplification, the Classical Arabic sentences:

- /?iXDarra izzar8u/  
'The plants became green.'
- /?iSwadda allaylu/  
'The night became dark.'
- /?ihmarra ilbalahu/  
'The dates became red.'
- /?iSfarra ilmari:Du/  
'The patient became pale.'

will not accept the classical form of the passive:

CuCiCa, or CuCCiCa, i.e.

- \*/xuDira izzar8u/
- \*/Suwwida allaylu/
- \*/humira ilbalahu/
- \*/Sufira ilmari:Du/

However in the dialect under consideration the situation is more complex. Form IX<sup>1</sup> colour verbs have a causative correlate which in turn can be passivized, all of which occur in what we have labelled here 'descriptive:

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1. Traditionally speaking, Form IX occurs in the pattern /?if8alla/.

stative' clauses. They have no corresponding Form I, but operate in a system with adjectives denoting colour.

Contrast the following colour adjectives and their corresponding Form IX colour verbs:

<u>adjective</u>	<u>Form IX verb</u>
/ʔahmar/ 'red'	/ʔihmarr/ 'became red'
/ʔaxDar/ 'green'	/ʔixDarr/ 'became green'
/ʔaʃfar/ 'yellow'	/ʔiʃfarr/ 'became yellow'
/ʔabyaD/ 'white'	/ʔibyadd/ 'became white'
/ʔaʃwad/ 'black'	/ʔiʃwadd/ 'became black'

The occurrence of this class of colour verbs and adjectives may be exemplified by the following sentences:

- (1) "ʔikkita:b ihmarr /ahmarr"  
'The book became red/is red.'
- (2) "Sa8r irra:gil il8agu:z ibayyaD/abyaD/  
'The old man's hair became white/is white.'
- (3) "ʔizzar8 ixDarr/axDar"  
'The plants became green/are green.'
- (4) "ʔiSSayya:l iʃfarr/aʃfarr/  
'The porter became pale/is pale.'
- (5) "ʔilmadXana iswaddat/Soda"  
'The chimney became black/is black.'

We note that, in terms of participant roles, the structural element 'S' is the actor. In spite of the fact that the predicator selects an active verb which, according to the traditional Arabic linguistic theory, has no passive correlate, such clauses are 'receptive' in meaning.

Contrary to the traditional view, one can establish Form IX colour verbs as appearing in 'receptive' clauses. The syntactic criteria of accepting an instrumental adjunct fulfilling the participant role of 'actor + initiator', which is a characteristic feature of receptive clauses, is a sure indication that clauses containing Form IX colour verbs may occur with a receptive meaning.

The following examples illustrate this point:

(1) /?ilhe:Ta ihmarrat milbuya/

'The wall was made red by the paint.'

(2) /?izzar8 ixDarr missiba:x/

'The plants became green because of fertilizers.'

(3) /?issayya:l iSfa~~V~~ milmarad/

'The porter became pale because of illness.'

(4) /?ilmadxana iswaddat midduxxa:n/

'The chimney became black because of smoke.'

(5) /sa8r irra:gil ibayyaD missin/

'The old man's hair became white because of old age.'

Furthermore, there is a syntactic and semantic parallelism between group (a) below which contains Form IX verbs and group (b) which contains Form II verbs.<sup>1</sup> Form II verbs usually indicate causativity and intensification of action simultaneously. (For more see Chapters 9 and 10, "Causative V. non-causative" and "Emphatic V. non-emphatic"). Consider:

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1. Form II verbs occur with the vocalic pattern /fa88a1/. It is formed, or rather, derived from Form I by doubling the second radical.

- 1a) /?ilhe:Ta ihmarrat milbuya/ Form IX verb  
 'The wall became red because of the paint.'
- 1b) /?ilbuya hammarat ilhe:ta/ Form II verb  
 'The paint caused/made the wall red.'
- 2a) /?izzar8 ixDarr missiba:x/  
 'The plants became green because of fertilizers.'
- 2b) /?issiba:x xaDarr izzar8/  
 'The fertilizers caused/made the plants green.'
- 3a) /huwwa iSfarr milmaraD/  
 'He became pale because of sickness.'
- 3b) /?ilmaraD Saffaruh/  
 'Sickness caused/made him pale.'
- 4a) /?ilmadxana iswaddat midduxxa:n/  
 'The chimney became black because of smoke.'
- 4b) /?idduxxan sawwad ilmadxana/  
 'The smoke caused/made the chimney black.'
- 5a) /Sa8r irra:gil ibyaDD missin/  
 'The old man's hair became white because of old age.'
- 5b) /?issinn bayyaD Sa8r irra:gil/  
 'Old age caused/made the old man's hair white.'

Two points must be stressed here: (a) Form IX may, as was established before, occur in receptive clauses, and there is, further, a semantic paraphrase relationship holding between colour verbs appearing in this Form (i.e. IX) and Form II; (b) Form II occur in operative clauses, and have a receptive correlate.

It is worth pointing out in this connection that Form II colour verbs have two passive correlates which function exactly in the same way; both passive

analogues carry the same semantic load and occur in the same situations.

As an illustration, consider the examples given below:

<u>Operative</u>	<u>receptive</u>
<p>(1) /?ilmaraD Saffar iTTifl/ 'Illness made the child pale.'</p>	<p>a) /?iTtIf1 iSfarr milmaraD/ 'The child became pale because of illness.'</p> <p>b) /?iTtIf1 itSaffar milmaraD/ 'The child became pale because of illness.'</p>
<p>(2) /?idduxxa:n sawwad ilmadxana/ 'Smoke made the chimney black.'</p>	<p>a) /?ilmadxana iswaddat midduxxa:n/ 'The chimney became black because of smoke.'</p> <p>b) /?ilmadxana itsawwadat midduxxa:n/ 'The chimney became black because of smoke.'</p>
<p>(3) /?iSSinn bayyaD sa8r irra:gil/ 'Old age made the man's hair white.'</p>	<p>a) /Sa8r irra:gil ibyaDD missinn/ 'The man's hair became white because of age.'</p> <p>b) /Sa8r irra:gil itbayyaD missinn/ 'The man's hair became white because of age.'</p>

<u>Operative</u>	<u>receptive</u>
(4) /?ilbuya hammarat ilhe:Ta/ 'The paint made the wall red.'	a) /?ilhe:Ta ihmarrat milbuya/ 'The wall became red because of paint.' b) /?ilhe:Ta ithammarat milbuya/ 'The wall became red because of paint.'
(5) /?issiba:x xaDDar izzar8/ 'Fertilizers made the plants green.'	a) /?izzat8 ixDarr missiba:x/ 'The plants became green because of fertilizers.' b) /?izzar8 itxDarr missiba:x/ 'The plants became green because of fertilizers.'
(6) /?ilhibr zarra? iSSafha/ 'The ink made the sheet blue.'	a) /?iSSafha izra??at milhibr/ 'The sheet became blue because of the ink.' b) /?iSSafha itzarra?at milhbir/ 'The sheet became blue because of the ink.'

We note that:

- (1) Receptive clauses occurring with Form IX verbs accept one of two prepositions which precede the actor, namely /min/, and /bi/, means 'by'.
- (2) All Form IX verbs are semantically indicative of colour, defects or flaws (for defect verbs, see below).

### Defect Verbs

These constitute a relatively small class of verbs which mainly occurs in effective : receptive clauses with the formative pattern /ʔif8all/, Form IX. The main difference between this class and the other one denoting colours, which occurs, again, with the same vocalic pattern, lies in the fact that those verbs denoting defects have no active analogue, as is the case with the previous class.

In SA (Standard Arabic), by way of comparison, they occur in one of two ways:

- (1) in a relational type of clause with the 'S' element functioning as an 'attribuand', and the 'C' as an 'attribute', in which case no predicator figures out in the surface syntax of the clause. The prepositional particle /bihi/, 'have, has got' refers anaphorically to the subject. In addition to this, the case-endings, which are a characteristic feature of SA, mark the syntactic status of the element concerned, e.g.
- /muḥammadun bihi Samamun/  
'Muhammad (is) deaf.' Lit. '... within him is deafness.'
  - /muḥammadun bihi 8awarun/  
'Muhammad (is one-eyed.)' Lit. '... within him is  
one-eyedness.'
- (2) or in an 'action' clause with verbs like /ʔaSa:ba/, 'inflict, suffer from', in which case they exhibit, contrary to the situation in Colloquial, an operative/receptive contrast, e.g.

- /muhammadun aSa:bahu Samamun/ Operative  
' Muhammad suffers from deafness.'
- /muhammadun uSi:ba biSSamami/ receptive  
'Deafness was inflicted upon Muhammad.'
- /8aliyun aSa:bahu 8awarun/ operative  
'Ali suffers from being one-eyed.'
- /8aliyun uSi:ba bi8awarin/ receptive  
'Ali was inflicted with being one-eyed.'

However one peculiarity which verbs of 'defects' share with verbs of colour, to the exclusion of most verb forms, is that they operate in a system, not with Form I, but rather with cognate adjectives.

The following few examples shed light on that system:

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Form IX 'defect' verbs</u>
/ʔa <u>8</u> war/, 'one-eyed'	/ʔi <u>8</u> warr/, 'he became one-eyed'
/ʔa <u>8</u> rag/, 'one-legged'	/ʔi <u>8</u> ragg/, 'he became limp, one-legged'
/ʔa <u>S</u> nag/, 'deaf'	/ʔi <u>S</u> nagg/, 'he became deaf'
/ʔa <u>T</u> ras/, 'deaf'	/ʔi <u>T</u> rass/, 'he became deaf'
/ʔaxra <u>S</u> /, 'mute'	/ʔixra <u>S</u> S/, 'he became mute'
/ʔa <u>8</u> wag/, 'twisted'	/ʔi <u>8</u> wagg/, 'he became twisted'

The following are clauses representative of this relatively small class of verbs and adjectives:

- (1) /ʔilwalad ʔi8warr/ʔa8war milhumma/  
'The boy became/is blind because of fever.'
- (2) /ʔil8askari i8ragg/a8ragg mirruSa:Sa/  
'The soldier became/is limp because of the bullet.'

(3) /ʔizzɑ:biT iSnagg/aSnag milinfiga:r/

'The officer became/is deaf because of the explosion.'

(4) /xamsa iTrassu/Turs milkumbila/

'Five became/are deaf because of the bomb.'

(5) /hasan ixraSS/axraS milxof/

'Hasan became/is mute because of fear.'

(6) /rigl ilwalad i8waggat/8oga milhadsa/

'The boy's leg became/is twisted because of fear.'

We notice that in the above examples the structural element 'S' realizes the transitivity role 'goal', and the actor (be it instrument or force) is realized prepositionally in the form of an adjunct. The adjunct is optional, hence deletable without any trace of ungrammaticality on the part of the user of the language. The preposition /min/ functions in a way very similar to the English 'by-agent'.

It may be noted also that the above clauses have no operative correlates in the way that clauses involving colour verbs normally do. Compare:

Receptive

Operative

1a) /ʔizzar8 idXarr missiba:x/ /issiba:x xaDDar izzar8/

'The plants became green because of fertilizers.'

'Fertilizers made the plants green.'

1b) /ʔilhe:Ta ihmarrat milbu:ya/ /ilbu:ya hammarat ilhe:Ta/

'The wall became red because of the paint.'

'The paint made the wall red.'

<u>Receptive</u>	<u>Operative</u>
2a) /?irra:gil iTra <u>SS</u> milkumbila/ 'The man became deaf because of the bomb.'	*/ ?ilkumbila Tarra <u>Sat</u> <sup>1</sup> irra:gil/
2b) /?ilmari:D ixra <u>SS</u> milxo:f/ 'The sick man became mute because of fear.'	*/?ilxo:f xarra <u>S</u> ilmari:D/

The two examples in (1) represent receptive clauses where the predicator selects a colour verb Form IX, passive; the corresponding operative clauses select as their predicator a colour verb Form II. The examples in (2) represent receptive clauses where the predicator selects a verb of the same Form, IX, with one semantic difference, namely, the verbs are 'defect' verbs. Clauses containing 'defect' verbs have no corresponding operative equivalents. Syntactically, they form a rather closed group of verbs which behave in this peculiar way of having no passive correlates.

It is to be noted that the examples, which are marked off as non-occurring as operative clauses corresponding to the receptive ones in (2) do occur, in my idiolect, as Causative Clauses containing verbs which belong to totally different lexical items.<sup>2</sup> For example,

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1. The lexeme /Tarras/ has the lexical meaning 'to make sick, or cause to vomit', but it does not occur in the sense of 'to make deaf'; consequently this sentence does not occur as the operative correlate of (2a).
  2. A similar example which I came across in my data is /?ikora 8awwarat ilwalad/, which means 'The ball hurt the boy.' It does not mean the ball made the boy one-eyed since the lexical item /8awwar/ 'hurt', is different from /?i8warr/, 'became one-eyed'.

the clause

- /?ikkumbila Tarrasat irra:gil/

may occur as meaning 'The bomb made the man vomit'. The verb is derived from /Taras/ 'vomit'; both (i.e. the causative and the non-causative) being different from /?iTrass/ which means 'become deaf' (i.e. a defect verb).

The last point to be made in this connection is that, in most cases, each descriptive : stative clause has a corresponding relational one where the roles of "attribuand" and "attribute" replace those of action clauses. (For a full discussion of this point, see Chapter 8 'Relational Clauses'.)

Contrast the following pairs of sentences where (a) is relational and (b) its corresponding descriptive : stative; note also that the sentences in (b) are "predicatorless".

1a) /?izzar8 axDaV/ ('S' = attribuand)

'The plants (are) green.'

1b) /?izzar8 ixDarr/ ('S' = goal)

'The plants became green.'

2a) /?ilmari:D aSfar/

'The patient (is) pale.'

2b) /?ilmari:D iSfarr/

'The patient became pale.'

3a) /?irra:gil a8war/

'The man (is) one-eyed.'

3b) /?irra:gil i8warr/

'The man became one-eyed.'

To recapitulate, we have tried in this chapter to give an account of descriptive : stative clauses which were designated as involving three classes of verbs (i.e. those denoting states, colours, and defects). An attempt has also been made to outline the reference of the choices 'operative versus receptive' open to the speaker in ECA as regards this specific class of clauses.

CHAPTER SIX

ACTION CLAUSES (iii)

SEMANTIC SYSTEMS

Introduction

In Chapters IV and V above we have been examining Extensive and Descriptive Stative Clauses. We have, in the course of our discussion, touched upon some of the options available to the speaker-hearer of ECA. Here the description proceeds with the treatment of this major clause type in more detail. The object is to concentrate upon the semantic systems exhibited by 'material' action clauses.<sup>1</sup>

Language is defined by Halliday as 'meaning potential': that is, as sets of options or alternatives, in meaning that are available to the speaker-hearer.<sup>2</sup> These options in the first place are semantic ones. They are in turn coded as options in grammar.<sup>3</sup> In more concrete terms, 'material' action clauses will be further specified in line with what is labelled in systemic linguistics the scale of delicacy; by which is meant "gradually making finer and finer distinctions in meaning;

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1. The description given in this Chapter, and the following one, draws heavily on M. Berry's "Introduction to Systemic Linguistics", Vol. I, 1975.
  2. See M.A.K. Halliday, "Explorations in the Functions of Language", London, Edward Arnold, 1973, p. 72.
  3. Ibid., p. 55.

that is, we are gradually making more delicate distinctions in meaning."<sup>1</sup> The area of meaning covered by this clause type will be represented in the form of semantic networks showing the options which the speaker-hearer may make use of.

Processes were said (Chapter IV) to fall into three main types: material, mental and relational (intensive). 'Material' is primarily concerned with action in the material or physical sense in contradistinction to 'mental' action. The following two sets of illustrative examples illustrate that difference:

1a) /huwwa Sadd isse:la/

'He pulled the parcel.'

b) /?issawa? sa:? il8arabiyya/

'The driver drove the car.'

c) /?iSSayya:l Za?? itturulli/

'The porter pushed the trolley.'

d) /huwwa sa:l ibnuh/

'He carried his son.'

e) /huwwa xala8 il?ifl/

'He pulled the lock out.'

2a) /?ittilmi:z fihim iddars/

'The pupil understood the lesson.'

b) /huwwa sa:f ilfilm/

'He saw the film.'

c) /?il8umma:l ma8agabhums ilkara:r iggidi:d/

'The workers did not like the new decision.'

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1. See M. Berry, 'Introduction to Systemic Linguistics', p. 177. For more information on 'delicacy' see: M.A.K. Halliday, 'Some Notes on Deep Grammar', Journal of Linguistics J.A. Anderson, 'A Note on Rank and Delicacy', Journal of Linguistics, 5, 1969.

d) /?ilmuxrig haka qiSSat ilfilm/

'The director narrated the story of the film.'

e) /?ilmumassila habbat ilmumassil liswid/

'The actress fell in love with the black actor.'

In set (1) the clause-element 'S' can be said to have performed a 'material action' by contrast with the mental type of action performed by the corresponding clause-element 'S' in set (2). The fact that the structural element 'S' may or may not be realized as a separate entity in both sets is a matter of distribution of information and linguistic context. (See Chapter 13 on Thematization). What is to be stressed in this connection is that the morphology of the verb system in Arabic, Colloquial and Standard alike, indicates the existence or otherwise of the element 'S', plus its number-gender concordial relation; hence the 'S' element may be realized as an actual syntactic mode i.e. NP, or may be marked by the form of the verb occurring at P. By way of exemplification, in the sentences:

a) /Darabha/

'(He) hit her.'

b) /huwwa Darabha/

'He hit her.'

c) /hasan Darabha/

'Hasan hit her.'

the last one (c) is more informative than (a) and (b). The difference between (a) and (b) is purely one of focus. The subject has as its exponent a pronoun in (b) /huwwa/ 'He', and a proper noun in (c) /hasan/; whereas in (a) it is not realized as a separate NP, but marked by the form

of the verb at P.

### Action Process v. Event Process

The clause is the structural unit by which we give expression to processes; it is at the same time the rank of unit which acts as the entry condition for the transitivity choices. The structure-forming elements - actor - initiator - goal ... etc., are all related to the general function of expressing processes.<sup>1</sup> However the labels which are given to them, i.e. actor, goal, etc., describe their specific roles in the encoding of the meanings the speaker wants to convey. These structure-forming elements themselves are identified syntactically.

So 'material' clauses may be further subdivided into two sub-types:



A clause which has selected the term 'material' process also makes a more 'delicate' choice between 'action and event'. This choice involves finer distinctions in meaning according to the concept of delicacy. In other words the subdivision sets up a distinction between a material process whose 'actor' is animate, specifically human, and an event process whose 'actor' is inanimate.

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1. See M.A.K. Halliday, 'Explorations in the Functions of Language', Chapter 2.

The difference between the two subtypes is displayed by the following sentences:

Set I

- 1a) /?il8askari Darab iggumhu:r/  
 'The soldier beat the crowd of people.'
- b) /?ilfalla:h nabat il?uTn/  
 'The farmer planted cotton.'
- c) /?issagga:la gama8u ilmahSu:l/  
 'The workmen reaped the harvest.'
- d) /?ilmudarris Sahhah ikkarari:s/  
 'The teacher corrected the books.'
- e) /?inna:Zir TaraD ilfarras/  
 'The headmaster dismissed the servant.'

Set II

- 2a) /?ilmadfa8 Darab/  
 'The cannon went off.'
- b) /?izzar8 nabat/  
 'The plants sprouted.'
- c) /?innaxlah wi?8it/  
 'The palm-tree fell down.'
- d) /?ilmayyah kaSarat iSSu:r/  
 'The water broke the fence.'
- e) /?il8a:Sifa wa??a8at ilbe:t il?adi:m/  
 'The gale made the old house fall.'

The process in set (1) is performed by an animate, human actor whereas that in set (2) is performed by an inanimate. Basically the clause-element 'S', in both sets is the 'actor' since it performs the action, notwithstanding the fact that it may or may not be animate.

Thus whereas Fillmore's case grammar,<sup>1</sup> by way of comparison, would distinguish between two 'types of actors' in the foregoing examples (set I and (set II), set I assigned the case of agent, set II the case of instrument or patient, systemic linguistics as expounded by Halliday would assign both the same transitivity role 'actor'; and at the same time would distinguish between them on the basis of difference in the process. The process is labelled event process if the participant in the role of actor is inanimate, action process if animate. Again the clause-element 'S' will be actor in such clauses as

(1) /?irri:h fatah ilba:b/

'The wind opened the door.'

(2) ?iSSaDa ka1 ilmifaSSala/

'Rust ate away the hinge.'

(3) /?ilmi?aSS ?aTa8 iSSilk/

'The scissors cut the wire.'

in spite of the conflict of criteria which may be suggested by Fillmore's considering the surface structure category 'S' in clauses like the above 'instrument', not agent (actor). The crucial point is that, being either animate or inanimate, the clause-element 'S' still is the actor since it performs the action. Fillmore's definition of 'agentive' is "the case of the typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb", while

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1. See C.J. Fillmore, 'The Case for Case' in E. Back and R.T. Harms (eds.), 'Universals in Linguistic Theory', New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1968.

the 'instrumental' is "the case of the inanimate force or object causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb".<sup>1</sup>

Set (2) event-process clauses listed above raise certain problems as to their participant roles. So one may give them a more detailed description here. The clause /?ilmadfa8 Darab/ 'The cannon went off' is related to /?ilmadfa8 inDarab/ 'The cannon was made/caused to go off' and /?il8askari Darab ilmadfa8/ 'The soldier made/caused the cannon to go off'. Surface structurally, /?ilmadfa8 Darab/ and /?ilmadfa8 inDarab/ may be regarded, under one interpretation as the corresponding receptive of /?il8askari Darab ilmadfa8/. Yet at closer examination a difference in the participant roles involved is discernible, a difference which invalidates the previous argument. In /?ilmadfa8 Darab/ the clause-element 'S' combines two participant roles 'actor + initiator' in a single entity, with the verb at P active; in /?ilmadfa8 inDarab/ the same element 'S' has the transitivity feature 'goal', that is to say, the subject fulfils the role of 'goal', with a passive predicator. In /?il8askari Darab ilmadfa8/ there are two separate participants, one filling the slot of the subject, the second that of complement. The element 'S' has the participant role 'initiator', not actor; the actor being /?ilmadfa8/ 'the cannon' in this specific clause since the verb /Darab/

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1. See C.J. Fillmore, "The Case for Case", p. 24.

here implies Causation in the sense that /ʔilʕaskari/  
'the soldier' 'caused' or 'made' the cannon go off.

Compare the usage of the lexeme /Darab/ in the following pair of examples:

(1) /ʔilwalad Darab ilbint/

'The boy hit the girl.'

(2) /ʔilgafi:r Darab ilbunduʔiyya/

'The night watchman (caused) the gun to go off.'

In example (1) /ʔilwalad/ 'the boy' is both 'actor + initiator' since he performs the action and initiates the process, /ʔilbint/ 'the girl' is the 'goal' of the process; whereas /ʔilgafi:r/ 'the night watchman' in (2) is only initiator since he initiates the process, /ʔilbunduʔiyya/ 'the gun' is the actor since it is this participant in the process that 'does' the 'going off'.

The lexeme /Darab/, to make the point clearer, implies just physical action in example (1) and physical action associated with causation in example (2). Consequently causation requires a 'causer' or 'initiator' and an actor which are realized, in the present case, as two discrete entities in the surface syntax.

Another distinction is discernible in the two previous examples, namely, the first selects the transitivity feature 'directed action', that is action on a goal; the second 'non-directed action', the 'S' element is the initiator, the 'C' element actor.

Following is a table that designates the features as realized in the examples:

Operative	Receptive	Operative
<p>1. /?ilmadfa8 Darab/ 'The cannon went off.'</p> <p>S = actor + initiator</p>	<p>/?ilmadfa8 inDarab/ 'The cannot was made to go off.'</p> <p>S = goal</p>	<p>/?il8askari Darab ilmadfa8/ 'The soldier (made) the cannon go off.'</p> <p>S = initiator C = actor</p>
<p>2. /?izzar8 nabat/ 'The plants sprouted.'</p> <p>S = actor + initiator</p>	<p>a. /?izzar8 nabbit/ b. /?izzar8 itnabbit/ 'The plants were made to sprout.'</p> <p>S = goal</p>	<p>a. /?issitt nabbitit izzar8/ 'The woman made the plants sprout.'</p> <p>b. /?ilmayya nabbitit izzar8/ 'Water made the plants sprout.'</p> <p>S = initiator C = actor</p>
<p>3. /?ilmaTar nizil/ 'Rain fell.'</p> <p>S = actor + initiator</p>	<p>/?ilmaTar itnazzil/ 'Rain was made to fall.'</p> <p>S = goal</p>	<p>/rabbina nazzil ilmaTar/ 'God made the rain fall.'</p> <p>S = initiator C = actor</p>
<p>3. /?iSSu:r kaSar/ 'The fence broke.'</p> <p>S = actor + initiator</p>	<p>/?iSSu:r inkaSar/ 'The fence was broken.'</p> <p>S = goal</p>	<p>a. <u>non-causative</u> /?ilmayya kaSarat iSSu:r/ 'Water broke the fence.'</p> <p>S = actor + initiator C = goal</p>

Operative	Receptive	Operative
		b. <u>Causative</u> /?ilmayya kaSSarat iSSu:r/ 'Water caused the fence to break.' S = initiator C = actor
5. /?il8arabiyya wil8it/ 'The car caught fire.' S = actor + initiator	/?il8arabiyya itwalla8 fi:ha/ 'The car was set fire to.' S = goal	/?il8a:mi1 walla8 fi18arabiyya/ 'The worker set fire to the car.' S = actor + initiator C = goal

The transitivity features assigned to the previous clauses raise some arguments and seem contradictory with the description given in the previous chapters. But at closer examination they can be attested. For instance, the operative clauses with two separate participants occurring with a causative verb are mostly those of initiator associated with the 'S' element, and actor associated with the 'C' element. In example (4), the verb /kaSar/ is not causative, thus the 'S' element combines 'initiator and actor', and is transitive or intransitive in function depending upon whether or not a 'goal' is present; but with /kaSSar/ the situation is different, the verb being causative, apart from the semantic tie-up of intensification, the 'S' element is only 'initiator' and 'C' actor, not goal.

Intention Process V. Supervention Process

In the previous section, we distinguished between action process and event process. The distinction was meant to differentiate between a material process whose actor is animate (action process) and that whose actor is inanimate (event process). Here we will consider two more subdivisions of 'action process' as opposed to 'event process'. In other words, going down on the scale of delicacy one can discern in the case of action process two more delicate distinctions, that is, intention process v. supervention process. The meaning of those terms is reflected in the following quotation from M. Berry:<sup>1</sup>

"However action processes may be either intentional or unintentional. For clauses which have chosen the term action process, there is a further choice between intention process, a process which the participant in the role of actor performs voluntarily and supervention process, a process which just happens."

The following set of examples illustrate the type labelled 'intention clauses':

Set I

- a) /huwwa Sirib iSSay/  
'He drank tea.'
- b) /?ilmudarris Darab ilwa:d/  
'The teacher beat the boy.'
- c) /?iTTa:lib kal sandawits/  
'The student ate a sandwich.'

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1. M. Berry, 'Introduction to Systemic Linguistics', vol. I, p. 151.

d) /Sa:h**ib** ilbe:t TaraD ilbawwa:b/  
 'The landlord dismissed the porter.'

e) /?ilxxaddama naDDafat i**SSa**??a/  
 'The woman servant cleaned the flat.'

The process in the above clauses is voluntarily performed by the participant in the role of actor. The actor is represented by an animate, human who possesses a will of his own to bring about such actions. The verbs involved normally require an animate participant.

Contrast:

Set II

a) /?i**SSawwa**? 8amal **h**adsah/  
 'The driver had (lit. made) an accident.'

b) /8ali Sa:dim issayyid/  
 'Ali collided with Essayid.'

c) /huwwa dala? il?ahwa/  
 'He spilt the coffee.'

d) /**h**asan garah **n**afsu**h** wihuw**w**a biyih**l**a?/  
 'Hasan wounded himself while shaving.'

e) /8am **a**hmad da:s ibnu**h**/  
 'Uncle Ahmad knocked his son over (by his car).'

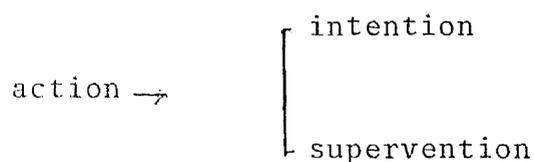
The process in these examples is unintentional, that is, the actor performed the action without intending it to be so; hence it is labelled 'supervention process', i.e. it just happens.

A counter-argument may be that a clause like /huwwa dala? il?ahwa/ 'he spilt the coffee' (set IIc), though a supervention process clause, may be interpreted in a specific context as an 'intention process' clause in

the sense that the actor performed the act of 'spilling the coffee' deliberately. However in normal conditions the process is one of supervention; and the occurrence possibility of the same clause selecting the other subtype of process is contextually bound, but not precluded.

Still the counter-argument may be stronger with intention processes involved in causative clauses (see Part III). For example /?ana Sarrabtuh iddawa/ 'I made him drink the medicine' may be interpreted in various ways according to the context of the situation. It may be interpreted, among other things, as 'I forced him to drink the medicine', or 'I convinced him to drink the medicine', or 'I made him drink the medicine entirely out of his own volition'. Causative clauses will be dealt with in depth later on.

We can therefore assume two subdivisions of action process: intention and supervention. The question of the applicability of this subdivision to event process clauses is blocked since 'actors' in such clauses are typically inanimate and have no free will of their own with the concomittant result that intention, volition, or supervention is precluded. These two options on the part of action process may be represented in a system as follows:



### Typical V. Untypical

The processes dealt with under 'action process v. event process' and 'intention process v. supervention process' were all typical ones. By typical here is meant that "the action type of process is usually combined with an animate type of participant in the role of actor while the event type of process is usually combined with an inanimate participant in the role of actor".<sup>1</sup> Put differently the combinations of transitivity choices reflected in the illustrative examples in the previous two sections are the usual, typical combinations which normally accompany them.

However, this is not always the case. It is very likely for an <sup>in</sup>animate participant to combine with action process and an inanimate one with event process. This will yield the distinction which is referred to here as 'typical v. untypical'.

Contrast the illustrative examples in a) and b) below:

a) Inanimate Combined with action process:<sup>2</sup>

1) /?ilba:b 8a:kis ilwalad/

'The door teased (lit. quarrelled with) the boy.'

2) /?il?ulla Dihkit liyya/

'The jar laughed to me.'

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1. See M. Berry, 'Introduction to Systemic Linguistics, vol. I, pp. 154-55.

2. Most of these examples are taken from popular songs.

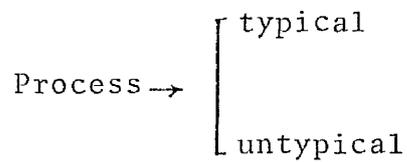
- 3) /ʔissagara raʔaSat firri:h/  
'The tree danced in the wind.'
- 4) /ʔizzar8 Sabbah lirabbina/  
'The plants repeated the name of God.'  
(Lit. ... said/Subhanallah/ 'Glory be to God'.)
- 5) /ʔirrabi:8 8a:niʔ guSu:n issagar/  
'Spring hugged the boughs of trees.'
- 6) /ʔilmoga bitgri wara ilmoga 8awza tiTulha wiDDumah/  
'The wave runs after another wave, hoping to reach her and hug her.'
- b) Animate Combined with event process:
- 1) /ʔilwalad itxassab milbard/  
'The boy turned into wood (because) of cold.'
- 2) /ʔil8askari itgammid mirru8b/  
'The soldier froze with fear.'
- 3) /humma biy8wu miggu:8/  
'They are howling with hunger.'
- 4) /huwwa itSammar fimakanu/  
'He was nailed to his place.'
- 5) /huwwa itlazaʔ filhe:Ta/  
'He stuck to the wall.'
- 6) /ʔinna:gih Ta:r milfarah/  
'The successful man soared with pleasure.'

We notice that both sets of sentences (a) and (b) share one common feature, that is, they are a realization of an unusual combination of transitivity choices. That is to say, in normal conditions, the sentences in (a) will opt for an animate participant to fulfil the transitivity function 'actor' in combination with an action

type of process, whereas those in (b) will opt for an inanimate participant to play the same role in combination with an event type of process.

So the sentences in (a) signify that the inanimate participants /ʔilba:b/ 'the door', /ʔilʔulla/ 'the jar', /ʔissagara/ 'the tree', /ʔizzar8/ 'the plants', /ʔirrabi:8/ 'the spring', /ʔilmoga/ 'the wave' which fill the subject slot are personified as a result of the process indicated by the verbs. For instance, when a user of the language says /ʔizzar8 sabbaḥ lirabbina/ 'The plants repeated the name of God' (set a, ex. 4), he will be investing the inanimate participant /ʔizzar8/ with the qualities of a dutiful worshipper who keeps on repeating God's attributes as a sign of piety. Apart from the religious background which evokes such a statement, the switch to the inanimate in such a process makes it untypical as opposed to the typical one where the speaker will select the usual animate actor to perform such a process.

In the examples in (b) the process normally combines with an inanimate who participates in the action; but instead of that typical combination of inanimate with event process, we have an animate actor who is endowed with qualities belonging to non-animates. For example /ʔil8askari/ 'the soldier' (set b, 2) is depersonified and partly given a property which is peculiar to water, i.e. that of /tagammud/ 'freezing'. To finish off our discussion of this point the two options referred to are shown in the system below:



### Restricted V. Unrestricted

The description of the semantic systems exhibited by material action clauses has been so far confined to types and sub-types of processes. In other words material processes were divided into action v. event process, then intention v. supervision and lastly into typical v. untypical. In this section the focus of attention is on the number of participants associated with material process rather than on divisions of the processes as such.

The number of participants in material clauses varies according to the verbs involved; there may be one or more entities taking part in the process. So a distinction is set up between processes which are associated with either one or two participants; and processes which require a fixed number of participants. The former is labelled 'unrestricted process'; the latter 'restricted process'. The distinction referred to here is put forward in the following quotation:

"We can distinguish ... between processes for which we do not have any particular expectancy as regards the number of participants (unrestricted processes) and processes which we expect to occur with a particular number of participants (restricted processes). We can subdivide restricted processes into those which we expect to occur with one participant (middle) and those which we expect to occur

with two (non-middle)."<sup>1</sup>

Consider the following illustrations of unrestricted process:

Set I

- a) /hasan fatah ilbawwa:bah/  
'Hasan opened the gate.'
- b) /?ilbawa:bah fatahat/  
'The gate opened.'
- c) /?issagga:la kasarat iSSi:ni/  
'The woman servant broke the china.'
- d) /?iSSi:ni kasar/  
'The china broke.'
- e) /hasan sarax sa:sit ittilifizyo:n/  
'Hasan cracked the screen of the television.'
- f) /sa:sit ittilifizyo:n saraxat/  
'The screen of the television cracked.'
- g) /?ilxadda ma barradat issurbah/  
'The woman servant cooled the soup.'
- h) /?issurbah birdit/  
'The soup cooled off.'
- i) /hasan ?aTam ilhadi:da/  
'Hasan split the bar of iron.'
- j) /?ilhadi:da ?aTamat/  
'The bar of iron split.'

The above illustrations represent sentences involving unrestricted processes as to the number of participants

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1. See M. Berry, 'Introduction to Systemic Linguistics', Vol. I, p. 157.

occurring with them. The verbs /fatah/ 'open', /kasar/ 'break', /sarax/ 'crack', /barrad/ 'cool', /?aTam/ 'split', almost always occur with one participant as well as two participants as shown in the examples. So there is no particular expectancy regarding the number of participants in clauses indicating unrestricted process.

The other transitivity option which contrasts with that of 'unrestricted process' is 'restricted process' where the number of the participants is 'relatively fixed' compared with that in set (I) examples.

Consider the following restricted processes:

Set II

- a) /8ali hadaf iSSunna:ra filbahr/  
'Ali cast the fish-hook into the sea.'
- b) /?illa88e:b sa:t go:n/  
'The player scored a goal.'
- c) /?ilwa:d iSSugayyar Sa?aT ilmaDrab/  
'The little boy caught (lit. picked up) the bat.'
- d) /?il?uTTa xarbiṣit ḥasan firiglu/  
'The cat scratched the boy's leg.'
- e) /?il?aTr da:S iggamu:sa/  
'The train ran over (lit. trod on) the buffalo.'
- f) /?il8arabiyya SaDamat kalb/  
'The car knocked a dog over.'
- g) /?iSSayya:d naSab faxx/  
'The hunter set a trap.'
- h) /?ilbint ramat iSSanTa fil?arD/  
'The girl threw the suitcase on the ground.'

i) /ʔinna:s zaʔʔu ilutubi:s/

'The people pushed the bus.'

These sentences exemplify restricted process clauses in the sense that the number of participants, which usually occur with the verbs involved, is fixed. Processes such as those denoted by the verbs /hadaf/ 'cast', /sa:t/ 'kick', /saʔaT/, 'pick up, catch' ... etc. require two participants, or two parties sharing in the process. Again restricted process clauses may be associated with only one participant, e.g.

1) /ʔil8adda:ʔ giri biSur8ah/

'The marathon ran quickly.'

2) /huwwa miʔi 8arraSi:f/

'He walked on the pavement.'

3) /garna biy8tug/

'Our neighbour limps.'

4) /ʔirraʔʔaSa raʔaSat fiddiwwa:r/

'The dancer danced in the very big house.'

5) /ʔirra:gil da hay8i:s kiti:r/

'This man will live long.'

6) /gididi sa:fir faranSa:/

'My grandfather travelled to France.'

7) /ʔil8a:lim daxal igga:mi8/

'The learned man entered the mosque.'

8) /ʔizzuwwa:r xaragu milmandara/

'The visitors went out of the sitting-room.'

The processes exhibited by these sentences are restricted to only one participant, or rather a conflation of two participants 'actor + initiator'. This combination

of transitivity functions is almost always realized whenever a verb of the so-called 'verbs of motion' like /daxal/ 'enter', /xarag/ 'go out', /sa:fir/ 'travel' occurs in a sentence.

So we have two options as to the number of participants occurring in material process clauses:

material process { unrestricted  
restricted

#### Middle V. Non-middle

Restricted process clauses were shown to be associated with either two participant roles 'actor and goal', or one participant role i.e. actor. However restricted clauses will be sub-divided again into 'middle and non-middle'. By 'middle' is meant that class of clauses which has only one participant (actor) appearing in its surface syntax; whereas 'non-middle' means that class of clauses which has two participants (actor and goal) figuring in its surface syntax.

Contrast (a) and (b)

(a) Restricted : middle

1) /hasan kahh/

'Hasan coughed.'

2) /8aliyya laffat hwale:n ilma?a:m/

'Aliya went round (lit. circled) the saint's tomb.'

3) /?irrayyis sa:b ilbe:t/

'The boss left (walked out of) the house.'

4) /?iTifl xarram filmayyah/

'The boy waded into the water.'

5) /Sayyid 8iTis 8aTsite:n/

'Sayid sneezed twice.'

(b) Restricted : non-middle

1) /?issayya:D farad issabaka/

'The fisherman spread (lit. stretched) the net.'

2) /?ilhuku:ma haddat il8ima:ra il?adi:ma/

'The government pulled down (lit. demolished) the old block of flats.'

3) /?ilhuSa:n rafaS Sahbu/

'The horse kicked his owner.'

4) /?ilbanna bana be:t/

'The builder built a house.'

5) /?ilbuli:S ?abaD 8almugrim/

'The police arrested the criminal.'

Causative V. Non-causative

Switching back to unrestricted process clauses, we find that those occurring with two participants allow two further subdivisions: causative v. non-causative. Put differently, a closer examination of the examples mentioned earlier under unrestricted clauses shows that an implication of causation is sometimes discernible in their meanings despite the absence of a 'causativizer', i.e. a morphological signal such as gemination or duplication. For instance, the clause /hasan fatah ilbawwaba/ 'Hasan opened the gate' may be paraphrased as 'Hasan caused the

gate to open', without the verb being formally marked as causative. The following list of verbs share the same characteristics of /fatah/, that is, they imply causation without a causativizer:

fatah	→	open, cause to open
ṣarax		crack, cause to crack
kaSar		break, cause to break
?aTam		split, cause to split
?aTa8		cut, cause to cut
nasal		wear out, cause to wear out
fakk		to untie, cause to untie
hall		open, unlock, dissolve, cause to ...
?afal		lock, cause to lock
xaram		pierce, cause to pierce
farad		stretch, cause to stretch.

The same implication of causation may be present and signalled morphologically by the form of the verb as in the verbs /daxxal/ 'make, cause to enter', /xarrag/ 'make, cause to go. This will be dealt with separately in Part III under Causative Clauses (Chapter 9).

### Conclusion

The systems discussed in this chapter are interrelated. They contrast with each other within a common grammatical area. So the system restricted v. unrestricted has a relation of simultaneity with the related system action v. event process in the sense that (a) both of them select 'material process' in contra-

distinction to mental or relational process, (b) their terms have the potentiality of combining with each other without any restrictions. As a result a material clause may opt for restricted or unrestricted irrespective of whether it selects action or event process; it may also choose action or event process regardless of whether it opts for unrestricted or restricted. To materialize these points the following illustrations are given:

A1) /?ilhakam xarrag illa88i:ba barrah/

'The referee made (caused) the players to go out.'

2) /?illa88i:ba xaragu: barrah ilma18ab/

'The players were made to go outside the playground.'

3) /rayyis issugl sayyil issagga:la issiwilah/

'The boss of the workers made the workers carry the sacks.'

4) /?issagga:la sa:lu issiwilah/

'The workers carried the sacks.'

B1) /?inni:l garra? il?arD xa:lis/

'The Nile flooded the land completely.'

2) /?il?arD gir?it xa:liS/

'The land (was) flooded completely.'

3) /?ilhawa wa??a8 xamas sagara:t kuba:r/

'The wind caused five big trees to fall.'

4) Xamas sagara:t kuba:r wi?8u/

'Five big trees fell.'

C1) /8ali sa:t ilhagar/

'Ali kicked the stone.'

2) /?ilbawwa:b za? il8arabiyya/

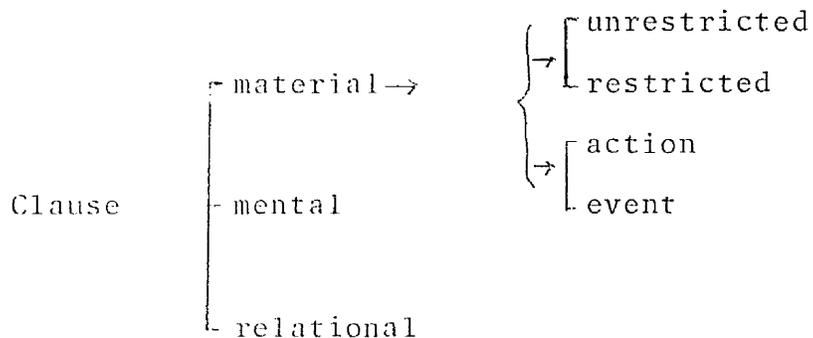
'The porter pushed the car.'

- 3) /?ilwa:d naTT iSSu:r/  
'The boy jumped over the fence.'
- 4) /?ilbint itsa8la?at fiSSagara/  
'The girl clung to the tree.'
- D1) /?ilbahr bala8 ilmarkab/  
'The sea swallowed the ship.'
- 2) /?iTtayya:r garaf ilbe:t/  
'The current swept the house away.'
- 3) /?ilmayyah sa:lat 8assikkah/  
'Water flowed over the road.'
- 4) /dammu Sa:h/  
'His blood flowed (lit. gushed up).'

In (A) we have examples representing unrestricted process occurring in combination with action process.

In (B) it is unrestricted process again taking place in combination with event process. The clauses in (C) display a type of restricted process connected with action process whereas those in (D) are manifestations of restricted process co-occurring with event process.

This gives evidence to the 'relatedness' and simultaneity of the systems unrestricted v. restricted process and action process v. event process. The figure below indicates this:



So we have dealt with some of the semantic systems of material clauses, which represent common areas of meanings. The generalizations made about systems and their characteristics in this chapter are represented by the following quotation from M. Berry:

"It is ... true that the terms in a system are distinct and distinguishable meanings between which it is possible to choose, that the meanings contrast with each other within a common area of meanings, that the terms are both mutually exclusive and mutually dependent and that the system is finite." 1

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1. See M. Berry, 'Introduction to Systemic Linguistics', Vol. I, p. 179.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MENTAL PROCESS CLAUSES

Introduction

In this chapter a description of mental process clauses is given in contradistinction to the other two main types, viz. material and relational. At the structural level, both material and mental process clauses may be said to manifest the same structural elements: SPC.

Examples:

S	P	C	
/huwwa xala8 rigliTTarabi:za/			material process
'He pulled out the leg of the table.'			

S	P	C	
/huwwa <u>sa</u> :f rigliTTarabi:za/			mental process
'He saw the leg of the table.'			

However, at the systemic level both clauses may be said to display various differences: differences in process, in participant roles and in systems relating to the options available to the speaker as the linguistic context demands. The process indicated by a predicator such as /xala8/ 'to pull out' is entirely different from that indicated by its counterpart /sa:f/ 'to see' in that the former tells of a material action whereas the latter indicates a mental one.

It may be fitting to touch, in passing, upon a comparison between the systemic model adopted here and

the IC approach employed by Saad Gamal in his thesis, 'A Syntactic Study of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic'<sup>1</sup> with regard to the treatment of those two specific clauses. With Gamal two similar clauses are treated as syntactically identical; in other words the slots and fillers are quite identical. Hence the syntactic functions of NPs in both are the same.

However, the systemic model draws a distinguishing line between them on the grounds that, though the two clauses are surface-structurally the same, i.e. SPC, they display a great deal of difference at the systemic level. From the point of view of process the first clause involves a material process whereas the second involves a mental one. That is to say the process in /huwwa xala8 rigliTTa rabi:za/ 'He pulled out the leg of the table' is distinguished by its 'materialness'; while in /huwwa sa:f rigliTTa rabi:za/ 'He saw the leg of the table' the process is again distinguished by its 'mentalness'. Consequently the participants, or participant functions, vary, viz. actor-goal, and processer-phenomenon, respectively.

However, based upon this differentiation between the two processes is the related assumption that the participants in the process will be assigned different roles by transitivity, for instance, the NP /huwwa/, 'he' in the above two clauses will be in one case 'actor' and in

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1. See S.M. Gamal-Edlin, "A Syntactic Study of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic", Mouton & Co., N.V. Publishers, The Hague, 1967.

one case 'processer'; at the same time the nominal elements /rigliTTarabi:za/ which represent the clause element C would be labelled 'goal' and 'phenomenon' successively. By phenomenon is meant "what is perceived, felt, or thought of".<sup>1</sup>

Thus, though surface-structurally both clauses are syntactically similar, at the systemic level they exhibit much difference.

#### Choices Relating to Mental Process

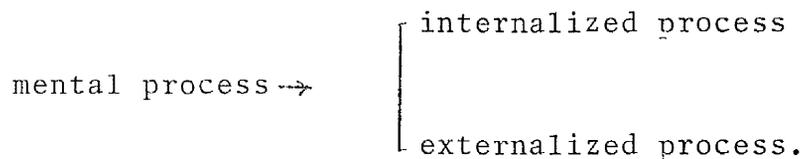
Going down on the scale of delicacy, processes in mental clauses are sub-categorized into either externalized or internalized. This is a semantic division based on the fact that internalized processes express internal mental actions and/or activities such as /sama:8/ 'hearing', /ro?yat/ 'seeing', /tafki:r/ 'thinking', /hubh/ 'liking', /?i8ga:b/ 'admiration', ... etc., while externalized processes express actions and/or activities such as /kala:m/ 'speech', /kaw1/ 'saying', /waSf/ 'description', /Sihadah/ 'giving evidence, testifying', ... etc. The Arab grammarians called the class of verbs which occur in internalized processes /?af8a:l al-qulu:b/ 'verbs of the heart', i.e. which signify an act that takes place in the mind. The most common verbs of this class are

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1. See Halliday, 'Language Structure and Language Function', in Lyons, J. (ed.), 'New Horizons in Linguistics' (1970).

/ra?a/ 'to see' (i.e. to perceive), /8alima/ 'to know',  
 /diri/ 'to know', /wagad/ 'to see (i.e. to perceive),  
 /hafaz/ 'to memorize, to learn by heart'.

The system below reflects this dichotomy:



Examples of internalized mental process clauses:

- 1) /?ilwazi:r simi8 ilxabar ilmuz8ig/  
 'The minister heard the disturbing news.'
- 2) /hasan biyfakkar filmawDu:8/  
 'Hasan is thinking of the topic.'
- 3) /?iTTalaba sa:fu ilfilm/  
 'the pupils saw the film.'
- 4) /hiyya habbit ilhitta illi saknafi:ha/  
 'She liked the place she is living in.'
- 5) /Sayyid u8gib biSSu:ra/  
 'Sayid admired the picture.'

Examples of externalized mental process clauses:

- 1) /?issa:hid ?a:l ilha?i?a/  
 'The witness told (lit. said) the truth.'
- 2) /?ilmura:sil 8amal ta?ri:r kuwayyis/  
 'The correspondent made a good report.'

- 3) /?ilmuttaham ga:wib issu?a:l/  
'The convict answered the question.'
- 4) /?inna:Zir waSaf ilmaw?if ba8d ilmuZahra/  
'The headmaster described the situation after the  
demonstration.'
- 5) /?ilmumaSSil rawa ilhikaya/  
'The actor narrated the story.'

Apart from this dichotomy, internalized mental processes may be further subcategorized into four minor types according to whether they express processes of (a) perception, (b) cognition, (c) verbalization, (d) reaction.

(a) Perception Process Clauses

- 1) /huwwa baSS 8al?awla:d/  
'He looked at the boys.'
- 2) /humma Sa:fu ilxina:?ah/  
'They saw the quarrel.'
- 3) /?inna:s kulluhum sim8u ittamsiliyya/  
'All people heard the dramatized story.'
- 4) /huwwa Samm ri:ha gami:la filbe:t/  
'He smelt a sweet fragrance at home.'
- 5) /?ilvilla di 8umri mara?e:t zayyaha/  
'I have never seen such a villa in my life.'

(b) Reaction Process Clauses

- 1) /hasan habb ilbint di/  
'Hasan fell in love with that girl.'
- 2) /hiyya hiznit lamma habibha hagarha/  
'She was saddened by her lover deserting her.'
- 3) /?ilmuhandis firih h bil8arabiyya iggidi:da/  
'The engineer was pleased by the new car.'
- 4) /Sahhbi zi8il millihaSal/  
'My friend was saddened by what happened.'
- 5) /?iDDiu:f itgawbu ma8almusika/  
'The guests reacted to the music.'

(c) Cognition Process Clauses

- 1) /?ana aqna8tu biSSafar/  
'I convinced him to travel.'
- 2) /?iSSe:x da biyi8ti?id filarwa:h/  
'This Sheikh believes in spirits.'
- 3) /?ilxabi:r la:hiZ ilfar? be:n ilmakante:n/  
'The expert noticed the difference between the two engines.'
- 4) /?ilmuxTi? adrak xaTa?uh/  
'The wrong-doer realized his mistake.'
- 5) /?irra:gil il8agu:z it8arra<sup>h</sup>f 8alayyah/  
'The ageing man recognized me.'

(d) Verbalization Process Clauses

- 1) /?il?a:Di a8lan ilhukm/

'The judge announced the verdict.'

2) /?ilmuharrir 8amal ta?ri:r 8an ilma8rakah/

'The editor made a report about the battle.'

3) /gidditi hakat liyya haddu:ta/

'My grandmother narrated a fairy-tale to me.'

4) /?ilgira:n mawaSafu:s lo:n il8arabiyya/

'The neighbours did not describe the colour of the car.'

The ensuing system shows the four subcategories of internalized mental processes:

Internalized process →	}	perception process
		reaction process
		cognition process
		verbalization process.

It may be plausible to remark here that the description attempted is very close to semantics; however this is one aspect of systemic grammar which takes a rather comprehensive view of the levels of language. To quote Halliday on this point:

"Presenting the systemic description of a linguistic item as the underlying grammatical representation of that item would seem to imply that its paradigmatic relation to other items of the language was in some way its more fundamental property, from which its internal (syntagmatic) structure is considered to be derived ... underlying grammar is 'semantically significant' grammar, whether the semantics is regarded, with Lamb, as 'input' or, with Chomsky, as interpretation. What is being considered therefore is that that part of the grammar which is as it were 'closest to' the semantics may be represented in terms of

systemic features. This would provide a paradigmatic environment for the 'relatedness' of linguistic items, a contrast being seen as operating in the environment of other contrasts. Structure would then appear as the realization of complexes of systemic features." 1

However, one common feature which characterizes mental process clauses is the unlimited number of 'phenomena' which fill the slot of the complement compared with the comparatively limited number of participants involved in action clauses.

The structural elements S and C in mental clauses may be filled by nominals expressing a wide range of objects, persons, abstractions, and a variety of other things in which human experience abounds.

The following two quotations from Halliday represent his qualification of mental clauses, how they are distinct from action ones, and how the 'phenomenon', as a syntactic role, embraces various objects and things:

"They are distinct in that the 'phenomena' - that which is perceived, reacted to, etc. - is not limited, as are the participants in action clauses, to the class of things, namely persons, objects, abstractions, and the rest of the phenomena on the plane of experience." 2

"In action clauses, the participants are all things in this broad sense: persons, objects, abstractions, events, qualities, states or relations - elements of what is sometimes called the 'ideational content of language'. In mental process clauses, on the other hand,

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1. Halliday, 'Some Notes on Deep Grammar', pp. 62-63.
  2. M.A.K. Halliday, "Language Structure and Language Function" in Lyons, J. (ed.), 'New Horizons in Linguistics', p. 153.

the participants may be things, but may also be words: that is, facts and reports - elements that have been as it were 'processed' by language. This distinction is a fundamental one, probably in every language ..." 1

This may be pinpointed by comparing the number of possible participants occurring with a predicator like /Darab/ 'to hit', which is indicative of material action, with one like /habb/ 'to love' which indicates a mental process.

Compare (a) and (b):

(a) material process	(b) mental process
1) /8ali Darab ilbint/ 'Ali beat the girl.'	1) /8ali <u>h</u> abb ilbint/ (person) 'Ali liked the girl.'
*2) /8ali Darab i <u>S</u> Sagarah/ 'Ali hit the tree.'	2) /8ali <u>h</u> abb i <u>S</u> Sagarah/ (object) 'Ali liked this tree.'
*3) /8ali Darab ilfikra/ 'Ali hit the idea.'	3) /8ali <u>h</u> abb ilfikra/ (abstraction) 'Ali liked the idea.'
*4) /8ali Darab illi8ba/ 'Ali hit the toy.'	4) /8ali <u>h</u> abb illi8ba/ (event) 'Ali liked the toy.'

If we examine the sentences in (b), we find that they are associated with different participants. The participants are persons, objects, events, abstractions, ... etc. The example in (a-1) is the only acceptable sentence which

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1. See M.A.K. Halliday, 'Types of Process', in Kress, G.R. (ed.), "Halliday: System and Function in Language", London, Oxford University Press (1976), p. 166.

is associated with two roles, i.e. actor and goal; the remainder are not acceptable since they do not allow things, abstractions ... etc. to participate in the process.

It is worth noting that, with regard to ECA, verbs in mental process clauses belong to various verb forms, which makes it difficult for the investigator to rely on morphology in designating whether a given verb is transitive or intransitive. There is a great deal of overlap between the verb forms in this respect. By way of comparison, the common practice among classical Arab grammarians is to regard the verb form as a marker of a great deal of the semantics of verbs and also to specify the passive correlate of a given verb according to its form. To cite an example, the classical verb /qatala/ 'to kill', occurring with the pattern /fa8ala/, would be passivized as /qutila/ 'was killed', with the pattern /fu8ila/. This applies to transitive verbs like the one just mentioned, and intransitive ones like /8ahaba/ 'went', and /8ahiba/ 'was gone, was caused to be gone'.

Consider the following two pairs of examples where the verb in the first is transitive and in the second intransitive:

- |                                  |                  |
|----------------------------------|------------------|
| 1a) /qatala lliSSu lwalada/      | <u>operative</u> |
| 'The thief killed the boy.'      |                  |
| 1b) /qutila lwalada/             | <u>receptive</u> |
| 'The boy was killed.'            |                  |
| 2a) /8ahaba lwazi:ru ila ssigni/ | <u>operative</u> |
| 'The minister went to prison.'   |                  |

2b) /ʔuhiba ila ssigni/ receptive

'(someone) was imprisoned.'

With ECA, the morphological form does correlate with grammatical function to some degree, but not to the same extent as in Classical. The verb pattern, for example, always correlates with grammatical function in Reciprocal Clauses where verbs of Form VI and III are always used.

- |   |                      |
|---|----------------------|
| 1) /Sayyida <u>itsaklit</u> mi8 8liyya/ | <u>Form VI verb</u>  |
| 'Sayyida quarreled with Aliya.'         |                      |
| 2) /hiyya <u>itraslit</u> mi8 uxtaha/   | <u>Form VI verb</u>  |
| 'She corresponded with her sister.'     |                      |
| 3) /Sayyida <u>saklit</u> 8liyya/       | <u>Form III verb</u> |
| 'Sayyida quarrelled with Aliya.'        |                      |
| 4) /Sayyida <u>raslit</u> 8liyya/       | <u>Form III verb</u> |
| 'Sayyida corresponded with Aliya.'      |                      |

With Mental Clauses, however, this is not always the case. So therefore, although cases of completely regular correspondence do occur such as the following:

Operative

- 1) /huwwa Sa:f ilfilm/  
'He saw the film.'
- 2) huwwa ?a:l ilha?i:?a/  
'He told the truth.'

- 3) /huwwa Simi8 ilhika:ya/  
'He heard the story.'
- 4) /gididi baSS 8ala ilwalad/  
'My grandfather looked at the boy.'
- 5) /?irra:gil samm ri:ha hilwah/  
'The man smelt a sweet scent.'
- 6) /?ilgira:n waSafu lo:n il8arabiyya/  
'The neighbours described the colour of the car.'

### Receptive

- 1) /?ilfilm itsa:f/  
'The film was seen.'
- 2) /?ilha?i:?a it?a:lit/  
'The truth was told.'
- 3) /?ilhikaya itsama8at/  
'The story was heard.'
- 4) /?ilwalad itbaSS 8ale:h/  
'The boy was looked at.'
- 5) /ri:ha hilwah itsammit/  
'A sweet scent was smelt.'
- 6) /lo:n il8arabiyya itwaSaf kuwayyis/  
'The colour of the car was described well.'

There are cases where the relationship is more complex.

(a) The use of the passive participle is not consistent in its semantic relationship to the verb as is the case with action verbs and is to some extent unpredictable, as will be illustrated below.

(b) The verbs /baSS/ 'to look', /Sa:f/ 'to see', /?a:l/ 'to say' do not have passive participles. So the verb roots 'bSS', 'Sf', '?l' occur with the receptive-marker /it/ to denote passivity, but not with the pattern /maf8u:l/ e.g.

1) /?ilwalad itbaSS 8ale:h/

'The boy was looked at.'

2) /?iSSurah itsa:fit/

3) /?ilhikaya it?alit/

'The story was told.'

but not:

\*1) /?ilwalad mabSu:S/

\*2) /?iSSurah masyūfa/

\*3) /?ilhikaya ma?ūlah/

(c) The present tense passive negative has the connotation of 'negative' moral obligation, e.g.

/mayitsafs/ '(that) should not be seen'

/mayitsimi8s/ '(that) should not be heard'

/mayithiki:s/ '(that) should not be narrated'

/mayitwiSifs/ '(that) should not be described'.

(d) The verb roots /smm/ and /wSf/ occurring in (5) and

(6) occur with the pattern /maf8u:l/, though with a different meaning:

/ʔilakal da masmu:m/

'This food is poisoned' (by a snake or some poisonous insect which sniffed it).

/Surbit ilara:nib mawSu:fa luh/

'Rabbits' soup was prescribed for him' (The word 'prescribe' is used in the medical sense).

/mawSu:f luh iggawa:z 8asa:n yastakbirr/

'Marriage is 'prescribed' for him to settle down.'

This possibility of the extension of meaning with the passive participle may be further illustrated by the following pairs of sentences where the participle is used in both, with different meanings; this may result in a change of roles according to whether the participle involves mental action, or physical action.

Examples:

1a) /huwwa maʔsu:m luh yitgawwaz itne:n/

'He is predestined to marry two wives.'

1b) /ʔillahmah maʔsu:mah nuSSe:n/

'The meat is divided into two halves.'

2a) /ʔilmaktu:b 8al gibi:n la:zim tsufuh il8e:n/

'One must witness what is predestined for him.'

Lit. 'what is written on the forehead must be seen.'

- 2b) /ʔirriwa:ya di maktu:ba bixaTT hasan/  
 'This novel is written in Hasan's handwriting.'
- 3a) /huwwa ra:h ilhflah marsu:m 8ala:xir/  
 'He was very well-dressed when he went to the party.'  
 Lit. 'He was "well-painted" when he went to the party.'
- 3b) /ʔiSSu:ra di marsu:ma kiwayyis/  
 'This picture is well-painted.'
- 4a) /miraTuh ma8mu:l laha 8amal/  
 'A charm was made for his wife.'
- 4b) /giha:z il8aru:Sa na8mu:l kiwayyis/  
 'The bride's furniture is manufactured with skill.'
- 5a) /hiyya ma8Zu:ra wila:zim tru:h iZZa:r/  
 'She is possessed by evil spirits and must go to 'iZZār'  
 - a popular ritual which involves dancing designed to  
 cure possessed people.'
- 5b) /huwwa ma8Zu:r ka:n ta8ba:n/  
 'We must excuse him, he was tired.'
- 6a) /So:tak mis masmu:8/  
 'Your voice cannot be heard.'
- 6b) /da mukri? masmu:8 ?awi/  
 'This is a very reputable recitor.'

The range of processers and phenomena in reaction process clauses is somewhat wider than those in perception clauses. For instance, the processer and phenomena which are represented in the surface syntax by S (subject) and C (complement) may be both animates, specifically humans, in which case they are interchangeable; this interchangeability results in a change in the feature assigned by

transitivity to each element:

Examples:

- |     | S  | P            | C                  |
|-----|--|--------------|--------------------|
| 1a) | /?ilwalad                                | <u>h</u> abb | ilbint/            |
|     | Processer - process - phenomena          |              |                    |
|     | 'The boy loved the girl.'                |              |                    |
| 1b) | /?ilbint                                 | habbit       | ilwalad/           |
|     | processer - process - phenomenon         |              |                    |
|     | 'The girl loved the boy.'                |              |                    |
| 2a) | /?irra:gil                               | il8agu:z     | 8agab ilmudarrisa/ |
|     | processer - process - phenomenon         |              |                    |
|     | 'The old man admired the woman teacher.' |              |                    |
| 2b) | /?ilmudarrisa                            | 8agabat      | irra:gil il8agu:z/ |
|     | processer - process - phenomena          |              |                    |
|     | 'The woman teacher admired the old man.' |              |                    |

On the other hand, the possibility of interchangeability of NPs is precluded if the phenomena are inanimate; so the sentences in (a) are acceptable while those in (b) are not:

- a /?inna:s habbu ilfikra/  
 'The people liked the idea.'
- \*b /?ilfikrah habbit inna:s/  
 a /?ilbana:t habbu ilward/  
 'The girls liked roses.'
- \*b /?ilward habb ilbana:t/

However, a concomitant characteristic of this blocking of interchangeability is the occurrence of the animate element functioning as processer initially in operative clauses, otherwise the structure would not meet the requirements of acceptability.

Examples:

- |  |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|
|  | S | P | C |
|--|---|---|---|
- 1) /layla habbit sayyid  
 Processer - reaction verb - phenomenon  
 'Lyla loved Sayyid.'
- |  |   |   |  |
|--|---|---|--|
|  | S | P |  |
|--|---|---|--|
- 2) /Sayyid ithhabb/  
 Phenomenon - reaction verb  
 'Sayyid was loved.'
- |  |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|
|  | S | P | C |
|--|---|---|---|
- 3) /Sayyid habb ilward  
 Processer - reaction verb - phenomenon  
 'Sayyid loved roses.'
- \*4) /?ilward habb Sayyid/

(e) Finally, it is worth noting that in ECA the verbs /sa:f/ 'to see', /simi8/ 'to hear', /habb/ 'to like, to love', /kiri8/ 'to hate, to dislike', all of which appear in mental process clauses, do occur with the pattern /fa:8il/ which indicates the progressive tense. This is a characteristic which is shared also by verbs appearing in 'action clauses'. Though 'tense' goes beyond the sphere of this

thesis, we find it appropriate to touch upon this point.

Compare the following 'physical' action verbs with the mental ones:

/xa:rig/	/sa:yif/
'going out'	'seeing'
/ʔa8id/	/sa:mi8/
'sitting'	'hearing'
/waʔif/	/ka:rih/
'standing'	'hating'
/ma:si/	/ha:bib/
'walking'	'loving'

Again both action and mental action verbs occur with the modal particle /bi/ which normally refers to the progressive aspect. Consider the verbs in (A) and (B) below:

(A)	/biysu:f/	'(He) is seeing'
	/biysma8/	'(He) is hearing'
	/biyhibb/	'(He) is loving'
	/biybuSS/	'(He) is looking'
	/biyikrah/	'(He) is hating'
(B)	/biya:kul/	'(He) is eating'
	/biyilbis/	'(He) is dressing (himself)'
	/biyiktib/	'(He) is writing'
	/biyiṣrab/	'(He) is drinking'
	/biyigri/	'(He) is running'

Non-passivizable Mental Clauses

A rather limited subclass of three-place verbs appear in the clauses dealt with under this sub-title. They are indicative of internalized, as opposed to externalized, mental process. So the feature 'cognition process' is selected from the four-term system of internalized processes which was given earlier.

Thus the sequence of features 'mental', as opposed to 'material', internalized, as opposed to externalized, cognition, as opposed to the other three terms in the system (i.e. perception, reaction, verbalization) help designate this type of clause.

The examples presented below are representative, but not exhaustive:

- 1) /?iSSayyid iftakar irra:gil ittixi:n 8ali/  
'Essayyid thought the fat man (was) Ali.'
- 2) /?ana Zanne:t ilwalad da bint/  
'I thought that boy (is) a girl.'
- 3) /?ana i8ta?att in il?uTTa iSSo:da kalb/  
'I believed the black cat to be a dog.'
- 4) /hiyya hasabat uxtaba ilmumarrida/  
'She thought her sister (is) the nurse.'

What is peculiar about the class of verbs which figure in the above examples is that they have no passive correlate in ECA; the same holds true for SA (the only exception is the verb /hasab/ which is passivizable in SA,

but not in ECA). This is accounted for, in the traditional Arabic view, by the fact that the verb pattern, i.e. /ʔitfaʕal/, does not have a passive correlate, though the verbs concerned are transitive.

Concluding, we have attempted in this chapter to give an account of 'mental action clauses' which, though surface-structurally similar to 'material' action ones, are distinct in (i) the type of process they exhibit, (ii) the wider range of participants associated with them, and (iii) the occurrence of the roles of 'processer' and 'phenomena' which roughly correspond to those of 'actor' and 'goal' in action clauses.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RELATIONAL CLAUSES

Introduction

This chapter undertakes to describe three types of clauses under the generalized label 'relational', viz. ascriptive, equative and circumstantial. The common denominator that relates these three types together is the fact that the process in each is a form of relation between two entities, or as Halliday puts it, "relational clauses are clauses in which the 'process' takes the form of a relation between two participating entities, or between one participant entity and an attribute".<sup>1</sup>

More accurately, in ascriptive clauses, the relation is one of class inclusion or membership, e.g.

/hasan gani/

'Hasan (is) rich.'

In equative clauses, it is one of identification, or equivalence, e.g.

/hasan huwwa innagga:r/

'Hasan <sup>he</sup> (is) the carpenter.'

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1. See Halliday, 'Types of Process' in Kress, G.R. (ed.), "Halliday: System and Function in Language", p. 167.

As for circumstantial clauses, the relation is one of 'attribution' in the sense that a circumstantial 'Attribute', be it of place, or time, acts as qualifier to the 'Attribuand', e.g.

/ḥasan filbe:t/

'Hasan (is) at home.'

So Relational Clauses contrast with action and mental action clause types in that

- (a) they involve only one participant-role,
- (b) they involve no action, physical or mental,
- (c) they occur either with or without a predicator.

(1) with a predicator:

/ḥasan ka:n mudarris/

'Hasan was a teacher.'

(2) without a predicator:

/ḥasan muddarris/

'Hasan (is) a teacher.'

As the above pair of examples illustrates, the predicator /ka:n/ 'to be' in relational clauses acts as a grammatical element which carries distinctions of tense and mood occurring in the so-called marked tenses. In the unmarked tense, i.e. present or general, no verb is needed, hence (2) above. In other words, Arabic being a

'not-to-be' language, the verb /ka:n/ occurs as a bearer for tense-marking.

Not only relational clauses with 'to be' can be verbless in Arabic; similarly 'possessive' clauses in the unmarked tense are of this type.

This may be clarified by comparing the following exemplifications from Halliday with their Arabic counterparts.

### English

	<u>ascriptive</u>	<u>equative</u>
intensive:	Paula is pretty.	Rex is the treasurer.
circumstantial:	The cat is on the roof.	The bridge spans the gorge.
possessive:	Tommy has a tortoise.	The house belongs to Madge.

### Arabic 'predicatorless' relational clauses:

1) /sɔyɪd ɡani/	<u>ascriptive</u>
'Sayyid (is) rich.'	
2) /sɔyɪd filbe:t/	<u>circumstantial</u>
'Sayyid (is) at home.'	
3) /sɔyɪd ʂanduh be:t/	<u>possessive</u>
'Sayyid (has) a house.'	
4) /sɔyɪd huwwa innagga:r/	<u>equative</u>
'Sayyid (is) the carpenter.'	

To show tense, ECA makes use of the auxiliary

/ka:n/ 'to be', or time adverbs may be used instead,  
e.g.

ascriptive:

1a) /hasan fa?i:r/

'Hasan (is) poor.'

1b) /hasan ka:n fa?i:r/

'Hasan (was) poor.'

1c) /hasan fa?i:r min zama:n/

'Hasan (has been) poor for a long time.'

equative:

1a) /hasan huwwa iggazza:r/

'Hasan (is) the butcher.'

1b) /hasan ka:n huwwa iggazza:r/

'Hasan (was) the butcher.'

1c) /hasan huwwa iggazza:r missana illifaṭat/

'Hasan (has been) the butcher since last year.'

circumstantial:

1a) /hasan filbe:t/

'Hasan (is) at home.'

1b) /hasan ka:n filbe:t/

'Hasan (was) at home.'

1c) /hasan filbe:t miSSubh/

'Hasan (has been) at home since the morning.'

possessive:

1a) /hasan 8anduh be:t/

'Hasan (has) a house.'

1b) /hasan ka:n 8anduh be:t/

'Hasan (had) a house.'

1c) /hasan 8anduh be:t min xamas sini:n/

'Hasan has had a house for the past five years.'

The point being made here is that distinctions of tense and mood in relational clauses, which typically involve no verbs, are carried via the auxiliary /ka:n/ 'to be', or time adverbs. The above illustrations which represent four types of relational clauses bear evidence to this fact.

After showing the points of difference between relational and non-relational clauses, we proceed to describe each type separately.

### Ascriptive Clauses

The term 'ascriptive' is used as the designation of this clause type in preference to Halliday's use of 'intensive' since 'intensive' includes also 'equative' which will be treated later. Halliday states that where there are two entities involved, the relation may be either 'ascriptive' or 'equative' and cutting across this it may be intensive, circumstantial or possessive.<sup>1</sup>

So 'equative' and 'ascriptive' clauses have

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1. M.A.K. Halliday (forthcoming), "The Meaning of Modern English", London: Oxford University Press.



- a) /8<sup>a</sup>li nagga:r/  
'Ali (is) a carpenter.'
- b) /8<sup>a</sup>li ra:gil nagga:r/  
'Ali (is) a carpenter (man).'
- a) /hasan gaZZa:r/  
'Hasan (is) a butcher.'
- b) /hasan ra:gil gaZZa:r/  
'Ali (is) a butcher (man).'
- a) /8abdu gazmagi/  
'Abdu (is) a shoemaker.'
- b) /8abdu ra:gil gazmagi/  
'Abdu (is) a shoemaker (man).'

shows that ascriptive clauses are characterized by the following:

(1) There is one element, the subject, that has some attribute ascribed to it, and another element, the complement, that represents the attribute in question. The first is referred to as *Attribuand*, the second as *Attribute*.

(2) In ascription, the predicate has a classifying function, in the sense that the *Attribuand* is assigned to the membership of a specific class. For instance, in /?iSSayya:l fa?i:r/ 'The porter (is) poor', the predicate /fa?i:r/ 'poor' is classificatory in function; /?iSSayya:l/ 'the porter' is classified as belonging to the class of /fu?ara/ 'poor people'. So the ascriptive relation holding between the two entities involved is one of

membership, or class inclusion. It is not an exclusive relation since the Attribute describes, but does not identify, the Attribuant whose only role is as a carrier of the attribute in question.

(3) The Attribute may be either a noun or an adjective. As Halliday puts it, "... it is a nominal group having either a noun or an adjective as its head since at a more abstract level an adjective is a kind of noun; Paula is pretty is equivalent to Paula is a pretty one."<sup>1</sup>

With Arabic, as the structures above show, the Attribute may be adjectival or substantival; in both cases the structures are semantically equivalent e.g. /?iSS aggala simi:nah/ 'The woman-servant is fat' is semantically equal to /?iSSaggala bint simi:na/ 'The woman-servant is a fat girl.'

Beeston goes as far as neutralizing the substantive/adjective distinction in this type of ascriptive clause. His argument is that so long as the 'Predicate term' in such structures is capable of functioning both substantivally and adjectivally, the distinction between the noun and the adjective should be neutralized. He even assumes that it is impossible to say whether the predicate in /?almaliku 8a:dil/ 'The king (is) just' is substantival or adjectival.<sup>2</sup> However, Beeston does not

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1. See M.A.K. Halliday (forthcoming), 'The Meaning of Modern ~~Grammar~~'.

2. See A.F.L. Beeston, 'The Arabic Language Today', Hutchinson University Library, London (1970), p. 67.

mention the difference between the alternative structures:

/ʔalmaliku 8a:dil/

'The King (is) just.'

and

/ʔalmaliku ragilun 8a:dil/

'The King (is) a just man.'

(Lit. 'The King (is) a man just.')

which, though semantically equal, are structurally different in that the predicate in the former is adjectival, and in the latter substantival with a Noun Head, i.e. /ragilun/ 'man' and a modifier /8a:dil/ 'just'.

(4) A classificatory predicate functioning as an Attribute is recognizable by a contrast between definition of the subject and indefinition of the predicate. Thus, given a sequence of defined term followed by an undefined term, the latter is a classificatory predicate functioning as an Attribute. But if the second term matches the first in its definitional status, its function will be 'modification' in the structure of the nominal group; and the sentence will not be ascriptive in this case.

Compare:

(1) Relational : ascriptive clauses

a) /Sayyid suga:8/

'Sayyid (is) brave.'

b) /Sayyid walad muʔaddab/

(2) Extensive : descriptive clauses

a) /ʔilgundi issuga:8 istashad/

'The brave soldier died (as a martyr).'

b) /ʔilʔa:Di il8a:dil xarag milbe:t/

'The fair judge went out of his house.'

(3) Extensive : effective clauses

a) /ra:gil gada8 misik ilhara:mi/

'A clever man caught the thief.'

b) /la88i:b harri:f ga:b go:n/

'A clever player scored a goal.'

Contrasting the above examples, we notice that the Attribute in ascriptive clauses is indefinite while the Attribuand is definite; whereas the Actor in the extensive : descriptive, and the extensive : effective clauses matches the adjective which follows it in its definitional status. The syntactic effect of this is that the function of the adjective is confined to 'modification' in the structure of the nominal group which realizes the transitivity role 'actor'.

So the structure of a relational : ascriptive clause is:



Note that a nominal element is made definite by

- (a) the definite article /ʔil-/<sup>1</sup> prefixed to the base,
- (b) by its syntactic behaviour in a nominal construct,
- (c) by class-membership (e.g. a proper noun) and
- (d) by its position as a head of a nominal phrase.

In this way, the 'indefiniteness' of the Attribute is a distinctive characteristic of the ascriptive relation since the Attribuant is being classified, but not identified, by means of the definite Attribute.

(5) Another point of difference between ascriptive and equative clauses (for equatives see below) is that ascriptive clauses do not allow a reversal of the sequence of the two elements involved. Such a reversal will produce ungrammatical structures. As an illustration, consider:

/Sayyid sikki:r/

'Sayyid (is) a drunkard.'

\*/sikki:r Sayyid/

/Sayyid gafi:r/

'Sayyid (is) a nightwatchman.'

\*/gafi:r Sayyid/

### Equative Clauses

Like ascriptives, equatives involve two terms which have the same referent. Yet they are distinguishable in many respects:

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1. /al-/ is also used in more elegant style.

(A) While the predicate in ascriptive clauses has a classificatory function, in equative clauses it has an identificatory function. In other words, one element is being identified by reference to another.

So structurally there is one element that is identified (Identified), and another element which serves to identify (Identifier).

Illustrations:

- 1) /hasan huwwa innagga:r/                      Identified - Identifier  
'Hasan (is) the carpenter.'
- 2) /8amm 8abdu huwwa issawwa:?:/  
'Uncle Abdu (is) the driver.'
- 3) /Sayyid huwwa irrayyis iggidi:d/  
'Sayyid (is) the new boss.'
- 4) /?ilbint issamra hiyya issagga:la/  
'The coloured girl (is) the maid.'
- 5) /mudarrisitna hiyya muma<sup>SS</sup>ilit iTTalabah/  
'Our teacher (is) the students' representative.'

(B) In ascriptives, the Attribute-adjectival or substantival ~~is~~ indefinite; in equatives the identifier is definite.

Another important structural difference between both types is the occurrence in the equatives of the pronouns /huwwa/ 'he', /hiyya/ 'she', ... etc. which Arab grammarians aptly call /Dami:r alfaSl/ 'the pronoun of separation', meaning that it separates the two terms involved in an equational relation. The presence of such

a pronoun acts as an overt marker of this clause type.

Put differently, when two nominal terms are juxtaposed in an utterance, the use of the 'pronoun of separation' referred to above gives a definite sign of predication, in addition to serving as a 'copula' in a language which has got no copula as such. To quote Emile Benveniste, "... the function of predication can be given a definite sign: it is the so-called pronoun of the third singular that serves as the "copula"; it is ... inserted between the subject and the predicate."<sup>1</sup>

However the occurrence of equative clauses in the absence of the so-called 'pronoun of separation', though very rare, is not entirely precluded. Given the two structures:

- 1) /ahmad innagga:r/  
Lit. 'Ahmad the carpenter.'
- 2) /ahman huwwa innagga:r/  
'Ahmad (is) the carpenter.'

At first sight the example in (1) will be readily interpreted as a nominal group with /ahmad/ as the Noun Head and /?innagga:r/ as a modifier; and that in (2) as a complete, equative sentence.

But in a specific context such as the one given

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1. Emile Benveniste, (1971), "Problems in General Linguistics", University of Miami Press, translated by Mary Elizabeth Meek, p. 165.

below, and with the proviso that a 'pause' separates the two terms concerned, sentence (1) can be interpreted as an equative clause, not just as an NP.

/mi:n illi Sallah<sub>h</sub> lik ilba:b ilmakSu:r/

'Who fixed the broken door for you?'

/ahmad/

'Ahmad.'

/ahmad mi:n/

'Who is Ahmad?'

/ahmad + innagga:r/

'Ahmad (who is) the carpenter.'

where the pause (marked +) in the last sentence has the value of a pronoun of separation.

In other words, it suffices, in specific contexts like the one referred to above, to juxtapose the nominal elements of the utterance in order to have an equative clause - or what is labelled in Arabic traditional linguistics 'the nominal sentence' - with the supplementary feature, although not graphemically represented, of a pause between the terms. In this case, the pause may be taken as a sign of predication, a function which is normally fulfilled by the so-called 'pronoun of separation' in this clause type.

This situation is reflected in the following quote from Emile Benveniste, "... whenever the structure of a language permits the construction of a predicative

utterance by the juxtaposition of two nominal forms in a free order, one should grant that a pause separates them. Under this condition, the nominal forms assure the predication."<sup>1</sup> She goes on to emphasize that Arabic, among other languages, gives this pause 'the value of an element in the utterance', and that 'it is actually the sign of predication'.

What is of immediate concern to us here is that equative clauses in ECA require an overt marker, otherwise ambiguities will arise. This is different from the situation in SA where some grammarians, e.g. 'Ibn Akil', permitted nominal sentences to occur without the so-called /Dami:r alfaSl/ 'the pronoun of separation',<sup>2</sup> which we regard as the overt marker of equative clauses in ECA.

For instance, some of my informants, especially those who are well-versed in Classical Arabic, regarded the illustrations below as ambiguous, in spite of the pause which separates the nominal elements involved; their argument was to the effect that in SA such sentences tolerate more than one interpretation, in ECA they are ambiguous without the so-called 'pronoun of separation'.

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1. See Emile Benveniste, 'Problems in General Linguistics', Chapter 16.

2. Ibn Akil treated /Zaydun aSSa:diq/ 'Zayid (is) the true one' as a nominal sentence, syntactically on a par with /Zaydun huwwa aSSa:diq/ 'Zayid (is) the true one' which involves a 'pronoun of separation'. That is both are quite acceptable in SA. See M. Kenawi (et al.), 'Sarh ibn8aki:l', 'The explanation of Ibn Akil', Cairo (1973), Part I, p. 226.

## Illustrations:

- 1) /Nagi:b mahfu:Z + ikka:tib/  
'Nagib Mahfuz (is) the writer.'
- 2) /taymu:r + ?ilmu?allif/  
'Taymur (is) the author.'
- 3) /?irra:gil iTTawi:l + ilbanna/  
'The tall man (is) the builder.'
- 4) /hasan + ilSa:lim/  
'Hasan (is) the learned one.'
- 5) /?ibn axu:h + ilmudi:r/  
'His nephew (is) the manager.'

To disambiguate these constructions, the user of the language may insert the third person pronoun /huwwa/ 'he' between the two definite nominals which are juxtaposed. In this manner, the structures will be readily interpreted as equatives, and the possibility of giving the structures the value of nominal groups will be eliminated; i.e. they will be given what Firth calls 'the implication of an utterance'.<sup>1</sup>

(C) The relation holding between the two entities in an equative clause being one of equivalence between different levels of existence, a reversal of the sequence

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1. John R. Firth states that "... all texts in modern spoken languages should be regarded as having 'the implication of an utterance', and be referred to typical participants in some generalized context of situation."  
See J.R. Firth, "The treatment of Language in General Linguistics", The Medical Press, August 19, 1959, p. 146.

of elements is allowed. Consider the following exemplifications where the reversal is allowed:

/hasan huwwa ilbawwa:b/

'Hasan (is) the porter.'

/?ilbawwa:b huwwa hasan/

'The porter (is) Hasan.'

/8<sup>a</sup>li huwwa ilba??a:l/

'Ali (is) the grocer.'

/?ilba??a:l huwwa 8ali/

'The grocer (is) Ali.'

/na:gi huwwa mu?allif ilaTla:l/

'Nagi (is) the composer of Al-Atlal (a poem).'

/mu?allif ilaTla:l huwwa na:gi/

'The composer of Al-Atlal (is) Nagi.'

The equative relation is thus one of realization, meaning, for example, that /na:gi/ 'Nagi' in /na:gi huwwa mu?allif ilaTla:l/ 'Nagi (is) the composer of Al-Atla:l' fulfils the function of, is realized as /mu?allif ilaTla:l/.

More illustrations of equative clauses:

1) /?il8a??a:d huwwa ahsan ka:tib/

'El-Akkad is the best writer.'

2) /Sayyida hiyya aṣṬar Ta:liba/

'Sayyida (is) the cleverest girl.'

3) /?il?urunfil huwwa malik izzuhu:r/

'Carnation (is) 'the king' of flowers.'

- 4) /?ilxuffa:s huwwa iTTa:?<sup>flying</sup>ir iSSadyi/  
'The bat (is) the mammal.'
- 5) /?ilbuma hiyya ramz ilhikmah/  
'The owl (is) the symbol of wisdom.'
- 6) /?ilkita:b lahmar huwwa kita:b il8ulu:m/  
'The red book (is) the book of science.'
- 7) /?ilhama:m huwwa ramz issala:m/  
'Doves (are) a symbol of peace.'
- 8) /?ilmudarrisa iggidi:da hiyya iSSitt issamra iTTawi:la/  
'The new woman-teacher (is) the tall brunette lady.'
- 9) /?irra:gil issikki:r huwwa ilhara:mi/  
'The drunkard (is) the thief.'
- 10) /?innaZra hiyya sitt fathiyya/  
'The headmistress (is) 'lady Fathiya'.'

To conclude this section about equative clauses, a summary of the main differences between ascriptive and equative clauses is given below:

<u>Ascription</u>	<u>Equation</u>
a) Meaning: inclusion ('is a member of the class of') e.g. / <u>h</u> asan fa?i:r/ 'Hasan (is) poor.'	a) Meaning: equivalence ('is identical with, at another level') e.g. / <u>h</u> asan huwwa irra:gil ilfa?i:r/ 'Hasan (is) the poor man.'
b) Structure: Attribuant + Attribute	b) Structure: Identified + Identifier

<u>Ascription</u>	<u>Equation</u>
c) non-reversible e.g. / <u>hasan suga:8</u> / 'Hasan (is) brave.'  */ <u>suga:8 hasan</u> / 'brave (is) Hasan.'	c) reversible e.g. / <u>hasan huwwa irra:gil</u> <u>ilfa?i:r</u> / 'Hasan (is) the poor man.' / <u>?irra:gil ilfa?i:r huwwa</u> <u>hasan</u> / 'The poor man (is) Hasan.'
d) Attribute indefinite e.g. / <u>ahmad gaba:n</u> / 'Ahmad (is) a coward.'	d) Identifier definite / <u>ahmad huwwa iggaba:n</u> / 'Ahmad (is) the coward.'

In Arabic both ascriptive and equative clauses have no system of voice even if a full lexical verb like /massal/ 'to represent' is used in more elegant style, e.g.

- 1) /?il?a:Di yumaSSil il8adala/  
    'The judge represents justice.'
  - 2) /?il8adala yumassilha il?a:Di/  
    'Justice, the judge represents (it).'
- but not
- \* /?il8adala itmassalat il?a:Di/

The difference between (1) and (2) is not one of voice; it is rather a difference in thematization. The language user in ECA gives prominence to /?il8adala/ 'justice' in example (2) through thematization (see Chapter 13).

In other words, if we contrast the unmarked clause type represented in (1) with the marked one in (2) we notice that the nominal element /?il8adala/ 'justice' is given 'foregrounding' which a marked form has on the paradigmatic axis; in addition to syntagmatic prominence - syntagmatically the marked theme (here /?il8adala/) tends to be a separate information unit.

In English, ascriptive clauses have no voice system, for example, we cannot have 'famous is Shakespeare' as the corresponding passive of 'Shakespeare is famous'; even 'famous is Shakespeare' is not possible except when it occurs as a stylistic variant. Whereas equatives, Halliday suggests, have a voice system even though the verb used is a copula.<sup>1</sup> To Halliday, the difference between the following pairs of sentences is a difference of voice:

- a) John is the leader.
- b) The leader is John.
  
- a) Rex is the treasurer.
- b) The treasurer is Rex.

He does not give enough syntactic criteria to substantiate his assumption except that with other verbs of the equative class (e.g. resemble), the passive does occur.

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Types of Process' in Kress, G.R. (ed.), 'Halliday: System and Function in Language', p. 168. See also M.A.K. Halliday (forthcoming), 'The Meaning of Modern English'.

The point to be made here is that, contrary to the situation in English, neither ascriptive nor equative clauses in ECA show the operative/receptive distinction.

(D) Finally, the difference between the class of nouns known as 'occupational nouns', which occur in Relational Clauses as Attributes, and participles which are functionally verbal, showing tense and aspect. The main reason for this cursory examination of both forms - the occupational noun and the participle - lies in the fact that sometimes they are similar in their morphological structure,<sup>1</sup> though from the point of view of transitivity they fulfil different functions. In more concrete terms, if we consider the illustrations below, we notice that the underlined elements in (a) are occupational nouns, whereas those in (b) are participles showing tense and aspect. Furthermore, the sentences in (a) are Relational Clauses occurring with the participant roles *Attribuand* and *Attribute*, while those in (b) are action clauses occurring with *Actor* and *Goal*.

We do not propose, by touching upon participles, to study the aspectual differences which they exhibit. Our purpose is, rather, to demonstrate the syntactic environment where each might occur; and the clause type with which 'an occupational noun' or 'a participle' might

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1. For more information about participles and their relation to tense, aspect and mood in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic see: M.R. Radwan, "A Semantico-syntactic Study of the Verbal Piece in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic", Ph.D. thesis, London University (1975), Chapter One.

be associable, regardless of tense or aspect which goes beyond the scope of the present study.

(a) Relational Clause	(b) Action Clause
<u>Attribuand</u> --- <u>Attribute</u>	<u>Actor</u> --- <u>Goal</u>
1) / <u>h</u> asan ka:tib/ 'Hasan (is) a writer.'	/h <u>as</u> an ka:tib iggawa:b/ 'Hasan has written the letter.'
2) / <u>h</u> asan mu <u>h</u> a:fiZ/ 'Hasan (is) a governor.'	/h <u>as</u> an mu <u>h</u> a:fiZ 8atta?a:li:d/ 'Hasan has maintained the traditions.'
3) / <u>h</u> asan bayya:8/ 'Hasan (is) a seller.'	/h <u>as</u> an ba:yi8 il <u>h</u> alawa/ 'Hasan has sold the sweets.'
4) / <u>h</u> asan nassa:g/ 'Hasan (is) a weaver.'	/h <u>as</u> an na:Sig iSSu:f/ 'Hasan has woven the wool.'
5) / <u>h</u> asan mu <u>h</u> allil/ 'Hasan (is) an analyser.'	/h <u>as</u> an mu <u>h</u> allil iddawa/ 'Hasan has analysed the medicine.'

### Circumstantial Clauses

In the two previous sections, we have examined just the 'intensive' type of relational clauses in which the two elements that are related to one another are identical in reference. In /8ali gani/ 'Ali (is) rich', for instance, there is only one referent involved, which has both the defining property of being /8ali/ 'Ali', and the non-defining property of being /gani/ 'rich';

similarly, in /8ali huwwa ilgani/ 'Ali (is) the rich man' both properties are defining.

In Circumstantial Clauses, the predicate is a circumstantial Attribute, not an ordinary, descriptive (intensive) Attribute. Contrast

<u>Circumstantial Clause</u>	<u>Ascriptive Clause</u>
1) / <u>hasan</u> <u>fiDDa:r</u> / 'Hasan (is) at home.'	/ <u>hasan</u> <u>suga:8</u> / 'Hasan (is) brave.'
2) /?ikkita:b <u>8almaktab</u> / 'The book (is) on the table.'	/?ikkita:b <u>ahmar</u> / 'The book (is) red.'
3) /?il?alam <u>fige:bi</u> / 'The pen (is) in my pocket.'	/?il?alam <u>makSu:r</u> / 'The pen (is) broken.'
4) /8amah <u>mad</u> <u>8aSSuTh</u> / 'Uncle Ahmad (is) on the roof.'	/8amah <u>mad</u> <u>bawwa:b</u> / 'Uncle Ahmad (is) a porter.'

The underlined elements in the above Circumstantial Clauses are exponents of what is meant by a 'circumstantial Attribute', while those in Ascriptive Clauses represent the ordinary, descriptive Attribute, whether it is adjectival e.g. /suga:8/ 'brave' (example 1), or substantival e.g. /bawwa:b/ 'porter' (example 4).

It is noticeable that circumstantial Attributes in the above illustrations are marked by the presence of a prepositional particle such as /fi/ 'in', /8ala/ 'on' ... etc.

It is characteristic of the predicate in a circumstantial clause to have a locatory function in the sense that it shows the location - temporal or locative (place) of the subject.

However, the distinction between a circumstantial Attribute and an ordinary one does not always depend upon the presence of a preposition as the above exemplifications may suggest. Since when the location is temporal, i.e. location in time, a preposition may or may not figure in the structural configuration of the clause. Consider the following:

- 1) /?iligtima:8 issa8a arba8a/
 

'The meeting (is at) four o'clock.'
- 2) /ra:S issana yo:m ilhadd/
 

'Christmas (is on) Sunday.'
- 3) /?ilhaflah ilmagrib/
 

'The party (will take place at) sunset.'
- 4) /ma8adi iggay yo:m iggum8ah/
 

'My next appointment (will be on) Friday.'
- 5) /?iSSala ba8d ligtima:8/
 

'Prayers (will be said) after the meeting.'
- 6) /?ilo:kazyo:n ?abl ramaDa:n/
 

'The sale (will be) before the month of Ramadan.'
- 7) /?iddaf8 ba8d ittasli:m/
 

'Paying (will be) after delivery.'

Moreover, some ascriptive clauses do occur with a preposition. The Attribute in the following has no

locatory value:

Examples:

1) /Sayyid fimuṣkila kibira/

'Sayyid (has) a big problem'

(Lit. 'Sayyid (is) in a big problem.')

2) /?ilmari:D fi?alam Sidi:d/

'The patient suffers great pain.'

(Lit. 'The patient (is) in great pain.')

3) /Sahbi fi?azmah gamda/

'My friend has a serious crisis.'

(Lit. 'My friend (is) in a serious crisis.')

4) /8am ahmad fita8ab ga:mid/

'Uncle Ahmad (is) in great trouble.'

So a locatory predicate in a circumstantial clause has no formal marking to differentiate it from other non-verbal predicates. In other words, a circumstantial Attribute may be a noun or a prepositional group marked as having a predicative locatory function by structural means only. Beeston describes this situation when he says "The marker of a locatory predicate is a zero syntagmeme: namely, the absence of any item in the sentence which might indicate that the locatory phrase is not a predicate."<sup>1</sup>

A comparison between the following pairs of

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1. See A.F.L. Beeston, 'The Arabic Language Today', p. 68.

sentences shows that in (a) we have a Circumstantial Clause, whereas in (b) we have an Ascriptive Clause with a noun-head and a modifier:

- a) /?iligtima:8 yo:m iggum8ah/ 'Circumstantial Clause  
'The meeting (is) on Friday.'
- b) /?igitma:8 yo:m iggum8ah muhim/ 'Ascriptive Clause'  
'The Friday meeting (is) important.'
- a) /?ilharb fi oktobar iggay/  
'The war (will take place) next October.'
- b) /harb oktobar iggay hayawiyya/  
'Next October's war (is) vital.'
- a) /?ilimtiha:n issa:8a xamsah/  
'The examination (is) at five o'clock.'
- b) /?imtiha:n issa8a xamsah Sa8b/  
'The five-o'clock examination (is) difficult.'
- a) /?ilfilm nuSSille:l/  
'The film (is at) midnight.'
- b) /film nuSSille:l mur8ib/  
'The midnight movie (is) horrifying.'
- a) /?ilmu:lid a:xir issana/  
'The festival (will be at) the end of the year.'
- b) /mu:lid a:xir issana makans kuwayyis/  
'The festival at the end of the year was not good.'

Again, such sentences as /hasan 8and ilba:b/  
'Hasan (is) at the door', /hasan 8and Sahbuh/ 'Hasan (is)  
at his friend's place' are circumstantial, i.e. the under-  
lined elements have a locatory value; whereas sentences

like /hasan 8anduh kita:b ahmar/'Hasan has a red book', /husniyya 8andaha xamas fasati:n/'Husniya has five dresses' are possessive sentences. The underlined elements in the last two sentences have no locatory value. What is to be noted here is that /8and/ may figure in Circumstantial Clauses as a prepositional particle, meaning 'at, near', in which case it does not show number-gender concord with the subject; or it may appear as a verbal particle, meaning 'to have, to possess', in Possessive Clauses in which case it shows number-gender concord with the 'Possesser', as the above examples illustrate.

### Conclusion

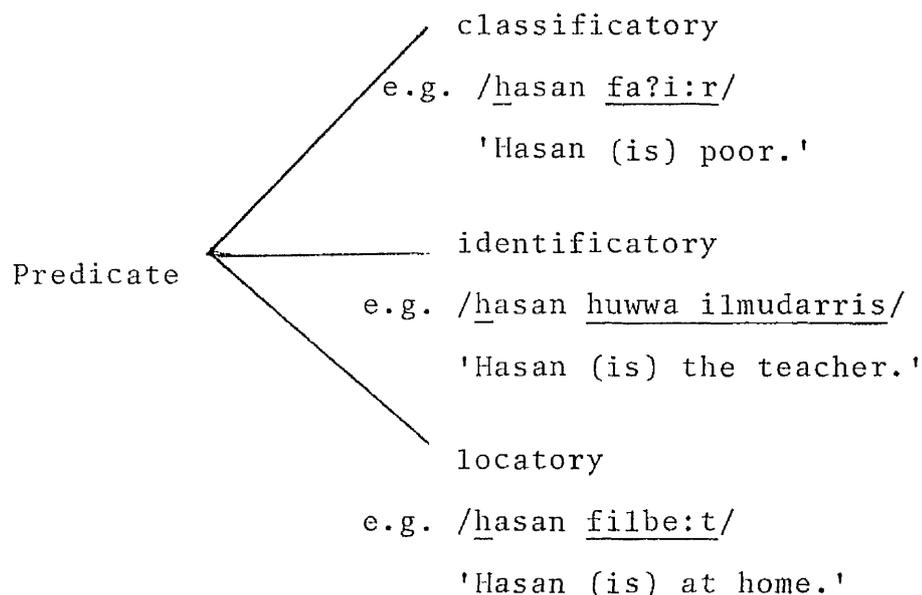
We have attempted in this chapter to examine what is referred to in Arabic Linguistic tradition as the nominal sentence, and to show the process-participant relationship exhibited by the structural elements involved in this clause type.

In our description we have tried to explore the similar, though distinct, logical relation obtaining between the nominal entities associable with the processes of ascription and equation in ECA. In Hallidayan terms, 'Identification and attribution are logical relations of a similar, but distinct, kind'. In English such relations are expressed by 'copulative' verbs like 'to be', 'represent', 'equal' ... etc.; in ECA they are expressed through

juxtaposition of the nominal elements involved. In other words they are identifiable by structural means only. A tense-marker (e.g. /ka:n/ to be), a 'pronoun of separation' (i.e. the third person pronoun), or a phonological feature (i.e. a pause) may act as a marker of this clause type.

However the focus of attention was on three main types of relational clauses namely, (i) ascriptive, (ii) equative, (iii) and circumstantial. The predicative elements in these clauses were said to be distinguishable in terms of their function.

The predicate in these three sub-types may be:



Though we touched upon relational : possessive clauses, we did not give them a fuller treatment; the main reason being that the relation obtaining between the elements in a 'possessive' clause is in a sense one of attribution, or rather ascription; that is to say,

the 'possession' expressed in /husniyya 8andaha 8arabiyya/ 'Husniya has a car', for example, is an Attribute by which the 'possessor' is described, not identified. In other words, clauses with the feature 'possessive' are a type of ascriptive clause, characterized, like ascriptives, by the non-reversibility of the two terms involved. Furthermore, we see no point in assigning the Attribuant in a 'possessive' clause the role of 'possessor' suggested by Halliday since the transitivity role Attribuant is broad enough to subsume that of 'possessor'.<sup>1</sup>

Another point to be made in this connection is that the clause type 'Existential' was not treated as a separate clause type since it is subsumed under Circumstantial Clauses. Thus in /huwwa 8aSSaTh/ 'He (is) on the roof', we have a circumstantial clause with one participant role i.e. Attribuant, plus a circumstantial Attribute.

Again we see no justification in assigning /huwwa/ 'he' in the above example the role of 'Existent' as Halliday suggests.<sup>2</sup>

The last point to be discussed in connection with the participant-relationship in a relational clause is that while English may recognize an additional participant-role, i.e. 'Attributor', in a clause like "John made

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1. See M.A.K. Halliday (forthcoming), 'The Meaning of Modern English', London, Oxford University Press.

2. Ibid.

Mary happy", ECA does not. The sentences below are unacceptable:

\*/ hasan xalla Sayyida hazi:na/

\*/ hasan xalla uxtuh farha:na/

The reason for this is that the causativizer /xalla/ 'to cause, to make' occurs in analytic causative clauses, or rather, in Extensive : effective : Causative and Extensive : descriptive : Causative Clauses, not in Relational ones (See Chapter 9, "Causative V. Non-Causative").

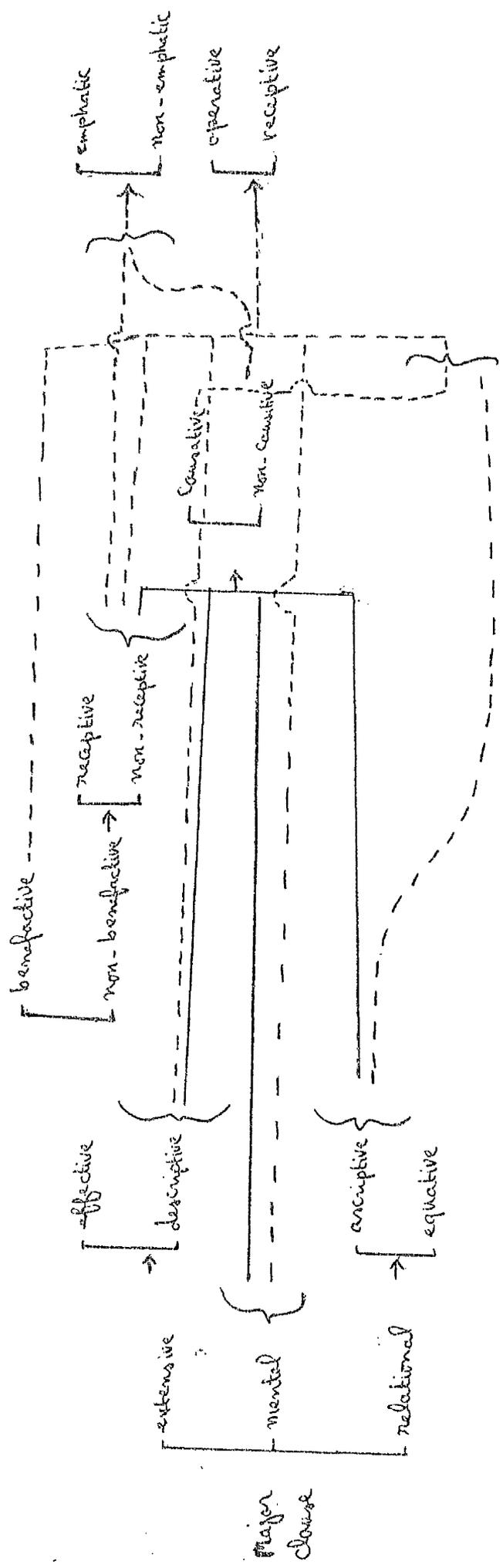
In conclusion, a system network of relational clauses is given below:

Relational →	{ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ascriptive</li> <li>equative</li> <li>circumstantial</li> </ul>
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PART III

TRANSITIVITY SYSTEMS

Three dimensional simplified Networks of the Major Process Types and Transitivity Systems



CHAPTER NINE

CAUSATIVE V. NON-CAUSATIVE

Introduction

Before proceeding with our description of the transitivity system 'Causative/non-causative' in ECA, which is our chief concern in this chapter, it is proposed to touch upon two points in connection with Causation. This will serve to bring to the surface some of the defining characteristics of the class, or rather, the classes of Causative clauses to be examined in this chapter.

(1) The language user in ECA has at his disposal more than one means for expressing causation. One can distinguish several causative constructions on semantic and syntactic grounds. By way of exemplification, Arabic has constructions which express in one clause the cause of an action which is described in another clause, e.g.

(a) /TaraDuh li?ihma1uh/

'They sacked him because of his negligence.'

(b) /h<sub>a</sub>ba\$uh li?igramuh/

'They imprisoned him because of his crimes.'

(c) /h<sub>a</sub>san i\$abab filmu\$kila/

'Hasan (is) the cause of the problem.'

(d) /huwwa ma\$?u:l 8an ilh<sub>a</sub>ri:?a/

'He (is) the cause (lit. responsible for) the fire.'

In (a) and (b) the surface indicator of causation is a preposition (i.e. /li/ 'because of'), in (c) it is a noun (/Sabab/ 'cause'), and in (d) it is an adjective (/maS?u:l/ 'responsible for').

Sentences like those presented above, though sometimes classifiable<sup>1</sup> as causative, will not be dealt with here.

(2) Another type of clause which will not be dealt with here, but which has causative implications, is that already described in the course of our treatment of unrestricted process clauses (see Chapter 6). In Chapter six, it was demonstrated that clauses occurring with two participants allow two further subdivisions namely, Causative/non-causative. The distinction was based upon the fact that a certain class of verbs show an implication of causation without a causativizer (i.e. the morphological signal of gemination). We repeat here, for the sake of comparison, some of these verbs:

fata <u>h</u>	→	open, cause to open
<u>s</u> arax		crack , cause to crack
kaSar		break, cause to break
?aTam		split, cause to split
?ata8		cut, cause to cut

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1. In a Ph.D. thesis on standard Arabic, G. Saad classifies such structures as causative. We do not adopt the same view here since 'causation' in these constructions is not a morphological process signalled by the form of the verb. See G. Saad, 'Transitivity, Causation and the Derivation of Passives in Arabic', The University of Texas, Ph.D., 1975.

nasal	→	wear out, cause to wear out
fakk		untie, cause to unite
<u>h</u> all		open, unlock, dissolve, cause to...
xaram		perforate, cause to perforate

The above list represents verbs which imply causation, without being morphologically marked. So, although a clause like /hasan xaram widn ?axuh/ 'Hasan perforated his brother's ear' may be paraphrased as 'Hasan caused his brother's ear to be perforated', the participant-relationship holding between /hasan/ 'Hasan' and /widn ?axuh/ 'his brother's ear' is still that of 'Actor-Goal'; even if we regard /hasan/ as the actor of 'causing', not of the main process of /xaram/ 'perforating', and /widn ?axuh/ 'his brother's ear' as the apparent goal of 'causing' and the actor of the main process of 'perforating'.

In other words, the participant role 'initiator' is not realized as a separate entity in the structural configuration of that class of clauses which involve causative verbs, not marked as such via a causativizer (i.e. a morphological signal).

So far the object of our description has been to identify the class of Causative clauses which will be left out of consideration in the present chapter.

The object now is to describe, classify and differentiate Causative clauses which are overtly marked by a causativizer. The description will be undertaken in terms of the transitivity system 'Causative-non-causative

which operates for the majority of the clause types discussed in Part II. The central notion is that the choice of the 'term'<sup>1</sup> causative (in the two-term system Causative-non-causative) adds a further role to the process, i.e. initiator or rather it separates the roles initiator-actor which are otherwise conflated in non-causative clauses. The following examples illustrate briefly how this system works for the majority of the clause types discussed in Part II above.

The underlined nominal elements represent the participant or participants which occur in association with each process.

<u>Non-causative</u>	<u>Causative</u>
1a) / <u>hasan</u> ?a:m/ 'Hasan stood up.'	/8ali ?awwam <u>hasan</u> / 'Ali caused/made Hasan to stand up.'
1b) /? <u>il?uTT</u> giri/ 'The male-cat ran.'	/? <u>ikkalb</u> garra <u>il?uTT</u> / 'The dog caused/made the male-cat to run.'
1c) /? <u>ilmari:D</u> ?a8ad fil8anbar/ 'The patient sat in the ward.'	/? <u>ilmumarriDa</u> ?a88adat <u>ilmari:d</u> fil8anbar/ 'The nurse caused/made the patient to sit in the ward.'
2a) /? <u>izzar8</u> ixDDarr/ 'The plants became green.'	/? <u>iSSiba:x</u> xa <del>DD</del> ar <u>izzar8</u> / 'The fertilizer caused/made the plants green.'

1. The word 'term' is used here in a very specialized sense namely, the technical name for an 'option' or a choice in a given system.

<u>Non-causative</u>	<u>Causative</u>
2b) / <u>gildilmari:D</u> iSfarr/ 'The patient's skin became pale.' 2c) /? <u>ilbalah</u> ihmarr/ 'The palm-dates became red.'	/?iDDa8f Saffar <u>gildilmari:D</u> / 'Weakness caused/made the patient's skin pale.' /? <u>issams</u> <u>hammarat</u> <u>ilbalah</u> / 'The sun caused/made the palm-dates red.'
3a) / <u>hasan</u> katab <u>gawa:b</u> / 'Hasan wrote a letter.' 3b) / <u>Sayyida</u> ?ala8at <u>ilfustam</u> / 'Sayyida took off the dress.' 3c) / <u>hasan</u> libis <u>ilbalTu</u> / 'Hasan put on the coat.'	/8ali kattab <u>hasan</u> <u>gawa:b</u> / 'Ali caused/made Hasan to write a letter.' /?idda:da ?alla8at <u>sayyida</u> <u>ilfusta:n</u> / 'The maid caused/made Sayyida to take off her dress.' /8ali labbis <u>hasan</u> <u>ilbalTu</u> / 'Ali caused/made Hasan to put on the coat.'
4a) / <u>hasan</u> simi8 <u>ilhikaya</u> / 'Hasan heard the story.' 4b) /? <u>ittilmi:z</u> fihim <u>ilmas?ala</u> / 'The pupil understood the problem.' 4c) /? <u>ilbint</u> <u>sammit</u> <u>ri:ha</u> <u>hilwa</u> / 'The girl smelt a sweet fragrance.'	/8ali samma8 <u>hasan</u> <u>ilhikaya</u> / 'Ali caused/made Hasan to hear the story.' /?ilmudarris fahham <u>ittilmi:z</u> <u>ilmas?ala</u> / 'The teacher caused/made the pupil understand the problem.' /?il?umm <u>sammamit</u> <u>ilbint</u> <u>ri:ha</u> <u>hilwa</u> / 'The mother caused/made the girl to smell a sweet fragrance.'

The examples presented above fall into four sets; each set represents a clause type which was treated in Part II, with its corresponding Causative Counterpart; that is to say, in (1) we have Extensive : descriptive clauses involving 'verbs of motion' like /?a:m/ 'to stand up', /giri/ 'to run' ... etc., in (2) the clauses are Descriptive 'stative' occurring with the so-called 'colour verbs', whereas in (3) we have Extensive clauses involving two-place verbs like /libis/ 'to put on', /katab/ 'to write', /?ala8/ 'to take off' ... etc. The fourth set is characterized by the occurrence of 'mental action verbs'. Throughout the non-causative illustrations the two participant functions 'initiator + actor' always occur in combination.

With the Causative type, the case is different. The foregoing tabulation illustrates the fact that Causative constructions are minimally distinguished in two respects:

(a) The separation of the two participant roles 'initiator' and 'actor'; as a consequence, the 'initiator' participates in the majority of process types as a 'fully-fledged' participant.

(b) The occurrence of a verb morphologically marked as Causative (see the section on morphological characteristics below).

After this brief investigation of the central notion of 'Causation', and the applicability of the transitivity system 'Causative/non-causative' to the majority of process types in ECA, it is proposed here to discuss the

morphological characteristics of the classes of verbs which appear in Causative constructions. Next, an attempt will be made at classifying these Causative clauses into three main sub-types; each will be dealt with separately below:

(i) Descriptive : Causative clauses e.g.

- /?ilbanna wa??a8 issa??ala/

'The builder caused/made the scaffolding to fall down.'

(ii) Effective : Causative clauses, e.g.

- /?ana labbist binti hala? gidi:d/

'I caused /made my daughter to wear new ear-rings.'

(iii) Resultative Causative clauses

Also dealt with is the non-morphological causative clause type in which the verb /xalla/ 'to cause, to make to' occurs and which may involve any of the above process types.

a) /?ana xalle:t hasan yi?af/

'I caused/made Hasan to stand up.'

b) /?ana xalle:t binti tiktib ilwa:gib/

'I caused/made my daughter to write the homework.'

### Morphological Characteristics

Before examining the morphological structure of 'causative' verbs, we will review briefly some facts about the morphology of the verb in Arabic. The object is to bring into the picture some of the relevant aspects of the dialect described in the present study.

(a) All Arabic verbs are analysable and describable in terms of the "root + pattern" principle; that is, the verb in Arabic is an 'amalgam' of a consonantal root plus a syllabic and vocalic pattern. It is necessary therefore to take account of both the root and the vocalic pattern since they constitute the 'stem' as in /daxal/ 'to enter', in which the consonantal root is (d-x-l) and the vocalic pattern is (-a-a-). So, verbs as a word class are identifiable and classifiable not only on the basis of their function, but also on the basis of their morphological shape.

The following two quotations from Mitchell and Beeston bear evidence to this fact:

"Perhaps the most striking characteristic of all forms of Arabic is that the great majority of words are built on a framework of three consonants and that by ringing the changes with affixes, vowel-difference, etc., on a given base it is possible to obtain a great variety of related forms ..." 1

"The establishment of word classes for any language can be undertaken on a morphological

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1. T.F. Mitchell, "Colloquial Arabic, The Living Language of Egypt", Teach Yourself Books, The English Universities Press, London, 1970, p. 36.

or a functional basis, or both. For Arabic it is necessary to take account of both. For example, verbs are principally identifiable as such by their morphological shape, since the functions which they embody can be performed by words other than verbs ..."<sup>1</sup>

(b) In the majority of cases, though not always, lexical items which belong to the same consonantal root share some degree of semantic relationship with each other. For example the root 'L-8-b', which is associated with the notion 'play' may have such forms<sup>2</sup> as:

/li8ib/	→	'he played'
/la88ab/		'to cause to play'
/la:8ib/		'to play with'
/la:8ib/		'player'
/la88i:b/		'player'
/ma18ab/		'playground'
/ma18u:b/		'trick played upon somebody'

Next, our analysis will be limited to causative verbs. These constitute a substantial class of Form II (/fa88a1/) verbs which figure in Causative Clauses; this Form II is like Form I (/fa8a1/) except that the second radical is geminate and the vowels are either CaCCaC or CaCCiC.

An examination of the following pairs of sentences:

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1. A.F.L. Beeston, "The Arabic Language Today", p. 31.
  2. For a full treatment of the morphology of ECA, see H.M. Aboul Fetouh, "A Morphological Study of Egyptian Arabic", Ph.D. Texas, 1961. See also A. Gabor, "Phonology of the Verbal piece in Cairene Arabic", Ph.D. University of London, 1972.

1a) /?ilgafi:r xarag mil?ism/

'The night watchman went out of the police station.'

1b) /?il8umdah xarrag ilgafi:r mil?ism/

'The mayor caused/made the night watchman to go out of the police station.'

2a) /?ihuSa:n miṣi/

'The horse walked.'

2b) /?issa:yiṣ maṣṣa ilhuSa:n/

'The pageboy walked the horse.'

3a) /?ilmugrim ma:t/

'The criminal died.'

3b) /?il8askari mawwit<sup>1</sup> ilmugrim/

'The soldier killed the criminal' Lit. '... caused the criminal to die'.

4a) /?il8iya:l ?a8adu/

/ 'The children sat down.'

4b) /?ilablah ?a88adat il8iya:l/

'The woman-teacher caused/made the children to sit down.'

shows that the clause-element C in (b), where the predicator is transitive, can be identified with the clause-element S in the corresponding intransitive; the intransitive in (a) are transitivized and causativized through gemination of the second radical.

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1. Another variant is /mawwat/ 'to cause to die'.

The morphological device of gemination thus has the syntactic effect of making of the one-place verb in (a) two-place verb in (b).

By way of comparison, the situation referred to above holds true for both SA (standard Arabic) and CA (Classical Arabic), that is to say, the syntactic effect of Causativization is that it increases by one the number of participants which occur in association with the process.

Contrast (1) and (2) below with their Causative counterparts:

Non-causative:

1) /xaraga 8aliyun min?algurfati/

'Ali went out of the room.'

Causative:

1a) /xarraga zaydun 8aliyyan min?algurfati/

'Zayd caused/made Ali to go out of the room.'

1b) /?axraga zaydun 8aliyyan min?algurfati/

'Zayd caused/made Ali to go out of the room.'

Non-causative:

2) /sami8a 8aliyun addarSa/

Causative:

2a) /samma8a zaydun 8aliyyan addarSa/

'Ali caused/made Zayd to hear the lesson.'

2b) /?asma8a zaydun 8aliyyan addarsa/

'Ali caused/made Zayd to hear the lesson.'

In more elegant style, Form IV /ʔaf8a1/ verbs may occur in place of Form II /fa88a1/ verbs. Syntactically, both classes of verbs behave similarly, i.e. the process and the participant-roles involved are identical; semantically they are equal. In other words, the common denominator between both of them is causation and semantic overlap.

Consider the following illustrative examples where a Form II verb appears in (a) and a Form IV verb appears in (b).

a) /Sa:h**u**ibilbe:t samma8 ilmusta?gir kala:m bazi:?/

'The landlord caused/made the tenant to hear obscene words.'

b) /Sa:h**u**ibilbe:t asma8 ilmusta?gir kala:m bazi:?/

'The landlord caused/made the tenant to hear obscene words.'

a) /ʔilge:s garra? safi:na lil?a8da:?/

'The army sank (lit. caused to sink) one of the enemy's  
ships.'

b) /ʔilge:s agra? safi:na lil?a8da:?/

'The army sank (lit. caused to sink) one of the enemy's  
ships.'

Summarizing this section on the morphology of causative verbs, we notice the fact that in Arabic there is a certain degree of congruence between syntactic and morphological criteria.

Descriptive : Causative Clauses

In this section we are concerned with the treatment of what is labelled the Descriptive : Causative type of clause in contradistinction to the Effective : Causative type of clause which will be dealt with separately in the next section. By a descriptive : causative is meant that clause which involves a Class I verb (the traditionally intransitive), causativized by means of a causativizer; a corollary to this causativization, as was stated earlier, is the introduction of the participant-role 'initiator' as a full participant separated from the 'actor' in the structural configuration of the clause. The following list of examples represents classes of non-causative clauses with their corresponding causative correlates:

- 1a) /?iTTabba:x nizil ilbadro:m<sup>1</sup>/                    'non-causative'  
       'The cook went down into the cellar.'
- 1b) /?ana nazzilt iTTabba:x ilbadro:m/                    'causative'  
       'I caused/made the cook to go down into the cellar.'
- 2a) /Sagarit ilmo:z kibrit/  
       'The banana-tree grew big (lit. ... became big).'
- 2b) /?issams kabbarit sagarit ilmo:z/  
       'The sun caused/made the banana-tree to grow big.'

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1. The nominal element /?ilbadro:m/ 'the cellar' does not fulfil the transitivity function 'goal' as the sentence may deceptively suggest; it is rather a locative adjunct of place. This is attested by the fact that the prepositional particle /fi/ 'in, into' may figure in the surface syntax of the clause e.g. '... filbadro:m'.

3a) /?il8aSfu:r Ta:r mil?afaS/

'The bird flew out of the cage.'

3b) /?ilwalad issa?i Tayyar il8aSfu:r mil?afaS/

'The naughty boy caused/made the bird fly out of the cage.'

4a) /?irra:gil ilmari:D fa:?<sup>1</sup> biSur8ah/

'The sick man came round quickly.'

4b) /?ilhu?nah fawwa?at irra:gil ilmari:D biSur8ah/

'The injection caused/made the sick man to come round  
quickly.'

5a) /?itti8ba:n mat/

'The ~~snake~~ died.'

5b) /?iSSayya:D mawwit itti8ba:n/

'The hunter caused/made the snake to die.'

6a) /abuya Sihi<sup>2</sup> minno:m/

'My father woke up (lit. from his sleep).'

6b) /hasan Sahha abuya minno:m/

'Hasan caused/made my father to wake up.'

Contrasting the above illustrations, we notice that the class of clauses referred to as 'Descriptive : Causative' share the following characteristics:

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1. Verbs like /fa:?<sup>1</sup>/ 'to wake up', /ra:?<sup>1</sup>/ 'to become clear' ... etc., with /a:/ occurring in place of a second radical, are referred to in Arabic linguistic theory as 'hollow' verbs.
  2. Verbs like /Sihi/ 'to wake up' which has /i/ in place of a third radical, or verbs like /rama/ 'to throw' which has /a/ as a third radical, are normally called 'weak verbs'.

(1) They involve a 'two-place' causative verb occurring in Form II with geminated medial radical e.g. /nazzil/ 'to cause to go down' (example 1a). The following is a representative list of some verbs which typically occur in this clause type:

/rakka8/	→	'to cause to prostrate'
/saggad/		'to cause to kneel'
/nawwam/		'to cause to sleep'
/Sawwam/		'to cause to fast'
/fawwar/		'to cause to boil'
/8awwam/		'to cause to swim'
/xayyab/		'to cause to fail'
/naggah/		'to cause to succeed'
/gawwa8/		'to cause to become hungry'
/8aTTas/		'to cause to become thirsty'

It is important to notice that a two-place causative verb may stand in contrast with

- a) A cognate one-place verb (as in the above list);
- b) A cognate adjective;
- c) A cognate noun (see below pp. 198-202)
- d) A combination of the above (a), (b) and (c).

For instance, in /?iddawa Saffar ilwara?a/ 'The medicine caused the paper to become yellow', the colour verb /Saffar/ is relatable to the colour adjective /?aSfar/ 'yellow'. This cognate relationship holds between all colour verbs and their corresponding colour adjectives e.g.

Colour verb	→	Colour adjective
/xaDDar/		/ʔaxDar/
'to cause to become green'		'green'
/hammar/		/ʔahmar/
'to cause to be come red'		'red'
/bayyaD/		/ʔabyaD/
'to cause to be come white'		'white'
/sawwad/		/ʔiswid/
'to cause to become black'		'black'

In a very few cases, the verb may stand in contrast with a cognate noun. This may be exemplified by /lawwin/ 'to colour', 'to cause to colour' as in /hasan lawwin iSSafha/ 'Hasan coloured the sheet', where the colour verb involved contrasts with the noun /lawn/ 'colour' (but see also my comments below).

(2) In principle, the process in a Descriptive : Causative clause is similar to that demonstrated by its non-causative counterpart in one respect, i.e., 'non-directed action'. That is to say, the process which the verb indicates in both types - the Descriptive on the one hand, and the Descriptive : Causative on the other - is not directed towards a goal.

To illustrate this point of similarity, the following two sentences are given:

a) /8e:n ilxirdawa:ti wirmit/

'The stationer's eye swelled.'

b) /ʔil8alʔa iggamdah warramit 8e:n ilxirdawa:ti/

'The good beating caused the stationer's eye to swell.'

The sentence in (a) involves an intransitive verb which typically occurs in the class of clauses referred to in Chapter five as 'Descriptive stative', whereas that in (b) involves its causative correlate. What is to be noted is that the transitivization of the verb in (b) does not make the process 'goal-directed'.

(3) From the point of view of the participant-relationship holding between the structural-elements in a Descriptive : Causative clause, we note that the clause-element 'S' is assigned the transitivity role 'initiator' in operative and 'actor' in receptive. As for the clause-element 'C', it fulfils the role of actor in operative; in receptive it does not normally figure in the surface syntax of the clause.

Consider the illustrations below where (a) is operative and (b) receptive:

S        P            C            A  
a) /hasan ʔawwam issahha:t min8akkursi/

initiator - process - actor

'Hasan caused the beggar to leave the chair' (lit. ... from  
the chair).

b) /ʔissahha:t itʔawwam min8akkursi/

actor - process

'The beggar was caused to leave the chair.'

a) /ʔittilmi:z ʔa88ad iTTifl 8akkanaba/

initiator - process - actor

'The pupil caused the baby to sit on the sofa.'

b) /ʔiTtifl itʔa88ad 8akkanaba/

actor - process

'The baby was caused to sit on the sofa.'

In the remaining part of this section, it is proposed to give a separate treatment to the specific subclass of verbs referred to above (p.195) in which the Causative verb stands in contrast with a noun. This conforms to Halliday's stipulation that we must take account of the fact that the class assignment of any verb is in effect a specification of those clause features which determine its potentiality of occurrence. The main reason for dealing with these verbs separately is that they are peculiar in two respects:

(i) Contrary to the majority of causative verbs discussed previously, these verbs are not cognately related to a Form I verb; rather they stand in contrast with cognate nouns.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) They have a semantic tie-up of 'resultativeness' in the sense that the nouns with which the causative verb is

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1. This class of verbs are sometimes referred to as denominative verbs, i.e. derived from nouns, but the implications of the verbs are as unpredicable as they are in English denominative verbs. See Beeston, 'The Arabic Language Today', p. 74. For a full treatment of verbs and their derivations see: A. Bulos, 'The Arabic Triliteral Verb', Beirut, Khayats, 1965.

in contrast is often the result of the process indicated by the verb, e.g.

gilda	→	a cover
gallad		to cover (i.e. provide a cover)

Furthermore, we assume that a sentence like /hasan gallad ikkita:b bigilda hamra/ 'Hasan made a red binding for the book', where the predicator involved belongs to this class, is relatable to the relational : possessive /?ikkita:b luh gilda hamra/ 'The book has a red binding.' This is to say that, although the system causative/non-causative applies to some relational clauses, nevertheless the number and type of relational causal clauses is far more restricted than that of action clauses; and furthermore the semantic relationship involved in the relational clause type is slightly different in that it often has a resultative 'tie-up' rather than a plain causative one. To illustrate this, we give the following context:

- /?ikkita:b da luh gilda hamra/ Relational  
'This book has a red binding.' lit. "This book to it (is) a red binding."
- /mi:n illi gallad ikkita:b da bigilda hamra/ Causative  
'Who gave this book a red binding?' lit., 'Who caused this book to have a red binding?'
- /hasan galladu bigilda hamra/ Causative  
'Hasan gave it a red binding.' lit. 'Hasan caused it to have a red binding.'



Noun	Verb	Illustrations	type
4. /sitt/ 'lady'	/sattat/ 'to make into a lady'	a) /mira:t ilgafi:r sitt kwayyisa/ 'The night watchman's wife is a lady.'	relational
		b) /?ilgafi:r sattat mira:tu/ 'The night watchman made his wife into a lady.'	causative

At first sight, the participating parties involved in the causative clauses given above may be assigned the functions 'initiator + actor'; an analysis carried out by analogy with the rest of the clauses examined so far. However, at closer examination, the situation seems more complex. Causative clauses like those included in the table are on the borderline between Descriptive : Causative and Effective : Causative; a borderline case which is triggered by the non-existence of a Form I verb corresponding to those verbs involved.

To resolve this case, we will assume that the clauses which have such verbs as their predicator, though treated under this section on the basis of their similarity to the class of clauses under consideration, belong to Effective : Causative clauses. The basic argument is that, by comparing a pair of sentences like

1) /8amil ilmaTba8a gallad kita:b ilhisa:b/ (ex. 2b)

'The worker at the printing house made a binding for

the arithmetic book.'

and

2) /hasan xarrag 8ali/

'Hasan made Ali go out.'

we notice a difference in the features namely, directed action versus non-directed action, and a difference in participant roles, i.e. 'actor + goal' vis-a-vis 'initiator + actor'. On top of that, there is a more 'delicate' difference demonstrated by the complement in (1) which realizes the participant-role 'goal'; this difference is that the goal is the result of the process indicated by the verb i.e. 'goal : resultant'.<sup>1</sup>

It can therefore be concluded that clauses having this somewhat limited class of verbs - the so-called denominative verbs - as their predicator, are a type of Effective : Causative, not Descriptive : Causative, despite the apparent similarity they have in common.

It may be added that we gave them a separate treatment here, and not in the following section, because they involve two participant roles, while the majority of Effective : Causative clauses involve three participant roles as will be illustrated below.

---

1. It is worth mentioning here that Halliday uses, in addition to the roles actor, goal ... etc., other sub-categories, e.g. 'goal : resultant'. For example, 'this gazebo' in his classic example 'Sir Christopher Wren built this gazebo.'



'The woman-teacher caused the boy to write the lesson.'

2a) /ʔissitt sa:lit izzal8ah/

'The woman carried the jar.'

2b) /8ammi sayyil issitt izzal8ah/

'My uncle caused the woman to carry the jar.'

3a) /ʔilawla:d li8bu kutse:na/

'The boys played cards.'

3b) /ʔuxti ikkibi:ra la88ibit ilawla:d kutse:na/

'My elder sister caused the boys to play cards.'

4a) /huwwa libis iggallabiyyah/

'He wore his 'gallabiyyah' (dress).'

4b) /huwwa labbis ibnuh iggallabiyyah/

'He caused his son to wear a 'gallabiyyah' (dress).'

5a) /ʔil8ayya:n sirib iddawah/

'The sick person drank the medicine.'

5b) /ʔilmumarriDa sarrabit il8ayya:n iddawah/

'The female-nurse caused the sick person to drink  
the medicine.'

If we examine the above illustrations, we note that Effective : Causative clauses may be designated on the following syntactic and systemic evidence:

(1) They involve a three-place causative verb, by which is meant a two-place verb subjected to causativization through a causativizer. As was pointed out earlier, the syntactic effect of causativization is that it increases

by one the number of the entities participating in the process. So the verb /libis/ 'to wear', for instance, normally appears in association with two participating parties; when causativized, it allows for one more participant to share in the process.

(2) From the point of view of the participant-relationship holding between the structural elements in an Effective : Causative clause, we note that the 'initiator' is structurally expressed in the subject; in addition to this, we have an actor and a goal realized in the surface syntax. This may be exemplified by /8ali labbis sayyid iggallabiyya/ 'Ali caused Sayyid to wear the gallabiyya (the dress)' where /8ali/ is the initiator', /sayyid/, the actor, and /gallabiyya/, the goal respectively.

(3) In operative, the clause-element 'S' fulfils the transitivity function 'initiator', whereas in receptive it fulfils that of 'goal'. Compare (a) and (b) below:

	S	P	C	C	
a)	/8ali	kattib	sayyid	iddars/	operative
	initiator	-	process	-	actor - goal

	S	P	
b)	/?iddars	ikkattib/	receptive
	goal	-	process

'The lesson was caused to be written.'

This contrasts with Descriptive : Causative clauses, which were treated in the preceding section, in that the structural element 'S' is initiator in operative, and actor in receptive, e.g.

S	P	C	A
---	---	---	---

a) /?uxti nayyimit ilwalad fil?oDa/  
 initiator - process - actor - locative of place  
 'My sister caused the boy to sleep in the room.'

S	P	A
---	---	---

b) /?ilwalad itnayyim fil?oDa/  
 actor - process - locative of place  
 'The boy was caused to sleep in the room.'

(4) Finally, returning to the sentences in 1-5(a), and 1-5(b), we notice that they are similar in respect of two features assigned to them by transitivity. The first is that the process-type is 'directed action'. That is to say, an Effective : non-causative clause still retains its feature of 'goal-directedness', after being causativized. The second is that the non-causative vis-a-vis the causative in the illustrations above are likewise distinguished as Extensive : Effective.

It is worth mentioning in this respect, by way of comparison, that the same line of argument is valid for Descriptive clauses, i.e. a Descriptive : non-causative shares with a Descriptive : Causative the feature of non-directed action.

To further illustrate this, contrast Table I and Table II below:

TABLE I

	non-causative	causative
Effective (directed action)	/ʔirra:gil il8agu:z ʔala8 iTardu:s/	/ʔilxaddam ʔalla8 irra:gil il8agu:z iTardu:s/
	'The old man took off his fez.'	'The servant caused the old man to take off his fez.'

TABLE II

	non-causative	causative
Descrip- tive (non- directed action)	/ʔilhuSa:n sa:b/	/hasan sayyib ilhuSa:n/
	'The horse went loose.'	'Hasan caused the horse to go loose.'

### The /xalla/ Causative Clauses

In the two preceding sections our analysis centred around classes of clauses which involve verbs morphologically marked as causative (i.e. via gemination of the second medial radical).

The purpose of this section is to describe

another class of causative clauses which contain the causativizer /xalla/ meaning 'to make, or cause to'. That is to say we are principally concerned here with the so-called analytic causative as opposed to the synthetic or morphological causative dealt with earlier.

It is important to stress in this connection the fact that the analytic causative is available to all verbs in the form of the causativizer /xalla/, irrespective of the process type. Furthermore, the analytic causative is synonymous with the morphological one.

Consider the following pairs of sentences:

Set I

1a) /?iggamma:l barrak iggamal/

'The camel-man caused the camel to kneel down.'

1b) /?iggamma:l xalla iggamal yibrik/

'The camel-man caused the camel to kneel down.'

1c) /?iTTabba:x sayyah\_ izzibda/

'The cook caused the butter to melt.'

1d) /?iTTabba:x xalla izzibda tisi:h\_/

'The cook caused the butter to melt.'

1e) /?ilgafi:r garra il8iya:l/

'The night watchman caused the children to run.'

1f) /?ilgafi:r xalla il8iya:l yigru/

'The night watchman caused the children to run.'

Set II

2a) /hasan labbis 8ammuh ilburne:Ta/

'Hasan caused his uncle to wear the hat.'

- 2b) /hasan xalla 8ammuh yilbis ilburne:Ta/  
'Hasan caused his uncle to wear the hat.'
- 2c) /?ilfakahani akkil izzibu:n mo:z/  
'The fruiterer caused his customer to eat bananas.'
- 2d) /?ilfakahani xalla izzibu:n ya<sup>k</sup>kul mo:z/  
'The fruiterer caused his customer to eat bananas.'
- 2e) /hasan balla8 8ali habbayit ispiri:n/  
'Hasan caused Ali to swallow a tablet of aspirin.'
- 2f) /hasan xalla 8ali yibla8 habbayit ispiri:n/  
'Hasan caused Ali to swallow a tablet of aspirin.'

The above two sets of illustrations show that:

- (1) The language user in ECA uses both the analytic causative and the morphological causative synonymously. For instance, in set I, the sentences 1(a) and 1(b) are semantically equal; once again, in set II, 2(a) and 2(b) are alternative 'surface' realizations of each other.
- (2) The /xalla/ analytic causative exhibits the same participant roles demonstrated by its morphological counterpart. To further illustrate this point of similarity, compare the participant roles realized in the following examples.

Analytic causative	Morphological causative
1a) / <u>h</u> asan xalla <u>izzibda</u> tisi:h/ initiator actor 'Hasan caused the butter to melt.'	1b) / <u>h</u> asan sayyah <u>izzibda</u> / initiator actor 'Hasan caused the butter to melt.'

Analytic causative	Morphological causative
2a) / <u>hasan</u> xalla <u>axu:h</u> yakul initiator actor <u>burtu<sup>a</sup>?:n/</u> goal 'Hasan caused his brother to eat oranges.'	2b) / <u>hasan</u> akkil <u>axu:h</u> initiator actor <u>burtu?:n/</u> goal 'Hasan caused his brother to eat oranges.'

(3) Moreover, we maintain for a clause involving an analytic causative the same transitivity features given to its morphological equivalent. By way of illustration, the pair of sentences /hasan xalla izzibda tisi:h/ 'Hasan caused the butter to melt', and /hasan sayyah izzibda/ 'Hasan caused the butter to melt', though involving analytic and morphological causative respectively, share the feature sequence: Extensive : Descriptive : Causative : operative. On the other side, the pair of sentences, /hasan xalla axu:h yakul burtu?:n/ 'Hasan caused his brother to eat oranges', and /hasan akkil axu:h burtu?:n/ 'Hasan caused his brother to eat oranges', though again involving analytic and morphological causative successively, share the feature sequence: Extensive : Effective : Causative : operative.

(4) It is necessary to point out here that with the /xalla/ analytic causative, there is no operative/receptive distinction. That is to say, the participant in the role of initiator is always structurally realized in the subject. This of course provides a point of contrast with the

non-analytic causative where the clause-element 'S' may function as actor in operative, or goal in the environment of receptive, e.g.

Non-analytic causative

/?issitt akkilit ilwalad ittuffa:h/                    operative

initiator                    actor                    goal

'The woman caused the boy to eat apples.'

/?ittuffa:h itakkil lilwalad biwaSTiT                    receptive

goal    actor

issitt/

initiator

'The apples were fed (lit. eaten) to the boy by the woman.'

Analytic causative

/?issitt xallat ilwalad yakul ittuffa:h/                    operative

initiator

'The woman caused the boy to eat apples.'

To finish off our discussion of this point, we include two diagrams which display the specific order of the /xalla/ type of clause.

Diagram I

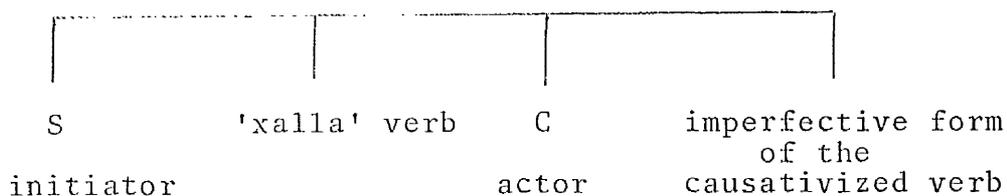
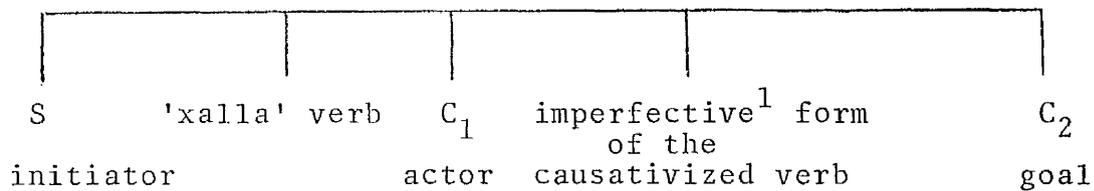


Diagram II



Reference should be made to certain cases where the /xalla/ analytic may operate more than once; this again may happen in the presence or absence of a morphological causative.

Examples:

1) /?ana xalle:t hasan yixalli 8ali yixrug mil?o:Da/

Lit. 'I made Hasan make Ali go out of the room.'

2) /?ana xalle:t hasan yixalli 8ali yixarrag inna:s.

mil?o:Da/

Lit. 'I made Hasan make Ali cause the people to go out of the room.'

3) /?ana xalle:t hasan yixalli 8ali yilbis ilbadlah/

Lit. 'I made hasan make Ali wear his suit.'

4) /?ana xalle:t hasan yixalli 8ali yilabbis axu:h

ilbadlah/

Lit. I made Hasan make Ali cause his brother to wear his suit.'

---

1. The actor in the /xalla/ analytic causative is normally followed by the imperfective form of the verb.

The sentences presented above attest, *inter alia*, to the following facts:

(a) The first fact is that the causativizer /xalla/ is always preceded by a participant (or participants) in the role of initiator; and that whenever the language user in ECA opts for repeating /xalla/, he is conscious of introducing once again into the structural configuration of the sentence the role of initiator as a separate participating entity.

In addition to this, the above illustrations show that there are no restrictions on the co-occurrence possibilities of both the analytic and the morphological causative in the same sentence.

(b) Second, /xalla/ and the imperfective form of the verb which follows it, are merely formal markers of causativization. More accurately, the verb /yilbis/ 'to wear' in example (4), for instance, is the one which is being causativized. This causativization is signalled by what we may describe as 'an auxiliary causative'<sup>1</sup> (i.e. the verb 'xalla').

This, in a sense, is similar to 'tremble' in 'John makes Alice tremble.', where 'make', plus the infinitive act as formal markers of causativization; 'the feature' causative is attached to 'tremble'.

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1. The term 'auxiliary causative' is borrowed from Sandra Scharff Babcock. See her article, 'Paraphrastic Causatives', Foundations of Language, volume 8, 1972, pp. 30-43.

In the remaining part of this section, it is proposed to contrast the /xalla/ type of clause with its nearest English equivalent, i.e. the 'make' type of clause. The purpose of such a contrast is to pinpoint, in passing, the difference between both types, and to indicate that Arabic Causative constructions with /xalla/ do not normally imply obligation, or force as is the case with their English counterparts.

Consider:

- a) She makes her child do his homework.
- b) She makes her child tremble.

At first sight, the most obvious difference between the 'make' of 'make her child do his homework', and the 'make' of 'make her child tremble' is that in the first it is synonymous with 'to force', whereas in the second it is synonymous with 'to cause'.

In other words, to quote Lyons, 'the English construction with 'make' commonly introduces an implication of force or coercion'.<sup>1</sup>

In Egyptian Colloquial Arabic /xalla/ does not introduce an implication of obligation or force; such an implication is normally given in one of two ways:

- (a) The native speaker may use verbs like /?argam/

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1. See John Lyons, 'Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics', Chapter Eight, p. 354.

'to force', /ʔagbar/ 'to oblige, force, coerce', /gaSab 8ala/ 'to force', etc. in place of /xalla/.

Examples:

- |  |       |                            |
|--|-------|----------------------------|
| S  | C     |                            |
| 1) / <u>hasan</u> argam <u>sayyid</u> /                      |       | [ innu yixrug <sup>1</sup> |
| initiator  | actor | [ 8alxuru:g                |
| 'Hasan forced Sayyid to go out.'                             |       |                            |
|  |       |                            |
| 2) / <u>hasan</u> agbar sayyid                               |       | [ innu yixru:g             |
| 'Hasan forced Sayyid to                                      |       | [ 8alxuru:g                |
| go out.'   |       |                            |
|  |       |                            |
| 3) / <u>hasan</u> gaSab 8ala sayyid innu yixrug <sup>2</sup> |       |                            |
| 'Hasan obliged Sayyid to go out.'                            |       |                            |

(b) The other option open to the language user in ECA, when he wants to imply obligation, force, or coercion, is through the use of such expressions as /gaSb 8annuh/ 'against his will', /ragm ʔanfuh/ 'against his desire' Lit. 'against his nose', /ragm iraDtuh/ 'against his will'.

The examples given below are sufficient to show this:

- 
1. The particle /innu/ 'to' is followed by the imperfective form of the verb; while /8ala/, here meaning 'to' is followed by the verbal abstract /xuru:g/ 'the act of going out'. It is difficult to find a more appropriate translation equivalent for both than 'to go out'.
  2. The lexical verb /gaSab 8ala/ 'to oblige to' is a prepositional, or a phrasal verb. It does not allow the verbal abstract to occur after it; it allows only the imperfective form of the verb as the above example shows.

1) /?ana xalle:tuḥ yiṣrab iddawa gaSab 8annuh/

'I made him drink the medicine against his will.'

2) /?irra:gil ilmutazammit xalla ibnuh yiSu:m ramaDa:n

ragm ?anfuh/

'The strict man (lit. fanatic) made his son fast the month of Ramadan against his will.' (According to Islamic religious beliefs, Ramadan is a time when people should abstain from eating, drinking ... etc., from dawn till sunset.)

3) /Sa:hib ilbe:t sayyil ilbawwa:b iTTarD ragm iraDtuh/

'The landlord caused the door-keeper to carry the parcel in spite of his will.'

Finally, it is interesting to note in this connection that /xalla/ may be used as a full lexical verb meaning 'to keep, or to retain', and not just as a formal marker of causativization as our analysis might have suggested, e.g.

a) /hasan xalla issanTa mi8 8ali/

'Hasan kept the suitcase with Ali.'

b) /?ana xalle:t lik naSi:bak milfakha/

'I left you (lit.kept for you) your share of the fruits.'

### Conclusion

An attempt was made in this chapter to prove the central notion that the system Causative/non-causative

is in operation for most of the clause types described in Part II. Apart from the causativizer /xalla/, classes of verbs occurring in Form II and Form IV were shown to appear in the surface syntax of Causative clauses in association with an 'initiator', functioning as a discrete participating entity.

However, reference should be made, in passing, to the applicability of the same system to two clause types which have not been dealt with in Part II, namely, Reciprocal and Emphatic clauses (see Chapters X and XI).

With those two clause types, only the analytic causative operates in the form of the causativizer /xalla/ with the concomitant introduction of the participant role referred to above; that is to say, verbs which are morphologically marked as causative, via gemination of the second medial radical, do not figure in the structural representation of these clauses.

CHAPTER TEN

EMPHATIC V. NON-EMPHATIC

Introduction

In the foregoing chapter we examined the three main classes of Causative clauses in relation to their corresponding non-causative counterparts. One of the two structural types of Causative clause is marked by the presence of a verb occurring in Form II with a causative function. In the present chapter we will examine clauses containing a Form II verb with an emphatic function in relation to their non-emphatic counterparts.

In so doing we adopt Halliday's view that:

"... the class assignment of any given verb is in effect a specification of those clause features which determine its potentiality of occurrence. In this way verbs will be found to group themselves into semantically related sets; the recognition of such sets is merely an extension of the basic principle of syntactic classification involved in the familiar concepts 'transitive and intransitive verbs'." 1

However before proceeding with our description of the system emphatic/non-emphatic, we will examine how verbs occurring in Form II are described by Arab grammarians. The object is to show that, contrary to Arabic traditional linguistics, the form and function of verbs which are marked

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity ...', Part I, p. 52.

by the existence of a geminate medial radical are not always inter-related. In other words, in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic Form II verbs group themselves into two classes, with two different functions: one implies causation as we have seen in the preceding Chapter, the other has an implication of emphasis, reiteration ... etc., as this Chapter attempts to show.

First let us touch upon the divergent, and sometimes contradictory, views of grammarians as to the function of verbs occurring in this form (i.e. form II).

Some claim that a semantic connotation of 'intensification' is always associated with the causative-factitive force of this form. Their claim rests upon the assumption that the causative meaning is an outgrowth of the intensive meaning.<sup>1</sup> However, nobody has ever been able to demonstrate in a convincing way how this development should be possible.

Another party, represented by F. Leemhues, claims that a causative shades into the intensive; that is to say, a causative verb implies intensification, repetition, and plurality of action.<sup>2</sup>

At the other extreme, Beeston denies that this form has any emphatic function. He singles out only two lexical verbs out of the whole stock of Arabic vocabulary

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1. See A. Goetze, "The so-called Intensive of the Semitic Languages", J.A.O.S., LXII (1942), 3.
  2. See F. Leemhues, "Sibawaih's Treatment of the D Stem", Journal of Semitic Languages, XVIII, No. 2 (1973).

as having an emphatic function:

"The frequently repeated statement that this stem<sup>1</sup> has an 'intensifying' value is, as a generalization, totally false. The two examples invariably quoted, Kassara-hu 'he smashed it' versus kasara-hu 'he broke it' and qattala-hum 'he massacred them' versus qatala-hum 'he killed them' are rarities with hardly any parallel in the whole lexicon." 2

Both of the above views would seem to be assumptions in view of the following facts:

a) A causative does not always imply intensification and plurality of action. For instance in

1) /ʔizzabiT nazzil iggundi ilxundu?/

'The officer caused the soldier to go down the trench.'

the verb /nazzil/ 'to cause to go down', though causative, does not imply the so-called plurality of action, nor does it imply repetition; the latter may be indicated by such linguistic items as /marrite:n/ 'twice' /kul xamas sa8a:t/ 'every five hours', /ʔiSSubh marrah wi iDDuhr marrah/ 'once in the morning, and once in the evening' ... etc. In this way, the idea of repetition is not expressed through the causative verb itself, but rather through linguistic items like these given above, which may occur with any clause type, irrespective of the process or participants involved.

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1. By 'this stem' Beeston means the doubled stem, or a Form II verb.

2. A.F.L. Beeston, "The Arabic Language Today", op.cit., p. 75 (footnote 1).

b) The assumption put forward by Beeston that the 'doubled stem' has no 'intensifying value' is not true for ECA, or SA. Investigation of the available data shows that there is a substantial class of verbs occurring in Form II which has an intensifying function separated from the Causative one (see below).

After this brief discussion of how Form II verbs are treated in Arabic linguistics, we will examine 'Emphatic v. non-emphatic' in more detail.

### The Emphatic Clause Type

By an Emphatic clause is meant that clause which contains a Form II verb with an emphatic function. Again, the term 'emphatic' is used in this connection to subsume what the traditional grammarians referred to as intensification, repetition, and reiteration; it is also implied that a corresponding non-emphatic clause must be present.

Contrast (a) and (b) in the following illustrations:

1a) /ʔinnagga:r kaSar ilba:b/ non-emphatic

'The carpenter broke the door.'

1b) /ʔinnagga:r kaSSar ilba:b/ emphatic

'The carpenter broke the door (into many pieces).'

2a) /ʔissagga:la fatahat issababi:k/

'The woman servant opened the windows.'

2b) /ʔissagga:la fattahat issababi:k/

'The woman servant opened the windows (many times).'

3a) /huwwa ?atal 8asar rigga<sup>1</sup>la/

'He killed ten people.'

3b) /huwwa ?attal 8asar rigga<sup>1</sup>la/

'He massacred ten people.'

4a) /?ilwa:d xaram ilwara?a/

'The boy pierced the paper.'

4b) /?ilwa:d xarram ilwara?a/

'The boy pierced the paper (many times).'

5a) /?ilfalla:h ?aTa8 ilhabl/

'The farmer cut the rope.'

5b) /?ilfalla:h ?aTTa8 ilhabl/

'The farmer cut the rope (into many pieces).'

Contrasting the above pairs of sentences we note that:

- 1) The system Emphatic v. non-emphatic operates only for Extensive : Effective clauses, to the exclusion of all other clause types. That is to say, systemically, the sentences in (b) will be assigned the feature sequence: Extensive : Effective : Emphatic, whereas those in (a) will be assigned the feature sequence: Extensive : Effective : non-emphatic. A corollary to this is that the clauses in (b) are characterized by the so-called feature of 'goal-directedness' exactly like those in (a).
- 2) In terms of the participant-relationship obtaining between the clause elements involved in an Emphatic clause, we notice that the participant (or participants) in the

role of actor is always conflated with that of initiator. This conflation of actor and initiator is significant in that it refutes the argument put forward by Leemhues (referred to in the introduction to this Chapter) that verbs like those appearing in sentences (b) are causative. Had they been causative, the initiator would have appeared in the surface syntax of the clause as a single entity. This may be further illustrated by comparing the Emphatic clause in (a) with the Causative ones in (b) and (c):

- a) /hasan                    ?aTTa8 ilhabl/                    Emphatic  
       initiator + actor                    goal  
       'Hasan cut the rope (into many pieces).'
- b) /hasan            garra    ibnuh/                    Descriptive :  
       initiator                    actor                    Causative  
       'Hasan caused his son to run.'
- c) /hasan            ?akkal    ibnuh    tuffa:h/                    Effective :  
       initiator                    actor                    goal                    Causative  
       'Hasan caused his son to eat apples.'

Reference should be also made in this connection to another syntactic criterion which may be used to show whether the function of a Form II verb in a given clause is emphatic or causative. This criterion consists in inserting the verb /xalla/ 'to make to, to cause to' in the clause which contains the Form II verb. If the verb has a causative function, it will not retain, in the presence of /xalla/, the morphological feature of duplication of the

second medial radical; but if it has an emphatic function, it will appear in the surface syntax of the clause either with or without gemination.

Consider:

a) /hasan xalla ilhabl  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \underline{yit?iT}i8 \\ \underline{yit?atta}8 \end{array} \right.$

'Hasan caused the rope to be cut/cut into many pieces.'

b) /hasan xalla 8ali  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} \underline{yikt}ib \\ *yikattib \end{array} \right.$  iggawa:b/

'Hasan caused Ali to write the letter.'

Following is a list of verbs which share the characteristics of /?aTTa8/ 'to cut into many pieces'.

<u>s</u> abbik	→	'to tie, to fasten (many times)'
fakkik		'to untie, to unravel (more than once)'
fa??a8		'to smash, to squeeze (many times)'
xarram		'to perforate, to pierce (many times)'
tabba?		'to perforate, to pierce (many times)'
dahhan		'to smooth out (a greasy substance more than once)'
barram		'to roll more than once'

3) Returning to the traditional Arab grammarians' idea of the so-called 'plurality of action', by which they meant that the action expressed by a verb occurring in Form II with an emphatic function should extend to more than two

objects or persons (i.e. the traditional object should not be either singular, or dual<sup>1</sup>), we notice that in ECA such a verb does not necessarily have to meet this requirement.

Compare (1) and (2) below:

Standard Arabic

1a) /gallaqat alabwa:ba<sup>2</sup>/

'She closed the doors (many times).'

1b) /qaTTa8na ?aydi:hun/

'They cut their hands (many cuts).'

Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

2a) /hasan ?aTTa8 ilhabl/

'Hasan cut the rope (into many pieces).'

2b) /hasan ?aTTa8 ilhiba:1/

'Hasan cut the ropes (into many pieces).'

The examples in (1a) and (1b) reflect what is referred to in Arabic linguistic theory as 'plurality of action'. In other words, the underlined elements /?alabwa:b/ 'the doors' and /?aydi:hun/ 'their hands' are, and should always be from the point of view of traditional grammar, in the plural.

This is different from Egyptian Colloquial Arabic

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1. For a detailed study of the category of number see: A.A. El-Khareiby, "A Syntactic Study of the Category of Number in the Arabic Dialect of Manzala (Egypt)", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1973.

2. Examples (a) and (b) are taken from the Holy Quran, Sura XII, "Yusuf, or Joseph", verses 23 and 50.

where the user of the language may use, depending upon the circumstances of the context, either the singular form /ʔilhab1/ 'the rope' (example 2a), or the plural e.g. /ʔilhiba:l/ 'the ropes' (example 2b).

In more concrete terms, there is no restriction in ECA upon the use of the singular, dual or plural in the traditional object position with /fa88a1/ verbs when they express what is labelled here 'an emphatic function'. There remains to point out that with ECA it is not the form of the verb occurring in an "Emphatic clause", but rather the situation, that dictates the selection of the plural, singular, or dual. For instance, in a context like the one given below, the number of the nominal elements which fill the object position is, so to speak, determined by the situation, rather than the form of the verb.

Consider:

- /ʔil8a:mil xarram ka:m kart/

"How many cards did the worker puncture?"

- /xarram kart kibi:r wi karte:n muTwaSSiTe:n wi ba:ʔi

ikkuru:t iSSugayyara/

"He" punctured a large-size card, two medium-size ones, and the rest of the small-size cards.'

#### Verbalized sentences

Reference should also be made to a class of verbs which constitute verbalization of a ritual sentence. Consider the exemplifications given below.

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Sentence</u>
/?amman/ →	/ḥasan amman/
'to say amen, to say yes'	'Hasan said amen.'
/sabbah/	/?ilḥagg Sabbah/
'to say glory be to Allah'	'The pilgrim said glory be to Allah.'
/basmal/	/?ilḥagg basmal/
'to say in the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.'	'Hasan said in the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.'
/labbah/	/huwwa ?a:8id yilabbi/
'to say 'labbayk Allah' a prayer said by Muslims.'	'He keeps on saying 'labbayka Allah.'

**Aside** from the loss of case-endings, which is a characteristic feature of both SA (Standard Arabic) and CA (Classical Arabic), the above illustrations involve verbs which are peculiar in two respects:

(a) They still retain their normal classical usage. In other words, as A. Hamalwi says,<sup>1</sup> Form II is used here to indicate abbreviation and emphasis, i.e. a verb like /Sabbah/ above is the short for a whole ritual sentence (/?a:l Subḥa:n Allah/) 'He said glory be to God', and a verb like /basmal/ is the abbreviated form of /?a:l bism illah irrahma:n irraḥi:m/ 'He said in the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.'

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1. See Sheikh A. Hamalawi, "Shaza Al-Arf fi fann ISSarf", Egypt (1952), p. 23.

So, with the so-called "abbreviated form", there is a semantic tie-up of intensification; one of the corollaries of this 'intensification' is repetition, but no causation implied.

(b) Furthermore, these verbs are peculiar in that they do not have non-emphatic correlates corresponding to them in the same way as the other classes of emphatic verbs dealt with before.

By analogy with this, I include the verbs /Sabbah/, /massa/<sup>1</sup> which are abbreviated forms of /Saba:h ilxe:r/ 'good morning', and /masa:? ilxe:r/ 'good night'.

#### Illustrations:

1) /?issitt Sabbahat 8ala garitha/

'The lady wished her neighbour good morning.'

2) /?issitt massat 8ala garitha/

'The lady wished her neighbour good evening.'

#### Conclusion

To recapitulate, we have attempted to show that an Emphatic clause normally ~~is in contrast to~~ a non-emphatic one. The only exception to this lies in the so-called 'abbreviated forms' where the Emphatic does not have a related non-emphatic.

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1. It is worth noting here that the verb /massa/ expresses what Malinowski refers to as 'phatic communion'. However, as a term of greeting, Arabs use it on meeting or leaving somebody at night. Thus it is used in place of the English 'good evening' and 'good night'.

Moreover, it was demonstrated that the system emphatic/non-emphatic operates only for Extensive : Effective clauses, to the exclusion of the other clause types.

Finally, it was established that for ECA verbs appearing in Form II fall into two separate classes: one occurs with an emphatic function, and the other occurs with a causative function; a situation which is different from that in SA.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

RECIPROCAL V. NON-RECIPROCAL

Introduction

In the two preceding chapters, we dealt with two systems: Causative v. non-causative and emphatic v. non-emphatic. In this chapter, another system is described i.e. reciprocal versus non-reciprocal. The nomenclature 'Reciprocal' rests upon the assumption that the verb form in such clauses creates a reciprocal type of relation between the two parties participating in the process.

The verb system in ECA provides two forms which typically occur in what is labelled here 'Reciprocal Clauses' namely, /fa:8il/, Form III, and /itfa:8il/, Form VI, e.g.

a) /8ali sa:kil hasan/

Form III verb

'Ali fought with Hasan.'

Lit. 'Ali and Hasan fought with each other.'

b) /8ali itsa:ki' mi8 hasan/

Form IV verb

' Ali fought with Hasan.'

Lit. 'Ali and Hasan fought with each other.'

However, this is not to signify that all Form III and Form VI verbs have that inherent reciprocity component

which makes the clause containing either of them qualify as 'Reciprocal'; rather a subcategorization of this specific, substantial class of verbs on syntactic and semantic evidence is required to show their behaviour.

To quote R.A. Hudson on this point:

"However, even though the verb's class is the main indicator of the clause's transitivity type, there is considerable scope for ambiguity, since the same class of verb may be used in several different types of clause." 1

So by a Reciprocal clause is meant that clause where:

a) The verb involved appears either in Form III or VI, with no passive correlate, i.e. the system operative/receptive does not operate with these clauses. That is to say, for the language user in ECA, a Reciprocal clause is always "active" in form and interpretation.

The situation in ECA contrasts sharply in this respect with that in SA where, generally speaking, Arab grammarians<sup>2</sup> assume that verbs appearing in Form III and VI, like the majority of verb Forms in Standard Arabic, accept passivization. The gist of their argument is that a verb with the pattern /fa:8ala/ is rendered into passive if it occurs with the pattern /fu:8ila/ (e.g. 'qa:tala' → 'qu:tila' 'to fight with each other'); and a verb with the pattern /tafa:8ala/ is passivized if it occurs with the pattern

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1. R.A. Hudson, "An 'Item'-and-Paradigm Approach to Beja Syntax and Morphology", Foundations of Language, 9, 1973, p. 540.
  2. See Mohammad A. Udayma, "Al-Mugni fi TaSri:f Al-Af'a:l", Egypt, Cairo, second edition, 1955, pp. 111-12.

/tufu:8ila/ (e.g. 'taqa:tala' → 'tuqu:tila', 'to fight with each other').

As was noted earlier, with ECA these verbs have no passive correlates.

Furthermore, the 'it'-prefix which normally signals the passive participle with other clause types is not a passive marker with Reciprocal clauses.

To illustrate this point, compare the following Reciprocal versus non-reciprocal sentences:

- a) /?illiSS itxa:ni? mi8 hasan/ reciprocal  
 'Hasan and the thief quarrelled with each other.'
- b) /?illiSS itxana?/ non-reciprocal  
 'The thief was strangled.'
- a) /fari:?na itsa:bi? mi8 fari:? ilmadrassa iggidi:da/  
 'Our team and the new school's team competed with each other in running.'
- b) /fari:?na itsaba?/  
 'Our team was beaten in a running competition.'  
 Lit. 'Our team was outrun.'
- a) /hasan itfa:tih mi8 8ali/  
 'Hasan and Ali opened (the subject) with each other.'
- b) /?iSSandu:? itfatah/
- 'The box was opened.'

The pairs of examples furnished above testify to the fact that the prefix 'it-', which with other verbs marks the difference between operative and receptive clauses,

does not function in the same way here.

2) A reciprocal type of relationship holds between the two parties participating in the process in such a way that both of them may be said to be 'actor' and 'recipient' at the same time.

Next, Reciprocal clauses with Form III and VI verbs are dealt with separately.

#### Reciprocal Clauses Type I(a)

In this section, the description is limited to what we have labelled here 'Reciprocal Clauses type 1(a). Among other things, this type of clause is formally marked off by the existence of a Form III verb indicative of reciprocity.

Consider the following exemplifications where we assign the role 'actor' to the structural elements S and C; this assignment of the same participant-function to both elements is based upon the fact that each of them 'reciprocates' the action expressed by the verb.

In other words, though syntactically the two participating entities are different: one functioning as subject, the other as complement, systemically they perform the same participant role i.e. actor (for more evidence supporting the assignment of the role 'actor' to the nominal elements S and C see below).

Examples:<sup>1</sup>

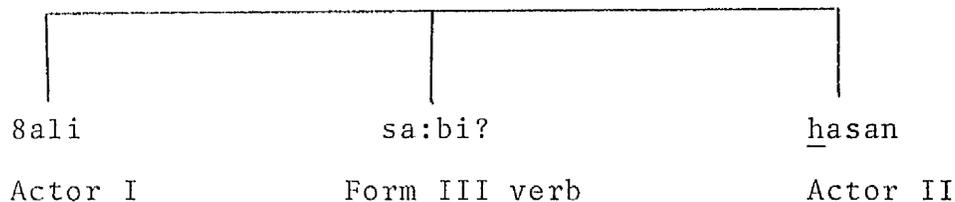
- | S  | P | C             |
|--|---|---------------|
| 1) /?ilwalad xa:ni?  |   | <u>Sahbu/</u> |
| Actor I + Form III verb + Actor II   |   |               |
| 'The boy fought with his friend.'  |   |               |
| Lit. 'The boy and his friend fought with each other.'                                |   |               |
| 2) /?inna:s harbu la8da:?' <sup>2</sup> /  |   |               |
| 'The people fought with the enemies.'  |   |               |
| 3) /hasan sa:kil 8ali/   |   |               |
| 'Hasan quarrelled with Ali.'   |   |               |
| 4) /8ali ra:sil Sadi:quh/  |   |               |
| 'Ali corresponded with his friend.'  |   |               |
| 5) /garna xa:Sim il8umda/  |   |               |
| 'Our neighbour got angry with the mayor.'  |   |               |
| 6) /?ibnilgafi:r ma:sa wila:d il?aka:bir/  |   |               |
| 'The son of the night watchman mixed with (lit. walked with) the sons of the elite.' |   |               |
| 7) /?ilbawwa:b xa:liT sukka:n il8imarah/   |   |               |
| 'The porter mixed with the occupiers of the block of flats.'                         |   |               |

- 
1. In translating the illustrations, we have tried, for the sake of simplicity, to avoid repeating "with each other" with every Reciprocal clause. However, attention should be drawn to the fact that every reciprocal verb, e.g. /xa:ni?/ in example (1) above indicates that the participants involved 'reciprocate' the action with each other.
  2. With a subject in the singular, the vowel /a:/ in the verb /ha:rib/ is characterized by length, whereas with a plural subject the same vowel is short, e.g. /harbu/ in example (2) above.

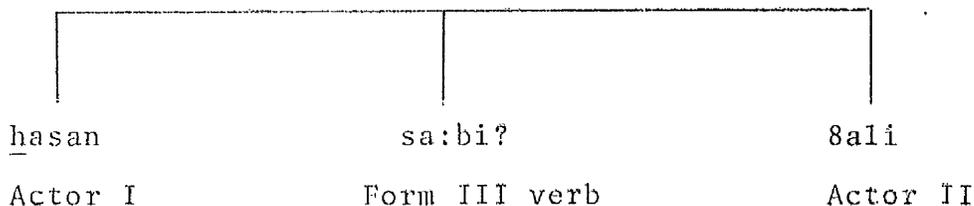
The relationship obtaining between the two NPs in a Reciprocal clause is such that if we substitute one for the other, no difference in meaning, process or participant roles would result since each of them is 'actor and acted upon' simultaneously. In other words, the nominal element (or elements) filling the subject slot can be replaced by that filling the object slot, or vice versa, without changing the meaning of the sentence, or the function of the participants figuring in the structural configuration of the sentence.

To further illustrate this point, compare (A) with (B) below:

(A)



(B)



We note that Actor One is substitutable for Actor Two in the previous examples. Further, semantic parallelism is maintained irrespective of this substitution.

Non-reciprocal Class III verbs

However, it is worth while noting at this point that not all verbs of this morphological class (i.e. Form III) indicate reciprocity. Consider:

- 1) /?il8amal Da:8if il?inta:g/  
'Work doubled the production.'
- 2) /?ilmudarris 8a:qib ittildi:miz/  
'The teacher punished the pupil.'
- 3) /?ilmuha:gir sa:fir baladuh/  
'The emigrant travelled to his home town.'

In the sentences (1) and (2) above, although the verb Form, and the syntactic structure are quite similar to those of Reciprocal clauses, no reciprocity is implied; and the NPs, if reversed, would result in a completely different semantic structure. As a consequence, these clauses are not classed as Reciprocal. Further, in contrast to reciprocal verbs, the two verbs /Da:8if/ 'to double' (ex. 1), and /8a:qib/ 'to punish' (ex. 2) are passivizable; hence the clauses in which they occur yield an operative /receptive distinction.

Contrast:

- 1a) /?il8amal Da:8if                      il?inta:g/                      operative  
 Actor + Form III verb + goal  
 'The work doubled the production.'

- 1b) /?il?inta:g iDDa:8if/                      receptive  
       goal            passive participle  
       'The production was doubled.'
- 2a) /?ilmudarris 8a:qib                      ittilmi:z/    operative  
       Actor        + Form III verb + goal  
       'The teacher punished the pupil.'
- 2b) /?ittilmi:z it8a:qib/                      receptive  
       goal        + passive participle  
       'The pupil was punished.'

The verb /sa:fir/ in /?ilmuha:gir sa:fir baladuh/, though a Form III verb and a non-reciprocal, does not occur in the passive; it requires one-participant role (i.e. actor) and a locative (see example (3) above).

It is necessary to mention in this respect that the demarcation line between some Form III verbs which can and which cannot occur in a Reciprocal clause is sometimes difficult to pinpoint, and would seem, on the basis of my investigation, to differ from informant to informant. For instance, the verbs /Sa:Di?/ 'to befriend', and /qa:wim/ 'to resist' were regarded by some of my informants as non-reciprocal.

Consider:

- /?ittilmi:z Sa:Di? ilmudarrisa/  
    ' The pupil befriended the woman teacher.'
- /?ihna qa:wimna il8adu/  
    'We resisted the enemy.'

These two examples were not accepted by some of my informants as having the feature 'reciprocal'. Their argument was to the effect that the action involved may be unidirectional, in which case, under this interpretation, the second participant (i.e. /?ilmudarrisa/ or /?il8adu/) will be assigned the role 'goal', not Actor II.

However, this is not the situation in my idiolect where reciprocity is an inherent component of such verbs, and where, again, the two nominal elements representing the subject and the complement are quite reversible, a criterion which characterizes Reciprocal clauses.

We include below a list of the verbs occurring in my data where some of my informants differed as to whether or not these verbs could be regarded as having the feature 'reciprocal'. Again, in listing these verbs, we adopt H.A. Gleason's view that listing is "a kind of definition; when incomplete it is a kind of characterization".<sup>1</sup>

/hasib/	→	'to settle an account with'
/wa:gih/		'to be confronted with'
/8a:sir/		'to mix with'
/xa:liT/		'to mix with'
/ga:wir/		'to be a neighbour of'
/Sa:Dim/		'to collide with'
/la:kim/		'to box with'
/na:fis/		'to compete with'
/sa:rik/		'to participate in'

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1. H.A. Gleason, Jr., "Linguistics and English Grammar", Holt, Rinehart Winston, U.S.A., 1965, p. 119.

/s̲a:bih/	→	'to resemble'
/xa:Sim/		'to get angry with'
/ga:bih/		'to confront'

Reference should be also made to the fact that the two nominals representing the participants in a 'reciprocal' process tend to be predominantly animates, particularly humans. That is to say, in ECA, to 'reciprocate' an action, the participants involved should have a will of their own; a characteristic common to all Reciprocal clauses.

In my data I came across only two examples which have non-animates as their participants. These are:

1) /?ilmaSari:n filbaTn bititxa:ni?/

Lit. 'Intestines quarrel with each other in the abdomen.'

2) /?itxa:ni? irri:h mi8 iTTayyar gat ilho:sa 8almarakbiyyah/

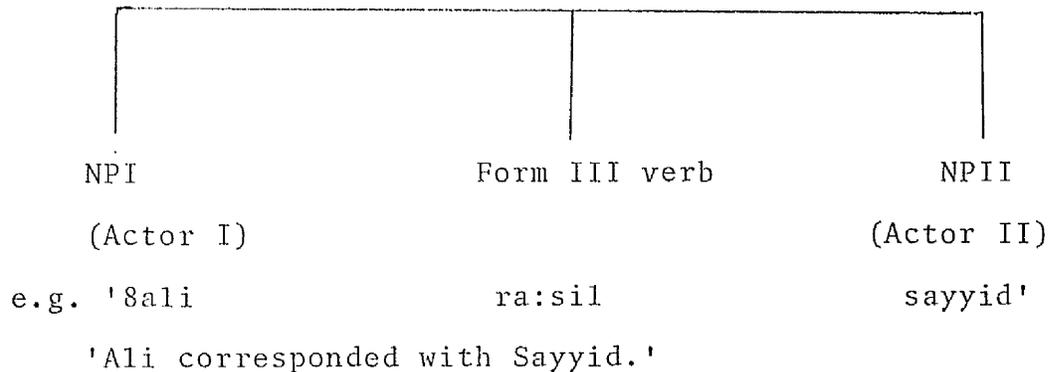
Lit. 'The wind quarrelled with the current (which resulted in) a catastrophe befalling the crew.'

The above illustrations show that the occurrence of a 'reciprocal' verb with non-animate participants is peculiar to a specific style, or register namely, that of proverbs where inanimate objects are personified. In other words, there is a constraint on the use of reciprocals with non-animates except in the case of investing these non-animates with human attributes.

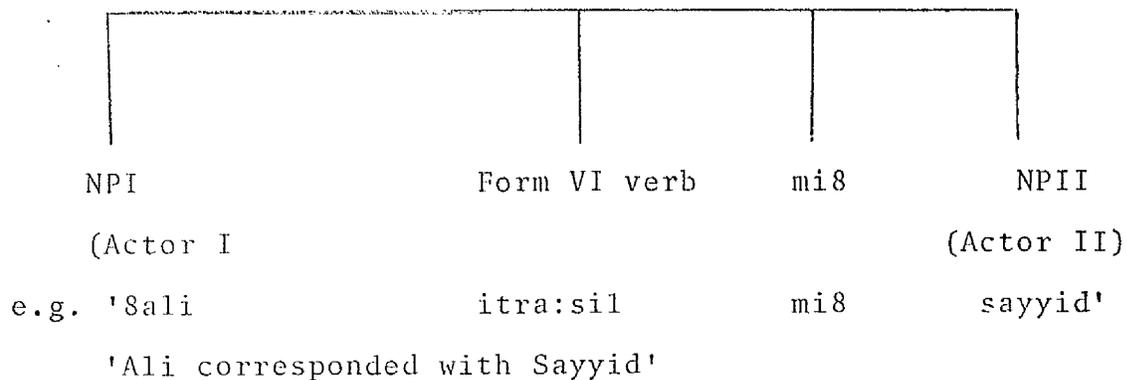
Reciprocal Clauses Type I(b)

In my data only one verb occurred which represents that sub-type; it needs special treatment since it is the only three-place verb which requires the assignment of three participant roles: two actors and a goal.

Thus while the structure of a Reciprocal clause type I(a) is:



and the structure of a Reciprocal type II (see next section) is:



the sequence of the sub-type under consideration (i.e. type I(b) is either:

a) NPI + Form II v. + NP II + NP III  
 (Actor I) (Actor II) (goal)

e.g. /8ali ba:dil sayyid iggawaba:t/  
 'Ali exchanged letters with Sayyid.'

b) NPI + NP II + Form VI v. + NP III  
 (Actor I)(Actor II) (goal)

e.g. /8ali wisayyid itbadlu iggawaba:t/  
 'Ali and Wayyid exchanged letters.'

c) NPI + Form VI v. + NP II + mi8 + NP III  
 (Actor I) (goal) (Actor II)

e.g. /8ali itba:dil iggawaba:t mi8 sayyid./  
 'Ali exchanged letters with Sayyid.'

The structures referred to above (i.e. those in (a), (b) and (c)) will not meet the requirements of acceptability if Form II verb was substituted for Form VI, and vice versa. Thus:

\* - /8ali itba:dil sayyid iggawaba:t/  
 \* - /8ali wisayyid badlu iggawaba:t/  
 \* - /8ali ba:dil iggawaba:t mi8 sayyid/

are unacceptable.

So, syntactically, this subtype may be distinguished on the following evidence:

When the structural elements representing Actor One and Two are conflated producing one NP (example B(1) below), or when they are conjoined by a co-ordinator (example B(2)), the complement slot must obligatorily be filled by a discrete nominal element fulfilling the transitivity role 'goal'; a situation which does not exist with type I(a), nor with type II.

To further illustrate this, contrast the examples in (A) and (B) below:

A(1) /8ali sa:ki1 sayyid/ Type I(a)

'Ali quarrelled with Sayyid.'

A(2) /8ali wisayyid itsaklu/ Type II

'Ali and Sayyid quarrelled with each other.'

'goal'

B(1) /?issukka:n<sup>1</sup> itbadlu ilhadaya/ Type I(b)

'The occupiers of the house exchanged presents with each other.'

'goal'

B(2) /8ali wisayyid itbadlu ilhadaya/ Type I(b)

'Ali and Sayyid exchanged presents with each other.'

\*(3) /8ali wisayyid itbadlu.'

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1. The two Actors which may occur as two discrete entities are represented here as one entity i.e. /?issukka:n/.

Note that whereas the sentences in (B) (1) and (2) are perfectly acceptable, the last one (3) is not; the main reason being that the verb involved requires a third participant i.e. 'goal'.

### Reciprocal Clauses Type II

In the two foregoing sections, we dealt with type I(a), and I(b) of what is labelled 'Reciprocal clauses'. Here the description proceeds with type II in more detail. This type is formally marked off by the following characteristics:

- (1) The occurrence of a verb in Form VI in contradistinction to Form III which appears in the clause type dealt with earlier.
- (2) A syntactic structure different from that exhibited by type I, i.e.:

NPI + Form VI verb + mi8<sup>1</sup> + NPII

It is worthwhile mentioning here that the 'feature' of reciprocity which may be present with Form III verbs is, according to Arab grammarians,<sup>2</sup> always present with Form VI verbs.

- (3) As was stated in the introduction to this chapter, the

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1. Another variant of /mi8/ "with" is /ma8/.

2. See M.A. Udayma (1955), 'Al-Mugni fi TaSrif al-Af'a:l', pp. 111-12.

'it-' prefix which usually marks off the passive participle with other clause types is not a passive-marker here.

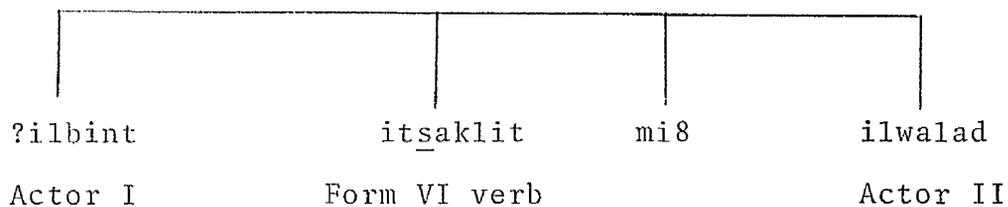
The following examples are cited as an illustration of Reciprocal clause type II:

- a) /?ahmad it?a:til mi8 hasan/  
 Actor I Form VI v. Actor II  
 'Ahmad quarrelled with Hasan.'
- b) /8e:lit hasan itharbit mi8 8e:lit sayyid/  
 'Hasan's tribe fought with Sayyid's.'
- c) /?ilbawwa:b itra:sil mi8 Sahib il8imarah/  
 'The porter corresponded with the owner of the block of flats.'
- d) /?ilfarra:s itxa:Sim mi8 irrayyis/  
 'The male-servant got angry with the boss.'
- e) /hasan itha:sib mi8 ilba??a:l/  
 'Hasan settled his account with the stationer.'

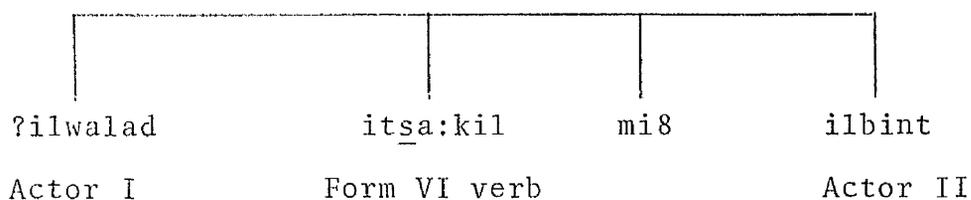
Examining the above examples, we notice that firstly the same structural and semantic relationship between the two participant-roles in Reciprocal type I(a) obtains here. Secondly the two entities representing the parties involved in the 'reciprocal' process are animates. This is predominantly the case with this clause type. Thirdly, Actor II in Reciprocal clauses type II is always preceded by the particle /mi8/ meaning 'with'. This does not change the syntactic status of the nominal element following the preposition.

Compare:

1(a)



1(b)



We will assume that in many examples the semantics of Form III and VI verbs in Reciprocal clauses normally implies that Actor I is more active and more involved in the process than Actor II.

That is to say, given a Reciprocal clause, the language user in ECA, though aware of the fact that the participants involved 'reciprocated' the action, would readily understand that the participant (or participants) occurring initially is more active and more involved in the process.

Nevertheless, this greater degree of involvement on the part of Actor I in a Reciprocal clause does not invalidate the assumption that both actors (i.e. Actor I and Actor II) are to be assigned the same transitivity role.

The traditional Arab grammarians seem to have realized this point since M.A. Udayma says that the entities that fill the slot of the subject and that of the object share the status of being /fa:8il/ 'actor' and /maf8u:l/ 'object' at the same time.<sup>1</sup>

It is also possible that in some examples there is no such relationship of more versus less active participant, and that the choice of which NP precedes the verb is dependent on the preceding linguistic context: i.e. the NP which represents the general subject of the discourse is more likely to precede, although it may not be more actively engaged in the action.

#### Non-Form III Reciprocal Verbs

Lastly we may mention that there are verbs with a 'feature' of reciprocity which are not in Form III or VI. As an illustration, consider the examples given below:

- 1) /8ali itgawwiz Sayyida/  
'Ali married Sayyida.'
- 2) /hasan ixtalaf mi8 ilmudi:r/  
'Hasan differed with the director.'
- 3) /?irrayyis igtama8 mi8 il8umma:l/  
'The boss convened with the workers.'

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1. See M.A. Udayma, 'Al-Mugni fi TaSrif Al-Af'a:l', p. 113.

4) /ʔilwaladdah yisbih gidduh/

'This child resembles his grandfather.'

The above clauses do not qualify as Reciprocal, though the verbs they contain have a feature of reciprocity. This is because within the framework of our theory a particular feature (i.e. 'Reciprocity') can only be regarded as grammatical and therefore a "Clause feature" if it has tangible formal properties correlating with the demonstrable semantic properties (in this case the verb forms /fa:8a1/ and /tafa:8a1/).

Next, it may be further noted that there are some cases where:

(A) Some reciprocal verbs which appear in Form VI have no corresponding counterpart in Form III. That is to say, whereas normally every Form III verb indicative of reciprocity has a corresponding counterpart appearing in Form VI and vice versa, verbs like those figuring in the illustrations given below always occur with the prefix 'it-'.

Examples:

1) /ʔissayyali:n itsatmu mi8 ba8D/

'The porters exchanged insults with each other.'

2) /humma filʔaxir itfahmu mi8 irrayyis/

'They came to an understanding with the boss in the end.'

(B) With a verb such as /la:8ib/, the situation referred to in (A) is reversed; that is to say, in the absence of

the 'it-' prefix, the verb denotes reciprocity, whereas its prefixed counterpart (i.e. Form VI) does not.

Contrast:

1) /fari?na la:8ib fari:? izzama:lik/

'Our team played with that of Izzamalik (a fashionable district in Cairo).'

2) /huwwa la:8ib bintu/

'He played with his daughter.'

3) /?irrayis itla:8ib bil?alfa:Z/

'The president played with words.'

4) /huwwa biyitla:8ib bibint iggira:n/

'He acts dishonestly with the neighbour's daughter.'

(C) There are verbs of the form Ca:CaC (i.e. Form III) referable to a root also showing a form CaCaC (Form I), where the stem Ca:CaC is reciprocal in meaning, but also shows some other added semantic feature so that it is difficult to say that the Ca:CaC stem is the reciprocal of the simple stem. It is nevertheless a reciprocal within our definition.

To illustrate this, contrast the following two pairs of examples where those in (a) are Reciprocal, whereas those in (b) are non-reciprocal.

1a) /sayyid xana? ilhara:mi/

Actor Form I verb goal

'Sayyid choked (strangled) the thief.'

1b) /sayyid xa:ni? ilharami/  
 Actor I Form III verb Actor II  
 'Sayyid quarrelled with the thief.'

2a) /sayyid na?ar<sup>1</sup> 8alba:b/  
 Actor Form I verb  
 'Sayyid knocked at the door.'

2b) /sayyid na:?ir hasan/  
 Actor I Form III verb Actor II  
 'Sayyid wrangled with Hasan.'

(D) For some verbs the feature 'reciprocal' is sometimes present, and at other times not present according to the linguistic context. The example given by Hilary Wise substantiates this point:

"... though for some verbs the feature appears to be optional, i.e. they will have to be marked [+ Reciprocal] in the lexicon. Hence 'itra:du<sup>T</sup>' can be taken as the deleted form of 'itra:du miŋ ba d' - 'they came to an agreement', or as the passive form of 'ra:da' [- Reciprocal] - 'they were satisfied' (e.g. 'bigineeh' - with a pound')." 2

(E) Although, in principle, reversibility of the NPs involved in a Reciprocal clause is viewed as a unifying feature common to all types of Reciprocal clauses discussed in the present chapter, reference should be made to instances where this is not the case.

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1. Some of my informants use /na??ar/ (Form II emphatic) in the same context.
  2. See Hilary Wise, 'A Transformational Grammar of Spoken Egyptian Arabic', p. 31.

To shed light on this, note the 'Focus phenomena', in the examples given below, where NPs with personal pronoun suffixes cannot precede the 'possessor' noun. So that

/8ali ra:sil hasan/ can be /hasan ra:sil 8ali/

but

/8ali ra:sil Sahbuh/ cannot be \*/Sahbuh ra:sil 8ali/

where, however, this is not a fact of the verb or the semantics, but of surface syntax (but see also my comments on "Thematization", Chapter 13).

More illustrations:

1) /?iggaZZa:r xa:ni? axuh/

'The butcher quarrelled with his brother.'

2) /?ilmudarris Sa:hib ibnuh iSSugayyar/

'The teacher befriended his little son.'

3) /?ilwa:d Sa:bi? giddituh/

'The boy raced with his grandmother.'

4) /?ilxuDrawa:ti sa:rik ibn 8ammuh/

'The greengrocer became a partner with his cousin.'

5) /8ali ha:sib Sa:hib be:tuh/

'Ali settled his account with his landlord.'

The underlined elements represent NPs with personal pronoun suffixes which cannot occupy an initial position in a Reciprocal clause. Hence the elements

representing Actor I and Actor II are not reversible. As was pointed out earlier, this is a fact of surface syntax, not of the verb, or its semantics.

The Use of the Pronouns /ba8D/, /nafS/ and /ro:h/

We do not propose to give a full treatment of the various uses of the above-mentioned pronouns. Our purpose is rather to discuss their functions as far as reciprocity and reflexivity is concerned.

As has been pointed out earlier, Reciprocal clauses have no passive correlates in ECA. The same situation, by way of exemplification, holds true for English in various respects. To quote R. Quirk on this point:

"The passive transformation is blocked when there is co-reference between subject and object, i.e. when there are reflexive, reciprocal, or possessive pronouns in the noun phrase as object." 1

In an attempt to account for the non-passivizability of such clauses, J. Svartvik points to the same restrictions given by Quirk when he states that this non-passivizability is due to:

"The restrictions on the relations between clause elements, such as co-reference between subject and object. This can be manifested by reciprocal and reflexive pronoun objects or by secondary concord manifested by possessive pronoun." 2

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1. Randolph Quirk and Sidney Greenbaum, 'A University Grammar of English', Longman, p. 359 (1975).
  2. J. Svartvik, 'On Voice in the English Verb', Mouton & Co., Hague, Paris, p. 165 (1966).

(See "Operative v. receptive", Chapter XIII).

To start with, we can bring together two clauses such as:

- |                                    |                                      |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a) '?ilwalad Darab <u>ilbint</u> ' | b) '?ilbint Darabat <u>ilwalad</u> ' |
| Actor                      goal    | Actor                      goal      |
| 'The boy beat the girl.'           | 'The girl beat the boy'              |

with a reciprocal<sup>1</sup> structure similar to reflexive:

- '?ilwalad wilbint Darabu ba8D'  
 'The boy and the girl hit each other.'

Furthermore, reciprocal pronouns can be freely used in the genitive, optionally followed by the enclitic pronoun.

Consider the bracketed elements in the exemplifications given below:

- a) /?ittalamza xadu kutub ba8D(uhum)/  
 'The pupils took each other's books.'
- b) /?il8iya:l ?aTTa8u hudo:m ba8D(uhum)/  
 'The children tore each other's clothes.'
- c) /?ilbana:t istalafu fasati:n ba8D(uhum)/  
 'The girls borrowed each other's dresses.'

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1. The verb here is not reciprocal as in type I and II dealt with before. So, the only overt marker of reciprocity is the reciprocal pronoun /ba8D/.

With Reciprocal clauses type II, the reciprocal pronoun /ba8D/ is always preceded by the particle /ma8/ 'with', conditional on:

(a) Conflation of Actor I and Actor II where the reciprocal action takes place among the members of a certain class of animates,

e.g.

NP	Form VI verb	ma8 ba8D
'?ilawla:d	it <u>s</u> a:klu	ma8 ba8D'
'The boys	quarrelled	with each other.'

(b) Conjoining of the two nominal elements functioning as Actor I and II,

e.g.

NPI	NP II	Form VI verb	ma8 ba8D
'?ilwalad	wilbint	it <u>s</u> a:klu	ma8 ba8D
'The boy	and the girl	quarrelled	with each other

Otherwise, only the particle /ma8/ 'with' would occur in the surface syntax:

NPI	Form VI verb	ma8	NPII
'?ilawla:d	itxa:n?u	ma8	ilbana:t
'The boys	quarrelled	with	the girls.'

It is important to stress the fact that in the above illustrations, the verb form (i.e. VI), does signal, at both the morphological and the syntactic level,

reciprocity and reflexivity. That is to say, the morphological form of the verb is to be taken as the main indicator of reciprocity<sup>1</sup> among the participating parties, since the existence of a reciprocal pronoun is conditioned by the two factors referred to above under (a) and (b).

With Reciprocal type I, /ba8D/, only occurs when Actor I and Actor II are conflated. So there are two possibilities:

a)	NP	Form III verb	ba8D
	'humma	xa:n?u	ba8D'
	'They	quarrelled	'with each other.'

but not \*/humma xa:n?u ma8 ba8D/

b)	NPI	Form III verb	NPII
	'?issa:kin	sa:kil	ilbawwa:b'
	'The tenant	quarrelled <u>with</u>	the porter.'
	Actor I		Actor II

1. Reference should be made to the following exception: when used in speaking of God, Form VI verbs have a purely reflexive signification; no reciprocity is indicated. Thus though the following examples occur in SA, they constitute some sort of classicisms which the man-in-the-street uses in his daily life; the reason being that they form an integral part of the religious background:

- 1) /ta8:ala alla:h/  
'God has made Himself uplifted, or exalted above all.'
- 2) /taba:raka allah/  
'God has made Himself blessed, or Perfect above all.'
- 3) /ta8a:Zama sa?nu allah/  
'God has made himself too great.'

As regards sentences like:

a) /ʔirriga:lah itʔatlu/

'The men quarrelled (with each other).'

b) /humma itSalhu/

'They made it up (with each other).'

They are the deleted forms of:

a) /ʔirriga:la itʔatlu ma8 ba8D/

'The men quarrelled with each other.'

b) /humma itSalhu ma8 ba8D/

'They made it up with each other.'

After dealing with the functions of the pronoun /ba8D/, we are going to deal with /nafs/ 'self', and /ro:h/ 'soul'. The object is, again, to discuss their functions as far as reciprocity and reflexivity is concerned. Basically, they are abstract nouns which, in surface structure terms, replace the second NP, followed by the possessive enclitic pronoun of the appropriate concord set; the two NPs figuring in the structural configuration of the clause must be referentially identical so that replacement may take place. Contrast the following three sets of examples:

Set I

1a) /huwwa garah nafsuh/

Actor                      goal

'He cut himself.'

1b) /ʔilxadda:ma haraʔat nafsaha/

Actor goal

'The woman-servant burnt herself.'

1c) /hasan garah ro:huh/

Actor goal

'Hasan cut himself.'

1d) /hasan 8awwar ro:huh/

Actor goal

'Hasan hurt himself.'

#### Set II

2a) /ro:ha Til8it/

Actor

Lit. 'Her soul went up (to heaven).'

2b) /ro:ha xaragat min gismaha/

Actor

Lit. 'Her soul went out of her body.'

#### Set III

3a) /nifsaha tsa:fir maSr/

Actor

'She desires to go to Egypt.'

3b) /nifsi aruh baladi/

Actor

'I desire to go to my home town.'

We note that firstly the examples in Set I are reflexive, whereas those in II and III are not. The overt marker of reflexivity in Set I is the occurrence of /nafs/

(examples 1a, and 1b), and /ro:h/ (examples 1c and 1d) in the complement slot, followed by the possessive enclitic pronoun which, as is typical with Arabic, agrees with the element filling the subject slot in number and gender.

In terms of participant-roles, these reflexive pronouns are assigned the function 'goal'. In other words, such 'reflexive components' are full participants. The situation in ECA appears to be identical with that of English in this respect. Halliday says, "In effective operative clauses the extensive complement, the goal, may regularly be reflexive as in 'She washed herself', 'they shut themselves up'."<sup>1</sup>

In Set II, the participant-role 'actor' is assigned to the structural element 'S' which is exemplified here by /ro:ha/. The assignment of this role is based on the grounds that /?irro:h hiyya illi Til8iT/, i.e. 'it is the soul who did the act of going up to heaven'. The same holds true for the sentences in Set III where the underlined elements fulfil the transitivity role 'actor'. (Note that the first set is characterized by the feature of 'goal-directedness', whereas the second and third are not.)

The pronoun /nafs/ may also be used as an emphatic pronoun. This entails a change in the restricted environment which was set up for reflexives. In clearer

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1. M.A.K. Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity ...', Part 3, p. 72.

terms, as an emphatic /nafs/ occurs directly after the NP it reinforces, whereas as a reflexive it occupies complement position. The following few examples are sufficient to show the function of /nafs/ as an emphatic.

- 1) /?il8umda nafsu<sup>1</sup> ga: libe:ti/  
'The major himself came to my house.'
- 2) /?irrayyis nafsu haDr ilhafla/  
'The president himself attended the party.'
- 3) /ga:ritna il8agu:za nafsaha sa:lit liyya issanTa/  
'Our ageing neighbour herself carried the suitcase for me.'
- 4) /ma?mu:r ilmarkaz nafsu Darab illiSS/  
'The director of the police station himself beat the thief.'

Note also that, in normal circumstances, the underlined emphatic pronouns are intonationally marked off by prominence.

### Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented an account of the Reciprocal v. non-reciprocal clauses system. The main focus was on clauses which contain reciprocal verbs appearing in either Form III or Form VI. In delimiting the discussion

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1. Some of my informants use the prepositional particle /bi/ before the emphatic pronoun, i.e. /binafsu/, /binafsaha/ ... etc., lit. 'with himself, with herself, ...'. However, this is not the situation in my idiolect.

to the clauses which involve only this class of verbs, we meant to pinpoint the nature of the 'reciprocal action' indicated by the verb and its relation to the participants involved.

In terms of participant-roles, we have assigned the structural elements which occupy the traditional subject and object position, the transitivity role 'Actor'.

Finally, we have tried to bring into the picture the use and function of some reciprocal and emphatic pronouns because of their relevance to the topic under discussion. In doing this, we have also referred to the full-fledged participant role which /nafs/ 'self' and /ro:h/ 'soul' may sometimes assume in ECA.

CHAPTER TWELVEBENEFACTIVE V. NON-BENEFACTIVEIntroduction

So far in the present thesis, we have considered three participant-roles in the environment of material process clauses viz. initiator, actor and goal. A new role will be introduced in this chapter namely, Beneficiary. This role figures in the structural configuration of what is labelled here 'Benefactive' as opposed to 'non-benefactive' clauses. The central notion is that a feature 'Benefactive' is recognized in any clause/<sup>in</sup>which the participant-role 'beneficiary' is realized.

However before describing the 'Benefactive' clauses in ECA, it is proposed to begin with a general discussion of the notion of 'beneficiary'; then we will discuss its status as a full participant within the framework of the 'experiential' component of grammar (i.e. transitivity in the Hallidayan sense). In so doing, an attempt will be made to delimit the range of the clause type under consideration. In other words, we are going to leave out of account certain clause types which, though at the semantic level, imply the existence of a 'beneficiary', are not treated as Benefactive in this thesis.

The Beneficiary as a Full Participant

Before the description proceeds with 'the beneficiary as a full participant', two viewpoints regarding the concept of 'beneficiary' will be briefly reviewed. The object is to demonstrate the fact that the term 'Beneficiary' is used here in a more limited sense than that assigned to it by other linguists.

The first is that of Wallace L. Chafe:

"A beneficiary noun will appear in surface structure as a subject so long as no agent is present ... when an agent is present ... a beneficiary will show up either as a noun directly following the surface structure *Verb...* or as a sentence-final noun ..." 1

For the purpose of the present study, we agree with that part of Chafe's quotation in which he states that the beneficiary may show up in the surface syntax of the clause either as a noun directly following the verb or as a sentence-final noun. However, to rigorously qualify that part of the quotation with which we agree, it must be added that when the clause is operative, the beneficiary in this sense, will occupy the position of the clause-element at C, be it, traditionally speaking, direct or indirect object.

As to the first part which he illustrates by the examples quoted below:

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1. Wallace L. Chafe (1970), 'Meaning and the Structure of Language', Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 151.

- a) Tom has (or Tom's got) the tickets.<sup>1</sup>
- b) Tom has (or Tom's got) a convertible.
- c) Tom owns a convertible.

Though, as Chafe says, there is a kind of 'Benefactive' situation in which "Tom" can be said in a broader sense to have benefited from whatever is conveyed by the rest of the sentence, we would assume that sentences like those given above may be classed as: Relational : Possessive clauses. A corollary to this is that the role 'beneficiary' does not figure in the structural representation of such clauses. As has been pointed out earlier, (See Chapter VIII on Relational Clauses), the relationship obtaining between the elements in a 'Possessive' clause is in a sense one of attribution, or rather ascription.

To put it in a different way, the idea of 'possession' expressed in the following examples:

- a) /8ali 8anduh be:t kibi:r/  
'Ali has a big house.'
- b) /8ali luh 8arabiyya xaDra/  
'Ali has a green car .'
- c) /8ali milkuh xamas 8imara:t/  
'Ali is the owner of five blocks of flats.'

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1. The examples are quoted from Chafe (1970), "Meaning and the Structure of Language", Chapter 12.

is a kind of Attribute by which the 'possessor' is described, though not identified. Hence 'Tom' in the English examples, and 'Ali' in the Arabic counterparts may be assigned the role of "Attribuand", not beneficiary.

The point to be stressed in this respect is that clauses like the above-given will not be dealt with here; the reason being that they were described earlier under Relational clauses (Chapter VIII).

The second viewpoint to be mentioned is that of John T. Platt<sup>1</sup> who subdivides 'Benefactive' into three types: inner, outer, and far outer.

By 'inner beneficiary', he means the animate being (or human institution) which benefits from, or becomes the 'alienable possessor' of something. The underlined elements in (a), (b) and (c) are exponents of 'inner beneficiary'.

- a) Joe is building a house for Fred.
- b) Joe is building Fred a house.
- c) Fred was built a house by Joe.

By 'outer beneficiary', Platt means that type of beneficiary where no 'alienable possession' is indicated e.g.

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1. The definitions of the three sub-types of 'Benefactive', together with the examples which represent them are from John T. Platt (1970), "Grammatical Form and Grammatical Meaning, A tagmemic view of Fillmore's Deep Structure Case Concepts", North-Holland Linguistic Series, 5, Chapter 4.

- a) I'll walk the dog for you.  
 b) I'll clean the house for you.

As to the so-called 'far outer beneficiary', Platt specifies it as that which has the following characteristics:

- (a) It may occur in clause initial or final position and is usually separated by commas in writing, or definite prosodic features including a perceived pause in speech.  
 (b) It occurs with verbs which imply an agent who performs some mental or physical process which neither leads to 'alienable possession', nor in any way affects anything which could be owned by the beneficiary. Examples of 'far outer' beneficiary:

- a) For you, Jimmy is being good.  
 b) For her, I'd walk a mile.

In this chapter, the discussion is concerned only with one type of 'beneficiary', i.e. that which Platt refers to as 'inner beneficiary'. Moreover, with ECA<sup>1</sup>

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1. To shed more light on this point, consider:

- 1) /8asa:nik ?aTla8 il?amar/  
 'For you, I will travel to the moon.'  
 2) /8asa:nik yirxaS ilga:li/  
 'For you, the expensive becomes cheap.'

where the underlined elements, which correspond to the English 'for you', in example (a) and (b) above, function in ECA as adjuncts expressing: purpose, cause, or behalf. In other words, these elements are 'most circumstance-like' rather than 'most participant-like'.

/Continued overleaf

the two other types designated by Platt (i.e. outer and far outer) do not occur in clauses which qualify as 'Benefactive'; hence they are excluded (see below).

We now turn to the 'beneficiary' as a full-participant within the framework of transitivity. The beneficiary - the traditional indirect object - is on the borderline between participants and circumstances. It is not distinguishable from the traditional circumstantial categories of place, time and manner when it occurs as a complement to a preposition. In this thesis the 'beneficiary' is assigned a full participant status.

Following are the main reasons suggested by Halliday,<sup>1</sup> and which we adopt here, for the assignment of a full participant status to the 'beneficiary':

(1) Firstly, it is treated by the language as a participant role in the sense that it may be realized as an element which stands in direct relationship with the predicator; and in ECA it can be represented by concord in the verb when it takes S position. As is the case with other participants, it is realized as a nominal element in the clause without the intervention of a preposition as

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Footnote 1 continued from page 264.

Another reason for treating these elements as lying outside transitivity is that the verbs involved require one participant only i.e. the beneficiary element is not strictly speaking part of the case-frame of the verb. Note that /?il?amar/ in (1) is a circumstantial element of place.

1. M.A.<sup>k.</sup> Halliday, "Notes on Transitivity ...", Part I, p. 53.

a 'minor predicator'.

e.g. /8ali idda axuh kita:b/

'Ali gave his brother a book.'

(2) Secondly, and more specifically, the 'beneficiary' can be realized as the subject in receptive clauses; a characteristic feature of full participants.

Contrast (a) and (b) below where the 'beneficiary' in (b) occupies the position of the subject:

a) /?ilbint farragat 8ali 8ala fusta:n ilfarah/

'The girl showed Ali the bridal dress.'

b) /8ali itfarrag 8ala fusta:n ilfarah/

'Ali was shown the bridal dress.'

a) /8ali warras sayyid 8izbah/

'Ali bequeathed an estate (farm, ranch) upon Sayyid.'

b) /Sayyid itwarras 8izbah/

Lit. 'Sayyid was bequeathed an estate.'

(3) There are some clause-types which do not accept beneficiary complements, for instance, Extensive : Descriptive, and Extensive : Descriptive : Causative clauses. The former involves only 'actors', i.e. one participant role, the latter involves two participant-roles which typically appear in the structural representation of a Descriptive : Causative clause (i.e. the roles of initiator and actor separated, each fulfilling a full-fledged role).

The sentences given below represent the second clause type referred to above; they do not accept beneficiary complements:

a) /ʔidda:da xarragat wila:d 8ali/

'The woman-servant caused Ali's children to go out.'

b) /ʔilxadda:m massa kalb 8ali/

'The male-servant walked Ali's dog (... caused Ali's dog to walk).'

It is of interest to note in this connection that the underlined elements are exponents of the so-called /muDa:f wa muDa:f ilayh/ in Arabic traditional linguistics, that is to say, the 'genitive case'. Their transitivity role is that of 'actor', whereas the exponents of the structural element 'S' (i.e. /ʔidda:da/ and /ʔilxadda:m/) are 'initiators'.

(4) The fourth point to be made in this respect is that the demarcation line between 'goal' and 'beneficiary' is not always easy to draw; the latter being a 'kind of secondary goal'. In clearer terms/<sup>it</sup> shares with the 'goal' - which is a primary participant - certain characteristics, for instance, it may function as a complement in Operative and as subject in Receptive clauses.

To shed more light on the notion of the beneficiary as 'a kind of secondary goal', we cite Halliday's example which was quoted earlier (Chapter Four), where he gives four alternate analyses, the first of these (i.e.

that which represents material process) occurs with beneficiary and (secondary) goal.

	<u>He</u>	<u>taught</u>	<u>the student</u>	<u>French</u>	
<u>material</u>	{	actor	process	beneficiary	goal
		actor	process	goal	range
<u>mental</u>		agent	process	cognizant	range
<u>verbal</u>		agent	process	speaker	range

To recapitulate, one can semantically recognize a participant role of 'beneficiary' in the sense of that which benefits from the process indicated by the verb; structurally this role may be realized in the clause-elements: Complement, adjunct, or subject.

It is important to stress that not all clause types combine freely with 'beneficiary'. This will be dealt with in more detail in the next section.

#### Benefactive Clauses in ECA

A Benefactive clause is one where the circumstantial element - beneficiary - is assigned full participant status. It follows from this that Arabic Relational : Possessive clauses corresponding to those quoted from Chafe in the foregoing section are not treated here, nor are those corresponding to Platt's so-called 'outer and far outer' Benefactives.

With ECA, there exists a subclass of Class II

verbs (i.e. the traditional transitive verbs) which typically occur in what is labelled here 'Benefactive' clauses. There are 'ditransitive' verbs which are inherently benefactive in meaning and combine freely with beneficiaries.

Following is a representative list of verbs which are inherently benefactive in meaning, and which appear in 'Benefactive' clauses normally in association with the participant-role 'beneficiary'.

/ʔidda/	→	'to give'
/ʔa8Ta/		'to give'
/ba:8/		'to sell'
/warra/		'to show'
/farrag/		'to show'
/dafa8/		'to pay'
/warras/		'to bequeath'
/ʔaddam/		'to present'
/wa8ad/		'to promise'

As can be seen from the illustrations given below, the feature 'Benefactive' in ECA presupposes Effective. In other words, Benefactive clauses are a subclass of Effective clauses which were designated earlier (see Chapter IV, Part II) as characterized, *inter alia*, by the feature of 'good-directedness'.

So in terms of features, the sentences dealt with below have the feature sequence: Extensive : Effective : Benefactive; the action is directed.

Consider the exemplifications given below where the feature sequence referred to above is realized in both (a) and (b). Note also that the beneficiary is realized as a complement in (a), whereas in (b) it is realized prepositionally (as an adjunct).

Illustrations:

1a) /8ali idda sayyid il?alam/

'Ali gave Sayyid the pen.'

1b) /8ali idda il?alam lisayyid/

'Ali gave the pen to Sayyid.'

2a) /?ilbayya:8 warra ilbint ?uma:sa xaDra/

'The salesman showed the girl a piece of green material.'

2b) /?ilbayya:8 warra ?umasa xaDra lilbint/

'The salesman showed a piece of green material to the girl.'

3a) /huwwa ahda Sahbu karavaTTa gidi:da/

'He presented his friend (with) a new tie.'

3b) /huwwa ahda karavaTTa gidi:da liSahbu

'He presented a new tie to his friend.'

4a) /huwwa warras ibnuh faddane:n winuSS/

'He bequeathed his son two and a half acres of land.'

4b) /huwwa warras faddane:n winuSS libnuh/

'He bequeathed two and a half acres of land to his son.'

5a) /?il?ami:r a8Ta sikirte:ru 8arabiyya/

'The prince gave his secretary a car.'

5b) /ʔilʔami:r a8Ta 8arabiyya liskirte:ruh/

'The prince gave a car to his secretary.'

6a) /ʔissitt ilganiyya wahabat ibn 8ammaha be:t/

'The rich lady donated her cousin a house.'

6b) /ʔissitt ilganiyya wahabat be:t libn 8ammaha/

'The rich lady donated a house to her cousin.'

Reference should be made to the 'prepositional verbs' /wa8ad bi/ 'to promise' and /farrag 8ala/ 'to show'. These two verbs are peculiar in that the beneficiary - the traditional indirect object - always occurs without being 'prepositionalized', and the goal, the direct object, is always 'prepositionalized'.

The following sentences will serve to illustrate the peculiar behaviour of these two lexical verbs:

a) /8ali wa8ad<sup>1</sup> sayyida bihdiyya hilwa/

actor process Ben. goal

Lit. 'Ali promised Sayyida (with) a fine gift.'

but not

\*/8ali wa8ad sayyida hdiyya hilwa/

b) /ʔil8ari:s farrag xaTibtu 8assabka/

actor process Ben. goal

'The bridegroom showed his fiancée the wedding-ring.'

1. Contrary to the situation in ECA, Standard Arabic allows the lexical verb /wa8ada/ to occur with or without a preposition, e.g.

a) /wa8ada 8aliyyun ʔaxahu gaʔizatan/

'Ali promised his brother a prize.'

b) /wa8ada 8aliyyun ʔaxahu bigaʔizatin/

Lit. 'Ali promised his brother (with) a prize.'

but not

\*/?il8ari:s farrag xaTibtu ssabka/

In case of passivization, the beneficiary may be realized as the clause-element 'S'.

Consider:

1) /?il8ari:s it?addimit luh hidiyya/

'The bridegroom was offered a present.'

2) /8ali itgasalat luh hudumuh/

Lit. 'Ali, his clothes were washed for him.'

3) /8amm il8ari:s itfarrag 8ala iggiha:z/

'The bridegroom's uncle was shown the furniture.'

4) /huwwa ithada bikaravaTTa/

'He was presented with a tie.'

5) /?itta:gir itba:8 luh ilbe:t iggidi:d/

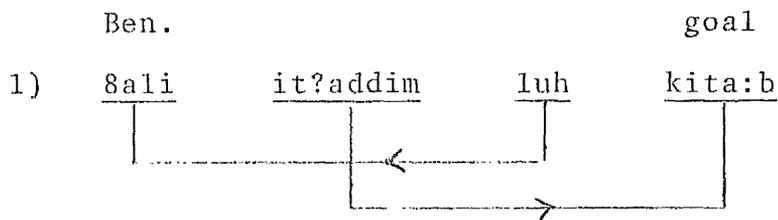
'The merchant was sold the new house.'

Reference should be made to the concordial relationship obtaining between the clause-element functioning as 'goal' and the verb at P on the one hand, and the object suffix to which the preposition is preposed and the beneficiary on the other hand. That is to say, the verb at P, for instance /it?addimit/ 'was offered' (example 1), has the suffix /-it/ which refers to, and shows number-gender concord with, the 'goal', i.e. /hidiyya/ 'present' (feminine, singular); the object suffix in /luh/ refers back to, and shows number-gender concord with the beneficiary

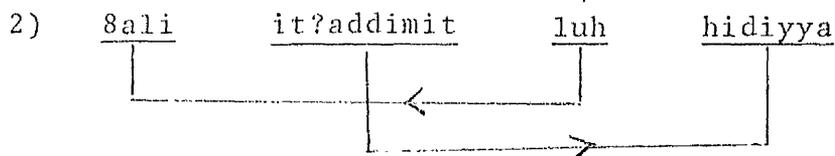
which occupies subject position, i.e. /ʔil8ari:s/  
'the bridegroom' (masculine, singular).

To further illustrate the concordial relationship holding between the elements in a Benefactive clause, contrast the sentences presented below, where the object suffix to which the preposition involved is preposed agrees in number and gender with the 'beneficiary' while, at the same time, it refers anaphorically to the same element. The verb which appears in each clause exhibits number-gender agreement with the 'goal' - which occurs in clause-final position.

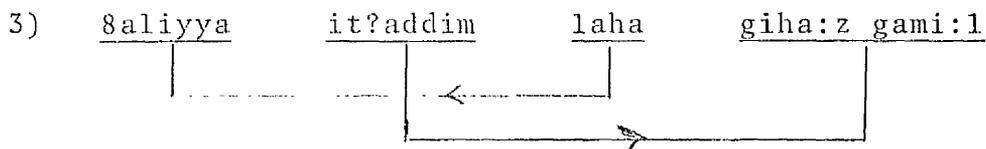
Illustrations:



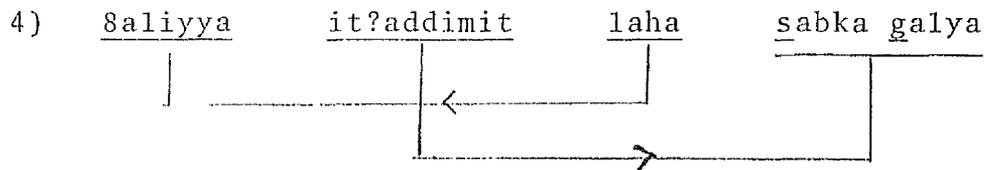
'Ali was offered a book.'



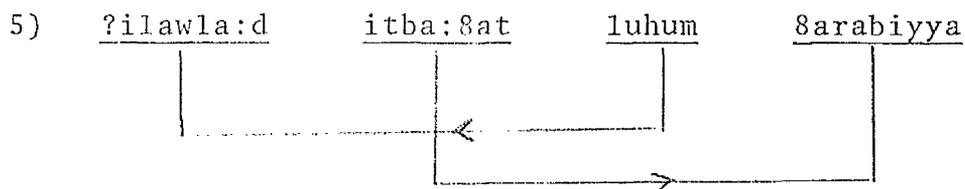
'Ali was offered a present.'



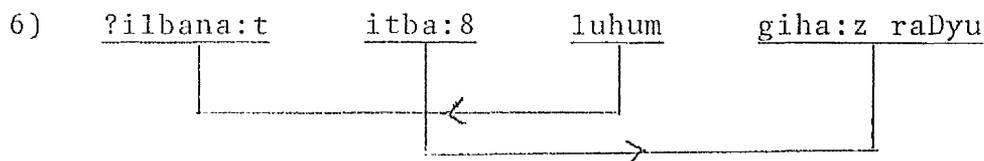
'Aliyya was offered beautiful furniture.'



'Aliyya was offered a precious engagement ring.'



'The boys were sold a car.'



'The girls were sold a radio set.'

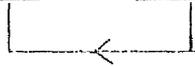
The examples presented above testify to the fact that in ECA, it is the traditional subject of the passive verb (the accusative) e.g. /kita:b/, /hidiyya/, /giha:z gami:l/, /sabka galya/, /8arabiyya/, and /giha:z raDyu/ (examples 1-6 respectively), which controls verb agreement. That is to say, the goal (the traditional accusative) takes precedence over the 'benefactive-dative' in terms of the concordial relationship exhibited by the verb, whereas the compound 'L + an object pronoun' in agreement with the subject of the sentence marks the latter as beneficiary (as in /luh/, /laha/, and /luhum/, examples (1), (2) and (5)).

It is to be noted that, in the majority of examples, the verb in 'non-benefactive' clauses agrees

with the subject in number and gender. This applies whether the subject fulfils the transitivity role 'actor' (i.e. in operative), or 'goal' (i.e. in receptive).

Consider:

1) 8ali      kaSar      issibba:k      operative



'Ali broke the window.'

2) ?issibba:k      inkaSar      receptive



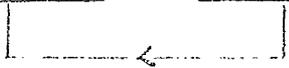
'The window was broken.'

3) 8ali      kaSar      ikkubbaya      operative



'Ali broke the cup.'

4) ?ikkubbaya      inkaSarat      receptive



'The cup was broken.'

However, when the language user opts for the 'marked' clause pattern in sentences like these presented above, through putting the complement (the goal) in clause-initial position, in front of the subject (actor) and the predicator, verb agreement is controlled by the actor, not the goal. The object suffix points back to and agrees in number and gender with the goal which is given prominence

via thematization.

Compare the following examples:

- |    | S                               | P            | C                 |            |                  |
|----|---------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|------------|------------------|
| 1) | <u>/8ali</u>                    | <u>kaSar</u> | <u>issibba:k/</u> | (unmarked) | <u>operative</u> |
|    | 'Ali broke the window.'         |              |                   |            |                  |
| 2) | <u>/?issibbak</u>               | 8ali         | kaSaruh/          | (marked)   | <u>operative</u> |
|    | Lit. 'The window, Ali broke-it' |              |                   |            |                  |
|    | 'The window, Ali broke.'        |              |                   |            |                  |
|    | S                               | P            | C                 |            |                  |
| 3) | <u>/8ali</u>                    | <u>kaSar</u> | <u>ikkubbaya/</u> | (unmarked) | <u>operative</u> |
|    | 'Ali broke the cup.'            |              |                   |            |                  |
| 4) | <u>/?ikkubbaya</u>              | 8ali         | kaSarha/          | (marked)   | <u>operative</u> |
|    | Lit. 'The cup, Ali broke-it.'   |              |                   |            |                  |
|    | 'Ali broke the cup.'            |              |                   |            |                  |

Note that (1) the verb at P in the above examples is 'active' throughout the marked and the unmarked clauses; note again that (2) the elements /?issibba:k/ 'the window' (mas. sing.) and /?ikkubbaya/ 'the cup' (fem. sing.) in the 'marked' clauses (examples (2) and (4)) are given prominence on both the syntactic and the phonological levels.

That is to say, syntactically, these two elements are singled out by the language user to occupy an unusual position, which is normally occupied by other elements. The object is to draw special attention to them. Phonologically, they are given prominence via receiving the tonic.

At this point it should be made clear that as far as transitivity is concerned the elements of the clause are free to occur in any order, transitivity being primarily concerned with participants, processes, and circumstances attendant upon the process. It is rather the information structure, *inter alia*, which determines the arrangements of the elements in a particular sequence.

It follows from this that the variation in word order, as far as Benefactive clauses are concerned permits the participant in the role of beneficiary to come in clause-final position associated with a preposition, and thus to function as the 'new information'. Also related to the same principle of the information structure is the occurrence of the goal in clause-final position functioning as the new information.

In more concrete terms, the class of Benefactive clauses which was examined earlier is subject to further systemic choices, *i.e.* more delicate ones. These may be glossed as follows:

(1) In the environment of Benefactive : Operative clauses, there is a choice between realizing the beneficiary prepositionally (*i.e.* as an adjunct in the form of /1-/ plus the beneficiary), or non-prepositionally (*i.e.* as a beneficiary complement). A correlate of this fact is that the participant (be it beneficiary or goal) which comes in final position represents 'new information'.

Compare (a) and (b) below:

- |    |   |      |                |                   |                  |
|----|---|------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
|    | S                                       | P    | C <sub>I</sub> | C <sub>II</sub>   |                  |
| a) | /ʕali                                   | ahda | sayyida        | <u>fusta:n/</u>   | <u>operative</u> |
|    | actor                                   |      | Ben.           | goal              |                  |
|    | 'Ali presented Sayyida (with) a dress.' |      |                |                   |                  |
| b) | /ʕali                                   | ahda | fusta:n        | <u>lisayyida/</u> | <u>operative</u> |
|    | Actor                                   |      | goal           | Ben.              |                  |
|    | 'Ali presented a dress to Sayyida.'     |      |                |                   |                  |

Note that in (a), phonologically speaking, the neutral tonic is on /fusta:n/ 'dress', which occupies clause-final position. This means that /fusta:n/ is 'new'. If the tonic falls on /sayyida/, then /sayyida/ will be contrastive. The same situation holds for the example in (b), that is, the neutral tonic is on /sayyida/, which entails that it represents 'new information'; but if the tonic falls on /fusta:n/ 'dress', it will be contrastive.

However, the clauses presented above do not exhaust all the possibilities of variation in word order available for the language user in ECA in a Benefactive : operative clause. The inflection system of Arabic makes also possible the following patterns:

Examples:

- |    |                                  |             |        |            |                  |
|----|----------------------------------|-------------|--------|------------|------------------|
| a) | <u>/sayyida</u>                  | <u>ʕali</u> | ahdaha | fusta:n/   | <u>operative</u> |
|    | Ben.                             | Actor       |        | goal       |                  |
|    | 'Sayyida, Ali gave her a dress.' |             |        |            |                  |
| b) | <u>/fusta:n</u>                  | <u>ʕali</u> | ahda:h | lisayyida/ | <u>operative</u> |
|    | goal                             | actor       |        | Ben.       |                  |

Lit. 'A dress, Ali gave-it to Sayyida.'

The above pair of examples demonstrate that either the beneficiary (the traditional indirect object) or the goal (the traditional direct object) may be thematized within the environment of a Benefactive : operative clause. Note the concordial relationship exhibited by the pronoun affixed to the verb. (For more details on this, see above.)

(2) In the Benefactive : receptive clauses, there exists another systemic choice between realizing the 'goal' or the 'beneficiary' as subject followed by a passive predicator. Compare:

	S	P		
a)	<u>/sayyida</u>	<u>ithada</u>	<u>laha fusta:n/</u>	<u>receptive</u>
	Ben.	passive	goal	
	Lit. 'Sayyida, <sup>there</sup> was given to her a dress.'			
	'Sayyida was given a dress.'			

	S	P		
b)	<u>/fusta:n</u>	<u>ithada</u>	<u>lisayyida/</u>	<u>receptive</u>
	goal	passive	Ben.	
	'A dress was given to Sayyida.'			

Of these two examples, the one in (a), with the beneficiary (Sayyida) as subject, represents the unmarked, unrestricted type of receptive. In other words, it is the normal receptive counterpart of the unmarked operative clauses given earlier.

The difference between (a) and (b) is thus describable by reference to the 'given/new' information system. That is to say, the element which represents the subject characteristically represents the 'given' information.

The same principle of the distribution of information is in operation again when the speaker chooses to put the 'agentive' type of 'actor' in a passive construction in a position which is typically associated with 'new information': in clause-final position. Structurally, the agentive type of actor would occur in the form of an adjunct, for instance, /min/ plus the 'agentive' type of actor in /sayyida ithada laha fusta:n min 8ali/, and /fusta:n ithada lisayyida min 8ali/, where the element /8ali/ is 'new' and therefore receives the tonic.

This is the normal situation unless there is contrastive information elsewhere in the clause which receives the tonic. (This point will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter Thirteen below.)

A further characteristic of Benefactive clauses, shared also with Causative clauses, is that a Benefactive clause, where the participant-roles Beneficiary and Goal appear in the surface syntax of the clause, does not accept a 'cognate' range-element. In more concrete terms, if the language user in ECA chooses to specify these two roles in the structural configuration of the clause, no 'cognate' range-element is allowed.

It should be made clear, however, that, contrary





Benefactive clauses (i.e. a subclass of Class II verbs: the inherently benefactive in nature).

(b) In terms of clause-types, neither Relational (which subsumes Ascriptive, Circumstantial, Possessive, and Equative), nor Descriptive Clauses combine with 'beneficiary'.

(c) Contrasted with the circumstantial element 'range', the participant in the role of 'beneficiary' may occur in clause-initial position, that is to say, it can be thematic; whereas 'range' cannot.

### Critical Appraisal

Halliday suggests that a Benefactive clause which involves the 'to' type of beneficiary has a benefit in its structure.<sup>1</sup> In a more recent work,<sup>2</sup> he suggests a subdivision of the participant role 'beneficiary' into (a) beneficiary : recipient, and (b) beneficiary : client.

A beneficiary : recipient, to Halliday, occurs with the preposition 'to', meaning the one to whom something is given; whereas a beneficiary : client occurs with 'for', meaning the one for whom something is done, who receives goods.

His illustrations are:

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1. See M.A.K. Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity ...', Part III, p. 200.
  2. See M.A.K. Halliday (forthcoming), "The Meaning of Modern English",

1) Reginald threw breadcrumb<sup>s</sup> to the birds for his sister.

Ben. (recipient) Ben. (client)

2) Mary bought a tie for Robert.

Ben. (client)

3) Peter lent a car to Steve.

Ben. (recipient)

With ECA, the distinction between Beneficiary : client and Beneficiary : recipient seems unjustifiable. Following are the main reasons:

(a) As was shown in the preceding sections of this chapter, the beneficiary may be realized, surface structurally, either prepositionally or non-prepositionally. Still, it may occur, in the environment of Benefactive : operative, in sentence-initial position. The important point is this: that in all these cases and however it is realized, the participant in the role of beneficiary realizes one and the same function all through within the framework of transitivity.

(b) The options taken by the speaker as to putting the 'beneficiary' in clause-final position associated with the benefactive particle /1-/, or otherwise, are decided outside the domain of transitivity as such. In other words, these options are determined through the information structure and theme systems.

Furthermore, Halliday seems to suggest that in English the distinction between Beneficiary : recipient and Beneficiary : client is formally marked off, surface structurally, by the presence of the preposition 'to' in the

first case, and 'for' in the second.

With ECA, the beneficiary is almost always preceded by the benefactive marker /l-/ , when it is realized (surface structurally) in the form of an adjunct. The word /8aṣa:n/, the nearest equivalent to the English 'for', is used to express cause, reason, or behalf, depending upon the linguistic context. Thus the function of the element (or elements) which follow it is more 'circumstance-like' than 'participant-like'.

To further illustrate this, contrast the underlined elements in the examples given below:

1) /huwwa ra:h liddukto:r 8aṣa:n 8ayya:n/ (cause)

'He went to the doctor because he was sick.'

2) /?ana ?abilt 8ali [ 8aṣa:nak  
 niyaba 8annak

'I met Ali for you (on behalf of you).'

3) /huwwa ba:8 ilbe:t [ 8aṣa:nak  
 bisababak

'He sold the house on your behalf (because of you).'

These examples demonstrate that the language user in ECA may use the word /8aṣa:n/, the Arabic equivalent of the English 'for' to express cause, reason, or behalf, but not the participant function 'beneficiary'. For instance, the sentence in (3) may deceptively indicate the presence of a 'beneficiary', especially with /8aṣa:nak/; however this is disambiguated when we compare /8aṣa:nak/, and /bisababak/; which are interchangeable

in this specific context.

Another point to be made in this connection is that in ECA it is highly improbable for two animate participants to appear in the surface structure of the same clause, one functioning as 'beneficiary', the other as 'goal'. This argues against the existence of Arabic counterparts for example (1) cited from Halliday above.

To further clarify this point, contrast the example from Halliday with its nearest Arabic translation equivalent:

- a) Reginald threw the breadcrumbs to the birds for his sister.
- b) /rignald rama futat ilxubz liTtyu:r 8asa:n ?uxtuh/

Apart from the clumsiness of the Arabic counterpart which is caused by /8asa:n ?uxtuh/ 'for his sister' in this specific context, ECA does not allow two animates to occur in the same clause one acting as 'goal', the other as 'Beneficiary'.

CHAPTER THIRTEENOPERATIVE V. RECEPTIVE AND THEMATIZATIONIntroductory

So far as the theoretical framework<sup>1</sup> of this study is concerned, we have, in the appropriate places, touched upon 'voice' in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, while describing the process-participant relationship obtaining between the various elements which appear in the structural configuration of the clause types discussed.

Chapters IX to XII of this Part have been chiefly concerned with examining four systems, viz. Causative v. non-Causative, Emphatic v. non-Emphatic, Reciprocal v. non-Reciprocal, and finally Benefactive v. non-Benefactive.

In the present chapter, the clause types subsumed under the system operative/receptive will be re-examined in detail. The object is to provide a closer analysis of the wide span of clause types related to this system which is different in nature from those discussed in the previous chapters.

Also dealt with later on in the chapter is another aspect of clause structure, i.e. that relating to the theme systems. These systems, though not strictly within the

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1. For the theoretical framework see Part I of this study.

scope of this study, are brought into the picture for one main reason, namely, 'voice' and thematization represent an area of intersection between two components of systemic grammar, both of which are expressed in the unit clause. The first is transitivity, the area with which we are principally concerned.

"The clause is a structural unit, and it is the one by which we express a particular range of ideational meanings, our experience of processes - the process of the external world, both concrete and abstract, and the processes of our own consciousness, seeing, talking and so on. Transitivity is simply the grammar of the clause in its ideational aspect." 1

The second is the discursal component which intersects with transitivity especially when it comes to 'voice'. The quote given below highlights this point of intersection:

"Certain options determine, as their realizations, particular alignments of function, such as the combination of theme and goal; such an option always involves the intersection of a pair of components, in this case, the experiential and the discursal. Thus any nominal is, or may be, occupying a complex of roles specified by options in more than one area, the particular alignment being specified by one of the interconnecting options, for example, that of voice." 2

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1. See M.A.K. Halliday, "The functional basis of language", Basil Bernstein (ed.), "Class, Codes and Control", vol. II: Applied Studies towards a sociology of language, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (Primary Socialization, Language, and Education), 1973, p. 359.
  2. See M.A.K. Halliday, "Some Aspects of the Thematic Organization of the English Clause", Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1967 (The underlining is mine.).

It should also be recalled that earlier on in Part I, Chapter II (under the section headed 'The Textual Component') reference was made to the fact that voice, broadly speaking, comes under the textual component of grammar, and that the distinction operative/receptive determines the distribution of the participant functions involved.

The question as to whether or not the term "transitivity" covers the whole of this area of grammar, or just processes and participants, is a terminological one. What is relevant to our purpose here is that, though Operative and Receptive are regarded as clause types in their own right within the context of transitivity as it is dealt with in this study, voice and thematization which are relatable to another component of grammar are to be given due consideration because they are closely correlated.

For practical purposes, the description in this chapter will involve, though briefly, all types of sentences dealt with before, be they major or peripheral; the end in view is to achieve an increased degree of delicacy<sup>1</sup> in so far as the system operative/receptive is concerned.

From the methodological viewpoint, the chapter falls into four main sections. The first explores the voice relations exhibited by Ex. Eff. clauses; the second explores the same relations in connection with Ex. Des. ones. As to clause types for which the system under

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1. For the meaning of the term see Chapter I.

discussion does not operate (e.g. Reciprocal and Relational) they will be separately dealt with under the heading, "Non-Passivizable Clause Types". The fourth section is devoted to voice and thematization.

For purposes of simplicity of description, the terms "active"<sup>1</sup> and "passive" would be used to refer to the voice of the verb at P (i.e. as a category of the verb); in this sense these two terms represent verb forms in binary opposition. Whereas the terms Operative and Receptive are to be taken as features of the unit clause in its entirety (that is, as a category of the clause).

It should be added that no account is taken here of the Arabic equivalents of "that-clauses" which might operate at C as in:

- /?inna:s sim8it in asad hirib min gine:nit il-hayawana:t/  
'The people heard that a lion has escaped from the zoo.'

(i) Extensive : Effective Clauses

This section deals with Ex. Eff. Clauses in relation to the system under discussion. They will be classified for purposes of description and ease of recognition into Types 1(a) and (b), and 2 (a) and (b).

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1. Halliday recognizes a system of voice in his grammar only in the verbal group. See his "Syntax and the Consumer" in "Georgetown University Round Table Selected Papers in Linguistics" 1961-1965, compiled by Richard J. O'Brien, S.J., Georgetown University Press, Washington, p. 193.

Before the description proceeds with the analysis of these types, it should be remembered that clauses belonging to these types were designated earlier (Chapter 4) as having the following characteristics:

(a) They involve Class II verbs - the traditional transitive ones - irrespective of the morphological form these verbs may assume. Note that, though the focus of attention is centred on clause types, we give enough space for verbs; the main reason for this is that the verb, or the verbal group, is so central and pivotal to the structure of the clause that no syntactic, systemic, or whatever analysis can proceed without careful consideration of it.

(b) Systemically, these clause types share the feature of "goal-directedness", which means that the process is orientated towards a goal. There is, however, no a priori reason to assume that for a process to be so characterized, the goal should always be present in the surface syntax of the clause. Rather, it may or may not be specified, i.e. the goal may be "transitive" or "intransitive" in Hallidayan terminology, depending upon (a) the linguistic context in which the clause is used and (b) the syntactic properties of the predicator concerned. In more concrete terms, sentences which have as their predicators verbs like /kal/ 'to eat', /libis/ 'to get dressed', /Sirib/ 'to drink', /gasal/ 'to wash', may occur in the absence of the participant function 'goal'. Thus given a linguistic context like:

- /?iSSubh 8ali gassil wilibis wikal wiba8de:n xarag  
ra:h Sugluh/

'In the morning, Ali washed, got dressed, ate, and  
then went to his work.'

The language user in ECA, and probably in many other languages, would readily understand that the person designated (i.e. Ali) washed (e.g. his hands and face), got dressed (say, in his gallabiyya 'national dress'), ate (his breakfast since it is morning) and then went to his work. Again, if Causativized, the verbs appearing in the above context would not require the specification of the goal. Consider:

- /?iSSubh sayyid xalla 8ali gassil wilibis wikal wiba8de:n  
ra:h Sugluh/

'In the morning Sayyid caused Ali to wash, get dressed,  
eat ... etc.'

It would be redundant and even clumsy to mention the 'goal' in a context like the above. However, it may appear in the surface structure of sentences involving those verbs in a linguistic situation like the one delineated below:

- /8ali mafgu:8/

'Ali is a glutton.'

- /?izzay/

'How?'

- /TaSawwar kal xamas tuffaha:t wi kilo 8inab wi Sirib  
 arba8 ?aza:yiz bi:rah/

'Imagine, he ate five apples, a kilo of grapes and  
 drank four bottles of beer.'

From the above, it emerges that the absence  
 versus the presence of a complement goal constitutes a  
 system (i.e. goal-transitive v. goal-intransitive) which  
 is in operation only for Ex. Eff. clauses.

On the other side, Ex. Des. clauses - causative  
 and non-causative alike - can never have a goal.

#### Type 1(a)

This type has as its predicator a two-place verb<sup>1</sup>  
 flanked with two nominal elements which realise the parti-  
 cipant functions concerned. In clearer terms, in operative  
 the clause-element S which typically occurs in sentence-  
 initial position, fulfils the role of actor whereas that

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1. The terms one-place, two-place ... etc. are borrowed  
 from J. Lyons, "Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics",  
 Cambridge University Press, 1968, pp. 350-368. The  
 classification is made in terms of the number of nominals  
 with which a given verb combines. Thus a verb like  
 "die" which requires one nominal, is a one-place verb:  
 e.g. the one 'place' associated with "die" is 'filled'  
 by "John" to form the sentence 'John died'. A tran-  
 sitive verb (e.g. kill) is a two-place verb, one of  
 the places being filled by the subject and the other  
 by the object. A verb like 'give' is a three-place  
 verb combining with a subject, a direct object and an  
 indirect object ... etc.

at C has the function of 'goal'. Note again, that with this clause-type and the type referred to below as Ex. Des. type (1) (to be described in the next section) the roles of actor and initiator are always conflated and occur as one single entity in the surface structure of the clause.

Now consider the examples given below which represent what is referred to here as type 1(a), also given are their corresponding Receptive correlates:

1-a /?il8a:mil ala8 il-8afri:ta izzar?a/

'The worker took off the blue overall.'

1-b /?il-8afri:ta izzar?a it?ala8at/

'The blue overall was taken off.'

2-a /?ittilmi:z makatabs\_ iddars/

'The pupil did not write the lesson.'

2-b /?iddars matkatabs\_/

'The lesson was not written.'

3-a /?innagga:r aTa8 issagara il-8agu:za/

'The carpenter cut the old tree.'

3-b /?issagara il-8agu:za it?aTa8at/

'The old tree was cut.'

4-a /?il-walad issa?i xala8 birwa:z iSSura/

'The naughty boy pulled the picture-frame out.'

4-b /birwa:z iSSura inxala8/

'The picture-frame was pulled out.'

5-a /sayyid da? il-muSma:r/

'Sayyid hammered the nail down.'

5-b /ʔil-muSma:r itdaʔ/

'The nail was hammered down.'

Examining the above-given illustrations, we note firstly that the exponents of S and C, which are both present in the structural representation of the Operative Clauses marked (a), realize the roles of actor and goal respectively; whereas in their Receptive counterparts, it is only the goal which appears in the surface syntax. The goal, to put it in a different way, functions as a complement in Operative and subject in Receptive.

Secondly, apart from the fact that the predicates are marked as passive (via the passive-marker "it-" or "in-"), all the sentences in (b) share one common characteristic, namely, they have no "agentful adjuncts",<sup>1</sup> in contradistinction to adjuncts of place, time ... etc. This absence of agentful adjuncts gives a definite clue to and pinpoints the nature of the syntax of Receptive clauses in the majority of examples in the dialect under investigation: Receptives are predominantly "agentless".

It is necessary to point out here that this very feature - the absence of the agent - is at the core of the nomenclature "Majhu:l", 'unknown' which Arab grammarians assigned to Arabic "passive" constructions; by this, they

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1. The term 'agentful adjunct' is adopted from J. Svartvik. He uses it to refer to adjuncts which involve an agent which may operate as S in an active sentence. See J. Svartvik, "On Voice in the English Verb", Mouton, The Hague, Paris, 1966, p. 30.

meant that the subject of the active sentence - animate or non-animate - should not be specified in the surface syntax of its passive correlate. Moreover this seems to be one of the main functions of the "passive voice" in many languages:

"If there is any one function that is common to the passive in all languages that are customarily said to have a passive voice (and in certain languages this seems to be its sole function: e.g. Turkish), this is that it makes possible the construction of 'agentless' sentences: e.g. Bill was killed." 1

This is not to say, it should be made clear, that Cairene Arabic does not allow a participant in the role of actor to be represented as an adjunct; rather it is meant to bring into focus the predominance of the "agentless" type of Receptives.

Closely related to this phenomenon and of certain significance to our present purpose are the relevant facts given below:

(i) ECA, exactly like SA in this regard, has no genuine 'passive' particle corresponding to the English 'by', which is normally associable with passive constructions. Instead the language user in ECA resorts to certain 'stereotyped' prepositional phrases, depending upon the circumstances of the linguistic context, to convey the idea of 'agency' in the broad sense of the term. In other

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1. J. Lyons, 'Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics', 1968, p. 378.

words, though it is possible to add to the Receptive sentence an adjunct which might be rendered into English as "agentive", it is not strictly comparable with its English counterpart (i.e. the so-called "by-agent").

These 'stereotyped' prepositional phrases include /biwaSTiT/ 'by means of', /8ala i:d/ 'at the hand of', /8ala ide:n/ 'at the hands of'. The examples given below are sufficient to clarify this:

- 1) /kibi:r il-8e:la in?atal
- |  |
|--|
| <u>8an Tari:? il8adu</u><br><u>biwaSTiT il-8adu</u><br><u>8ala i:d il-8adu</u> |
|--|

'The head of the family (lit. the tribe) was killed by the enemy.'

- 2) /?il-muskila ithallit
- |   |
|---|
| <u>8ala ide:n liga:n iSSulh</u><br><u>biwaSTiT liga:n iSSulh</u><br><u>bilga:n iSSulh</u> |
|---|

'The problem was solved by the conciliation committees.'

- 3) /?iTta:r itta:xid
- |  |
|--|
| <u>8an Tari? 8e:lit il-8umda</u><br><u>biwaSTiT 8e:lit il-8umda</u><br><u>8ala ide:n 8e:lit il-8umda</u> |
|--|

'The revenge was taken by the family of the mayor.'

- 4) /?il-8izba itba:8it
- |   |
|---|
| <u>8ala i:d iSSimSa:r</u><br><u>biwaSTiT iSSimSa:r</u><br><u>8an Tari:? iSSimSa:r</u> |
|---|

'The estate was sold by the broker.'

Note that there is no appreciable difference,

at the semantic level, between the underlined elements which introduce the actor (the agent) in sentences 1-4 above.

Again whether the prepositional phrase /biwaStiIT/ 'by, by means of, via', which appears in the above sentences is an innovation made fashionable by translators, as one linguist claims, does not invalidate our argument here that this phrase is used in ECA as it is used in SA to perform the same syntactic function; the difference between its usage in both varieties of Arabic is one of frequency and case-ending.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) The second pertinent fact to be stressed is that in the majority of cases, though not always, the speaker/writer opts to specify the "instrument" in the surface structure of sentences where the predicators concerned require an implement, or tool ... etc. To further shed light on this, consider Set I and II below where I is Operative and II Receptive. Also note the syntactic properties of the class of verbs at P, i.e. their being associable with implements, tools, or instruments.

Set I

1) /?il-falla:h harat il?arD bilmihra:t/

'The farmer ploughed the land with (a wooden) plough.'

---

1. For an interesting and a more detailed discussion on this point in SA, see S.M. El-Sheikh, "A Linguistic Analysis of Some Syntactic and Semantic Problems of English-Arabic Translation", Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1977, pp. 183-194.

- 2) /ʔil-falla:h rawa ilʔarD bissadu:f/  
 'The farmer watered the land by "ishaduf" (a primitive way of irrigation in which a bucket-like container is used to raise water from the Nile).'
- 3) /ʔigganayni fahar<sup>1</sup> il-fuhrah bilfa:s/  
 'The gardener dug a hole by the axe.'
- 4) /ʔinnagga:r fakk il-muSma:r bilyadd/  
 'The carpenter unscrewed the nail by hand.'
- 5) /ʔiggazza:r dabah il-baʔara bilmaTwah/  
 'The butcher slew the cow with the penknife.'
- 6) /ʔumma:l il-mazraʕa hassu ilhasi:s bisarsara/  
 'The farm-labourers weeded (the place) with the scythe.'
- 7) /sayyid ʔallam sagarit il-ward bilmiʔS/  
 'Sayyid trimmed the rose-tree with scissors.'
- 8) /sayyid nasar issagara bilmunsa:r/  
 'Sayyid sawed the tree by a saw.'

#### Set II

- 1) /ʔilʔarD itharatit bilmihra:t/  
 'The land was ploughed with (a wooden) plough.'
- 2) /ʔilʔarD itrawit bissadu:f/  
 'The land was watered by "ishaduf".'
- 3) /ʔil-fuhra itfaharit bilfa:s/  
 'The hole was dug by the axe.'
- 4) /ʔilmuSma:r itfakk bilyadd/  
 'The nail was unscrewed by hand.'

---

1. Another variant of "fahar" 'to dig' is hafar'. The latter variant involves metathesis.

- 5) /?il-ba?ara itdabahit bilmaTwah/  
 'The cow was slain by the penknife.'
- 6) /?il-hasi:s ithas bisarsara/  
 'The grass was weeded by the scythe.'
- 7) /sagarit il-ward ?it?allimit bilmi?S/  
 'The rose-tree was trimmed by the scissors.'
- 8) /?issagara itnasarit bilmunsa:r/  
 'The tree was sawed up by the saw.'

These two sets of examples testify to the fact that ECA allows the "instrumental" kind of agent to appear in the surface syntax of both Operative and Receptive clause types with the proviso that the verbs concerned collocate with instruments, tools ... etc. It should be emphasized again that the presence v. the absence of the adjuncts referred to here, though determined by the collocability of a given verb with a certain instrument, is also conditioned by the circumstances of the given linguistic context.

In a frequency test carried out by the writer all the informants accepted the sentences in Set II as the most frequent counterparts of those in Set I. The conclusion to be reached is this: that with this specific class of verbs designated as collocating with instruments (i.e. non-agentive types of actor) these same instruments appear, in the majority of examples, in the Receptive versions.

This of course does not rule out the potential occurrence of an animate actor (an agentive one) with sentences like those in II. To clarify this, we will probe sentence (1), /?il?arD' itharatit/ 'The land was ploughed',

by way of exemplification. Given this sentence the speaker in ECA may say in response to the question, /mi:n harat il?arD/ 'who ploughed the land?', /?ilfalla:h/ 'The farmer did.' (Of course he may designate a person, say, /8ali/ 'Ali', or just say /wa:hid ma8rafu:s/ 'Somebody I do not know.'

On the other hand, presented with the question, /?il?arD itharatit izzay/ 'How was the land ploughed?', the answer would be, /bilgarra:r/ 'by the tractor', /bibabu:r iggam8iyya/ 'by the tractor of the agricultural cooperative society', or /bilmihra:t/ 'by the plough'.

(iii) The third point to be made is that actors, when represented by an adjunct, are, in the majority of ECA examples, mostly "lexically-determined", and not grammatically-determined as is the case in English "agentive" passives;<sup>1</sup> the latter presuppose the existence of a "by-agent" which may or may not be mentioned. This is tantamount to saying that the prepositions (/min/, /bi/ ... etc.) which precede the "instrument" in ECA are selected on the basis of their collocability with the given lexical verb. To put it in a better way, the relationship obtaining between the verb and the adjunct is one of collocation, not colligation.<sup>2</sup>

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1. J. Svartvik, "On Voice in the English Verb", ... op.cit., pp. 102-103.

2. For the meaning of the terms "collocation" and "colligation", see R.H. Robins, "General Linguistics ...", pp. 63-6; 225.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that Egyptian Colloquial Arabic has a system of agency with two contrasting terms: agentive v. instrumental. To be more descriptively accurate, this last statement needs further qualification. For one thing, the two terms of this system are in operation at the same place in the structural representation of the clause. That is, they have as their exponents formal items which represent the clause-element 'A' - the prepositional group. Secondly, the relationship holding between the system active/passive which operates at the rank of the verbal group at P, on the one hand, and the agency system agentive/instrumental realized in the prepositional group at A, on the other hand, is such that 'agency' relates only to passive while 'instrumental' is associable with both active and passive.<sup>1</sup> This is evidenced by the fact that in the above illustrations "instrumental" combines with both active (as in Set I) and passive (as in Set II).

Also note that the term "instrumental" is used here to refer to the non-agentive type of actor - in contradistinction to the agentive, or animate one - be it an implement, tool, or force; where the latter (i.e. force) "may simply be equivalent to (inanimate) actor".<sup>2</sup>

To exemplify the use of "force" in this sense, consider:

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1. Cf. Halliday, "Syntax and the Consumer"; *op.cit.*, p. 201.

2. Halliday, "Language Structure and Language Function" ..., p. 149.

- 1-a /?il-hawa fatah issibba:k/ Operative  
 'The wind opened the window.'
- 1-b /?issibba:k infatah milhawa/ Receptive  
 'The window was opened by the wind.'
- 2-a /?il-8a:Sifa kasarit 8amu:d innu:r/  
 'The storm broke the lamp-post.'
- 2-b /8amu:d innu:r inkasar mil8a:Sifa/  
 'The lamp-post was broken by the storm.'
- 3-a /?il-bard xarrab mahSu:l il?u'ta/  
 'The cold ruined the tomato crop.'
- 3-b /mahSu:l il?u'ta itxarrab milbard/  
 'The tomato crop was ruined by the cold.'
- 4-a /?iDDaba:b 8aTTal il-8amal/  
 'The fog hindered (the progress of) the work.'
- 4-b /?il-8amal it8aTTal miDDaba:b/  
 '(The progress of) the work was hindered by the fog.'
- 5-a /?issams hara?it wis il-walad/  
 'The sun burnt the face of the boy.'
- 5-b /wis il-walad inhara? missams/  
 'The face of the boy was burnt by the sun.'
- 6-a /?il-he:Sa dayat il-mudarris/  
 'The noise annoyed the teacher.'
- 6-b /?il-mudarris itdayi? milhe:Sa/  
 'The teacher was annoyed by the noise.'

Finally, it is worth mentioning that we reject as inadequate the traditional view that verbs like "inkasar" (ex. 2), "inhara?" (ex. 5) ... etc., are "reflexive, or

"pseudo-passive".<sup>1</sup> We believe that such views miss the clear-cut difference between sentences like

- /8ali kasar iTTaba?/

'Ali broke the plate.'

and

- /?iTTaba? inkasar/itkasar/

'The plate was broken.'

where "inkasar", and its variant "itkasar" are, in terms of actual usage and morphology, the passive of "kasar". This means that the morphological form and the meaning coincide as regards passive.

#### Type 1(b)

This clause type is similar to the one examined above in three respects:

- (i) The number of participants concerned;
- (ii) The potential passive transform exhibited by the verb at P (via the passive marker "it-");
- (iii) The conflation of the two roles of initiator and actor in the structure of the clause as one entity.

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1. See W. Wright, "A Grammar of the Arabic Language", 1971, pp. 40-41. See also Yushmanov who claims that verbs like those referred to here do not passivize since they have a passive sense: N.V. Yushmanov, "The Structure of the Arabic Language", Centre for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C., 1961, pp. 48-51.

Nevertheless, it is distinct in that the class of verbs which appear in it is (a) morphologically marked by gemination of the second medial radical, (b) syntactically associable with emphasis, repetition ... etc. (for more on this see Chapter X, Emphatic v. non-emphatic). However, though on the surface of it, this type might look peripheral because of its striking similarity with type 1(a), we give it a separate place here since it provides a point of contrast with type (2) to be dealt with below where the same verb form (i.e. Form II) does occur in the latter correlated with a causative function and a different distribution of roles. The illustrations given below represent Type 1(b) clauses, together with their Receptive correlates:

1-a /?innagga:r ?aTTam il-xasab/

'The carpenter cut the wood into many pieces.'

1-b /?il-xasab it?aTTam/

'The wood was cut into many pieces.'

2-a /?ittamargi dahhan iggarh bilmarham/

'The male nurse rubbed the wound many times with the ointment.'

2-b /?iggarh itdahhan bilmarham/

'The wound was rubbed many times with the ointment.'

3-a /?issagga:la fattahit issababi:k/

'The maid opened the windows many times.'

3-b /?issababi:k itfattahit/

'The windows were opened many times.'

4-a /?il-halla:? garrah izzubu:n 8alaxir/

'The barber cut the customer many times (caused him many bad cuts).'

4-b /?izzubu:n itgarrah 8alaxir/

'The customer was cut badly many times.'

5-a /?il-ganayni rabbaT il-ward/

'The gardener tied the roses into many bunches.'

5-b /?il-ward itrabbiT/

'The roses were tied into many bunches.'

It is relevant to point out here that the only subclass of Form II verbs, occurring with an emphatic function, which does not passivize is that referred to above (Chapter X) as "verbalizations of ritual sentences" e.g. "Sabbah", 'to say glory be to Allah', "labba", 'to say Labbayk Allah, a prayer said during Muslim pilgrimage which means that Muslims respond to the Call of God' ... etc. Thus, whereas /?ilhagg labba rabbuh/ 'The pilgrim said Labbayk Allah ...' is possible, /rabbina itlabba/ is not.

#### Types 2(a) and 2(b)

Types 2(a) and 2(b) described under this heading share one common, distinctive characteristic, namely, they have as their predicator a three-place verb which combines readily with three NPs. Nevertheless, they are distinct in that:

(i) The class of verbs which type 2(a) involves is

morphologically marked as causative (see Chapter IX, "Causative v. non-Causative").

(ii) The class of verbs which typically occur in type 2(b) is that referred to before as inherently benefactive in meaning (see Chapter XII, "Benefactive v. non-benefactive").

In respect of the process-participant relationship exhibited by the clause-elements concerned, each of these clause types has a different functional<sup>1</sup> pattern associated with it. These can be represented as follows:

Type 2(a)

initiator + action + actor + goal

Type 2(b)

actor + action + beneficiary + goal

Consider the two sets of examples shown below where the first set represents type 2(a), and the second type 2(b), together with their Receptive counterparts.

Set I

1-a /rayyis issugl sayyil issaggala issiwa:l/      Operative

'The head of the work caused the female worker  
to carry the sack.'

1-b /?issiwa:l itsayyil (lissaggala)/      Receptive

---

1. The term 'functional pattern' is adopted from M. Berry, 'Introduction to Systemic Linguistics', vol. I, pp. 77-82.

'The sack was caused to be carried by the female worker.'

2-a /Sahib il-mahal akkil iSSabi il-fu:l/

'The owner of the shop caused the boy to eat beans.'

2-b /?il-fu:l it?akkil (liSSabi)/

'The beans were caused to be eaten by the boy.'

3-a /?inna:Zir kattib il-walad dars il-mahfuZa:T/

'The headmaster caused the pupil to write the recitation lesson.'

3-b /dars il-mahfuZa:t itkattib (lil walad)/

'The recitation lesson was caused to be written by the pupil.'

4-a /sayyid fahhim 8ali masalit il-gabr/

'Sayyid caused Ali to understand the algebraic problem.'

4-b /masalit il-gabr itfahhmit (li-8ali)/

'The algebraic problem was caused to be understood by Ali.'

## Set II

1-a /Sahib il-be:t ?addam sa:y liDDe:f/

'The master of the house offered the guest tea.'

1-b /?iDDe:f it?addim luh issa:y/

'The guest was offered tea.'

2-a /rayyis il-8amal manah ahsan 8a:mil mukf?ah/

'The boss gave the best worker a prize.'

2-b /?ahsan 8a:mil itmanah mukf?ah/

'The best worker was given a prize.'

3-a /?inna:Zir wa8ad iTTa:lib bigayza/

'The headmaster promised the pupil a prize.'

3-b /?iT-Ta:lib itwa8ad bigayza/

'The pupil was promised a prize.'

4-a /?i18umma:l ha:du 8ali sa:8a dahab/

'The workers gave Ali a golden watch as a gift.'

4-b /8ali itha:da bisa:8a dahab/

'Ali was given a golden watch as a gift.'

Now if we contrast the Causative (Set I) and the Benefactive sentences (Set II) presented above, we will note two facts:

(i) First, the participant in the role of goal (i.e. /?issiwa:l/, /?ilfu:l/, /dars il-mahfuZa:t/, /masalit il-gabr/) occupies sentence-initial position in the Receptive version of the Causative clauses (Set I); whereas in the Benefactive ones, it is the beneficiary which occurs in the same position. In other words, the goal is the subject of a Causative, Receptive clause and the beneficiary is the subject of a Benefactive, Receptive one.

(Note that the description here centres around the unmarked, normal versions of Receptive clauses; the potential occurrences of the marked versions, on the dimension of voice, are reserved to the last section of this chapter, "Voice and Thematization".)

(ii) Second, Benefactive, Receptive clauses are, moreover, marked by the presence of the entity representing 'goal' in their surface syntax. Thus a sentence like /?iTta:lib itwa8ad/, 3-b, Set II, is incomplete and ambiguous unless its occurrence is associated with the specification of the goal (i.e. /gayza/).

Also note that in many examples of type 2(a), the participant functioning as 'actor' may appear in the structural representation of the Receptive clause preceded by the particle "li-". This means that the bracketed elements in Set I above are optionally deletable. To further illustrate this, consider the two tables given below which show the unmarked order, and the function of the elements involved in a Receptive clause type 2(a), and 2(b).

Table (1)

	goal	passive predicator	actor optional
Type 2(a)	?iddars	itkkattib	li8ali
	The lesson	was caused to be written	by Ali

Table (2)

	beneficiary	passive predicator	goal obligatory
Type 2(b)	8ali	itwa8ad	bihdiyya
	Ali	was promised	a gift

Attention should be drawn to the fact that in our analysis we did not recognize a clause involving a four-place verb in ECA as S.M. El-Sheikh does with SA in his thesis on translation. The reason we did not is that his view, to be discussed here, is not strictly true. Relying heavily on traditional Arabic grammar, El-Sheikh assumes

that the so-called "verbs of the heart" are four-place; and therefore they dominate three objects. His view is quoted in full below:

"It has already been said that Arabic has also a class of verbs which dominate three objects overtly marked by the accusative case. These verbs are defined by the traditional grammarians as the 'verbs of the heart'. These are so-called because they refer not to external actions performed by the organs of sense (e.g. come, go, enter ... etc.), but to actions that take place in the mind, e.g. think, know ... etc." 1

Two points invite criticism in connection with this assumption:

(i) The verbs El-Sheikh refers to are not four-place in SA, the variety of Arabic he has investigated, nor in ECA, the variety under study here. For our purpose, it is sufficient to quote one of his examples to comment upon.

- /?araytu t-tilmida l-?ijtiha:da na:fi8an/

'I showed the pupil (that) hard work was useful.'

Leaving out of account the word-endings (i.e. /u/, in /?araytu/, /a/ in /tilmida/, and /?ijtihada/, and the 'nunation' /an/, in /na:fi8an/), which signal what Arab grammarians call "?i8ra:b", the traditional term for case,<sup>2</sup> we find that the sentence contains only two objects

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1. S.M. El-Sheikh, "A Linguistic Analysis of Some Syntactic and Semantic Problems of English-Arabic Translation" ... op.cit., pp. 178-179 (the emphasis is mine).
  2. Robins defines "Case" as that grammatical category "whereby specific syntactic relations between nouns (and nominal groups) and other sentence constituents demand specific forms of the words involved". R.H. Robins, "General Linguistics, An Introductory Survey", p. 234.

and not three as El-Sheikh states. He took /na:fi8an/ 'useful' as a third object, while in actual fact it is an adjective which modifies /?ijtiha:da/ 'work, or hard work'. He further omits to mention that the sentence in his example is a complex one in which /na:fi8an/ is the complement of /?ijtiha:da/ in a subordinate clause and not the object of /?araytu/.

In trying to prove his point, he overlooked the linguistic axiom that the clause-elements S and C are typically realized by nominals, although they might have different exponents. In addition, a quick look at the colloquial counterpart of the above SA sentence would support our view:

- /ana warre:t itilmi:z ligtiha:d na:fi8/

where the second object (?igtiha:d) is being described as (na:fi8); the ascription of such an attribute as 'useful', "na:fi8" is made necessary here by the abstract nature of the noun it describes. But if this noun was a concrete one, the attribute would be omissible, e.g.

/ana warre:t itilmi:z il-?aSr (ikkibi:r)/

'I showed the pupil (the big) house.'

(ii) The second point to be criticized is that the "verbs of the heart" may be either two-place or three-place (i.e. dominating one object, or two objects respectively),

depending upon the clause-type in which they appear; that is, they are never four-place as El-Sheikh suggests. To clarify this misconception, we give, by way of exemplification, the following sentences where the verbs, /8irif/ 'to know', /Zann/ 'to think', cited in the preceding quote, are used; also given is the causative counterpart of /8irif/ i.e. /8arrafa/ 'to cause to know'.

- |          |         |                    |                       |                         |
|----------|---------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| S        | P       | C                  |                       |                         |
| 1) /8ali | 8irif   | <u>il-ha?i:?a/</u> | <u>two-place verb</u> |                         |
| 'Ali     | knew    | the truth.'        |                       |                         |
|          |         |                    |                       |                         |
| S        | P       | C <sub>1</sub>     | C <sub>2</sub>        |                         |
| 2) /8ali | 8arrafa | <u>Sayyid</u>      | <u>il-ha?i:?a/</u>    | <u>three-place verb</u> |
| 'Ali     | caused  | Sayyid             | to know the truth.'   |                         |
|          |         |                    |                       |                         |
| S        | P       | C <sub>1</sub>     | C <sub>2</sub>        |                         |
| 3) /8ali | Zann    | <u>il?uTTa</u>     | <u>asad</u>           | <u>three-place verb</u> |
| 'Ali     | thought | (that)             | the cat is a lion.'   |                         |

The last point to be discussed in connection with Effective, Receptive clauses in ECA is that they are always 'agent-oriented', as opposed to process-oriented, regardless of whether or not the agent is specified in the surface structure of the clause. In actual fact, the specification v. the non-specification of the agent is immaterial with regard to this distinction. To put it in a different way, Arabic does not have an equivalent for what Jespersen

calls "activo-passive",<sup>1</sup> or what Halliday refers to as "process-oriented". For instance, the sentence, "The clothes washed easily" is process-oriented, i.e. the process of "washing" is being characterized as such, or rather, some generalization is being made about its feasibility. This is not the case with ECA.

This can best be illustrated by holding a comparison between the English examples given below which are 'process-oriented' and their nearest ECA equivalents which are 'agent-oriented'.

- |     |   |                         |
|-----|---|-------------------------|
| 1-a | These shirts washed easily.                             | <u>Process-oriented</u> |
| 1-b | /?il?imSa:n it8asalit bishu:la/                         | <u>agent-oriented</u>   |
| 2-a | This sheet of paper tears easily.                       |                         |
| 2-b | /farx il-wara? da biyit?iT <sub>i</sub> 8 bishu:la/     |                         |
| 3-a | These books are selling like hot cakes.                 |                         |
| 3-b | /?ikkutub di bititba:8 zay ikkahk issa:xin/             |                         |
| 4-a | This week's meat did not cook well.                     |                         |
| 4-b | /lahmit il-?usbu:8 da manTabaxaT <sub>s</sub> kuwayyis/ |                         |

It will be seen from the above that Arabic Effective sentences are 'agent-oriented'. This is evidenced by the fact that the predicators involved are marked as passive via the normal passive marker "it-"; whereas

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1. See Otto Jespersen, 'A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles', Part III, G. Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1974, p. 347. See also what Palmer refers to as "pseudo-passives"; F.R. Palmer, "The English Verb", Longmans, London, p. 92.

their English counterparts are active ones used in a passive sense, consequently they do not tolerate a "by-agent".

(Note that the particle /bi-/ in /biyitʔiTt8/ and /bititba:8/, sentences 2-b and 3-b, is the progressive tense marker; whereas /ma/ in /manTabaxts/, sentence 4-b, is a negative particle.)

Besides, in English "these uses of the active in the 'passive' sense are adverbial in that they normally occur with adverbs ...";<sup>1</sup> therefore the deletion of the adverb concerned creates ambiguities. In Arabic adverbs like /bishu:la/ 'easily' (sentence 1-b and 2-b) are not basic to the syntax or the semantics of the sentences in which they appear; they are deletable without producing ambiguous or ungrammatical structures. Another indicator of the orientation towards agency which marks ECA Receptive sentences is that the adverbial, whenever it appears in a sentence, neither gives a characterization of the process indicated by the verb as such, nor a generalization about its possibility of occurrence, as is the case with English.

Interestingly enough, there are certain 'rural' dialects (especially deep down in the Province of Sharkiyya, Egypt) which show a contrast with the dialect of Cairo described here in respect of the existence of what may be regarded as "activo-passive". In the meantime these very

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1. F.R. Palmer, 'The English Verb', ... op.cit., p. 93.

dialects display a striking similarity with English. This contrast with Cairene Arabic and similarity with English concern clauses involving verbs like /ʔafal/ 'to shut', /fatah/ 'to open', /sarax/ 'to split', and /kaSar/ 'to break'.

As an illustration, compare:

Cairene	Rural	English
1. ʔil-ba:b <u>infatah</u> 'The door was opened.'	ʔil-ba:b <u>fatah</u> Lit. 'The door opened.'	The door opened.
2. ʔil-ba:b <u>inʔafal</u> 'The door was closed.'	ʔil-ba:b <u>ʔafal</u> 'The door closed.'	The door closed.
3. ʔil-iza:z <u>inkaSar</u> 'The glass was broken.'	ʔil-iza:z <u>kaSar</u> 'The glass broke.'	The glass broke.
4. ʔiSSu:r <u>insarax</u> 'The fence was split.'	ʔiSSu:r <u>sarax</u> 'The fence split.'	The fence split.

The 'rural' examples presented above represent a small class of clauses which are describable, exactly like their English counterparts, as a "nuclear" or a "neutral" type because they "neutralize the distinction between effective and descriptive".<sup>1</sup> This brings in Halliday's

1. See Halliday, 'Notes on Transitivity ...', Part III, p. 186.

suggestion which is not adopted in this study:

"... instead of a 'transitive' form of organization, based on extension, where the question is whether the action extends beyond the actor or not, the alternative being considered is an 'ergative' form of organization based on causation, where the question is whether the cause is external to the action or not." 1

What is relevant to our purpose here is this: that Effective Clauses in Cairene Arabic, contrary to both the English and the rural examples given before, display only "non-middle" forms of clause structure, i.e. they are associable with more than one participant; moreover the operative/receptive distinction is always signalled by the predicators concerned (predicator active in Operative v. predicator passive in Receptive).

#### Other Passive Verbal Forms Occurring with Eff. Clauses

The description so far has shown that Eff. Receptive clause types involve verb classes marked as passive in one uniform way: the passive marker "it-" (or "in-") + the verb base. Under this heading, the description proceeds with other forms of verbs which equally occur in the same clause types dealt with in the preceding sections. By these are meant what is normally referred to in Arabic grammar as "asma: ? ilmaf8u:l", 'passive participles'.

Differences referable to tense and aspect, though

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1. Ibid., p. 185.

not strictly within the sphere of this thesis, will be also touched upon. The main reason for this is that, while conveying the idea of passive in varying degrees, "passive participles" represent the aspectual<sup>1</sup> stage in the verbal spectrum of ECA. In other words, a Receptive sentence marked by the existence of the participle referred to here stands in sharp contrast with its counterpart which has the "it-verb form" in respect of aspectual distinctions.

To start with, the first and most common form of the passive participle in the dialect under study is the one which occurs with the pattern /maf8u:l/. Consider the contrasting examples given below where the exponents of the "maf8u:l" and the "non-maf8u:l" passives are underlined.

Table 1

"maf8u:l" passives	"non-maf8u:l" passives
1a) ?i:d il-bawwa:b <u>magru:hah</u> min imba:ri <u>h</u>	1b) ?i:d il-bawwa:b <u>ingarahit</u> imba:ri <u>h</u>
'The porter's hand has been wounded since yesterday.'	'The porter's hand was wounded yesterday.'

1. Dick Coutinho divides the verbal spectrum in Arabic into four stages which he refers to, in a hierarchical arrangement, as the 'neutral' stage which relates to exclamations, the 'spectral' which relates to the distinction between state v. event, the 'aspectual' which has to do with perfective v. imperfective, and finally the 'tense stage' which distinguishes between 'past and non-past'. For more on this see his article, "Some Remarks on Verb Systems, especially in Relation to Arabic" edited in "Nomen Lyden

/Continued overleaf

"maf8u:l" passives	"non-maf8u:l" passives
2a) ?il-he:ta <u>makSu:ra</u> min guwwa 'The wall has been broken from the inside.'	2b) ?il-he:Ta <u>inkaSarit</u> min guwwa 'The wall was broken from the inside.'
3a) gaTa issandu:? il-ahmar <u>mamlu:x</u> 'The cover of the red box has been pulled out.'	3b) gaTa issandu:? il-ahmar <u>inmalax</u> 'The cover of the red box was pulled out.'
4a) ?il-ballu:na <u>maxru:ma</u> milwiST 'The balloon has been pierced from the middle.'	4b) ?il-ballu:na <u>inxaramit</u> milwiST 'The balloon was pierced from the middle.'
5a) ?ittilifo:n <u>mafsu:d</u> 'The telephone has been out of order (has been spoilt).'	5b) ?ittilifo:n <u>infasad</u> 'The telephone was out of order (was spoilt).'

Footnote continued from page 317.

Studies in Linguistics and Phonetics", published under  
the auspices of A.G. Sciarone, et al., Mouton, The  
Hague-Paris, 1969, pp. 17-21.

Table (2)

"maf8u:l passives	"non-maf8u:l" passives
1a) ?iddars <u>mafhu:m</u> 'The lesson has been understood.'	1b) ?iddars <u>itfaham</u> 'The lesson was understood.'
2a) ?il-hikaya di <u>ma8ru:fa</u> min issana illi fatit 'The story has been known since last year.'	2b) ?il-hikaya di <u>it8arafit</u> issana illi fatit 'The story was known last year.'
3a) 8ali <u>madhu:s</u> min TaSarruf sayyid 'Ali has been surprised at Sayyid's behaviour.'	3b) 8ali <u>itdahas</u> min TaSarruf sayyid 'Ali was surprised at Sayyid's behaviour.'
4a) ?iluSTa <u>magmu:m</u> min <u>suglituh</u> iggidi:da 'The boss has been frustrated about his new job.'	4b) ?iluSTa <u>itgamm</u> min <u>suglituh</u> iggidi:da 'The boss was frustrated about his new job.'
5a) ?issitt <u>mazhu:la</u> ba8d gozha masabha 'The woman has been astounded after her husband deserted her.'	5b) ?issitt <u>itzahalit</u> ba8d gozha masabha 'The woman was astounded after her husband deserted her.'

Whatever their differences in meaning, all the sentences in (a) (table 1 and 2) are Receptive and have one formal feature in common: they have a passive participle with the pattern "maf8u:l", which is commutable with its analogue in sentences (b) (table 1 and 2), (i.e. "it-" + verb base).

Taking the analysis a bit further, we note that:

(i) The basic difference between sentences (a) and (b) is relatable to the aspectual function of the "maf8u:l" form of the verb. That is to say, this verbal form, on its own, is free of any suggestions of tense,<sup>1</sup> more accurately, 'neutral' in this respect. However, a definite or a vague point of time may be indicated when the speaker/writer opts to mention an adverb of time. For instance, the sentence /ʔi:d il-bawwa:b magru:hah min imba:rih/ 'The porter's hand has been wounded since yesterday' (1a, table 1) indicates that the action involved took place at an unspecified point of time the "day before", and its result ... etc. is still in existence.

Also note the significance of the time particle /min/ 'since' in a sentence like the one above: it brings in aspect associations comparable to its nearest English equivalent (i.e. 'since'); further the sentence would be incomplete and clumsy in its absence.

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1. See Fadlou Shehadi, "Arabic and 'To Be'", in "The Verb 'Be' and its Synonyms", Part 4, edited by John W.M. Verhaar et al., D. Reidel Publishing Company/Dordrecht, Holland, 1969, p. 116, and 122. See also Al-farabi's reference to the function of the passive participle (the "maf8u:l" form) as "lacking in tense" in his Commentary on Aristotle's De Interpretatione, Beirut, 1960, p. 103.

In sentence 1-b (table 1), the passive verb /ingarah/ 'was wounded' refers to the completion of the action without pointing to any remaining effect or result.

(ii) The second point to note is that whereas the sentences in Table (1) can be said to contain passive verb forms relatable to "action verbs" (e.g. /garah/ 'to wound', /kaSar/ 'to break', /malax/ 'to pull out' ... etc.) those in Table (2) tolerate more than one classification. For instance, /fihim/ 'to understand', /8irif/ 'to know' (sentences 1 and 2, Table 2) can be classified as relating to 'cognitive' verbs, while /dahs/ 'to surprise', /gamm/ 'to frustrate', and /zahal/ 'to astound' can be described as related to either 'emotive', 'stative', or 'statal' verbs. Still terms such as "dynamic v. static" can be called into play to account for the differences holding between the verb clauses which appear in the above sentences (Tables 1 and 2).

But the crucial point is that, when it comes to the passive participle in Arabic (that occurring with the "maf8u:l" form), such classification proves to be misleading and far from clear-cut. They will not take us much further.

So, though verbal in function, a passive participle in a Receptive clause has the added semantic value of describing the goal of the process in question in a way very similar to that of an ordinary adjective (e.g. /suga:8/ 'courageous', /gari:~/ 'venturesome, daring', /gaba:n/

'coward' ... etc.). Again, aside from the distinctive formal characteristics displayed by each of these word classes (i.e. the ordinary adjective and the passive participle) ordinary adjectives are distinct in that they are aspectually unmarked. On the basis of this argument, we will assume that there exists a sort of "syntactic blending"<sup>1</sup> between ordinary adjectives and passive participles in ECA. That is to say, the latter (passive participles) have mixed verbal and adjectival characteristics: the possibility of providing the operative version of sentences like those in (a) demonstrates the verbal nature of the "maf&u:1" form; on the other side, the adjectival features are displayed by (i) its striking similarity with ordinary adjectives and (ii) the occurrence - potential or actual - of qualifiers (as in /madhus giddan/ 'very surprised', /magru:h ?awi/ 'verybadly wounded', compared with /suga:8 giddan/ 'very brave, very courageous' which is an ordinary adjective).

Following up the points of similarity and dissimilarity exhibited by sentences involving a passive participle and those involving an ordinary adjective, the fact should not be overlooked that Relational : Ascriptive clauses also have an affinity with Receptive ones containing a passive participle. This affinity is reflected in that

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1. For the idea of syntactic blending, see D.L. Bolinger, "Syntactic blends and other matters", 1961, Language, 37.

an ordinary adjective (an Attribute) in an Ascriptive clause modifies the Attribuand (without showing aspect); whereas the participle discussed here modifies the goal (and shows aspect) (See Chapter VIII for Ascriptive clauses). In other words, the adjectival properties of the "maf8u:l" form<sup>1</sup> make it, in a sense, similar to the Attribute in Ascriptive clauses.

Next, reference will be made to other exponents of the passive participle which are less regular in their morphological shape, and not as predictable as those discussed previously.

These can be briefly illustrated by comparing the examples presented below where (a) is Operative and (b) Receptive:

- 1a) /8ali ga:Z sayyid/ operative  
 'Ali incensed Sayyid.'
- 1b) /sayyid mitga:Z/itga:Z receptive  
 'Sayyid has been/was incensed.'
- 2a) /?i1-xaddama gaTTiT iTTaba? bilfu:Ta/  
 'The maid covered the plate with a towel.'
- 2b) /?iTTaba? mitgaTTi/itgaTTa bilfu:Ta/  
 'The plate has been/was covered with a towel.'

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1. It must also be pointed out that the /maf8u:l/ form is an abstract label. Verbs of the so-called "Strong Class" have the participle form /maf8u:l/, whereas "Weak verbs" and verbs in other patterns have different forms which are however regularly derivable:

- e.g. ?aTTa8 'to cut' → m?aTTa8  
 Sab 'to inflict' → muSab

- 3a) /?iDDe:f kaSSar il-bundu? bikkaSSara/  
 'The guest broke the nuts by a nut-cracker.'
- 3b) /?il-bundu? mitkaSSar/itkaSSar bikkaSSara/  
 'The nuts have been/were broken by a nut-cracker.'
- 4a) /?il-bint Daffarit sa8r 8aliyya Difi:ra wahada/  
 'The girl made Aliyya's hair into one plait.'
- 4b) /sa8r 8aliyya mitDaffar/itDaffar Difi:ra wahada/  
 '
- 5a) /?il-falla:h hazzim 8ida:n iDDura/  
 'The farmer made the corn-stalks into bundles.'
- 5b) /8ida:n iDDura mithazzima/ithazzmit/  
 'The corn-stalks have been/were made into bundles.'
- 6a) /?iTTabba:x mallih il-akl kuwayyis/  
 'The cook salted (added enough salt) the food properly.'
- 6b) /?il-akl mitmallih/itmallih kuwayyis/  
 'The food has been/was well-salted.'

In the previous examples, one notices that the passive participles, though different in the morphological shape they assume, relate to the active verbs in sentences (a). A correlate of this is that the same aspectual associations - together with the verbal and adjectival properties - attributable to the more regular and frequent form discussed above obtain here. Further, the sentences in (b) attest the fact that passive participles, regular or irregular in their morphological shape, exhibit a strong and close collocability with their corresponding active verbs.

However, there is one generalization that can be made about the relation holding between active verbs with a second geminate radical and their corresponding passive participles, i.e., they tend to reflect that gemination in the passive form. As an illustration consider:

/kaSSar/	'to break into many pieces'	→	/mitkaSSar/
/Daffar/	'to plait many times'	→	/mitDaffir/
/hazzim/	'to make into bundles'	→	/mithazzim/
/mallih/	'to add salt, to salt'	→	/mitmallih/

In conclusion there remains to say that both passive forms (i.e. the "maf8u:l" and the "non-maf8u:l") are equally used in ECA. The difference between both usages is attributable to aspectual distinctions.

(ii) Extensive : Descriptive Clauses

In the foregoing section, we gave an account of how the system operative/receptive works for the clause classes subsumed under Ex. Eff. Among other things, these clauses were specified as involving classes of 'transitive' verbs which require a 'goal', regardless of whether or not the verbs concerned are causative, or non-causative. Within this section, the description proceeds with the classes of clauses which figure as Ex. Descriptive in relation to the same system.

These fall into two basic types which will be

referred to, for purposes of description, as Types (1) and (2). The first contains a one-place verb (i.e. an intransitive one), and therefore the active subject concerned represents two roles conflated in one entity (i.e. initiator + actor). The second is identifiable by the existence of the 'initiator', in this case a full-fledged participant filling the subject position; whereas the 'actor' functions as the complement of the sentence. In principle, the intransitive verb at P of a type (1) sentence, if it undergoes Causativization (via the morphological process of gemination of the second medial radical), it becomes describable in terms of two roles. To put it in a better way, the one-place verb of a type (1) sentence becomes - via causativization - a two-place in type (2), with the concomitant result that the otherwise conflated roles of initiator + actor are separated.

It is worth noting that in ECA, Receptive versions of the two clause types under discussion are of limited occurrence compared with their Effective counterparts. However, they are given a detailed description here for two main reasons:

(i) First, the use of 'intransitive' verbs in the passive reflects a unique feature of Arabic, and is alien to the European frame of mind. In English, for instance, passivization is only possible with transitive verbs, i.e. those verbs that have objects.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See F.R. Palmer, "The English Verb", op.cit., p. 83. The same view as to passivization in English is held by many other linguists: see J. Svartvik, "On Voice in the

(ii) Second, these passive constructions represent an integral part of the 'voice system' of Arabic in general, and ECA in particular, a part which cannot be discounted from any treatment of voice.

#### Type (1)

As stated above, this clause type occurs with a one-place verb; its active subject is associable with one participant (actor) where the latter role is, in actual fact, interpretable as a conflation of 'initiator' and 'actor'.

For a type (1) clause to be passivized, it should satisfy an important condition, namely, it should contain, apart from the subject and the verb, a specific class of circumstantial elements; by these we mean "spatial-locatives". The qualification "spatial-locatives" is assigned a great significance in connection with this type of sentences since, apart from providing a syntactic environment into which 'passive' can be fitted, it excludes other classes of circumstantial elements which may accompany the process by way of qualification, specification ... etc., e.g. the cognate object (?al-maf8u:l ?ilmuTlaq). The existence of the latter element, for example, constitutes a constraint on passivization (see the section headed "Range in ECA", Chapter 4).

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Footnote 1 continued from page 326.

English Verb", 1966; Quirk et al., "A Grammar of Contemporary English" ..., p. 803; and H.E. Palmer, "A Grammar of Spoken English", 3rd ed., Cambridge, 1969, p. 174.

Below are given examples of Type (1) sentences  
and their Receptive analogues:

- |   |                  |
|---|------------------|
| 1a) /8ali mi <u>si</u> <u>filo:Da iggiwwaneyya/</u>     | <u>Operative</u> |
| 'Ali walked in the back-room.'                          |                  |
| 1b) /?il-o:Da iggiwwaneyya it <u>masa</u> <u>fi:ha/</u> | <u>Receptive</u> |
| Lit. 'The back-room was walked in.'                     |                  |
| 2a) /?issawwa? ?a8a <u>d 8akkursi iggidi:d/</u>         |                  |
| 'The driver sat on the new chair.'                      |                  |
| 2b) /?i <u>kkursi iggidi:d</u> it?a8d <u>8ale:h/</u>    |                  |
| Lit. 'The new chair was sat on.'                        |                  |
| 3a) /?iT <u>Tifl na:m 8akkanaba/</u>                    |                  |
| 'The baby slept on the sofa.'                           |                  |
| 3b) /?i <u>akkanaba</u> itna:m <u>8ale:ha/</u>          |                  |
| Lit. 'The sofa was slept on.'                           |                  |
| 4a) /8ali sakan <u>filbe:t ikkibi:r/</u>                |                  |
| 'Ali lived in the big house.'                           |                  |
| 4b) /?il-be:t <u>ikkibi:r</u> itsakan <u>fi:h/</u>      |                  |
| Lit. 'The big house was lived in.'                      |                  |
| 5a) /?iluTT naTT <u>fo:? il-he:Ta/</u>                  |                  |
| 'The male-cat jumped over the wall.'                    |                  |
| 5b) /?i <u>l-he:Ta</u> itnaTT <u>fo?ha/</u>             |                  |
| Lit. 'The wall was jumped over.'                        |                  |
| 6a) /?i <u>ssaggala</u> dasit <u>8almiSalliyya/</u>     |                  |
| 'The maid trod on the praying-mat.'                     |                  |
| 6b) /?i <u>l-miSalliyya</u> itda:s <u>8ale:ha/</u>      |                  |
| Lit. 'The praying-mat was trodden on.'                  |                  |

The most noticeable characteristic exhibited by the previous sentences is that the "passive" operates on the circumstantial elements involved, which are all adjuncts of place. To put it in T.G. terms, the locative NP dominated by the verb is shifted to subject position in each of the above Receptive sentences. It follows from this that, in the absence of place adjuncts, ECA does allow sentences like the above ones to be passivized; more accurately, the system operative/receptive does not operate without the existence of this class of circumstantial.

However, in respect of the voice of the verb at P, we find that it is rendered into passive by means of the normal particle "component" of the passive verb (i.e. "it-" or "in-"). Further, we notice that there exists an object pronoun following the preposition in each Receptive sentence (those in (b)). This pronoun, apart from signalling number-gender concord, functions as an enclitic which refers back to the "passive" subject, and, at the same time, marks its previous place.

In addition to this, the class of verbs involved in Descriptive clauses, unlike those appearing in Effective ones discussed in the previous section, neither collocate, nor commute with passive participles. In actual fact, they do not exhibit a "maf8u:l form".

Thus sentences like the following are not possible:

\* - /?il-oDa iggiwwaneyya mamsu:s fi:ha/

\* - /?ikkursi iggidi:d ma?8u:d 8ale:h/

Yet it could be argued that the verbs involved in sentences 1-6 above can be treated as prepositional verbs, representing one semantic unit; in which case the nominal element following the preposition would be regarded as an object (complement) of the verb, not of the preposition concerned. This, of course, depends on how one defines a "prepositional verb" in Arabic. Sentence (4) / 8ali sakan filbe:t ikkibi:r/ 'Ali lived in the big house', by way of exemplification, provides a good candidate for such an argument. It can be given two analyses. In one, there is an "intransitive" verb (sakan), followed by a prepositional phrase (filbe:t ikkibi:r) which functions as a circumstantial element (an adverb of place). In the other analysis, the prepositional verb (sakan fi) is a transitive verb, and (?il-be:t ikkibi:r) is the direct object (the complement of the verb concerned).

	V		A
Analysis (1):	8ali sakan	+	<u>filbe:t ikkibi:r</u>
Analysis (2):	8ali sakan fi	+	<u>lbe:t ikkibi:r</u>

One can assume, for the sake of argument, that these two analyses are equally valid ways of looking at the same sentence and account for different aspects of it.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The same situation exists in English. R. Quirk, for instance, treats verbs like 'look at', 'walk over', 'live on' ... etc. as allowing both possibilities: prepositional

Analysis 2, for instance, may account for the superficial resemblance between sentence (4) and a sentence like:

- /?izzubu:n Dihik 8assawwa:?/

'The customer laughed at the driver.'

as opposed to

- /?issawwa:? itDahak 8ale:h/

'The driver was laughed at.'

where the verb (Dihik) and the preposition (8ala) constitute one semantic unit; consequently (issawwa:?) would be analysable as the direct object (the subject/goal in the Receptive version).

However, analysis (1) (verb + adverbial) is the one adopted in this study. Our argument is this: that the circumstantial elements which follow the verbs in sentences 1-6 are all spatial locatives. This is supported by the fact that sentences such as the above allow adverbial questions with /fe:n/ 'where' for the whole prepositional group; whereas a sentence like /?izzubu:n Dihik 8assawwa?/ allows pronominal questions with /mi:n/, 'who, whom' for personal noun phrases, and /e:h/ 'what' for non-personal noun phrases, but does not allow adverbial questions for the whole prepositional phrase (i.e. /8assawwa:?/).

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Footnote continued from page 330.

verb + direct object, and, intransitive verb + Adverbial.  
See R. Quirk et al., "A University Grammar of English"...  
p. 350.

The conclusion to be reached from this is that, though overtly marked as passive in the same way as transitive verbs, the verbs involved in sentences 1-6 are intransitive; the 'verb + preposition' involved is not regarded as one semantic unit.

Next to be discussed at this point of the analysis is the Arabic traditional view on passivization in relation to the clause type described here. The object is to show the inadequacy of some aspects of this traditional approach.

According to Arab grammarians, almost all active verbs - transitive or intransitive - are passivizable. At the core of this attitude is the traditional rule that passivization is realized by means of a morphological process involving a change in the vocalic pattern of the active verb (i.e. 'u-i' in the perfect and 'u-a' in the imperfect). The existence of an adjunct of place, contrary to the situation in ECA, is no precondition for the passivization of a clause containing an intransitive verb.

The traditional approach invites criticism in two respects:

- (i) For one thing, it proves inadequate and of very little practical value in terms of usage. This is evidenced by the fact that the traditional examples of intransitive verbs, and the potential active subjects Arab grammarians suggest for them, are only found in text-books and classrooms.
- (ii) Secondly, Arab grammarians preoccupied themselves with morphology and as a consequence, passivization to them

is a morphological process which takes place at VP rank; the clause as a linguistic unit was not given due consideration.

If we recall that in SA the existence of an adjunct is not a precondition for passivization to take place, it would be easy to understand the laborious and lengthy discussions on the part of Arab grammarians to "devise", or rather retrieve from the linguistic context an appropriate subject for passive intransitive verbs. We briefly give below, by way of contrast, the five possibilities<sup>1</sup> which Arab grammarians offer in their attempts to "concoct" a passive subject for each and every intransitive verb. Note that these grammarians are widely divided on which of these possibilities is the most suitable one:

- 1) a preposition such as "fi", 'in' as in /filhugrati/ 'in the room', /fiSSabahi/ 'in the morning';
- 2) the adjunct as a whole (i.e. the prepositional group including the preposition, contrasted with possibility (1) which involves the prepositional particle);
- 3) the complement of the preposition involved;
- 4) a (deleted) cognate object which they assume to be there in the deep structure;
- 5) an unspecified entity which they never explained.

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1. For a full review and a criticism of these views, see A. Ayyub, "Dirasat naqdiyyah finnahw al-arabi" (Critical Studies in Arabic Grammar), Vol. I, Cairo, 1975, pp. 244-66. See also S.M. El-Sheikh, "A Linguistic Analysis of Some Syntactic and Semantic Problems of English-Arabic Translation" ... op.cit., pp. 165-67.

In the view of the present writer, possibility (3) (the complement of the preposition) is the only reasonable and practical one, provided passivizability is dealt with at clause level. In other words, for a sentence involving a one-place verb plus a prepositional group, the Head noun of the prepositional group concerned is the only appropriate candidate for a passive subject. The rest of the possibilities, to say the least, are nonsensical and divorced from everyday usage.

Two examples from SA contrasted with their ECA counterparts will be sufficient to prove the descriptive inadequacy of traditional Arabic linguistics as to the question of which part of a clause involving an intransitive should be the passive subject.

SA

1) /ni:ma (nawmu) fi-lhugrati/

Lit. 'Sleep was slept in the room.'

2) /xuriga (l-xuru:ju) fi-SSabhi/

Lit. 'The going was gone out in the morning.'

ECA

1) /?il-hugrah itna:m fi:ha/

'The room was slept in.'

2) \*/?iSSubh itxarag fi:h/ (not possible)

The colloquial examples raise no problem; the head noun of the place adjunct concerned fills the slot of

the subject, whereas that of time does not.

It is the SA examples which cause all the trouble and are difficult to understand. In more concrete terms, the bracketed elements in the SA examples represent the fourth possibility above, i.e. the passive subject is assumed to be the deleted cognate object of the verbs involved (na:m → nawmun; xaraja → xuru:jun). The baffling question which is never answered by Arab grammarians is this: how can a deleted cognate object function as a passive subject? Besides, even if we believe such nonsense as they want us to, how can we account for the occurrence of /nawm/ 'sleep' or /xuru:g/ 'going out' as passive or active subjects of verbs cognately related to them. Sentences like the following are impossible to occur since the verbs which they contain require animate subjects:

\* /?il-xuru:g xarag/

\* /?inno:m na:m/

In view of what has preceded, it becomes obvious that the confused picture presented by Arab grammarians on the passivization of intransitive verbs is accounted for, largely, by two factors: (i) lack of due consideration for the unit clause in its entirety, and (ii) preoccupation with morphology as such.

It becomes equally obvious that whereas in English, for instance, one can safely assume that passivization is largely determined by transitivity in the

traditional sense of the term, in Arabic it may or may not be so determined. To put it in traditional terms again, the majority of intransitive verbs in ECA do not bear only the "active category"; like transitive ones, they bear active and passive categories under storable conditions.

### Type (2)

As was noted at the beginning of this section, Type (2) clauses are the causative analogues of Type (1). As an illustration, consider:

- /8ali ?a8ad 8akkursi Type (1)  
'Ali sat on the chair.'
- /8ali ?a88ad sayyid 8akkursi/ Type (2)  
'Ali caused Sayyid to sit on the chair.'

Contrasting Type (1) described above with Type (2) examined under this heading we note that:

- a) In common with Type (1) clauses, Type (2) do not exhibit a "maf8u:l form".
- b) Whereas the key feature of Type (1) is that it has as its passive subject the Head Noun of the prepositional group which functions as a circumstantial element in the operative version, Type (2) allows the only other participant associable with the process (i.e. the actor) to function as the passive subject.

c) Type (2) does not normally occur with a spatial-locative acting as its passive subject. The qualification 'normally' is significant in this regard since, grammatically, there is nothing wrong with a locative filling the passive subject slot.

For instance, given the operative sentence /8ali ?a88ad sayyid 8akkursi/ 'Ali caused Sayyid to sit on the chair', one could have two potential Receptive analogues:

1) /sayyid it?a88ad 8akkursi/

'Sayyid was caused to sit on the chair.'

2) /?ikkursi ?it?a88ad 8ale:h sayyid/

Lit.'The chair Sayyid was caused to sit on it.'

But the particularly important point is that, while the first possibility represents the norm in ECA in connection with this clause type, the second is less natural, and, at the same time, far less frequent in terms of usage. In the latter case (i.e. possibility 2) the speaker/writer may use, consciously or unconsciously, the thematically determined option available to operative sentences as for example:

- /?ikkursi sayyid ?a8ad 8ale:h/

Lit. 'The chair Sayyid sat on it.'

where the nominal part of the prepositional group (i.e. "?ikkursi", 'the chair') is thematized, and the voice of the

verb at P (?a88ad) remains active. (See Section 4 below, "Voice and Thematization".)

Following are more examples representing Type (2):

- 1a) /?il-falla:h massa ?il-huma:r il-8ayya:n filge:T/  
'The farmer walked the sick donkey in the field.'
- 1b) /?il-huma:r il-8ayya:n itmassa filge:T/  
'The sick donkey was walked in the field.'
- 2a) /?il-8askari nayyim il-mugrim 8alarD/  
'The soldier made the criminal sleep on the floor.'
- 2b) /?il-mugrim itnayyim 8alarD/  
'The criminal was made to sleep on the floor.'
- 3a) /?idda:da ?a88adat il-walad 8akkursi il-hazza:z/  
'The maid made the boy sit on the rocking chair.'
- 3b) /?il-walad it?a88id 8akkursi ilhazza:z/  
'The boy was made to sit on the rocking chair.'
- 4a) /?idda:da ?awwamit il-walad missiri:r/  
'The maid made the boy get up from bed.'
- 4b) /?il-walad it?awwim missiri:r/  
'The boy was made to get up from bed.'

Note that in the Operative sentences marked (a), the underlined elements are the exponents of the subject/initiator, and the complement/actor respectively; whereas in those marked (b) the underlined elements are exponents of the passive subject/actor.

However, there are some cases where the passive verb in a Type (2) sentence contains highly specialized

senses within its semantic spectrum. In other words, though it has, morphologically speaking, a wholly predictable word-pattern; semantically, it does not show one-to-one correspondence with the active verb to which it is relatable. These cases are in fact very few in number in my material. They include the following:

- 1) /ʕali itxarrag min gamʕit il-qa:hira/  
 'Ali graduated (lit. was graduated) from Cairo University.'
- 2) /ʔil-be:ʕa itwaʔʔafit ʕala xamsa gine:h/  
 'The bargain was not completed (lit. was stopped) because of five pounds.'
- 3) /ʔil-ʕamaliyya il-harbiyya itwaʔʔafit ʕaTTaxTi:  
 issali:m/  
 'The military operation depended upon the proper planning.'
- 4) /sayyid itdaxxal filmtiha:n/  
 'Sayyid interfered with the (progress of) the examination.'

In respect of the voice of the verbal group at P, the passive verbs underlined (i.e. /itxarrag/, /itwaʔʔif/, /itdaxxal/) are all in binary formal opposition with their corresponding active analogues (i.e. /xarrag/, /waʔʔaf/, /daxxal/). Nevertheless, we find that, apart from their fundamental semantic value, the passive verbs concerned are used to convey additional meanings. In actual fact, these verbs are mostly commonly used to carry the additional

rather than the fundamental meaning. For a foreigner the circumstances of the linguistic context are to be regarded as the crucial factor in determining which is which. To put it differently, the form v. meaning of passive verbs occurring in Type (2) sentences like those presented above may or may not coincide. Meaning, generally speaking, depends on the pattern of distribution in the language under study to the extent that "grammatical meanings" are determined by their interrelations in the systems set up for that language."<sup>1</sup>

(iii) Non-passivizable Clause Types

In the two previous sections, we examined classes of clauses marked by the existence of passivizable verbs. An attempt is here made to bring into focus two specific classes of clauses. The first is the one characterized by the occurrence of a verb which does not allow passivization, whereas the second class includes those clauses which contain no verbs at all, i.e. what is normally referred to by Arab grammarians as "nominal sentences".

For the sake of consistency, the same procedure adopted in the preceding sections will be followed here, i.e. clauses where non-passivizable verbs are involved will be referred to as Type 1(a) and (b), whereas the

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1. J.R. Firth, "A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory", in "Studies in Linguistic Analysis", O.U.P., 1957.

other class be referred to as Type (2).

Later on in the section, under the heading, "Constraints on Passivization", restrictions on the operation of the system operative/receptive will be considered.

Type 1(a) and (b)

The class of clauses subsumed under this type was examined in Chapter XI above in relation to the system reciprocal/non-reciprocal. Among other things, the description has shown that for a clause to qualify as Reciprocal it should satisfy one main condition, namely, the verb concerned should be morphologically relatable to Form III (e.g. "sa:kil", 'to fight with') or Form VI (e.g. "itsa:kil", 'to fight with') verbs. These verbs were designated - semantically and syntactically - as indicative of reciprocity. (For verbs so characterized morphologically, but involving no reciprocity component, see the subsection headed, "Non-reciprocal Form III verbs, Chapter XI.)

As a brief illustration, consider the two sets of examples given below which represent what is referred to here as Type 1(a) and (b).

Set I

- 1) /8e:lit sayyid ha:rbit 8e:lit ibra:hi:m/      Type 1(a)  
     'Sayyid's tribe fought with Ibrahim's.'

2) /ʔibn il-ganayni ra:sil bint il-ʔami:r/

'The gardener's son corresponded with the prince's  
daughter.'

3) /ʔizzibu:n itsa:kil ma8 issawwa:ʔ/

'The customer fought with the driver.'

Set II

1) /8e:lit sayyid itha:rbit ma8 8e:lit ibra:hi:m/ Type 1(b)

'Sayyid's tribe fought with Ibrahim's.'

2) /ʔibn il-ganayni itra:sil ma8 bint il-ʔami:r/

'The gardener's son corresponded with the prince's  
daughter.'

Looking at the examples furnished above, we find that, syntactically, they display two distinct structures.

Structure (1)

Subject + Predicator (Form III verb) + complement

Structure (2)

Subject + Predicator (Form VI verb) + ma8 + complement

Where the prepositional particle "ma8", 'with' in (2) always precedes the complement. This is tantamount to saying that both structures are overtly marked by the existence of these two specific verb classes. As mentioned in Chapter XI, the NPs which fill the subject and the complement slot in sentences like 1-3 are reversible without changing the meaning, the process, the voice, or the participant functions (i.e. actor I and actor II) involved in a

Reciprocal clause. This is mainly accounted for by the very nature of the reciprocal verb in ECA.

Another concomitant characteristic of the sentences in Set II is that the prefix "it-" (as in "itra:sil", "itha:rib" ... etc.) does not function as a passive marker as is the case with other clause types. Rather, it constitutes an integral part of the morphological shape of the verb.

What is of immediate concern to us in this section is this: that to the speaker in ECA Reciprocal sentences are always active in form and meaning, i.e. the system operative/receptive does not operate for them. In other words, reciprocal verbs in ECA bear only the active category like the majority of intransitive verbs in English. In this connection, it should be recalled that the same class of verbs bear both the active and passive categories in SA (see the introduction to Chapter XI for more on this point).

### Type (2)

Under this heading we propose to enumerate, rather than discuss in detail, the class of clauses which have the common characteristic of typically occurring without a verb, specifically in the so-called unmarked tenses (i.e. the present or general). (For a detailed discussion of these clauses, see Chapter VIII, "Relational Clauses".)

The case being so, it logically follows that these sentences do not have a voice system; the main reason for

this is that the active/passive distinction is realized in the verbal group which is not available to them. As a brief illustration, consider:

- 1) /8ali ɡani/  
'Ali is rich.'
- 2) /8ali huwwa inna:ʔib il-8a:m/  
'Ali is the general attorney.'
- 3) /ʔil-8umda fiDDuwwa:r/  
'The mayor is at his big home.'
- 4) /ʔissagga:la 8andaha fusta:n gidi:d/  
'The female servant has a new dress.'
- 5) /ʔil-mudi:r luh 8arabiyya gami:la/  
'The manager has a pretty car.'

Clauses like those presented above were designated in Chapter VIII as belonging to the Relational class of clauses. A more delicate description has shown that they fall into similar, though quite distinct, subtypes. For instance, sentence (1) is an Ascriptive sentence while sentence (2) is an Equative one. The predicate in the first sentence has a classificatory function; in the second it has an identificatory function. Furthermore, sentence (1) does not allow a reversal of the sequence of the two elements involved, whereas sentence (a) does. Sentence (3) is circumstantial, while (4) and (5) are possessive.

What is relevant to our present purpose is that sentences like 1-5 have a common denominator that binds

them together, namely, the non-operation of the system under discussion.

This very situation (i.e. the non-operation of the system concerned) exists also in the presence of a verb like "ka:n" 'to be' which occurs as a bearer of tense-marking.

#### Constraints on the system operative/receptive

In view of what has preceded, it becomes obvious that there exist more restrictions on verbs occurring in the passive than in the active. It is equally obvious that constraints on the passivization of intransitive verbs are by far less than those imposed on, say, their English counterparts. Under this heading, certain types of restrictions on the operation of the system operative/receptive will be individually dealt with. They occur in the following cases:

(I) The absence of a circumstantial element of place. This constraint concerns Descriptive clauses (those referred to as Type (1), Section II above) which do not have a place adjunct in their structural configuration. In clearer terms, though the verb involved, on its own, may be passivized, the clause does not. This is accounted for by the absence of the element on which the "passive" operates. On this basis, a sentence like /?ilbint ?a8adit 8alhaSi:ra/ 'The girl sat on the mat' may display the distinction operative/receptive only in the presence of (8alhaSi:ra).

(II) The existence of a 'cognate' range-element in the object position. The restriction on passivization imposed by the occurrence of this element concerns all clause types, regardless of the function<sup>1</sup> attributable to the cognate element, or the process type involved. So, the underlined 'cognate' range-elements in sentences 1-5 below represent a constraint on passivization:

1) /?inna:s misyu masy sari:8/

Lit. 'The people walked a quick walk.'

2) /?ilasad daxal daxla muxi:fa/

Lit. 'The lion entered a fearful entry.'

3) /?iDDe:f ?a8ad ?a8da Tawi:la)

Lit. 'The guest sat a long sitting.'

4) /?ilfari:? fa:z fo:z gabba:r/

Lit. 'The team won a good win.'

5) /8ali istara sarwite:n/

Lit. 'Ali bought buys.'

Note that the underlined elements have no participant status as such; rather they have the status of carriers for further modification of the process indicated by the verbs concerned.

(III) The occurrence of specific verbal elements before the main verb involved. These include:

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1. See the section headed 'The Function of the Range Element', Chapter 4.

- a) /xalla/ 'to cause to, to make to', the marker of morphological (or analytic) causation;
- b) /ʔa8ad/ 'to continue, to keep on', the marker of the continuous tense.

This means that whenever the above-mentioned verbs occur before the main verb concerned - the first in its capacity as a causativizer, the second as a tense-marker - they block the potential passive transform.

This is illustrated by comparing sentences occurring with and without those two markers (the asterisk represents the unacceptable analogues).

Operative	Receptive
1) /sayyid katab iggawa:b/ 'Sayyid wrote the letter' 2) /sayyid <u>xalla</u> 8ali yiktib iggawa:b/ 'Sayyid made Ali write the letter.' 3) /sayyid <u>ʔa8ad</u> yiktib iggawa:b sa:8a/ 'Sayyid kept on writing the letter for an hour.	/ʔiggawa:b itkatab/ 'The letter was written.' * /ʔiggawa:b itxalla yitkitib/ * /ʔiggawa:b itʔa8ad yitkitib sa8a/
1) /8ali na:m 8assiri:r/ 'Ali slept on the bed.' 2) /8ali <u>xalla</u> sayyid yina:m 8assiri:r/	/ʔissiri:r itna:m 8ale:h/ 'The bed was slept on.' * /ʔissiri:r itxalla yitna:m 8ale:h/

Operative	Receptive
<p>'Ali made Sayyid sleep on the bed.'</p> <p>3) /8ali ?a8ad yina:m 8assiri:r il-makSu:r sanah/</p> <p>'Ali continued to sleep on the broken bed for one year.'</p>	<p>*/?issiri:r it?a8ad yitna:m 8ale:h .../</p>

(IV) Finally, co-reference between the subject and the complement. This constraint is realized by the occurrence in the object position of an element which has in its structure a reflexive, a reciprocal, or a possessive pronoun.

So, sentences such as the following do not have Receptive analogues:

- 1) /sayyida sa:fit nafsaha filmiraya/ (reflexive pronoun)  
'Sayyida saw herself in the mirror.'
- 2) /?il8aSkar ma8afu:s ba8D<sup>1</sup> fiDDalma/ (reciprocal pronoun)  
'The soldiers could not see each other in the darkness.'
- 3) /?il8iya:l Darabu ba8D 8ala hittit halawa/ (reciprocal pronoun)  
'The boys hit each other because of a piece of sweet.'
- 4) /?ilwalad gasal ide:h ba8d ma:ka1/ (possessive pronoun)  
'The boy washed his hands after eating.'

1. This pronoun may also be followed by the object pronoun e.g. /ba8Duhum/. Both exponents are equally used.

- 5) /ʔilfalla:h masah rigne:h/ (possessive pronoun)  
 'The farmer rubbed his legs.'

The underlined elements are exponents of reflexive, reciprocal, and possessive pronouns.

### Conclusion

Summing up, we may emphasize again that, among other things, the foregoing account of the voice system in ECA has shown that, under storable circumstances, the potential 'passive transform' is possible only with Extensive Clauses, Effective and Descriptive alike (sections 1 and 2 above); but it is not possible with Relational (Intensive) or Reciprocal ones (section 3).

It has also become evident that, though agent-oriented in principle, ECA Receptive clauses tend to occur without specifying the agent in their surface syntax. However, the agent, when the circumstances of the context require one, is normally introduced by more than one preposition depending upon the collocational relationship holding between the given verb and the preposition. That is to say, agents in ECA are more lexically than grammatically determined.

Finally, we include, by way of recapitulation, the following tables which give examples of the classes of clauses previously dealt with in relation to their potential 'voice transform'.

Ex. Eff. Clauses

Clause type	Operative	Receptive
Type (1)	a) 8ali garah sayyid 'Ali wounded Sayyid.'	sayyid ingarah/magru:h 'Sayyid was/has been wounded'
	b) ?innagga:r ?aTTam ilxasab 'The carpenter broke the wood into many pieces.'	?ilxasab it?aTTam/mit?aTTam 'The wood was/has been broken into many pieces.'
Type (2)	a) 8ali sayyil sayyid ilxasab 'Ali made Sayyid carry the wood.'	?ilxasab itsayyil/mitsayyil 'The wood was/has been made to be carried.'
	b) ra?i:s il8amal manah ahsan 8a:mil mukf?ah 'The boss gave the best worker a prize.'	?ahsan 8a:mil itmanah/mamnu:h mukf?ah 'The best worker was/has been given a prize.'

Ex. Des. Clauses

Clause type	Operative	Receptive
Type (1)	?ilbawwa:b na:m 8akkanaba 'The porter slept on the sofa.'	?ikkanaba itna:m 8ale:ha 'The sofa was slept on.'

Clause Type	Operative	Receptive
Type (2)	?issaggala nayyimit ilwa:d 8akkanaba 'The maid made the boy sleep on the sofa.'	-?ilwa:d itnayyim 8akkanaba 'The boy was made to sleep on the sofa.' -?ikkanaba itnayyim 8ale:h ilwa:d 'The sofa the boy was made to sleep on.'

Non-passivizable Clauses

Clause type	Operative	Receptive
Type (1)	a) 8ali ra:sil sayyid 'Ali corresponded with Sayyid.'	---
	b) 8ali itra:sil ma8 sayyid 'Ali corresponded with Sayyid.'	---
Type (2)	sayyida gami:la 'Sayyida <u>is</u> pretty.'	---
	sayyida hiyya ra?i:sit il8amal 'Sayyida <u>is</u> the female boss.'	---
	sayyida 8andaha fusta:n gami:l 'Sayyida <u>has</u> a pretty dress.'	---
	sayyida filbe:t 'Sayyida <u>is</u> at home.'	---

(iv) Voice and ThematizationIntroductory

In the preceding sections of this chapter, we gave an account of ECA clause types in relation to the system operative/receptive. Within this section we will look into the relation between voice and thematization. In other words, the description here centres around that area of grammar where the experiential and the discursal components of grammar intersect. The object is not to present a full analysis of this area; in Arabic it is a virgin field which needs further research. Rather, the object is two-fold: (a) to pinpoint the inter-relation between passivization and thematization, (b) to bring into focus a distinctive feature of Arabic syntax, i.e. the occurrence of Operative sentences (formally marked by the existence of an active verb) which, via the thematic options available to the language user in ECA, allow the participant functioning as goal, beneficiary, actor ... etc. to be thematized (to occur in theme position). In doing this we will also refer to the situations in which the "passive" is used.

As a starting point, let us consider:

1a) /ʕali ʔaʕad ʕassiri:r/

'Ali sat on the bed.'

1b) /ʔissiri:r itʔaʕad ʕale:h/

'The bed was sat on.'

2a) /sayyid ?a88ad 8ali 8assiri:r/

'Sayyid made Ali sit on the bed.'

2b) /8ali it?a88ad 8assiri:r/

'Ali was made to sit on the bed.'

3a) /8ali katab iggawa:b/

'Ali wrote the letter.'

3b) /?iggawa:b itkatab/

'The letter was written.'

4a) /sayyid kattab 8ali iggawa:b/

'Sayyid made Ali write the letter.'

4b) /?iggawa:b itkattab (li8ali)/

'The letter was made to be written (by Ali).'

In the previous examples we note the following:

(1) The choice of Operative in sentence (1a) has the effect of mapping on to the clause-element 'Ali' two functions, i.e. subject and actor. In (2a), the same option (in the environment of a Causative sentence) is correlated with a different effect: it maps on the role of initiator to the subject (i.e. 'Sayyid' is both subject and initiator), while, at the same time, the actor 'Ali' is given an independent status. In other words, when the speaker in ECA opts for 'Operative', he decides either (a) to specify the subject and the actor as one single element, as in sentences like (1a), or (b) to treat the subject and the initiator (not the subject and actor) as one single entity (sentences like (2a)).

Irrespective of the type of process, the same situation in (1a) holds true for (3a), and that in (2a) holds true for (4a) in relation to the elements which fill the subject slot. That is to say, 'Ali' is both subject and actor in (3a), whereas 'Sayyid' is subject and initiator in (4a) respectively.

(2) The choice of Receptive in the sentences marked (b) has a different effect and is determined by more than one factor. For instance, in sentence (1b) it allows a circumstantial element to occupy the subject position, which is normally reserved for a full participant.

Bearing in mind the fact that sentences involving an intransitive verb do not passivize in the absence of a circumstantial element of place, one may conclude that in sentences like (1b) the circumstantial element concerned assumes a status which is more participant-like rather than circumstance-like. Whereas in (2b) the case is different. The process concerned is already associated with two full participants (i.e. in the operative version marked (2a) 'Sayyid' is the initiator and 'Ali' is the actor). With sentences like this one, the choice of 'Receptive' has one main effect, i.e., it allows the actor to become thematic, and hence to occupy the subject position. This phenomenon of thematizing the actor represents a contrast with English where "... the speaker selects the option 'receptive' in the transitivity system in order to take as unmarked theme a nominal having a role other than that of actor ..."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Halliday, "Notes on Transitivity ...", Part II, p. 217.

The point which is relevant to our present purpose is this: that sentences like (2b), which are fundamentally not goal-directed and have in their surface syntax the two separate roles of initiator and actor, allow, when passivized, the actor to be thematic. In the meantime, if the circumstances of the context require the specification of the 'initiator', which is normally optionally deletable in Receptive sentences, the effect of opting for the passive will be: (a) to 'emphasize' the role of the actor as what the clause as a message is about, i.e. as a point of departure for the message; (b) to again 'emphasize' the role of the initiator as the point of new information.

This means that while the actor becomes thematic, via occurring in sentence initial position, the initiator becomes focal within the rheme-part of the sentence, via occupying sentence final position. The term "focal" here means that it carries the unmarked information focus which is normally assigned to the element which appears in sentence final position.

As an illustration, consider:

1) /8ali it?a88ad 8assiri:r/

'Ali was made to sit on the bed.'

2) /8ali it?a88ad 8assiri:r biwaSTit sayyid/

'Ali was made to sit by Sayyid.'

where the specification of the initiator 'Sayyid', which is structurally realized in the form of an adjunct, is

determined by the distribution of information in the clause, i.e. 'Sayyid' is "new" and therefore tonic unless there is contrastive information elsewhere in the clause.

With the sentences in (3b) and (4b) the selection of Receptive has the effect of thematizing the goal of the process involved (the object of the verb). Again, as in the case of the previous example (2b), the potential specification of the person or thing responsible for initiating or causing the action (in Receptive sentences like (3b) and (4b)) is a matter related to the information structure of the clause. In more concrete terms, in a sentence like /?ilbe:t ithadam 8ala i:d il-8umdah/ 'The house was demolished by the mayor' the agentive type of actor (the mayor) will be representing "new" information, by virtue of appearing in sentence-final position in the form of an adjunct. That is to say, "the passive inflection provides a useful device for assigning new to an agent noun".<sup>1</sup>

So far the description has shown that the selection of Receptive on the part of the speaker in ECA is, in a sense, a decision to (1) thematize the circumstantial element (as in sentence (1b)), (2) the actor (as in (2b)), or (3) the goal (as in (3b) and (4b)). In addition to these three possibilities, there is yet a fourth one to be mentioned. This is the possibility of thematizing the beneficiary; a role which typically appears in the surface

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1. See Wallace L. Chafe, "Meaning and the Structure of Language", 1970, p. 221.

syntax of Benefactive clauses (see Chapter XII).

As a brief illustration, consider the following Operative sentence and its two potential Receptive analogues:

Operative

- /8amm sayyid ?addim issay liDDe:f/  
           actor                          goal beneficiary

'Uncle Sayyid offered tea to the guest.'

Receptive

(a) /?idde:f      it?addim luh issay/  
           beneficiary                          goal

'The guest was offered (to him) tea.'

(b) /?issay      it?addim liDDe:f/  
           goal                          beneficiary

'The tea was offered to the guest.'

We notice that in the Receptive version marked (a) the beneficiary is thematized, whereas in (b) it is the goal which is thematic. The difference between both versions is explainable in terms of what the speaker wants to foreground (i.e. to put in theme position), the beneficiary or the goal.

It is necessary to mention in this connection that many linguists assume that the main function of the "passive" in English, and probably in many other languages as well, is to thematize the goal. For instance, Martin Joos regards the passive as no more than "a word order

device ... marked by Be-N to show that its subject is not the actor, and that is all the device means".<sup>1</sup> To Halliday, "... the high frequency of the passive in modern English, again by contrast with other languages having like resources, is related to the thematic organization of the clause and its interaction with other dimensions of structure".<sup>2</sup>

Harold Palmer has yet another reason for opting for the passive voice, that is, "to change the focus of the sentence, or to give it a neater structure or smoother intonation".<sup>3</sup> In making his point, he gives the examples quoted below:

Active: John's sister taught him to swim.

Passive: John was taught to swim by his sister.

Where he argues that in such sentences the passive element allows a "more rhythmical distribution of the stresses and enables the nuclear tone on 'sister' to occupy its normal place at the end of the sentence".<sup>4</sup>

To finish off this discussion, reference will be made to other situations where the passive is used, apart

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1. Martin Joos, "The English Verb, Form and Meanings", The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin (U.S.A.), 1968, p. 96.
  2. Halliday, "Notes on Transitivity ...", Part II, p. 217.
  3. Harold Palmer, "A Grammar of Spoken English", 3rd ed., W. Heffer & Sons Ltd, Cambridge, 1969, p. 322. For a similar view see Jespersen, "Essentials of English Grammar", George Allen and Unwin Ltd, London, 1972, p. 120.
  4. Ibid., p. 322.

from thematizing a certain participant as the actor, beneficiary or goal.

(1) The passive is used when it is incongruous to specify the actor for one reason or another as for instance when the speaker is referring to something which is well-known to the hearer; or when he is speaking of something which constitutes part of the common knowledge, culture, or background shared by both parties involved in the linguistic context, e.g.

- a) /?irruzz biyitziri8 kiti:r fi wagh bahri/  
'Rice is much grown in Lower Egypt.'
- b) /?il?iza:z biyitkisir bisuhula/  
'Glass is easily broken.'
- c) /?ilarD bitithirit kull Se:f/  
'The land is ploughed every summer.'

(2) When the actor is 'majhu:l', 'unknown', as Arab grammarians put it, e.g.

- a) /?irrayis in?atal imba:rih/  
'The President was killed yesterday.'
- b) /?il8arabiyya itsara?at miggira:s/  
'The car was stolen from the garage.'

It should be made clear at this point that traditional Arab grammarians made nonsense of the function of the passive when they stipulated that /?alfa:8il/ 'the



another change in the participant roles and the thematic structure of the given clause.

Note also that the thematized participant in a passive sentence represents "unmarked" theme. This is accounted for by the fact that it is the normal unmarked order of the clause-elements in a passive declarative sentence to have as its subject (theme) some participant other than that which was functioning as subject in the active version (for more on this see below).

### Thematic Structures

Next to be discussed are certain Operative sentences, which, via the thematic<sup>1</sup> options available to ECA, allow the participant in the role of actor, beneficiary, goal ... etc. to acquire the status of 'marked' theme. Further these potential thematic patterns of clause organization allow the language user to convey the idea of passive without changing the voice of the predicator concerned.

This may best be illustrated by considering the exemplifications included in the tables below where both the Operative and the Receptive versions are given, in conjunction with the thematic variations available for each clause type considered. The focus of interest is on

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1. There is certainly a great deal more that can be said about these options and other related matters such as: topic-comment, given-new, marked focus-non-marked focus ... etc. and the surface-mechanisms for expressing them. These are beyond the scope of this section. For more on these ideas, see the last six volumes of the "Proceedings of the Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society".

thematization as "a syntactic mechanism which isolates one of the constituents or 'roles' as 'theme' and brings it into some kind of 'focus' or 'prominence' by shifting it to the initial position".<sup>1</sup> The object is not to describe the theme systems as such, but rather to bring into the picture these thematic structures which are frequently used in ECA to perform the same function of Receptives (i.e. to thematize the goal, beneficiary ... etc.) without passivizing the verb at P (i.e. the verb remains active).

Table 1

Extensive : Descriptive Clause Type

Example	Characterization
1a) /8ali ?a8ad 8akkursi/ 'Ali sat on the chair.'	Operative; subject = actor = unmarked theme; active verb.
1b) /?ikkursi 8ali ?a8ad 8ale:h/ 'The chair Ali sat on (it).'	Operative; subject = a participant-like circumstantial element = marked theme; active verb
1c) /?ikkursi it?a8ad 8ale:h/ 'The chair was sat on.'	receptive; subject = a participant-like circumstantial element = unmarked theme; passive verb.

1. See S.K. Verma, "Remarks on Thematization", Archivum Linguisticum, Number 2, 76.

Table 2

Extensive : Descriptive : Causative Clause Type

Example	Characterization
2a) /8ali ?a88ad sayyida 8akkursi da/ 'Ali made Sayyida sit on this chair.'	operative; subject = initiator = unmarked theme; active verb.
2b) /?ikkursi da 8ali ?a88ad sayyida 8ale:h/ 'This chair Ali made Sayyida sit on (it).'	operative; subject = a parti- cipant-like circumstantial element = marked theme; active verb.
2c) /sayyida it?a88adat 8akkursi da/ 'Sayyida was made to sit on that chair.'	receptive; subject = actor = unmarked theme; passive verb.

Table 3

Extensive : Effective Clause Type

Example	Characterization
3a) /8ali libis iggazma iggidi:da/ 'Ali wore his new shoes.'	operative; subject = actor = unmarked theme; active verb.
3b) /?iggazma iggidi:da 8ali libisha/ 'The new shoes Ali wore.'	operative; subject = goal- marked theme; active verb.
3c) /?iggazma iggidi:da itlabasit/ 'The new shoes were worn.'	receptive; subject = goal = unmarked theme; passive verb.

Table 4

Extensive : Effective : Causative Clause Type

Example	Characterization
4a) /8ali labbis sayyida iggazma iggidi:da/ 'Ali made Sayyida wear the new shoes.'	operative; subject = initiator = unmarked theme; active verb.
4b) /?iggazma iggidi:da 8ali labbisha lisayyida/ 'The new shoes Ali made Sayyida wear.'	operative; subject = goal = marked theme; active verb.

Table 4 continued

Example	Characterization
4c) /sayyida 8ali labbisha iggazma iggidi:da/ 'Sayyida, Ali made her wear the new shoes.'	operative; subject = actor = marked theme; active verb.
4d) /?iggazma iggidi:da itlabbsit/ 'The new shoes were made to be worn.'	receptive; subject = goal = unmarked theme; passive verb.

Table 5Benefactive Clause Type

Example	Characterization
5a) /?irrayyis manah 8ali iggayza il-u:la/ 'The boss offered Ali the first prize.'	operative; subject = actor = unmarked theme; active verb.
5b) /?iggayza il-u:la irrayyis manahha li8ali/ 'The first prize the boss offered to Ali.'	operative; subject = goal = marked theme; active verb.

Table 5 continued

Example	Characterization
5c) /8ali arrayyis manahuh iggayza il-u:la/ 'Ali the boss offered him the first prize.'	operative; subject = beneficiary = marked theme; active verb.
5d) /?iggayza il-u:la itmanahit li8ali/ 'The first prize was offered to Ali.'	receptive; subject = goal = unmarked theme; passive verb.
5e) /8ali itmanahit luh iggayza il-u:la/ 'Ali was offered the first prize.'	receptive; subject = beneficiary = unmarked theme; passive verb.

The exemplifications included in the above tables along with their characterizations make clear a number of points:

(1) In the unmarked, Operative versions (the examples in (a)), we notice that the structural elements SP(C) parallel both the unmarked linearization of participant roles, and the least marked distribution of communicative

dynamism.<sup>1</sup> For instance, in /8ali ?a8ad 8akkursi/, (1a, table 1), the subject (8ali) corresponds to both the semantic role 'actor', and the 'unmarked' theme; while in /8ali ?a88ad sayyida 8akkursi/ (2a, table 2), the subject (8ali) represents the initiator and the unmarked theme (/sayyida/ is the actor).

The same correspondence between the unmarked sequence of clause-elements and the unmarked linearization of participants holds true for the other sentences in (a) (tables 3, 4, and 5), regardless of the type of process.

(2) In the marked, Operative versions, which are characterized by the presence of an active verb, the sequence of the elements SPC does not correspond to the linearization of the participant roles. That is, "the sequence of elements in the clause tends to represent thematic ordering rather than ordering in transitivity of the 'actor - action (- goal)'' type, and this is particularly true of the function of clause-initial position which reflects a division of the clause into 'theme' and 'rheme' with theme always preceding rheme."<sup>2</sup> However, what is particularly important to the point we are making here is that the speaker

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1. The term "communicative dynamism" (CD) is related to the idea that communication usually develops from what is known to the speaker and listener, or what may be inferred from the linguistic context, to what is unknown, to the new information to be conveyed. The term "functional sentence perspective" (FPS) is also used to carry a similar meaning. For more on this, see J. Firbas (1959), "Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the Verb in English, German, and Czech", BSE, 1, pp. 39-63.

2. Halliday, "Notes on Transitivity ...", Part II, p. 205.

in ECA can thematize a specific participant (i.e. make of it a marked theme) without passivizing the verb. In this way, the element filling the subject slot in each sentence realizes a complex of roles/functions which are relatable to different patterns of clause organization. For instance, /?ikkursi/ 'the chair' in 1b (table 1) is the subject/a participant-like circumstance/the marked theme; in 2b (table 2) the same element realizes the same combination of functions. Whereas in 2c /sayyida/ is the Subject/the actor/the unmarked theme, in 3b (table 3) /?iggazma/ functions as the subject/the goal/the marked theme.

In sentence 4 (table 4), there are two options, the first is to thematize the goal, hence it becomes marked theme and subject (4b), the second is to thematize the actor (4c).

As to the Receptive sentences, they all represent the normal, unmarked pattern of organization in terms of the "passive voice"; a correlate of this is that the element which fills the subject position functions as unmarked theme.

(3) The third point to note is that in the marked, operative versions, there is always an object pronoun which co-refers to the thematized participant shifted to the subject position; this pronoun also signals number and gender agreement with the participant concerned. In other words, the anaphoric reference carried by the pronoun acts as a sort of 'cohesive device' which binds together

the components of the clause in ECA, a language which has a comparatively freer word order than, say, English.

It may be noted here that this phenomenon of anaphoric reference is, in the present writer's view, more important for the cohesion of the Arabic sentence, in ECA and SA, than the elaborate system of written case-endings devised by Arab grammarians to mark the syntactic function of clause-elements in SA, regardless of the linear sequence in which they occur. More precisely SA uses both case-endings and anaphoric reference to make thematic structures possible.

Compare the SA examples in (1) and the ECA in (2):

- 1a) /ʔal-jilba:ba labisahu ʕaliyyu/ (marked)  
 'The 'jilba:b' (sort of national dress) Ali wore it.'  
 Lit. 'The jilba:ba wore-it Ali.'
- 1b) /ʔal-jilba:ba ʕaliyyu labisahu/ (marked)  
 'The 'jilba:b' Ali wore it.'
- 1c) /labisa ʕaliyyu al-jilba:ba/ (unmarked)  
 'Ali wore the 'jilba:b'.'  
 Lit. 'Wore Ali the jilba:b.'
- 2a) /ʔiggal'abiyya libisha ʕali/ (marked)  
 'The gallabiyya Ali wore it.'  
 Lit. 'The gallabiyya wore-it Ali.'
- 2b) /ʔiggallabiyya ʕali libisha/ (marked)  
 'The gallabiyya Ali wore it.'
- 3c) /ʕali libis iggallabiyya/ (unmarked)  
 'Ali wore the gallabiyya.'

In the SA marked Operative versions, the case-endings ("a", "u") are markers of the accusative and the nominative case respectively. However, in terms of roles/functions, (?al-jilba:ba) is the marked theme/direct object/the goal of the process; and (8aliyu) is the actor all through. The same qualification applies to the ECA versions, in spite of the absence of case-endings. The point we are making here is this: that it is the anaphoric pronoun (i.e. "hu", sing. masc. in (1); and "ha" sing. fem. in (2)) which refers back to the thematized participant and carries its number-gender, not the case-endings, which is vital to the cohesion, understandability and the structure (be it syntactic, semantic, or thematic) of the sentence. This raises doubt as to the role assigned to case-endings, and their importance in Arabic syntax.<sup>1</sup>

(4) The preceding analysis confirms that "thematic" does not by necessity mean "emphatic".<sup>2</sup> This is borne out by the fact that in the Receptive clauses given above the subject (the unmarked theme) is not "emphatic"; rather it is a neutral, primary theme, conditioned by the normal order of elements in the environment of "passive".

For a theme to be emphatic in ECA, it should satisfy the following requirements: (a) it should be marked

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1. For such an unorthodox view on case-endings, see Anis who assumes that word-endings in Arabic are no more than "anaptyctic vowel", or "Sandhi Phenomena". Ibrahim Anis, "Min ?asra:r al-luga", (The Secrets of the Arabic Language), The Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo, 1958, p. 235.

2. See Verma, "Remarks on Thematization ...", op.cit.

positionally (i.e. by non-normal fronting), (b) phonologically (by representing one separate information unit followed by a 'pause' in normal speech, (c) anaphorically (by an object pronoun which agrees with the marked theme in its number and gender).

### Conclusion

In discussing the systems "operative/receptive" and "active/passive", which operate at the rank of the clause and the verb respectively, reference was made to certain thematic variations which the speaker in ECA has recourse to when he wants to thematize a certain participant in the absence of a passive verb.

In so doing, we touched upon other choices which interact within the domain of the clause. As Halliday puts it, "all syntactic options occur in the environment of other options, and the discussion of any one system is likely to require frequent reference to other systems having the same point of origin".<sup>1</sup>

There remains to say that if we adopt the Hallidayan view that grammar is "the weaving together of strands from the various components of meaning into a single fabric that we call linguistic structure",<sup>2</sup> then, we must admit that further research is needed to investigate that area of

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1. Halliday, "Notes on Transitivity ...", Part II, p. 215.

2. Halliday, "Functional diversity in language, as seen from a consideration of modality and mood in English", Foundations of Language, 6, 1970.

grammar covered by the general label theme systems (i.e. thematization, information, and identification).

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