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Routledge Comprehensive Grammars

Modern Written Arabic

A Comprehensive Grammar

Elsaid Badawi, Michael G. Carter and Adrian Gully. *Revised by* Maher Awad

ROUTLEDGE

Modern Written Arabic

A Comprehensive Grammar

Modern Written Arabic: A Comprehensive Grammar is a complete reference guide to the grammar of Modern Written Arabic.

The Grammar presents an accessible and systematic description of the language, focusing on real patterns of use in contemporary written Arabic. Data is taken from actual written Arabic, both literary and non-literary, observed or published since 1990. Sources range from street signs to high literature.

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- Comprehensive coverage of all parts of speech and syntactic constructions
- Full cross-referencing
- Authentic examples, given in Arabic script, transliteration and translation
- Detailed indexes in English and Arabic, and glossary

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Modern Written Arabic

A Comprehensive Grammar

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†Elsaid Badawi, Michael G. Carter and Adrian Gully

Revised by Maher Awad

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Not everything in this book represents the unanimously felt beliefs of every contributor: the three of us often argued at length about presentation and interpretation, but the result is coherent, we hope, and at least as homogeneous as a *salade niçoise*, if not a finely chopped tabbouleh.

With this in mind, the authors are listed on the cover in simple alphabetical order with no implications for the part played by the contributors individually. However, although the three authors of this work consider each other's contribution to be equally invaluable, they have agreed to acknowledge that the initial drafting of the text was compiled mainly by Carter and Gully.

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Abbreviations

abs.	absolute
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
ag.	agent
agr.	agreement
apoc.	apocopate
apod.	apodosis
ar.	archaic
art.	article
attrib.	attributive
C	Cantarino
CA	Classical Arabic
cat.	categorical
cf.	compare
circ. qual.	circumstantial qualifier
comp.	complement
compar.	comparative
cond.	conditional
conj.	conjunction
def.	definite
dem.	demonstrative
dep.	dependent
dim.	diminutive
dir.	direct
ellipt.	elliptical
f.	feminine
fem.	feminine
fut.	future
imperat.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
indef.	indefinite
indep.	independent
indir.	indirect
interrog.	interrogative
intrans.	intransitive
lit.	literally
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
masc.	masculine
med.	medial
misc.	miscellaneous
MLA	Modern Literary Arabic
MWA	Modern Written Arabic
neg.	negative
nom.	nominal
obj.	object
obl.	oblique
part.	participle
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pers.	personal
pl.	plural
plur.	plural
pred.	predicative/predicate
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
qual.	qualifier
rel.	relative
sep.	separation
sing.	singular
spec.	specification/specifying
sub.	subordinate
subj.	subject
superl.	superlative
trans.	transitive
v.	versus
voc.	vocative
W5	Wehr 5th edition

Transliteration system

CONSONANTS

ء = ’
ب = b
ت = t
ث = ṯ
ج = j
ح = ḥ
خ = ḫ
د = d
ذ = ḏ
ر = r
ز = z
س = s
ش = š
ص = ṣ
ض = ḍ
ط = ṭ
ظ = ẓ
ع = ‘
غ = ġ
ف = f
ق = q
ك = k
ل = l
م = m
ن = n
ه = h
و = w
ي = y
ة = a (in construct state: at)
ال = the article al- or -l-

VOWELS

Long ا or ى = ā
و = ū
ي = ī
◌َ = a
◌ُ = u
◌ِ = i
◌َو = aw
◌َي = ay

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Introduction

Readership

The book is aimed at four kinds of reader. The first is the student of Arabic at a relatively advanced level who is looking for a conveniently classified repertoire of forms and constructions. It is not a pedagogical work in itself, but a supplement to a teaching grammar or language course: it can profitably be consulted, for example, for details of the actual use of subordinating conjunctions or the different patterns of negation, extending the token (and usually made-up) specimens in the textbooks.

The second type of reader is the specialist in Arabic linguistics, who needs data on which to base theories about Arabic, or to support or refute existing theories, such as the different interpretations of the copula, conditional syntax, and so on. Here a good knowledge of both Arabic and linguistics is presupposed.

Another category of Arabist reader is the historian of the language, who will find in this work a relatively narrow tranche of material reflecting the current state of the language in some detail. To give this aspect of the book more depth, there are cross-references to Cantarino's *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose* (but see p. 4).

Finally, the work is designed to be accessible to general linguists with no knowledge of Arabic. For them, this book will provide the kind of information which would be relevant to comparative studies, for example, questions of word order, agreement, predication, tense and aspect, and so on.

Issues of definition

Chronologically, the range is rather narrow, as all the data were found in texts appearing from 1990. This is an arbitrary date, to be sure, but the intention is to provide a highly focused snapshot of Arabic as it was being written at the end of the twentieth century. It happened occasionally that a particularly fruitful source of examples turned out to have been a reissue of something first published a decade or two before 1990. What to do? We consulted our consciences, sighed deeply, and left the material in.

Geographically, the data are taken from publications from the entire Arab world, though with an inevitable imbalance. Fortunately, the written varieties of Arabic have not diverged as far from each other as the spoken, and the syntax and morphology seem to be relatively consistent throughout the Arabic-speaking world. A reader may well recognize the 'nationality' of a text, but mostly through lexical indicators (cf. **12.1.3**), rather as varieties of English reveal themselves more clearly in vocabulary and spelling than in differences in syntax.

It is far too early to tell whether Modern Written Arabic (MWA) will ever break up into discrete languages reflecting the extreme variations in the spoken forms, but if it ever happens, this book may serve as a record of the state of Arabic before the fission.

Principles of the book

The language described in this work is Modern Written Arabic (MWA), in theory everything written in Arabic from graffiti to high literature (but excluding poetry as being artificial and often archaic), which is why another possible name for the language, Modern Literary Arabic (MLA), was rejected as being too narrow. The term MWA was also chosen to avoid such ill-defined labels as 'Modern Standard Arabic' (whatever that may be). However, it does assume that a writer is genuinely attempting to write correctly in the modern equivalent of Classical Arabic (CA), the language defined by the medieval grammarians and in principle still the norm for the Arab Academies in making their decisions about MWA.

Naturally, we do not regard everything written in Arabic as MWA: pure colloquialisms and written-down speech have been excluded. An exception is the reports of interviews in which the dialogue has consciously been converted into MWA, that is, a strictly CA morphology and syntax. This

has been accepted as evidence on the grounds that the Arabic is seriously intended to conform to the rules of the written language, and the resulting document is not, therefore, a mere transcript of colloquial discourse, however unnatural it ultimately is. Under this heading, drama scripts intended to be declaimed as Classical dialogue would also qualify for inclusion, but there is probably nothing in this book which has been taken from such a source, though occasional reference is made to written material heard in the form of broadcasts, such as news bulletins, read out from texts.

When colloquialisms do creep in, they can be rather obvious, for example, the spelling *maʿānā* معانا 'with us' instead of CA *maʿana* معنا, although the rest of the sentence in which this occurred was perfectly good MWA. A phrase such as ثلاثة هداف 'three goals' (in a football score, and assuming it is not a spelling mistake) offers another example: it should have been ثلاثة أهداف *ṯalāṯatu ʾahdāfin*, but exhibits a non-existent plural **hidāf*, perhaps because it is a re-analysis of the colloquial *tala t-ihdāf*, where the feminine *-t* suffix of the numeral becomes prefixed to the following noun. When written down, this detached *-t* suffix of the numeral became prefixed to the following noun. It was correctly restored to the numeral but the spelling of the noun remained unaltered, the result still closely reflecting the original colloquial pronunciation.

Obvious mistakes have also been excluded, such as *ṣāniʿū al-sajjād* صانعوا السجاد for 'the makers of prayer-mats' (the correct form is صانعو السجاد, without the extra final letter found only in the verbal suffix وا), or *lam taʿtād* لم تعتاد, for which either *lā taʿtādu* لا تعتاد 'she is not accustomed' or *lam taʿtad* لم تعتد 'she was not accustomed' would be correct.

Clearly, there are many important differences between CA and MWA, and this work will try to signal as often as it can the more obvious divergences from the classical norm, without invoking notions of decay, error, decline and all the other purist reactions which greet the process of linguistic change. The differences exist, and we hope to identify them: how much they become part of a new 'Standard' literary Arabic is not a linguistic question at all and cannot be considered in this book. Many are listed under 'Innovations' in the index, with the reservation that the list is neither complete, nor does it claim that the innovations are all very recent: some, in fact, are already observable in medieval Arabic, for example, the now very productive *nisba* ending وي *-awī* (see **12.3**).

MWA also reveals an enormous influence – lexical, syntactic and stylistic – from Western languages: as is well known, for example, journalistic Arabic

often consists of material hastily translated from English or French press agencies. It would be difficult to separate the numerous calques and imitations of Western expressions from those features, which do seem to represent spontaneous linguistic change. Where it seems obvious that a calque exists, this will be pointed out, but we have probably erred on the side of caution, not least because many apparently innovative features of MWA turn out to be based on ancient CA models.

Since this is probably one of the last works on this scale to be written at a time when the status of MWA is still volatile, we shall always present the data in its purest *fuṣḥā* form (e.g. *ḫamsumi'a*, not *ḫumsumi'a* for '500', *wa-ttaḫaḍa* not *wa-'ittaḫaḍa* etc.) and leave open the question of whether they have already been definitively replaced by the newer conventions of reading aloud. Pure *fuṣḥā* is now restricted to a very narrow range of contexts, but as long as it remains the ideal, it must be respected.

Finally, there is no stylistic evaluation here: certainly not everything in this work can be recommended as a model to be copied, but it is not the task of this grammar to influence the style of anyone who wishes to write Arabic.

Data, sources and principles of selection

As already indicated, all material is post-1990, and as far as possible every item of data in this work has been taken from written, invariably public sources. For practical reasons these are largely Egyptian and Gulfi, with a sprinkling of Lebanese, Syrian, Yemeni, Maghribi and Iraqi texts, but we feel confident that the resulting material is neither immoderately biased towards those two Arab regions nor unrepresentative of usage throughout the whole area.

Since the harvesting of data was carried out in a totally random way, by reading as broad a selection of texts as possible, from bus tickets to high literature, this is not a corpus-based grammar. Moreover, the logic of a corpus-based grammar requires that missing items are deemed non-existent, which the educated Arab will not wish to concede. Accordingly, on the rare occasions where evidence of a construction could not be found in published sources, data have been drawn from the personal written usage of our Egyptian co-author: the proportion of such material is very small indeed, and its authenticity is assured by the contributor's combination of traditional and contemporary linguistic and literary competence.

An exception has been made for purely lexical material, where for convenience Wehr and other dictionaries have been used to supplement the found data for orthography (see **Chapter 1**) and neologisms (see **Chapter 12**).

Relationship to other works

The debt to Cantarino will be obvious: his *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose* is the largest and most systematically classified anthology of material available to date and was a major inspiration in the arrangement of the present work. Detailed cross-references to Cantarino (thus ▷C1:13 = vol. 1, p. 13) are given, first to allow comparison with the state of MWA at an earlier stage (effectively the first half of the twentieth century), and, second, to offer an alternative analytical approach to the same kind of data.

The following reservations and caveats are important: all Cantarino's material is taken from literary sources, and it therefore represents a very narrow corpus, which is likely to be exceedingly conservative: many constructions are listed which are now very hard to find in MWA as we have defined it, and must certainly be regarded as archaisms or even as obsolete. However, the literary continuum available to an Arab writer is broad and deep, and where a construction noted by Cantarino has not been found in our data, it will still be listed, because there is no proof that it is extinct, for example, the *'in al-muḫaffafa* (see **3.2.1.1**).

Cantarino's grammatical analysis is sometimes unconvincing, being often idiosyncratic and always Eurocentric: one has the impression that the Arabic has first been translated and then analysed according to the parsing of the resulting English. We have felt free to ignore his interpretations whenever they seemed irrelevant or mistaken, but there is no point in engaging in a polemic here, so the reader who follows up a reference to Cantarino may well find that the data are differently analysed or even appear in a different category from the one expected.

Cantarino's own goal was to deal purely with syntax, and so there is little opportunity for cross-references in our early chapters. Moreover, there are differences in the relative weight given there and here to the topics. Finally, there will be potential cross-references which have escaped our notice, largely due to the inadequacies of Cantarino's index, but also because in some cases the topic lies hidden in some larger section. The absence of a cross-reference therefore does not mean that Cantarino failed to deal with the item.

This having been said, we are happy to admit that it has been a constant challenge to match the comprehensiveness of Cantarino's data and the delicacy of some of his perceptions. Future descriptive grammars will rest, of course, on large, electronically gathered and processed corpora, with the possibility for realistic statements about frequency, register and genre, but until then the work of Cantarino must be acknowledged for the pioneering achievement that it was.

It might have been desirable, for those wishing to compare MWA with CA, to provide cross-references to Wright also, but in the end this task was not undertaken, partly out of exhaustion and partly because Wright is well enough indexed to cause the reader few problems. The Bibliography offers some guidance on this and the other standard sources of classified data for CA, namely Reckendorf (1967) and Fleisch (1979). El-Ayoubi and others (2001–2010) follow the same principles as the present work and in considerably more detail. However, since the data are presented in untransliterated Arabic script with German translation only, the usefulness of the collection is limited.

Transliteration

Since this is a grammatical work, the data must be transliterated into complete CA morphology (*fuṣḥā*) with all junctural features even in utterance-final position, regardless of the possible MWA reading. The only exceptions will be cases where the modern practice is of reading *fuṣḥā* in pausal form (i.e. with reduced or elided inflections) or in such highly restricted cases as the type *kufta baġdādī* كفتة بغدادي 'Baghdad-style kufta', with invariable adjective (see **2.1.1.5**), where an exact CA realization '*kuftatun baġdādiyyun*' seems pedantic.

If the inflectional vowel is uncertain, it will be enclosed in [ ] in the transliteration, for example, *fa-yarjiʿ[u]*, or sometimes left as # if an authentic CA case ending cannot be determined, usually in situations where no one ever would supply a vowel anyway, for example, with some numerals (cf. **2.12**).

Proper names are a real problem: they have been inconsistently transliterated in this work because modern names are not usually inflected, whereas CA names may be inflected or not, according to the writer's own standards.

The definite article will always be transliterated with *l* regardless of its assimilation ('sun letters'), and the juncture (*waṣla*) vowel will be placed,

hyphenated, on the previous consonant, for example, *min-a l-rajuli* من الرجل 'from the man' not *min al-rajuli*. An exception is the definite article on the derived stems, for example, الانتخابات 'the elections', transcribed as *al-intiḫābātu*, not *al-i-ntiḫābātu*. Elsewhere, these stems will be spelt rigorously with the vowel (whether inflectional or junctural *waṣla*) on the previous word, thus *yawma 'tiqālihi* يوم اعتقاله 'on the day of his arrest' not *yawm a'tiqālihi*, and certainly not *yawm 'i'tiqālihi* as it would now be read (and often printed, see **1.2.1.1**) in the modern style.

Where there is a choice of vocalization, the first offered in Wehr will be arbitrarily chosen unless there is a reason to select the second, for example, *'alā waški* على وشك 'on the point of' rather than *wuški*.

Presentation

As this is a Reference Grammar, it will present non-verbose data, tables rather than narrative, examples rather than detailed analysis, keeping the explanation of structural and syntactic principles as brief as possible.

The material is quoted in the minimal quantity sufficient to support the grammatical point, that is, words only at word level, phrases at phrase level, simple sentences at basic sentence level, and so on. Compound structures, for example conditionals and discourse elements, will be mostly cited in full, but subordinate clauses may be given without the main verbs if the syntax is clear enough. Occasionally, the text will be truncated to omit parts not grammatically relevant: these will be indicated as . . . , and sometimes a phrase may be quoted in the independent case where it has been taken from a context in which it had some other case.

All the punctuation of the original will be preserved and reproduced in the transliteration, as well as in the translation, even if the punctuation is not natural in English. The Arabic is reproduced as printed, though extra diacriticals may unavoidably have crept in during transcription and retyping: however, in cases where the vocalization is the specific object of concern, the data are cited exactly as they were found.

There will inevitably be considerable repetition of topics (though of hardly any data), where it was felt that an item belonged in more than one category. This will be especially apparent in the treatment of negation, circumstantial qualifiers, coordination and certain kinds of subordination. However, the full survey of the topic is generally confined to one section, with shorter treatments elsewhere, linked by extensive cross-references.

Translation

The translation will be as literal as is consistent with good English, with the aim of highlighting the grammatical issue. Additional explanatory material will be supplied in square brackets [ ], which may be grammatical glosses or suppletions. All other types of parenthesis are from the original Arabic texts.

Pronouns will be translated according to their reference in context, even if this is not given in the example. Since the agreement rules (see **1.12.2.1**) require feminine singular for many plurals, and since there is no neuter, the pronoun 'she' may also correspond to 'it' and 'they', and will be so translated if necessary.

Occasionally, the context will require a translation into a different formal tense, particularly in narratives, where the Arabic imperfect may correspond to past, present or future, for example, *qabla 'an yanṣarifū* قبل أن ينصرفوا 'before they go/went away'.

The grammatically relevant part of the text will be transliterated and translated in bold, with parsing and other comments in square brackets, for example, *munḏu tawallīhi* ***mahāmma*** *manṣibihi* منذ توليه مهام منصبه 'since his taking up [verbal noun] **the duties** [dep. as dir. obj.] of his office'.

Technical matters

This work follows no particular linguistic line, but it is hoped that both the taxonomy and the analysis will be found reliable and transparent. Most important is the authenticity and accuracy of the data, in which we have tried to maintain the highest standards: as for the interpretation and analysis, these are matters about which disagreement is always possible.

Since this is not a corpus grammar, we can make no statistical judgments. This means that there is no reliable way to indicate the relative frequency or canonicity of structures, except through necessarily impressionistic comments. While it is true that with some constructions it was difficult to find adequate illustrations, this is no guide to their actual rarity, still less their possible archaic or obsolete status. Nor does it follow that an item illustrated by three or four specimens is common: we may just have been lucky.

Traditional Arabic grammatical terms are supplied whenever appropriate, but largely for the purpose of making it easier to trace discussion of the

topics in other sources. To compare the indigenous and Western systems in detail would require a completely different book, hence not every Arabic grammatical term will be found here.

Arrangement and use

The chapters are arranged in ascending order of linguistic size and simplicity, starting with individual words and concluding with the discourse level, followed by a chapter on lexical topics, as follows: 1. Word level: all forms and their full morphological range; 2. Phrase level: phrase structure of all kinds; 3. Simple sentence patterns; 4. Negation; 5. Relatives, adjectival and nominal; 6. Coordination; 7. Subordination; 8. Conditionals; 9. Exceptive sentences; 10. Interrogatives; 11. Hypersentence, discourse and larger units; and 12. Lexicon. There is a short bibliography of recommended further reading, and an index of words, topics and terms in both English and Arabic.

This work thus attempts to identify and classify every variety of expression in MWA from the phoneme to the paragraph, and to arrange the data in a conveniently accessible form, with a minimum of quantitative and qualitative intervention. It will be for others to decide whether the classification is exhaustive and the data valid, but the next step will require an electronic corpus and an adequate technology for the various goals of linguistic enquiry – statistical, pedagogical, historical, and so on. Meanwhile, it is hoped that this book will at least point in the right direction.

In this second printing, the opportunity has been taken to correct an embarrassingly large number of typos and factual errors. During the process, it has been discovered that there is no paragraph **9.4.4**. We apologize for this omission, which we decided not to try to rectify, to avoid the implications for cross-references.

Chapter 1

Forms

1.0 Introduction

This chapter sets out the complete morphological range of Arabic in preparation for the syntactic treatment to follow, listing the closed classes exhaustively and the open classes by paradigms and tokens. The word level grammatical categories of gender, case, number and definiteness are described, and a brief survey of orthographical and punctuation practices is given. The contents of this chapter are purely formal, and are complemented by the treatment of a number of the semantic/lexical aspects in **Chapter 12** (with some inevitable duplication).

Arabic exhibits all the features of the Semitic family to which it belongs, most notably the root+pattern system, in which the semantic components of a word are distributed between a root, usually consisting of three consonants which express the basic meaning (e.g. *k-t-b* = 'write' and a pattern which expresses the class of meaning (e.g. C^1-*ā*-C^2-*i*-C^3 = agent or active participle), the resulting compound (which has aptly been defined as a 'series of interdigitated discontinuous morphemes') constituting an actual word (in this case *kātib* 'writer', 'writing') to which inflections, etc. are then added.

The topic will be discussed again below; at this stage it is important to remark that this root and pattern system is not only rather elaborate (more so in Arabic than any other Semitic language) but also still extremely vigorous. Although there are signs that the morphology of Arabic is moving away from the constraints of the CA syllable structure, loan words are still accommodated into the pattern system as far as possible, so that the plural of *bank* بنك 'bank' is *bunūk* بنوك and of *fīlm* فيلم 'film' is *'aflām* أفلام.

1.1 Phonology

Only items affecting orthography or reading MWA aloud are mentioned here: dialect differences are therefore only relevant to the spelling of loan words and transcriptions of foreign words, and will be dealt with in **1.2.6.1**. The general issue of the loss of inflections is discussed in **1.2.8** and **1.2.9**.

To date there has been no successful attempt to change or simplify the Arabic writing system, still less to replace it with a European one after the Turkish model. Nevertheless there have been some spontaneous changes in writing habits, occasionally sanctioned retrospectively by the language academies (see **1.2.1**).

To review the transliteration systems used in the West would be an interesting exercise in cultural history but not directly relevant to the purposes of this book. The one used here exploits the advantages of current word-processing to match each Arabic character with a single Roman letter, thereby avoiding digraphs (or worse: nineteenth-century Germans had to interpret such monsters as al-Ḥadschdschādsch for the more transparent al-Ḥajjāj, but the latter only succeeds for English speakers, and would become al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ for continental readers).

1.1.1 Phoneme inventory

The CA phoneme inventory has been slightly modified in all dialects, either by redistribution or neutralization of contrasts, and this inevitably affects the pronunciation of MWA, rather as English will be read differently by British, American, Australian speakers, etc. However, this topic is beyond the scope of the present work, which can deal only with phonological matters which affect either spelling or reading aloud. There are two items affecting the written language which may be considered here.

1 Orthographical doublets arising from dialect influences, for example:

CA *qišṭa* قشطة 'cream' v. MWA alternant *qišda* قشدة, with voicing of *ṭ* to *d*

CA *damġa* دمغة 'stamp' v. MWA alternant *tamġa* تمغة, with devoicing of *d* to *t*

The proper name Abū Dahab أبو الدهب may represent a phonetic spelling of the colloquial form of Abū l-Ḏahab, literally 'father of gold', since there is no CA word *dahab*.

Mistakes such as *ḥāfiḍan* حافضا for *ḥāfiẓan* حافظا 'preserving', *muktaḍḍa* مكتضة for *muktaẓẓa* مكتظة 'crowded', merely indicate the latent changes in the spelling system which have hitherto been kept in check by the power of CA: such mistakes have been happening for centuries, and editors have been correcting them in manuscripts for many years.

It is too early to say whether MWA spellings will diverge in the manner of English into British, American and other varieties. While, for instance, it is quite probable that a CA number such as *ḫamsumi'a* '500' خمسمئة would be read out by an Egyptian as *ḫumsumi'a*, the absence of vocalization makes it impossible to say whether the latter pronunciation has now become standard in an Egyptian variety of MWA.

2 Influence of vowel quality on the choice of consonant, where emphatic consonants tend to occur in the context of 'dark' vowels in foreign words:

ṣōdā صودا 'soda' not *sōdā* سودا (and note no *ḍ* here!)

volṭ قلط 'volt'

ṭarṭarāt طرطرات 'tartrate' *ṭarṭarīd* طرطريد 'tartride'

In the Tunisian transliteration *maqnā* مقنا for Magna (as in Leptis Magna) both the back vowel and the Tunisian voiced *q* = *g* are observable. This pair illustrates the effect of vocalic environment well:

mōḍa موضة 'fashion' (dark vowel) v. *mōdēl* موديل 'model' (light vowel)

1.1.2 *Syllable structure*

The CA syllable was restricted to CV and CVC (prosodically C + long V is also conventionally represented as CVC, for example *fī* في 'in' = *fiy*, *ḏū* ذو 'possessor of' = *ḏuw*, though this cannot account for *ā,* as the second element never has a phonetic value, so *mā* ما 'what' cannot be analysed as **ma*', which would have to be *مأ, though it has the same prosodic value, CVC). Under certain conditions CVCC was permitted, namely, when a long vowel is followed by identical consonants, for example *ḥārrun* حارٌّ 'hot' (syllabically *ḥār-run*), or between word boundaries, for example *fī l-yadi* في اليد 'in the hand' (syllabically *fiyl-ya-di*, but shortened in pronunciation to *fil-*), and there was a global rule that no syllable onset could consist of more than one consonant. MWA preserves this system orthographically, of course, but in reading and pronunciation there are now considerable divergences.

1.1.2.1 *Juncture*

In CA most words end in short vowels which prevented non-canonical clusters of consonants arising between words in juncture, for example *yadu l-maliki* يد الملك 'the hand of the king', syllabically *ya-dul-ma-li-ki*, not **yad-lma-li-ki*, and words ending in unvowelled consonants acquire an arbitrary vowel under these conditions, thus *min* مِنْ 'from' becomes *min-a* مِنَ in *min-a l-maliki* مِنَ الملك 'from the king', syllabically *mi-nal-ma-li-ki*. The default juncture vowel is *-i*, and in this book all juncture vowels are indicated by hyphenation. See further **1.2.1.1**.

These constraints are now under some pressure to change, though only two aspects can be dealt with here as directly affecting MWA:

1 Because of the elimination or reduction of word-final vowels, non-canonical consonant clusters arise in juncture. In those dialects which tolerate such clusters they will be read out as such, while other dialects will insert a default vowel (i.e. not an inflectional one); contrast CA *niṣfu šahrī* نصف شهري 'semi-monthly', which would be read aloud as *niṣf šahrī* in dialects which tolerate the cluster *ṣ-f-š* and as *niṣf-i šahrī* in others (the default vowel is usually *i*).
2 The adoption of loan words (cf. **12.1**), especially those whose structure is outside the CA morphological range. Again the absence of vocalization makes it difficult to determine pronunciation, but it is likely that words will be read out according to the conventions of the dialect, and a word like *d(ʔ)rāmā* دراما 'drama' may be read out as *drāma* or *dirāma* depending on the tolerance of initial consonant clusters in the dialect.

Occasionally the explicit vocalization (usually pedagogical) clearly indicates a non-CA syllable structure:

ʾifrīqyā إِفْرِيقْيَا 'Africa', with the over-long syllable *-rīq-*

For the transliteration of foreign words, see also **1.2.6.1**.

1.2 Orthography

A number of changes are visible in the MWA writing system, some merely extensions of medieval practices and some genuine innovations.

1.2.1 Hamza

This is a glottal stop and a full consonantal phoneme, for which the original Arabic alphabet had used the letter *'alif*, but when this character lost its consonantal value it became necessary to invent a new symbol, which was derived from the symbol for the phonologically similar *'ayn* (['']), inserted into the pre-existing consonantal spellings.

Even in CA the spelling of *hamza* was inconsistent, partly because in the earliest Qur'anic orthography this consonant was not notated and partly because it was not (and is still not) pronounced in several vocalic environments.

The CA spelling conventions are theoretically still in place but in some contexts a new spelling has been conceded by the Academies. In the following, *hamza* spelling will be treated by position: initial, medial and final.

1.2.1.1 Initial *hamza* in CA is always written with *'alif* (i.e. as *'a-*, *'i-* or *'u-*), but the position of the *hamza* sign follows that of its vowel, hence with *'a-* and *'u-* it is above the *'alif* (أ) and with *'i-* below it (إ). This distinction is tending to be ignored in MWA, so that words beginning with *'i-* are indistinguishable from those beginning with *'a-*, for example *'inna* إنَّ and *'anna* أنَّ may both appear as أن. The following examples:

'arbaḥ jawā'iza أربح جوائز 'win prizes' (CA *irbaḥ* اِربح)
'aḫwān أخوان 'brothers' for *'iḫwān* إخوان
'ab'ād أبعاد 'removal' for *'ib'ād* إبعاد

suggest that the variable initial vowel in CA has become standardized to *'a* in spelling at least, though it is not possible to be sure how they would be pronounced. On the other hand, doublets such as *'afrīqiyā/'ifrīqiyā* أفريقيا/إفريقيا 'Africa' probably represent local variants (with *'ifrīqiyā* being the CA original).

The sequence *'ā* was notated by a special sign آ (called *madda*), but there are indications that it is being replaced by أ, for example *min 'ābā'ihim* 'of their fathers', written من أبائهم, contrast CA *'ābā'ihim* آبائهم.

A particularly important subset is the artificial *hamza* created in utterance initial position to prevent a syllable from beginning with two consonants: *CCVC becomes VC-CVC, but since no syllable can begin with a vowel a *hamza* is pronounced, namely, 'VC-CVC. For historical reasons this extra syllable was notated with an *'alif*, but it never bore a *hamza* sign in CA,

because it was automatic, so **ktub* اكتب 'write!' was written with a prefixed *'alif* and pronounced in initial position *'uktub* اُكتب, while in any other position the dummy syllable was unnecessary, for example *qāla ktub* قالَ اكتب 'he said "write!"' (syllabically *qā-lak-tub* CVC-CVC-CVC), though the *'alif* was retained in writing, now marked with a sign indicating that it had no syllabic value, viz اٗ, now seldom used.

This junctural *hamza*, called *hamzat al-waṣl* 'the *hamza* of joining' to distinguish it from the fully consonantal ['] called *hamzat al-qaṭ'* 'the *hamza* of cutting' (i.e. which begins a new syllable), is now commonly spelt identically with the consonantal *hamza*, especially in verb stems VII–X (see **1.9.1.2**), an innovation which has largely been sanctioned by the language academies:

al-'intiẓār الإنتظار 'parking' (also written *al-'antiẓār* الأنتظار with *hamza* above the *'alif*)

šāhadū ***'inhiyāra*** *l-manāzili* شاهدوا إنهيار المنازل 'they witnessed the **collapsing** of the houses'

al-rajā'u ***'ittibā'u*** *qawānīni l-murūri* الرجاء إتّباع قوانين المرور 'it is requested **to follow** the traffic laws'

For some time it has been the practice when reading aloud from MWA scripts to pronounce the *hamzat al-waṣl* as a *hamzat al-qaṭ'*, for example *hāḏā 'al-wazīr* instead of *hāḏā l-wazīr* هذا الوزير 'this minister'; proper names likewise are read as separate words, for example *ḥāfiẓ 'al-'asad*, not *ḥāfiẓu l-'asad*. This undoubtedly results from the loss of final short vowels/inflections in the reading of MWA generally (see **1.2.8**).

The consequences of this for the poetic system are still unknown: the CA metres are syllabic, and the MWA practice of treating *hamzat al-waṣl* as a full consonant changes the syllable structure.

Loan words beginning with *al-*, *el-*, etc. are usually spelt with unmarked *'alif*, for example *elektrūnī* الكتروني 'electronic', but note *'albūm* ألبوم 'album' with inital *hamza*, perhaps to avoid confusion with *al-būm* البوم 'the owl'.

1.2.1.2 The CA spelling of medial *hamza* varied according to the vocalic environment: broadly the *hamza* was written over a consonantal 'bearer', either a glide or *'alif* selected by the following rule: the highest vowel on both sides of the *hamza* in the hierarchical sequence *i-u-a-0* (0 = no vowel) determines the 'bearer' in the parallel sequence *y-w-alif-zero*. Thus *ra'īs*

'leader' is written رئيس with *y* (*i* is higher than *a*, and note that the *y* as a bearer is always written without dots), *fu'ād* 'heart' is written فؤاد, with *w* (*u* is higher than *a*), and *su'ila* 'he was asked' is written سئل (*i* is higher than *u*). It follows that if one of the vowels is zero, the bearer is determined by the other vowel by default, *ra's* رأس 'head', *bu's* بؤس 'violence', *bi'r* بئر 'well'. A sub-rule deletes the *'alif* as bearer if two consecutive *'alif*s result, thus *sā'ala* 'to ask someone' should be written *سأأل but becomes سءل. A further sub-rule reduces three *'alif*s to two in the rare cases where the rule produces them, for example *sa''āl* 'much given to asking, importunate', originally *سأأال (two *hamza*s + *ā*) to سأال with *šadda* instead of two *hamza*s.

This system is largely maintained in MWA, but there are now signs of standardization to *y* as the bearer of the *hamza* sign (approved by the Academies) in many contexts:

šu'ūn شئون 'matters', 'affairs', CA شؤون

mas'ūl مسئول 'responsible', CA مسؤول

Perhaps through reluctance to repeat a letter, the medial *hamza* now sometimes lacks a bearer:

da'ūb دءوب 'accustomed', CA دؤوب

or the combination is conflated into one character:

mar'ūs مرؤس 'headed', 'led', CA مرؤوس

There are also signs that *hamza* in third radical position in verbs is becoming standardized (lexicalized) to أ when it becomes medial through the addition of suffixes: *yaqra'u* يقرأ 'he reads' is the same in CA and MWA, but when pronoun suffixes are added the *hamza* is no longer final, and we find *yaqra'ūna* 'they read' spelt in MWA as يقرأون v. CA يقرؤون. Similarly, *'aḫṭa'ū* 'they erred', MWA أخطأوا v. CA أخطؤوا; *yalja'ū* 'that they seek refuge', MWA يلجأوا v. CA يلجؤوا.

In nouns, an originally final *hamza* also reverts to medial *hamza* spelling before suffixes, but it is occasionally omitted:

CA *šurakā'uhu* شركاؤه

but MWA sometimes:

šurakāhu شركاه 'his associates'

A noticeable tendency (and of considerable antiquity, cf. *bidāya* بداية 'beginning', a medieval spelling for *bidā'a* بداءة from the root *bada'a* بدأ 'to begin')

is for medial *hamza* to be replaced by the glide *y* in those words where *y* is its original bearer:

riyāsa رياسة 'leadership', CA *ri'āsa* رئاسة
tahniya تهنية 'congratulations', CA *tahni'a* تهنئة

or even other vocalic contexts, by analogy:

dafāya دفاية 'warmth', CA *dafā'a* دفاءة
ṭaffāya طفاية 'extinguishing', CA *ṭaffā'a* طفاءة

In some words the sequence *a'* is now regularly replaced by *ā*, notably *tārīḫ* تاريخ 'history', 'date', CA *ta'rīḫ* تأريخ (note that both have the plural *tawārīḫ* (تواريخ), *fār* فار 'mouse', CA *fa'r* فأر, and cf. *tasawwala* تسوّل 'to wonder', a new verb (see **12.8.3**) from the root *sa'ala* سأل 'to ask', in which the original *hamza* has been replaced by a glide.

Conversely, a *hamza* has intruded in the word *mu'aqqat* مؤقّت 'timed', 'temporary', a neologism from the root *w-q-t*, namely, *muwaqqat* موقّت 'timed', perhaps as a hypercorrection, though the alternation of initial *hamza* and *w* is very ancient.

1.2.1.3 Final *hamza* follows the CA rules in the main, with one notable innovation (or rather, generalization of an earlier practice), namely, that a final *hamza* after the vowel *i* is now commonly written after the bearer *y* instead of over it (perhaps because it is not a true *y*, this letter seems never to be printed with dots, cf. **1.2.2**):

qāri' قارىء 'reader', CA قارئ
mabādi' مبادىء 'principles', CA مبادئ
maṭāfi' مطافىء 'fire extinguishers', CA مطافئ
ṭawāri' طوارىء 'emergencies', CA طوارئ

Strictly speaking, this creates an incorrect long vowel before the *hamza* (e.g. **qārī'*) but this is ignored in pronunciation; another result is that words which really do have a long vowel before the *hamza*, such as *radī'* ردىء 'bad', will have the same spelling (usually also with undotted *y*). There are also occasional hypercorrections such as **bari'* برئ for *barī'* برىء 'innocent'.

1.2.2 *CA spelling*

A number of variant spellings from CA still occur:

'iḏan either إذًا or إذَنْ 'therefore, since'
mi'atun 'hundred' either مئة or مائة

Most of the *scriptio defectiva* spellings in a number of very common words are retained, e.g. *hāḍā* هٰذا 'this', *ḍālika* ذٰلك 'that'.

Conversely, in 'Abdullāh, normally spelt عبدالله, as a family name there is a variant with explicit long *'alif* in *-lāh-*, namely, عبداللاه.

The compound interrogatives such as *li-ma* 'why' (for the complete list, see **1.6.10**) retain the short spelling of the second element, thus لِمَ, etymologically *li-mā* لِمَا 'for what'.

Certain common relative collocations are always spelt in their assimilated form, thus *'ammā* عمّا 'about which' = *'an mā* عن ما, *mimmā* ممّا 'from which' = *min mā* من ما (see **5.5.2**; **5.6.3**), and note *ša'nun mā* شأنٌ ما 'something or other', pronounced *ša'num-mā* and so often written شأن مّا to indicate the assimilation (see **1.12.4.1**).

In some verbs the third radical may assimilate to the pronoun suffix, for example *qaṣad-tu* قصدْتُ 'I intended', often pronounced *qaṣattu* and therefore sometimes spelt قصدُّت to indicate this. With *sakat-tu* 'I was silent', third radical *t*, the assimilation is automatic, and it is spelt سكتُّ accordingly.

In many regions the final *yā'* is consistently printed without dots, thereby obliterating the distinction between the values *ī* (ـِي) and *ā* (ـَى) of this letter, thus على may represent *'alī* 'high', 'Alī' (proper name) or *'alā* 'on' (see also **1.2.8**).

Qur'anic spellings are largely retained in quotation, for example *lasta 'alayhim bi-muṣayṭirin* لست عليهم بمصيطر (Sūra 88, verse 22) 'you are not in control of them', with the spelling of *muṣayṭir* showing assimilation of the original *s* (*musayṭir*) to *ṣ* under the influence of the following *ṭ*, though this is no longer observed in MWA.

While Qur'anic terms usually retain their old spelling, for example *ṣalātun* صلوة 'prayer' with *w* as the long vowel marker (suggesting the vowel originally had a back quality), the word *ḥayātun* 'life' is spelt conventionally as حياة, even though its Qur'anic spelling is حيوة.

1.2.2.1 Spelling instructions were often incorporated into medieval texts to ensure the correct vocalization and pointing, and this is still occasionally seen:

waqqār (bi-tašdīd al-qāf) وقار (بتشديد القاف) 'waqqār [name of a fish] (with doubling of the "q")'

1.2.3 MWA spelling innovations

The spelling of apocopated verbs is showing signs of becoming lexicalized, that is, the zero-vowel marker (*sukūn*) is inserted even where it would automatically be replaced by a vowel in juncture (cf. **1.1.2.1**). This example is from a medieval text which has been vocalized by a modern editor and shows the words exactly as printed: زمان لم يخلقْ الناسُ بعدُ *zamāna lam yuḫlaq l-nāsu ba'du* 'at a time when people had not yet been created', where the *sukūn* on *yuḫlaq* would automatically be replaced by a vowel, namely, *yuḫlaq-i l-nāsu* يخلقِ الناسُ in CA.

The same practice is spreading to the spelling of interrogative *man* 'who?' in juncture, thus *man l-rajulu?* منْ الرجل؟ 'who is the man?' for *man-i l-rajulu?*

In some printing and display styles the initial forms *'ayn* and *hā'* are found in medial positions, presumably for decorative purposes.

Symbols from other Muslim languages have been borrowed to represent sounds not notated in the CA script, namely, پ for *p*, چ for *ž*, ڤ for *v*, in each case with three dots instead of one, and variously arranged in pyramid or inverted pyramid form. See further **1.2.6.1** and **1.2.6.3**.

Several innovations in the placing of vowel signs have arisen, probably in response to the labour-saving instincts of typesetters:

- The short vowel sign for *i* (*kasra*) and the double *kasra* (*tanwīn*) are often printed together with the *šadda* sign, instead of underneath the affected consonant, for example *mujaddid* مجدِّد 'renewing', formerly written مجدّد.
- As stated above, the spelling of initial *hamza* is tending to become أ regardless of the vowel, where formerly *hamza* + *i* was always written إ.
- The dependent indefinite ending *-an* (see **1.5.2.1**) is now regularly printed with the *tanwīn* over the *'alif*, namely, ـاً instead of before it, namely, ـًا for example now *kitāban* كتاباً 'book' [dep.], formerly كتابًا.

1.2.4 Digits and number notation

(cf. numbers in **2.12** for more examples)

Numbers are usually written with numerals, with the highest numbers on the left (i.e. in the opposite order to the alphabetic script):

اشتريت ١٤٦٥ كتابا *ištaraytu 1465 kitāban* 'I bought 1465 books'

The number in this context would be read in full CA (with the units preceding the tens) *'alfan wa-'arba'ami'atin wa-ẖamsatan wa-sittīna*, but the general practice is now to read all numbers in pausal, that is, uninflected form. In the Western Arab world (the Maghrib) the European forms of the original 'Arabic' numerals have always been dominant, and this is now spreading to other Arab countries.

In the same manner as Roman numerals, Arabic alphabetical characters are often used for subheadings, preliminaries etc. The numerical values are based on the most ancient alphabetical order: the first dozen being

'١' ا, '٢' ب, '٣' ج, '٤' د, '٥' ه, '٦' و, '٧' ز, '٨' ح, '٩' ط,

'١٠' ي, '٢٠' ك, '٣٠' ل

and so on through the tens and hundreds to one thousand. All numbers can be represented, but the higher values are rarely seen, though the system was used for mathematical notation until recent times. The letters are often printed without dots and in truncated form.

1.2.5 *Abbreviations* (e.g. with measures; see also under numbers **2.12**)

CA had a number of abbreviations, some of which are still in use, for example اهـ (from *intahā* انتهى 'it has ended') to mark the end of a quotation (cf. **1.3.1**). One still common is: صلعم for *ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama* صلى الله عليه وسلّم 'may God bless him and give him peace' (cf. Optatives, **3.25**).

Secular abbreviations are:

- *km* كم 'kilometre'; *kīlū* كيلو 'kilogramme'; *m* م for *mitr* متر 'metre'; *ṣ* ص for page (صفحة *ṣafḥa*);
- currency units, such as *l* ل for *līra* ليرة 'lira', *j* ج for *junayh* جنيه 'pound', 'guinea', *s* س for *santīm* سنتيم (also centimetre), often specified, for example *l.l.* ل.ل. for *līra lubnāniyya* 'Lebanese pounds';
- political: *j* ج for *jumhūriyya* جمهورية 'republic', for example *j. '. m.* ج.ع.م. 'the United Arab Republic', that is, *al-jumhūriyyatu l-'arabiyyatu l-muttaḥidatu* الجمهورية العربية المتحدة.

1.2.6 *Loan words*

1.2.6.1 Loan words and *ad hoc* transcriptions (for the latter, see **1.2.6.2**) both employ the same general principles of orthographical accommodation,

often showing regional variations reflecting the local phonology (for lexical variations due to difference in origin, for example أوتيل *'otel* v. *lokanda* لوكندة 'hotel', see **12.1.3**). This is especially noticeable with the pair *j* and (hard) *g*, hence the word 'garage' may appear as جراج in Egyptian MWA (pronounced *garāž*, and the second ج may be additionally distinguished by three dots underneath, cf. **1.2.3**).

The sound of (hard) *g* in loan words is usually transcribed with *ġ* غ in those regions where *j* ج is soft (*j* or *ž*), for example. *ġrām* غرام 'gramme' (for initial consonant cluster non-canonical, see **1.1.2.1**), *ġiyānā* غيانا 'Guyana', *ġālūn* غالون 'gallon'.

For English, French 'v' and 'p' there seems to have been a shift in transliteration practice: a nineteenth-century borrowing such as *wābūr* وابور 'steamboat' from French *vapeur*, uses entirely indigenous graphemes, but we now find, for example for 'video', the new grapheme *v* ڤ with three dots, namely, *vīdiyū* ڤيديو, though as often as not a simple *f* ف suffices.

For English 'ch' the group *tš* تش is used, for example *sāndiwītš* ساندويتش 'sandwich' or *nš* نش, for example *lānš* لانش for both 'lunch' and 'launch'. In Iraq, however, where *ḍ* is a dialect phoneme, the sound is represented in writing with the Persian letter چ with the three dots either in pyramid or inverted pyramid arrangement.

Occasionally, doubled letters are written instead of using the *šadda* ّ:

millīgrāmāt ملليجرامات 'milligrammes' (Egyptian)
billawr بللور 'crystal', CA بلّور
'awwah أووه 'Oh'

The suffix *-ēh* for French '-é', '-eé', for example *mātīnēh* ماتينيه 'matinée', *suwārēh* سواريه 'soirée', is evidently becoming productive (see **12.10.1**).

A general principle for notating foreign vowels, whether long or short, is to use a long vowel:

fākūn فاكون 'wagon' (French), *kāmērā* كاميرا 'camera',
lūgārītmāt لوغاريتمات 'logarithms'

But there is therefore sometimes variation in notating short vowels:

film/fīlm فِلم/فِيلم 'film', *aṭlas/aṭlās* أطلَس/أطلاس 'atlas',
titr/tītr تِتر/تِيتر 'caption, titling'

The notation of the vowels *e* and *o* (long or short) is currently not a settled issue: in the unvowelled script they appear identical with the long vowels,

thus both *ō* and *ū* are rendered with و, both *ī* and *ē* with ي. Hence 'hotel' (from French) is spelt أوتيل, but the narrow orthographical transliteration *'ūtīl* is problematical. To date no unambiguously vowelled versions of أوتيل have been sighted; however, the logic of MWA strongly indicates that the true orthography of *ē* and *ō* is actually *ay* and *aw*, the CA diphthongs, but now in their modern reflexes *ē* and *ō*, hence أوتيلِ, if ever it were fully vowelled in MWA, should have the form أَوْتَيْل, CA **'awtayl*, now to be pronounced *'otel*, likewise كلوروفورم is to be pronounced *kloroform*, not *k[i]lūrūfūrm*. Secondary sources such as dictionaries are extremely inconsistent, and a place name such as 'Holland' sometimes occurs with a vowel neatly printed, namely, هُولاندا, presumably to be read as *hūlanda* but nevertheless transliterated as *holanda*.

The transliteration of foreign diphthongs goes some way towards confirming this, since they are often written as combinations of a plain long vowel and the requisite semi-vowel, thus English *aw/au* = *ā+w* او, *ay* = *ā+y* اي, for example *hāwis* هاوس 'House' (see **1.2.6.2**). If the CA values *aw* for ـَوْ and *ay* for ـَيْ had been preserved in reading MWA, this procedure would not have been necessary.

1.2.6.2 *Transcription of foreign words*

This section deals with *ad hoc* transcription of proper names or words as yet unnaturalized, though the orthographical principles are identical with those described for loan words above.

Understandably there is no requirement for transliterated words to fit into Arabic patterns, for example *tšīkoslovākiyā* تشيكوسلوفاكيا 'Czechoslovakia', with initial consonant cluster *tš-* تشـ and default *f* ف for *v*, nor can an absolutely accurate re-transcription into English be guaranteed, as the short vowels in particular can only be guessed at, for example *zūduwitšātsāytung* زودويتشاتسايتونج 'Süddeutsche Zeitung'; note *ūy* (= *oy*) for the diphthong *oy* (German *eu*), same principle as *āw* for English diphthong *ou*.

Arabic morphemes may nevertheless be attached:

***al-**'asūšiyatīdbrīs* الاسوشيتدبريس '**the** Associated Press'

***al-**hāfir* الهافر '**Le** Havre' (contrast *lā hāy* لاهاي 'The Hague' i.e. La Haye)

The various spellings of *danmārk/dānmārk/dānimārk* دنمارك/دانمارك 'Denmark' show that both vowel length and syllable structure are still indeterminate, cf. the first syllable of *ostrālyā/ōstrālyā* أستراليا/أوستراليا 'Australia' (and see above on the quality of the vowel *o* here).

Diphthongs: *hāwis* هاوس 'House' (in trade names), *wāymān* وايمان 'Wyman', *'ayzinhāwar* أيزنهاور 'Eisenhower', *wāy* واي 'Wye', *birāyil* برايل 'braille'.

1.2.6.3 Re-transcription sometimes results in the loss of the Arabic original, though so far the phenomenon seems to be restricted to commercial names, shop signs and the like:

'ūṯmān أوثمان for 'Uṯmān, originally *'uṯmān* عثمان

fātīma فاتيمة for Fāṭima, originally *fāṭima* فاطمة

'arab أرب and *'arabī* أربي, for *'arab* عرب and *'arabī* عربي 'Arab, Arabic'

'sārwāt' 'ساروات' (sic, including quotation marks) for Ṯarwat, originally *ṯarwat* ثروت (and note also the colloquial reflex *s* for CA *ṯ*)

1.2.7 Vowels

Although vowels are rarely indicated in most contexts, they can always be printed if it is felt necessary. This happens usually for the following purposes:

- To indicate that the verb is passive, for example رُفض to show that the passive *rufiḍa* '[it] was refused' is to be read (cf. **3.12**).
- To ensure the correct reading of words which would otherwise be read differently, for example *tajallin* تجلٍّ 'revelation', 'becoming clear' (would be read *tajalli*), *ma'ānin* معانٍ 'meanings' (would be read *ma'āni*, see **1.2.8**), *mā min 'ummatin* ما مِنْ أمة (with *min* fully vowelled) '[there is] no nation' (see **1.4.1** on this negative), *yarqa* يَرْقَ '[might] rise' (to avoid confusion with *yarqi* يرقِ 'use magic').
- Sometimes vowels are inserted where they may not seem absolutely necessary, for example mood vowels in *yas'adu* يَسْعدُ 'he is happy', *yusmi'uhu* يُسمعُه 'makes him hear'.

cf. **1.2.9** on the inflections, or rather the lack of them in unvowelled texts.

1.2.8 Pausal pronunciation

The practice of reading MWA with pausal pronunciation (broadly, with elision of final short vowels and change of feminine *-at* ـة to *-ah* ـه, see tables in **1.8.2** and **1.8.3**) has had some slight effects on the writing system:

- The feminine suffix (*tā' marbūta*) ـة sometimes loses its dots and is spelt as if pausal (notably in sign writing), for example *šarika* شركه 'company'; the occasional confusion between the consonant *-h* ـه and *-at* ـة may also be taken as a sign of transition, for example *muwajjahun* موجّه 'directed', 'sent', spelt *muwajjatun* موجّة on one page, and *mawjatun* موجة 'wave', spelt *mawjah* موجه, on the next page.
- Final *-ī* ـِي and the adjectival suffix *-iyyu* ـِيّ (for *nisba*, see **1.8.6.3**) are no longer distinguished in normal contexts, hence قومي may be interpreted as *qawmī* 'my people' or *qawmiyy-* 'popular', though both would in any case now be read out as *qawmī*.
- A further development along these lines is that there is often no distinction between final *-ī* ـِي of either kind and the variety of final *-ā* spelt ـَى (= *'alif maqṣūra*), which are now both commonly spelt without dots, so that the sequence على may denote either *'alī*/*'aliyy* عَلِي ''*Alī*/ high' or *'alā* 'on'. The fact that so many typographical inconsistencies can occur even in the same text, for example *fī 'aṭnā'i wilāyatihi 'alā miṣra* printed as فى أثناء ولايته علي مصر, with the dots absent from *fī* but present in *'alā*, merely indicates that the system is still unstable.

The pausal spelling *-ī* in weak third radical indefinite nouns is also spreading, for example *'aġānī* أغاني or أغانى instead of CA *'aġānin* أغانٍ 'songs', also:

fī ***marā'ī*** *'aw baṭṭariyyātin* في مراعي أو بطريات 'in [free range] **farms** or batteries' for *marā'in* مراعٍ

nādī *laylī* نادي ليلي 'night **club**' for *nādin* نادٍ

māšī *bi-ḫuṭwatin sarī'atin* ماشي بخطوة سريعة '**walking** with a quick step' for *māšin* ماشٍ

Certain common words in dependent form are pronounced with *tanwīn* (final *-n*) in all contexts, perhaps because they are felt to be loan words from CA, for example *'ayḍan* أيضًا 'also', *ḫāṣṣatan* خاصّةً 'especially', *ma'an* معًا 'together'. Note that *maṯalan* مثلاً 'for example' will be pronounced either *masalan* or *maṭalan*, that is, always with final *-an* but with locally variant reflexes of the CA *ṯ* ث; contrast *mitl* 'like', a 'native' word with the colloquial reflex *t* for the CA *miṯla* مثل.

On the other hand, the standard pausal pronunciation of indefinite dependent *-an* ـًا as *-ā* ـا seems to be confirmed by such innovative (though not yet productive) collocations as: *'akṯaruhā drāmā wa-ġumūḍā* أكثرها دراما وغموضا 'the most dramatic and obscure of them', literally 'the most of them as to drama and as to obscurity' (for the syntax of this comparative construction, see **2.4.4**).

1.2.9 Case and mood markers

Case and mood markers (see **1.5.2**), being mostly vocalic, seldom appear in MWA, which generally uses the unvowelled script, following the CA practice, where vowels were only inserted where felt necessary or in certain text categories such as religious or poetic works. Moreover, the pausal pronunciation (see **1.2.8**) removes nearly all inflections.

Certain morphological features remain unambiguous, especially where long vowels are involved, for example in nouns:

- Sound masculine plural, independent *-ūna* ـُون (but dependent *-īna* ـِين is graphically identical with dual dependent *-ayni* ـَيْنِ, though usually easy to distinguish by context).
- Dual independent *-āni* ـَان.
- Dependent singular masculine indefinite *-an*, spelt ـًا with final *'alif* (and so identical in unvowelled texts with dual independent annexed ending *-ā* ـَا, but the contexts never overlap).

In verbs, the dependent and apocopated verb endings which are marked by elision of *-n* ـن are all visibly different from the independent, for example *yaktubūna* يكتبون 'they are writing' v. *yaktubū* يكتبوا '[that] they might write', (see **1.5.2.2**).

Many distinctions require the application of a complex set of contrasts involving the stem, the pattern, the lexicon and the context, for example: *lam y-ḥ-t-j* لم يحتج as printed can be read *lam yaḥtaj* لم يَحْتَجْ 'he did not need' from the hollow root, stem VIII *iḥtāja* or as *lam yaḥtajja* لم يَحْتَجَّ 'he did not argue', this after ruling out a verb **ḥataja*, which does not exist.

f-l-n-š-y-d-h فلنشيده must be read *fa-l-nušayyidhu* فَلْنُشَيِّدْهُ 'so let us build it', assuming that the context suggests that *fa-li-* is the prefix 'so let' (for the syntax and verb form, see **3.24.2**) and a direct object is required by the sense, leaving *n-š-y-d* to be interpreted. Since the required verb form with this prefix is apocopated, the only reading is *nušayyid*, stem II, active (since there is an object suffix), because the other closely similar stems (I and IV) would have the short middle syllable *-šid-* (namely, *fal-našid* فلنشد or *fal-nušid* فلنشد) and no *-y-* would be visible in the written form, which would also rule out further possible readings involving the doubled root *šadda* شدّ (e.g. *fa-l-našuddahu* فلنشده 'so let us tie it') or weak third radical *šadā* شدا (e.g. *fa-l-našduhu* فلنشده 'so let us sing it').

The above are merely hints at the disambiguation strategies practised unconsciously by the native reader: they require a complete knowledge of

all the possible morphological and syntactical combinations, and an awareness of the lexical and contextual factors. For a large-scale application of these principles to passive verbs, which differ from active verbs only in their internal vocalization, which is seldom visible in print, see **3.12**.

1.3 Punctuation

There was no Western-style punctuation in CA, which relied on a very small number of symbols and abbreviations to indicate the end of a passage or quotation, and the use of different coloured ink to separate or emphasize parts of the text, often involving formulaic introductory expressions. In general, the coordinating conjunctions (**Chapter 6**) and discourse markers (**Chapter 11**) served as punctuation, and texts were mostly written and printed in solid blocks without paragraph division.

MWA has adopted, and adapted, Western punctuation, without abandoning certain features of the CA system (especially noticeable in coordination, see **Chapter 6**). The result is that there are some differences from the conventions familiar to Western readers. The positioning of punctuation is evidently determined more by rhetorical and acoustic factors than by the contents of the periods and phrases, so that punctuation marks may occur more frequently in MWA than they do in Western writings. Note that in examples, the punctuation is reproduced exactly, even if it is not natural English and that '[. . .]' is not part of the text but merely indicates an omission.

The following is a typical case:

wa-lahu, fī hāḏayni l-naw'ayni, 'iddatu majmū'ātin, minhā, fī l-ši'ri: [. . .]

وله، في هاذين النوعين، عدة مجموعات، منها، في الشعر:

'by him, in these two genres, are a number of anthologies, among them, in poetry': [. . .]

Full stops, commas and the compound signs colon and semicolon are used in more or less the same way as in Western languages, that is, to separate the larger sentence units from the smaller, clausal and phrasal units.

A colon often introduces direct questions:

sa'alnā ba'ḍa l-muṯaqqafīna: māḏā taṭlubūna min-a l-ra'īsi?

سألنا بعض المثقفين: ماذا تطلبون من الرئيس؟

'we asked some of the intellectuals: What do you require from the President?'

and sometimes seems to serve merely to mark parenthesis:

'inna lanā 'irādatanā l-nābi'ata min: wa-l-mu'abbirata 'an: turāṯinā wa-ẓurūfinā

إن لنا ارادتنا النابعة من: والمعبرة عن: تراثنا وظروفنا

'we have our will which flows from: and is an expression of: our heritage and our circumstances'

A noticeable innovation is what might be called a horizontal colon '..', which serves to indicate significant pauses of various kinds, for example:

kullu l-'ālami .. šarqan wa-ġarban .. šimālan wa-janūban .. ḥāliyyan wa-mustaqbalan

كل العالم .. شرقا وغربا .. شمالا وجنوبا .. حاليا ومستقبلا

'the whole world .. east and west .. north and south .. present and future'

wa-l-mulaḫḫaṣu .. 'anna l-'ajhizata lā ta'malu bi-kafā'atin

والملخص .. ان الاجهزة لا تعمل بكفاءة

'the long and the short of it is .. that the instrumentalities are not performing with competence'

It is even used after *wa-* و 'and' to introduce a certain suspense:

wa .. lam 'ataḥammal-i l-istimrāra fī l-istimā'i 'ilayhim

و .. لم اتحمل الاستمرار في الاستماع اليهم

'and .. I could not bear to continue listening to them'

Sometimes larger numbers of dots are used for the same effect:

wa-ba'du .... fa-la'allaka 'ayyuhā l-qāri'u l-karīmu

وبعد .... فلعلك أيها القارىء الكريم

'now then,.... perhaps you, most noble reader'

(for the spelling of القارىء, see **1.2.1.3**)

The em dash is frequently used to introduce dialogue in paragraph form. It also serves as a separator for such adverbs as *'ayḍan* أيضا and *ka-ḏālika* كذلك 'also', *maṯalan* مثلا 'for example':

wa-l-mahrajānu sa-yamnaḥu – 'ayḍan – jā'izatan li-'afḍali l-'a'māli

والمهرجان سيمنح – أيضا – جائزة لأفضل الأعمال

'and the Festival will award – also – a prize for the best works'

There are examples of the enterprising use of hyphens in the Western manner:

li-l-(manāzil – makātib – šarikāt)
للـ (منازل – مكاتب – شركات)
'for (homes – offices – businesses)'

Exclamation marks are sometimes doubled:

man'an li-ḥudūṯi kāriṯatin natījata hāḏā l-takāsuli wa-l-'ihmāli!!
منعا لحدوث كارثة نتيجة هذا التكاسل والإهمال!!
'in order to prevent the occurrence of a disaster as a result of this laziness and negligence!!'

Question marks occur in three different functions:

- In direct questions (see **Chapter 10**):

  man yansā ḏālika l-manẓara?
  من ينسى ذلك المنظر؟
  'who will ever forget that sight?'

- In indirect questions (see **Chapter 10**):

  tasā'ulan māḏā yaṣīru l-waḍ'u law wajada šarīkatan 'uḫrā lahu .. ?
  تساؤلا ماذا يصير الوضع لو وجد شريكة أخرى له .. ؟
  'wondering what the situation would be if he were to find another partner .. ?'

- As exclamation marks:

  iḥḏar 'azīzī l-muštariku??
  إحذر عزيزي المشترك؟؟
  'beware, dear subscriber??'

(for the spelling of إحذر, see **1.2.1.1**)

Question marks are also seen, redundantly, in rhetorical questions (see **10.13**):

wa-kayfa lā? wa-l-'islāmu l-ḥanīfu dīnu l-wafā'i bi-l-'ahdi
وكيف لا؟ والإسلام الحنيف دين الوفاء بالعهد
'how could it be otherwise? when true Islam is the religion of fulfilling covenants'

The plus sign + can appear for 'and':

al-biṭāqatu l-šaḫṣiyyatu li-l-iṭṭilā'i + ṣūratun minhā
البطاقة الشخصية للاطلاع + صورة منها
'personal ID card for inspection + a photocopy of it'

The diagonal stroke is used with 'and/or':

ḫilāla marḥalati l-'intāji wal'aw marḥalati l-taṣdīri
خلال مرحلة الإنتاج و/أو مرحلة التصدير
'during the production and/or export stage'

Finally, it is not uncommon to see words run together, usually in set phrases, for example (word boundaries shown by hyphens in transliteration) *lā-budda* لابد 'must', *mā-yalī* مايلي 'as follows', *fa-yā-laytanā* فياليتنا 'if only we', *mā-bayna* مابين 'between', *mā-dāma* مادام 'as long as'.

Conversely, the prefix *wa-* و 'and' (but never *fa-* فـ) quite often appears detached from its noun, for example *wa llāhi* و الله 'by God!', not والله, and even isolated at the end of a line.

1.3.1 *Quotation marks*

Quotations in CA were usually introduced by *qāla* قال 'he said', with *'alif-hā'* اهـ (short for *intahā* انتهى 'it is finished') often marking the end of the quotation.

MWA follows Western conventions in the main, with either English ('. . .') or French («. . .») quotation marks demarcating the text, sometimes introduced by em dashes. Increasingly, in dialogues, the quotations are on separate lines, introduced by em dashes.

1.4 Morphology

This section deals with the morphological categories of noun, verb and the particles, together with items common to some or all members, for example number, gender, inflection/mood, definiteness. The aim is to present an exhaustive list of the closed classes (e.g. particles, conjunctions) by item and the open classes (e.g. nouns, verbs) by category: particles will be listed in groups by function, likewise the uninflected nouns, and inflected nouns and verbs will be listed by patterns. As far as practicable, cross-references will be given to the syntactic sections, and occasional items in the inventory will be repeated if they have more than one function.

Only features common to all words are dealt with here: for the individual morphemes and paradigms: see **1.5** (mostly bound forms), **1.6** (mostly free forms), **1.7** (pronouns, demonstratives, relatives), **1.8** (nouns), **1.9** (verbs), and **1.10** (stem system). The functions of the cases and moods are summarized in **1.12.5**.

1.4.1 *Morphologically defined categories*

This book will observe the following, mainly morphologically defined, categories:

1 Nouns, that is, all those elements with nominal inflection or function (including invariables) and mostly free: this category also includes adjectives, adverbials and prepositionals, which are formally nouns in particular functions, and demonstratives, relatives and pronouns of all types, which are nouns in status but not form. The case and mood terminology used here attempts to replace the somewhat misleading Latin-based set.

Nouns have three cases: independent ['nominative'], dependent ['accusative'], oblique ['genitive']; three numbers: singular, dual, plural; two genders: masculine and feminine; and two states of definiteness: definite and indefinite. They are either common nouns, for example *rajulun* رجل 'man' or proper nouns, for example *muḥammadun* محمّد 'Muḥammad' (see definiteness **1.12.3**). Pronouns and demonstratives have the syntactic status of proper nouns.

2 Verbs, that is, all those elements with verbal inflection, including a few fossilized items. They are all free forms, though as such they incorporate an agent pronoun and may thus stand alone as complete sentences (cf. **3.7**).

Verbs have three moods: independent ['indicative'], dependent ['subjunctive'], apocopated ['jussive'] (treating energetic as a subset of apoc.); three numbers: singular, dual, plural; two genders: masculine and feminine; and two aspects: perfect and imperfect (treating the imperative as a subset of imperfect). It will be seen that in case/mood the nouns and verbs share two (independent and dependent) and have one peculiar to each (oblique for nouns, apocopated for verbs).

3 Particles are morphologically indeterminate and can only be defined by their function. They are often bound, and comprise the prepositions, conjunctions, negatives, interrogatives, conditionals, exceptives, exclamations, and all the bound morphemes not included in the other two categories.

Particles are uninflected and devoid of number, gender and definiteness.

1.4.2 Patterns

Nouns and verbs, as well as being inflected, belong each to their own range of characteristic morphologies, which are usually represented as patterns. Following the traditional grammarians, the patterns will be represented by using the letters *f* ف, ʿ ع and *l* ل of the word *faʿala* فَعَلَ 'he did', with the appropriate affixes and vowels: thus, the word *maktūb* مكتوب 'written' has the pattern *mafʿūl* مفعول, while the word *yaktubūna* يكتبون 'they [masc.] write' has the pattern *yafʿulūna* يفعلون. By this means, it is possible to identify immediately the radical consonants, in this case *k-t-b* ك ت ب, and to distinguish them from any consonantal augments, here *m*, *w*, *y*, *n* م و ي ن, and furthermore to recognize the particular arrangement of vowels and augments constituting the pattern in question and hence the category of the word, noun or verb, which in turn determines the set of inflections proper to that word.

If for no other reason, this procedure has to be mastered in order to look up words in a dictionary, since the citation form for any root is the 3rd singular masculine perfect verb, and all other cognates (see **1.10!**) will be indexed under that heading.

All Arabic words except the majority of the particles can be expressed in these terms, that is, the three (or sometimes four and rarely two, five or six, the last two only in non-Arabic roots) radical consonants representing the semantic 'root' are set in a 'pattern' of vowels and affixes which express the grammatical category of the word, for example noun/agent or verb/imperfect/derived stem, usually forming a stem to which additional affixes for number, gender, case/mood and definition are then attached.

Note that although many roots embody a single semantic notion, or at least a coherent group of related notions, it is not unusual for a root to contain not only different but even contradictory meanings, though these are mostly rendered unambiguous by context, for example *wajada* وجد 'to find' or 'to feel intense emotion'.

There are a great many patterns and most of them are listed below, but in the end they will have to be looked up in the classical teaching and reference grammars (see Bibliography) to cover all the morphophonological variants arising from the presence of weak or assimilating consonants. The following table simply presents a selection of words from the same root in order to give some idea of the range of possibilities. The root letters (radicals) are *d-r-s* درس and the root meaning(s) are 'study' (also 'decay', 'crumble', which will not be taken into account here), and from it the following words are derived, among others:

Pattern	Meaning of pattern	Resulting form	Lexical product
fa'l فَعْل	Noun, sing.	*dars* دَرْس	'lesson'
fu'ūl فُعُول	Noun, plur.	*durūs* دُرُوس	'lessons'
maf'ala مَفْعَلة	Place noun	*madrasa* مَدْرَسة	'school'
mafā'il مَفَاعِل	Plur. of *maf'ala*	*madāris* مَدَارِس	'schools'
fi'āla فِعالة	Verbal noun	*dirāsa* دِراسة	'study[ing]'
'af'ulu أَفْعُلُ	Imperf. verb, 1st sing.	*'adrusu* أَدْرُسُ	'I study'
fa''ala فَعَّلَ	Factitive verb II	*darrasa* دَرَّسَ	'he instructed'
mudarrisa مُدَرِّسة	Active part. II fem.	*mudarrisa* مُدَرِّسة	'instructress'
taf'īl تَفْعِيل	Verbal noun II	*tadrīs* تَدْرِيس	'instruction'

The citation form of the root of all the above words and any others in the same set is *darasa* دَرَسَ 'he studied', and they will all be listed under that word in a dictionary.

A minimal example of a quadriliteral root: *jamhara* جمهر 'to gather', 'collect' (see further **1.9.1.7**). Note that in the *fa'ala* فعل system the third consonant is arbitrarily doubled to represent the fourth radical, to give a base *fa'lala* فَعْلَلَ:

Pattern	Meaning of pattern	Resulting form	Lexical product
mufa'lil مُفَعْلِل	Agent noun	*mutarjim* مُتَرْجِم	'translator'
fu'lila فُعْلِلَ	Perf. passive	*turjima* تُرْجِمَ	'it was translated'
fa'lala فَعْلَلة	Verbal noun	*tarjama* تَرْجَمة	'translation'
tafa'lala تَفَعْلَلَ	Reflexive (V)	*tatarjama* تَتَرْجَمَ	'it got translated'

The CA root and pattern system in principle survives intact in MWA, though the increasing number of morphologically unassimilated loan words is tending to destabilize the CA system. A word such as *film* فلم 'film', which has the pattern *fi'l* فِعْل and thus fits into the indigenous system, may also be written as *fīlm* فيلم, with a long vowel which violates the CA syllable rules (see **1.1.2**, hence there is no CA word of the pattern **fī'l* فِيعْل), as the price of guaranteeing the value *i* for the vowel so that the word cannot be read as **falm* or *fulm* (see **1.2.6.1**).

1.4.3 *Inflection*

Nominal inflection (or declension) is of three kinds: full (*munṣarif* منصرف lit. 'fully current'), partial (*ġayr munṣarif* غير منصرف 'not fully current')

and zero (or invariable, *mabnī* مبني '[permanently] constructed [in that form]'); this applies equally to adjectives and the other nominals such as prepositionals and adverbials.

1 Full inflection is the norm, that is, all three cases marked, namely, independent, dependent and oblique, with *-n* suffix (for *tanwīn*, see **1.5.1**) on the indefinite forms, see complete paradigms in **1.8.2**. Because the *tanwīn* is present, the cases where the complete set of inflections is precluded for phonological reasons are nevertheless treated as full inflection, in contrast with the partial inflection below.

2 Partial inflection (see paradigm **1.8.3**). The principal feature is that these words never have *tanwīn*, and their indefinite oblique forms are the same as the dependent forms, though they are fully inflected when definite.

Partial inflection is determined either by pattern or semantic status. Certain patterns are partially inflected by form, the commonest of which are:

'af'al أَفْعَلُ	e.g.	*'akbaru* أكبر	'larger, largest'
fa'lā' فَعْلاءُ	e.g.	*ḥasnā'u* حسناء	'most beautiful'
fu'alā' فُعَلاءُ	e.g.	*wuzarā'u* وزراء	'ministers'
'af'ilā' أَفْعِلاءُ	e.g.	*'aṣdiqā'u* أصدقاء	'friends'
fawā'il فَواعِلُ	e.g.	*ḥawādiṯu* حوادث	'events'
mafā'il مَفاعِلُ	e.g.	*makātibu* مكاتب	'offices'
'afā'il أَفاعِلُ	e.g.	*'akābiru* أكابر	'seniors'
mafā'īl مَفاعِيلُ	e.g.	*mafātīḥu* مفاتيح	'keys'
'afā'īl أَفاعِيلُ	e.g.	*'asāṭīlu* أساطيل	'squadrons'

Quadriliteral roots (note that these plural patterns are structurally identical with the corresponding triliteral plurals above, for example *mafā'īlu*, with appropriate re-assignment of the consonants):

fa'ālil فَعالِلُ	e.g.	*'anāṣiru* عناصر	'elements'
fa'ālīl فَعالِيلُ	e.g.	*jamāhīru* جماهير	'masses'

Other nouns are partially inflected by meaning, and are mostly proper nouns, for example *'umaru* عمر 'Umar'; *makkatu* مكّة 'Mecca'; *miṣru* مصر 'Egypt'.

Loan words which do not conform to CA patterns are theoretically in this group, but since they are hardly ever printed with case endings it can only be assumed. Occasionally (in pedagogical contexts, for example) inflection is provided, for example *fikratu 'arabsāta* فكرة عربساتَ 'the idea of Arabsat' is vocalized as partially inflected (not uninflected *'arabsāt* عربساتْ, or fully inflected عربساتٍ *'arabsātin*).

However, many personal names are fully inflected, for example *'aliyyun* عليٌّ ''Alī', and although there are principles for determining this, it is now becoming irrelevant as these names are no longer inflected in normal MWA reading practice, and the matter is best treated as a lexical feature.

3 Pure invariability is found only with words bearing the feminine suffix *-ā* ـَى, for example *kubrā* كُبْرَى 'largest [fem.]' or its variant ـَا, as in *baqāyā* بقايا 'remnants' (see **1.8.4**). It is true that nouns with third weak radical ending in *-an* ـًى are invariable for case, but they still take *tanwīn* in their indefinite form and are therefore treated here as a subset of the fully inflected nouns (see **1.8.2**).

Number is marked in two ways: dual is always by suffixation, plural either by suffixation in both genders or by a change of pattern (see **1.12.1.2**). The inflection of all types is independent of number and gender, being a property of the pattern or class.

Gender is either marked, usually by the suffix *-at* ـة, or is natural, or grammatical. Grammatical and natural gender are not always the same (see **1.12.2.1**).

1.4.4 Inflection of adjectives

Morphologically the nouns include also adjectives, which have identical inflections, for example *kabīrun* كبير 'old', 'large' inflects in the same way as *wazīrun* وزير 'minister', with the same range of case, number, gender and definition markers as the noun, including full and partial inflection under the same conditions. One result of this is that a word such as *ḥasanun* حسن may represent either the adjective 'good' or the proper name 'Ḥasan' (but remaining fully inflected), similarly *kabīrun* كبير may mean 'large', 'old' or 'an old man'.

There are no patterns unique to adjectives (for their limited range, see **1.8.6**). Adjectives occur: (1) attributively, in which case they follow their noun; or (2) predicatively (for agreement rules, see **2.1.3.2**).

1.4.5 Nouns as adverbs and prepositions

An important subcategory of nouns is the set of space and time nouns whose functions overlap both the adverbs and the prepositions of Western languages. Since in Arabic these always remain nouns, they will be referred

to as 'adverbials' and 'prepositionals' in this book, to contrast them with the relatively few genuine adverbs and prepositions (see **1.6.11**; **1.6.12**).

The characteristic formal feature of the adverbials and prepositionals is that they invariably have dependent form (for the 'adverbial' case *par excellence*, see **2.4**, **3.29**). See **1.8.7** for adverbials and **1.8.8** for prepositionals.

1.4.6 *Pronouns* (See **1.7.1**)

Although invariable, pronouns carry number, gender and case information and are either bound or free. Bound pronouns are: (1) possessive suffixes; and (2) object suffixes; the two paradigms differ only in the 1st singular.

Free pronouns are usually topics, less often predicates (see **3.1.2.1**), appositional reinforcements of various kinds (see **3.9**), or separators (see **3.5**).

1.4.7 *Verbs*

For the purposes of this section only the morphological aspects are taken into account, and questions of transitivity, aspect v. tense, etc. are left aside. It is a particularly important feature of Arabic verbs that they incorporate their agent, that is, there are no agentless or non-finite verbs, and the verb can by itself constitute a complete sentence (see **3.7**).

All verbs have active and passive conjugations, distinguished only by their internal vocalization (for paradigms, see **1.9**). There are three persons, with gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd person, and three numbers, with no dual in the 1st person.

Verbs have two patterns or conjugations, perfect and imperfect, of which the general formal properties are as follows:

- Perfect verbs are purely a suffix conjugation, that is, the verb stem is suffixed with agent pronouns, for example *katab-**ti*** كتبتِ '**you** [fem. sing.] wrote' (see **1.9.1** for complete paradigms). The perfect has no moods, and expresses events either actually completed or regarded as such.
- Imperfect verbs are an affix conjugation, broadly with person assigned to the prefix, and number (as well as gender and mood in some instances) to a suffix (not the same as on the perfect verb), for example ***ta**-ktub-**ī-na*** تَكْتُبِينَ '**you** [fem. sing. indep.] are writing'. This segmentation does

not actually correspond either to the traditional Arab analysis or to the likely historical origins, but is adopted for its convenience in marking the various morphological elements in the tables (see **1.9.2**). Imperfect verbs have three moods: independent, dependent and apocopate; (for the similarities with and differences from the nominal inflectional system, see **1.5.2**). Imperfect verbs denote actions either not completed or regarded as such.

Within this system a great many variations occur when phonology and morphology conflict: the compromises generally involve a loss of either a radical consonant or an agent morpheme, and in some cases a neutralization of contrasts results, for example of gender or number, or (in certain participles) of voice. The whole CA system has been preserved, and although these phenomena can be reduced to a set of morphophonogical rules it is probably better to look closely at the paradigms in **1.9** to infer the operating principles directly.

1.5 Inflection

This section simply itemizes the bound morphemes marking definiteness, case/mood, number and gender. For the contexts in which these morphemes occur it will be necessary to consult the complete paradigms in **1.8** and **1.9**. For the syntactic categories of definiteness, case/mood, etc., see **1.12**.

The uninflected classes are largely conjunctions, prepositions and various particles such as interrogatives, negatives, conditionals, etc., whose syntactic functions will be dealt with in the appropriate sections (for precise references, see **1.6**).

The sequence definiteness/indefiniteness – case/mood – number/gender has been chosen in this section because the definite/indefinite affixes enclose the case markers which in turn enclose the gender markers, and moreover many of the morphemes involved perform dual functions of indications of number/gender or number/case, and they cannot be dealt with in separate sections.

As far as is convenient, and where appropriate, morpheme boundaries will henceforth be indicated in the transliteration by hyphens, for example *al-jarīd-at-u* الجريدة 'the newspaper', representing definite article - stem - feminine affix - case marker, *jarīd-at-u-n* جريدة 'a newspaper', stem - feminine affix - case marker - indefinite marker. This will hopefully be easily linked with the relevant categories, and spare the need for

detailed and cumbersome morphological parsing, which will be used only rarely:

al-	*jarīd*	*-at*	*-u*	الجريدة 'the newspaper'
Def. Art.	-Stem	-Fem. Affix	-Indep. Case	
jarīd	*-at*	*-u*	*-n*	جريدة 'a newspaper'
Stem	-Fem. Affix	-Indep. Case	-Indef.	

Since the morphemes are for the most part short vowels, the tables will only show them in their transliterated forms.

1.5.1 *Definiteness markers*

Definiteness markers are bound, being either the prefix *al-* 'the' or the suffix *-n*, termed *tanwīn*, literally 'making an *n*', which marks indefiniteness on common nouns. They are normally in complementary distribution, but see below on the exceptions.

Definiteness with *al-*:

- *al-* is prefixed to all nouns except those which are definite by nature, for example *makkatu* مكة 'Mecca', by convention, for example *'aḥmadu* أحمد 'Aḥmad', or by position, for example ***ism-u*** *l-walad-i* اسم الولد '[**the**] **name** [def.] of the boy' (for definiteness, see **1.12.3**), thus ***al-****walad-u* الولد '**the** boy', ***al-****madīnatu* المدينة '**the** town'.
- The *l* of the definite article is always written as such, but it assimilates in pronunciation to all apical consonants (namely, *t*, *ṯ*, *d*, *ḏ*, *r*, *z*, *s*, *š*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, *l*, *n*), thus *al-rajul-u* الرّجلُ 'the man' is pronounced *ar-rajulu*, *al-ṭā'ir-at-u* الطّائرةُ 'the aeroplane' as *aṭ-ṭā'iratu*, and *al-safīr-u* السّفيرُ 'the ambassador' as *as-safīru*, etc. This assimilation is marked by the *šadda* (doubling sign) above the consonant concerned.
- Moreover, the initial element of the article is a default syllable which occurs only in utterance-initial position or after a pause (see **1.2.8**): in all other contexts a vowel is provided by the previous word and replaces the first element of the article, for example *fī l-ṭā'ir-at-i* في الطّائرةِ 'in the aeroplane', not **fī 'al-ṭā'irati*. The elided syllable is marked by a sign over the *'alif*.

Indefiniteness with *tanwīn*:

- The *tanwīn* was not primarily an indefinite marker in CA and is therefore found regularly on proper names, for example *muḥammad-u-n*

محمّدٌ ‘Muḥammad’, but with common nouns it contrasts with definite nouns prefixed with *al-*, for example *walad-u-**n*** ولدٌ ‘**a** boy’, *al-walad-u* الولدُ ‘the boy’, *jarīd-at-u-**n*** جريدةٌ ‘**a** newspaper’, *al-jarīd-at-u* الجريدةُ ‘the newspaper’; note that the case inflections and gender markers are unaffected by either affix.

- For historical reasons the *tanwīn* is written as a doubling of the relevant vowel sign, for example *bayt-u-n* بيتٌ *bayt-i-n* بيتٍ ‘house’; from the dependent form *bayt-a-n* بيتًا it becomes clear that the spellings were based on the pausal forms (see **1.2.8**), namely *-0* in independent and oblique, and *-ā* in dependent, to which the double vowel signs were only added later.
- For the dual and masculine plural allomorphs of *tanwīn* (see **1.5.3**): there is an inconsistency in these markers, which are dropped like *tanwīn* in annexation but which remain in the presence of the definite article:

  bayt-ā-ni بيتان ‘two houses’ v. *al-bayt-ā-ni* البيتان ‘**the** two houses’

  *ṣuḥuf-iyy-ū-**na*** صحفيّون ‘journalists’ v. ***al-**ṣuḥuf-iyy-ū-**na*** الصحفيّون ‘**the** journalists’

  but in annexation:

  muslim-ū baljīkā مسلمو بلجيكا ‘the Muslims of Belgium’ not *muslim-ū-na* مسلمون

  However the feminine plural inflects normally:

  *ṭālib-āt-u-**n*** طالباتٌ ‘[fem.] students’ v. *al-ṭālib-āt-u* الطالباتُ ‘**the** [fem.] students’, *ṭālibāt-u baljīkā* طالبات بلجيكا ‘the [fem.] students of Belgium’

1.5.2 *Case and mood markers*

Case and mood markers are bound, and may be divided into simple and complex morphemes. The simple morphemes are the short vowels *-u*, *-a*, *-i* and *-0* (zero-vowel, *sukūn*, vowellessness) and denote only case/mood, while the complex markers are long vowels and consonants and mark both number and case/mood, with definiteness being a hybrid feature. For the general description of the case and mood system, see **1.12**.

These morphemes overlap in their distribution, some being common to both nouns and verbs, but the relationship between apparently identical forms (e.g. masc. plur. *-ūna*) and between singular *tanwīn*, dual and masculine plural *-ni/-na* is not symmetrical. Nevertheless the formal and functional similarities between independent/dependent nouns and independent/

dependent verbs justify using the same nomenclature, though in Western grammars these are usually separated into nominative/accusative case for nouns and indicative/subjunctive mood for verbs. However, case and mood will still be used as the umbrella term for these features (see further **1.12**).

The pausal form (*waqf*, lit. 'stopping') is the reduced form originally restricted to utterance-final and other breaks at the phrasal level, and its most conspicuous features are: (1) the elision of final short vowels; and (2) the reduction of the endings of feminine words from *at* + inflection to *-a(h)*, thus *ṭālibatun* طالبةٌ 'female student' is read as *ṭāliba* (the *h* of طالبه is seldom heard and is now merely an orthographical remnant), but has now been generalized for the reading of all varieties of Arabic up to the highest levels, though a fully vocalized reading style will always be invoked if the solemnity of the context dictates it. It will be apparent from the tables below that the reading of MWA in pausal form has the effect of obliterating most of the inflectional system (see further **1.2.9**).

In the tables below a complete set of nominal and verbal inflections is given separately:

1.5.2.1 *Regular nouns*

			Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Indep.	Sing.	m.	*-u*	*-u-*	*-u-n*	*-0*
		f.	*-at-u*	*-at-u*	*-at-u-n*	*-ah*
	Dual	m.	*-ā-ni*	*-ā*	*-ā-ni*	*-ā-n*
		f.	*-at-ā-ni*	*-at-ā*	*-a-tā-ni*	*-at-ān*
	Plur.	m.	*-ū-na*	*-ū*	*-ū-na*	*-ū-n*
		f.	*-āt-u*	*-āt-u*	*-āt-u-n*	*-āt*
Dep.	Sing.	m.	*-a*	*-a*	*-a-n*	*-0*
		f.	*-at-a*	*-at-a*	*-at-a-n*	*-ah*
	Dual	m.	*-ay-ni*	*-ay*	*-ay-ni*	*-ay-n*
		f.	*-at-ay-ni*	*-at-ay*	*-at-ay-ni*	*-at-ay-n*
	Plur.	m.	*-ī-na*	*-ī*	*-ī-na*	*-ī-n*
		f.	*-āt-i*	*-āt-i*	*-āt-i-n*	*-āt*
Obl.	Sing.	m.	*-i*	*-i*	*-i-n*	*-0*
		f.	*-at-i*	*-at-i*	*-at-i-n*	*-ah*
	Dual	m.	*-ay-ni*	*-ay*	*-ay-ni*	*-ay-n*
		f.	*-at-ay-ni*	*-at-ay*	*-at-ay-ni*	*-at-ay-n*
	Plur.	m.	*-ī-na*	*-ī*	*-ī-na*	*-ī-n*
		f.	*-āt-i*	*-āt-i*	*-āt-i-n*	*-āt*

Note: 'Def.' means with definite article prefixed.

Partially inflected nouns (applies in sing. and broken plur. only).

		Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal	Def.
Indep.	Sing.	m.	*-u*	*-u-*	*-u*	*-0*
		f.	*-at-u*	*-at-u*	*-at-u*	*-ah*
Dep.	Sing.	m.	*-a*	*-a*	*-a*	*-0*
		f.	*-at-a*	*-at-a*	*-at-a*	*-ah*
Obl.	Sing.	m.	*-i*	*-i*	*-a*	*-0*
		f.	*-at-i*	*-at-i*	*-at-a*	*-ah*

1.5.2.2 *Regular verbs*

Imperfect (for the complete paradigms, where also the agent prefixes *'a-/'u-*, *na-/nu-*, *ta-/tu-*, *ya-/yu-* are given, see **1.4.7** and **1.9.2**).

		Indep.		Dep.		Apoc.	
		Juncture	Pause	Juncture	Pause	Juncture	Pause
Sing.	1st	*-u*	*-0*	*-a*	*-0*	*-0*	*-0*
	2nd m.	*-u*	*-0*	*-a*	*-0*	*-0*	*-0*
	2nd f.	*-ī-na*	*-ī-n*	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-ī*
	3rd m.	*-u*	*-0*	*-a*	*-0*	*-0*	*-0*
	3rd f.	*-u*	*-0*	*-a*	*-0*	*-0*	*-0*
Dual	2nd m.	*-ā-ni*	*-ā-n*	*-ā*	*-ā*	*-ā*	*-ā*
	3rd m.	*-ā-ni*	*-ā-n*	*-ā*	*-ā*	*-ā*	*-ā*
	3rd f.	*-ā-ni*	*-ā-n*	*-ā*	*-ā*	*-ā*	*-ā*
Plur.	1st	*-u*	*-0*	*-a*	*-0*	*-0*	*-0*
	2nd	*-ū-na*	*-ū-n*	*-ū*	*-ū*	*-ū*	*-ū*
	2nd f.	*-na*	*-na*	*-na*	*-na*	*-na*	*-na*
	3rd m.	*-ū-na*	*-ū-n*	*-ū*	*-ū*	*-ū*	*-ū*
	3rd f.	*-na*	*-na*	*-na*	*-na*	*-na*	*-na*

In the above tables it becomes clear that:

1 Nouns and verbs have in common the independent and dependent set of inflections, with internal variations specific to each, while the oblique form is unique to nouns and the apocopated to verbs.
2 The dual and masculine plural indefinition markers, unlike *tanwīn*, are compatible with the definite article, but, like the article and *tanwīn*, are incompatible with annexation (see **2.3.1**).
3 Feminine plural verbs are invariable in *-na*.

4 The distribution of verbal *-na* in feminine singular, duals and masculine plurals is completely unrelated to that of nominal *-ni/-na* in the duals and masculine plural.
5 The apocopated paradigm is identical to the dependent in all forms except those marked by short vowels.

Imperatives are formed by removing the personal prefixes from the 2nd person apocopated forms and resolving any resulting non-canonical initial consonant clusters with a *hamza* أ (see **1.2.1.1**). Partial vowel harmony occurs, the prefix being *u-* for verbs with medial vowel *-u-* (e.g. *u-ktub* اُكتبْ 'write') and *i-* for the other two, (e.g. *i-šrab* اِشربْ 'drink!', *i-ḍrib* اِضربْ 'hit!'); no prefix is required where no consonant cluster results, for example stem II, *qarrib* قرّبْ 'bring near!'.

An 'energetic' form survives, though it is less common than in CA. It is formed by suffixing the syllable *-anna* ـَنَّ to the third radical of the imperfect verb, for example *yaktubanna* يكتبّنَّ 'he most certainly will write'; because of the morphophonological problems it raises, it is not likely to be seen outside the unsuffixed forms (see **3.26**).

Verbs, perfect (for paradigms, see **1.9.1**)

		Juncture	Pause
Sing.	1st	*-tu*	*-t*
	2nd m.	*-ta*	*-t*
	2nd f.	*-ti*	*-t(ī)*
	3rd m.	*-a*	*-0*
	3rd f.	*-at*	*-at*
Dual	2nd m.	*-tumā*	*-tumā*
	3rd m.	*-ā*	*-ā*
	3rd f.	*-atā*	*-atā*
Plur.	1st	*-nā*	*-nā*
	2nd m.	*-tum*	*-tum*
	2nd f.	*-tunna*	*-tunna*
	3rd m.	*-ū*	*-ū*
	3rd f.	*-na*	*-na*

1.5.3 *Number/gender markers*

The nominal markers are already set out in the table above, since they are affixes which combine number, gender, case and definiteness features. Note that number affixes apply only in the dual and the so-called 'sound' plurals,

that is, those formed on the unaltered singular stem. The 'broken' plural (see **1.12.1.2**) inflects like a singular.

All the suffixes below are given in their normal form: they vary according to the phonology of the stems to which they are suffixed (for paradigms, see **1.8.2**).

The nominal suffixes consist of two or more elements (separated below by hyphens and morphologically parsed), a number, a case, a gender and a component with a mixed distribution, labelled here Def. for convenience.

	Indep.	Dep.	Obl.
Dual m.	*-ā-ni* -[Num+Case]-[Def.]	*-ay-ni*	*-ay-ni*
Dual f.	*-at-ā-ni* -[Gen]-[Num+Case]-[Def.]	*-at-ay-ni*	*-at-ay-ni*
Plur. m.	*-ū-na* -[Gen+Num+Case]-[Def.]	*-ī-na*	*-ī-na*
Plur. f.	*-āt-u-n* -[Gen+Num]-[Case]-[Def.]	*-āt-i-n*	*-āt-i-n*

The final element *-n* remains with the definite article and is only dropped in annexation, so its function as a definite marker is inconsistent (see examples below):

*al-muslim-**ūna** wa-muslim-**at-āni*** المسلمون ومسلمتان '**the male** Muslims and **two** [indef.] **female** Muslims'

*li-l-muslim-**āti*** للمسلماتِ 'for **the female** Muslims'

*li-taqbīli **yad-ay wa-qadam-ay** hārūna l-rašīdi* لتقبيل يديْ وقدميْ هارون الرشيد 'for the kissing of **the hands and feet** [dual] of Harun al-Rashid' (see **2.3.7** on binomial annexation)

In annexation a default vowel *i* is added if required in juncture before *hamzat al-waṣl* (see **1.1.2.1**; seen only with dual in practice):

*fī **yaday-i** l-maliki* في يدي الملك 'in the **two hands of** the king'

In imperfect verbs (see **1.4.7**) number/gender is shown by the suffixes listed below. Again, the morphemes are complex, indicating mood as well as number/gender (the fem. plur. ending *-na* is common to all three moods).

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.
2nd Sing. f.	*-ī-na* [Gen+Num]-[Mood]	*-ī*	*-ī*
2nd Dual m. and f.	*-ā-ni* [Num]-[Case]	*-ā*	*-ā*
2nd and 3rd Plur. m.	*-ū-na* [Gen+Num]-[Mood]	*-ū*	*-ū*
2nd and 3rd Plur. f.	*-na* [Gen+Num]	*-na*	*-na*

In contrast to the nominal suffix *-ū-*, the verbal suffix is spelt with a following *'alif* for reasons which can only be conjectured (see example, *taḏhabū* تذهبوا below):

*taḏhab-**īna*** تذهبين 'you are going **[fem. sing. indep.]**'

*hal turīd-**ūna** 'an taḏhab-**ū*** هل تريدون أن تذهبوا 'do you want **[masc. plur. indep.]** to go?', lit. 'want that you go? **[masc. plur. dep.]**'

In perfect verbs, number and gender are coded in the agent pronoun suffixes (see **1.5.2.2**; paradigms **1.9.2**).

1.6 Uninflected words: particles

This section is reserved for the class of particles, few of which are derived from full consonantal roots, with the occasional nominal form. In any case no inflections are involved (for uninflected nouns, see **1.8.4**).

1.6.1 The vocative

The vocative (see **2.15**) is effected through the following particles.

Bound prefix *'a-* أ, prefixed to the noun:

***'a**-muḥammadu ta'āla* أمحمدُ تعال '**O** Muḥammad, come here!'

The free particles *yā* يا, *hayā* هيا, *a-yā* أيا (a combination of *'a* and *yā*) and *'ayyuhā* أيّها are much more common, especially *yā* يا and *'ayyuhā* أيّها:

***yā** rajulu ta'āla* يا رجلُ تعال '**O** man, come here!'

***'ayyuhā** l-sayyidātu* أيّها السيّداتُ '**O** Ladies'

For the syntactical rules, see **2.15.1** and **2.15.2**. For *yā* in exclamations, see also **1.6.2**.

1.6.2 *Exclamations*

Most exclamations are particles, and they are either bound or free. For the general syntax, see **2.16.5** and **2.17**.

Bound exclamations:

wā-…āh واه . . . وا encapsulates the object of the exclamation,
e.g. *wā-zayd-āh* وازيداه 'Woe upon Zayd!'

wa- with oblique nouns is found in oaths,
e.g. *wa-llāhi* واللهِ 'by God!' (*ta-* in this sense is now obsolete)

Free exclamations are of a number of different types, mostly particles, though a few are (fossilized) nouns.

- Agreement or dissent (cf. **10.12**):

  'ajal أجل and *na'am* نعم 'yes'
  lā لا 'no', *balā* بلى and *kallā* كلاّ 'not at all', 'by no means'

- Warnings:

  ḥaḏāri حذارِ 'beware', an invariable word with imperative force
  'iyyāka إيّاكَ + pronoun 'mind', 'be careful of' (see **2.16.4**; **3.27.4**)

- Surprise:

  hayhāta/i/u هيهات (not in CA) 'how unlikely', 'how remote' (see **2.16.5**)

  See also the *mā 'af'ala* ما أفعل construction in **3.27.1**.

- Sorrow:

  waylun ويلٌ etc. 'woe to'
  yā li- يا لـِ 'woe to', 'woe on'
  'āh آه 'oh'

- Enthusiasm:

  halumma [bi-] هلمَّ (▷C2:303; see ▷3:11 with apoc.) used to introduce proposals, 'let's get', 'let's do'

- Wishes:

  yā layta- يا ليت + noun or pronoun 'would that, if only' (see **3.2.6**).

- Commands:

  hāti هاتِ 'give it here' *ṣah* صه 'shush'
  īh إيه 'eh? say that again' *mah* مه 'what!?'
  ruwayda رويدَ + pronoun 'gently does it'

- Presentative:

  hā ها 'here is' (▷C2:30; see also **3.3.5**)

- Quantitative:

  rubba ربّ 'how much!', 'how few!' (see **3.28.1**)

1.6.3 *Coordinating conjunctions*

(for syntax, see **Chapter 6**)

- Bound:

  wa- وَ and *fa-* فَـ 'and', 'and so'

- Free:

  'aw أو 'or', *'am* أم 'or', *ṯumma* ثمّ 'then',
  sawā'un سواءُ 'same', 'whether', *bal* بل 'rather', 'nay'
  ḥattā حتَّى 'even', 'until', *lākin* لكن 'but'
  rubbamā ربّما 'perhaps', 'maybe'
  'immā إمّا 'either'
  'ay أي 'that is', 'i.e.'
  ḥayṯu حيثُ 'where' (but subordinating in combination with *'anna* أنّ 'that', see **7.6.9**)

1.6.4 *Subordinating conjunctions*

(for the general topic and other locations where indicated, see **Chapter 7**)

- Bound subordinating conjunctions:

  wa- و 'and' is subordinating in two contexts: (1) in the meaning of 'with' (for *wāw ma'iyya* واو المعية 'the *wa-* which means "with"',

see **3.29.8**); and (2) introducing circumstantial clauses (for *wāw al-ḥāl* واو الحال 'the *wa-* of circumstance', see **7.3.2**)

fa- ف- 'and so' is subordinating when introducing consequential clauses (for *fā' al-sababiyya* فاء السببية 'the causal *fa-*', see **7.4.1**)

- Free subordinating conjunctions may be divided into those which subordinate a single clause and those which subordinate two clauses. They may be further divided into those which introduce nominal sentences (for which, see **1.6.7**, where they are treated as emphasizers) or verbal sentences, which are dealt with here.
- Single-clause conjunctions:

  The basic subordinate conjunction is *'an* أن 'that' (see **7.5.2**).

  Other conjunctions are either separate words or combinations of *'an* أن and another element.

- Purposive (see **7.6.1.3** and **7.6.2**):

  li-'an لأن, *kay* كي, *li-kay* لكي, all meaning 'in order to' (note also *kay-mā* كي ما in the same sense, with rel. *mā* ما suffix)

  'allā ألاّ (= *'an* + *lā* 'that not' لا + أن), *li-'allā* لئلاّ, both meaning 'lest', 'so that not'

  ḥattā حتّى 'until', 'in order to'

- Locative (see **7.6.9**):

  ḥayṯu حيثُ 'where' (subordinating only with *'anna* أنّ 'that', see **7.6.9.2**)

  rayṯamā ريثما 'when(ever)' (see **5.9.13**)

- Comparative: *ka-* 'like' (see **7.7.1** and **7.7.3**), often with relative *mā* ما suffix (see **5.9.9**), here transliterated with a hyphen to indicate the components:

  ka-'an كأنْ, *ka-mā* كما 'as if' (see also *ka-'anna* in emphasizers, **1.6.7**)

- Two-clause conjunctions (for excluding conditionals, see **1.6.5**). These are mostly temporal:

  'iḏ إذ, *'iḏā* إذا, *lammā* لمّا, (see **7.6.4**, **7.6.5**, **7.6.3**) and *'inda-mā* عندما (see **5.9.8**) all meaning 'when'

As well as *'inda-mā* عندما, there are several other conjunctions formed with the relative *mā* ما suffix:

ḥīna-mā حينما 'when', *bayna-mā* بينما 'while', *qalla-mā* قلّما 'seldom', *ṭāla-mā* طالما 'long', *kulla-mā* كلّما 'every time', 'the more … the more' etc. (see **5.9.10**)

Relative *mā* is also a conjunction in its own right, especially in the temporal sense as *mā dāma* ما دام 'for as long as' (see **5.6.1**).

Likewise, this *mā* ما is also found with prepositionals making idiomatic compound conjunctions, for example *fīmā* فيما 'regarding', 'concerning', *bimā* بما 'in connection with' (usually with *'anna* أنّ 'that' in this sense, see **5.7**).

1.6.5 *Conditionals* (see Chapter 8)

Simple conditional particles:

'in إن, *law* لو, *'iḏā* إذا, all meaning 'if', 'when' (but see **7.6.5** on *'iḏā* إذا)
'illā إلا 'unless', and also in apodoses as a resumptive particle (see **11.3**)
lawlā لولا 'if not for', 'were it not for'
man من 'whoever', *mā* ما 'whatever', relative nouns in conditional meaning

Compound conditional particles are formed from interrogatives suffixed with *mā* ما 'whatever', mostly written as one word (the common exception is *matā mā* متى ما):

mahmā مهما 'whatever' (note the change from *mā* to *mah* for euphony in the first syllable)
matā mā متى ما 'whenever'
kayfa-mā كيفما 'however'
ḥayṯu-mā حيثما 'however', 'wherever'
'ayyu-mā أيّما 'whichever'
'ayna-mā أينما 'wherever'

Note the non-conditional set of conjunctions ending in relative *mā* ما (see **1.6.4**).

1.6.6 *Exceptives* (see Chapter 9)

These are of three types:

- The particle *'illā* إلاّ 'except', 'unless', etymologically *'in lā* إن لا 'if not'
- The nouns *ġayr* غير and *siwā* سوى, which both mean 'other than'
- The former and now fossilized verbs *mā 'adā* ما عدا, *ḥāšā* حاشى and *mā ḫalā* ما خلا, all of which mean 'excluding'.

1.6.7 *Emphasizers*

Emphasizers are a somewhat heterogeneous class of mostly particles serving to introduce or emphasize topics or phrases.

The only bound example is *la-* لَـ, prefixed to both nouns and verbs:

- Prefixed to nouns (and pronouns), it emphasizes topic or comment (see **3.2.1.1**):

  'innahu ***la****-mu'allifun ṣa'bun*

  إنه لمؤلف صعب

  'he is **indeed** a difficult author'

- Prefixed to verbs, it often strengthens an asseveration (see **3.26.1**):

  la*-'aqtulannahu*

  لأقتلنّه

  'I **most certainly** will kill him'

  and is regularly found in the apodosis of *law* لو clauses (see **8.2**).

Free emphasizers fall into several groups according to distribution and meaning:

- A set of sentence introducers (see **3.2**):

  'inna إنّ 'indeed', *la'alla* لعلّ 'perhaps', [*yā*] *layta* ليت [يا] 'if only', introducing independent sentences

  'anna أنّ 'that', *li-'anna* لأنّ 'because', [*wa*]-*lākin*-[*na*] لكن [و] 'but',

  introducing subordinate clauses (here *ka-'anna* كأنّ 'as if' may also be included, in a different sense from the purely comparative in **1.6.4**, see **5.9.9.4**)

- Topic focus (see **3.3.4**) is effected with:

  'ammā أمّا 'as for' (followed by *fa-* فـ 'then' introducing the comment)

- Verb reinforcers:

  qad قد in the sense 'enough' is now archaic, but the same particle is regularly used to reinforce the past/perfect aspect of verbs (see **3.10.4** and **3.10.5**).

  qaṭṭu قطّ 'ever', reinforcing negative verbs (see **4.2.8**).

- Exclamatory sentences are introduced by:

  kam كم 'how much', followed by nouns or verbs (see **3.28.2**)

1.6.8 Restrictives

Similar to English 'only' (see **3.30**).

'innamā إنّما, *faqaṭ* فقط (not in CA) 'only'

bal بل, *lākin* لكن 'but', 'but rather'

ḥasbu حسبُ, *fa-ḥasbu* فحسبُ are invariable nouns meaning 'and enough', 'and no more'

rubbamā ربّما 'often', 'frequently', 'perhaps'

nāhīka 'an ناهيك عن 'not to mention' (see **2.5.7**)

1.6.9 Negatives

The selection of negative particle is determined by the context (see **Chapter 4**).

The following are all used in various senses of 'not':

lā لا, *lam* لم, *mā* ما, *lan* لن, *'in* إن, (only in the combination *mā 'in* ما إن)

lammā لمّا 'not yet' (now rare: see **4.2.4**)

The following are used with nouns:

lā لا and *bi-lā* بلا 'no', 'not'

ġayr غير and *siwā* سوى, are both nouns in the meaning of 'other than', (see **2.9.2.3** and **2.9.2.4**) hence in annexation *ġayr* acts as a virtual prefix meaning 'un-', 'non-' etc. (see **2.9.2.3**, **2.9.2.4**; **12.6**) and in exceptive clauses both *ġayr* and *siwā* are used in the meaning 'except' (see **9.5.1** and **9.5.2**).

1.6.10 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are always at the beginning of the sentence in direct questions (see **Chapter 10**).

The only bound interrogative particle is *'a-* أ '?'. When prefixed to words already bearing the definite article *al-* ال the *'alif* of the article is usually elided:

'a-l-mudīru mawjūdun أالمدير موجود 'is the director present?'

Free interrogative elements are either particles or originally adverbial nouns.

- Particles:

  hal ‘?’ هل introducing positive questions, *hallā* ‘not . . . ?’ هلاّ introducing negative questions.

- The combination *’a* أ ‘?’ with negative particles:

  ’a-lā ألا, *’a-mā* أما, *’a-lam* ألم, *’a-lan* ألن, *’a-laysa* أليس (cf. **10.13.1**)

- Relative nouns used as interrogatives:

  man(ḏā) من (ذا) ‘who?’, *mā(ḏā)* ما (ذا) ‘what?’

- Compounds of these, which are always spelt with a short second syllable (partly to distinguish them from relatives):

  li-ma لِمَ ‘why?’, lit. ‘for what?’ *bi-ma* بمَ ‘with what?’
  ‘alā-ma علامَ ‘on what?’ *’ilā-ma* إلامَ ‘until what?’

  (contrast relatives with long second syllable, e.g. *li-mā* لِما ‘for that which’, *bi-mā* بِما ‘by/with which’, etc., see **10.5.2**)

- Qualitative and quantitative questions:

  ’ayyu أيّ ‘which?’ *kam* كم ‘how much?’
  ’ayna أين ‘where?’ *matā* متى ‘when?’
  kayfa كيف ‘how?’ *’annā* أنَّى ‘how?’ (archaic)

1.6.11 Adverbs

(for the adverbial function of nouns, see **1.8.7**) These are either bound or free. The only bound adverb is *sa-* سـ, prefixed to imperfect verbs to give a specific future meaning (see **3.10.3**).

Free adverbs, all invariable:

sawfa سوف the noun from which the prefix *sa-* سـ is assumed to be derived, giving future meaning to verbs (see **3.10.3**); *qaṭṭu* قطّ ‘ever’ after a negative (see **4.2.7**); *faqaṭ* فقط ‘only’, especially with a negative (see **3.30.3**); *’amsi* أمسِ ‘yesterday’; *ṯumma* ثمَ ‘then’; *ṯamma(ta)* ثَمَ, ثَمّةَ ‘there’

hunā هنا ‘here’, *hunāka* هناك, *hunālika* هنالك ‘there’

A subset is the non-productive invariable form of two nouns which are otherwise inflected normally and also occur as adverbials (see **1.8.7**; **2.5.4**):

ba'du بعدُ 'afterwards', *qablu* قبلُ 'before', invariable even after prepositions (see **2.5.4**; ▷C2:260), e.g. *min qablu* من قبلُ 'before[hand]' (adverbial phrase)

Here may be included *ḥayṯu* حيثُ 'where' (cf. **7.6.9**), though it has no regular noun correlate. The *-u* ending in these words is historically not the same as the independent ending (see **1.5.2.1**); it may be a remnant of an old locative.

1.6.12 *Prepositions*

(See **1.8.8** on nouns with prepositional function) Prepositions are either bound or free.

Bound prepositions are prefixed to their nouns and the latter take oblique form as in annexation (the translations are minimal, for details see the appropriate section in **2.6**):

bi- بـ 'with', *li-* لـ 'for', *ka -* كَـ 'like'

wa- و 'by' (only in oaths or as a synonym of *rubba* رُبَّ, see **1.6.2**)

ta- تـ 'by' (in oaths, now obsolete: it is replaced by *wa-* و, **2.17**)

Free prepositions are annexed to their nouns:

min من 'from'	*'ilā* إلى 'to'
fī في 'in'	*'an* عن 'about'
'alā على 'on'	*ḥattā* حتَّى 'until'
ma'a مع 'with'	*'inda* عند 'at'
ladā لدى 'at'	*muḏ/munḏu* مذ/منذ 'since'

All these lie outside the derivational system. Only one of them (*'alā* على 'on') has a surviving productive Arabic root, and although some were doubtless originally nouns (*ma'a* مع 'with' still has an indefinite adverbial variant *ma'an* معا 'together', see **2.6.11**), this is no longer synchronically relevant.

1.7 Uninflected and partially inflected nominals

These are pronouns, demonstratives and relatives. The latter are originally deictic elements which have assumed nominal status.

1.7.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are either bound or free. Bound pronouns are independent, dependent (objective) and oblique (possessive). Independent bound pronouns are found only as agents of verbs and are dealt with there (see **1.5.2.2**). Free pronouns are normally independent, that is, topics or predicates (see **3.1.2.1**), but can occur in apposition to elements of any case (see **2.2.6** and **2.8.5**).

There are no gender distinctions or dual in any 1st person pronoun.

1.7.1.1 Bound objective and possessive pronouns are identical but for the 1st singular, and their interpretation is naturally detemined by their context: noun + pronoun = possessive (including prepositionals), verb + pronoun = objective.

		Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	(Nominal)	*-ī* ـِي	(none)	*-nā* ـنا
	(Verbal)	*-nī* ـنِي	(none)	(same)
2nd m.		*-ka* ـكَ	*-kumā* ـكما	*-kum* ـكم
2nd f.		*-ki* ـكِ	(same)	*-kunna* ـكنّ
3rd m.		*-hu* ـهُ	*-humā* ـهما	*-hum* ـهم
3rd f.		*-hā* ـها	(same)	*-hunna* ـهنّ

The noun with possessive pron. is in a state of annexation (see **2.3.1**) and therefore loses all definite markers:

*kitābu-**hu*** كتابُهُ '**his** book', lit. '[the] book **of him**'

*fī kutubi-**him*** في كتبِهِم 'in **their** books', lit. 'in [the] books **of them**'

Note the vowel harmony in 3rd person pronoun only (excluding fem. sing. *-hā* ـها) when the previous syllable contains *i* or *y*, including verbs, for example *yakfī**hinna*** يكفيهِنّ 'it suffices for **them** [plur.]' for *-hunna* ـهُنَّ.

The 1st person singular is alone in being vocalic and it has a number of morphological consequences:

- It displaces the short vowel inflections on its noun:

  *'ustāḏ-**ī*** أستاذِي '**my** professor' = *'ustāḏu* + *-ī*

  *manzilat-**ī*** منزلتي '**my** status' = *manzilatu* + *-ī*

- When 1st person *-ī* 'my' is suffixed to words already ending in long vowels or diphthongs (namely, semi-vowels *'alif*, *w* and *y*), it changes to *-ya*:

  *dunyā-**ya*** دنيايَ '**my** world' = *dunyā* + *-ya*

  *'alay-**ya*** عليّ 'on **me**' = *'alā* + *-ya*

With من *min* and عن *'an* only, the *-ī* suffix causes the doubling of the final *n*, *minnī* مني 'from me', *'annī* عني 'about me', and with the *'inna* set (see **3.2**), there are light (assimilated) and heavy (unassimilated) alternants, evidently in free variation, *'innī* إنِي and *'innanī* إنَّني 'indeed I', *'annī* أنِي and *'annanī* أنَّني 'that I', *lākinnī* لكني and *lākinnanī* لكنَّني 'but I', etc., and also in the plural *'innā/'innanā* إنّا/إنّنا 'indeed we', *'annā/'annanā* أنّا.أنّنا 'that we', *lākinnanā/lākinnā* لكنّا/لكنّنا 'but we', *ka-'annanā/ka-'annā* كأنّا/كأنّنا 'as if we'.

Note that with *la'allanī/la'allī* لعلني/لعلي 'maybe I', the alternation is between the nominal and the verbal form of the suffix.

The preposition *li* لِـ 'for', 'to' (see **2.6.9**) changes to *la-* before all pronouns except 1st singular (*lī* لي), for example *la-ka* لك 'to you' [masc. sing.], *la-hu* له 'to him', *la-nā* لنا 'to us', etc.

Examples of verbal suffix:

*šāhadat-**nī*** شاهدتني 'she saw **me**'

*ṣāḥabū-**nī*** صاحبوني 'they accompanied **me**' (صاحبوا + ني, with regular loss of redundant final *'alif* on the masc. plur. verb, both perf. and imperf.)

1.7.1.2 The free pronouns are invariable and often occur as subjects (see **3.1.2.1**):

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*'anā* أنا	(none)	*naḥnu* نحن
2nd m.	*'anta* أنتَ	*'antumā* أنتما	*'antum* أنتم
2nd f.	*'anti* أنتِ	(same)	*'antunna* أنتنّ
3rd m.	*huwa* هو	*humā* هما	*hum* هم
3rd f.	*hiya* هي	(same)	*hunna* هنّ

***'anā** ma'akum* أنا معكم '**I** am with you'

***huwa** ṣadīqun lī* هو صديق لي '**he** is a friend of mine'

***naḥnu** muntaẓiratāni* نحن منتظرتان '**we** are waiting [dual fem.]'

A compound free pronoun is formed by suffixing the bound pronouns above to *'iyyā-* (a word whose origins are still unexplained):

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*'iyyā-ya* إيّاي	(none)	*'iyyā-nā* إيّانا
2nd m.	*'iyyā-ka* إيّاك	*'iyyā-kumā* إيّاكما	*'iyyā-kum* إيّاكم
2nd f.	*'iyyā-ki* إيّاكِ	(same)	*'iyyā-kunna* إيّاكنّ
3rd m.	*'iyyā-hu* إيّاه	*'iyyā-humā* إيّاهما	*'iyyā-hum* إيّاهم
3rd f.	*'iyyā-hā* إيّاها	(same)	*'iyyā-hunna* إيّاهنّ

Note that the rule for the 1st person, *-ī* becomes *-ya* after a long vowel, applies also here.

These are used almost exclusively as free object pronouns in three situations:

1 Preposed direct object (see **3.11.1.1**):

'iyyā-ka *naṭlubu* نطلب إيّاك '**you** we want'

for the usual

*naṭlubu**ka*** نطلبك 'we want **you**'

2 When a direct object cannot be annexed to its operator (for the conditions, see **2.10.1**):

qatluhu ***'iyyā-hum*** قتله إيّاهم 'his killing **them**'

3 In warnings (see **2.16.4**; **3.27.4**):

'iyyā-ka *wa-l-'asada!* إياك والأسد! '**watch out** for the lion!'

1.7.2 ***Demonstratives*** (see **2.2.5**)

These are a closed set, consisting of a core deictic element *ḏā* (cf. **3.3.5**) supplemented by other deictic elements. Several variants survive from a larger range in CA and are still occasionally seen. Only the duals inflect for case, and the plural is the same for both genders. The archaic spellings are retained (cf. **1.2.2**).

The core deictic element, *ḏā* ذا 'look there', is still used as a presentative (see **3.3.5**):

- 'this/these', characterized by the prefix *hā-*

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Masc.	*hāḏā* هذا	*hāḏāni* هذان	*hā'ulā'i* هؤلاء
Fem.	*hāḏihi* هذه	*hātāni* هاتان	(same)

- 'that/those', characterized by the suffix *-ka*

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Masc.	*ḏālika* ذلك	*ḏānika* ذانك	*'ulā'ika* أولئك
Fem.	*tilka* تلك	*tānika* تانك	(same)

Other forms are still occasionally found, for example *ḏāka* ذاك 'that' (especially as second element of time expressions, see **1.8.7.2**), *hātihi* هاته 'this' feminine singular (▷C1:151).

A largely Qur'anic practice of inflecting the *-ka* as if it were a 2nd person pronoun (see **1.7.1.1**) is still followed in highly formal style, somewhat like the English '**there**'s another one **for you**':

tilkum *ṣūratun rā'i'atun 'uḫrā tajallat fī ṣulḥi l-ḥudaybiyati*
تلكم صورة رائعة أخرى تجلت في صلح الحديبية
'**that** was another splendid image **for you**, [masc. plur.] which revealed itself in the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyya'

The ancient *ḏū* ذو 'the one with' belongs here: it is used idiomatically, always in annexation, to denote the possessor of a quality or thing (see **2.3.8**).

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Masc.	*ḏū* ذو	*ḏawā* ذوا	*ḏawū* ذوو
Fem.	*ḏāt* ذات	*ḏātā* ذاتا	*ḏawāt* ذوات

Masculine singular *ḏū* ذو inflects exactly like the biliteral roots (*'ab* أب 'father', see **1.8.2**), the others are regular (cf. the annexed forms in **1.5.2.1**).

The related element *'iḏ* إذ can be included here: it is originally a noun meaning 'time', and now survives, with its dependent variant *'iḏā* إذا, as a conjunction 'since', 'when' (see **7.6.4**; **7.6.5**; for indirect questions, see **10.9**), and when introducing sentences with the meaning of 'lo', 'all of a sudden' (see **3.31**); also with nouns of time annexed, for example *ḥīna'iḏin* حينئذٍ 'then', 'at the time of that' (see **1.8.7.2**), and finally as an indefinite adverbial *'iḏan* إذاً 'then', 'in that case' (see **2.5.6**), also spelt phonetically as إذَنْ (cf. **1.2.2**).

1.7.3 *Relatives* (see **5.2**)

These are also a closed set consisting largely of similar deictic elements to the demonstratives. Again only the dual inflects for case, but this time the

plural has different forms for masculine and feminine. The prefix *al-* in juncture behaves like the definite article (cf. **1.5.1**), to which it is historically related.

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Masc.	*allaḏī* الذي	*allaḏāni* اللذان	*allaḏīna* الذين
Fem.	*allatī* التي	*allatāni* اللتان	*allawātī* اللواتي

A common variant of the feminine plural is *allātī* اللاتي, and less commonly *allā'ī* اللائي.

1.8 Inflected classes

These contain only nouns (and their subcategories, adjectives and adverbs) and verbs. They form two morphologically distinct sets with a minimum of homology (the only common pattern occurring in both classes is *'af'al* أفعل, see **1.8.6.1** and **1.8.6.2**). Both nouns and verbs occur in a variety of stem patterns, basic (i.e. unaugmented) and derived (i.e. augmented). The nouns in their basic patterns are dealt with here, in their derived patterns in **1.10**, and verbs in their basic patterns are in **1.9**, derived stems in **1.10**.

Biliteral roots are limited in number but are found in some very common words, namely, *'ab* أب 'father', *ibn* ابن 'son', *'aḫ* أخ 'brother', *fam* فم 'mouth' (rarely also *fū* فو, like *ḏū* ذو), and the pronoun *ḏū* ذو 'possessor of' (for forms, see **1.8.2**; for syntax of the last, see **2.3.8**).

A few nouns have unique irregularities, of which the following are still frequently seen:

imru'un امرؤٌ 'man' with vowel harmony in the other two cases, *imra'an* امرأ [dep.], *imri'in* امرئٍ [obl.]

imra'atun امرأة 'woman' changes to *al-mar'atu* المرأة when prefixed with the definte article. There is no internal vowel harmony.

True compound nouns are invariable (see **1.8.10**).

1.8.1 Noun patterns

There are many basic patterns for nouns. The following list excludes all the deverbatives from the augmented stems (see **1.10**) and includes both

singular and plural patterns (those with permanent fem. ending are given in pausal form, many of the others may also take fem. ending, as indicated). All indigenous words fit into one of these patterns, and in principle all imported words are required to accommodate to them, though this was often not enforced in CA and is now breaking down, or rather, foreign patterns are tending to become productive (cf. **12.1.2**).

- Minimal patterns, that is, without affixes: *faʿl* فَعْل, *fiʿl* فِعْل, *fuʿl* فُعْل, *faʿal* فَعَل, *faʿil* فَعِل, *fiʿal* فِعَل, *fuʿal* فُعَل, *fuʿul* فُعُل, all of which may also carry the feminine suffix *-at-* ـة for example *faʿla* فَعْلة etc.
- Extended patterns, with affixes, including vowel lengtheners (those with fem. variants are indicated): *fāʿal* فَاعَل, *faʿlā* فَعْلَى, *faʿāl(a)* فَعَال(ـة), *faʿālā* فَعَالى, *faʿālī* فَعَالِي, *fuʿlā* فُعْلَى, *faʿīl(a)* فَعِيل(ـة), *faʿūl(a)* فَعُول(ـة), *fiʿlā* فِعْلَى, *fiʿāl(a)* فِعَال(ـة), *fuʿūl(a)* فُعُول(ـة), *fuʿalā'* فُعَلاء, *fawāʿil* فَوَاعِل, *'afʿal* أَفْعَل, *'afʿāl* أَفْعَال, *'afʿilā'* أَفْعِلاء, *'afāʿīl(a)* أَفَاعِل(ـة), *'ufʿūla* أُفْعُولة, *mafʿal(a)* مَفْعَل(ـة), *mafʿil(a)* مَفْعِل(ـة), *mafʿula* مَفْعُلة, *mifʿal(a)* مِفْعَل(ـة), *mifʿāl* مِفْعَال, *mafāʿil* مَفَاعِل, *mafāʿīl* مَفَاعِيل.
- Quadriliteral and longer roots (the CA theoretical maximum is four radicals with up to three augments) are accommodated in the *faʿala* system by repeating the third radical: *faʿlal(a)* فَعْلَل(ـة), *faʿālil* فَعَالِل, *faʿālīl* فَعَالِيل.
- Other patterns containing augments will use the same scheme, so (with radicals here capitalized) *maṢāLiH* مصالح, *'aKāBiR* أكابر, *taJāRiB* تجارب, all have the same pattern as *BaNādiQ* بنادق, namely, *faʿālil* فَعَالِل, and *maŠāHīR* مشاهير, *'aḤādīṮ* أحاديث and *taFāṢīL* تفاصيل, have the same pattern as *ṢaNādīQ* صناديق, namely, *faʿālīl* فَعَالِيل.
- Many patterns carry a semantic load of their own. Apart from plurals (for broken plural, see **1.12.1.2**) and abstract nouns, there are patterns denoting intensity, diminutive, and a large set of abstract nouns (see next paragraphs) as well as a number of pure deverbatives denoting the instrument, location, manner or instance of an action (on which, see **1.11**).

1.8.1.1 Habitual or intensive action is principally expressed by the pattern *faʿʿāl* فَعَّال. In nouns this pattern often denotes a professional, for example *ḫabbāz* خبَّاز 'baker' from *ḫubz* خبز 'bread', *ḫayyāṭ* خَيَّاط 'tailor' from *ḫāṭa* خاط 'to sew', *ṣarrāf* صَرَّاف 'money changer' from *ṣarafa* صرف 'to circulate (currency)'; the feminine of these occurs for even greater emphasis, *raḥḥāla* رَحَّالة 'great traveller' (see **1.12.2.1**). As adjectives, they imply intensity, for example *kaḍḍāb* كَذَّاب 'great liar', from *kaḍib* كذب 'lying'.

Another, less common intensive pattern is *mifʿāl* مِفْعَال, for example *miṣdāq* مِصْداق 'very truthful', from *ṣadaqa* صدق 'to tell the truth'.

1.8.1.2 The diminutive is used mainly for denoting small entities but also to express contempt. The basic diminutive pattern is *fu'ayl* فُعَيْل and this is extended to *fuway'il* فُوَيْعِل for words of longer stems or quadriliterals, where *f-w-'-l* represent the four radicals or three radicals plus any augments. Note that they both contain the same sequence of central vowels *u-ay-(i)*: since this sequence is unique to the diminutive, it could be said to carry that meaning.

The principle of formation is simple, namely to redistribute the radicals of the original word in the diminutive pattern, for example *kalb* كلب 'dog', *kulayb* كُلَيْب 'little dog'. It is best seen in the proper names, for example *ḥasan* حسن 'Ḥasan' v. *ḥusayn* حُسَين 'Ḥusayn', that is, 'Little Ḥasan', *'abdu llāhi* عبد الله ''Abdullāh' v. *'ubaydu llāhi* عُبَيْدُ اللهِ ''Ubaydullāh', that is, 'Little 'Abdullāh'. With longer stems the procedure is the same: *šā'ir* شاعر 'poet' gives *šuway'ir* شُوَيْعِر 'poetaster', *kahrab* كهرب 'electron' has the dim. *kuhayrib* كُهَيْرِب 'electron'. In all cases the feminine affix is retained if present in the original noun, for example *ṭalḥatu* طلحة 'Ṭalḥa', diminutive *ṭulayḥatu* طُلَيْحَةُ 'Little Ṭalḥa' (retaining also the partial inflection, if present in the original name).

Morphologically, diminutives are fully inflected nouns; occasional plurals are seen, for example *'uwayqāt* أُوَيْقات 'little times', from the plural *'awqāt* أوقات of *waqt* وقت 'time', that is, spare moments, and it is particularly significant that two prepositionals (see **1.8.8**) form diminutives, for example *bu'ayda* بُعَيْدَ 'a little after', from *ba'da* بعد 'after' and *qubayla* قُبَيْلَ 'a little before' from *qabla* قبل 'before'.

1.8.1.3 Abstract nouns are often expressed by the *nisba* ('gentilic') adjective in its feminine form (see **1.8.6.3**), an ancient practice which has now become extraordinarily productive, for example *'imkāniyya* إمكانيّة 'possibility', from the verbal noun *'imkān* إمكان 'being possible', *manṭiqiyya* مَنْطِقيّة 'logicality', from *manṭiq* منطق 'logic'. These are dealt with in more detail in **12.4**.

1.8.1.4 For the various deverbatives, for example *maṭbaḫ* مَطْبَخ 'place where cooking is done', that is 'kitchen', *mustašfā* مُسْتَشْفَى 'place where treating is done', that is, 'hospital' (see the comprehensive review in **1.11**).

1.8.2 Inflection of nouns

Regular fully inflected nouns have three case endings, and *-n* (for *tanwīn*, see **1.5.1**) in their indefinite forms, for example *-walad-* ولد 'boy'.

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Sing.:				
Indep.	*al-walad-u* الولدُ	*walad-u* ولدُ	*walad-u-n* ولدٌ	*walad* ولدْ
Dep.	*al-walad-a* الولدَ	*walad-a* ولدَ	*walad-a-n* ولدًا	*walad-ā* ولدا
Obl.	*al-walad-i* الولدِ	*walad-i* ولدِ	*walad-i-n* ولدٍ	*walad* ولدْ

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Dual:				
Indep.	*al-walad-ā-ni* الولدانِ	*walad-ā* ولدا	*walad-ā-ni* ولدانِ	*walad-ān* ولدان
Dep.	*al-walad-ay-ni* الولدينَ	*walad-ay* ولدي	*walad-ay-ni* ولدينَ	*walad-ayn* ولدين
Obl.	*al-walad-ay-ni* الولدينِ	*walad-ay* ولدي	*walad-ay-ni* ولدينِ	*walad-ayn* ولدين

This class comprises most singular and broken plural nouns (see **1.12.1.2**), including those with feminine affix *-at-*, thus *al-madīn-at-u* المدينةُ 'the town', *madīn-at-u* مدينةٌ, *madīn-at-u-n* مدينةٌ, *madīn-ah* مدينه etc., dual *madīn-at-ā-ni* مدينتانِ, *madīn-at-ay-ni* مدينتَيْنِ etc. (for complete list of endings, see **1.5.2.1**).

Plural: the inflection of the 'broken plural' (see **1.12.1.2**) is the same as the singular, either fully or partially according to the pattern or phonology, hence, for the broken plur., *'awlād-* أولاد 'boys', the endings will be the same as above. But the two 'sound' (i.e. suffix) plurals will be tabulated here.

Sound masculine plural *ban-ūna* بنون 'sons':

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Indep.	*al-ban-ū-na* البنونَ	*ban-ū* بنو	*ban-ū-na* بنونَ	*ban-ūn* بنون
Dep.	*al-ban-ī-na* البنينَ	*ban-ī* بني	*ban-ī-na* بنينَ	*ban-īn* بنين
Obl.	*al-ban-ī-na* البنينَ	*ban-ī* بني	*ban-ī-na* بنينَ	*ban-īn* بنين

Sound feminine plural *ban-ātun* بنات 'daughters':

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Indep.	*al-ban-āt-u* البناتُ	*ban-āt-u* بناتُ	*ban-āt-u-n* بناتٌ	*ban-āt* بنات
Dep.	*al-ban-āt-i* البناتِ	*ban-āt-i* بناتِ	*ban-āt-i-n* بناتٍ	*ban-āt* بنات
Obl.	*al-ban-āt-i* البناتِ	*ban-āt-i* بناتِ	*ban-āt-i-n* بناتٍ	*ban-āt* بنات

There are five (some say six) defective nouns (i.e. biliteral roots) whose short vowel inflections are replaced by long vowels in the annexed form only, for example *'ab* أب 'father'.

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Indep.	*al-'ab-u* الأبُ	*'ab-ū* أبُو	*'ab-u-n* أبٌ	*'ab* أب
Dep.	*al-'ab-a* الأبَ	*'ab-ā* أبَا	*'ab-a-n* أبًا	*'ab-ā* أبا
Obl.	*al-'ab-i* الأبِ	*'ab-ī* أبِي	*'ab-i-n* أبٍ	*'ab* أب

In MWA the inflections have largely been abandoned in compound names, for example أبو ظبي 'Abū Dhabi', now uninflected (see **1.8.5**).

Two subsets of the fully inflected noun have reduced case markings for phonological reasons, though they retain the *-n* suffix in their indefinite forms:

Third weak radical nouns where the weak radical is preceded by *-i-* reduce the inflections in both singular and sound plural, where incompatible sequences arise, for example. *al-muḥāmī* المحامي 'the lawyer' (not **al-muḥāmiyu*).

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Sing.:				
Indep.	*al-muḥāmī* المحامي	*muḥāmī* محامي	*muḥāmi-n* محام	*muḥāmī* محامي
Dep.	*al-muḥāmiy-a* المحاميَ	*muḥāmiy-a* محاميَ	*muḥāmiy-a-n* محاميًا	*muḥāmiy-ā* محاميا
Obl.	*al-muḥāmī* المحامي	*muḥāmī* محامي	*muḥāmi-n* محام	*muḥāmī* محامي

The feminine is completely regular, المحامية *al-muḥāmiyatu* 'female lawyer' as above.

Dual is completely regular.

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Indep.	*al-muḥāmiy-ā-ni* المحاميانِ	*muḥāmiy-ā* محاميا	*muḥāmiy-ā-ni* محاميانِ	*muḥāmiy-ān* محاميان
Dep.	*al-muḥāmiy-ay-ni* المحاميينِ	*muḥāmiy-ay* محاميي	*muḥāmiy-ay-ni* محاميينِ	*muḥāmiy-ayn* محاميين
Obl.	*al-muḥāmiy-ay-ni* المحاميينِ	*muḥāmiy-ay* محاميي	*muḥāmiy-ay-ni* محاميينِ	*muḥāmiy-ayn* محاميين

Sound masculine plural eliminates any sequence *-iyu-*, *-iyi-*

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Indep.	*al-muḥām-ū-na* المحامونَ	*muḥām-ū* محامو	*muḥām-ū-na* محامونَ	*muḥām-ūn* محامون
Dep.	*al-muḥām-ī-na* المحامينَ	*muḥām-ī* محامي	*muḥām-ī-na* محامينَ	*muḥām-īn* محامين
Obl.	*al-muḥām-ī-na* المحامينَ	*muḥām-ī* محامي	*muḥām-ī-na* محامينَ	*muḥām-īn* محامين

Sound feminine plural is completely regular, *al-muḥāmiy-ātu* المحاميات, etc.

Third radical nouns where the weak third radical is preceded by *-a-* lose the case distinctions entirely but retain *tanwīn* in the indefinite form (this class is to be distinguished from the invariable class of words where *-ā* is a suffix, see **1.8.4**): for example *-hudā-* هدى 'guidance', root letters *h-d-y*.

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
All cases	*al-hudā* الهدَى	*hudā* هدَى	*hudan* هدًى	*hudā* هدَى

Duals and plurals of these words are hardly ever seen.

There are no weak third radical nouns where a single final radical is preceded by *-u-*: wherever the pattern system produces the sequence *-uw-*/*-uy-* it is changed to *-ī* and follows the inflections of *muḥāmī*, for example *ta'addin* تعدٍّ 'aggression' for **ta'adduyun*. This is particularly important for the deverbal nouns from weak third radical roots (cf. **1.11.1**).

1.8.3 *Partially inflected nouns*

Partially inflected nouns never have *tanwīn*, and their inflections are reduced to two in the indefinite forms only. The singular nouns in this class are mostly proper names, but there are many plural patterns which are partially inflected, for example *-'ulamā'-* علماء 'scholars', 'experts':

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
Indep.	*al-'ulamā'-u* العلماءُ	*'ulamā'-u* علماءُ	*'ulamā'-u* علماءُ	*'ulamā'* علماءْ
Dep.	*al-'ulamā'-a* العلماءَ	*'ulamā'-a* علماءَ	*'ulamā'-a* علماءَ	*'ulamā'* علماءْ
Obl.	*al-'ulamā'-i* العلماءِ	*'ulamā'-i* علماءِ	*'ulamā'-a* علماءَ	*'ulamā'* علماءْ

1.8.4 *Suffix -ā*

Completely invariable are nouns ending in the suffix *-ā* (either ـَى. or ـَا, not a third weak radical, contrast *hudā* هدى above). They have neither *tanwīn* nor inflections, for example *-ḏikrā* ذكرَى 'memory' (with fem. suffix ـَى).

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
All cases	*al-ḏikrā* الذكرَى	*ḏikrā* ذكرَى	*ḏikrā* ذكرَى	*ḏikrā* ذكرَى

Duals are hardly ever seen but plurals are common: sound, *ḏikrāyāt* memories, broken, *-hadāyā* هدايا 'gifts' (plur. of *hadiyya* هدية, with suffix ـَا).

	Def.	Annexed	Indef.	Pausal
All cases	*al-hadāyā* الهدايا	*hadāyā* هدايا	*hadāyā* هدايا	*hadāyā* هدايا

1.8.5 *Proper names* (▷C2:26)

Proper names (see also definiteness **1.12.3**) are usually uninflected now (with approval from the Academies): *wa-tas'alu* ***maḥmūd*** *kulla ṣabāḥin [. . .] 'an yaqra'a lahā* وتسأل محمود كل صباح [. . .] أن يقرأ لها 'she asks **Maḥmūd** every morning to read to her', not CA *maḥmūdan* محمودًا marked with the dependent form as a direct object.

But inflection is still seen: *istad'ā 'ilayhi nadīmahu l-šā'ira* ***'abā*** *nuwāsin* استدعى إليه نديمه الشاعر أبا نواس 'he summoned his drinking partner the poet **Abū** Nuwās', with *'abā* أبا marked dependent in apposition to the direct object *al-šā'ira* الشاعر 'the poet' (see **2.2.3** on apposition).

Sometimes usage is inconsistent within the same text: *'anna* ***ra'īfan*** أنّ رئيفا 'that **Ra'īf** [marked as dep., see **1.2.9**]' but elsewhere *la'alla* ***ra'īf*** لعل رئيف 'perhaps Ra'īf' with no dependent case marking as required after *la'alla* لعلّ 'perhaps' (see **3.2.2** and **3.2.5** on the syntax).

Feminine names may be printed with pausal form (see **1.2.8**), for example *nādiyah* ناديه alternating with *nādiyatu* نادية 'Nadia'. The name may even be printed in parenthesis to avoid problems of inflection, for example *al-rā'iyatu (**hadiyya**)* الراعية (هدية) '**Hadiyya** the shepherdess' (note the word order, cf. **2.2.3**). In *mala'a ṣadra (**'abū 'aḥmad**)* ملأ صدر (أبو أحمد) 'filled

the breast of **Abū Aḥmad**' the name is also uninflected, for *ṣadra 'abī 'aḥmada* صدر أبي أحمد.

In the particular case of family names modelled on the Western system, an inflection consistent with CA rules is impossible: in a name such as Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb محمد عبد الوهاب agreement by apposition of the first (son) with the second (now family name, not direct parent) would be genealogically incorrect.

1.8.6 Adjectives

Adjective patterns are rather few, but are supplemented by the participial patterns (see **1.11**) which often fulfil adjectival functions. The only common adjectival patterns are:

fa'īl	e.g. *kabīr* كبير 'big',	*ṣaġīr* صغير 'small',
	ṣaḥīḥ صحيح 'true',	*qawī* قوي 'strong'
		(= *qawīy* with weak third radical)
fa'al	e.g. *ḥasan* حسن 'good'	
fa'il	e.g. *kaḏib* كذب 'mendacious'	
fa'l	e.g. *ḍaḫm* ضخم 'fat'	

Note that these patterns are not unique to adjectives; there are many nouns in the same patterns (see noun patterns above).

For the emphatic adjective patterns *fa''āl* فَعَّال etc., see **1.8.1.1**.

1.8.6.1 Colours and defects are expressed through a particular set of patterns. The table shows the complete set (indep. form) of *'aḥmar* أحمر 'red' and *'aṭraš* أطرش 'deaf', and the inflections in the singular are identical with those of *'ulamā'* علماء above, while the dual and plural are regular.

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Masc.	*'aḥmaru* أحمر	*'aḥmarāni* أحمران	*ḥumrun* حمر
	'aṭrašu أطرش	*'aṭrašāni* أطرشان	*ṭuršun* طرش
Fem.	*ḥamrā'u* حمراء	*ḥamrāwāni* حمراوان	*ḥumrun* حمر
	ṭaršā'u طرشاء	*ṭaršāwāni* طرشاوان	*ṭuršun* طرش

The singular forms are partially inflected and never have *tanwīn* (see **1.8.3**), the dual endings are regular (see **1.8.2**, and note the substitution of *-w-* for

-'- before the suffix in fem.) and the plural is regular and common to both genders (see **1.8.2**).

1.8.6.2 *Elatives (Arabic* tafḍīl تفضيل *'making superior')*

This is the name for a graded adjective which corresponds to both the comparative and superlative in English (for syntax, see **2.11**). The forms are very similar to the previous set but the historical relationship is not entirely clear. The table shows the complete set (indep. form) of *'akbar* أكبر 'bigger', 'biggest':

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
Masc.	*'akbaru* أكبر	*'akbarāni* أكبران	*'akbarūna* أكبرون
Fem.	*kubrā* كبرى	*kubrayāni* كبريان	*kubrayātun* كبريات

The masculine singular is partially inflected and never has *tanwīn* (see **1.5.1**), the feminine singular is invariable, the dual endings are regular (see **1.5.3**) and the plural is regular, either sound masculine or sound feminine. (see **1.5.3**).

1.8.6.3 *The* nisba *('gentilic') subset*

CA had a well-developed mechanism for indicating membership of a class, originally a tribe or location, with the suffix *-iyy-un*, for example *qurašiyyun* قُرَشِيّ 'from the Qurayš tribe', *makkiyyun* مَكِّيّ 'from Mecca', subsequently generalized to any class, for example *'islāmiyyun* أَسْلامِيّ 'of Islam', 'Islamic', *'ilmiyyun* عِلْمِيّ 'of science', 'scientific', *malakiyyun* مَلَكِيّ 'of the king', 'royal'.

This suffix, termed *nisba* ('relationship', and usually both realized and transcribed as *-ī*, see **1.2.8**) has since become very productive, and in the process the CA morphological rules restricting the stem patterns have been more or less abandoned, with the consent of the Academies, and almost the only remaining rule is that any feminine endings are removed before the *nisba* suffix is added.

MWA now makes *nisba* adjectives as the need arises (for further examples, see **12.4.3**), for example *riyādī* رياديّ 'pioneering' from *riyāda* ريادة 'exploration', *drāmī* دراميّ 'dramatic' from *drāmā* دراما 'drama', *ma'lūmātī* مَعْلُوماتِيّ 'pertaining to information [technology]', *muḫābarātī* مُخابَراتِيّ 'pertaining to the security services', from *muḫābarāt* مخابرات 'security services', etc.

Variants: *-awī*, for example *tanmawī* تَنْمَوِيّ 'developmental' from *tanmiya* تنمية 'development', *-āwī*, for example *maʾsāwī* مَأساوِيّ 'tragic', from *maʾsāh* مأساة 'tragedy'.

Complex *nisbas*: *būrsaʿīdī* بُورسَعِدِيّ 'of/from Port Said', and cf. *šarq ʾawsaṭī* شرق أوسطِيّ 'Middle Eastern', from *al-šarq al-awsaṭ* الشرق الأوسط 'the Middle East' (see **2.1.3.5**). For *raʾsimālī* رأسِمالِيُّ 'of capital', 'capitalist', see **1.8.10.1**. There are also a few nouns with this ending, for example *iḥtiyāṭī* احتياطِيّ 'reserve', *bardī* بردِيّ 'papyrus'.

1.8.7 *Adverbials*

The class of pure adverbs in Arabic is extremely small (see **1.6.11**), and the same method of classification will be used as for preposition(al)s (see **1.8.8**), namely, elements which are completely invariable and non-productive, both bound and free, will be called 'adverbs', and the term 'adverbials' will be applied to the open class of nouns in the dependent form which appear to correspond to English adverbs. A further distinction between adverbs and adverbials is that the former do not always have etymologies linking them to nouns.

Adverbials are dependent nouns, generally indefinite, and all are free forms; the class is now open, though in CA it was much restricted (as adverbial qual. was largely effected through the various complements, see **2.4.2–2.4.7**): the following are now more or less fossilized equivalents of Western 'adverbs', which have been in use since the medieval period:

ʾayḍan أيضًا 'also'

ʾabadan أبدًا 'ever' (usually reinforcing neg., as 'never', see **4.2.7**)

dāʾiman دائمًا 'always'	*jiddan* جدًّا 'very'
al-battata البتّةَ 'at all', 'absolutely'	*jamīʿan* جميعًا 'wholly'
muṭlaqan مطلقًا 'absolutely'	*ḫāṣṣatan* خاصّةً 'specially'

See further in **2.5** for the wide range of MWA adverbials, and note that a few of these also have an invariable form, for example *baʿdu* بعدُ 'afterwards' (see **1.6.11**).

1.8.7.1 An extremely productive subset is the adverbial (dep.) form of the *nisba* adjective (see **1.8.6.3**), for example *nisbiyyan* نسبيًّا 'relatively' from *nisba* نسبة 'relation', *siyāsiyyan* سياسيًّا 'politically' from *siyāsa* سياسة 'politics' (see **2.5** and examples in **2.5.1–2.5.4**).

1.8.7.2 *Compound adverbs*

There is a group of compound words of which the first element is an adverbial (time noun in dep. form, cf. **2.5.2**) annexed to the deictic elements *iḏ* إذ or *ḏāka* ذاك 'that':

ḥīna'iḏin حينئذٍ 'at that time', lit. 'at the time of that'

yawma'iḏin يومئذٍ 'on that day', lit. 'on the day of that'

waqtaḏāka وقتذاك 'at that time', lit. 'at the time of that'

Also to be included here are the compounds: *kaḏālika* كذلك 'thus', literally 'like that', *hākaḏā* هكذا 'thus', literally 'like this'.

1.8.7.3 For convenience a few specimen phrasal adverbs are listed here (for details, see **2.5.8**):

bi-sur'atin بسرعةٍ 'quickly', lit. 'with speed'

bi-wuḍūḥin بوضوحٍ 'clearly', lit. 'with clarity'

More elaborately:

bi-ṣūratin ḫāṣṣatin بصورةٍ خاصّةٍ 'specially', lit. 'in a special form'

bi-šaklin 'āmmin بشكلٍ عامٍّ 'generally', lit. 'in a general form'

The occurrence of forms such as *min-a l-'āna* من الآنَ 'from now' (not obl. *al-'āni*), *ḥattā l-'āna* حتى الآنَ 'until now', *fī 'ibbāna* في إبّانَ 'in the time of', suggests that final vowel may now have become atrophied in some classes of words which most commonly occur as adverbials.

1.8.8 *Prepositions and prepositionals*

Arabic has two categories of word which map onto the Western class of prepositions, though they have different origins and should not be equated. There are true prepositions (see **1.6.12**; **2.6**, including a few whose original nominal quality is now extinct) and there are pure nouns with adverbial inflection (see **2.7**) and prepositional function (cf. English 'in front of', 'at the back of'). Syntactically both behave identically, that is, they form an annexation unit with their nouns (see **2.3**), which accounts for the two types often being classed as undifferentiated 'prepositions'.

In this book the two groups will be kept terminologically distinct: the name 'prepositions' will be restricted to the closed class of items which have

traditionally been identified as prepositions and with which any possible nominal status has long ceased to be recognisable, and these elements are now invariable. The name 'prepositionals' will be applied to those nouns whose function is superficially that of prepositions but which have not lost their nominal status and still inflect under certain conditions even in their 'prepositional' function. Their nominal status is further confirmed by their ability to form diminutives, for example *qubayla* قبيل 'a little before' from *qabla* قبل 'before' (see diminutive **1.8.1.2**). The class of prepositionals is probably still open. On occasions the form 'preposition(al)' will be used where the original grammatical status of the item is not relevant.

Prepositionals are all free forms. Since the class is still somewhat ill-defined, the following list is merely a sample to show the close correspondence between these nouns and the English prepositions (for treatment of all the nouns which appear to have achieved lexical status as prepositionals, see **2.7**):

bayna بين 'between'	*ba'da* بعد 'after'	*qabla* قبل 'before'
taḥta تحت 'under'	*fawqa* فوق 'above'	*naḥwa* نحو 'towards'
ḫilāla خلال 'during'	*'izā'a* إزاء 'opposite'	*jiwāra* جوار 'beside'
ḥawla حول 'around'	*ḫārija* خارج 'outside'	*dāḫila* داخل 'inside'
ḍidda ضدّ 'against'	*warā'a* وراء 'behind'	*quddāma* قدّام 'in front of'

For preposition(al)s + relatives, such as *ba'damā* **بعدما** 'after' (conjunction), see **5.7**.

1.8.9 *Nominal exclamations* (cf. **3.27.4**; **3.28**)

waylun li- ويلٌ لِـ 'woe to …!'
subḥāna سبحانَ 'glory be to …!', *wayḥa-* ويحَ 'woe to …!'
'ayyu أيّ 'what …!', *kam* كمْ 'how much …!'

1.8.10 *Compound and quasi-compound nouns*

True compound nouns are rare, and are intrinsically invariable. This class is now represented only by the numbers 13–19 (see **2.12.4**), one or two phrases such as *layla nahāra* ليل نهار 'night and day' (see **2.5.2**) and an occasional place name. The hundreds from 300 are orthographically compounds, but they inflect internally (see **2.12.8**). The other candidates, the

so-called *naḥt* types (see **1.8.10.2**; **12.5**), would inflect if CA rules were applied, though in practice they do not.

A few cases of sentences behaving as a noun exist, for example *mā jarayāt* ما جريات 'happenings', a feminine plural of the phrase *mā jarā* ما جرى 'what happened', *al-mā-warā'iyyātu* الماورائيات 'things transcendental', literally 'what is beyond' with the abstract noun plural suffix *-iyyāt* ـيات (see **12.4**), *al-lā 'adriyyūna* اللا أدريون 'sceptics', literally 'the I don't knows'. There are CA precedents for this but it is not apparently very productive.

To reproduce compound nouns from Western languages MWA predominantly uses either noun + adjective or annexation units (see **2.3.4** and cf. also **1.8.10.3**).

1.8.10.1 In the case of *ra'simālī* رأسمالِيّ 'of capital', 'capitalist' (▷C2:97) the adjective seems to be a genuine compound, but the structure is evidently not productive, and the noun is the regular annexation unit *ra'su l-māli* رأس المال 'capital', literally 'the head of the money'. Among other specimens noted is *šibhijumla* شبهجملة 'quasi-sentence', and there is evidence that the intervening vowel may even be spelt long, for example *ba'dīḥarbī* بعديحربي. 'post-war' (see **1.8.10.2**).

1.8.10.2 There is a large set of compounds, apparently all adjectives and scientific coinages, using the CA principle of *naḥt*, literally 'sculpting', that is, fusing two words into one, to form compounds from the components of other words, for example *bayṯaqāfī* بَيْثَقافي 'intercultural' from *bayna* بين 'between' and *ṯaqāfa* ثقافة 'culture' (for more examples, see **12.5**).

Scientific terms show a more adventurous morphology, for example *ḥadīdīk* حديديك and *ḥadīdos* حديدوس to reproduce 'ferric' and 'ferrous' respectively, using the Arabic *ḥadīd* حديد 'iron' and adding the Western suffixes. However, their impact on ordinary MWA is slight so far.

1.8.10.3 *Quasi-compounds*

Many compound nouns equivalents are formed by preposing or annexing with the appropriate negative or quantifier or the like. A few specimens only are provided here (for more examples, see **12.6** and **12.7**):

- Negatives: 'un-', 'non-' *lā* لا 'not'; *ġayr* غير 'other than'; *'adam* عدم 'lack of', for example:

  *al-da'mu l-**lā-maḥdūdu*** الدعم اللامحدود '**unlimited** support', lit. 'the no-limited'

- Quantifiers:

  'quasi-' *šibh* شبه 'like'; 'semi-' *niṣf* نصف 'half'

  're-' *i'ādat* اعادة 'repetition of'

- Others: 'trans-' *'abra* عبر 'across'; 'mid-' *wasṭa* وسط 'in the middle of'; 'pre-' *qabla* قبل 'before', 'post-' *ba'da* بعد 'after', for example:

  munaẓẓamātun ***'abra qawmiyyatin*** *'uḫrā*
  منظّمات عبر قومية أخرى
  'other **transnational** organizations', lit. 'across of national'

  '-able' *qābil* قابل 'receptive', e.g. (this example combines with *ġayr* غير 'un-')

  ġayru ***qābilin*** *li-l-taksīri*
  غير قابل للتكسير
  'unbreakable', lit. 'other than **receptive** of breaking'

1.9 Verb morphology

Verb morphology encodes five grammatical categories: stem, aspect, voice, mood and agent, some being interlocking. As elsewhere, the citation form of the verb will be used by default, namely, the 3rd masculine singular perfect, for example *kataba* كتب 'he wrote' and 'to write', and patterns may also be referred to by the *fa'ala* فعل convention (see **1.4.2**). Since stems are the main issue here, the transliterations will capitalize the radicals, for example *KaTaB-*.

1.9.1.1 The stem of the verb is either basic or augmented (the latter often referred to as 'derived forms' but 'stems' is preferred here because the emphasis is on the creation of a new paradigmatic base). Basic stems consist of the minimal consonants of the root (normally three, but also four, see **1.9.1.7**). In the perfect these consonants enclose the characteristic vowels of the perfect aspect, for example *KaTaB-* (where the final radical further carries the agent suffixes), and in the imperfect the three consonants are embedded in the imperfect affixes, for example *ya-KTuB-* (where the final radical carries further markers of mood, number, etc.).

The vowels vary in both aspects, originally perhaps on the grounds of verb class (stative, transitive, intransitive, etc.), but now best treated as a lexical feature: while it is true that all verbs with *-u-* as their medial vowel in the perfect are intransitive and also have *-u-* in their imperfect, the *yaf'ulu* form may be transitive. Even the crude generalization that most verbs are of the pattern *fa'ala* in the perfect and *yaf'ulu* in the imperfect is unreliable.

In the perfect there are three patterns of stem vowels: (1) *a-a*, as in *KaTaB-*, كَتَب 'to write'; (2) *a-i*, as in *ŠaRiB-* شَرِب 'to drink'; and (3) *a-u*, as in *ḤaSuN-* حَسُن 'to be good'.

In the imperfect there are three possible stem vowels, namely, *-a-*, as in *yaŠRaB-* يشرَب 'he drinks', *-i-*, as in *yaḌRiB-* يضرِب 'he hits' and *-u-* as in *yaKTuB-* يكتُب 'he writes'.

1.9.1.2 Augmented (derived) stems (or forms) are expansions of the basic stem by various means, and are conventionally numbered from II to XV, each of which implies (though not consistently) a specific semantic extension of the root meaning. The following brief characterizations of those extensions should be reinforced by consultation of more detailed sources, and as always the likelihood that a stem has more than one root meaning can never be ruled out. In addition, the fiction will be maintained that the augmented stems are in fact derived directly from the base stem, though in practice this is not always the case:

- Stem II, *fa''ala* فَعَّل, that is, doubled middle radical, for example *QaRRaB-* قَرَّب 'to bring near', from *QaRuB-* قَرُب 'to be near'. Stem II verbs are largely factitive or causative as shown, but an extremely important stem II function is to create delocutives, for example *KaBBaR* كَبّر 'to say *allāhu 'akbar*' [God is most great]', *SaLLaM-* سلّم 'to say *'al-salāmu 'alaykum'* [peace upon you]', both of which contrast with a factitive *KaBBaR-* 'to enlarge', 'magnify' from *KaBuR-* كَبُر 'to be big' and *SaLLaM-* 'to preserve from injury' from *SaLiM-* سَلِم 'to be safe from harm'.
- Stem III, *fā'ala* فاعَل, that is, with lengthened first syllable, makes the indirect object (nearly always human) of a verb into its direct object, for example *KāTaB-* كاتَب 'to write to someone', from *KaTaB-* كتب 'to write'. This pattern also has a conative sense, for example *QāTaL-* قاتَل 'to fight against', that is, 'try to kill' from *QaTaL-* قَتَل 'to kill'.
- Stem IV, *'af'ala* أفْعَل, that is, prefix *'a-*, with loss of an internal syllable, another causative, for example *'aṢLaḤa* أصْلَح 'to reform', 'improve', from *ṢaLuḤ-* صَلُح 'to be sound', 'to be healthy'. Among the other meanings of stem IV which is still active is that of performing in a certain manner, for example *'aḤSaN-* أحْسَن 'to do something well', *'aKṮaR-* أكْثَر 'to do something frequently' (see **2.5.8**; **3.23.4**).
- Stem V, *tafa''ala* تَفَعَّل, that is, stem II with prefix *ta-*, is often the reflexive of stem II, for example *taQaRRaB-* تَقَرَّب 'to approach', 'to be brought near'.
- Stem VI, *tafā'ala* تَفاعَل, that is, stem III with prefix *ta-*, is often the reflexive of stem III, hence has largely reciprocal meaning, for example *taKāTaB-* تَكاتَب 'to write to each another'.
- Stem VII, *infa'ala* اِنْفَعَل, that is, with prefix *-n-* (for the resolution of the initial consonant cluster which arises, see **1.2.1.1**), conveys a middle or

passive sense, for example *inFaTaḤ-* انْفَتَح 'to come open [by itself]'. For phonological reasons verbs with first radical *w-*, *y-*, and the liquids *n-*, *l-*, *r-* do not form stem VII verbs (though they do occur in some colloquials).

- Stem VIII, *ifta'ala* اِفْتَعَل, that is, with infix *-t-* (the resulting consonant cluster is resolved in exactly the same way as in stem VII, and it may help with the paradigm to observe that prosodically these two forms are identical, namely, iCCaCaC, thus VII = inCaCaCa, VIII = iCtaCaCa). The meanings of stem VIII are impossible to define with accuracy: it seems mostly to be used when the action has some personal importance to the agent, for example *iJtaMa'-* اجْتَمَع 'to gather together [e.g. for a meeting]', from *JaMa'* جَمَع 'to gather', *iJTaHaD-* اجْتَهَد 'to exert oneself' from *JaHaD-* جَهَد 'to strive'.

  Assimilation problems: the phonology of stem VIII is complicated by the fact that the infix *-t-* assimilates to the first radical of the verb in various ways:

  - Partial assimilation, progressive *t* > *ṭ*, *t* > *d*:

    iṣṭabara اصطبر 'to endure', from *ṣabara* صبر
    iḍṭaraba اضطرب 'to be confused', from *ḍaraba* ضرب
    izdahara ازدهر 'to flourish', from *zahara* زهر

    The case of *iṭṭarada* اطَّرد 'to be uninterrupted' from *ṭarada* طرد probably belongs here rather than under complete assimilation.
  - Complete assimilation, progressive, *t* > *d*, *t* > *ḏ*, *t* > *ẓ*:

    iddaġama ادَّغم 'to assimilate', from *daġama* دغم
    iddaḫara ادّخر 'to store', from *ḏaḫara* ذخر (less commonly *iḏḏaḫara* اذّخر)
    iẓẓalama اظَّلم 'to be wronged', from *ẓalama* ظلم (also explained as stem VII, **inẓalama* انظلم)

  - Complete assimilation, regressive, *w* > *t* and' to *t*:

    ittafaqa اتَّفق 'to agree', from *wafaqa* وفق
    ittaḫaḏa اتَّخذ 'to adopt', from *'aḫaḏa* أخذ

  Note that in all the above the characteristic stem VIII syllable structure is preserved, *iCCaCaCa*.
- Stem IX, *if'alla* اِفْعَلَّ, that is, with doubling of third radical, which probably acounts for the compensatory clustering of the initial syllable. This stem is restricted to verbs indicating colours or physical defects, for example *iḤMaRR-* احْمَرَّ 'to be or go red', cognate with *'aḤMaR-* أحمَر 'red'.
- Stem X, *istaf'ala* اِسْتَفْعَل, that is, with prefix *sta-* (and the same problems with initial consonant clusters as VII, VIII and IX), conveys an estimative sense, for example *istaḤSaNa* اِسْتَحْسَن 'to regard as good', 'to

approve', from *ḤaSuN-* حَسُنَ 'to be good'. It can also denote requests, for example *ista'LaM-* اِسْتَعْلَمَ 'to enquire', that is, to ask for knowledge, from *'aLiM-* عَلِمَ 'to know'.

The remaining stems are exceedingly rare, with the exception of XII.

- Stem XI, *if'ālla* اِفْعَالَّ is a longer form of stem IX and has the same functions, with somewhat more emphasis, for example *iḤmāRRa* اِحْمارَّ 'to be very red'.
- Stem XII, *if'aw'ala* اِفْعَوْعَلَ, with reduplication of the middle radical and the infix *-aw-*, for example *iḤDawDaB-* 'to be hunchbacked', cognate with *'aḤDaB* أَحْدَبَ 'hunchbacked'; this form is by no means rare.

The following were not seen in the data:

- Stem XIII, *if'awwala* اِفْعَوَّلَ, a variant of XII.
- Stem XIV, *if'anlala* اِفْعَنْلَلَ, with infix *-an-* and reduplication of third radical.
- Stem XV, *if'anlā* اِفْعَنْلَى, a variant of XIV with suffix *-ā* instead of reduplication.

A small number of verbs still lie outside the system, for example *ir'awā* ارعوى 'to desist', conventionally treated as a stem IX, though no examples were found outside the dictionaries.

For quadriliteral stems, see **1.9.1.7**.

1.9.1.3 Aspect (also tense, since the distinction is no longer clear in MWA) is expressed by the appropriate stem, perfect or imperfect. All the examples above are given in the perfect.

1.9.1.4 Voice is either active or passive and is marked entirely by the vowel pattern. While there is some variation in the sequences of vowels in the active throughout all the stems (complicated by differences in the vowels of the personal prefixes), the vowels of all passive verbs are uniform, perfect *-u-i-*, with a spread left (so *-u-i-* becomes *-u-u-i*) and imperfect *-u-a-*, with a spread right if the stem has more than one syllable, including now the affixes (so *-u-a-* becomes *-u-a-a-*).

	Perf.		Imperf.	
Stem I	*-u-i-*		*-u-a-*	
	KuTiB-	'was written'	*yuKTaB-*	'is written'
Others	*-u-u-i-*		*-u-a-a-*	
	tuQuRRiB-	'approaching was done'	*yutaQaRRaB-*	'approaching is done'
	uJtuHiD-	'striving was done'	*yuJtaHaD-*	'striving is done'
	ustuḤSiN-	it was approved	*yustaḤSaN-*	'it is approved'

The Arabic passive is essentially impersonal (cf. **3.12.4**), hence the translations above are more literal than idiomatic.

1.9.1.5 Mood is a property of imperfect verbs only, and is marked by changes in the suffixes (for a complete list, see **1.5.2**).

1.9.1.6 Agents are marked by suffixes in perfect and a combination of prefixes and suffixes in imperfect verbs (for a complete list, see **1.5.3**).

1.9.1.7 Quadriliteral verbs, that is, those with four radicals, are not a homogeneous category, and are conventionally divided into four groups: a basic stem QI and its augmented stem QII, then two unrelated stems QIII and QIV. Paradigms are at **1.10.12**.

QI *fa'lala* فَعْلَلَ (the symbolic *fa'ala* acquires an extra third radical) has the same prosodic structure as stem II of the triliteral verbs, that is, with a medial consonant cluster, compare *QaRRaB-* ($C^1aC^2C^2aC^3$), *yuQaRRiB-* ($yuC^1aC^2C^2iC^3$) with *JaMHaR-* ($C^1aC^2C^3aC^4$), *yuJaMHiR-* ($yuC^1aC^2C^3iC^4$), and likewise QII is prosodically the same as triliteral stem V, that is, with *ta-* prefixed, *tafa'lala* تَفَعْلَلَ.

Their patterns are as follows, using the verb *jamhara* جمهر 'to crowd together'.

		Active	Passive
QI	Perf.	*JaMHaR-*	*JuMHiR-*
	Imperf.	*yuJaMHiR-*	*yuJaMHaR-*
QII	Perf.	*taJaMHaR-*	*tuJuMHiR-*
	Imperf.	*yataJaMHaR-*	*yutaJaMHaR-*

These roots are often reduplicated, for example *ZaLZaLa* زلزل 'to shake' (trans.), *taZaLZaLa* تزلزل 'to quake', 'to be shaken'.

QIII *if'anlala* افْعَنْلَلَ is rather rare. Historically, it is an extension of triliteral or quadriliteral roots by infixation, for example *iSLanṬaḤa* اسلنطح 'to be broad', 'to be wide', where for dictionary purposes the *-n-* is treated as an infix. Examples are still listed in Wehr, but none have been found in the data; however, the paradigm has the same prosodic structure as the triliteral stem X; cf. *yaSTaḪRiJu* يستخرج 'he extracts' ($yaSTaC^1C^2iC^3$) and QIII *yaSLanṬiḤu* يسلنطح ($yaC^1C^2aNC^3iC^4$) 'it is broad'. The QIII stem is also prosodically identical with triliteral stem XIV.

QIV *if'alalla* افْعَلَلَّ, on the other hand, is quite common, and always involves doubling of the final radical, hence these verbs display the same structure as stem X doubled verbs; cf. *yastaḤiMMu* يستحمّ 'he bathes' ($yaSTaC^1iC^2C^2$),

yastaḤMiMna يستحممن 'they [fem. plur.] bathe' (yaSTaC^{1}C^{2}iC^{2}na) and *yaḌMaḤiLLu*, يضمحل 'it fades away' (yaC^{1}C^{2}aC^{3}iC^{4}C^4) *yaḌMaḤLiLna* يضمحللن 'they [fem. plur.] fade away' (yaC^{1}C^{2}aC^{3}C^{4}iC^{4}na).

1.9.1.8 In all of the above no account has been taken of the morphonologically determined variants. These are certainly numerous, but are almost entirely rule governed, and the tables below should give sufficient information for the correct production of every form in all the paradigms.

The following general rules may be helpful:

- From stem II onwards the range of possibilities is reduced to one (except for the verbal nouns), in other words, these verbal paradigms contain no alternatives.
- Non-canonical sequences are all resolved in the same way, on the model of one of the verbs listed in full below, for example all passive verbs with third weak radical *-w* or *-y* conjugate like لقي *laqiya* in the perfect and رمى *ramā* in the imperfect, regardless of stem number, for example *iḫtafā* اختفى 'to hide', stem VIII, passive perfect *uḫtufiya* اُخْتُفِيَ, imperfect *yuḫtafā* يُخْتَفَى; all hollow verbs have the same alternation of a long and short stem in all forms, for example *inqāda* انْقاد 'to be led' with long stem *-qād-* before vowels both in the perfect and the imperfect and the short stem *-qad-* before consonants, *inqad-tu* انْقَدْت 'I was led', *yanqad-na* يَنْقَدْن 'they [fem.] are led', etc. (which means that all the unvowelled apocopated forms will also have the short stem, e.g. *lam yanqad* لم يَنْقَدْ 'he was not led').
- A few anomalies survive, but will be immediately apparent from the lexicon: a few verbs retain a strong semi-vowel *-w-*, for example *'aḥwala* أَحْوَلَ (imperf. *yuḥwilu* يُحْوِل) 'to be squint-eyed', *istaḥwaḍa* اسْتَحْوَذَ (imperf. *yastaḥwiḍu* يَسْتَحْوِذ) 'to overwhelm'. Some doublets are now observable, for example strong *istajwaba* استجْوَب (imperf. *yastajwibu* يَسْتَجْوِب) 'to interrogate', contrasting with weak *istajāba* اسْتَجَاب (imperf. *yastajību* يَسْتَجِيب) 'to answer a request'. These conjugate exactly like regular verbs, but it is not clear whether this class will become productive.

1.9.2 Stem I phonological variants

The following paradigms show stem I in all phonological variants (vocalization of the Arabic is, however, kept to a minimum). For the augmented stems, see **1.10**. To obtain the passive paradigm, make the stem substitutions indicated. Participles are given even if sometimes rather implausible (though a pass. *makūn* مكون from *kāna* كان 'be' is recorded as an impersonal:

'in which being has been done'). For verbal nouns, basically non-predictable, see **1.11**. 'Energetic' forms are not listed: see **1.5.2.2**.

Regular verb with three sound radicals, *balaġa* بلغ 'to reach', active stems perfect *balaġ-* بَلَغـ, imperfect *-a-bluġ-* ـَبْلُغـ, active participle *bāliġ* بالغ, passive participle *mablūġ* مبلوغ. For variations in medial vowels, see **1.9.1.1**.

The passive stems are perfect *buliġ-* بُلِغـ and imperfect *-u-blaġ-* ـُبْلَغـ..

Perfect

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*balaġ-tu* بلغتُ	(none)	*balaġ-nā* بلغْنا
2nd m.	*balaġ-ta* بلغتَ	*balaġ-tum-ā* بلغتما	*balaġ-tum* بلغتم
2nd f.	*balaġ-ti* بلغتِ	(same)	*balaġ-tunna* بلغتنّ
3rd m.	*balaġ-a* بلغَ	*balaġ-ā* بلغا	*balaġ-ū* بلغوا
3rd f.	*balaġ-at* بلغتْ	*balaġ-at-ā* بلغتا	*balaġ-na* بلغْن

Imperfect

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.	Imperat.
Sing.				
1st	*'a-bluġ-u* أبلغُ	*'a-bluġ-a* أبلغَ	*'a-bluġ* أبلغْ	
2nd m.	*ta-bluġ-u* تبلغُ	*ta-bluġ-a* تبلغَ	*ta-bluġ* تبلغْ	*u-bluġ* اُبلغْ
2nd f.	*ta-bluġ-ī-na* تبلغين	*ta-bluġ-ī* تبلغي	*ta-bluġ-ī* تبلغي	*u-bluġī* اُبلغي
3rd m.	*ya-bluġ-u* يبلغُ	*ya-bluġ-a* يبلغَ	*ya-bluġ* يبلغْ	
3rd f.	*ta-bluġ-u* تبلغُ	*ta-bluġ-a* تبلغَ	*ta-bluġ* تبلغْ	
Dual				
2nd	*ta-bluġ-ā-ni* تبلغان	*ta-bluġ-ā* تبلغا	*ta-bluġ-ā* تبلغا	*u-bluġā* اُبلغا
3rd m.	*ya-bluġ-ā-ni* يبلغان	*ya-bluġ-ā* يبلغا	*ya-bluġ-ā* يبلغا	
3rd f.	*ta-bluġ-ā-ni* تبلغان	*ta-bluġ-ā* تبلغا	*ta-bluġ-ā* تبلغا	
Plur.				
1st	*na-bluġ-u* نبلغُ	*na-bluġ-a* نبلغَ	*na-bluġ* نبلغْ	
2nd m.	*ta-bluġ-ū-na* تبلغون	*ta-bluġ-ū* تبلغوا	*ta-bluġ-ū* تبلغوا	*u-bluġū* اُبلغوا
2nd f.	*ta-bluġ-na* تبلغْن	*ta-bluġ-na* تبلغْن	*ta-bluġ-na* تبلغْن	*u-bluġna* اُبلغْن
3rd m.	*ya-bluġ-ū-na* يبلغون	*ya-bluġ-ū* يبلغوا	*ya-bluġ-ū* يبلغوا	
3rd f.	*ya-bluġ-na* يبلغْن	*ya-bluġ-na* يبلغْن	*ya-bluġ-na* يبلغْن	

The various phonologically determined deviations from the above scheme can be summed up in tables for each kind, with the rule that all simple and derived stems will follow the same principle, as will be explained before each paradigm.

Doubled verbs (second and third radical identical), *ḍamma* ضمّ 'to bring together', 'to embrace'. With these verbs the two identical radicals are either assimilated or remain unassimilated, hence, like the hollow verbs (see below), they have two stems, one long (in this case unassimilated) and one short (assimilated), selected by the same criterion, namely, the long stem, here perfect *ḍamam-* ـَضَمَمْ, imperfect *-a-ḍmum-* ـَضْمُمْ before unvowelled agent suffixes (and by definition then in the apocopated form, but see further below), and the short stem, here perfect *ḍamm-* ـَضَمّ, imperfect *-a-ḍumm-* ـَضُمّ before vowelled suffixes (actually the opposite distribution to that of hollow verbs).

In these verbs the archaic and morphologically quite regular apocopated *taḍmum* تَضْمُمْ *naḍmum* نَضْمُمْ etc., have been entirely replaced by the ancient variant *taḍumma* تَضُمَّ, *naḍumma* نَضُمَّ etc. and the paradigm is thus now identical in every way with the dependent form. The imperatives likewise are now based on the dependent rather than the apocopated form. Passive stems are perfect *ḍumm-* ـُضُمّ, *ḍumim-* ـُضِمِم, imperfect *u-ḍamm-* ـُضَمّ, *u-ḍmam-* ـُضْمَمْ, active participle *ḍāmm* ضامّ, passive participle *maḍmūm* مضموم.

Perfect

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*ḍamam-tu* ضممتُ	(none)	*ḍamam-nā* ضممنا
2nd m.	*ḍamam-ta* ضممتَ	*ḍamam-tum-ā* ضممتما	*ḍamam-tum* ضممتم
2nd f.	*ḍamam-ti* ضممتِ	(same)	*ḍamam-tunna* ضممتنَ
3rd m.	*ḍamm-a* ضمّ	*ḍamm-ā* ضمّا	*ḍamm-ū* ضمّوا
3rd f.	*ḍamm-at* ضمّتْ	*ḍamm-at-ā* ضمّتا	*ḍamam-na* ضممن

Imperfect

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.	Imperat.
Sing.				
1st	*'a-ḍumm-u* أَضمّ	*'a-ḍumm-a* أَضمّ	*'a-ḍumm-a* أَضمّ	
2nd m.	*ta-ḍumm-u* تضمّ	*ta-ḍumm-a* تضمّ	*ta-ḍumm-a* تضمّ	*ḍumm-a* ضمّ
2nd f.	*ta-ḍumm-ī-na* تضمّين	*ta-ḍumm-ī* تضمّي	*ta-ḍumm-ī* تضمّي	*ḍumm-ī* ضمّي
3rd m.	*ya-ḍumm-u* يضمّ	*ya-ḍumm-a* يضمّ	*ya-ḍumm-a* يضمّ	
3rd f.	*ta-ḍumm-u* تضمّ	*ta-ḍumm-a* تضمّ	*ta-ḍumm-a* تضمّ	
Dual				
2nd	*ta-ḍumm-ā-ni* تضمّان	*ta-ḍumm-ā* تضمّا	*ta-ḍumm-ā* تضمّا	*ḍumm-ā* ضمّا
3rd m.	*ya-ḍumm-ā-ni* يضمّان	*ya-ḍumm-ā* يضمّا	*ya-ḍumm-ā* يضمّا	
3rd f.	*ta-ḍumm-ā-ni* تضمّان	*ta-ḍumm-ā* تضمّا	*ta-ḍumm-ā* تضمّا	
Plur.				
1st	*na-ḍumm-u* نضمّ	*na-ḍumm-a* نضمّ	*na-ḍumm-a* نضمّ	
2nd m.	*ta-ḍumm-ū-na* تضمّون	*ta-ḍumm-ū* تضمّوا	*ta-ḍumm-ū* تضمّوا	*ḍumm-ū* ضمّوا
2nd f.	*ta-ḍmum-na* تضممن	*ta-ḍmum-na* تضممن	*ta-ḍmum-na* تضممن	*u-ḍmum-na* اضممن
3rd m.	*ya-ḍumm-ū-na* يضمّون	*ya-ḍumm-ū* يضمّوا	*ya-ḍumm-ū* يضمّوا	
3rd f.	*ya-ḍmum-na* يضممن	*ya-ḍmum-na* يضممن	*ya-ḍmum-na* يضممن	

First radical *w*- verbs. In these verbs the perfect is completely regular, and the imperfect has a short stem lacking the first radical, for example *wajada* وجد 'to find', perfect stem *wajad-* وَجَد, imperfect *-a-jid-* ـَجِد. The passive stems are perfect *wujid-* وُجِد and imperfect *-ū-jad-* ـُوجَد. (where the first radical is retained in the context of the *u*-vowel in the prefix), active participle *wājid* واجد, passive participle *mawjūd* موجود.

Perfect

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*wajad-tu* وجدتُ	(none)	*wajad-nā* وجدنا
2nd m.	*wajad-ta* وجدتَ	*wajad-tum-ā* وجدتما	*wajad-tum* وجدتم
2nd f.	*wajad-ti* وجدتِ	(same)	*wajad-tunna* وجدتنّ
3rd m.	*wajad-a* وجدَ	*wajad-ā* وجدا	*wajad-ū* وجدوا
3rd f.	*wajad-at* وجدتْ	*wajad-at-ā* وجدتا	*wajad-na* وجدن

Imperfect

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.	Imperat.
Sing.				
1st	*'a-jid-u* أجدُ	*'a-jid-a* أجدَ	*'a-jid* أجدْ	
2nd m.	*ta-jid-u* تجدُ	*ta-jid-a* تجدَ	*ta-jid* تجدْ	*jid* جدْ
2nd f.	*ta-jid-ī-na* تجدين	*ta-jid-ī* تجدي	*ta-jid-ī* تجدي	*jid-ī* جدي
3rd m.	*ya-jid-u* يجدُ	*ya-jid-a* يجدَ	*ya-jid* يجدْ	
3rd f.	*ta-jid-u* تجدُ	*ta-jid-a* تجدَ	*ta-jid* تجدْ	
Dual				
2nd	*ta-jid-ā-ni* تجدان	*ta-jid-ā* تجدا	*ta-jid-ā* تجدا	*jid-ā* جدا
3rd m.	*ya-jid-ā-ni* يجدان	*ya-jid-ā* يجدا	*ya-jid-ā* يجدا	
3rd f.	*ta-jid-ā-ni* تجدان	*ta-jid-ā* تجدا	*ta-jid-ā* تجدا	
Plur.				
1st	*na-jid-u* نجدُ	*na-jid-a* نجدَ	*na-jid* نجدْ	
2nd m.	*ta-jid-ū-na* تجدون	*ta-jid-ū* تجدوا	*ta-jid-ū* تجدوا	*jid-ū* جدوا
2nd f.	*ta-jid-na* تجدْن	*ta-jid-na* تجدْن	*ta-jid-na* تجدْن	*jid-na* جدْن
3rd m.	*ya-jid-ū-na* يجدون	*ya-jid-ū* يجدوا	*ya-jid-ū* يجدوا	
3rd f.	*ya-jid-na* يجدن	*ya-jid-na* يجدْن	*ya-jid-na* يجدْن	

The pattern *wajila* وجل 'to be afraid', with imperfect *yawjalu* يوجل, retaining the *w-* in the stem, is rare (not seen in the data but listed in the dictionaries).

Doubled verbs with first radical *w-* retain the *w-* in all positions and are effectively the same as regular doubled verbs. They thus have two stems, for example *wadda* ودّ 'to like', perfect stems *wadd-* وَدّ- and *wadad-* وَدَدْ-,

imperfect *-a-wadd-* ـوَدَّ and *-a-wdad-* ـوَدْدْ (though the latter, occurring only in the feminine plural, is so rare that it has never been sighted), active participle *wādd* وادّ, passive participle *mawdūd* مودود.

Middle weak radical verbs, that is, those whose middle radical is *-w-* or *-y-*. In these so-called 'hollow' verbs in both perfect and imperfect there are two stems, one long, for example *qāla* قال 'to say', has long stems: perfect *qāl-* ـقال, imperfect *-qūl-* ـقُول, and a short stem, *-qul-* ـقُلْ in both aspects. The stems are selected automatically by the suffix: if the suffix begins with a consonant the short stem is used (hence also in those apocopated and imperative forms where the third radical is unvowelled anyway), otherwise the long stem is used (the opposite principle is applied with doubled verbs, see above).

There are three sets of stem patterns, mostly reflecting the quality of the middle radical: (1) middle radical *-w-*, perfect stems *-ā-* and *-u-*, imperfect stems *-ū-* and *-u-*, as in the example just given; (2) middle radical *-y-*, perfect stems *-ā-* and *-i-*, imperfect stems *-ī-* and *-i-*, for example *sāra/sirtu*, *yasīru/yasirna* (see full paradigm below); and (3) a historically heterogeneous group in which the middle radical is mostly *-w-*, with perfect stems *-ā-* and *-i-*, imperfect stems *-ā-* and *-a-*, for example *nāla* نال 'to obtain', perfect stems *nāl-* ـنال, *nil-* ـنِلْ and imperfect *-nāl-* ـنَال, *-nal-* ـنَلْ. This is now best regarded as a lexical feature, as there are only a half dozen or so such verbs in common use, though they are frequent, especially *kāda* كاد 'to almost do' and *zāla* زال 'to cease' (see **3.21.3** and **3.21.4**), also *ḫāfa* خاف 'to fear'.

In all these, the active participle replaces the weak radical with *hamza*, for example active participle *qā'il* قائل 'saying' (root *q-w-l*), *zā'id* زائد 'increasing' (root *z-y-d*).

The passive follows the same double stem system but is uniform in all hollow verbs, for example middle radical *-w- zāra* زار 'to visit', with perfect stems *zīr-* زير, *zir-* زِرْ, imperfect *-u-zār-* ـُزار, *-u-zar-* ـُزَرْ, passive participle *mazūr* مَزور, middle radical *-y- zāda* زاد 'to increase' (trans.): perfect *zīd-* زيد, *zid-* زِدْ, imperfect *-u-zād-* ـُزاد, *-u-zad-* ـُزَدْ, active passive participle *mazīd* مزيد. Note that the passive participles preserve the middle radical at the expense of the pattern, *mazūr* (not **mazwūr*), *mazīd* (not **mazyūd*).

Paradigm of type (1), middle radical *-w-*, *qāla* قال 'to say', active:

Perfect

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*qul-tu* قلتُ	(none)	*qul-nā* قلنا
2nd m.	*qul-ta* قلتَ	*qul-tum-ā* قلتما	*qul-tum* قلتم
2nd f.	*qul-ti* قلتِ	(same)	*qul-tunna* قلتنّ
3rd m.	*qāl-a* قال	*qāl-ā* قالا	*qāl-ū* قالوا
3rd f.	*qāl-at* قالتْ	*qāl-at-ā* قالتا	*qul-na* قلن

Imperfect

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.	Imperat.
Sing.				
1st	*'a-qūl-u* أقول	*'a-qūl-a* أقول	*'a-qul* أقل	
2nd m.	*ta-qūl-u* تقول	*ta-qūl-a* تقول	*ta-qul* تقل	*qul* قل
2nd f.	*ta-qūl-ī-na* تقولين	*ta-qūl-ī* تقولي	*ta-qul-ī* تقولي	*qūl-ī* قولي
3rd m.	*ya-qūl-u* يقول	*ya-qūl-a* يقول	*ya-qul* يقل	
3rd f.	*ta-qūl-u* تقول	*ta-qūl-a* تقول	*ta-qul* تقل	
Dual				
2nd	*ta-qūl-ā-ni* تقولان	*ta-qūl-ā* تقولا	*ta-qūl-ā* تقولا	*qūl-ā* قولا
3rd m.	*ya-qūl-ā-ni* يقولان	*ya-qūl-ā* يقولا	*ya-qūl-ā* يقولا	
3rd f.	*ta-qūl-ā-ni* تقولان	*ta-qūl-ā* تقولا	*ta-qūl-ā* تقولا	
Plur.				
1st	*na-qūl-u* نقول	*na-qūl-a* نقول	*na-qul* نقل	
2nd m.	*ta-qūl-ū-na* تقولون	*ta-qūl-ū* تقولوا	*ta-qūl-ū* تقولوا	*qūl-ū* قولوا
2nd f.	*ta-qul-na* تقلن	*ta-qul-na* تقلن	*ta-qul-na* تقلن	*qul-na* قلن
3rd m.	*ya-qūl-ū-na* يقولون	*ya-qūl-ū* يقولوا	*ya-qūl-ū* يقولوا	
3rd f.	*ya-qul-na* يقلن	*ya-qul-na* يقلن	*ya-qul-na* يقلن	

Paradigm of type (2), middle radical *-y-*, *ṣāra* صار 'to become', active:

Perfect

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*ṣir-tu* صرتُ	(none)	*ṣir-nā* صرنا
2nd m.	*ṣir-ta* صرتَ	*ṣir-tum-ā* صرتما	*ṣir-tum* صرتم
2nd f.	*ṣir-ti* صرتِ	(same)	*ṣir-tunna* صرتنّ
3rd m.	*ṣār-a* صار	*ṣār-ā* صارا	*ṣār-ū* صاروا
3rd f.	*ṣār-at* صارتْ	*ṣār-at-ā* صارتا	*ṣir-na* صرن

Imperfect

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.	Imperat.
Sing.				
1st	*'a-ṣīr-u* أصيرُ	*'a-ṣīr-a* أصيرَ	*'a-ṣir* أصرْ	
2nd m.	*ta-ṣīr-u* تصيرُ	*ta-ṣīr-a* تصيرَ	*ta-ṣir* تصرْ	*ṣir* صرْ
2nd f.	*ta-ṣīr-ī-na* تصيرين	*ta-ṣīr-ī* تصيري	*ta-ṣīr-ī* تصيري	*ṣīr-ī* صيري
3rd m.	*ya-ṣīr-u* يصيرُ	*ya-ṣīr-a* يصيرَ	*ya-ṣir* يصرْ	
3rd f.	*ta-ṣīr-u* تصيرُ	*ta-ṣīr-a* تصيرَ	*ta-ṣir* تصرْ	
Dual				
2nd	*ta-ṣīr-ā-ni* تصيران	*ta-ṣīr-ā* تصيرا	*ta-ṣīr-ā* تصيرا	*ṣīr-ā* صيرا
3rd m.	*ya-ṣīr-ā-ni* يصيران	*ya-ṣīr-ā* يصيرا	*ya-ṣīr-ā* يصيرا	
3rd f.	*ta-ṣīr-ā-ni* تصيران	*ta-ṣīr-ā* تصيرا	*ta-ṣīr-ā* تصيرا	
Plur.				
1st	*na-ṣīr-u* نصيرُ	*na-ṣīr-a* نصيرَ	*na-ṣir* نصر	
2nd m.	*ta-ṣīr-ū-na* تصيرون	*ta-ṣīr-ū* تصيروا	*ta-ṣīr-ū* تصيروا	*ṣīr-ū* صيروا
2nd f.	*ta-ṣir-na* تصرن	*ta-ṣir-na* تصرن	*ta-ṣir-na* تصرن	*ṣir-na* صرن
3rd m.	*ya-ṣīr-ū-na* يصيرون	*ya-ṣīr-ū* يصيروا	*ya-ṣīr-ū* يصيروا	
3rd f.	*ya-ṣir-na* يصرن	*ya-ṣir-na* يصرن	*ya-ṣir-na* يصرن	

Paradigm of type (3), middle radical usually *-w-*, *nāma* نام 'to sleep', active:

Perfect

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*nim-tu* نمتُ	(none)	*nim-nā* نمنا
2nd m.	*nim-ta* نمتَ	*nim-tum-ā* نمتما	*nim-tum* نمتم
2nd f.	*nim-ti* نمتِ	(same)	*nim-tunna* نمتنّ
3rd m.	*nām-a* نام	*nām-ā* ناما	*nām-ū* ناموا
3rd f.	*nām-at* نامتْ	*nām-at-ā* نامتا	*nim-na* نمن

Imperfect

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.	Imperat.
Sing.				
1st	*'a-nām-u* أنام	*'a-nām-a* أنام	*'a-nam* أنم	
2nd m.	*ta-nām-u* تنام	*ta-nām-a* تنام	*ta-nam* تنم	*nam* نم
2nd f.	*ta-nām-ī-na* تنامين	*ta-nām-ī* تنامي	*ta-nām-ī* تنامي	*nām-ī* نامي
3rd m.	*ya-nām-u* ينام	*ya-nām-a* ينام	*ya-nam* ينم	
3rd f.	*ta-nām-u* تنام	*ta-nām-a* تنام	*ta-nam* تنم	
Dual				
2nd	*ta-nām-ā-ni* تنامان	*ta-nām-ā* تناما	*ta-nām-ā* تناما	*nām-ā* ناما
3rd m.	*ya-nām-ā-ni* ينامان	*ya-nām-ā* يناما	*ya-nām-ā* يناما	
3rd f.	*ta-nām-ā-ni* تنامان	*ta-nām-ā* تناما	*ta-nām-ā* تناما	
Plur.				
1st	*na-nām-u* ننام	*na-nām-a* ننام	*na-nam* ننم	
2nd m.	*ta-nām-ū-na* تنامون	*ta-nām-ū* تناموا	*ta-nām-ū* تناموا	*nām-ū* ناموا
2nd f.	*ta-nam-na* تنمن	*ta-nam-na* تنمن	*ta-nam-na* تنمن	*nam-na* نمن
3rd m.	*ya-nām-ū-na* ينامون	*ya-nām-ū* يناموا	*ya-nām-ū* يناموا	
3rd f.	*ya-nam-na* ينمن	*ya-nam-na* ينمن	*ya-nam-na* ينمن	

Third weak radical verbs are of three common kinds (the others are rare and in any case follow the same principles): (1) third radical *-w* with medial vowel *u*; and (2) third radical *-y* with medial vowel *a*, third radical *-y* with medial vowel *i* (see further **1.9.1.1** on the medial vowel system).

In the following paradigms the transliteration reproduces the consonantal spellings *uw* (realized as *ū*) and *iy* (realized as *ī*) in order to emphasize the underlying regularities in the stem and allow the third radical to be identified as far as possible.

Third radical *-w*, *daʿā* دعا 'to call': perfect stem *daʿaw-* دَعَوْ, imperfect *-a-dʿuw-* يَدْعُو, and see below for the exceptions. Irregularities in this verb arise from conflicts between the third radical and the agent suffixes: in the perfect the 3rd singular masculine and feminine, 3rd dual feminine and the 3rd plural masculine are irregular, while the sequence *-aw-* in all the other forms represents the normal third radical consonant (cf. *balaġ-*), even though a diphthong results. In the imperfect the morphophonological compromises have different results: wherever the word-final and non-canonical sequence *-uwu-* would occur it is reduced to *-ū* (= *-uw*); the 2nd singular feminine sacrifices the third radical altogether, while the 2nd and 3rd plural masculine fuse the third radical with the plural suffix, hence *uw* + *ūna* = *-ūna*, thus obliterating the gender distinction. By comparing these two masculine plurals with their feminine, it will be seen that the feminine plurals are actually completely regular, namely, stem *tadʿuw-/yadʿuw-* + *-na* (cf. *yabluġ-na*).

The imperfect dependent is completely regular, and the apocopated is produced by eliding the final radical, thus independent *yadʿū* (= *yadʿuw*) becomes *yadʿu*, etc. The feminine singular imperative would have to be *idʿī* according to **1.5.2.2**, but, like most of the examples in the tables, none has been seen in the data. The same applies to *irmū* (*urmū*?) in the next paradigm.

The passive stems are: perfect *duʿiy* دُعِيـ (= *duʿī* before a consonant) and imperfect *-u-dʿā-* يُدْعَى (conjugates exactly like *laqiya/yalqā* لَقِيَ/يلْقَى, see below).

Active participle *dāʿin* داعٍ, passive participle *madʿuww* مدعوّ.

Perfect

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*daʿaw-tu* دعوتُ	(none)	*daʿaw-nā* دعونا
2nd m.	*daʿaw-ta* دعوتَ	*daʿaw-tum-ā* دعوتما	*daʿaw-tum* دعوتم
2nd f.	*daʿaw-ti* دعوتِ	(same)	*daʿaw-tunna* دعوتنّ
3rd m.	*daʿ-ā* دعا	*daʿaw-ā* دعوا	*daʿ-aw* دعَوْا
3rd f.	*daʿ-at* دعتْ	*daʿ-at-ā* دعتا	*daʿaw-na* دعون

Imperfect

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.	Imperat.
Sing.				
1st	*'a-d'uw* أدعُو	*'a-d'uw-a* أدعُوَ	*'a-d'-u* أدعُ	
2nd m.	*ta-d'uw* تدعُو	*ta-d'uw-a* تدعُوَ	*ta-d'-u* تدعُ	*u-d'u* ادعُ
2nd f.	*ta-d'-ī-na* تدعِين	*ta-d'-ī* تدعِي	*ta-d'-ī* تدعِي	*i-d'-ī* ادعِي
3rd m.	*ya-d'uw* يدعُو	*ya-d'uw-a* يدعُوَ	*ya-d'-u* يدعُ	
3rd f.	*ta-d'uw* تدعُو	*ta-d'uw-a* تدعُوَ	*ta-d'-u* تدعُ	
Dual				
2nd	*ta-d'uw-ā-ni* تدعُوان	*ta-d'uw-ā* تدعُوَا	*ta-d'uw-ā* تدعُوَا	*u-d'uw-ā* ادعُوَا
3rd m.	*ya-d'uw-ā-ni* يدعُوان	*ya-d'uw-ā* يدعُوَا	*ya-d'uw-ā* يدعُوَا	
3rd f.	*ta-d'uw-ā-ni* تدعُوان	*ta-d'uw-ā* تدعُوَا	*ta-d'uw-ā* تدعُوَا	
Plur.				
1st	*na-d'uw* ندعُو	*na-d'uw-a* ندعُوَ	*na-d'-u* ندعُ	
2nd m.	*ta-d'uw-na* تدعُون	*ta-d'uw* تدعُوا	*ta-d'uw* تدعُوا	*u-d'uw* ادعُوا
2nd f.	*ta-d'uw-na* تدعُون	*ta-d'uw-na* تدعُون	*ta-d'uw-na* تدعُون	*u-d'uw-na* ادعُون
3rd m.	*ya-d'uw-na* يدعُون	*ya-d'uw* يدعُوا	*ya-d'uw* يدعُوا	
3rd f.	*ya-d'uw-na* يدعُون	*ya-d'uw-na* يدعُون	*ya-d'uw-na* يدعُون	

An infrequent stem with medial vowel *-u-* is listed in the classical dictionaries, for example *saruwa* سَرُوَ 'to be magnanimous' but has not been seen in the data. The imperfect in any case follows *yad'uw* يدعو exactly, namely, *yasruw* يسرو, etc.

Third radical *-y*, type one: *ramā* رمى 'to throw', perfect stem *ramay-*, imperfect *-a-rmiy-*, active participle *rāmin* رام, passive participle *marmiyy* مرميّ. This class has a different set of compromises from the third radical *-w* verbs, losing the contrast between 2nd feminine singular and plural.

Perfect

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*ramay-tu* رمَيْتُ	(none)	*ramay-nā* رمَيْنا
2nd m.	*ramay-ta* رمَيْتَ	*ramay-tum-ā* رمَيْتما	*ramay-tum* رمَيْتم
2nd f.	*ramay-ti* رمَيْتِ	(same)	*ramay-tunna* رمَيْتنّ
3rd m.	*ram-ā* رمَى	*ramay-ā* رمَيا	*rama-w* رمَوا
3rd f.	*ram-at* رمتْ	*ram-at-ā* رمتا	*ramay-na* رمَين

Imperfect

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.	Imperat.
Sing.				
1st	*'a-rmiy* أرمِي	*'a-rmiy-a* أرمِيَ	*'a-rm-i* أرمِ	
2nd m.	*ta-rmiy* ترمِي	*ta-rmiy-a* ترمِيَ	*ta-rm-i* ترمِ	*i-rmi* ارمِ
2nd f.	*ta-rm-ī-na* ترمِين	*ta-rm-ī* ترمِيَ	*ta-rm-ī* ترمِي	*i-rm-ī* أرمِي
3rd m.	*ya-rmiy* يرمِي	*ya-rmiy-a* يرمِيَ	*ya-rm-i* يرمِ	
3rd f.	*ta-rmiy* ترمِي	*ta-rmiy-a* ترمِيَ	*ta-rm-i* ترمِ	
Dual				
2nd	*ta-rmiy-ā-ni* ترمِيان	*ta-rmiy-ā* ترمِيا	*ta-rmiy-ā* ترمِيا	*i-rmiy-ā* ارمِيا
3rd m.	*ya-rmiy-ā-ni* يرمِيان	*ya-rmiy-ā* يرمِيا	*ya-rmiy-ā* يرمِيا	
3rd f.	*ta-rmiy-ā-ni* ترمِيان	*ta-rmiy-ā* ترمِيا	*ta-rmiy-ā* ترمِيا	
Plur.				
1st	*na-rm-iy* نرمِي	*na-rmiy-a* نرمِيَ	*na-rm-i* نرمِ	
2nd m.	*ta-rm-ū-na* ترمُون	*ta-rm-ū* ترمُوا	*ta-rm-ū* ترمُوا	*i-rm-ū* ارمُوا
2nd f.	*ta-rm-iy-na* ترمِين	*ta-rm-iy-na* ترمِين	*ta-rm-iy-na* ترمِين	*i-rm-iy-na* ارمِين
3rd m.	*ya-rm-ū-na* يرمُون	*ya-rm-ū* يرمُوا	*ya-rm-ū* يرمُوا	
3rd f.	*ya-rmiy-na* يرمِين	*ya-rmiy-na* يرمِين	*ya-rmiy-na* يرمِين	

Third radical *-y*, type two: *laqiya* لقي 'to meet', perfect stem *laqiy-*, imperfect *-a-lqā-*, active participle *lāqin* لاقٍ, passive participle *malqiyy* ملقيّ. This class also compromises by neutralizing the number distinction in 2nd and 3rd feminine plural. The passive stems are perfect *luqiy-* (conjugates like *laqiy-*) and imperfect *yu-lqā* (conjugates like *ramā* رمى).

Perfect

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*laqiy-tu* لقِيتُ	(none)	*laqiy-nā* لقِينا
2nd m.	*laqiy-ta* لقِيتَ	*laqiy-tum-ā* لقِيتما	*laqiy-tum* لقِيتم
2nd f.	*laqiy-ti* لقِيتِ	(same)	*laqiy-tunna* لقِيتنّ
3rd m.	*laqiy-a* لقِيَ	*laqiy-ā* لقِيا	*laq-ū* لقُوا
3rd f.	*laqiy-at* لقِيَتْ	*laqiy-at-ā* لقِيَتا	*laqiy-na* لقِين

Imperfect

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.	Imperat.
Sing.				
1st	*'a-lq-ā* ألقَى	*'a-lq-ā* ألقَى	*'a-lq* الق	
2nd m.	*ta-lq-ā* تلقَى	*ta-lq-ā* تلقَى	*ta-lq-a* تلقَ	*i-lqa* القَ
2nd f.	*ta-lqay-na* تلقَين	*ta-lqa-y* تلقَيْ	*ta-lqa-y* تلقَيْ	*i-lqay* القَيْ
3rd m.	*ya-lq-ā* يلقَى	*ya-lq-ā* يلقَى	*ya-lq-a* يلقَ	
3rd f.	*ta-lq-ā* تلقَى	*ta-lq-ā* تلقَى	*ta-lq-a* تلقَ	
Dual				
2nd	*ta-lqay-ā-ni* تلقَيان	*ta-lqay-ā* تلقَيا	*ta-lqay-ā* تلقَيا	*i-lqay-ā* القَيا
3rd m.	*ya-lqay-ā-ni* يلقَيان	*ya-lqay-ā* يلقَيا	*ya-lqay-ā* يلقَيا	
3rd f.	*ta-lqay-ā-ni* تلقَيان	*ta-lqay-ā* تلقَيا	*ta-lqay-ā* تلقَيا	
Plur.				
1st	*na-lq-ā* نلقَى	*na-lq-ā* نلقَى	*na-lq-a* نلقَ	
2nd m.	*ta-lqaw-na* تلقَوْن	*ta-lqaw* تلقَوْا	*ta-lqaw* تلقَوْا	*i-lqaw* القَوْا
2nd f.	*ta-lqay-na* تلقَين	*ta-lqay-na* تلقين	*ta-lqay-na* تلقَين	*i-lqay-na* القَين
3rd m.	*ya-lqaw-na* يلقَوْن	*ya-lqaw* يلقَوْا	*ya-lqaw* يلقَوْا	
3rd f.	*ya-lqay-na* يلقَين	*ya-lqay-na* يلقَين	*ya-lqay-na* يلقَين	

First radical *w*-, *waqā* وقى 'to be next', 'to be in control over', perfect stem *waqay-* وَقَيْـ, imperfect *-a-qiy-* ـَقِيـ. These verbs combine the behaviour of first radical *w-* verbs (see above) and third radical *-y* of both kinds, with the result that in several parts of the paradigm only the middle radical is left embedded in the affixes (the imperative stem is thus reduced to a single consonant, but in any case is exceedingly rare). The passive stems are perfect *wuqiy-* وُقِيـ and imperfect *-ū-qā-* ـُوقَى, active participle *wāqin* واقٍ, passive participle *mawqiyy* موقيّ.

Note that the final element in the imperfect behaves exactly as in *-a-rmī* يَرْمِي from *ramā*, see above.

Perfect

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*waqay-tu* وقيتُ	(none)	*waqay-nā* وقينا
2nd m.	*waqay-ta* وقيتَ	*waqay-tum-ā* وقيتما	*waqay-tum* وقيتم
2nd f.	*waqay-ti* وقيتِ	(same)	*waqay-tunna* وقيتنّ
3rd m.	*waq-ā* وقى	*waqay-ā* وقيا	*waq-aw* وقوا
3rd f.	*waq-at* وقتْ	*waq-at-ā* وقتا	*waqay-na* وقين

Imperfect (imperative not seen in data, listed for information only)

	Indep.	Dep.	Apoc.	[Imperat.]
Sing.				
1st	*'a-qiy* أقِي	*'a-qiy-a* أقِيَ	*'a-qi* أقِ	
2nd m.	*ta-qiy* تقِي	*ta-qiy-a* تقِيَ	*taqi* تقِ	[*qi* قِ]
2nd f.	*ta-q-ī-na* تقِين	*ta-q-ī* تقِي	*ta-q-ī* تقِي	
3rd m.	*ya-qiy* يقِي	*ya-qiy-a* يقِيَ	*ya-qi* يقِ	
3rd f.	*ta-qiy* تقِي	*ta-qiy-a* تقِيَ	*ta-qi* تقِ	
Dual				
2nd	*ta-qiy-ā-ni* تقِيان	*ta-qiy-ā* تقِيا	*ta-qiy-ā* تقِيا	[*qiy-ā* قِيا]
3rd m.	*ya-qiy-ā-ni* يقِيان	*ya-qiy-ā* يقِيا	*ya-qiy-ā* يقِيا	
3rd f.	*ta-qiy-ā-ni* تقِيان	*ta-qiy-ā* تقِيا	*ta-qiy-ā* تقِيا	
Plur.				
1st	*na-qiy* نقِي	*na-qiy-a* نقِيَ	*na-qi* نقِ	
2nd m.	*ta-q-ū-na* تقُون	*ta-q-ū* تقُوا	*ta-q-ū* تقُوا	[*qū* قُوا]
2nd f.	*ta-qiy-na* تقِين	*ta-qiy-na* تقِين	*ta-qiy-na* تقِين	[*qiy-na* قِين]
3rd m.	*ya-qū-na* يقُون	*ya-q-ū* يقُوا	*ya-q-ū* يقُوا	
3rd f.	*ya-qiy-na* يقِين	*ya-qiy-na* يقِين	*ya-qiy-na* يقِين	

All weak third radical verbs fit into one of the paradigms above, as do all the derived stems below, the medial vowel being the determinant: when it is *-a-* the verb follows *ram-ā* رمى in the perfect or *yalq-ā* يلقى in the imperfect, and when it is *-i-*, it follows *laqiy-a* لقي in the perfect and *yarm-ī* يرمي in the imperfect regardless of voice or stem number. The doubly weak

waliya وليَ 'to be next' is unusual in being the only weak third radical verb with the same vowel in both perfect, stem *waliy-* ولِيـ and imperfect, stem *a-liy-* ـَلِيـ., though there are several verbs which, for phonological reasons, retain *-a-* as their stem vowel in both perfect and imperfect, for example *waḍa'a* وضَع, *yaḍa'u* يضَع 'to put', where the guttural third radical ['] influences the stem vowel.

1.9.3 Anomalous verbs

There are only four verbs which could be described as anomalous, that is, which are not fully accounted for by the morphophonological rules.

laysa ليس 'not to be' (see **4.2.8**), which is anomalous: (1) in that it has no imperfect forms; and (2) in that it has a diphthong for its long stem vowel (contrast hollow verbs above).

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*las-tu* لست		*las-nā* لسنا
2nd m.	*las-ta* لست	*las-tumā* لستما	*las-tum* لستم
2nd f.	*las-ti* لست	(same)	*las-tunna* لستن
3rd m.	*lays-a* ليس	*lays-ā* ليسا	*lays-ū* ليسوا
3rd f.	*lays-at* ليست	*lays-at-ā* ليستا	*las-na* لسن

ra'ā رأى 'to see' is only anomalous in that its middle radical ['] is elided completely in the imperfect forms (the final weak radical behaves normally, exactly like *yabqā* يبقَى above).

	Sing.	Dual	Plur.
1st	*'a-rā* أرى		*na-rā* نرى
2nd m.	*ta-rā* ترى	*ta-ray-ā-ni* تريان	*ta-raw-na* ترون
2nd f.	*ta-ray-na* ترين	(same)	*ta-ray-na* ترين
3rd m.	*ya-rā* يرى	*ya-ray-ā-ni* يريان	*ya-raw-na* يرون
3rd f.	*ta-rā* ترى	*ta-ray-ān-i* تريان	*ya-ray-na* يرين

Active participle *rā'in* رائٍ, passive participle *mar'iyy* مرئيّ. Note also that this verb retains the same stem vowel, *-a-*, in both perfect, and imperfect, as do many verbs with a gutteral radical in any position (here *hamza*, cf. *'abā* أبى, *ya'bā* يأبى 'to decline', 'to refuse').

The middle radical is also elided in stem IV, *yurī* يري, etc. 'to show' and the passives of I and IV, *yurā* يرى etc. The imperative is rare, and only the stem I masculine singular form *ra* رَ is likely to be seen, if at all.

ni'ma نعم 'how good!' and *bi'sa* بئس 'how bad!' (for their syntax, see **3.27.2**) are only anomalous in that their stem vowels have been transposed and a syllable elided, **na'[i]ma* نَعِمَ > *ni'[a]ma* نِعَمَ > *ni'[-]ma* نِعْمَ (the historical reconstruction is purely speculative, however). These verbs are found only in the 3rd singular, masculine and feminine (*ni'mat* نعمت, *bi'sat* بئست).

Some other fossilized verbs such as *'asā* عسى 'perhaps', 'maybe' (for their syntax, see **3.15.4**), *ḫalā* خلا 'except', *ḥāšā* حاشى 'except', *'adā* عدا 'except' (see **9.5.3**) have become invariable words.

1.10 Derived stems

For the general principles, see **1.9**.

1.10.1

Here will be given examples of all patterns in common use, in all stems, by class. Only the basic parts will be listed, from which the rest can be derived by substitution. The forms given are 3rd masculine singular active and passive perfect and imperfect with their participles and the verbal noun, following the same order of root types as above.

For verbal nouns of stem I, see **1.11.1**.

1.10.2 Stem II

Sound verb: *qarraba* قرّب 'to bring near', verbal noun *taqrīb* تَقْرِيب

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*qarrab-a* قَرَّب	*qurrib-a* قُرِّبَ
Imperf.	*yu-qarrib-u* يُقَرِّبُ	*yu-qarrab-u* يُقَرَّبُ
Participles	*mu-qarrib-un* مُقَرِّبٌ	*mu-qarrab-un* مُقَرَّبٌ

Doubled verb: *ḥaddada* حدّد ‘to limit’, ‘to define’, verbal noun *taḥdīd* تحديد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ḥaddad-a* حَدَّدَ	*ḥuddid-a* حُدِّدَ
Imperf.	*yu-ḥaddid-u* يُحَدِّدُ	*yu-ḥaddad-u* يُحَدَّدُ
Participles	*mu-ḥaddid-un* مُحَدِّدٌ	*mu-ḥaddad-un* مُحَدَّدٌ

First radical *w-*: *wajjaha* وجّه ‘to direct’, ‘to send’, verbal noun *tawjīh* توجيه

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*wajjah-a* وَجَّهَ	*wujjih-a* وُجِّهَ
Imperf.	*yu-wajjih-u* يُوَجِّهُ	*yu-wajjah-u* يُوَجَّهُ
Participles	*mu-wajjih-un* مُوَجِّهٌ	*mu-wajjah-un* مُوَجَّهٌ

Hollow *-w-*: *qawwama* قوّم ‘to estimate’, ‘to straighten’, verbal noun *taqwīm* تقويم

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*qawwam-a* قَوَّمَ	*quwwim-a* قُوِّمَ
Imperf.	*yu-qawwim-u* يُقَوِّمُ	*yu-qawwam-u* يُقَوَّمُ
Participles	*mu-qawwim-un* مُقَوِّمٌ	*mu-qawwam-un* مُقَوَّمٌ

Hollow *-y-*: *ġayyara* غير ‘to change’ (trans.), verbal noun *taġyīr* تغيير

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ġayyar-a* غَيّر	*ġuyyir-a* غُيِّرَ
Imperf.	*yu-ġayyir-u* يُغَيّر	*yu-ġayyar-u* يُغَيَّرُ
Participles	*mu-ġayyir-un* مُغَيِّرٌ	*mu-ġayyar-un* مُغَيَّرٌ

Weak 3rd radical: *ḫallā* خلّى ‘to empty’, ‘to leave’, verbal noun *taḫliya* تخلية

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ḫall-ā* خَلَّى	*ḫulliy-a* خُلِّيَ
Imperf.	*yu-ḫall-ī* يُخَلِّي	*yu-ḫall-ā* يُخَلَّى
Participles	*mu-ḫalli-n* مُخَلٍّ	*mu-ḫalla-n* مُخَلًّى

Weak 1st and 3rd radical: *wallā* ولى 'to place in charge', verbal noun *tawliya* تَوْلِية

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*wall-ā* وَلى	*wulliy-a* وُلِّيَ
Imperf.	*yu-wall-ī* يُوَلِّي	*yu-wall-ā* يُوَلى
Participles	*mu-walli-n* مُوَلٍّ	*mu-walla-n* مُوَلى

General comments: stem II verbal noun patterns are mostly predictable: sound verbs and most others will use the pattern *taf'īl* تفعيل, all weak third radical and third radical *hamza* verbs use the pattern *taf'ila* تفعلة, for example *tajzi'a* تجزئة 'fragmentation' from *jazza'a* جزّأ (which is also found with a relatively small number of sound verbs, for example *tajriba* تجربة 'experimenting'), and there is a third rather uncommon pattern *taf'āl* تفعال, for example *takrār* تكرار 'repetition' from *karrara* كرّر. Occasionally, a verb may use more than one verbal noun pattern, for example *tafrīq* تفريق and *tafriqa* تفرقة, from *farraqa* فرّق 'to separate', 'to divide', with no apparent difference in meaning.

1.10.3 Stem III

Sound verb: *kātaba* كاتَبَ 'to write to someone', verbal noun *mukātaba* مُكاتَبة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*kātab-a* كاتَبَ	*kūtib-a* كُوتِبَ
Imperf.	*yu-kātib-u* يُكاتِبُ	*yu-kātab-u* يُكاتَبُ
Participles	*mu-kātib-un* مُكاتِبٌ	*mu-kātab-un* مُكاتَبٌ

Doubled verb: *ḍādda* ضادّ 'to be contrary to', verbal noun *muḍādda* مضادّة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ḍādd-a* ضادَّ	*ḍūdd-a* ضُودَّ
Imperf.	*yu-ḍādd-u* يُضادُّ	*yu-ḍādd-u* يُضادُّ
Participles	*mu-ḍādd-un* مُضادٌّ	*mu-ḍādd-un* مُضادٌّ

First radical *w*-: *wāfaqa* وافق ‘to agree with’, verbal noun *muwāfaqa* مُوافَقة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*wāfaq-a* وافَقَ	*wūfiq-a* وُوفِقَ
Imperf.	*yu-wāfiq-u* يُوافِقُ	*yu-wāfaq-u* يُوافَقُ
Participles	*mu-wāfiq-un* مُوافِقٌ	*mu-wāfaq-un* مُوافَقٌ

Hollow *-w-*: *ḥāwala* حاول ‘to attempt’, ‘to try’, verbal noun *muḥāwala* محاوَلة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ḥāwal-a* حاوَلَ	*ḥūwil-a* حُوولَ
Imperf.	*yu-ḥāwil-u* يُحاوِلُ	*yu-ḥāwal-a* يُحاوَلُ
Participles	*mu-ḥāwil-un* مُحاوِلٌ	*mu-ḥāwal-un* مُحاوَلٌ

Hollow *-y-*: *sāyara* سايَر ‘to travel with’, verbal noun *musāyara* مسايَرة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*sāyar-a* سايَرَ	*sūyir-a* سُويِرَ
Imperf.	*yu-sāyir-u* يُسايِرُ	*yu-sāyar-u* يُسَايَرُ
Participles	*mu-sāyir-un* مُسايِرٌ	*mu-sāyar-un* مُسايَرٌ

Weak third radical: *bārā* بارى ‘to contest’, ‘to compete’, verbal noun *mubārāh* مباراة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*bār-ā* بارَى	*būray-a* بُورِيَ
Imperf.	*yu-bār-ī* يُبارِي	*yu-bār-ā* يُبارَى
Participles	*mu-bāri-n* مبارٍ	*mu-bāra-n* مُبارًى

General comments: stem III verbs only have two verbal noun patterns, though the principle of selection is not clear and is best left as a lexical item: some verbs use both forms, for example *jihād* جهاد, *mujāhada* مجاهدة, from *jāhada* جاهد ‘to struggle against’, often with a difference in meaning, as here, where ‘Jihad’ is a specific cultural and legally defined term, with *mujāhada* denoting the general process of struggling. Similarly, *ḫilāf* خلاف ‘being opposed’, ‘disputing’ v. *muḫālafa* مخالفة ‘being against’, ‘disobeying’,

from *ḫālafa* خالف 'to be different', 'to be opposed'; *wiṣāl* وصال 'joining', 'having relations' v. *muwāṣala* مواصلة 'continuing', 'persisting' from *wāṣala* واصل and so on.

Note that first radical *w-* verbs will produce an unusual configuration in the perfect passive, namely, the opening syllable *wū-*, for example *wūṣila* وُوصِلَ. The same happens in stem VI, *tuwūṣila* تُوُوصل.

General comments: the remaining stems have only one verbal noun pattern, with the usual variations arising from the phonology of the stem, of which the most striking is that hollow verbs produce feminine verbal nouns, but note also the change from the non-canonical **'iw* إو to *ī* إي [= *iy*] in the first radical *w-* verbs.

1.10.4 Stem IV

Sound verb: *'aṣlaḥa* أَصْلَحَ 'to reform', 'to repair', verbal noun *'iṣlāḥ* إصلاح

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*'a-ṣlaḥ-a* أَصْلَحَ	*'u-ṣliḥ-a* أُصْلِحَ
Imperf.	*yu-ṣliḥ-u* يُصْلِحُ	*yu-ṣlaḥ-u* يُصْلَحُ
Participles	*mu-ṣliḥ-un* مُصْلِحٌ	*mu-ṣlaḥ-un* مُصْلَحٌ

Doubled verb: *'aṣarra* أصرّ 'to persist', verbal noun *'iṣrār* إصرار

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*'a-ṣarr-a* أَصَرَّ	*'u-ṣirr-a* أُصِرَّ
Imperf.	*yu-ṣirr-u* يُصِرُّ	*yu-ṣarr-u* يُصَرُّ
Participles	*mu-ṣirr-un* مُصِرٌّ	*mu-ṣarr-un* مُصَرٌّ

First radical *w-*: *'awjada* أوجد 'to bring into being', verbal noun *'īǰād* إيجاد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*'a-wjad-a* أَوْجَدَ	*'u-wjid-a* أُوجِدَ
Imperf.	*yu-wjid-u* يُوجِدُ	*yu-wjad-u* يُوجَدُ
Participles	*mu-wjid-un* مُوجِدٌ	*mu-wjad-un* مُوجَدٌ

Hollow *-w-*: *’ajāba* أجاب ‘to answer’, verbal noun *’ijāba* إجابة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*’a-jāb-a* أَجَابَ	*’u-jīb-a* أُجِيبَ
Imperf.	*yu-jīb-u* يُجِيبُ	*yu-jāb-u* يُجَابُ
Participles	*mu-jīb-un* مُجِيبٌ	*mu-jāb-un* مُجَابٌ

Hollow *-y-*: *’afāda* أفاد ‘to inform’, ‘to benefit’, verbal noun *’ifāda* إفادة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*’a-fād-a* أَفَادَ	*’u-fīd-a* أُفِيدَ
Imperf.	*yu-fīd-u* يُفِيدُ	*yu-fād-u* يُفَادُ
Participles	*mu-fīd-un* مُفِيدٌ	*mu-fād-un* مُفَادٌ

Weak third radical: *’alqā* ألقى ‘to throw’, ‘to deliver’, verbal noun *’ilqā’* إلقاء

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*’a-lq-ā* أَلْقَى	*’u-lqiy-a* أُلْقِيَ
Imperf.	*yu-lq-ī* يُلْقِي	*yu-lq-ā* يُلْقَى
Participles	*mu-lqi-n* مُلْقٍ	*mu-lqa-n* مُلْقًى

Doubly weak: *’awfā* أوفى ‘to fill’, verbal noun *’īfā’* إيفاء

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*’a-wf-ā* أَوْفَى	*’u-wfiy-a* أُوفِيَ
Imperf.	*yu-wf-ī* يُوفِي	*yu-wf-ā* يُوفَى
Participles	*mu-wfi-n* مُوفٍ	*mu-wfa-n* مُوفًى

1.10.5 Stem V

Sound verb: *taqarraba* تقرّب ‘to be brought near’, verbal noun *taqarrub* تَقَرُّب

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-qarrab-a* تَقَرَّبَ	*tu-qurrib-a* تُقُرِّبَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-qarrab-u* يَتَقَرَّبُ	*yu-ta-qarrab-u* يُتَقَرَّبُ
Participles	*mu-ta-qarrib-un* مُتَقَرِّبٌ	*mu-ta-qarrab-un* مُتَقَرَّبٌ

Doubled verb: *taraddada* تردّد ‘to hesitate’, verbal noun *taraddud* تردُّد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-raddad-a* تَرَدَّدَ	*tu-ruddid-a* تُرُدِّدَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-raddad-u* يَتَرَدَّدُ	*yu-ta-raddad-u* يُتَرَدَّدُ
Participles	*mu-ta-raddid-un* مُتَرَدِّدٌ	*mu-ta-raddad-un* مُتَرَدَّدٌ

First radical *w-*: *tawakkala* توكّل ‘to rely on’, verbal noun *tawakkul* توكُّل

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-wakkal-a* تَوَكَّلَ	*tu-wukkil-a* تُوُكِّلَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-wakkal-u* يَتَوَكَّلُ	*yu-ta-wakkal-u* يُتَوَكَّلُ
Participles	*mu-ta-wakkil-un* مُتَوَكِّل	*mu-ta-wakkal-un* مُتَوَكَّلٌ

Hollow *-w-*: *taṣawwafa* تصوّف ‘to be a mystic’, verbal noun *taṣawwuf* تصوُّف

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-ṣawwaf-a* تَصَوَّفَ	*tu-ṣuwwif-a* تُصُوِّفَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-ṣawwaf-u* يَتصَوَّفُ	*yu-ta-ṣawwaf-u* يُتَصَوَّفُ
Participles	*mu-ta-ṣawwif-un* مُتصَوِّفٌ	*mu-ta-ṣawwaf-un* مُتصَوَّفٌ

Hollow *-y-*: *taġayyara* تغير ‘to be changed’, verbal noun *taġayyur* تغير

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-ġayyar-a* تَغَيَّرَ	*tu-ġuyyir-a* تُغُيِّرَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-ġayyar-u* يَتَغَيَّرُ	*yu-ta-ġayyar-u* يُتَغَيَّرُ
Participles	*mu-ta-ġayyir-un* مُتَغَيِّرٌ	*mu-ta-ġayyar-un* مُتَغَيَّرٌ

Weak third radical: *talaqqā* تلقّى ‘to meet’, verbal noun *talaqqin* تلقٍّ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-laqq-ā* تَلَقَّى	*tu-luqqiy-a* تُلُقِّيَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-laqq-ā* يَتَلَقَّى	*yu-ta-laqq-ā* يُتَلَقَّى
Participles	*mu-ta-laqqi-n* مُتَلَقٍّ	*mu-ta-laqqa-n* مُتَلَقَّى

Doubly weak: *tawallā* تولى ‘to take charge of’, verbal noun *tawallin* تولٍّ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-wall-ā* تَوَلى	*tu-wulliy-a* تُوُلِّيَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-wall-ā* يَتَوَلى	*yu-ta-wall-ā* يُتَوَلى
Participles	*mu-ta-walli-n* مُتَوَلٍّ	*mu-ta-walla-n* مُتَوَلى

1.10.6 Stem VI

Sound verb: *takātaba* ‘to write to one another’, verbal noun *takātub* تكاتُب

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-kātab-a* تَكاتَبَ	*tu-kūtib-a* تُكُوتِبَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-kātab-u* يَتَكاتَبُ	*yu-ta-kātab-u* يَتَكاتَبُ
Participles	*mu-ta-kātib-un* مُتَكاتِبٌ	*mu-ta-kātab-un* مُتَكاتَبٌ

Doubled verb: *taḍādda* تضادّ ‘to be mutually opposed’, verbal noun *taḍādd* تضادّ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-ḍādd-a* تَضادَّ	*tu-ḍūdd-a* تُضُودَّ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-ḍādd-u* يَتَضادُّ	*yu-ta-ḍādd-u* يُتَضادُّ
Participles	*mu-ta-ḍādd-un* مُتَضادٌّ	*mu-ta-ḍādd-un* مُتَضادٌّ

First radical *w*-: *tawāfaqa* توافق ‘to agree mutually’, verbal noun *tawāfuq* توافُق

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-wāfaq-a* تَوافَقَ	*tu-wūfiq-a* تُوُوفِقَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-wāfaq-u* يَتَوافَقُ	*yu-ta-wāfaq-u* يُتَوافَقُ
Participles	*mu-ta-wāfiq-un* مُتَوافِقٌ	*mu-ta-wāfaq-un* مُتَوافَقٌ

Hollow *-w-*: *ta‘āwana* تعاون ‘to cooperate’, verbal noun *ta‘āwun* تعاوُن

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-‘āwan-a* تَعاوَنَ	*tu-‘ūwin-a* تُعُوونَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-‘āwan-u* يَتَعاوَنُ	*yu-ta-‘āwan-u* يُتَعاوَنُ
Participles	*mu-ta-‘āwin-un* مُتَعاوِنٌ	*mu-ta-‘āwan-un* مُتَعاوَنٌ

Hollow *-y-*: *tazāyada* تزايد ‘to exceed each other’, verbal noun *tazāyud* تزايُد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-zāyad-a* تَزايَدَ	*tu-zūyid-a* تُزُويِدَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-zāyad-u* يَتَزايَدُ	*yu-ta-zāyad-u* يُتَزايَدُ
Participles	*mu-ta-zāyid-un* مُتَزايِدٌ	*mu-ta-zāyad-un* مُتَزايَدٌ

Weak third radical: *tarāḍā* تراضى 'to be mutually satisfied', verbal noun *tarāḍin* تراضٍ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-rāḍ-ā* تَرَاضَى	*tu-rūḍiy-a* تُرُوضِيَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-rāḍ-ā* يَتَرَاضَى	*yu-ta-rāḍ-ā* يُتَرَاضَى
Participles	*mu-ta-rāḍi-n* مُتَرَاضٍ	*mu-ta-rāḍa-n* مُتَرَاضًى

Doubly weak: *tawālā* توالى 'to follow consecutively', verbal noun *tawālin* توالٍ

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-wāl-ā* تَوالى	*tu-wūliy-a* تُوولِيَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-wāl-ā* يَتَوالى	*yu-ta-wāl-ā* يُتَوالى
Participles	*mu-ta-wāli-n* مُتَوالٍ	*mu-ta-wāla-n* مُتَوالى

1.10.7 Stem VII

Sound verb: *infataḥa* انفتح 'to come open', verbal noun *infitāḥ* انفتاح

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*in-fataḥ-a* اِنْفَتَحَ	(no passive verbs)
Imperf.	*ya-n-fatiḥ-u* يَنْفَتِحُ	
Participles	*mu-n-fatiḥ-un* مُنْفَتِحٌ	*mu-n-fataḥ-un* مُنْفَتَحٌ

Doubled verb: *inḍamma* انضمّ 'to become combined', verbal noun *inḍimām* انضمام

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*in-ḍamm-a* اِنْضَمَّ	(no passive verbs)
Imperf.	*ya-n-ḍamm-u* يَنْضَمُّ	
Participles	*mu-n-ḍamm-un* مُنْضَمٌّ	*mu-n-ḍamm-un* مُنْضَمٌّ

Hollow *-w-*: *inqāda* انقاد 'to be led', verbal noun *inqayād* انقياد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*in-qād-a* اِنْقادَ	(no passive verbs)
Imperf.	*ya-n-qād-u* يَنْقادُ	
Participles	*mu-n-qād-un* مُنْقادٌ	*mu-n-qād-un* مُنْقادٌ

Hollow *-y-*: *insāba* انساب 'to flow away', verbal noun *insayāb* انسياب

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*in-sāb-a* اِنْسابَ	(no passive verbs)
Imperf.	*ya-n-sāb-u* يَنْسابُ	
Participles	*mu-n-sāb-un* مُنْسابٌ	*mu-n-sāb-un* مُنْسابٌ

Weak third radical: *insalā* انسلى 'to be consoled', verbal noun *insilā'* انسلاء

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*in-sal-ā* اِنْسلَى	(no passive verbs)
Imperf.	*ya-n-salī* يَنْسلِي	
Participles	*mu-n-sali-n* مُنْسلٍ	*mu-n-sala-n* مُنْسلًى

General comments: there are no first radical *w-* or *y-* verbs in this stem.

Although there are no passive verbs in this stem, the passive participle is still seen as a noun of place (see **1.11.2**).

1.10.8 Stem VIII

Sound verb: *iḫtalafa* اِخْتَلَفَ 'to differ', verbal noun *iḫtilāf* اختلاف

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-ḫtalaf-a* اِخْتَلَفَ	*u-ḫtulif-a* اُخْتُلِفَ
Imperf.	*ya-ḫtalif-u* يَخْتَلِفُ	*yu-ḫtalaf-u* يُخْتَلَفُ
Participles	*mu-ḫtalif-un* مُخْتَلِفٌ	*mu-ḫtalaf-un* مُخْتَلَفٌ

Doubled verb: *iḥtakka* احتكّ 'to rub', verbal noun *iḥtikāk* احتكاك

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-ḥtakk-a* اِحْتَكَّ	*u-ḥtukk-a* اُحْتُكَّ
Imperf.	*ya-ḥtakk-u* يَحْتَكُّ	*yu-ḥtakk-u* يُحْتَكُّ
Participles	*mu-ḥtakk-un* مُحْتَكٌّ	*mu-ḥtakk-un* مُحْتَكٌّ

First radical *w*-: *ittaḥada* اتّحد 'to unite', verbal noun *ittiḥād* اتّحاد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-ttaḥad-a* اِتَّحَدَ	*u-ttuḥid-a* اُتُّحِدَ
Imperf.	*ya-ttaḥid-u* يَتَّحِدُ	*yu-ttaḥad-u* يُتَّحَدُ
Participles	*mu-ttaḥid-un* مُتَّحِدٌ	*mu-ttaḥad-un* مُتَّحَدٌ

Hollow *-w-*: *iḥtāja* احتاج 'to need', verbal noun *iḥtiyāj* احتياج

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-ḥtāj-a* اِحْتاجَ	*u-ḥtīj-a* اُحْتِيجَ
Imperf.	*ya-ḥtāj-u* يَحْتاجُ	*yu-ḥtāj-u* يُحْتاجُ
Participles	*mu-ḥtāj-un* مُحْتاجٌ	*mu-ḥtāj-un* مُحْتاجٌ

Hollow *-y-*: *imtāza* امتاز 'to be distinguished', verbal noun *imtiyāz* امتياز

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-mtāz-a* اِمْتازَ	*u-mtīz-a* اُمْتِيزَ
Imperf.	*ya-mtāz-u* يَمْتازُ	*yu-mtāz-u* يُمْتازُ
Participles	*mu-mtāz-un* مُمْتازٌ	*mu-mtāz-un* مُمْتازٌ

Weak third radical: *iḫtafā* اختفى 'to be hidden', verbal noun *iḫtifā'* اختفاء

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-ḫtaf-ā* اِخْتَفَى	*u-ḫtufiy-a* اُخْتُفِيَ
Imperf.	*ya-ḫtaf-ī* يَخْتَفِي	*yu-ḫtaf-ā* يُخْتَفَى
Participles	*mu-ḫtafi-n* مُخْتَفٍ	*mu-ḫtafa-n* مُخْتَفًى

Doubly weak: none.

General comments: for problems with assimilation of first radical, see **1.9.1.2**.

1.10.9 Stem IX

Sound verb: *'iḥmarra* اِحْمَرَّ 'to redden', 'to go red', verbal noun *iḥmirār* اِحْمِرار

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-ḥmarr-a* اِحْمَرَّ	(no passive)
Imperf.	*ya-ḥmarr-u* يَحْمَرُّ	
Participles	*mu-ḥmarr-un* مُحْمَرٌّ	

Hollow *-w-*: *iswadda* اسودّ 'to blacken', 'to go black', verbal noun *iswidād* اسوداد

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-swadd-a* اِسْوَدَّ	(no passive)
Imperf.	*ya-swadd-u* يَسْوَدُّ	
Participles	*mu-swadd-un* مُسْوَدٌّ	

Hollow *-y-*: *ibyaḍḍa* ابيضّ 'to whiten', 'to go white', verbal noun *ibyiḍāḍ* ابيضاض

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-byaḍḍ-a* اِبْيَضَّ	(no passive)
Imperf.	*ya-byaḍḍ-u* يَبْيَضُّ	
Participles	*mu-byaḍḍ-un* مُبْيَضٌّ	

Like the doubled verbs these have long and short stems, perfect *iḥmarr-* and imperfect *-ḥmarr-* before vowels, perfect *iḥmarar-* and imperfect *-ḥmarir-* before consonants. They also follow the doubled verbs in their apocopated form (see **1.9.2**). Other stem IX roots are rare, probably only third radical *-y* occurring, but not seen outside dictionaries.

1.10.10 Stem X

Sound verb: *istaḥsana* اسْتَحْسَنَ 'to approve', verbal noun *istiḥsān* استحسان

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-sta-ḥsan-a* اسْتَحْسَنَ	*u-stu-ḥsin-a* اُسْتُحْسِنَ
Imperf.	*ya-sta-ḥsin-u* يَسْتَحْسِنُ	*yu-sta-ḥsan-u* يُسْتَحْسَنُ
Participles	*mu-sta-ḥsin-un* مُسْتَحْسِنٌ	*mu-sta-ḥsan-un* مُسْتَحْسَنٌ

Doubled verb: *istaḥaqqa* استحقّ 'to deserve', verbal noun *istiḥqāq* استحقاق

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-sta-ḥaqq-a* اسْتَحَقَّ	*u-stu-ḥiqq-a* اُسْتُحِقَّ
Imperf.	*ya-sta-ḥiqq-u* يَسْتَحِقُّ	*yu-sta-ḥaqq-u* يُسْتَحَقُّ
Participles	*mu-sta-ḥiqq-un* مُسْتَحِقٌّ	*mu-sta-ḥaqq-un* مُسْتَحَقٌّ

First radical *w*-: *istawṭana* استوطن 'to settle', verbal noun *istīṭān* استيطان

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-sta-wṭan-a* اسْتَوْطَنَ	*u-stu-wṭin-a* اُسْتُوطِنَ
Imperf.	*ya-sta-wṭin-u* يَسْتَوْطِنُ	*yu-sta-wṭan-u* يُسْتَوْطَنُ
Participles	*mu-sta-wṭin-un* مُسْتَوْطِنٌ	*mu-sta-wṭan-un* مُسْتَوْطَنٌ

Hollow *-w-*: *istašara* استشار 'to seek advice', verbal noun *istišara* استشارة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-sta-šār-a* اسْتَشَارَ	*u-stu-šīr-a* اُسْتُشِيرَ
Imperf.	*ya-sta-šīr-u* يَسْتَشِيرُ	*yu-sta-šār-u* يُسْتشارُ
Participles	*mu-sta-šīr-un* مُسْتَشِيرٌ	*mu-sta-šār-un* مُسْتَشارٌ

Hollow *-y-*: *istafāda* استفاد 'to derive benefit', verbal noun *istifāda* استفادة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-sta-fād-a* اسْتَفَادَ	*u-stu-fīd-a* أُسْتُفِيدَ
Imperf.	*ya-sta-fīd-u* يَسْتَفِيدُ	*yu-sta-fād-u* يُسْتَفَادُ
Participles	*mu-sta-fīd-un* مُسْتَفِيدٌ	*mu-sta-fād-un* مُسْتَفَادٌ

Weak third radical: *istaqṣā* استقصى 'to investigate', verbal noun *istiqṣā'* استقصاء

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-sta-qṣ-ā* اسْتَقْصَى	*u-stu-qṣiy-a* أُسْتُقْصِيَ
Imperf.	*ya-sta-qṣ-ī* يَسْتَقْصِي	*yu-sta-qṣ-ā* يُسْتَقْصَى
Participles	*mu-sta-qṣi-n* مُسْتَقْصٍ	*mu-sta-qṣa-n* مُسْتَقْصًى

Doubly weak: *istawlā* استولى, 'to take control', verbal noun *istīlā'* استيلاء; this class of verbs has exactly the same conjugation as *ramā* رمى in both perfect and imperfect (see **1.9.2**).

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-sta-wl-ā* اسْتَوْلى	*u-stu-wliy-a* أُسْتُولِيَ
Imperf.	*ya-sta-wl-ī* يَسْتَوْلِي	*yu-sta-wl-ā* يُسْتَوْلى
Participles	*mu-sta-wli-n* مُسْتَوْل	*mu-sta-wla-n* مُسْتَوْلى

1.10.11 *Higher triliteral stems*

Higher triliteral stems are rare, only XII being seen at all.

XII: *iḥdawdaba* احدودب 'be hunch-backed', verbal noun *iḥdīdāb* احديداب

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-ḥdawdab-a* احْدَوْدَبَ	(no passive)
Imperf.	*ya-ḥdawdib-u* يَحْدَوْدِبُ	
Participle	*mu-ḥdawdib-un* مُحْدَوْدِبٌ	

1.10.12 *Quadriliterals*

These seldom have defective or weak radicals, except in second position, for example QII *taJaWHaRa* تجوهر 'to become substance', where, however, no morphological irregularities arise.

QI (same structure as triliteral stem II): *jamhara* جمهر 'to flock together (trans.)', verbal noun *jamhara* جمهرة

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*jamhar-a* جَمْهَرَ	*jumhir-a* جُمْهِرَ
Imperf.	*yu-jamhir-u* يُجَمْهِرُ	*yu-jamhar-u* يُجَمْهَرُ
Participles	*mu-jamhir-un* مُجَمْهِرٌ	*mu-jamhar-un* مُجَمْهَرٌ

QII (same structure as triliteral V): *tajamhara* تجمهر 'to be massed together', verbal noun *tajamhur* تجمهر

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*ta-jamhar-a* تَجَمْهَرَ	*tu-jumhir-a* تُجُمْهِرَ
Imperf.	*ya-ta-jamhar-u* يَتَجَمْهَرُ	*yu-ta-jamhar-u* يُتَجَمْهَرُ
Participles	*mu-ta-jamhir-un* مُتَجَمْهِرٌ	*mu-ta-jamhar-un* مُتَجَمْهَرٌ

QIII is rare, and no examples were found in the data: see **1.9.1.7**.

QIV is commonly seen: *iḍmaḥalla* اضمحلّ 'to fade away', verbal noun *iḍmiḥlāl* اضمحلال

	Active	Passive
Perf.	*i-ḍmaḥall-a* اِضْمَحَلَّ	None
Imperf.	*ya-ḍmaḥill-u* يَضْمَحِلُّ	
Participle	*mu-ḍmaḥill-un* مُضْمَحِلٌّ	

Like the doubled verbs (see **1.9.2**), this class has a long and short stem according to context, namely, perfect *iḍmaḥall-* اضمحَلّـ and imperfect *-ḍmaḥill-* ـضمحِلّ before vowels, and perfect *iḍmaḥlal-* اضمحلَلْـ and imperfect *-ḍmaḥlil-* ـضمحلِلْ before consonants. They also follow the doubled verbs in their apocopated form, that is, it is identical with the dependent, for example *lam yaḍmaḥilla* لم يضمحلَّ 'it did not fade away' (see **1.9.2**).

From the original QIV stem *iṭma'anna* اطمأنّ 'to be at peace' two simplified stems have evolved, a causative QI *ṭam'ana* طمأن 'to pacify' (variant *ṭa'mana* طأمن) and a pure triliteral stem II *ṭammana* طمّن in the same sense.

1.11 Noun patterns, deverbals

In addition to the basic noun patterns set out in **1.8.1** etc., all stems have a number of regularly derived nouns. Since inflection is not the issue here, pausal forms are given.

1.11.1

Three of them, namely, (1) the verbal noun (*maṣdar* مصدر, lit. 'source' of the verb), (2) the agent noun (*fā'il* فاعل, lit. 'doer'), and (3) the patient noun (*maf'ūl* مفعول, lit. 'thing done') are found with all verbs; the others (see **1.11.2**) are restricted largely by semantic considerations.

For stem I the verbal noun pattern is not predictable:

ḍarb ضرب	'striking'	from	*ḍaraba* ضرب
wuṣūl وصول	'arriving'	from	*waṣala* وصل
kitāba كتابة	'writing'	from	*kataba* كتب
qawl قول	'saying'	from	*qāla* قال
ṣayd صيد	'hunting'	from	*ṣāda* صاد
šifā' شفاء	'cure'	from	*šafā* شفى
jarayān جريان	'running'	from	*jarā* جرى
muḍī مضيّ	'passing'	from	*maḍā* مضى

Moreover, some verbs have more than one verbal noun pattern, for example *liqā'* لقاء, *luqyān* لقْيان, *luqy* لقْي, *luqya* لقْية, *luqan* لقًى, all from *laqiya* لقي 'to meet' (admittedly a somewhat extreme case).

But the other stems become progressively more predictable as the number rises: stem II has four patterns, stem III has two, and verbs from stem IV upwards have only one. Any variations arise for purely phonological reasons. All verbal nouns for the derived stems are included in the paradigms above.

Agent and patient nouns are completely predictable for all stems, and are also included in the paradigms above.

1.11.2 *Other deverbals*

The other deverbals are not found with every root.

The noun of place (*ism makān* اسم مكان) in stem I has the pattern *maf'al* or *maf'il* with or without feminine affix:

madrasa مدرسة 'school',	lit. 'place of study', from *darasa* درس 'to study'
maktab مكتب 'office',	lit. 'place of writing', from *kataba* كتب 'to write'
maktaba مكتبة 'library',	a differentiation of the above
maṭbaḫ مطبخ 'kitchen',	lit. 'place of cooking', from *ṭabaḫa* طبخ 'to cook'
manzila منزلة 'status',	lit. 'place of stopping', from *nazala* نزل 'to dismount', 'to dwell'
maq'ad مقعد 'seat',	lit. 'place of sitting', from *qa'ada* قعد 'to sit'

The higher stems all use the passive participle:

mustašfā مستشفى 'hospital', lit. 'place of seeking cure', from stem X *istašfā* استشفى 'to seek a cure'

muntahā منتهى 'end point', from stem VIII *intahā* انتهى 'to reach an end'

multaqā ملتقى 'meeting place', from stem VIII *iltaqā* التقى 'to meet'

muntaṣaf منتصف 'mid-point', from stem VIII *intaṣafa* انتصف 'to be halved'

munṭalaq منطلق 'point of departure', from *inṭalaqa* انطلق 'to depart', stem VII, which has no passive verbs but may still use the passive participle in this sense.

The noun of instrument *ism 'āla* اسم آلة has only the pattern *mif'al* مفعل, with feminine variant مفعلة *mif'ala* and a long form *mif'āl* مفعال (the selection seems to be arbitrary):

miṣ'ad مصعد 'lift', 'elevator', from *ṣa'ida* صعد 'to rise', 'to ascend'

miftāḥ مفتاح 'key', from *fataḥa* فتح 'to open'

miṭbaḫ مطبخ 'oven', from *ṭabaḫa* طبخ 'to cook' (cf. 'kitchen' above)

mibrad مبرد 'file', from *barada* برد 'to file'

Note that the pattern *fa"āla* فعّالة (see **1.8.1.1**) is also used for instruments and tools, for example *ṯallāja* ثلاّجة 'refrigerator', from *ṯalj* ثلج 'ice', *ġassāla* غسّالة 'washing machine', from *ġasala* غسل 'to wash'.

Two other CA patterns are still in use:

- The noun of instance (*ism marra* اسم مرّة 'noun of time') has the pattern *fa'la* فعلة (plur. *fa'lāt* فعلات) and indicates the countable occurrences of an action. It does not occur itself with any great frequency, but can be seen in *'uqidat jalsatāni*, *ṯalāṯu jalsātin* عقدت جلستان، ثلاث جلسات 'two **sessions**, three **sessions** were held', *ḫilāla sab'i **jalsātin*** خلال سبع جلسات 'in seven **sessions**', contrasting with the regular verbal noun *julūs* جلوس 'sitting down [generic type of action]'.
- The noun of manner (*ism al-naw'* اسم النوع 'noun of type'), as its name suggests, denotes the manner of an action, and has the pattern *fi'la* فعلة. Again, it is relatively infrequent, for example *jilsa* جلسة 'way of sitting', *mīta* ميتة 'way of dying', 'manner of death', and may by now have become a purely lexical rather than productive item.

1.12 Morphosyntactic categories: number, gender, definiteness, case, agreement

1.12.1 *Number*

There are three numbers for nouns, pronouns and verbs: singular, dual and plural. In nouns and adjectives the singular is the unmarked form, the other two being marked either by suffixes (dual and 'sound plural') or by a change in pattern ('broken plural').

1.12.1.1 The dual suffixes (see **1.5.3**) are attached to both masculine and feminine (morpheme boundaries are shown by hyphenation):

*rajul-**ā-ni** ḥasan-**ā-ni*** رجلان حسنان '**two** good men'

*mu'allif-at-**ā-ni** mašhūr-at-**ā-ni*** مؤلفتان مشهورتان '**two** famous women writers'

There are signs that the dual is being abandoned in favour of a default plural: ***'ayyām#** 19 wa-20 'abrīl* أيام ١٩ و٢٠ أبريل 'the 19 and 20 April' instead of ***yawmay*** يومي 'on the two days of'.

Contrast a signature with the form *murāqib-ā l-ḥisābāti* مراقبا الحسابات 'the **two** inspectors of accounts' with the naming of two assistant producers as *musā'id-**ū** l-muḫriji* مساعدو المخرج 'assistants [plur.] to the producer', followed by the two names of the assistants.

Contrast also the default (but strictly speaking irregular) plural in *rakkazat **'uyūna**hā l-wasnānata fī wajhihā l-mudawwari* ركّزت عيونها الوسنانة في

وجهها المدوّر ‘she fixed her sleepy **eyes** [plur.] on her round face’ with the regular CA dual a few lines later in the same text: *tanaddat ‘**aynāhā** bi-l-dumū‘i* تندّت عيناها بالدموع ‘her **[two] eyes** moistened with tears’.

Loan words are accommodated into the system as far as possible; if a dual ending cannot be directly suffixed, an *-h-* is interposed (see below, sound fem. plur., from which this feature has been transferred to the dual): *li-sināraγū-**h**-ay-**ni** ’āḫarayni* لسناريوهين آخرين ‘for two other scripts’ (‘scenarios’).

1.12.1.2 The plural is either ‘sound’ (*jam‘ sālim* جمع سالم ‘sound plural’), so called because it is marked by suffixation (see **1.5.3**: note that there are masc. and fem. suffixes):

*murāsil-**ū-na** muġādir-**ū-na*** مراسلون مغادرون ‘departing correspondents’

*ḫayyāṭ-**āt**-un māhir-**āt**-un* خيّاطات ماهرات ‘skilful seamstresses’

Words ending in long vowels (mostly loan words, though the phenomenon is observable in CA) interpose an *-h-*:

*istūdiyū-**h-āt**-un* استوديوهات ‘studios’ (see further in **12.10.1**)

or the plural can be ‘broken’ (*jam‘ mukassar* جمع مكسر ‘broken plural’), so called because it involves a change from the singular pattern (see **1.4.2**):

***bilād**-un* بِلاد ‘countries’ (pattern *fi‘āl* فِعال), sing. ***balad**-un* بَلَد ‘a country’

***kutub**-un* كُتُب ‘books’, sing. ***kitāb**-un* كِتاب (pattern also *fi‘āl* فِعال) ‘a book’

The example also shows that it is the change in pattern which marks the plural: the pattern itself is not distinctive and may be found, as above, in both singular and plural nouns.

CA had some 40 patterns, all of which survive in MWA. The commonest are (in addition to the two illustrated immediately above):

fu‘ūl-un فُعُول	e.g. *bayt-un/buyūt-un* بَيْت/بُيُوت ‘house(s)’
’af‘āl-un أفْعَال	e.g. *ṭifl-un/’aṭfāl-un* طِفل/أطْفَال ‘infant(s)’
fu‘alā’-u فُعَلاَء	e.g. *wazīr-un/wuzarā’-u* وَزِير/وُزَرَاء ‘minister(s)’
’af‘ilā’-u أفْعِلاَء	e.g. *ṣadīq-un/’aṣdiqā’-u* صَدِيق/أصْدِقَاء ‘friend(s)’

Some patterns are not fully inflected (see **1.4.3**).

The principles of selection of a given pattern cannot be reduced to a set of rules, and it is best to treat the plural as a lexical feature. The exception

is certain of the longer patterns, that is, either affixed or quadriliterals, which are predictable, for example:

maktab-un مَكْتَب 'office',
plur. *makātib-u* مَكاتِب 'offices' (prefix *ma-* +*k-t-b*)
funduq-un فُنْدُق 'hotel',
plur. *fanādiq-u* فَنَادِق 'hotels' (quadriliteral, *f-n-d-q*)
jumhūr-un جُمْهُور 'mass', 'crowd',
plur. *jamāhīr-u* جَمَاهِير 'masses' (quadriliteral, *j-m-h-r* + infix *ū*)

The system is still productive and loan words are fitted into it wherever possible:

fabārik-u فَبَارِك 'factories', from *fabrīk-atun* فَبْرِيكة

Arabic has a similar range of collective and mass nouns to those of Western languages, and their default form is singular masculine, though in agreement they may be treated as singular or plural (cf. **2.1.1.2**; **3.1.1**; **3.8**):

qawm-un قوم 'people', *mā'-un* ماء 'water', *baqar-un* بقر 'cattle'

Their plurals mean 'different kinds of', for example *'aqwām-un* أقوام 'peoples'.

Countables have a triple contrast between an unmarked generic, a singular (marked fem.) and a plural, compare:

samak-un سمك 'fish [in general]'
samak-at-un سمكة 'one/a fish'
'asmāk-un أسماك '[some] fish[es]'

Note: the unique suppletive plural *nisā'-un* نساء 'women', singular *imra'-at-un* امرأة 'woman'.

1.12.1.3 *Pronouns*

Number is a feature of pronouns (see tables in **1.7.1**). Note that there is no 1st person dual in Arabic.

1.12.1.4 *Verbs*

Verbs incorporate their agents as pronouns, which carry number and gender features (see tables in **1.5.2.2**; **1.5**). These properties are an important

element of agreement rules at sentence level: briefly, verbs which precede their overt agents are marked for gender but not for number, while those which follow their overt agents must agree in both number and gender (see **3.8** for details).

1.12.2 Gender

There are two genders, masculine and feminine, both of which are agreement features in nouns/adjectives, pronouns and verbs.

1.12.2.1 Nouns and adjectives

Gender is either marked or unmarked, and for agreement purposes the formal and grammatical gender may differ (see **2.1.1**; **3.1.1**).

Masculine is normally unmarked and feminine is marked with the suffix *-at-* ـة (followed by case inflections) and its allomorphs (see **1.5.2.1**), for example *ṭālib-un* طالب 'male student', *ṭālib-**at**-un* طالبة '**female** student', *ṭālib-**āt**-un* طالبات '**female** students'.

However, one class of feminine nouns is regularly used for males, namely, the emphatic pattern (see **1.8.1.1**) *fa''āla* فعّالة (for pausal form henceforth used in transliteration, see **1.5.2**), as in *'allāma* علاّمة 'a very learned man', *raḥḥāla* رحّالة 'a great traveller'. The feminine noun *ḫalīfa* خليفة 'caliph' is an old abstract which now denotes males, and there are several feminine proper names for men, for example *ṭalḥa* طلحة. The plural pattern *'afā'ila* أفاعلة (cf. **1.8.1**) is used both for common nouns, for example *'asātiḏa* أساتذة 'professors', and for ethnic and other groups, for example *'afāriqa* أفارقة 'Africans', and grammatically these also remain masculine.

Unmarked feminine: a number of common words, among them *ḫamr* خمر 'wine', *šams* شمس 'sun', *dār* دار 'house', *ḥarb* حرب 'war', *nār* نار 'fire', *sūq* سوق 'market'; a few have both genders, for example *ḥāl* حال 'state', 'situation', *ṭarīq* طريق 'way', but these are best left as a lexical feature.

Also in this group is a small number of adjectives referring only to female properties, for example *ḥāmil* حامل 'pregnant' (but note fem. *ḥāmila* حاملة 'carrying' when used in the literal sense), *'āqir* عاقر 'barren', *murḍi'* مرضع 'nursing' (also found in fem. *murḍi'a* مرضعة).

Names of towns and countries are almost all feminine, regardless of spelling, probably taking their gender from the feminine words *madīna* مدينة 'town' or *dawla* دولة 'state', thus in the context of Kuwait '**its** inhabitants' is *sukkānuhā* سكانها with the feminine suffix *hā* ـها.

The CA rule that parts of the body which occur in pairs are feminine is largely retained. However, *'anf* أنف 'nose' is now feminine, probably by attraction to the set of paired body parts:

*al-'anfu llatī **takādu tulāmisu** l-ḏaqana*
الأنف التي تكاد تلامس الذقن
'[the] nose, which **almost touched** [fem.] the chin'

The sound feminine plural is regularly used for abstract notions (a CA usage), for example *iqtiṣādiyyāt* اقتصاديات 'economics', literally 'economical [things]' (cf. **12.4.1**).

There seems to be a tendency for words such as *mustašfā* مستشفى 'hospital' to become feminine, presumably by association with the feminine *-ā* ـى suffix found on other words.

Loan words in *-ā* ـا are treated as feminine, as the feminine adjectives in the following examples show: *drāmā **ramziyyatun*** دراما رمزية 'a **symbolic/ist** drama', *'aḥdaṯu teknolojiyyā **mutāḥatin*** أحدث تكنولوجيا متاحة 'the most modern technology **possible**', *bānūrāmā **naqdiyyatun*** بانوراما نقدية 'a **critical** panorama'; likewise the pronoun here: *al-sīnamā **lahā*** السينما لها 'the cinema for **it**' (i.e. 'the cinema **has** . . .').

Note the rule that non-human plurals are grammatically feminine singular (see **2.1.1**).

1.12.2.2 *Pronouns*

Gender is a feature of pronouns (see tables in **1.7.1**). It is particularly relevant in anaphora to non-human plurals, which are grammatically feminine singular (cf. **2.1.1**).

The feminine may be used as a default gender for vague notions, for example *lā 'aqūluhā mujāmalatan* لا أقولها مجاملة 'I am not saying **it** [fem.] out of flattery', though such cases can always be explained as implying a feminine such as *kalimāt* كلمات 'words', similarly in *rubbamā najidu jawābahā* ربما نجد جوابها 'perhaps we shall find the answer **to that** [fem.]', namely, those questions.

1.12.2.3 *Verbs*

Gender in verbs is coded in the agent affixes (see **1.5.2.2**; **1.5.3**). Note that there are no gender distinctions in the 1st person, nor in the 2nd person dual. Gender is an important agreement feature in verbal sentences (see **3.8**).

1.12.3 *Definiteness* (▷C2:5)

Definiteness is a property of nouns (and hence adjectives, see **2.1.1**) and is either formal (marked) or semantic (unmarked). Indefiniteness is now the unmarked state, since the original marker (for *tanwīn*, see **1.5.1**) is not realized in pausal reading or spelling.

Definiteness (or the equivalent) is a required feature of topics (see **3.1**).

1.12.3.1 Formal definiteness is effected in three ways:

1 Prefixing of the definite article *al-* (▷C2:10; and see **1.5.1**); contrast *kitāb-u-n* كتابٌ 'a book' with *al-kitāb-u* الكتابُ 'the book'; note that *al-* and *tanwīn* are in complementary distribution.

The definite article confers two types of definiteness:

(a) as illustrated above, it particularizes an entity known to both speaker and listener
(b) it denotes a generic meaning (▷C2:13), for example *mā'idatun min-a **l-nuḥāsi l-maḥfūri*** مائدة من النحاس المحفور 'a table of **engraved brass**' (note that the adj. is also def., see **2.1.1**), which could as well be rendered 'an engraved brass table', contrasting with other possible materials.

Indefinite phrases also occur in a similar sense, for example *'awāriḍu ġalīẓatun **min ḫašabin*** عوارض غليظة من خشب 'rough joists **of wood**', but here the intention is not generic but rather 'made of some kind of wood' with no particular contrast with any other possible material.

Generic articles occur idiomatically in a number of contexts:

(a) Time expressions (see **2.14.6**), e.g. *niṣfu **l-**sā'ati* نصف الساعة 'half **an** hour'
(b) Parts of the body, e.g. *ṭariba **l-**qalbu* طرب القلب '**the** heart rejoiced'
(c) With quantity adjectives in an idiomatic partitive construction: ***al-**kaṯīru min-a l-ma'lūmāti* الكثير من المعلومات '**a great deal** of information', ***al-**'adīdu min-al-'injāzāti* العديد من الإنجازات '**numerous** accomplishments' (see **2.6.12**; **2.1.5.1**).

2 Annexation to an already definite noun of any category, for example *kitābu **l-ṭālibi*** كتابُ الطالبِ ‘**the student’s** book’, *kitābu-**hu*** كتابُه ‘**his** book’; note again that *tanwīn* is in complementary distribution with the second element of annexation.

Note that not all annexation units are definite, see *kull* كلّ ‘all’ (see **2.9.1**) and the superlative adjective (see **2.11**; **5.1.1**).

Annexation units may therefore have either particular or generic sense according to the type of definite article: *kūbu l-šāyi* كوب الشاي can mean ‘a [**generic**] cup of tea’, ‘the cup of [**particular**] tea’, ‘a [**generic**] teacup’ or ‘the [**particular**] teacup’; compare ***finjānu l-qahwati*** *lladi štahara fīhi l-ʿirāqu* فنجان القهوة الذي اشتهر فيه العراق ‘the [**generic**] **cup of the coffee** for which Iraq is famous’, *luqmatu l-ʿayši* لقمة العيش ‘a/the [**generic**] morsel of bread’ (see further **2.3.2**).

3 A formally indefinite noun becomes definite enough to function as a topic (see **3.1**) if it is further qualified, usually adjectivally or by a relative clause, for example *kutubun kaṯīratun* كتبٌ كثيرةٌ ‘many books’. The status of such noun phrases is termed ‘specification’ (*taṣḫīṣ*) rather than ‘definiteness’ in the Arab grammatical tradition.

1.12.3.2 Semantic definiteness is a property of three categories of words:

1 Pronouns, demonstratives, and relatives, for example ***huwa*** *ṭālibun* هو طالب ‘**he** is a student’, ***hāḏā*** *ṣaʿbun* هذا صعب ‘**this** is difficult’, *māta **lladī*** *sāfartu maʿahu* مات الذي سافرت معه ‘**the one** with whom I travelled has died’ (see **5.3**).

2 Proper names of people, for example *ʾaḥmadu* أحمد ‘Aḥmad’, *muḥammadun* محمّد ‘Muḥammad’, or places, for example *makkatu* مكّة ‘Mecca’, *ʿadanu* عدن ‘Aden’; note that the *tanwīn* is not originally a mere indefiniteness marker and is thus also found on personal names (though very rarely with place names, and even here the tendency is for them to lose the *tanwīn*).

There is and always has been considerable variation in the presence of the definite article with proper names: many doublets occur, for example ***al-****iskandariyya* الاسكندرية v. *iskandariyya* اسكندرية ‘Alexandria’, ***al-****suways* السويس v. *suways* سويس, ‘Suez’, *al-malik **al-**ḥusayn* الملك الحسين ‘King [**al-**] Hussein’ v. *ṣaddām ḥusayn* صدام حسين ‘Saddam Hussein’.

A special case is *nāṣir* ناصر for [Gamal Abdel] Nasser without an article, a calque on Western usage.

There are variations in the inflection of proper names: the MWA trend is not to inflect them at all, but the CA system and hybrids of the two are often found (see **1.8.5**).

The dummy name *fulān* فلان 'Mr So-and-so' is grammatically definite, and its feminine *fulānatu* فلانة is partially inflected (see **1.4.3**).

For the indefinite instances of proper names, see **1.12.4**.

3 Words used in the metalanguage are treated as proper names: *kataba hāḏā* كتب هذا 'this [instance of the word] *kataba*' with demonstrative following (see **2.2.5.2**).

1.12.4 *Indefiniteness* (▷C2:21)

Indefiniteness was originally marked by the absence of definite article or of positional definiteness (see **1.12.3**), in which *tanwīn* (see **1.5.1**) became a default ending. It was not the original primary function of *tanwīn* to mark indefiniteness, but it is now so interpreted, even though in most cases it is no longer pronounced, for example *kitāb-**u-n*** كتابٌ 'a book [indep.]', usually read as *kitāb* (see **1.2.8** and **1.2.9** on pausal forms and inflections).

It can correspond to English 'one', for example in *'akṯaru min makān-**i-n*** أكثر من مكان 'more than **one** place', and also to instances where no article is used in English:

*ṣirtu **ra'īs-a-n** li-lajnati l-ṯaqāfati*
صرت رئيسا للجنة الثقافة
'I became **head** of the Culture Committee'

*'araftuhu **mudīr-a-n** li-maṣlaḥati l-funūni*
عرفته مديرا لمصلحة الفنون
'I recognized [or knew] him as **director** of the Arts Department'

In annexation the definiteness of the second element determines that of the first (▷C2:95; and see **2.3.2**), hence the following annexation unit is indefinite:

*ra'īsu ḥukūmat-**i-n** lubnāniyyat-**i-n***
رئيس حكومةٍ لبنانيةٍ
'a [or the] head of **a** Lebanese government', i.e. 'a Lebanese government head'

Some annexed items are formally definite but may be syntactically indefinite, especially the superlative adjective (see **2.11**), and nouns with the generic article may also function as indefinite (see relative clauses, **5.1.2**).

Proper names can become formally indefinite, usually for rhetorical purposes:

min 'ajli ***miṣr-i-n*** *'ṯaqāfiyyatin' 'akṯara zdihāran wa-riyādatan*
من أجل مصرٍ 'ثقافية' أكثر ازدهارا وريادة
'for the sake of **a** more flourishing and avant-garde "cultural" **Egypt**'

in contrast to the normal, partially inflected form (see **1.4.3**) *min 'ajli* ***miṣr-a*** مصرَ من أجل 'for the sake of **Egypt**'.

1.12.4.1 *Periphrastic indefiniteness*

Periphrastic indefiniteness is effected in a variety of ways:

- The '*mā* of vagueness' ما الإبهام *mā al-'ibhām* (cf. **5.6.3**) placed after (but never suffixed to) an indefinite noun, where the resulting juncture between *tanwīn* and *mā* usually results in assimilation of the *-n* to the *m-*:

  fī makān-i-n ***mā***
  في مكانٍ ما
  'in **some** place' read as *fī makānim-mā*

  al-wuṣūlu 'ilā taswiyat-i-n ***mā***
  الوصول إلى تسويةٍ ما
  'reaching **some sort of** settlement' (read *taswiyatim-mā*)

  'indamā yabda'u 'amal-a-n ***mā***
  عندما يبدأ عملا ما
  'when he begins **some** job **or other**' (read *'amalam-mā*)

- The preposition *min* من 'from', 'of' (see **2.6.12**) is used in several constructions which convey indefiniteness.

  Partitive *min* من:

  majmū'atun ***min****-a l-muttahamīna*
  مجموعة من المتهمين
  'a group **of** suspects'

Cf. **4.1.1** for partitive *min* من after negatives.

- Paronomastically, together with a partitive *min* من (cf. **2.6.1.2**):

  al-jāru ***ḍarbun min ḍurūbi*** *l-qarābati*

  الجار ضربٌ من ضروب القرابة

  'a neighbour is **a kind of** relation', lit. 'the [generic] neighbour is **a kind from the kinds of** the [generic] relation'

  'arsala ... ***wazīran min wuzarā'ihi***

  أرسل ... وزيرًا من وزرائه

  'he sent ... **one of his ministers**'

  lawnan 'aw 'āḫara *min 'alwāni l-muṭāradati*

  لوناً أو آخر من ألوان المطاردة

  '**one kind or another** [dep.] of persecution' (here reinforced with *'āḫara* آخر 'other')

- The quantifier *ba'ḍ* بعض 'some of' (cf. **2.9.1.3**) frequently expresses an indeterminate number or quantity, often paronomastically (cf. **3.9.4**):

  rubbamā yu'alliqu ***ba'ḍu*** *l-mu'alliqīna*

  ربّما يعلّق بعضُ المعلّقين

  'perhaps **someone** may comment', lit. 'perhaps someone of those who comment may comment'

- The quantifier/interrogative *'ayyu* أيّ 'which', 'any' (▷C1:151; and see **2.9.1.6**) is very commonly annexed to nouns in order to make them explicitly indefinite:

  'ayy 'alone':

  fī ***'ayyi*** *zamānin wa-'alā* ***'ayyi*** *'arḍin*

  في أيّ زمان وعلى أيّ أرض

  'at **any** time and in **any** land'

  Note that on the second occasion *'ayy* أيّ does not agree in gender with feminine *'arḍ* أرض, which is a common occurrence (see **2.9.1.6** and the next example).

  ka-'***ayyi*** *'ajūzin šamṭā'a*

  كأيّ عجوز شمطاء

  'like **any** grey-haired old woman'

'ayy أيّ + partitive *min* من (cf. above):

*li-l-ištirāki fī **'ayyin min**-a l-ḫidmatayni*
للاشتراك في أيٍ من الخدمتين
'to subscribe to **any of** the two services'

It is frequently expanded with the paronomastic *min* من structure (see above):

***'ayyu** bābin **min** 'abwābi l-'amali*
أيّ بابٍ من أبواب العمل
'**any** sort **of** work at all', lit. '**any** sort **from** among the sorts of work'

*li-**'ayyi** sababin **min** al-'asbābi*
لأيّ سببٍ من الأسباب
'for **any** reason at all', lit. 'for **any** reason **from** among the reasons'

*bi-**'ayyati** ḥālin **min** al-'aḥwāli*
بأيّة حالٍ من الأحوال
'under **any** circumstances at all'

Note feminine agreement in *'ayyati* أيّة, which is now optional (see **2.9.1.6**).

For the idiom *'ayyan kāna* أيّا كان 'who/whatever he/it may be', see **3.16.4**; ▷C1:155.

- For the idiom 'an x of mine' the possessive preposition *li-* لِـ (see **2.6.9**) is used:

*kāna zamīlan **lanā***
كان زميلا لنا
'he was a colleague **of ours**', lit. 'a colleague [belonging] **to us**'

1.12.4.2 Although the generic article (see **1.12.3.1**) is predominantly used for referring to categories, the indefinite is common in prepositional phrases with verbal nouns (*maṣdar*s) and similar abstracts:

*bi-mušārakat-**i-n** min al-safīri*
بمشاركةٍ من السفير
'with **participation** from the ambassador'

*bi-fā'iliyyat-**i-n***
بفاعليّةٍ
'effectively', lit. 'with **effectivity**'

*bi-ṣarāḥat-**i-n** wa-wuḍūḥ-**i-n***
بصراحةٍ ووضوحٍ
'with **candour** and **clarity**'

*bi-stimrār-**i-n***
باستمرارٍ
'continuously', lit. 'with **continuation**'

*bi-basāṭat-**i-n***
ببساطةٍ
'simply', lit. 'with **simplicity**'

*bi-lā tanāsuq-**i-n***
بلا تناسقٍ
'with no **coordination**' (for negation of nouns, see **Chapter 4**)

1.12.4.3 Indefinite verbal agents are sometimes expressed paronomastically (see **3.9.4**):

*'iḏā **badarat bādiratun** min al-'a'dā'i*
إذا بدرت بادرةٌ من الأعداء
'when **some initiative appeared** from the enemies', lit. 'when some emerging thing emerged from the enemies'

1.12.5 *Syntactic functions*

The syntactic functions of the cases are summarized here to complete the morphological outline, but they are dealt with in detail in their respective sections.

The independent case is the basic marker of nouns in the function of subject/topic, predicate and agent (**Chapter 3**). The independent mood of the verb (formally identical with the independent case in nouns) is also the default state, namely, in predicates (**Chapter 3**) until subordinated by one of the operators (**Chapters 7**, **8**, and **9**).

The oblique case is specific to nominals and is the basic marker of nominal subordination, namely, of noun by noun in annexation, and after prepositions and prepositionals (**Chapter 2**).

The dependent case is the basic marker of subordination of nouns to verbs, namely, the direct object and all other noun complements, including those of existential verbs (**Chapter 3**) and adverbials (**Chapter 2**). It also marks subordination to the sentence modifiers إنّ *'inna* etc. (**Chapter 3**). In contrast with the independent case, the dependent may be thought of as a kind of disagreement feature, marking elements which are not in the same constituent, where membership is marked by agreement.

The dependent mood in verbs (formally identical with the dependent case in nouns) likewise marks their subordination to other verbs, usually through an operator such as a subordinating conjunction (**Chapter 7**).

The apocopated mood is specific to verbs and is the marker of non-occurring events, either because they are imperatives (**Chapter 3**), negated (**Chapter 4**) or conditional (**Chapter 8**).

1.12.6 Agreement

These topics are dealt with in detail in their syntactical contexts, and are merely summarized here.

Nouns and adjectives (**Chapter 2**): attributive adjectives agree in all four features of number, gender, case and definiteness; predicative adjectives agree only in number and gender. Formal and grammatical number and gender may be different (for further references, see **1.12.2.1**). Pronouns likewise agree with grammatical gender.

With verbs (**Chapter 3**), agreement depends on word order: if the verb precedes its agent it remains singular though agreeing in gender (see **3.7**), while if it follows its agent the verb shows complete number and gender agreement in its bound agent pronoun (see **3.7.2.1**).

Chapter 2

Noun phrase structure

2.0 Noun phrase, general characterization

The common property of all elements in this chapter is that they do not form complete sentences. This chapter sets out the following structural units: the noun phrase, consisting of noun and modifier (adjectival **2.1**; appositional **2.2**), the annexation unit (see **2.3**), dependent noun phrases of all types (see **2.4**), together with the remaining phrase structures, which usually share one or more of the features of these categories (see **2.5–2.18**). Coordination at phrase level is also dealt with (see **2.19**; and **Chapter 6** for clause level).

Finally, token examples are given of items which, though phrases of one kind or another, are more fully dealt with at the syntactical level, namely relative clause (see **2.20.1**), complementized clause (see **2.20.2**) and verb phrase (see **2.20.3**). Except where the environment is essential for understanding, all examples will be quoted as phrases only, in whatever form (case, gender etc.) they originally had. Many examples will, of course, be in the default independent form. In inflectional terms the structures described below may be grouped as follows:

- Agreement or concord structures, namely, adjectival modifiers and appositionals, all of which agree at least in case with their antecedents or heads (this includes relative structures, on which, see **2.20.1** and **Chapter 5**).
- Subordinating or annexation structures, in which the head word is a noun, adjective, adverbial or preposition(al), and the subordinated element is in the oblique case.
- Dependent structures, in which the nouns have dependent case and are mostly operated on by verbs as complements. They share the feature of non-agreement or discord with their antecedents, that is, the dependent case typically marks non-identity or structural redundancy.

- Some types of noun phrase involve more than one of the above cases and are thus treated as separate items, and most of the functions associated with adverb(ial)s and preposition(al)s, quantifiers and emphasizers, comparative/superlative adjectives, the numerals, the vocative, exclamations and oaths, the categorical negative and coordination. It will also be the case that some items, such as adjectives, involve other structures (e.g. annexation) out of sequence, but there is no way to avoid inconsistency in the arrangement of topics.

The examples here will show full inflection in every word so that the concord is clearly visible, except in certain cases where the complete classical vocalization cannot be used, marked *, with # indicating an uncertain vocalization.

2.1 Adjectival qualification

(See **1.8.6**, Arabic *ṣifa* صفة or *na'ت* نعت 'descriptive element', 'epithet')

This is realized through various structures:

qiṣṣatun ***ṭawīlatun***
قصة طويلة
'a **long** story' (noun + adj. qual.)

qiṣṣatun ***sayyi'atu l-ẖitāmi***
قصة سيئة الختام
'a story **with a bad ending'** (for expanded adjectival qualifier, see **2.1.3.2**)

qiṣṣatun ***yaṭūlu šarḥuhā***
قصة يطول شرحها
'a story with a long explanation', lit. 'a story **whose explanation is long**' (for adjectival clauses, see **Chapter 5**)

qiṣṣatun ***'abṭāluhā ma'rūfūna***
قصة أبطالها معروفون
'a story **with well-known heroes**', lit. 'a story whose heroes are well known' (for adjectival clauses, see **Chapter 5**)

qiṣṣatun ***min 'alf layla wa-layla***
قصة من ألف ليلة وليلة
'a story **from *One Thousand and One Nights***' (for prepositional phrase in adjectival position, see **2.6**)

Only the first two examples and their expansions are dealt with in this section as agreement phenomena, namely, members of the formal class of adjectives (which includes participles, see **2.10.2** and **2.10.3**; and for forms, see **1.10**).

Agreement varies according to whether the adjective is attributive (see **2.1.1**) or predicative (see **2.1.1.10**; **3.1.1**).

2.1.1 *Adjectives*

Attributive adjectives follow their head noun and inherit all the features of definiteness (see **1.12.3**, **1.12.4**; ▷C2:48), gender (see **1.12.2**; ▷C2:53), number (see **1.12.1**; ▷C2:53) and case (see **1.12.5**). Non-human broken plurals are with few exceptions treated as grammatically feminine singular (see **1.12.2.1**), and there are some variations in agreement with collectives (see **2.1.1.2**):

Independent case:

ḫabarun ***qadīmun*** خبر قديم 'an **old** story', '**old** news'
maṯḥafun ***dā'imun*** متحف دائم 'a **permanent** museum'
ḥarbun ***ṭawīlatun*** حرب طويلة 'a **long** war' (*ḥarb* حرب is unmarked fem., see **1.12.2.1**)
al-hizzatu ***l-'anīfatu*** الهزّة العنيفة 'the **violent** tremor'
bawādiru ***mušajji'atun*** بوادر مشجّعة '**encouraging** signs'
al-wikālātu ***l-ṣiḥḥiyyatu*** الوكالات الصحّية 'the **health** agencies'

Oblique case:

fī l-'usbū'ayni ***l-māḍiyayni*** في الأسبوعيْن الماضيين 'in the **last** two weeks'
bi-l-muškilatayni ***l-sābiqatayni*** بالمشكلتيْن السابقتين 'with the two **previous** problems'

Dependent case:

ḫadaman ***muṭī'īna*** خدما مطيعين '**obedient** servants'
'ayyinātin ***'ašwā'iyyatan*** عيّنات عشوائية '**random** samples'

Sound feminine plural nouns (see **1.8.2** for forms):

Sound feminine plural for female human beings and some broken plural nouns take two different adjectival forms, especially when they refer specifically to females (see also **2.1.1.1**):

al-zawjātu ***l-hindiyyātu*** الزوجات الهنديات '**Indian** wives'

(see *nisba* **2.1.6**)

al-ḍaḥāyā ***l-dā'imātu*** الضحايا الدائمات '**permanent** victims'

Feminine singular for most non-human nouns (but see also **2.1.1.1**).

ḥisābātin ***maġlūṭatan*** حسابات مغلوطة '**falsified** accounts' [dep. case]

Proper nouns, being definite (see **1.12.3.2**) require a definite adjective:

'abrīla ***l-māḍiya*** أبريل الماضي '**last** April'

Active participle:

[bi-taftīši] manzilihi ***l-kā'ini*** *bi-šāri'i H.M.*

[بتفتيش] منزله الكائن بشارع ح م.

'[by searching] his house, **[being]** in H. M. Street'

Colour and defect adjectives (see **1.8.6.1**):

al-baḥru ***l-'aḥmaru*** البحر الأحمر 'the **Red** Sea'

al-dāru ***l-bayḍā'u*** الدار البيضاء 'Casa**blanca**' (*dār* دار 'house' being fem., see **1.12.2.1**)

manāṭiqu ***ḫaḍrā'u*** مناطق خضراء '**green** areas'

2.1.1.1 Although the feminine singular form is commonly found after broken plural nouns (see **1.12.1.2**), a broken plural adjective is often used to qualify a human being plural noun (normally referring to males):

al-'asātiḏatu ***l-'ajillā'u*** الأساتذة الأجلاء 'the **revered** professors'

li-l-mustaṯmirīna ***l-'ajānibu*** للمستثمرين الأجانب 'for **foreign** investors'

rijālun ***'ašiddā'u*** رجال أشدّاء '**strong** men'

*ba'ḍu l-luġawiyyīna l-****qudāmā*** بعض اللغويين القدامى 'some of the **ancient** language specialists'

al-miṣriyyūna ***l-'awā'ilu*** المصريون الأوائل 'the **earliest** Egyptians'

[*ta'yīnu*] *muwaẓẓafīna* ***jududin*** موظّفين جدد [تعيين] '[the appointment of] **new** officials'

rijālun ***kiṯārun*** رجال كثار '**many** men'

However, broken plural adjectives may also qualify non-human nouns:

kalimātun ***qalā'ilu*** كلمات قلائل '**few** words'

(although sound feminine plural *qalīlātun* قليلات is also used)

2.1.1.2 With certain collective nouns the agreement varies:

nās ناس 'people':

nāsun ***muḫtalifatun/muḫtalifūna*** *fī l-'alsuni wa-l-'alwāni*

ناس مختلفة \ مختلفون في الألسن والألوان

'communities of people **differing** [fem. sing. / sound masc. plur.] in tongues and colours',

šu'ūb شعوب 'people':

šu'ūbun ***miskīnatun tu'ānī / masākīna yu'ānūna*** *min-a l-faqri wa-l-jahli wa-l-maraḍi*

شعوب مسكينة تعاني \ مساكين يعانون من الفقر والجهل والمرض

'**wretched people** [fem. sing / broken plur.] **suffering** [fem. sing. / masc. plur.] from poverty, ignorance and disease'

However, with other collectives there is normally only one possibility, for example with *qawm* قوم 'people' only sound masculine plural is found:

*wa-****yataṣāyaḥu l-qawmu mutaḥaddiṯīna*** *ma'an*

ويتصايح القوم متحدّثين معا

'and **the people call out loudly to one other, talking** at the same time' (for circumstantial qualifiers see **7.3**)

This kind of agreement is also seen in verbs which have these nouns as their agents (see **3.8.2**).

2.1.1.3 Attraction of number or gender is not uncommon, especially with predicative adjectives (cf. **3.1.1**):

ba'ḍu ***l-maṭā'imi lubnāniyyatun***

بعض المطاعم لبنانية

'some **of the restaurants are Lebanese**'

2.1.1.4 With numbers the adjective generally agrees with the grammatical form of the noun, not its logical number (see numbers and adjectives in **2.12.5**, **2.12.9**, **2.12.13** and **2.12.15**).

88 jalsatan ***'āmmatan***

٨٨ جلسة عامّة

'88 **general** [fem. sing.] meetings [fem. sing.]'

*72 nā'iban **ṣāmitan***
٧٢ نائبا صامتا
'72 **silent** [masc. sing.] members of parliament [masc. sing.]'

2.1.1.5 With food items in menus, gender agreement is found:

*kibbatun **mawṣiliyyatun*** كبّة موصلية '**Mosul** kibba'
*'asmākun **maqliyyatun** wa-**mašwiyyatun*** أسماك مقلية و مشوية
'**fried** and **grilled** fish'

But it is often ignored (here transcribed as pronounced):

*kufta **baġdādī*** كفتة بغدادي 'kufta **in Baghdad style**',
*qahwa **turkī*** قهوة تركي '**Turkish [style]** coffee',
*ḥalawiyyāt **ṣiyāmī*** حلويات صيامي '**fasting style** sweets'
[i.e. lawful during Christian orthodox fasts]
*jibna **rūmī*** جبنة رومي '**Greek** cheese',
*'asmāk **maqlī** wa-**mašwī*** أسماك مقلي و مشوي '**fried** and **grilled** fish
[broken plur.]'

Gender agreement is also ignored in fashion terms:

*malābisu jāhizatun **rijālī wa-ḥarīmī***
ملابس جاهزة رجالي وحريمي
'ready-made **men's and women's** garments'

(for further in sporting vocabulary, see **2.1.3.6**)

and also in the following:

*fī l-qahwati **l-baladī*** في القهوة البلدي 'in a **traditional style** cafe'

(for generic article, see **1.12.3.1**)

and also loan words such as:

*al-fatātu **l-modern*** الفتاة المودرن 'the **modern** girl'

2.1.1.6 Some adjectives do not use a feminine form. This applies specifically to adjectives that can only qualify female nouns: *zawjatuhu **l-ḥāmilu*** زوجته الحامل 'his **pregnant** wife' (with sense of 'pregnant' only, otherwise the adjective agrees); *imra'atun **'ānisun*** امرأة عانس 'a spinster' but there are other examples:

*al-'aqabatu **al-ka'ūdu*** العقبة الكؤود 'the **insurmountable** obstacle'
*al-'insānatu **l-ḥanūnu*** الإنسانة الحنون 'the **tender** person [fem.]'
*ḫā'inatun **la'ūbun*** خائنة لعوب 'a **treacherous** flirt'

2.1.1.7 *Adjective sequences*

2.1.1.7.1 Asyndetic sequences of adjectives occur when the two (or more) adjectives are inseparable qualities of the noun, or when the meanings of the adjectives are very similar. In such sequences the determinative element appears to precede the qualitative one which only describes the noun (cf. ▷C2:50, 52, 56, 490).

With asyndetic sequences the translation order tends to be the opposite, meaning that the English equivalent maintains the proximity of the adjective to the noun, so Arabic noun + adjective (1) + adjective (2) will be translated as English adjective (2) + adjective (1) + noun as in:

al-niẓāmu ***l-iqtiṣādiyyu (1) l-ʻālamiyyu (2) l-jadīdu (3)***
النظام الاقتصادي العالمي الجديد
'**the new (3) global (2) economic (1)** system'

Other examples:

faqratun ***mumtiʻatun ḍāḥikatun mubhijatun musalliyatun***
فقرة ممتعة ضاحكة مبهجة مسلّية
'an **entertaining, cheerful, merry, enjoyable** paragraph'

ʾustāḏun ***jāmiʻiyyun sābiqun***
أستاذ جامعي سابق
'a **former university** professor'

However, in longer sequences an alternative translation order might be preferable:

hāḏā l-rajulu ***l-faqīru l-madīnu l-bāʾisu l-ṭayyibu l-ġalbānu***
هذا الرجل الفقير المدين البائس الطيب الغلبان
'this **poor, wretched, indebted, miserable, nice, hopeless** man'

Note that in sequences containing postpositioned quantifiers (see **2.9.1**) such as *wāḥid* واحد 'one', the translation rule does not apply:

suʾālun ***wāḥidun ʻāmmun*** سؤال واحد عامّ '**one general** question'

Compound adjectives are always linked asyndetically:

*al-ʻalāqātu l-****ʾinklīziyyatu l-faransiyyatu***
العلاقات الإنكليزية الفرنسية
'**Anglo–French** relations'

(Note that two or more adjectives as verbal attributes are always linked asyndetically, see circumstantial qualifiers **7.3.1.**)

2.1.1.7.2 Syndetic adjective sequences are where more than one adjective is coordinated with *wa-* و 'and', or any other coordinator (▷C2:490, 492, 496). This occurs when the meanings of the adjectives are in contrast to each other (also ▷C2:50):

li-'asbābin ***tā'rīḫiyyatin*** *wa-****nafsiyyatin***
لأسباب تاريخية ونفسية
'for **historical** and **psychological** reasons'

al-ta'āwunu ***l-iqtiṣādiyyu*** *wa-****l-tijāriyyu***
التعاون الاقتصادي والتجاري
'**economic** and **commercial** cooperation'

al-ṣinā'ātu ***l-ṣaġīratu*** *wa-****l-mutawassiṭatu***
الصناعات الصغيرة والمتوسّطة
'**small** and **medium** (sized) crafts'

2.1.1.7.3 When the two entities of a dual noun are each qualified by an adjective, the latter takes the singular form:

fī l-qiṭā'ayni ***l-'āmmi wa-l-ḫāṣṣi***
في القطاعين العامّ والخاصّ
'in the **public and private** sectors'

'alā l-ṣa'īdayni ***l-iqlīmiyyi wa-l-duwaliyyi***
على الصعيدين الإقليمي والدولي
'on the **regional and international** levels'

'ilā l-jīlayni ***l-ṯānī wa-l-ṯāliṯi***
إلى الجيلين الثاني والثالث
'to the **second and third** generations'

2.1.1.8 Sequences of two or more nouns are qualified by only one adjective, with the normal agreement rules of gender, number, case and definiteness applying, for example:

Dual:

al-'adabu wa-l-fannu ***l-jayyidāni***
الأدب والفن الجيدان
'**good** literature and art'

tarāju'un wa-ḥawfun ***kabīrāni***
تراجع وخوف كبيران
'**major** drawing back and fear'

'aqṣaru masāfatin wa-waqtin ***mumkinayni***
أقصر مسافة ووقت ممكنين
'the shortest **possible** distance and time' (for agreement rule, see **2.1.1.9**; for superlatives, see **2.11.5**)

Plural:

wa-yataḥawwalūna 'ilā du'ātin wa-mufakkirīna ***'islāmiyyīna***
ويتحوّلون إلى دعاة ومفكّرين إسلاميين
'and they are converted into **Islamic** preachers and thinkers'

'alā l-raġmi min ma'ārifihi wa-'aṣḥābihi ***l-kaṯīrīna***
على الرغم من معارفه و أصحابه الكثيرين
'in spite of his **many** acquaintances and friends'

2.1.1.9 When two head words of different gender are qualified by the same adjective, the default gender is masculine (see **3.1.1**):

lam ya'ḫuḏhā siwā ***bnihi wa-bnatihi l-ḥabībayni***
لم يأخذها سوى ابنه وابنته الحبيبين
'only **his beloved son and daughter** took it' (see **9.5.2**)

2.1.1.10 Predicative adjectives agree only in number and gender: as predicates they are nearly always indefinite and in independent case unless affected by *kāna* كان 'to be' and its related verbs (see **3.16**). A token example only here, for details, see **3.1.1**:

wa-l-laḥẓatu ***mašḥūnatun*** *bi-l-ḏu'ri wa-l-taraqqubi*
اللحظة مشحونة بالذعر والترقّب
'and the moment **is loaded** with terror and expectation'

2.1.1.11 *Compounds*

In compounds using *qabl* قبل 'before' and *ba'd* بعد 'after' with the relative particle *mā* ما 'that which' (cf. **5.4**) with the sense of pre- and post- respectively (see **12.7.1**), the whole structure, including *mā* ما, is treated as the adjective.

With definite heads there seems to be an option to put *al-* ال at the head of the compound adjective, but the inflection of the adjective itself is indeterminate:

allatī ttajahat naḥwa tajāwuzi l-bunā ***l-mā-qabla l-ra'smāliyyat#***
الّتي اتّجهت نحو تجاوز البنى الماقبل الرأسمالية
'which are headed towards transcending the **pre-capitalist** institutions'

al-mujtama'u ***mā-ba'da l-ṣinā'iyy#***
المجتمع ما بعد الصناعي
'**post-industrialist** society'

2.1.2 *Qualifying annexation units*

Since annexation units function as single words (see **2.3** for annexation), adjectives qualifying either member of the construction must follow the completed unit, and will show normal adjectival agreement with whichever of the nouns they qualify (▷C2:101). Ambiguities may occur, see below.

furaṣu 'amalin ***ḥaqīqiyyatun***
فرص عمل حقيقية
'**real** job opportunities'

dūru kutubin ***miṣriyyatun***
دور كتب مصرية
'**Egyptian** libraries' (see **2.3.1**)

banātu l-ḥayyi ***l-ṣaġīrātu***
بنات الحيّ الصغيرات
'the **young** girls of the quarter'

Ambiguity is always possible, especially where the case inflections are not visible (for an alternative way of expressing such constructions, see **2.3.5**):

ṣāḥibu qānūni l-'aqalliyyāti l-dīniyyati ***l-šahīruli***
صاحب قانون الأقلّيات الدينية الشهير
'**the famous** [indep. therefore qual. *ṣāḥibu*] author of the law of religious minorities' or 'author of the **famous** [obl. therefore qual. *qānūni*] law of religious minorities'

mašrū‘u *qānūni l-ḫidmati l-madaniyyati* ***l-jadīdi***
مشروع قانون الخدمة المدنية الجديد
‘**the new project** for the law of community service’ or less likely, ‘the project for the new law of community service’

but often gender differences make it clear which element the adjective qualifies:

ḥiwārātu *l-’ibdā‘i* ***l-ġā’ibatu*** *‘an-i l-sāḥati*
حوارات الإبداع الغائبة عن الساحة
‘**the dialogues** of creativity **absent** [fem.] from the scene’

irtifā‘u *darajati l-ḥarārati* ***l-mutawaqqa‘u***
ارتفاع درجة الحرارة المتوقّع
‘**the expected rise** [masc.] in temperature’

majlisu *wuzarā’i ḥukūmati rūsiyā l-ittiḥādiyyati* ***l-’usbū‘iyyu***
مجلس وزراء حكومة روسيا الاتّحادية الأسبوعي
‘**the weekly assembly** of the government ministers of Federal Russia’, not ‘the assembly of the weekly ministers’, etc.

or contextual knowledge will enable disambiguation:

minṭaqatu ra’si l-ḫaymati ***l-ta‘līmiyyatu***
منطقة رأس الخيمة التعليمية
‘the **educational** area of Ras al-Khayma’, where Ras al-Khayma is known to be a place name

kulliyyatu l-’amīri sulṭāna ***l-’ahliyyatu***
كلّية الأمير سلطان الأهلية
‘Prince Sultan **Private** College’, lit. ‘the College of the Prince Sultan, the private one’

2.1.3 *Complex agreement and expanded adjectival phrases*

2.1.3.1 Adjectives are occasionally annexed to the noun they qualify for emphasis. These phrases are rather stylized and restricted:

‘amīqu *htimāmikum* عميق اهتمامكم ‘your **deep** concern’
kibāru *l-’asātiḏati* كبار الأساتذة ‘the **senior** professors’
(contrast *’asātiḏatunā* ***l-kibāru*** أساتذتنا الكبار ‘our **great** teachers’)

***jazīlu** l-šukri* جزيل الشكر ‘**abundant** thanks’

*bi-**kāmili** l-ṭāqati* بكامل الطاقة ‘with **full** capability’

In this category belongs the common participial pattern with *muḫtalif* مختلف ‘varying, various’:

*fī **muḫtalifi** marāḥili ‘uṣūrihā*
في مختلف مراحل عصورها
‘in the **various** stages of its [historical] periods’

*‘alā **muḫtalifi** l-’aṣ‘idati*
على مختلف الأصعدة
‘on **various** levels’

2.1.3.2 An adjective may have its scope specified by annexation (▷C2:107; **2.3**). This structure is known as ‘unreal annexation’ (*’iḍāfa ġayr ḥaqīqiyya* إضافة غير حقيقية) because adjectives do not properly occur as the first element of an annexation construction, hence this is not a true possessive relationship:

***marhūbu** l-jānibi* مرهوب الجانب ‘**of awesome** presence’, lit. ‘**feared of** aspect’

***‘azīzu** l-kalimati* عزيز الكلمة ‘**mighty** of word’

***ġarību** l-’aṭwāri* غريب الأطوار ‘eccentric’, lit. ‘**strange** of modes’

***ḥasanu** l-ra’yi fī* حسن الرأي في ‘**having a good** opinion (of)’

***’azhariyyu** l-juḏūri wa-l-tarbiyati* أزهري الجذور و التربية ‘**Azharī** in [lit. **of**] roots and education’

In context, when qualifying indefinite nouns the adjective agrees in case, gender and definiteness, but without *tanwīn* since it is annexed to the following noun. The adjective occurs either attributively:

*mas’alatun **bāliġatu l-dalālati***
مسألة بالغة الدلالة
‘an **extremely significant** question’

*muḥāwalatun **‘adīmatu l-jadwā***
محاولة عديمة الجدوى
‘a **fruitless** attempt’ (see **12.6**)

*’adwiyatun **ġāliyatu l-ṯamani***
أدوية غالية الثمن
‘**high-priced** medicines’

[*ya'ḫuḏu*] *šaklan* ***ramādiyya l-maẓhari***
[يأخذ] شكلا رمادي المظهر
'[it takes on] an **ash-grey form**'

quwwātun ***muta'addidatu l-jinsiyyāti***
قوّات متعددة الجنسيات
'**multinational** forces'

[*wa-ka-'annahā muḫaṭṭaṭun*] ***jayyidu l-tanẓīmi wa-l-'i'dādi wa-l-tanfīḏi***
[وكأنها مخطّط] جيد التنظيم والإعداد والتنفيذ
'as though it were a well-organized, well-prepared and well-executed plan', lit. 'a plan **good of organization, preparation and execution**' (for *ka-'anna* كأنّ, see **5.9.9.4**)

Or predicatively (with predicates normally being indefinite, see **3.1.1**):

[*qad takūnu l-mar'atu*] ***kāmilata l-'unūṯati***
[قد تكون المرأة] كاملة الأنوثة
'[a woman may well be] **completely feminine**'

(for generic article, see **1.12.3.1**; for *qad* قد with independent imperfect verb, see **3.10.5**; and for syntax of *kāna* كان 'be', see **3.16.2**)

[*'inna niẓāmahā*] ***ṯunā'iyyu l-luġati***
[إنّ نظامها] ثنائي اللغة
'[its system] is **bilingual**'

When qualifying definite nouns, the adjective, unlike the head of a true annexation unit (see **2.3**), regularly takes the definite article:

*li-'injāzātihim-****i l-bāliġati l-'ahammiyyati l-'ilmiyyati wa-l-māddiyyati***
لإنجازاتهم البالغة الأهمية العلمية والمادية
'for their achievements of **outstanding scientific and material importance**'

al-dawā'u l-mustawradu ***l-bāhiẓu l-takālīfi***
الدواء المستورد الباهظ التكاليف
'[the] **outrageously expensive** imported medicine'

but in MWA the definite article is frequently omitted (note that the examples are not equational sentences):

al-ḫuṭaṭu ***ba'īdatu l-madā***
الخطط بعيدة المدى
'**long-term** plans'

kammiyyatun kabīratun min-a l-malābisi l-jāhizati ***'ajnabiyyati l-ṣun'i***
كمّية كبيرة من الملابس الجاهزة أجنبية الصنع
'large quantities of ready-made clothes **of foreign manufacture'**

ismu l-lā'ibi ***ṣaġīri l-sinni***
اسم اللاعب صغير السنّ
'the name of the **young** [lit. "young of age"] player'

al-'aġḏiyatu ***qalīlatu l-su'rāti***
الأغذية قليلة السعرات
'**low-calorie** foods'

al-duwalu ***mutawassiṭatu l-daḫli***
الدول متوسّطة الدخل
'**middle-income** states'

[bi-l-nisbati 'ilā] l-maḥālīli ***'āliyati l-tarkīzi***
[بالنسبة إلى] المحاليل عالية التركيز
'[with regard to] **highly-concentrated solvents**'

Note use of pronoun for repeated phrase (for coordination of agents, see **3.8**; and cf. also **6.2.2**):

qarība l-dāri *'aw* ***ba'īdahā***
قريب الدار أو بعيدها
'**near of abode** or **far** [of it]' (▷C2:106)

Nominalized type (see also **2.1.5**):

hāḏihi l-zumratu min ***muḫtallī l-'aqli muḥtariqī l-qalbi***
هذه الزمرة من مختلّي العقل محترقي القلب
'this mob of [people] with **feeble minds** and **burnt-out hearts**'

2.1.3.3 Another type of expanded adjective phrase contains the participle (normally passive) of an indirectly transitive verb, that is, one that requires a preposition (see **3.11.4**, and note that the same elements may also function as circumstantial qualifiers, see **2.4.6**).

The participle remains invariable for number and gender (i.e. is masc. default) but agrees in case and definiteness with the head noun, to which it is linked by a pronoun on the preposition associated with the verb. The structure involves no annexation, but is closer to an (adj.) relative, and is often best translated as such, especially as the agreement of the underlying passive verb is often expressed:

Passive participle:

*'amrun **mutanāza'un 'alayhi***

أمر متنازع عليه

'a **disputed** matter', lit. 'a matter, there having been disputed over it'

*ḥamāsun **mubālaġun fīhi***

حماس مبالغ فيه

'**exaggerated** enthusiasm', lit. 'enthusiasm, gone too far in it'

*al-jihatu **l-manūṭu bihā** ḫtiyāru l-musāfirīna*

الجهة المنوط بها اختيار المسافرين

'the agency **with which** the choice of travellers **has been entrusted**', lit. 'the agency, been entrusted with it the choice of travellers'

*muḫālifatun li-l-qawā'idi **l-ma'mūli bihā***

مخالفة للقواعد المعمول بها

'contrary to the principles **operated on**'

*iḥtimālātu l-fašali **l-masmūḥu bihā***

احتمالات الفشل المسموح بها

'the **permitted** possibilities of failure'

*al-duyūnu **l-maškūku fī taḥṣīlihā***

الديون المشكوك في تحصيلها

'debts that it is **doubful will be recovered**'

*al-fi'ātu **l-manṣūṣu 'alayhā***

الفئات المنصوص عليها

'the **specified** categories'

*al-'ijrā'ātu l-'akādīmiyyatu **l-mu'tarafu bihā***

الإجراءات الأكاديمية المعترف بها

'the **acknowledged** academic procedures'

2.1.3.4 na't sababī نعت سببي (▷C3:160)

Attraction occurs where the adjective (again normally a participle) structurally qualifies the preceding noun but logically qualifies a following noun.

Its agreement features are shared between the two, agreeing in definiteness and case with the antecedent, that is, the head noun, and in number and gender with the following noun. The latter is invariably the agent of the preceding participle and thus always has independent case. Because it qualifies only indirectly it is called in the Arabic tradition the *na't sababī* نعت سببي 'semantically linked qualifier', referring to the pronoun which always links the second noun to the first.

Both the presence of an obligatory linking pronoun and the agreement of the participle with the number and gender of its following noun, as if it were a verb, make this construction very similar to relative clauses, (see **5.1** and **5.2**), compare *al-mar'atu **l-jālisu zawjuhā*** المرأة الجالس زوجها, literally 'the woman the-sitting-down [masc. sing.] her husband' and *al-mar'atu **llatī yajlisu zawjuhā*** المرأة الّتي يجلس زوجها, literally 'the woman, **that one is sitting down** [masc. sing.] **her husband**', with the definite article and the relative noun respectively marking the definiteness of the entire unit. In practice they translate best as relative clauses.

Definite:

*min-a l-malābisi . . . **l-maḥẓūri stīrāduhā***
من الملابس . . . المحظور استيرادها
'of clothing . . . **whose import is prohibited**', lit. 'the prohibited their import'

*jamī'u l-tajhīzāti **l-maṭlūbi tawaffuruhā***
جميع التجهيزات المطلوب توفرها
'all the equipment **required to be available**'

*al-minṭaqatu **l-maḥẓūru ṭayarānuhu** fīhā*
المنطقة المحظور طيرانه فيها
'the area in which **it** [the enemy] **is prohibited to fly**'

*bi-ẓurūfi ma'rakati 'ummatihi l-taḥrīriyyati **l-muḥtadimi 'uwāruhā***
بظروف معركة أمّته التحريرية المحتدم أوارها
'in the circumstances of his nation's **fiercely blazing** liberation struggle', lit. 'the fiercely blazing [masc.] its [fem.] flame'

*'adadan min-a l-mašārī'i **l-jārī tanfīḏuhā***
عددا من المشاريع الجاري تنفيذها
'a number of plans **in current execution**'

(see participial adjective **2.10.2**)

muḥāḍarātuhu ***l-sābiqu ḏikruhā***

محاضراته السابق ذكرها

'his **aforementioned lectures**'

*'aṣbaḥnā ša'ban min-a l-mušarradīna wa-l-jiyā'i wa-**l-maqṭū'ati binā l-subulu***

أصبحنا شعبا من المشرّدين والجياع والمقطوعة بنا السبل

'we have become a race of outcasts, hungry, with our ways [of escape] cut off', lit. '**cut off** [def. sing. fem. obl.] **from us the ways**'

Indefinite:

niṣfu jumjumatin ***muḥtaraqatin 'aynuhā***

نصف جمجمة محترقة عينها

'half a skull **with a burnt-out eye**'

fī nab'in ***jāffin mā'uhu***

في نبع جافّ ماؤه

'in a spring **whose water is dry**'

mahmā balaġtu diyāran ***muġāyiran tawqītuhā***

مهما بلغت ديارا مغايرا توقيتها

'no matter which places I arrived in **with different times**' (see **8.5.1**)

2.1.3.5 *Compound adjectives of place names*

Compound adjectives of place names are not uncommon. Since they are compounds, only the adjective element takes gender concord, although the whole compound agrees with the head noun in the definite. The inflection of the noun element in the compound is difficult to specify. Therefore, # will be inserted in place of the inflection in all the examples:

li-duwalin ***šarq# 'awsaṭiyyatin***

لدول شرق أوسطية

'for **Middle Eastern** nations'

al-ṣahyūniyyatu ***l-šarq# al-'awsaṭiyyatu***

الصهيونية الشرق الأوسطية

'**Middle East** Zionism'

al-nādī l-miṣriyyu ***l-būr# saʿīdiyyu***
النادي المصري البور سعيدي
'the Egyptian **Port Said** Club'

firqatu l-qanṭarati ***šarq#***
فرقة القنطرة شرق
'the Qantara **East** team'

2.1.3.6 Miscellaneous and difficult combinations, largely sporting terms, bearing influence of foreign languages. In many of these examples inflection is also difficult to specify (cf. numbers **2.12** and cardinal points, **2.1.4**) since the annexation is to a compound unit:

wazn# '***ḫafīf# al-rīša#***' وزن خفيف الريشة '**feather**weight'
buṭūlat# '***al-fardī#***' بطولة الفردي '**singles** championship'

and note invariable masculine adjective:

buṭūlatu '***fardī# li-l-sayyidāti***'
بطولة فردي للسيّدات
'**women's singles** championship'

buṭūlatu '***zawjī# li-l-sayyidāti***'
بطولة زوجي للسيّدات
'**women's doubles** championship'

buṭūlatu '***l-ʿālami li-l-šabābi fī kurati l-māʾi***'
بطولة العالم للشباب في كرة الماء
'"**world junior water polo**" championship'

buṭūlatu '***kaʾsi l-ʿālami li-kurati l-māʾi li-l-šabābi***'
بطولة كأس العالم لكرة الماء للشباب
'"**world cup junior water polo**" championship'

kaʾsu '***l-ʿālami taḥta 17 sanatin***'
كأس العالم تحت ١٧ سنة
'"**under-17s world**" cup'

MWA has accommodated compound constructions of the type described in **12.7.1** such as *fawqa l-banafsajī* فوق البنفسجي 'ultra-violet' with relative ease. Conflicts of agreement such as definiteness, however, have not been fully resolved.

mubārātu ***nihā'iyyi l-ka'si***
مباراة نهائي الكأس
'**the cup final** (match)'

This seems to be a failed attempt.

2.1.4 *Cardinal points and directions*

In theory, inflection in many of the following examples is easier to predict since the first element of annexation is generally an adverb of place (in the dep. case), and the second element is in the oblique case. However, it is worth noting that the inflections are often omitted when such examples are read aloud, for example in news broadcasts:

'alā masāfati 20 km ***janūba šarqi*** *baġdāda*
على مسافة ٢٠ ك.م. جنوب شرق بغداد
'20 kilometres **south-east of** Baghdad'

fī ttijāhi ***janūbiyyi šarqi*** *'āsiyā*
في اتّجاه جنوبي شرق آسيا
'in the direction of **south-east** Asia'

al-šamālu l-šarqiyyu *li-sūryā*
الشمال الشرقي لسوريا
'**north-east** Syria'

šarqiyya *l-būsnati*
شرقي البوسنة
'**east of** Bosnia'

fī madīnati l-bilaydati ***janūbi ġarbi*** *l-'āṣimati l-jazā'iriyyati*
في مدينة البليدة جنوب غرب العاصمة الجزائرية
'in the town of Bilaida **south-west of** the Algerian capital'

mawāqi'u ḥukūmiyyatun ***šarqiyya*** *l-madīnati*
مواقع حكومية شرقي المدينة
'government positions **east of** the town'

istiqlālu ***janūbiyyi šarqiyyi*** *turkiyyā*
استقلال جنوبي شرقي تركيا
'the independence of **south-east** Turkey'

*al-murtafa'ātu l-muḥīṭatu bi-**janūbiyyi** kābula*
المرتفعات المحيطة بجنوبي كابل
'the hills surrounding **southern** Kabul'

*fī **ġarbi** kīnyā*
في غرب كينيا
'in **west** Kenya'

*makātibu taḫdumu **šamāla wa-wasṭa wa-janūba** l-qāhirati*
مكاتب تخدم شمال ووسط و جنوب القاهرة
'offices serving **north, central and south** Cairo' (or 'the north, centre and south of…') (see **2.3.7**)

2.1.5 ***Nominalized adjectives*** (▷C2:17, 61)

Any adjective, including participles (see **2.10.2**) can function as a noun, referring to either a previously mentioned or implied noun:

*hāḏihi **l-jamīlatu l-ġaniyyatu l-'anīqatu***
هذه الجميلة الغنية الأنيقة
'this **charming, rich and beautiful [girl]**'

*kaṯīrūna min **'uẓamā'i** l-fikri wa-l-ṯaqāfati*
كثيرون من عظماء الفكر والثقافة
'many **great ones** of thought and culture'

*nadwatun 'an **jadīdi** ṭibbi l-'aṭfāli*
ندوة عن جديد طب الأطفال
'seminar on **what is new** in pediatrics', lit. 'the new of the medicine of children'

***kaṯīrātun** yudrikna*
كثيرات يدركن
'**many [women]** realize'

[*bayna*] ***ḥasnāwāti** l-qaṣri*
[بين] حسناوات القصر
'[among] **the beautiful [ladies]** in the palace'

al-maḍbūṭātu
المضبوطات
'the **confiscated [goods]**'

nādiran mā najidu minhā ***l-ṭabī'iyyata***
نادرا ما نجد منها الطبيعية
'rarely do we find any of them that are **natural**'

(cf. 5.8.5 on *nādiran mā* نادراً ما 'rarely')

'abṭālu ***l-dawriyyi*** أبطال الدوري '**league** champions'
qismu stibdāli ***l-fawāriġi*** قسم استبدال الفوارغ 'department for exchanging **the empties [bottles]**'
al-'ajānibu الأجانب 'foreigners'
ṣiġāru*nā* صغارنا 'our **young ones**'
al-fāriqu *'anna* ... الفارق ... أنّ '**the difference** is that ...'

Adjectives also occur as nouns as a result of ellipsis:

waznu ***l-fāriġati***
وزن الفارغة
'weight of the **empty [vehicle]**'

*bayna laḥẓatin wa-****'uḫrā***
بين لحظة وأخرى
'between one moment and **another [moment]**'

wazīru ***l-ḫārijiyyati***
وزير الخارجية
'the minister of **external [affairs]**'

wizāratu ***l-māliyyati***
وزارة المالية
'the Ministry of **Finance [matters]**'

Participles with nominal function (see also **2.1**, **2.10.2**, **2.10.3**)

min-a l-muḥtamali *'an yajidū 'anfusahum ṭarafan fī l-nizā'i*
من المحتمل أن يجدوا أنفسهم طرفا في النزاع
'**it is possible** [lit. "it is part of the possible"] that they could find themselves a party in the dispute' (see **3.1.4**)

al-wāqi'u *'anna hunāka farqan kabīran*
الواقع أنّ هناك فرقا كبيرا
'**the reality is** that there is a big difference'

al-qā'imūna *bi-l-dirāsati*
القائمون بالدراسة
'**those carrying out** the study'

al-maḥkūmu 'alayhi *bi-l-'i'dāmi*
المحكوم عليه بالإعدام
'**the condemned person**', lit. 'the one over whom judgment of execution has been passed'

sa-na'ḏuru ***l-muta'aḫḫirīna***
سنعذر المتأخّرين
'we shall excuse **the latecomers**'

*sibāqun li-****l-mu'āqīna***
سباق للمعاقين
'a race for **the handicapped**'

2.1.5.1 *'many' (see quantifiers* ***2.9.1****)* (cf. ▷C2:19)

Some adjectives, such as *al-kaṯīru* **الكثير** and *al-'adīdu* **العديد** 'many', 'numerous', occur in idiomatic phrases with the preposition *min* **من** (see **2.6.12**). The adjective is normally definite:

ladayhi ***l-kaṯīru*** *min-a l-humūmi*
لديه الكثير من الهموم
'he has **a lot** of worries'

al-kaṯīru *min-a l-ma'lūmāti*
الكثير من المعلومات
'**a lot** of information'

al-kaṯīru *min-a l-ṣafaqāti*
الكثير من الصفقات
'**many** deals'

al-‘adīdu *min-a l-murāqibīna*
العديد من المراقبين
‘**many** observers’

al-‘adīdu *min-a l-‘aḍā’i*
العديد من الأعضاء
‘**many** members’

’idḫālu ***l-‘adīdi*** *min-a l-ḫadamāti*
إدخال العديد من الخدمات
‘the introduction of **many** services’

but it may also be indefinite:

kaṯīrun min*-a l-sayyidāti* كثير من السيّدات ‘**many** women’

kaṯīrūna min *‘uẓamā’i l-fikri* كثيرون من عظماء الفكر ‘**many** great thinkers’

Attraction with *kaṯīrun min* كثير من: predicates following this construction normally agree with the noun, not with the adjectival construction (see **3.1.1**, **3.8.2**):

’inna kaṯīran min ***’abyāti l-dīwāni tatašābahu*** *ma‘a l-’āyāti l-qur’āniyyati*
إن كثيرا من أبيات الديوان تتشابه مع الآيات القرآنية
‘many of the **lines in the collection of poetry resemble** [fem.] the Qur’ānic verses’

*kaṯīrun min****-a l-sayyidāti yu‘ānīna*** *l-’amarrayni*
كثير من السيّدات يعانين الأمرّيْن
‘**many women suffer** [fem. plur.] a great deal’, lit. ‘suffer the two most bitter things’

‘More’ (see quantifiers **2.9.1**):

Idiomatic phrase with passive participle in either definite or indefinite form with the preposition *min* من:

al-mazīdu min*-a l-da‘mi li-l-ṯaqāfati*
المزيد من الدعم للثقافة
‘**more** [lit. the increase] support for culture’

al-mazīdu min*-a l-šubbāni wa-l-ṣibyāni*
المزيد من الشبّان والصبيان
‘**more** young men and boys’

As with the *kaṯīrun min* كثير من 'many of' construction, the agreement of the predicate tends to be with the noun, not with the adj. construction (see **3.1.1**, **3.8.2**):

al-mazīdu min ***'aṭibbā'i l-'asnāni yanṣaḥūna*** *bi-sti'māli*
المزيد من أطبّاء الأسنان ينصحون باستعمال
'increasingly more **dentists advise** the use of'

Indefinite paraphrase variant:

*yuṭālibuhu bi-**mazīdin min-a l-ṣabri***
يطالبه بمزيد من الصبر
'they demand from him **more patience**', lit. 'an increase **of** patience'

2.1.6 Nisba نسبة *category*

(Morphology **1.8.6.3**, **12.2**, and see **12.4** for abstract nouns in *-iyya* -ِيّة).

Adjectives of the *nisba* نسبة type ending in *-iyy(a)*. The *nisba* نسبة adjective denotes a relationship of belonging, originally of kinship, but already in CA it could denote any kind of relationship. (There are occasions when a broken plural adjective is used in preference to the *nisba* نسبة.)

Names of nationalities and peoples (see **2.2**):

mas'ūlūna ***miṣriyyūna*** مسؤولون مصريون '**Egyptian** officials'
al-'alāqātu ***l-miṣriyyatu l-sūdāniyyatu*** العلاقات المصرية السودانية
'**Egyptian–Sudanese** relations'
al-ša'bu ***l-lubnāniyyu*** الشعب اللبناني 'the **Lebanese** people'

Association with a style, trend or organization:

al-'aklu 'alā l-ṭarīqati ***l-kilintūniyyati***
الأكل على الطريقة الكلنتونية
'food the **Clinton** way'

*hay'atu l-tadrīsi l-**jāmi'iyyatu***
هيئة التدريس الجامعية
'the **university** staff', lit. 'teaching body'

2.2 Apposition (see also 2.20.5)

There are at least three easily identifiable types of apposition of noun to noun (see **2.2.1**). In addition to those listed here, see also emphasizers (see **2.8**), quantifiers (see **2.9.1**), 'self' (see **2.8.1.2**) and 'like' (see **2.9.2.1**). In apposition, which can only be of non-adjectival elements, there is agreement in case since the second element, that is, the one in apposition, can stand by itself in the function of the first element.

2.2.1 *Nouns to nouns*

2.2.1.1 *Nouns in apposition or simple annexation for material substances*

In CA material substances were rendered either by apposition to the noun or by simple annexation (see **2.3.1**). MWA preserves both structures:

Apposition:

al-sikkatu ***l-ḥadīdu***
السكّة الحديد
'the **rail**way', lit. 'the **iron** road' (and cf. annexation)

al-'aqlāmu ***l-raṣāṣu***
الأقلام الرصاص
'pencils', lit. '**lead** pens'

Annexation:

dūlābu ***ḫašabin***
دولاب خشب
'a **wooden** cupboard', lit. 'of **wood**'

With weights and measures, however, MWA dispenses with inflections (see also **2.14.9.3**):

kīlū ***sukkar#*** كيلو سكر 'a kilo **of sugar**'
faddān ***qamḥ#*** فدّان قمح 'a feddan **of wheat**'
litru ***banzīn#*** لتر بنزين 'a litre **of gas**'

Hence it is no longer clear whether these are a development from the regular CA specifying complement or whether they have fallen together with the kind of annexation constructions set out in **2.3.1**.

2.2.1.2 Noun + noun where the apposition conveys an explanatory sense (see *kull* كلّ 'all', *jamī'* جميع 'all', *ba'ḍ* بعض 'some' [see all **2.9.1**], *nafs* نفس 'self' [see **2.8.1**], *miṯl* مثل 'like' [see **2.9.2.1**] as restrictive appositions) (▷C2:67, 72):

juḏūru l-'insāni – ***'ayyi 'insānin***
جذور الإنسان – أي إنسان
'the roots of man – **[of] any man**'

dahana l-ingilīzu l-nuqūša bi-l-lawni l-abyaḍi ***l-lawni l-taqlīdiyyi*** *li-l-mustašfayāti*
دهن الإنجليز النقوش باللون الأبيض اللون التقليدي للمستشفيات
'the English painted the wall carvings white, **the traditional colour** for hospitals'

ba'ḍu l-masājidi ***ḏāti l-šuhrati***
بعض المساجد ذات الشهرة
'certain **famous** mosques' (see *ḏū* ذو /*ḏāt* ذات **2.8.3**)

jamī'u l-duwali ***l-'a'ḍā'i***
جميع الدول الأعضاء
'all the **member** states'

bi-waḥdāniyyati llāhi ***ḫāliqi kulli šay'in***
بوحدانية الله خالق كلّ شيء
'[calling] for the oneness of God, **Creator of everything**'

ẓāhiratāni jtimā'iyyatāni ***l-faqru wa-l-intiḥāru***
ظاهرتان اجتماعيتان الفقر والانتحار
'two social phenomena, **poverty and suicide**'

li-l-fikri l-'insāniyyi ***marātibihi wa-ṣunūfihi***
للفكر الإنساني مراتبه وصنوفه
'for human thought, **its levels and categories**'

min zamīlihim-i ***l-nā'ibi l-duktūri*** …
من زميلهم النائب الدكتور . . .
'from their colleague the **MP Dr** …'

Appositional elements need not, however, agree in definiteness:

*ša'artu **bi-l-dif'i** yasrī fī 'awṣālī, **dif'in** lam 'aš'ur bihi munḏu ḥalaltu bi-landan*

شعرت بالدفء يسري في أوصالي، دفء لم أشعر به منذ حللت بلندن

'I felt **warmth** [generic art.] running through my joints, **a warmth** which I had not felt since I had come to live in London'

*wa-rāḥat fī duwwāmatin min-a **l-bukā'i** l-ḥārri … **bukā'in** 'ālamanī*

وراحت في دوامة من البكاء الحار . . . بكاء آلمني

'she went into a paroxysm of heated **crying** [generic article] … **crying** [indef.] which hurt me'

*al-ṣiḥḥatu li-l-jamī'i **muwāṭinīna wa-muqīmīna***

الصحة للجميع مواطنين و مقيمين

'health is for all, **citizens and residents**'

2.2.2 *Proper names*

Proper names also occur frequently in apposition:

*rajulu qabīlatin **min qabā'ili l-'abāšiyyi l-hunūdi l-ḥumri***

رجل قبيلة من قبائل الأباشي الهنود الحمر

'a tribesman **of a Red Indian Apache tribe**'

(for the periphrastic indefinite, see **1.12.4.1**)

*istad'ā nadīmahu l-ẓarīfa **l-šā'ira 'abā nuwāsin***

استدعى نديمه الظريف الشاعر أبا نواس

'he summoned his witty drinking companion, **the poet Abū Nuwās**'

(for inflection of proper names, see **1.8.5**)

But proper names are often uninflected:

*'anjabat waladahā **maḥmūd***

أنجبت ولدها محمود

'she gave birth to her son **Maḥmūd**'

The convention that names within a genealogical sequence do not take *tanwīn* (thus *muḥammad**u** bnu ḥasan**i** bni ʿaliyyin* محمد بن حسن بن علي ‘Muhammad son of Hasan son of ‘Alī’) is preserved even with the dummy name *fulānun* فلان ‘so-and-so’ (see **1.12.3.2**):

*kāna min ḥadīṯi l-qaryati ’anna l-šābba **fulāna bna fulānin** ḫaṭaba **fulānata***

كان من حديث القرية أن الشاب فلان ابن فلان خطب فلانة

‘the talk in the village was that young **Mr So-and-so** had proposed to **Miss So-and-so**’, lit. ‘So-and-so son of So-and-so’

with dependent *fulāna*, not *fulānan* فلانا; the feminine *fulānatu* فلانة is semi-declinable and therefore lacks *tanwīn* anyway. (The spelling of *bna* ‘son of’ as ابن here is post-classical and should be simply بن.)

2.2.3 *Titles*

Title + name:

*D. Ḥ. ’U. **al-’ustāḏu** bi-l-jāmiʿati l-’urdunniyyati*

د. ح.أ. الأستاذ بالجامعة الأردنّية

‘Dr H. U., **[the] professor** at the University of Jordan’

*D. ’A. F. **ḫabīru jtimāʿin** bi-l-markazi l-qawmiyyi li-l-buḥūṯi l-ijtimāʿiyyati*

د. أ.ف. خبير اجتماع بالمركز القومي للبحوث الاجتماعية

‘Dr A. F., **an expert in sociology** at the National Sociological Research Centre’

*d. Hāla S. **’ustāḏatun musāʿidatun** bi-kulliyyati l-iqtiṣādi*

د. هالة س. أستاذة مساعدة بكلية الاقتصاد

‘Dr Hala S., **assistant professor** in the faculty of economics’

*al-sayyid kilintūn **raʾīsu l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati***

السيّد كلنتون رئيس الولايات المتّحدة

‘Mr Clinton, **the President of the United States**’

Titles are not necessarily definite, even if formally so:

*M. ’A. … **ʿuḍwu l-lajnati l-tanfīḏiyyati***

م. أ. عضو اللجنة التنفيذية

‘M. A. …, **a member of the Executive Committee**’

al-duktūratu 'A. K. ***ra'īsu qismi l-tarbiyati l-fanniyyati***
الدكتورة أ.ك. رئيس قسم التربية الفنية
'Dr [fem.] A. K., **chairman of the fine arts education department**'

(cf. the periphrastic ***al-'uḍwu fī l-lajnati*** العضو في اللجنة 'the member **of** [lit. "in"] the Committee', where the choice of def. noun makes annexation impossible).

However, to ensure indefiniteness partitive *min* من may be used (see **1.12.4.1** and **2.6.12**):

M. B. B. … ***min 'a'ḍā'i*** *l-majma'i l-'ilmiyyi l-'arabiyyi*
م.ب.ب. . . . من أعضاء المجمع العلمي العربي
'M. B. B. …, **a member** of the Arab Academy', lit. 'from [among] the members'

Title + name or noun:

al-šayḫu ***zāyid***
الشيخ زايد
'Sheikh **Zayed**' (in CA *za'id* زائد, cf. **1.2.1.2**)

nā'ibu l-ra'īsi ***gūr***
نائب الرئيس جور
'Vice-President **Gore**'

al-sayyidu l-wazīru l-liwā'u l-duktūru l-muḥāfiẓu ***'aḥmadu***
السيّد الوزير اللواء الدكتور المحافظ أحمد
'the Minister, General, Governor, Dr Mr **Ahmad**'

2.2.4 *Ethnic names* (cf. **nisba** نسبة in **2.1.6**)

In their masculine plural forms a restricted group of ethnic names takes a broken plural, not the *nisba* نسبة form:

al-muslimūna ***l-hunūdu***
المسلمون الهنود
'**Indian** Muslims', lit. 'the Muslims the Indians'

2.2.5 *Demonstratives* (▷C2:29, 43, 46; for forms, see **1.7.2**)

The Arabic demonstratives are nouns (and thus may function independently, see **2.2.5.3**). They follow the agreement rules for non-human plural set out in **2.1.1**.

The demonstratives precede their nouns, the latter being in apposition to them, agreeing in all features (number, gender, case, def.), thus *hāḏā l-rajulu* هذا الرجل 'this [person, the] man'. Since the noun inevitably bears the definite article (for the exception, see **2.2.5.2**), the preposed demonstrative can be seen as an extension of that, creating a cluster of quasi-prefixed deictic elements:

ḏālika *l-yawmu* ذلك اليوم '**that** day'

hātayni *l-da'watayni* هاتيْن الدعوتين '**these two** invitations' [dep./obl. case]

hāḏihi *l-mulāḥaẓātu* هذه الملاحظات '**these** remarks'

The noun may be further qualified by adjectives:

hāḏā l-wāqi'u ***l-mutaġayyiru*** هذا الواقع المتغير 'this **changing** reality'

ḏālika l-ḫawfu ***l-ġāmiḍu*** ذلك الخوف الغامض 'that **obscure** fear'

2.2.5.1 When demonstratives qualify annexation units (▷C2:51, 102), the demonstrative noun must follow the completed annexation structure in apposition to it:

ḥattā yawminā ***hāḏā***

حتّى يومنا هذا

'until today', lit. 'until our day, **this one**', (see **2.14.5** on personalized time expressions)

ḥadīṯuhu ***ḏālika***

حديثه ذلك

'**that** statement of his', lit. 'the statement of him, **that one**'

kitābunā ***hāḏā***

كتابنا هذا

'**this** book of ours', or '**this** our book'

naẓariyyatu l-taṭawwuri ***tilka***

نظرية التطوّر تلك

'**that** theory of evolution'

‘ināyatunā ***hāḏihi***
عنايتنا هذه
‘**this** concern of ours’

sīratuhu l-muta’alliqatu ***hāḏihi***
سيرته المتألّقة هذه
‘**this** brilliant career of his’, lit. ‘his career the brilliant [adj.], **this one**’

ši‘ārātu l-marḥalati ***tilka***
شعارات المرحلة تلك
‘**those** slogans of the phase’

When the annexation is not strictly possessive, partitive *min* من ‘of’, ‘from’ (see **2.6.12**) is used:

hāḏihi l-wijhatu ***min****-a l-naẓar* هذه الوجهة من النظر ‘this point **of** view’
hāḏā l-naw‘u ***min****-a l-ši‘ri* هذا النوع من الشعر ‘this type **of** poetry’

2.2.5.2 With proper names, the demonstrative generally follows (▷C2:45):

sam‘ānu ***hāḏā*** سمعان هذا ‘**this** Sam‘an’
bayrūtu ***hāḏihi*** بيروت هذه ‘**this** Beirut’

(feminine as name of town, cf. **1.12.2.1**)

But note that it may precede the noun for emphasis or to denote disdain:

māḏā yaẓunnu nafsahu ***hāḏā sam‘ānu****?*
ماذا يظنّ نفسه هذا سمعان؟
‘what does **this Sam‘an** think he is?’

Words quoted in the metalanguage also have the status of proper names:

gada‘ ***hāḏihi*** جدع هذه ‘**this** [word] “*gada‘*”’

From this perhaps arises the construction in which the demonstrative follows an adjectival unit, almost as if capitalized:

al-ḥadāṯatu l-’ūrūbbiyyatu ***hāḏihi*** الحداثة الأوروبّية هذه ‘**this** European Modernism’

(treating European Modernism as a category, not as a simple noun + adj. group)

jamīlatu l-ismi ***hāḏihi*** جميلة الاسم هذه ‘**this** [girl] with the beautiful name’
al-‘uyūnu l-murhaqatu ***tilka*** العيون المرهقة تلك ‘**those** heavily burdened eyes’

2.2.5.3 Nominalized and with relatives. As nouns, the demonstratives may stand alone and have any nominal function:

Subject (see **3.1.2.2**):

hāḏā *mā rafaḍathu wizāratu l-ṯaqāfati*
هذا ما رفضته وزارة الثقافة
'**this** is what the Ministry of Cultural [Affairs] rejected'

Object of verbs:

'annī 'aqūlu ***hāḏā*** *wa-****ḏāka***
أنّي أقول هذا وذاك
'that I was saying **this** and **that**'

Object of preposition:

wa-l-narji' ***fī ḏālika*** *'ilā* ... ولْنرجع في ذلك إلى ... 'let us refer **on that** to ...'

Second element in annexation:

'iyādatu ***hāḏā*** عيادة هذا 'the clinic of **this** [person]'

which may in turn be expanded by apposition, as in **2.2.6**:

'iyādatu ***hāḏā l-ṭabībi***
عيادة هذا الطبيب
'the clinic of **this doctor**' = '**this doctor's** clinic', lit. 'the clinic of this one, the doctor'

(contrast *'**iyādatu** l-ṭabībi **hāḏihi*** عيادة الطبيب هذه '**this clinic** of the doctor')

ḥasāsiyatu ***tilka l-sayyidati*** حساسية تلك السيّدة 'the sensitivity of **that lady**'

Heads of relative structures:

min ***tilka*** *llatī yatamatta'u bihā l-wardu*
من تلك الّتي يتمتّع بها الورد
'than **that** [fem. sing.] which the rose enjoys'

The MWA range of demonstratives is fairly limited (see **1.7.2**) but certain archaic forms are still used for effect:

tilkum *ṣūratun rā'i'atun 'uḫrā*
تلكم صورة رائعة أخرى
'**that** [fem. plur.] is another glorious image [for you]'

ḏālikum *kāna – wa lā-yazālu – ṯamana l-ḥurriyyati*

ذلكم كان – ولا يزال – ثمن الحرّية

'**that**, [O readers] [masc. plur.], was – and still is the price of freedom'

2.2.6 *Pronouns* (see **1.7**; ▷C2:77, 431)

Personal pronouns may occur in apposition to a noun or bound pronoun for emphasis. They are therefore different in function from the resumptive pronouns in **3.5.2**:

yušīru 'ilā muškilatin 'uḫrā ya'tabiruhā ***hiya*** *l-'aḫṭara*

يشير إلى مشكلة أخرى يعتبرها هي الأخطر

'he refers to another problem which he considers [**it**] to be the more serious'

fa-mā ḥālunā ***naḥnu*** *fī l-'ālami l-ṯāliṯi*

فما حالنا نحن في العالم الثالث

'and what is ***our*** situation in the Third World?'

2.2.7 *Lack of agreement in case or definiteness* (▷C2:76)

Nouns may occur as indefinite as a type of *taḫṣīṣ* 'particularization' (see **2.3.5**) after a definite plural or collective noun (see vocative **2.15**). In such cases the indefinite noun is in the dependent case:

lā ba'sa 'an yasta'īna l-muslimūna – ***ḥukkāman wa-ra'īyyatan*** *– bi-ġayri l-muslimīna*

لا بأس أنْ يستعين المسلمون – حكّاما و رعية – بغير المسلمين

'there is nothing wrong with Muslims – **rulers and subjects** – seeking help from non-Muslims'

2.3 Annexation

Annexation (Arabic *'iḍāfa*, إضافة, lit. 'making a thing very close to another', 'subjoining'), often referred to as *status constructus* and the genitive construction, is the collocation of two elements, usually both nouns, in a fixed and inseparable unit, broadly conveying the sense of possession and its metaphorical extensions, for example noun + noun: *wizāratu l-'adli* وزارة العدل

'the Ministry of Justice', noun + pronoun: *lawnuhu* لونه 'its colour', or noun + sentence: *šarīṭata 'an 'akūna fī makāni 'abī* شريطة أن أكون في مكان أبي 'on the condition that I shall be in the place of my father' (see **7.5.1.11**).

Annexation of nouns to clauses: nouns of time are frequently annexed directly to clauses (see, for instance, **7.2.1**, **7.5.2.6**):

yawma tujrā *l-intiḫābātu* يوم تجرى الانتخابات '[on] **the day** the elections **are conducted**'

In this category the noun *ḥīna* حين 'time' functions as a very common temporal conjunction 'when', literally 'at the time of' (see **7.6.6**).

For annexation of adjectives to nouns, see **2.1.3**.

The inseparability of the two elements of annexation has been weakened (see **2.3.7**) but is still manifested in pronoun annexation, where it will already have been noted that the pronoun is physically suffixed, hence *lawnuhu* لونه 'its colour', is actually 'the colour of it' (see further **1.7.1.1**).

The first element of the annexation structure is called *al-muḍāf* 'the thing annexed' and the second element *al-muḍāf 'ilayhi* 'the thing it is annexed to' (note the polarity of the construction in the Arabic theory: the first element is annexed to the second). A string of annexation components may incorporate several elements with each element acting as a *muḍāf* to the following one, and as a *muḍāf 'ilayhi* to the preceding component, for example:

dā'iratu šu'ūni l-muwaẓẓafīna
دائرة شؤون الموظّفين
'employees' affairs department', lit. '[the] department of [the] affairs of the employees'

(for even longer strings, see **2.3.2**)

Annexation is the most dynamic method in Arabic of linking structural units to a head noun and virtually the only way for nouns to subordinate other elements.

Features of annexed elements are as follows:

First element:

(i) If a noun, it has no definiteness (*al-* الـ) or indefiniteness markers *tanwīn* (see **1.5.1** on these); if an adjective, it may take definite article only (see **2.1.3.2**).
(ii) Bears the case which marks the function of the complete annexation unit.

Second element:

(i) It may take definite or indefinite markers or, if itself annexed, follows rule (i) for the first element in having no definition markers.
(ii) If a noun, it always takes oblique case (and see **1.7.1.1** for the unique case differentiation in first person sing. pronoun).

The annexed forms of nouns are set out in **1.5.2.1** and in the paradigms in **1.8.2**: note that dual or sound masculine plural nouns as the first element of annexation lose their final *-ni* ـنِ or *-na* ـنَ respectively.

2.3.1 *Standard annexation*

Definiteness is inherited from the second element, so when annexed to a definite noun the first element acquires complete definiteness (irrespective of generic or individual definiteness):

***saṭḥu** l-manzili* سطح المنزل '**the roof** of the house'
***sayyārātu** l-fatayāti* سيارات الفتيات '**the** young womens' **cars**', lit. '**the cars** of the young women'
***jawwu** l-šitā'i* جو الشتاء '**the** winter **weather**', lit. '**the weather** of the winter'
***'azmatu** l-ḫalīji* أزمة الخليج '**the** Gulf **crisis**', lit. '**the crisis** of the Gulf'
***ḥiwāru** l-ṭuršāni* حوار الطرشان '**the dialogue** of the deaf'
***ḫaṭṭu** l-'intāji* خطّ الإنتاج '**the** production **line**'

Annexation to pronouns:

'aḫī أخي 'my **brother**'

(for the special case of suffix *-ī* ـي 'my', see **1.7.1.1**)

***'aḫū**ka* أخوك 'your **brother**'

(for the inflection of *'aḫ* أخ 'brother', etc., see **1.8.2**)

***ḥimāru**hu* حماره 'his **donkey**'
***maḫāwifu**hum* مخاوفهم 'their [masc.] **fears**'
***'aṭfālu**hunna* أطفالهن 'their [fem.] **children**'

Sound masculine plural:

***muhājirū** l-sittīniyyāti* مهاجرو الستّينيات '**the emigrants** [indep.] of the sixties'
*li-**mušāhidī** l-tilifizyūni* لمشاهدي التلفزيون 'for television **viewers** [obl.]'

Duals:

safīrā *birīṭāniyā wa-l-ʿirāqi*

سفيرا بريطانيا والعراق

'**the two ambassadors** [indep.] of Britain and Iraq' [indep.]

(for annexation to proper names, see **2.3.3**)

ʾiʿdādu ***ḥaflatay****-i l-iftitāḥi wa-l-ḫitāmi*

إعداد حفلتي الافتتاح والختام

'the preparation of the opening and closing **[two] ceremonies**' [obl.]

Indefinite annexation:

barqiyyatu *tahniʾatin* برقية تهنئة '**a telegram** of congratulation'

*al-tawaṣṣulu li-****ttifāqi*** *salāmin* التوصّل لاتّفاق سلام 'reaching a peace **agreement**'

jirāḥatu *tajmīlin* جراحة تجميل 'cosmetic **surgery**', lit. '**surgery** of beautifying'

2.3.2 ʾIḍāfa *strings, or extended annexation*

In theory there is no maximum limit to the number of components that may be used in an annexation construction (see ▷C2:98 where a 4-term *ʾiḍāfa* is noted). Media Arabic in particular seems to produce long annexation strings, and sequences of four, five and even six elements are not uncommon (the translations are more literal than elegant):

rafḍa manḥi ʾijāzati l-ʿamali

رفض منح إجازة العمل

'**refusal to grant a leave of absence**', lit. '[the] refusing of the granting of the leave of the [generic] working'

natījatu rtifāʿi ʾasʿāri qiṭāʿi l-maṣārifi

نتيجة ارتفاع أسعار قطاع المصارف

'**the result of the rise of prices in** [lit. "of"] the sector of banking'

nāʾibu raʾīsi majlisi ʾidārati ġurfati l-ṣināʿati *l-nasījiyyati*

نائب رئيس مجلس إدارة غرفة الصناعة النسيجية

'**the deputy of the chairman of the committee of the administration of the chamber of the** textile [adj.] **industry**'

Annexation in book and play titles. In titles of plays, books, television programmes, etc. the title itself as a second element functions as a separate unit and does not take case endings:

taḥta 'unwāni '***ẓama' al-baḥr***'
تحت عنوان 'ظمأ البحر'
'under the title of ***Thirst of the Sea***'

barnāmaju '***man-i l-mas'ūl?***'
برنامج 'من المسؤول؟'
'the programme ***Who is responsible?***'

The same applies to such idiomatic constructions as the following:

*'alā ṭarīqati "**ḫuḏ al-nuqūda wa-hrub**"'*
على طريقة خذ النقود واهرب
'in the method of "**take the money and run**"'

2.3.3 *Annexation and proper names*

Proper names quite regularly appear as the first element:

***yamanu** l-ḥamsīniyyāti* يمن الخمسينيات '**the Yemen** of the fifties'
***miṣru** l-sādāt* مصر السادات '**Sadat's** Egypt'
***qāhiratu** l-mu'izzi* قاهرة المعز 'al-Mu'izz's **Cairo**'

(note that, with the first and last examples, the definite articles of *al-yaman* اليمن 'Yemen', and *al-qāhiratu* القاهرة 'Cairo', are removed in accordance with the annexation rules)

As second elements, they automatically confer definiteness on the whole unit, whether or not they bear a definite article themselves (▷C2:115; **1.12.3.1**, **1.12.3.2**):

madīnatu ***bayrūta***
مدينة بيروت
'the city **of Beirut**'

maqhā ***'īzīs#***
مقهى إيزيس
'**the Isis** coffee shop', lit. '[the] coffee-shop **of Isis**'

(it is unlikely that the name *'īzīs* would be inflected, cf. **1.8.5**)

2.3.4 *Meanings of annexation*

As well as indicating possession annexation may be used to indicate substance or material (cf. **2.2.1.1**):

kursiyyu ḫayzurānin كرسي خيزران 'a wicker chair'

It also functions as a means of reproducing compound nouns and collocations from other languages (see invariable compound nouns **1.8.10**; ▷C2:96):

rajulu 'a'mālin رجل أعمال 'a business man'

plur. *rijālu 'a'mālin* رجال أعمال (see **12.5.1**)

mujrimu ḥarbin مجرم حرب 'a war criminal'

ṣāḥibatu 'arḍin صاحبة أرض 'a landowner [fem.]'

ġaḏā'u 'amalin غذاء عمل 'a working lunch'

Definiteness is conferred by the second element, contrast:

ġurfatu nawmin غرفة نوم 'a bedroom' / *ġurfatu l-nawmi* غرفة النوم 'the bedroom'

'ālimu nafsin عالم نفس 'a psychologist' / *'ālimu l-nafsi* عالم النفس 'the psychologist'

2.3.5 *Questions of definiteness*

(See numbers *al-ṯalāṯatu kutubin* الثلاثة كتب 'the three books' type [see **2.12.3**], unreal annexation [see **2.1.3.2**] and *ġayr* غير [see **2.9.2.3**] for examples of where the traditional rules of def. in annexation structures have been overridden)

As seen above (see **2.3.1**) the first element of annexation inherits definiteness from the second, contrast *nuqṭatu l-ḍa'fi* نقطة الضعف '**the** weak spot', with *nuqṭatu ḍa'fin* نقطة ضعف '**a** weak spot'; this can serve to distinguish between such pairs as *finjānu šāyin* فنجان شاي 'a cup of tea', and *finjānu l-šāyi* فنجان الشاي '**the** tea-cup', though the latter, according to context, can also mean '**the** cup of tea' (see further **1.12.3.1**).

It follows that annexation to pronouns results in definite units: *wajhuhā* وجهها 'her face', literally '**the** face of her', which will show in adjective agreement, *wajhuhā **l-jamīlu*** وجهها الجميل 'her **beautiful** [def.] face'.

Indefinite annexation units have intermediate status with regards to definiteness (termed *taḫṣīṣ* 'particularization'). As long as they are qualified by

adjectives they are considered definite enough to function as the subject of an equational sentence (see **3.1**):

rijālu ʾaʿmālin ***ʾallāhu waḥdahu ʾaʿlamu bihim***
رجال أعمال ألله وحده أعلم بهم
'business men **God only knows what they are**!'

When an unambiguously indefinite annexation is required it can be created by using partitive *min* من 'from' (see **2.6.12**; ▷C2:99, 274; and cf. **1.12.4.1**):

ʾarsalat ʾiḥdā l-jāmiʿāti ***katībatan min ʾasātiḏatihā wa-ṭalabatihā***
أرسلت إحدى الجامعات كتيبة من أساتذتها و طلبتها
'one of the universities sent **a large group** [indef.] **of its professors and students**'

The other principal mechanism for unambiguously indefinite annexation is the paraphrase with *li-* لـ 'to', 'for' denoting general possession (▷C2:285; **2.6.10**); contrast *ṣadīquhu* صديقه 'his friend', literally '**the** friend of him' with *ṣadīqun lahu* صديق له '**a** friend of his':

fī stiṭlāʿin li-l-raʾyi
في استطلاع للرأي
'in **an opinion poll**'

wajhun ḥazīnun ***li-mraʾatin***
وجه حزين لامرأة
'the sad face **of a woman**', lit. 'a sad face **belonging to a woman**'

The following example is ambiguous owing to the idiomatic use of *li-* لـ, although the context should determine which of the two meanings is intended:

kitābun li*-l-ʾadībi muḥammad ʿabd al-wāḥid al-ḥijāzī*
كتاب للأديب محمد عبد الواحد الحجازي
'**a book by** the literary figure 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Hijāzī' [or, '**a book belonging to**']

li- لـ is used in definite annexation constructions for two kinds of reasons:

where the structure prevents annexation, for example because the first element must remain indefinite (as in purposive object, for example, see **2.4.5**), or because there are two first elements; or in order to avoid using

an ambiguous (though correct) or clumsy construction (although such combinations do occur, see **2.1.2** for examples):

*ma'raḍu l-šāriqati l-duwaliyyu **li**-l-kitābi*
معرض الشارقة الدولي للكتاب
'the Sharjah International Book Fair [lit. "**for** the book"]'

*mustašāru l-ittiḥādi l-swīsriyyi **li**-l-šu'ūni l-iqtiṣādiyyati l-ḫārijiyyati*
مستشار الاتّحاد السويسري للشؤون الاقتصادية الخارجية
'the Swiss Union adviser of [**for**] Foreign Economic Affairs'

*al-qā'idu l-'a'lā **li**-l-quwwāti l-musallaḥati*
القائد الأعلى للقوات المسلحة
'the supreme commander **of** the armed forces'

The same construction is used whenever a deverbative has to retain its indefinite marker and cannot therefore be annexed to its dependent complement (see **2.10**):

*hal tusammī hāḏihi l-masraḥiyyata **taḫṣīṣan li**-l-šuqaqi li-man yastaḥiqquhā?*'
هل تسمّي هذه المسرحية تخصيصا للشقق لمن يستحقّها
'do you call this charade **designating** flats to those who deserve them?'

For indefinite of *'af'al* annexation, see **2.11.5**; see also *kull* كلّ, **2.9.1.1** (▷C3:150).

2.3.6 *Multiple annexation*

Although in CA only one element normally occupied the first position, MWA is extending the possibilities (see **2.3.7**).

2.3.6.1 In annexations of one first element to two second elements the latter are coordinated mostly with *wa-* و 'and', but other coordinating conjunctions may be used:

*nādī l-muhandisīna **'aw-i** l-ḍubbāṭi*
نادي المهندسين أو الضبّاط
'the engineers' **or** officers' club'

However, repetition of the first element is also possible for emphasis or stylistic reasons (for obligatory repetition of noun for structural reasons, see **11.7.1**):

huwa ***ʿunwānu*** *l-karami wa-****ʿunwānu*** *l-šarafi*
هو عنوان الكرم وعنوان الشرف
'it is **the sign of** generosity and **[the sign of]** honour'

2.3.6.2 For the annexation of two different first elements to the same second noun (▷C2:105), see phrasal coordination **2.19.1**. CA, with rare exceptions, repeated the phrase, replacing the second noun with an attached pronoun, and this is still common in MWA:

ʾiskātu *l-ġaḍabi wa-****kabtuhu***
إسكات الغضب وكبته
'**the silencing** and **suppression** of anger', lit. 'the silencing of anger and the suppression **of it**'

tawjīhātu *ʿulamāʾi l-dīni wa-****taḥaffuẓātuhum***
توجيهات علماء الدين وتحفّظاتهم
'**the instructions** and **reservations** of the religious scholars', lit. 'the instructions of the religious scholars and the reservations **of them**'

taḫfīfu *l-ʿuqūbāti ʾaw* ***taʿlīquhā***
تخفيف العقوبات أو تعليقها
'**the reduction** or **suspension** of penalties', lit. 'the reduction of penalties or the suspension **of them**'

dāḫila *mabānī l-wizārāti wa-****ḫārijahā***
داخل مباني الوزارات و خارجها
'**inside** and **outside** the ministry buildings', lit. 'inside the ministry buildings and **outside them**'

Note that the definiteness of the second element is not relevant, as pronouns may refer to indefinite antecedents:

riʿāyatu *sulṭatin siyāsiyyatin wa-****ḥimāyatuhā***
رعاية سلطة سياسية وحمايتها
'the **preservation** and **protection** of an economic authority', lit. 'the preservation of **an** economic authority and the protection **of it**'

2.3.7 *Binomial/polynomial annexation*

MWA is increasingly making use of binomial (or indeed now polynomial) annexation, in which two or more first elements are coordinated (by any of the coordinators) before annexation to the second element (▷C2:107). The fact that the first member of the pair lacks definite markers (cf. **2.3**), particularly *tanwīn*, has ceased to be of importance, probably because neither the *tanwīn* nor the case endings are used in ordinary reading of MWA (see **1.2.9**). The CA system (see **2.3.6.2**) is still fully active, but there seem to be few restrictions now on the use of the MWA variant (though the meanings of the annexed nouns are always closely related), and qualified approval has been given by the Academies:

ʻaqlu wa-ḍamīru *l-ʼumma*
عقل وضمير الأمّة
ʻ**the mind and conscience** of the nation'

salbu wa-nahbu *ʼamwāli l-banki*
سلب ونهب أموال البنك
ʻ**the robbing and plundering** of bank funds'

faḥsu wa-jardu *l-maḍbūṭāti*
فحص وجرد المضبوطات
ʻ**the inspection and inventorying** of the confiscated goods'

mawqifu wa-dawru *l-kanāʼisi*
موقف ودور الكنائس
ʻ**the position and role** of the churches'

Units containing three first elements are now very frequent:

fī ***taḥdīṯi wa-tajdīdi wa-taṭwīri*** *furūʻihā*
في تحديث وتجديد وتطوير فروعها
ʻin the **updating, renewal and development** of its branches'

šuʻūra wa-ʼiḥsāsa wa-nfiʻālāti *hāʼulāʼi l-ʼaṭfāli*
شعور وإحساس وانفعالات هؤلاء الأطفال
ʻ**the feeling, perception and emotions** of these children'

barāmiju wa-ʼanšiṭatu wa-mašārīʻu *l-maktabi*
برامج وأنشطة ومشاريع المكتب
ʻ**the programmes, activities and projects** of the office'

Extended binomial annexation occurs where the first element itself consists of an annexation unit coordinated to another noun (the internal units are shown with < > in the paraphrases):

ġurfatu tijārati wa-ṣinā'ati *dubayy*
غرفة تجارة وصناعة دبي
'the Dubai **chamber of commerce and industry**',
lit. 'the <chamber of commerce and of industry> **of** Dubai'

mašrū'u taṭwīri wa-taḥdīṯi masraḥi *l-bālūn*
مشروع تطوير وتحديث مسرح البالون
'**the project to develop and modernize the** Balloon **theatre**',
lit. 'the <project of development and of modernization> **of** the Theatre of the Balloon' (the last element being a regular annexation, see **2.3.1**)

Variant with two or more prepositionals (for prefixing of more than one preposition, see **2.6**). Two or more prepositionals (see **2.7**) may also be coordinated as the first element:

qabla wa-ba'da *l-'islāmi*
قبل وبعد الإسلام
'**before and after** Islam'

instead of CA:

qabla *l-'islāmi* ***wa-ba'dahu***
قبل الأسلام وبعده

qabla wa-'aṯnā'a wa-ba'da *l-ziyārati*
قبل وأثناء وبعد الزيارة
'**before, during and after** the visit'

It is now common to see compound ranks and titles, consisting of an uninflected (or at least anomalously inflected) noun + adjective, themselves further annexed:

mudīr# 'āmm# *dā'irati l-ṣiḥḥati*
مدير عام دائرة الصحّة
'**the director general** of the health department', lit. 'the <general director> of'

wakīl# 'awwal# *wizārati l-ḫārijiyyati*
وكيل أوّل وزارة الخارجية
'**first under-secretary** of the Foreign Ministry'

2.3.8 *Idiomatic annexation phrases*

ḏū ذو (masc.) and *ḏāt* ذات (fem.) 'possessor of' are used both literally for ownership and idiomatically for the possession of qualities (▷C2:119; for paradigms, see **1.7.2**). The noun following *ḏū* ذو must agree with the noun preceding it in definiteness (or indefiniteness). These phrases form annexation units which function attributively (in apposition, see **2.2**) or predicatively.

- Masculine singular *ḏū* ذو [independent]:

  ḏū ***l-ḥajmi*** *l-'aṣġari*
  ذو الحجم الأصغر
  'the smallest **sized one**', lit. '**possessor of** the smallest size'

  lā yaḥduṯu šay'un ***ḏū bālin***
  لا يحدث شيء ذو بال
  'nothing **of importance** happens' (for negative, see **4.2**).

- *ḏā* ذا [dependent]:

  hāḏā l-ihtimāmu ẓalla ***ḏā ṭābi'in*** *ḫāṣṣin*
  هذا الاهتمام ظل ذا طابع خاص
  'this concern remained **of a** special **nature**'

  (for *ẓalla* ظلّ 'to remain' with dependent predicate, see **3.17.14**)

- *ḏī* ذي [oblique]:

  iḫtiyāru niẓāmin suwaydiyyin ***ḏī šuhratin*** *'ālamiyyatin*
  اختيار نظام سويدي ذي شهرة عالمية
  'the choice **of a** world-**famous** Swedish system'

  fī wajhihā l-mudawwari ***ḏī l-wajnatayni*** *l-bārizatayni*
  في وجهها المدوّر ذي الوجنتيْن البارزتين
  'in her round face **with the** prominent **cheeks**'

- Masculine plural:

- *ḏawū* ذوو [independent]:

  rijālun ***ḏawū nufūḏin***
  رجال ذوو نفوذ
  '**influential** men', lit. 'men **possessors of influence**'

- *ḏawī* ذوي [dependent and oblique]:

  *istiqālatu l-ʻadīdi min **ḏawī l-ẖibrati***
  استقالة العديد من ذوي الخبرة
  'the resignation of many **experienced people**', lit. 'the **possessors of experience**'

  *raddu l-ẖuqūqi ʼilā **ḏawīhā***
  رد الحقوق إلى ذويها
  'the restoration of rights to **those who own them**'

- Feminine singular: *ḏātu* ذات [independent]:

  *wa-hiya qaḍiyyatun **ḏātu ṭābiʻin** šadīdi l-ġarābati*
  وهي قضية ذات طابع شديد الغرابة
  'and this is a case **with an** extremely strange **character**', lit. '**possessor of a character** extreme of strangeness'

  (for extended adjectives, see **2.1.3.2**)

  *al-manāṭiqu **ḏātu l-nufūḏi** l-firansiyyi*
  المناطق ذات النفوذ الفرنسي
  'areas **with** French **influence**'

  *šahādātu l-iddiẖari **ḏātu l-ʻāʼidi** l-mutaġayyiri*
  شهادات الادّخار ذات العائد المتغير
  'savings certificates **with** variable **interest**'

  *sayyārātu l-hātšbāk **ḏātu l-ʼabwābi** l-ẖamsati*
  سيّارات الهاتشباك ذات الأبواب الخمسة
  'five-door hatch-back cars', lit. 'hatch-back cars **possessors of** five **doors**'

  (for transliteration of foreign words, see **1.2.6.1**)

- *ḏāta* ذات [dependent]:

  *kānat **ḏāta šaklin** ʻādiyyin*
  كانت ذات شكل عادي
  'it had a normal form', lit. 'it was **possessor of** a normal **form**'

- *ḏāti* ذات [oblique]:

  *li-mumaṯṯilatin **ḏāti šuhratin***
  لممثّلة ذات شهرة
  'of a famous actress', lit. 'an actress **possessor of fame**'

- Feminine plural: *ḏawātu* ذوات [independent]:

  al-sayyidātu ***ḏawātu l-mas'ūliyyati***
  السيّدات ذوات المسؤولية
  'women **with responsibility**'

- *ḏawāti* ذوات [dependent/oblique]:

  min mudarrisātin ***ḏawāti mu'ahhilātin*** *munāsibatin*
  من مدرّسات ذوات مؤهّلات مناسبة
  'from appropriately qualified teachers', lit. 'from teachers **possessors of** appropriate **qualifications**'

  The feminine singular form *ḏāta* ذات also occurs in the dependent case followed by a time expression (cf. adverbials in **2.5.2**):

  ḏāta ṣabāḥin ذات صباح '[on] one morning'
  ḏāta yawmin ذات يوم '[on] one day'
  ḏāta marratin ذات مرة 'one time', '[on] one occasion'

  or a place expression (cf. **2.5.3**):

  ḏāta l-yamīni *wa-****ḏāta l-yasāri***
  ذات اليمين وذات اليسار
  '[on the] **right** and [on the] **left**'

  ḏāt ذات after duals is default singular:

  bi-fikratayni muzdawijatayni ***ḏāti*** *ḫibratayni*
  بفكرتين مزدوجتين ذات خبرتين
  'with two binary concepts **based on** experience'

- *ṣāḥib* صاحب plural *'aṣḥāb* أصحاب literally 'companion', 'owner', is used idiomatically in the same sense as *ḏū* ذو 'possessor of' (▷C2:119):

  ṣāḥibu *l-riḥlati*
  صاحب الرحلة
  'the one who made the journey', lit. '**the owner of** the journey'

  ṣāḥibu *l-naṣṣi*
  صاحب النصّ
  '**the author of** the text'

***'aṣḥābu**hā*

أصحابها

'**the ones who made** them [namely, the journeys]'

***ṣāḥibu** ra'yin sadīdin*

صاحب رأي سديد

'**a man of** correct judgement'

or commonly for titles:

***ṣāḥibu** l-jalālati*

صاحب الجلالة

'His Majesty', lit. '**possessor of** majesty'

***ṣāḥibatu** l-sumuwwi*

صاحبة السموّ

'Her Highness', lit. '**possessor of** eminence'

***ṣāḥibu** l-niyāfati*

صاحب النيافة

'His Reverence', lit. '**possessor of** sublimity' (title for higher ranks in the Orthodox Church)

***ṣāḥibu** l-faḍīlati*

صاحب الفضيلة

lit. '**possessor of** virtue' (title for a graduate of the Azhar)

- *'ahl* أهل 'family', 'kinfolk', 'people generally' occurs in a plural sense (▷C2:120), and functions only as a noun-phrase, unlike *ḏū* ذو 'possessor of':

***'ahlu** l-'inṣāfi wa-l-'adli*

أهل الإنصاف والعدل

'fair and just **people**', lit. '**people of** fairness and justice'

***'ahlu** l-fikri*

أهل الفكر

'learned people', lit. '**people of** thought'

*min **'ahli** l-ṯiqati*

من أهل الثقة

'from trustworthy people', lit. 'from **people of** reliability'

'ahlu *ḫibratin wa-baṣarin*
أهل خبرة و بصر
'**people of** experience and insight'

- Kinship terms are also used to express the possession of qualities or membership of groups (▷C2:123):

  mā zālat ḥayātunā ḥayāta ***'abnā'i l-qurā***
  ما زالت حياتنا حياة أبناء القرى
  'our life is still like that **of the villagers**', lit. '**sons of the villages**'

  (for *mā zāla* ما زال 'not to cease', see **3.21.4**)

  'ummu *l-ma'āriki*
  أمّ المعارك
  'the biggest battle of all', lit. '**the mother** of battles'

  rajulun ***'aḫū ṯiqatin***
  رجل أخو ثقة
  'a man **who can be trusted**', lit. '**brother of trustworthiness**'

2.4 Dependent elements (▷C2:161–3)

These are dealt with here at the phrase level only, that is, without their full context (unless indispensable): for examples of dependent elements in their context, see direct objects (**3.11**), verbal complements (**3.29**) and the other items mentioned below.

Dependent (traditionally referred to as 'accusative') nouns are predominantly complements of verbs, for example the direct object (see **2.4.1**) and the various adverbial complements (see **2.4.2–2.4.7**). However, dependent cases also occur in topic position after the sentence modifiers *'inna* إنّ 'indeed', etc. (see **3.2**) and predicate position with *kāna* كان 'to be' (see **3.16.2**) and its related verbs (see **3.17**, etc.). For dependent verbs, see **7.5**.

An important distinction must be made between three kinds of dependent complements now used in MWA: (1) the traditional CA complements described below in **2.4.1–2.4.7**, which are all nouns or noun phrases; (2) a number of free dependent nouns and adjectives, nearly all indefinite, many of which may historically be the remnants of elliptical dependent complement constructions but can no longer be reliably analysed as such,

discussed in **2.4.8**; and (3) the depenent indefinite *nisba* نسبة adjectives (on this form, see **1.8.6.3** and **2.1.6**) with adverbial function, an innovation of MWA which is dealt with in **2.5**.

There is no theoretical limit to the number of dependent complements a verb may take, though the maximum of seven is only reached artificially by pre-modern grammarians. However, it is not unusual to find three or four such complements in the same sentence:

wa-taraktu ***waṭanī hāriban*** *min-a l-ḏikrayāti* ***baḥṯan*** *'an-i l-'amali*
وتركت وطني هاربا من الذكريات بحثا عن الأمل
'and I left **my home country** [dir. obj.] **escaping** [circ. qual. **2.4.6**] from [my] memories, **searching** [purposive obj. **2.4.5**] for hope'

2.4.1 *Direct object* (▷C2:163)

Direct object, Arabic *maf'ūl bihi* مفعول به 'thing to which [the action] is done' (see **3.29.1**). The directly transitive verb (see **3.11**) takes direct objects in dependent case:

našara ***naṣṣa*** *riḥlatihi*
نشر نصّ رحلته
'he published **the text** of his journey'

'innanā naḏkuru ***mahrajāna*** *ba'albaka*
إنّنا نذكر مهرجان بعلبك
'we (may) mention the Baalbek **festival**'

ba'da 'an 'aḍā'at-i l-šarikatu ***l-milyārāti*** *'alā l-musāhimīna*
بعد أن أضاعت الشركة المليارات على المساهمين
'after the company lost **billions** for the shareholders'

laqiyat ***najāḥan*** *masraḥiyyan bāhiran*
لقيت نجاحا مسرحيا باهرا
'it experienced amazing theatrical **success**'

Some verbs may take two direct objects (▷C2:166; **3.11.2**, **3.29.2**):

wa-'tabartu ***hāḏā l-liqā'a šaklan min 'aškāli*** *l-tahdīdi*
و اعتبرت هذا اللقاء شكلا من أشكال التهديد
'and I considered **this meeting** [1st obj.] **a kind** [2nd obj.] of threat'

(for periphrastic indefinite, see **1.12.4.1**)

2.4.1.1 *Detached object pronoun* ʾiyyā إيّا (▷C2:168; **3.11.1**)

For detached pronominalized single direct object with *ʾiyyā* إيّا, see **3.11.1.1**. For *ʾiyyā* إيّا after verbal nouns and active participles, see **2.10.1.6**.

When both objects of a doubly transitive verb are pronouns they may be suffixed, as long as the order 1st > 2nd > 3rd person is observed, thus *ʾaʿṭaytukahu* أعطيتكه 'I gave you it' but not **ʾaʿṭaytuhuka* أعطيتهك 'I gave it you'. This structure was not uncommon in CA, although MWA tends to favour the alternative structure, that is, to detach the second object and suffix it to the dummy element *ʾiyyā* إيّا, to create, for example, *ʾaʿṭaytuka ʾiyyāhu* أعطيتك إيّاه 'I gave you it' and *ʾaʿṭaytuhu ʾiyyāka* أعطيته إيّاك 'I gave it [to] you'.

2.4.2 *Absolute object* (▷C2:170)

Absolute object, Arabic *mafʿūl muṭlaq* مفعول مطلق 'unqualified thing done' (see **3.29.3**). Both transitive and intransitive verbs, active or passive, take absolute objects. This complement is mostly a verbal noun, usually cognate with its operating verb, in principle always indefinite, and serving to emphasize the fact of the verb's occurrence. It can also denote the number of times an act has been carried out, or the type of action and, when expanded by adjectival qualification (see **2.4.2.2**) or annexation (see **2.4.2.3**), the additional content gives the sense of an English adverb of manner. A literal translation is seldom possible.

2.4.2.1 The absolute object may be a single, unqualified verbal noun:

kāna l-damu ***yanṣabbu*** *min ḏirāʿihi* ***nṣibāban*** *dūna ʾan yabdū ʿalayhi ʾayyu ʾiḥsāsin bi-l-ʾalami*

كان الدم ينصب من ذراعه انصبابا دون أنْ يبدو عليه أيّ إحساس بالألم

'the blood was **pouring** from his arm **[a pouring]** without his appearing to feel any pain', lit. 'without there appearing upon him any feeling of pain'

It may also be the verbal noun of a different root from the operator, either a different stem:

*wa-****qabbalahā qublata*** *l-widāʿ*

وقبّلها قبلة الوداع

'and he kissed her goodbye', lit. '**kissed** [stem II] **her** a goodbye **kiss**' [stem I]

yata'aṯṯaru ta'aṯṯuran *wāḍiḥan*

يتأثر تأثرا واضحا

'is clearly affected', lit. '**is affected** [stem V] **an affecting**' [stem II]

or a synonym:

wa-qahqaha ***ḍaḥkan*** *bi-ṣawtin 'ālin*

وقهقه ضحكا بصوت عال

'and he chuckled laughing loudly', lit. 'chuckled **a laugh**'

2.4.2.2 The absolute object can be expanded by adjectival qualification (see **2.1**):

yaṣifu ***waṣfan daqīqan***

يصف وصفا دقيقا

'he describes **accurately**', lit. 'an accurate describing'

istaslamat-i ***stislāman muṯīran li-l-dahšati***

استسلمت استسلاما مثيرا للدهشة

'she surrendered **in a surprising way**', lit. 'a surrendering inciting surprise'

ibtasamat lahu ***btisāmatan kabīratan***

ابتسمت له ابتسامة كبيرة

'she gave him **a big smile**', lit. 'she smiled at him a big smiling'

tadullu ***dalālatan qāṭi'atan*** *'alā 'anna …*

تدلّ دلالة قاطعة على أنّ . . .

'[they] prove **decisively** that …'

also by an adjectival clause:

qaḍat *'alā l-'irhābi …* ***qaḍā'an*** *yakādu 'an yakūna nihā'iyyan*

قضت على الإرهاب . . . قضاء يكاد أنْ يكون نهائيا

'**has put an end** to terrorism … **in a way** that may almost be final'

(for *kāda* كاد 'to almost be', see **3.21.3**)

fariḥtu faraḥan *lā mazīda 'alayhi*

فرحت فرحا لا مزيد عليه

'I could not have been happier', lit. '**I rejoiced with a rejoicing** which had no increase'

The noun may also take the generic article which is quasi-indefinite:

*wa-**htazzat**-i l-ṣūratu **l-ihtizāzata l-’aḫīrata***
واهتزّت الصورة الاهتزازة الأخيرة
‘the figure **shook with one last shake**’, lit. ‘the last shake’

2.4.2.3 The absolute object can also be displaced by the annexation (see **2.3**) of a qualifier or quantifier to it:

*yastaġillūna ’aṣḥāba l-maṣāni‘i **’aswa’a stiġlālin***
يستغلّون أصحاب المصانع أسوأ استغلال
‘they are exploiting the factory owners **in the worst way**’, lit. ‘the worst of exploitation’

*yaftarisūnahu **šarra ftirāsin***
يفترسونه شرّ افتراس
‘they are tearing him apart **in the most evil way**’, lit. ‘the most evil of tearing apart’

*tanza‘iju ’ummī li-ḏālika **ġāyata l-inzi‘āji***
تنزعج أمّي لذلك غاية الانزعاج
‘my mother becomes **extremely upset** because of that’, lit. ‘the extreme of being upset’

To express the idea of ‘totally’ or ‘partially’ the verbal noun is combined with *kull* كلّ ‘all’ (see **2.9.1.1**) or *ba‘ḍ* بعض ‘some’ (see **2.9.1.3**):

*fa-bada’at **taṯiqu** bihi **ba‘ḍa l-ṯiqati** wa-lākinnahu lam yakun ’ahlan lahā*
فبدأت تثق به بعض الثقة ولكنّه لم يكن أهلا لها
‘so she began to trust in him to a certain extent but he was not deserving of it’, lit. ‘**to trust** in him **a certain trusting**’

Extensions of quantifiers:

*wa-bi-l-tālī talja’u **’akṯara fa-’akṯara** l-šarikātu l-muṣanni‘atu li-l-nuẓumi l-lā-silkiyyati wa-l-rādāriyyati ’ilā*
وبالتالي تلجأ أكثر فأكثر الشركات المصنّعة للنظم اللاسلكية و الرادارية إلى
‘and subsequently the companies that manufacture wireless and radar systems are resorting **more and more** to’

(contrast with asyndetically reduplicated circumstantial qualifiers, **2.4.6.3**)

*tansaḥibu l-‘atamatu **qalīlan qalīlan***
تنسحب العتمة قليلا قليلا
‘the darkness withdraws **little by little**’

2.4.2.4 The absolute object may be replaced by an explanatory term, and the absolute object is elided:

wa-l-naḏkur jamī'an 'annahu fī l-māḍī kāna 'iḏā ġaḍiba l-'iqṭā'iyyu 'alā l-fallāḥi ḍarabahu ***sawṭan*** *'aw* ***šallūtan***

ولنذكر جميعا أنّه في الماضي كان إذا غضب الإقطاعي على الفلاح ضربه سوطا أو شلّوتا

'let us all remember that in the past when the feudalist became angry with a peasant he would hit him **with a whip** [*ḍarba sawṭin* ضرب سوط 'with the hitting of a whip'] or a **kick** [*ḍarba šallūtin* ضرب شلّوت 'with the striking of a kick']'

(for the pronoun on *'annahu* أنّه 'that [the fact] is' (*ḍamīr al-ša'n*), see **3.4**; and for conditional *'iḏā* إذا 'if', 'when', see **8.3**)

2.4.2.5 The absolute object also occurs in verbless (equational) sentences (see **3.1**):

al-ḥulmu ṯaqīlun ***ṯiqala l-'aḥlāmi***

الحلم ثقيل ثقل الأحلام

'the dream was **heavy as dreams are**', lit. 'was heavy [with] the being heavy of dreams'

or qualifying a previous noun, adjective or participle (or rather, the verbal notion implicit in these words):

al-muškilatu l-ṯāliṯatu ***l-murtabiṭatu rtibāṭan waṭīqan*** *bi-l-muškilatayni l-sābiqatayni*

المشكلة الثالثة المرتبطة ارتباطا وثيقا بالمشكلتين السابقتين

'the third problem, **closely connected** with the first two', lit. 'connected a close being-connected'

kāna radduhu ***ġarīban kulla l-ġarābati***

كان ردّه غريبا كلّ الغرابة

'his reply was **totally strange**', lit. 'strange, all the being strange'

(cf. **2.4.2.3** for expansion with *kull* كلّ 'all')

li-'annahā ***lāṣiqatun*** *bihi* ***'aẓīma l-iltiṣāqi***

لأنّها لاصقة به عظيم الالتصاق

'because it **sticks** to it **mightily**'

ḍāḥikan ḍaḥkatahu *l-ḥāṣṣata*

ضاحكا ضحكته الخاصّة

'**laughing his** special **laugh**'

(see circumstantial qualifier, **2.4.6**)

wa-kāna ***sāṭi'an suṭū'an 'ajīban*** *fī tilka l-laylati*

وكان ساطعا سطوعا عجيبا في تلك الليلة

'and it was **shining amazingly** on that night', lit. 'shining an amazing shining'

2.4.2.6 Objects may be cognate without being absolute objects:

sa'altuhu su'ālan *ṣa'ban*

سألته سؤالا صعبا

'**I asked him** a difficult **question**'

*wa-****kallamathu kalimatayni*** *fī 'uḏnihi*

وكلّمته كلمتين في أذنه

'and **she spoke two words to him** in his ear'

(see **3.29.3**)

2.4.2.7 An absolute object occurs also as a coordinated variant for the gradualness of an action:

šay'an fa-šay'an *wajadtunī 'uḥibbu samā'a hāḏā l-kalāmi minhu*

شيئا فشيئا وجدتني أحبّ سماع هذا الكلام منه

'**little by little** I found myself liking to hear this kind of talk from him'

2.4.3 *Locative objects*

Locative objects, Arabic *maf'ūl fīhi* مفعول فيه 'thing in which [the action] is done', also *ẓarf* ظرف 'container', 'vessel'. These are nouns of time or place functioning as complements in dependent case (see **3.29.4**) qualifying the verb.

In MWA this category overlaps considerably with the locative/temporal adverbials and prepositionals in **2.5.2**, **2.5.5**. A working distinction is that locative/temporal objects are always full nouns which can also have all other nominal designations (e.g. 'day', 'night', ***yawmu*** *l-ḫamīsi yawmun jamīlun* يوم الخميس يوم جميل 'Thurs**day** is a lovely day') while the adverbials and

prepositionals (for these terms, see **2.6** and **2.7**) in particular tend to be words which, though originally nominals, have generally become restricted to a prepositional function (e.g. 'before', 'under', 'during').

As for adverb(ial)s (for this term, see **2.5**), they comprise a mixed class of dependent nouns and adjectives, usually indefinite and always invariable. The difference can be seen by contrasting a true locative object such as the dependent noun *šahran* شهرا '[for] a month', with an invariable dependent adjective in adverbial function, *šahriyyan* شهريا 'monthly'.

2.4.3.1 *Time* (▷C2:173; **3.29.4**)

(for periods of time, see **2.14.5**; for dates, see **2.14.7**)

As locative of time, these may be definite or indefinite:

dawman دوما 'always'
al-'āna الآن 'now', lit. 'at the time'
fajran فجرا 'at dawn'
laylan ليلا 'at night'
al-laylata الليلة 'tonight', lit. '[on] the night'
yawman يوما 'one day'
al-yawma اليوم 'today'
nahāran نهارا 'by day'
ṣabāḥan صباحا 'in the morning'
masā'an مساء 'in the evening'
laylan wa-nahāran ليلا ونهارا 'night and day'

These last two also occur separately as 'by night' and 'by day'; and cf. the variant:

layla nahāra ليل نهار 'night and day' with invariability of complement word (see **1.8.10**)
ġadan غدا 'tomorrow'
ḥīnan حينا 'for a time'
'aḥyānan أحيانا 'sometimes' (see *ḥīna* حين **7.6.6**)
'abadan أبدا '[n]ever'
marratan مرّة 'one time'
mirāran مرارا '[several] times'

For a number of adjectives and participles (already current in CA), see **2.4.8**.

Examples in context:

hāḏihi ***l-sanata*** هذه السنة '[in] this **year**'
al-sabta *l-māḍiya* السبت الماضي 'last **Saturday**'
hāḏā ***l-mawsima*** هذا الموسم '[in] this **season**'
laḥẓata *mufāraqatī l-bayta* لحظة مفارقتي البيت '**[at] the moment** I left the house'

(see annexation to sentence **7.5.1.11**; and direct object after verbal noun, **2.10.1.3**)

'aḫīran *taḥīnu laḥẓatu l-ḫurūji*
أخيرا تحين لحظة الخروج
'**at last** the moment of departure comes'

'anā ***l-'āna*** *jāmidu l-qalbi*
أنا الآن جامد القلب
'I am **now** firm in heart'

(note flexible word order in both, see **3.7.4**; and see unreal annexation, **2.1.3.2**)

hāḏā l-tamarrudu l-kāminu l-qā'imu ***'abadan***
هذا التمرّد الكامن القائم أبدا
'this **ever** present hidden recalcitrance'

(for use of *'abadan* أبدا 'never' in negative sentences, see **4.2.7**)

Note that *'ān* آن 'time' also occurs as a normal indefinite noun:

fī ***'ānin*** *wāḥidin* في آن واحد 'at one and the same **time**'
waṣalā fī ***'ānin*** وصلا في آن 'they both arrived at **the same time**'

Paired times:

tāratan … tāratan تارة . . . تارة, *tāratan … tāratan 'uḫrā* تارة . . . تارة أخرى 'sometimes … at other times' (*tāratan* تارة is rarely used alone);
ḥīnan … ḥīnan 'āḫara حينا . . . حينا آخر; also *marratan … marratan 'uḫrā* مرّة . . . مرّة أخرى 'one time … another time'
marratan … wa-marrātin مرّة و مرّات 'one time … other times'

ya'tī mubakkiran ***tāratan*** *wa-muta'aḫḫiran* ***tāratan 'uḫrā***
يأتي مبكّرا تارة و متأخّرا تارة أخرى
'he **sometimes** comes early and **sometimes** late'

tabnī ’āmālan lahum ***ḥīnan*** *wa-tuhaddimuhā* ***ḥīnan*** *’āḫara*
تبني آمالا لهم حينا وتهدّمها حينا آخر
‘it builds up hopes for them **sometimes** and **other times** destroys them’

Time expressions are often personalized or annexed (for dates, see **2.14.7**):

laḥẓatahā لحظتها ‘at that moment’, lit. ‘at the moment of it’

(see also **2.14.5**)

The function of the time noun *ḥīna* حين is virtually restricted to adverb (see **2.4.8**), prepositional (see **2.7**), or conjunction (see **7.6.6** and **7.8**):

ḥīna *l-ḍarūrati* حين الضرورة ‘in [the] **time** of need’

2.4.3.2 *Place* (▷C2:180; **3.29.4**)

Even in CA locative objects denoting a place were uncommon. Unlike points of time, which may be specific or vague, locative objects of place are vague and effectively restricted to directions and relationships:

šarqan شرقا ‘[to the] east’
ġarban غربا ‘[to the] west’
janūban جنوبا ‘[to the] south’
šimālan شمالا ‘[to the] north’, ‘[to the] left’
yamīnan يمينا ‘[to the] right’

(for fuller discussion of expressions of space, see **2.6**)

Examples in context (cf. **2.1.4**):

šarqan wa-ġarban شرقا وغربا ‘to the east and to the west’
šimāla *bayrūta* شمال بيروت ‘**north of** Beirut’

Note the idiom where a locative object is used metaphorically:

yaqifu l-yawma ***mawqifa*** *l-ʿājizi*
يقف اليوم موقف العاجز
‘he is today as good as incompetent’, lit. ‘stands today in **the standing place** of the incompetent one’

(But see **3.29.3.1** for an alternative parsing).

Spatial positions are often expressed by prepositions (see **2.6**):

***bi**-l-qāhirati* بالقاهرة '**in** Cairo'

***fī** l-matḥafi* في المتحف '**in** the museum'

***fī** l-sīnamā* في السينما '**at** the cinema'

2.4.4 *Specifying complement* (▷C2:184; **3.29.5**)

Specifying complement, Arabic *tamyīz* تمييز 'distinguishing [element]': a dependent noun which particularizes an otherwise general feature of its antecedent, roughly equivalent to English 'in terms of'. The specifying complement is always an indefinite dependent noun (often a verbal noun), and it may qualify nouns, adjectives or verbs.

It is also used with weights and measures, although there are some signs that the system is breaking down:

***bi-l-'iḍāfati** 'ilā 150 junayhan ta'mīn#*

بالإضافة إلى ١٥٠ جنيها تأمين

'in addition to £150 **insurance**', i.e. 'in terms of insurance'

2.4.4.1 *Specifying complement in general use*

Qualifying verbs:

*fa-l-ṭabī'atu qad tufrizu qaḥṭan wa-min ba'dihi tatadaffaqu **ḫuṣūbatan***

فالطبيعة قد تفرز قحطا ومن بعده تتدفّق خصوبة

'nature can produce a drought and afterwards be bursting **with fertility**'

(for *qad* قد with independent imperfect, see **3.10.5**)

*wa-l ḥaqqu 'anna l-ḥadīṯa yaṭūlu 'an šarīf 'abāẓa **'insānan** wa-**fannānan***

والحقّ أنّ الحديث يطول عن شريف أباظة إنسانا وفنّانا

'in fact the discussion goes on at length about Sherif Abaza **as a human being** and **artist**'

Note the specifying complement with verbs of increasing and decreasing (see **3.23.3**):

muzawwadan bi-ru'yatin ***tazdādu 'umqan***

مزوّد برؤية تزداد عمقا

'provided with a vision of increasing depth', lit. '**which increases as to depth**'

(for adjectival relative clause, see **5.1**)

'More . . . than' or 'the most . . .' or 'less . . . than' or 'the least . . .' can only be expressed by a specifying complement:

huwa ***'akṯaru l-'ulūmi ḥtiwā'an 'alā*** *l-ẓawāhiri l-salbiyyati*

هو أكثر العلوم احتواء على الظواهر السلبية

'it is the science embracing the most negative phenomena', lit. '**the most of the sciences in terms of embracing**'

wa-lā šakka 'anna l-rayya bi-l-tanqīṭi ***'aqallu stihlākan li-l-miyāhi*** *min-a l-ṭuruqi l-taqlīdiyyati*

ولا شك أن الرّيّ بالتنقيط أقل استهلاكا للمياه من الطرق التقليدية

'and there is no doubt that irrigation by dripping consumes less water than traditional methods', lit. '**is less in terms of consumption of water**'

Note how the verbal noun in the position of specifying complement must remain indefinite and therefore can not be annexed to its direct object. In these circumstances it can only be linked to its direct object by the preposition *li-* لـ (cf. **2.10.1.7** and **2.4.5**)

Qualifying nouns:

fī ruqiyyi l-muwāṭinīna ***fikran*** *wa-****wijdānan*** *wa-****sulūkan***

في رقي المواطنين فكرا ووجدانا وسلوكا

'in the progress of citizens **in thought**, **feeling** and **behaviour**'

With the numbers from 11 to 99 (▷C2:183; for details, see **2.12.4**, **2.12.5**):

ḫamsūna ***dirhaman*** خمسون درهما 'fifty dirhams'

Qualifying elative/superlative adjective (see **1.8.6.2**; **2.11.8**):

al-muntajātu l-'uḫrā ***l-'aqallu jawdatan***

المنتجات الأخرى الأقلّ جودة

'the other, **lower quality** products', lit. 'the lower as to quality'

'aqdamu** l-šu'ūbi **rukūban li-l-baḥri
أقدم الشعوب ركوبا للبحر
'**the most ancient** people **in sailing the sea**'

(see object of verbal nouns with *li-* لـ **2.10.1.7**)

*min **'awsa'i** l-kuttābi **šuhratan** fī zamānihi*
من أوسع الكتّاب شهرة في زمانه
'one of the most famous writers of his time', lit. 'one of **the widest** of writers **in terms of fame**'

Periphrastic use with colours:

*taṣawwara 'anna l-baḥra fī ṣiqilliyyata **'akṯaru zurqatan***
تصور أن البحر في صقلية أكثر زرقة
'he imagined that the sea in Sicily is bluer', lit. '**more in terms of blueness**' (from *'azraqu* أزرق 'blue', see colours **1.8.6.1**)

The specifying complement is also used with certain fixed adverbial expressions (see **2.5.8.2**):

*bi-ṣifatī **ra'īsan li-***
بصفتي رئيسا لـ
'in my capacity **as chairman** of'

An example of MWA innovation can be seen in a limited number of cases where an adjective is further qualified by a comparative such as *'akṯaru* أكثر 'more', in preference to the use of a specifying complement:

*mašġūlun **'akṯara min**hā* مشغول أكثر منها 'is **more** busy **than** her'

2.4.5 *Purposive object*

Purposive object, Arabic *maf'ūl lahu* مفعول له (or *li-'ajlihi* لأجله), all 'thing for [the sake of] which [the action] is done' (▷C2:172; **3.29.6**): a dependent complement always in the form of a dependent verbal noun indicating the reason for, or cause of, an action, usually indefinite and usually alone. It normally has the underlying sense of 'because of' or 'out of':

*lā 'aqūluhā **mujāmalatan***
لا أقولها مجاملة
'I am not saying it **to be nice**'

ibta'adat ***ḫawfan***

ابتعدت خوفا

'she stayed away **out of fear**'

Indirectly transitive verbs (see **3.11.4**) retain their prepositions:

ḥāwala 'an yuḫfiya qalaqahu ***ḫawfan min*** *'an yaẓhara 'annahu ḍa'īfun*

حاول أنْ يُخفي قلقه خوفا من أنْ يظهر أنّه ضعيف

'he tried to conceal his anxiety **from fear of** appearing to be weak', lit. 'from fear of that may appear'

'iḥtijājan 'alā *tilka l-mu'āmalati l-ẓālimati*

احتجاجا على تلك المعاملة الظالمة

'**in protest against** that unfair treatment'

Transitive verbs

Since as a rule the purposive object must retain its indefinite status, it cannot be annexed to a direct object, and therefore the periphrastic alternative with *li-* لـ (see **2.10.1.7** and **2.4.4.1**) is used:

talbiyatan li*-l-ḥājāti l-'insāniyyati*

تلبية للحاجة الإنسانية

'**in response to** human needs'

takrīman li*-l-ḍayfi l-kabīri*

تكريما للضيف الكبير

'**out of honour for** the distinguished guest'

The purposive object can be expanded by annexation, either to another verbal noun, with generic sense:

yurīdu l-ta'arrufa 'ilā 'ālamin 'āḫara ***buġyata kašfi 'asrārihi***

يريد التعرّف إلى عالم آخر بغية كشف أسراره

'he wants to get to know another world **in the desire to uncover its secrets**', lit. 'in the desire of the uncovering of it secrets'

or to a clause:

ḫašyata *'an tuttahama bi-l-ḍa'fi*

خشية أن تتّهم بالضعف

'**out of fear** that she would be suspected of weakness'

(for annexation of clauses, see **7.5.1.3**)

2.4.6 *Circumstantial qualifier* (▷C2:186; **3.29.7**)

Circumstantial qualifier, Arabic *ḥāl* حال 'situation, circumstance': normally a participle (less often an adj.) indicating the circumstances of an event, always dependent and nearly always indefinite, agreeing only in number and gender with the antecedent. In this section only noun phrases will be noted; for the subordinated sentence as a circumstantial qualifier, see **7.3**.

2.4.6.1 *Classes that may function as circumstantial qualifier* (▷C2:193)

Active participle:

ġādara l-qāhirata 'amsi ***mutawajjihan*** *'ilā jībūtī*
غادر القاهرة أمس متوجّها إلى جيبوتي
'he left Cairo yesterday **heading** for Djibouti'

mašaytu ***mutamahhilan***
مشيت متمهّلا
'I walked **slowly**', lit. 'proceeding slowly',

qābalānī ***ḫārijayni*** *fī mahammatin 'ājilatin*
قابلاني خارجين في مهمّة عاجلة
'they (dual) met me **whilst they were going out** on an urgent errand'

wa-waqa'at-i l-ḍaḥāyā natījatan li-hubūṭi l-'aṭfāli ***mutadāfi'īna*** *'alā sullami l-madrasati*
ووقعت الضحايا نتيجة لهبوط الأطفال متدافعين على سلّم المدرسة
'most of the casualties occurred as a result of the children falling, **pushing one another** against the school stairs'

taḫarraja l-waladu ***ḍābiṭan*** *fī l-baḥriyyati*
تخرّج الولد ضابطا في البحرية
'the boy graduated **as an officer** in the navy'

Passive participle:

*tafawwaqa l-'insānu l-miṣriyyu l-qadīmu ḥākiman wa-****maḥkūman***
تفوّق الإنسان المصري القديم حاكما ومحكوما
'the Ancient Egyptian was superior both as ruler and **ruled**'

wa-tahādā l-naʿšu ***maḥmūlan*** *ʿalā l-ʾaʿnāqi*

وتهادى النعش محمولا على الأعناق

'the bier slowly moved off **carried** on shoulders'

ṯumma [ʾan] yaqaʿū ***maġšiyyan ʿalayhim***

ثم [أن] يقعوا مغشيا عليهم

'then they fall **unconscious**', lit. 'it having been covered over for them'

(cf. passive participial adjectives, **2.10.3**)

Verbal nouns

li-yaḥḍurū l-ʿarḍa ṭiwāla sāʿatin wa-niṣfî l-sāʿati ***wuqūfan***

ليحضروا العرض طوال ساعة و نصف الساعة وقوفا

'to attend the performance for an hour and a half **standing up**'

(see clock times **2.14.6**)

For the now autonomous dependent indefinite nouns and adjectives with adverbial function, see **2.4.8**.

2.4.6.2 *Sequences*

Sequences of circumstantial qualifiers occur both syndetically and asyndetically (▷C2:190, 490; for coordination, see **Chapter 6**; and for sequences of circ. qual. clauses, see **7.3.1**).

Syndetic:

ladā l-muštaġilīna bi-ṣināʿati l-kalimati, ***masmūʿatan*** *wa-****maqrūʾatan*** *wa-****marʾiyyatan***

لدى المشتغلين بصناعة الكلمة, مسموعة ومقروؤة ومرئية

'among those occupied with the craft of words, **heard, read** and **seen**'

wa-btasama samʿānu ***muʾānisan*** *wa-****mušajjiʿan***

وابتسم سمعان مؤانسا ومشجّعا

'and Samʿān smiled **in a friendly** and **encouraging way**'

Asyndetic:

yantaqilu bayna l-mawā'idi ***muraḥḥiban ḍāḥikan mudā'iban mu'ānisan***
ينتقل بين الموائد مرحبا ضاحكا مداعبا مؤانسا
'he moves between the tables **welcoming, laughing, joking and entertaining**'

al-wa'du llaḏī qaṭa'ahu 'alā nafsihi ***muḫliṣan ṣādiqan***
الوعد الذي قطعه على نفسه مخلصا صادقا
'the promise he made to himself **sincerely and honestly**'

2.4.6.3 For the meaning 'x by x', pairs of circumstantial qualifiers are used, mostly asyndetically (▷C2:492–3, and see **11.7**):

taqšuruhā ***ṭabaqatan ṭabaqatan***
تقشرها طبقة طبقة
'she peels it off **layer by layer**'

ru'yatu taḥarruki l-ḏarrati ***wāḥidatan wāḥidatan***
رؤية تحرّك الذرّة واحدة واحدة
'seeing the movement of atoms **one by one**'

ḏakkarahā bi-qiṭārin ḥayṯu l-maqā'idu ***ṯnayni ṯnayni***
ذكّرها بقطار حيث المقاعد اثنين اثنين
'it reminded her of a train in which the seats were **two by two**'

Contrast these with the absolute object *šay'an fa-šay'an* شيئا فشيئا 'little by little' in **2.4.2.7** in which the latter qualify the kind of action being performed, not the state of the noun.

2.4.6.4 Although the circumstantial qualifier is normally indefinite, it can be annexed to a following noun (▷C2:191):

fa-jalastu ***ḍayyiqa l-ṣadri***
فجلست ضيّق الصدر
'so I sat down **with a heavy feeling about me**', lit. 'heavy of chest'

(cf. annexed adjectives in **2.1.3.2** and circumstantial qualifiers in subordinate clauses in **7.3.1**)

jaraytu ma'ahā ***ḥāfiyata l-qadamayni***
جريت معها حافية القدمين
'I ran with her **bare-footed**' [fem. sing.]

The expression *waḥda-*وحد ‘as one of’, always annexed to pronouns in the sense of ‘alone, by . . . self’, is an exception to the rule that circumstantial qualifiers should always be indefinite:

duwalu l-šamāli ***waḥdahā***
دول الشمال وحدها
‘the northern states **alone**’

waqafū ***waḥdahum***
وقفوا وحدهم
‘they stood **alone**’

lā ’ataḥaddaṯu hunā ‘an ṯaqāfati l-’ummiyyīna ***waḥdahum***
لا أتحدّث هنا عن ثقافة الامّيين وحدهم
‘I am not speaking here about the culture of the illiterate people **alone**’

laysa l-najāḥu ḥukran ‘alaynā ***waḥdanā***
ليس النجاح حكرا علينا وحدنا
‘success is not our monopoly **alone**’

2.4.7 *Accompanying object*

Accompanying object, Arabic *maf‘ūl ma‘ahu* مفعول معه ‘thing with which [the action is] done’; always introduced by *wa-* و ‘and’, called *wāw ma‘iyya* ‘the “and” denoting withness’, to distinguish it from the coordinating *wa-* و ‘and’ at **6.2** (▷C2:213; **2.19.1**; **3.29.8**). The construction is now rather limited, mainly with verbs denoting agreement or conformity (cf. **3.11.4**).

In unvowelled texts the assumption of a dependent case is not certain, for example:

mā yattafiqu ***wa-ṭabī‘ata*** *l-muḥtawayāti*
ما يتّفق وطبيعة المحتويات
‘what agrees **with the nature** of the contents’

bi-ṭarīqatin tatanāsabu ***wa-qawā‘ida*** *l-naḥwi l-‘arabiyyi*
بطريقة تتناسب وقواعد النحو العربي
‘in a way which conforms **with the rules** of Arabic grammar’

allatī tatazāmanu ***wa-šahra*** *ramaḍāna l-mubāraka*
الّتي تتزامن وشهر رمضان المبارك
‘which coincides **with the** blessed **month** of Ramadan’

but the following example shows an unambiguously marked dependent/oblique case:

wa-hum fī taklīfihim bi-l-ḫarāji wa-l-ḍarā'ibi sawā'un ***wa-l-muslimīna***
وهم في تكليفهم بالخراج والضرائب سواء والمسلمين
'they being as regards their obligation to pay the land tax and income taxes equal **with the Muslims**'

It is also found with relative clauses:

'inna l-'islāma yatrukuhum ***wa-mā yadīnūna***
إنّ الإسلام يتركهم وما يدينون
'Islam leaves them to do what they believe in', lit. '**with what they believe in**'

See also *ma'a* مع 'with' with stem VI and other verbs, **3.11.4**, and **2.6.11** for adverbial *ma'an* معا 'together'. Compare also the idioms *mā laka wa-* ما لك و and *mā ša'nuka wa-* ما شأنك و 'how about . . . ?', 'what have you to do with . . . ?' in **10.13.3.1**.

2.4.8 *Intermediate forms*

Here are consolidated the various dependent indefinite nouns and adjectives functioning autonomously as adverbs. In CA they were usually interpreted as quals or synonyms of an elided noun complement, but that analysis is no longer reliable for MWA. Thus for present users it is not relevant that *jalastu ṭawīlan* جلست طويلا, 'I sat long', that is, 'for a long time', can be parsed as having either an elided absolute object, (see **2.4.2**) namely, *jalastu [julūsan] ṭawīlan* جلست [جلوسا] طويلا, literally 'I sat a long [sitting]', or an elided locative object of time (see **2.4.3.1**), namely, *jalastu [waqtan] ṭawīlan* جلست [وقتا] طويلا 'I sat for a long [time]'.

In practice these dependent elements have purely adverbial function and thus lie structurally between the pure noun complements (see **2.4.2–2.47**) and the dependent indefinite *nisba* نسبة (see **2.5**). Since they always remain dependent nouns and adjectives, they cannot strictly be termed 'adverbs', and so they will be referred to as 'adverbials', which also distinguishes them from the few genuine adverbs in Arabic, such as *faqaṭ* فقط 'only' (see **1.6.11**; **2.5.1**). The same distinction is made between true prepositions and nouns with prepositional function, hence termed 'prepositionals' (see **1.6.12**; **2.6**; **2.7**).

By grouping them here, the historical aspects are set aside. Moreover, by avoiding semantic subclassifications (which in any case have no specific corresponding structural manifestation), the problem of assigning them to one or another of the complements listed above is also bypassed.

The adverbial status of these items is confirmed by the fact that many of them have synonymous equivalent prepositional phrases, for example *ṣudfatan* صدفة 'coincidentally', with the alternant *bi-l-ṣudfati* بالصدفة 'by coincidence' (see **2.5.8.2**).

Dependent nouns:

jiddan جدًا 'very'	*al-battata* البتّة 'altogether'
fi'lan فعلا 'indeed'	*'ayḍan* أيضا 'also'
'asāsan أساسا 'fundamentally'	*ṣudfatan* صدفة 'by chance'
ḥaqqan حقّا 'truly'	*'aṣlan* أصلا 'basically'
mubāšaratan مباشرة 'directly'	*faj'atan* فجأة 'suddenly'
'abaṯan عبثا 'in vain'	*maṯalan* مثلا 'for example'
ḥatman حتما 'definitively'	*majjānan* مجانا 'gratis'
jumlatan جملة 'totally'	*taqrīban* تقريبا 'approximately'
ḫuṣūṣan خصوصا 'especially'	*kāffatan* كافّة 'altogether'
'umūman عموما 'generally'	*tibā'an* تباعا 'consecutively'

Dependent adjectives:

bāṭilan باطلا 'in vain'	*maḥḍan* محضا 'purely'
jayyidan جيّدا 'well'	(cf. **2.8.6**, emphasizer annexed)
qalīlan قليلا 'little'	*sarī'an* سريعا 'quickly'
ġāliban غالبا 'mostly'	*katīran* كثيرا 'much'
tamāman تماما 'completely'	*jamī'an* جميعا 'all'
dā'iman دائما 'always'	*muṭlaqan* مطلقا 'absolutely'
ṭawīlan طويلا 'long'	*'aḫīran* أخيرا 'finally'
ḥadīṯan حديثا 'recently'	*qadīman* قديما 'of old'
ḫārijan خارجا 'outside'	*dāḫilan* داخلا 'inside'

The participle types *mu'aḫḫaran* مؤخّرا 'late', *muqaddaman* مقدّما 'early', *mustaqbalan* مستقبلا 'in future', are invariable and therefore cannot be seen as circumstantial qualifiers, etc.:

'uktušifat ***mu'aḫḫaran*** اُكتشفت مؤخّرا 'it [fem.] has been discovered **lately** [masc.]'

The same applies to the following:

lanā ***jamī‘an*** لنا جميعا ‘to us **all** [masc.]’

lam tanjaḥ hāḏihi l-’aškālu ***jamī‘an*** *fī waqfi l-ẓāhirati*
لم تنجح هذه الأشكال جميعا في وقف الظاهرة

‘**none** of these forms succeeded in stopping the phenomenon’, lit. ‘did **not** succeed these forms **all of them** [masc.] in stopping the phenomenon’ (see **4.2** on indefinite agents).

2.5 Adverbs and adverbials

This is a class in which MWA shows considerable divergence from the CA norms. CA had a very limited range of true adverbs, that is, invariable words used to qualify any element of a sentence, for example *faqaṭ* فقط ‘only’: the class was virtually closed and is listed in **1.6.11**. A somewhat larger set, but still very restricted, consists of dependent indefinite nouns or adjectives, formally once complements of verbs (e.g. as circ. qual. or loc. obj.) but now autonomous, i.e. they are now invariable (see **2.4.8**). All other adverbial qualification in CA was expressed either by the formal complements described in **2.4.2** to **2.4.7**, or periphrastically, through phrases (see **2.5.8**), or by verbs (see **2.5.9**), all of which are still used in MWA.

But MWA has greatly extended the dependent indefinite *nisba* نسبة adjective (see **2.1.6**), seemingly as a calque of Western adverbs, by a process which can usefully be compared with the very productive American English device of suffixing ‘-wise’ to any noun or adjective to create an adverb, for example ‘policy-wise’. They are now often unanalysable, but theoretically they could be regarded as an elliptical extension of one or another of the CA dependent complements, such as the absolute object (see **2.4.2**). For example, *al-iḥtimāmu bihim* ***ṯaqāfiyyan*** *wa-****ṣiḥḥiyyan*** *wa-****jtimā‘iyyan*** *wa-****riyāḍiyyan*** الاهتمام بهم ثقافيا وصحّيا واجتماعيا ورياضيا ‘concern for them **culturally, medically, socially** and **athletically**’ may be parsed as elliptical, for example *al-iḥtimāmu bihim-i* ***ḥtimāman*** *ṯaqāfiyyan* etc. الاهتمام بهم اهتماما ثقافيا ‘being concerned for them with a cultural **being concerned**, etc.’

However, since they are invariable, they cannot always be considered as simply alternative forms of the complements, thus in *taḫsaru l-ḥarba* ***siyāsiyyan*** تخسر الحرب سياسيا ‘will lose the war **politically**’, the invariable masculine *siyāsiyyan* سياسيا ‘politically’ could perhaps have as its underlying form an absolute object, but in this case the verbal noun is feminine *ḫasāra* خسارة, so that the absolute object construction would be *ḫasāratan*

siyāsiyyatan خسارة سياسية 'a political losing [fem.]', which would not fully account for the invariable *siyāsiyyan* سياسيا 'politically'.

This leaves MWA with three types of adverbial qualifier: (a) the inherited set of CA dependent noun complements already described; (b) a quantity of indefinite dependent adjectives and nouns set out in **2.4.8**, which may or may not be the residue of elliptical or variant complements; and (c) an enormous number of *nisba* نسبة adjectives, which are not always analysable as comps but function in the same way (though more flexibly) as the English adverb, for which see **2.5.1**, **2.5.2** and **2.5.5**. These may be considered a form of new free adverb.

All three sets are open, but not necessarily commutable: it is unlikely that the sentence *'aḫrajahā **tilifiziyūniyyan*** أخرجها تلفزيونيا 'he produced it **through the medium of television**', lit. 'he produced it television-wise' would ever be expressed in the form of an explicit absolute object, namely, ******'aḫrajahā **'iḫrājan tilifizyūniyyan*** أخرجها إخراجا تلفزيونيا, lit. 'he produced it [with] **a television-type** [now an adj.] **producing**', or circumstantial qualifier ******'aḫrajahā **mutalfizan*** أخرجها متلفزا, lit. 'he produced it [**as one**] **televising**', although there are no structural or lexical objections.

The semantic classification below is purely arbitrary and doubtless in many cases disputable: it certainly makes no claims that any of the adverbials are direct paraphrases of the CA dependent complements.

For completeness, demonstratives and the underived and non-nominal adverbs are also listed in each category. In the following sections the adverbial phrases are then listed, divided into indefinite adverbials with dependent nouns (see **2.5.7**) and prepositional phrases (see **2.5.8**). For verbs expressing the manner of an action, see **2.5.9**, and for interrogative adverbs, see **2.5.6** and **10.7–10.10**.

2.5.1 *Adverbials of manner, quantity and degree*

(for adverbial phrases, see **2.5.6** and **2.4.2**)

'iqtiṣādiyyan اقتصاديا 'economically'
luġawiyyan لغويا 'linguistically'
'irāqiyyan عراقيا 'as an Iraqi', 'from an Iraqi point of view'
šaḫṣiyyan شخصيا 'personally'
'ašwā'iyyan عشوائيا 'at random'

šafawiyyan شفويا 'orally'
siyāsiyyan سياسيا 'politically'
fi'liyyan فعليا 'actually' (cf. *fi'lan* فعلا 'indeed' above)
rasmiyyan رسميا 'officially'
'aqliyyan عقليا 'rationally'
nisbiyyan نسبيا 'relatively'
kulliyan كليا 'totally'

A few examples in context:

ḍarūratu l-ta'āwuni ***duwaliyyan*** ضرورة التعاون دوليا 'the necessity for cooperation **internationally**'

talqīnuhum ***maḏhabiyyan*** تلقينهم مذهبيا 'their **sectarian** indoctrination', lit. 'the indoctrination of them **sectarianly**'

ṯabata ***'ilmiyyan*** ثبت علميا 'it has been **scientifically** proven'

2.5.2 *Adverbials of time*

(cf. **2.4.3.1** for locative objects; for phrases)

Again these examples are given with an implied syntactic function:

ḥāliyyan حاليا 'currently'
yawmiyyan يوميا 'daily'
'usbū'iyyan أسبوعيا 'weekly'
sanawiyyan سنويا 'annually'
šahriyyan شهريا 'monthly'

2.5.3 *Adverbials of time annexed to deictics and demonstratives*

Adverbials of time can be annexed to the deictics and demonstratives *'iḏ* إذ 'this [here]', or *ḏāka* ذاك 'that [there]' (see **1.8.7.2**; **2.5.6**):

ba'da'iḏin بعدئذ 'afterwards', lit. 'after this'
ḥīna'iḏin حينئذ 'then', lit. 'at the time of this'
yawma'iḏin يومئذ 'on that day', lit. 'on the day of this'
waqta'iḏin وقتئذ 'at that time', lit. 'at the time of this'
sā'ata'iḏin ساعتئذ 'at that moment'
'ānaḏāka آنذاك 'at that time'
'inda'iḏin عندئذ 'then', 'at that time'

(for the prepositional *'inda* عند 'at', see **2.7.21**)

'ahda'iḏin عهدئذ 'at that time', 'in that period'

Examples in context:

wa-kāna yataraddadu 'alā tilka l-mustašfā ***waqta'iḏin***
و كان يتردّد على تلك المستشفى وقتئذ
'he used to frequent that hospital **at the time**'

kāna l-qalamu ***'ānaḏāka*** *ka-l-mustaḥīli*
كان القلم آنذاك كالمستحيل
'**in those times** [the use of] the pen was nearly impossible'

(for *ka-* كـ 'like', 'as', see **2.6.8**)

Not annexed:

ṯumma ثمّ 'then' (see **2.19.3** and **6.4**)

2.5.4 *Invariable time nouns*

The expressions *ba'd-* بعد 'after' and *qabl-* قبل 'before' are unusual in that as adverbials they occur in the invariable forms *ba'du* بعدُ 'afterwards' and *qablu* قبلُ 'before[hand]' (an indef. *qablan* قبلا also occurs). They cannot therefore be annexed in this form, though as prepositionals *ba'da* بعدَ 'after' and *qabla* قبلَ 'before' are always annexed (see **2.7.6** and **2.7.31** respectively). However, they both occur after the preposition *min* من (see **2.6.12**), without change of inflection, *min ba'du* من بعدُ, *min qablu* من قبلُ:

'aḫbarahā 'annahu tazawwaja ***min qablu*** أخبرها أنّه تزوّج من قبلُ
'he told her he had been married **before**',

istīrāduhu ***min qablu*** استيراده من قبلُ
'its import **previously**'

sa-yatimmu ***ba'du*** سيتمّ بعدُ
'it will be done **later**'

sa-'arāka fī-mā ***ba'du*** سأراك فيما بعدُ
'I shall see you **later on**'

(for *fīmā ba'du* فيما بعدُ, lit. 'in what is afterwards', see **5.7**)

(for 'yet', see *lammā* لمّا with *ba'du* بعدُ **4.2.3**)

2.5.5 *Adverbials of place*

(cf. locative objects **2.4.3.2**, and phrases **2.5.7**)

markaziyyan مركزيا 'centrally'

maḥalliyyan محلّيا 'locally'

'ālamiyyan عالميا 'globally'

wa-yatimmu tajmī'u l-sayyārati ***maḥalliyyan*** ويتمّ تجميع السيارة محلّيا 'and the car is assembled **locally**'

fa-'innahā tuwazza'u ***'ālamiyyan*** فإنّها توزّع عالميا 'for they [namely, films] are distributed **globally**'

Invariable nouns, demonstratives:

hunā هنا 'here' *hunāka* هناك 'there'

ṯamma ثمّ 'there' *ṯammata* ثمّة 'there'

(for these as fillers in inverted sentences, see **3.1.3.1**)

Note *'ilā hunāka* إلى هناك 'to there', 'thither'(see *'ilā* إلى **2.6.7**).

ḥayṯu **حيث** (see further **7.6.9.3**) followed by noun(s) in independent case:

wa-yaḥlumu bi-l-'ayši fī 'ūrubbā ***ḥayṯu l-'amnu wa-l-ḥayātu l-karīmatu***

و يحلم بالعيش في أوربا حيث الأمن والحياة الكريمة

'and he dreams of living in Europe **where there is security and a decent life**'

2.5.6 *Other adverbials*

Demonstratives etc.:

- *'iḏan* إذا 'in that case' (▷C1:42)

  'iḏan إذا is an adverbial whose exact position in the sentence is unpredictable, although it tends to occur more towards the beginning because it notes a reaction or response to a previously stated proposition:

  sa-naltaqī ***'iḏan*** *fī l-ḥādiyata 'ašrata*

  سنلتقي إذا في الحادية عشرة

  '**so** we will meet at 11 o'clock'

*wa-**’iḏan** fa-bi-’imkāninā ’an*
وإذا فبإمكاننا أنْ
‘**hence** it is in our capability to

***’iḏan** wa-bi-kulli l-wuḍūḥi wa-l-ṣarāḥati najaḥa l-’irhābu fī qatli mawsimin siyāḥiyyin*
إذا وبكلّ الوضوح والصراحة نجح الإرهاب في قتل موسم سياحي
‘**well then**, with all clarity and frankness, terrorism succeeded in destroying a tourist season’

- *’iḏḏāka* إذذاك ‘at that time’, ‘at that point’ (ex. in ▷C3:29)

  Note the phrase *’iḏḏāka* إذذاك ‘at that time’, lit. ‘at the time of that’, which incorporates both elements and is sometimes written as one word:

  *ṯumma tahda’u l-’aṣwāṭu tadrījiyyan wa-tanṭafi’u l-’anwāru kulluhā wa-**’iḏḏāka** tartafi‘u l-sitāratu wa-yabda’u l-‘arḍu*
  ثمّ تهدأ الأصوات تدريجيا وتنطفئ الأنوار كلها وإذذاك ترتفع الستارة ويبدأ العرض
  ‘then voices gradually become quiet, all the lights go out, and **at that point** the curtain goes up and the show begins’

- *li-ḏā* لذا ‘for that [reason]’, ‘therefore’:

  ***li-ḏā** lam yantaẓir ’ijābatan*
  لذا لم ينتظر إجابة
  ‘**for that reason** he did not wait for an answer’

- *hākaḏā* هكذا ‘like this’:

  *kāna wāqifan **hākaḏā***
  كان واقفا هكذا
  ‘he was standing **like this**’

  ***hākaḏā** badā lahā l-’amru*
  هكذا بدا لها الأمر
  ‘**that is how** the matter seemed to her’, lit. ‘like that seemed’

  (for *badā* بدا ‘to seem’, see **3.17.4**)

- *kaḏālika* كذلك, ‘thus’, ‘likewise’, lit. ‘like that’ but now in addition ‘also’, tending to replace *’ayḍan* أيضا ‘also’ (cf. **12.12.1**):

  ***kaḏālika** rijālu l-šurṭati*
  كذلك رجال الشرطة
  ‘**likewise** the police’

*tadrībuhum bi-l-ḫāriji wa-**kaḏālika** maḥalliyyan*
تدريبهم بالخارج وكذلك محلّيا
'their training abroad and **also** locally'

- *kaḏā* 'likewise':

  *wa-**kaḏā** ġayru l-muslimi*
  و كذا غير المسلم
  '**likewise** the non-Muslim'

- *faqaṭ* فقط 'only' (see **3.30.3**; for use with negatives, see **4.9**)

  *idfa'ū li-ḫāmilihi ḫamsīna junayhan **faqaṭ***
  ادفعوا لحامله خمسين جنيها فقط
  'pay its bearer fifty pounds **only**'

- *fa-ḥasbu* فحسب 'only'. Invariable (see **4.9** in negative sentences):

  *'alayhi 'an yafiya bi-wa'dihi **fa-ḥasbu***
  عليه أن يفي بوعده فحسب
  'he has to fulfil his promise and **that is all**'

  See also *qaṭṭu* قط '[not] at all' and *al-battata* البتة '[not] at all' as pure negative reinforcing adverbials, **4.2.7**.

For interrogatives *kam* كم, *kayfa* كيف, *matā* متى, *'ayna* أين etc., see **10.7–10.10** for syntax.

2.5.7 *Adverbial phrases: dependent nouns*

MWA preserves the CA usage of dependent indefinite verbal nouns as a loose type of qualifier (e.g. circ. qual., abs. obj.), for example *ġaṣban 'an* غصبا عن 'in spite of', where the noun retains the preposition of its underlying verb. In MWA, however, perhaps in response to the wide range of conjunctions and connectors in the Western languages, this construction has been greatly extended.

Some of these also occur in the form of prepositional phrases or annexation units. Here only those which occur exclusively as dependent indefinite nouns are listed, and the others are grouped together in **2.5.8** if they have only prepositional phrase alternants. If they have all three forms, they are treated as variants of prepositionals in **2.7**.

For further functions, see **7.5.1.11** and **11.1.1**

- *badalan min* بدلا من ‘instead of’, lit. ‘as a substitute for’:

  fī yawmin wāḥidin ***badalan min*** *sab‘ati ’ayyāmin*
  في يوم واحد بدلا من سبعة أيّام
  ‘in one day **instead of** seven’

  badalan min*-a l-’iġdāqi ‘alā ṣunūfi l-biḍā‘ati l-raḫīṣati*
  بدلا من الإغداق على صنوف البضاعة الرخيصة
  ‘**instead of** showering [resources] on [all] kinds of cheap goods’

- *binā’an ‘alā* بناء على ‘based on’:

  binā’an ‘alā *tawṣiyatin min-a l-lajnati l-tanfīḏiyyati*
  بناء على توصية من اللجنة التنفيذية
  ‘**based on** a recommendation from the Executive Committee’

- *faḍlan ‘an* فضلا عن ‘not to mention’:

  faḍlan ‘an *‘aqdi ‘adadin min-a l-ittifāqiyyāti*
  فضلا عن عقد عدد من الاتّفاقيات
  ‘**not to mention** the concluding of a number of agreements’

  faḍlan ‘an *ta’kīdihā li-ta’yīdi stimrāri ‘amaliyyati l-salāmi*
  فضلا عن تأكيدها لتأييد استمرار عملية السلام
  ‘**not to mention** her confirmation that she would support the continuation of the peace process’

- *‘ibāratan ‘an* عبارة عن ‘[regarded] as’, ‘in the form of’ (cf. *i‘tibār* اعتبار **2.5.8.5**):

  ‘ibāratan ‘an *ku’ūsin wa-hadāyā ‘ayniyyatin*
  عبارة عن كؤوس وهدايا عينية
  ‘**in the form of** tumblers and material gifts’

- *’iḍāfatan ’ilā* إضافة إلى ‘in addition to’ (see **2.5.8.5**)

- *inṭilāqan min* انطلاقا من ‘starting from’:

  inṭilāqan min *ḥirṣihi ‘alā tafādī l-tanāquḍāti l-’aydiyūlūjiyyati*
  انطلاقا من حرصه على تفادي التناقضات الأيديولوجية
  ‘**starting from** his desire to avoid ideological contradictions’

- *ittifāqan ma'a* اتّفاقا مع 'in agreement with':

  *wa-**ttifāqan ma'a** raġbatihi fī 'ibqā'i l-'alāqāti l-wuddiyyati*
  واتّفاقا مع رغبته في إبقاء العلاقات الودّية
  'and **in agreement with** his desire to keep cordial relations'

- *nāhīka 'an* ناهيك عن ' not to mention', 'to say nothing of' is not strictly indefinite but is included here because it functions exactly as *faḍlan 'an* فضلا عن 'not to mention' etc.:

  ***nāhīka 'an** mu'tamari l-'aqalliyyāti wa-l-mutaṭarrifīna*
  ناهيك عن مؤتمر الأقلّيات والمتطرّفين
  '**not to speak of** the Minorities Conference and the extremists'

  ***nāhīka 'an**-i ftiqādihi 'ilā tanẓīmin siyāsiyyin yataḥammalu l-mas'ūliyyata fī ġiyābihi*
  ناهيك عن افتقاده إلى تنظيم سياسي يتحمّل المسؤولية في غيابه
  '**to say nothing of** his need for a political system which will bear the responsibility in his absence'

- *naẓaran li-* نظرا لـ 'in respect of', 'in view of'

  ***naẓaran li**-'adami wujūdi marāfiqa fī hāḏihi l-minṭaqati*
  نظرا لعدم وجود مرافق في هذه المنطقة
  '**in view of** the lack of facilities in this region'

  (cf. **12.6** on *'adam* عدم 'non-existence', 'lack')

  ***naẓaran li**-dawri l-maktabati fī l-mujtama'i l-madrasiyyi*
  نظرا لدور المكتبة في المجتمع المدرسي
  '**in view of** the role of the library in school society'

- *niyābatan 'an* نيابة عن 'in lieu of':

  *wa-qāma wazīru l-ḫārijiyyati **niyābatan 'an**-i l-ra'īsi bi-stiqbāli l-sufarā'i l-jududi*
  وقام وزير الخارجية نيابة عن الرئيس باستقبال السفراء الجدد
  'and the Minister of Foreign Affairs undertook **on behalf of** the president to receive the new ambassadors'

- *taba'an li-* تبعا لـ 'according to':

  taba'an li-*mā jā'at bihi 'awāmiruhu*
  تبعا لما جاءت به أوامره
  '**according to** what his orders brought'

  (for 'to bring', see **3.11.4.1**)

- *ṭibqan li-* طبقا لـ (see **2.7.39**) 'in accordance with'

  wa-yatimmu tawzī'u l-šuqaqi ***ṭibqan li-****l-šurūṭi l-mu'lani 'anhā*
  ويتمّ توزيع الشقق طبقا للشروط المعلن عنها
  'and the flats are distributed **in accordance with** the advertised conditions'

  (for impersonal passive, see **3.12.4**, and for *tamma* تمّ, see **3.23.1**)

2.5.8 *Adverbial phrases: prepositional phrases*

(▷C2:81, 253 for general treatment)

In addition to the expansion of the *nisba* نسبة type adverb(ial), there are many prepositional phrases with adverbial function. The class is completely open and only a selection of examples will be given here. The phrases occur in various patterns.

2.5.8.1 *bi-* بِـ 'in', 'with' (see **2.6.4**) + verbal or other nouns (▷C2:306)

The noun may be either definite (generic, see **1.12.3.1**) or indefinite (often so with verbal nouns, see **1.12.4.2**):

bi-l-taḥdīdi بالتحديد 'exactly'

bi-l-ta'kīdi بالتأكيد 'certainly'

bi-l-ḏāt بالذات (see **2.8.3.3**) 'none other than', 'itself'

bi-l-ṣudfati بالصدفة (cf. *ṣudfatan* صدفة) 'coincidentally'

bi-l-kāmili بالكامل 'completely'

bi-l-ṭab'i بالطبع 'of course'

bi-ẖāṣṣatin بخاصّة 'especially'

bi-darajatin kabīratin بدرجة كبيرة 'to a large degree'

bi-ẖtiṣārin باختصار 'briefly'

Example in context:

kuntu ’aḥmilu hāḏā l-mujallada ***bi-l-taḥdīdi***
كنت أحمل هذا المجلد بالتحديد
‘I was carrying **exactly** that volume’

2.5.8.2 *bi-* بـ + vague noun such as ‘form’, ‘shape’ + adjective

A wide range of adverbial expressions is rendered by *bi-šaklin* بشكل ‘in a . . . form, way’, *bi-ṣūratin* بصورة ‘in a . . . form’, *bi-ṣifatin* بصفة ‘in a . . . mode, capacity’ qualified by the appropriate adjective, easily translatable into the equivalent English adverb or adverbial phrase, thus *bi-šaklin* ***wāḍiḥin*** بشكل واضح ‘**clearly**’, lit. ‘in a clear way’, *bi-šaklin* ***ḥāsimin*** بشكل حاسم ‘**decisively**’, lit. ‘in a decisive way’.

This is an open class. Other examples are:

bi-šaklin ʿāmmin بشكل عامّ ‘generally’, *ḫāṣṣin* خاصّ ‘specifically’, *faʿʿālin* فعّال ‘effectively’, *mubāširin* مباشر ‘directly’, *mutazāyidin* متزايد ‘increasingly’, etc., although these and many other adjectives also go with the variants listed below.

The negative of this construction is formed with *ġayr* غير (see **2.9.2.3**), for example *bi-šaklin ġayri ʿādiyyin* بشكل غير عادي ‘in an unusual fashion’, ‘unusually’.

An expanded variant with adjectival (relative) clause (see **Chapter 5**):

bi-šaklin *yafūqu siʿra l-fāʾidati l-naqdiyyi*
بشكل يفوق سعر الفائدة النقدي
‘**in a way** which exceeds [namely, “exceeding”] the cash interest value’

bi-šaklin *yafḍaḥu bihi nafsahu*
بشكل يفضح به نفسه
‘**in a way** which shamed even him’ (cf. **3.13.1** for reflexives)

bi-šaklin *lā yūḥī bi-ʾunūṯatihā*
بشكل لا يوحي بأنوثتها
‘**in a way** which does not reveal her femininity’

With the various periphrastic indefinite constructions (see **1.12.4.1**):

bi-šaklin ***mā*** بشكل ما ‘in **some** form **or other**’
*bi-****ʾayyi*** *šaklin* ***min****-a l-ʾaškāli* بأيّ شكل من الأشكال ‘in **any** shape or form’

The following variants are listed without subcategories, though they mostly follow the pattern of *bi-šaklin* بشكل:

bi-ṣūratin بصورة 'in a . . . form'

bi-ṣūratin ***dā'imatin*** بصورة دائمة '**permanently**'

bi-ṣūratin ***'akbara*** بصورة أكبر 'in a **greater** way', i.e. 'more' (see elative **2.11.1**)

bi-ṣūratin ***lam yatawaqqa'hā*** *'aġlabu l-muntaḫibīna*
بصورة لم يتوقّعها أغلب المنتخبين 'in a way **which** the majority of the voters **did not expect**' (see **Chapter 5**)

bi-ṣifatin بصفة 'in a . . . mode', 'in a . . . capacity', in the latter sense as first element of annexation and usually with specifying complement (see **2.4.4**)

bi-ṣifatin ***ḫāṣṣatin***
بصفة خاصّة
'**specifically**'

bi-ṣifatihi ***ṯāliṯa*** *l-ḫulafā'i l-rāšidīna*
بصفته ثالث الخلفاء الراشدين
'in his capacity as **third** of the Rightly Guided Caliphs'

bi-ṣifatihi ***min-a l-šaḫṣiyyāti*** *l-qibṭiyyati l-ma'rūfati*
بصفته من الشخصيات القبطية المعروفة
'in his capacity **as one of** the well-known Coptic personalities'

(note partitive *min* من '[one] of', see **2.6.12**)

bi-waṣfi بوصف synonym of *bi-ṣifati* بصفة 'in the quality of', also often with specifying complement (see **2.4.4**):

bi-waṣfihi *muwāṭinan miṣriyyan*
بوصفه مواطنا مصريا
'**in his capacity** as an Egyptian citizen'

bi-waṣfi kawnihā *'āḫira 'a'mālihi*
بوصف كونها آخر أعماله
'**by virtue of its being** his last work'

(see *kawn* **3.16.2**)

Further examples:

bi-ṭarīqatin بطريقة 'in a . . . way'
bi-ṭarīqatin ***dīmūqrāṭiyyatin*** بطريقة ديموقراطية 'in a **democratic** way'
bi-wajhin بوجه 'in a . . . manner'
bi-wajhin ***'āmmin*** بوجه عامّ 'in **a general** way', 'generally'
bi-'uslūbin بأسلوب 'in a . . . style', definite or indefinite, also annexed
bi-'uslūbin ***mubāširin*** بأسلوب مباشر 'in a **direct** way'
bi-'uslūbi ***l-jazzāri*** بأسلوب الجزّار 'in the manner **of a butcher**', lit. 'the [generic] butcher'

2.5.8.3 There are many other prepositional phrases of which the following is only a selection (cf. also under the individual prepositions in **2.6**):

fī l-wāqi'i في الواقع 'in fact'
'alā ḥaddin sawā'in على حدّ سواء 'equally'
li-l-'asafi للأسف 'regrettably'

2.5.8.4 Time phrases (see 'times' in **2.14.5**)

min ḥīnin 'ilā ḥīnin من حين إلى حين 'from time to time'
min ḥīnin 'ilā/li 'āḫara من حين إلى\لآخر 'from time to time'
bayna l-ḥīni wa-l-ḥīni بين الحين والحين 'once in a while'
fī ba'ḍi l-'aḥyāni في بعض الأحيان 'sometimes'
fī nafsi l-waqti في نفس الوقت 'at the same time' (for *nafs* نفس, see **2.8.1**)
fī l-waqti nafsihi في الوقت نفسه 'at the same time'
fī l-waqti l-ḥāliyyi في الوقت الحالي 'at the present time'
fī 'ānin wāḥidin في آن واحد 'at the same time'
fī sālifi l-zamani في سالف الزمن 'in former times'
bayna l-faynati wa-l-'uḫrā بين الفينة والأخرى 'once in a while'
fī fatratin mā في فترة ما 'at one time or another', lit. 'period' (see **5.6.3**)

2.5.8.5 A group based on the word *i'tibār* اعتبار 'consideration' occurs in several forms, which will give an idea of the complex developments in conjunctions and adverbial phrases:

Dependent indefinite (cf. **2.5.7**) *i'tibāran min* اعتبارا من:

i'tibāran min *ba'di ġadin* اعتبارا من بعد غد '**with effect from** the day after tomorrow'
i'tibāran min *21 al-šahri l-ḥāliyyi* اعتبارا من ٢١ الشهر الحالي '**effective from** the 21st of this month'

Prepositional phrase *bi-'tibāri-* باعتبار either annexed to a single notion:

bi-'tibārihi *ḍaḥiyyatan*

باعتباره ضحية

'**by virtue of his being** a victim'

or to a statement (for verbs which take statements as double objects, see **3.11.2.4**):

bi-'tibārihi *ḥiṣnan li-l-difā'i 'an ḥurriyyatihim*

باعتباره حصنا للدفاع عن حرّيتهم

'**by virtue of its being** [topic as dep. pronoun suffix] a fortress [pred. as dep.] for the defence of their freedom'

Prepositional phrase *'alā 'tibāri* على اعتبار 'on the consideration that', usually annexed to statements (cf. **7.5.2.9**):

'alā 'tibāri *'annahum ḍuyūfun*

على اعتبار أنّهم ضيوف

'**on the consideration** that they are guests'

'iḍāfatan 'ilā [ḏālika] إضافة إلى [ذلك]

kānat taṭlubu min samīra ***'iḍāfatan 'ilā*** *'amali l-manzili 'an tusā'idahā fī tanẓīfi l-ḥadīqati*

كانت تطلب من سميرة إضافة إلى عمل المنزل أنْ تساعدها في تنظيف الحديقة

'she would ask of Samira that she help her clean the garden **in addition to** [doing] the housework'

2.5.9 *Adverbial process verbs*

The CA construction using (mainly) stem IV verbs (see **1.9.1.2**) to express the manner of an action (the latter expressed as the verbal noun in the position of direct or indirect object) is still productive (see further **3.23.4**). They invariably translate best as adverbs or as transferred epithets:

'aḥsana *taḥdīda l-ma'nā, wa-****'ajāda*** *taḥrīra l-jumali, wa-****'abda'a*** *fī l-ṣiyāġati*

أحسن تحديد المعنى، وأجاد تحرير الجمل، وأبدع في الصياغة

'he defined the topic **excellently**, constructed the sentences **well** and used an **eloquent** style', lit. 'he did well the defining . . . he did excellently the constructing . . . he acted eloquently in the style'

2.6 Prepositions (▷C2:253 for general treatment)

These are elements that correspond to the the class of true prepositions and also overlap the many phrasal prepositions in English such as 'at the back of', 'in front of'. The latter are all nominal in Arabic and will henceforth be labelled prepositionals to keep them separate from the true prepositions.

The distinction between the prepositions listed in **2.6.2** to **2.6.13** and the prepositionals listed in **2.7** is now hopelessly confused in the secondary literature, and the radical formal and functional differences between the two almost totally obscured. Formally, prepositions are underived elements (synchronically at least they lie outside the derivational system, cf. **1.6.12**), hence their Arabic name *ḥurūf al-jarr* حروف الجر 'particles of obliqueness', while all prepositionals are nouns, in Arabic *ẓurūf* ظروف 'space and time qualifiers' (see **2.4.3**). Prepositions have only one function, while prepositionals also function as adverbials (see **2.5**), as well as (mostly) retaining their original noun status in other contexts. Hence prepositionals may, like nouns (in principle, though seldom), be definite, for example *al-'amāmu* الأمامُ 'the front', indefinite, for example *'amāman sir* أماما سر 'Forward march!', diminutive (see **1.8.1.2**), for example *bu'ayda* بُعَيْدَ 'a little after' or be operated on by prepositions (but never by other prepositionals), for example *'ilā l-'amāmi* إلى الأمامِ 'to the front'.

In addition to the obvious formal differences, there is a major distributional/semantic distinction: only true prepositions can connect verbs with their indirect objects (cf. **3.11.4**), while prepositionals merely denote the environment in which the act occurs.

2.6.1 *Prepositions*

Prepositions, as their Arabic name indicates, are particles that precede the noun. Nouns following prepositions always take the oblique case. Individual prepositions are dealt with in **2.6.2–13**. Here are some general syntactic features common to them all.

2.6.1.1 When a preposition operates upon two or more nouns, the repetition of the preposition is optional so long as there is no structural or semantic reason for its being repeated (▷C2:256).

Repetition of preposition with noun:

*bi-l-nisbati **li**-l-niqābati wa-**li**-l-mihnati*
بالنسبة للنقابة وللمهنة
'with regard **to** the guild and **to** the profession'

***bi**-šaklayhi 'aw **bi**-maḍmūnayhi*
بشكليْه أو بمضمونيْه
'**in** its two forms or [**in** its] two contents'

Non-repetition with noun:

*'iḍāfatan 'ilā mašrū'in **li**-'iḥlāli l-mustašfā l-kuwaytiyyi bi-l-šāriqati wa-**binā'i** mustašfan jadīdin wa-l-**tawassu'i** fī mustašfā l-qāsimiyyi*
إضافة إلى مشروع لإحلال المستشفى الكويتي بالشارقة وبناء مستشفى جديد والتوسّع في مستشفى القاسمي
'as well as a project **for** relocating the Kuwaiti hospital in Sharjah and **building** a new hospital and **expanding** the Qasimi hospital'

Repetition of the preposition is compulsory when the coordinated item is a pronoun, as there are no free oblique pronouns (see **11.7.1**):

*taqḍī **'alay**nā wa-**'alay**hā*
تقضي علينا وعليها
'(which would) condemn **us** and **it**'

It is also common when the preposition conveys a different sense:

*hiya … al-muḥāmiyatu **bi**-l-dustūriyyati wa-**bi**-maḥkamati l-tamyīzi*
هي ... المحامية بالدستورية و بمحكمة التمييز
'she is …, the lawyer **of** constitutionality and **in** the court of appeal'

2.6.1.2 Prepositions with intransitive verbs (see **3.11.4**) are often omitted, though there is no discernible principle involved (▷C2:261):

rāġibu l-ištirāk راغب الاشتراك '(the one) desiring subscription'

(for *al-rāġibu **fī*** الراغب في)

Prepositions are also often omitted after *lā budda* لا بد, *lā šakka* لا شك, *lā ḥaraja* لا حرج (see **7.5.1.6** and **7.5.1.7**) (▷C2:261 and cf. 226, again in ▷C3:145).

Individual prepositions are listed below in English alphabetical order of transliteration, ignoring diacriticals. The meanings of a preposition can be classified into three: the basic, literal meaning; extensions of the literal meaning; and metaphorical meanings. In each section there will also be examples of compound prepositional phrases. Although the groupings here are based essentially on lexical rather than syntactic distinctions, this type of information is not found in such readily classifiable groups in Arabic dictionaries, and is provided here as a useful source of reference.

2.6.2 ‘alā على (▷C2:321) *‘on’, ‘over’, ‘above’*

- ‘over’, ‘on’, ‘above’:

  *wa-**‘alā** jānibay-i l-nīli fayḍun min-a l-ḍajīji*
  و على جانبي النيل فيض من الضجيج
  ‘and **on** both sides of the Nile (was) an abundance of noise’

  *’alqat ra’sahā **‘alā** l-sarīri*
  ألقت رأسها على السرير
  ‘she threw her head **upon** the bed’

  *wa-**‘alā** qasamātihā btisāmatun malā’ikiyyatun*
  وعلى قسماتها ابتسامة ملائكية
  ‘and **on** the features of her face (was) an angelic smile’

  (cf. inverted nominal sentence in **3.1.3**):

  *wajadtu mīrāy tajlisu **‘alā** maq‘adin bi-l-qurbi minnī*
  وجدت ميراي تجلس على مقعد بالقرب مني
  ‘I found Miray sitting **on** a seat near me’

- Obligation (▷C2:326) (cf. ‘must’ in **3.15.2**):

  ***‘alaynā** ’an na‘iya hāḏā*
  علينا أنْ نعي هذا
  ‘**we must** be aware of this’

  ***‘alā l-nisā’i** ’an yanalna l-’i‘jāba*
  على النساء أنْ ينلن الإعجاب
  ‘**women have to** win admiration’

Antonym of *li-* لـ ‘for’, etc. (see **2.6.10**) (▷C2:325) as in *ḥaqqa ‘alā* حقّ على ‘to deserve something (bad)’ and *ḥaqqa li-* حقّ لـ ‘to be entitled to’.

- Extended obligation, that is, bearing a sense of burden:

  *ḥayṯu nazalū jamī‘an fī funduqin **‘alā** nafaqati [l-dawlati]*
  حيث نزلوا جميعا في فندق على نفقة [الدولة]
  ‘where they all stayed in a hotel **at** the expense of [the state]’

  *wa-sa-yatimmu ’iṣlāḥu l-wujūdi **‘alā** yadayhi*
  وسيتمّ إصلاح الوجود على يديْه
  ‘putting the universe right will be carried out **at** his hands’

- Circumstances, states or conditions (▷C2:328):

  *li-daf‘inā ’ilā **mā kunnā ‘alayhi***
  لدفعنا إلى ما كنّا عليه
  ‘to push us towards **where we were**’

  *ḥattā lā tasū’a ḥālatu l-farīqi ’akṯara **mimmā hiya ‘alayhi***
  حتّى لا تسوء حالة الفريق أكثر ممّا هي عليه
  ‘so that the state of the team should not get worse **than it is**’

  *’iḏ ’anā **‘alā** tilka l-ḥālati min-a l-ka’ābati*
  إذْ أنا على تلك الحالة من الكآبة
  ‘since I was **in** that state of gloom’

  This category includes adversative phrases (▷C2:330) (for adversatives in circ. qual. clauses, see **7.3.2**):

  ***‘alā** ḫtilāfi ’anwā‘ihā*
  على اختلاف أنواعها
  ‘**with** all its different kinds’

- Location:

  *’aṯnā’a julūsihi **‘alā** maqhan*
  أثناء جلوسه على مقهى
  ‘whilst he was sitting **in** a coffee house’

- Direction (especially verbs like *daḫala* دخل ‘to enter’):

  *wa-daḫaltu **‘alā** l-ṭabībi wa-qultu lahu bi-dūni muqaddimātin*
  و دخلت على الطبيب و قلت له بدون مقدّمات
  ‘I went **into** the doctor and said to him without preliminaries’

- Temporal:

  hal ḥadaṯa ḏālika kulluhu ***‘alā madā*** *ḥamsatin wa-‘išrīna ‘āman?*
  هل حدث ذلك كلّه على مدى خمسة و عشرين عاما
  ‘did all of that occur **over a period of** twenty-five years?’

- With many phrases (see also **2.5.8.3**) of which the following are just a few examples:

  ‘alā l-aqalli على الأقل ‘at least’
  ‘alā l-naḥwi l-tālī على النحو التالي ‘in the following manner’
  ‘alā ḥaddi ta‘bīrihi على حدّ تعبيره ‘according to what he expressed’
  ‘alā l-’iṭlāqi على الإطلاق ‘totally’

- Preposition + noun as compound:

  ‘alā ’iṯri على إثر ‘following’ (see *’iṯra* إثر **2.7.22**)
  ‘alā ’asāsi على أساس ‘on the basis of’
  ‘alā ’asāsi *l-mušārakati fī l-qiyami* على أساس المشاركة في القيم
  ‘**on the basis of** sharing values’
  ‘alā niṭāqi على نطاق (cf. *fī niṭāq* في نطاق **2.6.5**) ‘on the scale of’
  ‘alā niṭāqi *niṣfi qarnin* على نطاق نصف قرن ‘**on a scale of** half a century’
  ‘alā niṭāqin *wāsi‘in* على نطاق واسع ‘**on a** wide **scale**’
  ‘alā sabīli على سبيل ‘by way of’
  ‘alā sabīli *l-miṯāli* على سبيل المثال ‘**by way of** example’

For *‘alā* على with the complementizer *’anna* أنّ, see **7.5.2.11**; also ▷C2:331)

2.6.3 ‘an عن (▷C2:276) *‘about’, ‘away from’, ‘on (topic)’*

- ‘about’, ‘on the subject of’:

  hāḏā ***‘an*** *‘alāqati l-šurṭati bi-l-quwā l-kubrā fī l-mujtama‘i*
  هذا عن علاقة الشرطة بالقوى الكبرى في المجتمع
  ‘this was (all) **about** relations between the police force and the major powers in society’

- With verbs in the sense of resistance:

  fī sabīli ***l-difā‘i ‘an*** *karāmatihim* في سبيل الدفاع عن كرامتهم
  ‘in order **to defend** their honour’

- or surpassing:

  *fa-**lā yatamayyazūna bi-šay'in 'an** 'awlādi l-fuqarā'i*
  فلا يتميّزون بشيء عن أولاد الفقراء
  '**they are in no way distinguishable from** the children of the poor'

  *wa-**lā yazīdu** jamāluhā **'an** darajatin maqbūlatin*
  و لا يزيد جمالها عن درجة مقبولة
  'her beauty **does not exceed** an acceptable degree'

(for *'an* عن with superlatives/comparatives, see **2.11.2.1**)

- or ceasing, refraining:

  *lam yakun hunāka sti'dādun li-**l-tanāzuli 'an**-i l-jawdati*
  لم يكن هناك استعداد للتنازل عن الجودة
  'there was no readiness to **compromise on** quality'

  ***ibta'adat 'an** dawwāmati al-'aḏābi*
  ابتعدت عن دوّامة العذاب
  '**she distanced herself from** the vortex of pain'

  *yajibu 'alā l-ṣā'imi 'an **yamtani'a 'an**-i l-tadẖīni*
  يجب على الصائم أنْ يمتنع عن التدخين
  'the fasting person must **refrain from** smoking'

Miscellaneous phrases

- *'an ṭarīq* عن طريق 'via':

  ***'an ṭarīqi** l-šabakati l-qawmiyyati*
  عن طريق الشبكة القومية
  '**via** the national network'

  ***'an ṭarīqi** mu'āwini l-sintrāl*
  عن طريق معاون السنترال
  '**via** the telephone operator'

'an عن + *mā* ما / *man* مَن

Combinations of *'an* عن + *mā* ما / *man* مَن sometimes contract into *'ammā* عمّا or *'amman* عمّن respectively (▷C2:256; **5.7**):

*wa-lam yasma'ū **'amman** yas'alu 'anhum*
و لم يسمعوا عمَّن يسأل عنهم
'they did not hear **about (anyone)** asking after them'

But contraction is optional:

'an mā qarībin *taftaḥu l-madārisu 'abwābahā*
عن ما قريب تفتح المدارس أبوابها
'**soon** schools will be opening their doors'

2.6.4 bi- بِـ (▷C2:298) *'in', 'at', 'with', 'by'*

- Locative with sense of 'in', 'at', 'within' (cf. *fī* في **2.6.5**):

  bi*-madrasati l-ṣabāḥiyyati l-ṯānawiyyati*
  بمدرسة الصباحية الثانوية
  '**at** the al-Sabah secondary school'

  al-maktabu llaḏī ya'malu ***bi****hi*
  المكتب الّذي يعمل به
  'the office he works **in**'

  bi*-kāfītiriyā l-funduqi l-kabīri*
  بكافتيريا الفندق الكبير
  '**in** the cafeteria of the large hotel'

  safīru dawlati l-kuwayti ***bi****-l-qāhirati*
  سفير دولة الكويت بالقاهرة
  'the Kuwaiti ambassador **in** Cairo'

- Can be interchanged with *fī* في 'in', see **2.6.5** (▷C2:299; 309):

  bi*-minṭaqatin rāqiyatin 'aw* ***fī*** *minṭaqatin ša'biyyatin*
  بمنطقة راقية أو في منطقة شعبية
  '**in** a developed region or **in** an ethnic region'

- Accompaniment (▷C2:301):

  bi*-ṣuḥbati zawjī*
  بصحبة زوجي
  '**in** the company of my husband'

  bi*-'azmin wa-ṯiqatin*
  بعزم وثقة
  '**with** determination and confidence'

bi-ri'āyati muḥammad bin rāšid
برعاية محمد بن راشد
'**under** the supervision of Mohammed bin Rashed'

*tanahhadtu **bi-**'asan 'amīqin*
تنهّدت بأسى عميق
'I sighed **with** deep sorrow'

For idiomatic *bi-* بـ with the verbs *jā'a* جاء and *'atā* أتى 'to come', *ḏahaba* ذهب 'to go' for 'bring' and 'take', see **3.11.4.1**:

***'atat** 'ilaynā **bi-**labanin wa-zabādī wa-jubnin wa-bayḍin wa-'aṣīrin*
أتت إلينا بلبن و زبادي و جبن و بيض و عصير
'she **brought** us milk, yoghurt, cheese, eggs and juice'

- Instrument (▷C2:303), 'with':

***bi-**kulli ṭāqatihi* بكلّ طاقته '**with** all his strength'
***bi-**yadin murta'išatin* بيد مرتعشة '**with** a shaking hand'
*masaḥat jabīnī **bi**hā* مسحت جبيني بها 'she wiped my forehead **with** it'

- Quantity/time expressions (cf. *fī* في 'in' **2.6.5**) (▷C2:306) (see numbers, etc. **2.12**):

*kuntu 'usāhimu fī mīzāniyyati l-'usrati **bi-**sab'ati junayhātin*
كنت أساهم في ميزانية الأسرة بسبعة جنيهات
'I used to contribute seven pounds to the family budget', lit. '**with** seven pounds'

*ištarāhā **bi-**ḫamsīna dūlāran*
اشتراها بخمسين دولارا
'he bought it **for** fifty dollars'

***bi-**ḥulūli l-'āmi l-jadīdi*
بحلول العام الجديد
'**at** the beginning of the new year'

***bi-**ḏāti l-waqti*
بذات الوقت
'**at** the same time'

*qabla ḥulūli tilka l-laḥẓati **bi-'asābī'a***
قبل حلول تلك اللحظة بأسابيع
'weeks before the arrival of that moment, lit. 'before … **by weeks**'

šaqīqatuhā llatī takburuhā ***bi-'a'wāmin qalīlatin***
شقيقتها الّتي تكبرها بأعوام قليلة
'her sister, who was **a few years** older than her'

fīmā ba'du ***bi****-kaṯīrin*
فيما بعد بكثير
'much later', lit. 'in what was later **by** much'

- For *bi-lā* بلا 'without' as a compound preposition (▷C2:308), only with indefinite nouns (see **4.1.6**):

  bi-lā *manhajin 'aw ḫuṭṭatin muktafiyatin*
  بلا منهج أو خطّة مكتفية
  '**without** a programme or an adequate plan'

- Phrases and prepositions + noun compounds with *bi-* بـ (▷C2:306) (for other *bi-* بـ phrases, see for example *bi-nafsi* بنفس **2.8.1.3**, *bi-'aynihi* بعينه **2.8.2.2**, *bi-'akmalihi* بأكمله **2.9.1.10**, *bi-* بـ with *laysa* ليس **4.2.8.1**, *ka'anna bi-* كأنّ بـ **5.9.9.4**, *'iḏā bi-* إذا بـ **3.31.1**, and *bi-* بـ in adverbial phrases, **2.5.6**):

  bi-ǰiwāri بجوار 'in the vicinity of' (see **2.7.25**)

  bi-ḥasabi بحسب 'according to' (see *ḥasaba* حسب **2.7.16**)

  bi-ḫuṣūṣi بخصوص 'concerning'

  bi-ḫuṣūṣi *l-muṣādarāti*
  بخصوص المصادرات
  '**concerning** the confiscations'

  bi-sababi بسبب 'by cause of'

  bi-sababi *jahlihi 'aw ta'aṣṣubihi*
  بسبب جهله أو تعصّبه
  '**because of** his ignorance or fanaticism'

  bi-sababi *wuṣūlihi mubāšaratan min dubayy#*
  بسبب وصوله مباشرة من دبي
  '**because of** his arrival directly from Dubai'

  bi-ḫilāfi بخلاف 'besides', 'contrary to' (see **2.7.18**)

  bi-ša'ni بشأن 'in the matter of', 'concerning'

  bi-ša'ni *ḥarbi l-ḫalīji*
  بشأن حرب الخليج
  '**in the matter of** the Gulf War'

bi-l-qurbi min بالقرب من 'near' (see *qurābata* قرابة, etc. **2.7.32**)

bi-l-nisbati li بالنسبة لـ 'with regard to' (see **11.1**)

***bi-l-nisbati li**-mawqifi l-muraššaḥayni*
بالنسبة لموقف المرشّحين
'**with regard to** the position of the two candidates'

***bi-l-nisbati li**-l-duwali l-mujāwirati*
بالنسبة للدول المجاورة
'**in relation to** the neighbouring states'

bi-qaṭ'i l-naẓari 'an بقطع النظر عن 'irrespective of', lit. 'by cutting off the gaze from'

***bi-qaṭ'i l-naẓari 'an** lawnihi 'aw dīnihi 'aw jinsihi*
بقطع النظر عن لونه أو دينه أو جنسه
'**irrespective of** his colour, religion or race'

bi-ṣarfi l-naẓari 'an بصرف النظر عن 'regardless of', lit. 'by averting the gaze from'

***bi-ṣarfi l-naẓari** 'an-i l-nuqūdi llatī 'indaka lī*
بصرف النظر عن النقود التي عندك لي
'**regardless of** the money you owe me' (see *li-* لـ **2.6.10** and *'alā* على **2.6.2** idioms for owing)

bi-ġaḍḍi l-naẓari 'an بغضّ النظر عن 'without taking into account', lit. 'by lowering the gaze from'

***bi-ġaḍḍi l-naẓari 'an** madā ṣiḥḥatihi*
بغضّ النظر عن مدى صحته
'**without taking into consideration** the extent of its authenticity'

2.6.5 fī في (▷C2:309) *'in', 'within', 'into'*

***fī** stiftā'in 'ajrathu l-jam'iyyatu l-'amrīkiyyatu li-l-mutaqā'idīna*
في استفتاء أجرته الجمعية الأمريكية للمتقاعدين
'**in** a poll carried out by the American Society for Retirees'

*tajūlu 'aynāya **fī 'arjā'i** l-makāni*
تجول عيناي في أرجاء المكان
'my eyes wandering **all over** the place'

fī *muḥīṭin min-a l-fasādi*
في محيط من الفساد
'**in** an ocean of corruption'

irmihi ***fī*** *l-ḥabsi*
اِرمه في الحبس
'throw him **into** prison'

wa-ka'annahu maṭmūrun ***fī*** *'asrāri l-rimāli*
و كأنّه مطمور في أسرار الرمال
'as though he were buried **in** the secrets of the sand'

(see *wa-ka'anna* وكأنّ **5.9.9.5**)

- *fī* في and *bi-* بـ, overlap (see under *bi-* بـ **2.6.4**; also ▷C2:298):

  quwwātu ḥilfi šamāli l-'aṭlasiyyi ***fī*** *kūsūfū*
  قوّات حلف شمال الأطلسي في كوسوفو
  'the North Atlantic Treaty forces **in** Kosovo'

  al-taḥawwulu l-dīmūqrāṭiyyu ***fī*** *'indūnīsyā*
  التحوّل الديموقراطي في إندونيسيا
  'the democratic transformation **in** Indonesia'

  mubtasiman ***fī*** *ḥayā'in wa-'adabin*
  مبتسما في حياء و أدب
  'smiling **in** shyness and politeness' (see **7.3.1**)

- with sense of 'at':

  fī *jāmi'ati hārfārd* في جامعة هارفارد '**at** Harvard University'

- *fī* في */bi-majāli* بمجال */ hāḏā l-ṣadadi* هذا الصدد:

  fī *majāli l-difā'i* في مجال الدفاع '**in** the field of defence'
  and ***bi-****majāli l-ṣaḥāfati* بمجال الصحافة '**in** the field of journalism'

  fī *hāḏā l-ṣadadi* في هذا الصدد /
  bi-*hāḏā l-ṣadadi* بهذا الصدد '**in** this connection'

- Time (see **2.14.6**; **2.14.7**):

  fī *mustahilli jawlatin 'ūrūbiyyatin ḫalījiyyatin*
  في مستهلّ جولة أوروبية خليجية
  '**at** the beginning of a European–Gulf tour'

fī *'āmi sittatin wa-sittīna*
في عام ستّة و ستّين
'**in** the year of 66'

- Proportion and multiplication (see **2.12**):

  *yā sayyidī ṯalāṯa# **fī** ṯalāṯa# tusāwī tis'a# . . . kānat kaḏālika fī-l-māḍī wa-sa-taẓallu*
  يا سيّدي ثلاثة في ثلاثة تساوي تسعة . . . كانت كذلك في الماضي و ستظل
  'my friend, three **times** three equals nine . . . it was like that in the past and it will remain so'

- 'about', 'on', 'in' (contrast *'an* عن **2.6.3**):

  *līsāns **fī** jirāḥati ṭibbi l-'asnāni*
  ليسانس في جراحة طب الأسنان
  'a diploma **in** dental surgery'

- Preposition + noun as compound:

  fī 'aṯnā'i في أثناء 'during' (see *'aṯnā'* أثناء **2.7.5**)

  fī ḥālati في حالة 'in the case that', 'in the event that' (i.e. should . . .)

  ***fī ḥālati** wujūdi ḫaṭarin* في حالة وجود خطر 'should [lit. "**in the case that**"] any danger exist'

  ***fī ḥālati** wujūdi ḥaẓrin 'alā bay'i l-sayyārāti* في حالة وجود حظر على بيع السيارات 'should there be an embargo on the selling of cars', lit. 'in the case of the existence of'

  fī ḥudūdi في حدود 'within'

  ***fī ḥudūdi** 3 šuhūrin* في حدود ٣ شهور '**within** 3 months'

  fī 'iṭāri في إطار 'in the framework of'

  ***fī 'iṭāri** ḥirṣi l-ra'īsi* في إطار حرص الرئيس '**in the framework of** the president's eagerness'

  ***fī 'iṭari** bay'i kulli mā huwa ḥukūmiyyun wa-qiṭā'un 'āmmun*
  في إطار بيع كلّ ما هو حكومي و قطاع عامّ '**in the framework** of selling everything that is governmental or public sector'

fī ḫilāli في خلال ‘during’ (see *ḫilāla* خلال **2.7.19**)

fī ḫuṣūṣi في خصوص ‘regarding’

fī ḫuṣūṣi *’ahli l-ḏimmati* في خصوص أهل الذمّة ‘**regarding** protected people’

fī niṭāqi في نطاق ‘within the scope of’:

(cf. *‘alā niṭāq* على نطاق **2.6.2**)

fī niṭāqi *l-’a‘māli l-mašrū‘ati* في نطاق الأعمال المشروعة ‘**within the scope of** lawful activities’

fī majāli في مجال ‘in the field, area of’:

fī majāli *taqwīmi l-’asnāni* في مجال تقويم الأسنان ‘**in the field of** orthodontics’, lit. ‘straightening teeth’

fī majāli *ta‘līmi l-’aṭfāli wa-l-šabābi* في مجال تعليم الأطفال و الشباب ‘**in the field of** teaching children and youths’

fī sabīl في سبيل ‘in the interest of’ (with *’an* أن see **7.5.1.11**):

fī sabīli *l-difā‘i ‘an karāmatihim* في سبيل الدفاع عن كرامتهم ‘**in the interest of** defending their honour’

For *fīmā* فيما phrases (▷C2:314), see *mā* ما at **5.7.**

2.6.6 ḥattā حتّى (▷C2:296) *‘until’*

(See also conjunctions [‘even’] **6.11** and subordinate clauses **7.6.7**)

ḥattā حتّى conveys sense of ‘until’ (also ‘even’) which derives from its original meaning of ‘up to and [possibly] including a specific point’:

ḥattā *’āḫiri qaṭrati dimā’in*
حتّى آخر قطرة دماء
‘**until** the last drop of blood’ [idiomatic plur. ‘bloods’]

*munḏu fajri l-’islāmi wa-****ḥattā*** *yawminā haḏā*
منذ فجر الإسلام و حتّى يومنا هذا
‘since the dawn of Islam and **up to** this day of ours’

lan yufāriqahu ***ḥattā*** *l-mawti*
لن يفارقه حتّى الموت
‘will not leave him **until** his death’

2.6.7 ’ilā إلى (▷C2:290) *‘to’, ‘as far as’*

‘to’, ‘as far as’, derived from its original sense of ‘up to a specific point’ (contrast *ḥattā* حتّى **2.6.6**):

*bad’an min-a l-nujū‘i wa-l-kufūri **’ilā** l-‘awāṣimi l-kubrā*

بدءا من النجوع و الكفور إلى العواصم الكبرى

‘beginning with the hamlets and small villages **up to** the big capital cities’

***al-wuṣūlu ’ilā** ttifāqiyyatin*

الوصول إلى اتّفاقية

‘**coming to** an agreement’

*fa-qad-i rtafa‘a ‘adadu l-suyyāḥi **’ilā** dubayy*

فقد ارتفع عدد السيّاح إلى دبي

‘the number of visitors **to** Dubai has grown’

- Verbs expressing motion, either physically or metaphorically:

  *sa-**’aḏhabu ’ilā** l-ḍaffati l-ġarbiyyati*

  سأذهب إلى الضفّة الغربية

  ‘I shall **go to** the West Bank’

  ***ḏahaba ’ilā hunāka** li-dirāsati l-ṭibbi*

  ذهب إلى هناك لدراسة الطبّ

  ‘**he went there** to study medicine’, lit. ‘to there’

  *fa-hiya **tušīru** min jihatin **’ilā** l-‘anāṣiri l-ḥaḍāriyyati l-ṯābitati*

  فهي تشير من جهة إلى العناصر الحضارية الثابتة

  ‘so **it indicates** on the one hand the established civilizational elements’

  ***tabi‘nā**hu **’ilā** ṣālati l-istiqbāli*

  تبعناه إلى صالة الاستقبال

  ‘**we followed** him **to** the reception hall’

- Juxtaposition with *min* من:

  *fa-tahra‘u **min** hunā wa-tarkuḍu **’ilā** hunāka*

  فتهرع من هنا و تركض إلى هناك

  ‘so she would rush **from** here and run [**to**] there’

- With sense of *ḥattā* حتّى that is, 'until' (see **2.6.6**):

  *tarāja'at 'an-i rtidā'i l-ḥijābi **'ilā** mā ba'da nihāyati 'arḍi masraḥiyyati 'šāri' Muḥammad 'Alī'*

  تراجعت عن ارتداء الحجاب إلى ما بعد نهاية عرض مسرحية 'شارع محمد علي'

  'she refrained from putting on the veil **until** after the end of the play "Muhammad Ali Street"'

  ***'ilā l-'āna** mā ziltu lā 'uḥibbu l-samaka* (note: not *'ilā l-'āni* **1.8.7.3**)

  إلى الآن ما زلت لا أحبّ السمك

  '**until now** I still do not like fish'

- 'in addition to':

  *wa-lākinnaka **'ilā ḏālika** 'alā maw'idin ma'a […]*

  و لكنّك إلى ذلك على موعد مع (...)

  'but you are, **in addition to that**, on an appointment with […]'

  *wa-**mā 'ilā ḏālika** min ḫadamātin*

  و ما إلى ذلك من خدمات

  'and **other additional** services'

- Interchanged with *li-* لـ (▷C2:282). Verbs that used to take the preposition *'ilā* إلى, and also some phrases, are now commonly found with *li-* لـ:

  ***'addat li-**taḥṭīmihā l-kāmili*

  أدّت لتحطيمها الكامل

  '**led to** its complete destruction'

  yuwajjihūna** 'abṣārahum **li-'a'lā

  يوجّهون أبصارهم لأعلى

  '**they direct** their eyes **upwards**'

  ***inḍimāmuhā li-**munaẓẓamati l-yūnisīf*

  انضمامها لمنظّمة اليونيسيف

  '**its** attaching itself **to** the UNICEF organization'

  ***uḍṭurra** mu'aḫḫaran **li-**'ilġā'i 'arḍi l-masraḥiyyati*

  اضطر مؤخرا لإلغاء عرض المسرحية

  '**he was forced** recently **to** cancel the performance of the play'

  ***'ilā** l-'amāmi* إلى الأمام / ***li-**l-'amāmi* للأمام 'forward', 'to the fore'

2.6.8 ka- كـ 'like', 'as' (▷C2:338)

- Original sense of comparison:

  *lajnatun rafī'atu l-mustawā **ka**-hāḏihi*
  لجنة رفيعة المستوى كهذه
  'a high-level committee **like** this one'

  ***ka**-l-'ādati*
  كالعادة
  '**as** usual', lit. 'like the custom'

- With sense of 'as' as a neologism, probably a calque (▷C2:339) (cf. spec. comp. **2.4.4**):

  *dawru l-majlisi **ka**-kullin*
  دور المجلس ككلّ
  'the role of the parliament **as** a whole'

  *lam yakun muwaffaqan **ka**-mulaḥḥinin*
  لم يكن موفّقا كملحّن
  'he was not successful **as** a composer'

  *istiḫdāmu 'arāḍīhā **ka**-nuqṭati nṭilāqin*
  استخدام أراضيها كنقطة انطلاق
  'the use of its territories **as** a take-off point'

  *bada'a 'amalahu **ka**-ṭabībi taḫdīrin*
  بدأ عمله كطبيب تخدير
  'he began his work **as** an anaesthetist', lit. 'doctor of narcotization'

  *'indamā yata'allaqu l-'amru bi-mawḍū'in **ka**-l-turāṯi*
  عندما يتعلّق الأمر بموضوع كالتراث
  'when the issue is related to a subject **such as** heritage'

2.6.9 ladā لدى 'with', 'amongst', 'upon'

In MWA *ladā* لدى conveys a general sense of presence or possession and is sometimes used where one might expect to find *'inda* عند (see **2.7.21**) or even *li-* لـ (see **2.6.10**). *ladā* لدى in its sense of possession has been

associated historically more with abstract than concrete things, and its usage in MWA confirms this distinction:

ladā *mušāhadatihim manẓaran jamīlan*
لدى مشاهدتهم منظرا جميلا
'**[up]on** their seeing a beautiful sight'

al-safīru l-miṣriyyu ***ladā*** *dimašqa*
السفير المصري لدى دمشق
'the Egyptian ambassador **to** Damascus'

ladā *l-ḥukūmati*
لدى الحكومة
'**with** the government'

fa -'inna l-kalimata l-šā'i'ata wa-l-mutadāwalata ***ladā*** *jamī'i l-fuqahā'i hiya*
فإنّ الكلمة الشائعة و المتداولة لدى جميع الفقهاء هي
'so the prevailing and widely acknowledged word **amongst** all jurists (on this) is'

Idiomatic meaning 'to have':

ladayhi *l-kaṯīru min-a l-humūmi*
لديه الكثير من الهموم
'**he has** a lot of concerns'

ladayhi *'asbābuhu*
لديه أسبابه
'**he has** his reasons'

*wa-***ladā l-yamani** *ṯalāṯatu maṭārātin ra'īsiyyatin fī ṣan'ā'a wa-'adanin wa-ta'izza*
ولدى اليمن ثلاثة مطارات رئيسية في صنعاء و عدن و تعز
'and **Yemen has** three main airports in San'a, Aden and Taizz'

2.6.10 li- لـ *'belonging to', 'for the purpose of'* (▷C2:282)

- belonging to, that is, 'to have' (▷C2:286) (for future and past see *kāna* كان, **3.16.3.1**)

  wa-hiya waḥdahā ***lahā*** *šaklun ḫāṣṣun mumayyazun*
  و هي وحدها لها شكل خاصّ مميّز
  '**it** (fem. topic) **alone** has a special, characteristic form'

*kunnā ṯalāṯatan . . . **li-kullin minnā** ḥujratun*
كنّا ثلاثة . . . لكلّ منا حجرة
'there were three of us . . . **each one of us had** a room'

*wa-**li-kulli minṭaqatin** lahjatuhā*
و لكلّ منطقة لهجتها
'and **each region has** its (own) dialect'

***lahu** banūna fī l-jāmi'ati wa-bnun wa-bnatun fī l-marḥalati l-ṯānawiyyati*
له بنون في الجامعة و ابن و ابنة في المرحلة الثانوية
'**he has** sons in the university and a son and daughter at the secondary stage'

- Antonym of *'alā* على (see **2.6.2**; ▷C2:284)

*lahum miṯlu mā **li**-l-muslimīna wa-'alayhim miṯlu mā 'alā l-muslimīna*
لهم مثل ما للمسلمين و عليهم مثل ما على المسلمين
'they have the same rights as **[for]** Muslims and they have the same duties as Muslims'

- 'on account of', 'because of', 'in order to' (see also **7.6.1.5**):

***li**-'aybin fīhā*
لعيب فيها
'**because of** some fault in herself'

***li-ḏā** 'udda min-a l-kabā'iri*
لذا عُدّ من الكبائر
'**for this [reason]** it is reckoned (to be) one of the major sins'

***li**-baḥṯi l-mawqifi*
لبحث الموقف
'**in order to** investigate the position'

***li**-stiqbāli muwaẓẓafī l-dawlati*
لاستقبال موظفّي الدولة
'**to** receive state employees'

*ḥaqībatun kabīratun 'uḫaṣṣiṣuhā **li**-naqli l-kutubi*
حقيبة كبيرة أخصّصها لنقل الكتب
'a large bag which I use exclusively **for** carrying books'

- Paraphrase of annexation structures for general sense of possession (see **2.3.5**):
- When subject is definite:

  *sūqu l-kuwayti **li**-l-'awrāqi l-māliyyati*
  سوق الكويت للأوراق المالية
  'the Kuwaiti stock market', lit. **'for** stocks'

- Or indefinite:

  *qā'ātun **li**-l-'anšiṭati l-ṯaqāfiyyati*
  قاعات للأنشطة الثقافية
  'halls **for** cultural activities'

Interchanged with *'ilā* إلى (see **2.6.7**):

*al-wuṣūlu **'ilā** ttifāqiyyatin* الوصول إلى اتفاقية / *al-wuṣūlu **li**-ttifāqiyyatin*
الوصول لاتفاقية
'arriving **at** an agreement'

- Indicating authorship:

  *wa-kitābun ṣaġīrun **li**-mawlānā muḥyī l-dīn ibn 'arabī*
  و كتاب صغير لمولانا محيي الدين ابن عربي
  'and a small book **by** our master Muhyi al-Din Ibn Arabi'

  *lam 'akun qad qara'tu **lahu***
  لم أكن قد قرأت له
  'I had not read anything **by him**'

- Temporal (see **2.6.4** and **2.6.5**; **2.14.5**):

  ***li**-'awwali marratin* لأوّل مرة '**for** the first time'

- Idioms:

  li-l-ġāyati للغاية
  *muhimmun **li-l-ġāyati*** مهمّ للغاية '**extremely** important', lit. '**to the extreme**'
  *al-yūsuf **li**-l-tawzī'i* اليوسف للتوزيع 'The Yūsuf Distribution [Co.]'
  *al-ṭāwūs **li**-'a'māli l-liḥāmi* الطاووس لأعمال اللحام 'al-Tawoos **for** welding jobs'

2.6.11 ma‘a مع *‘with’, ‘in spite of’* (▷C2:315; **1.6.12**)

- Standard sense of ‘with’, normally physical accompaniment:

  ma‘a *zumalā’ihi* مع زملائه ‘**with** his colleagues’

  tarakanī ***ma‘ahu*** تركني معه ‘he left me **with him**’

  naša’a ***ma‘a*** *l-‘usrati* نشأ مع الأسرة ‘he grew up **with** the family’

- Other shades of ‘with’, ‘association’ or ‘connection’, ‘at the time of’, ‘together with’:

  allatī bada’at ***ma‘a*** *’intāji l-jīli l-’awwali min-a l-’ajhizati*
  الّتي بدأت مع إنتاج الجيل الأوّل من الأجهزة
  ‘which began **with** the production of the first generation of appliances’

  baynamā l-mubāḥaṯātu jāriyatun ḥāliyyan ***ma‘a*** *šarikātin fī l-’urdunni wa-’īrāna*
  بينما المباحثات جارية حاليا مع شركات في الأردنّ و إيران
  ‘whilst talks are currently taking place **with** companies in Jordan and Iran’

  wa-namā ***ma‘a*** *al-zamani*
  ونما مع الزمن
  ‘and grew **with** time’

  tammat ***ma‘a*** *ḫtifā’i l-šāṭi’i*
  تمّت مع اختفاء الشاطئ
  ‘it ended **with** the disappearance of the coast’

  intahat ***ma‘a*** *nihāyati l-qarni l-tāsi‘a ‘ašara*
  انتهت مع نهاية القرن التاسع عشر
  ‘it ended **at** the end of the nineteenth century’

- Physical possession (▷C2:316) (cf. *ladā* لدى **2.6.9**):

  ma‘ī *l-’āna 71,5 frank*
  معي الآن ٧١.٥ فرنك
  ‘[I have] **with me** seventy-one and a half francs’

- Adversative (▷C2:317)

  with nouns:

  ma‘a *šakkinā fī*……مع شكّنا في ‘**in spite of** our doubting…’

with nominalized clauses (see **7.5.2.11**):

*wa-**ma‘a ’annanā** qad šaraḥnā hāḏihi l-wijhata min-a l-naẓari bi-tafṣīlin … fa-’inna al-nuṣūṣa*
و مع أنّنا قد شرحنا هذه الوجهة من النظر بتفصيل . . . فإنّ النصوص
‘and **although we** have explained this point of view in detail … the texts’

- Collocations with (mainly) stem VI verbs (cf. **3.11.4**). Some of these are perhaps natural, others possibly calques (see *ba‘ḍ* بعض **2.9.1.3** and reciprocals **3.14**):

***al-tajāwubu ma‘a** kulli mā ya’tīnā min-a l-ḫāriji*
التجاوب مع كل ما يأتينا من الخارج
‘**responding to** everything that comes to us from abroad’

- Dependent invariable *ma‘an* معا as object qualifier:

*ṣa‘idnā l-bāṣa **ma‘an***
صعدنا الباص معا
‘we got on the bus **together**’

*rajulun kabīrun wa-miskīnun **ma‘an***
رجل كبير و مسكين معا
‘an old man and wretched **at the same time**’ (see **2.4.8**)

2.6.12 min من *‘from’, ‘of’*

(▷C2:262, 272; see also under negatives **4.1.1**; (adj.) relative structures **5.4.4**; rhetorical questions **10.2**; or in comparative, ▷C2:273; also for *af‘al* أفعل syntax in comparison, especially ‘too’, see **2.11.2** and **2.11.11**)

- Physical point of departure:

***min** swīndūn fī l-mamlakati l-muttaḥidati ’ilā dubayy*
من سويندون في المملكة المتّحدة إلى دبي
‘**from** Swindon in the United Kingdom to Dubai’

*hiya **min-a l-ḫāriji** wāḍiḥatun mumayyazatun ka-l-wujūhi l-bašariyyati wa-**min-a l-dāḫili** fa-hiya ġayru maḥjubatin ‘annā*
هي من الخارج واضحة مميّزة كالوجوه البشرية ومن الداخل فهي غير محجوبة عنا
‘**from outside** she was clearly distinguishable like human faces and **from inside** she was not concealed from us’

- Partitive (▷C2:18, 266):

ṯamānūna milyāran ***min****-a l-dūlārāti*
ثمانون مليارا من الدولارات
'eighty billion **[of]** dollars' (see **2.12.14**)

al-'adīdu ***min****-a l-mašrū'āti l-mustaqbaliyyati*
العديد من المشروعات المستقبلية
'a number **of** future projects'

kawkabatun ***min*** *rijāli l-'i'lāmi wa-l-ṣaḥāfati*
كوكبة من رجال الإعلام والصحافة
'a group **of** men of the media and journalism'

'amīrun ***min****-a l-'umarā'i*
أمير من الأمراء
'a certain prince', lit. 'a prince **of** the princes' (see **1.12.4.1**)

*wa-****min*** *'injāzātihi fī haḏā l-ṣadadi*
و من إنجازاته في هذا الصدد
'and **among** his achievements in this connection'

*wa-****min****-a l-jadīdi 'ayḍan*
و من الجديد أيضا
'and also new', lit. 'and **among** the new'

- Subset with partitive *min* من:

fa-laysa hunāka ***min*** *'aflāmin 'insāniyyatin ḏakiyyatin*
فليس هناك من أفلام إنسانية ذكية
'there are not any clever humanistic films', lit. 'there is not **of** clever humanistic films' (see neg. **4.2.8.1**)

wa-lam 'ajid ***min*** *ḥīlatin*
و لم أجد من حيلة
'and I found no ruse', lit. 'did not find **of** a ruse' (see negative, **4.2**)

lam ya'ṯur 'alā wajhin wāḥidin ***min****-a l-wujūhi l-qadīmati*
لم يعثر على وجه واحد من الوجوه القديمة
'he did not come across any **of** the old faces'

fī hāḏihi l-marḥalati ***min****-a l-'amali l-niqābiyyi*
في هذه المرحلة من العمل النقابي
'at this stage **of** the trade unionist activity'

- Explanatory (▷C2:263 'epexegetic'):

  'adā'u l-takālīfi l-māliyyati ***min*** *ḥarājin wa-ḍarā'iba*
  أداء التكاليف المالية من خراج و ضرائب
  'payment of financial obligations **by way of** land tax and income taxes'

  bi-kulli mā yaḥwīhi ***min*** *ḥuznin wa-'asan šafīfin*
  بكلّ ما يحويه من حزن و أسى شفيف
  'with all the transparent grief and sadness it contained', lit. 'with all that it contains **of** sadness and grief' (see *mā … min* ما . . . من **5.4**)

  ta'ṯīru l-mīdiyā ***min*** *ṣaḥāfatin wa-'iḏā'atin wa-tilifiziyūnin*
  تأثير الميديا من صحافة و إذاعة و تلفزيون
  'the influence of the media **such as** journalism, radio and television'

- Temporal point of departure:

  nasma'u ***min*** *ḥīnin 'ilā 'āḫara*
  نسمع من حين إلى آخر
  'we hear **from** time to time'

  *wa-****min*** *ṯamma 'ilā majlisi l-wuzarā'i*
  ومن ثمّ إلى مجلس الوزراء
  'then [lit. "and **from** there"] to the cabinet'

- Point of origin of cause:

  irta'ada l-rajulu ***min*** *'unfi ḏuhūlihi*
  ارتعد الرجل من عنف ذهوله
  'the man shook **from** [lit "on account of"] the severity of his astonishment'

  'araftuhu ***min*** *malāmiḥihi*
  عرفته من ملامحه
  'I knew him **from** his features'

- As part of prepositional phrase:

  min qibali من قِبَل 'by' (for periphrastic agreement of passive verbs, see **3.12.1**)

  ṣadara 'amrun bi-man'ihā min-a l-safari ***min qibali*** *l-maḥkamati*
  صدر أمر بمنعها من السفر من قِبَل المحكمة
  'an order to prevent her from travelling was issued **by** the court'

- In expressions such as *min ġayri šakkin* من غير شكّ 'without doubt':

  wa-yusajjilu l-tārīḫu li-l-muslimīna ***min ġayri 'adnā šakkin*** *ḥirṣahum ʿalā* . . .
  ويسجّل التاريخ للمسلمين من غير أدنى شكّ حرصهم على . . .
  'and history records for Muslims **without the slightest doubt** their desire for . . .'

- Preposition *min* من + noun in compounds (▷C2:260) (see *min baʿdi* من بعد **2.7.6**). The preposition *min* من, like *bi-* بـ, frequently forms compound prepositional structures.

  min ʿalā من على 'from off', lit. 'from on' (*ʿalā* على being originally a noun)

  yarfaʿu naẓẓāratahu l-ṭibbiyyata ***min ʿalā*** *'anfihi*
  يرفع نظّارته الطبّية من على أنفه
  'he lifts his prescription glasses **from off** his nose', lit. 'from on'

  min jānibi من جانب (and *bi-jānibi* بجانب) 'on the part of'

  min jānibi *l-'aṭrāfi l-mutafāwiḍati*
  من جانب الأطراف المتفاوضة
  '**on the part of** the negotiating parties'

  al-'istrātījiyyatu llatī stuḫdimat ***min jānibi*** *l-muraššaḥīna*
  الإستراتيجية الّتي اُستخدمت من جانب المرشّحين
  'the strategy used **on the part of** the candidates'

  min 'ajli من أجل 'for the sake of'

  min 'ajli *taṭwīri l-taʿlīmi l-jāmiʿiyyi*
  من أجل تطوير التعليم الجامعي
  '**for the sake of** developing university education'

  min 'ajli *ziyādati l-iddiḫāri*
  من أجل زيادة الادّخار
  '**for the sake of** increasing savings'

  min ḥawli من حول 'around' (for *ḥawla* حول 'around', see **2.7.17**)

  al-'umūru ***min ḥawlinā*** الأمور من حولنا 'things **around us**'

  min ḫilāli من خلال 'through' (for *ḫilāla* خلال 'within', 'during', see **2.7.19**)

  min ḫilāli *fatḥi majālātin jadīdatin*
  من خلال فتح مجالات جديدة
  '**through** the opening of new fields'

min nāḥiyati من ناحية ‘from the point of view of’

min nāḥiyati *l-misāḥāti wa-‘adadi l-sukkāni*
من ناحية المساحات و عدد السكّان
‘**from the point of view of** area and population’,

min-a l-nāḥiyati *l-naẓariyyati*
من الناحية النظرية
‘**from the** theoretical **point of view**’

min taḥti من تحت ‘from under’, etc. (see *taḥta* تحت ‘under’, ‘underneath’, **2.7.36**) (▷C2:351)

yastaṭī‘u ’an ya’tiya bihi ***min taḥti*** *l-’arḍi*
يستطيع أنْ يأتي به من تحت الأرض
‘he can bring it **from under** the earth [i.e. from impossible places]’

An exception to the above are those adverbs ending in ‘u’, i.e. *qablu* قبلُ, *ba‘du* بعدُ and *ḥayṯu* حيث:

al-taṭawwurātu l-duwaliyyatu l-rāhinatu ***min ḥayṯu*** *ntihā’i l-ḥarbi l-bāridati*
التطوّرات الدولية الراهنة من حيث انتهاء الحرب الباردة
‘current international developments **in terms of** the ending of the Cold War’ (see **7.6.9.4**)

2.6.13 munḏu منذ *‘ago’, ‘since’*

(▷C2:344; and see **7.6.8** for *munḏu* منذ as a conjunction with and without *’an* أنْ; also **6.2.7** and **7.3.2** for *munḏu* منذ with *wa-* و. The distribution of *muḏ* مذ appears to be restricted mainly to verbs in MWA, see **7.6.8** also)

munḏu منذ with temporal meaning of ‘from a certain time’, ‘ago’ or ‘since’ (noun either definite or indefinite) (see also in dates and times):

munḏu *sanawātin* منذ سنوات ‘years **ago**’, ‘**for** years’

munḏu *bidāyati l-ḥamlati l-intiḫābiyyati* منذ بداية الحملة الانتخابية
‘**since** the beginning of the election campaign’

munḏu *ṣiġarī* منذ صغري ‘**since** my childhood’

with *ḥāttā* حتّى and *'ilā* إلى (▷C2:346) (see **2.6.6** and **2.6.7**)

munḏu *bad'i l-ḥalīqati* ***ḥattā*** *'aṣrinā hāḏā*
منذ بدء الخليقة حتّى عصرنا هذا
'**from** the beginning of creation **until** this era of ours'

munḏu l-ṣabāḥi l-bākiri 'ilā muntaṣafi l-layli
منذ الصباح الباكر إلى منتصف الليل
'from the early morning **until** midnight'

2.7 Prepositionals

The preposition(al)s (for definition, see **2.6** and **2.6.1**) below are in English alphabetical order of transliteration, ignoring diacriticals and the difference between [ʻ] and [']. The preposition(al)s are an open class. Although the following list contains many of the more common ones, there are others such as *šaṭra* شطرَ 'in the middle of', *badāla* بدالَ 'instead of', *ḥiḏā'a* حذاءَ 'alongside', *tilqā'a* تلقاءَ 'towards', to name but a few. The following noun is always in oblique case.

The prepositionals are often reinforced by prepositions to make compound prepositions, for example *bi-dūni* بدون 'without' (see **2.7.11**), a feature that is becoming increasingly common in MWA (▷C2:260, 275). If there is a reason for this development, it may lie in the gradual erosion of the oblique elements as case endings disappear in normal reading (cf. **1.2.8**, **1.2.9**), compensated for by an explicit preposition to assure that the phrase will be recognized as having that function.

Adverbial compounds may also be operated upon by a preposition (▷C2:261): ***min*** *yawmi'iḏin* من يومئذ '**from** that day'.

2.7.1 'abra عبر *'through', 'by means of', 'via'*

'abra *l-nāfiḏati* عبر النافذة '**through** the window'

'abra *mawjāti l-rādiyū l-mutawassiṭati* عبر موجات الراديو المتوسّطة
'**by** medium-wave radio',

'abra *l-'aqmāri l-ṣinā'iyyati* عبر الأقمار الصناعية '**via** satellite'

For *'abra* عبر as first element of compound nouns 'trans-', see **12.7.1**.

2.7.2 'amāma أمام *'in front of'*

*wa-taqifu qalīlan **'amāma** l-ḫaymati*
وتقف قليلا أمام الخيمة
'and she would stop briefly **in front of** the tent'

*waqafat al-mirsīdis al-sawdā'u **'amāma** l-kāzīnū*
وقفت المرسيدس السوداء أمام الكازينو
'the black Mercedes stopped **in front of** the casino'

2.7.3 'aqiba عقب *'after' with sense of 'subsequent to'*

(also *'alā 'aqibi* على عقب)

***'aqiba** fawzihi* عقب فوزه '**after** his victory'
***'aqiba** taṣ'īdi l-'azmati* عقب تصعيد الأزمة '**after** the escalation of the crisis'
***'aqiba** l-muqābalati* عقب المقابلة '**after** the meeting'

2.7.4 'asfala أسفل *'underneath', 'at the bottom of'*

*tārīḫu l-'intāji **'asfala** l-'ulbati*
تاريخ الإنتاج أسفل العلبة
'the date of production is **on the bottom of** the container',

*'aḥdaṯa ḥafratan 'amīqatan **'asfala** l-sayyārati*
أحدث حفرة عميقة أسفل السيّارة
'[which] caused a deep hole **underneath** the car'

2.7.5 'aṯnā'a أثناء *'during', 'while'*

***'aṯnā'a** l-mubārāti*
أثناء المباراة
'**during** the match'

***'aṯnā'a** julūsihi 'alā l-maqhā*
أثناء جلوسه على المقهى
'**while** he was sitting in the café', lit. '**during** his sitting'

fī ’aṯnā’i في أثناء ‘during the course of’

fī ’aṯnā’i *wilāyatihi ‘alā miṣra*
في أثناء ولايته على مصر
‘**during** his government of Egypt’

2.7.6 ba‘da بعد (▷C2:340) *‘after’*

- Temporal:

  ba‘da *‘awdatī ’ilā l-qāhirati*
  بعد عودتي إلى القاهرة
  ‘**after** my return to Cairo’

  ba‘da *wafāti ’azwājihinna*
  بعد وفاة أزواجهنّ
  ‘**after** the death of their husbands’

- Locative:

  ba‘da *l-maḥaṭṭati bi-šāri‘ayni*
  بعد المحطّة بشارعين
  ‘two streets **after** the station’, lit. ‘…by two streets’ (see **2.6.4**)

- Diminutive *bu‘ayda* بُعَيْد (▷C2:256):

  bu‘ayda *‘tizālihi ‘āma 1965*
  بعيد اعتزاله عام ١٩٦٥
  ‘**a little after** his retirement in 1965’

min ba‘di (▷C2:342) من بعد ‘[sometime] after’

min ba‘di *l-‘amaliyyati*
من بعد العملية
‘[sometime] **after** the operation’

For *ba‘da’iḏin* بعدئذ (▷C2:342), see **2.5.3**; and for *ba‘da ’an* بعد أنْ and *ba‘da mā* بعد ما (▷C2:342), see **7.5.1.10**. For *fīmā ba‘du* فيما بعد, see relatives, **5.7**. For *ba‘da* بعد as first element of compound nouns ‘post-’, see **12.7.1**.

2.7.7 bayna بين (▷C2:332) *'between', 'amongst'*

*li-ta'zīzi l-'alāqāti **bayna l-baladayni***
لتعزيز العلاقات بين البلدين
'to strengthen relations **between the two countries**'
(see *li-* لـ **2.6.10**)

In correlative constructions *bayna* بين (like all preps and prepositionals) must be repeated when personal pronouns occur as the first component of the correlate (see **2.6.1**; **11.7**):

***baynahā** wa-**bayna** l-muntajāti l-'uḫrā*
بينها و بين المنتجات الأخرى
'**between them** and [**between**] the other products'

*li-'i'ādati l-'alāqāti **baynahā** wa-**baynahu***
لإعادة العلاقات بينها و بينه
'to restore relations **between** her and [**between**] him'

Unlike the prepositional(al)s, however, *bayna* بين is usually repeated when both are nouns:

*qaṭ'u l-ṣilati **bayna** turāṯinā l-ṯaqāfiyyi wa-**bayna** ṯaqāfatinā l-mu'āṣirati*
قطع الصلة بين تراثنا الثقافي و بين ثقافتنا المعاصرة
'cutting the link **between** our cultural heritage and [**between**] our contemporary culture'

*šahru l-'asali l-taqlīdiyyu **bayna** l-ra'īsi l-'amrīkiyyi wa-**bayna** l-ša'bi wa-'ajhizati l-'i'lāmi*
شهر العسل التقليدي بين الرئيس الأمريكي و بين الشعب و أجهزة الإعلام
'the traditional honeymoon **between** the American president and [**between**] the people and the organs of publicity' (note how this example contains a *third* correlative but *bayna* بين is not repeated for a third time).

***bayna** l-muslimīna wa-**bayna** ġayrihim*
بين المسلمين و بين غيرهم
'**between** the Muslims and [**between**] others'

This occurs especially when the two correlates are some distance apart in the clause, and maybe separated by a further clause:

wa-wāzana fī ṣamtin ḥazīnin ***bayna*** *l-siyādati llatī ḥaluma bi-mumārasatihā ʻalā l-ḥārati wa-* ***bayna*** *mashi ʾaḥḏiyati ʾabnāʾihi*

و وازن في صمت حزين بين السيادة الّتي حلم بممارستها على الحارة و بين مسح أحذية أبنائه

'he compared in sad silence **between** the control he has been dreaming to exercise over the lane and **[between]** his cleaning of his childrens' shoes'

But it does not always need to be repeated between nouns:

bayna *l-ʾanā wa-l-ʾāḫari*

بين الأنا و الآخر

'**between** the I and the other'

wa-jarā l-tawqīʻu ʻalā haḏā l-ittifāqi … ***bayna*** *ʾindūnīsyā wa-l-burtuġāl*

و جرى التوقيع على هذا الاتّفاق . . . بين إندونيسيا و البرتغال

'and this agreement … **between** Indonesia and Portugal was signed'

Sense of 'among':

bayna *zumalāʾihi*

بين زملائه

'**amongst** his colleagues'

inṭilāqan min ʾahammiyyati tabāduli l-ḫibrati ***bayna*** *l-muḫtaṣṣīna*

انطلاقا من أهمّية تبادل الخبرة بين المختصّين

'beginning with the importance of swapping expertise **between** [among] specialists'

wa-min ***bayni****hā …*

و من بينها…

'and from **among** them …'

bayna bayna بين بين 'somewhere between' (▷C2:335):

rajulun ***bayna bayna*** *… lā taʻrifu lahu ṭaʻman wa-lā lawnan wa-lā rāʾiḥatan*

رجل بين بين لا تعرف له طعما ولا لونا ولا رائحة

'a man **in between** … you cannot find [lit. "know"] in him any taste, colour or scent'

Idiomatic *bayna yaday-* بين يدي (▷C2:333).

naḥnu l-yawma naqifu ***bayna yaday*** *'adālati l-maḥkamati*
نحن اليوم نقف بين يدي عدالة المحكمة
'we stand today **before** the justice of the Court'

For *bayna* بين as first element of compound nouns 'inter-', see **12.7.1**.

(For *[fī]mā bayna* فيما بين, ▷C2:337; see *mā* ما **5.7**)

2.7.8 dāḫila داخل *'inside', 'within'*

dāḫila *l-miyāhi l-'iqlīmiyyati*
داخل المياه الإقليمية
'**inside** regional [namely territorial] waters'

dāḫila *l-ḥizbi*
داخل الحزب
'**inside** the party'

lākinnahā mawjūdatun ***dāḫila*** *sijnin ḫāniqin min-a l-wujūdi nafsihi*
لكنّها موجودة داخل سجن خانق من الوجود نفسه
'but she exists **within** a stifling prison of existence itself'

min dāḫili من داخل 'from within':

min dāḫili waṭaninā
من داخل وطننا
'**from inside** our country'

2.7.9 ḍidda ضدّ *'against'*

ḍidda *l-tayyāri* ضدّ التيار '**against** the current'

ḍidda *l-jamāhīri* ضدّ الجماهير '**against** the masses'

al-intiqādātu l-mustamirratu l-muwajjahatu ***ḍiddahā***
الانتقادات المستمرّة الموجّهة ضدها
'the incessant criticisms directed **against it**'

2.7.10 ḍimna ضِمْن *'among', 'within'*

ḍimna *'ahdāfi l-šarikati*
ضمن أهداف الشركات
'**(with)in** the aims of the company'

ḍimna *l-rusūmi*
ضمن الرسوم
'**included in** the fees'

ḍimna *mubārayāti l-majmū'ati l-ṯāniyati*
ضمن مباريات المجموعة الثانية
'**among** the matches of the second group'

2.7.11 dūna دون (▷C2:347) *'excluding', 'without', 'less', 'lower than', 'below'*

- 'excluding' (▷C2:348):

  li-muwāṭinin ***dūna*** *'āḫara*
  لمواطن دون آخر
  'for one citizen **to the exclusion of** another'

  laysat muškilatan maḥalliyyatan fī baladin ***dūna*** *'āḫara wa-lākinnahā muškilatun 'ālamiyyatun*
  ليست مشكلة محلّية في بلد دون آخر و لكنّها مشكلة عالمية
  'it is not a local problem in one country **to the exclusion of** another but it is a global problem'

  lam yakun fī l-tašrī'i l-'islāmiyyi mā yuġliqu ***dūna*** *'ahli l-ḏimmati 'ayya bābin min 'abwābi l-'a'māli*
  لم يكن في التشريع الإسلامي ما يغلق دون أهل الذمّة أيّ باب من أبواب الأعمال
  'there has been nothing in Islamic legislation that would close the door of any professions **to the exclusion of** the protected people'

- 'without':

  dūna *l-naẓari 'ilā millatihim*
  دون النظر إلى ملّتهم
  '**without** regard to their religion'

wa-'an yujarriba l-ibti'āda ***dūna*** *ḥawfin*
و أنْ يجرّب الابتعاد دون خوف
'and to try distancing himself **without** fear'

- 'less than (below)':

  wa-qad tazawwaja min fatātin min mustawan ***dūna*** *mustawāhu l-ijtimā'iyyi*
  و قد تزوّج من فتاة من مستوى دون مستواه الاجتماعي
  'and he married a girl from a lower social class than his own', lit. 'from a class **below** his social class'

  lā taqbilu l-madrasatu 'aṭfālan ***dūna*** *l-sādisati min-a l-'umri bi-'akṯara min šahrayni*
  لا تقبل المدرسة أطفالا دون السادسة من العمر بأكثر من شهرين
  'the school does not accept children [who are] more than two months **under** the age of six'

- *bi-dūni* بدون:

  bi-dūni *šakkin* بدون شكّ '**without** doubt'
  bi-dūni *l-ḥājati 'ilā* بدون الحاجة إلى '**without** the need for'
  bi-dūni *tawaqqufin* بدون توقّف '**without** stopping'

- *min dūni* من دون:

  min dūni *'ayyi taġyīrin* من دون أيّ تغيير '**without** any change'

- exclamatory *dūnaka* (▷C2:347; **2.16.5**)

- *dūna 'an* دون أنْ 'without' (conj.) (▷C2:350; see sub. clauses, **7.5.1.10**)

For *dūna* دون as first element of compound nouns 'sub-', see **12.7.1**.

2.7.12 fawqa فوق (▷C2:352) *'above', 'over', 'on'*

yaḥtallu manzilatan ḫāṣṣatan ***fawqa*** *l-bašari*
يحتلّ منزلة خاصّة فوق البشر
'occupying a special place **above** humanity'

hal sa-'amšī marratan 'uḫrā ***fawqa*** *l-raṣīfi?*
هل سأمشي مرّة أخرى فوق الرصيف؟
'will I walk one more time **on** the pavement?'

wa-tasā'altu li-māḏā ẓallat sanā'u sāhiratan ***fawqa*** *ġurfatī*
و تساءلت لماذا ظلّت سناء ساهرة فوق غرفتي
'and I asked why Sanā' had continued to stay up late **above** my room'

ḥattā tahbiṭa ***fawqa*** *ḥāffati šubbāki l-mustašfā*
حتّى تهبط فوق حافّة شبّاك المستشفى
'until it alights **on** the edge of the hospital window'

For *fawqa* فوق as first element of compound nouns 'super-', see **12.7.1**.

2.7.13 fawra فور *'immediately upon'*

(cf. *'aqiba* عقب **2.7.3**)

fawra *wuṣūlihim* فور وصولهم
'**upon** on their arrival'

fawra *talaqqī l-šakwā* فور تلقي الشكوى
'**upon** receiving the complaint'

fawra *l-intihā'i min 'iḫmādi l-nīrāni* فور الانتهاء من إخماد النيران
'**immediately after** finishing putting out the fires'

2.7.14 ḫalfa خلف *'behind'*

ḫalfa *nāfiḏatihā l-muṭillati 'alā l-baḥri*
خلف نافذتها المطلّة على البحر
'**behind** her window which looks out over the sea'

wa-tabda'u riḥlata l-hubūṭi ***ḫalfa*** *ḏālika l-'ufuqi l-wāsi'i l-šāsi'i*
وتبدأ رحلة الهبوط خلف ذلك الأفق الواسع الشاسع
'and [the sun] begins its journey of descent **behind** that wide vast horizon'

- *min ḫalfi* من خلف:

  min ḫalfi *nāfiḏati ḥujratihi*
  من خلف نافذة حجرته
  '**from behind** the window of his room'

2.7.15 ḫārija خارج *'outside'*

ḫārija *dā'irati l-sintrāli*
خارج دائرة السنترال
'**outside** the telephone exchange area'

ḫārija *l-bayti*
خارج البيت
'**outside** the house'

Nominal:

taṣdīru hāḏihi l-'ajhizati ***li-l-ḫāriji***
تصدير هذه الأجهزة للخارج
'exporting these gadgets **abroad**'

2.7.16 ḥasaba حسب *'according to'*

ḥasaba *l-ta'rīfāti l-mu'lanati*
حسب التعريفات المعلَنة
'**according to** the published tariff'

ḥasaba *mā na'lamu*
حسب ما نعلم
'**according to** what we know'

(for *ḥasabamā* حسبما 'according to' as a conjunction, see **5.9.5**)

bi-ḥasabi بحسب:

li-kulli 'insānin ***bi-ḥasabi*** *ṭāqatihi wa-juhdihi wa-kafā'atihi*
لكلّ إنسان بحسب طاقته وجهده وكفاءته
'for every human being **according to** his ability, effort and competence'

bi-ḥasabi *ba'ḍi kātibī sīratihi*
بحسب بعض كاتبي سيرته
'**according to** some of [or: one of] the writers of his biography'

(for *ba'ḍ* بعض see **2.9.1.3**)

2.7.17 ḥawla حول *'around', 'about'*

*jawlātun nājiḥatun **ḥawla** l-'ālami*
جولات ناجحة حول العالم
'successful trips **around** the world'

*al-jadalu l-mutaṣā'idu **ḥawla** l-munša'āti l-nawawiyyati*
الجدل المتصاعد حول المنشآت النووية
'the escalating dispute **about** atomic sites'

(For *min ḥawli* من حول, see **2.6.12**)

2.7.17.1 ḥawālā حوالى *'around'*

For quantities and time expressions only (see **2.14.6**):

***ḥawālā** 1500 šaḫsin*
حوالى ١٥٠٠ شخص
'**about** 1500 people'

***ḥawālā** 7 kīlū mitr*
حوالى ٧ كيلو متر
'**about** 7 km' (see **2.14.9.3**)

***ḥawālā** l-rābi'ati wa-niṣfin ḫarajtu 'ilā l-ṭarīqi*
حوالى الرابعة ونصف خرجت إلى الطريق
'**at around** 4.30 I went out into the road'

2.7.17.2 ḥiyāla حيال *'concerning'*

***ḥiyāla** hāḏā l-mawḍū'i* حيالَ هذا الموضوع '**concerning** this subject'

2.7.18 ḫilāfa خلاف *'other than'*

*min muhandisīna wa-fanniyyīna wa-**ḫilāfihim***
من مهندسين وفنيين وخلافهم
'of engineers, artists and **others**'

laysa ladaynā maṣrūfātun ḫāṣṣatun ***’aw*** *maṣrūfātu tamwīlin ’aw* ***ḫilāfuhu***
ليس لدينا مصروفات خاصّة أو مصروفات تمويل أو خلافه
‘we have no private expenditures, or funded expenditures, or **otherwise**’

- *bi-ḫilāfi* بخلاف ‘against’, ‘contrary to’:

  wa-ḏālika ***bi-khilāfi*** *barnāmiji l-ḥizbi l-jumhūriyyi*
  و ذلك بخلاف برنامج الحزب الجمهوري
  ‘that being **contrary to** the republican party’s programme’

  bi-ḫilāfi *salīm buṭrus wa-’aḥmad fāris al-šidyāq*
  بخلاف سليم بطرس و أحمد فارس الشدياق
  ‘**contrary to** Salim Buṭrus and Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq’

- ‘besides’:

  sab‘u ġurafin li-l-nawmi wa-ḏālika ***bi-ḫilāfi*** *‘adadin lā yuḥṣā li-l-’akli wa-l-ma‘īšati*
  سبع غرف للنوم وذلك بخلاف عدد لا يُحصى للأكل والمعيشة
  ‘seven bedrooms **besides** an innumerable number for eating and living’

  bi-ḫilāfi *l-waqti l-ḍā’i‘i fī l-nawmi*
  بخلاف الوقت الضائع في النوم
  ‘**besides** the time wasted in sleeping’

- Invariable *ḫilāfan* خلافا:

  ḫilāfan li*-l-taqālīdi wa-l-ma’lūfi*
  خلافا للتقاليد والمألوف
  ‘**contrary to** tradition and common procedure’

2.7.19 ḫilāla خلال *‘within’, ‘during’*

Mostly used with time expressions, it conveys the sense that something will/has taken place up to and including the duration of the time expressed:

wa-yu‘ādu šaḥnuhu ***ḫilāla*** *sā‘atin wāḥidatin*
و يعاد شحنه خلال ساعة واحدة
‘and it can be recharged **within** an hour’

li-māḏā taqā‘asat ‘an-i l-tawaddudi ***ḫilāla*** *l-’a‘wāmi l-māḍiyati*
لماذا تقاعست عن التودّد خلال الأعوام الماضية
‘why had she resisted affection **during** recent years?’

*wa-**ḫilāla** laḥaẓātin kuntu ’ajlisu ‘alā miq‘adi l-darajati l-’ūlā l-waṯīri*
و خلال لحظات كنت أجلس على مقعد الدرجة الأولى الوثير
‘and **within** moments I was sitting on the comfortable first-class seat’

fī ḫilāli خلال في ‘during’:

***fī ḫilāli** l-‘uqūdi l-ṯalāṯati l-māḍiyati*
في خلال العقود الثلاثة الماضية
‘**throughout** the last three decades’

min ḫilāli خلال من ‘through’, ‘by way of’:

***min ḫilāli** l-bābi l-maftūḥi*
من خلال الباب المفتوح
‘**through** the open door’

***min ḫilāli** haḏā l-mafhūmi*
من خلال هذا المفهوم
‘**through** this concept’

*yabda’u l-tarwīju wa-ba‘ṯu l-ṯiqati **min ḫilāli** l-bunūki*
يبدأ الترويج و بعث الثقة من خلال البنوك
‘the stimulation of the market and renewal of confidence begins **with** [lit. “through”] the banks’

*wa-kānat-i l-taḥqīqātu tatimmu **min ḫilāli** l-šurṭati l-‘askariyyati*
و كانت التحقيقات تتمّ من خلال الشرطة العسكرية
‘the investigations were carried out **through** the military police’

2.7.20 ’ibbāna إبّان ***‘during’***

***’ibbāna** l-sittīniyyāti*
إبّان الستينات
‘**during** the sixties’

*fī qurṭubata **’ibbāna** ‘aṣrihā l-’umawiyyi l-zāhiri*
في قرطبة إبّان عصرها الأموي الزاهر
‘in Cordoba **during** its flourishing Umayyad period’

Also with *fī* في, and note that it is invariable (see **1.8.7.3**).

2.7.21 **‘inda عند** (▷C2:318–19) ***‘at’ (temporal and locative cf. French* chez*) ‘upon’, ‘to have’***

- Temporal:

  ‘inda *nihāyati l-sab‘īnāti*
  عند نهاية السبعينات
  ‘**at** the end of the seventies’

  *wa-**‘inda** mawti tšāwšiskū*
  و عند موت تشاوشسكو
  ‘and **on** the death of Ceaucescu’

  *kuntu ’ahra‘u **‘inda** l-ġurūbi ’ilā šurfati l-funduqi*
  كنت أهرع عند الغروب إلى شرفة الفندق
  ‘I used to rush **at** sunset to the hotel balcony’

  *ṭalāqatu l-wajhi **‘inda** liqā’ihi*
  طلاقة الوجه عند لقائه
  ‘a cheerfulness of face **on** meeting him’

  ‘inda *l-hubūṭi wa-**‘inda** l-’iqlā‘i*
  عند الهبوط وعنْد الإقلاع
  ‘**on** landing and **on** take-off’

- Locative:

  *wa-’anna l-ibtizāza lā yaqifu **‘inda** ḥaddin*
  وأنّ الابتزاز لا يقف عند حدّ
  ‘and that blackmail knows no bounds’, lit. ‘does not stop **at** boundaries’

  *wa-taḥduṯu taġayyurātun rūḥiyyatun šattā **‘indī***
  وتحدث تغيّرات روحية شتّى عندي
  ‘and all kinds of spiritual changes are taking place **within me**’

  ‘inda *qabri ḥāfiẓin*
  عند قبر حافظ
  ‘**at the site of** Hafez’s tomb’

  *li-l-tawaqqufi **‘inda** ṣūrati l-’amīrati sārā*
  للتوقّف عند صورة الأميرة سارا
  ‘to stop **at** the picture of Princess Sarah’

*al-waqtu l-'āna **'indahu** yaqtaribu min-a l-ṯ̲āliṯ̲ati ba'da l-ẓuhri*
الوقت الآن عنده يقترب من الثالثة بعد الظهر
'the time **with him** now is approaching 3 p.m.'

- 'to have':

  ***'indahā** mawhibatun fiṭriyyatun fī ḫtiyāri l-'aqmišati l-jayyidati*
  عندها موهبة فطرية في اختيار الأقمشة الجيّدة
  '**she has** an innate talent for choosing good materials'

- compound with *min* من:

  *al-masāfatu min **'indī** 'ilā manzilika tusāwī l-masāfata min **'indika** 'ilā manzilī*
  المسافة من عندي إلى منزلك تساوي المسافة من عندك إلى منزلي
  'the distance from where **I am** to where you live is equal to that from **where you are** to my home' (see **11.7**)

- Idiomatic use:

  *al-samaku l-maqliyyu 'afdalu wajbatin **'indī***
  السمك المقلي أفضل وجبة عندي
  'fried fish is my favourite dish' [lit. '**with me**', i.e. 'in my opinion']

'indamā **عندما** 'when' (conj.) (▷C2:320; see **5.9.8**)

'inda'iḏin **عندئذ** 'at that time' (adv.) (▷C2:321; see **2.5.3**)

2.7.22 **'iṯ̲ra إثر *'after'*** (temporal)

***'iṯ̲ra** ḫurūji raṣāṣatin bi-ṭarīqi l-ḫaṭa'i*
إثر خروج رصاصة بطريق الخطأ
'**after** a shot was fired in error'

*istamarrat šahrayni wa-niṣfa l-šahri **'iṯ̲ra** 'amaliyyatin jirāḥiyyatin li-l-qalbi*
استمرّت شهرين و نصف الشهر إثر عملية جراحية للقلب
'she continued for two and a half months **after** a surgical heart operation'

Also *'alā 'iṯ̲ri* على إثر (for *'alā* على, see **2.6.2**):

***'alā 'iṯ̲ri** l-ḍarbati l-ṣārūḫiyyati* على إثر الضربة الصاروخية '**after** the rocket strike'

***'alā 'iṯ̲ri** l-hazīmati l-ṯ̲āniyati* على إثر الهزيمة الثانية '**after** the second defeat'

2.7.23 'iwaḍa عوض *'in return for', 'in compensation for'*

***'iwaḍa** l-matā'ibi llatī sabbabūhā lahum*
عوض المتاعب التي سببوها لهم
'**in compensation for** the troubles they caused them'

For *'iwaḍa 'an* عوض عن 'instead of, in compensation for' as a conjunction, see 7.5.1.10.

2.7.24 'izā'a إزاء *'towards'*

***'izā'a** l-ṣirā'i*
إزاء الصراع
'[his attitude] **towards** the conflict'

*mawjatu l-istiyā'i l-'āmmi **'izā'a** l-nuḫabi l-siyāsiyyati*
موجة الاستياء العام إزاء النخب السياسية
'the wave of public anger **towards** the political elite'

2.7.25 jiwāra جوار *'next to', 'beside(s)'*

***jiwāra** sīnamā sfinkis*
جوار سينما سفنكس
'**next to** the Sphinx Cinema'

bi-jiwāri بجوار:

***bi-jiwāri** maḥaṭṭati sikkati ḥadīdi l-jīzata*
بجوار محطة سكة حديد الجيزة
'**near** the Giza railway station'

*wa-**bi-jiwārihā***
و بجوارها
'and **besides these**'

2.7.26 liqā'a لقاء *'in return for'*

*yu'āliju 'aṭfālahā **liqā'a** malālīma*
يعالج أطفالها لقاء ملاليم
'he treats [the village's] children **for** a few millimes'

2.7.27 muqābila مقابل *'opposite', 'in return for'*

- 'opposite':

  muqābila *timṯāli l-'asmāki*
  مقابل تمثال الأسماك
  '**opposite** the fish statue'

- Often with money and payments:

  muqābila *l-ḥuṣūli 'alā ma'lūmātin*
  مقابل الحصول على معلومات
  '**in return for** the obtaining of information'

  muqābila *nisbatin muttafaqin 'alayhā min-a l-'arbāḥi*
  مقابل نسبة متّفق عليها من الأرباح
  '**in return for** an agreed share of the profits'

  muqābila *'iḫrājihi ḥālan min-a l-ġurfati llatī sujina fīhā*
  مقابل إخراجه حالا من الغرفة الّتي سُجن فيها
  '**in return for** his immediate removal from the room in which he was imprisoned'

  wa-l-'istirlīnī yahbiṭu ***muqābila*** *l-dūlāri*
  والإسترليني يهبط مقابل الدولار
  'and sterling falls **against** the dollar'

  Note: *dūna* ***muqābilin*** دون مقابل 'with no **reward**' (for *dūna* دون see **2.7.11**)

- With *bi-* بـ (also *fī* في):

  bi-l-muqābili *tarānī*…
  بالمقابل تراني…
  '**in return** you will see me…'

- In sports results [soccer scores]:

  wāḥid ***muqābila*** *lā-šay'*
  واحد مقابل لاشيء
  'one **[to]** nil' *(see* **2.14.9.2***)*

2.7.28 naḥwa نحو (▷C2:357) *'towards'*

*wa-ttajaha bi-nafsihi **naḥwa** miṣra*
و اتّجه بنفسه نحو مصر
'and he went himself **towards** Egypt'

*wa-lam takun tubdī 'awāṭifahā **naḥwahu***
ولم تكن تبدي عواطفها نحوه
'she did not show her feelings **towards him**'

Approximation:

*kuntu bada'tu munḏu **naḥwi** šahrayni*
كنت بدأت منذ نحو شهرين
'I had begun **approximately** two months ago'

***naḥwa** 27% min-a l-muwaẓẓafīna*
نحو ٢٧٪ من الموظّفين
'**approximately** 27% of the employees'

2.7.29 naẓīra نظير *'in exchange', 'in return for'*

Specified quantities:

*yu'ajjiruhu li-l-ġayri **naẓīra** 15% min-a l-'īrādi l-yawmiyyi*
يؤجّره للغير نظير ١٥٪ من الإيراد اليومي
'he rents it to others **for** 15% of the daily revenue'

***naẓīra** mabāliġa mu'ayyanatin*
نظير مبالغ معيّنة
'**in return for** specific sums'

For abstract amounts:

***naẓīra** l-ištirāki l-mubāširi*
نظير الاشتراك المباشر
'**in return for** direct participation'

2.7.30 nuṣba نصب *'in front of'*

kuntu 'aḍa'u ***nuṣba*** *'aynī…*
كنت أضع نصب عيني…
'I used to keep in sight…', lit. 'put **before** my eyes'

2.7.31 qabla قبل (▷C2:343) *'before'*

Temporal:

qabla *'ayyāmin*
قبل أيّام
'some days **before**'

wa-waṣalū ***qablī*** *bi-sā'atin kāmilatin*
و وصلوا قبلي بساعة كاملة
'and they arrived by a whole hour **before** me' (for *bi-* بـ, see **2.6.4**):

fa-yuġādiruhu ***qabla*** *maḥaṭṭati l-maḥkamati bi-maḥaṭṭatin*
فيغادره قبل محطّة المحكمة بمحطّة
'and he would leave him one station **before** the court', lit. 'before the, by one…'

Diminutive:

qubayla *jawlati klīntūn*
قُبيل جولة كلينتون
'**a little before** Clinton's trip'

Compound *min qabli* من قبل 'before':

lam ta'rif 'aḥadan ***min qablika***
لم تعرف أحدا من قبلك
'she did not know anyone **before you**'

min qablu من قبلُ 'before', 'previously' (see **2.5.4**)

For *qabla* قبل as first element of compound nouns, 'pre-', see **12.7.1**.

2.7.32 qurba قرب *'near'*

Locative:

qurba *wisādatī fī l-layli*
قرب وسادتي في الليل
'**near** my pillow at night'

kānat mustalqiyatan ***qurba*** *l-funduqi nafsihi*
كانت مستلقية قرب الفندق نفسه
'she was lying down **near** the hotel itself'

bi-l-qurbi min بالقرب من:

bi-l-qurbi *min šāṭi'i ḫān yūnus*
بالقرب من شاطئ خان يونس
'**near** the shore of Khan Yunus'

bi-l-qurbi *min-a l-madrasati*
بالقرب من المدرسة
'**in** the proximity of the school'

Temporal *qurābata* قرابة 'nigh on':

qurābata *niṣfi qarnin*
قرابة نصف قرن
'**close to** half a century'

2.7.33 raġma رغم *'in spite of'*

raġma *ta'addudi 'asfārī šarqan wa-ġarban*
رغم تعدّد أسفاري شرقا و غربا
'**in spite of** the number of my journeys east and west'

raġma *'asmālihim-i l-bāliyati*
رغم أسمالهم البالية
'**in spite of** their worn rags'

raġman ʻan رغما عن is still used:

raġman ʻannī *ʻaqadtu muqāranatan bayna ġaybūbatihi l-saʻīdati wa-'araqī l-murhaqi*
رغما عني عقدت مقارنة بين غيبوبته السعيدة و أرقي المرهق
'**in spite of myself** I made a comparison between his happy unconsciousness and my exhausted sleeplessness'
(see *bayna* بين 'between' **2.7.7**)

For *raġma 'anna* رغم أنّ 'in spite of' as conjunction, see **7.5.2.11**.

2.7.34 rahna رهن *'under'*

wuḍiʻa l-sabta l-māḍiya ***rahna*** *l-iʻtiqāli*
وُضع السبت الماضي رهن الاعتقال
'he was put last Saturday **under** arrest'

2.7.35 ṣawba صَوب *'towards'*

ṯumma taḥarruka l-ṭā'irati al-ḍaḫmati . . . ***ṣawba*** *l-mamarri*
ثمّ تحرُّك الطائرة الضخمة . . . صوب الممر
'then the movement of the huge aircraft . . . **towards** the runway'

ṣawba *madrasati M. 'A. l-'iʻdādiyyati*
صوب مدرسة م.ع. الإعدادية
'**on the way to** the M. 'A. Preparatory School'

ṣawba *l-taṭawwuri wa-l-dīmūqrāṭiyyati*
صوب التطوّر والديموقراطية
'**towards** development and democratization'

2.7.36 taḥta تحت (▷C2:350) *'under', 'underneath'*

- Literal:

taḥta *l-ʻimāmati* تحت العمامة '**under** the turban'
taḥta *l-maqʻadi* تحت المقعد '**under** the seat'

- Figurative:

  taḥta *ri'āyati l-farīqi l-'awwali*
  تحت رعاية الفريق الأوّل
  '**under** the patronage of the field marshal'

For *taḥta* **تحت** as first element of compound nouns, 'sub-', see **12.7.1**.

2.7.37 tilwa تلو *'after'*

'inda mutāba'ati l-riḥlāti l-'adabiyyati 'ilā 'ūrūbbā wāḥidatan ***tilwa*** *l-'uḫrā*
عند متابعة الرحلات الأدبية إلى أوروبا واحدة تلو الأخرى
'when pursuing his literary trips to Europe one **after** the other'

2.7.38 tujāha تجاه *'towards'*

mašā'iruka ***tujāha*** *l-'āḫarīna*
مشاعرك تجاه الآخرين
'your feelings **towards** others'

al-siyāsatu l-'amrīkiyyatu ***tujāha*** *l-ṣīni*
السياسة الأمريكية تجاه الصين
'the American policy **towards** China'

mas'ūliyyatuhu ***tujāha*** *mā kataba*
مسؤوليته تجاه ما كتب
'his responsibility **for** what he has written'

'indamā lāḥaẓat naẓarātihi l-ḥāmiyata ***tujāhahā***
عندما لاحظت نظراته الحامية تجاهها
'when she noticed his passionate glances **towards her**'

2.7.39 ṭibqa طبق *'in accordance with'*

ṭibqa *l-'aṣli*
طبق الأصل
'**in accordance with** the original'

nusḫatun ***ṭibqa*** *l-’aṣli min ’abīhi*
نسخة طبق الأصل من أبيه
‘an exact copy of his father’ [i.e. a chip off the old block, lit. ‘a copy **in accordance with** the original of his father’]

ṭibqan li- طبقا لـ ‘in accordance with’

ṭibqan li*-l-’uṣūli l-tārīḫiyyati*
طبقا للأصول التاريخية
‘**in accordance with** historical principles’

2.7.40 ṭiwāla طوال ***‘during’, ‘throughout’***

ṭiwāla *’akṯara min ’arba‘īna sanatan*
طوال أكثر من أربعين سنة
‘**for** more than forty years’

ṭiwāla *l-’usbū‘i l-māḍī*
طوال الأسبوع الماضي
‘**during the whole** of last week’

ṭiwāla *l-riḥlati*
طوال الرحلة
‘**throughout** the journey’

2.7.41 ṭīlata طيلة ***‘during’, ‘throughout’***

ṭīlata *l-waqti* طيلة الوقت ‘**for the whole** time’
ṭīlata *‘išrīna ‘āman* طيلة عشرين عاما ‘**for** twenty **whole** years’
ṭīlata *l-’usbū‘i al-māḍī* طيلة الأسبوع الماضي ‘**throughout all** last week’

2.7.42 wafqa وفق ***‘in accordance with’***

*buġyata ktišāfi ‘ālamin jadīdin wa-****wafqa*** *qawā‘ida musabbaqatin*
بغية اكتشاف عالم جديد و وفق قواعد مسبقة
‘out of a desire to discover a new world **in accordance** with previously established laws’

wafqan li- وفقا لـ ‘in accordance with’

wa-yumkinu ***wafqan li-****ḏālika dirāsatu kutubi l-riḥlāti l-‘arabiyyati*
و يمكن وفقا لذلك دراسة كتب الرحلات العربية
‘it is possible **in accordance with** that to study the Arabic travel books’

2.7.43 warā’a وراء *‘behind’*

warā’a *majāli l-baṣari* وراء مجال البصر ‘**behind** the field of vision’
*wa-****warā’a*** *ḏālika ’asbābun kaṯīratun* ووراء ذلك أسباب كثيرة ‘and there are many reasons **behind** that’

- with *min* من

’anwāru l-buyūti l-muwājihati ***min warā’i*** *l-satā’iri l-bayḍā’i*
أنوار البيوت المواجهة من وراء الستائر البيضاء
‘[with] the lights of the houses facing out **from behind** the white curtains’ (note the *min* من here)

For *warā’a* وراء in compounds ‘ultra-’, ‘trans-’, see **12.7.1**.

2.7.44 wasṭa وسط *‘amongst’, ‘in the middle of’*

wasṭa *kulli hāḏā*
وسط كلّ هذا
‘**in the middle of** all this’

wasṭa *birkatin min-a l-dimā’i*
وسط بركة من الدماء
‘**in the middle of** a lake of blood’

wasṭa *jawwin ’usriyyin ḏukūriyyin*
وسط جوّ أسري ذكوري
‘**in the middle of** a male family atmosphere’

For *wasṭa* وسط as first element of compound nouns, ‘mid-’ see **12.7.1**; for the determiners *miṯla* مثل, ‘like’, see **2.9.2.1**; and *ġayra* غير ‘other than, else’, see **2.9.2.3**.

2.8 Emphasizers

A number of nouns function as emphasizers or corroborators of other nouns. In some cases these emphasizers occur as first elements of annexation + noun, and in others as appositionals (also annexed) + pronoun suffix, or both.

2.8.1 nafs نفس (▷C2:138) *'self', 'same'*

See also reflexives (**3.13**).

2.8.1.1 Annexed, always singular

'same':

*lahu **nafsu** l-fā'iliyyati wa-**nafsu** l-ta'ṯīri l-ṣiḥḥiyyi*
له نفس الفاعلية و نفس التأثير الصحّي
'it has **the same** effectiveness and **the same** effect on health'

*min **nafsi** l-maṣādiri*
من نفس المصادر
'from **the same** sources'

*mulawwaṯun bi-**nafsi** l-māddati*
ملوث بنفس المادة
'polluted with/by **the same** substance'

2.8.1.2 Appositional, agrees in case, number and gender and always annexed to a pronoun agreeing and linking with the antecedent.

'-self' singular:

*'anna ra'īsa l-markazi **nafsahu***
أنّ رئيس المركز نفسه
'that the director of the centre **himself**'

*al-ma'nā **nafsuhu***
المعنى نفسه
'the meaning **itself**'

Plural form *'anfus* أنفس '-selves' is also used in this way; for its use with *bi-* بـ see **2.8.1.3**.

'same':

fī l-'usbū'i ***nafsihi*** *llaḏī raḥalat fīhi diyānā*
في الأسبوع نفسه الّذي رحلت فيه ديانا
'in **the same** week in which Diana died'

fī l-waqti ***nafsihi***
في الوقت نفسه
'at **the same** time'

yatakallamāni l-luġata ***nafsahā***
يتكلّمان اللغة نفسها
'they [masc. dual] speak **the same** language'

2.8.1.3 With *bi-nafsi* بنفس, the preposition being superfluous (▷C2:141, 304)

When emphasizing plural and dual nouns, the plural form *'anfus* أنفس is used:

qāmū bi-talwīnihā ***bi-'anfusihim***
قاموا بتلوينها بأنفسهم
'they carried out the colouring of it **themselves**'

wa-qad taḥaqqaqatā ***bi-'anfusihimā*** *min kulli kalimatin qīlat*
وقد تحقّقتا بأنفسهما من كلّ كلمة قيلت
'and they [fem. dual] made sure **personally** of every word that was said'

Singular form *nafs* نفس '-self', that is, *bi-nafsi* بنفس is also used in this way.

2.8.2 *'ayn* عين *'same', 'self'*

Agrees in case, number and gender (with or without *bi-* بـ)

2.8.2.1 Appositional without *bi-* بـ

sālikan-i l-mamarra ***'aynahu***
سالكا الممرّ عينه
'walking down **the same** corridor' (see **2.8.2**)

2.8.2.2 Appositional with *bi-* بـ

'innahu l-junūnu ***bi-'aynihi*** إنّه الجنون بعينه 'it is madness **itself**'

With indefinite antecedent:

tawqī'u l-'iqābi 'alā sāriqin ***bi-'aynihi***
توقيع العقاب على سارق بعينه
'to apply the punishment to one thief **in particular**'

2.8.3 ḏāt ذات *'self', 'same'*

(▷C2:122 'reflexive particle', with *bi-* بـ ▷C2:304) (see also under verbs **3.13**, and contrast with *ḏū* ذو set in annexation **2.3.8**).

2.8.3.1 Annexed = 'same'

fī ***ḏāti*** *l-laḥẓati* في ذات اللحظة 'at **the same** moment'

2.8.3.2 Appositional, pronoun agrees in number and gender with noun

al-ša'bu l-'amrīkiyyu ***ḏātuhu*** الشعب الأمريكي ذاته 'the American people **itself**'
al-maṣādiru ***ḏātuhā*** المصادر ذاتها 'the sources **themselves**'
taḥmilu l-isma ḏātahu تحمل الاسم ذاته '[it] carries [fem. sing.] **the very** name'

2.8.3.3 With adverbial phrase, no pronoun suffix *bi-l-ḏāti* بالذات 'itself', 'particular(ly)'

hunā ***bi-l-ḏāti***
هنا بالذات
'here **specifically**'

li-hāḏa l-sababi ***bi-l-ḏāti***
لهذا السبب بالذات
'for this **very** reason'

ṭabaqatu l-talawwuṯi ***bi-l-ḏāti***
طبقة التلوّث بالذات
'the layer of pollution **itself**'

fī hāḏā l-waqti l-ḥariji ***bi-l-ḏāti***
في هذا الوقت الحرج بالذات
'at this **particularly** crucial time'

2.8.4 mujarrad مجرّد *'mere[ly]'*

(See also below annexed to sentences, **7.5.1.11**; also cf. restrictives *faqaṭ* فقط etc., **3.30.3**)

As first element of annexation:

mujarradu *ḫabarin ṣaġīrin*
مجرّد خبر صغير
'a **mere** brief report'

*yataqarraru ḥaqqu l-'amāni bi-**mujarradi** 'i'ṭā'ihi*
يتقرّر حقّ الأمان بمجرّد إعطائه
'the right of safety is affirmed by **the mere** giving of it'

*laysat **mujarrada** madīnatin 'aw 'āṣimatin*
ليست مجرّد مدينة أو عاصمة
'it is not **merely** a city or a capital' (see **4.2.8.1**)

2.8.5 *Pronouns*

(▷C2:77) cf. **3.5.2** for pronoun emphasizing predicate, **3.9** emphasizing agreement, and **3.11.1** emphasizing direct object.

Pronouns may also be used in emphatic apposition to any element:

*fī šaḫṣihi **huwa***
في شخصه هو
'in his **very own** person' (for *bi-šaḫṣihi* بشخصه see **2.8.6**)

*hāḏā laysa kalāmī **'anā***
هذا ليس كلامي أنا
'these are not **my own** words'

*wuṣūluhu **huwa***
وصوله هو
'his **own** arrival'

*'innahā **hiya** 'ummuhā tuwāsīnī **'anā** l-ġarībata*
إنّها هي أمّها تواسيني أنا الغريبة
'**she**, [the little girl's] mother, was consoling **me**, the stranger'

2.8.6 *Miscellaneous emphasizers*

bi-šaḫṣihi بشخصه 'himself':

laysa bi-l-ḍarūriyyi 'an yaḥḍura l-safīru ***bi-šaḫṣihi***
ليس بالضروري أنْ يحضر السفير بشخصه
'it is not necessary for the ambassador **himself** to attend'

maḥḍu محض 'merely':

- As first element of annexation:

  wa-kāna ḥadīṯuhu 'an 'ābā'ihi ***maḥḍa*** *ḫtilāqin*
  وكان حديثه عن آبائه محض اختلاق
  'his talk about his ancestors was **a mere** fabrication' (see **2.4.8**)

  *laysa bi-****maḥḍi*** *l-ṣadaqati*
  ليس بمحض الصدقة
  'it is not **mere** charity' (see **4.2.8.1**)

- As adjective:

  hāḏā kaḏibun ***maḥḍun***
  هذا كذب محض
  'this is a **pure** lie'

  Agreement in gender is variable:

  ṣudfatun ***maḥḍatun*** صدفة محضة / ***maḥḍun*** محض 'a pure coincidence'

2.9 Nominal determiners

There is a set of nouns, including a group of quantifiers, that have as their principal or sole function the status of determiners, annexed for the most part to the following noun or occurring in apposition.

2.9.1 *Quantifiers* (for numerals, see **2.12**)

True quantifiers in Arabic are nouns (but see **2.1.5.1**), unlike in English where they are adjectives.

2.9.1.1 kull كلّ ‘each’, ‘every’, ‘all’

- Annexed:

To indefinite singular ‘each’, ‘every’:

kullu *millīmin naḥṣulu ‘alayhi*
كلّ مليم نحصل عليه
‘**every** millieme we get’

kullu *ḍaḥiyyatin min ḍaḥāyā l-zalzāli*
كلّ ضحية من ضحايا الزلزال
‘**every** [single] victim of the earthquake’

(cf. ***kullu*** *ḍaḥāyā l-zilzāli* كلّ ضحايا الزلزال ‘**all** the victims of the earthquake’)

yaḫšā ***kulla*** *rannati tilifūnin*
يخشى كلّ رنّة تليفون
‘he fears [each and] **every** telephone ring’

To definite singular ‘all’, ‘the whole’:

fa-’akala ***kulla*** *l-raġīfi*
فأكل كلّ الرغيف
‘so he ate **the whole** loaf’

To definite plural ‘all’:

kullu *l-šarikāti*
كلّ الشركات
‘**all** the companies’

To relative clauses (see **5.4.1**)

wa-l-ḥaqīqatu ’anna ***kulla man*** *ḫarajū laylata 23 yūliyū . . . ’amsakū bi-l-qalami wa-qālū kalimatahum*
والحقيقة أنّ كلّ مَنْ خرجوا ليلة ٢٣ يوليو . . . أمسكوا بالقلم و قالوا كلمتهم
‘and the fact is that **all those who** went out on the night of the 23rd July . . . took up the pen and said their word’

- With generic nouns:

*bi-****kulli l-wuḍūḥi*** *wa-l-ṣarāḥati*
بكلّ الوضوح والصراحة
‘clearly and frankly’, lit. ‘with **all clarity** and frankness’

- Appositional (and annexed) (▷C2:24, 73, 124, 128):

  li-l-‘ālami ***kullihi***
  للعالم كلّه
  ‘to **the whole** world’

  ‘alā mustawā l-minṭaqati ***kullihā***
  على مستوى المنطقة كلّها
  ‘on the level of **the entire** region’

For *kull* كلّ in an absolute object, see **2.4.2.3**; **2.4.2.5**.

For agreement with predicate, see **3.1.1**; for verbs, see **3.8.4**.

- *kilā* كلا (▷C2:128, 130) ‘both’

kilā كلا (fem. *kiltā* كلتا) (indep.) and *kilay* كليْ (masc.), *kiltay* كلتيْ (fem.) (dep./obl.) ‘both’ is the dual of *kull* كلّ that is still used in MWA. It functions only as the first element of annexation + noun or attached pronoun. Inflection for dependent/oblique only occurs when *kilā* كلا is attached to pronoun. Verbal and adjectival concord is always singular:

bi-’anna ***kilā*** *l-ḥizbayni lam ya‘ud ṣāliḥan li-l-ta‘bīri ‘an …*
بأنّ كلا الحزبين لم يعد صالحا للتعبير عن . . .
‘that **both** [dep. with noun] parties are no longer fit to express …’

(= ‘neither party’, see negatives **4.2**)

fī ***kiltā*** *l-ḥālatayni*
في كلتا الحالتين
‘in **both** [obl. with noun] cases’

- With attached pronoun:

  li-yakūna ’aḥaduhumā ’aw ***kilāhumā*** *ḥallan li-qaḍiyyati l-mub‘adīna*
  ليكون أحدهما أو كلاهما حلا لقضية المبعدين
  ‘so that one of them or **both of them** [indep. with pron.] may be a solution to the problem of the expelled persons’

  ’anna ***kilayhimā*** *yu’ayyidu ‘amaliyyata l-salāmi*
  أنّ كليهما يؤيّد عملية السلام
  ‘that **both of them** [dep. with pron. see *’anna* أنّ **3.2.1**] support the peace process’

  *al-’amākinu l-muḫaṣṣaṣatu li-****kilayhimā***
  الأماكن المخصّصة لكليهما
  ‘the places set aside for **both of them**’ [obl. with pron.]

- *kullun min* كلّ من set 'both', 'each of':

Unlike *kilā* كلا, *kull* كلّ can often be found with *min* من in the sense of 'each of'. The reason for this distinction is that *kull* كلّ is used distributively, expressing the individuality of each entity. It is often found with the dual but can be used to enumerate more than two entities, and inflects like *kull* كلّ

***kullun min**-a l-ḥizbayni l-jumhūriyyi wa-l-dīmūqrāṭiyyi*
كلّ من الحزبين الجمهوري و الديموقراطي
'**both** parties the Republican and the Democratic'

*al-iddiḫāru wa-l-istiṯmāru wa-l-irtifā'u bi-mu'addali **kullin minhumā***
الادّخار والاستثمار والارتفاع بمعدّل كلّ منهما
'saving and investment, and the raising of the level of **both of them**'

*fī **kullin min** miṣra wa-l-kuwayti*
في كلّ من مصر والكويت
'**in both** Egypt and Kuwait'

Verbal concord is generally singular:

***kullun minnā** kāna yattaki'u 'alā l-'āḫari*
كلّ منّا كان يتكئ على الآخر
'**each of us** used to lean on the other'

(for the same construction of *'ayy* أيّ 'any', see **2.9.1.6**)

Also used with plural:

***kullun min** ha'ulā'i l-qādati*
كلّ من هؤلاء القادة
'**every one of** these leaders'

- *al-kull* الكلّ / *kullun* كلّ (▷C2:124) 'the whole'

kull كلّ is still commonly used as a free form, either definite or indefinite:

***al-kullu** mašġūlun* الكلّ مشغول '**everybody** is busy'
***al-kullu** yataḥaddaṯu* الكلّ يتحدّث '**everybody** is talking'
*dawru l-majlisi ka-**kullin*** دور المجلس ككلّ 'the role of the council **as a whole**'
*nuṣannifuhā **kullan** 'alā ḥidatin* نصنّفها كلاّ على حدة 'we categorize them **each one** individually'
*li-**kullin** takālīfuhu* ولكل تكاليفه '**everyone** has his obligations'

2.9.1.2 *jamīʿ* جميع (▷C2:132) 'all'

- As first element of annexation:

*fī **jamīʿi** taṣarrufātihim*
في جميع تصرّفاتهم
'in **all** their activities'

*'adā'u **jamīʿi** l-ʿamaliyyāti l-ḫārijiyyati*
أداء جميع العمليات الخارجية
'carrying out **all** overseas operations'

*nuraḥḥibu bi-**jamīʿi** l-ḥāḍirīna*
نرحّب بجميع الحاضرين
'we welcome **all** those present'

*fī **jamīʿi** l-ʿuṣūri*
في جميع العصور
'in **all** ages'

Appositional:

*'aṣwātu l-muṭribāti **jamīʿihinna***
أصوات المطربات جميعهنّ
'the voices of the singers [fem.], **all of them**'

- *al-jamīʿ* الجميع 'everyone', 'all':

*al-salāmu 'ayḍan mas'ūliyyatu **l-jamīʿi***
السلام أيضا مسؤولية الجميع
'peace also is the responsibility of **all**'

*yajibu 'an yakūna **l-jamīʿu** mušārikīna*
يجب أنْ يكون الجميع مشاركين
'**all** must take part'

- *jamīʿan* جميعا (see 2.4.8; ▷C2:189):

Invariable dependent case singular with adverbial function:

*wa-qad 'aḥzananā **jamīʿan** mawḍūʿu l-'irhābi*
وقد أحزننا جميعا موضوع الإرهاب
'the subject of terrorism has saddened us **all**'

*fa-l-nāsu **jamī‘an** min ’aṣlin wāḥidin*
فالناس جميعا من أصل واحد
‘and people are **all** from one origin’

- *’ajma‘* أجمع (▷C2:133) singular or plural in dependent case with or without pronoun:

  *’a‘āda llāhu hāḏihi l-’ayyāma ‘alā l-‘ālami **’ajma‘a** bi-l-ḫayri wa-l-barakāti*
  أعاد الله هذه الأيّام على العالم أجمع بالخير و البركات
  ‘may God make these days happen again with goodness and blessings over **all** the world’ (for optative verbs, see **3.25.1**)

  *’ilā ’an bada’at ta’kula ’abnā’ahā **’ajma‘īna***
  إلى أنْ بدأت تأكل أبناءها أجمعين
  ‘until it begin to consume all of its sons’, lit. ‘its sons, all [**of them**]’ (for *’ilā ’an* إلى أن, see **7.5.1.10**)

  Annexed with preposition *bi-* بـ

  bi-’ajma‘i بأجمع with attached pron. linking to the antecedent:

  *yadda‘ī ’anna l-ša‘ba **bi-’ajma‘ihi** yaqifu warā’ahu*
  يدّعي أنّ الشعب بأجمعه يقف وراءه
  ‘he claims that the people **in its entirety stands** behind him’

2.9.1.3 *ba‘ḍ* بعض ‘some’, ‘any’ (▷C2:134) (for periphrastic indefiniteness, see **1.12.4.1**)

- Annexed:

  ***ba‘ḍu** l-jinsiyyāti l-’ajnabiyyati*
  بعض الجنسيات الأجنبية
  ‘**certain** foreign nationalities’

  *wajadnā **ba‘ḍa** l-masājidi taṭlubu …*
  وجدنا بعض المساجد تطلب . . .
  ‘we found **some** of the mosques requiring …’ (note agreement with ‘mosques’)

  *bi-’iḍāfati **ba‘ḍi** l-ta‘dīlāti*
  بإضافة بعض التعديلات
  ‘with the addition of **certain** adjustments’

li-taġṭiyati našāṭātin ***ba‘ḍuhā*** *ḥaqīqiyyun wa-****ba‘ḍuhā*** *wahmiyyun*

لتغطية نشاطات بعضها حقيقي و بعضها وهمي

'to cover activities **some of which** are real [masc. sing.] and **some** imaginary [masc. sing.]'

For more issues of agreement, see **3.1.1** for predicate agreement, see **3.8.4** for verbs.

- *al-ba‘ḍ* البعض 'some' (▷C2:134; **3.14.3**)

Occurs independently with collective sense of 'some':

’iḏ yumaṯṯilu ***l-ba‘ḍa*** *l-qalba wa-****l-ba‘ḍu l-’āḥaru*** *yumaṯṯilu l-‘aqla*

إذْ يمثّل البعض القلب و البعض الآخر يمثّل العقل

'since **some** represent the heart and **the others** represent the intellect'

’illā ’anna ***l-ba‘ḍa*** *lahu taḥaffuẓātun*

إلا أنّ البعض له تحفّظات

'except that **some** people have reservations' (note the agreement)

Without definite article:

lam yaḫuṣṣa ***ba‘ḍan*** *dūna* ***ba‘ḍin***

لم يخصّ بعضا دون بعض

'it did not concern **some** to the exclusion of **(some) others**'

’amḍaytu bihi ***ba‘ḍan*** *min waqtī*

أمضيْت به بعضا من وقتي

'I spent **some** of my time in it'

Reciprocity and in apposition (see **3.1.4**):

tata‘allaqu ’ajzā’uhā ***ba‘ḍuhā bi-ba‘ḍin***

تتعلّق أجزاؤها بعضها ببعض

'in which its parts are interrelated **with one another**'

2.9.1.4 *mu‘ẓam* معظم 'most (of)', 'the majority of'

First element of annexation followed by plural noun:

fī ***mu‘ẓami*** *l-duwali l-’ūrūbiyyati*

في معظم الدول الأوروبية

'in the **majority** of European countries'

Dependent singular noun occurs in generic time expressions: ***mu'zama*** *l-waqti* معظم الوقت '**most** of the time'. For agreement, see **3.1.1** for predicate agreement; see **3.8.4** for verbs.

2.9.1.5 *biḍ'a* بضعة (cf. **1.12.4** on indefiniteness; also under numbers, see **2.9.1.5**) 'few', 'some' (originally used for an indeterminate number from 3–10)

As first element of annexation + second element in indefinite plural. As with numerals 3–10 gender polarity rule applies, that is, a masculine noun in singular form requires the feminine form *biḍ'a* بضعة, and a feminine noun in its singular form requires the masculine form *biḍ'* بضع:

biḍ'atu *'amtārin* بضعة أمتار '**a few** metres'

ba'da ***biḍ'i*** *daqā'iqa* بعد بضع دقائق 'after **a few** minutes'

For *nayyif* نيّف 'few', see numbers **2.12.15**. For *niṣf* نصف (▷C2:91) 'half', see **2.12.3**.

2.9.1.6 *'ayy* أيّ or *'ayya* أيّة (▷C1:156) 'any' (see interrogs **10.6**; exclamatory **3.28.3**; also see indefinite **1.12.4.1**)

'ayy أيّ is always annexed to the following noun; gender agreement is no longer compulsory.

- With gender agreement:

  'ayyatu *wasāṭatin*
  أيّة وساطة
  '**any** mediation'

  lā ya'kulu ***'ayya*** *naw'in min-a l-'a'lāfi*
  لا يأكل أيّ نوع من الأعلاف
  'it does not eat **any** kind of fodder'

  lan yaḥmila ***'ayya*** *jadīdin*
  لن يحمل أيّ جديد
  'it will not carry **anything** new' (see nominalised adjectives **2.1.5**)

- Without gender agreement:

  dūna 'an 'atalaqqā ***'ayya*** *stijābatin*
  دون أنْ أتلقّى أيّ استجابة
  'without receiving [that I receive] **any** reply'

*lā yumkinunī 'an 'uḥaddida bi-l-ṭab'i **'ayyahā** sa-yahbiṭu 'awwalan*
لا يمكنني أنْ أحدّد بالطبع أيّها سيهبط أوّلا
'I cannot predict of course **which of them** will fall first'

- Subset with *min* من (cf. *kullun min* كلّ من **2.9.11**):

*dūna 'an tafqida **'ayyun min** 'anāṣirihā šay'an min jāḏibiyyatihā*
دون أنْ تفقد أيّ من عناصرها شيئا من جاذبيتها
'without **any of** its elements losing any of their charm'

*lam yuqaddimhā **'ayyun min** maṣāni'ī l-sayyārāti l-'uḫrā*
لم يقدّمها أيّ من مصانع السيّارات الأخرى
'no **other** car manufacturers offered it'

*li-l-ištirāki fī **'ayyin min**-a l-ḫidmatayni*
للاشتراك في أيّ من الخدمتين
'to subscribe to **any of** the two services'

2.9.1.7 *kāffa* كافّة 'all'

- Annexed (cf. *kull* كلّ **2.9.1.1**):

*fī **kāffati** l-maḥāfili l-duwaliyyati*
في كافّة المحافل الدولية
'in **all** the international arenas'

*fī taḥlīli **kāffati** l-qaḍāyā*
في تحليل كافّة القضايا
'in solving **all** the cases'

*tārīḫu l-'islāmi fī **kāffati** marāḥilihi*
تاريخ الإسلام في كافّة مراحله
'the history of Islam in **all** its stages'

- Invariable dependent case singular adverbial form (see **2.4.8**):

*wajaba 'alā l-muslimīna **kāffatan***
وجب على المسلمين كافّة
'it became a duty on the Muslims **altogether**'

*šu'ūbu l-'ālami **kāffatan***
شعوب العالم كافّة
'the peoples of the world **altogether**'

2.9.1.8 *sā'ir* سائر 'all'

- Found only in annexation (contrast *kull* كلّ **2.9.1.1** and *kāffa* كافّة above):

  sā'iru *šu'ūnihim* سائر شؤونهم '**all** their affairs'

2.9.1.9 *šattā* شتّى 'all kinds of', 'various'

Invariable

- Annexed:

  fī ***šattā*** *l-majālāti l-siyāsiyyati wa-l-iqtiṣādiyyati wa-l-ṯaqāfiyyati*
  في شتّى المجالات السياسية والاقتصادية والثقافية
  'in **all** kinds of political, economic and cultural areas'

- Appositional variant:

  taġayyurātun rūḥiyyatun ***šattā***
  تغيّرات روحية شتّى
  '**various** spiritual changes'

  'aškālun ***šattā*** *min-a l-mu'ānāti*
  أشكال شتّى من المعاناة
  '**all** kinds of suffering'

2.9.1.10 The following quantifiers require an attached pronoun linking them to the antecedent (cf. *nafs* نفس, **2.8.1.2**).

bi-'akmali- بأكمل 'as a whole':

al-kawnu ***bi-'akmalihi***
الكون بأكمله
'the universe **in its entirety**'

kalimātun dāllatun 'alā l-'amri ***bi-'akmalihi***
كلمات دالّة على الأمر بأكمله
'words denoting the matter in **its entirety**'

bi-ḥaḏāfīri- بحذافير 'lock, stock and barrel':

takarrara l-ḥulmu ***bi-ḥaḏāfīrihi***
تكرّر الحلم بحذافيره
'the dream repeated itself **in all its details**'

bi-'asri- بأسر 'the whole':

al-madīnatu ***bi-'asrihā*** المدينة بأسرها '**the whole** town'

2.9.2 *Miscellaneous determiners, 'same', 'other than', 'un-'*

2.9.2.1 *miṯl* مثل (plur. *'amṯāl* أمثال) (▷C2:144) 'same', 'like'

- Annexed, with following definite noun in either singular or plural:

  ***miṯlu** hāḏihi l-malābisi lā tatanāsabu ma'a miṣra l-ḥadīṯati*
  مثل هذه الملابس لا تتناسب مع مصر الحديثة
  'clothes **like** these do not go with modern Egypt', lit. 'the like of these clothes'

  *fī **miṯli** hāḏihi l-ẓurūfi*
  في مثل هذه الظروف
  'in circumstances **like** these'

  ***miṯlu** hāḏihi l-māddati*
  مثل هذه المادّة
  'a substance **like** this'

- Apposition, with attached pronoun:

  *hunāka 'ašarātun **miṯluhu*** هناك عشرات مثله 'there are dozens **like it**'
  *jamī'u l-'aṭibbā'i **'amṯālika*** جميع الأطبّاء أمثالك 'all doctors **like you**'
  *min sūqin **miṯli hāḏā*** من سوق مثل هذا 'of a market **like this**'

(Note: *sūq* سوق is one of the nouns that may be masculine or feminine, although it is normally feminine, see **1.12.2.1**)

- *miṯla* مثل as prepositional (C2:145) (cf. **2.7**)

When the annexed phrase is adverbial *miṯl* مثل takes dependent case (as does *ġayr* غير **2.9.2.3**, for example, and the annexed quantifiers in **2.9.1**):

***miṯla** l-maḫābiri l-ḥadīṯati* مثلَ المخابر الحديثة 'like modern laboratories' (for conj. *miṯlamā* مثلما, see **5.9.11**)

2.9.2.2 *šibh* شبه 'semi-', 'quasi-', 'sort of' (cf. **12.7.1** for compound nouns quasi-, etc.)

First element of annexation followed by noun or adjective in the indefinite or definite form, either singular or plural:

- Noun:

  *fī mawḍi'in **šibhi** qiṭārin*
  في موضع شبه قطار
  'in a train-**like** place'

ḏālika l-ḥamāsu ***šibhu*** *l-dīniyyi*

ذلك الحماس شبه الديني

'that **semi**-religious zeal'

wa-'išnā fī ***šibhi*** *l-ġurbati llatī 'aradnāhā li-'anfusinā*

وعشنا في شبه الغربة الّتي أردناها لأنفسنا

'and we lived in **the semi**-exile we wanted for ourselves'

- Adjective (attributive and predicate):

wa-hiya ***šibhu*** *mašlūlatin 'alā l-sarīri*

و هي شبه مشلولة على السرير

'she being **semi**-paralysed on the bed'

ziyārātun ***šibhu*** *yawmiyyatin*

زيارات شبه يومية

'**almost** daily visits' (here as type of adj. determiner)

'inna muwājahata l-majlisi li-l-ḥukūmati 'ilā hāḏā l-ḥaddi ***šibhu*** *mustaḥīlatin*

إن مواجهة المجلس للحكومة إلى هذا الحد شبه مستحيلة

'parliament's opposition to the government to this extent is **virtually** impossible'

2.9.2.3 *ġayr* غير 'different', 'other' hence often 'not', 'else'

ġayr **غير** functions predicatively or attributively (in the latter sense functioning as a type of adjectival determiner, as does *šibh* **شبه**, see **2.9.2.2**), or nominally (▷C2:147) (see also relatives *ġayra mā* **غير ما 5.9**; exceptives **9.5.1**; **12.6** for compound words 'non-', 'un-'), but it is not a negative particle.

- Annexed to adjective or noun for negation, predicative *ġayr* **غير** states that 'x [is] other-than-y' (for predicate, see **3.1**):

hāḏihi l-kawādiru ***ġayru*** *mawjūdatin-i l-'āna*

هذه الكوادر غير موجودة الآن

'these cadres are non-existent now', lit. '**other than** existing'

raġabātunā ***ġayru*** *marḍiyyatin*

رغباتنا غير مرضية

'our desires are unsatisfied', lit. '**other than** satisfied'

Can also be used with pronoun:

*al-ḥadāṯatu fī ’ūrūbbā **ġayruhā** fī l-ṣīni*

الحداثة في أوروبا غيرها في الصين

‘modernity in Europe is **different from** what it is in China’, lit. ‘is other than it’

- Attributive:

Indefinite:

*ma‘lūmātun muwaṯṯaqatun **ġayru** qābilatin li-l-šakki*

معلومات موثّقة غير قابلة للشكّ

‘indisputable documented facts’, lit. ‘**other than** capable of being doubted’

*fī ma‘rakatin **ġayri** mutakāfi’atin*

في معركة غير متكافئة

‘in an unequal battle’ (see also **12.6**), lit. ‘in a battle **other than** equal’

Definite (adjective takes definite article):

*al-qawā‘idu **ġayru** l-mudawwanati*

القواعد غير المدوّنة

‘the unwritten rules’, lit. ‘**other than** the written’

*faḍlan ‘an-i l-manẓari **ġayri** l-ḥaḍāriyyi wa-l-’insāniyyi*

فضلا عن المنظر غير الحضاري و الإنساني

‘not to mention the uncivilized and inhuman spectacle’, lit. ‘the **other than** civilized and [other than] human’

- Note the following with unreal annexation, see **2.1.3.2**:

*al-’aṭfālu l-‘urju **ġayru** muktamilī l-numuwwi*

الأطفال العرج غير مكتملي النموّ

‘lame children not fully developed’, lit. ‘**other than** full of development’

- *ġayr* غير sometimes takes the definite article now in spite of its noun status (cf. unreal annexation **2.1.3.2** which might have been the model for this extension):

*al-’amākinu al-ḍayyiqatu **l-ġayru** muhawwātin*

الأماكن الضيّقة الغير مهوّاة

‘[the] confined unaired places’, lit. ‘the confined places **the other than** the aired’

al-wasā'ilu ***l-ġayru*** *mašrū'atin*
الوسائل الغير مشروعة
'[the] illegal means', lit. 'the means **the other than** the legal'

(note generic article on the nouns)

- Nominal function, annexed to noun or pronoun:

wa-qad šāraka ***ġayru*** *l-'arabi*
وقد شارك غير العربي
'and non-Arabs participated', lit. '**other than** the Arabs'

*jamā'atun min-a l-masīḥiyyīna wa-****ġayrihim***
جماعة من المسيحيين و غيرهم
'a group of Christians and others', lit. '**other than** them'

hāḏihi l-ḥīlatu yumkinu 'an tajūza 'alā ***ġayrihi***
هذه الحيلة يمكن أنْ تجوز على غيره
'this trick could be played on someone else', lit. '**other than** him'

- *min ġayr* من غير 'without' (see also **2.6.12**; **7.5.1.11** for *min ġayri 'an* من غير أن as conj.) (▷C2:149, 152):

min ġayri *ta'abin* من غير تعب '**without** toil'

- *al-ġayr* الغير 'the others'

Stands independently and defined in the sense of 'others':

fī 'iz'āji ***l-ġayri***
في إزعاج الغير
'in the annoyance of **others**'

*fī sabīli ta'jīrihā li-****l-ġayri***
في سبيل تأجيرها للغير
'in order to lease them to **others**'

*'an yasmaḥa li-****l-ġayri*** *bi-sti'māli tilifūnihi*
أنْ يسمح للغير باستعمال تليفونه
'to allow **someone else** to use his telephone'

When the annexed phrase is adverbial, *ġayr* غير takes dependent case (as does *miṯl* مثل **2.9.2.1**, for example, and the annexed quantifiers in **2.9.1**) exceptives, **9.5** (▷C2:150); *ġayra 'an[na]* غيرَ أنّ, see **7.5.2.11**. For *lā ġayru* لا غيرُ, see **2.18.3**.

2.9.2.4 *siwā* سوى 'other than', 'besides'

Similar to *ġayr* غير in that they both function in an exceptive sense (see **9.5.2**). However, *siwā* سوى never occurs with definite article and cannot be followed by an adjective (cf. **2.9.2.3** on these).

- as synonym of *ġayr* غير in exceptive sense with negative:

  lā yaṣifu ***siwā*** *l-mamāliki l-'arīqati ḥaḍāratan*
  لا يصف سوى الممالك العريقة حضارة
  'he describes **only** those states old in civilization'

(for *tamyīz* with elative, see **2.4.4.1**)

- non-exceptive affirmative sense:

  *wa-****siwāhā*** *min-a l-'a'māli*
  وسواها من الأعمال
  'and works **other** than these' (see *mā … min* ما . . . من **5.4.4**)

For *siwā 'anna* سوى أنّ (▷C2:355), see subordinates **7.5.2.11**.

2.9.2.5 *'adam* عدم 'lack of', 'absence of'

'adamu tawaṣṣulihā *li-ḥallin*
عدم توصّلها لحل
'**her not reaching** a solution'

'adamu 'i'ādati tajmīdi *'ayyi muntajin*
عدم إعادة تجميد أيّ منتج
'**not to refreeze** any product' (see 're-' **12.7.1**);

'adamu l-lujū'i *'ilā l-ṭabībi 'illā 'inda l-ḍarūrati l-quṣwā*
عدم اللجوء إلى الطبيب إلا عنْد الضرورة القصوى
'**not to visit** the doctor except in extreme necessity'

(see negative compound nouns at **12.6**)

2.9.2.6 *sū'* سوء 'mis-' (see **12.7**)

sū'u *l-fahmi* سوء الفهم '**mis**understanding'
*bi-****sū'i*** *niyyatin* بسوء نيّة 'with **ill**-will'
sū'u *l-'idārati* سوء الإدارة '**mis**management'

2.10 Verbal noun and participial phrases

Verbal nouns may be annexed to their agents or their objects, or may operate directly on the object, while participles may be annexed only to their objects, and may also operate on them directly. When the verb is indirectly transitive through a prep. (see **3.11.4**), its verbal nouns and participles do the same.

2.10.1 *Verbal noun phrases*

2.10.1.1 *Annexed agent* (▷C2:401) *('subjective genitive')*

Occur mainly with intransitive verbs:

fī ***ḥudūri*** *l-malikati*
في حضور الملكة
'in **the presence** of the Queen', lit. 'being present'

'inda ***wuṣūli*** *l-qiṭāri*
عند وصول القطار
'upon **the arrival** of the train', lit. 'arriving'

'ala ***murūri*** *l-zamāni*
على مرور الزمان
'with **the passing** of time'

2.10.1.2 *Annexed object* (▷C2:402) *('objective genitive')*

*li-****ḥifẓi*** *l-salāmi*
لحفظ السلام
'for **the preservation** of peace' = 'peace-keeping'

qabla ***'idḫāli*** *l-barīdi l-'iliktrūniyyi*
قبل إدخال البريد الإلكتروني
'before **the introduction** of e-mail'

*yuhaddidu bi-****jtiyāzi*** *ḫaṭṭi waqfi l-nāri*
يهدّد باجتياز خطّ وقف النار
'threatens to **cross** the ceasefire line', lit. 'the crossing of'

2.10.1.3 *Object in dependent case* (▷C2:403)

When the agent of the verb is already annexed to the noun, the object must be in the dependent case:

munḏu ***tawallīhi mahāmma*** *manṣibihi*
منذ تولّيه مهامّ منصبه
'since **his taking up the duties** of his office', lit. 'the taking up of him (obl.) his duties (dep.)'

min tārīḫi ***bulūġi l-muwaẓẓafi sinna*** *l-sittīna*
من تاريخ بلوغ الموظّف سنّ الستين
'from the date of **the official's reaching the age** of sixty'

ḥawla ***'idmānihā l-tadḫīna***
حوْل إدمانها التدخين
'concerning **her addiction to smoking**'

tarkuhā *lī* ***majāla*** *l-iktišāfi bi-nafsī*
تركها لي مجال الاكتشاف بنفسي
'**her leaving** to me **the chance** of making the discovery myself'

2.10.1.4 *With doubly transitive verbs*

qarrarat ***manḥahu darajata*** *l-duktūrāh*
قررت منحه درجة الدكتوراة
'it decided [namely, committee] **to give him the** PhD **degree**'

*'i'ṭā'u****hunna l-ma'rifata*** *l-fikriyyata wa-l-'amaliyyata l-lāzimata*
إعطاؤهنّ المعرفة الفكرية والعملية اللازمة
'giving **them** [fem.] **the** necessary intellectual and practical **knowledge**'

*'īdā'u****hā maḫāzina*** *maṣlaḥati l-jamāriki*
إيداعها مخازن مصلحة الجمارك
'depositing **them [in] the warehouses** of the customs department'

See also *i'tabara* اعتبر, 2.5.8.5

2.10.1.5 *With verbal noun of* kāna كان *'to be', see* ***3.16.2***

min ***kawni l-'aqīdati hiya mā*** *yan'aqidu 'alayhi qalbuhu wa-ḍamīruhu*
من كون العقيدة هي ما ينعقد عليه قلبه و ضميره
'because **of belief being what** his heart and conscience are bound to'

fī ***kawnihinna 'ab'ada*** *'an-i l-rāḥati wa-l-hudū'i min ġayrihinna*
في كونهنّ أبعد عن الراحة و الهدوء من غيْرهنّ
'in **their** [fem.] **being further** from relaxation and calm than others'

2.10.1.6 *With free object pronoun* 'iyyā- إيّا *(see* ***2.4.1.1****)*

The particle *'iyyā* إيّا occurs after verbal nouns and active participles where annexation of two pronouns is not permitted, and where, in many cases, an agent pronoun is already suffixed:

istiyā'ī min 'adami ***'i'ṭā'ika 'iyyāya*** *sayyārataka l-ṯāniyata*
استيائي من عدم إعطائك إيّاي سيّارتك الثانية
'my displeasure at **your** not **giving me** your second car', lit. 'the giving of you [agent] [to] me [1st obj.] your car [2nd obj.]'

(for *'adam* عدم 'lack of', i.e. 'non-', see **12.6**)

In addition, where the agent noun is required to preserve its formal indefiniteness (usually the circ. qual., see **2.4.6**) pronoun suffixation is impossible, and is replaced by the *'iyyā* إيّا alternative:

wa-rakala 'aḥaduhumā l-'āḫara fī mu'aḫḫaratihi ***'āmiran 'iyyāhu*** *'an yaftaḥa l-šanṭata*
وركل أحدهما الآخر في مؤخّرته آمرا إيّاه أنْ يفتح الشنطة
'one of them kicked the other in his backside, **ordering him** to open the bag'

2.10.1.7 *Paraphrase of dependent object with* li- لـ (▷C2:286)

When the verbal noun is definite or annexed, the preposition *li-* لـ can be used to paraphrase (note that this is normally a stylistic alternative to object in dependent form, see **2.10.1.3**):

ba'da faqdihi ***li-zawjatihi***
بعد فقده لزوجته
'after his losing **his wife**', cf. 'after his loss **of** his wife'

*‘alā rafḍihi l-imtiṯāla **li-qtirāḥi** l-wazīri*
على رفضه الامتثال لاقتراح الوزير
‘in his refusal to obey **the** minister’s **suggestion**’

*istiġlāluhu **li-l-furṣati l-’aḫīrati** lahu*
استغلاله للفرصة الأخيرة له
‘his exploiting **the last opportunity** he had’

*min kaṯrati **’aklihim li-l-samaki** fī ṣiġarihim*
من كثرة أكلهم للسمك في صغرهم
‘on account of **their eating** a lot of **fish** when they were young’

*fī muqābalatihi **li-l-ra’īsi l-sūriyyi***
في مقابلته للرئيس السوري
‘in his meeting **with** the Syrian President’

It is also commonly used under the following conditions:

When the verbal noun of transitive verb is indefinite dependent, as in purposive object (see **2.4.5**):

tamhīdan li-raf‘ihā ’ilā wizārati l-ṣiḥḥati
تمهيدا لرفعها إلى وزير الصحّة
‘**in preparation for** its submission to the minister of health’

To preserve indefiniteness of verbal noun:

*mujarradu jam‘in **li-’aškālin** turāṯiyyatin*
مجرّد جمع لأشكال تراثية
‘merely a collection **of** traditional **figures**’ (see *mujarrad* مجرد **2.8.4**)

When the object is a pronoun, not a noun:

*ḫilāla fatarāti qiyādatī **lahā***
خلال فترات قيادتي لها
‘during the periods of my leading **it**’

2.10.1.8 Maf‘ūl muṭlaq *as object* (▷C2:448) *(see **2.4.2.5**)*

***li-ḫuḍū‘ihi** lahum **ḫuḍū‘an** lā yalīqu bi-makānatihi*
لخضوعه لهم خضوعا لا يليق بمكانته
‘**because of his being submissive** to them **in a way**’, lit. ‘with a being submissive not befitting his position’

2.10.1.9 *Verbal noun with passive meaning* (▷C2:402)

The verbal noun as part of an annexation structure can express a passive sense of something 'having been done' even though structurally Arabic does not distinguish:

*ba'da **'iblāġī bi-*** بعد إبلاغي بـ 'after **my being informed of**'

2.10.1.10 *As circumstantial qualifiers, see* ***2.4.6***

2.10.1.11 *Alternative to subordinate clause, see* 'an أنْ ***7.5.1.1***

*qarrartu **'ijrā'a** l-'amaliyyati*
قرّرت إجراء العملية
'I decided **to carry out** the operation', lit. '[on] the carrying out of'

2.10.1.12 *Verbal nouns from indirect transitive verbs*

When the verb is indirectly transitive through a preposition (see **3.11.4**), its verbal nouns do the same:

*fakkara fī **l-ḏahābi 'ilā** zamīlihi*
فكر في الذهاب إلى زميله
'he thought about **going to** his colleague'

2.10.2 *Active participial phrases* (▷C2:406)

Active (and passive participles) have all the functions of adjectives, see **2.1**.

- Attributive (nominal):

  *li-kalimātihi **l-muhaddidati***
  لكلماته المهددة
  'at his **threatening** words'

  *jalasa 'alā l-kursiyyi **l-mulāṣiqi** li-kursiyyi l-'arūsi*
  جلس على الكرسي الملاصق لكرسي العروس
  'he sat on the chair **adjacent** to the chair of the bride'

al-ṭabību ***l-mušrifu*** *ʻalā l-ʻilāji*

الطبيب المشرف على العلاج

'the doctor **supervising** the treatment'

Because of their participial meaning they can often be translated as relative clauses when used attributively (see **5.0**), cf. 'the proposals leading to a solution' and 'the proposals that lead to a solution':

ḥadīṯun ***muḫayyibun*** ***li****-l-'āmāli*

حديث مخيّب للآمال

'a **disappointing** talk', lit. 'a talk disappointing to hopes'

cf. *ḥadīṯun* ***yuḫayyibu*** *l-'āmāla*

حديث يخيّب الآمال

'a talk which disappoints hopes'

- Attributive with annexation:

  ḏāta ṣabāḥin ***šāhiqi*** *l-ḍaw'i* ***hādi'i*** *l-samti*

  ذات صباح شاهق الضوء هادئ السمت

  'one amazingly bright and peaceful morning', lit. 'one morning **amazing** of light, **calm** of manner'

  (see unreal annexation **2.1.3.2**)

- Object of verb:

  wa-wajadnā l-bayta ***sākinan*** *sukūna l-qubūri*

  ووجدنا البيت ساكنا سكون القبور

  'and we found the house as silent as a grave', lit. '**being silent** the silence of the grave'

  For an absolute object qualifying a previous noun, adjective or participle (or rather, the verbal notion implicit in these words), see **2.4.2.5** (▷C2:448; ▷C3:275)

- Simple predicative:

  'aw 'innahā ***mutakabbiratun*** *wa-****mutaġaṭrisatun***

  أو إنها متكبرة ومتغطرسة

  'or that she is **haughty** and **conceited**' (for quadriliteral forms, see **1.10.12**)

- Predicative with annexation:

  kāna ***bāliġa*** *l-taṭallubi*
  كان بالغ التطلّب
  'he made excessive demands', lit. 'he was **excessive** of demand'

  (see unreal annexation **2.1.3.2**)

- With annexed objects when participle is used as noun expressing verbal action (▷C2:408).

Note that some participles have a noun function expressing a permanent quality as well as a temporary one. In such cases the verbal element is almost absent. This is particularly true of professonal designations:

ṣāni'atu *qubba'ātihā*
صانعة قبّعاتها
'her hat-**maker**'

ḥākimu *l-šāriqati*
حاكم الشارقة
'**the Ruler** of Sharjah'

musā'idu *l-mustašāri l-ṭibbī l-miṣriyyi*
مساعد المستشار الطبّي المصري
'**the assistant** to the Egyptian medical consultant'

- Dependent objects (▷C2:411):

  When the participle is necessarily indefinite (e.g. as an object qualifier), its object is always in the dependent case and therefore cannot be annexed:

  mu'linatan ***'i'ādata*** *ftitāḥihi*
  معلنة إعادة افتتاحه
  'announcing its **re**-opening'

  muttahiman ***'iyyāhu*** *bi-l-saṭwi*
  متّهما إيّاه بالسطو
  'accusing **him** of burglary'

  (see *'iyyā* إيّا **2.10.1.6**)

  muqallidan ***ṣawtan*** *nisā'iyyan*
  مقلدا صوتا نسائيا
  'imitating a womanly **voice**'

- With prepositions (▷C2:413):

  When the verb is indirectly transitive through a preposition (see **3.11.4**), its active participles do the same:

  qādirun ʻalā *ḥimāyatika*
  قادر على حمايتك
  '**capable of** protecting you'

  muttafiqatun maʻa *mā huwa wāridun fī tilka l-ḥisābāti*
  متّفقة مع ما هو وارد في تلك الحسابات
  '**agreeing with** what comes in those accounts'

- Active participle with future indication:

  wa-lā šakka ʾannaka ***bāliġun*** *ġāyataka fī l-mustaqbali l-qarībi*
  ولا شك أنك بالغ غايتك في المستقبل القريب
  'and no doubt you **will reach** your objective in the near future'

  taraqqabīnī fa-ʾanā ***rājiʻun*** *maʻa ṭuyūri l-masāʾi*
  ترقبيني فأنا راجع مع طيور المساء
  'watch out [fem. sing.] for me for I **will be returning** with the evening birds'

- Active participle as circumstantial qualifiers (see **7.3.1**):

  waqafa ***ṣāmitan*** *fī makānihi*
  وقف صامتا في مكانه
  'he stood **silent** in his place'

2.10.3 *Passive participial phrases*

(▷C2:414; **2.1.3.4**, cf. idiomatic passives in **3.12.4**)

Passive participles have all the functions of adjectives (see **2.1**):

- Attributive:

  bi-ʾaṯwābihim-i ***l-mulawwanati***
  بأثوابهم الملونة
  'in their **coloured** robes'

- Predicative:

  'anna l-'i'jāba wa-l-wadda ***mutabādalāni*** *bayna l-iṯnayni*
  أن الإعجاب والود متبادلان بين الاثنين
  'that admiration and affection are mutual', lit. '**exchanged** between the two'

  ra'ā 'annahu kāna ***ma'rūḍan*** *li-l-bay'i*
  رأى أنه كان معروضا للبيع
  'he had a vision [lit. "saw"] that he was **offered** for sale'

- The participle may be annexed to its agent:

  'i'ānatu ***mankūbī*** *l-zalzāli*
  إعانة منكوبي الزلزال
  'assisting **those afflicted by** the earthquake'

  (cf. periphrastic variant below)

Prepositional phrases with *bi-* بـ after passive participles can introduce the instrument of the action (see **3.12.2**) as they do in the following examples. They do not normally introduce the periphrastic agent (see **3.12.1**).

- Instruments, literal and metaphorical (▷C2:416) (see passive verbs in **3.12.2**):

- With *bi-* بـ

  muzawwadatun bi*-fataḥātin ḫāṣṣatin*
  مزوّدة بفتحات خاصّة
  '**provided** [by someone] **with** special apertures'

  maḥfūfan bi*-l-maḫāṭiri*
  محفوفا بالمخاطر
  '**surrounded by** risks'

  [riyāḥun] ***muḥammalatun bi****-ġubāri l-ta'aṣṣubi*
  [رياح] محمّلة بغبار التعصّب
  '[winds] **loaded with** the dust of fanaticism'

  al-ḥujratu . . . ***muġaṭṭātun*** *'arḍuhā* ***bi****-kilīmin*
  الحجرة . . . مغطّاة أرضها بكليم
  'the room . . . had a floor **covered with** a kilim'

  (see *na't sababī* نعت سببي **2.1.3.4**)

- With *min* من 'on the part of', 'by'

Prepositional phrases, mainly with *min* من, are used increasingly in MWA with passive participles to introduce the periphrastic agent of an action (see **3.12.1**):

muwaqqa'un min *wazīri l-taṣnī' l-ḥarbiyyi*
موقّع من وزير التصنيع الحربي
'**signed by** the Minister of Military Manufacture'

al-'as'āru ***l-mu'lanatu min****-a l-sūqi*
الأسعار المعلنة من السوق
'the prices **announced by** the market'

taṣrīḥun bi-l-dafni ***muḥarrarun min*** …
تصريح بالدفن محرّر من . . .
'a burial permit **issued by** …'

- With *min qibali* من قِبَل:

al-juhdu ***l-mabḏūlu min qibali*** *l-ṭullābi*
الجهد المبذول من قبل الطلاب
'the effort **exerted by** the students'

huwa ***ma'rūfun min qibali*** *l-nurwījiyyīna*
هو معروف من قبل النرويجيين
'he is **known by** the Norwegians'

- With other prepositionals:

ma'dūdatun ***bi-wāsiṭati***
معدودة بواسطة
'counted **by**'

- When the verb is indirectly transitive through a preposition (see **3.11.4**), its passive participles do the same:

'anā ***muṭālabun bi****-sidādi 23 'alfa junayhin*
أنا مطالب بسداد ٢٣ ألف جنيه
'I am **required to** pay £23,000'

al-lijānu ***l-mukallafatu bi****-waḍ'i l-tartībāti*
اللجان المكلّفة بوضع الترتيبات
'the committees **charged with** making the arrangements'

- Impersonal passive (see **3.12.4**):

  ***kāna maḥkūman ʻalayya bi**-l-ḥabsi l-iḥtiyāṭiyyi 48 sāʻatan fī hāḏihil-ġurfati*

  كان محكوما عليّ بالحبس الاحتياطي ٤٨ ساعة في هذه الغرفة

  '**Sentence was passed on me of** preventative detention for 48 hours in this room'

  *al-šuʻarāʼu **l-muʻtarafu bihim***

  الشعراء المعترف بهم

  '[the] **acknowledged** poets'

- Passive participles as circumstantial qualifiers (see **7.3.1**):

  *jalasa **mahmūman*** جلس مهموما 'he sat **concerned**'

2.10.4 *Passive participles in nominal function*

Passive participles also function as nouns (cf. active part.) (▷C2:418):

*qāʼimati **l-muʻayyanīna*** قائمة المعيّنين 'the list of **appointees**'

***al-mustašāru** l-ʼalmāniyyu* المستشار الألماني '**the** German **counsellor**'

al-muʻtaqadātu المعتقدات 'beliefs', i.e. 'things believed'

(note feminine plural for abstracts, see **12.4.1**)

Idiomatic, cf. passive verbs **3.12.4**:

al-maḥmūl المحمول 'portable'

malmūs ملموس 'palpable'

*tarāju'un **malḥūẓun*** تراجع ملحوظ 'a **noticeable** regression'

As nouns of place (see **1.11.2**) (although in context they may have different meanings):

***multaqā** l-ʼahli wa-l-jīrāni*

ملتقى الأهل و الجيران

'**the meeting place** of the family and the neighbours'

***murtādun** li-banāti l-ḥayyi*

مرتاد لبنات الحيّ

'**a gathering place** for the girls of the quarter'

2.11 Comparatives and superlatives 'more [than]' / 'most' (▷C2:467 'elative')

The Archaic form *'af'alu* أفعل is a graded adjective used to express a superlative (Ar. *'af'alu* أفعل), for example 'biggest', or comparative, for example 'bigger [than]' (Ar. *'af'alu [min]* [من] أفعل quality). One of the most obvious distinctions between the comparative and the superlative is that the latter can be annexed to a noun in either indefinite singular or definite plural form.

Note: *'awwal* أول 'first' and *'āḫiru* آخر 'last' (and their fem. forms) are dealt with under the ordinal numbers (see **2.13.1**). For relatives with elatives, see **5.1.1** and **5.2.3**.

2.11.1 *Attributive comparative*

Indefinite:

'ilā darajatin ***'a'lā***
إلى درجة أعلى
'to a **higher** level'

'ilā ġurfatin ***'awsa'a*** *wa-****'afḍala***
إلى غرفة أوسع و أفضل
'to a **more spacious** and **better** room'

yadḫulu l-sūqa bi-'as'ārin ***'aqalla min****-a l-muntaji l-maḥalliyyi*
يدخل السوق بأسعار أقل من المنتج المحلي
'enters the market at prices **lower than** the local product'

Definite (see *tamyīz* **2.4.4.1**). The following examples could also be superlative but the context determines that these are comparative:

al-muḫtaṣarātu ***l-'akṯaru huzālan***
المختصرات الأكثر هزالا
'the **[even] slimmer** abridgements'

al-mazāyā l-jadīdatu ***l-'akṯaru fā'iliyyatan***
المزايا الجديدة الأكثر فاعلية
'the new, **more effective** features'

2.11.2 *Predicative comparative (no agreement in number/gender)*

(▷C2:469, not clearly separated)

*'āmmatan takūnu **'aġlā min**-a l-muntajāti l-'uḫrā*
عامة تكون أغلى من المنتجات الأخرى
'generally will be **more expensive than** the other products'

When a thing is compared with itself (▷C2:480), the second occurrence is *min* من + pronoun with no repetition of the first noun:

*kānat **šuhratu** tawfīq al-ḥakīm qā'imatan 'alā l-masraḥi **'akṯara minhā** 'alā 'alwāni l-'adabi l-'uḫrā*
كانت شهرة توفيق الحكيم قائمة على المسرح أكثر منها على ألوان الأدب الأخرى
'Tawfiq al-Hakim's **fame** was based **more** on theatre **than it [was]** on the other genres of literature'

min من + nominal relative clause (▷C2:481; **5.2.4**):

*fī ẓurūfin **'aṣ'aba** bi-kaṯīrin **min** tilka llatī namurru bihā l-'āna*
في ظروف أصعب بكثير من تلك الّتي نمرّ بها الآن
'in much **more difficult** circumstances **than** the ones we are going through now'

min + *'an* من أنْ clause (▷C2:482) (see **2.11.12**).

*fawā'iduhā **'akṯaru min 'an** tuḥṣā*
فوائدها أكثر من أن تُحْصى
'its benefits are **too numerous to** be counted'

mimmā ممّا type (▷C2:483) (cf. other *mimmā* ممّا **5.5.2**):

*li-**'aqalla mimmā** kāna 'alayhi*
لأقلّ ممّا كان عليه
'to **less than what** it had been'

*hum **'aḍ'afu mimmā** tataṣawwaru*
هم أضعف ممّا تتصوّر
'they are **weaker than [what]** you imagine'

Use of *tamyīz* with *'af'al* أفعل pattern (▷C2:479) (see **2.4.4**):

min ***'akṯari l-nisā'i jamālan*** *fī l-tārīḫi*

من أكثر النساء جمالا في التاريخ

'one of **the most beautiful women** in history'

(see partitive *min* من **2.6.12**)

'akṯaru htimāman bi*-l-mašākili l-dāḫiliyyati wa-****'aqallu htimāman bi****-qaḍāyā l-'ālami l-ḫārijiyyi*

أكثر اهتماما بالمشاكل الداخلية و أقلّ اهتماما بقضايا العالم الخارجي

'**more concerned with** internal problems and **less concerned with** the issues of the outside world'

'af'al أفعل with preposition other than *min* من (▷C2:483), generally using the preposition that goes with the verb:

li-'annahum fī hāḏā l-muḥīṭi l-ḍayyiqi – nisbiyyan – ***'aqdaru 'alā*** *'an yata'ārafū wa-yata'āḫaw*

لأنّهم في هذا المحيط الضيّق – نسبيا – أقدر على أنْ يتعارفوا و يتآخَوْا

'because in this – relatively – narrow surrounding they **are more able** to get to know each other and form brotherly relationships'

2.11.2.1 af'al أفعل + 'an عن:

Although *min* من is normally used in this construction, *'an* عن occurs with a few adjectives:

al-'ajzu ***'akbaru*** *l-'āna bi-kaṯīrin* ***'an****-i l-fatrati llatī kuntu 'ataḥaddaṯu lakum fīhā 'anhu*

العجز أكبر الآن بكثير عن الفترة الّتي كنت أتحدّث لكم فيها عنه

'the deficit is much **bigger** now **than** in the period I was talking to you about'

(see specifying complement **2.4.4**)

Comparative form of adjective is sometimes not required, specifically with the preposition *'an* عن (see **2.6.3**)

'anna 'as'āra bay'i l-samaki fī l-manāṭiqi l-ša'biyyati ***ma'qūlatun 'an*** *kaṯīrin min-a l-manāṭiqi l-'uḫrā*

أنّ أسعار بيع السمك في المناطق الشعبية معقولة عن كثير من المناطق الأخرى

'that the selling price of fish in the local areas is **more reasonable than** in many other areas'

2.11.3 *Superlative calques*

Very common as a calque with *kubrā* كبرى 'major':

dawlatun ***kubrā*** دولة كبرى 'a **major** state'

qaḍiyyatun ***kubrā*** قضية كبرى 'a **major** issue'

al-ḫaṭāyā ***l-kubrā*** الخطايا الكبرى '**major** errors'

al-qāhiratu ***l-kubrā*** القاهرة الكبرى '**Greater** Cairo'

Others:

birīṭāniyā ***l-'uẓmā*** بريطانيا العظمى '**Great** Britain'

'āsiyā ***l-wusṭā*** آسيا الوسطى '**Central** Asia'

quwwatun 'askariyyatun ***'uẓmā*** قوّة عسكرية عظمى '**a major** military power'

'ahammiyyatun ***quṣwā*** أهمّية قصوى '**far-reaching** importance'

A common example of the *'af'alu* أفعل form in this context is *'āḫaru* آخر (plur. *'āḫarūna* آخرون fem. sing. *'uḫrā* أخرى; plur. *'uḫrayātu* أخريات) 'other':

'alā ṣa'īdin ***'āḫara*** على صعيد آخر 'on **another** level'

muškilatun ***'uḫrā*** مشكلة أخرى '**another** problem'

*al-muškilātu l-****'uḫrā*** المشكلات الأخرى 'the **other** problems'

*al-nisā'u l-****'uḫrayātu*** النساء الأخريات 'the **other** women'

*'an-i l-rijāli l-****'āḫarīna*** عن الرجال الآخرين 'about the **other** men'

Standing alone as nouns:

li-muwāṭinin dūna ***'āḫara***
لمواطن دون آخر
'for one citizen to the exclusion of **another**'

*min tajāribi l-****'āḫarīna***
من تجارب الآخرين
'from the experiences of **others**'

*mā tamma min 'iḥlāli sintralāti l-rūtāriyyi bi-****'uḫrā*** *'iliktrūniyyatin*
ما تمّ من إحلال سنترلات الروتاري بأخرى إلكترونية
'what has taken place by way of replacing the rotary exchanges with **other**, electronic ones'

2.11.4 *Attributive superlative* (▷C2:472)

Agreement in gender and number is common:

fī l-mustawayāti ***l-'ulyā*** في المستويات العليا 'at **the highest** levels'
al-quwwatu ***l-quṣwā*** القوّة القصوى 'the **ultimate** power'
al-ṭarīqatu ***l-muṯlā*** الطريقة المثلى '**the ideal** way'
al-šaṭru ***l-'akbaru*** الشطر الأكبر '**the biggest** share'

Gender agreement is not always observed, however:

al-ġurfatu ***l-'afḍalu*** *fī l-sijni*
الغرفة الأفضل في السجن
'**the best** room in the prison'

al-wiqāyatu ***l-'ajaffu wa-l-'anẓafu***
الوقاية الأجف والأنظف
'**the driest and cleanest** protection'

šabakatu l-'alāqāti ***l-'awsa'u***
شبكة العلاقات الأوسع
'**the widest** network of relationships'

al-quwwatāni ***l-'a'ẓamu***
القوّتان الأعظم
'the two **super**powers'

2.11.5 *Annexed indefinite units* (▷C2:474; ▷C3:150)

The superlative is expressed by *'af'al* أفعل (masc. sing.) in annexation to an indefinite singular noun or definite plural (cf. *kull* كلّ **2.9.1.1** which has identical syntax; ▷C2:477). The invariable *'af'al* أفعل form was also used in CA, even when annexed to feminine nouns.

- Annexed to indefinite singular:

  'afḍalu *wasīlatin* أفضل وسيلة '**the best** means'

  This structure is often modified by an adjective/relative sentence/ prepositional phrase, etc. (see also **2.11.9**):

  'aqṣā *ḥurriyyatin mumkinatin*
  أقصى حرّية ممكنة
  '**the greatest** possible freedom'

'akbaru *'adadin min-a l-buṭūlāti l-sīnimā'iyyati*
أكبر عدد من البطولات السينمائية
'**the greatest** number of cinema-starring roles'

'ahammu *juz'in fī -l-raddi*
أهمّ جزء في الردّ
'**the most important** part of the reply'

Note the following development in which the homonymic form used for colours occurs as superlative (see colours **1.8.6.1**):

'āšat-i l-šurṭatu … ***'aswada*** *fatratin fī tārīḫihā*
عاشت الشرطة . . . أسود فترة في تاريخها
'the police force experienced … **the blackest** period in its history'

- Annexed to definite plural, which can itself be annexed further:

'aqṣā *l-juhūdi*
أقصى الجهود
'**the utmost** efforts'

'azhā *'uṣūri ḥurriyatihi*
أزهى عصور حرّيته
'**the most splendid** of its periods of freedom'

'afḍalu *l-tajhīzāti l-ṭibbiyyati*
أفضل التجهيزات الطبّية
'**the best** of medical equipments'

- With agreement (▷C1:72; C2:475). Sometimes the superlative element agrees in gender with the noun to which it is annexed:

kubrā l-muduni *l-yābāniyyati*
كبرى المدن اليابانية
'**the largest of the towns** in Japan'

kubrā šarikāti *l-ta'mīni*
كبرى شركات التأمين
'**the largest** of the insurance **companies**'

hiya ***ṣuġrā ḏurriyyati*** *'amānata*
هي صغرى ذرّية أمانة
'she is the **youngest of** Amāna's **progeny**'

- Plural of *kubrā* كبرى is also used:

  kubrayātu l-šarikāti *l-ʿālamiyyati*
  كبريات الشركات العالمية
  '**the largest** world **companies**'

- Two superlatives can be annexed to same noun (▷C2:484; cf. binomial annexation **2.3.7**):

  ʾajmalu wa-ʾaraqqu *ʿawāṣimi l-ʿarabi*
  أجمل وأرقّ عواصم العرب
  'the **most beautiful and delightful** of Arab capital cities'

  min ***ʾahammi wa-ʾafḍali*** *l-ʿāzifāti*
  من أهمّ وأفضل العازفات
  'among the **most important and best** musicians (fem.)'

  iftitāḥu ***ʾakbari wa-ʾaḥdaṯi*** *mujammaʿin samakiyyin*
  افتتاح أكبر وأحدث مجمع سمكي
  'the opening of **the biggest and most modern** fish cooperative'

- *ʾafʿal mā* أفعل ما / *man* مَنْ (▷C2:478) (see **5.6.4**) followed by a verb:

  ʾaqallu mā *yumkinu*
  أقلّ ما يمكن
  '**as little as** possible'

  fa-hiya ***ʾabʿadu mā*** *takūnu ʿan qaḍāyā muʿāṣiratin*
  فهي أبعد ما تكون عن قضايا معاصرة
  '[the songs] are **as far as** can be from contemporary issues'

2.11.6 ẖayr خير *'better', 'best' and* šarr شرّ *'worse', 'worst'* (▷C2:485)

These two nouns are used in elative sense:

Comparative:

al-wiqāyatu ***ẖayrun min-a*** *l-ʿilāji*
الوقاية خير من العلاج
'protection is **better than** treatment'

al-mawtu ʿindī ***ẖayrun min-a*** *l-ḍayāʿi*
الموت عندي خير من الضياع
'death in my opinion is **better than** getting lost [in life]'

Superlative:

yaftarisūnahu ***šarra*** *ftirāsin*
يفترسونه شرّ افتراس
'they prey on him badly', lit. '**the worst** of preying'

(see absolute object **2.4.2.3**)

kāna ***ḫayra*** *mumaṯṯilin lahā*
كان خير ممثّل لها
'he was **the best** representative for it'

'an yakunna ḫayra miṯālin *li-l-zawjāti*
أن يكنّ خير مثال للزوجات
'**to be the best example** as wives'

2.11.7 *Positive adjective as superlative*

Positive adjectives may occur with a superlative meaning:

kabīru *kuttābi wa-'udabā'i l-'imārāti*
كبير كتّاب و أدباء الإمارات
'**the great[est]** writer and literary figure in the Emirates'

2.11.8 *Additional superlatives, predicative and others*

Predicative:

huwa ***l-'awlā wa-l-'aḥaqqu*** *bi-hāḏā l-'i'lāni*
هو الأولى و الأحقّ بهذا الإعلان
'he is **the most suitable and deserving** to make this announcement'

wa-huwa yu'tabaru ***'aswa'a mu'addalin*** *li-l-numuwwi munḏu l-ṯalāṯīnāti*
و هو يعتبر أسوأ معدّل للنموّ منذ الثلاثينات
'it being regarded as **the worst rate** of growth since the thirties'

(see *'i'tabara* اعتبر **3.12**)

Attributive:

ḫuṭuwātun ***'akṯaru taḥdīdan***
خطوات أكثر تحديدا
'**more exactly defined** steps'

al-kumbiyūtarātu l-daftariyyatu ***l-'a'lā 'adā'an***
الكمبيوترات الدفترية الأعلى أداء
'the notebook computers **with the highest performance**'

al-'alāqātu ***l-'akṯaru 'ahammiyyatan***
العلاقات الأكثر أهمّية
'**the most important** relationships'

With partitive *min* من:

'innahu ***min 'akṯari l-mawāddi*** *l-musabbibati li-l-'iṣābati bi-l-saraṭāni*
إنّه من أكثر الموادّ المسبّبة للإصابة بالسرطان
'it is **among the most frequent of substances** that cause cancer'

(for active participles, see **2.10.2**)

kāna ***min 'aḥabbi l-mu'allimīna*** *'ilā l-talāmīḏi*
كان من أحبّ المعلّمين إلى التلاميذ
'he was **one of the most liked of the teachers** amongst the pupils', lit. 'of the most liked of the teachers to the pupils'

2.11.9 *Nominalized comparatives* (▷C2:469) *and superlatives* (▷C2:474)

wa-'annahu ***min-a l-'aṣaḥḥi wa-l-'akṯari fā'idatan*** *'an …*
و أنّه من الأصحّ و الأكثر فائدة أن . . .
'and that it is **more sound and of greater benefit** to …'

(cf. **3.1.4** for *min* من introducers, and **7.5.1.1**)

wa-qad 'anfaqtu fīhā ḥamsīna junayhan ***'alā l-'aqalli***
وقد أنفقت فيها خمسين جنيها على الأقلّ
'and I have spent £50 on it **at least**'

al-'ahammu *fī ḏālika 'anna …*
الأهمّ في ذلك أنّ . . .
'**the most important thing** about that is that …'

*bi-**’a‘ālī l-biḥāri***
بأعالي البحار
‘on **the high seas**’

(note that these comparative patterns have a broken plural, see **1.12.1.2** and **2.1.1.1**)

***’aġlabu mā** yuqālu ’aw yunšaru*
أغلب ما يُقال أو يُنشر
‘**most of what** is said or published’

2.11.10 ’af‘al أفعل *as comparative adverb* (cf. kaṯīran كثيرا *‘often’* 2.4.8) (▷C2:470)

Generally with *’akṯar* أكثر ‘more’ and always in dependent case:

*yaqillu htimāmuhā **’akṯara fa-’akṯara** bi-l-‘ālami l-ṯāliṯi*
يقلّ اهتمامها أكثر فأكثر بالعالم الثالث
‘its concern for the Third World decreases **more and more**’

*ya‘rifu ’asbābahā **’akṯara minnī***
يعرف أسبابها أكثر مني
‘he knows the causes of it **more than I do**’

*kāna yumkinu ’an ’aqra’a **’akṯara***
كان يمكن أن أقرأ أكثر
‘I could have been able to read **more**’

2.11.11 *Other subsets*

Other subsets, ‘too’, ‘the more . . .’, ‘as . . . as’, ‘as possible’:

*’afḍalu **bi-kaṯīrin*** أفضل بكثير ‘**much** better’

***fī ’akṯara qalīlan** min 450 ṣafḥatin* في أكثر قليلا من ٤٥٠ صفحة
‘**in a little more** than 450 pages’

*li-**’aṭwali fatratin** mumkinatin* لأطول فترة ممكنة ‘for **the longest** possible **period of time**’

2.11.12 min ’an من أنْ ‘too . . . to [do something]’ (▷C2:273)

The comparative is followed by *’an* أن + subordinate clause (see **7.5.1**) to give sense of ‘too . . . to [do]’:

’ahwanu min ’an *yu’a<u>tt</u>ira fī l-ḥukūmati*
أهون من أن يؤثّر في الحكومة
‘**too insignificant to** influence the government’, lit. ‘**more insignificant than** that it influences the government’

kānatā ***’aḍ‘afa min ’an*** *tataḥammalā kalimātī*
كانتا أضعف من أن تتحمّلا كلماتي
‘they were both **too weak to** bear my words’

’ak<u>t</u>aru mimmā أكثر ممّا type (▷C3:241; **5.4.2**):

’ak<u>t</u>aru mimmā *yanbaġī*
أكثر ممّا ينبغي
‘**more than** is necessary’

2.11.13 *Superlatives with numbers* (see numbers **2.12**)

’aḥsanu mi’ati *bankin fī l-‘ālami l-‘arabiyyi*
أحسن مائة بنك في العالم العربي
‘**the best hundred banks** in the Arab world’

’iḥdā ’akbari *dūri l-našri l-faransiyyati*
إحدى أكبر دور النشر الفرنسية
‘**one of the biggest** French publishing houses’

Inflection here on *’af‘al* أفعل words is regular (see **1.8.6.2**) although pronunciation of case endings is unlikely in practice.

2.12 Cardinal numbers (▷C2:361)

Numerals in MWA essentially retain the syntax of CA, though they are rarely read now with classical inflections. There are signs of a trend towards invariable numerals, especially with weights and measures (see **2.14.9.3**).

Numbers are sometimes spelt out in full (cf. ▷C2:377):

'aḥada 'ašara 'alfan wa-ḫamsimi'atin wa-'arba'atin wa-sittīna *[obl.] muwaẓẓafan*
أحد عشر ألفا و خمسمائة و أربعة و ستّين موظّفا
'**eleven thousand five hundred and sixty-four** [obl.] officials'

ṭiwāla ***'alfay wa-ḫamsimi'ati 'āmin***
طوال ألفي و خمسمائة عام
'for **two thousand and five hundred years**'

'akṯaru min ***milyārin wa-niṣfî milyāri 'insānin***
أكثر من مليار و نصف مليار إنسان
'more than **one and a half billion people**'

'alā madā ***l-'arba'i wa-l-'išrīna sā'atan yawmiyyan***
على مدى الأربع و العشرين ساعة يوميا
'for **twenty-four hours a day**'

However, in MWA they are most often printed as numerals or a combination of numerals and words, frequently demarcated by brackets, so in any case we can seldom be sure how they are vocalized, for example:

12 'alfan wa-500 *kīlū mitr# murabba'#*
١٢ ألفا و ٥٠٠ كيلو متر مربّع
'**12,500** square kilometres'

milyūn wa-49 'alfan wa-798 *kīlū jirām# muḫaddirāt#*
مليون و ٤٩ ألفا و ٧٩٨ كيلو جرام مخدّرات
'**1,049,798** kilogrammes of drugs'

Some other orthographical conventions:

naḥwa ***12 'alfa*** *šaḫṣin*
نحو ١٢ ألف شخص
'about **12,000** people'

ḫilāla ***l-15*** *'āman-i l-'aḫīrata*
خلال ال ١٥ عاما الأخيرة
'during **the** last **15** years'

al-mašāhidu ***l-17*** *allatī sajjalahā*
المشاهد ال ١٧ الّتي سجّلها
'**the 17** scenes which he recorded'

bi-miqdāri ***1,5*** *marra(h) min ʻarḍi l-šāriʻi*
بمقدار ١,٥ مرّة من عرض الشارع
'to the amount of **1.5** times the width of the street'

(note the use of the comma in Arabic for decimal point)

(12) ʾalfan wa-(500) junayhin
(١٢) ألفا و (٥٠٠) جنيه
'**£12,500**'

2.12.1 ʾaḥad أحد *(masc.)* / ʾiḥdā إحدى *(fem.)* 'one', 'one of'

Arabic has two ways of expressing 'one', 'one of', by the nominal *ʾaḥadun* أحد (masc.) / *ʾiḥdā* إحدى (fem.), and the adjectival *wāḥidun* واحد (masc.) / *wāḥidatun* واحدة (fem.).

ʾaḥadun أحد occurs either:

As independent noun:

lā ʾaḥada *yaʻrifu*
لا أحد يعرف
'**no one** knows' (see negatives **4.2.1.1**)

ʾaw ***ʾayyu ʾaḥadin*** *ʾāḥara*
أو أيّ أحد آخر
'or **anyone else**' (see *ʾayy* أيّ **2.9.1.6**)

or as 1st element of annexation when it generally agrees in gender with the noun/pronoun it is annexed to, which is always plural and definite (cf. syntax of partitive *min* من **2.6.12**, certain quantifiers, **2.9.1**, and contrast with adjective *wāḥid* واحد) (▷C2:362):

ʾaḥadu *l-muttahamīna*
أحد المتّهمين
'**one of** those suspected'

ʾaḥadu *rawāfidi l-ʻamaliyyati*
أحد روافد العملية
'**one of** the contributors to the process'

ya'malūna fī ***'iḥdā*** *l-wikālāti l-ṣiḥāfiyyati*
يعملون في إحدى الوكالات الصحافية
'they work in **one of** the press agencies'

fī ***'iḥdā*** *ġurafi l-sifārati*
في إحدى غرف السفارة
'in **one of** the rooms of the embassy'

2.12.1.1 *wāḥidun* واحد (masc.) / *wāḥidatun* واحدة (fem.) 'one', 'one of' (▷C2:363)

Adjective for emphasis:

fī yawmin ***wāḥidin***
في يوم واحد
'in **a single** day'

su'ālun ***wāḥidun*** *'ammun faqaṭ*
سؤال واحد عامّ فقط
'**one** general question only'

'izālati l-laġmi ***l-wāḥidi***
إزالة اللغم الواحد
'the removal of **a single** mine'

(for generic article, see **1.12.3.1**)

dajājatun ***wāḥidatun***
دجاجة واحدة
'**a single** chicken'

Or nominal partitive with *min* من (see *'aḥadun* أحد **2.12.1**; and *min* من **2.6.12**) in sense of 'one of':

hiya ***wāḥidatun min*** *'aqwā wa-'a'ẓami l-nisā'i*
هي واحدة من أقوى و أعظم النساءّ
'she is **one of** the strongest and greatest women'

lā yūṣidu l-bāba dūna ***wāḥidin minhum***
لا يوصد الباب دون واحد منهم
'it does not shut the door on **any one of them**' (see *dūna* دون **2.7.11**)

Nominal without *min* من:

wāḥidan *warā'a l-'āḫari* واحدا وراء الآخر '**one** behind the other'

(see circumstantial qualifiers **2.4.6.3**)

2.12.2 **iṯnāni** اثنان ***(masc.)*** **iṯnatāni** اثنتان ***(fem.)*** (▷C2:365) ***with regular dual endings*** (see **1.12.1.1**)

Occasionally for emphasis because the dual is already expressed in the noun:

wa-lam yamurra siwā ***šahrayni ṯnayni*** *'illā wa-l-'ammu ḥāmid qad 'āda 'an ra'yihi*

ولم يمر سوى شهرين اثنين إلا و العمّ حامد قد عاد عن رأيه

'no more than **two months** had passed when Uncle Hamid went back on his opinion' (see **9.4.6**)

Often with nominal function with *min* من (cf. *wāḥid* واحد above). Annexation not possible:

iṯnāni min*-a l-sufarā'i*

اثنان من السفراء

'**two of** the ambassadors'

iṯnāni min*-a l-muḥāmīna*

اثنان من المحامين

'**two of** the lawyers'

The absence of dual nouns is becoming more common in the enumeration of commercial objects, food items etc.:

'inšā'u 'adadi ***(2)*** *maḥaṭṭa# jadīda#*

إنشاء عدد (٢) محطّة جديدة

'the creation of **two** new stations'

2 *muka"ab# majjānan*

٢ مكعب مجّانا

'**two** cubes free (of charge)'

naql# ***2*** *ṯallāja# kontēnar#*

نقل ٢ ثلاجة كنتينر

'the transport of **two** refrigerated containers'

2.12.3 *Numbers 3–10* (▷C2:366)

The numbers 3–10 are generally annexed to their nouns which must be plural. The number takes the opposite gender to the counted noun's singular form. It inflects for the function of the whole unit, following normal annexation rules:

'arba'u *šarikātin*
أربع شركات
'**four** [ind.] companies'

ṯalāṯatu *maṭārātin ra'īsiyyatin*
ثلاثة مطارات رئيسية
'**three** principal airports'

ḫamsu *sanawātin*
خمس سنوات
'**five** years'

'aḥsanu ***ṯalāṯati*** *mumaṯṯilīna wa-****ṯalāṯi*** *mumaṯṯilātin*
أحسن ثلاثة ممثلين و ثلاث ممثلات
'the best **three** actors and [**three**] actresses' (number is 2nd element of annexation)

'ahammu ***'ašari*** *riwāyātin ṣadarat fī l-qarni l-'išrīna*
أهم عشر روايات صدرت في القرن العشرين
'the **ten** most important novels published in the twentieth century' (number is 2nd element of annexation)

(see superlative **2.11.5** and **5.1.1**)

or in apposition (see also below) to the noun with the same gender polarity as in:

al-šarikātu ***l-'arba'u*** الشركات الأربع 'the **four** companies'
al-qaḍāyā ***l-'arba'u*** القضايا الأربع 'the **four** cases'
al-qārrātu ***l-ḫamsu*** القارّات الخمس 'the **five** continents'
bi-hāḏihi l-'arqāmi ***l-'arba'ati*** بهذه الأرقام الأربعة 'with these **four** numbers'

Variations noted in MWA include the following, however, ***al-ṯalāṯatu*** *kutubin* ثلاثة الكتب, ***ṯalāṯatu*** *l-kutubi* ثلاثة كتب and even ***al-ṯalāṯatu*** *l-kutubi*

الثلاثة الكتب ‘the **three** books’, but the first of these structures appears to be rising in frequency (see **2.12.13**).

The number may also function nominally with partitive *min* من (cf. ‘one’ and ‘two’ above) but the rule of gender polarity still applies:

sittatun min *kibāri l-dīblūmāsiyyīna*
ستّة من كبار الديبلوماسيين
‘**six of** the senior diplomats’

Numerals are often written in number form in MWA, especially in the press:

4 min *rassāmī l-kārīkātiri l-kanadiyyīna*
٤ من رسّامي الكاريكاتر الكنديين
‘**4** Canadian cartoonists’

3 *’ašhurin*
٣ أشهر
‘**3** months’

16 *miṣriyyan,* ***5*** *‘irāqiyyīna,* ***7*** *sūdāniyyīna,* ***4*** *’urdunniyyīna wa-****2 min turkiyā***
١٦ مصريا ٥ عراقيين ٧ سودانيين ٤ أردنّيين و ٢ من تركيا
‘**16** Egyptians, **5** Iraqis, **7** Sudanese, **4** Jordanians and **2 from Turkey**’

2.12.4 *Numbers 11–19* (▷C2:367)

With exceptions for 11 and 12, the numbers 11–19 are (a) invariable and (b) have an internal gender polarity. The units take the opposite gender to the counted noun and the tens have the same gender as the counted noun.

11 and 12, however, agree in both parts with the gender of the counted noun, and the first element of 12 inflects like a regular dual in annexation. The counted noun takes dependent singular form throughout and is normally indefinite:

kāna ‘umrī ***’aḥada ‘ašara ‘āman***
كان عمري أحد عشر عاما
‘I was **eleven years** old’

duwalu l-sūqi ***l-iṯnatā ‘ašrata***
دول السوق الاثنتى عشرة
‘**the twelve** [Common] Market states’

But the remaining numbers are invariable compounds in which the unit observes gender polarity and the ten not:

ba'da ṣudūri ***ṯamāniyata 'ašara 'adadan***

بعد صدور ثمانية عشر عددا

'after the issue of **18 editions**', lit. 'eight [fem.] ten [masc.] edition [masc. sing.]'

- Also when the number is in apposition:

ḫilāla l-'ašhuri ***l-ṯamāniyata 'ašara*** *l-muqbilati*

خلال الأشهر الثمانية عشر المقبلة

'during **the** next **eighteen** months', lit. 'the months [pl. of *šahr* شهر 'month' which is masc.] the eight [fem.] the ten [masc.]'

- Numbers written as numerals:

16 mitran *murabba'an* ١٦ مترا مربعا '**16** square **metres**'

14 ṭannan ١٤ طنا '**14 tons**'

Note the following example in which the adjectival agreement appears to have been formed either incorrectly according to polarity rules, or more likely by agreement with the logical plural, i.e. 'years' which in Arabic would take a feminine singular agreement (see adj. **2.1.1**):

ḫilāla ***l-15 'āman-i l-'aḫīrati***

خلال ال ١٥ عاما الأخيرة

'during **the last 15 years**', lit. 'the 15 [i.e. five (fem.) ten (masc.)] year [masc. sing.] the last ones [fem. sing.]' (see **2.12.15**)

Signs of invariability:

yaḥtawī 'ālā ***18 barnāmaj#***

يحتوي على ١٨ برنامج

'comprises **18 programmes**'

2.12.5 *Numbers 20–99* (▷C2:367)

The 'tens' take sound masculine plural form and the units precede them, coordinated by *wa-* و, with *wāḥidun* واحد (masc.) and *wāḥidatun* واحدة (fem.) for 1, and *iṯnāni* اثنان (masc.) and *iṯnatāni* اثنتان (fem.); all inflected as for '1' and '2'. The remainder follow the polarity rules for 3–9; each element inflects for itself.

The counted noun is always dependent singular, mostly indefinite:

*taršīḥa **30 ṭāliban***
ترشيح ٣٠ طالبا
'the nomination of **30 students**'

20 marīḍan
٢٠ مريضا
'**20 patients**'

***20 kātiban** ṣuḥufiyyan wa-'i'lāmiyyan*
٢٠ كاتبا صحفيا و إعلاميا
'**20 writers** in journalism and publicity' (note that the adjective agrees with grammatical form)

*fī **l-ḫamsati wa-ḫamsīna malyūnan***
في الخمسة و خمسين مليونا
'at **the 55 millions**'

Signs of invariability:

*taḥtawī 'alā **34 kitāb#** wa-**225 kārt#***
تحتوي على ٣٤ كتاب و ٢٢٥ كارت
'comprises **34 volumes** and **225 cards**'

Signs of instability, with natural instead of grammatical agreement:

*al-mu'allafu min **32 šaḫṣiyyātin***
المؤلف من ٣٢ شخصيات
'composed of **32 personalities** [fem. plur.]'

38 'āḫarīna
٣٨ آخرين
'**38 others** [masc. plur.]'

Note that proper names increasingly do not inflect (see **1.8.5**):

72 'abū l-hawl#
٧٢ أبو الهول
'**72 sphinxes**' (popularly known as Abu l-Hol 'father of terror')

2.12.6 *Number 100* (▷C2:368)

All numbers from 100 upwards are composite. Round hundreds are annexed to the counted noun which takes oblique singular form. The Arabic for 100 is *mi'a* مائة (for alternative spelling, see **1.2.2**):

mi'atu yawmin *marrat wa-ka-'annahā* ***mi'atu 'āmin***
مائة يوم مرّت و كأنّها مائة عام
'**one hundred days** passed and it was as if they were **a hundred years**'

Numbers above 100 are expressed in order of size, coordinated with *wa-* و, and with 11–99 following the internal order set out above. The nearest number determines the form of the noun:

192 maḥallan *tijāriyyan*
١٩٢ محلا تجاريا
'**192** commercial **shops**' [one hundred + two + ninety, with ninety determining the case ending]

150 muštarikan
١٥٠ مشتركا
'**150 subscribers**'

ḥawālā ***159 fardan***
حوالى ١٥٩ فردا
'about **159 individuals**'

fī l-qur'āni ***mi'atun wa-'arba'a 'ašrata sūratan*** *mā bayna l-ṭawīlati wa-l-qaṣīrati wa-mā baynahumā*
في القرآن مائة وأربع عشرة سورة ما بين الطويلة والقصيرة وما بينهما
'in the Qur'an there are **one hundred and fourteen Suras** varying between long, short and in between'

'101' as a figure of speech meaning 'any number of', takes specifying complement (see **2.4.4**):

fī miṣra '***101***' ***bankan*** *bi-ḫilāfi l-banki l-markaziyyi*
في مصر '١٠١' بنكا بخلاف البنك المركزي
'there are **a hundred and one banks** in Egypt other than the Central Bank'

2.12.7 *Number 200* (▷C2:369)

The number 200 *mi'atāni* مئتان (variant spelling مائتان) is the dual of 100 and follows the same rules, with those of dual annexation as well:

li-mablaġi ***mi'atay 'alfi dūlārin***
لمبلغ مائتي ألف دولار
'for the sum of **two** [obl. case] **hundred thousand dollars**'

(see **2.12.13**)

mi'atāni wa-ḫamsu wa-ṯalāṯuna sanatan *lā 'akṯara*
مائتان وخمس وثلاثون سنة لا أكثر
'**two hundred and thirty-five years**, not more'

2.12.8 *Numbers 300–900* (▷C2:369)

The round hundreds 300–900 are written as compound nouns and – uniquely – they inflect medially. Otherwise the rules for the numbers are the same as for 100, with the counted noun being annexed in oblique singular form:

tatajāwazu ṣafaḥātuhu ***l-ḫamsami'atin***
تتجاوز صفحاته الخمسمائة
'its pages exceed **five hundred**'

'aḥada 'ašara 'alfan wa-ḫamsami'atin wa-'arba'an wa-sittīna *muwaẓẓafan*
أحد عشر ألفا وخمسمائة وأربعا وستّين موظّفا
'**11,564** employees'

(note how in this example the unit number, i.e. four, should be fem. according to the rules of polarity, and that the whole number is in dependent form)

363 rajulan
٣٦٣ رجلا
'**363 men**'

'arba'umi'atin wa-ṯnāni wa-'arba'ūna ***muraššaḥan***
أربعمائة واثنان وأربعون مرشّحا
'**442 candidates**'

The word 'hundred' also appears in the plural:

ḥālatun wāḥidatun min bayni ***mi'āti l-ḥālāti***
حالة واحدة من بين مئات الحالات
'one case among **hundreds** [of cases]'

(see **2.12.1.1**)

2.12.9 *Number 1000* (▷C2:370) (see annexation **2.3**)

The number for 1000 is *'alf* ألف (plur. *'ālāf* آلاف). The other plural, i.e. *'ulūf* ألوف, tends to be used non-arithmetically, that is, with the sense of 'thousands'; although *'ālāf* آلاف is also used in this context.

'alf ألف is annexed to the counted noun, which takes oblique singular form. Numbers greater than 1000 follow the same rules as for numbers above 100:

'alfu laylatin *wa-laylatun*
ألف ليلة وليلة
'1001 nights', lit. '**1000 nights** and one night'

(note special construction for 1,001 only, see **11.7.2**)

ḥawālā ***1500 jundiyyin*** *'amrīkiyyin*
حوالى ١٥٠٠ جندي أمريكي
'around **1500** American **soldiers**'

(note adjective agrees with grammatical number, see **2.1.1.4**)

'alfun wa-mi'atā *ṭiflin*
ألف ومائتا طفل
'**one thousand two hundred** infants'

munḏu ***'ālāfi l-sinīna***
منذ آلاف السنين
'for **thousands of years**'

'ulūfu l-juzuri *l-ṣaġīrati fī l-muḥīṭāti*
ألوف الجزر الصغيرة في المحيطات
'**thousands of** small **islands** in the oceans' (for generic article, see **1.12.3.1**)

2.12.10 *Number 2000* (▷C2:370)

'alfā 2000 ألفا is the dual form of *'alf* ألف:

'alfā 'amūdin *min-a l-ruḫāmi*
ألفا عمود من الرخام
'**two thousand** marble **columns**'

2.12.11 *Numbers from 3000*

The thousands are internally counted nouns which follow the same rules as other counted nouns. Remember that the last number determines the form of the counted noun:

ṯalāṯatu 'ālāfin wa-ṯamānumi'atin wa-ṯnāni wa-ḫamsūna muštarikan
ثلاثة آلاف وثمانمائة واثنان وخمسون مشتركا
'**3,852 subscribers**'

11 'alfan wa-564 muwaẓẓafan
١١ ألفا و ٥٦٤ موظف
'**11,564 officials**'

wāẓaba ***20 'alfa 'āmilin*** *'alā l-'amali fī l-mabnā*
واظب ٢٠ ألف عامل على العمل في المبنى
'**20,000 workers** devoted themselves working on the building'

'akṯaru min ***70 'alfa maḫṭūṭin*** *nādirin*
أكثر من ٧٠ ألف مخطوط نادر
'more than **70,000** rare **manuscripts**'

(adjective agrees with the grammatical number, see **2.1.1.4**)

900 'alfi mitrin *murabba'in min 'afḫari 'anwā'i l-'aḫšābi*
٩٠٠ ألف متر مربع من أفخر أنواع الأخشاب
'**900,000** square **metres** of the most magnificent types of wood'

Also occurs with partitive *min* من:

105 'ālāfin *min-a l-junayhāti*
١٠٥ آلاف من الجنيهات
'**£105,000**'

Note also the following special usages:

'ašarātu l-'ālāfi *min-a l-kutubi*
عشرات الآلاف من الكتب
'**tens of thousands** of books'

2.12.12 *Millions* (▷C2:371)*, billions, trillions*

The Arabic for 'million' is *milyūnu* or *malyūnu* مليون (plur. *malyūnāt* مليونات */malāyīnu* ملايين); for 'billion' it is *milyāru* مليار or *balyūnu /bilyūnu* بليون (plur. *balāyīnu* بلايين/*balyūnātun* بليونات); for 'trillion' it is *trīliyūnu* تريليون (plur. *trīliyūnātun* تريليونات).

Round millions, etc. and their duals are annexed to the oblique singular noun exactly like the 1000s. These numbers are often paraphrased by *min* من instead of being directly attached to the counted noun:

taṭallaba binā'u l-qaṣri ***malyūnay ṭannin*** *min-a l-ramli*
تطلّب بناء القصر مليوني طنّ من الرمل
'it took **two million tons** of sand to build the palace'

mablaġu ***malyūnayni wa-250 'alfa junayhin***
مبلغ مليونيْن و ٢٥٠ ألف جنيه
'the sum of **£2,250,000**'

9 malāyīna dirhamin
٩ ملايين درهم
'**9 million dirhams**'

100 malyūni dirhamin
١٠٠ مليون درهم
'**100 million dirhams**'

350 malyūna nasamatin
٣٥٠ مليون نسمة
'**350 million souls**'

Non-specific quantities of millions, normally with partitive *min* من:

'infāqu ***l-malāyīna min-a l-dūlārāti***
إنفاق الملايين من الدولارات
'the spending of **millions of dollars**'

malāyīnu l-bašari
ملايين البشر
‘**millions of people**’

naḥwa ***malyūnayni min-a l-šabābi***
نحْو مليونيْن من الشباب
‘about **two million young men**’

Billions:

taqtaribu min-a ***l-ḫamsati wa-l-ṯalāṯīna milyāran min-a l-junayhāti***
تقترب من الخمسة و الثلاثين مليارا من الجنيهات
‘it approaches **£35 billion**’

ṯamānūna milyāran min-a l-dūlārāti
ثمانون مليارا من الدولارات
‘**$80 billion**’

110 milyārāti junayhin
١١٠ مليارات جنيه
‘**£110 billion**’

290 balyūna dūlārin
٢٩٠ بليون دولار
‘**$290 billion**’

Trillions (note the preferred use of sound feminine plural):

’arba‘atu trīliyūnātin min-a l-dūlārāti
أربعة تريليونات من الدولارات
‘**$4 trillion**’

Signs of invariability:

iṯnān# malyūn# *raǰul#* اثنان مليون رجل ‘**two million** men’
mablaġ# 2 malyūn# junayh# مبلغ ٢ مليون جنيه ‘the sum of **£2 million**’
malyūnān# wa-400 ’alf# *’usra #* مليونان و ٤٠٠ ألف أسرة ‘**2,400,000** families’
2.2 malyūn# *‘āṭil#* ٢،٢ مليون عاطل ‘**2.2 million** unemployed’
2 milyār# *dūlār#* ٢ مليار دولار ‘**$2 billion**’
11 milyār# wa-800 malyūn# *junayh#* ١١ مليار و ٨٠٠ مليون جنيه ‘**£11.8 billion**’

2.12.13 *Cardinal numbers in apposition* (▷C2:372)

Cardinal numbers often follow the noun, in apposition to it. This is generally to emphasize the definiteness of the noun (although this structure may occur with indefinite nouns too). As an apposition they will agree in all the usual ways with the noun they are modifying although the normal rules of polarity explained earlier (see **2.12.3**) apply:

al-qārrātu ***l-ḫamsu***
القارّات الخمس
'**the five** continents'

wa-tazawwajat banātuhu ***l-'arba'u***
وتزوّجت بناته الأربع
'and his **four** daughters got married'

- Defined cardinal numbers (▷C2:376):

It is quite common now for the number to be defined and to precede the noun. All previously described rules of agreement apply. Historically, this was always the method used to render the 'tens' but the structure is now frequently used for the whole range of numbers:

qaryatun miṣriyyatun laysa fīhā mā yumayyizuhā 'an-i ***l-'arba'ati 'ālāfi qaryatin*** *miṣriyyatin 'uḫrā*
قرية مصرية ليس فيها ما يميّزها عن الأربعة آلاف قرية مصرية أخرى
'an Egyptian village that has nothing in it to distinguish it from the other **4,000** Egyptian **villages**'

al-sūqu l-'amrīkiyyatu taksiru ḥājiza ***l-16 milyūna sayyāratin*** *sanawiyyan*
السوق الأمريكية تكسر حاجز ال ١٦ مليون سيّارة سنويا
'the American market [unmarked fem., see **1.12.2.1**] breaks the barrier of **16 million cars** a year'

irtifā'u darajati l-ḥarārati l-mutawaqqa'u fī ***l-mi'ati 'āmin****-i l-muqbilati*
ارتفاع درجة الحرارة المتوقّع في المائة عام المقبلة
'the rise in temperature expected in **the** next **hundred years**'

fī fanādiqi l-qāhirati wa-l-'uqṣuri wa-'aswāna ḏāti ***l-ḫamsati nujūmin*** *'aw* ***'arba'ati nujūmin***
في فنادق القاهرة والأقصر وأسوان ذات الخمسة نجوم أو أربعة نجوم
'in **the four or five star** hotels of Cairo, Luxor and Aswan', lit. 'possessors of five stars or four stars'

2.12.14 *Miscellaneous*

nayyif نيّف (▷C2:381) 'a few':

Generally precedes the number and is followed by *wa-* و:

'umruhu lā yazīdu 'alā ***nayyifin*** *wa-ḫamsīna 'āman*
عمره لا يزيد على نيّف وخمسين عاما
'his age is no more than fifty odd', lit. '**a few** and fifty years'

'. . . and more' (▷C2:379) etc.:

munḏu 'išrīna 'āman ***'aw yazīdu***
مُنْذ عشرين عاما أو يزيد
'20 years ago **or more**'

'tens', 'dozens', 'scores' usually all with *'ašarāt* عشرات 'tens' (▷C2:380):

'ašarāti *l-marrāti*
عشرات المرّات
'**dozens of** times'

(note dependent case as time qualifier, see **2.4.3.1**)

'ašarātun *yadḫulūna wa-****'ašarātun*** *yaḫrujūna*
عشرات يدخلون وعشرات يخرجون
'**dozens** go in and **dozens** come out'

'a few' and similar indeterminate expressions use *biḍ'a* بضعة 'some' (for agreement, i.e. polarity rule applies, see **2.9.1.5**):

lā yata'addā ḥajmuhā ***biḍ'a*** *mi'ātin min-a l-junayhāti*
لا يتعدّى حجمها بضع مئات من الجنيهات
'the amount of which does not exceed **a few** hundred pounds'

*bi-****biḍ'ati*** *malāyīna min-a l-dūlārāti*
ببضعة ملايين من الدولارات
'for **some** millions of dollars' (see *bi-* بـ of 'price', 'value' **2.6.4**)

For names of decades either sound feminine plural *-ātun* آت is used alone or with the *nisba* suffix, i.e. *-iyyātun* ِيّات:

fī l-ṯalāṯīnāti في الثلاثينات / *fī l-ṯalāṯīniyyāti* في الثلاثينيات 'in the thirties'

2.12.15 *Number and gender concord* (▷C2:384)

Agreement of adjectives with nouns after numbers is frequently with grammatical gender (see further **2.1.1.4**):

17 maḥaṭṭatan ***ra'īsiyyatan***

١٧ محطّة رئيسية

'17 **principal** stations'

However, agreement of adjectives (as well as verbs **3.8.4**) can also be logical rather than grammatical:

'akṯaru min ***30 'āriḍan 'āḫarīna***

أكثر من ٣٠ عارضا آخرين

'more than **30 other exhibitors**'

2.13 Ordinal numbers (▷C2:389) (see **2.1.1**)

2.13.1 *First (and last)*

The ordinal numbers *'awwalu* أوّل (masc.), *'ūlā* أولى (fem.) 'first' (both inflecting as elatives, see **1.8.6.2**; ▷C2:389) and also *'āḫīru* آخر (masc.), *'uḫrā* أخرى (fem.) 'last' (though not strictly an ordinal number) (both with sound plurals, see **1.5.3**; for *'āḫaru* آخَر 'other', see **2.11.3**, and *'awā'ilu* أوائل 'first part' etc., see **2.14.7**), occur as the 1st element of annexation, with variable gender agreement (although the masculine form would appear to be the default one – following superlative syntax, see **2.11.5**) as in:

wa-hiya ***'awwalu*** *ziyāratin rasmiyyatin yaqūmu bihā*

و هي أوّل زيارة رسمية يقوم بها

'it being **the first** official visit he carried out'

fī ***'awwali*** *ta'āwunin lahu ma'ahum*

في أوّل تعاون له معهم

'in **the first** cooperation he had with them'

wa-la-qad kānat-i l-mar'atu l-kuwaytiyyatu ***'awwala man*** *waqafa fī ṣufūfi l-muqāwamati*

ولقد كانت المرأة الكويتية أوّل من وقف في صفوف المقاومة

'the Kuwaiti woman was **the first** to stand in the resistance ranks'

(see *man* من **5.4.1**)

*fī **’ūlā maḥaṭṭātihi** l-‘arabiyyati*
في أولى محطّاته العربية
‘in **the first of his** Arab **stops**’

*’arsalat-i l-‘irāqu **’ūlā** ba‘ṯātihā ’ilā l-jazā’iri*
أرسلت العراق أولى بعثاتها إلى الجزائر
‘Iraq sent **the first** of its delegations to Algeria’

‘First’ may also be expressed as an adjective:

*al-juz’u **l-’awwalu***
الجزء الأوّل
‘**the first** part’

*al-dawratu l-mi’awiyyatu **l-’ūlā***
الدورة المئوية الأولى
‘the **1st** centennial session’

‘Last’, ‘final’ may also be expressed as an adjective but the words *’aḫīrun* أخير (masc.), *’aḫīratun* أخيرة (fem.) are used:

*ziyāratuhu **l-’aḫīratu** ’ilā l-minṭaqati*
زيارته الأخيرة إلى المنطقة
‘his **final** trip to the region’

For the conjunction *’awwala mā* أوّل ما (▷C2:391), see **5.9.1**.

2.13.2 *2nd–10th* (▷C2:391)

The units of the ordinal numbers from 2–10 take the *fā‘il* فاعل pattern (see **1.11.1**) and generally modify the noun as adjectives (see **2.1.1**). The polarity rule described above no longer applies and there is natural adjectival agreement.

*al-malikatu ’ilīzābīṯ **al-ṯāniyatu*** الملكة إليزابيث الثانية ‘Queen Elizabeth **the Second**’

*al-juz’u **l-ḫāmisu*** الجزء الخامس ‘**the fifth** part’, lit. ‘the part [masc.] the fifth [masc.]’

*al-‘ālamu **l-ṯāliṯu*** العالم الثالث ‘**the Third** World’

*al-dawratu **l-ṯāminatu*** الدورة الثامنة ‘the **eighth** session’

However, the number can precede the noun when functioning as a noun itself (see annexation **2.3**):

yuḫriju ***ṯāliṯa*** *'aflāmihi*
يخرج ثالث أفلامه
'he is producing **the third** of his films'

ṯānī 'akbar# *iḥtiyāṭiyyin li-l-batrūli fī l-'ālami*
ثاني أكبر احتياطي للبترول في العالم
'**the second largest** oil reserve in the world' (see **2.11.5**)

Since pronouns cannot be adjectivally qualified, they can only have their ordinals annexed to them:

ṯalāṯu muškilātin ... ***'awwaluhā*** – ***ṯānīhā*** – ***ṯāliṯuhā***
ثلاث مشكلات ... أوّلها – ثانيها – ثالثها
'three problems ... **the first** – **the second** – **the third of them**'

2.13.3 *11th–19th* (▷C2:392)

Only the units take the *fā'il* فاعل ordinal form whilst the tens remain unchanged. As compound numbers (cf. their cardinal equivalents) they are indeclinable. Only the 'units' element takes definite article when the number modifies a definite noun. Polarity rule no longer applies, that is, these ordinals carry the gender marker on both parts:

madḫalu l-qismayni ***l-sādisa 'ašara wa-l-sābi'a 'ašara***
مدخل القسميْن السادس عشر والسابع عشر
'the entrance of **the sixteenth and seventeenth** departments'

(see split qualifier by two adjectives of one noun, **2.1.1.7.1**)

2.13.4 *20th, 30th, etc.* (▷C2:392)

There are no ordinal numbers for the 'tens' from 20th on; rather the cardinals are used. There is no change for gender whether the noun they modify is masculine or feminine:

wa-yaḥduṯu kullu ḏālika wa-naḥnu fī 'āḫiri ***l-qarni l-'išrīna***
ويحدث كلّ ذلك ونحن في آخر القرن العشرين
'and all this happens when we are at the end of **the twentieth century**'

(see circ. quals **7.3.2**), contrast the definite cardinal *al-qurūnu l-'išrūna* القرون العشرون or *al-'išrūna qarnan* العشرون قرنا 'the twenty centuries' (see also **2.12.3**).

2.13.5 *21st, 32nd, 43rd, etc.* (▷C2:393)

For 2nd to 9th the regular ordinals are used, coordinated with *wa-* و; for -1st a special form *ḥādī* حادي (m.) */'iḥdā* إحدى (f.) is used (the same as in 11th), as well as the standard *wāḥid* واحد (see **2.12.1.1**). Both elements take the definite article when qualifying a definite noun.

wa-tuṣrafu l-ma'āšātu fī l-yawmi ***l-ḫāmisi wa-l-'išrīna*** *min-a l-šahri*
و تصرف المعاشات في اليوم الخامس والعشرين من الشهر
'pensions are paid on the **twenty-fifth** day of the month'

Note the variation for 21st:

fī l-qarni ***l-ḥādī wa-l-'išrīna***
في القرن الحادي والعشرين
'in **the 21st** century'

naḥwa l-qarni ***l-wāḥidi wa-l-'išrīna***
نحو القرن الواحد والعشرين
'towards **the 21st** century'

2.13.6 *Higher ordinals, 100 and above*

al-ḏikrā ***l-mi'atu*** *li-ta'sīsihi*
الذكرى المائة لتأسيسه
'**the hundredth** anniversary of its foundation'

2.14 Miscellaneous numerical items

2.14.1 *Distributives,* fu'āla فعالَ *form (semi. dec.)*

Archaic CA, essentially Qur'anic, but may occur in very restricted contexts. No examples were found as part of this study: *maṯnā wa-ṯulāṯa wa-rubā'a* مثنى وثلاث ورباع 'in twos, in threes and in fours'. However, note the construction *ṯunā'ī* ثنائي 'bi-', 'di-' in *ṯunā'ī# 'uksīd-i l-karbūn* ثنائي أكسيد الكربون 'carbon dioxide', exhibiting this pattern (from the root for 'two', as for *maṯnā* مثنى).

2.14.2 *Fractions* (▷C2:382), **niṣfun نصف *'half'*** (▷C2:382), **ṯulṯun ثلث – 'ušrun عشر *'3rd–10th'*** (▷C2:38)

niṣfun نصف precedes the noun as the 1st element of annexation whether it means 'one half' only, as in:

niṣfu *malyūn* نصف مليون '**half** a million'

'akṯaru min ***milyārin wa-niṣfî milyāri*** *'insānin*
أكثر من مليار ونصف مليار إنسان
'more than **a billion and a half** people'

or is an addition to a whole number. The following (annexed) noun may or may not be definite, and is often repeated:

*istamarrat šahrayni wa-**niṣfa** l-šahri*
استمرّت شهرين ونصف الشهر
'it lasted two months and **a half**'

*malyūn# wa-**niṣf#** l-milyūn# mustahlik#*
مليون ونصف المليون مستهلك
'a million and **a half** consumers'

*bi-ġiyābi **niṣfî** 'a'ḍā'ihā*
بغياب نصف أعضائها
'in the absence of **half of** its members'

*sawfa tartafi'u ṯalāṯa darajātin wa-**niṣfa** darajatin*
سوف ترتفع ثلاث درجات ونصف درجة
'it will rise three and **a half** degrees'

Note the following idiomatic usage:

*wa-fī **niṣfî** l-šahri taṣilu sayyāratu l-miyāhi*
وفي نصف الشهر تصل سيّارة المياه
'and in **the middle** of the month the water truck arrives'

When 'half' is part of a compound noun, it may (cf. **12.7.1** on *niṣf* نصف = 'semi-') or may not take the definite article and agrees in case with the noun it modifies, whilst the following noun is indefinite:

*al-'ištirāku **l-niṣfu** sanawiyyin*
الاشتراك النصف سنوي [also recorded, however, is: ***niṣfu*** *l-sanawiyyi* نصف السنوي]
'the **half**-year subscription'

For clock times the construction is fairly stable (see **2.14.6**):

*fī l-sā'ati l-sābi'ati wa-**l-niṣfi***
في الساعة السابعة و النصف
'at **half** past seven'

ṯulṯ ثلث- *'ušr* عُشر '3rd–10th'

These numbers take the pattern *fu'l* فعل (plur. *'af'āl* أفعال). They function as the first term of annexation and may be followed by a definite or indefinite noun although the latter is more common:

***ṯulṯu** qarnin min-a l-zamani*
ثلث قرن من الزمن
'**a third** of a century in time'

*sayyāra# **rub'#** naql#*
سيّارة ربع نقل
'a **quarter**-truck'

***rub'a** sā'atin*
ربع ساعة
'for a **quarter** of an hour'

Note the following examples:

***rub'u** sanawiyyin* ربع سنوي
***rub'u** sanawiyyatin* ربع سنوية
'quarterly' (i.e. '**every quarter** of the year')

(note gender polarity agreement in second example)

***al-ṯulṯu** l-'aḫīru min hāḏā l-qarni*
الثلث الأخير من هذا القرن
'the last **third** of this century'

*sayṭara 'alā **l-rub'i sā'atin**-i l-'aḫīri*
سيطر على الربع ساعة الأخير
'dominated the last **quarter of an hour**' (cf. **2.12.15**)

For higher fractions, see dates **2.14.7**.

2.14.3 *Percentages*

Percentages are more often than not recorded in figures. The percentage sign usually follows the number in right to left order. When read out either *bi-* بـ (see **2.6.4**) or *fī* في (see **2.6.5**) are used:

mi'atun bi-l-mi'ati مائة بالمائة '**100%**'

wa-ṭab'an ***tis'ūna fī l-mi'ati*** *'in lam yakun* ***mi'atan fī l-mi'ati***
وطبعا تسعون في المائة إن لم يكن مائة في المائة
'of course **90%** if not **100%**' (see **8.1**)

9.4 fī l-mi'ati ٩،٤ في المائة '**9.4%**'

89% *min-a l-'ummahāti l-miṣriyyāti*
٨٩٪ من الأمّهات المصريات
'**89%** of Egyptian mothers'

2.14.4 *'Nil'* (see football scores below)

wa-'aḫaḏa ***ṣifran*** *fī l-'imlā'i*
و أخذ صفرا في الإملاء
'and he got **a zero** in dictation'

2.14.5 *Periods of time*

Periods of time (▷C2:394) and 'times' (see *'awwalu* أوّل 'first', **2.13.1**) For time phrases in dependent case, when used as complements, see **2.4.3**):

'awwalu *marratin* أول مرة '**the first** time'
*li-l-marrati l-****'ūlā*** للمرّة الأولى 'for **the first** time'
li-l-marrati ***l-'alfi*** للمرّة الألف 'for the **thousandth** time'
'ašarāti *l-marrāti* عشرات المرّات '**tens of** times'
marratan *kulla sanatin* مرة كل سنة '**once** a year'
marratayni *wa-niṣfa l-marrati* مرّتين ونصف المرّة '**two** and a half **times**'
'ālāfa *l-marrāti* آلاف المرّات '**thousands** of times'
'iddata *marrātin* عدّة مرّات '**a number** of times'
li-muddati ***3 'asābī'a*** لمدّة ٣ أسابيع 'for [the period of] **three weeks**'

Personalized time idioms with pronoun suffix *sā'atahā* ساعتها, *yawmahā* يومها, *waqtahā* وقتها:

ṯamanu l-taḏkirati ***waqtahā*** *kāna 50 junayhan*
ثمن التذكرة وقتها كان ٥٠ جنيها
'the price of a ticket **at that time** was £50'

yawmahā *kāna l-ẓalāmu dāmisan*
يومها كان الظلام دامسا
'**on that day** the darkness was intense'

sā'atahā *naẓartu 'ilayhi bi-dahšatin*
ساعتها نظرت إليه بدهشة
'**at that moment** I looked at him with surprise'

2.14.6 *Clock times, etc.*

In clock times the use of the word *sā'atun* ساعة 'hour' is optional.

With *sā'atun* ساعة 'hour':

fī ***l-sā'ati l-sādisati wa-l-niṣfi***
في الساعة السادسة والنصف
'at **half past six**'

Without *sā'atun* ساعة 'hour':

fī ***l-ḥādiyati 'ašara***
في الحادية عشر
'at **eleven**'

'anā 'aṣḥū ***qabla l-ṯāminati*** *ṣabāḥan*
أنا أصحو قبل الثامنة صباحا
'I wake up **before eight** in the morning'

fī ***l-sādisati 'illā rub'an***
في السادسة إلا ربعا
'at **a quarter to six**'

fī ***l-sādisati 'illā ṯulṯin*** *min masā'i kulli yawmin*
في السادسة إلا ثلث من مساء كلّ يوم
'**at twenty to six** in the evening of every day'

(the different case endings on *rub'un* ربع 'quarter' and *ṯulṯun* ثلث 'third' in the previous two examples signify uncertainty in MWA after *'illā* إلا, see **Chapter 9**)

Miscellaneous time expressions:

*qabla l-nihāyati bi-**ṯalāṯi daqā'iqa***
قبل النهاية بثلاث دقائق
'**three minutes** before the end'

*istaġraqa **sā'atayni** wa-**niṣfa l-sā'ati***
استغرق ساعتين ونصف الساعة
'lasted two and a half hours', lit. '**two hours** and **half the hour**'

*naḥwa **ṯulṯi l-sā'ati***
نحو ثلث الساعة
'for about 20 minutes', lit. '**one-third of the hour**'

*fī l-**daqīqati 44***
في الدقيقة ٤٤
'in the **44th minute**'

*fī 'āḫiri **60 ṯāniyatan***
في آخر ٦٠ ثانية
'in the last **60 seconds**'

*'alā madā **l-'arba'i wa-l-'išrīna sā'atan** yawmiyyan*
على مدى الأربع والعشرين ساعة يوميا
'for **twenty-four hours** a day'

*fī 'awwali **rub'i sā'atin** min hāḏā l-šawṭ*
في أوّل ربع ساعة من هذا الشوط
'in the first **quarter of an hour** of this half'

*sayṭara 'alā **l-rub'i sā'atin**-i l-'aḫīri*
سيطر على الربع ساعة الأخير
'dominated the last **quarter of an hour**'

2.14.7 *Dates and calendar* (▷C2:393)

The choice of whether to record a date as part of a prepositional phrase or as a pure dependent form would seem to be fairly arbitrary.

General dates, prepositional phrases: when months and specified time structures are written out in words, the numbers occur as ordinals, acting more as nouns than adjectives, or possibly as adjectives to an elided noun such as *yawm* يوم 'day':

fī ***l-ṯāmini min fibrāyir# 1993***
في الثامن من فبراير ١٩٩٣
'on **the eighth February 1993**'

fī ***l-sābi' 'ašara min yanāyir-i l-jārī***
في السابع عشر من يناير الجاري
'on **the seventeenth of the current January**'

fī ***l-ḫāmisa 'ašara min-a l-šahri l-muqbili***
في الخامس عشرة من الشهر المقبل
'on **the fifteenth of next month**'

fī 1966
في ١٩٦٦
'in 1966'

fī ***3 nūfimbir# al-māḍī***
في ٣ نوفمبر الماضي
'on **the 3rd of last November**'

fī l-fatrati min ***8 'ilā 19 yanāyir-i l-qādimi***
في الفترة من ٨ إلى ١٩ يناير القادم
'in the period from **the 8th to the 19th of next January**'

ma'a ***nihāyati l-šahri l-jārī***
مع نهاية الشهر الجاري
'by **the end of the current month**'

Dependent forms (see temporal qualifier objects, **2.4.3.1**):

yawma *l-tāsi'# min māyū*
يوم التاسع من مايو
'on the 9th of May', lit. '**the day of**'

yawma *23 dīsambir# al-ḥālī#*
يوم ٢٣ ديسمبر الحالي
'on the 23rd of this December', lit. '**the day of**'

zalzālu ***12 'uktūbar# 1992***
زلزال ١٢ أكتوبر ١٩٩٢
'the earthquake of **12th October 1992**'

ḥadaṯa ḏālika ***l-'arbi'ā'a l-māḍiya***
حدث ذلك الأربعاء الماضي
'that happened **last Wednesday**'

al-sabta l-māḍiya
السبت الماضي
'last Saturday'

al-'usbū'a l-'aḫīra *min yūlyū*
الأسبوع الأخير من يوليو
'**the last week** of July'

ṣabāḥa *yawmi l-jum'ati l-māḍī*
صباح يوم الجمعة الماضي
'last Friday morning', lit. '**the morning** of the day of'

'awwala *l-'usbū'i*
أوّل الأسبوع
'**at the beginning** of the week'

nihāyata *šahri yanāyir-i l-ḥāliyyi* (*-i* on *yanāyir* يناير is juncture as it is assumed to be uninflected)
نهاية شهر يناير الحالي
'**at the end** of this January'

Special forms *'awā'il* أوائل, *'awāḫir* أواخر: plural forms of *'awwal* أول 'first' namely, *'awā'il* أوائل 'first parts of' and *'āḫir* آخِر 'end' namely, *'awāḫir* أواخر 'last parts of' are used in specific constructions. They occur mainly as annexed nouns, cf. 'first', etc., **2.13.1**, and have no feminine form:

fī ***'awā'ili*** *l-qarni l-'išrīna*
في أوائل القرن العشرين
'in the **first few** years of the twentieth century'

fī ***'awāḫiri*** *l-kitābi*
في أواخر الكتاب
'in **the last few** pages of the book'

yawman mā يوما ما (see indefiniteness and *mā* ما **1.12.4.1** 'once upon a time')

yawman mā *kāna li-kulli muḥāfaẓatin firqatun masraḥiyyatun*
يوما ما كان لكلّ محافظة فرقة مسرحية
'**at one time** every governorate had a theatrical troupe'

Note how the thousands and hundreds can also be removed from dates as in English:

ba'da 'udwāni ***56*** ٥٦ بعد عدوان 'after the hostilities of [19]**56**'
fī 'āmi ***ḫamsatin wa-sittīna*** في عام خمسة وستّين 'in the year **sixty-five**'

There are two ways of writing years in full. Such dates are generally preceded by *'āma* عام or *sanata* سنة 'in [the year of]' [dep. form] or *fī 'āmi* في عام / *fi sanati* في سنة with the date being the 2nd element of annexation. The unit number follows the gender polarity rule (see **2.12.3**) with either *'āmun* عام (masc.) or *sanatun* سنة (fem.) 'year':

'āma ***'alfin wa-tis'imi'atin wa-ṯalāṯatin wa-ṯamānīna***
عام ألف وتسعمائة و ثلاثة وثمانين
'in [the year of] **nineteen eighty-three**', lit. 'one thousand and nine hundred and three [fem.] and eighty'

sanata ***'alfin wa-tis'imi'atin wa-ṯalāṯin wa-ṯamānīna***
سنة ألف وتسعمائة و ثلاث وثمانين
'in [the year of] **nineteen eighty three**', lit. 'one thousand and nine hundred and three [masc.] and eighty'

An alternative word order is also possible for such dates written out in full:

'āma ṯalāṯatin wa-ṯamānīna wa-tis'imi'atin wa-'alfin
عام ثلاثة وثمانين وتسعمائة وألف
'in [the year of] **nineteen eighty three**', lit. 'three [fem.] and eighty and nine hundred and one thousand'

or:

sanata ***ṯalāṯin wa-ṯamānīna wa-tis'imi'atin wa-'alfin***
سنة ثلاث وثمانين وتسعمائة وألف
'in [the year of] **nineteen eighty three**', lit. 'three and eighty and nine hundred and one thousand'

2.14.7.1 *Days and months*

- Days of the week

The days of the week are as follows (for convenience all phrases are vocalized in adverbial dependent form):

yawma l-’aḥadi يوم الأحد ‘Sunday’

yawma l-’iṯnayni يوم الإثنين ‘Monday’

yawma l-ṯalāṯā’i يوم الثلاثاء ‘Tuesday’

yawma l-’arbi‘ā’i يوم الأربعاء ‘Wednesday’

yawma l-ḫamīsi يوم الخميس ‘Thursday’

yawma l-jum‘ati يوم الجمعة ‘Friday’

yawma l-sabti يوم السبت ‘Saturday’

Other expressions involving ‘days’:

al-yawma اليوم ‘today’

fī l-ġadi في الغد / *ġadan* غدا ‘tomorrow’

’amsi أمس ‘yesterday’

’awwala ’amsi أوّل أمس / *’amsi l-’awwali* أمس الأوّل ‘the day before yesterday’

ḫilāla ***l-’ayyāmi l-qalīlati l-qādimati***
خلال الأيّام القليلة القادمة
‘in **the next few days**’

qabla yawmin *min bad’i* …
قبل يوم من بدء…
‘**a day before** the beginning of …’

qabla ’ayyāmin *min muḥākamatihi*
قبل أيّام من محاكمته
‘**a few days before** his trial’

- Months of the year

There are three different sets of names for months of the year, two of which mark the Christian year, and one which is used for the Islamic calendar.

Christian calendar (1) [used mainly in Egypt and Sudan]	Christian calendar (2) [used mainly in the Levant and Iraq]
yanāyir يناير	*kānūn al-ṯānī* كانون الثاني January
fabrāyir فبراير	*šubāṭ* شباط February
mars مارس	*āḏār* آذار March
’abrīl أبريل	*nīsān* نيسان April
māyū مايو	*ayyār* ايّار May
yūniyō يونيو	*ḥazīrān* حزيران June
yūliyō يوليو	*tammūz* تمّوز July
’aġusṭus أغسطس	*āb* آب August
sibtambir سبتمبر	*aylūl* ايلول September
oktōbir أكتوبر	*tišrīn al-’awwal* تشرين الأول October
nūfimbir نوفمبر	*tišrīn al-ṯānī* تشرين الثاني November
disembir دسمبر	*kānūn al-’awwal* كانون الأول December

Many of the above words are by nature invariable but in any case inflected forms hardly ever occur and so the months are listed here as uninflected.

Islamic calendar

Being lunar, they do not correspond to the Christian months, but are listed here as if in a notional year whose first month coincides in both calendars.

al-muḥarram	المحرّم January
ṣafar	صفر February
rabī‘ al-’awwal	ربيع الأول March
rabī‘ al-ṯānī	ربيع الثاني April
jumādā l-’ūl ā	جمادى الأولى May
jumādā l-’āḫira	جمادى الآخرة June
rajab	رجب July
ša‘bān	شعبان August
ramaḍān	رمضان September
šawwāl	شوّال October
ḏū l-qa‘da	ذو القعدة November
ḏū l-ḥijja	ذو الحجّة December

2.14.7.2 *Years and longer periods*

*ba‘da **‘āmin wa-niṣfi l-‘āmi***
بعد عام ونصف العام
‘after **a year and a half**’

*kulla **‘āmayni***
كل عامين
‘every **two years**’

*munḏu **‘ašarati sanawātin***
منذ عشرة سنوات
‘**ten years** ago’

*li-muddati **ṯnatay ‘ašrata ‘āman** muttaṣilatin*
لمدّة اثنتيْ عشرة عاما متّصلة
‘for **twelve** consecutive **years**’

*ḫilāla **l-sanawāti l-māḍiyati***
خلال السنوات الماضية
‘during the past years’

*ḫilāla **l-‘āmi l-munṣarimi***
خلال العام المنصرم
‘during **the past year**’

*ṭiwāla ’akṯara min **’arba‘īna ‘āman***
طوال أكثر من أربعين عاما
‘for more than **forty years**’

*munḏu **‘uqūdin ’arba‘atin** ‘alā l-’aqalli*
منذ عقود أربعة على الأقلّ
‘**four decades** ago at least’

*munḏu **rub‘i qarnin***
منذ ربع قرن
‘**a quarter of a century** ago’

al-‘āma l-māḍiya العام الماضي / *fī l-‘āmi l-māḍī* في العام الماضي /
al-sanata l-māḍiyata السنة الماضية / *fī l-sanati l-māḍiyati* في السنة الماضية
‘last year’ (*al-qādima* القادم / *al-qādimata* القادمة ‘next’ etc.)

2.14.8 Age

balaġat-i ***l-sābi‘ata ‘ašara***
بلغت السابعة عشر
‘she reached **seventeen**’, lit. ‘she reached the seventeenth [year] [of her life]’

’aqallu min ***ḫamsi sanawātin***
أقلّ من خمس سنوات
‘less than **five years old**’

ba‘da ***sinni l-’arba‘īna***
بعد سنّ الأربعين
‘after **the age of forty**’

‘indamā ’adrakat ***sinna l-ṯāliṯati***
عندما أدركت سن الثالثة
‘when she reached **the age of three**’

yabluġu ***min-a l-‘umri (55) ‘āman***
(يبلغ من العمر) ٥٥ عاما
‘[who is (masc.)] **55 years of age**’

’adībun taḫaṭṭā ***l-ḫamsīna min ‘umrihi***
أديب تخطّى الخمسين من عمره
‘a writer who had passed **the age of fifty**’

man hum ***dūna al-ṯalāṯīna***
مَن هم دون الثلاثين
‘those who are **under thirty**’

min ***sinni 6 sanawātin*** *wa-ḥattā* ***16 sanatan***
من سنّ ٦ سنوات وحتّى ١٦ سنة
‘from **the age of 6** until **16**’

2.14.9 Miscellaneous number items

nasama نسمة ‘person, soul’, is always used in counts, census etc.:

lā yazīdu ‘alā l-‘išrīna malyūna ***nasamatin***
لا يزيد على العشرين مليون نسمة
‘is no more than twenty million **people**’

'arba'atu malāyīna ***nasamatin***
أربعة ملايين نسمة
'four million **people**'

2.14.9.1 *Page references and misc. number references* (▷C2:396)

al-zinzānatu raqmu ***'arba'atin wa-ṯalāṯīna***
الزنزانة رقم أربعة وثلاثين
'cell number **thirty-four**' (see apposition **2.2.1.2**)

fa-man sa-yakūnu 'l-'aduwwa' l-'amīrkiyya raqma ***wāḥidin****?*
فمن سيكون 'العدو' الأميركي رقم واحد
'so who will be the American "enemy" number **one**?'

Cardinal:

fī ***ṣafḥati 'išrīna*** *min-a l-faṣli l-ṯānī*
في صفحة عشرين من الفصل الثاني
'on **page twenty** of the second chapter'

Ordinal:

fī ***l-ṣafḥati l-ṯāliṯati*** *min-a l-'adadi l-ḥāliyyi*
في الصفحة الثالثة من العدد الحالي
'on **the third page** of the current edition'

2.14.9.2 *Soccer (and sports) scores (probably never fully inflected)*

fawzu [team name] **2/*ṣifr***
فوز... \ ٢ / صفر
'the victory of [team name] **2-nil**'

*bi-****hadafin wāḥidin*** *li-kullin minhumā*
بهدف واحد لكلّ منهما
'with **one goal** each'

*bi-****hadafin*** *li-****lā-šay'in***
بهدف للاشيء
'by **one goal** to **nothing**'

*bi-**hadafayni** muqābila **lā-šay'in***
بهدفيْن مقابل لاشيء
'by **two goals** to **nothing**'

5/9 *li-ṣāliḥ* [team name]
[team name] لصالح ...٩\٥
'**5 to 9** in favour of [team name]'

2.14.9.3 *Weights and measures*

These have a tendency to be invariable, although some appear to adhere to CA rules:

16 mitran murabba'an
١٦ مترا مربّعا
'**16 square metres**'

*naḥwa **100 'alfi qadamin murabba'in***
نحو ١٠٠ ألف قدم مربّع
'about **100 thousand square feet**'

*'alā masāfatin qadruhā **25 'alfa mitrin murabba'in***
على مسافة قدرها ٢٥ ألف متر مربّع
'over an area amounting to **25,000 square metres**'

'ālāfu l-'amtāri l-murabba'ati
آلاف الأمتار المربّعة
'**thousands of square metres**'

*tab'udu 'anhā **'ālāfa l-'amyāli***
تبعد عنها آلاف الأميال
'it is **thousands of miles** distant from it'

Invariable:

*ḥawālā **2 ṭann** min-a l-bārūdi* حوالى ٢ طنّ من البارود 'about **2 tons** of gunpowder'
***7 ṭann** yawmiyyan* ٧ طنّ يوميا '**7 tons** daily'
25 ṭann ٢٥ طن '**25 tons**'
68 jirām ٦٨ جرام '**68 grammes**'
650 jirām ٦٥٠ جرام '**650 grammes**'

Compound units of measure are written as one or two words:

kīlū mitr كيلو متر '**kilometre**'

kīlū jirām كيلو جرام '**kilogramme**'

millilitre ملليتر '**millilitre**'

kīlū wāt كيلو وات 'kilowatt' is two words, but *kīlūwāt* كيلووات 'kilowatt', *megawāt* مجوات 'megawatt' and *mīgābāyt* ميجابايت 'megabyte' are all one word.

Inflections on these nouns appear to be divisible into three categories:

CA, unambiguous:

75 kīlū mitran ٧٥ كيلو مترا '**75 kilometres**'

Not CA, unambiguous:

ḥawālā ***7 kīlū mitr***

حوالى ٧ كيلو متر

'about **7 kilometres**'

Ambiguous, inflection unknown:

3 kīlū jirāmāt#

٣ كيلو جرامات

'**3 kilogrammes**'

10 kīlū mitrāt#

١٠ كيلو مترات

'**10 kilometres**'

Abbreviations (see **1.2.5**)

These weights and measures are frequently abbreviated (see also **1.2.5**):

km كم 'kilometre'; *kīlū* كيلو 'kilogramme'; *m* م for *mitr* متر 'metre'

2.15 Vocatives (▷C2:216)

Vocatives are a part of direct speech, addressing someone or personified something who, or which, is present. The full written forms are recorded here, in keeping with the rest of the work, even if the examples would seldom, if ever, be pronounced in anything but pausal form (cf. **1.2.8**, **1.2.9**). The same applies to oaths and exclamations (see below).

2.15.1 yā يا (▷C2:217) *'O'*

Singular nouns after *yā* يا 'O' have independent form, devoid of the *al-* الـ definite marker. Additional adjectives or nouns are syntactically equivalent to single nouns:

mā hāḏihi l-sayyāratu l-jamīlatu ***yā 'aymanu****?*
ما هذه السيّارة الجميلة يا أيمن؟
'what is this fine car, **Ayman**?'

yā fatātī l-ṭayyibatu
يا فتاتي الطيبة
'**O my sweet young girl**'

isma' ***yā hāḏā***
اسمع يا هذا
'listen, **you**'

yā majnūnatu
يا مجنونة
'**you fool**' **[fem.]**

Exceptions: *yā 'allāhi* يا الله 'By God'

Variant of *ī* ي suffix for 'my':

māḏā 'aqūlu laki ***yā 'ummāh***
ماذا أقول لك يا أمّاه
'whatever can I say to you, **mother**'

If the first noun (or name) of the vocative is modified by annexation, the 1st element occurs in the dependent case:

yā siyādata *l-duktūri M. S.*
يا سيادة الدكتور م.س.
'**Mr** Dr M. S.'

Often the CA dependent form rules are applied even with proper names normally uninflected (cf. **1.8.5**):

yā 'azīzī 'abā 'aḥmad#
يا عزيزي ابا احمد
'**my dear Abū Aḥmad**'

The following examples are of the same type except that the case ending is impossible to ascertain owing to the presence of the pronoun:

yā waladī
يا ولدي
'**O my son**'

'aṣlu l-muškilati ***yā 'azīzatī***
أصل المشكلة يا عزيزتي
'the origin of the problem, **my dear [girl]**'

yā bnatī *l- azīza#*
يا ابنتي العزيزة
'**my** dear **daughter**'

wa-lākin māḏā 'arā ***yā rabbī****?*
ولكنْ ماذا أرى يا ربي
'but what shall I see, **O my Lord**?'

yā zamīlī *l-muḥtaram#*
يا زميلي المحترم
'**my** esteemed **colleague**'

yā-'ilāhī *'ayna 'aḏhabu wa-qad-i nsaddat jamī'u l-'abwābi 'amāma wajhī*
يا إلاهي أين أذهب وقد انسدّت جميع الأبواب أمام وجهي
'**oh my God**, where am I going now that all doors have closed in my face', lit. 'have become locked before my face' (see circ. quals **7.3.2**)

li-'anna l-zar'a ***yā bunayya*** *yaḥtāju 'ilā l-ḍaw'i*
لأنّ الزرع يا بُنيّ يحتاج إلى الضوء
'because growing plants, **my little son**, need light' (see dim. **1.8.1.2**)

2.15.2 'ayyuhā *(m.)* أيّها / 'ayyatuhā *(f.)* أيّتها (▷C2:219)

This is a variant form of the vocative which is used when the following noun has the definite article; the noun remains in the independent case:

'ayyuhā l-qāri'u *l-karīmu*
أيّها القارئ الكريم
'**O** good **reader**'

li-ḏālika ***’ayyuhā l-‘āmilu*** *‘alayka ’an tufakkira*
لذلك أيّها العامل عليك أنْ تفكّر
‘therefore, **worker**, it is incumbent on you to think’

’ayyuhā l-ḥuznu
أيّها الحزن
‘**O sadness**’

2.15.3 yā ’ayyuhā يا أيّها (▷C2:219)

Emphatic form of the previous ones. The same grammatical rules apply as for **2.15.2**:

yā ’ayyuhā l-’i‘lāniyyūna يا أيّها الإعلانيون ‘**O you publicists**’

2.15.4 ’a- أ

This is a very archaic form of the vocative which was used mainly in Classical poetry. No examples were found as part of this study.

2.15.5 *Zero marker* (▷C2:217)

Vocative markers are not always used. With annexed vocative, the first term of annexation is always in the dependent case as above, although in these two examples it is not visible:

sayyidī l-ṭabību
سيّدي الطبيب
‘**Doctor**’, lit. ‘my master the doctor’

al-’aslamu ***‘azīzī l-muštarik*** *’an*
الأسلم عزيزي المشترك أن
‘the safest thing, **my dear subscriber**, is to’

2.15.6 naḥnu l-muslimīna نحن المسلمين *variant* (▷C2:80)

Occasionally, one finds a personal independent pronoun, either 1st or 2nd person, followed immediately by a noun in apposition in the dependent

case as a result of an elided verb such as *'a'nī* أعني 'I mean' (see direct objects, **2.4.1**):

'annanā ***naḥnu l-miṣriyyīna wa-l-'araba*** …
أنّنا نحن المصريين و العرب…
'that we, **the Egyptians and the Arabs**,…'

2.16 Exclamations

2.16.1 *Vocative subvariety* (▷C2:204)

yā ḥasratā يا حسرتا + pronoun: 'what sorrow'

yā ḥasratāhu *'alā šabābihi l-ḍā'i'i*
يا حسرتاه على شبابه الضائع
'**what sorrow** surrounds his wasted youth'

yā lahu يا له type (▷C2:205) 'what a . . .': preposition *li-* لـ may occur with an attached pronoun (therefore *la-* لـ) anticipating a noun following the preposition *min* من; the pronoun agrees in gender with the following noun:

yā lahu *min mawqifin!* يا له من موقف! '**what** a position!'
yā lahā *min hazīmatin!* يا لها من هزيمة! '**what** a defeat!'
yā lahu *min jiddin!* يا له من جد! '**what** seriousness there was!'

yā la-l-'ajabi يا للعجب type: the following type may also occur with the particle *la-* لـ followed by a noun in the oblique case:

yā la-l-*dāhiyati!*
يا للداهية!
'**what** a disaster!'

yā la-l-*'ajabi wa-l-ġarābati wa-l-ġumūḍi!*
يا للعجب والغرابة والغموض
'**how** amazingly strange and obscure it was!'

yā la-*ḫajali l-falsafati yā la-ḫajali l-ši'ri 'ayḍan*
يا لخجل الفلسفة يا لخجل الشعر أيضا
'**how** embarrassing for philosophy and poetry too'

yā layta- يا ليت 'if only . . . , would that', see under *layta* ليت, **3.2.6**.

2.16.2 waylun li- ويل لـ *'woe to'* (▷C2:204)

waylun lī *min hāḏa l-firāqi* ويل لي من هذا الفراق '**woe to me** for this separation'

2.16.3 *Dependent case exclamations* (▷C2:206; cf. **3.29.9**)

There is a class of interjectional phrases expressing warning, greeting and wish, etc. that take the dependent form. They are normally indefinite and pronounced in contextual form, retaining their full inflection as loan words from CA. They may or may not take a particle of interjection:

wa-lākin ***ruwaydan ruwaydan*** *taḥarraka l-qalaqu jārran warā'ahu l-ḫawfa*
و لكن رُويدا رُويدا تحرّك القلق جارّا وراءه الخوف
'but **slowly**, **slowly**, the anxiety moved, dragging fear behind it'

*wa-***šukran laka** *'alā wuqūfika bi-jānibī*
وشُكرا لك على وقوفك بجانبي
'**thank you** for standing by me'

ḥamdan *li-l-lāhi 'alā salāmatika*
حمدا لله على سلامتك
'**Praise** God for your safety'

safaran sa'īdan!
سفرا سعيدا
'happy travels!'

na'īman
نعيما
'may you enjoy the bath/haircut you have just had'

(last two examples are elliptical, see **3.27.4**)

2.16.4 **'iyyāka** إيّاك ***type*** (▷C2:207; ▷C3:111)

'iyyāka *'an tatajāwaza ḥudūdaka*
إيّاك أن تتجاوز حدودك
'**I warn you** not to exceed your limits' (see **7.5.1.2**)

'iyyāka wa- و إياك 'do not' with noun in dependent case (see **3.29.8**):

***'iyyāka wa**-l-kalāma fī hāḏā l-mawḍū'i*
إياك والكلام في هذا الموضوع
'**be careful not** to talk about this subject'

2.16.5 *Miscellaneous*

hayhāta هيهات 'out of the question', 'how preposterous!' is normally followed by *'an* أنْ 'that' (see **7.5.1** and cf. **3.27.4**):

*lākin **hayhāta 'an** yatrukahu ḫuṣūmuhu*
لكن هيهات أن يتركه خصومه
'but **there was no way** his opponents would leave him alone'

*fa-**hayhāta 'an** tanfajira yanābī'u l-'iṭā'i*
فهيهات أن تنفجر ينابيع الإعطاء
'and **there was no way** the springs of generosity would burst forth'

'āhin آه 'oh' (variant *'awwah* أوّه):

*wa-**'āhin** yā sādatu yā kirāmu*
وآه يا سادة يا كرام
'And **oh**, you gentlemen, you eminent ones'

*fa-**'āhin** ṯumma **'āhin** ṯumma **'āhin***
فآه ثم آه ثم آه
'so, oh dear [then] oh dear [then] oh dear'

(for *ṯumma* ثمّ 'then', see **2.19.3**)

***'āhin** minka!*
آه منك
'**Oh, what trouble** you are causing me!'

wā-'asafāh / *wā-ḥasratāh* وأسفاه واحسرتاه 'what a pity/shame!' (see **2.16.1**)

***wā-'asafāh wā-ḥasratāh** ḍā'a l-šabābu wa-nqaḍā l-'umru*
وأسفاه واحسرتاه ضاع الشباب وانقضى العمر
'**Oh dear** … Youth has gone and life is approaching the end'

A number of exclamations bear the suffix *-āh* اه indicating regret or lamentation:

***rabbāh** māḏā janat yadayya!*
ربّاه ماذا جنت يديّ
'**oh my God**, what have I done!', lit. 'what have my hands committed!'

*wa-ḥattā l-'aṣāfīru tuġarridu **yā ġawṯāh**!!*
وحتّى العصافير تغرّد يا غوثاه!!
'even the birds are singing **bless this rain!!**', lit. 'O rainfall-ah!'

(see *ḥattā* حتّى in **2.19.12**)

ḥāšā [li-l-lāhi] (لله) حاشا (▷C3:111):

***ḥāšā li-l-lāhi** 'an 'aẓunna bika hāḏa l-ẓanna*
حاشا لله أنْ أظنّ بك هذا الظنّ
'**God forbid** that I would ever think that ill of you' (see **7.5.1**)

*fa-**dūnaki** l-māla*
فدونك المال
'**there you** [fem.] **have** the money [take it!]' (see **2.7.11**)

2.17 Oaths and exclamations

(for verbal oaths and exclamations, see **3.26** and **3.27**)

The exclamatory *wa-* و (see **1.6.2**) occurs in interjections and oaths, followed by a noun (normally of reverence e.g. God) in the oblique case (▷C2:204). It may be placed between a noun and its adjective, or two continuous parts of a sentence (▷C2:52):

*wa-naḥnu – **wa-llāhi** – laysa lanā maṣlaḥatun fī 'an yuḫarraba lubnānu*
و نحن – والله – ليس لنا مصلحة في أن يخرَّب لبنان
'we – by God – have no interest in seeing Lebanon destroyed'

*huwa **wa-llāhu** 'a'lamu llaḏī 'aḫaḏa l-kitāba*
هو والله أعلم الّذي أخذ الكتاب
'he is, **and God knows best**, the one who took the book'

*fa-**wa-llāhi***
فوالله
'for **by God**'

2.18 Negative nouns (cf. **12.6**)

2.18.1 *Categorical negative* **lā šay'a لا شيء** (▷C1:168; ▷C2:222) *and its concomitants* (see **4.1.2**)

To negate an entire category the negative *lā* لا is used, followed by dependent noun without *tanwīn*.

lā šay'a لا شيء

lā šay'a *yahummu* لا شيء يهم '**nothing** matters'

In the case of *lā šay'* لا شيء the two words have been combined to make a compound in sports terminology:

*al-fawzu … bi-hadafin li-**lā-šay'a***
الفوز . . . بهدف للاشيء
'victory … by a goal to **nothing**'

In a nominal function:

al-lā-šay'u اللاشيء '**the nothing**' (see compound nouns, **12.6**)

lā maḥālata لا محالة 'inevitably' (▷C2:89) (see **4.1.3**)

*fa-huwa mafṣūlun min-a l-šarikati **lā maḥālata***
فهو مفصول من الشركة لا محالة
'then he will **definitely** be fired from the company'

lā jarama لا جرم 'certainly', 'inevitably', archaic and Qur'anic, although it may occur in MWA in very restricted contexts:

lā jarama *'annī waqaftu bayna maylin 'ilayka wa-maylin 'alayka*
لا جرم أنّي وقفت بين ميل إليك وميل عليك
'**certainly** I hesitated between being favourably disposed towards you and prejudiced against you'

lā ba'sa لا بأس 'not bad', 'considerable' (▷C2:220) (see **4.1.2** and cf. **7.5.2.8**):

*wa-fī l-waqti nafsihi 'aḥraza najāḥan **lā ba'sa bihi** ka-muḥāmin*
وفي الوقت نفسه أحرز نجاحا لا بأس به كمحام
'and at the same time he acquired a **not inconsiderable** success as a lawyer'

2.18.2 lā šakka لا شكّ *'there is no doubt'*

The following set tends to introduce sentences (see **4.1.2** and **7.5.2.8**).

lā šakka لا شكّ 'there is no doubt':

wa-mimmā ***lā šakka*** *fīhi* …
و مما لا شكّ فيه …
'one thing **there is no doubt** about is …'

lā budda لا بدّ (▷C2:221, ▷C3:110) 'it is inevitable/incumbent':

lā budda *'an taṣila fī l-mī'ādi*
لا بدّ أنْ تصل في الميعاد
'you **must** arrive on time'

lā ḥaraja لا حرج 'there is no limitation':

lā ḥaraja *'alā faḍli llāhi*
لا حرج على فضل الله
'**there is no limit** to God's bounty'

lā ḥaraja *'alayka fī l-ḏahābi*
لا حرج عليك في الذهاب
'**there is no objection** to your going'

lā ġarwa لا غرو 'no wonder':

lā ġarwa *wa-'anta taḍḥaku ṭūla l-waqti*
لا غرو و أنت تضحك طول الوقت
'**no wonder** since you are laughing all the time' (see circ. quals **7.3.2**)

2.18.3 lā, laysa ġayru لا, ليس غير **etc.** (▷C2:6, 147; **4.2.8.4**) *'nothing else'*

al-ḥurriyatu l-fardiyyatu ***lā ġayru***
الحرّية الفردية لا غير
'personal freedom and **nothing else**'

laysa 'illā ليس إلا 'nothing but':

lā ya'dū 'an yakūna nuktatan laṭīfatan ***laysa 'illā***
لا يعدو أن يكون نكتة لطيفة ليس إلا
'it will be no more than a pleasant joke, **nothing but**'

2.19 Coordination (phrasal) (▷C2:495)

(Main treatment of sentence coordination under syntax, see **6.0**; see also **3.8** on coordination of pronoun + noun agent)

In phrasal coordination the second (coordinated) element takes the same inflection as the first element. There are a number of coordinating particles at the phrase level:

2.19.1 wa- و (▷C2:496; **6.2**) *'and'*

Two nouns (or pronouns) or more in a sequence are generally coordinated by *wa-* و:

*fī l-zirā'ati **wa**-l-ta'dīni **wa**-l-ṣaydi **wa**-l-binā'i*
في الزراعة والتعدين والصيد والبناء
'in agriculture, (**and**) mining, (**and**) fishing (**and**) building'

*fī rtiyāḥin 'amīqin **wa**-'asan ḫafīfin*
في ارتياح عميق وأسى خفيف
'in profound relief **and** slight sadness'

*'alaynā **wa**-'alayhim*
علينا وعليهم
'on us **and** on them' (see also prepositions **2.6**)

*qurūḍun mutawassiṭatun **wa**-ṭawīlatu l-'ajli*
قروض متوسّطة وطويلة الأجل
'medium **and** long term loans' (see adjectives, **2.1.3.2**)

*'innahu **wa**-l-šamsa ṣinwānun*
إنّه والشمس صنوان
'indeed he **and** the sun are twin brothers'

*hiya tuḥibbu **l-walada wa-l-binta***
هي تحبّ الولد والبنت
'she loves **the boy and the girl**'

Elliptical *wa-* و:

ḥadīṯu wālidi ’īmān ‘an-i l-iqtiṣādi wa-l-siyāsati wa-l-‘awlamati ***wa . . . wa . . . wa . . .***

حديث والد إيمان عن الاقتصاد والسياسة والعولمة و . . . و . . . و . . .

‘Iman’s father talks about the economy, politics, globalization, **blah . . . blah . . . blah . . .**’ (see syndetic adjectives **2.1.1.7.2**)

2.19.2 fa- فـ (▷C2:497; 6.3) *‘and’, ‘so’, ‘and [then]’*

Coordinates any phrasal elements and sentences (see **6.3**), always in a sequential (temporal or logical) manner:

wa-‘alayhi ’an yantaẓira l-’aswa’a ***fa****-l-’aswa’a*

وعليه أنْ ينتظر الأسوأ فالأسوأ

‘he has to expect the worst **and then** the worst’

al-ḥiqbatu l-mumtaddatu bayna qiyāmi l-nāziyyati ***fa****-’ahwāli l-ḥarbi l-‘ālamiyyati l-ṯāniyati* ***fa****-marḥalati mā ba‘da l-ḥarbi*

الحقبة الممتدّة بين قيام النازية فأهوال الحرب العالمية الثانية فمرحلة ما بعد الحرب

‘the period extending from the rise of Nazism **and** the horrors of the Second World War **and** the post-war stage’

It often coordinates object qualifier type expressions, for example, *wāḥidan fa-wāḥidan* واحدا فواحدا type (▷C2:498; see absolute object **2.4.2.7**).

2.19.3 ṯumma ثمّ (▷C2:498; 6.4) *‘then’*

Conveys a sequence, mainly temporal, between independent components. It implies a pause between the coordinated elements:

al-ḥarakatu l-’isti‘māriyyatu l-’amrīkiyyatu bada’at bi-ḥarbi kūbā ***ṯumma*** *l-filibbīn*

الحركة الاستعمارية الأمريكية بدأت بحرب كوبا ثمّ الفلبين

‘American imperialism began with the war [first] against Cuba **then** the Philippines’

’ummuka ’awlā ***ṯumma*** *’awlā*

أمّك أولى ثمّ أولى

‘your mother is more deserving, **and then** more [deserving]’

2.19.4 **’aw** أوْ (▷C2:499; **6.7.1**) ***‘or’***

Coordinates nouns or adjectives in a disjunctive sense, implying an inclusive choice. Note how the participle must be repeated before each noun or adjective:

Nouns:

ḫuṣlatu ša‘rin ***’aw*** *qulāmatu ẓufrin*
خصلة شعر أو قلامة ظفر
‘a lock of hair **or** a fingernail clipping’

bi-sababi l-jinsi ***’aw****-i l-’aṣli* ***’aw****-i l-luġati* ***’aw****-i l-dīni*
بسبب الجنس أو الأصل أو اللغة أو الدين
‘because of race **or** origin **or** language **or** religion’

li-murāja‘ati l-qarāri ***’aw*** *ta‘dīlihi*
لمراجعة القرار أو تعديله
‘for revising the decision **or** adjusting it’

ḫilāla marḥalati l-’intāji ***wal’aw*** *marḥalati l-taṣdīri*
خلال مرحلة الإنتاج و/أو مرحلة التصدير
‘during the production **and/or** export stage’ (a calque; see also **11.7.1**)

qaḍiyyatu ḥayātin ***’aw*** *mawtin*
قضية حياة أو موت
‘a matter of life **or** death’

Adjectives:

This example shows a string of coordinated adjectives which also form part of an idiomatic structure (cf. **3.16.4**):

musliman kāna ***’aw*** *kāfiran ‘ābidan* ***’aw*** *fāsiqan ṣadīqan* ***’aw*** *‘aduwwan*
مسلما كان أو كافرا عابدا أو فاسقا صديقا أو عدوّا
‘whether he be a Muslim **or** an unbeliever, devout **or** impious, friend **or** enemy’

2.19.5 'am أمْ 'or' (see 6.7.2)

Generally used in MWA to imply an exclusive choice restricted to one of the alternatives, unlike *'aw* أو:

bi-dāḫilī ***'am*** *ḫārijī?!*
بداخلي أم خارجي
'inside me **or** outside me?!'

'a-'anā ḏāhibun 'ilā 'abū qīr, rašīd ***'am****-i l-diḫīla?*
أ أنا ذاهب إلى أبو قير رشيد أم الدخيلة
'am I going to Aboukir, Rosetta **or** Dakhila?'

(for inflection of proper names, see **1.8.5**)

ma'a jīli *mawlidī l-'awwali* ***'am ma'a jīli*** *mawlidī l-ṯānī?*
مع جيل مولدي الأول أم مع جيل مولدي الثاني؟
'with **the generation** of my first birth **or with that** of my second?', lit. 'or with the generation of my second birth?'

(note repetition of prep. after *'am* أم; see also **11.7.1** for compulsory repetition of noun/pronoun/preposition(al) after *wa-* و)

Often with *sawā'un* سواء 'equal, same' in alternative conjunction, see next, and for *'am* أم 'or' in alternative questions, see **10.1.1**.

2.19.6 sawā'un سواء 'equal', 'same'

sawā'un سواء 'equal', 'same', in combination with *wa-* و 'and', *'aw* أو 'or' or *'am* أم 'or' in the meaning of 'whether x or y', 'no matter whether x or y' (see **6.10**; also ▷C2:500; ▷C3:103). The structure of *sawā'un* سواء appears to be unstable. It is here vocalized as independent indefinite although adverbial status, i.e. *sawā'an* سواءً [dep. indef.], is also possible:

With noun phrases, *sawā'un . . . wa . . .* و . . . سواء . . . :

al-ta'rīḫu l-fi'liyyu l-wāqi'yyu ***sawā'un****-i l-siyāsiyyu minhu* ***wa****-l-fikriyyu*
التاريخ الفعلي الواقعي سواء السياسي منه والفكري
'actual real, history, **whether** political **or** intellectual', namely, 'same [is] political or intellectual'

sawā'un سواء + prepositional phrase + *'aw* أو or *'am* أم 'or':

***sawā'un fī 'aṯnā'i** l-ḥamlati l-intiḫābiyyati **'aw** ba'dahā*
سواء في أثناء الحملة الانتخابية أو بعدها
'**whether during** the election campaign **or** after it'

***sawā'un 'alā** hāḏā l-mustawā **'aw** ḏāka*
سواء على هذا المستوى أو ذاك
'**whether on** this level **or** that'

***sawā'un fī** lubnāna **'am** fī sā'iri l-'aqṭāri*
سواء في لبنان أم في سائر الأقطار
'**whether in** Lebanon **or** in other countries'

***sawā'un ka**-rajulin tawallā 'adadan min-a l-manāṣibi l-muhimmati **'aw** 'ālimin fī 'ilmi l-'idārati*
سواء كرجل تولّى عددا من المناصب المهمّة أو عالم في علم الإدارة
'**whether as** a man who had held a number of important positions **or** an expert in administrative science'

2.19.7 **'immā** إما ***'either'*** (▷C2:501; for **'immā** إما ***coordinating sentences***, see **6.8**)

Renders a disjunctive coordination. Repetition of the particle is common although not essential. Subsequent nouns or adjectives are linked by *wa-* و 'and' or *'aw* أو 'or' followed by the optional repetition of the particle:

*fa-hum **'immā** 'aqribā'u **'aw** jīrānun **'aw** zumalā'u*
فهم إمّا أقرباء أو جيران أو زملاء
'they are **either** relatives, (**or**) neighbours **or** colleagues'

***'immā** fawra sti'mālihi li-tilka l-maḥālīli **'aw** 'alā l-madā l-ṭawīli*
إمّا فور استعماله لتلك المحاليل أو على المدى الطويل
'**either** immediately on his using those solvents **or** in the long term'

2.19.8 lākin لكنْ *'but'* (▷C3:43; for lākin لكنْ *coordinating sentences*, see **6.5.2**)

Has adversative function, amending a previous element, and often preceded by *wa-* و 'and'. May be followed by noun, prepositional phrase, etc.:

nafsu l-musalsalāti l-'āma al-māḍiya ***wa-lākin*** *bi-'asmā'in 'uḫrā*
نفس المسلسلات العام الماضي ولكن بأسماء أخرى
'the same [TV] series [as] last year **but** with other names'

lastu ḥazīnan ***wa-lākin*** *mut'abun qalīlan*
لست حزينا ولكن متعب قليلا
'I am not sad **but** a little tired'

2.19.9 bal بل *'but rather', 'nay'* (▷C3:46; for bal بل *coordinating sentences*, see **6.6**)

Also an adversative, occurring after positive or negative elements.

After positives:

min mi'āti ***bal*** *min 'ālāfi l-tafāṣīli*
من مئات بل من آلاف التفاصيل
'from hundreds, **nay** thousands of details'

'ilā l-qiṭā'i l-'awsa'i min-a l-muṯaqqafīna wa-l-muta'allimīna ***bal*** *'ilā 'umūmi l-ša'bi*
من القطاع الأوسع إلى المثقفين والمتعلمين بل إلى عموم الشعب
'towards the broader sector of the cultured and educated, **nay** more, towards the people at large'

After negative:

lā tatajassamu fī 'intāji l-jadīdi ***bal*** *wa-fī 'intāji l-qadīmi*
لا تتجسّم في إنتاج الجديد بل وفي إنتاج القديم
'is not embodied in the production of the new **but rather** in the production of the old'

2.19.10 *Correlative negative* wa-lā ولا *'and not', 'nor'*

Resumes any previous negative or negative equivalent (such as *ġayr* غير 'other than', see **2.9.2.3**) with resulting sense of 'neither . . . nor' (▷C2:501;

for neg. generally, see **4.2.7**; and for *wa-lā* ولا coordinating sentences, see **6.12.1**):

lā *ḥimāyata li-'āṯimin* ***wa-lā*** *li-ẓālimin*
لا حماية لآثم ولا لظالم
'**there is no** protection for a sinner **nor** for an oppressor'

laysa *jarrāḥa qalbin* ***wa-lā*** *mutaḫaṣṣiṣan bi-jirāḥati l-tajmīli*
ليس جراح قلب ولا متخصّصا بجراحة التجميل
'he **is not** a heart surgeon **nor** a specialist in cosmetic surgery'

lam *yakun ḥāḍiran* ***lā*** *fī ḫiṭābi 'aslāfinā* ***wa-lā*** *fī ḥaqli tafkīrihim*
لم يكن حاضرا لا في خطاب أسلافنا و لا في حقل تفكيرهم
'it was **not** present **either** in the discourse of our forebears **or** in their thinking'

'ayqana 'annahā ***ġayru*** *muwaffaqatin* ***wa-lā*** *jamīlatun*
أيقن أنّها غير موفّقة و لا جميلة
'he was certain that it was **not** successful **nor** beautiful'

Variant *wa-laysa* وليس 'and [is] not' (see **4.2.8.3**):

mas'ūliyyatun bi-l-fi'li ***wa-laysa*** *bi-l-ismi*
مسؤولية بالفعل وليس بالاسم
'responsibility in fact and **not** in name'

li-l-manfa'ati l-'āmmati ***wa-laysa*** *l-ḫāṣṣati*
للمنفعة العامّة وليس الخاصّة
'for the public benefit and **not** the private'

naḥnu nurīdu 'an nakūna juz'an min ḥalli l-muškilati ***wa-laysa*** *l-sababa fīhā*
نحن نريد أنْ نكون جزءا من حلّ المشكلة وليس السبب فيها
'we want to be part of the solution of the problem and **not** the cause of it'

2.19.10.1 Subset: negative with second *lā* لا 'not' replaced by other conjunctions

*bi-****lā*** *manhajin* ***'aw*** *ḫuṭṭatin muktafiyatin*
بلا منهج أو خطّة مكتفية
'with **no** method **or** satisfactory plan'

Asyndetical:

lam yakun fī ḏihnī hadafun muḥaddadun ***lā*** *makānun* ***lā*** *raqmu hātifin* ***lā*** *smu šaḫṣin*

لم يكن في ذهني هدف محدّد لا مكان لا رقم هاتف لا اسم شخص

'there was **no** definite purpose in my mind, **no** place, **no** telephone number, **no** person's name'

2.19.10.2 *lā* لا with *bal* بل (▷C1:114; see **6.6.2**)

lā *bi-'tibārihā siyāsatan 'amrīkiyyatan* ***bal*** *bi-'tibārihā siyāsatan 'arabiyyatan ḫāliṣatan*

لا باعتبارها سياسة أمريكية بل باعتبارها سياسة عربية خالصة

'**not** by considering it as an American policy **but** by considering it as a pure Arab policy'

(see *bi-'tibār* باعتبار **2.5.8.5**)

2.19.11 lā لا *'not' as a simple negative prefix*

(Contrast *wa-lā* ولا **6.12.1,** which is a negative coordinating conjunction)

bi-waṣfihim 'afrādan ***lā*** *bi-waṣfihim jamā'atan*

بوصفهم أفرادا لا بوصفهم جماعة

'as individuals **not** as a group'

bi-waṣfika muhandisan ***lā*** *bi-waṣfika qarīban lī*

بوصفك مهندسا لا بوصفك قريبا لي

'in your capacity as an engineer **not** [in your capacity] as a relative of mine' (see **2.5.8.2**)

2.19.12 ḥattā حتّى *'even'* (▷C3:93; ▷C2:296, for ḥattā حتّى *'up to', 'until' as a prepositional*, see **2.6.6** and for ḥattā حتّى *'so that', 'until' with subordinate clauses*, see **7.6.7**)

As a coordinating conjunction *ḥattā* حتّى has no effect on the case of the coordinated element, which will agree with its antecedent:

wa-huwa waja'un yuṣību jamī'a l-mafāṣili ***ḥattā l-daqīqata*** *minhā*

وهو وجع يصيب جميع المفاصل حتّى الدقيقة منها

'and it is a pain that affects all joints, **even the delicate ones** [of them]'

lam yamtalik fī ḥayātihi ***ḥattā*** *faddānan wāḥidan*

لم يمتلك في حياته حتّى فدّانا واحدا

'he did not own in his life **even** a single faddan [dir. obj., therefore dep.]'

However, the case is determined by function when *ḥattā* حتّى introduces elements directly:

ḥattā *l-judrānu wa-l-'asqufu 'a'āda 'ilayhā zaḫārifahā kamā kānat qabla l-ḥarīqi*

حتّى الجدران و الأسقف أعاد إليها زخارفها كما كانت قبل الحريق

'**even** the walls and ceilings [topic, therefore indep.] he restored their decorations as they were before the fire'

(for topicalization, see **3.3**)

wa-lākin ***ḥattā*** *fī haḏihi l-ḥālati yaẓallu ma'nā l-kalimati faqīran jiddan*

ولكنْ حتّى في هذه الحالات يظلّ معنى الكلمة فقيرا جدا

'but **even** in these situations [prepositional phrase, therefore no agreement arises] the meaning of the word remains very poor'

2.19.13 **'ay أيْ *'that is to say'*** (▷C2:70)

Introduces an explanatory phrase or clause, so there will be case agreement on the following noun if relevant:

'ay *'anna hāḏihi l-duwala …*

أي أنّ هذه الدول…

'**i.e.** that these states …' (extended use followed by nominalized clause, **7.5.2**)

fa-huwa, ***'ay*** *hāḏā l-'amalu, lā yafqidu ṭābi'ahu l-'āmma* ***'ay*** *ṣifatahu l-'ālamiyyata*

فهو، أي هذا العمل، لا يفقد طابعه العامّ أيْ صفته العالمية

'so it, **that is to say** this work [replaces *huwa* هو 'it' as subj., therefore indep.], does not lose its general character, **that is to say** its international quality'

2.20 Other phrasal units

Other phrasal units: relative clauses, complementized clauses and verb phrases. With the exception of main verb phrases (see **2.20.3**), these all function as nouns or qualifiers and not as independent sentences, and are therefore briefly mentioned in this chapter for the sake of completeness. Their detailed syntax is dealt with in later chapters, as indicated. Note that the components of biclausal units such as conditionals (**Chapter 8**) and exceptives (**Chapter 9**) do not fall into the phrasal categories described here.

2.20.1 *Adjectival relative clauses*

Relative clauses occur as adjectival qualifiers and as noun phrases:

Adjectival:

māddatun ***taqī l-jilda wa-taḥmīhi***
مادّة تقي الجلد وتحميه
'a substance **which safeguards the skin and protects it**'

al-'ijrā'ātu ***llatī tamma l-ittifāqu 'alayhā***
الإجراءات الّتي تمّ الاتّفاق عليها
'the procedures **on which agreement has been completed**'

Nominal:

istiḥdāmu ***mā yusammā*** *bi-qā'imati l-faḥṣi*
استخدام ما يُسمّى بقائمة الفحص
'the use of **what is called** the inspection list'

mā ***llaḏī taqūluhu***
ما الّذي تقوله؟
'what is [it] **that you are saying**?'

2.20.2 *Complementized clauses*

Complementized clauses are sentences operated on by the complementizers *'anna* أنَّ 'that' (see **3.2** and especially **7.5.2**) and *'an* أنْ 'that' (see **2.20.4**), and have nominal function.

Predicate in equational sentence:

*wa-ṯāliṯuhā huwa **'annanī** qad ḥaqqaqtu bi-l-fi'li l-kaṯīra min 'aḥlāmī*
وثالثها هو أنّني قد حقّقت بالفعل الكثير من أحلامي
'and the third [thing] is **that** I have indeed achieved many of my dreams'

Operated on by a preposition:

*ḏakkartuhā **bi-'anna** l-ṣayfa lan ya'tiya qabla ḫamsati 'ašhurin*
ذكرتها بأنّ الصيف لن يأتي قبل خمسة أشهر
'I reminded her of [the fact] **that** the summer would not be coming for five months'

Direct object of a verb:

*'aḥassat **'annahā** qad-i nqaṭa'at 'an-i l-wujūdi*
أحست أنّها قد انقطعت عن الوجود
'she felt **that** she had ceased to exist'

2.20.3 *Verb phrases*

Since the pronoun agent is incorporated into the verb (see **3.0** and **3.7.1**), all verbs with their pronoun agent are morphologically single words, and are at the same time verb phrases (V + ag.) in structure and function. Thus: *katabū* كتبوا 'they [masc.] wrote', *yaktubūna* يكتبون 'they [masc.] write', consist of V + ag., and can either stand alone as complete sentences or function as verb phrases in a larger unit.

Verb phrases are formally asyndetic or syndetic. Asyndetic verb phrases include the adjectival relative clauses already illustrated above (see **2.20.1**). They also include circumstantial qualifiers (see **7.3**); contrast: *yajlisu l-rajulu **wa**-yaktubu* يجلس الرجل ويكتب 'the man is sitting **and** [he is also] writing', i.e. two syndetically coordinated sentences, with *yajlisu l-rajulu yaktubu* يجلس الرجل يكتب 'the man is sitting writing', lit. 'the man is sitting he is writing', where the asyndetic second sentence is a circumstantial qualifier in turn equivalent to a noun phrase in the same function (see **2.4.6**), namely, *yajlisu l-rajulu **kātiban*** يجلس الرجل كاتبا 'the man is sitting **writing**', lit. 'the man is sitting as a writer'.

2.20.4 *Syndectic verb phrases*

Syndetic verb phrases are introduced by a subordinating conjunction, of which *'an* أنْ 'that' will serve as the example here (for full treatment, see **Chapter 7**). It acts as a complementizer with dependent verbs, yielding a noun phrase (hence it is called *'an al-maṣdariyya* أنْ المصدرية 'the verbal noun *'an* أن', see **7.5.1.1**), which may have any nominal function, for example as a direct object:

ḥāwalat ***'an tafhama***

حاولت أنْ تفهم

'she tried **to understand**', lit. 'that she understand' = *ḥāwalat-i l-fahma* حاولت الفهم 'she tried **understanding**'

The 2nd element of an annexation unit after a prepositional (see **2.6** and **2.7**):

dūna ***'an taqūma*** *bi-'ayyi dawrin fa"ālin*

دون أنْ تقوم بأيّ دور فعّال

'without **carrying out** any effective role', lit. 'without of that it carry out' = *dūna l-qiyāmi bi-* دون القيام بـ 'without the carrying out of'

The relative clauses in **2.20.1** with relative nouns at their head could also be considered syndetic, except that the relative noun is never part of the clause and has no effect on its internal syntax.

2.20.5 *Verbs in apposition*

Verbs can be in apposition (for nominal apposition, see **2.2**) with other verbs. It is largely a stylistic option, but can be distinguished from asyndetic coordination (see **6.1**) by the fact that the apposed verbs are synonymous and do not represent a progression of events:

kānat ta'tīhā min-a l-maṭbaḫi ḍaḥakātu zawjihā wa-l-filibbīniyyati l-samīnati ***tu'ḏī*** *'uḏunahā,* ***tajraḥu*** *karāmatahā,* ***tuhīnuhā***

كانت تأتيها من المطبخ ضحكات زوجها والفلبينية السمينة تؤْذي أذنها، تجرح كرامتها، تهينها

'the [sounds of] laughter of her husband and the fat Filipino woman came to her from the kitchen, **hurting** her ears, **wounding** her honour, **humiliating** her'

(cf. **1.11.2** on *ḍaḥakātu* ضحكات 'individual acts of laughing')

Chapter 3

The basic sentence

3.0 Introduction

The kernel or basic sentence in Arabic is either subject + predicate or verb + agent. In the case of subject + predicate sentences a further subdivision can be made according to the structure of the predicate, yielding three basic types of sentence:

1 The equational sentence (see **3.1**). This consists of subject + predicate only, and contains no verbal copula or any other verbal element. It asserts that the subject is identical with the predicate or belongs to the class of entities denoted by the predicate (which cannot therefore be a verb).

An equational sentence may thus consist of only two words, either noun + noun, for example *al-qunṣulu ṭabībun* القنصل طبيب 'the consul is a doctor' or noun + adjective, for example *al-šamsu ḥāriqatun* الشمس حارقة 'the sun is burning' (i.e. in the class of something which burns). This basic structure can be subordinated by sentence modifiers such as *'inna* إنّ 'verily', 'indeed', etc. (see **3.2**), but for all modalities of existence, past, present, future, conditional, probable, habitual, 'almost', 'hardly', etc., the statement is expressed through the verb *kāna* كان 'be' and its related modal and auxiliary verbs (see **3.16**), now in the form of a verbal sentence, see 3 below.

2 The topic + comment sentence (see **3.3**). This also contains no verbal copula, but the comment is an entire clause (either an equational or verbal sentence) anaphorically linked to the topic. It thus differs fundamentally from the single term predicate of the equational sentence in that the comment is always compound, a complete sentence in fact, of any of the three types (i.e. the comment can even consist of another topic-comment sentence).

Both of these are traditionally labelled 'nominal sentence' (*jumla ismiyya* جملة اسمية), because they begin with nouns, i.e. as subject or topic, but this term will only be used here when there is a need to contrast them purely formally with the 'verbal sentence' (*jumla fi'liyya* جملة فعلية), particularly when distinguishing the sequence verb + agent from topic + verb.

3 The verbal sentence (see **3.7**). This consists of a verb, always in first position (disregarding any verbal modifiers), accompanied by its agent, either a noun (usually in second position) or a bound pronoun. The various complements, objects, predicates of existential verbs, etc., are usually in third position (hierarchically, though not always positionally) after the binary unit of verb + agent, though they are relatively mobile (see **3.7.4**). Since the agent pronoun is a bound morpheme, verbal sentences can consist of a single word, for example *katabtu* كتبتُ 'I wrote', *yaktubūna* يكتبون 'they [masc.] write'.

The terms 'subject' and 'predicate' will be used when dealing with predication generally, and 'topic' and 'comment' when the emphasis is on the three-member structure, contrasting with the two-member 'equational sentence' (Arabic has no specific term for the latter: it falls under 'nominal sentence').

The English terminology is chosen in order to emphasize that a subject (*mubtada' [bihi]* [به] مبتدأ lit. 'the [word] started [with]') and an agent (*fā'il* فاعل lit. 'doer') are syntactically two entirely different entities. When an 'agent' (in the Arabic sense) is fronted it automatically becomes a 'subject', with major consequences for the agreement of the verb (see further **3.3.2.1**).

3.1 Equational sentence

For time and modality in equational sentences, see *kāna* كان in **3.16.2** and the related modal and auxiliary verbs in the ensuing sections; for the explicit expression of 'existence', see *yūjadu* يوجد in **3.18**.

The subject of an equational sentence is nearly always definite and the predicate indefinite, and both have the independent case by default (for exceptions, see **3.2** and **3.16.2**).

There is no copula verb: the subject is stated and the predicate merely juxtaposed, and it is the change from definite to indefinite which is the boundary marker between subject and predicate (but see further below in this section). For number and gender agreement, see **3.1.1**.

The subject may be simple or compound (▷C1:15; and see further **3.1.2**):

al-mas'alatu *basīṭatun*
المسألة بسيطة
'**the question** [def. subj.] is simple [indef. pred.]'

al-zawāju *mas'ūliyyatun*
الزواج مسؤوليّة
'**marriage** [generic art.] is a responsibility [indef. pred.]'

The predicate may also be simple or compound (▷C1:15; and see further **3.1.2**):

al-ḥādiṯatu ***ẓāhiratun tārīḫiyyatun***
الحادثة ظاهرة تاريخيّة
'the event [def. subj.] is **a historical phenomenon** [indef. pred.]'

al-ṣiḥḥatu ***li-l-jamī'i***
الصحّة للجميع
'health is **for all**' [prepositional phrase]

ḥayātī ***fī l-ši'ri***
حياتي في الشعر
'my life is **in poetry**' [prepositional phrase]

In the case that the subject and predicate are the same word, English uses a dummy replacement ('one') for the second occurrence, but in Arabic the noun is repeated (see **11.7.1**):

al-ḥājatu *'ilā l-'ibdā'i* ***ḥājatun*** *tatajaddadu bi-stimrārin*
الحاجة إلى الإبداع حاجة تتجدد باستمرار
'the **need** for creativity is **one** which constantly renews itself',
lit. 'the need … is a need …'

Indefinite subjects may occur when the subject is an adjectival or other phrase, or relative clause, and is then considered definite enough to make sense as a subject (often generic or proverbial):

'ilmun nāfi'un *ḫayrun min mālin mawrūṯin*
علم نافع خير من مال موروث
'**useful knowledge** is better than inherited wealth'

zawjun ***yuḥibbuki*** *wa-'awlādun* ***yamla'ūna*** *'alaykumā l-bayta ḫayrun laki min kulli waẓā'ifi l-dunyā*

زوج يحبّك وأولاد يملؤون عليكما البيت خير لك من كل وظائف الدنيا

'a husband **who loves you** [fem. sing.] and children **who fill** your [dual] house are better for you [fem. sing.] than all worldly employments'

But inversion (see **3.1.3**) and the *ṯamma* ثَمَّ option (see **3.1.3.1**) are far more common with indefinite subjects.

Definiteness is gradable (cf. **1.12.3**), so that sentences of the type ***'anta*** *l-'ustāḏu* أنت الأستاذ 'you are the professor'; ***huwa*** *'aḫī* هو أخي 'he is my brother', are possible because the pronoun is more definite than the overt noun (and see separating pronoun, **3.5**, for cases where the border between formally definite subject and predicate is marked).

Similarly, in *al-ṭabī'atu* ***dā'imatu l-'aṭā'i*** الطبيعة دائمة العطاء 'nature is **always giving**', lit. 'permanent of giving', the predicate is grammatically indefinite even though formally definite, because it consists of an unreal annexation (see **2.1.3.2**).

Equational sentences often occur after *wa-* و 'and' (cf. **6.2.6**) in the function of circumstantial qualifiers (see **7.3**):

yastaṭī'u l-zurrā'u ***wa-l-ḥālatu hāḏihi*** *'an yuqāḍū l-wizārata*

يستطيع الزراع والحالة هذه أن يقاضوا الوزارة

'the farmers, **while the situation is such**, can sue the ministry', lit. 'and the situation is this'

wa-yu'linu ttiḥādu l-kuttābi taḍāmunahu ma'a l-kātibi ***wa-huwa*** *mā sabaqa 'an 'akkadahu l-wazīru 'ayḍan*

ويعلن اتحاد الكتاب تضامنه مع الكاتب وهو ما سبق أن أكده الوزير أيضا

'the Writers' Union announces its solidarity with the author, **this being** what the minister had also emphasized'

3.1.1 Predicate agreement

Predicates agree in number and gender with their subjects (▷C1:22), and the agreement rules are the same as those for adjectival modifiers regarding human, non-human plurals and collectives (see **2.1**).

Regular agreement:

al-waqtu ***šatawiyyun***
الوقت شتوي
'the time **is wintry**'

al-'ijrā'ātu al-'ūlā ***diblūmāsiyyatun***
الإجرائات الأولى دبلوماسيّة
'the first procedures **are diplomatic**'

naḥnu ***šadīdātu l-'ināyati*** *bi-hāḏihi l-'ašyā'i*
نحن شديدات العناية بهذه الأشياء
'we **are intensely concerned** about these things'

(feminine plural assumed in *naḥnu* نحن 'we', and see **2.1.3.2** for this type of adjectival phrase)

al-iḍṭihādu wa-l-ta'ḏību *fī kaṯīrin min duwali l-'ālami* ***muntaširāni***
الاضطهاد والتعذيب في كثير من دول العالم منتشران
'**oppression and torture** in many countries of the world are **widespread** [masc. dual]'

Collectives usually have natural number/gender agreement:

al-nāsu *jamī'an min 'aṣlin wāḥidin wa-****hum*** *jamī'an* ***'iḫwatun***
الناس جميعًا من أصل واحد وهم جميعًا إخوة
'**people** are all of one origin and **they are** all **brothers**'

(for invariable *jamī'an* جميعًا 'all', see **2.9.1.2**)

'ammā ***l-nāsu*** *fa-****hum 'akṯaru min*** *mustahlikīna*
أما الناس فهم أكثر من مستهلكين
'as for the **people**, **they are more than** consumers'

(for *'ammā* أما, see **3.3.4**)

Attraction (▷C1:26): especially with quantifiers (see **2.1.3.4**), agreement may be with either the logical or the grammatical antecedent.

Grammatical agreement:

ba'ḍu *l-'afkāri* ***manqūlun*** *'an 'ūrubbā*
بعض الأفكار منقول عن أوربّا
'**some** [masc. sing.] of the ideas are **imported** [masc. sing.] from Europe'

predicate agrees with *ba'ḍ* 'a number of' (see **2.9.1.3**)

Logical agreement:

mu'ẓamu *ma'ākilihim* ***šarqiyyatun***
معظم مآكلهم شرقيَّة
'**most** [masc. sing.] of their eating places are **eastern** [fem. sing.]'

predicate agrees with broken plural *ma'ākilihim* 'eating places'.

3.1.2 *Types of subject and predicate*

Any sufficiently definite noun phrase may function as subject: (for *'an* أن 'that', see **7.5.1**; and for *'anna* أنّ 'that' clauses as subjects, see **3.2.2** and **7.5.2**):

baqā'ī fī l-bayti *mumriḍun mūji'un*
بقائي في البيت ممرض موجع
'**my staying in the house** is debilitating and painful'

(for asyndetic coordination of adjectives, see **2.1.1.7.1**)

al-ḥadīṯu fī hāḏā *sābiqun li-'awānihi*
الحديث في هذا سابق لأوانه
'**talking about this** is premature'

3.1.2.1 *Pronouns as subject* (▷C2:423)

huwa *ḥā'irun* هو حائر '**he** is confused'

naḥnu *fallāḥūna* نحن فلاحون '**we** are farmers'

'anā *l-nabtatu wa-l-nasīmu wa-l-'ašjāru*
أنا النبتة والنسيم والأشجار
'**I** am the plant, the breeze and the trees'

hiya *jamī'uhā 'awāmilu muhimmatun*
هي جميعها عوامل مهمّة
'**they** are all important factors'

(for feminine singular agreement for broken plural, see **2.1.1**; and on quantifier *jamī'* جميع 'all', see **2.9.1.2**)

Pronouns occasionally appear as both subject and predicate, usually as paired items (▷C2:440):

*ka-'annamā 'uḥissu 'anna l-ru'yā ġayru l-'iyāni fa-**hiya hiya** bi-lā šakkin*
كأنّما أحس أنّ الرؤيا غير العيان فهي هي بلا شكّ
'it was as if I felt that the vision was different from seeing with my own eyes, but **that is what it was** without doubt', lit. 'and **it** is **it**'

*al-bašaru **hum hum** lā yataġayyarūna*
البشر هم هم لا يتغيّرون
'people are what they are, not changing', lit. 'people, **they** are **they**'

(for the topicalization here, see **3.3**)

For pronouns reinforcing the subject, see **3.5.2**:

*li-'annahu **huwa** 'taqada 'annahu 'afḍalu lahā*
لأنّه هو اعتقد أنّه أفضل لها
'because **he** [emphasized] thought it was better for her'

3.1.2.2 *Demonstratives as subject agree with their predicate* (▷C2:32–9)

***hāḏā** wahmun* هذا وهم '**this** [masc. sing.] is fantasy'
*kullu **hāḏā** mu'aqqatun* كلّ هذا مؤقّت 'all **this** is temporary'

(see **2.9.1** on *kull*)

***hāḏihi** mulāḥaẓatun šakliyyatun*
هذه ملاحظة شكلية
'**this** [fem.] is a pro forma observation'

***tilka** 'ādatī*
تلك عادتي
'**that** is my habit'

***hāḏihi** namāḏiju 'ayniyyatun*
هذه نماذج عينية
'**these** [fem. sing.] are specimen models' [broken plur.]

*'a-**hā'ulā'i** šurakā'uka fī l-jarīmati?*
أهؤلاء شركاؤك في الجريمة؟
'are **these** [masc. plur.] your partners in crime?'

When the predicate is definite, it is usually separated from the demonstrative by a congruent pronoun (*ḍamīr al-faṣl* ضمير الفصل, see **3.5**), an item usually left untranslated (here in square brackets):

hāḏā ***huwa*** *sirru l-taqaddumi l-ġarbiyyi wa-miftāḥu tafawwuqihi*
هذا هو سرّ التقدّم الغربي ومفتاح تفوّقه
'this **[it]** is the secret of Western progress and the key to its superiority'

wa-ḏālika ***huwa*** *mā sa-tuṭāli'uhu fī hāḏā l-kitābi*
وذلك هو ما ستطالعه في هذا الكتاب
'that **[it]** is what you will be reading in this book'

hā'ulā'i ***hunna*** *banātī*
هؤلاء هنّ بناتي
'these **[they]** are my daughters'

However, this pronoun is not inserted if the predicate is such that it cannot be mistaken, particularly with relative clauses attached:

hā'ulā'i llaḏīna *yušawwihūna wajha l-'arḍi*
هؤلاء الذين يشوهون وجه الأرض
'**these** are **the ones** who pollute the face of the earth'

hāḏihi l-tasā'ulātu *llatī lam tajid jawāban fī l-māḍī*
هذه التساؤلات التي لم تجد جوابا في الماضي
'**these** are **the questions** which have not found an answer in the past'

(see **5.0.1**)

3.1.2.3 *Noun clauses as subject (*see 'an أن ***7.5.1****, and* 'anna أنّ ***7.5.2****)*

'alā l-nisā'i ***'an yanalna l-'i'jāba***
على النساء أن ينلن الإعجاب
'[a duty] upon women is **that they gain admiration**'

an inverted sentence with the *'an*-clause as subject (see **2.6.3** for *'alā* على = 'must' and note that clauses are regarded as indefinite, hence the inversion, see **3.1.3**)

min ġayri l-ma'qūli ***'an ta'malā ma'an***
من غير المعقول أن تعملا معا
'it is unreasonable **that they two** [fem.] **should work together**'

For other examples, see the partitive *min* من phrases in **3.1.4**, where the predicate is inverted.

Noun clauses as predicates:

hāḏā ***mā sami'tuhu*** *min 'ahli l-ḫibrati*
هذا ما سمعته من أهل الخبرة
'this is **what I have heard** from people of experience'

'anti ***llatī taqūlīna*** *hāḏā l-kalāma?*
أنت التي تقولين هذا الكلام؟
'are you [fem. sing.] **the one who is saying** this?'

al-'āru ***'an lā yakūna*** *ladaynā falsafatun wa-lā falāsifatun*
العار أن لا يكون لدينا فلسفة ولا فلاسفة
'the shame is **that there should be** no philosophy with us and no philosophers' i.e. 'that we do not have'

(cf. **2.6.9** on *ladā* لدى) and note default masculine *yakūna* يكون because the verb is separated from its agent noun (see **3.8.1**; and for the syntax of *kāna* كان 'to be', see **3.16.2**)

kullu mā kunnā na'rifu 'anhu ***'annahu ṭālibun***
كل ما كنا نعرف عنه أنه طالب
'**all** we knew about him was **that he was a student**'

Prepositional phrases are common as predicates (traditional grammar assumes an elided verb or participle on which the phrase would normally depend):

al-salāmu ***'alaykum***
السلام عليكم
'peace [be] **upon you**'

al-tawḍīḥu ***fīmā ba'du***
التوضيح فيما بعد
'the clarification is **in what follows**'

zawjatī ***'inda 'ahlihā*** *wa-'anā* ***bi-mufradī***
زوجتي عند أهلها وأنا بمفردي
'my wife is **with her family** and I am **by myself**'

When the subject is indefinite, inversion occurs (see **3.1.3**):

'inda l-jamāhīri *'as'ilatun*
عند الجماهير أسئلة
'there are questions **among the public**', lit. 'with the masses'

3.1.3 *Inversion* (▷C1:27; ▷C2:507)

True inversion is infrequent and highly rhetorically motivated:

kaḏālika ***malābisuhu***
كذلك ملابسه
'such are **his clothes** [subj.]'

maṭlūbun *ṭa'āmun li-kulli famin*
مطلوب طعام لكل فم
'**what is needed** [pred.] is food for every mouth'

jamīlun *hāḏā l-kalāmu*
جميل كلامه
'**beautiful** is this speech'

*wa-**qalīlātun** hiya l-dirāsātu llatī tatawajjahu 'ilā minṭaqati l-naṯri li-kašfi ẓawāhirihi l-'īqā'iyyati*
وقليلات هي الدراسات التي تتوجه إلى منطقة النثر لكشف ظواهره الإيقاعية
'and **few** are the studies which have been directed at the area of prose to explore its rhythmical features'

But inversion is the norm when the subject is indefinite and the predicate is a prepositional phrase containing a definite noun or pronoun:

bihi ***ṣabiyyun ṣaġīrun***
به صبى صغير
'there is **a small boy** in it', lit. 'in it [is] **a small boy'**

This is especially frequent with the idiomatic *li-* لِـ 'for' denoting possession (see **2.6.10**):

li-'ayyāmī ***'alāmātun***
لأيامي علامات
'my days have **signs**', lit. 'to my days are signs'

lahu ***bnun*** *fī l-jāmi‘ati*
له ابن في الجامعة
‘he has **a son** in the university’

lī ***ḥurriyatu l-‘aqīdati***
لي حرية العقيدة
‘I have **freedom of belief**’

Also with partitive phrases (see further **3.1.4** and **2.6.12**):

min ’injāzātihi *fī hāḏā l-ṣadadi* ***’inšā’u*** *firaqin masraḥiyyatin*
من إنجازاته في هذا الصدد إنشاء فرق مسرحية
‘**among his achievements** in this connection is **the foundation** of some theatrical companies’

It also occurs under the same conditions with the sentence modifiers *’inna* إن, *’anna* أن, etc. (see **3.2**):

*ša‘ara bi-****’anna*** *fī l-’amri* ***sirran***
شعر بأنّ في الأمر سرّا
‘he felt **that** there was **some secret** in the matter’

Inversion is frequent with complementized clauses (see **3.2.2**) as subject, perhaps as a calque of ‘it is . . . that . . .’, in which form they are most easily translated:

’amrun badīhiyyun *’anna . . .*
أمر بديهي أنّ . . .
‘[it is] a self-evident matter that . . .’, lit. ‘**a self-evident matter** [pred.] is the fact that . . . [subj.]’

jadīrun *bi-l-ḏikri ’anna . . .*
جدير بالذكر أنّ . . .
‘[it is] worth mentioning that . . .’, lit. ‘**worth mentioning** [pred.] is the fact that . . . [subj.]’

wa-lākin mustaḥīlun *’an yataḥaqqaqa kullu hāḏā*
ولكن مستحيل أن يتحقق كل هذا
‘**but** it is **impossible** that all this should be achieved’

wa-lākin ***ṣaḥīḥun*** *’ayḍan ’anna . . .*
ولكن صحيح أيضا أنّ . . .
‘but **true** also is that . . .’, i.e. ‘but it is also true that’

This set is to be distinguished from such regular and therefore uninverted patterns as:

al-ġarību *'anna l-ḥulma takarrara bi-ḥaḏāfīrihi fī l-laylati l-tāliyati*
الغريب أنّ الحلم تكرر بحذافيره في الليلة التالية
'**the strange thing** [subj.] **is** that the dream repeated itself in its entirety the next night [pred.]'

Other examples:

al-ḥaqqu 'anna
الحق أنّ
'the truth is that'

al-ḥāṣilu 'anna
الحاصل أن
'the result is that'

al-mulāḥaẓu 'anna
الملاحظ أنّ
'what is observed is that'

and see the *min* من phrases in **3.1.4**.

3.1.3.1 A very common method for dealing with indefinite subjects is to introduce the sentence with *hunāka* هناك or *ṯammata* ثمّة 'there' (▷C1:7). It is not necessarily a calque, as this construction occurs also in medieval Arabic, but it is now used to reproduce 'there is' and 'il y a' (in French) regularly:

hunāka *qalaqun* هناك قلق '**there is** anxiety'

hunāka *falāsifatun dafa'ū 'a'mārahum*
هناك فلاسفة دفعوا أعمارهم
'**there are** philosophers who have paid with their lives'

fa-ṯammata *waqtun fāṣilun bayna l-wuṣūli wa-l-'iqlā'i l-ṯānī*
فثمّة وقت فاصل بين الوصول والإقلاع الثاني
'**and there is** a time separating between arrival and the second departure'

Generic and definite articles are also found with *hunāka* هناك:

***hunāka** 'ayḍan-i **l-taṣrīḥu** bi-* . . .
هناك أيضا التصريح بـ . . .
'**there is** also **the licence** to . . .'

*ṯumma **hunāka l-baytu** wa-**l-madrasatu***
ثمّ هناك البيت والمدرسة
'then **there** is **home** and **school**'

In the following the meaning is probably literal:

*hunā **l-ḥurriyyatu** wa-hunāka **l-isti'bādu***
هنا الحرية وهناك الاستعباد
'[over] here is **freedom** and [over] there is **slavery**'

It is also common with sentence modifiers (see **3.2**, and note that the dependent case remains even with inversion):

*qāla **'inna hunāka** ḥājat**an** li-'inšā'i mustašfan jadīdin*
قال إنّ هناك حاجة لإنشاء مستشفى جديد
'he said **that there was** a need to establish a new hospital'

*kamā huwa ma'lūmun **'anna hunāka** rukūd**an** bayyinan*
كما هو معلوم أنّ هناك ركودا بيّنا
'just as it is well-known **that there is** an obvious stagnation'

*ṭālamā **'anna hunāka** mandūb**an***
طالما أنّ هناك مندوبا
'as long as **there is** a representative'

Similarly, with *kāna* كان and other verbs in this family (see **3.16**):

kāna ṯammata** jtimā'**un
كان ثمّة اجتماع
'**there was** a meeting', lit. 'a meeting was there'

(with inversion of predicate as in non-verbal sentences)

*ḥattā **lā yakūna hunāka** 'ayyu naqṣin*
حتى لا يكون هناك أي نقص
'so that **there should not be** any deficiency'

lam ta'ud hunāka *ḥājat***un** *li-* …
لم تعد هناك حاجة لـ . . .
'**there is no longer** a need for …'

(for *'āda* عاد, see **3.21.1**)

Since the subject of *kāna* كان is no longer immediately next to the verb, gender agreement may default to masculine (for this general principle, see **3.8.1**):

kāna hunāka *muḥāwal***ātun** *li-*
كان هناك محاولات لـ
'**there were** attempts to'

'an ***yakūna hunāka*** *mas'ūliyy***atun**
أن يكون هناك مسؤولية
'that **there should be** responsibility'

3.1.4 *Inverted predicates with* min

An extremely common inverted predicate is the partitive *min* من 'of' phrase (▷C1:30; ▷C2:265; and see **2.6.12**). The archetype may be considered to be the vague nominal relative clause *mimmā* ممّا 'something which' (see **5.6.2**):

*wa-**mimmā** yu'akkidu hāḏā **'anna***
ومما يؤكد هذا أنّ
'and **something which** confirms this **is** [the fact] that'

or the truly partitive phrase (see **2.6.12**) such as:

min-a l-ẓulmi *'an* من الظلم ان '**it is a crime** to'

min ḥaqqi *…'an* من حق ان '**it is the right of** … to'

There are now very many phrases of the *min* من + adjective or participle type followed by inverted subjects or noun clauses. Some will take *'anna* أنّ (see **3.2.2** and **7.5.2**) if the clause is factual or verifiable, others take *'an* أنْ (see **7.5.1**) if the clause is dependent on an opinion or belief, and a few are found with both. The following list is merely a selection, some of which are already listed in Wehr's *Dictionary*, 4th edition.

Adjectives and active participles followed by *'an* أن:

min al-mustaḥīli من المستحيل 'impossible'

min al-muhimmi من المهمّ 'important'

min al-'afḍali من الأفضل 'best'

min al-ḍarūriyyi من الضروري 'necessary'

min al-nādiri من النادر 'rare'

min al-wājibi من الواجب 'obligatory'

min al-ṣa'bi من الصعب 'difficult'

min (ġayri) l-manṭiqiyyi من (غير) المنطقي '(il)logical'

min ġayri l-jā'izi من غير الجائز 'not allowed'

min ġayri l-manṭiqiyyi *'an yatimma 'arḍu mu'assasātin li-l-bay'i bi-si'rin lā ya'ḥuḏu fī l-i'tibāri mardūdiyyatahā*

من غير المنطقي أن يتم عرض مؤسسات للبيع بسعر لا يأخذ في الاعتبار مردوديتها

'**it is not logical** to offer institutions for sale at a price which does not take their returns into account'

Followed by *'anna* أنّ:

min al-mulfiti li-l-naẓari من الملفت للنظر 'what attracts attention'

min al-ṯābiti من الثابت 'certain'

min al-ṭabī'iyyi من الطبيعي 'natural'

Passive participles followed by *'an* أنْ:

min ġayri l-ma'qūli من غير المعقول 'unreasonable'

min al-muntaẓari من المنتظر 'expected'

min (ġayri) al-mu'tādi من (غير) المعتاد '(in)habitual'

min al-muftaraḍi من المفترض 'supposed'

min ġayri l-murajjaḥi *'an yaḥṣula 'alā 'aġlabiyyatin muṭlaqatin*

من غير المرجح أن يحصل على أغلبية مطلقة

'**it is unlikely** that he will obtain an absolute majority'

min ġayri l-ma'qūli *'an tunfiqa 'amwālaka bi-hāḏihi l-ṣūrati*

من غير المعقول أن تنفق أموالك بهذه الصورة

'**it is unreasonable** to spend your money in this way'

Followed by *'anna* أنّ:

min al-mulāḥaẓi من الملاحظ '**observed**', '**noted**'

min ġayri l-mutaṣawwari من غير المتصور 'inconceivable'

min ġayri l-mutaṣawwari *'anna l-'amra waṣala 'ilā hāḏihi l-darajati*
من غير المتصور أنّ الأمر وصل إلى هذه الدرجة
'**it** [was] **inconceivable** that the matter would reach this degree'

min-a l-maškūki fīhi *'anna maḥṣūla l-qamḥi sa-yakūnu 'afḍala hāḏā l-'āma*
من المشكوك فيه أنّ محصول القمح سيكون أفضل هذا العام
'**it is doubful** that the wheat crop will be better this year'

Expansions of the above:

ba'da 'an kāna min-a l-muntaẓari *'an*
بعد أن كان من المنتظر أن
'**after it had been expected** that'

lākin min ġayri l-muḥtamili *'an*
لكن من غير المحتمل أن
'**but it is improbable** that'

min al-jadīri bi-l-mulāḥaẓati *'anna*
من الجدير بالملاحظة أن
'**it is worthy of remark** that'

No conjunction is required in the following type, where the partitive phrase is the predicate of the verb *'aṣbaḥa* أصبح 'become' (see **3.17.3**):

kamā 'annahu ***'aṣbaḥa min-a l-mu'tādi*** *qiyāmu l-jamā'āti l-mutaṭarrifati bi-'iṣdāri l-manšūrāti*
كما أنّه أصبح من المعتاد قيام الجماعات المتطرفة بإصدار المنشورات
'just as **it became the practice** for extremist groups to issue publications', lit. 'of that which was habitual'

For the idiom *min ša'nihi* من شأنه 'part of its concern', see **11.8.1**.

3.2 Equational sentence modifiers

Equational sentence modifiers *'inna* إنّ and complementizers *'anna* أنّ, etc. (traditionally ''*inna* and its sisters', إنّ وأخواتها).

Subjects of equational sentences (also topics, see **3.3.3**) may be introduced by the following particles, all of which require dependent form of the subject, even in inversion (see **3.1.3**), and serve either as emphasizing elements or subordinating conjunctions.

3.2.1 *Sentences introduced by* 'inna إنّ (▷C2:227, 232)

'inna إنّ introduces independent sentences with emphasis or focus on the subject, which is a dependent noun. The basic structure is *'inna* إنّ + equational sentence, but the pattern *'inna* إنّ + topic + verbal sentence is also very common (no cases were found of the comment being a nominal sentence; however, this is seen with the other complementizers, see **3.3.3**). Since the emphasis is often not lexically represented in English, an *ad hoc* translation 'indeed' will be used to bring it out:

'innahumā *najmatāni lāmi'atāni*
إنهما نجمتان لامعتان
'**[indeed] they** are two shining stars'

'inna ḍaġṭa *l-dami fī l-'ahdi l-jadīdi fī l-taṣā'udi*
إن ضغط الدم في العهد الجديد في التصاعد
'**[indeed]** blood **pressure** in the new age is on the rise', lit. 'in the act of rising'

'inna hāḏā l-'iḫfāqa *mutawaqqa'un munḏu bidāyati l-qimmati*
إن هذا الإخفاق متوقع منذ بداية القمة
'**indeed this failure** has been expected since the beginning of the summit [conference]'

For *munḏu* منذ 'since', which imposes a past tense on the English translation, see **2.6.13**.

With verbs in the predicate:

'inna l-'amra ***yata'allaqu*** *bi-ẓāhiratin maraḍiyyatin*
أن الأمر يتعلق بظاهرة مرضية
'[indeed] the matter **is connected** with some pathological phenomenon'

'inna l-nisā'a ***lā yaksibna*** *šay'an min la'bi dawri l-ḍaḥāyā l-dā'imāti*
إن النساء لا يكسبن شيئا من لعب دور الضحايا الدائمة
'[indeed] women **do not gain** anything by playing the role of permanent victims'

With variant *'innī* إنّي for *'innanī* إنّني:

***'innī** jā'i'atun*
إني جائعة
'**[indeed] I** am hungry' (fem. sing.)

3.2.1.1 *'in al-muḫaffafa* المخففة إن 'the lightened *'in*' (▷C2:233): this is a variant of *'inna* إنّ which does not affect the case of the following noun and whose predicate is always introduced by the emphatic prefix *la-* لَـ (see **1.6.7**). Although it would always be recognized by a literate reader (it is familiar from the Qur'ān), no examples were found in MWA.

The emphatic prefix *la-* لَـ, however, is still found with the full form of *'inna* إن:

*'innahu **la**-mawqifun ṣa'bun*
إنه لموقف صعب
'indeed it is **certainly** a difficult position'

*'innanī **la**-'aš'uru l-yawma bi-l-istinkāri li-hāḏihi l-fikrati*
إنني لأشعر اليوم بالاستنكار لهذه الفكرة
'indeed I **certainly** feel today a disapproval of this idea'

3.2.2 *Clauses introduced by* 'anna أنّ (▷C2:227, 234; ▷C3:11)

'anna أنّ is a true complementizer with dependent noun, hence it introduces only subordinate clauses, which may have any noun phrase function (for details, see **7.5.2**). The clauses themselves are identical in structure with those introduced by *'inna* إنّ; however, it should be noted that *'inna* إنّ clauses are independent and never have the function of noun phrases.

As subject:

***'anna l-nāḫiba l-'arabiyya lā ya'rifu ḥuqūqahu** qaḍiyyatun lā taḥtāju 'ilā 'iṯbātin kaṯīrin*
أن الناخب العربي لا يعرف حقوقه قضية لا تحتاج إلى إثبات كثير
'**that the Arab voter does not know his rights** is an issue which does not need much proof'

As predicate:

muškilatu hāḏā l-naw'i min-a l-tabrīri ***'annahu wāhī l-ṣilati bi-l-ta'rīḫi***
مشكلة هذا النوع من التبرير أنه واهي الصلة بالتاريخ
'the problem with this kind of justification is **that it is [only] weakly connected with history**', lit. 'weak of connection' (see **2.1.3.2**).

wa-l-'aḫṭaru min hāḏā ***'annanā fī bilādinā nanfī*** …
والأخطر من هذا أننا في بلادنا ننفي . . .
'and the thing which is more dangerous than this is **that we in our country deny** …'

As direct object:

ṣarraḥa ***'anna wizārata l-ṣiḥḥati sa-tadrusu 'imkaniyyata*** …
صرح أن وزارة الصحة ستدرس إمكانية . . .
'[he] declared **that the ministry of health would study the possibility of**…'

lā 'ataḏakkaru ***'annī 'alqaytu naẓarī 'alayhi marratan***
لا أتذكر أني ألقيت عليه نظري مرة
'I do not remember **that I ever once cast a glance at him**'

In annexation:

'alā 'asāsi ***'annahumā*** *ḫāṣṣāni bi-l-māli*
على أساس أنّهما خاصان بالمال
'on the basis [of] **that they are both** specific to wealth'

li-darajati ***'annahā*** *tatasarrabu*
لدرجة أنها تتسرب
'to the extent [of] **that it** leaks'

The *'an al-muḫaffafa* أن المخففة 'lightened *'an*' is a variant of *'anna* أنّ with a restricted range: as a particle introducing direct speech it is occasionally found in MWA (▷C3:113; and see **7.5.1.5**, 'explanatory *'an*' أن المفسرة), and it occurs regularly before negative complementized clauses (▷C3:114–16; and see **7.5.1.9**):

min yawmihā 'arafat ***'an lā*** *ḥayāta lahā taḥta saqfi hāḏā l-bayti*
من يومها عرفت أن لا حياة لها تحت سقف هذا البيت
'from that day she realized **that** there was **no** life for her under the roof of this house'

3.2.3 *Sentences introduced by* lākin[na] لكن (▷C2:235)

lākin[na] لكن 'but', mostly prefixed with *wa-* و 'and' (but never with any other conjunction). It also has a 'light' form and 'heavy' alternants. The 'light' form *[wa]-lākin* ولكنْ, with no syntactic effect, contrasts entire sentences ('[not] S but [instead] S') and thus functions as a simple conjunction (cf. **2.19.8**; **6.5**), and the 'heavy' form *[wa-]lākinna* ولكنّ, (cf. **2.19.8**) requires dependent form in its noun, and focuses on the subject of the sentence.

wa-lākin ولكنْ (no syntactic effect):

wa-lākin *ṣaḥīḥun 'ayḍan 'anna*
ولكن صحيح أيضا أنّ
'**but** true also is [the fact] that'

*wa-**lākin 'anā*** *man yanbaġī 'an yulāma fī hāḏā l-ša'ni*
ولكن أنا من ينبغي أن يلام في هذا الشأن
'**but I** am the one who should be blamed in this matter'

lākin *mā huwa ma'rūfun li-l-dānī wa-l-qāṣī 'annahu lam tabqa jihatun fī l-'ālami 'illā ramat fīhā 'ūda ṯiqābi l-'išti'āli*
لكن ما هو معروف للداني والقاصي أنه لم تبق جهة في العالم إلا رمت فيها عود ثقاب الاشتعال
'**but** what is known to [anyone] near and far is that there is no agency in the world at which it has not thrown an incendiary match'

wa-lākinna ولكنّ (with dependent nouns):

wa-lākinna *l-mustašār**a** laḥiqa bihā muṣirran 'alā l-ṣulḥi*
ولكن المستشار لحق بها مصرا على الصلح
'**but the counsellor** caught up with her intent on reconciliation'

wa-lākinna *l-'āḫar**īna** 'ayḍan sa-yaqūlūna …*
. . . ولكن الآخرين أيضا سيقولون
'**but the others** also will say …'

lākinnahā *btasamat bi-riqqatin*
لكنها ابتسمت برقة
'**but she** smiled gently'

3.2.4 *Sentences introduced by* ka-'anna كأنّ

ka-'anna كأنّ introduces sentences with the sense of '[it is] as if', '[it] is like' or, according to context, '[it was, had been etc.] as if, like', with dependent head noun. For comparative clauses generally, including *ka-'anna* كأنّ, see **5.9.9**.

***ka-'anna** šaḥṣ**an** wāḥidan qad 'a'addahumā*
كأن شخصا واحدا قد أعدهما
'**as if** a single person had prepared both of them'

***ka-'annahu** šāhadahu wa-kāna ḥāḍiran*
كأنه شاهده وكان حاضرا
'**it was as if he** had seen it and had been present'

***ka-'annahu** ta'kīdun li-ma'rifatin sābiqatin*
كأنه تأكيد لمعرفة سابقة
'**it is as if it** was a confirmation of previous knowledge'

With inversion (cf. **3.1.3.1**):

***ka-'anna** hunālika 'amaliyyat**a** tadmīrin muta'ammadatan*
كأن هنالك عملية تدمير متعمدة
'**it is as if** there was a deliberate **operation** of destruction'

For the variant *wa-ka-'anna* وكأنّ with circumstantial clauses, see **5.9.9.4**.

3.2.5 *Sentences introduced by* la'alla لعلّ (▷C2:238)

la'alla لعلّ 'maybe', 'perhaps', introduces sentences with dependent head noun; it differs from *rubbamā* ربما 'perhaps' (see **3.30.2**) in that *rubbamā* ربما is now a free adverbial and therefore not always at the head of a clause, and in addition need not be followed by whole clauses, while *la'alla* لعلّ occurs only as the head of complete sentences. The difference in meaning is not easy to state as the dictionary represents them as synonymous: it may be that *la'alla* لعل is a means of setting a whole statement in a framework of uncertainty while *rubbamā* ربما serves, perhaps, to introduce a notion of probability at any point. It is at least clear that while *la'alla* لعل can express a hope or expectation, ربما does not:

la'alla *'ahammahā ḥāṣṣiyyatāni 'asāsiyyatāni*

لعل أهمها خاصيتان أساسيتان

'**perhaps the most important** of them are two basic features'

la'alla 'awwala *mā yanbaġī 'ibrāzuhu hunā* . . .

لعل أول ما ينبغي إبرازه هنا . . .

'**perhaps the first** thing which ought to be brought out here is . . .'

fī zamanin ***la'allahu*** *l-'arba'īnātu*

في زمان لعله الأربعينات

'at a time which **may perhaps have been** the forties' lit. '**perhaps it** [was] the forties' (cf. relative clauses in **5.1**)

Sometimes *la'alla* لعلّ has the rhetorical force of a subordinating conjunction meaning 'so that perhaps' or 'in the hope that perhaps':

yuḥāwilāni 'an yušbi'āhu darsan wa-taḥlīlan ***la'allahumā*** *yafhamāni*

يحاولان ان يشبعاه درساً وتحليلاً لعلهما يفهمان

'they [dual] try to saturate it in study and analysis **[so that] perhaps** they will understand'

tubāriku hāḏā l-nawma ***la'allahu*** *yumidduhu bi-l-rāḥati*

تبارك هذا النوم لعله يمده بالراحة

'she blesses this sleep **[in the hope that] perhaps** it will provide him with rest'

A reduced form *'alla* عل is also seen in this sense:

yuḫriju zafarātin ***'allahā*** *taqša'u bi-tilka l-'alwāḥi ba'īdan*

يخرج زفرات علها تقشع بتلك الألواح بعيدا

'he lets out deep sighs **[that] perhaps** they will chase those boards far away'

taṭalla'tu ***'allanī*** *'almaḥu wāḥidan min rifāqī*

تطلعت علني ألمح واحدا من رفاقي

'I looked around **[in the hope that] perhaps** I might see one of my companions'

istaslamtu lahu ***'allahu*** *yaġsilunī wa-yuḍī'u l-rā'iḥata*

استسلمت له عله يغسلني ويضيع الرائحة

'I submitted to it **[in the hope that] perhaps** it would cleanse me and remove the smell'

The following show an alternative structure, with *'an* أنْ clause (see **7.5.2**) as predicate:

***la'alla** llāh**a** **'an** yanfa'a bihā*

لعل الله أن ينفع بها

'**perhaps God** will find some use for her', lit. 'be of some use by means of her'

***la'alla** hāḏihi l-dirāsāti **'an** tušakkila naġman jadīdan*

لعل هذه الدراسات أن تشكل نغما جديدا

'**perhaps** these studies **will form** a new melody'

When prefixed to the first person pronoun, the form *la'allī* لعلّي (possessive suffix) alternates with *la'allanī* لعلّني (▷C2:240):

***la'allī** btasamtu lahu*

لعلي ابتسمت له

'**I may perhaps** have smiled at him'

***la'allī** 'unaffiḏu mā turīdu*

لعلي أنفذ ما تريد

'**I may perhaps** carry out what you wish'

***la'allanī** waṣaltu ma'ahā 'ilā nuqṭati l-lā-'awdati*

لعلني وصلت معها إلى نقطة اللا عودة

'**perhaps I** have reached the point of no return with her'

For another method of indicating 'perhaps', see the impersonal verb *'asā* عسى 'maybe' in **3.15.4**.

3.2.6 *Sentences introduced by* layta ليت (▷C2:241)

layta ليت precedes sentences denoting wishes, with dependent agreement, 'would that', 'if only . . .', often preceded by *yā* يا 'O' (see **2.16**):

*wa-**layta** l-'amra tawaqqafa hunā*

وليت الأمر توقف هنا

'**if only** the matter would stop there'

layta *l'araba yatanabbahūna 'ilā mā ḥawlahum min-'aḫṭārin!*
ليت العرب يتنبهون إلى ما حولهم من أخطار!
'**if only** the Arabs would be aware of the dangers which surround them!'

(for *mā . . . min* ما . . . من, see **5.4.4**)

With *yā* يا 'O':

yā laytanā *nu'īdu l-naẓara fī*
يا ليتنا نعيد النظر في
'**if only we** would take another look at'

yā laytanā *nuwājihu l-'umūra bi-wuḍūḥin*
يا ليتنا نواجه الأمور بوضوح
'**if only we** would face matters clearly'

This one is used elliptically:

wa-ḫuṣūṣan 'iḏā kānat 'īrānu sa-tušāriku . . . ***wa-yā layta*** *turkiyā*
وخصوصا اذا كانت ايران ستشارك . . . ويا ليت تركيا
'especially if Iran was going to take part . . . **and if only** Turkey [would do so]'

For *'a-lā layta* ألا ليت as a rhetorical question, see ▷C2:243; and **10.13.1**.

3.3 Topic-comment sentences (▷C2:455)

The topic is a noun with the same required definiteness as the subject of an equational sentence (see **3.1**). The comment is always a clause (except with *'ammā* أما, see **3.3.4**) and this clause is always linked anaphorically to the topic by a pronoun, mostly called the *rābiṭ* رابط in Arabic theory, lit. the 'binding' element, and which will accordingly be termed here the 'binding pronoun'. The internal structure of the comment clause is thus identical with that of adjectival (relative) clauses (see **5.0.1**) and circumstantial qualifying clauses (see **7.3**).

The resemblance to Western 'topicalization' is strong, especially since in both cases the grammatical and logical subjects may be different, but it is important to emphasize that the topic-comment sentence in Arabic is a basic structure and not the result of any movement, fronting or extraction, still less a simple inversion of the kind 'that film I have seen before'. Only *'ammā* أما 'as for' (see **3.3.4**) may be considered close to a topicalizer in the Western sense.

There are almost no restrictions on what may appear in topic position, but note that the first element of an annexation unit cannot occur as a topic. Thus (the examples are made up) ****al-mudīru*** *sami'tu ṣawta**hu*** المدير سمعت صوته 'the **director** [topic], I heard **his** voice [comment]' is a possible sentence, but not ****al-ṣawtu*** *sami'tu [?] l-mudīri* 'the **voice** [topic], I heard the director**'s** [comment]' because pronouns cannot be annexed to a following noun to give, in this hypothetical case, *'the **it** of the director'.

Topic-comment sentences can rarely be reproduced in natural English in their original word order, so the examples below are translated quite literally to clarify the structure. Coincidentally, this reproduces the much less frequent English equivalent with topicalization as in, for example, 'that **film**, I have seen **it** before', but there will be no attempt in the translations to reproduce this or any of the other English strategies for this type of utterance.

They are here listed by the class of comment, equational or verbal sentence, with the topic and the binding pronoun in bold, and the logical subject italicized in the translation, since this is likely to become the grammatical subject in a non-literal translation. In **3.3.1–3.3.3** only, the boundary between topic and comment is signalled by | (cf. relative clauses in **5.0.1** and 'inverted' verbal sentences in **3.7.2.1**).

3.3.1 *Equational sentence as comment* (▷C2:458)

Equational sentence as comment, i.e. topic + [comment = subject + predicate + binding pronoun]:

al-ḥujratu *llatī ya'malu fīhā bi-l-wizārati* | *jawwu**hā*** *ḥāniqun*
الحجرة التي يعمل فيها بالوزارة جوها خانق
'**the room** in which he works at the ministry | **its** *air* is suffocating', i.e. '*the air* of the room in which he works at the ministry is suffocating'

al-ḥadāṯatu *min 'ajli l-ḥadāṯati* | *lā ma'nā la**hā***
الحداثة من أجل الحداثة لا معنى لها
'modernism for the sake of modernism | no *meaning* is in **it**', i.e. 'modernism has no *meaning*'

(for categorical negative, see **4.1.2**; for *li-* لـ expressing possession, see **2.6.10**)

In the following examples the equational sentences have indefinite subjects with prepositional phrases as predicates and are therefore inverted (see **3.1.3**):

*hal ta'rifu 'anna **al-'ālama** | **bihi** 700 milyūni sayyāratin*

هل تعرف أن العالم به ٧٠٠ مليون سيارة

'do you know that **the world** | in **it** are 700 million *cars*?', i.e. 'that there are 700 million *cars* in the world?'

***hāḏā l-mujalladu llaḏī tatajāwazu ṣafaḥātuhu l-ḫamsami'ati** | maktūbun 'alay**hi** l-si'ru*

هذا المجلد الذي تتجاوز صفحاته الخمسمئة مكتوب عليه السعر

'**this volume, whose pages exceed five hundred** | *the price* is written on **it**', i.e. '*the price* of this volume . . . is written on it'

***al-masraḥiyyatu l-ši'riyyatu** | la**hā** ḫaṣā'iṣu tumayyizuhā*

المسرحية الشعرية لها خصائص تميزها

'**poetic drama** | to **it** are *characteristics* which distinguish it', i.e. 'poetic drama has *characteristics*'

(for *li-* لِـ expressing possession, see **2.6.10**)

hāḏihi l-'iṣābātu** | min-a l-ṣa'bi mu'ālajatu**hā

هذه الإصابات من الصعب معالجتها

'**these wounds** | of the difficult is **their** *treatment*', i.e. 'the *treatment* of these wounds is difficult'

(for the *min* من + adjectival construction, see **3.1.4**)

An indefinite topic can occur if the noun phrase is qualified in the same manner as described for indefinite subjects above (see **3.1**):

***šay'un jadīdun** | **huwa** mā naṣbū 'ilayhi*

شيء جديد هو ما نصبو إليه

'**something new**, **[it]** is *what we are yearning for*'

'ilājun bi-lā mutāba'tin ṭibbiyyatin** | lā fā'idata fī**hi

علاج بلا متابعة طبية لا فائدة فيه

'**treatment without medical follow-up** | there is *no use* in **it**', i.e. 'there is *no use* in treatment without medical follow-up'

(for categorical negative, see **4.1.2**)

3.3.2 *Verbal sentence as comment* (▷C2:460)

Verbal sentence as comment, i.e. topic + [comment = verb + agent + binding pronoun]. In these it is the agent of the verb which is the logical subject.

To clarify the structure the literal translation is given first, again with binding pronoun in bold and the logical subject in italics and the topic-comment boundary marked with |, together with a possible natural English equivalent:

***sayyāratu** l-duktūri R. D. …* | *takallafat ṣiyānatu**hā** 23 'alfa junayhin!*
سيارة الدكتور ر. د. . . . تكلفت صيانتها ٢٣ ألف جنيه!
'**the car** of Dr R. D. … | **its** *maintenance* cost £23,000!', i.e. '*the maintenance* of Dr R. D.'s car cost £23,000'

hāḏihi l-mihnatu | *tuqābilu**hā** 'iddatu ṣu'ūbātin*
هذه المهنة تقابلها عدة صعوبات
'**this profession** | a number of difficulties are facing **it**', i.e. '*a number* of difficulties are facing this profession'

***al-ṭabībatu** l-'amrīkiyyatu* | *lā yabdū 'alā wajhi**hā** 'ayyu ta'bīrin*
الطبيبة الأمريكية لا يبدو على وجهها أي تعبير
'the American **doctor** | any *expression* does not appear on **her** face', i.e. 'no *expression* appears on the American doctor's face'

(for negating agents, see **4.2.1**)

Indefinite agents in topic position are not rare (see **3.7.2.2**) but given the structural identity of comment and relative clauses (see **5.0.1**), it is probably better to analyse them as predicates of elided subjects, followed by a relative clause, for example:

mā huwa ṯamanu l-ḥurriyati? ***su'ālun*** | *taṭraḥu**hu** l-ṯaqāfatu l-'arabiyyatu 'alā nafsihā*
ما هو ثمن الحرية؟ سؤال تطرحه الثقافة العربية على نفسها
'what is the price of freedom? [This is] **a question** [pred.] which Arab culture poses itself [rel.]', rather than '**a question** [indef. topic] | Arab culture poses **it** to itself [comment]'

šay'un hāmmun | *ṭaraqat**hu** l-tajribatu l-miṣriyyatu wa-huwa …*
. . . شيء هام طرقته التجربة المصرية وهو . . .
'[there is] **one important thing** [pred.] which the Egyptian experiment touched upon [rel.], and that is …', rather than '**one important thing** [indef. topic] | the Egyptian experiment touched upon **it** [comment], and that is …'.

'amaliyyatu ḥasmin *ta'aḫḫarat 'an mī'ādihā*

عملية حسم تأخّرت عن ميعادها

'[it is] **an act of decisiveness** that came too late', lit. 'came after its appointed time'

3.3.2.1 When the topic is the same as the agent of the comment clause, the structure will have the appearance of an inverted verbal sentence, i.e. agent + verb (for the normal verb + agreement sequence, see **3.7**). However, simple inversion of agent and verb cannot occur in Arabic: when it precedes its verb the agent automatically becomes a topic, and the comment retains its regular components, namely, a verb, an agent and a binding pronoun (see further in **3.7.2.1**). Thus in:

al-muhandisūna ***yuhaddidūna*** *bi-l-'iḍrābi*

المهندسون يهددون بالإضراب

'the engineers **are threatening** to strike'

the structure is 'the engineers [topic], ***they*** **are threatening** to strike [comment]', with the incorporated agent ***they*** being both the logical agent of the whole sentence and the binding pronoun connecting the comment to the topic.

In the following example the topic is not the same as the agreement of the verb in the comment, although it is difficult to avoid giving that impression in the English:

al-rajulu *llaḏī yataḥaddaṯu 'an wuqū'i ba'ḍi l-fatayāti fī ġarāmihi* ***yajibu 'an yuḥtaqara***

الرجل الذي يتحدث عن وقوع بعض الفتيات في غرامه يجب أن يحتقر

of which the natural translation is:

'the man who talks about some girls falling in love with him **must be despised**'

but the actual structure is 'the man who talks about some girls falling in love with him [topic], that **he** [binding pron.] be despised [agent] **is necessary** [verb]'

The binding pronoun is incorporated in the subordinate verb *'an yuḥtaqara* أن يحتقر 'that **he** be despised', itself the agent of the comment verb *yajibu* يجب 'is necessary', which is an impersonal verb (see **3.15.2**), hence the topic noun 'the man' is not the agent of 'is necessary', and the topic and the grammatical agent of the comment cause are different.

3.3.3 *Topic-comment structures*

Topic-comment structures occur with sentences of all kinds.

Within subordinate clauses:

*yušīru ’ilā ’anna **l-sukkara** | kāna yaqtaṣiru stīrādu**hu** min qablu ‘alā wizārati l-tamwīni*

يشير إلى أن السكر كان يقتصر استيراده من قبل على وزارة التموين

‘he points to the fact that sugar | *the import of* **it** was previously restricted to the Ministry of Supply’, i.e. ‘that the import of sugar was restricted’

*li-’anna **l-tayyāra** l-dīniyya l-mu‘tadila | min-a l-ṣa‘bi ḫidā‘u**hu***

لأن التيار الديني المعتدل من الصعب خداعه

‘because the moderate religious **current** | *deceiving* **it** is difficult’ i.e. ‘because it is difficult to deceive the moderate religious current’

(cf. **3.1.4** on the *min* من construction here)

*min ḥayṯu kānat **qulūbu** l-bašari wa-‘uqūluhum | lā sulṭāna li-’aḥadin ‘alay**hā***

من حيث كانت قلوب البشر وعقولهم لا سلطان لأحد عليها

‘since the **hearts** and minds of mankind | no one has *authority* over **them**’, i.e. ‘since no one has authority over’

With conditional sentences (▷C2:463):

***ša‘ruki** | ’in-i ‘tanayti bihi **yuṣbiḥ** tājan ‘alā ra’siki*

شعرك إن اعتنيت به يصبح تاجا على رأسك

‘**your hair** | if you take care of it, **[it]** will become a crown on your head’

(reading apocopate *yuṣbiḥ* يصبحْ as an apodosis, though the mixture of tenses here is somewhat clumsy (cf. **8.1**), and an alternative would be to read independent *yuṣbiḥu* يصبح as the comment, ‘becomes’ with the conditional clause ‘if you take care of it’ as elliptical and parenthetical)

With interrogatives:

***najmātu** l-‘āmi 1999 | hal **yalma‘na** qabla l-‘āmi 2000?*

نجمات العام ١٩٩٩ هل يلمعن قبل العام ٢٠٠٠؟

‘**the stars** of 1999 | **will they glow** before 2000?’

(topic and agent identical, cf. **3.3.2.1**)

'awlāduka,* | *hal* *fakkarta fī mustaqbali*him*?

أولادك، هل فكرت في مستقبلهم؟

'**your children**, | **have you** thought about **their** *future*?', i.e. 'have you thought about the future of your children?'

With indirect questions:

***wa-hāḏihi l-maṣāni'u** llatī daḫalat fī l-ḫuṭṭati | matā ẓahara 'intāju**hā** fī l-sūqi fa-sa-yasuddu ḥājata l-bilādi*

وهذه المصانع التي دخلت في الخطة متى ظهر إنتاجها في السوق فسيسد حاجة البلاد

'**these factories** which have joined the scheme | when **their output** appears on the market, **it** will satisfy the country's need for', i.e. 'when the output of these factories which have joined the scheme appears on the market, it will satisfy the country's need'

In the above example (which had no punctuation) the logical subject is 'the output of these factories' but it has been split between the formal topic ('factories') and an internal grammatical subject connected by the binding pronoun ('their output').

3.3.4 'ammā . . . fa- أمّا . . . فـ *'as for . . .'* (▷C3:196)

This is probably the closest to a topicalizing element in Arabic (contrast **3.3**), since it normally precedes a noun phrase presented with some emphasis as the topic (mostly in contrast to some previous assertion), followed by a comment introduced by *fa-* فـ 'and so'. The comment is mostly a complete sentence containing an anaphoric pronoun, and thus has the same structure as the comment clauses described above. Like them, the comment may be an equational, nominal or verbal sentence.

As for the translation, the English 'as for' is a conveniently close equivalent, but is by no means the only way to render it. To replicate the Arabic structure here a comma will indicate the position of the *fa-* فـ before the comment, whether or not this results in natural English (to use 'well' to introduce the comment would be illuminating but cumbersome, however, the reader may try inserting it after the comma).

Uniquely, *'ammā* أما can also be superimposed on the simple equational sentence (see **3.1**) and thus have a single noun phrase as its comment (unless an ellipse is to be supposed):

*'ammā l-mustahliku fa-**maġlūbun** 'alā 'amri**hi***
أما المستهلك فمغلوب على أمره
'as for the consumer, [he is] **helpless**', lit. 'beaten in **his** own affair'

*'ammā hadiyyatī fa-**ṣakkun** 'alā bayāḍin tamla'īnahu bi-raqmin yurḍīki*
أما هديتي فصك على بياض تملئينه برقم يرضيك
'as for my present [it is] a blank **cheque** which you [fem. sing.] can fill in with any number that pleases you'

*'ammā jaddatuka fa-**'amrun** lā yaqūlu bihi l-qānūnu*
أما جدتك فأمر لا يقول به القانون
'as for your grandmother [it is] **a matter** which the law does not speak of'

With full equational sentence as comment:

*'ammā l-'arīsu **fa-huwa** salīlu l-ḥasabi wa-l-nasabi*
أما العريس فهو سليل الحسب والنسب
'as for the bridegroom, **he** is pure of repute and lineage'

*'ammā 'amal **fa-lahā** qiṣṣatun 'uḫrā*
أما أمل فلها قصة أخرى
'as for Amal, **she has** another story', lit. 'to her [is] another story'

(note the inversion with indefinite subject, see **3.1.3**)

More commonly, the comment clause will itself be a nested topic-comment (see **3.3.2.1**).

Nominal sentence as comment, either containing an equational sentence:

*'ammā wizāratu al-ṣiḥḥati fa-**mas'ūliyyatuhā** lā šākka fīhā*
أما وزارة الصحة فمسؤوليتها لا شك فيها
'as for the Ministry of Health, there is no doubt about its responsibility', lit. '**its responsibility** [topic], there is no doubt about it [comment]'

or topic + verbal comment:

*'ammā l-ḫamru **fa-ta'ṯīruhā** 'alā l-'aqli lā yaḥtāju 'ilā bayānin*
أما الخمر فتأثيرها على العقل لا يحتاج إلى بيان
'as for wine, **its effect** [topic] on the mind needs no explanation [comment]'

(note unmarked fem. *ḫamr* خمر 'wine', see **1.12.2.1**)

*'ammā muntijū l-ṯaqāfati fa-huwa lā yasma'u 'isma**hum*** (sic) *'illā marratan kulla sanatin*
أما منتجو الثقافة فهو لا يسمع إسمهم إلا مرة كل سنة
'as for the producers of culture, he only hears **their** name once a year'

*'ammā l-ṭuruqu l-'uḫrā fa-**kulluhā** tu'addī 'ilā l-maqbarati*
أما الطرق الأخرى فكلها تؤدي إلى المقبرة
'as for the other roads, **all of them** lead to the grave'

(for agreement of *kull* كل, see **3.8.4**)

With verbal sentence comment:

*'ammā l-'itābu l-ḫāmisu fa-**yaḫuṣṣu** mas'alata l-tamwīli l-'ajnabiyyi*
أما الأعتاب الخامس فيخص مسألة التمويل الأجنبي
'as for the fifth [point of] censure, **it concerns** the question of foreign financing'

*'ammā l-bāqūna 37% fa-**lam yakun** la**hum** ra'yun*
أما الباقون ٣٧٪ فلم يكن لهم رأي
'as for the remaining 37%, **they had** no opinion'

(*sic*: see numbers in **2.14.3**)

*'ammā l-wālidu fa-**kāna yaṣḥabunī** fī l-bidāyāti 'ilā maḥaṭṭati miṣra*
أما الوالد فكان يصحبني في البداية إلى محطة مصر
'as for my father, **he used to accompany me** at first to Cairo Station'

The topic may also be a pronoun:

*'ammā **'anta** fa-qad waṣal**ta** muta'aḫḫiran*
أما أنت فقد وصلت متأخرا
'as for **you**, you have arrived late'

*'ammā **'anta** fa-mā zil**ta** ḥadīṯa l-'ahdi*
أما انت فما زلت حديث العهد
'as for **you**, you are still new [here]'

or an adverbial expression:

*kalāman? na'am. 'ammā **'amalan** fa-lan tarā minhu kaṯīran*
كلاما؟ نعم. أما عملا فلن ترى منه كثيرا
'In words? Yes. But as for **in action** you will not see much of it'

Prepositional phrases are often topicalized, and anaphora is, if necessary, replaced by externalizing the previously elided head of the phrase:

'ammā ***fī l-'ālami*** *l-'arabiyyi fa-****l-waḍ'u*** *yaḫtalifu*
أما في العالم العربي فالوضع يختلف
'as for [the situation] **in the Arab world, the situation** differs'

'ammā ***bi-l-nisbati li****-l-miyāhi fa-****yaqūlu*** *l-'ustaḏu 'A 'A.*
أما بالنسبة للمياه فيقول الأستاذ ع. ع.
'as for [what is said] **with respect to** the waters, Prof. A. A. **says**'

'ammā ***'alā l-jānibi*** *l-'aṯyūbiyyi fa-qad kānat-i l-****taḥarriyātu*** *'akṯara 'ījābiyyatan*
أما على الجانب الإثيوبي فقد كانت التحريات أكثر إيجابية
'as for [the inquiries] **on the** Ethiopian **side**, the **inquiries** were more positive'

Almost any subordinate clause or sentence type can be topicalized by *'ammā* أما invariably with *fa-* ف- or *fa-qad* فقد introducing the comment clause:

'ammā ***matā*** *ẓahara l-duktūru 'iṣām 'amāma ġāda* ***fa-qad*** *kāna luġzan muḥayyiran lahā*
أما متى ظهر الدكتور عصام أمام غادة فقد كان لغزا محيرا لها
'as for **when** Dr 'Isam appeared before Gada, it was a perplexing riddle to her'

(for inflection of proper names, see **1.8.5**)

'ammā ***'anna*** *hāḏihi l-infirādiyyata qad takūnu li-fatratin mu'aqqatatin* ***fa****-'inda l-iṯnayni tafsīrātun mutaqāribatun*
أما أن هذه الانفرادية قد تكون لفترة مؤقتة فعند الاثنين تفسيرات متقاربة
'as for **the fact that** this isolationism will probably be only for a limited period, both have closely related explanations'

'ammā ***kayfa*** *naẓara 'ilā l-turāṯi min hāḏayni l-mawqi'ayni* ***fa****-'alā l-naḥwi l-tāli*
أما كيف نظر إلى التراث من هذين الموقعين فعلى النحو التالي
'as for **how** he looked at the heritage from these two positions, it is in the following way'

'ammā ***wa-qad darastu*** *l-mawḍū'a 'alā jawānibihi,* ***fa****-wajadtu 'anna l-'ilma l-hadīṯa yaqūlu 'inna*
أما وقد درست الموضوع على جوانبه، فوجدت أن العلم الحديث يقول
'as for **having studied** the subject from [all] its sides, I have found that modern science says'

(cf. **7.3.1** on perfect circumstantial qualifiers)

Clauses may be introduced by *fa-qad* فقد if the sense requires *qad* قد (see **3.10.4**):

*'ammā šu'ūnu l-fikri wa-l-ṯaqāfati **fa-qad** kānat ġā'ibatan tamāman*
أما شؤون الفكر والثقافة فقد كانت غائبة تماما
'as for matters of thought and culture, **they were** completely absent'

The presence of *'an* عن 'about', 'concerning' in such examples as:

*'ammā **'an**-i l-nisā'i l-ḥawāmili fa-yata'aṯṯarna ṣiḥḥiyyan*
أما عن النساء الحوامل فيتأثرن صحيا
'**as for** pregnant women, they will be affected in health'

or:

*'ammā **'an** 'ilmi l-wabā'iyyāti fa-huwa …*
أما عن علم الوبائيات فهو . . .
'**as for** epidemiology, it is …'

may be accounted for as an attempt to combine *'ammā* أما 'as for' with *'an* عن in the sense of 'concerning':

Cases of *'ammā* أما without *fa-* ف are rare. Here the absence of *fa-* ف may be an oversight:

*'ammā l-ḫuṭṭatu l-qaṣīratu l-madā **tatamaṯṯalu** fī 'iḥlāli wa-stikmāli šabakātin*
أما الخطة القصيرة المدى تتمثل في إحلال واستكمال شبكات
'as for the short-term plan **[0] it consists** of establishing and completing networks'

(for the binomial annexation *'iḥlāl wa-stikmāl* إحلال واستكمال, see **2.3.7**)

The connective *fa-* ف 'well' is lacking in the next example, probably because the syntax of the temporal conjunction overrides it (cf. *'indamā* عندما 'when' in **5.9.8**):

*'ammā **'indamā** nfataḥat 'abwābu l-hijrati … **fašalat** būtaqatu l-ṣahri*
أما عندما انفتحت أبواب الهجرة . . . فشلت بوتقة الصهر
'as for **when** the doors of immigration opened … **[0]** the melting-pot **broke down**'

Topicalization with *fa-* ف but without *'ammā* أما has been noted (▷C3:30) but no examples were found in the data.

3.3.4.1 As a subset of the *'ammā* أما construction, we may consider the common practice of introducing sentences with adverbial phrases followed by *fa-* فـ (see further under discourse in **Chapter 11**):

wa-li-ḏālika fa-*'inna hāḏihi l-riḥlāti qāma bihā 'aṣḥābuhā ḍimna ẓurūfin tārīḫiyyatin muḥaddadatin*

ولذلك فإن هذه الرحلات قام بها أصحابها ضمن ظروف تاريخية محددة

'**and because of that**, these journeys, they were carried out by those who made them in [clearly] defined historical circumstances'

wa-'alā kullin .. fa-*la-qad ṭalaba minhu l-muḥaqqiqūn*

وعلى كل .. فلقد طلب منه المحققون

'**anyway**, the investigators asked him to'

(note the '..' in the text after the introductory phrase, see punctuation, **1.3**)

3.3.5 *Presentatives*

Presentatives with *hā!* !ها 'here!' (▷C2:30, 36; ▷C3:356) are used with a free pronoun followed by a predicate, which may in turn be amplified by an appositional or circumstantial phrase or clause:

hā huwa l-šāṭi'u *wāḍiḥun jaliyyun*

ها هو الشاطئ واضح جلي

'**here's the beach** [it being] clear and bright'

hā huwa *yafī bi-wa'dihi*

ها هو يفي بوعده

'**here he is**, [he] keeping his promise'

hā huwa muḥammad šukrī *yanšuru l-juz'a l-ṯāniya*

ها هو محمد شكري ينشر الجزء الثاني

'and **there is Muhammad Shukri** [he] publishing the second part'

(note that proper names are read as uninflected, see **1.8.5**)

*wa-****hā hiya l-ḥasratu*** *taskunu fī 'a'māqī*

وها هي الحسرة تسكن في أعماقي

'and **here is despair** taking up residence in my depths'

with feminine *hiya* هي 'it' in agreement with *al-ḥasratu* الحسرة 'despair'

The predicate may be a prepositional phrase:

hā ***naḥnu fī mtiḥānāti*** *l-faṣli l-ṯānī*

ها نحن في امتحانات الفصل الثاني

'here **we are** [being] **in the** second term **exams**'

The variant with *hā* ها + pronoun + *ḏā* ذا (cf. *hāḏā* هذا 'this', see **1.7.2**) incorporates the subject pronoun between the two demonstrative elements:

hā 'anā ḏā *fī muwājahatihi*

ها أنا ذا في مواجهته

'**there I was** facing him', lit. 'lo I that one [being] facing him'

3.4 Anticipatory pronoun *ḍamīr al-ša'n* ضمير الشأن

After the sentence modifiers *'inna* إنَّ, *'anna* أنَّ, etc. (see **3.2**) a default masculine singular pronoun suffix *-hu* ـه 'it' (rarely fem.) must be used when the modifier is followed by a verbal sentence instead of the usual equational sentence (the selection of a verbal sentence is an arbitrary choice of the speaker). Since this *-hu* ـه is construed as an anticipatory pronoun representing the sentence to come, it is called the 'pronoun of the matter' *ḍamīr al-ša'n* ضمير الشأن in the Arab tradition (▷C2:430 denies its existence). The translation emphasizes this function at the expense of elegance:

ṯumma ***'innahu laysa*** *li-l-dumū'i ṯamanun, baḫsun 'aw ġālin*

ثم إنه ليس للدموع ثمن، بخس أو غال

'furthermore, **the fact is that there is no** price for tears, low or high'

'ašāra 'ilā ***'annahu tamma*** *taklīfu farīqi 'amalin*

أشار إلى أنه تم تكليف فريق عمل

'he pointed to **the fact that** the commissioning of a working group **had been completed**', i.e. 'a working party had been commissioned'

(for *tamma*, see **3.23.1**)

*'ilman bi-****'annahu lan tatamakkana*** *l-'ummu min 'irḍā'i mawlūdihā ṭabī'iyyan*

علما بأنه لن تتمكن الأم من إرضاع مولودها طبيعيا

'in the knowledge **of the fact that** the mother **will not be able to** suckle her baby naturally'

Adverbial phrases may intervene as always (see **3.7.4**):

*'akkada 'annahu **fī l-marḥalati l-muqbilati** sa-yakūnu al-tarkīzu 'alā marākizi l-ṭibbi l-wiqā'iyyi*

أكد أنه في المرحلة المقبلة سيكون التركيز على مراكز الطب الوقائي

'he stressed the fact that **in the next stage** the concentration would be on preventative medical centres'

*wa-'aḍāfa 'annahu **ba'da dirāsati l-'anẓimati l-muḫtalifati li-zirā'ati l-'asnāni l-mutawaffirati 'ālamiyyan** tamma ḫtiyāru niẓāmin suwaydiyyin ḏī šuhratin 'ālamiyyatin*

وأضاف أنه بعد دراسة الأنظمة المختلفة لزراعة الأسنان المتوفرة عالميا تم اختيار نظام سويدي ذي شهرة عالمية

'he added the fact that **after studying the various systems of teeth transplanting globally available** a Swedish system of world fame had been selected'

(for *tamma* paraphrasing passive, see **3.23.1**)

The same pronoun is also found with categorical negatives (see **4.1.2**):

*hāḏā kulluhu yu'akkidu **'annahu lā ḥājata 'ilā** l-tasarrubi*

هذا يؤكد أنه لا حاجة إلى التسرب

'this all confirms **the fact that there is no need for** the leakage'

The unusual occurrence of a feminine pronoun here: *qultu **'innahā** sa-ta'tī l-tafāṣīlu* قلت إنها ستأتي التفاصيل 'I said **that they** the details will be forthcoming' is possibly by attraction to the broken plural *tafāṣīl* تفاصيل 'details', itself grammatically feminine singular (see **2.1.1**). In the following example, however, the feminine is simply cataphoric:

*la'alla**hā** kānat laḥẓata l-ṣidqi l-waḥīdata fī ḥayātihi l-siyāsiyyati*

لعلها كانت لحظة الصدق الوحيدة في حياته السياسية

'perhaps **it** [fem. anticipating 'moment'] was the only moment of truth in his political life'

3.5 Separating pronoun *ḍamīr al-faṣl* ضمير الفصل

When both the subject and predicate of an equational sentence are definite, the transition from definite subject to indefinite predicate is no longer clearly marked (but see **3.1**), and so they are usually separated by a congruent pronoun (▷C1:34; ▷C2:432), termed *ḍamīr al-faṣl* ضمير الفصل, originally

'the pronoun which distinguishes [predicates from attributive adjectives]', and often mistakenly labelled 'copula' in Western sources. It is also common with the sentence modifiers *'inna* إنَّ etc. (see **3.2**) and the *kāna* كان verb set (see **3.16** and **3.17**), even though with these the subject and predicate are in different cases. This may have been encouraged by the loss of inflections in MWA, perhaps also by a desire to signal the arrival of the predicate after a long subject regardless of case (see further **3.5.2**).

As will appear from the examples below, this pronoun is no longer used exclusively in its original separating function, but also can be used to give emphasis to the predication itself (see further **3.5.2**).

It is still possible for a definite subject and predicate to occur without a separating pronoun, especially with the generic article and in proverbial expressions:

al-*ḥayātu* ***l-****ḥubbu* الحياة الحب 'life is love'

both with generic article.

3.5.1 *Regular examples of the* ḍamīr al-faṣl

al-'amūdu l-fikriyyu llaḏī yajibu 'an yantaẓima fīhi jamī'u maẓāhirihi ***huwa*** *l-'aqlāniyyatu wa-l-dīmuqrāṭiyyatu*

العمود الفكري الذي يجب أن ينتظم فيه جميع مظاهره هو العقلانية والديمقراطية

'the intellectual paradigm [def.] in which all its phenomena must be organized is rationalism and democracy [both def., with generic article]'

al-hadafu ***huwa*** *fahmu maṣādirihi bi-šaklin 'awḍaḥa*

الهدف هو فهم مصادره بشكل أوضح

'the goal [def.] is the understanding [def. by annexation] of his sources in a clearer way'

kullu mā yuhimmunī wa-yašġalunī ***hiya*** *ḥurriyatu l-kuttābi fī l-duḫūli wal-ḫurūji*

كل ما يهمني ويشغلني هي حرية الكتاب في الدخول والخروج

'all that concerns me and occupies me [def. as subj.] is the freedom [def. by annexation] of writers [generic] to come in and out'

(note the attraction of *hiya* هي to the feminine noun following instead of the masculine *kullu* كل)

With demonstratives the separating pronoun is nearly always used because the constituent demonstrative + single noun (*hāḏā l-raǰulu* هذا الرجل 'this man', an appositional unit, see **2.2.6**) would otherwise be indistinguishable from subject + predicate:

hāḏihi ***hiya*** *l-ma'sātu*
هذه هي المأساة
'this is the tragedy'

(contrast *hāḏihi l-ma'sātu* هذه المأساة 'this tragedy')

tilka ***hiya*** *l-ḥaqīqatu kullu l-ḥaqīqati*
تلك هي الحقيقة كل الحقيقة
'that is the truth, the whole truth'

(contrast *tilka l-ḥaqīqatu* تلك الحقيقة 'that truth')

If the sense is already clear enough, however, no separating pronoun is used:

hāḏā l-junūnu bi-'aynihi
هذا الجنون بعينه
'this is madness itself'

In the following example the pronoun is not strictly required, however, since the demonstrative cannot form an appositional unit with a following annexed phrase:

hāḏā ***huwa*** *'aḥadu 'abrazi mabādi'inā*
هذا هو أحد أبرز مبادئنا
'this is one of our most outstanding principles'

which could not mean 'this most outstanding one of' even without the separating pronoun.

The subject or the predicate may be a nominal relative clause (▷C2:436; and see **5.4.2**):

mā 'urīdu *'an 'unabbiha 'ilayhi* ***huwa: 'anna*** *l-zamana lam ya'ud yasmaḥu bi-'an …*
ما أريد أن أنبه إليه هو: أن الزمن لم يعد يسمح بأن . . .
'**what I want** to point out is **the fact that** time no longer permits …'

(the colon after *huwa* هو is in the original text)

*huwa wa-llāhi ’a‘lamu ’iḏā kāna **mā** sami‘a **huwa l-ḥaqīqatu** ’am lā*

هو والله أعلم إذا كان ما سمع هو الحقيقة أم لا

‘he, by God, knows best whether **what** he has heard is **the truth** or not’

(for oaths, see **2.17**)

This pronoun is commonly used for emphasis with sentence modifiers of the *’inna* إنَّ (see **3.2**) and *kāna* كان type (see **3.16** and **3.17**) even though as a separating pronoun it would be technically redundant, since the case of subject and predicate is different.

With *’inna* etc.:

*li-’anna al-hadaf**a** **huwa** ḫidmat**u** l-muḥāmīna*

لأن الهدف هو خدمة المحامين

‘because the aim [dep.] is the service [indep.] of the lawyers’

*bi-’anna l-istiqlāl**a** l-kāmil**a** **huwa** l-ḥall**u** l-ṣaḥīḥ**u** l-waḥīd**u** li-l-muškilati*

بأن الاستقلال الكامل هو الحل الصحيح الوحيد للمشكلة

‘that complete independence [dep.] is the only sound solution [indep.] to the problem’

*allatī tanuṣṣu ‘alā ’anna dīn**a** l-dawlati **huwa** l-’islām**u***

التي تنص على أن دين الدولة هو الإسلام

‘which stipulates that the religion [dep.] of the state is Islam [indep.]’

*’inna barāmij**a** l-tadrīsi l-nājiḥata **hiya** fī l-wāqi‘i nitāj**u** tafā‘uli ‘awāmila muta‘addidatin*

إن برامج التدريس الناجحة هي في الواقع نتاج تفاعل عوامل متعددة

‘successful education programmes [dep.] are actually the product [indep.] of the interaction of numerous factors’

*yabdū ’anna l-majmū‘at**a** l-mutarjamat**a** **hiya** muḫtārāt**un** min majmū‘ātin ṣadarat li-l-šā‘iri fī fatarātin muḫtalifatin*

يبدو أن المجموعة المترجمة هي مختارات من مجموعات صدرت للشاعر في فترات مختلفة

‘it appears that the translated collection [dep.] is selections [indep.] from collections which appeared by the poet at various times’

With *kāna* كان ‘be’, etc.:

*wa-kānat ’āḫir**u** l-ḍaḥāyā **hiya** ṭiflat**an***

وكانت آخر الضحايا هي طفلة

‘and the last [indep.] of the victims was a little girl [dep.]’

*wa-munḏu ḏālika l-ta'rīḫi 'aṣbaḥa qānūn**u** 1950 **huwa** l-ma'mūl**a** bihi fī l-taqāḍī fī miṯli hāḏihi l-'umūri*

ومنذ ذلك التأريخ أصبح قانون ١٩٥٠ هو المعمول به في التقاضي في مثل هذه الأمور

'since that date the law [indep.] of 1950 has become the one acted on [dep.] in litigation in such matters'

*wa-'aṣbaḥa l-silāḥ**u** l-maqbūl**u** faqaṭ fī l-minṭaqati **huwa** silāḥ**a** l-siyāsati*

وأصبح السلاح المقبول فقط في المنطقة هو سلاح السياسة

'and the only acceptable weapon [indep.] in the region became the weapon [dep.] of politics'

(cf. **2.10.4** on the idiomatic passive particle *maqbūl* مقبول 'accepted' for 'acceptable')

3.5.2 *Redundant and emphatic use*

In other contexts the pronoun is commonly found where it would undoubtedly be redundant as a separating pronoun, given that the predicate is visibly indefinite, which means that it has now acquired a new function as a kind of resumptive pronoun to emphasize the content of the predicate (▷C2:434) rather than simply mark its onset. It is not to be confused with the appositional pronoun in **2.2.7** which simply emphasizes its antecedent:

*al-mawqifu llaḏī yattaḫiḏuhu l-ra'īsāni . . . **huwa mawqifun 'ījābiyyun***

الموقف الذي يتخذه الرئيسان . . . هو موقف إيجابي

'the position [def.] which the two presidents are taking . . . is **a positive one** [indef.]'

*'inna l-'amjāda llatī ḥaqqaqa lahum **hiya šay'un šaḫṣiyyun** jiddan*

إن الأمجاد التي حقق لهم هي شيئ شخصي جدا

'the honours [def.] he has achieved for them are **a** very **personal matter** [indef.]'

(note loss of referential pronoun in the relative clause, see **5.0.2**)

In some cases where no separating pronoun is required, the intention is clearly to emphasize the predicate:

*al-'ahammu **huwa** 'alāqatunā kullinā bihā*

الأهم هو علاقتنا كلنا بها

'the most important [thing] is our relationship, all of us, to it'

(reading *kullinā* كلِّنا 'of all of us' in apposition to the oblique suffix pronoun *-nā* ـنا 'of us', cf. **2.9.1** on corroboratives)

'alā kulli ḥālin hāḏā ***huwa*** *'unwānī l-iliktirūniyyu*
على كل حال هذا هو عنواني الالكتروني
'anyway, this is my e-mail address'

kānat ṣan'ā'u ***hiya*** *hājisahu l-jadīda*
كانت صنعاء هي هاجسه الجديد
'San'a was his new concern'

which may be compared with the regular use of a pronoun to emphasize the agreement of the verb (see **3.9.2**) with verbs of being/not being:

bi-'tibāri 'anna raf'a l-rusūmi l-jumrukiyyati ***laysat hiya*** *l-'adāta l-waḥīdata li-ḥimāyati l-'intāji*
باعتبار أن رفع الرسوم الجمركية ليست هي الأداة الوحيدة لحماية الإنتاج
'in consideration of the fact that the raising of customs duties **is not itself** the only device for protecting production'

(note the attraction of *hiya* هي to *rusūm* رسوم 'duties' not to *raf'* رفع 'raising')

yakfī 'an naqūla 'inna kalimata 'muḫābarāt' ***laysat hiya*** *l-tarjamata l-ṣaḥīḥata*
يكفي أن نقول إن كلمة 'مخابرات' ليست هي الترجمة الصحيحة
'it suffices that we say that the word "intelligence services" **is not itself** the right translation'

In its fully developed form this resumptive/emphatic use is no longer dependent on the definiteness of subject and predicate, as the following example shows:

tu'akkidu l-dirāsātu l-nafsiyyatu 'anna ẓuhūra mā yusammā 'bi-l-mar'ati l-mustarjilati' ***huwa dalīlun*** *'alā 'adami l-nuḍūji l-nafsiyyi*
تؤكد الدراسات النفسية أن ظهور ما يسمى 'بالمرأة المسترجلة' هو دليل على عدم النضوج النفسي
'psychological studies confirm that the emergence of what is called the "manly woman" is **an indication** of a lack of psychological maturity'

(indefinite predicate, therefore no separating pronoun is actually required)

In the following type the pronoun is perhaps necessary to ensure that the relative clauses are recognized as the predicate:

lākinnahu ***huwa*** *llaḏī ’awḥā lī bi-smihi*

لكنه هو الذي أوحى لي باسمه

‘but **he** is the one who revealed his name to me’

wa-lākinna rā’idāti ḥarakati taḥrīri l-mar’ati ***hunna*** *llawātī . . .*

ولكن رائدات حركة تحرير المرأة هن اللواتي . . .

‘but the pioneers of the women’s liberation movement **are the ones who** . . .’ and not ‘pioneers of the women’s liberation movement who . . .’

However, the traditional syntax still occurs, and quite long, but still definite subjects can be followed immediately by indefinite predicates:

lā budda min-a l-’išārati mujaddadan ’ilā ’anna sti‘māla lafẓi l-turāṯi bi-hāḏā l-ma‘nā llaḏī ’abraznāhu l-’āna ***sti‘mālun nahḍawiyyun***

لا بد من الإشارة مجددا إلى أن استعمال لفظ التراث بهذا المعنى الذي أبرزناه الآن استعمال نهضوي

‘it must yet again be pointed out that the use of the term heritage in this sense which we have just now brought out [def.] **is a Nahda usage** [indef.]’

(Nahda = nineteenth-century literary renaissance, see **12.3.1** for this new *nisba*)

3.6 Negative equational sentences

When the subject of an equational sentence has to be negated, it is either done categorically with *lā* لا ‘no’ or periphrastically with one of the verbs for not existing.

Categorical negative *lā* لا (see details in **4.1.2**):

lā *’asāsa lahā*

لا أساس لها

‘it has no foundation’, lit. ‘**no** foundation [is] to it’

Verbal paraphrase (for non-existence, see **3.19**):

wa-l-wāqi‘u ’annahu ***laysat*** *hunāka ḥadāṯatun muṭlaqatun*

والواقع أنه ليست هناك حداثة مطلقة

‘and the fact is that there **is no** absolute modernity’

3.7 Verbal sentence (▷C1:41)

The basic pattern is verb + agent, with adverbial and other complements normally in third position (i.e. after verb + agent have been expressed) but also mobile, occurring initially and between verb and object as well; the Arabic terms are *fi'l* فعل 'act[ion]', i.e. 'verb', *fā'il* فاعل 'actor', 'doer', i.e. 'agent', and *maf'ūl* مفعول 'thing acted on', 'thing done to', which covers all the complements (see **3.29**). Arabic is thus a verb-agent-complement language ('VSO' in some conventions).

Since the agent normally follows the verb, there are special problems of agreement in number and gender (see **3.8**).

Simple sentences, pronominalized agents:

'abarnā *l-ṭarīqa l-'arīḍata*
عبرنا الطريق العريضة
'**we crossed** the wide street'

(note *ṭarīq* طريق 'street' is unmarked fem., see **1.12.2.1**)

yuhra'ūna *'ilā šu'ūnihim*
يهرعون إلى شؤونهم
'**they** [masc.] **go rushing** about their business'

(cf. **3.12.4** on the idiomatic passive *yuhra'ūna* يهرعون)

Overt noun agents (see **3.8**):

'awma'at *nānsī*
أومأت نانسي
'Nancy **pointed**'

ya'qidu *l-farīqāni jtimā'an*
يعقد الفريقان اجتماعا
'the two groups **will hold** a meeting'

For negation of all types in verbal sentences, see **4.2**.

3.7.1 *Word order*

Pronominalized agents are bound morphemes (see **1.5.2.2**) and are either suffixed or incorporated into the verb:

*qarrar**tu*** قررت '**I** decided'

*jalas**ā*** جلسا '**they two** [masc.] sat down'

***ta**rtabiṭu* ترتبط '**it** [fem.] is connected'

yu**nāḍil**ūna يناضلون '**they** [masc.] struggle'

Overt noun agents follow the verb, which is always third person singular and either masculine or feminine (for full agreement details, see **3.8**):

*'akkada **wazīru** l-ḫārijiyyati*
أكد وزير الخارجية
'the Foreign **Minister** confirmed'

*tafattaḥat **'aynāhā***
تفتحت عيناها
'her **eyes** [dual] opened'

***yatawaqqa'u** ḫubarā'u l-'aḥwāli*
يتوقع خبراء الأحوال
'meteorologists **expect**'

Unlike subjects (see **3.1**) and topics (see **3.3.1**), there are no restrictions on indefinite agents after indefinite agents (further examples in **3.9.4**):

*'a'lana **bāḥiṯūna** fī kulliyyati l-zirā'ati*
أعلن باحثون في كلية الزراعة
'**researchers** in the College of Agriculture announced'

When a verb has two agents, one incorporated pronoun and one overt noun, the pronoun agent must be externalized and coordinated (see **6.2.2**):

*fariḥtu **'anā wa-jaddatī***
فرحت أنا وجدتي
'I and my grandmother rejoiced', lit. 'I rejoiced, **I and my grandmother**'

This is to be contrasted with agent emphasis in **3.9.2**.

3.7.2 *Inversion* (▷C1:87, ▷C2:511–21)

Inversion with verbal sentences is rare and mostly restricted to preposing of direct and other objects or phrases in highly rhetorical contexts:

ġayraki *lā ’uḥibbu*
غيرك لا أحب
‘**none but you** [dep. dir. obj.] I love’

(for ‘other than’, see **2.9.2.3**)

miṯla *jamālihā lam ’ara fī ḥayātī*
مثل جمالها لم أر في حياتي
‘the **like** of her beauty I have never seen in my life’

(for *miṯl-* مثل ‘like’, see **2.9.2.1**)

Preposed free object pronouns are slightly less rare (see **3.11.1.1**):

’iyyāki *’a‘nī*
إياك أعني
‘**you** I mean’, i.e. ‘you are the one I mean’

In all the above, the verbal clauses contain no anaphora or binding pronoun (e.g. **ġayruki lā ’uḥibbuhā* غيرُك لا أحبها ‘other than you [topic, indep.] I do not love **her** [comment]’).

3.7.2.1 What appears to be inversion of agent and verb is actually a variety of topic-comment sentence (see **3.3** and **3.3.2.1**), in which the topic, the agent of the comment-verb and the binding pronoun all happen to be identical (co-referential). In other words, there is no true inversion of agent and verb on the Western pattern. This is confirmed by the fact that the verb + agent sequence contains only two elements while its apparent inversion comprises three, a noun (= topic), a verb, and a pronoun agent (acting as both logical agent and binding pronoun). As with all topic-comment sentences, the binding pronoun can seldom be translated, but will be shown here in bold italic, with | marking the boundary between topic and comment:

al-’aṭibbā’u | ***qālū***
الأطباء قالوا
‘the doctors [topic, plur.] | ***they*** **said** [comment: verb + plur. pron.]’, i.e. ‘the doctors **said**’

contrast:

qāla *l-’aṭibbā’u*
قال الأطباء
‘the doctors said’ (with default masc. sing. verb) (see **3.8**)

hāḏāni l-šarṭāni | *lam* ***yatawāfarā*** *lī*

هذان الشرطان لم يتوافرا لي

'these two conditions [topic, dual] | ***they two*** **were** not **available** to me [comment: verb + dual pron.]'

contrast:

lam ***yatawāfar*** *lī hāḏāni l-šarṭānī*

لم يتوافر لي هذان الشرطان

'these two conditions were not available to me' (with default masc. sing. verb)

wa kullu hāḏihi l-'aḥdāṯi | ***kānat tusabbibu*** *tadahwuran faẓī'an fī ṣiḥḥatī*

وكل هذه الأحداث كانت تسبب تدهورا فظيعا في صحتي

'**and all these events** [topic, broken plur.] | ***they*** **were causing** a disastrous decline in my health [comment: verb + fem. sing. pron.]'

(for feminine singular agreement with plurals, see **2.1.1**)

'aqāribu l-sā'ati | ***ta'ūdu*** *'ilā l-warā'i min jadīdin*

عقارب الساعة تعود إلى الوراء من جديد

'the hands of the clock [topic] | ***they*** **are going backwards** [comment] again'

al-šu'ūbu | *qad* ***taṣilu*** *'ilā taswiyātin silmiyyatin fīmā baynahā*

الشعوب قد تصل إلى تسوية سلمية فيما بينها

'peoples [topic] | ***they*** **do reach** peaceful settlements about matters between them [comment]'

Sentence modifiers and emphasizers (see **3.2**) often have verbal sentences as their predicates:

bal 'inna bawādira l-ḫilāfāti sur'āna mā ***ẓaharat****!*

بل إن بوادر الخلافات سرعان ما ظهرت!

'but indeed **the first signs** of disagreements [topic, broken plur.], how quickly ***they*** **appeared** [comment: verb + fem. sing. pron.]!'

Note the great flexibility this mechanism allows: in most cases the topic is not in fact the agent of the comment clause, hence a topic/noun may be followed by a verb which has no agreement with it at all:

wizāratu l-'awqāfi ***yus'iduhā*** *'an tuqaddima hāḏā l-kitāba*

وزارة الأوقاف يسعدها أن تقدم هذا الكتاب

'the Ministry of Bequests [topic], **pleases** [masc. verb] **it** [binding pron.] that it [fem., the Ministry] present this book [agent]', i.e. 'the Ministry of Bequests is pleased to present this book'

See further in **3.3.2** and **3.3.3**.

Free pronoun agents are frequently found as the topics in embedded comment clauses with *'ammā* (see **3.3.4**), probably because the pronoun more explicitly connects the clause anaphorically to the topic than an incorporated agent pronoun would:

'ammā l-talāmiḏatu ***fa-hum*** *yaḥfaẓūna mā yuqaddamu lahum bi-dūni fahmin fī kaṯīrin min-a l-ḥālāti*

أما التلامذة فهم يحفظون ما يقدم لهم بدون فهم في كثير من الحالات

'as for the pupils, **they** memorize what is given to them without understanding in many cases'

3.7.2.2 With indefinite agents the same topic-comment structure occurs, though it is also possible to analyse them instead as an elliptical construction such as 'there is' (cf. **3.1.3.1**):

iṯnāni *lā yanfaṣilāni 'an ba'ḍihimā*

اثنان لا ينفصلان عن بعضهما

'[there are] **two things** [which] cannot be separated from each other' or '**two things** are never separated from each other'

kaṯīrātun yudrikna *'anna …*

كثيرات يدركن أن . . .

'[there are] **many people** [fem.][who] **realize** that …' or '**many people** [fem.] realize that …'

but the relative option is hardly likely in the following case, where the topic is itself operated on by an introductory particle (for *lākinna* 'but', see **3.2.3**):

lākinna ***šay'an*** *yabqā hunāka*

لكن شيئاً يبقى هناك

'but **something** remains there'

In the following more complex examples the indefinite heads are qualified in various ways (by adjective, relative clause or appositional phrase), and

so become definite enough to function as topics under the same conditions as the formally indefinite subject of an equational sentence (see **3.1**), and an elliptical relative reading becomes unnecessary:

'asbābun 'adīdatun *'addat 'ilā l-'irjā'i*
أسباب عديدة أدت إلى الإرجاء
'**numerous reasons** led to the postponement'

ša'yun šayṭāniyyun kāna 'aqwā min ma'āsīhim *dafa'ahum 'an yaḏhabū*
شيء شيطاني كان أقوى من مآسيهم دفعهم أن يذهبوا
'**something diabolical which was stronger than their tragedies** impelled them to go'

ẓāhiratāni jtimā'iyyatāni l-faqru wa-l-'intiḥāru *taḥtallāni ḥayyizan ḍayyiqan fī naṣṣi l-riḥlati*
ظاهرتان اجتماعيتان الفقر والانتحار تحتلان حيزا ضيقا في نص الرحلة
'**two social phenomena, poverty and suicide**, occupy a narrow place in the account of the journey'

luqaymatun *takfī hāḏā l-jasada l-nāḥila*
لقيمة تكفي هذا الجسد الناحل
'**a small morsel** suffices for this emaciated body'

(as a diminutive, see **1.8.1.2**, *luqaymatun* لقيمة is marked enough to function as topicalized agent)

3.7.3 *Headline word order*

An extremely widespread phenomenon in newspapers is for the headline to observe the order agent (now in topic position)-verb-complement while the body text reverts to the verb-agent-complement order, still using the same words.

In the headline topic-verb-complement:

'iṣābatun musallaḥatun ***ta'siru*** *waḥdata ṣawārīḥa rūsiyyatan*
عصابة مسلحة تأسر وحدة صواريخ روسية
'armed band **captures** Russian rocket unit'

In the text verb-agent-complement:

'asarat *'iṣābatun musallaḥatun fī ṭājīkistāna qā'ida wa-'afrāda waḥdati ṣawārīḫa rūsiyyatin*

أسرت عصابة مسلحة في تاجيكستان قائد وأفراد وحدة صواريخ روسية

'an armed band in Tajikstan **captured** the commander and men of a Russian rocket unit'

(for binomial annexation, see **2.3.7**)

Under these circumstances there are no restrictions on indefinite agents/topics.

3.7.4 *Adverbs and adverbials*

Adverbs and adverbials (see **2.4**, **2.5**) normally occur in third position, i.e. after verb and agent have been expressed:

'a'rifuhu ***jayyidan*** أعرفه جيدا 'I know him/it **well**'

lam 'ataqaddam ***kaṯīran*** لم أتقدم كثيرا 'I have not progressed **much**'

However, adverb(ial)s and prepositional phrases may occur in any position:

'abaṯan *ḥāwaltu taḏakkura 'aḥlāmī*

عبثا حاولت تذكر أحلامي

'**in vain** I tried to remember my dreams'

qarīban *yaṣilūna*

قريبا يصلون

'**shortly** they will arrive'

fī al-mamarrāti *kuntu 'arā l-'aṭibbā'a wa-l-mumarriḍīna*

في الممرات كنت أرى الأطباء والممرضين

'**in the corridors** I would see the doctors and nurses'

wa-bi-ntiẓāri ḥuḍūri 'aḥmada 'ilayhā fī l-manzili fī l-rābi'ati 'aṣran hāḏā l-yawma *tatamaddadu maryamu 'alā firāšihā*

وبانتظار حضور أحمد إليها في المنزل في الرابعة عصرا هذا اليوم تتمدد مريم على فراشها

'**and while waiting for Ahmad to come home at 4 in the evening on this day**, Maryam is stretched out on her bed'

*wa-lākinnahā **'abadan** lam tanjaḥ*
ولكنها أبداً لم تنجح
'but they did not **ever** succeed'

*ba'da 'an saḥaba **min-a l-'aswāqi** jamī'a l-nusaḫi l-qadīmati*
بعد أن سحب من الأسواق جميع النسخ القديمة
'after he had withdrawn **from the market** all the old copies'

Apart from reasons of emphasis, word order is also noticeably affected by the tendency for definite (namely, 'heavy') to precede indefinite (namely, 'light') elements regardless of function (cf. inversion in nominal sentence for the same reason, **3.1.3** and word order with transitive verbs, **3.11.1**):

*jarat **fī bagdāda 'amsi** jināzat**un** jamā'iyyat**un***
جرت في بغداد أمس جنازة جماعية
'**in Baghdad yesterday a** communal funeral took place'

*kānat tasrī **fī l-maḥaṭṭati l-fasīhati** rūḥ**un** min-a l-ṣamti wa-l-taraqqubi*
كانت تسري في المحطة الفسيحة روح من الصمت والترقب
'**through the spacious station a** spirit of quiet and expectation was flowing'

Subordinate clauses also have some freedom of order:

***wa-li-'annahā takrahu l-ḥafalāti l-ḫayriyyata** qarrarat 'ilēynā 'an tuwajjiha juhūdahā li- . . .*
ولأنها تكره الحفلات الخيرية قررت إلينا أن توجه جهودها لـ . . .
'**and because she detests charity parties** Elina decided she will direct her efforts towards . . .'

Some inversions, for example, an object before the agent, etc., may be due to the influence of foreign word order:

*fa-'innahā lan tanjaḥa fī taḥqīqi mā turīdu 'illā 'iḏā ḥtallat **'askariyyan** hāḏihi l-dawlata*
فإنها لن تنجح في تحقيق ما تريد إلا إذا احتلت عسكريا هذه الدولة
'and it will only succeed in achieving what it wants if it **militarily** occupies this country', lit. 'occupies **militarily** this country'

*ba'da 'an kāna **muqarraran** 'iḫlā'u l-mabnā*
بعد أن كان مقررا إخلاء المبنى
'after was **decided** [pred.] the evacuation [subj.] of the building', perhaps reflecting 'after it had been decided to evacuate . . .'

Inversion is also found with the other dependent complements (see **3.29**):

murtabikatan *tasīru ʻišrīna mitran fī kulli ittijāhin*
مرتبكة تسير عشرين مترا في كل اتجاه
'**embarrassed** [circ. qual.] she walks twenty metres in every direction'

tarsīẖan li*-l-huwiyyati l-tūnisiyyati . . . tamma ttiẖāḏu qarārātin*
ترسيخا للهوية التونسية . . . تم اتخاذ قرارات
'**in order to firmly establish** [purposive obj.] the Tunisian identity . . . decisions have been taken'

3.8 Verbal agreement in number and gender (▷C1:45, 83–4)

Agreement follows the same principles as adjectival agreement (see **2.1**), that is, natural number and gender for humans, grammatical number and gender for non-humans, with some inconsistency with collectives. This applies to all verbs, active or passive, regardless of tense or aspect.

The form of the verb, however, depends on whether it has a pronominalized or an overt noun agent. The pronoun agent (cf. **3.7**) is always incorporated in the verb, active or passive: *ẖarajtu* خرجتُ 'I went out', *ẖarajū* خرجوا 'they [masc. plur.] went out', *ẖarajtunna* خرجتن 'you [fem. plur.] went out', *fūji'at* فوجئت 'she was surprised', *fūji'atā* فوجئتا 'they [fem. dual] were surprised', *fūji'tum* فوجئتم 'you [masc. plur.] were surprised' and similarly for imperfect verbs.

With an overt noun agreement in normal verb + agent word order, the verb always remains singular and is marked only for the gender of the agent, natural or grammatical:

- Masculine overt agents, all verbs are masculine singular regardless of number:

ẖaraja *l-rajulu*
خرج الرجل
'the man **came out**'

min-a l-muqarrari ʾan ***yaḥḍura*** *baṭalā l-fīlmi*
من المقرر أن يحضر بطلا الفيلم
'it is decided that the two heroes of the film **will attend**'

i'taraḍa *l-iṯnāni 'alā ṣarāmati l-qawānīna*
اعترض الاثنان على صرامة القوانين
'the two [men] **objected** to the harshness of the laws'

yaltamisu *l-luġawiyyūna tafsīran*
يلتمس اللغويون تفسيرا
'the linguists **are seeking** an explanation'

- Feminine overt agents, all verbs are feminine singular regardless of number:

laffat*nī l-ḥayratu*
لفتني الحيرة
'confusion **has enveloped** me'

tafattaḥat 'aynāhā
تفتحت عيناها
'her two eyes **opened**'

(grammatical feminine, see **1.12.2.1**)

ittafaqat*-i l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu*
اتفقت الولايات المتحدة
'the United States **agreed**'

taḥduṯu *taġayyurātun*
تحدث تغيرات
'changes **are happening**'

In coordinated verbal sentences (see **6.2.1**) the second verb must always formally indicate its agent: in other words, Arabic cannot coordinate two verbs but only two verbal sentences. Since the verb in the second sentence does not have to have the same agent as the first, its agent must always be explicitly indicated, and there can be no question of pro-drop.

Here the agents are both different, overt nouns, so the problem does not arise:

qutila ***sittatu 'ašḫāṣin*** *wa-juriḥa* ***65 'āḫārūna***
قتل ستة أشخاص وجرح ٦٥ آخرون
'**six people** were killed [masc. sing.] and **another 65** were injured [masc. sing.]'

but in the following examples the agents are the same and thus appear as pronoun in the second verb (marked in bold italic):

*'aḥassa bihi ḥurrāsu l-ḥudūdi fa-**'aṭlaqū** 'alayhi l-nāra*

أحس به حراس الحدود فأطلقوا عليه النار

'the border guards **noticed** [masc. sing.] him and [***they***] **fired** [masc. plur.] on him'

*ṯumma **ṣa'idat**-i l-sajīnātu wa-**nḥašarna** dāḫila sayyarati l-tarḥīlati*

ثم صعدت السجينات وانحشرن داخل سيارة الترحيلة

'then the female prisoners **climbed up** [fem. sing] and [***they***] **were squeezed** [fem. plur.] into the transport vehicle'

It follows that a third singular verb with no following overt agent will have the default reading of 'he' or 'she' on the assumption that it has the same agent as the previous verb:

*qāla 'inna al-muttahama qad **kaḏaba wa-dda'ā** milkiyyatahu li-l-darrājati*

قال إن المتهم قد كذب وادعى ملكيته للدراجة

'he said that the accused **had lied and [*he*] claimed** [his] ownership of the bicycle'

*lam **tuẓhir** salmatu ḫawfahā 'amāmahu, **kānat taḍḥaku** dā'iman wa-**tas'aluhu** 'an ḥayātihi fī 'ūrūbbā*

لم تظهر سلمة خوفها أمامه، كانت تضحك دائما وتسأله عن حياته في أوروبا

'Salma **did not show** her fear in front of him, **she laughed** all the time and [***she***] **asked** him about his life in Europe'

When a verb has two agents, one pronominal and one overt, the bound pronoun must be externalized as a free pronoun in order for the overt agreement to be coordinated with it (cf. **6.2.1**):

*taraššaḥa **huwa wa-waladāhu***

ترشح هو وولداه

'**he and his two sons** stood as candidates'

*'innanī 'a'rifu kaṯīran min-a l-rijāli yuba'ṯirūna **hum wa-nisā'uhum**-u l-'amwāla*

إنني أعرف كثيرا من الرجال يبعثرون هم ونساؤهم الأموال

'I know many men who, **they and their wives**, squander money'

(note the masculine plural default agreement, see **3.8.3**)

3.8.1 Default masculine verb

Gender usually defaults to masculine when the overt agent does not immediately follow the verb, especially with non-humans (cf. ▷C1:85):

wa-lākin ***yanquṣuhā*** *jamīʿān* ***lamsatu*** *l-wāqiʿi*
ولكن ينقصها جميعا لمسة الواقع
'but what **is missing** [masc.] in them all is the **touch** [fem.] of reality'

fī yawmin lam ***yaṭluʿ*** *lahu* ***šamsun***
في يوم لم يطلع له شمس
'on a day when no **sun** [unmarked fem., see **1.12.2.1**] **rose** [masc.] for him'

3.8.2 Agreement with collective nouns

There is a tendency for collective nouns to take plural verbs (▷C1:89):

li-naḏkur ***jamāʿatan*** *min-a l-masīḥiyyīna wa-ġayrihim mimman* ***balaġū*** *l-ḥuẓwata ʿinda ḫulafāʾi l-muslimīna*
لنذكر جماعة من المسيحيين وغيرهم ممن بلغوا الحظوة عند خلفاء المسلمين
'let us mention a **group** of Christians and others who **found** [masc. plur.] favour with the Muslim caliphs'

(note *min* مِن + *man* مَن 'of those who' orthographically united to *mimman* مِمَّن, see **5.4.1**, and for the indirect imperative *li-naḏkur* لنذكر 'let us mention', see **3.24.2**)

ʾinna ***ʿadadan*** *min al-wuzarāʾi l-suwaydiyyīna . . . sawfa* ***yazūrūna*** *miṣra qarīban*
إن عددا من الوزراء السويديين . . . سوف يزورون مصر قريبا
'a **number** of Swedish ministers . . . will **visit** [masc. plur.] Egypt shortly'

But singular agreement is also found:

šāhadtu ***ʿadadan*** *laysa qalīlan min al-marḍā* ***yantaẓiru dawrahu***
شاهدت عددا ليس قليلا من المرضى ينتظر دوره
'I saw not a small **number** of sick people **waiting** [masc. sing.] their [lit. '**his**'] **turn**'

*wujida ’anna **l-’aġlabiyyata taškū** min ḍīqi tanaffusin*

وجد أن الأغلبية تشكو من ضيق تنفس

‘it was found that **the majority** [fem. sing.] **complained** [fem. sing.] of difficulty in breathing’

And agreement may change in mid-sentence:

***istaṭā‘at** majmū‘atun min-a l-’udabā’i l-‘irāqiyyīna . . . ’an **yaqūmū** bi-tarjamatin*

استطاعت مجموعة من الادباء العراقيين . . . ان يقوموا بترجمة

‘a group of Iraqi writers **was able** [fem. sing.] . . . to **produce** [masc. plur.] a translation’

Also attraction may have an influence:

*ṣaḥīḥun ’anna ’ahla ‘ā’išata lam **yakūnū** malā’ikata*

صحيح أنّ أهل عائشة لم يكونوا ملائكة

‘true [it is] that ‘A’isha’s family **were** [masc. plur.] not angels’

The word *nās* ناس ‘people’ fluctuates between masculine and feminine singular when the verb precedes, but masculine plural is also common when the verb follows (▷C1:92; and cf. adjectival agreement **2.1**).

Masculine verbs:

*’an **ya‘rifahu** l-nāsu*

أن يعرفه الناس

‘that the people **know** [sing.] him’

*lam **yatasā’al**-i l-nāsu li-māḏā*

لم يتساءل الناس لماذا

‘the people did not **wonder** [sing.] why’

*uḫrujī ma‘ī ’ilā l-nāsi li-kay **yaraw***

اخرجي معي إلى الناس لكي يروا

‘come out with me to the people so that **they can see** [plur.]’

Feminine verbs:

*māḏā sa-**taqūlu** l-nāsu*

ماذا ستقول الناس

‘what will the people **say**’

Sometimes both genders are found in the same sentence:

wa-lākinna l-nāsa ***tufakkiru****, wa-****tufakkiru*** *kaṯīran, wa-naḥnu ḥīna nuṭālibu l-nāsa bi-l-tafkīri wa-l- ta'ammuli lā nujbiru****hum*** *'alā ḥtiyāri wijhati naẓarinā*

ولكن الناس تفكر، وتفكر كثيرا، ونحن حين نطالب الناس بالتفكير والتأمل لا نجبرهم على اختيار وجهة نظرنا

'but people **think** [sing.], and they **think** [sing.] a lot, and when we challenge the people to think and contemplate we cannot force **them** [switched to masc. plur.] to choose our own point of view'

wa-qad-i ntaqala ḥubbu l-nāsi lahu min-a l-mudarrajāti 'ilā l-šāri'i ḥayṯu ***tunādī*** *'alayhi wa-****tuḥayyīhi*** *wa-'in kāna l-ba'ḍu min****hum ya'ību*** *'alayhi 'annahu zamlakāwī*

وقد انتقل حب الناس له من المدرجات إلى الشارع حيث تنادي عليه وتحييه وإن كان البعض منهم يعيب عليه أنه زملكاوي

'the people's affection for him has moved from the stands to the street, where they **call out** [fem. sing.] to him and **greet** [fem. sing.] him even though some of **them** [masc.] **criticize** [masc. sing., agreement with *ba'ḍ*, بعض, see **3.8.4**] him because he is a Zamalek supporter'

Broken plural masculine human agents usually take masculine verbs and anaphora (▷C1:86):

yataqaddamu l-ṭalabatu *bi-šakwā****hum*** *'ilā l-'asātiḏati*

يتقدم الطلبة بشكواهم إلى الأساتذة

'the **students** [broken plur.] **present** [masc. sing.] **their** [masc.] complaints to the professors'

ḥāwala l-jamāhīru *ḫtirāqa kurdūni l-būlīsi*

حاول الجماهير اختراق كردون البوليس

'the **crowds** [broken plur.] **tried** [masc. sing.] to break the police cordon'

but may also alternate with feminine verbs and anaphora, so the above can appear as:

tataqaddamu *l-ṭalabatu bi-šakwā****hā*** *'ilā l-'asātiḏati*

تتقدم الطلبة بشكواها إلى الأساتذة

'the students [broken plur.] **present** [fem. sing.] **their** [fem. sing.] complaints to the professors'

ḥāwalat*-i l-****jamāhīru*** *ḫtirāqa kurdūn al-būlīsi*

حاولت الجماهير اختراق كردون البوليس

'the **crowds** [broken plur.] **tried** [fem. sing.] to break the police cordon'

Similar inconsistencies are reported with *nisā'* نساء 'women' (▷C1:86):

***ḫaraja** l-nisā'u **yaḥtajijna** 'alā muhāwalāti mā yusammā bi-l-'iṣlāḥi*
خرج النساء يحتججن على محاولات ما يسمى بالإصلاح
'the women **went out** [masc. sing.] **protesting** [fem. plur.] against attempts at so-called reform'

3.8.3 *Agreement with mixed genders* (▷C1:96)

With mixed genders the default is masc.:

*442 rajulan wa-mra'atan **yabluġūna** min-al-'umri 65 'āman*
٤٤٢ رجلا وامرأة يبلغون من العمر ٦٥ عاما
'442 men and women **will reach** [masc. plur.] the age of 65'

*rajulun wa-zawjatuhu **yamūtāni** fī ḥādiṯi sayyāratin*
رجل وزوجته يموتان في حادث سيارة
'a man and his wife **die** [masc. dual] in a car accident'

(note the newspaper headline word order, see **3.7.3**)

But there may be strict agreement with the nearest agent:

*mā **fa'alathu** l-ḫaylu wa-rākibūhā*
ما فعلته الخيل وراكبوها
'what the cavalry horses [fem. sing. collective] and its riders **did** [fem. sing.]'

3.8.4 *Attraction and other agreement issues*

Quantifiers, for example, *kull* كل 'all' (see **2.9.1**), *qalīl* قليل 'few', *mu'ẓam* معظم 'most' (see **2.9.1.4**) and *ba'ḍ* بعض 'some' (see **2.9.1.3**) are grammatically masculine singular and annexed to their nouns, but the verb may agree either with them or the grammatical number and gender of the word to which they are annexed.

Strict agreement with the quantifier, that is, masculine singular:

*'ammā l-ṭuruqu l-'uḫrā fa-**kulluhā yu'addī** 'ilā l-maqbarati*
أما الطرق الأخرى فكلها يؤدي إلى المقبرة
'as for the other ways, **all** [masc. sing.] **of them lead** [masc. sing.] to the cemetery'

ba'ḍuhā ttajaha *'ilā l-musalsalāti l-dīniyyati*

بعضها اتجه إلى المسلسلات الدينية

'**some** [masc. sing.] **of them turned** [masc. sing.] to the religious serials'

qalīlun *minhum yalṯaġu ḥarfa l-rā'i*

قليل منهم يلثغ حرف الراء

'a **small number** [masc. sing.] of them **mispronounces** [masc. sing.] the letter "r"'

fa-'inna ***mu'ẓamahum yalfiẓuhā*** *bi-ṭarīqatin muḫtalifatin 'an-i l-faransiyyi l-'aṣīli*

فإن معظمهم يلفظها بطريقة مختلفة عن الفرنسي الأصيل

'so **most of them pronounce it** [masc. sing.] differently from the native Frenchman'

Agreement with the number and gender of the quantified item:

kulluhum *yaškūna*

كلهم يشكون

'**all** of them **are** complaining'

kānat *lī* ***ba'ḍu l-ṣilāti*** *bi-'ā'ilatihā*

كانت لي بعض الصلات بعائلتها

'there **were** [fem. sing.] to me **certain connections** with her family', i.e. 'I had certain connections', see *li-* in **2.6.10**

ġayra 'anna hāḏā lā yamna'u 'an ***takūna*** *hunāka* ***ba'ḍu l-iḫtilāfāti*** *fī l-siyāsati l-ḫārijiyyati*

غير أن هذا لا يمنع أن تكون هناك بعض الاختلافات في السياسة الخارجية

'however this does prevent there **being** [fem. sing.] **certain differences** in foreign policy'

*wa-****kaṯīrun*** *min-a l-nāsi* ***kānū*** *qabla l-ḥarbi* ***yastadīnūna li-yaqḍū*** *laylata l-sabti fī maṭ'amin 'aw makāni lahwin*

وكثير من الناس كانوا قبل الحرب يستدينون ليقضوا ليلة السبت في مطعم أو مكان لهو

'**many** [masc. sing.] people before the war **used to get into debt** [masc. plur.] so that **they could spend** a Saturday night in a restaurant or night-club'

Agreement with counted nouns follows their natural number, not their grammatical form, which is frequently singular (▷C1:95; and see **2.12** for numeral syntax):

*13 tājiran **'uḥīlū** li-l-niyābati l-šahra l-māḍiya*
١٣ تاجرا أحيلوا للنيابة الشهر الماضي
'13 merchants [sing.] **were taken** [masc. plur.] to court last month'

*20 marīḍan-i **stafādū** min taqniyati zirā'ati l-'asnāni*
٢٠ مريضا استفادوا من تقنية زراعة الأسنان
'20 patients [sing.] **have benefited** [masc. plur.] from the technique of tooth implants'

3.9 Agent emphasis

Agent emphasis is usually effected by a free pronoun after the verb (see **3.9.2**). For emphatic pronouns in other cases, see **2.8.5**, and compare the free pronoun in nominal sentences, **3.5**.

3.9.1 *Preposed agent pronouns*

The occurrence of preposed pronouns (▷C2:423) is highly restricted to purely emphatic contexts; structurally it mirrors the syntax and purpose of the topic-comment sentence in giving prominence to any word regardless of its logical function (see **3.3**), hence its use is not so much to emphasize the agent function but to assert more strongly the identity of the agent:

***naḥnu** nurīdu 'an nakūna juz'an min ḥalli l-muškilati wa-laysa l-sababa fīhā*
نحن نريد أن نكون جزءا من حل المشكلة وليس السبب فيها
'**we** want to be part of the solution of the problem and not the cause of it', i.e. 'what *we* want to do is be part of the solution'

***naḥnu** lam na'ud narāhā*
نحن لم نعد نراها
'**we** never see her any more'

*'iḏā **hiya** raġibat fī ḏālika*
إذا هي رغبت في ذلك
'if **she** [and not someone else] desires that'

*fa-**’anā** lam ’ansa l-fatrata llatī ẓanantu sū’an bi-sam‘āna*
فأنا لم أنس الفترة التي ظننت سوءا بسمعان
‘and **I** have not forgotten the time I thought ill of Sam‘an’

(for relative pronoun drops with antecedents denoting time, see **5.0.2**)

3.9.2 *Postposed emphatic agent pronouns*

Postposed emphatic agent pronouns are in apposition to the incorporated pronoun (cf. the emphatic pronoun in nominal sentence, **3.5.2**), and are placed immediately after the verb, emphasizing that the action is performed only by that particular person or entity:

*fa-nsalla **huwa** li-yaṣ‘ada daraja l-dāri*
فانسل هو ليصعد درج الدار
‘and **he** [by contrast] slipped away to go up the staircase of the house’

*raja‘tu **’anā** li-l-‘amali*
رجعت أنا للعمل
‘**I** [on the other hand] went back to work’

*kamā yaqūlu **huwa nafsuhu***
كما يقول هو نفسه
‘as **he himself** says’

(cf. **2.8.1** on corroborative *nafs* نفس ‘self’)

*kamā ’annahā tuwajjahu li-l-dawlati .. ḥayṯu tuḥaddidu **hiya** l-’awlawiyyāti*
كما أنها توجه للدولة .. حيث تحدد هي الأولويات
‘just as it is directed to the state .. where **it** [and not some other body] determines the priorities’

The same mechanism is used with appositional qualifiers of the agent:

*ittafaqnā **naḥnu l-ṯalāṯatu** ‘alā ‘anna*
اتفقنا نحن الثلاثة على أن
‘**we three** agreed on the fact that’

though the pronoun is not always found.

These pronouns are always emphatic, unlike the pronouns used to coordinate an overt to a pronominal agent, see **3.7.1**.

3.9.3 *Emphasis with* al-’āḫaru الآخر

For emphasis of the ‘he too’ type, *al-’āḫaru* الآخر ‘the other’ is commonly used:

fa-huwa yaškū ***huwa l-’āḫaru***
فهو يشكو هو الآخر
‘and **he too** complains’

kānat ***hiya l-’uḫrā*** *ḫtafat qablahā bi-biḍ‘ati ’a‘wāmin*
كانت هي الأخرى اختفت قبلها ببضعة أعوام
‘**she too** had disappeared some years before her’

fa-qad-i nšaġaltu ***’anā l-’āḫaru*** *bi-hāḏā l-su’āli*
فقد انشغلت أنا الآخر بهذا السؤال
‘and **I too** was occupied with this question’

ḥattā ’aṣbaḥat ***hiya l-’uḫrā*** *tušakkilu marākiza quwā*
حتى أصبحت هي الأخرى تشكل مراكز قوى
‘until **they too** came to form centres of power’

(agent is a non-human plural, hence feminine singular. Note the double plural *marākizu quwā* ‘centres of powers’, singular *markaz quwwatin* ‘centre of power’, cf. **12.5.1**)

3.9.4 *Indefinite agents*

Unlike topics, agents may be indefinite nouns:

saqaṭa ***ṭiflun*** *fī ḥammāmi l-sibāḥati*
سقط طفل في حمام السباحة
‘**a child** fell into the swimming pool’

inṭalaqa ***ṣārūḫun*** *min-a l-qā‘idati*
انطلق صاروخ من القاعدة
‘**a rocket** took off from the base’

iḥtajjat ***bilādun ‘adīdatun*** *‘alā niẓāmi l-‘awlamati l-jadīdi*
احتجت بلاد عديدة على نظام العولمة الجديد
‘**numerous countries** have protested against the new globalization system’

'a'lana ***mas'ūlun 'amrīkiyyun***
أعلن مسؤول أمريكي
'**a responsible American** announced'

Non-specific agents can be expressed by any of the periphrastic indefinite structures (see **1.12.4.1**), especially *ba'ḍ* بعض 'some':

yaqūlu ***ba'ḍu*** *l-nāsi 'innahum qad šāhadū man kāna yaqūdu l-sayyārata*
يقول بعض الناس إنهم شاهدوا من كان يقود السيارة
'**some** people say they witnessed who was driving the car'

min-a l-'umūri llatī yad'ū lahā ***ba'ḍu*** *l-kuttābi wa-****ba'ḍu*** *l-qaṣṣāṣīna*
من الأمور التي يدعو لها بعض الكتاب وبعض القصّاصين
'among the things that **some** writers and **some** novelists are calling for'

Now often *al-ba'ḍu* البعض with definite article:

wa-'iḏā kāna ***l-ba'ḍu*** *yabḥaṯu 'an-i l-ḥalli*
وإذا كان البعض يبحث عن الحل
'and if **some** are looking for the solution'

The same effect can also be achieved by using the participle as the agent of its own verb (see paranomasia in **11.7.3** and cf. vague direct objects in **3.11.1.2**):

lā ***yašġaluhum šāġilun*** *'aw* ***yarbiṭuhum*** *bi-l-ḥayāti* ***rābiṭun***
لا يشغلهم شاغل أو يربطهم بالحياة رابط
'nothing bothers them or binds them to life', lit. 'a **preoccupier** does not **preoccupy them**, or a **binder bind** them'

(see negative agents in **4.2**)

'iḏā mā ***'araḍa*** *lahum* ***'āriḍun*** *min 'udwānin wa ġayrihi*
إذا ما عرض لهم عارض من عدوان وغيره
'if some aggression or other should chance to happen to them', lit. 'if some **happening** of aggression **should happen**'

(for explanatory *min* من, see **2.6.12**)

rubbamā ***yu'alliqu ba'ḍu l-mu'alliqīna***
ربما يعلق بعض المعلقين
'perhaps someone may comment', lit. 'perhaps **someone of the commentators will comment**'

(note the vagueness is reinforced by *ba'ḍ* بعض 'some')

or with *mā* (for relative *mā*, see **5.4.3**):

ḥadaṯa ***mā*** *ḥadaṯa*

حدث ما حدث

'**what** happened happened'

li-'anna l-'irāqa qad nālahu ***mā*** *nālahu*

لأن العراق قد ناله ما ناله

'because [with] Iraq, the damage has been done', lit. 'there has damaged it **what** damaged it'

3.10 Aspect and tense

MWA formally retains the CA dual aspectual system, perfect v. imperfect, and these terms will be used for the verb forms as such, but it has now also a complete three tense structure replicating that of Western languages (signs of which were already apparent in CA). Although there are only two paradigms, perfect and imperfect, they can, alone and in combination with modals, express the same range of tenses, moods and voices that are found in the more complex and explicit Western systems.

3.10.1 *The perfect verb* (▷C1:59; and see tables **1.9.2**)

There is only one perfect stem, with no moods; compound tenses and modalities are created with the perfect and imperfect forms of *kāna* كان 'to be' and its related verbs (see **3.10.6**, and see the other modal verbs in subsequent sections).

The perfect generally indicates elapsed events, corresponding roughly to the English simple past and perfect, and in some verbs it can have a performative significance (cf. **3.10.4**). It is also used in both clauses of conditional sentences, to indicate that the hypothetical events are considered as having happened, as in English 'if you did that, you would be wrong', contrasting with imperfect in both languages, namely, 'if you do that, you will be wrong' (see further in **8.2**).

For much the same reason the perfect is used for the expression of wishes (optative, see **3.25**).

The various semantic aspects, for example, event, process, state, and the time references, for example, speech time, event time and reference time, will not be considered in detail. The main aim here is to present the usage of the verbs purely formally, and there will often be more than one possible translation.

Examples of the simple perfect:

***rafaḍat**hu l-wizāratu*
رفضته الوزارة
'the Ministry **rejected/has rejected** it'

***'aṣbaḥū** 'akṯara qudratan 'alā l-ta'aqlumi*
أصبحوا أكثر قدرة على التأقلم
'**they became** more able to acclimatize'

Verbs of knowing may have an inchoative sense:

*fīmā ba'du **'araftu** 'annahu rafaḍa*
فيما بعد عرفت أنّه رفض
'subsequently I **found out** that he refused'

Negative past is mostly expressed by *lam* لم and apocopate (see **4.2**), for example, *lam tajid 'jawāban* لم تجد جوابا '**You have not found** an answer'.

3.10.2 *The imperfect verb* (▷C1:63; and see tables **1.9.2**)

The imperfect verb generally indicates an incomplete action, continuous or habitual, with the exact time reference depending on context. Like the perfect, it also forms compound tenses and modalities with *kāna* كان and its related verbs (see further **3.10.6**). Unlike the perfect, however, the imperfect is inflected for three moods, with the following range of functions:

- Independent (*marfū'* مرفوع, also denoting the corresponding nominal case), for main verbs of all kinds.
- Dependent (*manṣūb* منصوب, also denoting the corresponding nominal case), for verbs dependent on subordinating conjunctions of all kinds (see **Chapter 7**) except conditionals.
- Apocopated (so-called until 1831, when it was displaced by the unhelpful term 'jussive', *majzūm* مجزوم). This is unique to verbs, namely for verbs in conditional sentences (see **8.0**), various imperatives and prohibitives (see **3.24**) and after the particle *lam* لم 'not' etc. (see **4.2**).

The unmarked imperfect is capable of a wide range of nuances, according to context, hence translation may often be subjective:

nasma'u *min ḥīnin 'ilā 'āḫara*

نسمع من حين إلى آخر

'**we hear** from time to time'

'akūnu *'ukkāzaki?*

أكون عكّازَكِ؟

'**shall I be** your walking stick?' or '**may I be?**'

māḏā ***'af'alu****? . . . hal* ***'atruku*** *maq'adī l-'āna . . . ?*

ماذا أفعل؟ . . . هل أترك مقعدي الآن . . . ؟

'what **should I do**? . . . **Should I leave** my seat now . . . ?'

'uqaddimu *'ilaykum nafsī*

أقدم إليكم نفسي

'**may I introduce** myself?' or '**let me introduce** myself'

kaḏālika ***yaḥzanu*** *l-ṭiflu 'indamā* ***yajidu*** *'annahu* ***yu'āmalu*** *bi-ṭarīqatin muḫtalifatin 'an bāqī 'iḫwatihi*

كذلك يحزن الطفل عندما يجد أنه يعامل بطريق مختلف عن باقي إخوته

'likewise the child **will be unhappy** when it **finds out** that it **is being treated** in a different way from the rest of its brothers'

wa-min jihatin 'uḫrā, li-ma ***yumāris*** *l-'arabu l-zirā'ata 'aw-i l-mihana l-'uḫrā wa-qad-i nhālat 'alayhim-i l-'amwālu min kulli jānibin?*

ومن جهة أخرى، لم يمارس العرب الزراعة أو المهن الأخرى وقد انهالت عليهم الأموال من كل جانب؟

'and from another point of view, why **would** the Arabs **practise** agriculture or other trades when wealth had poured down upon them from every side?'

(cf. **10.13** for rhetorical questions)

3.10.3 *Future tense*

In its future meaning the imperfect is both marked and unmarked, the marked future being indicated with the prefix *sa-* سَـ or the preposed word *sawfa* سوف. For the negative *sawfa lā* سوف لا (▷C1:75) and for the negative future *lan* لن, see **4.2.5**.

The tendency for *sa-* سَـ to occur in conditional sentences, see **8.3.2**, is a noticeable MWA development.

The unmarked future is often clear from the context, especially when it corresponds to the English present continuous and its variants:

yuṣdiru *l-majmaʿu l-ṯaqāfiyyu fī ʾabū ẓabī kitāban kulla yawmin ḫilāla ʾayyāmi maʿraḍi l-šāriqati li-l-kitābi*

يصدر المجمع الثقافي في أبوظبي كتابا كل يوم خلال أيام معرض الشارقة للكتاب

'the Cultural Academy in Abu Dhabi **will issue/is issuing/will be issuing** a book every day during the Sharjah Book Fair'

(this meaning was established from the original context, but it could also mean '**issues** a book every day', i.e. habitually). Note the uninflected proper name Abu Dhabi, see **1.8.5**. This word is tending to become a compound noun, but without unifying orthographically.

With the appropriate adverb the future sense is clear:

yaṣilu … ***baʿda qalīlin***

يصل . . . بعد قليل

'…**will** arrive **shortly**', lit. 'arrives after a little'

ġadan *taqūmu l-qiyāmatu*

غدا تقوم القيامة

'**tomorrow** Judgement Day **will** happen', lit. 'happens'

The marked future can be chosen to avoid any ambiguity:

mā ***sawfa yuḥaqqiquhu***

ما سوف يحققه

'what **he will achieve**'

sa-yuwāṣilu *l-kitābata*

سيواصل الكتابة

'**he will continue** to write'

sawfa naḏkuruhā *fī siyāqi l-ḥalaqāti l-muqbilati*

سوف نذكرها في سياق الحلقات المقبلة

'**we shall mention them** in the course of the next instalments'

The choice between *sa-* سَـ or *sawfa* سوف would seem to be entirely free, and they occasionally appear in the same sentence:

'annahu ***sawfa yarḥalu*** *ba'da sā'ātin wa-'anna hāḏā l-nahāra 'āḫiru mā* ***sa-yarāhu*** *wa-ya'īšuhu*

أنه سوف يرحل بعد ساعات وأن هذا النهار آخر ما سيراه ويعيشه

'that he **would pass away** in a few hours and that this day would be the last he **would see** and live through'

(note that the translation reflects the reported speech here, see **10.14**)

sawfa سوف (but not *sa-* سَـ) can be reinforced with an emphatic *la-* لَـ (cf. this *la-* لـ with *'inna* إنّ in **3.2.1**):

la-sawfa tu'āwidunī *tilka l-laḥẓatu mirāran*

لسوف تعاودني تلك اللحظة مرارا

'that moment **will certainly come back** to me many times'

3.10.3.1 *'an* أن + *sa-* سَـ (▷C3:113) is an infrequent structure, since the future sense of subordinate verbs is largely determined by context:

wa-qad 'aḥassat bi-mā yušbihu l-yaqīna ***'an sa-yakūnu*** *lī minhā mawqifun 'āḫaru*

وقد أحست بما يشبه اليقين أن سيكون لي منها موقف آخر

'she felt with something like certainty **that I would have** a different position with regard to her'

Note that under these conditions *'an* أن does not operate on the verb (cf. **7.5.1.10**).

3.10.4 Marked perfect

Marked perfect with *qad* قد (▷C1:67, 70). A perfect verb preceded by *[wa]-qad* قد [و], *[fa]-qad* قد [فـ] or *la-qad* لقد with perfect will denote a specifically past and complete event (see also **3.10.7** for pluperfect in relation to a previous perfect verb). In other words, *qad* reinforces the perfective aspect of this verb form:

qad ḥaqqaqtu *bi-l-fi'li*

قد حققت بالفعل

'I **have** actually **achieved**'

la-qad-i ntahat *dumū'ī…* ***la-qad yabisat***

لقد انتهت دموعي . . . لقد يبست

'my tears **just stopped** … they **just dried up**'

fa-qad ḏakara *bayānun rasmiyyun birīṭāniyyun 'amsi*
فقد ذكر بيان رسمي بريطاني أمس
'and an official British announcement **did mention** yesterday'

wa-qad nāqaša *l-majlisu 'adadan min-a l-mašārī'i*
وقد ناقش المجلس عددا من المشاريع
'and the parliament **did discuss** a number of plans'

3.10.5 *Marked imperfect*

wa-qad وقد, *fa-qad* فقد, *la-qad* لقد with the imperfect, by contrast, emphasize the actuality and dynamic aspects of an event, or its strong possibility:

wa-qad ya'tī *fī l-fuṣūli l-'uẖrā*
وقد يأتي في الفصول الأخرى
'**it can come** [i.e. unusually] in the other seasons [of the year]'

wa-qad lā yuwāfiqunī *l-ba'ḍu*
وقد لا يوافقني البعض
'some **may well not agree with me**'

wa-qad nattafiqu *ba'dahu,* ***wa-qad naẖtalifu***
وقد نتفق بعده وقد نختلف
'we **might agree** afterwards or we **might disagree**'

wa-qad lā tutarjamu *'ilā 'adā'in fi'liyyin*
وقد لا تترجم إلى أداء فعلي
'it **will probably not be translated** into actual performance'

3.10.6 *Compound tenses*

The two forms of the verb, the perfect and the imperfect, combine with the perfect and imperfect of *kāna* كان 'to be' (for its other functions, see **3.16**) to construct compound tenses, broadly along the following scheme:

(1) Perfect *kāna* كان + perfect verb (mostly with *qad* قد) = pluperfect
(2) Perfect *kāna* كان + imperfect verb = past continuous
(3) Imperfect *kāna* كان + perfect verb (mostly with *qad* قد) = future perfect
(4) Imperfect *kāna* كان + imperfect verb = future continuous

They may be regarded as analytical tenses combining the features of aspect in both verbs.

Possibly the second verb was originally a predicate of *kāna* كان in the function of a circumstantial qualifier (▷C1:45; ▷C3:263; and see **3.16.2**). At all events the syntax with overt agents is generally *kāna* كان + overt agent + verb:

wa-fī l-ṣabāḥi ***kāna*** *l-maṭaru* ***qad sakana***
وفي الصباح كان المطر قد سكن
'in the morning the rain **had calmed** down'

kāna *l-'awlādu* ***yatarākaḍūna***
كان الأولاد يتراكضون
'the children **were racing around**'

Agreement rules for verbs and their agents still apply, namely, singular verb before the agreement and full agreement after it (see **3.7.2**):

'inda mawti T. ***lam yakun****-i l-'ummālu* ***qad 'anhaw*** *'illā mā nisbatuhu 70% min-a l-binā'i*
عند موت ت. لم يكن العمال قد أنهوا إلا ما نسبته ٧٠ ٪ من البناء
'on the death of T. the workers **had not finished** but 70 per cent of the building'

(*yakun* يكن is sing., *'anhaw* أنهوا masc. plur.)

The cluster of verbs is sometimes kept together to avoid agreement problems:

ma'a ḥulūli tammūza 1998 ***kāna qad maḍā*** *qarnāni kāmilāni 'alā ḥamlati nābuliyūna 'alā miṣra*
مع حلول تموز ١٩٩٨ كان قد مضى قرنان كاملان على حملة نابليون على مصر
'with the arrival of July 1998 two whole centuries **had passed** over Napoleon's attack on Egypt'

(to avoid having to use the dual, *kāna qarnāni qad* ***maḍayā*** 'two centuries had **passed** [dual]')

1 Compound pluperfect, where the perfect *kāna* كان 'was' indicates that the action is complete (and usually in the past) and the perfect second verb indicates that the event was over before that point:

Mostly with *qad* قد:

wa-raja'tu 'anā li-l-'amali llaḏī ***kuntu qad-i nqaṭa'tu*** *'anhu 'inda l-'injābi*
ورجعت أنا للعمل الذي كنت قد انقطعت عنه عند الإنجاب
'and I myself returned to the work from which **I had been interrupted** at the birth'

allatī ***kānat*** *waqtaḏāka* ***qad 'anhat*** *dirāsatahā li-ṭibbi l-'uyūni*
التي كانت وقتذاك قد أنهت دراستها لطب العيون
'who **had** by that time **already finished** her study of ophthalmology'

lam ***'akun qad tazawwajtu*** *ba'du*
لم أكن قد تزوجت بعد
'I **had** not yet **married**'

(cf. **2.5.4** on uninflected *ba'du* بعد 'yet')

Occasionally without *qad* قد:

kāna *muḥammad 'abduh ba'da 'awdatihi min-a l-manfā 'ilā miṣra 1888* ***waṭṭada*** *l-'azma 'alā 'adami l-tawarruṭi fī 'a'mālin siyāsiyyatin*
كان محمد عبده بعد عودته من المنفى إلى مصر ١٨٨٨ وطد العزم على عدم التورط في أعمال سياسية
'after his return from exile to Egypt in 1888, Muḥammad 'Abduh **had made** a firm decision not to involve himself in political activities'

2 Compound past continuous, where the perfect *kāna* كان 'was' indicates the action is complete (usually in the past) and the imperfect second verb indicates that it is not finished:

kāna yata'ahhaduhā *bi l-ri'āyati ṭuwāla wujūdihā ma'ahu*
كان يتعهدها بالرعاية طوال وجودها معه
'he **looked after her** all the time she was with him'

mā kunnā na'rifu *kalimati l-lajnati*
ما كنا نعرف كلمة اللجنة
'we **didn't know** the word committee'

fī l-bidāyati ***kuntu lā 'uḥissu*** *bihā 'illā ka-maṣdarin li-l-'awjā'i*
في البداية كنت لا أحس بها إلا كمصدر للأوجاع
'at the beginning **I used not to think** of them as anything but a source of pain'

Negative past with *lam* لم (see **4.2**):

lam takun tataḥarraku *min jilsatihā hāḏihi*
لم تكن تتحرك من جلستها هذه
'**she never moved** from this way of sitting of hers'

(note *jilsa*, 'noun of manner', see **1.11.2**)

lam yakun yu'taqadu *'anna …*
لم يكن يعتقد أن . . .
'it was not believed that …'

The combination with the future prefix *sa-* سـ produces a calque of 'was going to do', 'would be doing' (not to be confused with the unmarked 'was doing', 'used to do' above):

al-fannānūna ***kānū sa-yaḥmilūna*** *ba'ḍa l-ma'ūnāti l-'ayniyyati*
الفنانون كانوا سيحملون بعض المعونات العينية
'the actors **were going to be bearing** some of the material expenses'

ṣaḥīḥun 'anna ḏālika ***lam yakun sa-yatimmu*** *bi-ṣūratin muṭlaqatin*
صحيح أن ذلك لم يكن سيتم بصورة مطلقة
'it is true that this **was not going to be carried out** in an absolute manner'

3 Compound future perfect where the imperfect *yakūnu* يكون 'will be' indicates that the action is not finished (usually implying future) and the perfect second verb denotes that it is complete:

wa-lākinnahā ***sa-takūnu qad ġarabat***
ولكنها ستكون قد غربت
'but it [= the sun] **will have set**'

hunā ***yakūnu*** *l-wazīru* ***qad waṣala*** *'ilā bayti l-qaṣīdi*
هنا يكون الوزير قد وصل إلى بيت القصيد
'here the minister **will have reached** the essential point'

rubbamā ***yakūnu qad qara'a*** *mulaḫḫaṣan lahu*
ربما يكون قد قرأ ملخصا له
'perhaps **he will have read** a summary of it'

'indamā yaṭlu'u l-nahāru ***sa-'akūnu qad raḥaltu***
عندما يطلع النهار سأكون قد رحلت
'by the time day comes **I shall have left**'

4 Compound future continuous, where imperfect *yakūnu* يكون 'will be' indicates that the action is not finished (usually implying future) and the imperfect second verb denotes that it is still not complete:

ḏakara ’annahu sa-yusāfiru ’ilā ‘amalihi wa-ma‘a ḥulūli l-ṣayfi ***sa-yakūnu yu’addī*** *wājibahu bi-ntiẓam*

ذكر أنه سيسافر إلى عمله ومع حلول الصيف سيكون يؤدي واجبه بانتظام

‘he mentioned that he will travel to his work and by summer **will be performing** his duty regularly’

Alternatively, future continuous can be expressed through one of the modals, for example, *ẓalla* ظلّ ‘to stay’, etc. (see **3.17.14**):

‘indamā tuftaḥu l-sudūdu ***sa-yaẓallu*** *l-mā’u* ***yatadaffaqu*** *bi-dūni tawaqqufin*

عندما تفتح السدود سيظل الماء يتدفق بدون توقف

‘when the dams are opened the water **will continue to flow** without a stop’

Note that the verbal noun (see **2.10.1**) of *kāna* كان can also be used in auxiliary sense with any of the above compounds:

*li-****kawnihi ra’ā*** *fīhi l-manhaja l-ṣaḥīḥa*

لكونه رأى فيه المنهج الصحيح

‘because of **his having seen** in it the right method’, lit. ‘because of his being he saw in it’

(cf. *kawn* كون with predicates in **3.16.2**).

For compound verbs with *laysa* ليس ‘not to be’, see **4.2.8.2**. There is also a growing tendency for these compound forms to be used in conditionals now, see **Chapter 8** *passim*.

3.10.7 *Sequence of tenses*

With only the perfect and imperfect to use, there is not an elaborate system of sequences of tenses, and the underlying principle remains basically aspectual, that is, an event which is regarded as having ceased before another will be in the perfect, while an event regarded as still going on will be in the imperfect. The head verb will determine the time and aspect frame of the whole discourse unit, as with the compound tenses above.

The marked future is often found for the English ‘would’ in past tense contexts:

ṣarraḥa ’anna wizārata l-ṣiḥḥati ***sa-tadrusu*** *’imkāniyyata*

صرح أن وزارة الصحة ستدرس إمكانية

‘[he] declared that the Ministry of Health **would study** the possibility of’

A single example will suffice here to illustrate some of the narrative possibilities, (and see further in discourse, **Chapter 11**):

ʾaḫbarahā *l-muḥāsibu l-šābbu ʾannahu* ***ʿānā*** *kaṯīran fī ḥayātihi* ***fa-qad ḥālat*** *waẓīfatuhu l-ṣaġīratu dūna taḥqīqi mā* ***kāna yaṭmaḥu*** *ʾilayhi wa-min ṯamma fa-****qad qarrara*** *l-iltiḥāqa bi-l-dirāsāti l-ʿulyā fī l-jāmiʿati*

أخبرها المحاسب الشاب أنه عانى كثيرا في حياته فقد حالت وظيفته الصغيرة دون تحقيق ما كان يطمح إليه ومن ثم فقد قرر الالتحاق بالدراسات العليا في الجامعة

'the young clerk **told her** [perf., punctual, fixes the narrative in the past] that he **had suffered** [perf., without *qad* قد, i.e. the process of suffering began before the narrative] a lot in his life and that his humble job **had gone on** [perf. with *qad* قد, i.e. up to that time] without [his] achieving what **he had been yearning** for [perf. *kāna* كان with imperf., i.e. past continuous], and therefore he **had decided** [perf. with *qad* قد, here to reinforce the event] to enrol in higher studies at the university'

3.11 Transitivity and intransitivity (▷C2:161)

All verbs, including passives (see **3.12**), take the full range of dependent noun complements (details in **2.4**, summarily in **3.29**), except the direct object, which is taken only by transitive verbs. The blanket term for the complements is *mafʿūl* مفعول 'thing done' which is modified for each type of complement, hence the direct object is *mafʿūl bihi* مفعول به lit. 'thing to which the act is done'.

Verbs are either transitive directly (see **3.11.1**), transitive indirectly through prepositions (see **3.11.4**), or intransitive.

Intransitive verbs:

ḫarajat *ʾilā l-ṭarīqi* خرجت إلى الطريق 'she **went out** into the street'

yataẓāharūna يتظاهرون '**they demonstrate**'

tajrī *fīhā l-ʾanhāru* تجري فيها الأنهار 'rivers **run** through it'

3.11.1 *Single transitivity, pronoun or noun*

*taqūdu****nā*** تقودنا 'it leads **us**'

*ʿaraftu****hum*** عرفتهم 'I recognized **them**'

tarakat ***qaṣrahā*** تركت قصرها 'she left **her palace**'

*na'rifu l-**sababa*** نعرف السبب 'we know **the reason**'

There is a general tendency (see **3.7.4**) for the definite (namely, 'heavy') to precede the indefinite (namely, 'light') even when this requires inversion of agent and direct object:

*wa-qad balaġa **l-hay'ata** kalāmun kaṯīrun ḥawla l-mawḍū'i*
وقد بلغ الهيئة كلام كثير حول الموضوع
lit. 'reached **the board** [obj.] much talk [agent]', i.e. 'much talk about the subject reached **the board**'

When a pronominalized object is coordinated with an overt noun object, the pronoun must be repeated as an overt pronoun:

*'awqafū**hu huwa** wa-zawjatahu fī l-maṭāri*
أوقفوه هو وزوجته في المطار
'they stopped **him** and his wife at the airport'

(cf. agents **3.7.1** and coordination, **6.2.2**; for pronouns in apposition generally, see **2.8.5**)

True inversion of objects is rare (see **3.7.2**), and instead a topic-comment structure will be preferred:

rā'iḥatī** lā 'aḥtamilu**hā رائحتي لا أحتملها 'my **smell**, I cannot stand **it**'

where (though here obscured by the possessive suffix *-ī* ـي 'my', see **1.7.1.1**) *rā'iḥatī* رائحتي 'my smell' is really now the topic with independent form, the direct object being the anaphoric pronoun 'it' in the comment. This may be compared with the apparent inversion of agents, see **3.7.2** and **3.7.2.1**.

3.11.1.1 *Free object pronouns*

When an object cannot be suffixed directly to its verb, it is attached to the element *'iyyā-* إيّا (cf. also the phrase structure of verbal nouns in **2.10.1.6**). This option is selected when:

The object is preposed, invariably for rhetorical effect:

***'iyyāki** 'a'nī*
إياك أعني
'**you** I mean', i.e. 'you are the one I mean'

(cf. **3.7.2** on the inversion of direct object)

The object is held back, again usually for stylistic reasons:

wa-ʿindamā ṭāla l-intiẓāru ***ʾatat****-i l-mumarriḍatu l-qāsiyatu* ***ʾiyyāhā***
وعندما طال الانتظار أتت المرضة القاسية إياها
'after a long wait the stern nurse **came to her**'

where the object seems to be deliberately held back, that is, 'finally came to her' instead of *ʾatathā* أتتها 'came to her' (note also the verb 'to come' is transitive to persons, cf. **3.11.4.1**, and *ṭāla* طال 'to be long' in adverbial sense, **3.23.4**).

With a doubly transitive verb (see further **3.11.2.1**) where both objects are pronouns:

kānat taktubu l-muḥāḍarāti wa-tuʿṭīnī ***ʾiyyāhā***
كانت تكتب المحاضرات وتعطيني إياها
'she used to write down the lectures and give **them** [to] **me**'

It is also possible for two object pronouns to be suffixed to the same verb, providing they are not in the same person, for example, *ʾaʿlamtukahu* أعلمتكه 'I told you it' (see **3.11.2**).

Participles and verbal nouns observe the same rules (see **2.10.1.6**) and in addition *ʾiyyā* إيا will be used wherever annexation is prevented:

ṯumma nṣarafa ***wāʿidan ʾiyyāya*** *bi-ziyāratī fī l-bayti*
ثم انصرف واعدا إياي بزيارتي في البيت
'then he left, **promising me** to visit me at home'

where *wāʿidan* واعدا must remain indefinite because it is a *ḥāl* (see **3.29.7**), and annexation is therefore impossible.

For the use of *ʾiyyā* إيا in threats and warnings, see **3.27.4**.

3.11.1.2 To indicate vague direct objects, paranomasia (see **11.7.7**) can be used:

ḍayyaʿtu *mā* ***ḍayyaʿtu*** ضيعت ما ضيعت 'I **lost** what **I lost**'

ṭawaytu *mā* ***ṭawaytu*** طويت ما طويت 'I **went through** what I **went through**'

Cf. vague agents in **3.9.4**, where the same strategy is also available.

3.11.2 *Double transitivity* (▷C2:166)

Verbs may be transitive (i.e. take dependent nouns as direct objects) to two objects in the following categories:

1 The verb has two arguments, e.g. 'to give x to y' (in English the second is usually an indirect object) or causative, 'to make x do y'.
2 The first object is converted into the second, e.g. 'to make x [into] y'.
3 The two objects are in an underlying predicative relationship, e.g. 'to consider x [to be] y', 'to assert that x is y'.

Passivized verbs retain the second direct object (see **3.12**).

3.11.2.1 *Verbs with two arguments*

man lā yu'ṭī ***ġayrahu furṣatan*** *li-l-ḥadīṯi*
من لا يعطي غيره فرصة للحديث
'he who does not give **others** [1st obj.] an **opportunity** [2nd obj.] to speak'

*yukallifu l-****dawlata mabāliġa*** *ḍaḫmatan*
يكلف الدولة مبالغ ضخمة
'it costs **the state** [1st obj.] huge **amounts** [2nd obj.]'

*ḥizāmu 'amānin yamnaḥu****hu rāḥatan wa-'amanan***
حزام أمان يمنحه راحة وأمانا
'a safety belt which affords **him** [1st obj.] **comfort and safety** [2nd obj.]'

Causatives:

*tubqī l-****jisma salīman*** *wa-****qawiyyan***
تبقي الجسم سالما وقويا
'it keeps **the body** [1st obj.] **healthy** and **strong** [2nd obj.]' lit. 'makes the body remain healthy and strong'

*'ansā****hum-u l-kaṯīra*** *min-a l-ġarā'ibi*
أنساهم الكثير من الغرائب
'it made **them** [1st obj.] forget **many** [2nd obj.] strange things'

*lā yufqidu**hā** **’ahammiyyata**ha faqaṭ*

لا يفقدها أهميتها فقط

‘it does not cause them [= ‘things’, grammatically fem. sing., 1st obj.] to lose their importance [2nd obj.] only’

Doubly transitive verbs may suffix their objects as pronouns providing they are not both the same person (i.e. not both 1st, 2nd or 3rd, cf. **3.11.1.1**):

*isqi**nīhā*** اسقنيها ‘make **me** drink **it**’

If the above conditions do not apply, the second object is expressed as a free object pronoun with *’iyyā-* إيا. Here both objects are third person and cannot both be suffixed:

*wa-lākinna luhāṯa l-’ayyāmi l-rākiḍati ’ansā**hum** **’iyyāhu***

ولكن لهاث الأيام الراكضة أنساهم إياه

‘but the breathlessness of the galloping days made **them** forget **it**’

but it is common even when they are both different persons:

*wa-l-ṭiflu yurī**nī** **’iyyāhā** bi-barā’atin*

والطفل يريني إياها ببراءة

‘while the child showed **me** [suffix 1st dir. obj.] **them** [free 2nd dir. obj.] in [all] innocence’, where theoretically *yurīnīhā* يرينيها ‘shows me them’ is possible.

3.11.2.2 Objects of verbs of transformation (traditionally *’af‘āl al-taṣyīr* أفعال التصيير)

*ḫāṭa l-**qumāša** **ṯawban***

خاط القماش ثوبا

‘he tailored the **cloth** [1st obj.] into a **garment** [2nd obj.]’

*law-lā ‘ināyatu llāhi wa-tadaḫḫulu zumalā’ihimā la-ḥawwalā **l-jalsata** **ḥalbata** mulākamatin*

لولا عناية الله وتدخل زملائهما لحوّلا الجلسة حلبة ملاكمة

‘if it were not for God’s providence and the intervention of their [dual] colleagues, they would have turned **the session** [1st obj.] into **a round** [2nd obj.] of boxing’

(for *law-lā* لولا, see **8.2.12**)

*ittaḫaḏa**hā zawjatan** lahu*
اتخذها زوجة له
'he took **her** [1st obj.] as a **wife** [2nd obj.]'

(for *lahu* له for vagueness, see **2.3.5**)

*bi-'imkānihi 'an yuṣayyira**hā ṭayyi'atan sahlata** l-inqiyādi*
بإمكانه أن يصيرها طيعة سهلة الانقياد
'it is in his power to make **her** [1st obj.] **obedient** [2nd obj.], **easy to control** [2nd obj.]'

Perhaps here we can include:

*ista'mala l-**sarīra maq'adan***
استعمل السرير مقعدا
'he used **the bed as a seat**'

With these verbs it is not always possible to distinguish between a true second direct object and a circumstantial qualifier, both having dependent form, unless it is clear that one thing is indeed being made into another. Generally, a second direct object will be a noun or adjective, while a circumstantial qualifier will be a participle, the latter freely alternating with the imperfect verb in that function. But even the simple diagnostic of asking whether the element answers the question 'what?' (= 2nd dir. obj.) or 'how?' (= circ. qual.) will not necessarily produce the same response.

All these possibilities can be observed in the doubly transitive verb *ja'ala* **جعل** 'to make' (contrast *ja'ala* **جعل** 'to begin' in **3.22.5**; also *ja'ala* **جعل** 'to put', singly transitive).

Nouns and adjectives in the second position are invariably second direct objects:

*yaj'alu hāḏā **l-iltizāma sababan** fī…*
يجعل هذا الالتزام سببا في . . .
'makes this **commitment** [1st obj.] a **cause** [2nd obj.] of…'

*taj'alu **'amaliyyata** l-šaṭfi **sahlatan***
تجعل عملية الشطف سهلة
'makes the **operation** [1st obj.] of rinsing **easy** [2nd obj.]'

*ja'alū l-**siyāsata wasīlatan** 'ilā l-kasbi l-sarī'i*
جعلوا السياسة وسيلة إلى الكسب السريع
'they made **politics** [1st obj.] **a means** [2nd obj.] of quick profit'

*ja'alū**hu 'amīran** 'alayhim*

جعلوه أميرا عليهم

'they made **him** [1st obj.] **a prince** [2nd obj.] over them'

These dependent participles, however, could be interpreted either as second direct objects or circumstantial qualifiers:

*al-quyūdu … taj'alu **mihnatahu mustaḥīlatan***

القيود . . . تجعل مهنته مستحيلة

'the restrictions … make his **profession** [1st obj.] **impossible**'

*ja'ala **mustaqbala** hāḏihi l-'amwāli **maḥfūfan** bi-l-maḫāṭiri*

جعل مستقبل هذه الأموال محفوفا بالمخاطر

'made the **future** [1st obj.] of these funds **surrounded** by risks'

When the second object position is occupied by verbs, the likelihood of their being circumstantial qualifiers is rather stronger, as asyndetic independent verbs are frequently found in the role of circumstantial qualifiers (see **7.3.1**):

*ja'ala **l-ba'ḍa yatasā'alu***

جعل البعض يتساءل

'it made **some people** [dir. obj.] **wonder** [circ. qual.]'

*yaj'alu**hu yaṭma'innu** 'ilā l-mustaqbali*

يجعله يطمئن إلى المستقبل

'it makes **him** [dir. obj.] **feel confident** [circ. qual.] about the future'

*wa-llatī taj'alu**nī** lā **'aḍummu** l-mablaġa 'ilā raṣīdī l-qalīli*

والتي تجعلني لا أضم المبلغ إلى رصيدي القليل

'and which induces **me** [dir. obj.] not **to add** [circ. qual.] the amount to my small balance'

*al-'amru llaḏī yaj'alu**hum yaz'amūna**, tabrīran li-hāḏā l-mawqifi, bi-'annahum …*

الأمر الذي يجعلهم يزعمون، تبريرا لهذا الموقف، بأنهم . . .

'something which makes **them** [dir. obj.] **claim**, to justify this position, that they …'

(for *al-'amru llaḏī* الأمر الذي, see **5.5.1** and for تبريرا *tabrīran* 'in order to justify', see **3.29.6**)

A similar ambiguity may be observed in *taraka* ترك 'leave', 'let' (see **3.24.3**).

3.11.2.3 The same is true of *wajada* وجد 'to find' (for the passive of this verb in the sense of 'exist', see **3.18**) and similar verbs, where the difference between a second direct object (= predicate) and a circumstantial qualifier is sometimes difficult to determine. In the following example the second dependent element is clearly a second direct object:

*wajadtu**hu** ba'da l-zawāji **'insānan** ṭayyiban wa-ḥanūnan*
وجدته بعد الزواج إنسانا طيبا وحنونا
'I found **him** [1st obj.] after the marriage [to be] a good and kind **person** [2nd obj.]', i.e. answering 'what was he?'

but these seem more like circumstantial qualifiers:

*wajada l-**ṭarīqa** 'amāmahu **masdūdan***
وجد الطريق أمامه مسدودا
'he found the **road** [dir. obj.] ahead of him **blocked**', i.e. answering 'how was it?'

*wajadtu **nafsī mustaġriqan** fī ḥiwārin ṭawīlin ma'a l-nafsi*
وجدت نفسي مستغرقا في حوار طويل مع النفس
'I found **myself** [dir. obj.] **plunged** in a long conversation with myself'

*wajadtu **jālisan** bihi **muḥāfiẓa** l-qāhirati l-marḥūma*
وجدت جالسا به محافظ القاهرة المرحوم
'I found **sitting** [circ. qual.] in it the late **Governor** [dir. obj.] of Cairo'

(note the inversion)

With verbs in the second object position, a circumstantial qualifier is more likely (cf. *ja'ala* جعل above):

*wajadnā **ba'ḍa** l-masājidi **taṭlubu** l-tabarru'a*
وجدنا بعض المساجد تطلب التبرع
'we found **some** of the mosques **requiring** charitable support'

In the following examples the verb *ra'ā* رأى 'to see' is clearly literal and the dependent clauses are circumstantial, not sentential (contrast next section):

*ra'aytu**hā tajlisu** warā'ahu*
رأيتها تجلس وراءه
'I saw **her sitting** behind it'

*narā**hu yuwajjihu** naqdan lāḏi'an 'ilā l-muslimīna*

نراه يوجه نقدا لاذعا إلى المسلمين

'we see **him directing** stinging criticism at the Muslims'

*'arā**hum bāsimīna***

أراهم باسمين

'I see **them smiling**'

3.11.2.4 Sentential objects of verbs of knowing, believing, having an opinion (the exception is *i'taqada* اعتقد, 'to believe', see end of paragraph), such as *ẓanna* ظن 'to think', *i'tabara* اعتبر 'to consider', *'arafa* عرف 'to know', *'adda* عد 'to count [something as]', *ra'ā* رأى 'to see', 'regard', *ḥasiba* حسب 'to reckon', *ḫāla* خال 'to imagine', *za'ama* زعم 'to assert', 'to claim', to mention only the most common (▷C3:73).

These (in traditional terms 'verbs of the heart', *'af'āl al-qulūb* أفعال القلوب) take two direct objects, which must be already in an underlying subject–predicate relationship, that is, the object is a complete equational sentence (see **3.1**). For purposes of translation a copula (here italicized and with appropriate English tense) has to be introduced:

*ẓanantu**hu rāḍiyan** 'an ḥālatihi*

ظننته راضيا عن حالته

'I thought **he** [1st obj. = subj.] *was* **satisfied** [2nd obj. = pred.] with his condition'

*i'tabartu **hāḏā l-liqā'a šaklan** min 'aškāli l-tahdīdi*

اعتبرت هذا اللقاء شكلا من أشكال التهديد

'I considered **this meeting** [1st obj.] *to be* **some kind** [2nd obj.] of threat'

*i'tabarnā**hum naw'an** ḫāṣṣan*

اعتبرناهم نوعا خاصا

'we considered **them** [1st obj.] *to be* a special **kind** [2nd obj.]'

*'araftu**hu ḥāfiẓan** li-kalimatihi*

عرفته حافظا لكلمته

'I knew **he** [1st. obj.] *was* **someone who kept** [2nd obj.] his word', lit. 'a keeper of'

*ra'ā **l-turāṯa kā'inan** ḥayyan mutaḥarrikan*

رأى التراث كائنا حيا متحركا

'he regarded **culture** [1st. obj.] as *being* a living, moving **entity** [2nd obj.]'

Again, there can be ambiguities; in context the following was recorded as a doubly transitive construction: *ṯumma ʻaraftu**hu mudīran** li-maṣlaḥati l-funūni* ثم عرفته مديرا لمصلحة الفنون 'then I knew **him** [1st obj.] *to be* **director** [2nd obj.] of the Arts Department' but it could also mean 'then I knew **him** [obj.] **as a director** [circ. qual.]', that is, 'while he was a director'.

When the second object position is occupied by a verb, it can be analysed as a predicate on the topic-comment model found with *'inna* etc. (see **3.2**), or as a raising of the original topic to the position of object (but see also ▷C3:70, 72):

*ẓanannā**hu yamzaḥu***

ظنناه يمزح

'we thought **he** [1st obj.] **was joking** [pred.]'

equivalent to *'inna**hu yamzaḥu*** إنه يمزح 'indeed **he** [topic] **is joking** [comment]'

*wa-ẓanantu**hu** qad-i **ḫtafā***

وظننته قد اختفى

'I thought **it** had **disappeared**'

*lā 'aẓunnu l-**'umūra** sa-**taṣilu** 'ilā hāḏā l-ḥaddi*

لا أظن الأمور ستصل إلى هذا الحد

'I do not think **matters** [1st obj.] **will go** this far', lit. 'will reach this limit'

*ḥasibti**hi sa-ya'ūdu***

حسبته سيعود

'you [fem. sing.] reckoned **he** [1st obj.] **would be coming back**'

(note the vowel harmony when *-hu* ـه 'him' is suffixed to the fem. sing. verb, see **1.7.1.1**)

Also with verbal nouns in this set (see further **2.10.1.4**):

*ḍarūratu ʻtibāri**himā yumaṯṯilāni** l-jāhiliyyata*

ضرورة اعتبارهما يمثلان الجاهلية

'the necessity of regarding **them** [1st obj., topic] as **representing** [verb. comment] the state of [pre-Islamic] ignorance'

An exception to all the above is *i'taqada* اعتقد 'to believe', which normally takes *'anna* أنّ 'that' clauses (see **3.2.2**):

'a'taqidu 'annī *bada'tu 'atalammasu bawādira l-ḥurriyyati fī tilka l-fatrati bi-l-ḏāti*

أعتقد أني بدأت أتلمس بوادر الحرية في تلك الفترة بالذات

'**I think that** I began to feel the first signs of freedom at that very period'

(cf. **3.22.2** on *bada'a* بدأ 'to begin')

ya'taqidūna 'anna *l-'awlamata sa-taftaḥu 'amāmahum 'abwāba l-raḫā'i*

يعتقدون أن العولمة ستفتح أمامهم أبواب الرخاء

'**they believe that** globalization will open for them the gates of affluence'

This verb is also reported with two objects, for example, *i'taqadtu**hu*** ***ṣadīqan*** اعتقدته صديقا 'I believed **him** a **friend**'.

3.11.3 *Treble transitivity*

Theoretically, a doubly transitive verb can become trebly transitive when causative, for example, *'a'lamtu l-rajula ṣadīqa**hu ḥāḍira**n*** 'I informed **the man** [1st obj.] [that] **his friend** [2nd obj.] *was* **present** [3rd obj.]', but no examples were found, either with nominal or pronominal objects.

3.11.4 *Indirect transitivity*

Indirectly transitive verbs using prepositions are largely a lexical matter and cannot be dealt with here in detail. Occasionally, the preposition is omitted, however:

wa-smaḥū lī ***'an*** *'atakallama*

واسمحوا لي ان أتكلم

'permit me **to** speak'

for ***bi-'an*** *'atakallama* بأن أتكلم 'for that I speak'

There is also some inconsistency in usage, either between prepositions or in their omission:

'a'lana ***sti'dādahu/bi-sti'dādihi***

أعلن استعداده\باستعداده

'he announced **his readiness**'

*'aḫbarahu **'annahu**/**bi-'annahu** …*
أخبره أنه\بأنه . . .
'he informed him **that** he …'

*yumkinu li-man **yarġabu** l-taqadduma bi-ṭalabin matmūġin bi-**raġbatihi fī** l-ḥuṣūli 'alā tilīfūni sayyāratin …*
يمكن لمن يرغب التقدم بطلب متموغ برغبته في الحصول على تلفون سيارة . . .
'anyone who **desires** [dir. transitive] to submit a stamped application with the **desire for** [indirect. trans. in the verbal noun] obtaining a car phone can …'

with fluctuating use of *fī* في 'for' with *raġiba* رغب 'to have a desire **for**'

Sometimes the use of a preposition is optional:

*šakara**hu*** شكره or *šakara **lahu*** شكر له

'thanked **him**' or 'gave thanks **to him**'

Conversely, a verb which originally had no preposition may now be seen with one:

*wa 'aḫīran **yu'akkidu** duktūr Ḥ.Y. **'alā** ḍarūrati l-'ihtimāmi bi-l-taṣdīri*
وأخيرا يؤكد دكتور ح. ي. على ضرورة الاهتمام بالتصدير
'finally Dr H.Y. **stresses** the necessity for concern with exporting', lit. 'puts stress **on**', though the preposition *'alā* على 'on' is not historically required.

A noticeable tendency is the occurrence of *ma'a* مع 'with' (see **2.6.11**) with verbs of reciprocity, that is, stems III, VI and VIII, alternating with the traditional accompanying complement with *wa-* و 'and' (see **2.4.7** and **3.29.8**):

*bi-ḥayṯu **tatazāmanu ma'a** 'ijāzāti l-jāmi'āti*
بحيث تتزامن مع إجازات الجامعات
'such that they **synchronize with** the university vacations'

*lam yaqtarin-i smuhu bi-'ayyi 'amalin **yatanāfā ma'a** l-'aḫlāqi*
لم يقترن اسمه بأي عمل يتنافى مع الأخلاق
'his name has not been connected with any action which **is incompatible with** ethics'

*bī'atun-i qtiṣādiyyatun **yatawāzanu** fīhā l-ġaniyyu **ma'a** l-faqīri*
بيئة اقتصادية يتوازن فيها الغني مع الفقير
'an economic environment in which the rich man **is of equal weight with** the poor man'

With other stems:

Stem III:

lā ***tuṭābiqu ma'a*** *hāḏihi l-šaḫṣiyyati*
لا تطابق مع هذه الشخصية
'**do not conform with** this personality'

Stem VIII:

al-muṯaqqafūna llaḏīna ***yaḫtalifūna ma'a*** *l-niẓāmi*
المثقفون الذين يختلفون مع النظام
'the intellectuals who **disagree with** the system' (possibly a calque)

Cf. *ba'ḍ* بعض with reciprocal verbs in **3.14.1**.

3.11.4.1 The verbs *jā'a* جاء and *'atā* أتى 'to come' are both transitive to human direct objects in the sense of 'to come to a person':

*jā'a***nī** *bi-lahfatin wa-qāla lī*
جاءني بلهفة وقال لي
'he came **[to] me** in a huff and said to me'

The notions 'bring' and 'take' are often expressed with verbs of 'coming' and 'going' and the preposition *bi-* بِـ 'with' (▷C3:302; and see **2.6.4**):

*jā'a***nī** ***bi-****jihāzin ṣaġīrin*
جاءني بجهاز صغير
'he **brought me** a small apparatus', lit. 'came [to] **me with**'

taqaddama *bi-l-šakwā*
تقدم بالشكوى
'he **presented** the complaint', lit. 'came forward with'

al-masājīna l-mustajaddūna ***jā'ū*** *fī l-sijni* ***bi-****ma'lūmātin jadīdatin*
المساجين المستجدون جاءوا في السجن بمعلومات جديدة
'the new inmates **brought** fresh information into the prison'

intahā bihi *l-'amru 'ilā muṭālabati …*
انتهى به الأمر إلى مطالبة . . .
'the matter **took him** as far as demanding …', lit. 'ended up with him at'

tatasāra'u *binā l-'ayyāmu*
تتسارع بنا الأيام
'the days are **taking us away** fast'

3.12 Passive verbs (▷C1:52)

The Arabic passive exists primarily to express an act whose agent is unknown or suppressed, hence cannot in theory be mentioned even periphrastically elsewhere in the sentence, though MWA is starting to do so under the influence of European languages (see **3.12.1**). A passive verb can, however, take all the other objects/complements, namely, the dependent nouns in **2.4.2–2.4.7** and **3.29**.

For the use of *tamma* تمّ 'to be completed' and *jarā* جرى 'to proceed' as a periphrastic passive, see **3.23.1**.

Although vowelling is rarely indicated in MWA, the passive is used without restraint or difficulty, usually being easy to recover either from the context or various morphological and syntactical clues. Often, the absence of a plausible agent is enough to signal a passive verb (the following examples were printed without vowels):

quddirat *qīmatuhā bi-mablaġi*
قدرت قيمتها بمبلغ
'their value **was estimated** at the amount of'

al-ittihāmātu llatī ***tuwajjahu*** *'ilayhi*
الاتهامات التي توجه إليه
'the accusations which **are directed** towards it'

bi-šāribayhi l-rafī'ayni ka-'annamā ***rusimā*** *bi-qalami l-raṣāṣi*
بشاربيه الرفيعين كأنما رسما بقلم الرصاص
'with his thin moustaches as if **they had been drawn** with a pencil'

Other times the verb morphology is unambiguous even without vowels, especially hollow and stem III verbs (cf. **1.2.9**):

'aġlabu mā ***yuqālu*** *'aw* ***yunšaru***
أغلب ما يقال أو ينشر
'most of what **is said** or **published**'

(hollow verb unambiguously passive, second verb is passive by coordination)

lūḥiẓa *'anna*
لوحظ أن
'**it has been remarked** that' (stem III)

al-mar'atu llatī ***'ūlijat***
المرأة التي عولجت
'the woman who **was being treated**' (stem III)

In the following case the ambiguity is resolved by the fact that 'books' visibly does not have an indefinite dependent form (the only case now marked in most nouns, see **1.2.9**), hence the preceding verb is reinterpreted as passive:

*wa-qad wuḍi'at fī hāḏā l-siyāqi mu'allafātun wa-***kutubun** *muhimmatun*
وقد وضعت في هذا السياق مؤلفات وكتب مهمة
'and important compositions [orthographically ambiguous case] and **books** [overtly non-dep.] have been written in this context'

But it is always possible to insert vowels in cases of real ambiguity, most often only the first significant vowel of the passive, namely a *u* on the first syllable of either perfect or imperfect:

'innahu ***'uriḍa*** *'alā sittati mudarā'i riqābatin ḫilāla 18 'āman* ***wa-rufiḍa***
إنه عُرض على ستة مدراء رقابة خلال ١٨ عاما ورفض
'**it was shown** [vocalized as passive] to six censorship directors over 18 years **and it was rejected** [passive by coordination, so no vowel supplied]'

The passive of doubly transitive verbs (see **3.11.2**) retains the second direct object in its dependent form (▷C2:169):

u'tubira ***ṣāḥiba*** *madrasatin ḥadīṯatin*
اعتبر صاحب مدرسة حديثة
'he was considered **the founder** [original 2nd obj.] of a new school'

passive of:

i'tabarū*hu ṣāḥiba** *madrasatin ḥadīṯatin*
اعتبروه صاحب مدرسة حديثة
'they considered **him** [1st dir. obj.] the **founder** [2nd dir. obj.] of a new school'

'uyyina . . . ***mudīran 'āmman*** *li-l-taftīši*
عين . . . مديرا عاما للتفتيش
'. . . was appointed **Inspector General** [original 2nd obj.]'

tu'tabaru hāḏihi l-'idāratu ***'idāratan*** *jadīdatan fi'lan*
تعتبر هذه الإدارة إدارة جديدة فعلا
'this administration is considered a new **administration** [original 2nd obj.] indeed'

yu'addu ***'aḥada*** *llaḏīna 'ashamū fī…*
يعد أحد الذين أسهموا في . . .
'he is counted [as] **one** [original 2nd obj.] of those who shared in …'

3.12.1 *Periphrastic agents of passive verbs* (▷C1:53)

In spite of the original purpose of the passive to eliminate the agent, increasingly in MWA it is re-introduced into passive sentences by means of such prepositional phrases as *min qibali* من قبل 'on the part of':

ṣāḥibu kitābi [mafātīḥ al-'ulūm] allaḏī ***ḥuqqiqa*** *li-'awwali marratin* ***min qibali l-mustašriqi*** *fān flūtin sanata 1895 fī laydin*
صاحب كتاب [مفاتيح العلوم] الذي حقق لأول مرة من قبل المستشرق فان فلوتن سنة ١٨٩٥ في ليدن
'the author of the book *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, which **was edited** for the first time **by the orientalist** van Vloten in 1895 in Leiden'

'uṭliqat *'alayhi l-nāru* ***min qibali 'iṣābāti l-māfiyā***
أطلقت عليه النار من قبل عصابات المافيا
'he **was fired on by Mafia gangs**'

Lexical alternatives of *min qibali* من قبل:

- *min jānibi* من جانب lit. 'from the side of' (probably calque of French *du côté de*), that is, 'on the part of':

  tuqaddamu l-'iršādātu ***min jānibi*** *'idārati ḫidmati l-zurrā'i*
  تقدم الإرشادات من جانب إدارة خدمة الزراع
  'instructions are offered **by** the Directorate of Services to Farmers'

- *bi-wāsiṭati* بواسطة 'by means of':

  'udīna bi-wāsiṭati *l-maḥākimi l-'askariyyati*
  أدين بواسطة المحاكم العسكرية
  'he **was sentenced by** the military courts'

- *'alā 'aydī* على أيدي 'at the hands of':

  qad ***'ūlija 'alā 'aydī*** *'aṭibbā'a maharatin*
  قد عولج على أيدي أطباء مهرة
  'he **was treated by** skilled doctors'

- *min ṭarafi* من طرف 'on the part of' is also mentioned, but was not seen in the data.

The same structures occur with verbal nouns with a passive sense:

***al-'ifrāju** 'an 'ayyi šaḥnati 'aġḏiyatin **min qibali** l-suluṭāti*

الإفراج عن أي شحنة أغذية من قبل السلطات

'**the release** of any load of foodstuffs **by/on the part of** the authorities', that is, 'being released'

*'inna l-tafsīra l-jadīda ba'da 'an-i jtāza ḥājiza **l-šakki min qibali l-mu'arriḫīna** bada'a yaẓharu fī ba'ḍi kitābāti mu'arriḫīna*

إن التفسير الجديد بعد أن اجتاز حاجز الشك من قبل المؤرخين بدأ يظهر في بعض كتابات مؤرخينا

'the new explanation, after it had crossed the barrier of **doubt by the historians**, started to appear in certain of our historians' writings', that is, 'being doubted'

*ta'arraḍa l-'adīdu min-a l-manāzili l-ṣirbiyyati li-l-**'iḥrāqi min jānibi** ba'ḍi 'albāni l-'iqlīmi l-'ā'idīna*

تعرض العديد من المنازل الصربية للإحراق من جانب بعض ألبان الإقليم العائدين

'many Serbian houses were exposed to **being set fire to on the part of** some of the returning Albanians of the region'

Another common device is the use of stem V active verbs with *min* من, exploiting the quasi-passive sense of this stem:

***yata'aṯṯarūna min** 'aqalli l-munabbihāti*

يتأثرون من أقل المنبهات

'they **are affected by** the least admonition'

*al-firqatu **tatakawwanu min** 25 rāqiṣan*

الفرقة تتكون من ٢٥ راقصا

'the troupe **is composed of** 25 dancers'

3.12.2 *Instrument of passive verb*

The true instrument of a passive verb, however, can always be stated (*pace* ▷C2:304) using *bi-* بِـ:

*'anna l-šabāba sa-yuṣābūna **bi-**ḫaybati l-'amali*

أن الشباب سيصابون بخيبة الأمل

'that the young will be hit **by** disappointment'

*juhūduhu lam tukallal **bi**-l-najāḥi*

جهوده لم تكلل بالنجاح

'his efforts have not been crowned **by/with** success'

*yudāru **bi**-l-yadi wa-yuḍā'u **bi**-miṣbāḥin ġāziyyin*

يدار باليد ويضاء بمصباح غازي

'it is operated **by** hand and lit **by** a gas lamp'

*fa-l-ta'rīḫu l-'arabiyyu l-'islāmiyyu kutiba fī l-'aṣri l-ḥadīṯi **bi**-'aqlāmi l-mustašriqīna*

فالتأريخ العربي الإسلامي كتب في العصر الحديث بأقلام المستشرقين

'for Arab-Islamic history has been written in modern times **by** the pens of the orientalists'

Similarly with participles (cf. **2.10.3**):

*kāna maskūnan **bi**-hājisi l-baḥṯi 'an . . .*

كان مسكونا بهاجس البحث عن . . .

'he was possessed **by** the obsession to search for . . .', lit. 'was occupied by'

Also with stem V (see **3.12.1**):

*allatī ta'aṯṯarat **bi**-zalzāli 12 'uktūbar*

التي تأثرت بزلزال ١٢ أكتوبر

'which were affected **by** the earthquake of 12 October'

Sometimes the reference of the preposition is ambiguous, locative 'in/at' or instrumental 'by':

*ṭubi'a **bi**-maṭba'ati wizārati l-'awqāfi*

طبع بمطبعة وزارة الأوقاف

'printed **at/by** the Ministry of Waqfs Press'

Idioms such as *fūji'a bi-* فوجئ بِـ 'to be surprised by' do not infringe the rule of agent suppression because in Arabic the cause of the surprise is not the grammatical agent:

*fūji'tu **bi**-l-mumarriḍi yusnidu l-maq'ada 'ilā jidārin*

فوجئت بالممرض يسند المقعد إلى جدار

'I was surprised **by** the nurse leaning the chair against a wall', that is, it was not the nurse that surprised: an alternative translation, 'the nurse's leaning the chair' makes this clear

fūji'tu ***bi-****'alfi junayhin 'istirlīnī*
فوجئت بألف جنيه استرليني
'I was surprised **by** one thousand pounds sterling'

Several other verbs follow this pattern, for example, *'u'jiba* أعجب 'to be amazed', *surra* سرّ 'to be pleased'.

3.12.3 *Passive verbs with prepositions*

Verbs which are indirectly transitive through prepositions (see **3.11.4**) retain these prepositions in the passive (▷C1:55):

*mā yusammā '****bi****-l-mar'ati l-mustarjilati'*
ما يسمى 'بالمرأة المسترجلة'
'what is called the "masculine woman"', lit. 'named **by**'

lam yakun niẓāmu l-intisābi qad-i 'turifa ***bihi*** *ba'du*
لم يكن نظام الانتساب قد اعترف به بعد
'the membership system had not yet been acknowledged', lit. 'recognition granted **to it**'

72 su'ālan 'ujība ***'anhā*** *šafāhatan*
٧٢ سؤالا أجيب عنها شفاهة
'72 questions **which** were answered orally', lit. '**to which** it was answered orally'

3.12.4 *Impersonal and idiomatic passive*

The Arabic passive is intrinsically impersonal and hence often used for impersonal and vague constructions in English (▷C1:56):

qīla lī *'inna 'umrahā sittatun wa-'arba'ūna sanatan taqrīban*
قيل لي إن عمرها ستة وأربعون سنة تقريبا
'**somebody told me** she was about 46 years old', lit. 'it was said to me'

The passive is often used idiomatically:

*wa-****ẖuyyila*** *li-ġādata*
وخيل لغادة
'and Gada **imagined**', lit. 'it was made to appear to Gada'

huri'a *'ilayhim qabla 'an yanṣarifū*

هرع إليهم قبل أن ينصرفوا

'**he rushed to** them before they left'

(this verb is also used in the active in the same sense)

The passive is still commonly used in the sense of 'worth doing', 'commonly done', 'able to be done' (cf. participial use in **2.10.4**, *maḥmūl* محمول = 'portable', etc.):

lam yuḥaqqiq mabī'ātin ***tuḏkaru***

لم يحقق مبيعات تذكر

'he achieved no sales **worth mentioning**', lit. 'which are mentioned'

al-ḥarru ***lā yuṭāqu***

الحر لا يطاق

'the heat is **unbearable**', lit. 'is not borne'

bi-'as'ārin ***lā tuqāranu***

بأسعار لا تقارن

'at **incomparable** prices', lit. 'which are not compared'

It often functions as a kind of indirect imperative, especially in labels and instructions for use (cf. **3.24.3**):

yuḥfaẓu *fī ṯallājatin*

يحفظ في ثلاجة

'**to be kept** in refrigerator', lit. 'is kept'

turajju *qabla l-isti'māli*

ترج قبل الاستعمال

'**to be shaken** before use', lit. 'is shaken'

yusta'malu *min-a l-ẓāhir*

يستعمل من الظاهر

'**to be used** externally', lit. 'is used'

tu'ādu *ilā mursilihā*

تعاد إلى مرسلها

'**to be returned** to sender' (on envelopes, fem.)

With verbs of coming and going, mostly with personal direct objects (see **3.11.4.1**), the passive has the meaning 'bring' and 'take':

jī'a lī *bi-jihāzi 'arḍin ṣaġīrin*
جيء لي بجهاز عرض صغير
'I **was brought** a small projector', lit. 'it was come to me with'

The fossilized *turā* ترى 'it is seen' (or perhaps 'you are shown') is used impersonally in the sense of 'I wonder', 'I see' (▷C1:136, and see rhetorical questions, **10.13.9**):

turā *mā-ḏā sa-yakūnu 'alayhi l-ḥālu fī l-mustaqbali*
ترى ماذا سيكون عليه الحال في المستقبل
'**one wonders** what the situation will be in the future'

3.13 Reflexive verbs

The stem derivation system (see in **1.9.1.2**) already includes patterns which cover reflexives, for example, stem V *tafataḥḥa* تفتح 'to be opened', and quasi-reflexives, for example, stem VII *infataḥa* انفتح 'to come open', but partly under foreign influence explicit mechanisms for reflexive constructions have flourished, usually by extending the original CA functions of *nafs* نفس 'self' and *ḏāt* ذات 'same'.

3.13.1 Expressions for 'self'

Using *nafs* نفس (▷C2:140, cf. ▷C2:424) and *ḏāt* ذات (cf. both of these in corroboration, **2.8.1.** and **2.8.3**), which inflect both in case and number as direct or indirect (prepositional) objects as required:

ya'tabiru ***nafsahu*** *'ašhara mušajji'in*
يعتبر نفسه أشهر مشجع
'he considers **himself** the most famous supporter'

ḥattā tudāfi'a ***'an nafsihā***
حتى تدافع عن نفسها
'in order to defend **itself** [fem.]'

faraḍahā ***'alā nafsihi***
فرضها على نفسه
'he imposed it **upon himself**'

*wajadat 'ilīnā **nafsahā** sayyidatan nāḍijatan*

وجدت إلينا نفسها سيدة ناضجة

'Elena found **herself** a mature woman'

With both dual and plural, the plural *'anfus* أنفس is used:

*naẓẓamū **'anfusahum***

نظموا أنفسهم

'they organized **themselves** [masc.]'

*ṯumma daḫala l-farīqāni wa-wazza'ā **'anfusahumā** fī šakli murabba'ayni mutawāziyayni*

ثم دخل الفريقان ووزعا أنفسهما في شكل مربعين متوازيين

'then the two teams came in and distributed **themselves** in the form of two parallel squares'

Rather less common is *ḏāt* ذات:

*yarā **ḏātahu***

يرى ذاته

'he sees **himself**'

*lā yuḥibbu 'illā **ḏātahu***

لا يحب إلا ذاته

'he loves only **himself**'

*yarawnā **ḏawātihim** fawqa l-nāsi*

يرون ذواتهم فوق الناس

'they regard **themselves** as above [other] people'

(note that the plural is the feminine *ḏawāt* ذوات for both genders, meaning 'selves'; contrast the possessive forms in **2.8.3** which must agree with their antecedents: *riǰālun **ḏawū nufūḏin*** رجال ذوو نفوذ 'men of influence', lit. 'possessors [masc. plur.] of influence')

Verbal nouns can operate in the same way (see **2.10**):

*'aqallu nṭiwā'an **'alā ḏawātihim***

أقل انطواء على ذواتهم

'less turned in **on themselves**', lit. 'less of being turned in on' (cf. **2.1.3.2**)

See also **12.7.1** for *ḏāt* ذات in compound nouns, for example, *'inkāru l-ḏāti* إنكار الذات 'self-denial', *'ibādatu l-ḏāti* عبادة الذات 'self-adulation'.

3.13.2 *'Self' in first person*

Frequently with the first person singular a simple object pronoun is used (▷C2:424):

*wajadtu**nī** 'uḥibbu samā'a hāḏā l-kalāmi minhu*
وجدتني أحب سماع هذا الكلام منه
'I found **myself** liking to hear this kind of talk from him'

*wajadtu**nī** 'ayḍan 'ata'ammadu l-ḏahāba li-'iyādatihi*
وجدتني أيضا أتعمد الذهاب لعيادته
'I found **myself** also intending to go to his clinic'

*ḫiltu**nī** 'aḏhabu fī dawwāmatin 'amīqatin*
خلتني أذهب في دوامة عميقة
'I imagined **myself** going into a deep whirlpool'

*ra'aytu**nī** fī riḥlatin mariḥatin*
رأيتني في رحلة مرحة
'I saw **myself** on a pleasant journey'

3.14 Reciprocity

Reciprocity is partly covered by stem VI (see **1.9.1.2**; and cf. **3.29.8** for a special use of *wa-* و 'and' in the sense of 'with'), but is increasingly expressed by other verbs with *ba'ḍ* بعض 'some[one]' (▷C2:137) with or without *ma'a* مع 'with' (see **3.11.4**). *Ba'ḍ* بعض originally means 'part [of]', 'some' (see **2.9.1.3** under quantifiers), and this has led to certain inflectional obscurities in its modern use.

3.14.1 *'Each other', 'one another' with single* ba'ḍ بعض

Single *ba'ḍ* بعض, representing 'each other' as a fixed unit, sometimes free-standing: *al-'aṭfālu 'aḥyānan mā yaqsūna **'alā ba'ḍin*** الأطفال أحيانا ما يقسون على بعض 'children are sometimes cruel **to each other**' but more often with a suffixed pronoun:

*wa-l-fannānātu yas'alna **ba'ḍahunna***
والفنانات يسألن بعضهن
'and the artistes ask **each other**', lit. 'each other of them [fem.]'

iṯnāni lā yanfaṣilāni ***ʿan baʿḍihimā***

اثنان لا ينفصلان عن بعضهما

'[there are] two things which cannot be separated **from each other**', lit. 'from each other of them [dual]'

ṯumma yaḍummu l-waraqatayni ***maʿa baʿḍihimā*** *ʾilā ṣadrihi*

ثم يضم الورقتين مع بعضهما إلى صدره

'then he gathers the two pages together with **each other** [dual] to his bosom'

It is even found redundantly with stem VI; see example in **3.14.3**, and cf. **3.11.4**.

3.14.2 *With double* ba'ḍ بعض

The CA construction, *baʿḍ* بعض + *baʿḍ* بعض, each inflected according to function, is also found, and hence best corresponds to 'one . . . another':

lam yaḫuṣṣa ***baʿḍan dūna baʿḍin***

لم يخص بعضا دون بعض

'it did not concern **one** [dep. as dir. obj.] **to the exclusion of another** [obl. after prepositional]'

li-ḍammi l-ʾabʿādi l-ẓāhirati ***baʿḍihā ʾilā baʿḍin***

لضم الأبعاد الظاهرة بعضها إلى بعض

'to join the visible dimensions **one** [obl. by apposition] **to another** [obl. as indir. obj.]'

baʿḍuhā بعضُها is also possible for the first, if treated as a circumstantial sentence, 'one being [joined] to the other'.

3.14.3 *With double* ba'ḍ بعض, *modern variant*

A modern construction becoming widespread (and not noted in Cantarino) is *baʿḍ* بعض + *al-baʿḍ* البعض. It may be regarded as an extension of the previous type, especially in such sentences as:

kāna ***baʿḍuhum*** *yaʿmalu maʿa* ***l-baʿḍi*** *bi-dūni ʾajrin*

كان بعضهم يعمل مع البعض بدون أجر

'**some of them** used to work with **the others** [def.] without pay'

but a new pattern has evolved, *ba‘ḍ-* [suffix pron.] *al-ba‘ḍ* البعض . . . بعضـ, of which the grammatico-logical structure is far from clear, especially in unvowelled texts. It seems that the first element will function according to the context, but the inflection of the second cannot be precisely stated, as the construction evidently is felt to be a fixed unit equivalent to ‘each other’ or ‘one another’. In theory, the second element is almost certainly to be regarded as in apposition to the previous *ba‘ḍ* بعض, but in practice these phrases always fall at a pause boundary (see **1.2.8**) and no inflection would ever be used in any case. Since it is no longer possible to assign a clear function to the second component as it is in **3.14.2**, no inflection is indicated in the transliterations here:

lā ya’kulūna ṭa‘āma ***ba‘ḍihim-i l-ba‘ḍ***

لا يأكلون طعام بعضهم البعض

‘they do not eat **one another’s** food’, lit. ‘the food of some of them the others’, parsing impossible

ya‘tamidūna ***‘alā ba‘ḍihim-i l-ba‘ḍ***

يعتمدون على بعضهم البعض

‘they rely **on one another**’, lit. ‘on some of them the others’

contrast the transparency of the CA alternative *ya‘tamidūna* ***ba‘ḍuhum*** [indep., in apposition to agent] ***‘alā ba‘ḍin*** [obl. after prep.], that is, ‘they rely some of them on the others’.

ka-tanāsuqi ’aḥdāṯihā ***ma‘a ba‘ḍihā l-ba‘ḍ***

كتناسق أحداثها مع بعضها البعض

‘such as the coordination of its events **with one another**’

tarakkabat ’a‘ḍā’ī ***fawqa ba‘ḍihā l-ba‘ḍ***

تركبت أعضائي فوق بعضها البعض

‘my limbs arranged themselves **on top of one another**’

This sentence contains single *ba‘ḍ* بعض and *ba‘ḍuhum al-ba‘ḍ* بعضهم البعض:

al-ma‘lūmatu wa-l-ḥiwārātu llatī tattafiqu ***ma‘a ba‘ḍin*** *’aḥyānan wa-tatanāqaḍu* ***ma‘a ba‘ḍihā l-ba‘ḍ*** *’aḥyānan ’uḫrā*

المعلومات والحوارات التي تتفق مع بعض أحيانا وتتناقض مع بعضها البعض أحيانا أخرى

‘information and conversations which agree with **each other** sometimes and disagree **with one another** at other times’

3.14.4 *With* ʾaḥad احد *and* al-ʾāḫar الاخر

The calque *ʾaḥadahumā l-ʾāḫar* أحدهما الآخر 'the one of them [dual] the other' also occurs:

kilā l-qiṣṣatayni fī l-majmūʿati tukammilu ***ʾiḥdāhumā l-ʾuḫrā***
كلا القصتين في المجموعة تكمل إحداهما الأخرى
'each of the two stories in the collection complements **the other**', lit. '**one of them** complements **the other**'

3.15 Impersonal, auxiliary and modal verbs

There are various verbal collocations, corresponding approximately to impersonal, modal and auxiliary verbs in English, though the categories are only loosely comparable. It is important to note also that many meanings which are conveyed in English by adverbs are expressed by verbs in Arabic (cf. **3.23.4** for *ʾaṭāla* أطال, etc. in the sense 'to be a long time happening').

baʿda ʾan ***ʾaṭāla l-tafkīra*** *qarra raʾyuhu ʿalā ʾamrin*
بعد أن أطال التفكير قر رأيه على أمر
'after he had **thought for a long time**, he came to a decision', lit. 'his view settled on a matter'

Some of the groups are rather large (indeed open-ended), and so for convenience they will be arranged here in three broad sets based on general syntactic and semantic similarities:

1 impersonal verbs, particularly those which have a subordinate clause as their agent, 'it is necessary that', etc. (see **3.15.1–4**)
2 verbs connected with being or becoming, including additional functions of *kāna* كان 'be' (see **3.16**), other verbs for existence, becoming, duration (see **3.17**), existence with *wajada* وجد 'find' (see **3.18**), non-existence (see **3.19**)
3 verbs denoting 'can', 'want' (see **3.20**), 'still', 'almost', 'hardly' (see **3.21**), verbs of beginning or continuing (see **3.22**) and a few other idiomatic process verbs, for example, *qāma bi* قام بـ, *tamma* تمّ, *jarā* جرى 'perform', 'carry out', *sabaqa* سبق 'do before' (see **3.23.2**). Most of these have subordinate verbs as their objects, direct or indirect, 'I am capable of' or circumstantial qualifier, 'I remain standing' etc.

As has already been stated, the true impersonal verb is the passive (see **3.12**), while an appearance of impersonality can also be achieved through an indefinite agent or object or *baʿḍ* بعض 'a certain one' (see **3.9.4**).

Most impersonal verbs have *'anna* أنّ or *'an* أن clauses (see **7.5**) as their agents:

***yabdū** 'anna baġdāda yurāhinu 'alā miṯli hāḏihi l-muʿāraḍati*
يبدو أن بغداد يراهن على مثل هذه المعارضة
'**it seems** that Baghdad is gambling on this sort of opposition'

*'amrun **kāna yanbaġī** 'an yataṣaddā lahu majlisu l-'amni l-duwaliyyi*
أمر كان ينبغي أن يتصدى له مجلس الأمن الدولي
'a matter which the Security Council **ought to have** applied itself to'

3.15.1 Weather

There are no truly impersonal active verbs in Arabic, hence expressions for the weather always have an agent:

***tušriqu** l-šāmsu 'alā fatarātin mutabāʿidatin*
تشرق الشمس على فترات متباعدة
'the sun **comes out** at intermittent periods'

***tasquṭu** l-'amṭāru ġazīratan 'alā l-sāḥili l-šamāliyyi*
تسقط الأمطار غزيرة على الساحل الشمالي
'rains **are falling** abundantly on the north coast'

***ya'tadilu** j-jawwu nahāran*
يعتدل الجو نهارا
'the weather **will be moderate** by day'

*'aḫaḏat-i l-samā'u **tumṭiru** bi-šiddatin*
أخذت السماء تمطر بشدة
'it began **to rain** heavily', lit. 'heaven [fem.] began to rain'

(for 'begin', see **3.22.2**)

If no agent is expressed, it is assumed to be *al-samā'u* السماء 'heaven', hence the feminine verb.

3.15.2 *'must', 'ought', 'should' etc.*

Verbs denoting 'must', 'ought', 'should', 'may', 'suffice', etc. have *'an* أن clauses as their agents (▷C3:110). Alternatively, verbal nouns may replace the subordinate verbs (and cf. idiomatic expressions for 'must' with *'alā* على 'incumbent on' in **2.6.2** and *lā budda* لا بدّ 'no avoiding' in **4.1.3**).

- *yanbaġī* ينبغي lit. '[it] is imperative', 'most desirable', 'ought':

  yanbaġī 'an ***nuyassirahā*** *lahā*
  ينبغى أن نيسرها لها
  'we ought **to make it easier** for it', lit. 'it is desirable that we make it easier for it'

  hāḏihi l-ḥaqīqatu llatī yanbaġī ***'an ya'iyahā*** *l-mu'minūna*
  هذه الحقيقة التي ينبغي أن يعيها المؤمنون
  'this is the fact of which believers ought **to be aware**'

- *yajibu* يجب lit. '[it] is compulsory', 'incumbent on' (often with *'alā* على 'on', and note also that 'must' can be expressed by *'alā* على alone, cf. **2.6.2**):

  yajibu ***'an natawaqqafa*** *'indahum qalīlan*
  يجب أن نتوقف عندهم قليلا
  'we must **pause** with them a little'

  mā yajibu 'alayhimā ***'an yaf'alāhu***
  ما يجب عليهما أن يفعلاه
  'what they must **both do**'

  yajibu ***'an yakunna musta'iddātin*** *li-'ayyi šay'in li-l-ḥifāẓi 'alā l-'alāqāti al-qā'imati*
  يجب أن يكن مستعدات لأي شيء للحفاظ على العلاقات القائمة
  'they [fem.] must **be ready** for anything to preserve the existing relations'

- *yakfī* يكفي 'it suffices', 'is enough':

  yakfī ***'an naqūla***
  يكفي ان نقول
  'it suffices **for us to say**', lit. 'that we say'

  'a-lā yakfīhim ḫizyan ***'an yaqūla*** *l-'ālamu 'anhum …?*
  ألا يكفيهم خزيا أن يقول العالم عنهم . . . ؟
  'is it not sufficient humiliation that the world **should say** about them …?'

  (for *ḫizyan* خزيا, specifying complement, see **3.29.5**)

Here with relative clause as agent:

yakfīnī ***mā ’u‘ānīhi*** *min-a l-ṣaddi wa-hajri*
يكفيني ما أعانيه من الصد والهجر
‘**what I am enduring** of turning away and desertion is enough for me’

(for the *mā . . . min* ما . . . من clause, see **5.4.4**)

The following CA idiom still occurs, with specifying complement (see **2.4.4**; **3.29.5**):

kafā bi-l-mawti ***wā‘iẓan***!
كفى بالموت واعظا!
‘death is **warning enough**!’, lit. ‘it is enough with death as a warning’

kafā ***qubūlan*** *bi-l-mahānati*
كفى قبولا بالمهانة
‘that’s **enough acceptance** of humiliation’, i.e. ‘we have had enough of’

- *yajūzu* يجوز ‘it is allowed’.

  lā yajūzu li-miṯlika ***’an yataṣarrafa*** *bi-hāḏihi l-ṣūrati*
  لا يجوز لمثلك أن يتصرف بهذه الصورة
  ‘it is not allowed for someone like you **to behave** in this manner’

  yajūzu
  يجوز
  ‘that may [be so]’, elliptically in answer to a question

With *’anna* أنّ ‘that’ (see **3.2.2**) the sense is different, and does not belong to the present category:

yajūzu ***’annanī kuntu*** *hunāka ’amsi*
يجوز أنني كنت هناك أمس
‘it is conceivable **that I was** there yesterday’

- With all the verbs in this set, the *’an* أن clause may be replaced by a verbal noun:

  al-ġaḍabu ‘alāmatun yanbaġī ***l-’iṣġā’u ’ilayhā***
  الغضب علامة ينبغي الإصغاء إليها
  ‘anger is a symptom which must **be paid attention to**’, lit. ‘the paying of attention is desirable’

3.15.3 *'must not', 'should not' etc.*

The negative of these verbs has the same syntax, but produces structures which do not translate naturally into English (▷C3:114, n. 12; and see further in **4.2.1** on neg. agents), particularly the negative *lā yajibu* لا يجب, which is to be taken as 'do not have to' rather than 'must not' (cf. German *nicht dürfen* v. *nicht müssen*):

lā yajibu 'an yandahiša 'aḥadun *min hāḏihi l-natīǰati*

لا يجب أن يندهش أحد من هذه النتيجة

'**no one should be surprised** at this result', lit. 'someone is not obliged to be surprised'

lā yajibu 'an tušakkika *fīhi*

لا يجب أن تشكك فيه

'**you should not doubt** it', lit. 'it is not obligatory that you doubt'

Alternatives with verbal nouns:

lam tajuz-i ***l-isti'ānatu*** *bihi*

لم تجز الاستعانة به

'it would not be allowed **to seek help** from him', lit. 'seeking help from him was not allowed'

lā yajūzu ***'ilġā'u*** *'amānihi*

لا يجوز إلغاء أمانه

'it is not allowed **to cancel** his safe conduct', lit. 'the cancellation … is not allowed'

To express the sense 'must not', it is the subordinate verb which is negated:

yajibu 'an ***lā nafhama*** *minhā mā yafhamuhu 'udabā'u wa-mufakkirū 'urūbbā*

يجب أن لا نفهم منها ما يفهمه أدباء ومفكرو أروبا

'**we must not understand** from it what the scholars and intellectuals of Europe understand', lit. 'it is necessary that we do not understand'

(on *'an lā* أن لا 'that not', usually spelt *'allā* ألاّ, see **7.5.1.8**, binomial annexation **2.3.7**)

Also with *lā budda* لا بد 'must' (see **4.1.3**), creating a cluster of negatives here:

lā budda 'an ***lā yamurra*** *ṣudūru majmū'ati H. R. min ġayri waqfatin ta'ammuliyyatin 'an-i l-ši'ri l-ġarbiyyi*

لا بد أن لا يمر صدور مجموعة هـ. ر. من غير وقفة تأملية عن الشعر الغربي

'the appearance of H. R.'s anthology **must not pass** without a pause for reflection over Western poetry', lit. 'there is no escape that it should not pass'

3.15.4 *'maybe' with* 'asā عسى (▷C2:243)

An isolated verb *'asā* عسى, which has lost almost all its verbal properties (it is invariable) is used in the meaning of 'possibly', 'maybe' either with subordinate verb:

wa-ma'a ḏālika 'aktubuhā laka ***'asā 'an yastafīda*** *bihā ba'ḍu l-zawjāti wa-l-'azwāji*

ومع ذلك أكتبها لك عسى أن يستفيد بها بعض الزوجات والأزواج

'nevertheless I shall write it for you **[so that] possibly** some husbands and wives **may benefit** from it'

taẓallu l-hadāyā muṯīratan fa-māḏā ***'asā 'an yaḥmila*** *lahā*

تظل الهدايا مثيرة فماذا عسى ان يحمل لها

'presents were still exciting, so what **might he possibly be bringing** for her [this time]'

or with the logical agent as object pronoun:

māḏā ***'asāhu fa'ala*** *li-yaḥūza mā yastaṭī'u bihi širā'a baytin fī l-baladi l-ġarībi?*

ماذا عساه فعل ليحوز ما يستطيع به شراء بيت في البلد الغريب؟

'what **could he possibly have done** to get hold of [enough] to be able to buy a house with in [this] foreign country?'

It is thus very close in meaning to both *la'alla* لعل 'perhaps' (see **3.2.5**) and *rubbamā* ربما 'maybe' (see **3.30.2**): perhaps *'asā* عسى is more archaic and more restricted than these two, and maybe it expresses a very speculative possibility rather than a specific probability, hope or expectation.

3.16 *kāna* كان 'be' (▷C2:197; ▷C3:255)

As well as functioning as an auxiliary verb to form compound tenses (see **3.10.6**), *kāna* كان is also used to denote absolute existence in certain modalities and to add tense to the otherwise verbless equational sentence (see **3.16.2**). For all the other verbs which modalize sentences, see also **3.17**.

3.16.1 kāna كان *with one argument, expressing existence*

A syntactically 'complete' *kāna* كان (hence termed *kāna l-tāmma* كان التامة 'complete *kāna*') expresses absolute existence and has only one argument, a noun phrase which is formally its agent (▷C1:49; ▷C2:197):

ṯumma kāna ***l-zalzālu***
ثم كان الزلزال
'then there was **the earthquake**', lit. 'then the earthquake was'

ṯumma kānat-i ***l-'aḥdāṯu*** *llatī waqa'at fī ṯawrati 1919*
ثم كانت الأحداث التي وقعت في ثورة ١٩١٩
'then there were **the events** which happened in the revolution of 1919'

hāḏā *lā yakūnu!*
هذا لا يكون!
'**this** cannot be!'

kāna ***mā kāna***
كان ما كان
'there was **what there was**', lit. 'there happened what happened'
(cf. vague agents in **3.9.4**)

In the following type, however, the adverbial phrases are probably to be analysed as predicates of an 'incomplete' *kāna* كان (see **3.16.2**):

kāna ḏālika ***fī muntaṣafi l-sab'īnāti***
كان ذلك في منتصف السبعينات
'that was **in the middle of the seventies**'

wa kāna ***fī stiqbālihim****-i l-duktūru Ṭ. K. mudīru l-markazi*
وكان في استقبالهم الدكتور ط. ك. مدير المركز
'Dr T. K., director of the Centre, was there **to meet them**', lit.
'was in the meeting of them'

For this *kāna* كان with *'an* أن clauses, see also **3.16.5**.

3.16.2 kāna كان *modifying equational sentences*

To add tense or aspect to an equational sentence (see **3.1**), the 'incomplete' or 'defective' *kāna* كان (*kāna l-nāqiṣa* كان الناقصة) is used (▷C2:198). The traditional term 'incomplete' here is not to be confused with any notion of verbal aspect. It is so called because it is not syntactically complete without an independent noun (formally its agent, semantically a subject) and a dependent noun (formally its direct object, semantically a predicate). In other words, the equational sentence becomes syntactically redistributed as agent and object of the verb *kāna* كان. The many other verbs in this family, the 'sisters of *kāna*', which add tense or modality to sentences (see **3.17**), are also 'incomplete' in that function.

This *kāna* كان can obviously never reproduce the word 'is' even in its imperfect form, as the equational sentence structure already includes that meaning. Likewise, there is no possibility that *kāna* كان here has 'copulative' function (though this is often said), since this *kāna* كان can only be used with elements already in a subject–predicate relationship. The real copula (see again **3.1**) is already implicit in the structure of the equational sentence before any subordination to *kāna* كان or any other modifier.

The predicate (which may also be a comment) follows the same agreement rules as the predicate of the equational sentence.

Note that equational sentences, being verbless, require one or another form of *kāna* كان to become conditional sentences (cf. **8.3.5**).

The perfect of *kāna* كان places the equational sentence in the past (italicized in translation).

Overt subject nouns:

kāna ***l-jawwu ḥārran***
كان الجو حارا
'**the weather** [indep./subj.] *was* **hot** [dep./pred.]'

kāna ***ḏahābunā*** *'ilā l-ṭabībi* ***nādiran***
كان ذهابنا إلى الطبيب نادرا
'**our going** [indep.] to the doctor *was* **rare** [dep.]'

kānat ***'aynāhā maktūmatayni zarqāwayni***
كانت عيناها مكتومتين زرقاوين
'**her eyes** [indep.] *were* **hidden** and **blue** [dep.]'

The subject may of course be pronominalized as an incorporated agent of *kāna* كان, with the predicate remaining in dependent form:

***kāna** ḥāḍiran* كان حاضرا '**he** *was* present'

***kānū** šu'ūban wa-qabā'ila* كانوا شعوبا وقبائل '**they** *were* peoples and tribes'

***kunnā** jā'i'īna* كنا جائعين '**we** *were* hungry'

The same agreement rules apply as for subject–predicate, hence with quantifiers there may be attraction of number (cf. **3.1.1**):

***kullu** 'ahlihā **kānū** fī naẓarī 'iṣābatan min-a l-'awġādi*
كل أهلها كانوا في نظري عصابة من الأوغاد
'**all** her family **were** [masc. plur.] in my view a band of ruffians'

The predicate position may be occupied by a verb, in which case the structure becomes indistinguishable from the compound tenses outlined above (see **3.10.6**). The verb may well be originally a circumstantial qualifier (see **7.3**):

*kāna **ya'malu*** كان يعمل lit. 'he [ag.] existed [in a state of] **he is working**'

is synonymous with:

*kāna **'āmilan*** كان عاملا 'he [subj.] was **working**' or 'was **a worker**'

but it would now be difficult to classify combinations of *kāna* كان + impersonal verb as anything but compound tenses.

It may also take its predicate in the form of a pronoun, either bound (in relative clauses):

*fī qalbi l-jaḥīmi llaḏī kānat**hu** bayrūtu*
في قلب الجحيم الذي كانته بيروت
'in the heart of the hell that Beirut **was**', lit. 'was **it**',
(cf. rel. clauses in **5.0.1**)

*wa-raḥḥaba binā bi-karami l-fallāḥi allaḏī kāna**hu***
ورحب بنا بكرم الفلاح الذي كانه
'he welcomed us with the generosity of the peasant that he **was**',
lit. 'was **it**'

or free, as predicate:

*kāna **huwa*** كان هو 'it was **he**'

*fataḥtu l-bāba fa-kānat **hiya***
فتحت الباب فكانت هي
'I opened the door and it was **she**' (note agreement: lit. '**she** was she')

*min ḥusni ḥaẓẓī 'annahu lam yakun **'anā***
من حسن حظي أنه لم يكن أنا
'it was my good luck that it was not **me**'

(cf. **3.1.4** on the *min* من construction)

As with the nominal sentence, a separating pronoun may occur (see **3.5.1**), without changing the case rules:

*'iḏā lam yakun ḏālika **huwa** l-sabīla fa-'ayna l-ḥallu?*
إذا لم يكن ذلك هو السبيل فأين الحل؟
'if that **[it]** is not the way [dep.], then where is the solution?'

*'iḏā kāna hāḏā **huwa** l-mutawaqqa'a*
إذا كان هذا هو المتوقع
'if this **[it]** is the expected [dep.]' i.e. 'if this is what is expected'

Note that the verbal noun (cf. **2.10.1.5**) has the same syntax:

with nominal predicate:

*min ḥayṯu **kawnihi** 'iḍāfat**an** jadīdat**an***
من حيث كونه إضافة جديدة
'by virtue of **its being** a new **addition** [dep. noun phrase as pred.]'

*kawnuka **ṣadīqan***
كونك صديقا
'your being **a friend**'

with verbal predicate:

*fī **kawni** hāḏā l-'injāzi **yumaṯṯilu** mtidādan ḫallāqan*
في كون هذا الإنجاز يمثل امتدادا خلاقا
'in that this achievement **represents** [imperf. verb as pred.] a creative extension', lit. 'in the being of this achievement it represents'

*li-kawnihā **taqṭa'u** ṣilatahu bi-juḏūrihi l-ta'rīḫiyyati*
لكونها تقطع صلته بجذوره التأريخية
'because of its **severing** his connection with his historical roots', lit. 'its being it cuts'

*li-kawnihim **'adrakū** ṭabī'ata l-ma'rakati*
لكونهم أدركوا طبيعة المعركة
'because they **had grasped** the nature of the conflict', lit. 'their being they grasped'

kawnunā ***naḥtāju*** *'ilā l-istiṯmāri l-ḫārijiyyi*
كوننا نحتاج إلى الاستثمار الخارجي
'our being **in need** of external investment', lit. 'our being we need'

3.16.3 *Tense and modality in equational sentences*

The imperfect of *kāna* كان modifies the equational sentence in tense or modality.

Future equational sentence:

sa-yakūnu *min wājibātika l-qiyāmu bi-tadrīsi l-ṣiġāri*
سيكون من واجباتك القيام بتدريس الصغار
'it **will be** part of your duties to carry out the instruction of the young'

wa-la'alla l-tawaqqufa 'inda 'adadin min al-niqāṭi llatī taḍammanahā l-kitābu ***yakūnu*** *mufīdan*
ولعل التوقف عند عدد من النقاط التي تضمنها الكتاب يكون مفيدا
'and perhaps to stop at a number of the points the book contained **will be** useful'

bi-'annahā ***lan takūna*** *l-bādi'ata fī istiḫdāmihi*
بأنها لن تكون البادئة في استخدامه
'that she **will not be** the first to use it'

(for the future negative particle *lan*, see **4.2.5**)

qarrartu 'an 'aṣḥabahā ma'ī… bi-ḥayṯu ***takūnu*** *bi-stimrārin fī mutanāwali yadī*
قررت أن أصحبها معي . . . بحيث تكون باستمرار في متناول يدي
'I decided to have her come along with me … in such a way that **she would be** continuously within reach of my hand'

Modalized equational sentence, usually with *qad* قد (cf. *qad* قد above **3.10.4**, **3.10.5**):

qad yakūnu *hāḏā mawqifan ḥadāṯiyyan fī naẓari l-ba'ḍi*
قد يكون هذا موقفا حداثيا في نظر البعض
'this **might well be** a modernist stand in some people's view'

qad yakūnu *mufīdan fī l-bidāyati l-'išāratu 'ilā*
قد يكون مفيدا في البداية الإشارة إلى
'**it might be** useful at the beginning to point out'

qad takūnu *l-riyāḍatu ’afḍala wasīlatin li-l-iḥtimā’i min-a l-huzāli*
قد تكون الرياضة أفضل وسيلة للاحتماء من الهزال
‘exercise **might well be** the best means of protection against emaciation’

Occasionally without *qad* قد:

yakūnu *‘ālaman ṣaġīran*
يكون عالما صغيرا
‘**it may be** a small world’

3.16.3.1 As tense operator with *li-* لِـ ‘have’ (see **2.6.10**)

wa-li-ḏālika ***sa-takūnu lahum****-u l-’awwaliyyatu*
ولذلك ستكون لهم الأولية
‘for that reason **they will have** priority’

la-qad ***kāna lī*** *šarafu l-taḫarruji min hāḏihi l-jāmi‘ati*
لقد كان لي شرف التخرج من هذه الجامعة
‘**I had** the honour to be a graduate of this university’

3.16.3.2 For the negative of these constructions, see *laysa* ليس ‘is not’ (which has the same syntax as *kāna* كان) in **3.19.1**.

Note especially that *lā yakūnu* لا يكون cannot mean ‘is not’, but as the negation of *yakūnu* يكون it means something like ‘will not be’, ‘might not be’, ‘would not be’, etc.:

’inna l-dīna ***lā yakūnu*** *dīnan ’illā ’iḏā rabaṭa l-ḫalqa bi-l-ḥaqqi*
إن الدين لا يكون دينا إلا إذا ربط الخلق بالحق
‘religion **will not** be religion unless it binds the people with the Truth’

3.16.4 *Other idioms with* kāna كان

Alternatives (▷C3:52; and see further coordination, **6.7**):

lā yusmaḥu li-aḥadin bi-l-duḫūlu ***rajulan kāna ’am-i imra’atan***
لا يسمح لأحد بالدخول رجلا كان أم امرأة
‘no one is allowed entry, **whether man or woman**’, lit. ‘man be he or woman’

yumna'u l-istiḥmāmu 'alā hāḏā l-šāṭi'i ***šitā'an kāna 'am ṣayfan***
يمنع الاستحمام على هذا الشاطئ شتاء كان أم صيفا
'bathing on this beach is prohibited, **whether it is winter or summer**'

'Whoever' (for *man* من 'who', see **5.4.1**):

kā'inan man kāna l-ẓālimu *'aw-i l-mufsidu*
كائنا من كان الظالم أو المفسد
'**whoever the criminal** or wrongdoer **may be**', lit. 'being whoever the criminal was …'

and note that *kā'inan* كائنا here functions as a circumstantial qualifier (see **7.3**).

These show *kāna* كان with its predicate preposed but still in dependent form (for *'ayyu* أيّ 'any', see **2.9.1.6**):

'ayyan man kāna *hāḏā l-maḫlūqu!!*
أيا من كان هذا المخلوق!!
'**whoever** this creature **may be**!!'

'ayyan kāna *naw'uhu*
أيا كان نوعه
'**whatever** kind **it was**'

Negative *kāna* كان with *lām al-juḥūd* '*li* of denial' (for details, see **7.6.1.2**):

lam takun ***li-tuḥaqqaqa*** *bi-hāḏā l-šakli*
لم تكن لتحقق بهذا الشكل
'would not be realizable in this form', lit. 'was not **to be realized**'

lam yakun maṣīru 'iḥdāhumā ***li-yaḫtalifa*** *'an-i l-'uḫrā*
لم يكن مصير احداهما ليختلف عن الأخرى
'the fate of one of them [dual] would be no different from the other', lit. 'was not **to be different**'

3.16.5 kāna كان *with subordinate clause*

Infrequently, *kāna* كان (in this case the 'complete *kāna* كان' of **3.16.1**) is followed by *'an* أن + perfect:

*fa-kāna **'an jarā** mā kāna*
فكان أن جرى ما كان
'then what happened **happened**', lit. 'then it was **that** there happened what happened'

*fa-kāna **'an-i šta'alat**-i l-nīrānu fī ḥulūqinā qabla 'an tašta'ila fī ṯiyābinā*
فكان أن اشتعلت النيران في حلوقنا قبل أن تشتعل في ثيابنا
'the fires **burned** in our throats before they burned in our clothes', lit. 'and it was **that** the fires burned …'

*kāna **'an faḍḍala** ka-ḥallin mu'aqqatin 'an yataḥāšā l-iḥtikāka bī*
كان أن فضل كحل مؤقت ان يتحاشى الاحتكاك بي
'he **preferred** as a temporary solution to avoid tangling with me'

3.17 Verbs of becoming and duration

Other verbs for existence, becoming, duration etc. The following verbs also have the same syntax as *kāna* كان (hence are called the 'sisters of *kāna*' أخوات كان), that is, their formal agent/semantic subject is an independent noun and their formal object/semantic predicate is a dependent noun or, with some, also a verb phrase. The major difference from *kāna* كان, however, is that their verbal complement can only be in the imperfect, suggesting that their complements, structurally at least, are basically circumstantial qualifiers. All these verbs can be 'complete' as well as 'incomplete', see **3.16.1** and **3.16.2**, though they have (apart from archaisms) mostly lost the reference to a particular time of the day or night for which they were once used.

They are listed in alphabetical order, ignoring negative *mā* ما, and there is no claim to be exhaustive, as the class may not be closed. Also, no account is taken of other meanings these verbs or their homonyms may have, as these are lexical rather than syntactical issues. Some are rather rare.

3.17.1 *'aḍḥā* أضحى *'become', lit. 'be or become in the forenoon'*

***'aḍḥat**-i l-ḥaḍāratu l-ḥadīṯatu **taqfizu** bi-watīratin mutasāri'atin*
أضحت الحضارة الحديثة تقفز بوتيرة متسارعة
'modern civilization has begun **to leap forward** with increasing speed'

wa-huwa bi-l-tālī ***'aḍḥā*** *muzdaḥiman bi-l-mušāti*
وهو بالتالي أضحى مزدحما بالمشاة
'and it subsequently became crowded with pedestrians'

3.17.2 'amsā أمسى *'become', lit. 'be or become in the evening'*
(▷C1:49; ▷C3:255)

'Complete' *'amsā* أمسى, with no predicate:

'amsā *'alaynā l-masā'u wa-naḥnu lā zilnā fī l-qāhirati*
أمسى علينا المساء ونحن لا زلنا في القاهرة
'evening **came** upon us while we were still in Cairo'

(for *lā zilnā* لا زلنا, see **3.21.4**)

'Incomplete':

wa-qad 'amsat-i l-dunyā ***'ibāratan*** *'an ḍajījin yu'īdu nafsahu*
وقد أمست الدنيا عبارة عن ضجيج يعيد نفسه
'the world had become **an expression** [dep. pred.] of a noise which repeated itself'

'amsat*-i l-'ummatu* ***fī ḥālin*** *lā tadrī ma'ahā kayfa tatawajjahu*
أمست الأمة في حالة لا تدري معها كيف تتوجه
'the nation has come **into a state** in which it does not know where to turn'

3.17.3 'aṣbaḥa أصبح *'become', lit. 'be or become in the morning'*
(▷C2:200; ▷C3:255)

'Complete' *'aṣbaḥa* أصبح, with no predicate:

fa-lammā 'aṣbaḥa ***l-ṣabāḥu***
فلما أصبح الصباح
'and when morning came' lit. 'when morning **was morning**'

'Incomplete': with nominal predicates:

*'aṣbaḥ****tu jāffan faẓẓan***
أصبحت جافا فظا
'**I** became **rough and boorish** [dep. pred.]'

'aṣbaḥa ***jāhizan*** *li-l-ištirāki fī liqā'i l-yawmi*

أصبح جاهزا للاشتراك في لقاء اليوم

'**he** became **ready** to take part in today's meeting'

'aṣbaḥa ***naqīban*** *li-l-zirā'iyyīna fīmā ba'du*

أصبح نقيبا للزراعين فيما بعد

'**he** became **a union representative** for farmers afterwards'

'aṣbaḥa أصبح with *hunāka* هناك (cf. **3.1.3.1**):

wa-lākin ba'da qarāri wazīri l-tamwīni bi-taḫfīḍi l-kammiyyāti llatī taqūmu bi-taswīqihā, ***'aṣbaḥat hunāka muškilatun*** *kabīratun 'amāma l-šarikati l-qābiḍati*

ولكن بعد قرار وزير التموين بتخفيض الكميات التي تقوم بتسويقها، أصبحت هناك مشكلة كبيرة أمام الشركة القابضة

'but after the Minister of Supply's decision to lower the quantities which [the companies] were marketing, **there arose a big problem** for the receiving company'

With partitive *min* من (see **2.6.12**):

'aṣbaḥa ***min-a l-ṣa'bi*** *'idāratu munāqašātin*

أصبح من الصعب إدارة مناقشات

'it has become **difficult** to conduct discussions'

(note that the agent is a verbal noun 'the conducting of', feminine, but the verb remains masculine, see agreement **3.8.1**)

kamā 'annahu 'aṣbaḥa ***min-a l-mu'tādi*** *qiyāmu l-jamā'āti l-mutaṭarrifati bi-'iṣdāri l-manšūrāti*

كما أنه أصبح من المعتاد قيام الجماعات المتطرفة بإصدار المنشورات

'just as it has become **a practice** for extremist groups to issue publications', lit. 'of the accustomed'

With verbs as predicate (possibly circumstantial qualifiers, cf. **3.16.2**):

'aṣbaḥnā l-yawma ***nataḥaddaṯu*** *'an …*

أصبحنا اليوم نتحدث عن . . .

'we have started **speaking** today about …'

'aṣbaḥnā ***nanẓuru*** *li-l-'amri min 'iddati zawāyā*

أصبحنا ننظر للأمر من عدة زوايا

'we have started **looking** at the matter from a number of angles'

bi-ḏālika ’aṣbaḥa l-mu‘ayyanūna l-jududu ***yatamayyazūna*** *bi-waḍ‘in waẓīfiyyin afḍala*

بذلك أصبح المعينون الجدد يتميزون بوضع وظيفي أفضل

‘thereby the new appointees came to **be distinguished** by a superior official position’

3.17.4 badā بدا ‘to *appear*’, ‘to *seem*’

‘Complete’ *badā* بدا, no predicate:

badat *dahšatun ‘alā wajhi mājidata*

بدت دهشة على وجه ماجدة

‘surprise **appeared** on Majida’s face’

‘Incomplete’:

yabdū ***ġayra manṭiqiyyin***

يبدو غير منطقي

‘it seems **illogical** [dep. pred.]’

(for *ġayr* غير, see **2.9.2.3**)

qad yabdū hāḏāni l-’uslūbāni ***muḫtalifayni*** *tamāman*

قد يبدو هذان الأسلوبان مختلفين تماما

‘these two methods might well seem completely **different**’

fa-kam min laftatin badat lahu min ba‘īdin ***mustaḥīlata l-manāli****!*

فكم من لفتة بدت له من بعيد مستحيلة المنال!

‘how many glances appeared to him from afar [to be] **impossible to attain**!’

For *badā wa-ka-’anna* بدا وكأن and *badā kamā law* بدا كما لو ‘to look as if’, see **5.9.9.4** and **5.9.9.7**.

3.17.5 baqiya بقي ‘to *remain*’, ‘to *stay*’ (▷C2:201; ▷C3:256)

‘Complete’ *baqiya* بقي, no predicate:

baqīnā *fī l-bayti wa-lam nahrub*

بقينا في البيت ولم نهرب

‘we **remained** in the house and did not flee’

baqiyat-i l-'umūru ***'alā ḥālihā***
بقيت الأمور على حالها
'things have remained as they were', lit. 'in their state' (can also be treated as prepositional predicate)

'Incomplete':

baqiya ***'amīnan*** *'alā hāḏā l-mawqifi*
بقي أمينا على هذا الموقف
'he remained **faithful** [dep. pred.] to this position'

baqīnā ***nunādī*** *wa-lā min mujībin*
بقينا ننادي ولا من مجيب
'we kept on **calling** but there was no answer', lit. 'no of answerer'

see categorical negative with *min* من in **4.1.1**.

3.17.6 bariḥa برح 'to *depart*' (▷C2:201)

bariḥa برح 'to depart', always in negative *mā bariḥa* ما برح 'to remain', 'to stay':

mā bariḥnā ***nujāhidu*** *ḍidda l-isti'māri ḥattā nqaša'a*
ما برحنا نجاهد ضد الاستعمار حتى انقشع
'we kept on **struggling** [verb and circ. qualif.] against imperialism until it went away'

fa-yaqūlu l-bayrūnī wa huwa mā bariḥa ***jālisan*** *wa-qalamuhu mā zāla yaṣirru 'alā l-ṭirsi …*
فيقول البيروني وهو ما برح جالسا وقلمه ما زال يصر على الطرس . . .
'and al-Bīrūnī says, remaining **sitting**, and his pen still scratching the page …'

(for *mā zāla* ما زال 'not to cease', see **3.21.4**)

3.17.7 bāta بات 'to *stay*' (*originally overnight*) (▷C2:201)

'Complete' *bāta* بات, no predicate:

ba'da 'an ***bitnā*** *fī l-iskandariyyati laylatayni sta'nafnā l-safara 'ilā l-sallūmi*
بعد أن بتنا في الاسكندرية ليلتين استأنفنا السفر إلى السلوم
'after we had **stayed** in Alexandria two nights we started the journey to Sallūm'

'Incomplete':

*wa-l-ḥawfu yuskinuhum fī madīnatin bātat **'anqāḍan** bi-'anqāḍin*
والخوف يسكنهم في مدينة باتت أنقاضا بأنقاض
'while fear made them dwell in a town which remained **ruins** [dep. pred.] upon ruins'

*yarā liyūbārdī 'anna l-ḥayāta nafsahā hiya llatī bātat **taqtulu** l-'insāna*
يرى ليوباردي أن الحياة نفسها هي التي باتت تقتل الإنسان
'Leopardi considers that it is life itself which **has always been killing** mankind'

*bāta … **min-a l-muta'aḍḍiri 'alaynā**, 'aw qul min-a l-muta'assiri 'alaynā l-ta'āmulu ma'a …*
بات . . . من المتعذر علينا، أو قل من المتعسر علينا التعامل مع . . .
'it remained **impossible**, or say difficult, to work together with'

*'anā 'ayḍan bittu **'asīrahu***
أنا أيضا بت أسيره
'I also have become his **prisoner**'

3.17.8 dāma دام *'to persist'*

dāma دام 'to persist', always with temporal *mā* ما (see **5.6.1**), that is, 'for as long as it remains' (▷C2:201). In this case the dependent or verbal elements must be considered as circumstantial qualifiers though traditionally this verb is grouped with *kāna* and the others on purely formal grounds:

*mā dāmū **muḥāribīna***
ما داموا محاربين
'as long as **they** remain **fighting** [dep. circ. qual.]'

*wa-qad ḥaṯṯa l-'islāmu 'alā l-'amali 'ayyan kāna naw'uhu mā dāma **fī niṭāqi** l-'a'māli l-mašrū'ati*
وقد حث الأسلام على العمل أيا كان نوعه ما دام في نطاق الأعمال المشروعة
'Islam has encouraged work of any kind as long as it remains **within the range** of lawful activities' (prepositional phrase as predicate)

Often with verbs in the predicate:

mā dāma ***sawfa ya'tarifu***
ما دام سوف يعترف
'as long as **he is going to admit**'

mā dumnā ***sa-naktubu*** *bi-ṣarāḥatin*
ما دمنا سنكتب بصراحة
'as long as **we are going to write** with candour'

3.17.9 ġadā غدا *'to come to be' (originally in the forenoon)*

al-'amru llaḏī ġadā fī ḍamīri ḫulafā'i l-'ummati . . . ***tarjamatan 'amaliyyatan***
الأمر الذي غدا في ضمير خلفاء الأمة . . . ترجمة عملية
'something which became in the mind of the caliphs of the nation . . . **a practical expression** [dep. pred.]'

fa-yaġdū maṯalu l-majnūni, 'iḏ ḏāka, ***maṯala*** *l-ṭifli llaḏī lā yuḥammalu tabi'ata 'a'mālihi*
فيغدو مثل المجنون إذ ذاك مثل الطفل الذي لا يحمل تبعة أعماله
'the lunatic, in that case, becomes **like** the infant who cannot be charged with the consequences of his actions', lit. 'the likeness of the lunatic . . . becomes **the likeness** of the infant'

(cf. **11.8.2** on *maṯal* مثل)

3.17.10 (mā) fati'a فتئ (ما) *'to cease'* (▷C2:201)

Usually negative and now archaic and rare; no examples were found, though (again as a Qur'anic usage) it would be familiar to any educated reader.

3.17.11 (mā) infakka انفك (ما) *'not to stop'*

Usually found with verbal complements, that is, circumstantial qualifier:

mā nfakkū ***yukābidūnahā***
ما انفكوا يكابدونها
'they still **are suffering** from them', lit. 'have not stopped, are suffering'

‘alā naḥwin ḥallāqin lā yanfakku ***yatamaḫḫaḍu*** *bi-wilādatin jadīdatin*

على نحو خلاق لا ينفك يتمخض بولادة جديدة

‘in a creative way which never stops **bringing forth** new birth’

ḥilāla l-ḥarbi l-’ahliyyati llatī nfajarat fī lubnāna ‘āma 1975 wa-llatī mā nfakkat ***taṭḥanu*** *l-jamāhīra l-lubnāniyyata*

خلال الحرب الأهلية التي انفجرت في لبنان عام ١٩٧٥ والتي ما انفكت تطحن الجماهير اللبنانية

‘during the civil war which broke out in Lebanon in 1975 and still **is crushing** the Lebanese masses’

With other complements:

lam tanfakka yawman ***‘an-i l-su’āli*** *‘annī*

لم تنفك يوما عن السؤال عني

‘she never stopped **asking** about me for a day’, lit. ‘did not cease from asking’

3.17.12 labiṯa لبث *‘to tarry’, ‘to linger’* (▷C3:259, 260)

See also *ḥattā* حتى idiom, see 7.6.7.7.

‘Complete’ *labiṯa* لبث, no predicate:

labiṯnā *‘indahum yawman kāmilan*

لبثنا عندهم يوما كاملا

‘we **stayed** with them a whole day’

‘Incomplete’: positive verbs, with verbal complement, i.e. circumstantial qualifier:

kayfa ‘ānā l-rajulu lladī labiṯa ḥayātahu kullahā ***yadfa‘u*** *ṯamana ḫaṭa’ihi*

كيف عانى الرجل الذي لبث حياته كلها يدفع ثمن خطئه

‘how has a man suffered who spent the whole of his life **paying** [circ. qual.] the price of his mistake!’

labiṯa ’ahluhā ***yatawaqqa‘ūna*** *fī kulli laḥẓatin ’an tuwāṣila l-ḥarbu dawwāmatahā l-jahannamiyyata*

لبث أهلها يتوقعون في كل لحظة أن تواصل الحرب دوامتها الجهنمية

‘its people remained **expecting** any moment that the war would continue with its infernal whirlpool’

With negative *labiṭa* لبث the idiomatic meaning is 'soon', and in collocation with *'illā* or *ḥattā*, 'no sooner', 'hardly . . . when', 'before' (see also in **7.6.7.7**):

*lā talbaṯu **'an tazdaḥima***
لا تلبث أن تزدحم
'it soon **became crowded**' lit.'it does not tarry that it became crowded'

*lā yalbaṯu **'an yajlisa** 'alā l-kursiyyi bi-qurbī **'illā** wa-yaqūmu muta'affifan*
لا يلبث أن يجلس على الكرسي بقربي إلا ويقوم متأففا
'he hardly **sits down** in the chair near me **before** he rises in annoyance'
(or 'had sat down . . . when he rose' according to context)

3.17.13 ṣāra صار ***'to become'*** (▷C2:201; ▷C3:256)

'Complete' *ṣāra* صار, no predicate:

***ṣāra** l-'amru ba'dahu 'ilā bnihi l-'amīri*
صار الأمر بعده إلى ابنه الأمير
'command **passed** after him to his son the prince'

'Incomplete':

*ṣāra **namūḏajan** sāṭi'an*
صار نموذجا ساطعا
'**he** became a shining **example** [dep. pred.]'

*ṣirtu **'akṯara** ḫibratan*
صرت أكثر خبرة
'**I** became **more** experienced'

*ṣirtu **ba'dahā ġayrī** qablahā*
صرت بعدها غيري قبلها
'after her **I** became **different** from what I was before', lit.'other than myself'

(for *ġayr* غير, see **2.9.2.3**)

Example with inversion of subject and predicate:

*la-qad ṣāra **maqbūlan** munḏu muddatin . . . **al-qawlu** bi-'anna ṭabī'ata l-mawḍū'i hiya llatī tuḥaddidu naw'iyyata l-manhaji*
لقد صار مقبولا منذ مدة . . . القول بأن طبيعة الموضوع هي التي تحدد نوعية المنهج
'there became **accepted** [dep. pred.] some time ago . . . **the doctrine** [indep. subj.] that it is the nature of the subject which determines the characteristics of the methodology'

With imperfect verb as complement the idiomatic meaning is 'to start', 'to come to', as with the verbs in **3.22**:

kamā 'anna l-ba'ḍa mimman yu'ayyidūnahu . . . ***ṣārū yufaḍḍilūna***
كما أن البعض ممن يؤيدونه . . . صاروا يفضلون
'just as some of those who support him . . . **have come to prefer**'

(for *mimman* ممن, see **5.4.1**)

ḥattā ***ṣārat*** *kalimatu l-mustašāri* ***tu'ādilu*** *fī darajatihā l-'amīra 'aw-i l-wazīra*
حتى صارت كلمة المستشار تعادل في درجتها الأمير أو الوزير
'until the word of a [generic art.] consultant **has come to be equal** in rank with [that of] a prince or a minister'

'iḏ ***ṣāra yasa'u*** *l-mar'u 'an yaqḍiya ḥayātahu bayna judrānin 'arba'atin*
اذ صار يسع المرء ان يقضي حياته بين جدران اربعة
'when man **became capable** of spending his life between four walls'

3.17.14 ẓalla ظل *'to remain', 'to stay'*

Seen only as 'incomplete' (▷C2:200; ▷C3:257).

With nouns as predicates:

ġayra 'anna hāḏā l-i htimāma ẓalla ***ḏā ṭābi'in ḫāṣṣin***
غير أن هذا الاهتمام ظل ذا طابع خاص
'although this concern still **had a special character**', lit. 'remained **possessor** [dep. pred.] of . . .'

(for *ḏū* ذو 'possessor of', see **2.3.8**)

wa-lākin ḥattā fī hāḏihi l-ḥālati yaẓallu ma'nā l-kalimati ***faqīran*** *jiddan*
ولكن حتى في هذه الحالة يظل معنى الكلمة فقيرا جدا
'but even in this case the meaning of the word is still very **poor**'

(cf. **2.19.12** on *ḥattā* حتى 'even')

With participles, that is, either predicate or circumstantial qualifier:

sa-taẓallu ***multazimatan*** *bi-mu'āhadati l-'amni l-muštariki*
ستظل ملتزمة بمعاهدة الأمن المشترك
'will remain **committed** to the joint security pact'

ẓalla ***jālisan*** *‘alā kursiyyin ’amāma maktabihi*
ظل جالسا على كرسي أمام مكتبه
‘he remained **sitting** on a chair in front of his desk’

With verbs as complements, that is, circumstantial qualifiers:

ẓallat māriyā ***tuṣirru*** *‘alā ’anna …*
ظلت ماريا تصر على أن . . .
‘Maria continued **to insist** on …’

wa-ẓalla kullu wāḥidin minhumā ***yuzāyidu*** *‘alā l-’āḫari*
وظل كل واحد منهما يزايد على الآخر
‘each of the two kept on **outbidding** the other’

3.18 Verbs of existence

The passive of *wajada* وجد ‘find’ (cf. **3.11.2.3** for other structures) is used to denote ‘exist’, that is, ‘be found’ (▷C1:8, 54; ▷C2:198).

- *yūjadu* يوجد ‘is found’, sometimes literally:

  tūjadu *l-numūru fī l-hindi*
  توجد النمور في الهند
  ‘tigers **are found** in India’

  but more often rendering ‘is’, ‘exists’:

  ‘ajībun ’an tūjada ***ḏākiratun salīmatun*** *fī ra’sin muḫtallin*
  عجيب أن توجد ذاكرة سليمة في رأس مختل
  ‘strange that **a healthy memory** should exist in a confused mind’

  lā yūjadu wa-lan yūjada ***taḥdīdun ḥaqīqiyyun*** *li-l-’amwāli l-miṣriyyati fī l-ḫāriji*
  لا يوجد ولن يوجد تحديد حقيقي للأموال المصرية في الخارج
  ‘there is not and will never be **a true determination** of the Egyptian funds abroad’

- Like *kāna* كان (see **3.16.2**) the verbal noun shares the same syntax as the verb:

  wujūduhu kaṯīran *fī hāḏihi l-nawāḥī*
  وجوده كثيرا في هذه النواحي
  ‘its **being abundant** in these areas’

- The passive participle *mawjūd* موجود is used for 'existing', attributive or predicate:

  li-'annahā ***mawjūdatun*** *ḥaqqan*
  لأنها موجودة حقا
  'because they [= 'things', grammatical fem. sing.] truly **exist**'

  iktašafū ba'ḍa l-ṯaġarāti ***l-mawjūdati*** *fī tartībāti l-'amni*
  اكتشفوا بعض الثغرات الموجودة في ترتيبات الأمن
  'they discovered some loopholes **existing** in the security arrangements'

- Also nominally:

  *lā budda min 'amali qā'imatin bi-jamī'i l-****mawjūdāti*** *fī l-maẖzani*
  لا بد من عمل قائمة بجميع الموجودات في المخزن
  'a list of all the **[things] existing** in the store must be made'

  *al-jūdu bi-****l-mawjūdi***
  الجود بالموجود
  '[true] generosity is in [giving] **whatever there is** [to give]', lit. 'generosity is by that which is found'

- Stem VI *tawājada* تواجد is commonly used for 'to be present':

  'alayhim 'an ***yatawājadū*** *'amāma l-'idārati*
  عليهم أن يتواجدوا أمام الإدارة
  'they must **present themselves** to the administration'

  (for *'alā* على 'on', 'upon' = must, see **2.6.10**)

  al-ġurafu llatī ***yatawājadu*** *bihā l-'ummālu*
  الغرف التي يتواجد بها العمال
  'the rooms in which the workers **are present**'

- Verbal noun, 'being present':

  *allaḏīna lā tasmaḥu ẓurūfuhum bi-l-****tawājudi***
  الذين لا تسمح ظروفهم بالتواجد
  'those whose circumstances do not allow them **to be present**'

  muddatu wa-ta'rīẖu ***tawājudi*** *l-muštariki bi-hāḏā l-makāni*
  مدة وتأريخ تواجد المشترك بهذا المكان
  'period and date of **residence** of the subscriber in this place'

  (for binomial annexation, see **2.3.7**)

wa-qad 'as'adanī ***tawājudī*** *fīmā baynahum*
وقد أسعدني تواجدي فيما بينهم
'it made me happy **to be present** among them'

3.19 Verbs of non-existence

(cf. **12.6** on *'adam* عدم 'non-', **4.1.2** for *lā* لا 'not' + noun)

This is expressed with the negative *lā yūjadu* لا يوجد 'is not found' and *laysa* ليس 'not to be':

lā tūjadu ***'ayyatu ḫilāfātin***
لا توجد أية خلافات
'there are **no disagreements**' (see **2.9.1.6** *'ayy* أيّ 'any') lit. 'any disagreements do not exist' (see **4.2**)

Nominal equivalent: *'adamu wujūdin* عدم وجود lit. 'absence of existence':

'adamu wujūdi *mīzāniyyatin ḫāṣṣatin bihā*
عدم وجود ميزانية خاصة بها
'**the absence of** a special budget'

3.19.1 laysa ليس *'not to be'*

The defective verb *laysa* ليس 'not to be' (+/– *bi-* بـ), (▷C1:119; and see **4.2.8**, also **1.9.2** for the paradigm) has the unique feature that it always has present time reference in spite of its perfect form. It has the same syntax as 'incomplete' *kāna* كان 'to be' (see **3.16.2**), that is, independent agent/subject and dependent object/predicate:

laysa ***ġarīban*** *'anna* …
. . . ليس غريبا أن
'it is not **strange** [dep. pred.] that …'

*laysa****tā*** *biḍā****'atan*** *tustawradu*
ليستا بضاعة تستورد
'**they** [fem. dual, subj.] are not [just] **a commodity** [dep. pred.] which can be imported'

With inverted order:

*al-qā'atu laysat **fasīḥatan***
القاعة ليست فسيحة
'the hall is not **spacious**'

*'aynāhā laysatā **ṣafrāwayni ḫaḍrāwayni** bal sawdāwāni*
عيناها ليستا صفراوان خضراوان بل سوداوان
'her eyes are not **yellow-green** but black'

*barā'imuhu laysat **munfatiḥatan** ba'du*
براعمه ليست منفتحة بعد
'its buds are not yet **open**'

Alternative syntax with *bi-* بِـ:

*mā turīdīnahu min zawjiki laysa **bi-l-'amri l-hayyini***
ما تريدينه من زوجك ليس بالأمر الهين
'what you [fem. sing.] want from your husband is not **a trivial matter**'

With partitive or redundant *min* من 'of' (▷C1:121):

*laysa **min šakkin***
ليس من شك
'there is **no doubt** at all'

This example is the negative of the *min* من phrases in **3.1.4**:

*laysa **min-a l-sahli** l-ta'arrufu 'alā l-muškilāti l-ḥaqīqiyyati*
ليس من السهل التعرف على المشكلات الحقيقية
'it is not **easy** to get to know the real problems'

3.19.2 lā ya'dū لا يعدو *lit. 'it does not go beyond'*

lā ya'dū لا يعدو idiomatically 'it is no more than':

*lā ya'dū **kawnahu** muqārabatan 'aw madḫalan*
لا يعدو كونه مقاربة أو مدخلا
'it **is no more than** an approximation or an introduction', lit. 'it does not go beyond its being an approximation or introduction'

note dependent predicate of *kāna* كان even with the verbal noun (see **3.16.2**)

3.20 Verbs denoting 'can', 'be able', 'want' (▷C3:109)

3.20.1 *'amkana* أمكن *(and cognates)* *istaṭā'a* استطاع, *qadara* قدر

With the verb *'amkana* أمكن 'to be possible [for somebody]', what is actually possible is expressed as its agent, either a verbal noun or the equivalent complementized clause with *'an* أنْ, and if necessary the person said to be 'able' will appear as the direct object of *'amkana* أمكن.

- *'amkana* أمكن without object:

  yumkinu ***'an nu'akkida***
  يمكن أن نؤكد
  'we can **confirm**', lit. 'that we confirm is possible'

  al-masāru llaḏī yumkinu ***'an ta'ḫuḏahu*** *l-siyāsatu l-'amrīkiyyatu*
  المسار الذي يمكن أن تأخذه السياسة الأمريكية
  'the course that American policy can **take**'

  ba'ḍu l-šaḫṣiyyāti llatī kāna yumkinu ***'an tufīda***
  بعض الشخصيات التي كان يمكن أن تفيد
  'some of the personalities who could **have been useful**'

- Variant with *maṣdar*:

  yumkinu ***l-qawlu***
  يمكن القول
  'it can **be said**', lit. 'saying is possible'

  *kāna ra'yu l-duktūri M. F. 'anna l-ḍīqa yumkinu l-****ta'āyušu ma'ahu***
  كان رأي الدكتور م. ف. أن الضيق يمكن التعايش معه
  'it was Dr M. F.'s opinion that anxiety could **be lived with**'

- Occasionally, agreement is inconsistent and the verb evidently behaves as if impersonal:

  lā ***yumkinu*** *muqāranatu ḫibratihi*
  لا يمكن مقارنة خبرته
  'his experience [fem.] **cannot** [masc.] be compared'

  An alternative is the verbal noun phrase *fī 'imkāni* or *bi-'imkāni* that is, 'in [one's] power to', either with subordinate verb or verbal noun:

*al-'āna bi-'imkāninā **'an naḏhaba***
الآن بإمكاننا أن نذهب
'now we can **go**', lit. '**in our power that we go**'

*laysa fī l-'imkāni **tajannubu** ḏālika*
ليس في الإمكان تجنّب ذلك
'it is not possible **to avoid** that', lit. 'the avoiding of that'

*lam ya'ud bi-l-'imkāni **maḥwuhā***
لم يعد بالإمكان محوها
'it was no longer possible **to erase it**'

(for *lam ya'ud* لم يعد 'no longer', see **3.21.1.1**)

- The cognate stems II *makkana* مكّن 'enable [somebody]' and V *tamakkana* تمكّن 'become able' are collocated with *min* من 'in respect to' to indicate what is possible:

*makkana l-šuyū'iyyīna **min-a l-sayṭarati** 'alā l-'i'lāmi*
مكن الشيوعيين من السيطرة على الإعلام
'enabled the communists **to control** the media', lit. 'put the communists in position with regard to controlling the media'

*li-tamkīnihim **min-a l-murāqabati** l-fa"ālati*
لتمكينهم من المراقبة الفعالة
'to enable them **to perform** effective **censorship**'

*tamakkanat maṭāfi'u l-qāhirati **min-a l-sayṭarati** 'alā l-ḥarīqi ba'da sā'atayni*
تمكنت مطافئ القاهرة من السيطرة على الحريق بعد ساعتين
'the Cairo fire brigade was able **to control** the fire in two hours'

- *qadara* قدر 'be capable of', 'have power over', with *'alā* على 'over' (sometimes omitted) and either a subordinate verb or verbal noun:

*lā yaqdirūna **'alā muġādarati** buyūtihim*
لا يقدرون على مغادرة بيوتهم
'they are unable **to leave** their houses'

*qāla 'aṣġaru l-fi'rāni 'anā 'aqdiru **'alā waḍ'i** l-jarasi ḥawla raqabati l-qiṭṭi*
قال أصغر الفئران أنا أقدر على وضع الجرس حول رقبة القط
'the smallest of the mice said, "I can **put** the bell around the neck of the cat"'

- The active participle has the same syntax:

  *'inna l-ṭifla qādirun **'alā l-šu'ūri** bi-l-mahānati*
  إن الطفل قادر على الشعور بالمهانة
  'a child [generic] is capable **of feeling** humiliation'

  *'iḏā kunta qādiran 'aṣlan **'alā l-ḏahābi** 'ilā l-baḥri l-mutawassiṭi*
  إذا كنت قادرا أصلا على الذهاب إلى البحر المتوسط
  'if you are able at all **to go** to the Mediterranean'

  *lā šay'a qādirun **'an yaḥmiya** laylatī min ṣūrati l-wajhi*
  لا شيء قادر ان يحمي ليلتي من صورة الوجه
  'nothing is able **to protect** my night from the image of [that] face', i.e. 'can protect me tonight' (cf. **2.14.5** on personalized time expressions)

- *istaṭā'a* استطاع 'be able', with subordinate verbs:

  *lam yastaṭi' **'an yuḥaqqiqa** 'ayya šay'in*
  لم يستطع أن يحقق أي شيء
  'he could not **achieve** anything'

  *hākaḏā nastaṭī'u naḥnu l-kuttābu **'an nafḫara***
  هكذا نستطيع نحن الكتاب أن نفخر
  'thus we writers can **be proud**'

  *qad-i staṭā'a, bi-mtiyāzin, **'an yajida** l-ḥalla l-ṣaḥīḥa*
  قد استطاع، بامتياز، أن يجد الحل الصحيح
  'he was able, with distinction, **to find** the right solution'

- not infrequently with the equivalent verbal noun:

  *li-kay nastaṭī'a **muwājahata** l-ṭalabi l-mutazāyidi*
  لكي نستطيع مواجهة الطلب المتزايد
  'so that we can **face** the increasing demand'

  *lā tastaṭī'u **fi'la** šay'in*
  لا تستطيع فعل شيء
  'she cannot **do** anything'

  *lam tastaṭi'-i l-**rafḍa***
  لم تستطع الرفض
  'she could not **refuse**'

3.20.2 *Verbs of wanting, wishing*

'Want', 'wish' is commonly expressed with *'arāda* أراد 'to want', mostly with subordinate verbs:

*fa-l-ra'yu l-'āmmu l-'amrīkiyyu lā yurīdu **'an tataḥammala** l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu l-'ib'a waḥdahā*

فالرأي العام الأمريكي لا يريد أن تتحمل الولايات المتحدة العبء وحدها

'American public opinion does not want the USA **to carry** the burden alone'

Persons are raised to objects of the main verb:

*'innahā turīdu**nā 'an naẓalla** janīnan mutaḥallifan 'aqliyyan, wa-ḥaḍāriyyan, wa-qawmiyyan*

إنها تريدنا أن نظل جنينا متخلفا عقليا، وحضاريا، وقوميا

'she wants **us to remain** a foetus, mentally, culturally and nationally retarded', lit. 'she wants us, that we remain' (for *ẓalla* ظل 'remain', see **3.17.14**)

Occasionally also non-humans:

*yurīdūna **l-munāqašāti 'an tastamirra***

يريدون المناقشات أن تستمر

'they want **the discussions to continue**'

In this variant the verb phrase is replaced by the verbal noun:

*'arāda**hā muṭī'atan***

أرادها مطيعة

'he wanted **her [being] obedient**'

3.21 Verbs denoting 'again', 'still', 'nearly', 'hardly', 'almost'

Verbs denoting 'again', 'still', 'nearly', 'hardly', 'almost' (traditionally *'af'āl al-muqāraba* أفعال المقاربة 'verbs of getting close'): these either have the same syntax as the *kāna* كان set (see **3.17**) or are used with subordinate clauses with *'an* أن (cf. **7.5.1**). They are listed purely alphabetically, and those which behave like the *kāna* كان set are indicated; most of these verbs also occur as main verbs in their literal sense, which will be given first and illustrated where appropriate.

3.21.1 **‘āda عاد *‘to return’*** (▷C3:258)***, i.e. ‘do or become again’ (like* kāna كان*)***

*ya‘ūdūna **’aṭfālan***
يعودون أطفالا
‘they become **children** again’

*fa-‘āda ṣadīqī **yaqūlu***
فعاد صديقي يقول
‘and my friend again **said**’

*wa-‘udtu **’asma‘u** ‘ajalāti l-sayyārāti fī l-šāri‘i*
وعدت أسمع عجلات السيارات في الشارع
‘I **listened** again to the wheels of the cars in the street’

Note the hendiadys option (and cf. *sabaqa* سبق below **3.23.2**, also in **6.2.4**)

‘āda wa-ṣarraḥa
عاد وصرح
‘he repeated his declaration’ lit. ‘he **returned and declared**’

3.21.1.1 The negative of *‘āda* عاد means ‘no longer’, ‘still not’

*naḥnu lam na‘ud **narāhā***
نحن لم نعد نراها
‘we no longer **saw** her’

*lam ta‘ud hunāka **ḥājatun** li-l-juyūši*
لم تعد هناك حاجة للجيوش
‘there was no longer **any need** for troops’

(for negative agents, see **4.2**)

*li-’anna l-‘ālama l-ṯāliṯa lam ya‘ud ladayhi **qudratun** ‘alā l-širā’i*
لأن العالم الثالث لم يعد لديه قدرة على الشراء
‘because the Third World still does not have the purchasing **power**’

(for agreement with separated agent, see **3.8.1**)

3.21.1.2 Stem IV, *'a'āda* أعاد 'cause to recur' + verbal noun reproduces verbs with prefix 're-'

ḏakara 'anna l-wizārata wa-bi-kulli mukawwinātihā ***yu'ādu tanẓīmuhā***
ذكر أن الوزارة وبكل مكوناتها يعاد تنظيمها
'he mentioned that the Ministry, with all its components, **would be reorganized**', lit. 'its organization will be repeated'

sa-yu'īdūna 'iḫrāja *al-juṯṯati min-a l-qabri*
سيعيدون إخراج الجثة من القبر
'they will **re-exhume** the corpse from the grave', lit. 'repeat the removal'

The verbal noun *'i'āda* إعادة has become an equivalent of the prefix 're-' on nouns (see more examples in **12.7.1**):

bi-ṣadadi ***'i'ādati tašġīli*** *l-turbīni l-ṯāliṯi*
بصدد إعادة تشغيل التربين الثالث
'concerning **re-activating** the third turbine'

3.21.2 *'awšaka* أوشك *'be on the point of'*

Usually occurs with *'alā* على (also *min* من) and either the subordinate verb with *'an* أن or the equivalent verbal noun:

tūšiku masāwi'uhum ***'an taḥjuba*** *wajha l-šamsi*
توشك مساوئهم أن تحجب وجه الشمس
'their vices nearly **veil** the face of the sun'

fīmā nūšiku ***'an nadḫula*** *l-qarna l-ḥādiya wa-l-'išrīna*
فيما نوشك أن ندخل القرن الحادي والعشرين
'while we are about **to enter** the twenty-first century'

wa-qabla 'an yūšika ***min-a l-intihā'i*** *minhā*
وقبل أن يوشك من الانتهاء منها
'before he was just about **to finish** it'

'alā waški على وشك variant, with same options:

la-qad 'aḥassat-i l-madīnatu bi 'asrihā 'annahā 'alā waški ***l-iḫtināqi***
لقد أحست المدينة بأسرها أنها على وشك الاختناق
'the whole town realized it was on the point of **choking**'

lākinna ʿaynayhā kānatā ʿalā waški ***ʾan tadmaʿā***
لكن عينيها كانتا على وشك أن تدمعا
'but her eyes were on the point of **flowing with tears**'

3.21.3 kāda كاد *'to be near to doing'* (▷C3:258, 260, 261)

This is either followed by independent verbs as with *kāna* كان or subordinated *ʾan* أن clauses. In the positive it covers the meaning of 'almost', 'nearly', while in the negative, *mā kāda* ما كاد, *lā yakādu* لا يكاد, the sense is 'hardly'.

- With independent verbs, positive *kāda* كاد 'almost', 'nearly':

  kādat ġādatu ʾan ***tabkiya***
  كادت غادة أن تبكي
  'Gada almost **cried**'

  kādat baʿḍu l-mihani ***takūnu maqṣūratan*** *ʿalayhim*
  كادت بعض المهن تكون مقصورة عليهم
  'certain professions **were** almost **restricted** to them'

  li-mumārasati našāṭihā baʿda ʾan kādat ***tatawaqqafu***
  لممارسة نشاطها بعد أن كادت تتوقف
  'to practise its activities after **they had** nearly **stopped**'

  yakādu qalbī ***yatafaṭṭaru*** *ḥuznan wa-ʾalaman*
  يكاد قلبى يتفطر حزنا وألما
  'my heart is almost **splitting** with sorrow and pain'

- Negative *kāda* كاد 'hardly':

  lā yakādūna ***yafhamūna*** *mā yuqālu*
  لا يكادون يفهمون ما يقال
  'they hardly **understand** what is said'

  wa-laylā ***lā takādu tufāriqu*** *ḥiḍnī*
  وليلى لا تكاد تفارق حضني
  'while Layla hardly **left** my lap'

  *ʾammā lafẓu l-turāṯi fa-****lā nakādu naʿṯuru*** *lahu ʿalā ʾaṯarin fī ḫiṭābihim*
  أما لفظ التراث فلا نكاد نعثر له على أثر في خطابهم
  'as for the term "heritage", we hardly **come across** any trace of it in their speeches'

- With subordinate verbs, positive *kāda* كاد:

  *takādīna **'an talmaḥī** min ḫalfihā ẓilālahā*
  تكادين أن تلمحي من خلفها ظلالهما
  'you [fem. sing.] can just **make out** behind it their [dual] shadows'

  *yakādu **'an yujanna** l-'āna min sulūki hāḏihi l-fatāti*
  يكاد أن يجن الآن من سلوك هذه الفتاة
  'he is nearly **going crazy** now from the behaviour of this woman'

  *kādat banātu 'ūrūbbā **'an yunsīnanī** wajhaki*
  كادت بنات أوروبا أن ينسيننني وجهك
  'the girls of Europe almost **made me forget** your [fem.] face'

  (for doubly transitive verbs, see **3.11.2**)

  Negative *kāda* كاد is not found with subordinate verbs.

- The combination of *kāda* كاد and *ḥattā* حتى 'until' expresses 'hardly . . . when' (▷C3:88; and see **7.6.7.7**):

  ***lā yakādūna** yataḫarrajūna **ḥattā** nḫaraṭū fī l-jayši*
  لا يكادون يتخرجون حتى انخرطوا في الجيش
  'they have **hardly** graduated **when** they are enlisted in the army'

  ***lā yakādu** yaftaḥu 'aynayhi **ḥattā** yunādiya 'alā kulli man fī l-bayti*
  لا يكاد يفتح عينيه حتى ينادي على كل من في البيت
  'he has **hardly** opened his eyes **before** he shouts at everyone in the house'

3.21.4 mā zāla ما زال *'not to cease'* (▷C2:200; ▷C3:259)

This verb is invariably used in the negative, though there are inconsistencies in the choice of negative forms: the CA *mā zāla* ما زال is often replaced by *lā zāla* لا زال (▷C1:117) and vice versa, *mā yazālu* ما يزال for the imperfect, although the negative particle *lā* لا is not normally used with perfect verbs except in the optative (see **3.25.2**).

Syntactically, *mā zāla* ما زال has the same range as *kāna* كان etc.

- Predicate is in dependent form:

  *mā zālat-i l-mufāwaḍātu **mustamirratan***
  ما زالت المفاوضات مستمرة
  'negotiations are still **continuing**'

*mā zālat **muḥtafiẓatan** bi-jamālihā*
ما زالت محتفظة بجمالها
'she has still **kept** her beauty'

*hāḏihi lā tazālu **dirāsatan** taqūmu bihā l-dawlatu*
هذه لا تزال دراسة تقوم بها الدولة
'this is still **a study** the state is carrying out', or 'will be carrying out'

*mā zālat 'āliyyatu l-šayḫūḫati **mas'alatan ġāmiḍatan***
ما زالت آلية الشيخوخة مسألة غامضة
'the mechanism of ageing is still **an obscure problem**'

*mā tazālu **ṭiflatan** fī 'af'ālihā*
ما تزال طفلة في أفعالها
'she is still **a baby** in her actions'

- Predicate is a verb phrase:

*'inna l-ḥarba lā zālat **tu'aṯṯiru** fī kulli šay'in*
إن الحرب لا زالت تؤثر في كل شيء
'the war still **affects** everything'

*mā zilnā **nutābi'u l-taḥqīqāti** l-ḫāṣṣata bi-hāḏā munḏu l-'āmi l-māḍī*
ما زلنا نتابع التحقيقات الخاصة بهذا منذ العام الماضي
'we have been continuing **to pursue investigations** into this since last year'

*lā yazālūna **yakrahūna** samā'a smihi wa-ru'yata ṣūratihi*
لا يزالون يكرهون سماع اسمه ورؤية صورته
'they still **hate** to hear his name and see his picture'

- Predicate is a prepositional phrase:

*mā zāla **'amāmī** muttasa'un min-a l-waqti*
ما زال أمامي متسع من الوقت
'there is still a lot of time **ahead of me**'

*wa-l-dumū'u mā zālat **fī 'aynayhā***
والدموع ما زالت في عينيها
'with tears still **in her eyes**'

(for nominal sentences as circumstantial qualifiers, see 7.3)

- When the second verb is also negated, the sense is 'still not':

  *mā zāla l-ṭābiqu l-'ulwiyyu **lam yurammam** 'ilā l-yawmi*

  ما زال الطابق العلوي لم يرمم إلى اليوم

  'the upper storey has still **not been restored** to this day'

  *lā zālat-i l-mustašfayātu l-'āmmatu **lā tuqaddimu** 'ilājan 'aw dawā'an*

  لا زالت المستشفيات العامة لا تقدم علاجا أو دواء

  'the general hospitals still **do not offer** any treatment or medication' or 'are still not offering'

  *fī waqtin mā zālat fīhi l-kaṯīru min-a l-qaḍāyā l-'arabiyyati wa-l-'ālamiyyati **lam tuḥalla** ba'du*

  في وقت ما زالت فيه الكثير من القضايا العربية والعالمية لم تحل بعد

  'at a time when many Arab and global problems were still **not yet solved**'

  (note verb agreement with logical agent *al-qaḍāyā* القضايا 'cases', not *al-kaṯīru* الكثير 'much', 'many', see **3.8.4**)

- Elliptical:

  *kāna yafriḍu **wa-lā yazālu***

  كان يفرض ولا يزال

  'he used to suppose **and still does**', lit. 'he used to suppose and has not stopped'

  *muhimmatāni kānatā **wa-mā zālatā** l-'akṯara 'ilḥāḥan 'alā sāsati l-minṭaqati*

  مهمتان كانتا وما زالتا أكثر إلحاحا على ساسة المنطقة

  'two concerns have been **and still are** most persistent for the leaders of the region'

  (for indefinite agents, see **3.7.2.2**)

3.22 Verbs of beginning and continuing

Verbs of beginning and continuing (traditionally *'af'āl al-šurū'* أفعال الشروع 'verbs of beginning'). These are nearly always followed asyndetically by an imperfect verb, less commonly by a verbal noun (both equivalent to a circumstantial qualifier, cf. **7.3**). Again, the following alphabetical list is not exhaustive, as the set is assuredly not closed, and, in addition, no account is taken of other meanings of these verbs or their homonyms, as these are lexical rather than syntactical issues.

3.22.1 ’aḫaḏa أخذ *lit. ‘to take’ i.e. ‘begin’* (▷C3:69)

Usually, with imperfect verb:

’aḫaḏat-i l-sur‘atu ***tazdādu***
أخذت السرعة تزداد
‘the speed started **to increase**’

’aḫaḏa ***yata‘arrafu*** *‘alā [alf layla wa-layla]*
أخذ يتعرف على [الف ليلة وليلة]
‘he began **to familiarize himself** with [*The 1001 Nights*]’

’aḫaḏū ***yatadārasūnahu*** *min kulli zāwiyatin*
أخذوا يتدارسونه من كل زاوية
‘they began **studying it** together from every angle’

Alternatively, with verbal noun with *fī* في ‘in’, ‘on’:

*’aḫaḏa fī l-****ṣiyāḥi***
أخذ في الصياح
‘he took to **shouting**’

3.22.2 bada’a بدأ *‘to begin’* (▷C3:69)

Usually, with imperfect verb:

al-ḥadīṯu bada’a ***yakṯuru***
الحديث بدأ يكثر
‘talk has started **to multiply**’

bada’a kullun minhumā ***yarwī*** *li-l-’āḫari qiṣṣata ḥayātihi*
بدأ كل منهما يروي للآخر قصة حياته
‘each of the two began **to tell** the other the story of his life’

bada’at-i l-suluṭātu l-’amrīkiyyatu ***taḍa‘u*** *fī ’aydī quwā l-’amni . . .*
بدأت السلطات الأمريكية تضع في أيدي قوى الأمن . . .
‘the American authorities started **putting** . . . into the hands of the security forces’

qad bada’a ***yašīḫu*** *bi-ṭarīqatin sarī‘atin*
قد بدأ يشيخ بطريقة سريعة
‘he had begun **to age** quickly’

Alternatively, with verbal noun as direct object:

*bada'nā **l-tadrība** 'alā l-silāḥi yawmahā*
بدأنا التدريب على السلاح يومها
'we started weapons **training** that same day'

(for this use of time expressions, see **2.14.5**)

*li-ma bada'ū l-**kalāma** 'alā ḍarūrati l-iḥtifāẓi bi-l-laqabi l-'āsiyawiyyi?*
لمَ بدأوا الكلام على ضرورة الاحتفاظ باللقب الآسيوي؟
'why did they start **talking** about the necessity of keeping the Asian title?'

(for interrogative *li-ma* لم 'why?', see **10.5.1**)

3.22.3 inṭalaqa انطلق *'to depart'* (▷C3:259), *i.e.* *'proceed to do something'*

With imperfect verb:

*inṭalaqat-i l-qiṭṭatu **tamū'u***
انطلقت القطة تموء
'the cat [fem.] proceeded **to miaow**'

3.22.4 istamarra استمر *'to continue'* (▷C3:257)

With imperfect verb:

*wa-bayrūtu . . . qad 'afrazat jawwan ḫāṣṣan-i stamarra **yasūdu** ḥattā fī 'aqbiyatihā ḫilāla l-ḥarbi*
وبيروت . . . قد أفرزت جوا خاصا استمر يسود حتى في أقبيتها خلال الحرب
'and Beirut . . . gave off a special atmosphere which continued **to reign** even in its shelters during the war'

*istamarra **ya'dū** ḥattā nqaṭa'at 'anfāsuhu*
استمر يعدو حتى انقطعت أنفاسه
'he continued **running** until his breath failed him'

3.22.5 ja‘ala جعل *‘to make’, i.e. ‘start’, ‘begin’* (▷C3:69)

With imperfect verb (contrast the doubly transitive function in **3.11.2.1**, ‘to make someone do something’):

*ja‘altu **’antaẓiru** dawrī* جعلت أنتظر دوري ‘I began **to wait for** my turn’

*ja‘alat **taṣīḥu*** جعلت تصيح ‘she started **shouting**’

*ja‘alū **yataġāfalūna*** جعلوا يتغافلون ‘they proceeded **to feign ignorance**’

This verb is commonly used in the absolute sense of ‘put’:

***ja‘ala** yadahu fī jaybihi* جعل يده في جيبه ‘he **put** his hand in his pocket’

3.22.6 maḍā مضى *‘to pass’, i.e. ‘proceed’* (▷C3:256)

With imperfect verb, in the sense of ‘beginning’, ‘proceeding’:

*maḍaytu **’ahbiṭu** darajāti l-sullami l-‘arīḍi*
مضيت أهبط درجات السلم العريض
‘I started **going down** the steps of the broad staircase’

*wa-maḍā **yaḫtalifu** ma‘a šaqīqihi*
ومضى يختلف مع شقيقه
‘and he proceeded **to differ** with his brother’

It also occurs in the literal sense:

*wa-**yamḍī** l-‘umru mal’āna muzāḥiman muṣāri‘an*
ويمضي العمر ملآن مزاحما مصارعا
‘and life **proceeds**, full, jostling, wrestling’

(for circumstantial qualifiers, see **3.29.7**)

3.22.7 rāḥa راح *‘to go’* (▷C3:259), *i.e. ‘start’, ‘proceed’*

With imperfect verb:

*rāḥā **yabkī** wa-huwa yaqūlu …*
راح يبكي وهو يقول . . .
‘he began **to cry**, saying …’

ruḥtu ***'urāqibuhu*** *wa-huwa yantaqilu bayna l-mawā'idi*
رحت أراقبه وهو ينتقل بين الموائد
'I proceeded **to observe him** as he moved between the tables'

3.22.8 šara'a شرع *'to start', 'to embark on'*

With imperfect verb:

šara'a ***yukawwinu*** *li-nafsihi ṯarwatan kabīratan*
شرع يكون لنفسه ثروة كبيرة
'he started **to create** a large fortune for himself'

Often with *fī* في 'in', 'on' and verbal noun:

'indamā šara'a ***fī mu'ālajati*** *raqabatī ġaṭṭā wajhī bi-qinā'in 'azraqa ḫafīfin*
عندما شرع في معالجة رقبتي غطى وجهي بقناع أزرق خفيف
'when he started **on the treatment** of my neck he covered my face with a light, blue veil'

lā budda 'an tašra'a ***fī 'i'dādi*** *l-ḫarā'iṭi l-ḍarūriyyati*
لا بد أن تشرع في إعداد الخرائط الضرورية
'you must start **to prepare** the necessary maps'

3.22.9 ṭafiqa طفق *'to start immediately/suddenly'* (▷C3:69)

With imperfect verb:

ṭafiqa ***yu'īdu tanẓīma*** *l-ḥujrati*
طفق يعيد تنظيم الحجرة
'he immediately began to **re-arrange** the room'

(for *'a'āda* أعاد 'to do again', see **3.21.1.2**)

3.23 Other compound verbs and idiomatic structures

This is a catch-all section, but if there is any uniting feature it may be that most of the items here can be regarded as process verbs.

3.23.1 tamma تمّ *'to complete' and* jarā جرى *'to go'*

These are combined with verbal nouns to convey performance or completion. In their absolute use:

wa hāḏā mā ***tamma*** *fi'lan*

وهذا ما تم فعلا

'this is what **happened** in fact'

jarat*-i l-mufāwaḍātu fī sirriyyatin kāmilatin*

جرت المفاوضات في سرية كاملة

'the negotiations **proceeded** in complete secrecy'

As an auxiliary, *tamma* تم frequently paraphrases a passive, that is, impersonal sense (see **3.12**):

tammat ***tarqiyatuhu*** *ḥadīṯan*

تمت ترقيته حديثا

'**his promotion** was recently effected'

tamma ***faḥṣuhā*** *hunāka fī l-ḥāli*

تم فحصها هناك في الحال

'**an examination of her** was performed there immediately'

rubbamā yatimmu ***l-wuṣūlu*** *'ilā ḥallin 'āḫara*

ربما يتم الوصول إلى حل آخر

'perhaps another solution **will be reached**', lit. 'reaching will be completed'

The preference for *tamma* تم + verbal noun over the formal passive depends on the nature of the event, the tendency now being to use the passive if the punctual nature of the event is dominant, hence in the first example above the synonymous passive *ruqqiya ḥadīṯan* رقي حديثا 'he was promoted recently' would emphasize the singularity and historicity of the event rather than the process. Not every verb can be used indifferently in either construction: an example from **3.12** ***quddirat*** *qīmatuhā bi-mablaġi* قدرت قيمتها بمبلغ 'their value **was estimated** at the amount of' would not be acceptable in the form ****tamma taqdīru*** *qīmatihā bi-mablaġi* تم تقدير قيمتها بمبلغ except in the unlikely event that it meant '**the estimation** of its value at . . . **was carried out**'.

As an auxiliary *jarā* جرى generally indicates a process:

hāḏihi hiya l-qawānīnu llatī yajrī ***l-'amalu bihā*** *fī l-maḥākimi l-'askariyyati*
هذه هي القوانين التي يجري العمل بها في المحاكم العسكرية
'these are the laws which **are in effect** in military courts', lit. 'on which action proceeds'

taqdīmu l-musā'adāti l-'āmmati wa-l-ḫāṣṣati li 'ayyi ḥukūmatin mu'aqqatatin jadīdatin yajrī ***takwīnuhā*** *fī janūbi 'ifrīqiyā*
تقديم المساعدات العامة والخاصة لأي حكومة مؤقتة جديدة يجري تكوينها في جنوب أفريقيا
'the offer of public and private help to any temporary government **formed** in southern Africa', lit. '[whose] formation occurs'

The CA idiom *qāma bi-* قام بِـ 'to carry out', 'to perform' survives:

qāmat*-i l-ḥukūmatu l-'amrīkiyyatu* ***bi****-mumārasati l-ḍaġṭi 'alā l-ṭarafayni*
قامت الحكومة الأمريكية بممارسة الضغط على الطرفين
'the American government **applied** pressure to the two parties', lit. '**carried out** the application of'

The syntax with the verbal noun is the same:

qiyāmu *l-jamā'āti l-mutaṭarrifati* ***bi-'iṣdāri*** *l-manšūrāti*
قيام الجماعات المتطرفة بإصدار المنشورات
'**the carrying out** by extremist groups **of the issue** of publications'

but far more common now are *tamma* تمّ and *jarā* جرى as illustrated above.

3.23.2 sabaqa سبق *'do previously'*

sabaqa 'an سبق أن '[it] happened before that' reproduces the notion 'previously'.

The agent is the *'an* أن clause, hence this verb is always masculine singular, and the subordinate verb is always perfect (see **7.5.1**):

wa-huwa mā sabaqa 'an ***'a'lantuhu***
وهو ما سبق أن أعلنته
'and this is what **I** previously **announced**'

'anna firqata l-bālēh bi-l-qāhirati sabaqa 'an ***qaddamat*** *nafsa l-'arḍi marratayni*
أن فرقة البليه بالقاهرة سبق أن قدمت نفس العرض مرتين
'that the ballet company in Cairo previously **presented** the same show twice'

la-qad sabaqa 'an ***ḫaf[f]aḍat*** *'ūrubbā stiṯmārātihā fī haḏihi l-duwali*
لقد سبق أن خفضت أوربا استثماراتها في هذه الدول
'Europe has previously **reduced** its investments in these states'

An alternative construction simply coordinates the second verb in a kind of hendiadys (see **6.2.4**):

kamā sabaqa ***wa-qulnā***
كما سبق وقلنا
'as we have previously **said**'

kamā sabaqa ***wa-wa'ada*** *l-ra'īsu*
كما سبق ووعد الرئيس
'as the president **had** previously **promised**'

ḥayṯu sabaqa ***wa-'abdawhu***
حيث سبق وأبدوه
'where **they had** previously **shown it**'

3.23.3 *'do more', 'do less'*

The verbs *zāda* زاد, *izdāda* ازداد 'increase', 'be/make more' and *qalla* قلّ 'decrease', 'be less' are accompanied by the specifying complement (see **2.4.4**):

yu'ānūna min ẓurūfin ***tazdādu sū'an***
يعانون من ظروف تزداد سوءًا
'they are suffering from circumstances which **are becoming increasingly bad**'

(for the adjectival relative clause, see **5.1**)

mimmā ***yazīdu*** *l-muškilata* ***ta'qīdan***
مما يزيد المشكلة تعقيدا
'which **makes** the problem **more complicated**'

(for *mimmā* ممّا 'of that which', see **5.5.2**)

wa-ttaba'athā bi-'afkārin taṭrīziyyatin ***lā taqillu raw'atan***
واتبعتها بأفكار تطريزية لا تقل روعة
'she followed them with ideas on embroidery **that were no less amazing**'

(for adjectival relative clause, see **5.1**)

3.23.4 *Verbs denoting manner*

The CA function of stem IV (see **1.9.1.2**) to indicate the manner of an action is still in use (▷C2:165, and cf. **2.5.9**); inevitably these verbs translate best as adverbs in English.

It occurs in an absolute sense:

'aḥsana *'a'ḍā'u l-jam'iyyati l-'ahliyyati 'indamā 'awḍaḥū 'ayḍan 'anna* . . .
أحسن أعضاء الجمعية الأهلية عندما أوضحوا أيضا أن . . .
'the members of the national [namely, non-governmental] association **did well** when they also made it clear that . . .'

but more often with a verbal noun as a direct object:

'ajzala *lahu l-'aṭā'a*
أجزل له العطاء
'he gave **generously** to him', lit. 'did generously the giving'

la-qad ***'asa'ta*** *fahmī*
لقد أسأت فهمي
'you have **misunderstood** me', lit. 'done badly the understanding of me'

(cf. *sū' tafāhum* سوء تفاهم 'misunderstanding', **2.9.2.6**, **12.7.1**)

al-mar'atu llatī ***tukṯiru*** *l-ḫurūja min manzilihā*
المرأة التي تكثر الخروج من منزلها
'the woman who **frequently** leaves her home', lit. 'does often the leaving'

kuntu ***'uṭīlu*** *l-ta'ammula*
كنت أطيل التأمل
'I used to ponder **for a long time**', lit. 'make long the pondering'

(for the compound tense, see **3.10.6**)

wa-'aḫaḏat ***tujīdu*** *l-'inṣāta li-ṯarṯaratihā*
وأخذت تجيد الإنصات لثرثرتها
'she began to pay attention **properly** to her chatter', lit. 'to do well the paying attention'

(cf. **3.22.1** on *'aḫaḏa* اخذ 'to begin')

Passive verbs occur, in an impersonal sense (cf. **3.12.4**):

'uḥsina *stiġlāluhā*

أحسن استغلالها

'[the region] **was well** exploited', lit. 'its exploitation was done well'

Variants with other stems are also seen:

ṭāla *taṭallu'ī*

طال تطلعي

'I stared **for a long time**', lit. 'my staring was long'

sāra'a *qā'ilan*

سارع قائلا

'he said **hurriedly**', lit. 'he hastened, saying'

(for circumstantial qualifier 'saying', see **2.4.6**, **3.29.7**)

The verbal nouns (see **2.10**) can be used in the same sense:

al-'iqlālu *min 'akli l-dasami*

الإقلال من أكل الدسم

'the **lowering** of fat consumption', from *'aqalla* 'to do little, less' (cf. **3.23.3**)

al-'isrā'u *fī 'i'dādi l-mašrū'i*

الأسراع في إعداد المشروع

'preparing the plan **quickly**', lit. 'hastening in preparing the plan'

Alternatively, hendiadys with *fa-* فـ 'and then' may be used (see **6.3.2**).

3.24 Miscellaneous verb phrases and structures

This chapter concludes with a review of the remaining verb phrases and structures which can still be regarded as simple sentences; where a more detailed treatment is found elsewhere (e.g. with negation or the various dependent complements), only token examples are given. The treatment of complex sentences begins in **Chapter 5**.

Imperatives and indirect commands: there are special forms for the direct imperative and a set of specific (apocopate) structures for prohibitions and indirect commands. Although several verb forms clearly display their apocopation, it is not always possible to identify the verbal inflection, and in

the following it will be assumed to be regular unless there is good evidence to the contrary (e.g. **3.24.3**).

3.24.1 *Positive direct commands*

Positive direct commands use the simple imperative (**1.5.2.2**):

zāwil *riyāḍataka bi-'tidālin*
زاول رياضتك باعتدال
'**pursue** [masc. sing.] your exercise with moderation'

uḫrujī *ma'ī 'ilā l-nāsi*
اخرجي معي إلىالناس
'**come out** [fem. sing.] with me to the people'

intahizū *l-furṣata l-kubrā!*
انتهزوا الفرصة الكبرى!
'**seize** [masc. plur.] the great opportunity!'

Often with vocative elements (see **2.15**):

hayyā ta'āla *ma'ī*
هيا تعال معي
'**hey there**, **come** with me'

Imperative with the emphatic suffix *-anna* ـَنَّ (▷C1:83; and cf. **3.26**) was not found.

3.24.2 *Positive indirect commands*

Positive indirect commands use the apocopate verb (**1.5.2.2**), sometimes bare:

nantaqil *'ilā ḫāriji l-qal'ati li-našhada baṣamāti wa-'injāzāti l-duktūri A. F.*
ننتقل إلى خارج القلعة لنشهد بصمات وإنجازات الدكتور أ. ف.
'**let us move** outside the Citadel to see the traces and accomplishments of Dr A. F.'

but more usually prefixed with *li-* لِـ (▷C1:80). When this *li-* لـ is prefixed with *wa-* و or *fa-* ف (▷C3:29; and see **6.3.3**) the *li-* لـ conventionally loses its vowel for reasons of euphony, and this will be reflected in the transliteration:

li-nabda' *'iḏan bi-l-tasā'uli*
لنبدأ إذن بالتساؤل
'**let us begin** therefore by wondering'

fa-l-takun *qimmatan bi-lā siyāsatin*
فلتكن قمة بلا سياسة
'so **let it be** a summit without politics'

li-yaḏhabū *li-l-šayṭāni jamī'an*
ليذهبوا للشيطان جميعا
'**let them** all **go** to the devil'

The passive is often used idiomatically as an indirect imperative (see **3.12.4**).

3.24.3 *Periphrastic commands*

Periphrastic commands and calques with *da'* دع, *taraka* ترك (▷C3:71).

The imperative *da'* دع 'let' from *wada'a* ودع 'to let', and *utruk* اترك 'leave' from *taraka* ترك 'to leave' are used with other verbs as also in CA, though now often as calques of 'let me', etc. The collocated verbs fluctuate between independent (i.e. circumstantial qualifiers) and apocopate (i.e. pseudo-commands with perhaps a tinge of conditional syntax, cf. **8.1.2**), as far as we can read in unvowelled texts.

The following can only be an independent verb:

da'ūnā ***narā***
دعونا نرى
'let [masc. plur.] us **see**', namely, 'let us be seeing'

while here only an apocopate reading is possible:

da'ūnā ***nakun*** *wāqi'iyyīna*
دعونا نكن واقعيين
'let us **be** [apoc.] realistic', i.e. pseudo-conditional, 'leave us alone [and if you do] we will be realistic'

The following, however, are indeterminate:

da'ūnī fī l-bidāyati ***'u'abbir#*** *'an sa'ādatī l-šaḫṣiyyati*
دعوني في البداية أعبر عن سعادتي الشخصية
'let me first **express** my personal happiness'

utrukūhā ***tulaqqin#hu*** *darsan yanfa'u*

اتركوها تلقنه درسا ينفع

'let [masc. plur.] her **teach him** a lesson which will be useful'

In non-imperative contexts the two verbs are combined with circumstantial qualifiers (cf. **3.11.2.2**, **3.11.2.3**) in slightly divergent meanings of 'leave', with *wada'a* ودع tending to denote 'allow' and *taraka* ترك 'leave [alone]', though with both there is a blurring between 'leave' and 'let' which cannot always be resolved.

wada'a ودع:

kāna yuḥāwilu juhdahu 'an lā yada'a laḥẓatan ***tatasarrabu*** *bayna yadayhi dūna kasbi ma'rifatin mā*

كان يحاول جهده أن لا يدع لحظة تتسرب بين يديه دون كسب معرفة ما

'he tried his best not to let a moment **slip** between his hands without acquiring some knowledge or other'

yajibu 'an tada'ahu ***yufakkiru*** *fī l-munāsabati*

يجب ان تدعه يفكر في المناسبة

'she must let him **think** about the occasion' or 'leave him **to think**'

taraka ترك. These are clearly circumstantial qualifiers:

taraka l-ba'ḍa ***yatasā'alu*** *'an sirri mā ḥadaṯa*

ترك البعض يتساءل عن سر ما حدث

'he left some [people] **wondering** about the secret of what had happened'

tarakūhu ***ya'uddu*** *'aṣābi'a l-nadami*

تركوه يعد أصابع الندم

'they left him **counting** the fingers of regret'

but here the difference is not so clear:

tarakūhu ***ya'ūdu***

تركوه يعود

'they let him **return**' or 'they left him **to return**'

tarakū l-'umūra ***tasīru*** *min sayyi'in 'ilā 'aswa'a*

تركوا الأمور تسير من سيء إلى أسوء

'they left things **to go** from bad to worse' or 'let things **go**'

3.24.4 halumma هَلُمَّ + *apocopate verb, 'come on', 'hey there' etc.* (▷C3:11)

halumma natanāwal *ṭa'āma l-'ašā'i*
هلم نتناول طعام العشاء
'**come on, let us take** the evening meal'

It inflects for number, as in the Egyptian national anthem:

halummū halummū *li-majdi l-waṭani*
هلموا هلموا لمجد الوطن
'**Up! Up!** [masc. plur.] for the Glory of the Nation!'

3.24.5 *Prohibitions*

Prohibitions are expressed with *lā* لا 'not' and the second person apocopate verb: (▷C1:81, 116; for details, see **4.4.1**). Only token examples are given here:

lā takun *malakiyyan 'akṯara min-a l-maliki*
لا تكن ملكيا أكثر من الملك
'**do not be** more royalist than the king'

lā tajlis *'alā l-ḥašā'iš*
لا تجلس على الحشائش
'**do not sit** on the grass'

lā tadhashu
لاتدهسه
'**do not run him over**'

3.24.6 *Indirect prohibitions*

Indirect prohibitions are expressed by *lā* لا 'not' and first or third person apocopate verbs, commonly suffixed with *-anna* ـَنّ (▷C1:83, 117; and see **3.26**) (see **4.4.4.1**). Token examples:

*wa-**lā yaẓunnanna** 'aḥadun min banī 'ādama 'anna l-kilāba bi-lā ḍamīrin, fa-hiya wafiyyatun 'akṯaru minka wa-minnī*
ولا يظنن احد من بني آدم ان الكلاب بلا ضمير، فهي وفيّة اكثر منك ومني
'**let no** human being **suppose** that dogs are without a conscience, for they are more faithful than you or I'

*ʾiḏan fa-**lā naḥsabanna** wa-l-ḥālatu hāḏihi, ʾanna …*
إذن فلا نحسبن والحالة هذه، أن . . .
'so **let us on no account reckon**, while the situation is so, that …'

3.24.7 *Coordination of imperatives*

Imperatives are coordinated in the usual way (▷C3:15; and see **6.2.1**):

*isma‘ **wa**-ntabih*
اسمع وانتبه
'listen **and** pay attention'

*arḥamnī **wa**-ġfir lī*
ارحمني واغفر لي
'have mercy on me **and** forgive me'

3.25 Optatives (▷C1:61)

Blessings, prayers and curses are still expressed in the CA style with the perfect verb (see **1.5.2.2**). Cf. also **3.29.9** for the expression of wishes in the form of dependent nouns, the verbs elided.

3.25.1 *Positive wishes*

Positive wishes (*duʿā’* 'calling down [blessing]') are expressed with the simple perfect verb:

būrikti بوركت '**may** you **be blessed**', addressed to 2nd sing. fem.

***rāfaqatka** l-saʿādatu* رافقتك السعادة '**may** happiness **accompany you**'

Inevitably, many of them are part of the religious vocabulary:

*allāhu **ʿazza wa-jalla***
الله عز وجل
'**Almighty** God' lit. 'God, **may he be exalted and glorified**'

Note: this translation reflects only the grammatical features of the construction, not its theological implications.

jaddī ***raḥimahu*** *llāhu*
جدي رحمه الله
'my [late] grandfather, **may** God **have mercy** on him'

ṣāḥibu l-sumuwwi ra'īsu l-dawlati ***ḥafiẓahu*** *llāhu*
صاحب السمو رئيس الدولة حفظه الله
'His Excellency the Head of State, **may** God **preserve him**'

The occurrence of the imperfect in blessings may on the other hand reflect colloquial usage, especially with agent + verb word order (hence transliterated here without inflection):

allāh ***yaġfir lah wa-yarḥamuh***
الله يغفر له ويرحمه
'may God **forgive him and have mercy** on him'

In religious contexts the target of the blessing is often elided as needing no mention (the blessings being in many cases specific to God, the Prophet, the early caliphs or saints):

nahānā ***ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*** *'an …*
نهانا صلى الله عليه وسلم عن . . .
'**may God bless him and give him peace** [i.e. Muḥammad] has forbidden us to …'

Verbless sentences can also express a wish:

jibrā'īlu ***'alayhi l-salāmu***
جبرائيل عليه السلام
'Gabriel, **upon him [be] peace**'

3.25.2 *Negative wishes*

Negative wishes are expressed as in CA with *lā* لا 'not' and the simple perfect verb (▷C1:61, 117; and see **4.2.1**):

lā samaḥa *llāhu* لا سمح الله 'God forbid' lit. '**may** God **not permit**'
lā fuḍḍa *fūka* لا فض فوك '**may** your mouth **not be broken**'

Negative wishes are also now expressed with *mā* ما:

wallāhi ***mā kāna*** *ḏālika yā 'abdallāhi*
والله ما كان ذلك يا عبدالله
'by God, **may** that **not be**, 'Abdullāh'

The defective verb *laysa* ليس 'not to be' (see **4.2.8**) is never used in optative meaning.

3.26 Energetic form and oaths (▷C1:82)

The verb in oaths and other highly charged discourse (e.g. in indirect prohibitions, see **3.24.6**) is often suffixed with *-anna* ـَنَّ, (*nūn al-tawkīd* نون التوكيد 'the *n* of emphasis') producing the so-called energetic form (see **1.5.2.2**; the lighter form of the suffix *-an* ـَنْ survives only as an archaism). The energetic verb is mostly now prefixed with *la-* لَـ (see **1.6.7**). These forms are found mainly in literary contexts.

3.26.1 *Energetic*

The energetic form of the verb is used to make very strong assertions:

la-'aḏhabanna *'ilā l-šurṭati qabla ḏahābī 'ilā baytī*
لأذهبن إلى الشرطة قبل ذهابي إلى البيت
'**I shall definitely go** to the police before I go home'

ḥalaftu ***la-'aqūmanna*** *bi-hāḏihi l-'iṣlāḥāti dūna ma'ūnatin min 'aḥadin*
حلفت لأقومن بهذه الإصلاحات دون معونة من أحد
'I swore **I would definitely carry out** these repairs without help from anyone'

3.26.2 *Conditional*

It may also be used in the apodosis of conditional sentences, in which case it is generally reinforced with *la-* لـ (▷C3:369; and cf. **8.2** for this particle in apodosis of *law* لو 'if' clauses):

'in 'as'afanī l-ḥaẓẓu ***la-'usaddidanna*** *kulla hāḏihi l-duyūni*
إن أسعفني الحظ لأسددن كل هذه الديون
'if fortune helps me, **I most certainly will settle** all these debts'

The same structure is used after formal oaths (see **2.17**), though no examples were found in the data.

3.27 Exclamatory verbs

Here a number of miscellaneous structures are presented, some archaic or fossilized and in the process of replacement by new expressions.

3.27.1 *Exclamatory 'how'* (▷C2:210)

Exclamatory 'how + predicated quality' sentences are expressed by two constructions, both involving the elative pattern (see **1.8.6.2**; **2.11**, though the historical relationship is quite uncertain). One, the *mā 'af'ala* ما أفعل pattern is still common, but the *'af'il bi-* أفعل بِـ alternative has become rare and has not been seen in the data.

Syntactically these structures are now unanalysable: the presumption is that *mā 'aḥsanahu* ما أحسنه 'how handsome he is', for example, breaks down into '*what has made him handsome!' and the synonymous alternative *'aḥsin bihi* أحسن به as '*make something handsome with him!'. The constructions are now completely fossilized, though apparently in no way threatened by replacement with calques.

In the *mā 'af'ala* ما أفعل type the quality to be exclaimed is expressed as an invariable elative and the bearer of the quality appears in the dependent form as if a direct object:

mā ***'aṭwala l-masāfata***
ما أطول المسافة
'how **long the distance** [dep.] was'

mā ***'aḥlāhā*** *warā'al-yašmaki*
ما أحلاها وراء اليشمك
'how **sweet she** [dep.] was behind the yashmak'

mā ***'akṯara l-majānīna*** *fī hāḏihi l-'ayyāmi*
ما أكثر المجانين في هذه الأيام
'how **many lunatics** [dep.] there are nowadays'

mā ***'ašadda waq'ahu*** *'alā nafsī*
ما أشدّ وقعه على نفسي
'how **intensely** it **affected me**', lit. 'how **strong** was **its falling** upon me'

(contrast with *šadda mā* شدّ ما **3.27.3**)

A variant with partitive or explanatory *min* من (see **2.6.12**) is also seen:

mā ***'arwa'ahu min ġibṭatin***
ما أروعه من غبطة
'what **amazing bliss** it was', lit. 'how **amazing it** was **of bliss**'

In common with the elatives, this pattern can be formed on any type of word, there being no need (as in Western languages) for a positive adjectival form as a base (e.g. long, longer, longest). Thus, in *mā 'aḥwajanī 'ilayki* ما أحوجني إليك 'how **much I** [dep] **need you**', *'aḥwajanī* أحوجني '*great my need' is derived directly from the root letters *ḥ-w-j* of the word *ḥājatun* حاجة 'need'. To be sure, MWA prefers the periphrastic ***mā 'ašadda ḥājatī*** *'ilayki* ما أشد حاجتي إليك 'how **strong** is my **need** for you', but the CA construction is still recognized and seen occasionally.

If the focus of the exclamation is an action, it takes the form of a clause, either a subordinate clause with *'an* أن (▷C3:274), functioning as the implicit object of the exclamation:

fī majāli l-ṣinā'ati ***mā 'aṣ'aba 'an taltaqiya*** *bi-l-ruwwādi*
في مجال الصناعة ما أصعب أن تلتقي بالرواد
'in the field of industry **how difficult it is to meet** the pioneers',
lit. 'how difficult that you should meet'

mā 'ajmala 'an tataḥallā *l-mar'atu bi-l-'unūṯati*
ما أجمل أن تتحلى المرأة بالأنوثة
'**how beautiful it is** for a woman **to adorn herself** with femininity',
lit. 'how beautiful that she adorn herself'

or a nominal relative clause introduced by *mā* ما (▷C3:228; and see **5.6.2**), again functioning as the implicit object of the exclamation:

wa-yakūnu 'ālaman ṣagīran, lākinnahu haššun ***mā 'asra'a mā yazūlu***
ويكون عالما صغيرا لكنه هش ما أسرع ما يزول
'it may be a small world, but it is fragile, and **how quickly it will pass away**', lit. 'how quickly what will pass'

mā 'akṯara mā sa-yukšafu *lī ḫilāla l-'ayyāmi l-mutabaqqiyati*
ما أكثر ما سيكشف لي خلال الأيام المتبقية
'**how much will be revealed** to me during the remaining days', lit.
'how much what will be revealed'

mā ’ašadda mā ’u‘ānī *min ’alami l-ġurbati wa-l-firāqi!*

ما أشد ما أعاني من ألم الغربة والفراق!

‘**how intense is** the pain of exile and separation **I am suffering**!’ lit. ‘how intense what I am suffering of pain …’

mā ’akṯara mā yulāqīhi *l-mar’u min dahrihi*

ما أكثر ما يلاقيه المرء من دهره

‘**how much a man meets** from his fate’, lit. ‘how much what a man meets’

To put these expressions into the past (which may also have conditional meaning, cf. **8.5.1**), *kāna* كان is used (cf. *kāna* كان as a tense modifier in equational sentences, **3.16.3**):

’innanī lam ’astakin-i l-’āna li-’uslūbin wāḥidin, ***mā kāna ’ashala ḏālika miṯlamā yaf‘alu kaṯīrun min-a l-kuttābi***

إنني لم أستكن الآن لأسلوب واحد، ما كان أسهل ذلك مثلما يفعل كثير من الكتاب

‘I have not now surrendered myself to a single style: **how easy that would be**, like many authors do’

For a related construction, see also **3.27.3**.

For quantitative ‘how much/many’ + statements, see exclamatory *kam* كم in **3.28.2**, which is beginning to overlap now with these exclamatory verbs.

3.27.2 *‘how good’, ‘how bad’*

ni‘ma نِعْم and *bi‘sa* بِئْس are fossilized verbs restricted to exclamations in the pattern *ni‘ma/bi’sa* نعم\بئس + agent. A feminine option was available in CA but was rare even then and has not been seen in the data:

fa-’anta ***ni‘ma l-ṣadīqu***

فأنت نعم الصديق

‘and you, **what a good friend** [you are]’, lit. ‘you, how good [verb] the friend [agent]’

If the focus of the exclamation is an action, it takes the form of a nominal relative clause beginning with *mā* ما ‘what’ (see **5.4**):

ni‘ma mā tuqaddimu lī *min-a l-naṣā’iḥi*

نعم ما تقدم لي من النصيحة

‘**what good** advice **you are offering me**’, lit. ‘how good [verb] what you are offering me of advice [nom. rel. clause as agent]’

(for *mā . . . min* ما . . . من see **5.4.4**)

bi'sa mā 'ulāqī *min dahrī wa-'iḫwānī*
بئس ما ألاقي من دهري وإخواني
'**how bad is what** I encounter from my time and my brethren', lit. 'how bad [verb] what I encounter [nom. rel. clause as agent]'

bi'sa mā tuḥaddiṯuka *bihi nafsuka min ḥiyali l-šayṭāni*
بئس ما تحدثك به نفسك من حيل الشيطان
'**how bad is what** your mind **tells you** of the schemes of the Devil'

ni'immā نِعِمّا (▷C3:194) is a respelling of the *ni'ma* + *mā* ما + نعم construction above, in which the relative pronoun *mā* ما has become fused with the verb. No examples were found in the data.

3.27.3 *Other exclamatory expressions with* mā

The following exclamatory expressions have nominal relative clauses with *mā* ما + verb (see **5.6.2**) as their agent or topic:

- *šattāna mā* شتّان ما, 'how different!' (▷C2:209; ▷C3:194, and cf. *šattā* شتّى in **2.9.1.9**):

  lākin ***šattānā mā*** *bayna 'amṭāri l-qāhirati wa-'āṣifati klīflānd*
  لكن شتان ما بين أمطار القاهرة وعاصفة كليفلاند
  'but **what a difference** between the rains of Cairo and the storm[s] of Cleveland', lit. 'how **different is what** there is between'

- *sur'āna mā* سُرْعان ما 'how quickly!' (▷C2:209; ▷C3:217):

  sur'āna mā yansā
  سرعان ما ينسى
  '**how quickly** he forgets'

  sur'āna mā *sayṭara farīqu ġānā 'alā l-mubārāti*
  سرعان ما سيطر فريق غانا على المباراة
  '**how quickly** the Ghana team took control of the match'

  sur'āna mā *taḥawwala l-ta'āṭufu 'ilā raġbatin ḥaqīqiyyatin*
  سرعان ما تحول التعاطف الى رغبة حقيقية
  '**how quickly** sympathy changed into a real desire'

- *šadda mā* شَدَّ ما 'how strongly!' (▷C3:217 and cf. ▷C2:458; and see also the exclamatory verbs in **3.27.1**):

  šadda mā *'aḥbabtuhum jamī'an kamā 'aḥabbūnī*
  شد ما أحببتهم جميعا كما أحبوني
  '**how strongly** I loved them all as they loved me'

  šādda mā *tuḥzinunī*
  شد ما تحزنني
  '**how strongly** it saddens me'

- *qallamā* قلما 'how rarely', spelt as one word (▷C3:213; and cf. *qalīlan mā* قليلا ما, 'rarely' **5.8.6**) has the same syntax, though no examples were seen in the data.

3.27.4 *Miscellaneous exclamations*

The fossilized verb *ḥabbaḏā* حبَّذا contains the elements of the verb *ḥabba* حب 'to love' and a demonstrative *ḏā* ذا 'that', but is completely invariable and simply used to introduce sentences expressing a strong wish, usually with *law* لو 'if only' (see **8.2.8**):

ḥabbaḏā *law raja'nā 'ilā mā kāna baynanā min maḥabbatin*
حبذا لو رجعنا إلى ما كان بيننا من محبة
'**how good it would be** if we returned to the love that was between us'

It can be reinforced with the exclamation *yā* يا 'O' (see also **2.16.1**):

yā ḥabbaḏā *law sami'ta ba'ḍa hāḏihi l-naṣā'iḥi*
يا حبذا لو سمعت بعض هذه النصائح
'**how lovely it would be** if you listened to some of this advice'

Other uses of *yā* يا:

With explanatory *min* من (cf. **2.6.12**):

yā lahā min *ta'āsatin wa-ḥirmānin!*
يا لها من تعاسة وحرمان!
'**what** misery and deprivation!'

yā lī min *hā'ulā'i l-'awlādi!*
يا لي من هؤلاء الأولاد!
'**God help me** with these children!'

With *la-* لـ (cf. **2.16.1**):

yā la-l-barā'ati *llatī kānat taši"u ka-hālatin ḥawla wajhihā l-'asmari!*
يا للبراءة التي كانت تشع كهاله حول وجهها الأسمر!
'**O, what innocence** radiated like a halo around her brown face!'

yā la-kaṯrati *mā waqa'a fī l-ikti'ābi*
يا لكثرة ما وقع في الاكتئاب
'**O how often** he fell into dejection'

The exclamation *hayhāta* هيهات (see also **2.16.5**) expresses despair and disbelief, and introduces subordinate clauses with *'an* أنْ:

lākin ***hayhāta, hayhāta*** *'an yalḥaqū bī 'aw yafhamūnī*
ولكن هيهات، هيهات أن يلحقوا بي أو يفهموني
'but **how unlikely, how unlikely**, that they will catch me up or understand me'

wa-lākin ***hayhāta lahā*** *'an tanjaḥa fī šay'in min ḏālika*
ولكن هيهات لها أن تنجح في شيء من ذلك
'**how remote it was** that she would succeed in anything of that'

here with *hayhāta* هيهات localized with *li-* لِـ 'to' as in *waylun laka* ويل لك 'woe to you' etc. (see **2.16.4**).

Elliptical exclamations usually assume an elided verb:

makānaka مكانك '[stop] **where you are**!'

a dependent locative qualifier with elided verb *qif* قف 'stop' (see **3.29.4**).

However, the verb may be unrecoverable or at least compulsorily deleted:

'ilayka 'annī إليك عني '[get] **away from me**', lit. 'to you from me'

hāka هاك '[take] **this**'

An unrecoverable elided verb must be assumed with the dummy pronoun prefix *'iyyā-* إيا (cf. **3.11.1.1**) used in warnings and threats:

'iyyāka *'an taqūma bi-ḥarakatin 'uḫrā*
إياك أن تقوم بحركة أخرى
'don't make another move', lit. '[watch out for] **yourself** that you make another move'

'iyyāki *wa-ṣadīqātiki l-mutabarrijāti*

إيّاك وصديقاتك المتبرّجات

'**you** [fem. sing.] watch out for your prettied-up girlfriends'

This isolated variant may have accidentally lost the conjunction *'an* أن:

'iyyāka ***taẓunnu*** *'annanā 'adīmātu l-raḥmati*

اياك تظن اننا عديمات الرحمة

'you beware of **thinking** that we are devoid of mercy'

for *'an taẓunna* أن تظنَّ 'that you think'

For the *wa-* و 'and' with dependent form in this construction, see further **2.16.4**.

3.28 Exclamatory sentences with *wa-* و, *rubba* ربّ, *kam* كم and other interrogatives

3.28.1 wa- و *and* rubba ربّ (cf. ▷C2:207)

wa- و and *rubba* ربّ are two particles which take oblique nouns as the topics of exclamatory sentences, though no example of this construction with *wa-* و was found in the data, and it can be presumed to be obsolete.

While etymologically *rubba* ربّ is undoubtedly connected with the idea of 'much', 'many' (cf. also *rubbamā* ربّما 'frequently', 'maybe' etc., **3.30.2**), the history of *wa-* و in this function is not clear. Like the *wa-* و which takes dependent forms (see **3.29.8**), it is a homophone of the simple conjunction *wa-* و 'and' (see **6.1**) but may not be etymologically related; at all events it is termed *wāw rubba* 'the *wa-* و which means *rubba* ربّ' to distinguish it from the other function of *wa-* و with oblique nouns used with curses and oaths (see *wāw al-qasam* 'the *wa-* و of swearing an oath' in **2.17**).

rubba faqīrin *muhānin yakūnu lahu min-a l-sumuwwi mā yafūqu 'a'āẓima l-'arḍi*

رب فقير مهان يكون له من السمو ما يفوق أعاظم الأرض

'**many a** despised **poor man** may have a share of majesty which exceeds that of the great ones of the earth'

3.28.2 kam كم *exclamatory* (▷C1:158)

kam كم 'how much', 'how many' is used both interrogatively (with dep. nouns, see **10.7**) and expletively. Unlike interrogative *kam* كم, the expletive *kam* كم is followed by oblique nouns in the position of topics, or, when the sense requires it, by nominal or verbal sentences. There is now some overlap between *kam* كم sentences and the traditional CA exclamatory verbs which are still used (see **3.27.1**).

- With nouns:

  *ḍā'at minnī .. kam **marratin** ḍā'at*
  ضاعت مني .. كم مرة ضاعت
  'she eluded me .. how many **times** she eluded me'

- Alternatively with an explanatory *min* من (see **2.6.12**):

  *wa-kam **min-a l-bākīna**! .. kam **min-a l-bukā'i**!*
  وكم من الباكين! .. كم من البكاء!
  'And how many **weepers**! How much **weeping**!'

  *kam **min-a l-sanawāti** marrat*
  كم من السنوات مرت
  '**how many years** passed'

- With nominal sentences:

  *kam **hiya sa'īdatun** fī bilādikum*
  كم هي سعيدة في بلادكم
  'how **happy she is** in your country'

  *allāh# kam **'anti jamīlatun** yā 'ummī*
  الله كم أنت جميلة يا أمي
  'God [probably uninflected, pausal], how **beautiful you are**, mother'

  *kam **huwa muḥtālun**, yā laylā*
  كم هو محتال، يا ليلى
  'how **cunning he** is, Layla'

- With verbal sentences:

  *fa-kam **wajadtuhu** ṭarīfan*
  فكم وجدته طريفا
  'and how witty I **found him**'

  (cf. *wajada* وجد + 2 obj., **3.11.2.3**)

kam ***ḥannat*** *rūḥī ’ilā tilka-l-’ayyāmi l-ba‘īdati*
كم حنت روحي إلى تلك الأيام البعيدة
‘how my spirit **yearned** for those distant days’

kam ***’atamannā*** *faṣlaka ’anta wa-jamī‘i l-’aṭibbā’i ’amṯālika!*
كم أتمنى فصلك أنت وجميع الأطباء امثالك!
‘how **I hope for** your dismissal, you and all doctors like you!’

(cf. **6.2.2** on coordination of bound pronoun to noun in *faṣlaka ’anta wa-jamī‘i l-’aṭibbā’i* فصلك أنت وجميع الأطباء ‘the dismissal of you and of all doctors’ and **2.9.2.1** for *’amṯālika* أمثالك lit. ‘the likes of you’ in apposition to ‘doctors’)

kam ***kuntu*** *ḥamqā’a*
كم كنت حمقاء
‘how stupid I **was**’ (fem. speaker)

- *kam* كم is sometimes reinforced with the emphatic prefix *la-* لَـ (see **1.6.7**):

la-kam*-i ntaẓartu ’an ta’tiya*
لكم انتظرت أن تأتي
‘**how very long** I waited for you to come’

wa-la-kam ’addā ’ilā fašali kaṯīrin min-a l-zījāti fī hūlīwūd
ولكم أدى الى فشل كثير من الزيجات في هوليوود
‘how often it led to the failure of marriages in Hollywood’

3.28.3 *Exclamatory rhetorical questions*

The interrogatives *’ayyu* أيّ ‘which’, ‘what?’ (see **10.6**) and *kayfa* كيف ‘how?’ (see **10.9**) are used in rhetorical questions with exclamatory force:

*ba‘da ’an yabisat šifāhā min-a l-ḫawfi wa-****’ayyi ḫawfin***
بعد أن يبست شفاها من الخوف وأي خوف
‘after its [= Beirut’s] lips had dried from fear, and **what fear**’

’ayyu muṣādafatin *’an nusāfira jamī‘an fī qiṭārin wāḥidin!*
أي مصادفة أن نسافر جميعا في قطار واحد!
‘**what a coincidence** that we are all travelling in the same train!’

(note that *’ayyu* أيّ need not agree in gender with its noun)

'ayyu أيّ is also found in the form *'ayyumā* أيّما (▷C3:228), which would eliminate the interrogative sense (cf. **5.6.3** for this *mā* ما suffix):

*tuḥaddiṯunī nafsī bihā wa-lākin **'ayyumā ḥadīṯin***
تحدثني نفسي بها ولكن أيما حديث
'my inner self talks to me about it, but **what talk**'

(default independent *'ayyumā* أيما here)

*istafẓa'a l-'amra **'ayyamā stifẓā'in***
استفظع الأمر أيما استفظاع
'he was **utterly appalled** at the matter', lit. 'was appalled, with what being appalled'

here with a displaced absolute object after *'ayyamā* أيما, see **2.4.2.3, 3.29.3**

kayfa كيف (▷C1:163; and see **10.9**):

***kayfa** lī **'an 'aṣifa** ḥalāwata tilka l-'ayyāmi*
كيف لي أن أصف حلاوة تلك الأيام
'**how shall I explain** the sweetness of those days', lit. 'how is it for me to . . . ?'

3.29 Dependent noun objects and complements

Dependent noun objects and complements are only briefly illustrated here: the details are in other sections as indicated, especially their phrase structure in **2.4**. The common feature of all these dependent complements is that they occur after the minimal sentence has been formally completed, either subject + predicate or verb + agent, though they have considerable freedom in position in relation to the other two elements (see **3.7.4**).

Complementized clauses with *'anna* أنّ and *'an* ان are dealt with in **Chapter 7**.

3.29.1 *Direct object*

Direct object, *maf'ūl bihi* مفعول به 'thing to which the action is done' (see **2.4.1** and cf. transitivity in **3.11**):

*ṣāra'at-i l-**mawta***
صارعت الموت
'she fought **death**'

yusā'idna ***l-maḥrūmīna*** *wa-yaqṭa'na* ***'ālāfa*** *l-'amyāli li-najdati l-'aṭfāli*

يساعدن المحرومين ويقطعن آلاف الأميال لنجدة الأطفال

'they [fem. plur.] help the **deprived** [dir. obj.] and cover **thousands** [dir. obj.] of miles to aid children'

This includes all the other dependent elements with direct object status, for example the predicate of *kāna* كان 'to be' (see **3.16.2**) and its related verbs:

kāna ***muhandisan*** *zirā'iyyan*

كان مهندسا زراعيا

'he was an agricultural **engineer**'

3.29.2 *Two direct objects*

There are various kinds of double transitivity (see **3.11.2**), and only token examples are given here:

tuḥammilu ***'amrīkā mas'ūliyyata*** *mā yaḥduṯu*

تحمل أميركا مسؤولية ما يحدث

'[they] charge **America** [1st. dir. obj.] with **the responsibility** [2nd dir. obj.] for what is happening'

bi-sur'atin 'ansathu ***ṯiqla*** *ḥaqībatihi*

بسرعة أنسته ثقل حقيبته

'with a speed which made **him** [1st dir. obj.] forget **the weight** [2nd dir. obj.] of his suitcase'

3.29.3 *Absolute object* (▷C2:170, 444; and see **2.4.2**)

Absolute object, *maf'ūl muṭlaq* مفعول مطلق, literally 'unqualified thing done', is so called because it consists of a verbal noun cognate with the verb as an unqualified object, that is, not labelled as being one of the other objects. It has no closely equivalent structure in English and is usually translated adverbially or periphrastically:

*wa-****mtaṣṣahā*** *hāḏā l-ta'abu* ***mtiṣāṣan***

وامتصها هذا التعب امتصاصا

'this tiredness **completely swallowed her** up', lit. 'swallowed her up a swallowing'

ḫasira ḫasāratan *fādiḥatan*

خسر خسارة فادحة

'**he lost heavily**', lit. 'he lost a heavy losing'

'a-laysa ***wāḍiḥan wuḍūḥa*** *l-šamsi?*

أليس واضحا وضوح الشمس؟

'is it not **as clear as** the sun?', lit. 'clear the being clear'

With passive verbs:

'uniya *l-fuqahā'u* ***'ināyatan kabīratan*** *bi-*

عني الفقهاء عناية كبيرة بـ

'the jurists were **greatly concerned** with …', lit. 'were concerned a great being concerned'

'ūmilā mu'āmalatan *mumtāzatan*

عوملا معاملة ممتازة

'they were both **treated** splendidly', lit. 'were treated a splendid treating'

With verbless (nominal) sentences:

huwa ṣaḥīḥun ***kulla l-ṣiḥḥati***

هو صحيح كل الصحة

'it is **completely true**', lit. 'it is true [with] the whole of truth' (see **2.4.2.3**)

3.29.3.1 The absolute object is to be distinguished from direct objects which happen to be cognate, for example, *sa'ala* ***su'ālan*** سأل سؤالا 'he asked **a question**'. Some instances are simply paranomasia (see **11.7.4**), serving as semantic fillers rather than emphasizers ▷C2:442, 443):

yaqifu *l-yawma* ***mawqifa*** *l-'ājizi 'an tanfīḏihi*

يقف اليوم موقف العاجز عن تنفيذه

'he **stands** today in the position of one incapable of carrying out [his promise]', lit. 'in the **standing place** of'

hāḏihi l-'amā'iru l-ḍaḫmatu matā ***ḥallat maḥalla*** *l-buyūti l-'atīqati l-mutahāwiyati??*

هذه العمائر الضخمة متى حلت محل البيوت العتيقة المتهاوية؟؟

'these huge buildings, when did they **take the place of** the old, crumbling houses?'

*qabiltu šābban **ya'malu 'amalan** mihniyyan muḥtaraman*
قبلت شابا يعمل عملا مهنيا محترما
'I accepted a young man who **worked in** a respectable professional **job**'

*la-qad quddira lahu 'an **yajlisa majlisa** 'ustāḏihi*
لقد قدر له أن يجلس مجلس أستاذه
'he was destined to **sit in the place of** his professor'

For paranomasia to denote a vague direct object, see **3.11.1.2**.

3.29.3.2 Although they are now syntactically autonomous, the many new adverbials in the masculine *nisba* نسبة adjectival form (see **2.5.1**) might well have been originally qualifiers of an elided absolute object of either gender, but have now become fixed in the masculine:

*taḫsaru l-ḥarba **siyāsiyyan***
تخسر الحرب سياسيا
'will lose the war **politically**'

with masculine adverbial although the verbal noun here would be feminine *ḫasāratan* خسارة 'a losing'.

3.29.4 *Locative object*

Locative object, *maf'ūl fīhi* مفعول فيه 'thing in which the action is done' or *ẓarf* ظرف 'container', 'vessel' (see **2.4.3**).

Time, *ẓarf al-zamān* ظرف زمان 'time container' (▷C2:173; and see **2.4.3.1**):

*lākin **hāḏihi l-marrata** kāna l-muṣawwirūna ḥāḍirīna*
لكن هذه المرة كان المصورون حاضرين
'but **this time** the photographers were present'

*kānat jamīlatan **tilka l-'ayyāma***
كانت جميلة تلك الأيّام
'she was beautiful **in those days**'

*kutaybun kuntu qara'tuhu **zamana** l-murāhaqati*
كتيب كنت قرأته زمن المراهقة
'a little book I had read **in the time of** [my] adolescence'

Place, *ẓarf al-makān* ظرف مكان 'place container' (▷C2:180; and see **2.4.3.2**):

yaltafitu l-nāsu ***yamīnan wa-yasāran*** *baḥṯan ʻan maḥrajin*
يلتفت الناس يمينا ويسارا بحثا عن مخرج
'the people look **right and left** searching for a way out'

(the last phrase is a purposive object, see **3.29.6**)

dafaʻtuhā ***jāniban***
دفعتها جانبا
'I pushed her **aside**' or '**to one side**'

3.29.5 *Specifying complement* (▷C2:184)

Specifying complement, *tamyīz* تمييز 'distinguishing element'. At the phrase level (see **2.4.4**) this is an indefinite dependent noun which indicates the content of a number between 11 and 99 (e.g. *ʻišrūna* ***rajulan*** عشرون رجلا '20 **men**', see **2.4.4**, **2.12.4**) or the term of a comparative or superlative structure (e.g. *ʼakbaruhum* ***sinnan*** أكبرهم سنا 'the greatest of them **in age**', see **2.11**). At the sentence level this complement is an indefinite dependent noun which provides specific information about an antecedent, usually the agent or subject, and loosely corresponds to expressions such as 'in terms of', 'as to':

dafaʻū ʼaʻmārahum ***ṯamanan*** *li-l-ḥuṣūli ʻalā l-maʻrifati*
دفعوا أعمارهم ثمنا للحصول على المعرفة
'they paid their lives **as the price** of obtaining knowledge'

al-ḥadīṯu yaṭūlu ʻan šarīf ʼabāẓa ***ʼinsānan wa-fannānan***
الحديث يطول عن شريف أباظة إنسانا وفنانا
'there is a lot to say about Sharīf 'Abaza **as a person and artist**'

yakādu yatawahhaju ***taʼalluqan wa-jamālan wa-ṣiḥḥatan wa-ʻāfiyatan***
يكاد يتوهج تألقا وجمالا وصحة وعافية
'he almost glows with [inner] **radiance, beauty, health and well-being**'

Commonly with *zāda* زاد, *izdāda* ازداد 'to increase', *qalla* قل 'to be little', 'to be few':

al-iḫtirāʻātu l-muyassiratu li-l-ḥayāti ***tazdādu ʻadadan***
الاختراعات الميسرة للحياة تزداد عددا
'inventions making life easier **are increasing in number**', lit. 'grow more as to number'

yu'ānūna min ẓurūfin ***tazdādu sū'an***

يعانون من ظروف تزداد سوءا

'they are suffering from circumstances which **become increasingly bad**' i.e. 'worse' (see **2.4.4.1**)

mimmā ***yazīdu*** *l-muškilata* ***ta'qīdan***

مما يزيد المشكلة تعقيدا

'which makes the problem **more complex**'

There is now an overlap with *ka-* كَـ 'as' (see **2.6.8**):

ṭāra ṣītuhu ***ka-kātibin***

طار صيته ككاتب

'his fame **as a writer** spread'

3.29.6 *Purposive object* (▷C2:172; and see **2.4.5**)

Purposive object, *maf'ūl lahu, min 'ajlihi* or *li-'ajlihi* مفعول له، من أجله، لأجله, all 'thing for [the sake of] which the action is done', an indefinite dependent verbal noun which expresses the reason for an action:

sa-takūnu jāhizatan ma'a nihāyati l-šahri l-jārī ***tamhīdan*** *li-raf'ihā 'ilā wazīri l-ṣiḥḥati*

ستكون جاهزة مع نهاية الشهر الجاري تمهيدا لرفعها إلى وزير الصحة

'it will be ready by the end of the current month **in preparation for** submitting it to the Minister of Health'

daf'an *li-'ayyi ltibāsin 'akkada 'alā 'anna …*

دفعا لأي التباس أكد على أن . . .

'**to dispel** any confusion he stressed that …'

(note flexible word order, see **3.7.4**)

wa-qad daḫalat fī l-ḥilfi ***ta'zīzan li****-qudratihā 'alā muwājahati 'ayyi tahdīdin*

وقد دخلت في الحلف تعزيزا لقدرتها على مواجهة أي تهديد

'it entered into the alliance **in order to strengthen** its ability to face any threat'

raddan 'alā *ḫiṭaṭi turkiyā li-l-ḥaddi min ḥarakati murūri nāqilāti l-nafṭi qāla l-wazīru …*

ردا على خطط تركيا للحد من حركة مرور ناقلة النفط قال الوزير . . .

'**in response to** Turkey's plans to restrict the movement of oil tankers the minister said …'

(the verbal noun retains the preposition of its indirectly transitive verb, see **3.11.4**, and note flexible word order, see **3.7.4**)

wa-ḏālika ***buġyata 'iġrā'i*** *'asyādihi bi-suhūlati fatḥihā*

وذلك بغية إغراء أسياده بسهولة فتحها

'that being **in the desire of spurring on** his leaders by the ease of conquering it'

(note annexation to another verbal noun)

kāna sukūtu l-'alsuni 'an-i l-ḫawḍi fī l-ḥadīṯi 'anhumā ***ḥtirāman wa-'ijlālan*** *li-tilka l-'aḫlāqi*

كان سكوت الألسن عن الخوض في الحديث عنهما احتراما وإجلالا لتلك الأخلاق

'the silence of the tongues from talking about them [dual] was **out of respect and reverence** for those morals'

3.29.6.1 It is still very common, but can always be paraphrased with *li-* 'for', 'in order to' with a verbal noun:

li-ta'zīzi *l-minṭaqati l-ḥudūdiyyati*

لتعزيز المنطقة الحدودية

'**for the strengthening of** the border region'

3.29.7 *Circumstantial qualifier,* ḥāl حال *'situation', 'circumstance'* (▷C2:192; and see **2.4.6**)

This is a dependent noun, adjective or participle which indicates the circumstances (in principle temporary) of its antecedent. It thus denotes a quality, state or process, and answers the question 'how?'. It is always dependent and normally also indefinite, but unless it is a noun it agrees in number and gender with its antecedent:

maḍā ***muqāṭi'an****-i l-ḥiwāra*

مضى مقاطعا الحوار

'he went, **breaking off** [masc. sing.] the conversation'

saqaṭat ***ṣarī'ata*** *naẓratin ḫāṭifatin li-l-muḥāsibi l-šābbi*

سقطت صريعة نظرة خاطفة للمحاسب الشاب

'she fell **victim** [fem. sing.] to a stolen glance from the young accountant'

(for the indefinite status of *ṣarī'ata* by annexation to an indefinite noun, see **2.3.1**)

ḫarajtu ***qāṣidan*** *maktaba l-šayḫi*
خرجت قاصدا مكتب الشيخ
'I left, **making for** [masc. sing.] the chief's office'

With nouns:

kāna ya'malu ***qunṣulan***
كان يعمل قنصلا
'he was working **as a consul**'

lam taḥduṯ lahu ***ṣudfatan***
لم تحدث له صدفة
'they did not happen to him **accidentally**', lit. 'being an accident'

tarakatnī ***yatīman***
تركتني يتيما
'she left me **an orphan**'

For the sentence *-ḥāl*, both verbal and nominal, see subordinate clauses in **7.3**.

3.29.8 *Accompanying object*

Accompanying object, *maf'ūl ma'ahu* مفعول معه 'thing with which the action is done', and regarded as an object even though it must always be prefixed with *wa-* و 'and [together with]'. This *wa-* و (treated as a variety of the coordinating conjunction *wa-* و 'and', see **6.2**) is therefore termed *wāw ma'iyya* '"and" meaning "together with"' (for details, see **2.4.7**). It was never a very common construction (and occurs now mostly with reciprocal verbs), and can be replaced by *ma'a* مع 'with' or an appropriate verb form (cf. **3.11.4**):

hāḏā l-ta'yīdu llaḏī yattafiqu ***wa-juhdahu*** *l-da'ūba*
هذا التأييد الذي يتفق وجهده الدؤوب
'this support which agrees **with** his constant **effort**'

tumaṯṯilu taṣ'īdan ḫaṭīran lā yattafiqu ***wa-l-mawāṯīqa*** *l-duwaliyyata*
تمثل تصعيدا خطيرا لا يتفق والمواثيق الدولية
'it represents a dangerous escalation which does not agree **with** international **covenants**'

For *'iyyāka* إياك 'you watch out!' in expressions of warning, often combined with this *wa-* و, see also **3.27.4**.

3.29.9 *Free dependent forms*

A great many expressions, mostly wishes, greetings, etc., consist of dependent nouns (nearly always indefinite) which are taken to be the objects (of one sort or another) of elided verbs, usually with compulsory deletion of the relevant verb. In the samples below no attempt is made to reconstruct the elided elements, which may in fact no longer be recoverable (▷C2:206; and see also **2.16.3**):

'ahlan wa-sahlan
أهلا وسهلا
'welcome', lit. 'as one of the family and in ease'

qudūman mubārakan
قدوما مباركا
'a blessed arrival' (on return from pilgrimage)

šukran
شكرا
'thank you'

'afwan
عفوا
'excuse me', 'don't mention it'

hanī'an marī'an
هنيئا مريئا
'good appetite', lit. 'tastily and easily'

For the general expression of wishes, see **3.25**.

3.30 Restrictives

Restrictives with *'innamā* إنّما, *rubbamā* ربّما, *faqaṭ* فقط (and cf. *la'alla* لعلّ 'maybe' **3.2.5**, and *bal* بل 'nay', 'but' **6.6**).

3.30.1 *'innamā* إنّما *'only'* (▷C3:202)

'innamā إنّما 'only' is nearly always used contrastively, that is, to contradict or modify a previous assertion in the sense of 'only', 'merely', 'simply'. It has

the peculiarity (cf. *faqaṭ* فقط in **3.30.3**) that it never restricts the immediately following element in the Arabic, as will be apparent from the highlighted words in the examples (though the translation attempts to apply the restriction in the natural English way):

*’ulā’ika llaḏīna lam yu’minū bi-l-’islām, wa-**’innamā** ṣālaḥū **l-dawlata** al-’islāmiyyata*

أولئك الذين لم يؤمنوا بالإسلام، وإنما صالحوا الدولة الإسلامية

‘those who did not believe in Islam, but had come to terms with the Islamic **state only**’, i.e. had a purely secular affiliation

*ya‘taqidūna ’anna ḏālika **’innamā** yatimmu **’alā ḥisābi** l-ihtimāmi bi-l-ḥadāṯati*

يعتقدون أن ذلك إنما يتم على حساب الاهتمام بالحداثة

‘they believe that this can be accomplished **only at the cost of** concern for modernism’, i.e. not by any other means

In this example the *huwa* هو is interposed to ensure that *’innamā* إنما restricts *naw‘un* نوع ‘kind’ and not *ra’simāliyya* رأسمالية ‘capitalism’:

*lam yamutta ’ilā l-ištirākiyyati bi-ṣilatin **’innamā** huwa **naw‘un** min ra’simāliyyati l-dawlati*

لم يمت إلى الاشتراكية بصلة إنما هو نوع من رأسمالية الدولة

‘it had no connection at all with socialism, but was **merely a kind** of state capitalism’, not ‘a kind of mere state capitalism’

Occasionally, the emphasis is achieved through more than one restrictive:

’innamā** yarji‘u stiḫdāmuhā **’ilā zirā‘ati l-quṭni faqaṭ

إنما يرجع استخدامها إلى زراعة القطن فقط

‘its use relates **merely to cotton farming only**’

*wa-hum laysū kuttāban wa-**’innamā mujarradu muwaẓẓafīna***

وهم ليسوا كتابا وإنما مجرد موظفين

‘they are not secretaries, they are **only mere bureaucrats**’

In this case, *mujarradu* مجرد (see **2.8.4**, here read in independent form as a predicate of *hum* هم ‘they’) intervenes to allow *’innamā* إنما to restrict *muwaẓẓafīna* موظفين. A reading *mujarrada* مجردَ would be possible if it were in apposition to *kuttāban* كتابا, dependent predicate of *laysa* ليس, ‘not secretaries [dep.] but only mere [dep. by apposition] bureaucrats’.

3.30.2 rubbamā ربّما *'frequently', 'perhaps'* (▷C1:62; ▷C3:225; and see **3.2.5**)

rubbamā ربّما originally meant 'occasionally' or 'frequently' but has since come to replace *la'alla* لعلّ 'perhaps', 'maybe' in many contexts. It is sometimes difficult to determine which meaning is intended:

*bi-l-raġmi min ḏālika yuṭlabu min-a l-mar'ati 'allā tu'abbira mubāšaratan 'an ġaḍabihā wa-**rubbamā** 'allā ta'iyahu 'ayḍan*

بالرغم من ذلك يطلب من المرأة ألا تعبر مباشرة عن غضبها وربما ألا تعيه أيضا

'in spite of that it is demanded of a woman that she not express her anger directly and **often/maybe** that she not be aware of it either'

3.30.2.1 In its original meaning of 'frequently':

***rubbamā** yamūtūna fī sabīli 'afkārihim*

ربما يموتون في سبيل أفكارهم

'**often** they die for the sake of their ideas'

3.30.2.2 In its modern meaning of 'perhaps', 'maybe':

***rubbamā** ya'tī raddu l-fi'li salbiyyan*

ربما يأتي رد الفعل سلبيا

'**perhaps** the reaction will be negative'

*taqtaribu min-a l-'alfi junayhin wa-**rubbamā** yazīdu*

تقترب من الألف جنيه وربما يزيد

'it approaches a thousand pounds and **perhaps** more', lit. 'it exceeds'

***rubbamā** lam nakun nastaḥiqqu mā kāna ladaynā wa-**rubbamā** kunnā fawḍawiyyīna*

ربما لم نكن نستحق ما كان لدينا وربما كنا فوضويين

'**perhaps** we did not deserve what we had and **perhaps** we were anarchists'

rubbamā ربّما differs from *la'alla* لعلّ (see **3.2.5**) structurally in that it is an adverb and need not be first in the clause or followed by a complete sentence (thus it can stand alone as the complete answer to a question, see **10.12.4**), and also that it is less concerned with expressing hopes or expectations. Thus, in the following example *la'alla* لعل could not be used:

sa-'ūladu marratan ṯāliṯatan ***rubbamā*** *bi-ṭarīqati l-'anābībi*
سأولد مرة ثالثة ربما بطريقة الأنابيب
'I shall be born a third time, **perhaps** by the method of test tubes'

3.30.3 faqaṭ فقط *'only'*

faqaṭ فقط 'only' (cf. **2.5.1**) is a free adverbial and is positioned nearest (before or after) to the element it restricts, and is often seen in the calque 'not only . . . but also' (see **4.9**). Unlike *'innamā* إنما it restricts only the adjacent element and is generally confined to its clause rather than contrasting with the previous context as *'innamā* إنما does:

faqaṭ *'aradtu 'an 'unāqiša*
فقط أردت أن أناقش
'I **only** wanted to discuss'

taḥtāju ***faqaṭ*** *'ilā tabwībin*
تحتاج فقط إلى تبويب
'it needs **only** to be put into chapters'

kānat 'asliḥatunā ***faqaṭ*** *hiya 'aydiyanā*
كانت أسلحتنا فقط هي أيدينا
'our weapons were **only** our hands'

For *fa-ḥasbu* فحسب 'and that is enough' and *ḥasbuka* حسبك 'enough for you' (▷C3:21, refers to ▷C1:32), see **2.5.6**. Cf. also **2.8.4** *mujarrad* مجرد 'mere[ly]'.

3.31 *'iḏā* إذا and *'iḏ* إذ of surprise

'iḏā إذا and *'iḏ* إذ can introduce nominal sentences with the sense of 'all of a sudden', 'lo and behold!'. The predicates are usually verbs (effectively comment on the topic, cf. **3.7.2.1**) or prepositional phrases.

3.31.1 *'iḏā* إذا (▷C3:253, 292)

The so-called *'iḏā l-mufāja'a* إذا المفاجأة 'the *'iḏā* of surprise' introduces sentences in the pattern *'iḏā* إذا + independent noun + predicate, retaining

its original deictic sense of 'lo' and focusing on the topic, with the subsequent comment being regarded as a sudden or unexpected event:

yataṭalla'u fa-ʾiḏā ***huwa fī muntaṣafi l-taqāṭu'i***
يتطلع فإذا هو في منتصف التقاطع
'he looks around and there **he is in the middle of the intersection**'

fa-ʾiḏā ***hiya tufīḍu*** *'alayya ʾanwārahā ġayra l-mawṣūfati*
فإذا هي تفيض علي أنوارها غير الموصوفه
'and suddenly **she radiated** over me her indescribable lights', lit. 'there she [was] radiating …'

wa-ʾiḏā ***hiya ta'kifu*** *'alā l-dirāsati bi-nahmin wa-ḥamāsin*
وإذا هي تعكف على الدراسة بنهم وحماس
'**lo, she was immersing herself** in study with appetite and enthusiasm'

Verbs with *qad* قد clearly denote a pluperfect sense (▷C3:293; and cf. **3.10.6**):

jaraytu ʾabḥaṯu 'anhum fa-ʾiḏā ***hum qad-i ḫtafaw*** *fī-l-ḍabābi*
جريت أبحث عنهم فإذا هم قد اختفوا في الضباب
'I ran to look for them but, lo and behold, **they had disappeared** in the fog'

An alternative and equally common structure is with *bi-* بـ + noun (▷C3:253, 294):

fataḥat māriyā 'aynayhā fa-ʾiḏā ***bihā fī nafsi l-ġurfati***
فتحت ماريا عينيها فإذا بها في نفس الغرفة
'Maria opened her eyes and, lo and behold, **she was** [still] **in the same room**' (non-verbal pred.)

ʾiḏā ***bi-l-zamāni yafqidu*** *manṭiqiyyatahu*
إذا بالزمان يفقد منطقيته
'suddenly **time is losing** its logicality'

wa-ʾiḏā ***bi-'ammatihā tašma'izzu*** *minhā*
وإذا بعمتها تشمئز منها
'and now here was **her aunt being disgusted** by her'

wa ʾiḏā ***bi-mutaḥaddiṯin yasta'riḍu*** *jumlatan min-a l-ʾinjāzāti l-maw'ūdati li-l-mustaqbali*
وإذا بمتحدث يستعرض جملة من الإنجازات الموعودة للمستقبل
'and then suddenly there was **a speaker reviewing** a number of the achievements promised for the future'

'iḏa bī . . . ka-'annī إذا بي . . . كأني (▷C3:295):

wa-'iḏa bī 'uḥissu bi-nafsī ***wa-ka-'annī*** *'asbaḥu fī 'ālamin min-a l-'awhāmi wa-l-'aḫyilati*

وإذا بي أحس بنفسي وكأني أسبح في عالم من الأوهام والأخيلة

'and I suddenly felt **as if I** was swimming in a world of illusions and fantasies', lit. 'lo with me, I have a sense of myself and as if'

(cf. *wa-ka-'anna* وكأنّ in **5.9.9.4** introducing a circumstantial qualifier)

3.31.2 **'iḏ إذ** (▷C3:285)

The ''*iḏ* of surprise' *'iḏ al-mufāja'a* إذ المفاجأة has the same syntax as *'iḏā* إذا above but is never followed by *bi-* بـ:

tasallaltu dāḫilan fī l-ẓalāmi wa-'iḏ-i ***l-'anwāru tuḍā'u*** *faj'atan*

تسللت داخلا في الظلام وإذ الأنوار تضاء فجأة

'I slipped in, entering in the dark, and lo and behold **the lights** are suddenly **switched on**'

Examples with verbal sentences were not found.

Chapter 4

Negatives

4.0 Introduction

Negation in MWA is effected by a spectrum of particles and verbs determined by the particular item being negated, which ranges from the whole sentence to any part of it.

The position of certain negative particles and their concomitant parts in relation to the rest of the sentence or phrase is becoming more and more flexible in MWA. Nonetheless, it is a minimum rule that all negative particles precede the element they negate. Some negative particles negate more than one type of sentence, which may also necessitate a different accompanying grammatical structure such as the use of a different form of the verb.

One major change in the more recent history of the negative structure has been the gradual reduction in the use of the particle *mā* ما 'not' for negation, especially in verbal sentences. It is generally held that the wide use of this particle in many dialects has been largely responsible for its decreased usage in MWA, with many writers perhaps regarding it as a stigmatized form in writing. All the old structures using this particle still occur however, but with less frequency than before.

4.1 Nominal sentences

(Negative compound nouns and adjectives are dealt with in **12.6**)

4.1.1 mā ما *'not'* (▷C1:44, 106, 108, 110)

The use of *mā* ما to negate nominal sentences (cf. *laysa* ليس **4.2.8**; cf. also **9.1** for its use in exceptive sentences) appears to have been the preserve of

CA. No examples of the type *mā hāḏā bašarun/bašaran* ما هذا بشرٌ \ بشرا were found as part of the data collected for this book. However, that is not to say that archaic structures of this type would not be used occasionally by some writers.

- *mā* ما 'not' + partitive *min* من 'of' followed by an indefinite noun denies the existence of one entity of a category, for example, there is not a single doubt (here, though there may be elsewhere); but it does not deny the existence of the whole category like the *lā* لا of categorical denial (see **4.1.2**):

  *wa-**mā min šakkin** 'anna l-kaṯīra min duwali l-'ālami tu'ānī min 'azamātin-i qtiṣādiyyatin*

  وما من شكّ أن الكثير من دول العالم تعاني من أزمات اقتصادية

  '**there is not a doubt** that many world states are suffering from economic crises'

  (note that the feminine singular *tu'ānī* تعاني 'suffer' agrees by attraction with broken plural *al-duwali* الدول 'states', and not its grammatical agreement *al-kaṯīra* الكثير 'a large quantity', cf. **3.8.4**):

  ***mā min mudā'abatin** 'aḥdaṯat radda fi'lin*

  ما من مداعبة أحدثت ردّ فعل

  '**not one joke** caused a reaction'

  ***mā min rajulin** taraddada 'alā l-sarāy li-ša'nin mā*

  ما من رجل تردّد على السراي لشأن ما

  '**not one man** frequented the harem for any reason at all' (for *mā* ما of vagueness in *ša'nin mā* شأن ما, see **5.6.3**)

- *mā* ما 'not' with a noun/pronominal subject and its predicate – either adjective or noun – introduced by the preposition *bi-* بـ (▷C1:102; ▷C2:308; also ▷C1:115 for *lā* لا with the same function) (cf. **4.2.8.1** *bi-* بـ with *laysa* ليس).

  ***mā huwa bi-l-futūri faqaṭ** wa-lākinnahu l-zuhdu*

  ما هو بالفتور فقط ولكنه الزهد

  '**it is not only langour** but also indifference'

- *mā . . . 'illā . . . ḥattā* . . . حتى . . . إلا . . . ما type, a literary idiom (see **4.2.6**, **7.6.7.7** and **9.1**)

  ***mā** hiya **'illā** ṭarfatu l-'ayni **ḥattā** lamasa l-zināda*

  ما هي إلا طرفة العين حتى لمس الزناد

  'in the twinkling of an eye he touched the trigger', lit. 'it **was not except** the twinkling of an eye **until** . . .'

4.1.2 *Categorical denial with* lā لا *'no'* (in pure nominal sentences only; see elsewhere for verbal predicates, **4.2.1**; ▷C1:114; ▷C2:220)

To negate an entire category MWA uses *lā* لا 'no' followed by the dependent noun without *tanwīn*. The predicate may hypothetically be of any of the types associated with nominal sentences, although in practice they are nearly always prepositional phrases:

lā 'ayba *bi-l-ṭab'i fī ntiqāli l-ṯaqāfati samā'iyyan*
لا عيب بالطبع في انتقال الثقافة سماعيا
'**there is** naturally **nothing wrong** in transmitting culture aurally'

lā 'ilma lahu *bi-'asbābi hāḏihi l-muṣādarāti*
لا علم له بأسباب هذه المصادرات
'**he has no knowledge** of the reasons for these confiscations'

lā 'asāsa *lahā*
لا أساس لها
'it has no foundation', lit. '**there is no foundation** for it'

lā šay'a *fī ḏālika*
لا شيء في ذلك
'**there is nothing** in this' (see also compound nouns in **12.6**, and see **4.2.1.1**)

rajulun jāddun ***lā mawḍi'a fīhi*** *li-l-maraḥi*
رجل جادّ لا موضع فيه للمرح
'a serious man **with no place in him** for mirth' (for adjectival relative clauses qualifying indefinite antecedent, see **5.1**)

For the restricted subsets *lā 'aḥada* لا أحد 'no one' and *lā šay'a* لا شيء 'nothing', see **4.2.1.1**.

Adjectives modifying the denied noun are normally in the dependent case like the noun but with *tanwīn* (see **1.5.1**):

li-ḏā yaḏhabu l-ba'ḍu 'ilā 'tibāri 'an ***lā ši'ra haqīqiyyan*** *bi-lā 'usṭūratin*
لذا يذهب البعض إلى اعتبار أنْ لا شعر حقيقيا بلا أسطورة
'therefore some are of the opinion that **there is no real poetry** without legend'

(for annexation of *i'tibār* اعتبار to a clause, see **7.5.2.9**; for negative subordination, see also **4.1.5**).

But they may also be indefinite independent, although the following example is inconclusive:

lā fā'idata ***kabīratun/an*** *fīhā*
لا فائدة كبيرة فيها
'there is no **great** use in it'

With more than one noun (▷C1:115):

lā 'aṣla wa-lā faṣla wa-lā juḏūra *li-miṯli hāḏihi l-'azmati*
لا أصل ولا فصل ولا جذور لمثل هذه الأزمة
'**there is no basis whatsoever and no roots** for such a crisis'

With plurals:

lā mawāsima lahu wa-lā tawārīḫa *muttafaqun 'alayhā*
لا مواسم له ولا تواريخ متفق عليها
'**it has no seasons or** agreed **dates**' (see imperfect passive **2.1.3.3**)

4.1.3 *Subset* lā budda لا بد *type* (▷C2:226) (for main treatment, see **7.5.1.6** and **7.5.2.8**)

lā budda لا بد, lit. 'no avoiding [exists]' originally with *min* من 'from', but this is now often omitted:

lā budda *'an yaḍ'ufa 'intājuhā*
لا بدّ أنْ يضعف إنتاجها
'its productivity will **inevitably** weaken', lit. 'no avoiding [exists] from that it will …'

lā šakka لا شكّ 'no doubt [exists]' originally with *fī* في 'about', but this is now often omitted:

lā šakka fī 'anna *l-namūḏaja l-ṭāġiya … ẓalla l-riḥlata l-makkiyyata*
لا شكّ في أنّ النموذج الطاغي . . . ظلّ الرحلة المكية
'**there is no doubt that** the dominant model … remained the Journey to Mecca' (for *ẓalla* ظلّ 'to remain', see **3.17.14**)

lā šakka 'anna *kulla hāḏihi l-mu'aṯṯirāti …*
لا شك أنّ كلّ هذه المؤثّرات . . .
'**there is no doubt that** all these stimuli …'

(contrast the above with the *mā min šakkin* ما من شكّ example in **4.1.1**)

lā ba'sa لا بأس 'no harm [exists]' (▷C2:220):

lā ba'sa *'iḏā lā tuḥibbīna l-ḥalība min-a l-ḥuṣūli 'alā l-kālsiyūmi min 'aṭ'imatin 'uḫrā*

لا بأس إذا لا تحبّين الحليب من الحصول على الكالسيوم من أطعمة أخرى

'**there is no harm**, if you [fem.] do not like milk, in obtaining calcium from other foods' (for inverted conditionals, see **8.3.8**)

lā maḥālata لا محالة 'no avoiding':

lā maḥālata *'anna l-qaḥṭa sa-yazdādu sū'an*

لا محالة أنّ القحط سيزداد سوءا

'**there is no doubt** that the drought will get worse' (see *tamyīz* **2.4.4.1**)

Note that *lā maḥālata* لا محالة and some other expressions of this type can also occur elliptically as adverbial phrases, for example, *sa-tanhāru l-'awḍā'u l-'amniyyatu* ***lā maḥālata*** ستنهار الأوضاع الأمنية لا محالة 'the security conditions will **inevitably** collapse' (see **2.18.1**).

lā rayba لا ريب 'no doubt':

ḫuluwwun ***lā rayba fīhi****, min 'ayyi ḥuḍūrin bašariyyin*

خلوّ لا ريب فيه، من أيّ حضور بشري

'an emptiness[,] **which could not be doubted**, of any human presence'

lā sabīla لا سبيل 'no way':

lā sabīla *'iḏan 'ilā qalbi l-'awḍā'i ra'san 'alā 'aqibin*

لا سبيل إذا إلى قلب الأوضاع رأسا على عقب

'**there is** thus **no way** to turn the circumstances upside down'

4.1.4 law-lā لولا *type 'if it were not for'* (▷C1:7) (see **8.2.11**)

This construction hypothetically denies the existence of a subject, with its predicate usually elided, that is, 'if it were not for . . .', without which the event of the second main clause would not take place. The noun following the construction is always in the independent case. If a pronoun occurs in this position, it must be attached to *lā-* لا 'not'. This construction is also part of the conditional sentence group of MWA (see **Chapter 8**). In keeping with the rules of conditional syntax, the *law-lā* لولا phrase normally precedes its apodosis:

law-lā *l-ḥubbu* ***la****-mā kāna l-šiʿru*

لولا الحبّ لما كان الشعر

'**if it were not for** love **[then]** poetry would not exist', lit. 'if not love [in existence] then …'

However, it is not uncommon for the Western order to be followed:

kiliobatra lam takun šayʾan ***law-lā*** *ʾilizabeṯ taylar*

كليوبترا لم تكن شيئا لولا إليزابث تيلور

'Cleopatra would be nothing **if it were not for** Elizabeth Taylor'

jasaduhā kāna qad tabaḫḫara minhā tamāman lam taʿud tuḥissu bihi ***law-lā*** *l-ṯiqalu*

جسدها كان قد تبخّر منها تماما لم تعد تحسّ به لولا الثقل

'her body had completely evaporated from her: she would no longer have been aware of it **if it were not for** the weight'

(for this use of *ʿāda* عاد 'do no longer', see **3.21.1.1**)

law-lā لولا + pronoun (see **8.2.11**):

*wa-****law-lāka*** *la-ḍāʿat ʿalaynā ʾamwālunā*

ولولاك لضاعت علينا أموالنا

'and **if it were not for you**, our money would have been lost'

law-lā ʾanna لولا أنّ + subordinate clause with noun phrase function (see also **8.2.12, 7.5.2** and **3.2.2**).

When the hypothetical topic is a subordinate clause, it is introduced after *law-lā* لولا by the complementizer *ʾanna* أنّ:

kāna min-a l-mumkini ʾan taḥduṯa kāriṯatun ***law-lā ʾanna*** *jīrānahum tanabbahū li-tasarrubi l-ġāzi*

كان من الممكن أن تحدث كارثة لولا أنّ جيرانهم تنبّهوا لتسرّب الغاز

'there could have been a disaster **but for** their neighbours becoming alerted to the gas leak'

4.1.5 ʾan al-muḫaffafa أن المخففة *and subordination of negative nominalized clauses* (see **7.5.1.9** and **7.5.2.5**)

Negative nominal clauses, such as those containing *laysa* ليس 'not be' (see **4.2.8.1**) and categorical negative *lā* لا 'not' (see **4.1.2**) are subordinated by

'an al-muḫaffafa المخففة أن (cf. also **3.2.2**). These clauses are not to be confused with negative subordinate clauses introduced by *'an lā* لا أنْ 'that not' which often contracts to *'allā* ألا, **7.5.1.8**):

*kāna Ṭaha Ḥusayn yarā **'an laysa kullu muta'allimin muṯaqqafan** bi-l-ma'nā l-daqīqi li-l-kalimati*
كان طه حسين يرى أنْ ليس كلّ متعلم مثقّفا بالمعنى الدقيق للكلمة
'Taha Husayn was of the opinion **that not every educated person was cultured** in the exact sense of the word' (see **10.15**)

*wa-ka-'annahu yudriku **'an lā 'aḍwā'a** fī bayrūta wa-lā basmata*
وكأنّه يدرك أنْ لا أضواء في بيروت ولا بسمة
'it was as if he realized **that there were no lights** nor smiles in Beirut'

*wa-ktašafa **'an lā 'aḥada** yahtammu bī 'aw ḥattā yurīdu ṣuḥbatī*
واكتشف أنْ لا أحد يهتمّ بي أو حتّى يريد صحبتي
'he discovered **that no one** was interested in me nor even wanted my friendship'

(for *lā 'aḥada* لا أحد 'no one', see further in **4.2.1.1**)

4.1.6 *Negation of indefinite nouns after compound preposition* **bi-lā** بلا ***'without'***

Nouns negated by *bi-lā* بلا 'without' are always indefinite oblique (cf. *bi-dūni* بدون 'without', **2.7.11**):

*al-'umūru lā yaṣiḥḥu 'an tasīra **bi-lā** taḫṭīṭin wā'in*
الأمور لا يصحّ أن تسير بلا تخطيط واع
'matters should not proceed **without** conscious planning'

4.2 Negatives in verbal sentences

Verbs are negated by a number of particles. These are as follows:

lam لم + apocopate (see **3.10.2**, **3.24**, **4.2** and **8.0**) or less frequently *mā* ما + perfect (see **3.10.1**) 'did not', 'has not'

lā لا + independent imperfect (see **3.10.2**) 'does not'

lan لن + dependent imperfect (see **3.10.3**) 'will not'

In CA direct negation of the verb was the norm. With indefinite agents, however, Arabic does not have the choice between 'a man did not come' and 'no man came', and only the former is found in CA. It survives intact in MWA, but there is now a calque, *lā 'aḥada* لا أحد (see **4.2.1.1**) for the special case of 'no one'. Otherwise MWA follows the CA practice:

tilka ḥaqīqatun ***lā yunkiruhā miṣriyyun***
تلك حقيقة لا ينكرها مصري
'that is a fact which **no Egyptian will deny**'

ya'taqidūna 'anna ***taġayyuran lam yaṭra'***
يعتقدون أنّ تغيّرا لم يطرأ
'they believe no change has arisen', lit. '**a change has not arisen**'

wa-lākinna ***'ayyan minhum lam yaṣil 'ilā*** *baṣīṣin min-a l-nūri*
ولكنّ أيّا منهم لم يصل إلى بصيص من النور
'but none of them was able to find any glimmer of light', lit.
'**any of them was not able to find**'

'abadan ***lan takūna*** *hunāka* ***muqāwamatun***
أبدا لن تكون هناك مقاومة
'there will be no resistance there ever', lit. 'ever there **will not be a resistance**'

4.2.1 lā لا *'not'*

With independent imperfect verb (▷C1:115):

(see unmarked imperfect at **3.10.2**)

- Active:

wa-hāḏā l-naw'u min-a l-ḥašā'iši ***lā yanmū*** *fī l-manāṭiqi l-ḥārrati*
وهذا النوع من الحشائش لا ينمو في المناطق الحارّة
'and this type of grass **does not grow** in hot regions'

*wa-****lā yabdū*** *'annahu* ***lā yulhimu*** *'ūlā'ika llaḏīna …*
ولا يبدو أنّه لا يلهم أولئك الّذين . . .
'and **it does not seem** that **he does not inspire** those who …'

wa-hāḏā ***lā yumkinu*** *'an yastamirra*
وهذا لا يمكن أن يستمرّ
'and this **cannot** continue', (see **7.5.1**)

- Passive (see **3.12**):

  *wa-**lā tu'raḍu** miṭlu hāḏihi l-taqārīru 'alā l-majlisi*
  ولا تعرض مثل هذه التقارير على المجلس
  'and such reports are not to be given to the scrutiny [lit. "**not to be shown**"] of the council'

With future verbs (*sa-* س, *sawfa* سوف) (for *lan* لن, see **4.2.5**)

- Although generally considered ungrammatical, the particle *sawfa* سوف sometimes occurs with *lā* لا:

  *wa-'aḍāfa 'annahu **sawfa lā** yusmaḥu lahum bi-duḫūli 'arāḍīhim*
  وأضاف أنّه سوف لا يُسمح لهم بدخول أراضيهم
  'and he added that they **will not be** allowed to enter their territories', lit. 'lands'

  (for *ḍamīr al-ša'n* ضمير الشأن, see **3.4**)

  ***sawfa lā** yata'aḫḫaru kaṯīran*
  سوف لا يتأخّر كثيرا
  'he **will not** be very late'

- With emphasis on the subject (▷C1:103). When the subject needs emphasis, the particle precedes it rather than the verb:

  ***lā 'anā wa-lā 'anta** nastaṭī'u 'an nu'aṯṯira 'alayhi*
  لا أنا ولا أنت نستطيع أن نؤثّر عليه
  '**neither you nor I** can influence him'

- With imperatives (see **4.3**, also **3.24.5**).

- With negative wishes (for optatives, see **4.5**, also **3.25.2**):

  ***lā kānat** 'ayyāmuhu*
  لا كانت أيّامه
  '**let us hope** that his days **will never return**'

- *wa-lā* ولا 'and not', 'nor' as negative correlative (see **4.7**, **2.19.10**, **6.12.1**, **6.12.2**)

4.2.1.1 *Subset* lā 'aḥada لا أحد *'no one'*

As noted above (see **4.2**), in CA direct negation of the verb was the norm, namely, ***lā ya'rifu** 'aḥadun . . .* لا يعرف أحد '**no one knows** . . .', lit. 'not

knows someone'. In MWA the *lā 'aḥada* لا أحد 'no one' phrase appears to be a calque and ***lā 'aḥada*** *yadrī* لا أحد يدري '**no one** knows' for example, may be parsed as a categorical negative followed by an adjectival relative clause, 'there is no one in existence who knows':

*min-a l-mu'akkadi 'an **lā 'aḥada** yastaṭī'u 'an yalūmahu*
من المؤكّد أنْ لا أحد يستطيع أن يلومه
'it is certain that **no one** can blame him'

*lā ya'rifu 'aḥadan wa-**lā 'aḥada** ya'rifuhu*
لا يعرف أحدا ولا أحدَ يعرفه
'he does not know anyone and **no one** knows him'

***lā 'aḥada** ḫālin min-a l-'uyūbi*
لا أحد خال من العيوب
'**no one** is free from faults'

However, the CA order of negation of the verb (see **4.2**) still occurs:

*wa-**lam yakun 'aḥadun yantabihu** 'ilā miṯli hāḏihi l-māddati wa-'āṯārihā l-ḫaṭīrati*
ولم يكن أحد ينتبه إلى مثل هذه المادّة وآثارها الخطيرة
'and **no one has been paying attention** to this kind of substance and its dangerous effects', lit. 'someone was not paying attention'

(for compound tenses with *kāna* كان 'be', see **3.10.6**)

*al-yawma **lā yajī'u 'aḥadun***
اليوم لا يجيء أحد
'today **no one will come**'

*'inna **'aḥadan lā ya'rifu** kayfa tantaqilu l-ḥaḍāratu 'alā fūhati midfa'in*
إنّ أحدا لا يعرف كيف تنتقل الحضارة على فوهة مدفع
'**no one knows** how civilization is transmitted through the mouth of a gun'

The same applies to *lā šay'a* لا شيء 'nothing' when it is the topic (as for *lā 'aḥada* لا أحد):

***lā šay'a** yatasarrabu 'abra l-ḥudūdi l-ġarbiyyati*
لا شيء يتسرب عبر الحدود الغربية
'**nothing** is smuggled through the Western frontiers'

But when *lā šay'a* لا شيء 'nothing' is not the topic, then the verb itself must be negated (see **4.2.3**). Note that the categorical negative *lā šay'a* لا شيء is not the same as the compound noun *lā šay'* لا شئ 'nonentity' of the type dealt with at **12.6**.

- Note use of *'insān* إنسان 'person' as alternative for anyone/no one, although verb, not agent, is negated:

  ***lā yataṣawwaru 'insānun** 'anna …*
  لا يتصور إنسان أنّ . . .
  '**no one can imagine** that …'

  ***lā yastaṭī'u 'insānun** 'an …*
  لا يستطيع إنسان أنْ . . .
  '**no one is able** to …'

4.2.2 mā ما *'not'* + *verb* (▷C1:109)

The past is sometimes negated by *mā* ما + perfect (cf. **4.2.2**), although its usage appears to be restricted to durative contexts, unlike *lam* لم + imperfect:

***mā 'aḥabbathu** fī-l-māḍī wa-lā tuḥibbuhu fī l-ḥāḍiri*
ما أحبّته في الماضي ولا تحبّه في الحاضر
'**she did not love him** in the past nor does she love him at present'

***mā jā'athu** 'illā wa-wajadat mā turīdu min 'aṭfin wa-ta'yīdin*
ما جاءته إلا ووجدت ما تريد من عطف وتأييد
'**she never came to him** without finding what she wants in the way of kindness and support' (see **5.4.4** and **9.4.6**)

Also occurs with independent imperfect (▷C1:102, 109) to convey emotional intensity:

***mā yasma'u** kalāmī*
ما يسمع كلامي
'**he does not listen** to what I am saying'

***mā 'adrī** 'a-ṣadīqun huwa 'am 'aduwwun*
ما أدري أصديق هو أم عدوّ
'**I do not know** whether he is a friend or foe'

(for indirect questions, see **10.17**)

mā ’ašukku *fī ḏālika*
ما أشكّ في ذلك
‘**I do not doubt** that’

Common with certain idiomatic expressions:

mā talbaṯu *’an tazūla*
ما تلبث أنْ تزول
‘**it will soon** disappear’

(for the idiomatic *labiṯa* لبث ‘to tarry’, see **3.17.12**; see also **3.21.4**)

mā ’in ما إن with *ḥattā* حتّى (see **4.2.6** and **7.6.7.7**).

4.2.3 lam لم *‘not’* (▷C1:127)

lam لم occurs only with the apocopate, and is generally used in a punctual context. It is probably the most common way of negating the past in MWA:

lam ’aša’*-i l-safara*
لم أشأ السفر
‘**I did not want** to travel’

(for verbal nouns and subordinate clauses, see **7.5.1.1**)

lam ’afham*-i l-maṭlūba*
لم أفهم المطلوب
‘**I did not understand** what was wanted’

(for passive participle as noun, see **2.10.4**)

lam ’altaqi *bihi min qablu*
لم ألتق به من قبل
‘**I have not met** him before’

lam yu‘raf šay’un *‘an ’asbābi l-kāriṯati*
لم يعرف شيء عن أسباب الكارثة
‘**nothing was known** about the causes of the disaster’

(for negative agent, see **4.2.1.1**)

With *ba‘du* بعد (▷C1:130) (cf. *lammā* لمّا **4.2.4**).

lam لم 'not' + apocopate + *ba'du* بعد 'afterwards', 'since' is the most common way of expressing 'not . . . yet' in MWA. The position of the invariable adverb *ba'du* بعد (see **2.5.4**) in the sentence is variable, sometimes occurring immediately after the verb, especially with pronoun agents:

***lam** nanjaḥ **ba'du** fī ḏālika*
لم ننجح بعد في ذلك
'we have **not yet** succeeded in that'

***lam** tartafi' **ba'du** 'ilā hāḏā l-mustawā*
لم ترتفع بعد إلى هذا المستوى
'it has **not yet** risen to this level'

and sometimes directly after the explicit agent (or even at the end of the whole clause in some cases):

***lam** tastaqirra 'aḥwāluhā **ba'du** ḥattā l-'āna*
لم تستقر أحوالها بعد حتّى الآن
'her circumstances have **not (yet)** stabilized up to now'

It also occurs before the overt agent, a structure that is more common in literary Arabic:

***ba'du** lam yartawi qalbī 'ilā l-ḥubbi*
بعد لم يرتو قلبي إلى الحبّ
'**as yet** my heart has not been quenched by love'

'Not yet' may also be expressed by *lam* لم 'not' + *ḥattā l-'āna* حتّى الآن 'until now':

***lam** yuktašaf **ḥattā l-'āna** 'ayyu 'ilājin*
لم يُكتشف حتّى الآن أيّ علاج
'**no** treatment has **up to now** been discovered'

4.2.4 lammā لمّا *'not yet'* (▷C1:129)

(for the sense of 'when', 'since', see **7.6.3.2**)

This was the CA way of negating the past in the sense of 'had not yet', 'has not yet', although it has been largely replaced by *lam . . . ba'du* لم . . . بعد (see **4.2.3**). The particle is followed by the verb in the apocopate, often with the verb *zāla* زال *yazālu* يزال 'to cease' in its negative form meaning 'to still do' (see **3.21.4**):

*'inna hāḏā l-mawqifa … kāna fī naẓari Ḥ. M., wa-**lammā yazal**, min 'abrazi l-'awā'iqi*
إنّ هذا الموقف . . . كان في نظر ح. م. و لمّا يزل من أبرز العوائق
'this position … was in the view of H. M., and **still is**, one of the most prominent obstacles'

*wa-huwa **lammā yazal** ḥadīṯa l-sinni*
وهو لمّا يزل حديث السنّ
'while **he was still** a young man', lit. '**he not yet having ceased** [being] young of age'

4.2.5 lan لن *'not'* (▷C1:126)

lan لن 'not' is followed only by dependent verbs and gives the sense of negative future. While it was almost the only negative future in CA, it is tending to be replaced in MWA by the future prefixes *sa-* سـ or *sawfa* سوف (see **3.10.3**) and *lā* لا 'not now' for simple future negative (see **4.2.1**), with the CA *lan* لن 'not in the future' evidently being retained for a more emphatic negation:

*wa-huwa yuḫbiruhā 'annahu **lan yastaṭī'a** l-ḥayāta bi-dūnihā*
وهو يخبرها أنّه لن يستطيع الحياة بدونها
'as he told her that **he will not be able** to live without her'

(see syndetic circumstantial qualifiers **7.3.2**)

*al-'ahlu **lan yusāri'ū** 'ilā širā'i haḏihi l-dumyati*
الأهل لن يسارعوا الى شراء هذه الدمية
'families **will not rush** to buy this doll'

(note plural verb with collective *al-'ahlu* الأهل 'the people', see **3.8.2**)

*lākinnanā nuḥissu 'annahā **lan taḏwiya wa-lan tantahiya***
لكنّنا نحسّ أنّها لن تذوي ولن تنتهي
'but we feel that **it will not fade away nor will it come to an end**'

(note repetition of negative, cf. coordinate negative below, see **4.7**)

*qāla … 'innahu **lan yata'aḫḫara** kaṯīran*
قال . . . إنّه لن يتأخر كثيرا
'… said he would not be very long', lit. '**will not delay** long'

(for indirect speech, see **10.15.1**)

4.2.6 *'in* إن *and* *mā 'in* ما إن (▷C1:128, also nominal sentence) *'no sooner . . . than'*

CA *'in* إن as a negative seems to have disappeared except as part of an exceptive compound (see also **9.4.3**):

***'in** hiya **'illā** niṣfu sā'atin wa-'iḏā bi-l-ġubāri yataṣā'adu*
إن هي إلا نصف ساعة وإذا بالغبار يتصاعد
'**it was only** half an hour before the dust suddenly rose'

The construction *mā 'in* ما إن appears to be used in MWA only with *ḥattā* حتى (see also **7.6.7.7**) as a time idiom. It is an unusual structure in that it contains a double negative, that is, *mā* ما and *'in* إن:

***mā 'in** 'aḍa'tu l-nūra **ḥattā** 'asra'at-i l-ṣarāṣīru taḫtabi'u fī šuqūqin lam 'akun qad lāḥaẓtuhā min qablu*
ما إن أضأت النور حتّى أسرعت الصراصير تختبئ في شقوق لم أكن قد لاحظتها من قبل
'**no sooner had** I put on the light **than** the cockroaches rushed to hide in cracks I had never noticed before'

4.2.7 *Negative reinforcements with* 'abadan أبدا (▷C1:131) *and others* (see also further under adverb[ial]s)

To emphasize the negation of a sentence a qualifier may be used. These reinforcers occur with both nominal and verbal sentences, but they are not negative in themselves. They generally follow the elements they qualify, that is, they function adverbially. Inversions are governed by rhetorical considerations:

- *'abadan* أبدا 'never' (for affirmative usage, see **2.4.3.1**):

  *wa-hāḏā mā lan 'a'rifahu **'abadan***
  وهذا ما لن أعرفه أبدا
  'and this is what I shall **never** know'

  *lan ya'ūda **'abadan***
  لن يعود أبدا
  'it will **never** come back'

- *qaṭṭu* قطّ '(not) at all' (▷C1:111, 131), purely a negative reinforcer:

  sami'ū wa-lam yubṣirū ***qaṭṭu***
  سمعوا و لم يبصروا قطّ
  'they have heard but have not seen **at all**'

  lākinnanī lam 'ahjur-i l-ḫawḏata ***qaṭṭu***
  لكنّني لم أهجر الخوذة قطّ
  'but I did not run away from the helmet **at all**'

  mā sami'nā bi-miṯlihi ***qaṭṭu***
  ما سمعنا بمثله قطّ
  'we have not heard the like of it **at all**'

- *al-battata* البتّة 'at all' (wC1:132), also purely a negative reinforcer:

  hāḏā laysa min qabīli l-istiqlāliyyati ***l-battata***
  هذا ليس من قبيل الاستقلالية البتّة
  'this is not in the category of independence **at all**'

  lā faḍla liya ***l-battata***
  لا فضل لي البتّة
  'there is no credit to me **at all**'

(for categorical negative *lā* لا, see **4.1.2**)

4.2.8 laysa ليس *'not to be'* (▷C1:119) (see also kāna كان, 3.16)

4.2.8.1 *laysa* ليس is a verb with the same syntax as *kāna* كان 'to be' of which it is a 'sister' (for *kāna* كان see **3.16**; and for *laysa* ليس see **3.19.1**). Unlike *kāna* كان, *laysa* ليس has no tense or modality (cf. *qad lā yakūnu* قد يكون لا, *mā kāna* ما كان, *lam yakun* لم يكن **3.10.6** and **3.16.2**) and simply negates predicates in the present tense, and in this function is 'incomplete'. As with all 'sisters' of *kāna* كان, *laysa* ليس sentences must contain a subject and predicate:

wa-lākin laysa ***l-waḍ'u ḫaṭīran***
ولكن ليس الوضع خطيرا
'but **the situation** [indep. subj.] is not **serious** [dep. pred.]'

*last**u** **muta'akkidan***
لست متأكدا
'**I** am not **sure**'

*las**tu mašġūlan** bi-smihi faqaṭ*
لست مشغولا باسمه فقط
'**I** am not **preoccupied** with his name only'

*lays**a muhimman***
ليس مهمّا
'**it** is not **important**'

*šāhadtu 'adadan **laysa qalīlan** min-a l-marḍā*
شاهدت عددا ليس قليلا من المرضى
'I saw **not a small** number of patients'

- Predicate as prepositional phrase:

  *laysa **li-l-maṣlaḥati l-'āmmati***
  ليس للمصلحة العامة
  'it is not **for the general good**'

- With indefinite subject (see **4.2**):

  *laysa ladayhi **šay'un** jadīdun yaqūluhu*
  ليس لديه شيء جديد يقوله
  'he has **nothing** new to say', lit. 'there is not to him **something**'

- With *bi-* بـ:

  Predicates of *laysa* ليس may be introduced by *bi-* بـ, in which case the predicate is in oblique case. The predicate may be either indefinite or definite:

  *wa-huwa laysa **bi-šāhidin** 'aw bi-qāri'in*
  وهو ليس بشاهد أو بقارئ
  'while he is not **one who witnessed [it]** or read [it]'

  (see circumstantial qualifiers **7.3.2**)

  *laysa **bi-mustaġrabin** 'an …*
  . . . ليس بمستغرب أنْ
  'it is not **unusual** that …'

- *laysa* ليس with *bi-* بـ may also negate formally definite nouns (in generic sense):

  *wa-lākinna l-ḥayāta **laysat bi-l-la'ibi***
  ولكنّ الحياة ليست باللعب
  'but life is **not a game**'

laysa bi-l-‘adadi l-kabīri *llaḏī yu’aṯṯiru salban ‘alā ’adā’i l-madārisi*
ليس بالعدد الكبير الذي يؤثّر سلبا على أداء المدارس
‘it is **not a large number** which negatively affects the schools’ performance’

(note idiomatic generic article with *al-‘adadi* العدد ‘the number’, i.e. ‘a[ny] number’, see **1.12.3.1**)

- It may also negate definite adjectives (▷C2:20):

*wa-kitābu ‘l-tanwīr’ yumaṯṯilu ’iḍāfatan laysat **bi-l-qalīlati** ’ilā turāṯinā l-ṭibbī*
وكتاب ’التنوير‘ يمثّل إضافة ليست بالقليلة إلى تراثنا الطبي
‘the book “al-Tanwīr” represents a **substantial** addition to our medical heritage’ lit. ‘not the [generically] small one’

- With partitive *min* من (see **2.6.12**, cf. **4.1.1** with negative *mā* ما):

*’iḏ **laysa min ḥarakatin** ṯawriyyatin lā yataqāṭa‘u fīhā l-bu‘du l-waṭaniyyu l-qawmiyyu wa-l-bu‘du l-ṭabaqiyyu*
إذ ليس من حركة ثورية لا يتقاطع فيها البعد الوطني القومي و البعد الطبقي
‘since **there is no** revolutionary **movement** in which the ethno-nationalist and the class dimensions do not intersect’

***laysa** li-l-turāṯi **min ḥarakati taṭawwurin** wa-ṣayrūratin*
ليس للتراث من حركة تطوّر وصيرورة
‘heritage has no movement of development and transformation’, lit. ‘**there is not** to heritage **any movement of development** and transformation’

***laysa** hunāka **min ’aflāmin** ’insāniyyatin ḏakiyyatin*
ليس هناك من أفلام إنسانية ذكية
‘there are no intelligent humane films’, lit. ‘there **are not of films**’

Note the reported variants with *kāna* كان in its negative form with *bi-* بـ. This structure may well have assumed the syntax of *laysa* ليس:

***lam ’akun bi-qādirin** ‘alā šarḥi mā ‘indī*
لم أكن بقادر على شرح ما عندي
‘I was **unable** to explain what was with me’

*’illā ’anna ‘ayna l-suluṭāti l-musta‘mirati **mā kānat bi-ġāfiyatin***
إلا أنّ عين السلطات المستعمرة ما كانت بغافية
‘however the eye of the imperialist authorities **was not closed**’

lam takun**-i l-masāfatu bayna 'l-'arūsati' wa-tilka l-sayyārati **bi-l-qaṣīrati
لم تكن المسافة بين 'العروسة' وتلك السيارة بالقصيرة
'the distance between "the bride" and that car **was not short**'

4.2.8.2 *Compound negative, i.e. with other verbs* (▷C1:124)

laysa ليس with another verb in the present (cf. *kāna* كان which also occurs with the present tense but in a different function, see **3.10.6**) negates the emphasized identity of the preposed pronoun agent (see **3.9.1**), that is, ***naḥnu nurīdu*** نحن نريد 'we want' v. *lasnā nurīdu* لسنا نريد 'we do not want':

***lasnā nurīdu** l-'ifāḍata bi-tafāṣīli l-juz'iyyāti*
لسنا نريد الإفاضة بتفاصيل الجزْئيات
'**we do not want** to expand on details of the particulars'

***lastu 'uqīmu** fī hāḏā l-manzili*
لست أقيم في هذا المنزل
'**I do not live** in this house'

4.2.8.3 *Negative conjunction (cf.* lā لا ***4.7** and **6.12.3**)*

*huwa ša'bu miṣra, **laysa ḥukūmatu miṣra***
هو شعب مصر، ليس حكومة مصر
'it is the people of Egypt, **not the government of Egypt**'

Variant with *wa-* و:

*wa-l-'umru yatadāfa'u 'amāma l-sinīna wa-**laysa ḫalfahā***
والعمر يتدافع أمام السنين وليس خلفها
'and the lifespan is pushed along in front of the years, **not behind them**'

*'an yakūna hunāka mas'ūliyyatun bi-l-fi'li wa-**laysa bi-l-ismi***
أنْ يكون هناك مسؤولية بالفعل وليس بالاسم
'that there should be responsibility in fact and **not in name**'

*sa-yaḥla'u 'anhu l-ḥijāba lāḥiqan, wa-**laysa l-'āna***
سيخلع عنه الحجاب لاحقا وليس الآن
'he will remove the veil from it subsequently, **not now**'

In the following examples *laysa* ليس is not a conjunction:

*ta'akkadtu 'annahu tašrīfun wa-**laysa taklīfan***
تأكّدت أنّه تشريف و ليس تكليفا
'I assured myself that it was an honour and **was not an imposition**'

(note indirect speech criteria for tenses, **10.14** and **10.15**; and see also **7.5.2** under *'anna* أنّ)

*'anna l-quwwata tafriḍu l-šar'iyyata … wa-**laysat-i l-'umamu l-muttaḥidatu***
أنّ القوّة تفرض الشرعية . . . و ليست الأمم المتحّدة
'that power determines legality … **not the United Nations**'

4.2.8.4 *laysa* ليس with other words, *laysa 'illā* ليس إلا, *laysa ġayru* ليس غير 'nothing more', 'nothing else', 'nothing but'

laysa ليس occurs at the end of a noun-phrase or sentence as a qualifier to restrict the event to that noun only with either *'illā* إلا or *ġayru* غير as invariable forms that cannot be further qualified:

*ḫuṭwatu tamhīdin **laysa 'illā***
خطوة تمهيد ليس إلا
'a preparatory step, **nothing else**'

*fa-huwa taqlīdun muqtabasun **laysa 'illā***
فهو تقليد مقتبس ليس إلا
'this is an acquired practice, **nothing but**'

*fa-'inna maṣīra l-majma'i l-intiḫābiyyi wa-huwa ḥāsimun rahnun bi-mi'ātin min-a l-'aṣwāti **laysa 'illā***
فإنّ مصير المجمع الانتخابي و هو حاسم رهن بمئات من الأصوات ليس إلا
'then the fate of the electoral body, which is crucial, rests on a few hundred votes, **nothing more**'

*'urīdu maḥabbataka **laysa ġayru***
أريد محبّتك ليس غير
'I want your love, **nothing more**'

Also occurs with quantifiers *'akṯaru* أكثر 'more', *'aqallu* أقل 'less':

*hudnatun mu'aqqatatun … **laysa 'akṯaru***
هدنة مؤقّتة . . . ليس أكثر
'a temporary truce … **nothing more**'

4.2.8.5 *With verbal noun of* kāna كان

(For *kāna* كان syntax, see **3.16.2**):

*kawnuhu **laysa bankan** tijāriyyan*
كونه ليس بنكا تجاريا
'its **being not** a merchant **bank**'

For use of *laysa* ليس in 'not only . . . but also' calque, see **4.9**.

4.3 Negative of *kāna* كان

Unlike *laysa* ليس 'not be', which is intrinsically negative, the verb *kāna* كان 'be' must be negated by whatever particle is required by its form, like any other verb.

4.3.1 *As modalized equivalent of* laysa ليس (cf. **3.10.6** and **3.16**) *in various functions*

Negating the predicate, perfect tense, with *mā* ما:

*lam yakḏib wa-**mā kāna kāḏiban** 'alayhā*
لم يكذب وما كان كاذبا عليها
'he did not lie and **he would not** lie to her'

Negating the past with *lam* لم:

***lam takun** taẓāhurātu mu'āriḍī l-'awlamati l-iqtiṣādiyyati **ḥāddatan** hāḏihi l-sanata*
لم تكن تظاهرات معارضي العولمة الاقتصادية حادة هذه السنة
'the demonstrations of the opponents of economic globalization **were not fierce** this year' (for 'incomplete' *kāna* كان, see **3.16.2**)

*wa-l-wāqi'u annahu **lam yakun** li-K 'uslūbun wāḥidun bal 'uslūbāni*
والواقع أنّه لم يكن لك. أسلوب واحد بل أسلوبان
'and the reality is that K. **did not have** one way but two ways' (see *li-* لـ 'to have', **2.6.9**)

Negating the future with *lan* لن:

*'anna hāḏihi l-ḥarba **lan takūna** ḥallan*
أنّ هذه الحرب لن تكون حلاّ
'that this war **will not be** a solution'

Negating subordinate clause with *lā* لا:

*na'malu **'allā takūna***
نأمل ألا تكون
'we hope **they will not be** [namely, that hearts will not be full]', lit. 'that they not be' (for *'allā* ألا see **7.5.1.8**)

Negating modalized equational sentence with *qad* قد + *lā* لا (for *qad* قد, see **3.10.5** and for its use with *kāna* كان, see **3.16.3**)

*wa-ḥiyāla hāḏihi l-'āṣifati l-' ātiyati **qad lā takūnu** kalimatu l-'irāqiyyīna muwaḥḥadatan*
وحيال هذه العاصفة الآتية قد لا تكون كلمة العراقيين موحدة
'and in view of this approaching storm the word of the Iraqis **may not be** united'

Negating imperfect with *lā* لا:

*li-'anna 'amaliyyata l-tajyīri hunā **lā takūnu** li-maṣlaḥati muraššaḥin muwālin*
لانّ عملية التجيير هنا لا تكون لمصلحة مرشح موال
'because the endorsement process here **will not be** to the advantage of a loyal candidate' (see also **3.16.3.2**)

4.3.2 mā kāna ما كان *and other negatives* + lām al-juḥūd لام الجحود

(Cf. **3.16.4**; see also *li-* لـ at **7.6.1.2**.)

kāna كان still occurs in its negative form with the '*li-* لـ of denial' followed by the dependent verb. This occurs often with *mā* ما:

*bi-'anna hāḏihi l-taḥqīqāti **mā kānat li-tajriya** 'aṣlan law-lā 'iṣrārunā*
بأنّ هذه التحقيقات ما كانت لتجري أصلا لولا إصرارنا
'that these investigations **would not be taking place** at all were it not for our insistence'

(for *law-lā* لو لا, see **8.2.11**)

***mā kāna** R. Ḥ. **li-**yakuffa 'an …*
ما كان ر. خ. ليكفّ عن . . .
'R. H. **was never** one **to** hold back from …'

***lam takun li-tataḥaqqaqa** bi-hāḏā l-šakli*
لم تكن لتتحقّق بهذا الشكل
'**would** [namely, proposals] **not have been realized** in this form'

4.4 Prohibitions

(See also imperatives **3.24.5**, **3.24.6**.)

MWA has two ways of rendering prohibition, that is, negative imperatives.

4.4.1 *Negative direct*

lā لا + apocopate (▷C1:81, 116). Direct negative commands are expressed by the negative *lā* لا followed by the apocopate:

lā tatamarran *bi-mufradika bal-i nḍamma ’ilā farīqin*
لا تتمرّن بمفردك بل انضمّ إلى فريق
‘**do not train** by yourself, but join a team’

lā tatajāhal *’ayya ’alamin qad yuṣībuka*
لا تتجاهل أيّ ألم قد يصيبك
‘**do not ignore** any pain that might afflict you’

(for the force of *qad* قد here, see **3.10.5**)

lā tansaw *mā yuqālu*
لا تنسَوا ما يقال
‘**do not forget** what is said’

4.4.4.1 *Negative indirect* (▷C1:83)

lā لا + apocopate plus or minus *-anna* ـَنَّ without *la-* لـ (see further **3.26**). No examples were found during the course of this study.

4.5 Optatives

Classical negative, with *lā* لا + perfect (▷C1:117) (see also **3.25.2**).

Negative wishes (optatives) with sense of ‘may something not happen’ are rendered by negative *lā* لا + perfect. They are still common in MWA, particularly in religious expressions:

lā bāraka llāhu *fī l-ḥayāti bi-dūnika ma‘ī*
لا بارك الله في الحياة بدونك معي
‘Shame on life without you with me’, lit. ‘**May God not bless**’

(for *dūna* دون, see **2.7.11**)

lā sāmaḥaka llāhu *… lā yumkinu ’an ’aẓunna ḏālika*
لا سامحك الله . . . لا يمكن أن أظنّ ذلك
‘God forbid … I could not think in this way’, lit. ‘**May God not forgive you**’

4.6 Exceptives

Negation in exceptive sentences (see **Chapter 9**):

fa-majlisu l-’umanā’i ***lā*** *yaẓharu* ***’illā*** *fī l-iḥtifālāti l-sanawiyyati*
فمجلس الأمناء لا يظهر إلا في الاحتفالات السنوية
‘the Board of Trustees only appears at the annual celebrations’, lit. ‘the Board of Trustees **does not** appear **except** at the annual celebrations’

4.7 Resumptive negatives

[wa]-lā [و]لا (for phrase coordination, see **2.19.10**; for sentence coordination, see **6.12.1**) (▷C2:501).

Negative particles are generally correlated with *wa-lā* ولا (although the particle may be elided or repeated):

lam yuḫaṭṭiṭū *li-hāḏihi l-‘amaliyyati* ***wa-lā fakkarū fī****-l-taḫṭīṭi lahā*
لم يخطّطوا لهذه العملية ولا فكّروا في التخطيط لها
‘**they have not planned** for this operation, and **nor have they thought about** planning for it’

The perfect may also be negated by *lā* لا with modal and auxiliary verbs (for general reference, see **3.15**) when correlated with *wa-lā* ولا:

lā rāḥa *yaṭ‘anuhu* ***wa-lā*** *lamasahu*
لا راح يطعنه ولا لمسه
‘**he neither began** to stab him **nor** even touch him’

Also with ordinary verbs in perfect:

lā *‘ādat li-l-ša‘bi l-filisṭīniyyi ’arḍuhu wa-ḥuqūquhu* ***wa-lā*** *tawaḥḥadat-i l-’ummatu l-‘arabiyyatu*
لا عادت للشعب الفلسطيني أرضه وحقوقه ولا توحدت الامة العربية
‘**neither** have the land and rights been returned to the Palestinian people **nor** has the Arab nation become united’, lit. ‘has not returned to the Palestinian people its land and its rights’

When the agent is definite and negated with *lā* لا, the negative particle must be repeated. Note that when the emphasis is on negation of the topic, the negative particle is separated from the verb by the topic (cf. **Chapter 3** on topics + verb):

lā 'anā wa-lā ġayrī *yastaṭī'u 'inkāra dawrihi*
لا أنا ولا غيري يستطيع إنكار دوره
'**not I nor anyone else** can deny his role'

lā 'umm kulṯūm wa-lā 'abd al-wahhāb wa-lā 'abd al-ḥalīm *'arafū* …
. . . لا أمّ كلثوم ولا عبد الوهّاب ولا عبد الحليم عرفوا
'**neither Umm Kulthum nor 'Abd al-Wahhab nor Abd al-Halim** knew …'

lā l-ta'dīlātu l-'idāriyyatu l-'ūlā *šamilathum* ***wa-lā*** *ḥattā l-ṯāniyatu*
لا التعديلات الإدارية الأولى شملتهم ولا حتّى الثانية
'**neither the first administrative modifications** included them **nor** even the second'

Elliptical with sense of 'not even':

lam yatakarrar *ma'ī* ***wa-lā*** *marratan wāḥidatan*
لم يتكرّر معي ولا مرّة واحدة
'**it did not recur** with me, **not even** once'

In negative correlative constructions not connected by *wa-lā* ولا the particle may be repeated:

*'a-**lam tusallimhum**-i l-šuqaqa fī l-mawā'īdi **wa-lam tu'awwiḍhum** 'alā fatrati l-intiẓāri?*
ألم تسلّمهم الشقق في المواعيد و لم تعوّضهم على فترة الانتظار؟
'did **you not give them** the apartments on time **and not compensate them** for the waiting period?'

but not necessarily:

*li'-annahum **lam yaḥḍurū** fī l-mawā'īdi l-muqarrarati **wa-yuqaddimū** ṭalabātihim ḥasba l-lawā'iḥi*
لأنّهم لم يحضروا في المواعيد المقررة ويقدّموا طلباتهم حسب اللوائح
'because **they did not come** at the appointed times **and [0] submit** their applications according to regulations'

Note these calques in which only the second particle operates upon the verb:

lam wa-lan *yatawaqqafa*
لم ولن يتوقّف
'**has not and will not** stop'

lam wa-lan *yaṣila*
لم ولن يصل
'**has not and will not** reach'

4.8 Negative interrogative sentences

(For main treatment, see **10.1.2** and **10.13**.)

Generally conveyed by the particle *'a* أ + negative particle at the beginning of the question:

'a-lā tatimmu *l-mutāba'atu bi-l-ṣūrati l-maṭlūbati?*
ألا تتمّ المتابعة بالصورة المطلوبة؟
'**is** the follow-up **not being carried out** as requested?'
(see **2.5.8.2**)

The interrogative particle *hal* هل + positive clause/phrase may also be used in a rhetorical sense, where the expected answer is negative:

hal tumṭiru l-samā'u *ḥulūlan jāhizatan li-mašākilinā?*
هل تمطر السماء حلولا جاهزة لمشاكلنا؟
'**do the skies rain** ready-made solutions for our problems?'
(where 'no' is the expected answer)

4.9 Calque 'not only . . . but also'

There are two main ways of rendering the meaning of 'not only . . . but also'.

The first way (that of CA) is with combinations of the following components: *laysa* ليس (or frequently *lā* لا or *lan* لن or *lam* لم + their respective verbs depending on context, see below) + *fa-ḥasbu* فحسب or *wa-ḥasbu* وحسب in the first clause, and *bal (wa-)* بل(و) or less frequently *wa-lākin* ولكن at the head of the second clause:

***laysa** bi-faḍli l-taqniyāti l-mutaṭawwirati llatī zuwwidat bihā ʻiyādatuhu **fa-ḥasbu bal wa**-bi-faḍli l-ʻalāqati l-mumayyazati llatī yuqīmuhā maʻa marḍāhu*

ليس بفضل التقنية المتطوّرة التي زُوّدت بها عيادته فحسب بل وبفضل العلاقة المميّزة التي يقيمها مع مرضاه

'**not just** because of the developed techniques that his surgery has been provided with **but also** because of the outstanding relationship he establishes with his patients'

***laysa** ḏālika **fa-ḥasbu wa-lākin** li-l-siyāḥati ʾaṯarun šadīdu l-ʾījābiyyati ʻalā …*

ليس ذلك فحسب ولكن للسياحة أثر شديد الإيجابية على . . .

'**it is not only** that, **but** tourism has a very positive effect on …'

(for unreal annexation, see **2.1.3.2**)

*allatī **lā tajmaʻu bayna** tanāquḍāti l-ʻarabi wa-l-inklīzi **fa-ḥasbu bal** tabnī **ka-ḏālika** jisran*

التي لا تجمع بين تناقضات العرب و الإنكليز فحسب بل تبني كذلك جسرا

'which **not only accommodates** the differences between the Arabs and the English **but also** builds a bridge'

***lā tuʾaṯṯiru** nuẓumu l-tawjīhi ʻalā … **fa-ḥasbu bal** talʻabu **ʾayḍan** bi-ṣifatin mubāširatin ʾaw ġayri mubāširatin dawran muʻtarafan bihi fī …*

لا تؤثر نظم التوجيه على . . . فحسب بل تلعب أيضا بصفة مباشرة أو غير مباشرة دورا معترفا به في . . .

'the guidance systems **do not only have an effect on . . . but** they **also** play directly or indirectly an acknowledged role in …'

***lam taʻud** talʻabu dawran mukmilan **fa-ḥasbu … bal** ʾaṣbahat ʻunṣuran markaziyyan*

لم تعد تلعب دورا مكملا فحسب . . . بل أصبحت عنصرا مركزيا

'**it** [namely, the helicopter] **no longer** plays **just** a complementary role … **but** it has become a central element'

Sometimes includes intensifiers, for example, *ʾayḍan* أيضا 'also' or *ka-ḏālika* كذلك 'likewise', which may occur either immediately after *bal* بل 'but' or at the end of the sentence:

***laysa** li-mukawwanātihi l-ḫāṣṣati **wa-ḥasbu bal ʾayḍan** li-mawqifi l-nāsi minhu*

ليس لمكوناته الخاصّة وحسب بل أيضا لموقف الناس منه

'**not just** for its particular contents **but also** because of peoples' attitude to it'

The second way is with a calque set using the qualifier *faqaṭ* فقط (for affirmative, see **3.30.3** and **2.5.6**). The word order is conspicuously variable:

laysa faqaṭ *bi-l-nisbati li-l-'asliḥati l-ṯaqīlati* ***bal-i*** *l-ḫafīfati 'ayḍan*

ليس فقط بالنسبة للأسلحة الثقيلة بل الخفيفة أيضا

'**not only** with regard to heavy weapons **but** light ones as well'

laysa faqaṭ *li-'annahā 'awwalu ziyāratin rasmiyyatin yaqūmu bihā munḏu tawallīhi mahāmma manṣibihi,* ***wa-lākin*** *li-'anna l-ziyārata ta'tī fī tawqītin bāliġi l-ḥasāsiyati*

ليس فقط لأنّها أوّل زيارة رسمية يقوم بها منذ تولّيه مهامّ منصبه و لكن لأنّ الزيارة تأتي في توقيت بالغ الحساسية

'**not only** because this is the first visit he has carried out since he assumed the duties of his office, **but** because the visit comes at an extremely sensitive time'

(for unreal annexation, see **2.1.3.2**)

'inna l-namīmata wa 'iṭlāqa l-šā'i'āti ***laysā*** *ḥikran 'alā l-nisā'i* ***faqaṭ bal*** *humā simatāni bašariyyatāni 'āmmatāni*

إنّ النميمة وإطلاق الشائعات ليسا حكرا على النساء فقط بل هما سمتان بشريّتان عامّتان

'gossiping and spreading rumours **is not** the exclusive domain of women only **but** they are two general human characteristics'

Chapter 5

Adjectival and relative clauses

5.0 General principles (▷C3:147)

In the traditional Arab analysis adjectival clauses qualifying indefinite nouns are taxonomically the same as adjectives, and both are termed *ṣifa* صفة 'adjective' (cf. **2.1**), while clauses qualifying definite nouns are treated as adjuncts and thus termed *ṣila* صلة 'adjunct', literally 'attachment'. Both are 'adjectival clauses' and will be so referred to hereafter, but when appropriate they will also be termed more generally 'relative clauses'. This will be necessary when dealing with the third category of relatives, those introduced by *mā* ما 'that which' and *man* من 'he who' which are exclusively nominal, a function which is shared by the syndetic relatives ('adjunct'), which may be either adjectival or nominal.

The feature which determines the syntactic behaviour of both types of adjectival relative is definiteness, which combines with a/syndesis to produce the following structures ('head' will be used throughout in preference to 'antecedent' in this chapter):

- Definite head + syndetic clause = relative structure:

  jalasa l-rajulu ***llaḏī yataḥaddaṯu***
  جلس الرجل الذى يتحدث
  'the man **who is talking** sat'

- Definite head + asyndetic clause = circumstantial qualifier (see **7.3**):

  jalasa l-rajulu ***yataḥaddaṯu***
  جلس الرجل يتحدث
  'the man sat **talking**'

- Indefinite head + asyndetic clause = either relative or circumstantial qualifier:

  *jalasa rajulun **yataḥaddaṯu***
  جلس رجل يتحدث
  either 'a man **who is talking** sat' or (more commonly) 'a man sat **talking**', (cf. **7.3.1**)

- The fourth category, indefinite head + syndetic clause, is empty, and there is no structure of the type:

  **jalasa rajulun-i llaḏī yataḥaddaṯu*
  جلس رجل الذي يتحدث
  'a man, the one who talked, sat'

  as a definite adjunct clause cannot qualify an indefinite head (even if such a structure may appear possible in a translation).

When the clauses are replaced by adjectives or participles, the difference between adjectival qualification (full agreement in case and definiteness) and adverbial qualifier (no agreement, i.e. default indefinite and dependent form as circumstantial qualifier) becomes apparent:

*jalasa l-rajulu **l-mutaḥaddiṯu***
جلس الرجل المتحدث
'the **speaking** [def. indep.] man sat'

*jalasa l-rajulu **mutaḥaddiṯan***
جلس الرجل متحدثا
'the man sat **speaking** [indef. dep.]'

*jalasa rajulun **mutaḥaddiṯun***
جلس رجل متحدث
'a **speaking** [indef. indep.] man sat'

Here the fourth empty class should be the indefinite noun as head of a non-agreeing, dependent indefinite circumstantial qualifier:

*jalasa rajulun **mutaḥaddiṯan***
جلس رجل متحدثا
'a man sat **speaking** [indef. dep.]'

but the rules are not always observed and in fact this construction does occur (see **7.3**), since the agents of verbs do not have to be definite (see **3.7.1**), hence the sentence is complete enough to support further adverbial qualification. However, there is no relative structure involved here.

The situation can be summed up as follows: relative clauses with indefinite heads are asyndetic and always adjectival (see **5.1**), while those with definite heads are syndetic and may be adjectival or nominal (see **5.2**). However, both types are internally the same, containing an anaphoric pronoun linking them to the head (see **5.0.1**).

Although semantically relative clauses may be restrictive or non-restrictive, this originally had no structural reflection, though ways of marking the distinction are now emerging (see **5.2.5** and cf. **5.4.4**).

Nominal relative clauses (see **5.3**) are headed either by the relative noun *allaḍī* الذي, etc. 'the one [who]' or the relative nouns *man* مَنْ 'he [who]' and *mā* ما 'that [which]', the latter pair being used exclusively in that function (see **5.4**). The relative *mā* ما in particular occurs in a number of other functions, for example temporal (see **5.6**) and in combination with other elements to form compound conjunctions (see **5.7**, **5.8**, **5.9**) somewhat like French *que*, and for this reason a number of compound subordinating conjunctions are dealt with in this chapter (for the others, see **Chapter 7**).

The syntax of relative clauses is fundamentally different from English, in that the true 'relative pronoun' is always located within the relative clause (see **5.0.1**). The demonstrative element prefixed to syndetic relative clauses (i.e. with definite heads, see **5.2**) does not correspond at all to the English 'relative pronoun' even though it is commonly referred to as such.

The syntax of relative clauses may thus be summarized as follows (see below for details of the example cited).

[indef. head]	+ [none]	+ [clause containing ref. pron.]
sayyāratun سيارة		*taḥmiluhā* تحملها
'a car		which carries her'
[def. head]	+ [rel. noun]	+ [clause containing ref. pron.]
al-sayyāratu السيارة	*llatī* التي	*taḥmiluhā* تحملها
'the car	[the one]	which carries her'

5.0.1 The referential pronoun

Regardless of the definiteness of the head noun, both kinds of adjectival clause are identical in inner structure and indeed are identical with the

structure of comment clauses (cf. **3.3** and further below), that is, they are complete sentences (nominal or verbal) linked by anaphora to their head.

This can be seen by taking a topic-comment sentence such as this one from **3.3.2**, where the boundary between topic and comment is marked by |:

*al-ṭabībatu l-'amrīkiyyatu | lā yabdū **'alā wajhihā** 'ayyu ta'bīrin*
الطبيبة الأمريكية لا يبدو على وجهها أي تعبير
'no expression appears on the American doctor's [fem.] face',
lit. 'the American doctor | no expression appears **on her face**'

which can be converted to a relative noun phrase, that is, noun + adjectival clause, either by making the head noun phrase indefinite:

*ṭabībat**un** 'amrīkiyyatun | lā yabdū **'alā wajhihā** 'ayyu ta'bīrin*
طبيبة أمريكية لا يبدو على وجهها أي تعبير
'**an** American doctor | **on whose face** no expression appears'

or inserting the relative noun (see **5.2**) after the definite head noun phrase:

***al**-ṭabībatu l-'amrīkiyyatu **llatī** | lā yabdū **'alā wajhihā** 'ayyu ta'bīrin*
الطبيبة الأمريكية التي لا يبدو على وجهها أي تعبير
'**the** American doctor **the one** | **on whose face** no expression appears'

Rephrasing with the topic focuser *'ammā* أما, 'as for' (see **3.3.4**) also helps to emphasize the structural identity of relative and comment clauses (translating *fa-* ف 'so' as 'well' here):

***'ammā** l-ṭabībatu l-'amrīkiyyatu | **fa**-lā yabdū **'alā wajhihā** 'ayyu ta'bīrin*
أما الطبيبة الأمريكية فلا يبدو على وجهها أي تعبير
'**as for** the American doctor, | **well**, no expression appears **on her face**'

In each case, it is seen that both the relative and comment clauses contain a pronoun connecting them to the head. Though they have essentially the same function the referential pronoun in relative clauses is termed *'ā'id* عائد in Arabic, that is, 'returning element' (▷C3:154, 165), while the pronoun which connects comment to topic is generally termed *rābiṭ* رابط 'binding element' (see further **3.3**).

Since the referential pronoun is marked, partly at least, for number, gender and case (see **5.2**), it may be seen as the element carrying the agreement features of pure adjectives:

fī ’afrānin darajatu ḥarāratihā 33 mi’awiyyatun
في أفران درجة حرارتها ٣٣ مئوية
‘in ovens **whose** temperature is 33° centigrade’, lit. ‘ovens, **their** temperature is 33°’

where the feminine singular pronoun on *ḥarāratihā* حرارتها lit. ‘**her** temperature’ agrees with the non-human broken plural (see **2.1.1**).

Since the function of the referential pronoun depends entirely on the clause containing it (▷C3:157), when it is the agent of the verb it may actually be invisible. Thus, in *fī l-sayyārati l-kabīrati llatī taḥmiluhā* في السيارة الكبيرة التي تحملها ‘in the large car **which is carrying** her’, the referential pronoun is not ‘her’ but the hidden agent pronoun incorporated in *taḥmilu* تحمل ‘[she/it] carries’ (see **3.7**; ▷C3:183 seems to overlook this).

Sometimes it may take a second or two to identify the referential pronoun from a string of candidates:

al-fatratu llatī kuntu ’ataḥaddaṯu lakum fīhā ‘anhu
الفترة التي كنت أتحدث لكم فيها عنه
‘the period **in which** I was talking to **you** about **it**’

where *fīhā* فيها ‘in it’ contains the anaphora to ‘the period’. Or:

wa-hiya l-ṯarwatu llatī tarakathā ’usratuhā min ’ajlihā
وهي الثروة التي تركتها أسرتها من أجلها
‘this is the wealth **for the sake of which her** family abandoned **her**’

where *min ’ajlihā* من أجلها ‘for the sake of it’ links the relative clause to the head ‘wealth’ (a reading ‘the wealth which her family left for her’ is possible but was excluded by the context).

5.0.2 *Omission of referential pronoun*

For obvious reasons, the omission of the referential pronoun is not common (▷C3:158, 167, 183), except with relative *mā* ما (see **5.4.3**) and in clauses with time expressions as the head:

*bal tuḥāwilu ’iqnā‘ahu **fī ’awqātin** takūnu ’a‘ṣābuhumā ’ahda’a*
بل تحاول إقناعه في أوقات تكون أعصابهما أهدأ
‘on the contrary, she should try to convince him **at times [during which]** both their nerves are calmer’, lacks *fīhā* فيها ‘during which’

This is the case also with syndetic relative clauses (see **5.2**) involving time expressions:

lam ’ansa ***l-fatrata*** *llatī ẓanantu sū’an bi-sam‘āna*

لم أنس الفترة التي ظننت سوءا بسمعان

‘I have not forgotten **the period [in which]** I thought ill of Sam‘ān’, lacking *fīhā* فيها ‘in which’

bi-ntiẓāri ***l-yawmi*** *llaḏī sa-taltaqī bihi*

بانتظار اليوم الذي ستلتقي به

‘in anticipation of **the day [on which]** she would meet with him’, lacking *fīhi* فيه ‘on which’

This is in no way similar to the frequent (and strictly conditioned) omission of the English relative pronoun, as in ‘the man [0] I saw yesterday’: such elisions are impossible in Arabic.

Conversely, in a clause such as *fī ’ayyi waqtin* ***maḍā*** في أي وقت مضى ‘at any time past’, that is, ‘**which** had passed’, the referential pronoun is present, but concealed as the incorporated agent of *maḍā* مضى ‘**it** passed’ (see **5.0.1**).

5.0.3 *Internal word order*

If the relative clause is an equational sentence, its subject-predicate order will be reversed when the predicate is more definite than the subject, as with equational sentences generally (▷C3:155; and **3.1.3**):

hiya waḥdatun ***lahā*** *šaklun ḫāṣṣun mumayyazun*

هي وحدة لها شكل خاصّ مميّز

‘it is a unit which **has** a distinctive, special form’, lit. ‘**to it** [def. pred.] [there] is a form [indef. subj.]’

(for *li-* لِـ ‘have’, see **2.6.10**)

lā yasmaḥūna bi-l-suknā li-l-‘ā’ilāti llatī ***‘indahā ’aṭfālun***

لا يسمحون بالسكنى للعائلات التي عندها أطفال

‘they do not allow residence to families who **have children**’, lit. ‘to them [are] children’

5.1 Relative clauses with indefinite heads (▷C3:147)

These are asyndetic and always adjectival, that is, they cannot stand alone as noun phrases, unlike syndetic relative clauses. The relative clause occurs immediately after the head, that is, in adjectival position (the referential pronouns are in bold, unless they are agents concealed in their verbs, cf. **5.0.1**):

qadrun *lā naẓīra la**hu***
قدر لا نظير له
'**an amount which** has no equal', lit. 'no equal is to **it**'

(cf. **4.1.2** on categorial negative)

māddatu 'aḥādīṯa *quddimat*
مادّة أحاديث قدّمت
'the subject of **lectures which** were presented'

(the annexation unit is indefinite, see **2.3.1** and **2.3.2**)

72 ***su'ālan*** *'ujība 'an**hā** šafāhatan*
٧٢ سؤالا أجيب عنها شفاهة
'72 **questions which** were answered orally'

(note that the feminine singular pronoun agrees with the grammatical gender of the non-human plural, for this passive construction, see **2.1.1**, and **3.12.3**, **3.12.4**)

tamannā ***jināḥayni yunqiḏānihi*** *min hāḏā l-zaḥfi l-mumīti*
تمنى جناحين ينقذانه من هذا الزحف المميت
'he wished for **two wings which would rescue** [dual] him from this deadly crush', lit. '**they two** will rescue him'

mujarradu ***biḍā'atin tantamī*** *'ilā l-māḍī wa-yajibu 'an **tabqā** fī l-māḍī*
مجرد بضاعة تنتمي إلى الماضي ويجب أن تبقى في الماضي
a mere **commodity which stems** from the past and **which must** stay in the past', lit. '**it** stems' and 'that **it** stay'

(for *yajibu* 'it is necessary', which contains no referential pronoun, see **3.15.2**)

Negative relative clauses follow the same rules:

lā tūjadu dawlatun fī l-'ālami ***lā ta'rifu*** *man huwa l-'aduwwu wa-man huwa l-ṣadīqu*
لا توجد دولة في العالم لا تعرف من هو العدو ومن هو الصديق
'there is no state in the world which **does not know** who is the enemy and who is the friend'

(and note the nominal relative clauses which are the objects of 'know', see **5.4.1**)

mas'alatun ***laysat bi-l-hayyinati***
مسألة ليست بالهيّنة
'**a not insignificant** matter', lit. 'a matter which is not with the insignificant'

(for this usage with *laysa* ليس 'not be', see **4.2.8**)

The following sentence contains two consecutive asyndetic relative clauses, one nested (cf. **6.1**): *bi-faḍli* ***rajulin sānadahā huwa*** *zawjuhā* بفضل رجل ساندها هو زوجها 'by the grace of **a man who** helped her, **who** is her husband', where *sānadahā* ساندها 'he helped her' contains a concealed agent pronoun, and in the second clause *huwa* هو is both subject of the nominal sentence and the referential pronoun in its own clause.

Agreement with collectives follows the same principles as for adjectives (see **2.1.1.2**), predicates (see **3.1.1**) and agents (see **3.8.2**), that is, either singular or plural pronouns occur:

nāsun ***tuḥibbu*** *l-mut'ata wa-l-'amwāla*
ناس تحب المتعة والأموال
'people **who like** [fem. sing.] enjoyment and wealth'

qawmun ***lā ya'rifūna*** *llāha*
قوم لا يعرفون الله
'[a] people **who do not know** [masc. plur.] God'

5.1.1 *Elative annexation*

Since elative annexation to indefinite nouns (▷C3:150; and see **2.11.5**), including 'first' (see **2.13.1**), is grammatically indefinite, it is qualified by asyndetic relative clauses:

'awwalu maqālin ***nušira*** *lī*
أول مقال نشر لي
'the first article **which was published** of mine'

(referential pronoun is incorporated in *nušira* نشر '**it** was published')

'akbaru wafdin barīṭāniyyin ***yazūru*** *ṭihrāna munḏu 20 'āman*
أكبر وفد بريطاني يزور طهران منذ ٢٠ عاما
'the biggest British delegation **which will visit** Teheran for 20 years'

(referential pronoun is incorporated in *yazūru* يزور '**it** will visit')

*'awwalu ziyāratin rasmiyyatin yaqūmu bi**hā** munḏu tawallīhi mahāmmi manṣibihi*

أول زيارة رسمية يقوم بها منذ تولي مهام منصبه

'the first official visit **which** he will carry out since taking up the duties of his office', lit. 'he will carry **it** [referential pron.] out'

Here can also be included quantifiers and emphasizers such as *kullu* كل 'all', 'every' (see **2.9**) when annexed to indefinite nouns:

***kullu qaṭrati mā'in** yuwaffiru**hā** l-mašrū'u ta'nī ziyādatan fī l-'arḍi l-mazrū'ati*

كل قطرة ماء يوفرها المشروع تعني زيادة في الأرض المزروعة

'**every drop of water which** the scheme provides means an increase in cultivated land'

***'ayyu šay'in** yaṣluḥu li-l-zirā'ati 'amla'uhu bi-l-ṭīni*

أي شيء يصلح للزراعة أملؤه بالطين

'**anything that** was suitable for cultivation I would fill with earth'

*qad 'adraka **'ayya 'ālamin** yaḥyāhu l-fatā*

قد أدرك أي عالم يحياه الفتى

'he knew **what world** the boy lived in'

When annexed to definite nouns these units become definite, see **5.2.3**.

5.1.2 *Generic article*

Heads bearing the generic article (see **1.12.3.1**) may be treated as indefinite and thus take asyndetic relative clauses:

*sayyāratun muḥammalatun bi-**l-'aqmišati quddirat qīmatuhā** bi-mablaġi*

سيارة محملة بالأقمشة قدرت قيمتها بمبلغ

'a vehicle loaded with **fabrics whose value** is estimated at'

*kāna lā budda min-a l-wuqūfi 'inda hāḏā l-ḥaddi l-mutawāḍi'i min-a **l-qawli nursiluhu**, bi-'ijlālin, fī rajulin faḏḏin.*

كان لا بد من الوقوف عند هذا الحد المتواضع من القول نرسله، بإجلال، في رجل فذ

'we have had to stop at this modest limit of **our discourse**, **which we are giving vent to**, with respect, about a unique man'

As a result, it is not always possible to distinguish between a relative and a circumstantial clause (see **7.3.3**). The following are formally circumstantial qualifiers but the possibility of their being relative clauses qualifying generic heads cannot be ruled out:

*yaẓunnuhu **rasūla l-'āmiri** jā'a bi-ḫabarin*
يظنه رسول الآمر جاء بخبر
'thinking he was **the messenger of the commandant**, [having] come with some news' or '**some commandant's messenger** [generic military function] **who had come** with some news'

('come with' is really 'bring', see **3.11.4.1**)

*'alā 'anna R. Ḥ. lam yaktafi bi-**hāḏihi l-ṣayḥati yuṭliquhā** fī wajhi l-'arabi, mu'addiyan qiṣṭahu min-a l-mas'ūliyyati l-qawmiyyati, bal …*
على أنّ ر. خ. لم يكتف بهذه الصيحة يطلقها في وجه العرب، مؤديا قسطه من المسؤولية القومية بل . . .
'but R. H. was not content with **this cry which he uttered** in the face of the Arabs, carrying out his share of national responsibility, but rather …'

or '**this cry, uttering it**' if we take it in tandem with the next phrase *mu'addiyan* مؤديا 'carrying out', which is unambiguously a circumstantial qualifier (cf. **2.4.6** and **3.29.7**).

5.1.3 Ambiguity

With indefinite heads there can be complete ambiguity between the asyndetic relative clause and the equally asyndetic circumstantial clause (for *ḥāl*, see **7.3.3**; ▷C3:153):

*šāhadtu 'ābā'an wa-'ummahātin **yarsumūna** l-ḍaḥkata 'alā wujūhihim*
شاهدت آباء وأمهات يرسمون الضحكة على وجوههم
'I saw fathers and mothers **painting/who were painting** a smile on their faces'

(note the default masculine verb for this mixed gender agent, cf. **3.8.3**)

5.1.4 Pronominally linked qualifier

A participial adjectival structure of the pattern ***al-maqṭū'atu binā l-subulu*** المقطوعة بنا السبل 'with our ways [of escape] cut off', literally 'cut off from us our ways', with mixed agreement (definiteness and case with grammatical

head, number and gender with logical head). This construction is termed in Arabic *na't sababī* نعت سببي 'semantically/pronominally linked qualifier', and because it translates easily into relative structures it is often erroneously classified as a relative (e.g. ▷C3:150), but will not be dealt with here. See instead **2.1.3.4**.

5.2 Relative clauses with definite heads (▷C3:162)

These are syndetic, and introduced by the (historically deictic) *allaḍī* الذي etc. 'that one' (for forms, see **1.7.3**), here called the 'relative noun'. This element, already definite by nature, also agrees in number, gender and case with its head (not all of these features are marked), to which it is effectively in apposition (cf. agreement with demonstratives in **2.2.6**).

The Arabic terms are *mawṣūl* موصول lit. 'thing connected' for the relative noun and *ṣila* صلة lit. 'adjunct', 'attachment' for the relative clause (see **5.0**), both terms implying the inseparability of the relative noun from its attached clause.

This element is not a 'relative pronoun' in the English sense: that function is performed by the referential pronoun (see **5.1**). The purpose of the *allaḍī* الذي element is to make the whole clause definite, and it may thus be thought of as a determiner, which completes the adjectival agreement with the definite head: compare *sayyārat**un** kabīrat**un** [0] **taḥmiluhā*** سيارة كبيرة تحملها '**a** large car [0] **which is carrying** her', which has an indefinite head and indefinite agreement in both the adjective and the asyndetic relative clause (indicated by [0] at the head of the relative clause), with ***al**-sayyāratu **l**-kabīratu **llatī** taḥmiluhā* السيارة الكبيرة التي تحملها '**the** large car [**that one**] which is carrying her' in which all the qualifiers are formally definite in agreement with the definite head ***al**-sayyāratu* السيارة '**the** car'.

5.2.1 *Internal structure*

Syndetic relative clauses nonetheless have the same internal structure as asyndetic relative clauses, and the referential pronoun is therefore shown here in bold in this selection of typical relative structures:

al**-muqābalatu llatī ḥaḍara**hā
المقابلة التي حضرها
'**the** meeting which he attended', lit. '**the** meeting, that one, he attended **it**'

al**-makātibu llatī ʻtadtu l-taradduda ʻalay**hā

المكاتب التي اعتدت التردّد عليها

'**the** offices which I was accustomed to frequenting', lit. 'to the frequenting of **them**'

***hā'ulā'i l**-'aṭfālu llaḏīna yuʻān**ūna** fī ṭufūlatihim min 'amrāḍin jasīmatin tamnaʻuhum min-a l-iḫtilāṭi bi-zumalā'ihim*

هؤلاء الأطفال الذين يعانون في طفولتهم من أمراض جسيمة تمنعهم من الاختلاط بزملائهم

'**those** children **who** suffer in childhood from grave illnesses which prevent them from mixing with their companions', lit. 'those ones **they** suffer'

(note that 'which prevent them . . .' is an asyndetic relative qualifying the indefinite 'grave illnesses')

***al-rajulu** llaḏī 'afʻāl**uhu** tasbiqu 'aqwālahu*

الرجل الذي أفعاله تسبق أقواله

'**the man** whose actions precede his words' (topic-comment, 'who, **his** actions, they precede his words', cf. **3.3**)

Where the relative clause is an equational sentence with the head as its own subject, a free pronoun will be both subject and referential pronoun, such as **'aḫī llaḏī **huwa** al-'amīnu l-ʻāmmu* أخي الذي هو الأمين العام 'my brother who [**he**] is the general secretary' (though no examples came up in the data).

However, the referential pronoun is usually omitted in equational sentences when the predicate is a prepositional phrase or the equivalent:

al-ḥujratu llatī bi-jānibi l-bābi l-ra'īsiyyi

الحجرة التي بجانب الباب الرئيسي

'the room which is next to the main door'

for *allatī **hiya** bi-jānibi* التي هي بجانب 'which [**it**] is next to'

al-misāḥatu l-mustaṭīlatu llatī 'amāma l-mabnā wa-llatī nušīru ilayhā 'bi-l-ḥadīqati'

المساحة المستطيلة التي أمام المبنى والتي نشير إليها 'بالحديقة'

'the oblong space which is in front of the building and which we refer to as "the garden"'

for *allatī **hiya** 'amāma* 'which [**it**] is in front of' (note the coordination of relative clauses, not necessarily restrictive as in **5.2.5**).

Agreement of the relative noun with mixed heads follows the rules for adjectives (see **2.1.1.3**) and predicates (see **3.1.1**), here a masculine dual, for example, qualifying a pair of nouns:

lam tansa 'abadan ḥālata l-qalaqi wa-'adami l-ṯiqati ***llaḏayni*** *rāfaqā ḫaṭawātihā l-'adabiyyata l-'ūlā*

لم تنس أبدا حالة القلق وعدم الثقة اللذين رافقا خطواتها الأدبية الأولى

'she never forgot the state of anxiety and lack of confidence which accompanied her first literary steps'

with dual oblique اللذين *allaḏayni* (the relative pronoun is the dual agent pronoun in *rāfaqā* رافقا '**those two** [masc.] accompanied').

With mixed genders the default is masculine:

li-nanẓur 'ilā l-suḫriyati l-šafīfati wa-l-'asā ***llaḏayni*** *tanimmu 'anhumā l-'ibāratu l-tāliyatu*

لننظر إلى السخرية الشفيفة والأسى اللذين تنم عنهما العبارة التالية

'let us look at the transparent mockery [fem.] and pain [masc.] which the following expression reveals'

with masculine dual *allaḏayni* اللذين '**those two**' (for indirect imperative *li-nanẓur* لننظر 'let us look', see **3.24.2**).

Attraction is likely to occur with collectives (cf. adjective **2.1.1.3**, and agreement in predicates, **3.1.1**, and verb agents, **3.8.2**):

al-hay'atu *l-tadrīsiyyatu* ***llaḏīna*** *yabluġu 'adadu****hum*** *43* ***'ustāḏan wa-muḥāḍiran***

الهيئة التدريسية الذين يبلغ عددهم ٤٣ أستاذا ومحاضرا

'the teaching **body** [sing.], whose [plur.] number reaches 43 **professors and lecturers**'

with both the relative noun and referential pronoun agreeing either with the natural number of 'professors and lecturers' (here actually grammatically singular; for syntax of numerals, see **2.12**) or with the collective *al-hay'atu* الهيئة 'body':

*'an 'adadi l-fatayāti llawātī waqa'****na*** *fī ġarāmihi*

عن عدد الفتيات اللواتي وقعن في غرامه

'about **the number** [sing.] of girls who [plur.] had fallen in love with him', lit. '**they** [fem.] fell', agreeing with 'girls', though 'number' is the grammatical head.

al-nāsu ***llaḏīna*** *lā* ***yaktariṯūna*** *li-'išārāti l-sayri*

الناس الذين لا يكترثون لإشارات السير

'the people who **do not take** [masc. plur.] any notice of the "Walk" signs'

The next examples merely emphasize that agreement is nevertheless with the gender of the head, even if it is embedded in another construction such as annexation (see **2.3**):

ba'da ***ḥukmi*** *l-maḥkamati l-dustūriyyati l-'ulyā* ***llaḏī ṣadara*** *fī l-muddati l-'aḫīrati*

بعد حكم المحكمة الدستورية العليا الذي صدر في المدة الأخيرة

'after the judgement [masc.] of the supreme consitutional court [fem.] which **was issued** [masc.] recently'

da'awātu *l-sā'iqi* ***llatī nhālat*** *'alayhi*

دعوات السائق التي انهالت عليه

'the **imprecations** [fem.] of the driver [masc.] which **rained** down [fem.] upon him'

Proper names are of course definite (cf. **1.12.3.2**) and take syndetic relatives:

yanquṣunī ḥusaynun-i ***llaḏī kunta ta'rifuhu***

ينقصني حسين الذي كنت تعرفه

'what I am missing is the Husayn whom **you used to know**', lit. '[the] H. fails me'

fī landan wa-bārīs ***allatayni zurtuhumā***

في لندن وباريس اللتين زرتهما

'in London and Paris, which **I had visited**', lit. 'those two [fem. dual], I visited **them** [dual]'

In the last example a non-restrictive meaning appears in the translation, but there is no reason (apart from the original context) why it should not be restrictive, namely 'in the London and Paris I had visited [before, when they were different]', (cf. **5.2.5**).

5.2.2 *Agreement with pronoun heads*

The agreement of the referential pronoun varies when the reference is to a first or second personal pronoun (▷C3:157). It may agree formally with the head:

*'anā 'insānatun **lī** karāmatun wa-'izzatu nafsin*

أنا إنسانة لي كرامة وعزة نفس

'I am a person [fem.] who **have** honour and self-respect', lit. 'to me' not *lahā* لها 'to her'

*'anā llaḏī **'aktubu***

أنا الذي أكتب

'it is I who **write**', lit. 'I am the one I write'

or be deflected to third person:

*lastu 'anā faqaṭ-i llatī **ta'lamu** bi-ḥubbika*

لست أنا فقط التي تعلم بحبك

'I am not the only one who **knows** [fem.] about your love'

With *man* من 'the one who' (see **5.4**) deflected agreement is probably the norm (following CA):

*'anta man **yuḥrijunī***

أنت من يحرجني

'you are the one who **is embarrassing me**'

5.2.3 *Elatives in partitive constructions*

Elatives in partitive constructions (see *min* من 'than', 'from' **2.6.12** and cf. **5.1.1**). These are definite and therefore take syndetic relative clauses:

*wa-lā šakka 'anna l-sadda l-'āliya kāna **'ahamma l-mašārī'i llatī** nuffiḏat fī miṣra*

ولا شك أن السد العالي كان أهم المشاريع التي نفذت في مصر

'and there is no doubt that the High Dam was **the most important project** which was carried out in Egypt', lit. 'the most important of **the projects, those ones**'

with the referential pronoun incorporated in *nuffiḏat* نفذت '**they** were carried out'

*wāḥidatun **min** 'aqwā wa-'a'ẓami l-nisā'i **llātī** 'arafa**hunna***

واحدة من أقوى وأعظم النساء اللاتي عرفهن

'one **of** the strongest and greatest women whom he knew', lit. '**those ones** he knew **them**'

***min** 'ahammi wa-'afḍali l-'āzifāti **llātī** štarak**na** fī…*

من أهم وأفضل العازفات اللاتي اشتركن في . . .

'**one of** the most important and best musicians who took part in …', lit. '**those ones** … **they** [fem.] took part'

For the binomial *iḍāfa* in both the above examples, see **2.3.7**.

Quantifiers and the like (see **2.8** and **2.9**) annexed to definite nouns also require syndetic relatives:

*bi-**nafsi** l-fustāni **llaḏī** kāna 'alayhā l-bāriḥata*

بنفس الفستان الذي كان عليها البارحة

'with the **same** dress **which** she had had on the day before'

5.2.4 *Demonstratives*

Demonstratives are very commonly used with syndetic relatives in the sense of 'he who', 'those who', etc.:

***hāḏā llaḏī** ra'athu lam yakun aḥmada*

هذا الذي رأته لم يكن أحمد

'**this one whom** she had seen was not Ahmad'

*li-maddi yadi l-'awni li-**hā'ulā'i llaḏīna** yastaṣriḫūnakum layla nahāra*

لمد يد العون لهؤلاء الذين يستصرخونكم ليل نهار

'to stretch out the hand of assistance to **those who** are screaming out at you night and day'

(for invariable *layla nahāra* ليل نهار, lit. 'night day', see **2.4.3.1**)

*min dīnin ġayri **ḏālika llaḏī** naša'a l-ḥizbu 'alā 'asāsihi*

من دين غير ذلك الذي نشأ الحزب على أساسه

'from a religion other than **that** on the basis of which the party came into being', lit. 'other than that, the one the party came into being **on the basis of it**'

Also with *mā* ما 'what' (**5.4**):

*lā 'afhamu **mā llaḏī** yusī'u zumalā'ī 'indamā 'azra'u*

لا أفهم ما الذي يسيء زملائي عندما أزرع

'I do not understand **what it is that** annoys my colleagues when I do gardening'

5.2.5 *Non-restrictive relative clauses*

Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses do not have to be formally distinguished; the following is clearly a non-restrictive relative:

waqaftu 'amāma šubbāki tasjīli l-rasā'ili ***llaḏī lam yuftaḥ ba'du***
وقفت أمام شباك تسجيل الرسائل الذي لم يفتح بعد
'I stood in front of the window for registering letters, **which had not yet been opened**'

and would need a comma in English, but such distinctions are not yet standard in MWA. However, the signs are that the comma is being introduced:

ḫaraqa 'uḏunayhi ṣawtu jirwi jārihi l-'ajūzi, ***allaḏī*** *yušbihu ṣawta bukā'i l-ruḍḍa'i*
خرق أذنيه صوت جرو جاره العجوز، الذي يشبه صوت بكاء الرضع
'there pierced his ears the sound of his elderly neighbour's kid, **which** resembled the sound of the crying of suckling infants'

(after the comma the relative noun is pronounced *[']allaḏī* with default onset as the beginning of a new utterance after a pause)

An alternative is to introduce non-restrictive relative clauses with *wa-* و 'and', though this occurs only with definite heads:

'illā 'anna fikrahu l-qāṭi'a l-ṣārima l-mutašaddida ***wa-llaḏī ṭaraḥahu*** *fī kitābihi*
الا أن فكره القاطع الصارم المتشدد والذي طرحه في كتابه
'although his decisive, severe, relentless thought, **which he presented** in his book'

fī 'awwali ḫiṭābin lahu ***wa-llaḏī 'alqāhu*** *fī baldatihi*
في أول خطاب له والذي ألقاه في بلدته
'in the first speech of his, **which he gave** in his home town'

(strictly the head is an indefinite elative phrase, see **5.1.1**, but when qualified by the elliptical and asyndetic relative clause *lahu* له '[which was] to him', it acquires enough definiteness to attract the relative noun *allaḏī* الذي (cf. **1.12.3** on definiteness))

lam tuṣaddiq-i l-jamāhīru fawza farīqihā ***wa-llaḏī yu'tabaru*** *'aġlā fawzin ḥaqqaqahu l-nādī*
لم تصدق الجماهير فوز فريقها والذي يعتبر أغلى فوز حققه النادي
'the fans did not believe their team 's victory, **which is considered** the most valuable victory the club has ever achieved'

(for the asyndetic relative clause qualifying the elative *'aġlā fawzin* أغلى فوز 'the most valuable victory', see **5.1.1**)

For the true coordination of a series of relative clauses, see **6.2.2**.

5.3 Nominal relative clauses (▷C3:168)

As with adjectives (see **2.1**), the adjectival relative clause may also occur without a head, that is, function as a noun phrase, with the difference that only definite relative clauses (i.e. those beginning with *allaḏī* الذي, etc.) may do so (for indefinite relative with *mā* ما 'what' and *man* من 'who', see **5.4**).

5.3.1 *As noun phrases*

As noun phrases, these relative clauses occur in all nominal functions (though strangely, no examples were found of nominal relative clauses in agent position). Note that the structure of the relative clause remains the same as above, hence the referential pronoun is still required:

- Subject/topic (with or without sentence introducers, see **3.2**):

  allaḏ̲ī *'urīdu 'an 'aqūlahu*
  الذي أريد أن أقوله
  '**what** I want to say [is]'

  wa-lākin-i ***llaḏ̲ī*** *lam yuḫālif fīhi 'aḥadun huwa 'anna*
  ولكن الذي لم يخالف فيه أحد هو أن
  'but **what** no one ever disagrees about is that'

  lāḥaẓa ***'anna llatī*** *ḥaddaṯ̲athu lā tartadī malābisa l-ḥidādi l-sawdā'a*
  لاحظ ان التي حدثته لا ترتدي ملابس الحداد السوداء
  'he noticed **that the one** [fem. sing.] who spoke to him was not wearing black mourning clothes'

- Predicate/comment:

  ṭab'an zawjuki l-'awwalu, ***huwa llaḏ̲ī*** *sawfa taltaqīna bihi fī l-'āḫirati*
  طبعا زوجك الأول، هو الذي سوف تلتقين به في الآخرة
  'of course your [fem. sing.] first husband, **he is the one** you will meet in the afterlife'

ḏālika ***llaḏī*** *yakfīhā bi-l-kādi li-taʿīša*
ذلك الذي يكفيها بالكاد لتعيش
'that is **what** suffices her, just, to live on'

- Agent: none found; possibly replaced by the topic-comment type above.
- Direct object:

  laʿanat-i ***llaḏī*** *ʾaʿṭāhu l-sayyārata*
  لعنت الذي أعطاه السيارة
  'she cursed **the one** who had given him the car'

  (cf. **3.11.2.1** on the double transitivity of *ʾaʿṭā* أعطى 'give')

- After preposition(al)s:

  wa-lā yakūnū ***min-a llaḏīna*** *yaqūlūna mā lā yafʿalūna*
  ولا يكونوا من الذين يقولون مالا يفعلون
  'and they should not be **among those** who say what they do not do'

  al-ṯawābu ***min-a llaḏī*** *faṭaranā*
  الثواب من الذي فطرنا
  'reward **from the one** who created us'.

- After interrogatives (▷C3:169):

  ʾayna ***llaḏī*** *yafhamu mā hiya l-ʾišārātu l-mubhamatu*
  أين الذي يفهم ما هي الإشارات المبهمة
  'where is **the one** who understands what the obscure signals are?'

(and cf. **5.4.3** on the embedded *mā* ما clause)

For interrogatives of the pattern *man-i llaḏī* من الذي 'who is the one who?' and *mā llaḏī* ما الذي 'what is the one who?', see **10.3** and **10.4**.

Cf. also the combinations with the demonstrative and *mā* ما in **5.2.4**, which often appear in calques of 'those who', etc.

5.4 The indefinite pronouns *man* مَنْ 'he who' and *mā* ما 'that which'

These form relative clauses which are exclusively nominal (▷C3:170). Historically, these words are both interrogatives, and there are still some syntactic and logical echoes of this (▷C3:172–3), cf. **10.3** and indirect questions in **10.18**, and note also that these pronouns occur in conditional sentences, 'whoever', 'whatever' (see **8.5.1**).

The relative clause itself has the same internal structure as all relative clauses, though with *man* مَنْ and *mā* ما there is a tendency for the referential pronoun to be omitted when it is obvious, usually in short sentences (see **5.4.3**).

Since they occur in all noun phrase positions, they will not be subcategorized here; they have the same range of functions as the *allaḍī* الذي noun clauses illustrated above, differing only in that *allaḍī* الذي indicates a specific entity 'the one who' (even if sometimes generic) while *man* **مَنْ** and *mā* ما are intrinsically non-specific, 'anyone who', 'whatever'.

5.4.1 man مَنْ (▷C3:173)

Although the word itself is invariable, its number and gender agreement will emerge elsewhere (▷C1:75; ▷C3:175), depending on the reference (i.e. the writer's intention), either 'he/she who' or 'they who'.

- With singular agreement (though often a plural is more natural in English):

  *fī-man **qātala** wa-fī-man lam **yuqātil***

  فيمن قاتل وفيمن لم يقاتل

  'in regard to him *that* **fought** [sing.] and him that did not fight [sing.]', i.e. 'those that fought and those that did not' (cf. **11.7.7**)

  *jamī'u man kāna ḏālika ṣifata**hu***

  جميع من كان ذلك صفته

  'all those of that description', lit. 'all of the one who that was **his** description'

  *ḥattā yumkinahu l-tawāfuqu ma'a man sa-**takūnu** šarīkata ḥayātihi*

  حتّى يمكنه التوافق مع من ستكون شريكة حياته

  'so that he can conform with the one who **will be** [fem. sing.] his life's partner'

  *laysa man **yuwaqqi'u** lī šahādatī*

  ليس من يوقع لي شهادتي

  'there is no one who **will sign** [sing.] for me my certificate'

- With plural agreement (all verbs masculine plural):

  man ***taḥaddaṯū 'alqaw*** *4810 kalimātin*
  من تحدثوا ألقوا ٤٨١٠ كلمات
  'those that **did speak gave** [a total of] 4810 speeches'

  ma'a man ***laysū*** *ma'anā fī l-jamā'ati*
  مع من ليسوا معنا في الجماعة
  'with those who **were not** with us in the group'

  kullu man fī l-sūqi ***ša'arū*** *bihi*
  كل من في السوق شعروا به
  'all of those in the market **have become aware** of it'

  *barā'atu man 'āšartu****hum***
  براءة من عاشرتهم
  'the innocence of those I lived with', lit. 'the one who, I lived with **them**'

  man ***hum*** *'alā ra'si 'amali****him***
  من هم على رأس عملهم
  'those who **are** at the peak of **their** careers'

  with masculine plural referential pronoun *hum* هم in the nominal sentence relative clause, cf. **5.1**

- *man* من clauses may overlap with indirect questions (see **10.18**):

  wa-nasītu ***man*** *'anā*
  ونسيت من أنا
  'and I forgot **who** I was'

  man yalūḥūna bi-'a'lāmin ḥumrin lā nadrī ***li-man***
  من يلوحون بأعلام حمر لا ندري لمن
  'those who appear with red flags, **whose** we do not know', lit.
  'we do not know to whom [they belong]'

  and note the plural agreement in the main clause.

- When preceded by partitive *min* مِن 'of', 'from', *mā* ما and *man* مَن assimilate to *mimmā* مِمَّا (see **5.4.2**) and *mimman* مِمَّن and are spelt as one word:

  mimman kānū yumārisūna *l-riyāḍata*
  ممن كانوا يمارسون الرياضة
  'of **those who used to practise** sport'

al-malāyīnu min ’amṯālī ***mimman*** *‘āšū l-niṣfa l-ṯāniya min-a l-qarni l-‘išrīna*
الملايين من أمثالي ممن عاشوا النصف الثاني من القرن العشرين
‘the millions like me **of those who** lived [plur.] through the second half of the twentieth century’ (note plural agreement)

5.4.1.1 Paired verbal *man* مَنْ clauses give the sense ‘whoever does x, [also] does y’ (not to be confused with genuine conditional sentences, ‘whosoever’ as in ‘whoever does x, y will happen as a result’, with apocopated verbs, see **8.5.1**).

In these examples the verbs are visibly not apocopated (cf. **1.2.9**):

’inna ***man yaqūlu*** *bi-hāḏihi l-’uṭrūḥati* ***yaqīsu*** *l-’amra bi-miqyāsihi*
إنّ من يقول بهذه الأطروحة يقيس الأمر بمقياسه
‘[indeed] **whoever maintains** this thesis **is measuring** the matter by its [proper] standard’

man yarāhum yaẓunnu *’annahum yaqifūna fī ṭābūrin*
من يراهم يظن أنهم يقفون في طابور
‘**whoever sees** them **will think** they are standing in a queue’

In other cases independent verbs must be assumed from the context:

kullu man ***yadḫuluhā*** *lā* ***yaḫruju*** *ṯāniyatan minhā*
كل من يدخلها لا يخرج ثانية منها
‘all those who **enter** [sing.] it will not **go out** [sing.] from it again’

man yaqra’u *hāḏā l-kitāba … sawfa* ***yajidu*** *nafsahu – bi-l-ta’kīdi – wa-qad-i studrija ’ilā ġābatin šadīdati l-kaṯāfati min-a l-’aḥdāṯi*
من يقرأ هذا الكتاب . . . سوف يجد نفسه – بالتأكيد – وقد استدرج إلى غابة شديدة الكثافة من الأحداث
‘whoever **reads** this book … will **find** himself, for sure, having been lured into an extremely dense forest of events’

(note the annexed adjective *šadīdati l-kaṯāfati* شديدة الكثافة, lit. ‘extreme of denseness’, see **2.1.3.2**)

Both verbs may also be perfect, with *qad* قد (see **3.10.4**) before the second to distinguish this from a conditional sentence (contrast true conditionals in **8.3.1**):

man ***ya’isa*** *fa-qad* ***fašila***
مَن يئس فقد فشل
‘he who **despairs** [perf.] **has** already **lost** [perf.]’

Nominal sentences also occur in either clause:

man 'indahu baqaratun *ḥalūbun yuwazzi'u 'alā llaḏīna yaḥtājūna bi-dūni muqābilin*

من عنده بقرة حلوب يوزع على الذين يحتاجون بدون مقابل

'**he who has a** milch **cow** distributes [the milk] to those who are in need without recompense'

(for the unmarked feminine *ḥalūb* حلوب 'bearing milk', see **1.12.2.1**)

5.4.2 mā ما *'what', 'that which'* (▷C3:177)

This is masculine singular by default, though reference to feminines will attract agreement, accordingly (cf. interrogative *mā* ما 'what?' in **10.4.1**):

lam yaqul lī mā ***huwa*** *smu l-jarīdati*

لم يقل لي ما هو اسم الجريدة

'he did not tell me what the name of the newspaper was', lit. 'what **it** [masc] is the name'

*al-ta'arrufu 'alā mā yajhalu****hu***

التعرّف على ما يجهله

'getting to know what he does not know', lit. 'what he does not know **it**'

*taḏawwuqu l-fannāni li-mā tarā****hu*** *'aynuhu*

تذوّق الفنّان لما تراه عينه

'the artist's sense for what his eye sees', lit. 'sees **it**'

hāḏā mā ***dafa'a****hu 'ilā taṣwīri l-inḥiṭāṭi l-ma'nawiyyi*

هذا ما دفعه إلى تصوير الانحطاط المعنوي

'this is what impelled him to portray the moral decline' (the relative clause is a verbal sentence, so the referential pronoun is concealed in the verb as agent pronoun, i.e. '**it** impelled')

*waqa'a mā naḫšā****hu*** *wa-qāmat-i l-ḥarbu*

وقع ما نخشاه وقامت الحرب

'what we fear happened and war arose', lit. 'we fear **it**'

*'indamā wajadtu l-waḍ'a 'alā mā huwa 'alay****hi***

عندما وجدت الوضع على ما هو عليه

'when I found the situation to be what it was', lit. 'on what it was on **it**'

For feminine agreement, see the example *mā hiya l-'išārātu* ما هي الإشارات 'what the signals were' in **5.3.1**. Overlap with the interrogatives here, namely, as an indirect question, cannot be excluded, but the agreement feature is the same anyway.

Note regular assimilation *min* + *mā* = *mimmā* (see **1.2.2**, and see further idiomatic use in **5.5.2**):

*wa-**mimmā** lā rayba fīhi 'anna* …
ومما لا ريب فيه أنّ . . .
'among that about which there is no doubt is that …', lit. '**from what**', (partitive)

*'akbaru **mimmā** taṣawwara*
أكبر مما تصور
'bigger **than [what]** he imagined'

*'alayhā 'an tunqiḏa ṣadīqatahā **mimmā** tūšiku 'an taqa'a fīhi*
عليها أن تنقذ صديقتها مما توشك أن تقع فيه
'it was up to her to deliver her friend **from what** she was about to fall into'

The assimilation also occurs with *'an* عن + *mā* ما = *'ammā* عمّا 'from what':

*yaḫtalifu tamāman **'ammā** maḍā*
يختلف تماما عما مضى
'it is completely different **from what** has gone before'

5.4.3 *Omission of referential pronoun*

Frequently, the referential pronoun is omitted with both *mā* ما and *man* من:

*hāḏā mā **'a'taqidu***
هذا ما أعتقد
'this is **what I believe**',

not *'a'taqidu**hu*** أعتقده 'I believe **it**'

*qad wa'ā mā **ta'allama***
قد وعى ما تعلم
'he remembered what he learnt'

not *mā ta'allamahu* ما تعلمه 'learnt **it**'

*la-qad 'arafat mā **yurīdu***
لقد عرفت ما يريد
'she realized **what he intended**'

not *yurīduhu* يريده 'he intends **it**'

*'ahwanu bi-kaṯīrin min-a l-'aḏābi bayna yaday-i **man yuḥibbu***
أهون بكثير من العذاب بين يدي من يحب
'much easier than being punished in front of **the one he loves**'

not *yuḥibbuhu* من يحبه 'he loves **him**'

In the following, case omission is probably the norm, as the relative clause is an equational sentence with a prepositional phrase as predicate (cf. **5.2.1**):

*ẖiftu 'an 'alfita naẓara man **fī l-bayti***
خفت أن ألفت نظر من في البيت
'I was afraid I would attract the attention of those **in the house**'

not *man hum* من هم 'those who'.

5.4.4 mā . . . min . . . *'that which . . . of . . .'*

In combination with an explanatory *min* مِنْ (see **2.6.12**), *mā* ما is commonly used in relative constructions where the head is either inconveniently complex or vague (▷C3:179). Here *mā* ما serves as an empty head whose content will be specified after *min* مِنْ as an open-ended noun phrase. The complete clause is nominal in Arabic (and has the same distribution as any nominal relative clause) but can always be paraphrased by English restrictive relatives. Their approximate English sense can be schematically represented by various matrices according to whether the noun phrase after *min* من is singular, plural, indefinite or definite.

- *mā . . . min* ما . . . من with indefinite nouns, singular or plural, in the matrix 'such indefinite x or x's as' (other examples in **5.5.3** with *kullu* كل 'all'):

  ***mā** ḥadaṯa **min** taṭawwurin fī ṣinā'ati l-dawā'i*
  ما حدث من تطوّر في صناعة الدواء
  'such development as has occurred in the manufacture of medicine', lit. '**what** has happened **by way of** development'

mā *lahā* ***min*** *dawrin bārizin*

ما لها من دور بارز

'what prominent role it has', lit. '**what** it has **by way of** a prominent role'

mā *kāna yuḥīṭu bihi* ***min*** *mamālika*

ما كان يحيط به من ممالك

'what kingdoms surrounded it', lit. '**what** surrounded it **by way of** kingdoms'

irtadayna 'ajmala ***mā*** *ladayhinna* ***min*** *ṯiyābin*

ارتدين أجمل ما لديهن من ثياب

'they put on the most beautiful clothes they had', lit. 'the most beautiful of **what** they had **of** clothes'

raġma ***mā*** *marrat bihi* ***min*** *miḥanin wa-laḥaẓāti nkimāšin wa-tahmīšin*

رغم ما مرت به من محن ولحظات انكماش وتهميش

'in spite of **what** it went through **of** trials and moments of withdrawal and marginalization'

- *mā . . . min* ما . . . من with definite nouns, only with plural, in the matrix 'those of the x's which':

*'an yuḏakkirahum ka-ḏālika bi-****mā*** *ṭālaba bihi* ***min*** *muḍā'afati l-juhūdi*

أن يذكّرهم كذلك بما طالب به من مضاعفة الجهود

'to remind them also of the redoubling of efforts he had demanded', lit. 'of **what** he had demanded **by way of** the doubling of [those] efforts'

mā *taḥaqqaqa bi-l-fi'li* ***min-****a l-'injāzāti*

ما تحقق بالفعل من الإنجازات

'those achievements that have actually been realized', lit. '**what** has been realized **by way of** the achievements'

mā *sa-tatimmu munāqašatuhu* ***min****-a l-masā'ili l-iqtiṣādiyyati*

ما ستتم مناقشته من المسائل الإقتصادية

'those economic questions that will be discussed', lit. '**what** will be discussed **by way of the** economic questions'

The following, with possessive suffix, is probably a calque:

ẓanna 'annahu sa-yufḍī ***mā*** *yabqā lahu* ***min ḥayātihi****, fī hudū'in*

ظن أنه سيفضي ما بقي له من حياته، في هدوء

'he thought he would be spending **what** remains for him **of his life**, in peace'

Paraphrasing these as formal relative structures as described in **5.1** and **5.2** produces clumsy or ambiguous results, because the true head becomes separated from its restrictive relative clause (the examples are converted from those above):

****al-taṭawwuru** fī ṣinā'ati l-dawā'i **llaḏī ḥadaṯa***
التطوّر في صناعة الدواء الذي حدث
'**the development** in the manufacture of medicine **which has occurred**'

which also raises a potential interpretation problem with *alladī* الذي, which may agree with either of the preceding masculine nouns, 'development' or 'medicine': **al-masā'ilu l-iqtiṣādiyyatu llatī sa-tatimmu munāqašatuhā* المسائل الإقتصادية التي ستتم مناقشتها 'the economic questions which will be discussed' is structurally uncomplicated but not unambiguously restrictive, and could have an unrestrictive reading 'the economic questions, which will be discussed'.

Examples with *man . . . min* مَنْ . . . من 'those people . . . by way of' are found in CA but did not appear in the data.

5.4.4.1 Inversion to *min . . . mā* مِن . . . ما and *min . . . man* مِنْ . . . مَنْ occurs (▷C3:182), supplying emphasis without changing the original sense:

*'an yanāla **min**-a l-'ilmi wa-l-ṯaqāfati **mā** yašā'u*
أن ينال من العلم والثقافة ما يشاء
'that he should acquire the [generic] knowledge and culture he likes', lit. '**by way of** knowledge and culture **what** he likes'

(here the referential pronoun is omitted, cf. **5.4.3**, namely, *mā yašā'**uhu*** ما يشاؤه 'what he wants **it**')

*ḥattā balaġa **min**-a l-majdi wa-l-šuhrati **mā** balaġahu l-qalīlu min-a l-šu'arā'i*
حتى بلغ من المجد والشهرة ما بلغه القليل من الشعراء
'until he reached a glory and fame which few poets reached', lit. 'reached **by way of** glory and fame **what** few poets reached'

***min**-a l-fatayāti wa-l-sayyidāti **man** tusayṭiru 'alayhinna maẓāhiru l-rujūlati*
من الفتيات والسيدات من تسيطر عليهن مظاهر الرجولة
'those girls and women in whom the manifestations of masculinity predominate', lit. '**by way of** girls and women **those who**'

This last example in a different context could be read as an inverted equational sentence with a partitive and generic predicate (see **3.1.4**): '**among**

girls and women [pred.] **are those** [subj.] in whom the manifestations of masculinity predominate', but this is not the sense of the example as recorded.

5.5 Idiomatic combinations

The idiomatic combinations *al-'amru llaḏī* الأمر الذي 'the matter which' and *mimmā* مِمّا 'from what' and annexation of emphasizers and quantifiers to *mā* ما clauses.

The first is used as a calque of French *ce qui*, that is, when the head is itself a clause or at least a complex noun phrase, while *mimmā* مِمّا (= *min* مِن + *mā* ما, **1.2.2**) is an extension of the CA partitive construction 'among which + sentence' as an inverted predicate giving the sense of 'is one of the things which', 'is something which' (cf. **3.1.4**). Under Western influence, it is not uncommon to find these clauses preceded by a comma or some other separator, but this is not necessary.

5.5.1 al-'amru llaḏī الأمر الذي, *'[the matter] which'*

Note that the relative clause itself is invariably a verbal sentence with *al-'amru* الأمر as its agent, and the normal relative structure (cf. **5.2**):

*mašrū'ātun li-ḫalqi furaṣi 'amalin jadīdatin li-l-šabābi .. **al-'amru llaḏī** lam yataḥaqqaq ba'du*

مشروعات لخلق فرص عمل جديدة للشباب .. الأمر الذي لم يتحقق بعد

'plans to create new job opportunities for young men, .. **which** has not yet been achieved'

(the referential pronoun is incorporated in *yataḥaqqaq* يتحقق '**it** has [not] been achieved')

*li-baḥṯi wa-munāqašati l-'asbābi llatī 'addat 'ilā tadahwuri mustawā l-kurati l-miṣriyyati **l-'amru llaḏī** n'akasa bi-šaklin kabīrin 'alā 'adā'i farīqi l-'ahlī*

لبحث ومناقشة الأسباب التي أدت إلى تدهور مستوى الكرة المصرية الأمر الذي انعكس بشكل كبير على أداء فريق الأهلي

'to investigate and discuss the reasons for the decline in the standard of Egyptian football, **which** is reflected largely in the performance of the Ahli team'

(referential pronoun incorporated in *in'akasa* انعكس '**it** is reflected')

'ānā l-jihāzu l-fanniyyu min hujūmi l-jamāhīri 'alayhi fī l-fatrati l-'aḫīrati ***l-'amru lladī*** *'aṯṯara 'alā nafsiyyati l-lā'ibīna*

عانى الجهاز الفني من هجوم الجماهير عليه في الفترة الأخيرة الأمر الذي أثّر على نفسية اللاعبين

'the tactical system has suffered from the attacks of the fans in the recent period, **which** has affected the spirit of the players'

(referential pronoun incorporated in *'aṯṯara* أثّر '**it** has affected')

5.5.2 mimmā مِمّا *lit. 'from what', i.e. 'something which'*

This is less specific than *al-'amru lladī* الأمر الذي, though the function is the same, that is, to qualify a head which is a sentence. One difference between the two is that *mimmā* مما can precede its referent, and thus has the same structure as the *min* من + participle set in **3.1.4** (for which reason the *mimmā* مما clause will be treated as a predicate regardless of its position). Like *al-'amru lladī* الأمر الذي, the agent of the relative clause is always the *mā* ما 'that which' of *mimmā* مما:

mimmā *mayyazahu 'indī 'akṯara, 'annahu kāna yaḥmilu naẓratan šumūliyyatan*

مما ميزه عندي أكثر، أنه كان يحمل نظرة شمولية

'**what** distinguished him in my opinion more, was that he used to take a comprehensive view', lit. 'from that which … [inverted pred.] is the fact that … [subj.]'

lam na'ṯur 'alā l-ḫarīṭati l-'aṣliyyati li-ḥudūdi miṣra l-šarqiyyati, ***mimmā*** *'aṯāra dahšata l-murāqibīna*

لم نعثر على الخريطة الأصلية لحدود مصر الشرقية، مما أثار دهشة المراقبين

'we could not find the original map of Egypt's eastern borders, **which** aroused the amazement of the observers', lit. '[is] **from what** aroused'

wa-lākinnahu 'ankara ***mimmā*** *dafa'a l-zawjata l-jadīdata li-l-lujū'i 'ilā l-maḥkamati*

ولكنّه أنكر مما دفع الزوجة الجديدة للجوء إلى المحكمة

'but he refused, **which** impelled the new wife to seek refuge with the court', lit. '[is] **from what** impelled'

5.5.3 *Annexation of* min مِن *and* mā ما

Emphasizers (see **2.8**) and quantifiers (see **2.9**) are regularly annexed to *mā* ما clauses (as annexation units they thus differ from those in which *mā* ما is a suffix, see **5.9**).

- *kullu mā* كلّ ما ‘all of what’ (contrast with the conjunction *kullamā* كلما, **5.9.10**):

  *bi-**kulli mā** huwa saṭḥiyyun*
  بكل ما هو سطحي
  ‘with **all that** was superficial’, lit. ‘with all of what was superficial’

  *ḥawla **kulli mā** laḏḏa wa-ṭāba min ma’kalin wa-mašrabin wa-‘aḏbi l-’alḥāni*
  حول كل ما لذ وطاب من مأكل ومشرب وعذب الألحان
  ‘concerning **all that** is delicious and tasty by way of food, drink and sweet songs’

  (here also incorporating a *mā . . . min* ما . . . من construction, see **5.4.4**)

  *bi-**kulli mā** yaḥwīhi min ḥuznin wa-’asan šafīfin*
  بكل ما يحويه من حزن وأسى شفيف
  ‘with **all that** it contains of grief and transparent pain’

  (another *mā . . . min* ما . . . من construction, see **5.4.4**)

- *ba‘ḍu mā* بعض ما ‘some of what’ (▷C2:136)

  *al-’īmānu bi-**ba‘ḍi mā** ’anzalahu llāhu*
  الإيمان ببعض ما أنزله الله
  ‘belief in **some of what** God revealed’

- *‘aynu mā* عين ما ‘the very same as what’ (▷C2:143)

  *hāḏā **‘aynu mā** jā’a fī ’aqwālihi*
  هذا عين ما جاء في أقواله
  ‘this is **exactly what** he said’, lit. ‘the self of what came in his sayings’

- *ġayru mā* غير ما ‘other than what’ (▷C2:148)

  *yaqūlu **ġayra mā** yaqṣidu*
  يقول غير ما يقصد
  ‘he says **other than what** he intends’

For *qadra mā* قدر ما etc. ‘to the extent that’, see **5.9.12**.

5.6 Further functions of relative *mā* ما

In combination with verbs, *mā* ما ‘what’ creates the equivalent of a verbal noun and is thus called *mā al-maṣdariyya* ما المصدرية ‘the verbal noun *mā*’

(▷C3:211, and cf. the 'verbal noun *'an*' in **7.5.1.2**). This *mā* ما is present in many compound adverbial phrases (see **5.8**) and conjunctions (see **5.9**).

A number of different functions of *mā* ما will be gathered here, where the original relative meaning is either weakened or no longer apparent.

5.6.1 *Temporal* mā ما

Temporal *mā* ما (▷C3:229), see also *dāma* دام 'to last' in **3.17.8**, occurs with perfect verbs (the negative invariably apocopate with *lam* لم 'not', possibly to avoid confusion with negative *mā* ما 'not', see **4.2**) to indicate 'as long as', that is, as the equivalent of an adverbial clause:

lan tuqbala 'ayyu šahādatin ***mā lam*** *tuwaqqa'*
لن تقبل أي شهادة ما لم توقع
'no certificate will be accepted **as long as** it has not been signed'

(for optional gender agreement in *'ayyu* أي 'which', 'any', see **2.9.1.6**)

sa-yakūnu qarīban, ***mā*** *lam ya'ḫuḏhu 'aḥadun*
سيكون قريبا، ما لم يأخذه أحد
'he will be nearby, **as long as** nobody has taken him'

mā *'aḫlaṣū li-l-dawlati l-jadīdati*
ما أخلصوا للدولة الجديدة
'**as long as** they remained loyal to the new state', lit. 'for what they remained loyal'

mā *lam yakun juz'an min dīnihim*
ما لم يكن جزءا من دينهم
'**as long as** it was not a part of their religion'

5.6.2 *With exclamatory verbs*

With exclamatory verbs (see further in **3.27**) and the equivalent, *mā* ما occurs at the head of a clause which is grammatically their agent, for example *sur'āna mā* سرعان ما 'how quickly', *šadda mā* شدّ ما 'how intense . . . !'

ka-ḫilyatin saraṭāniyyatin ***sur'āna mā taḍā'afat wa-takāṯarat*** *'ašarāti l-marrāti*
كخلية سرطانية سرعان ما تضاعفت وتكاثرت عشرات المرّات
'like a cancer cell, **how quickly it doubled and multiplied** tens of times'

If indeed a relative *mā* ما is involved (which is historically unlikely), the verb of surprise should also be mentioned once here (for details, see **3.27.1**):

***mā** 'aysara l-sa'ādata*
ما أيسر السعادة
'**how** easy happiness is'

5.6.3 *Vagueness*

In the sense of 'whatever', *mā* ما is placed after nouns to indicate complete vagueness (see further in **1.12.4.1**):

*bi-**ḥaḍāratin mā***
بحضارة ما
'in **some** civilization, **whatever**'

*fa-qad ra'aytu 'annahā tuḥaddiṯu **šaḫṣan mā***
فقد رأيت أنّها تحدّث شخصا ما
'and I saw that she was talking to **some person**'

*wa-l-ḥaqīqatu 'anna **šay'an mā** ġāmiḍan wa-ġarīban kāna ya'ūqu dā'iman liqā'ahumā*
والحقيقة أنّ شيئا ما غامضا وغريبا كان يعوق دائما لقاءهما
'the truth was that **something** obscure and strange was always preventing their meeting'

Here may be grouped various cases where the suffixation of *mā* ما either (1) inhibits the grammatical effect of an element, for example *'annamā* أنّما 'that' (see **7.5.2**), *kaymā* كيما 'so that' (see **7.6.2**), *'innamā* إنّما 'only' (see **3.30.1**), or (2) produces a conditional from an adverbial interrogative, for example *'aynamā* أينما 'wherever', *kayfamā* كيفما 'however'; *ḥayṯumā* حيثما 'wherever' (see **8.5** on these generally).

For exclamatory *'ayyumā* أيّما 'whatever!' (▷C1:155), reinforcing the absolute object, see **3.28.3**.

5.6.4 *The most x . . .*

In annexation with elatives, *mā* ما reproduces idioms of the type 'the most x that could be' (cf. **2.11.5**):

*ṯumma qtarabat minnī ka-**'alṭafi, wa-'araqqi mā yakūnu***
ثم اقتربت مني كألطف، وأرق ما يكون
'then she approached me, like **the nicest and the most delicate** [thing] **that could ever be**', lit. 'of that which could be'

(for binomial annexation, see **2.3.7**)

5.7 Idiomatic combinations of relative *mā* ما with prepositionals

Other idiomatic combinations with prepositionals, excluding those which produce compound conjunctions (on which, see **5.8**), are:

- *'an mā* عن ما pronoun and mostly written *'ammā* عمّا 'after', with idiomatic time expressions (but for *'ammā* عما in indirect questions, see also **10.18.2**):

  ***'ammā qalīlin** yaduqqu l-bāba wa-yu'īdu 'alā masāmi'ahā nafsa l-tawassulāti*
  عما قليل يدق الباب و يعيد على مسامعها نفس التوسلات
  '**soon** he would be knocking at the door and repeat to her the same pleadings', lit. 'after what [was] little'

- *mā bayna* ما بين 'what is between' (▷C3:191) seems to be intended to avoid expressing an actual physical relationship of 'between'. It is not to be confused with *baynamā* بينما at **5.9.2** (for other peculiarities of *bayna* بين, see **2.7.7**):

  *kāna l-waqtu laylan **mā bayna** l-tāsi'ati wa-l-'āširati*
  كان الوقت ليلا ما بين التاسعة والعاشرة
  'the time was night **between** nine and ten', lit. 'what was between'

  *kānat tastanidu 'ilā l-fāriqi l-ijtimā'iyyi **mā bayna** l-ṭarafayni*
  كانت تستند إلى الفارق الاجتماعي ما بين الطرفين
  'it was based on the social difference **between** the two parties', lit. 'what was between'

- *fawqa mā* فوق ما 'over and above what' (▷C3:241):

  *wa-qad jā'at-i l-natā'iju **fawqa mā** tamannāhu*
  وقد جاءت النتائج فوق ما تمناه
  'and the results came out **above what** he expected'

- *fīmā* فيما, 'in which', written as one word, 'concerning', 'in regard to' (▷C3:189, 234):

  *wa-**fīmā** yata'allaqu bi-'amaliyyāti l-salāmi fa-qad 'akkada barnāmaju l-ḥizbi*

  وفيما يتعلق بعمليات السلام فقد أكّد برنامج الحزب

  'and **with regard to what** is connected with the peace process, the party's programme has emphasized'

  *ḫāṣṣatan **fīmā** yata'allaqu bi-haykaliyyati niẓāmi l-muwaẓẓafīna*

  خاصة فيما يتعلق بهيكلية نظام الموظفين

  'especially **with regard to what** is connected with the structure of the officials' system'

  *'ījādu 'ajwibatin 'alā tilka l-'as'ilati **fīmā** 'iḏā kānat hunāka 'alāqatun*

  إيجاد أجوبة على تلك الأسئلة فيما إذا كانت هناك علاقة

  'finding answers to those questions **as to** whether there was a connection' (cf. indirect questions **10.19.2**)

  It is also used in the sense of 'while', 'during':

  *qāma l-rajulu mutawa"idan **fīmā** stamarra hāḏā qā'ilan*

  قام الرجل متوعدا فيما استمر هذا قائلا

  'the man stood up threateningly **while** the former continued, saying'

- *fīmā ba'du* فيما بعدُ 'subsequently', 'later', lit. 'in what was afterwards' (for *ba'du* بعدُ 'afterwards', see **2.5.4**):

  *i'tadtu **fīmā ba'du** 'an 'uṣġiya 'ilā hāḏā l-ta'bīri*

  اعتدت فيما بعد أن أصغي إلى هذا التعبير

  '**later** I got used to paying attention to this expression'

  *wa-kullu hāḏā lam 'aktašifhu 'illā **fīmā ba'du***

  وكل هذا لم أكتشفه إلاّ فيما بعد

  'all this I only discovered **afterwards**'

  (for the topic-comment structure, see **3.3.2**; and for the exceptive construction, see **9.4.1**)

  *allaḏī sa-'ataḥaddaṯu 'anhu **fīmā ba'du***

  الذي سأتحدث عنه فيما بعد

  'which I shall talk about **later**'

When *fī mā* في ما occurs as two separate words, it is a literal relative clause:

fī mā *sabaqa lanā min-a l-qawli*
في ما سبق لنا من القول
'**in what** we said before', lit. 'in what has gone before us of speaking'

(for *mā . . . min* ما . . . من, see **5.4.4**)

- *bi-mā fī* بما في 'including', literally 'along with what is in [it]', construed as an adverbial phrase and inverted predicate of the following noun(s):

al-'awḍā'u l-ijtimā'iyyatu ***bi-mā fīhā*** *l-'iskānu wa-l-ṣiḥḥatu wa-l-ta'līmu wa-l-'ujūru*
الأوضاع الاجتماعية بما فيها الإسكان والصحة والتعليم والأجور
'the social circumstances, **including** housing, health, education and wages'

fūji'a l-jamī'u – ***bi-mā fīhim*** *riqābatu l-tilifizyūni – bi-qarārin jadīdin min-a l-'azhari*
فوجئ الجميع – بما فيهم رقابة التلفزيون – بقرار جديد من الأزهر
'everybody – **including** the television censorship – was surprised by a new decision from the Azhar'

jamī'u l-iḫtiyārāti mā zālat maṭrūḥatan 'alā l-mā'idati ***bi-mā fī ḏālika*** *stiḫdāmu l-quwwati*
جميع الاختيارات ما زالت مطروحة على المائدة بما في ذلك استخدام القوة
'all the options are still on the table, **including** the use of force'

bi-mā fī ḏālika *l-fasādu l-ḥukūmiyyu fī muḫtalifi l-qiṭā'āti*
بما في ذلك الفساد الحكومي في مختلف القطاعات
'**including in that** the government corruption in various sectors'

See also *bi-mā 'anna* بما أنّ in nominal clauses, **5.9.3**.

For *mā qabla* ما قبل 'what is before' and *mā ba'da* ما بعد 'what is after' reproducing Western prefixes 'pre-' and 'post-', see **12.7.1** (7).

5.8 Quasi-compounds with relative *mā* ما as the second element

They can be grouped as follows:

- Collocations with adverbials (cf. **2.5.1**), producing adverbial phrases (▷C3:210). These do not affect the verb in any way and word order is relatively free, though they usually front the clause. See the examples below in this section.
- Annexations of nouns and preposition(al)s producing conjunctions, that is, which allow the compound x + *mā* ما to subordinate an entire clause, rather like French *aprés que*, *avant que*, etc. (▷C3:231). For details, see **5.9**.

Structurally unrelated to these are compound conditional conjunctions, for example *'aynamā* أينما 'wherever', *kayfamā* كيفما 'however' (see **Chapter 8**). The *mā* ما here is the '*mā* of vagueness' (cf. **5.6.3**).

Adverbial phrases with relative *mā* ما at the head of the clause qualified by the adverb have the following general structure: ***kaṯīran mā kāna*** *ramzī* ***yatabādalu*** *l-ra'ya ma'a 'abīhi* كثيرا ما كان رمزي يتبادل الرأي مع أبيه **'often** Ramzi **used to exchange** views with his father' in which the parsing would be 'frequently [is] what R. used to exchange' (though ▷C3:214 sees them all as predicate of an elided *kāna* كان 'was', namely, '[it was] frequent, what R. used to exchange').

All the adverbials below belong to the set described in **2.4.8**, that is, dependent nouns which have now acquired an independent adverbial status.

5.8.1 'ādatan mā عادة ما *'usually'*

wa-'alā l-raġmi min 'anna hāḏā l-farīqa ***'ādatan mā yad'ū*** *'ilā ḥurriyati l-fikri*

وعلى الرغم من أنّ هذا الفريق عادة ما يدعو إلى حرية الفكر

'in spite of the fact that this team **usually preaches** freedom of thought'

'iḏ ***'ādatan mā yanšaġilu*** *l-muhtammūna bihā*

إذ عادة ما ينشغل المهتمون بها

'since those concerned **are usually preoccupied** with it'

5.8.2 *'aḥyānan mā* أحيانا ما *'sometimes'*

'aḥyānan mā yuḫṭi'ūna أحيانا ما يخطئون 'sometimes they make mistakes'

*wa-l-'aṭfālu **'aḥyānan mā yaqsūna** 'alā ba'ḍin dūna 'ilmin bi-muḍā'afāti ḏālika*

والأطفال أحيانا ما يقسون على بعض دون علم بمضاعفات ذلك

'children **are sometimes cruel** to each other without knowing the complications of that'

5.8.3 *ġāliban mā* غالبا ما *'predominantly', 'mostly'*

*yaḏhabūna 'ilā 'annahu **ġāliban mā yantaširu** fī l-ṣayfi*

يذهبون إلى أنّه غالبا ما ينتشر في الصيف

'they maintain that **it mostly spreads** in the summer'

*wa-**ġāliban mā yatimmu** l-'ifrāju*

وغالبا ما يتم الإفراج

'and **mostly** release **is effected**', i.e. 'they are mostly set free'

For *tamma* تمّ 'effect', see **3.23.1**.

*qiṣaṣu l-ḥubbi llatī **ġāliban mā tantahī** bi-l-fašali*

قصص الحب التي غالبا ما تنتهي بالفشل

'love stories which **mostly end** in failure'

5.8.4 *kaṯīran mā* كثيرا ما *'frequently', 'often'* (▷C3:214)

***kaṯīran mā tadḫulu** l-maṭbaḫa*

كثيرا ما تدخل المطبخ

'**frequently she goes into** the kitchen'

*'as'āru l-samaki laysa lahā mi'yārun ṯābitun .. **kaṯīran mā tartafi'u***

أسعار السمك ليس لها معيار ثابت .. كثيرا ما ترتفع

'fish prices do not have a fixed standard: **often they go up**'

***kaṯīran mā našunnu** ḥarban dūna 'an na'rifa l-sababa*

كثيرا ما نشنّ حربا دون أن نعرف السبب

'**many times we launch** a war without knowing the reason'

5.8.5 nādiran mā نادرا ما, *'rarely'* (▷C3:216)

*'ammā 'abī fa-**nādiran mā yazūrunī***
أما أبي فنادرا ما يزورني
'as for my father, he **rarely visits** me'

(for the 'topicalizer' *'ammā* أمّا 'as for', see **3.3.4**)

*wa-**nādiran mā yaḥduṯu** fīhā nfiḫāḍun*
ونادرا ما يحدث فيها انفخاض
'and **rarely does it happen** that there is any decrease in them [= fish prices]'

5.8.6 qalīlan mā قليلا ما *'seldom'* (▷C3:216) *and cf.* qalla mā قلّ ما *above*

***qalīlan mā kānat tušāhidu** wālida 'ubayd*
قليلا ما كانت تشاهد والد عبيد
'**seldom did she see** the father of 'Ubayd'

***qalīlan mā tušriqu** l-šamsu fī hāḏa l-waqti*
قليلا ما تشرق الشمس في هذا الوقت
'the sun **seldom shines** at this time'

5.9 Compound surbordinating conjunctions with *mā* ما and a preposition(al)

A number of compound subordinating conjunctions consist of relative *mā* ما combined with a preposition(al) or noun, either annexed (i.e. spelt as two words) or suffixed (i.e. spelt as one word).

5.9.1 'awwala mā أوّل ما *'first', 'when first', 'the first time'* (▷C3:221)

***'awwala mā** sami'tu bihi*
أول ما سمعت به
'**the first time** I heard of him'

*fa-qad ḥaraṣa l-'islāmu **'awwala mā** ḥaraṣa 'alā l-'uḫuwwati il-'insāniyyati*
فقد حرص الأسلام أول ما حرص على الأخوة الأنسانية
'the first thing Islam encouraged was human brotherhood', lit. 'Islām encouraged, **as the first of what** it encouraged, human brotherhood'

(note the repetition of the verb *ḥarasa* حرص, cf. **11.7.8**)

This is to be distinguished from the literal *'awwalu mā* أول ما 'the first of what', which follows the syntax of the quantifiers and emphasizers in **5.5.3**:

***'awwalu mā** lafata 'uyūnaki ḍaw'u l-šubbāki*
أول ما لفت عيونك ضوء الشباك
'**the first thing** that caught your eyes was the light of the window', lit. 'the first of what caught your eyes'

5.9.2 baynamā بينما, baynā بينا *'during', 'while'* (▷C3:232)

*wa-**baynamā** kuntu 'asīru wa-nūru l-nahāri yataḍā'alu 'akṯara fa-'akṯara, ṣa'idtu 'ilā tallatin munḫafiḍatin*
وبينما كنت اسير ونور النهار يتضاءل اكثر فأكثر، صعدتُ الى تلة منخفضة
'and **while** I was walking along, the light of the day growing dimmer and dimmer, I climbed up a low heap'

*wa-**baynamā** tušīru l-'arqāmu li-nḫifāḍi mu'addali l-iddiḫāri . . . fa-'inna 'arqāma l-banki l-markaziyyi 'ayḍan tušīru li-tarāju'in fī nisbati l-istiṯmāri*
وبينما تشير الأرقام لانخفاض معدل الادخار . . . فإنّ أرقام البنك المركزي أيضا تشير لتراجع في نسبة الاستثمار
'and **while** the figures point to a drop in average saving, . . . the Central Bank figures also point to a reduction in the interest rate'

Often after main clause, perhaps a calque of English 'while' in any sense:

*wajadtuhā tajrī bayna l-'ašjāri bi-ḫiffatin **baynamā** jalasat wālidatuhā 'alā ba'ḍi l-maqā'idi*
وجدتها تجري بين الأشجار بخفة بينما جلست والدتها على بعض المقاعد
'I found her running between the trees playfully **while** her mother sat on a bench'

*laqiya 3 minhum maṣra'ahum **baynamā** 'uṣība 4 minhum bi-'iṣābātin ḫaṭīratin*
لقي ٣ منهم مصرعهم بينما أصيب ٤ منهم بإصابات خطيرة
'three of them met their death **while** four were seriously wounded'

Examples with *baynā* بينا have not been found.

5.9.3 bi-mā 'anna بما أنّ *'since', 'because'*

bi-mā 'anna بما أنّ 'since', 'because', literally 'by virtue of what, that . . .' (▷C3:242; for *'anna* أنّ, see **7.5.2**):

bi-mā 'anna *ḥālāti l-tawāzuni ta'tī 'alā 'aškālin muta'addidatin fa-'inna l-'alāqāti baynahā wa-bayna l-'īqā'i l-'adadiyyi ta'tī 'alā ṣuwarin mutanawwi'atin*

بما أنّ حالات التوازن تأتي على أشكال متعددة فإنّ العلاقات بينها وبين الإيقاع العددي تأتي على صور متنوعة

'**because** the states of [metrical] balance come in numerous patterns, the connections between them and quantitative rhythm come in various forms'

*wa-**bi-mā 'anna** miyāha l-nahri talawwaṯat fa-qad-i n'adamat fīhi l-'asmāku tamāman*

وبما أن مياه النهر تلوثت فقد انعدمت فيه الأسماك تماما

'and **since** the waters of the river are polluted, fish are entirely lacking from it'

5.9.4 ḥālamā حالما *'as soon as', 'at the moment when'* (▷C3:222)

*wa-**ḥālamā** 'āda zawjī 'ilā kursiyyihi 'alā maqrabatin minnī btasamtu lahu btisāmatan kabīratan*

وحالما عاد زوجي إلى كرسيه على مقربة مني ابتسمت له ابتسامة كبيرة

'**as soon as** my husband returned to his seat near me I gave him an enormous smile'

(for the absolute object *ibtisāmatan* 'a smile', see **3.29.3**)

*hāḏā 'amrun tattaḍiḥu ṣiḥḥatuhu **ḥālamā** tataqaṣṣā l-sīrata l-ḏātiyyata*

هذا أمر تتضح صحته حالما تتقصى السيرة الذاتية

'this is a matter whose truth becomes obvious **as soon as** you follow the autobiography'

An alternative is to annex the noun *ḥāla* حالَ directly to the sentence as a space-time qualifier (cf. **2.4.3.1**, 'at the moment of + verbal sentence'):

*ġayra 'anna stislāmī li-l-ḥanīni kāna tāmman – **ḥāla** ġalaba 'alayya wa-ṣaddanī*

غير أنّ استسلامي للحنين كان تاما – حال غلب عليّ وصدني

'nevertheless my submission to the yearning was total – **the moment** it overcame me and hampered me'

5.9.5 ḥasabamā حسبما *'according as'*

yatalaqqawna min-a l-šamsi dafaqātin mutafarriqatin ***ḥasabamā*** *tusmaḥu l-'aġṣānu l-mūriqatu bi-hibatin ṭayyibatin*

يتلقون من الشمس دفقات متفرقة حسبما تسمح الأغصان المورقة بهبة طيبة

'they receive from the sun separate bursts [of light] **according as** the leafy branches are allowed [such] a pleasant gift (or *tasmaḥu*, active form "allow")'

yaqūlūna mā yaḫṭuru bi-bālihim ***ḥasabamā*** *ttafaqa*

يقولون ما يخطر ببالهم حسبما اتفق

'they say what comes into their minds **just as** it may happen', i.e. without thinking

(perfect *ittafaqa* اتفق 'it happened' with a habitual sense, cf. **3.10.1**)

When written as two words, it is annexed directly to the relative sentence, with a purely relative meaning:

ḥasaba mā *qarrarahu l-qur'ānu*

حسب ما قرره القرآن

'**according to what** the Qur'an laid down'

5.9.6 ḥayṯumā حيثما *'wherever'*

This is also used conditionally (see **8.5.3**), and its status is not always clear. However, the following example is significant because the independent (i.e. non-conditional) form of the hollow verbs (see paradigms **1.9.2**) is explicit:

ḥayṯumā *yadūrūna bī 'adūru*

حيثما يدورون بي أدور

'**wherever** they take me round I go round',

not apocopate *yadūrū* يدوروا, *'adur* أدر (cf. **3.11.4.1** on verbs of motion meaning 'bring', 'take')

5.9.7 ḥīnamā حينما *'when', 'at the time when'* (▷C3:224)

'innahā 'aḫṭa'at ***ḥīnamā*** *ja'alat li-l-šahādāti l-'ilmiyyati qīmatan .. wa-lam taj'al li-l-fi'li qīmatan*

إنّها أخطأت حينما جعلت للشهادات العلمية قيمة .. ولم تجعل للفعل قيمة

'[the revolution] erred **when** it gave value to educational certificates .. but gave no value to action'

*'inna llaḏīna ṣāġū l-dastūra . . . **ḥīnamā** naṣṣū 'alā man'i qiyāmi l'aḥzābi l-dīniyyati kānū yastanidūna 'alā mabda'i l-musāwāti*

ان الذين صاغوا الدستور . . . حينما نصوا على منع قيام الأحزاب الدينية كانوا يستندون على مبدأ المساواة

'[indeed] those who fashioned the constitution . . . , **when** they explicitly forbade the setting up of religious parties, were basing themselves on the principle of equality'

(note that where CA has مبدإ *mabda'i* with the oblique case ending, MWA has invariable مبدأ, following the new spelling convention for this consonant, cf. **1.2.1.1**)

An alternative is to annex *ḥīna* حين directly to the sentence as a space-time qualifier (see **7.6.6**):

***ḥīna** ltafattu naḥwa l-bābi wajadtuhā wāqifatan tanẓuru naḥwī*

حين التفت نحو الباب وجدتها واقفة تنظر نحوي

'**when** I turned towards the door I found her standing looking towards me', lit. 'at the time of + verbal sentence'

*ḫuṣūṣan **ḥīna** yubṣiru fatātan miṯlaki, lahā hāḏā l-jamālu*

خصوصا حين يبصر فتاة مثلك، لها هذا الجمال

'especially **when** he sees a girl like you, who has this beauty'

(for the inverted relative sentence *lahā hāḏā l-jamālu* لها هذا الجمال, lit. 'to her is this beauty', see **5.0.3**)

In the combination *fī ḥīni* في حين 'in the time of', it is often adversative:

*fī **ḥīni** kānat tušīru l-tawaqqu'ātu 'ilā ziyādatin bi-nafsi l-qadri*

في حين كانت تشير التوقعات إلى زيادة بنفس القدر

'at the [same] **time** as expectations were pointing to an increase of the same amount'

*fī **ḥīni** kāna yurakkizu 'alā*

في حين كان يركز على

'at the [same] **time** as he used to concentrate on'

5.9.8 'inda mā عند ما *'when'*

This is increasingly now written as one word عندما and has largely taken over the functions of two CA temporal conjunctions (▷C3:235).

Punctual 'when' replacing *lammā* لمّا 'when' in **7.6.3**, with two perfect verbs:

'indamā ***balaġat*** *'mayy' il-sābi'ata 'ašara,* ***qālat*** *lahā 'ummuhā*

عندما بلغت 'مي' السابعة عشر، قالت لها أمها

'when Mayy **reached** seventeen her mother **said** to her'

(note that the name is enclosed in single quotes, cf. **1.8.5**)

'indamā ***taḏakkartu qultu*** *li-nafsī*

عندما تذكرت قلت لنفسي

'when I **remembered** I **said** to myself'

'indamā ***sami'at*** *salīmatu bi-mawtihi,* ***ḍaḥikat*** *ḍaḥkatan majnūnatan tušbihu l-nawāḥa*

عندما سمعت سليمة بموته ضحكت ضحكة مجنونة تشبه النواح

'when Salīma **heard** of his death she **laughed** insanely like a keening', i.e. 'laughed an insane laugh which resembles the sound of mourning', (for this construction, see **2.4.2**)

'indamā ***rakiba*** *l-ṭā'irata li-'awwali marratin-i* ***rtajafa*** *qalbuhu*

عندما ركب الطائرة لأول مرة ارتجف قلبه

'when he **rode in** a plane [generic] for the first time his heart **trembled**'

Habitual or present, replacing *'iḏā* إذا 'when[ever]' (see **8.3**), but, unlike *'iḏā* إذا, usually with two imperfect verbs:

'indamā ***yajū'u*** *l-fuqarā'u* ***tanbutu*** *liḥāhum*

عندما يجوع الفقراء تنبت لحاهم

'when the poor **are hungry** their beards **grow**'

'indamā ***tafqidu*** *l-nafsu tawāzunahā wa-stiwā'ahā* ***taqa'u*** *farīsatan li-mā huwa 'aḫṭaru min ḏālika*

عندما تفقد النفس توازنها واستواءها تقع فريسة لما هو أخطر من ذلك

'when the soul **loses** its balance and equilibrium it **falls** victim to what is more dangerous than that'

'indamā ***'arji'u*** *'ilā l-bayti* ***'aḍa'uhā*** *'alā quṭnatin muballalatin*

عندما أرجع إلى البيت أضعها على قطنة مبللة

'when I **return** home I **put it** [namely, the seed] on a piece of wet cotton'

Clause order is often inverted with both types, probably on the Western pattern:

ḥaddaṯanī bihā ***'indamā marra*** *bi-tūnusa*
حدثني بها عندما مر بتونس
'he told me about it **when he passed** through Tunis'

ka-ḏālika yaḥzunu l-ṭiflu ***'indamā yajidu*** *'annahu yu'āmalu bi-ṭarīqatin muḫtalifatin 'an bāqī 'iḫwatihi*
كذلك يحزن الطفل عندما يجد أنّه يعامل بطريقة مختلفة عن باقي إخوته
'likewise a child will be unhappy **when it finds** that it is being treated in a different way from the rest of its brothers'

'aḍḥaku ***'indamā 'ataḏakkaru*** *ḏālika l-'āna*
أضحك عندما أتذكر ذلك الآن
'I laugh **when I remember** that now'

5.9.9 kamā كما *'just as', 'same as'*

kamā كما 'just as', 'same as', literally 'like what' (for *ka-* كَـ, see **2.6.8**; a transliteration *ka-mā* etc. would probably be more consistent here but the segmentation is unnecessary). For convenience, all comparative conjunctions with *ka-* كـ will be dealt with here, even though some involve subordinating conjunctions *'an* أنْ, *'anna* أنّ, *law* لو (see appropriate cross-references below).

5.9.9.1 *kamā* كما in the sense of 'same as', 'just as' (▷C3:236)

- With verbal sentence:

  sa-yajiduhā ***kamā*** *tarakahā munḏu rub'i qarnin*
  سيجدها كما تركها منذ ربع قرن
  'he will find it **as** he left it a quarter of a century ago'

  kamā *fa'ala mirāran*
  كما فعل مرارا
  '**just as** he often did'

  kamā *kānat tusammā*
  كما كانت تسمى
  '**as** they used to be called'

- With noun phrases (probably elliptical):

  baqiya ***kamā*** *huwa*
  بقي كما هو
  'he remained **as** he [was]'

'inna muqāwamata l-taġyīri ***kamā*** *'irādatu l-taġyīri*
إنّ مقاومة التغيير كما إرادة التغيير
'opposition to change is **the same** as the wish to change [is]'

'anā 'āḫuḏu l-ḥadāṯata l-'ālamiyyata ***kamā*** *hiya ka-ḥuḍūrin mustaqillin*
أنا آخذ الحداثة العالمية كما هي كحضور مستقلّ
'I take global modernism **as** it **[is]**, as an independent presence'

- It may also draw comparisons between two statements, the second introduced by a variety of resumptive markers (see further in discourse, **11.1**):

kamā *l-'alamu l-jasadiyyu yadfa'unā 'ilā saḥbi 'aydīnā min-a l-nāri* ***fa-'inna*** *'alama l-ġaḍabi yusā'idunā 'alā ḥifẓi šaḫṣiyyatinā*
كما الألم الجسدي يدفعنا إلى سحب أيدينا من النار فإنّ ألم الغضب يساعدنا على حفظ شخصيتنا
'**just as** physical pain makes us withdraw our hands from fire, **so** the pain of anger helps us to preserve our personality'

kamā *tusabbibu māddatu l-diyūksīni ba'ḍa l-taġayyurāti l-jaḏriyyati …* ***ka-ḏālika*** *tusabbibu māddatu l-diyuksīni ḫalalan wa-naqṣan 'aw ḍa'fan fī …*
كما تسبب مادة الديوكسين بعض التغيرات الجذرية . . . كذلك تسبب مادة الديوكسين خللا ونقصا أو ضعفا في . . .
'**just as** dioxin causes certain radical changes … **likewise** dioxin causes disorder and defect or weakness in …'

- Variant with *wa-* و (cf. **6.2.7**):

kamā wa-'annahu *bi-qadri mā kāna ntiṣāran li- … fa-'inna …*
كما وأنّه بقدر ما كان انتصارا لـ . . . فإنّ . . .
'**just as** to the extent that it was a victory for … **so** …'

(for *bi-qadri mā* بقدر ما, see **5.9.12**)

See also *kamā 'anna* كما أنّ below.

5.9.9.2 *kamā* كما in the sense of 'likewise', 'in the same way as', 'also':

yaqūmu l-banku bi-fatḥi l-ḥisābāti l-šaḫṣiyyati … ***kamā*** *ya'malu l-banku 'alā tamwīli l-mašrū'āti l-muḫtalifati*
يقوم البنك بفتح الحسابات الشخصية . . . كما يعمل البنك على تمويل المشروعات المختلفة
'the bank undertakes the opening of personal accounts … **likewise** the bank will endeavour to finance various projects'

kamā *ḥaḍara marāsima l-iftitāḥi ʿadadun min-a l-šuyūḫi*
كما حضر مراسم الافتتاح عدد من الشيوخ
'**just as** a number of elders attended the opening ceremonies'

5.9.9.3 *kamā ʾanna* كما أنّ 'just as' (▷C3:239) operates on nominal sentences (for *ʾanna* أنّ, see **3.2.2**):

kamā ʾanna *lahu l-ḥaqqa ʾayḍan*
كما أنّ له الحق أيضا
'**just as** he also has the right'

kamā ʾannanā *yajibu ʾan nufarriqa bayna l-bāḥiṯi wa-l-mabāḥiṯi*
كما أنّنا يجب أن نفرق بين الباحث والمباحث
'**just as** we must distinguish between the [innocent] researcher and the [secret] police'

kamā ʾannahu *ʾaṣbaḥa min al-muʿtādi qiyāmu l-jamāʿāti l-mutaṭarrifati bi-ʾiṣdāri manšūrātin*
كما أنّه أصبح من المعتاد قيام الجماعات المتطرفة بإصدار منشورات
'**just as** it has become customary for extremist groups to issue publications'

here in order to operate on a verbal sentence the dummy pronoun suffix *ḍamīr al-šaʾn* ضمير الشأن is used (see **3.4**).

5.9.9.4 *ka-ʾanna* كأنّ 'it is as if' (see **3.2.4**), introducing complete and independent nominal sentences:

ka-ʾannahu *lam yaʿrif ʾillā hāḏā l-mawḍiʿa*
كأنّه لم يعرف إلاّ هذا الموضع
'**it was as if** he knew only this place'

(for the exceptive construction, see **9.1**)

ka-ʾannahu *yaṣūġuhu ṣiyāġatan nihāʾiyyatan*
كأنّه يصوغه صياغة نهائية
'**it is as if** he gives it a final form'

(for the absolute object, see **2.4.2** and **3.29.3**)

Variant with *wa-* و, as a kind of circumstantial qualifier (see **6.2.7**):

***ya'tī** 'adabu l-riḥlāti . . . **wa-ka'annahu** ta'kīdun li-ma'rifatin sābiqatin*

يأتي أدب الرحلة . . . وكأنّه تأكيد لمعرفة سابقة

'travel literature **comes [across] . . . as if it were** a confirmation of some prior knowledge'

*fī da'mi zawjihā **wa-ka-'annahu** daḫala marḥalata šaddin wa-jaḏbin ma'a ra'īsihi*

في دعم زوجها وكأنّه دخل مرحلة شدّ وجذب مع رئيسه

'in support of her husband, he **seemingly** having entered a phase of pulling and tugging with his boss'

This variant is often found after the verb *badā* بدا 'to appear', in the sense 'looks as if' + clause (contrast **3.17.4**: 'seems' + noun complement), suggesting strongly that it is felt to be a circumstantial qualifier:

*badat lī **wa-ka'annahā** fatātun kabīratun*

بدت لي وكأنها فتاة كبيرة

'she appeared to me [being] **as if she were** a grown-up girl'

*badat **wa-ka'annahā** 'akbaru l-banāti*

بدت وكأنّها أكبر البنات

'she looked **like** the oldest of the girls'

The construction with *bi-* بـ in the same sense as the *'iḏā* إذا of surprise' (see **3.31.1**) is occasionally seen:

*wa-**ka-'annī bihā** tunādīnī min warā'i l-qabri wa-taqūlu*

وكأنّي بها تناديني من وراء القبر وتقول

'and it is **for me as if, lo, she** was calling me from beyond the grave, saying'

Contrast the purely hypothetical comparison with *kamā law* كما لو in **5.9.9.7**.

5.9.9.5 *ka-'annamā* كأنّما 'as if' (▷C3:240), with the suffix *mā* ما here neutralizing the grammatical effect of *'anna* أنّ (contrast *ka-anna* كأنّ in **3.2.4**) on the topic noun, though when it introduces verbal sentences the question does not arise:

***ka-'annamā** l-'arḍu kulluhā mulkun lahu*

كأنّما الأرض كلها ملك له

'**as if** the world, all of it, was a possession of his'

ka-'annamā *fī rūḥī baqiyyatun min 'uġniyatin ḥazīnati l-ṣadā*
كأنّما في روحي بقية من أغنية حزينة الصدى
'**as if** there was in my soul the remains of a song with a sad echo'

(lit. 'sad of echo', cf. unreal annexation in **2.1.3.2**)

ka-'annamā *nqaṭa'at munnatī min qillati l-ṣabri*
كأنّما انقطعت منتي من قلة الصبر
'**as if** my strength had ceased from lack of endurance'

bi-šāribayhi l-rafī'ayni ***ka-'annamā*** *rusimā bi-qalami l-raṣāṣi*
بشاربيه الرفيعين كأنما رسما بقلم الرصاص
'with his two thin moustaches, **as if** they had been drawn with a pencil'

the unvowelled passive *rusimā* رسما 'they two were drawn' is easily recoverable from the context (see **3.12**), and note that its instrument 'with a pencil' can be mentioned but not its agent (see **3.12.2**).

5.9.9.6 *ka-'an* كأنْ 'such as', 'like' (▷C3:144) with dependent verbs (see further in **7.5.1.10**):

wa-hunāka ẓurūfun muḫaffifatun li-l-jarīmati ***ka-'an yakūna*** *l-sāriqu jā'i'an 'aw ṭiflan*
وهناك ظروف مخففة للجريمة كأن يكون السارق جائعا أو طفلا
'and there are mitigating circumstances for the crime, **such as** the thief **being** hungry or a juvenile', lit. 'like that the thief is'

5.9.9.7 *kamā law* كما لو 'as if' hypothetically (▷C3:240, 324, see further in **8.2.11** on *law* لو)

- With verbal sentences:

tuḥarriku šifatayhā ***kamā law kānat tatakallamu***
تحرك شفتيها كما لو كانت تتكلم
'she moves her lips **as if she were speaking**'

fariḥat lī ***kamā law kānat*** *'ummī*
فرحت لي كما لو كانت أمي
'she was [as] happy for me **as if she were** my mother'

kāna yasharu 'alā maṣāliḥi l-qaryati wa-yar'ā 'abnā'ahā ***kamā law*** *kāna 'abāhum*
كان يسهر على مصالح القرية ويرعى أبناءها كما لو كان أباهم
'he used to watch over the interests of the village and look after its sons **as if he were** their father'

- With nominal sentence introduced by *'anna* أنّ (cf. **8.2.4** on *law 'anna* لو أنّ):

  kamā law 'annahā *turīdu 'an tasquṭa*

  كما لو أنّها تريد أن تسقط

  '**as if** it [*dam'atun*, a tear] wanted to fall' (or 'wants' according to context)

  ṯumma nḥanā naḥwahā ***kamā law 'annahu*** *yaḥnū 'alā ṭiflatin*

  ثم انحنى نحوها كما لو أنّه يحنو على طفلة

  'then he leaned towards her **as if** he were bending over a baby girl'

  wa-'aḥyānan yataṣarrafu l-iṯnāni ***kamā law 'annahumā*** *yamlikāni dimāġan wāḥidan*

  وأحيانا يتصرف الاثنان كما لو أنّهما يملكان دماغا واحدا

  'sometimes the two behave **as if** they possess[ed] a single brain'

5.9.10 kullamā كلّما (▷C3:219) *with paired sentences*

kullamā كلّما with paired sentences: 'the more [x happens], the more [y happens]' or 'every time [x happens, y happens]', (contrast *kullu mā* كلّ ما as an annexed quantifier in **5.5.3**), and now only seldom with *kullamā* كلّما repeated before each verb. In both senses the verb is invariably perfect, either historical or habitual (cf. perfect in conditional sentences, **8.0**), hence often corresponding to present tense in English.

5.9.10.1 *'the more … the more'*

- Single *kullamā* كلما:

  kullamā ***zāda*** *ḥajmuhu* ***zāda*** *si'ruhu*

  كلما زاد حجمه زاد سعره

  'the more its size **increases** the more its price **increases**' (habitual perf.)

  kullamā ***taqaddamnā laḥiqnā*** *bi-l-šamsi*

  كلما تقدمنا لحقنا بالشمس

  'the more **we advanced**, the more **we caught up** with the sun' (historical perf.)

kullamā ***marrat****-i l-sanawātu* ***faqadnā*** *l-kaṯīra*
كلما مرت السنوات فقدنا الكثير
'**as** the years **passed** we lost a lot'

- Repeated *kullamā* كلما:

wujida 'anna ***kullamā*** *zdāda ta'āmulu l-'āmili bi-māddati l-ṣamġi*
kullamā *zdādat nisbatu ta'arruḍi l-'āmili ṣiḥḥiyyan li-l-'aḫṭāri*
وجد أن كلما ازداد تعامل العامل بمادة الصمغ كلما ازدادت نسبة تعرض العامل صحيا للأخطار
'it was found that **the more** the worker had to do with resinous substances **the more** he was relatively exposed to health risks'

5.9.10.2 *'every time x . . . y'*

- Single *kullamā* كلما:

kullamā ***ra'aytu*** *sayyidatan* ***qultu*** *llatī fī 'a'māqī 'ajmalu wa-'akmalu*
كلما رأيت سيدة قلت التي في أعماقي أجمل وأكمل
'every time **I saw** a lady **I said** [to myself], the one deep inside me is more beautiful and more perfect'

kullamā ***ṣafā*** *lahu l-waqtu* ***mala'at*** *ḫayālahu*
كلما صفى له الوقت ملأت خياله
'whenever his time **was free** she **filled** his imagination'

kullamā ***ltaqat*** *naẓarātunā* ***waḍa'at*** *ra'sahā l-ṣaġīra bayna yadayhā*
كلما التقت نظراتنا وضعت رأسها الصغير بين يديها
'every time our glances **met** she **put** her little head between her hands'

- Repeated *kullamā* كلما:

kullamā *mtaddat 'ayyāmu ġurbatī,* ***kullamā*** *zdadtu ltiṣāqan bi-jānīt*
كلما امتدت أيام غربتي كلما ازددت التصاقا بجانيت
'**the more** the days of my exile stretched out, **the more** attached I became to Janet'

- With inverted clause sequence, probably on the Western pattern (though the perfect verb of habitual action is retained):

taqillu kafā'atuhā ***kullamā taqaddama*** *l-'umru*
تقلّ كفاءتها كلما تقدم العمر
'their competence decreases the more the[ir] age **advances**'

li-māḏā tu'riḍīna 'annī ***kullamā*** *naẓartu 'ilayki?*

لماذا تعرضين عني كلما نظرت اليك؟

'why do you turn away from me **every time** I look at you?'

ḥattā lā tafūtanī furṣatu l-istimā'i 'ilā 'ārā'ika wa-ḥikmatika ***kullamā sanaḥat****-i l-furṣatu*

حتى لا تفوتني فرصة الاستماع إلى آرائك وحكمتك كلما سنحت الفرصة

'so that I should miss no opportunity to hear your views and wisdom **every time** the opportunity **arises**'

5.9.11 miṯlamā مثلما *'as', 'like'*

(▷C2:145; ▷C3:218; and cf. **2.9.2.1** on *miṯla* مثل 'like', 'same') 'the same as' asserting the identity of two processes, and therefore different from *kamā* كما above, which compares them:

'aḥaṭnā bihā ***miṯlamā*** *tuḥīṭu l-'ummu bi-ṣiġārihā*

أحطنا بها مثلما تحيط الأم بصغارها

'we surrounded them **as** a mother surrounds her young'

māta ***miṯlamā*** *yamūtu l-ḥimāru*

مات مثلما يموت الحمار

'he died **as** a donkey dies'

(note the generic article *al-ḥimāru* الحمار 'the donkey', **1.12.3.1**)

lā bukā'a wa-'awīla ***miṯlamā*** *yaḥduṯu 'ādatan fī miṯli hāḏihi l-ḥālāti*

لا بكاء وعويل مثلما يحدث عادة في مثل هذه الحالات

'[there was] no weeping and wailing **such as** happens usually in these situations'

tamāman ***miṯlamā*** *fa'ala 'aḥadu l-wulāti l-'uṯmāniyyīna*

تماما مثلما فعل أحد الولاة العثمانيين

'exactly **the same as** one of the Ottoman governors did'

5.9.12 qadra mā قدر ما *'to the extent that', 'as much as'* (▷C3:222)

li-muḥāwalati 'is'ādihi ***qadra mā*** *'astaṭī'u*

لمحاولة إسعاده قدر ما أستطيع

'to the attempt to make him happy **as much as** I can'

A variant is *bi-qadri mā* بقدر ما in the sense 'as much . . . as' (cf. *bi-qadri l-'imkāni* بقدر الإمكان 'to the extent of one's ability'):

bi qadri mā *yabdū fawzī 'isṭafānūs jāddan 'inda l-ḥadīṯi 'an 'awjā'i l-qalbi*
بقدر ما يبدو فوزي اسطفانوس جادًا عند الحديث عن أوجاع القلب
'**to the extent that** Fawzi Stephanos appears serious when talking about the pains of the heart'

bi-qadri mā *yabdū mariḥan 'inda l-ḥadīṯi fī 'umūri l-ḥayāti l-dunyā ..*
bi-qadri mā *yabdū 'āṭifiyyan jiddan tuġrawriqu 'aynāhu 'aḥyānan 'indamā yataḥaddaṯu 'an 'amrin min 'umūri l-waṭani*
بقدر ما يبدو مرحا عند الحديث في أمور الحياة الدنيا .. بقدر ما يبدو عاطفيا جدا تغرورق عيناه أحيانا عندما يتحدث عن أمر من أمور الوطن
'**to the extent that** he appears cheerful when talking about the affairs of the world, .. he appears **to the same extent** very emotional, eyes sometimes overflowing, when talking about any matter affecting the nation', i.e. 'he is as cheerful . . . as he is very emotional . . .'

(cf. above, 5.9.8, on *'indamā* عندما 'when')

lā yu'ṭī illā ***bi-qadri mā*** *ya'ḫuḏu*
لايعطي إلا بقدر ما يأخذ
'it only gives **as much as** it takes'

This negative example is probably a calque:

laysa *min munṭalaqi musāwāti l-mar'ati bi-l-rajuli* ***bi-qadri mā*** *huwa min munṭalaqi l-tijārati wa-l-ribḥi*
ليس من منطلق مساواة المرأة بالرجل بقدر ما هو من منطلق التجارة والربح
'[it is] **not so much** from the point of view of the equality of man and woman **as** from the point of view of commerce and profit', lit. 'it is **not** from the point of view of the equality of man and woman **to the [same] extent that it is** from the point of view of commerce and profit'

5.9.13 rayṯamā ريثما *'while', 'until', 'when'* (▷C3:223)

wa-huwa yaḥsabu 'anna 'iqāmatahu lan taṭūla 'an 'usbū'in ***rayṯamā*** *yajidu makānan lā'iqan 'āḫara*
وهو يحسب ان إقامته لن تطول عن اسبوع ريثما يجد مكانا لائقا آخر
'he reckoning that his stay would not be longer than a week, **by which time** he would find another suitable place'

wa qad-i ttaḥaḍa hāḏā l-'ijrā'a ***rayṯamā*** *yatimmu l-'amalu 'alā fatḥi furū'in fī l-jāmi'ati li-ḥtiṣāṣāti handasati l-ġazali wa-l-nasīji wa-l-ṣibāġati*

وقد اتخذ هذا الإجراء ريثما يتم العمل على فتح فروع في الجامعة لاختصاصات هندسة الغزل والنسيج والصباغة

'he had undertaken this procedure **while** the task of opening branches in the university to specialize in textile mechanics, weaving and dyeing was being completed', i.e. 'until such time as'

cf. **3.23.1** on the process verb *tamma* تم 'to be completed', i.e. 'carried out'

'a'lanat hay'atu l-maḥkamati . . . muwāfaqatahā 'alā ṭalabi muḥāmiyi l-difā'i ta'jīla l-jalasāti 'usbū'an ***rayṯamā*** *yatasannā lahum-i l-taḍqīqu fī ma'lūmātin bāliġati l-ḥasāsiyati*

أعلنت هيئة المحكمة . . . موافقتها على طلب محامي الدفاع تأجيل الجلسات أسبوعا ريثما يتسنى لهم التدقيق في معلومات بالغة الحساسية

'the court announced . . . its agreement to the request of the defence lawyers for a postponement of the sessions for a week, **when** they would be able to check some extremely sensitive information'

5.9.14 rubbamā ربّما *'maybe', 'perhaps'* (▷C1:62; ▷C3:225)

rubbamā ربّما 'maybe', 'perhaps'; the main treatment is in **3.30.2** and only token examples are given here.

In its original sense of 'frequently' *rubbamā* ربما has become rare, but it is common in the new sense of 'maybe', 'perhaps':

rubbamā *lā tafhamahu*

ربما لا تفهمه

'**maybe** you will not understand it'

rubbamā *kāna hāḏā l-'amru mawḍū'a ḥadīṯin 'aw 'aḥādīṯa*

ربما كان هذا الأمر موضوع حديث أو أحاديث

'**maybe** this matter should be a topic of conversation or [several] conversations'

rubbamā *lā ya'lamu l-kaṯīrūna hunā 'anna l-diyūksīna huwa 'aḥadu muḥallafāti l-ṯawrati al-ṣinā'iyyayati*

ربما لا يعلم الكثيرون هنا أنّ الديوكسين هو أحد مخلفات الثورة الصناعية

'**perhaps** many here do not know that dioxin is one of the residues of the industrial revolution'

5.9.15 ṭālamā طالما *'as long as'* (▷C3:211)

With either nominal or verbal sentences:

ṭālamā *'anna ḏālika lā yaḍurru bi-l-'āḫarīna*
طالما أنّ ذلك لا يضر بالآخرين
'**as long as** that does not harm others'

(note the use of *'anna* أنّ here to front the nominal topic, see **3.2.2**)

lā ḥājata 'ilā l-tasarrubi ***ṭālamā*** *l-bābu maftūḥun*
لا حاجة إلى التسرب طالما الباب مفتوح
'there is no need for the leakage [of currency] **as long as** the door [is] open'

wa-lan yartafi'a mustawā l-ta'līmi ***ṭālamā*** *baqiyat 'aḥwālu l-madārisi 'alā mā hiya 'alayhi*
ولن يرتفع مستوى التعليم طالما بقيت أحوال المدارس على ما هي عليه
'and the level of education will not rise **as long as** the circumstances of the schools remain as they are'

In a different, assertive sense 'for a long time':

tilka l-'awāṭifu llatī ***ṭālamā*** *'askatat-i l-jamī'a ḥīna taltaqī l-naẓarātu*
تلك العواطف التي طالما أسكتت الجميع حين تلتقي النظرات
'those feelings which **for so long** have silenced everyone when eyes meet'

sa-tuḥaqqiqu ḥulmahu wa-ḥulmahā llaḏī ***ṭālamā*** *dā'aba ḫayālahumā*
ستحقق حلمه وحلمها الذي طالما داعب خيالهما
'he would realize his dream and her dream which **for so long** had played with their imagination'

(note that 'his and her dream' has to be expressed paronomastically, cf. **11.7.1**)

la-ṭālamā *laqiyat-i l-ṯanā'a wa-l-'i'jāba min-a l-marḍā wa-l-ru'asā'i 'alā ḥaddin sawā'in*
لطالما لقيت الثناء والإعجاب من المرضى والرؤساء على حد سواء
'**for a long time indeed** she met with praise and admiration from the patients and the bosses in equal measure'

cf. **3.2.1.1** for this *la-* لـ emphasizing predicates; for *la-* لـ prefixed to verbs, see **3.26.1**.

Chapter 6

Coordinated sentences

6.0 Introduction

This section deals primarily with the coordination of clauses and sentences. The coordination of noun phrases and the like is dealt with in **2.19**; for the special case of *wa-* و 'and' in the meaning of 'with', see **2.4.7** and **3.29.8**, and for *wa-* و prefixed to oaths, see **2.17**. Coordination at the discourse level and as a cohesion feature is dealt with in **Chapter 11**.

Coordination is either asyndetic or syndetic, the latter achieved through the same range of conjunctions as have already been described in phrasal coordination (see **2.19.1–2.19.12**), namely, *wa-* و, *fa-* ف 'and', *ṯumma* ثمّ 'then', *lākin(na)* لكن 'but', *bal* بل 'but rather', *'aw* أو, *'am* أم 'or', *'immā* إمّا 'either', *lā siyyamā* لا سيّما, 'especially', *sawā'un* سواء 'whether', *ḥattā* حتّى 'even', *wa-lā*, *wa-laysa* وليس ،ولا 'nor', 'and not'.

In CA all sentences were in principle formally connected by conjunctions, these also serving as the equivalent of punctuation, but MWA has superimposed a borrowed Western punctuation system (see **1.3**), and the two systems are often integrated to a greater or lesser degree.

For the purposes of this chapter the union of two or more sentences without conjunctions will be treated as asyndetic coordination, and with conjunctions as syndetic coordination, whether punctuation is involved or not. The rhetorical or stylistic motives for the selection of asyndetic or syndetic coordination cannot be taken into account here, but wherever possible the intended rhetorical or stylistic effect will be reflected in the translation.

It is important to note the other roles of asyndesis: indefinite relative clauses (see **5.1**), verbal circumstantial clauses (see **7.3.1**) and apodosis clauses (see **8.0**) all rely on a delicate system of zero markers (namely the absence of

introductory particles) to indicate the subordination of the respective clauses. The items treated by Cantarino (▷C3:10) as asyndetical coordination are in fact regular apodosis clauses, (see **8.0**).

6.1 Asyndetic coordination (▷C3:7)

Asyndetic coordination is neither new nor rare, having been used in CA whenever the vividness or immediacy of the narrative required it: structurally, however, it amounted to the elision of a conjunction. By contrast, in MWA the influence of European literary and stylistic conventions has encouraged the use of pure asyndetic coordination:

naḥnu l-bašaru aġbiyā'u na'taqidu kulla šay'in

نحن البشر أغبياء نعتقد كل شيء

'we humans are stupid we believe everything'

(a reading 'stupid people **who** believe everything', see **5.2.2**, is possible, but here ruled out by the author's general asyndetic style elsewhere)

Far more frequent is the adoption of Western punctuation, so that the comma, full stop and colon now play more of a role in demarcating asyndetically coordinated sentences, for example, the commas in the following example:

ṯumma tadrusuhu, tuḥalliluhu, takšifu 'an ḥudūdihi

ثم تدرسه، تحلله، تكشف عن حدوده

'then they study it, analyse it, discover its limits' [agent is grammatical fem. sing. 'the authorities']

where a translation with 'and' before each verb would not give the intended cumulative sense of this list of actions.

Here dots replace coordinators:

la'ibatā ma'an … mariḥatā ma'an … ḏākaratā ma'an … kaburatā ma'an …

لعبتا معا . . . مرحتا معا . . . ذاكرتا معا . . . كبرتا معا

'they [fem. dual] played together … they had fun together … they studied together … they grew up together'

al-muhimmu 'an na'mala … 'an naksiba … 'an na'īša

المهم أن نعمل . . . أن نكسب . . . أن نعيش

'the important [thing] is that we work … that we earn … that we live'

The next examples might well have been modelled on the narrative structure of a Western language, with the commas serving both to separate and link the sequence of clauses:

ka-'annanī lā 'aktubu 'an 'ašyā'a 'ištuhā qabla 'akṯara min arba'īna 'āman, ***'aktubu*** *wa-ka-'annahā ḥadaṯat 'amsi faqaṭ*

كأنني لا اكتب عن اشياء عشتها قبل اكثر من اربعين عاما، اكتب وكأنها حدثت امس فقط

'it is as if I am not writing about things which I experienced more than forty years ago, [comma, no conjunction] **I am writing** as if they happened only yesterday'

'an nasma'a l-laḥna l-mumayyiza li-l-našrati, 'an yartafi'a 'aḏānu l-'aṣri, 'an yaḥilla l-wahanu bi-ḍaw'i l-nahāri, 'an yaqtariba l-maġību, wa-l-wālidu lam yaẓhar ba'du, fa-tilka nuḏurun muḫīfatun

أن نسمع اللحن المميز للنشرة، أن يرتفع أذان العصر، أن يحلّ الوهن بضوء النهار، أن يقترب المغيب، والوالد لم يظهر بعد، فتلك نذر مخيفة

'that we should hear the signature tune of the [news] broadcast, that the early evening call to prayer should ring out, that languor should befall the light of the day, that sundown should approach, [all this] while father had not yet made an appearance, these were frightening portents'

Conversely, the next example shows a long sequence of syndetic coordination (i.e. the default CA system), where in natural English the conjunctions would probably not be repeated:

kāna fī qalbi kulli našāṭin 'āmmin yaktubu ***wa****-yuḥāḍiru* ***wa****-yudarrisu* ***wa****-yaḥṭubu* ***wa****-yušāriku fī l-nadawāti*

كان في قلب كلّ نشاط عامّ يكتب ويحاضر ويدرّس ويخطب ويشارك في الندوات

'he was at the heart every general activity, writing **[and]** lecturing **[and]** teaching **[and]** preaching **[and]** taking part in meetings'

(cf. **3.10.6** on *kāna* كان and habitual action)

The following sequence of rhetorical questions (cf. **10.13**) shows a mixture of asyndetic and syndetic coordination, again reflecting a Western style. The first question is introduced with *fa-* فـ, here marking a new paragraph, then two interrogatives are internally coordinated with *wa-* و in the second question, followed by two asyndetically coordinated questions, with only the final question syndetically coordinated, perhaps because it completes a balanced pair or simply marks the end of the list. Otherwise only the punctuation (though not entirely complete, and reproduced in the translation exactly as it is) separates them all:

***fa**-man huwa Ḥ. M.? … kayfa **wa**-'ayna 'amḍā sanawātihi l-qarībata min al-ṯamānīna? .. mā hiya manzilatuhu fī mayādīni l-kitābati l-'adabiyyati wa-l-naqdiyyati wa-fī mayādīni l-baḥṯi l-falsafiyyi wa-l-dirāsāti l-turāṯiyyati? mā huwa dawruhu 'alā sāḥati l-'amali l-waṭaniyyi wa-l-qawmiyyi **wa**-mā huwa 'ishāmuhu fī ta'sīsi 'ālamin jadīdin? ..*

فمن هو ح. م؟..كيف وأين أمضى سنواته القريبة من الثمانين؟..ما هي منزلته في ميادين الكتابة الأدبية والنقدية وفي ميادين البحث الفلسفي والدراسات التراثية؟ ما هو دوره على ساحة العمل الوطني والقومي وما هو إسهامه في تأسيس عالم جديد؟..

'**so** who is H. M.? … How **and** where did he spend his nearly eighty years? .. What is his status in the fields of literary and critical writing and in the fields of philosophical investigation and cultural studies? What is his role in the domain of national and patriotic effort **and** what is his share in the foundation of a new world? ..'

6.2 Syndetic coordination (▷C3:11)

Syndetic coordination with *wa-* و 'and': this is the basic coordinating particle, which implies no hierarchical or sequential ordering in the coordinated clauses, though common sense usually determines the order, and it is the normal conjunction for narrative sequences. It also coordinates clauses in various implicit logical relationships such as adversative or causal: for these extended senses, see **6.2.5**.

Finally, it appears in a number of contexts where an underlying circumstantial qualifier structure (see **7.3**) may be assumed (see **6.2.6**, **6.2.7**). For functions of *wa-* و at the phrase level, see references in **6.0**.

It is important to stress that as a true coordinator *wa-* only joins syntactically equivalent items, for example two nominal sentences, two main verbs, two subordinate verbs etc., and, by extension, functionally equivalent items such as a verbal noun and a nominalized verb phrase, or two differently structured predicates. It thus contrasts with *wa-* as a subordinating conjunction when it introduces a nominal circumstantial clause after a verbal sentence in the main clause (for *ḥāl*, see **7.1.2**, but see also **6.2.6**).

In the following example two different kinds of predicates are coordinated:

*wa-qad-i ttaḍaḥa 'anna l-maṣna'a muḫālifun li-l-muwāṣafāti **wa**-yattabi'u 'ijrā'ātin taḍurru bi-l-bī'ati*

وقد اتّضح أنّ المصنع مخالف للمواصفات ويتّبع إجراءات تضرّ بالبيئة

'it became clear that the factory is breaching the regulations [1st pred., a participle] **and** is following procedures [2nd pred., a verbal sentence] which are harmful to the environment'

An alternative parsing for the above would assume an elided *'annahu* أنّه before *yattabi'u* يتّبع, namely 'and **that it** is following' (cf. **6.2.3**).

In this type of heterogeneous coordination there is no risk of misinterpreting the coordinate status of the clause as subordinate. Here a verbal noun is coordinated with a syntactically equivalent noun clause:

*da'ā mudīriy-a l-madārisi wa-l-tawjīhi **'ilā** taġyīri hāḏā l-'uslūbi **wa-'an yakūna** taqyīmuhum 'amaliyyan*
دعا مديري المدارس والتوجيه إلى تغيير هذا الأسلوب وأن يكون تقييمهم عمليا
'he called upon the directors of schools and school inspection for a change [verbal noun] of this method **and [for] that** their evaluation **should be** [complimentizer + verb] practical' (see **6.2.3** omission of preposition)

6.2.1 Coordinated clauses

Examples of various kinds of coordinated clauses with *wa-* و (the conjunction will be translated as 'and' regardless of whether this results in natural English).

- Nominal sentences (see **3.1**):

  *al-ḍaw'u nāṣi'un **wa**-l-jawwu ḥārrun*
  الضوء ناصع والجوّ حارّ
  'the light is clear **and** the weather is hot'

  *'anti lī **wa**-'anā laki*
  أنت لي وأنا لك
  'you [fem. sing.] are mine **and** I am yours'

  tājuki fī l-samā'i wa-jiḏruki fī l-arḍi
  تاجك في السماء وجذرك في الأرض
  'your crown is in the sky and your root is in the earth' [addressing a tree]

- Verbal sentences (see **3.7**):

  *daḫala **wa**-sallama **wa**-jalasa*
  دخل وسلّم وجلس
  'he went in **and** greeted **and** sat down'

  *ištaddat 'azmatu l-'as'āri **wa**-staḥkamat*
  اشتدّت أزمة الأسعار واستحكمت
  'the prices crisis worsened **and** took hold'

- Coordinating imperatives (▷C3:15; see **3.24**):

  i'qilhā ***wa****-tawakkal*
  اعقلها وتوكّل
  'tie her [= your camel] up **and** trust in God' (proverb)

  ijlis ***wa****-ntaẓir dawraka*
  اجلس وانتظر دورك
  'sit down **and** wait your turn'

  iġsilīhi ***wa****-lā tas'alī*
  اغسليه ولا تسألي
  '[just] wash it **and** don't ask' [fem. sing.]

Note that English pro-drop cannot occur in Arabic, as all verbs incorporate their agents (see **3.7.1**). In other words, only complete verbal sentences can be coordinated. This will not be obvious with singular verbs, for example *ṣaraḫa 'aḥmadu* ***wa****-nahaḍa* صرخ أحمد ونهض 'Aḥmad screamed **and** stood up' where the second verb is actually the sentence 'and [**he**] stood up', with concealed agent pronoun, but it becomes visible with plural agents. In the next examples the first sentence is a verbal sentence with explicit agent, so the verb is singular (see **3.8**), and all the coordinated sentences are complete verbal sentences, this time with pronoun agents:

hāḏihi l-ru'yatu ***yuqarriruhā*** *l-qawmu wa-****yunaffiḏūnahā***
هذه الرؤية يقررها القوم وينفذونها
'this vision, the people **decide** [sing.] it and [they] **execute** [plur.] it'

(for the topic-comment structure here, which does not affect the verbs, see **3.3.2**, and note also that *qawm* قوم 'people' is a collective and takes plural agreement, see **3.8.2**)

iltamma *'alayhi l-muwaẓẓafūna wa-****ḥamalū****hu wa-****maddadū****hu fī bahw il-wizārati wa-****ġasalū****hu wa-****ṭayyabū****hu wa-****kafanū****hu wa-****ṣallaw*** *'alayhi wa-****mašaw*** *ḫalfa na'šihi wa-****qabarū****hu wa-****'ādū*** *'adrājahum 'ilā l-waẓīfati*
التم عليه الموظفون وحملوه ومددوه في بهو الوزارة وغسلوه وطيبوه وكفنوه وصلوا عليه ومشوا خلف نعشه وقبروه وعادوا أدراجهم إلى الوظيفة
'the officials **gathered** [sing.] around him and [they] **picked** [plur.] him up and [they] **stretched** him out in the vestibule of the ministry and [they] **washed** him and [they] **perfumed** him and [they] **shrouded** him and [they] **prayed** over him and [they] **walked** behind his bier and [they] **buried** him and [they] **went back** to the job'

This also is the case with a change of agent:

ḍaḥika wa-nṣarafat *'ilā 'amalihā*

ضحك وانصرفت إلى عملها

'**he laughed and she went off** to her work'

This rule applies to all conjunctions, and will not be noted below:

yawma'iḏin ***daḫala****hā junūdu l-ma'mūni bni muḥammadin* ***fa****-qatalū 'amīrahā*

يومئذ دخلها جنود المأمون بن محمّد فقتلوا أميرها

'on that day the troops of Ma'mūn ibn Muḥammad **entered** [sing.] it [= the town] **and** [they] killed [plur.] its governor'

6.2.2 *Miscellaneous coordinations*

The following are mostly phrase level items (cf. **2.19**) but are mentioned here for completeness. The coordination of a bound pronoun and an explicit noun requires an externally repeated free pronoun which will be neutral for case. This is usual with agents (see **3.8**) because the two cooordinated elements must have the same status, and the sequence verbal sentence + *wa-* و + noun is therefore incorrect:

bi-smi l-ḥukūmati 'u'akkidu ***'anā wa-jamī'u zumalā'ī*** *l-wuzarā'i* . . .

باسم الحكومة أؤكّد أنا وجميع زملائي الوزراء . . .

'in the name of the government **I and all my fellow** ministers emphasize . . .'

where ******'u'akkidu wa-jamī'u zumalā'i* أؤكّد وجميع زملائي would be incorrect, somewhat as 'I emphasize and all my ministers' would also sound weak without a clear parenthetical marking, namely, 'I emphasize, and all my ministers too, . . .'. This rule is not always observed:

iltaffa ***wa-'adadun*** *min zumalā'ihi min-a l-maktabati ḥawla 'iḥdā ṭāwilāti l-maktabati*

التف وعدد من زملائه من المكتبة حول احدى طاولات المكتبة

'he **and a number** of his colleagues in the office gathered around one of the office desks'

instead of *iltaffa* ***huwa*** *wa-'adadun* التف هو وعدد '**he** and a number . . . gathered around'

Sometimes it is necessary to repeat the verb (cf. **11.7**):

wa-l-nataḏakkar wa-l-yataḏakkar *ḥukkāmunā*

ولنتذكر وليتذكر حكامنا

'and **let us and** our rulers **remember**', lit. 'let us remember and let our rulers remember'

(for the indirect imperative, see **3.24.2**)

For an example of coordination of bound oblique pronoun via free pronoun to noun (see **3.28.2**):

*faṣla**ka 'anta wa-jamī'i** l-'aṭibbā'i*

فصلك أنت وجميع الأطباء

'the dismissal of **you and of all** the doctors'

Repetition is obligatory with oblique pronouns, as there is no free oblique pronoun:

*mā yuqālu **'anhā wa-'anhu***

ما يقال عنها وعنه

'what is said **about her and [about] him**'

However, it is correct to coordinate an overt direct or indirect object to a pronoun:

*yakfī**hā** bi-l-kādi li-ta'īša wa-'**ummahā** l-'ajūza*

يكفيها بالكاد لتعيش وأمها العجوز

'it suffices **her**, just, to live on and [also] her aged **mother** [dep.]'

When a noun is qualified by more than one adjective they may be syndetically coordinated, depending on extralinguistic considerations (see further **2.1.1.7**):

*tuqaddimu 'iḍāfātin jadīdatan **naẓariyyatan wa-taṭbīqiyyatan***

تقدّم إضافات جديدة نظرية وتطبيقية

'it offers new **theoretical and practical** additions'

where the tighter unit 'new additions' is asyndetically coordinated, so that a translation 'new additions, [both] theoretical and practical' is also possible.

Coordination with *wa-* is the rule with syndetic relative clauses, with which the relative noun (for this term, see **5.2**) must also be repeated:

baytu ḫālī ***llaḏī*** *wulidtu bihi* ***wa-llaḏī*** *ʻtadnā l-ʼiqāmata bihi* ***wa-llaḏī*** *ṭalabtu l-ḥifāẓa ʻalayhi*

بيت خالي الذي ولدت به والذي اعتدنا الإقامة به والذي طلبت الحفاظ عليه

'the house of my uncle, **[the one]** in which I was born, **and [the one]** which we had become used to living in, **and [the one]** which I demanded should be taken care of'

This coordination is distinct from the occurrence of *wa-* و with explicitly non-restrictive relative clauses (see further **5.2.5**):

wa-ʼalzamūhum bi-raddi hāḏihi l-mabāliġi ***wa-llatī*** *jāʼat fī taqrīri l-riqābati l-ʼidāriyyati*

وألزموهم بردّ هذه المبالغ والتي جاءت في تقرير الرقابة الإدارية

'they forced them to return these sums, **which** came up in the report of the administrative control office'

6.2.3 *Elliptical coordination* (▷C3:54)

An element in the second clause can be elided if it is obvious or redundant. This applies to all conjunctions and will not be noted in detail below (note that it is the norm with *lā siyyamá* لا سيما 'especially', see **6.9** and for *sawāʼan* سواء 'whether', see **6.10**):

al-ʻamalu li-l-rajuli šarafun ***wa- li-l-marʼati*** *ʻārun*

العمل للرجل شرف وللمرأة عار

'work is for a man an honour **and for a woman [it is]** a shame'

In particular, preposition(al)s and other grammatical operators such as complementizers are not always repeated in coordination (cf. **2.19.1** for phrase level), for reasons of style or emphasis, but the coordinated item inflects as if the operation were present:

*bi-****ʼanna ḥuqūqahu*** *muṣānatun wa-****karāmatahu*** *maḥfūẓatun*

بأن حقوقه مصانة وكرامته محفوظة

'**that** his **rights** [dep.] are protected and [that] his **honour** [dep.] is preserved'

omitting *ʼanna* أنّ 'that'

li*-taḍumma l-makātiba l-ʼidāriyyata* ***wa****-tuwaffira misāḥatan ʼuḫrā*

لتضمّ المكاتب الإدارية وتوفّر مساحة أخرى

'**in order to** combine the administrative offices **and** [in order to] provide other space'

omitting *li-* لـ ‘in order to’ in the second clause

*yaktubu **li**-yunīra **wa**-yu‘allima **wa**-yusā‘ida*
يكتب لينير ويعلّم ويساعد
‘he writes **in order to** enlighten **and** [in order to] to teach **and** [in order to] to help’

omitting *li-* لـ ‘in order to’ in the ensuing clauses

*dafa‘ahum **’an yaḏhabū wa-yušāhidū** māḏā tarakat lahum-u l-ḥarbu **ṯumma yaqa‘ū** maġšiyyan ‘alayhim min-a l-ṣadmati*
دفعهم أنْ يذهبوا ويشاهدوا ماذا تركت لهم الحرب ثم يقعوا مغشيا عليهم من الصدمة
‘it compelled them **to go and [to] see** what the war had left them **and then [to] fall** in a faint from the shock’

omitting *’an* أن ‘that’ in the ensuing clauses

*kamā ’utīḥa lī **’an** ’a‘rifa **wa**-’arā **wa**-’almasa*
كما أتيح لي أن أعرف وأرى وألمس
‘as I have been enabled to know **and** [to] see **and** [to] feel’

The first example in **6.2** may also belong here, if it is analysed as an elision of *’annahu* أنّه ‘that it’.

In the following examples the option of repeating the operators has been chosen (▷C3:122):

*‘alayhi **’an** yajtahida fī ’a‘mālihi **wa-’an** yakūna ṣādiqan fī mu‘āmalātihi*
عليه أن يجتهد في أعماله وأن يكون صادقا في معاملاته
‘it is necessary for him **to** make effort in his actions **and to** be honest in his dealings’, lit. ‘**that** he make effort **and that** he be’

*tūjadu ’anẓimatu tahwiyatin **li-kay** taḫfiḍa min darajati ḥarārati l-ġurfati **wa-li-kay** tašfuṭa ’abḫirata l-maḥālīli*
توجد أنظمة تهوية لكي تخفض من درجة حرارة الغرفة ولكي تشفط أبخرة المحاليل
‘ventilation systems exist **in order to** reduce the temperature of the room **and in order to** dispel the vapours of the solvents’

while here there is a mixture of repeated and elided operators:

*li-ya’tū ’ilaynā **wa**-yarawnā **wa-l**-yatakallamū ma‘anā*
ليأتوا إلينا ويرونا وليتكلموا معنا
‘let them come to us **and** [let them] see us **and let** them talk to us’

(for the indirect imperative with *li-* لـ and apocopate verb, see **3.24.2**)

6.2.4 *Hendiadys* (▷C3:16, and see **fa-** فـ)

The only common case is with *sabaqa* سبق 'to precede' (see **3.23.2**):

*kamā sabaqa **wa**-lāḥaẓnā 'anna*
كما سبق ولاحظنا أنّ
'as we have previously remarked that', lit. 'as it happened previously **and** we remarked'

The following may possibly be intepreted as a hendiadys:

*huwa ta'bīrun tārīḫiyyun min-a l-quwā llatī **ṭaḥanat wa-qaharat** bi-'anẓimatin šumūliyyatin li-fatarātin ṭawīlatin*
هو تعبير تاريخي من القوى التي طحنت وقهرت بأنظمة شمولية لفترات طويلة
'it is a historical expression of the forces that have been grinding away and overpowering with all-embracing systems for long periods'

if the main verbs *ṭaḥanat wa-qaharat* طحنت وقهرت are taken to mean 'have been oppressively grinding down'.

6.2.5 *Semantic varieties of coordination with* **wa-** و ***'and'*** (▷C3:19)

Though not logically or temporally hierarchical, *wa-* و 'and' may nevertheless imply a range of semantic relationships between the clauses which can usually be inferred from the context. Inevitably, there will be differences in the subjective impressions of the examples below (and also with *fa-* فـ in **6.3.1**), but the general picture should emerge clearly.

- Adversative:

  *sa-yaḫla'u 'anhu l-ḥijāba lāḥiqan **wa**-laysa l-'āna*
  سيخلع عنه الحجاب لاحقا وليس الآن
  'he will remove the veil from it subsequently, **but** not now'

  (for negative coordination, see **4.2.8.3**)

  *taškū l-faqra wa-l-ḥājata **wa**-tubaḏḏiru mālaka fīmā lā yufīdu!*
  تشكو الفقر والحاجة وتبذر مالك فيما لا يفيد!
  'you complain about poverty and need, **yet/although** you squander your money on what is useless!'

- Consequential:

  li-l-'asafi ḍayya'tu mā ḍayya'tu ***wa****-l-yakun nadamī šadīdan*
  للأسف ضيّعت ما ضيّعت وليكن ندمي شديدا
  'unfortunately I lost what I lost, **and [so]** may my regret be extreme'

  (for vague direct object, see **3.11.1.2**; and for indirect imperative, see **3.24.2**)

  takallama bi-ṣawtin hāmisin ***wa****-lam yasma'hu 'aḥadun*
  تكلم بصوت هامس ولم يسمعه أحد
  'he spoke in a whispering voice **and [so]** no one heard him'

- Emphatic:

  lam 'afham ***wa****-'ilā hāḏihi l-laḥẓati māḏā 'aṯārahā*
  لم أفهم وإلى هذه اللحظة ماذا أثارها
  'I have never understood, **even** to this moment, what made her flare up'

More generally, however, such shades of meaning are expressed through *fa-* فـ (see **6.3**).

6.2.6 *Explanatory and circumstantial clauses*

Frequently, *wa-* و is used to introduce clauses which are not strictly coordinate but serve as explanatory or circumstantial qualifiers (see **7.3** and cf. ▷C3:16–18).

Explanatory clauses:

wa-zuyyina l-na'šu bi-zuhūrin 'alā šakli raqmi 7 ***wa-huwa*** *raqmu l-qamīṣi llaḏī kāna yartadīhi Matthews ḫilāla l-mubārayāti*
وزين النعش بزهور على شكل رقم ٧ وهو رقم القميص الذي كان يرتديه ماثيوز خلال المباريات
'the bier was decorated with flowers in the shape of a number 7, **this being** the number of the shirt which Matthews used to wear during matches'

wa-law 'aradnā stiqṣā'a 'aqwālihim la-ḫarajnā bi-natījatin muhimmatin, ***wa-hiya*** *'anna kaṯīran min 'aqwālihim …*
ولو اردنا استقصاء اقوالهم لخرجنا بنتيجة مهمة، وهي أنّ كثيرا من اقوالهم . . .
'and if we wanted to examine closely their opinions we would get out of it an important result, **namely** that many of their opinions …'

(cf. **8.2** on conditional with *law* لو 'if', **3.11.4.1** for idiomatic verbs of motion with *bi-* بـ, 'to bring/take')

hāḏihi l-fi'atu min-a l-'ummāli ta'malu fī majāli 'amalin wāḥidin ***wa-huwa*** *majālu ṣinā'ati l-'aḥḏiyati*

هذه الفئة من العمال تعمل في مجال عمل واحد وهو مجال صناعة الأحذية

'this group of workers works in one job area, **this being** the area of the manufacture of shoes'

Compare the above with the standard circumstantial clause (see **7.3**):

'aṣbaḥat 'umman ***wa-hiya*** *bnatu l-'arba'ata 'ašara rabī'an*

أصبحت أما وهي ابنة الأربعة عشر ربيعا

'she became a mother **when** she was fourteen', lit. 'and she the daughter of fourteen springs'

6.2.7 *Miscellaneous coordinations*

The same underlying structure probably accounts for the occurrence of *wa-* و with a number of other elements.

- *munḏu* منذ 'since' (for details, see **7.3.2**):

  munḏu 'ahdin ba'īdin ***wa****-faransā bi-l-nisbati li-l-mujtama'i l-'ūrubbiyyi ka-l-šarīki l-muḥālifi*

  منذ عهد بعيد وفرنسا بالنسبة للمجتمع الأوربي كالشريك المخالف

  'for a long time France has been in relation to the European Community like a dissident partner', lit. '**since** a long time, **and** …'

  munḏu ḫurūjihi min-a l-sijni ***wa****-huwa yabḥaṯu 'an 'amalin*

  منذ خروجه من السجن وهو يبحث عن عمل

  'ever since he came out of prison he has been looking for work'

- *ka-'anna* كأنّ, especially with *badā* بدا 'to look as if' (cf. *badā* بدا 'to seem' + nominal complement in **3.17.4**) and synonyms (for details of *wa-ka-'anna* وكأنّ 'as if' in comparative constructions, see **5.9.9.4**):

  yuẓhiruhā wa-ka-'annahā *šifāhun mumtali'atun*

  يظهرها وكأنّها شفاه ممتلئة

  '**will make them appear as if they are** full lips', i.e. 'like full lips'

  badā wa-ka'anna *l-iqtiṣāda yasta'īdu qudratahu 'alā l-munāfasati*

  بدا وكأنّ الاقتصاد يستعيد قدرته على المنافسة

  '**it looked as if** the economy would recover its ability to compete'

- *lā budda* لا بدّ ‘there is no escape’, i.e. ‘inevitably’ (see **4.1.3** and **7.5.1.6**):

  *wa-hāḏā l-taḥsīnu **lā budda wa**-’an yamurra ‘abra stiṯmāri l-mawāridi l-’insāniyyati*

  وهذا التحسين لا بد وأن يمرّ عبر استثمار الموارد الإنسانية

  ‘this improvement **will inevitably** occur through the exploitation of human resources’, with no obvious way to translate the *wa-* و

- *bal* بل ‘but rather’ (see further in **6.6.3**):

  *wa-sami‘at min zamīlātihā **bal wa**-šāhadat qiṣaṣa l-ḥubbi*

  وسمعت من زميلاتها بل وشاهدت قصص الحب

  ‘she heard from her companions, **indeed** she [actually] **saw** the love stories’

- *’illā* إلاّ ‘except’ (see **9.4.6**):

  *fa-mā min kātibin kabīrin fī ’ūrubbā wa-’amrīkā l-lātīniyyati wa-l-yābāni wa-’afrīqiyā wa-rūsiyā **’illā wa-kāna** bna maḥalliyyatihi **wa**-bna makānihi wa-bī’atihi*

  فما من كاتب كبير في أوربّا و أمريكا اللاتينية و اليابان و أفريقيا و روسيا إلا و كان ابن محلّيته و ابن مكانه و بيئته

  ‘there is no famous writer in Europe nor Latin America nor Japan nor Africa nor Russia **who was not** a son of his locality **and** son of his place and environment’

  (see negative *mā . . . min* ما . . . من in **4.1.1**, and note the second coordinated clause at the end)

- For *ḥattā* حتّى ‘even’ with *wa-* و, see **6.11**.

Finally, it must be noted that discourse markers often require *wa-* و (see **11.2**):

*hāḏā **wa**-lā yumkinu ’an nulāḥiẓa*

هذا ولا يمكن أن نلاحظ

‘this being so, we cannot remark’

6.3 With *fa-* ف ‘and so’, ‘and then’ (▷C3:20–1)

fa- ف coordinates two clauses in a definite logical or temporal sequence, ‘and so’, ‘and then’ (cf. phrase coordination in **2.19.2**). This feature accounts for the presence of *fa-* ف before the apodosis of conditional clauses in

particular circumstances (see especially **8.1.2**; and ▷C3:361–9) and also the prolific use of resumptive *fa-* ف at the discourse level (see **11.1**) and in rhetorical questions (see **10.13.1**).

As with *wa-* و (see **6.2.5**), the precise logical relationship between the coordinated clauses varies, with the dominant feature being sequentiality or consequentiality.

6.3.1 *Standard usage*

- Temporal sequence:

  ṣāra'at-i l-mawta ***fa****-ġalabathu*
  صارعت الموت فغلبته
  'she wrestled with death **and** she beat it' (in that order!)

  ṯumma 'aṣbaḥa nā'iban li-ra'īsi l-'arkāni ***fa****-ra'īsan lahā ba'da ḏālika*
  ثم أصبح نائبا لرئيس الأركان فرئيسا لها بعد ذلك
  'then he became deputy chief of staff **and [then]** chief of staff after that'

  yaġību 'an 'uyūniki ***fa****-taftaqidīnahu miṯla ḥabībin nā'in*
  يغيب عن عيونك فتفتقدينه مثل حبيب ناء
  'he disappears from your eyes **and [then]** you look for him like a distant lover'

- Logical (con)sequence:

  lam yafham 'aḥmadu ma'nā hāḏā l-kalāmi ***fa****-sakata mutaḥayyiran*
  لم يفهم أحمد معنى هذا الكلام فسكت متحيّرا
  'Ahmad did not understand the meaning of those words **so** he fell silent, confused'

  jā'a dawrī ***fa****-sallamtu lahā l-kitāba*
  جاء دوري فسلمت لها الكتاب
  'my turn came **and [so]** I handed her the book'

  lam yastaṭi' ḥalafun 'an yata'āwana ma'ahu ***fa****-staqāla*
  لم يستطع خلف أن يتعاون معه فاستقال
  'Halaf was unable to work with him **so** he resigned'

*yakfī ’an yastafhima minhā bi-naẓarāti ‘aynayhi l-ḥāniyatayni **fa**-tusāri‘a bi-l-’ajwibati l-murḍiyati*

يكفي أن يستفهم منها بنظرات عينيه الحانيتين فتسارع بالأجوبة المرضية

‘it would be enough for him to enquire of her with glances of his pitying eyes **and [then]** she would quickly produce the answers that would please’, lit. ‘would hasten with’.

- Logical reason (▷C3:26–7, 32):

*hāḏā wahmun **fa**-kaṯīrūna min-a l-rijāli yakḏibūna ‘alā l-rijāli*

هذا وهم فكثيرون من الرجال يكذبون على الرجال

‘this is pure fantasy, **for** many men tell lies to other men’

*lam yatanabbah ’aḥadun min zumalā’ihim li-mā ḥadaṯa .. **fa**-l-kullu mašġūlun wa-mutaḥammisun li-mašrū‘ihim*

لم يتنبه أحد من زملائهم لما حدث .. فالكل مشغول ومتحمس لمشروعهم

‘no one among their colleagues noticed what happened .. **for** everyone was busy [sing.] and working zealously at their [sic] project’

(note mixed agreement with *kull* كل ‘all’, see **3.8.4**)

*lā tatašā’amū **fa**-l-tafāṣīlu sa-ta’tī*

لا تتشاءموا فالتفاصيل ستأتي

‘do not be pessimistic **for** the details will be coming’

*lā ’aẓunnu ’annahum kānū yatawaqqa‘ūna hujūmanā **fa**-hum lam yataḥarrakū min majlisihim*

لا أظن أنهم كانوا يتوقعون هجومنا فهم لم يتحركوا من مجلسهم

‘I do not think they were expecting our attack **because** they did not move from where they were sitting’

*ḏū l-kūfiyyati l-bayḍā’i lan yamūta. **fa**-huwa laysa min banī l-bašari*

ذو الكوفية البيضاء لن يموت. فهو ليس من بني البشر

‘that man with the white head-cloth will never die. Because he is not human’, lit. ‘is not of the sons of mankind’

The original punctuation is retained in this last example.

- Adversative (▷C3:27):

*ḥāwalā ’an yaftaḥā l-ḫizānata **fa**-lam yaqdirā*

حاولا أن يفتحا الخزانة فلم يقدرا

‘the two of them tried to open the safe **but** were unable to’

With *fa-* ف- 'and so', 'and then

ḥāwala 'an yaẖnuqahā ***fa****-lam yantuj 'an muḥāwalātihi tilka 'illā 'iddatu ma'ārika*

حاول أن يخنقها فلم ينتج عن محاولاته تلك إلاّ عدة معارك

'he tried to stifle them, **but** all that came out of those efforts of his was a number of conflicts' lit. 'and there did not arise … except a number of conflicts', (see Exception, **9.1**)

yamuddu yadahu li-qtināṣihā ***fa****-tabta'idu*

يمد يده لاقتناصها فتبتعد

'he stretches his hand to gather them [namely, fruit], **but** they are [too] far away'

yaṭlubu l-nawma ***fa****-lā yajiduhu*

يطلب النوم فلا يجده

'he seeks sleep **but** does not find it'

raġma ṣamtihi l-dā'imi ***fa****-huwa yuḥibbuhā*

رغم صمته الدائم فهو يحبها

'in spite of his permanent silence he **still** loves her'

6.3.2 *Hendiadys*

Hendiadys occurs especially with *'āda* عاد 'return' in an alternative construction to that set out in **3.21.1**:

'alā 'anna R. Ḥ. ya'ūdu ***fa****-yu'akkidu lanā 'anna …*

على أنّ ر. ح. يعود فيؤكّد لنا أنّ . . .

'but R. H. **reassures** us that …', lit. 'returns **and** assures'

(cf. the 're-' prefix in **12.7.1**)

6.3.3 *Explanatory coordinations*

Like *wa-* و- (see **6.2.5**), *fa-* ف- may introduce explanatory circumstantial qualifiers (see **7.3**):

ṣammamat 'an tuẖbira muḥammad 'awwalan ***fa-huwa*** *ẖaṭībuhā*

صممت أن تخبر محمد أولا فهو خطيبها

'she resolved to tell Muhammad first, **for he** was her fiancé'

(note that the name Muhammad does not inflect, **1.8.5**)

In the following example the last two clauses are a pair coordinated with *wa-* و, introduced by *fa-* ف, supplying the reason for the main clause:

wa-ḥayṯu yumkinu l-wuṣūlu ’ilā ’aḥadi manābi‘i l-mā’i l llatī tarfudu l-nahra. wa-lākinnī lam ’akun ’abġī l-wuṣūla ’ilayhi, ***fa-huwa ‘alā qadrin min-a l-bu‘di*** *min ḥayṯu naḥnu,* ***wa-’anā lā ’a‘rifu*** *makānahu bi-diqqatin*

وحيث يمكن الوصول الى احد منابع الماء التي ترفد النهر. ولكني لم اكن ابغي الوصول اليه، فهو على قدر من البعد من حيث نحن، وانا لا اعرف مكانه بدقة

‘and where it was possible to reach one of the springs of water that fed the river. But I did not want to go to it, **for it was at some distance** from where we were, **and [because] I did not know** its location exactly’, lit. ‘it being at some distance … and I not knowing’

(see also **6.5** for *lākinna* ‘but’; **7.6.9** for *ḥayṯu*)

The following examples allow a comparison between *wa-* و and *fa-* ف in various functions, as well as other conjunctions:

ma‘rifatun ‘ilmiyyatun jadīdatun … ’addat muhimmatan muzdawijatan, ***fa-hiya****, min jihatin, …* ***wa-hiya****, min jihatin ṯāniyatin …*

معرفة علمية جديدة . . . أدّت مهمة مزدوجة، فهي، من جهة، . . . وهي، من جهة ثانية . . .

‘new scientific knowledge …, which performed a dual task, **[this being]** on the one hand …, **and [this being]** on the other hand …’

where *fa-* ف introduces an explanatory clause, ‘and this is’, and *wa-* و simply coordinates to that same idea, ‘and also’

wa*-sāda ṣamtun murīḥun* ***fa****-taḏakkara l-šābbu l-mar’ata l-muntaẓirata* ***wa-lākinnahu*** *ḫašiya ’an yatajāwaza bi-ṭalabihi ḥudūda l-ḏawqi* ***’aw*** *’an yuṯīra stiyā’a ṣāḥibihi* ***fa****-qarrara tajāhulahā*

وساد صمت مريح فتذكّر الشابّ المرأة المنتظرة ولكنّه خشي أن يتجاوز بطلبه حدود الذوق أو أن يثير استياء صاحبه فقرّر تجاهلها

‘**and** [narrative connector] a relaxing silence reigned, **and** [in that sequence] the young man started thinking about the woman waiting **but** [optional *wa-* و here with *lākinna*, لكنّ, see **6.5**] he was afraid to transgress the boundaries of taste with his request **or** [**6.7.1**] to arouse the ill-will of his [male] companion, **so** [as a result] he decided to ignore her’

wa-lākin *lā ḫawfa* ***fa-qad*** *qultu 'innahā sa-ta'tī l-tafāṣīlu* ***wa-hiya*** *'annī ġayru mutašā'imin batātan* ***fa-****lā nihāyata 'indī li-l-'ālami* ***kamā*** *yuḫayyalu li-l-ba'ḍi*

ولكن لا خوف فقد قلت إنها ستأتي التفاصيل وهي أني غير متشائم بتاتا فلا نهاية عندي للعالم كما يخيل للبعض

'**but** [**6.5**, here with 'and' as a narrative connector] [have] no fear **for** I have already said [perf. circ. qual., see **7.3.2**] that the details will be forthcoming **they being** that I am not pessimistic at all **for** there is no end in my opinion to the world **as** [see **5.9.9.1**] some people imagine [for the idiomatic passive *yuḫayyalu* يخيل, see **3.12.4**]'

See also **3.4** on the unusual feminine in *'innahā* إنها 'the fact is that they . . .'.

6.3.4 *Miscellaneous coordinations*

Other functions of *fa-* ف, not always coordinating, are dealt with in detail elsewhere, so here only token examples are given:

- Indirect commands with *li-* لِ + apocopate are usually prefixed with *fa-* ف with the sense of 'then', 'so' (▷C3:29; see also **3.24.2**):

  fa-l-namḍi *'ilā l-ṭābiqi l-'awwali*

  فلنمض إلى الطابق الأول

  '**so** let us proceed to the first floor'

  fa-l-yatafaḍḍal

  فليتفضل

  'please' [to a third person], i.e. '**then** let him go ahead'

  wa-hāḏihi rubbamā furṣatunā 'an nabniya waṭananā ***fa-l-nušayyidhu***

  وهذه ربما فرصتنا أن نبني وطننا فلنشيده

  'and this is perhaps our chance to build our nation, **so** let us construct it'

- Prefixed to an apodosis which is a nominal sentence or else imperative (i.e. not a consequence of the condition, see further **8.0**, **8.1.2**, **8.2.3** and **8.3.3**):

  'iḏā kunta *ḫārija dā'irati l-sintrāli* ***fa-ṭlub*** *il-raqma (16)*

  إذا كنت خارج دائرة السنترال فاطلب رقم (١٦)

  'if you are outside the exchange area **[then] dial** the number 16'

- In predicates of *'ammā* أما 'as for' sentences (▷C3:30; and see **3.3.4**):

  'ammā *l-šarikātu l-jadīdatu* ***fa-****qad 'ajazat 'an-i l-munāfasati kulliyyatan*

  أما الشركات الجديدة فقد عجزت عن المنافسة كلية

  '**as for** the new companies, **[well,]** they are completely unable to compete'

- As a general resumptive after introductory adverbials (▷C3:31; and see discourse, **11.1**). It is seldom to be translated but here is reproduced by 'well':

  wa-'alā kullin .. ***fa****-la-qad ṭalaba minhu l-muḥaqqiqūna*

  وعلى كل .. فلقد طلب منه المحققون

  'in any case, **[well,]** .. the investigators asked him to'

  li-ḏālika ***fa****-l-ma'rifatu bi-mā yata'āmalu ma'ahu l-'āmilu.*

  لذلك فالمعرفة بما يتعامل معه العامل

  'because of this, **[well,]** the knowledge of what the worker is working with'

- Expressing a causal relationship with dependent imperfect verbs, *fā' sababiyya* فاء سببية (▷C3:33; and see subordination in **7.4.1**):

  wa-l-ṭaštu yumla'u bi-l-mā'i ***fa-yakūna*** *buḥayratan*

  والطشت يملأ بالماء فيكون بحيرة

  'and a bowl can be filled with water **and it [therefore] becomes** a lake'

  'illā 'annahu lam yataḥāḏal 'aw taftur himmatuhu ***fa-yatarāja'a*** *'an ġāyatihi bal qarrara l-baqā'a*

  إلاّ أنّه لم يتخاذل أو تفتر همته فيتراجع عن غايته بل قرر البقاء

  'except that he did not falter or his ambition flag, **so that [as a result]** he would retreat from his goal, but [on the contrary] he decided to stay'

6.4 With *ṯumma* ثم (▷C3:35; see **2.19.3**)

ṯumma ثم 'then' denotes exclusively a temporally ordered, but not necessarily immediate sequence of events, in fact mostly with some interval, either chronological or conceptual (the translations add a comma to mark this, though it seems to occur seldom in the original).

6.4.1 *Regular use, simple temporal sequence*

tatamaddadu ***ṯummā*** *tataqallaṣu*
تتمدد ثم تتقلص
'it stretches, **then** it shrinks'

istamarra btihājuhum fatratan ***ṯumma*** *ntahā*
استمرّ ابتهاجهم فترة ثم انتهى
'their joy lasted for a time, **then** it came to an end'

taraddadtu 'alayhi ḥattā muntaṣifi l-ṯamānīniyyāti ***ṯumma*** *nqaṭa'tu*
تردّدت عليه حتى منتصف الثمانينيات ثم انقطعت
'I frequented him until the middle of the eighties, **then** I stopped'

yaqūmu l-rajulu ***ṯumma*** *yuġliqu sitārata l-nāfiḏati*
يقوم الرجل ثم يغلق ستارة النافذة
'the man gets up, **then** closes the window curtain'

fakkara ***ṯumma*** *fakkara*
فكر ثم فكر
'he thought and [**then**] he thought [some more]'

At the discourse level *ṯumma* ثم is used in the sense of 'then', 'furthermore', 'finally' (▷C3:36):

ṯumma *nurīdu 'an na'rifa*
ثم نريد أن نعرف
'and **then** we want to know' [beginning of paragraph]

ṯumma *li-māḏā ntaqalat-i l-ḥaḍāratu 'ilā 'arḍi l-yūnāni?*
ثم لماذا انتقلت الحضارة إلى أرض اليونان؟
'**then** [we want to know] why did civilization move to the land of the Greeks?' [beginning of paragraph]

wa-ba'du, fa-yata'ayyanu 'alaynā, 'an natasā'ala [series of questions] *mā hiya ru'yatuhu 'ilā hāḏā l-turāṯi wa-mā hiya ḥudūduhā wa-'ab'āduhā?* ***ṯumma*** *mā hiya l-ġāyatu llatī tawaḫḫāhā . . . ?*
وبعد، فيتعين علينا، أن نتساءل . . . ما هي رؤيته إلى هذا التراث وما هي حدودها وأبعادها؟ ثم ما هي الغايه التي توخّاها . . . ؟
'next, it is necessary for us to ask ourselves [series of questions] what was his vision of this heritage and what were its limits and dimensions. **And finally**, what was the goal he was striving for . . . ?'

Like all true coordinating conjunctions, *ṯumma* ثم can coordinate subordinate clauses without repetition of the operator (cf. **6.2.3**):

*ba'dahā sāfarat 'ilā holandā **li-**tata'allama luġatahum **ṯumma tutarjima** l-ši'ra l-holandiyya*

بعدها سافرت الى هولندا لتتعلم لغتها ثم تترجم الشعر الهولندي

'after those [years] she travelled to Holland **in order to** learn the language and **then** [to] **translate** Dutch poetry'

omitting *li-* لِـ 'in order to'

Like *wa-* و and *fa-* فـ, *ṯumma* ثم coordinates compound sentences of all kinds (▷C3:36), for example *ṯumma lammā* ثم لما, *ṯumma 'iḏā* ثم إذا 'then, when . . .':

***ṯumma lammā** zaḥafat-i l-madīnatu ṣawba l-maqbarati l-qadīmati 'aḥāṭat bihā*

ثم لما زحفت المدينة صوب المقبرة القديمة أحاطت بها

'**then, when** the town crept [= spread] towards the old cemetery it surrounded it'

6.5 With *lākin(na)* لكن 'but' (▷C3:39; see **3.2.3**)

This is unusual in two ways: (1) it most often occurs with another conjunction, namely (and exclusively) *wa-* و 'and' (▷C3:45); and (2) it has a 'light' form (*lākin* لكنْ, with no effect on the following noun) and a 'heavy' form (*lākinna* لكنّ, with a dependent form of following noun, see **3.2.3**). In most cases they are printed identically, though it may often be assumed, as has been below, that forms without the doubling marker *šadda* represent *lākin* لكنْ rather than *lākinna* لكنّ. The principles of selection are by no means clear: the heavy form tends to focus on the subject of the second sentence while the light form seems to contrast two complete sentences. There are also differences in distribution: *lākinna* لكنّ occurs only before nouns and bound pronouns but can be followed by a verb if a dummy topic pronoun is suffixed (*ḍamīr al-ša'n*, see **3.4**); *lākin* لكنْ is used before nouns and verbs but only free pronouns. Finally, only *lākin* لكنْ is used at the phrase level (see **2.19.8**).

6.5.1 lākinna لكنّ (▷C3:40; and see **2.19.8**, **3.2.3**)

*tabdū hāḏihi l-'as'ilatu basīṭatan jiddan **wa-lākinnahā** fī -l-wāqi'i šadīdatu l-ta'aqqudi*

تبدو هذه الأسئلة بسيطة جدّا ولكنّها في الواقع شديدة التعقد

'these questions look very simple, **but** in fact they are extremely complicated'

(for *badā* بدا 'to look', 'to seem', see **3.17.4**)

*'aḍḥaku 'indamā 'ataḏakkaru ḏālika l-'āna .. **wa-lākinnī** fī sā'atihā kuntu fī ġāyati l-ru'bi*

أضحك عندما أتذكر ذلك الآن .. ولكني في ساعتها كنت في غاية الرعب

'I laugh when I think about it now .. **but** at the time I was in extreme terror'

*tamannaytu 'an 'akūna muḫṭi'atan **lākinnahā** l-ḥaqīqatu*

تمنيت أن أكون مخطئة لكنها الحقيقة

'I hoped I was wrong **but** it was the truth'

*tuṯīru l-ibtisāma fī l-bidāyati, **lākinnahā** lā talbaṯu 'an tuṯīra l-dumū'a*

تثير الابتسام في البداية، لكنها لا تلبث أن تثير الدموع

'it provokes smiling at first, **but** it is not long before it provokes tears'

(for *lā talbaṯu* لا تلبث, see **3.17.12**)

*wa-**lākinna** wajhahu yujāmiluhum fa-yaḍḥaku*

ولكنّ وجهه يجاملهم فيضحك

'**but** his face was being nice to them, and [so] he was laughing'

(note consequential *fa-* فـ 'and so' above, see **6.3.1**)

6.5.2 lākin لكنْ (▷C3:43; and see **2.19.8**, **3.2.3**)

*'annanī 'umārisu la'bata l-šajā'ati ḍidda l-zamani. **lākin** šajā'atī tatawāra l-laylata*

أنّني أمارس لعبة الشجاعة ضد الزمن. لكن شجاعتي تتوارى الليلة

'that I should play the game of courage against time. But my courage is hiding tonight'

*kaṯīrūna, ġayruhum, ḥāwalū **wa-lākin** bā'ū bi-fašalin mušayyinin*

كثيرون، غيرهم، حاولوا ولكن باؤوا بفشل مشين

'many, apart from them, tried, **but** came back with shameful failure'

(for inverted indefinite agent, see **3.7.2.2**)

*qad talqāhā fī l-ṭarīqi **wa-lākin** lā yajūzu 'an tataṭalla'a 'ilayhā*

قد تلقاها في الطريق ولكن لا يجوز أن تتطلع إليها

'she might meet it [the outside world] on the street **but** she was not allowed to look at it'

laysa hāḏā huwa l-'akṯaru 'īlāman ***wa-lākin*** *'an yaj'alaka l-maysūru l-musta'lī tuḥissu bi-dūniyyatika*

ليس هذا هو الاكثر ايلاما ولكن ان يجعلك الميسور المستعلي تحس بدونيتك

'this is not what hurts most, **but** that the arrogant and prosperous one should make you feel your inferiority [is what hurts]'

(for *'an* أن clause as subject, see **7.5.1**)

6.6 With *bal* بل (▷C3:46; and see **2.19.9**)

bal بل 'but rather', 'indeed', 'nay more', 'on the contrary' between two sentences has the effect of either: (1) taking a previous positive assertion much further; or (2) strongly contradicting a negative statement.

6.6.1 *After positives*

lawnun 'uḥibbuhu ***bal*** *'innahu lawnī l-mufaḍḍalu 'indī*

لون أحبه بل إنّه لوني المفضل عندي

'a colour which I love, **indeed** it is my favourite colour'

yumkinunī 'an 'amla'a 'ayyāmī, ***bal*** *sā'ātī wa-daqā'iqī, bi-mā yufīdu*

يمكنني أن أملأ أيامي، بل ساعاتي ودقائقي، بما يفيد

'I can fill my days, **indeed** my hours and minutes, with something useful'

kāna ḥulman rahīban … ***bal*** *kāna kābūsan mufzi'an*

كان حلما رهيبا . . . بل كان كابوسا مفزعا

'it was a frightening dream … **indeed** it was a terrifying nightmare'

yakādu yarā 'aynayhā wa-šifatayhā .. ***bal*** *yakādu yarāhā kullahā*

يكاد يرى عينيها وشفتيها .. بل يكاد يراها كلها

'he can almost see her eyes and her lips .. **in fact** he can almost see all of her'

(for *kāda* كاد 'to almost', see **3.21.3**)

These also occur with a redundant *wa-* و (see **6.6.3**).

6.6.2 *After negatives*

lam takun hunāka muṣādarātun, ***bal*** *kānat hunāka ḥurriyyatun*

لم تكن هناك مصادرات، بل كانت هناك حرية

'there were no confiscations there, **on the contrary**, there was freedom'

lā ’aqṣidu kulla l-muṯaqqafīna, ***bal*** *’aqṣidu l-muṯaqqafīna llaḏīna yaḫtalifūna ma‘a l-niẓāmi ’aḥyānan*

لا أقصد كل المثقفين، بل أقصد المثقفين الذين يختلفون مع النظام أحيانا

‘I do not mean all intellectuals, **rather** I mean the intellectuals who disagree with the system occasionally’

fa-huwa lam ya‘ud mujarrada wasīlati duḫūlin li-l-sayyārati ***bal*** *’innahu ’aṣbaḥa ’adātan ḍidda l-sariqati*

فهو لم يعد مجرد وسيلة دخول للسيارات بل إنه أصبح أداة ضد السرقة

‘it is not any more a mere means of entry to the car, **but** it has also become a device against theft’

wa-laysat ‘ināyatunā maqṣūratan ‘alā ša‘rinā wa-’asnāninā wa-bašaratinā ***bal*** *’inna li-ṣiḥḥatinā naṣīban hāmman minhā*

وليست عنايتنا مقصورة على شعرنا وأسناننا وبشرتنا بل إنّ لصحتنا نصيبا هاما منها

‘our care is not restricted to our hair, teeth and complexion, **but** our health also has an important share of that [care]’

After pseudo-negatives or the equivalent:

fa-qad-i ***staġnaw*** *‘an mumārasati l-filāḥati,* ***bal*** *tarakūhā li-sukkāni l-bilādi l-’aṣliyyīna, lā siyyamā ’annahum yastankifūna ‘anhā*

فقد استغنوا عن ممارسة الفلاحة، بل تركوها لسكان البلاد الأصليين، لا سيّما أنّهم يستنكفون عنها

‘they **dispensed** with the practice of agriculture, **rather** they left it to the original inhabitants of the country, not least because they scorned it’

(for *lā siyyamā* لا سيّما, see **6.9**)

’inna l-ḥaḍārata hiya ***‘alā l-raġmi min****-a l-’ahammiyyati llatī tu‘ṭīhā li-l-fardi ka-qīmatin fī ḏātihā laysat min ’ajli ḏātihā* ***bal*** *hiya dawman min ’ajli ġayrihā*

إنّ الحضارة هي على الرغم من الأهمية التي تعطيها للفرد كقيمة في ذاتها ليست من أجل ذاتها بل هي دوما من أجل غيرها

‘modernism **in spite of** the importance it gives the individual as a value in itself is not for its own sake **but** always for the sake of something else’, contradicting the implicit negative in ‘in spite of’

6.6.3 *With* wa- و *‘and’*

Often *bal* بل is reinforced by *wa-* و ‘and’, perhaps echoing the circumstantial *wa-* و in an explanatory sense (cf. **6.2.7**), or possibly by analogy with *’illā wa-* إلاّ و ‘except’ + sentence (see **9.4.7**). In any case, it cannot be translated.

After positives:

wa-hiya ta'tarifu bi-ḥaqqihim fī 'adā'i l-ra'yi ***bal wa****-fī l-mušārakati fī l-'amali*

وهي تعترف بحقهم في أداء الرأي بل وفي المشاركة في العمل

'it acknowledges their right to express their opinion, **indeed** to take part in the operation'

wa-qad 'allaqat-i l-ṣuḥufu bi-l-lawmi 'alā l-ḥukūmati ***bal wa****-'alā l-niqābāti nafsihā*

وقد علقت الصحف باللوم على الحكومة بل وعلى النقابات نفسها

'the newspapers commented critcially on the government, **indeed** on the trade unions themselves'

naḥnu nuṣaddiru li-l-bilādi l-'urūbbiyyati wa-l-'arabiyyati ***bal wa****-li-l-bilādi l-'asyawiyyati 'ayḍan*

نحن نصدر للبلاد الأروبية والعربية بل وللبلاد الأسيوية أيضا

'we export to European and Arab countries, **indeed** to Asian countries as well'

'aṣbaḥat 'aqīdatan ***bal wa****-ḥaqīqatan lā taqbalu l-jadala*

أصبحت عقيدة بل وحقيقة لا تقبل الجدل

'it became a belief, **nay**, a truth which brooked no argument'

After negatives:

lā quyūda 'alā 'awdatihi ***bal wa****-ḫurūjihi 'ayḍan*

لا قيود على عودته بل وخروجه أيضا

'there are no restrictions on its return, **nor for that matter** on its leaving [the country] as well'

(for categorical negative, see **4.1.2**.)

fī waqtin mā zālat fīhi l-kaṯīru min-a l-qaḍāyā l-'arabiyyati wa-l-'ālamiyyati lam tuḥalla ba'du ***bal wa****-tatafāqamu wa-tatazāyadu wa-tatašābaku*

في وقت ما زالت فيه الكثير من القضايا العربية والعالمية لم تحل بعد بل وتتفاقم وتتزايد وتتشابك

'at a time when many Arab and global problems have not yet been solved, **nay**, are becoming more serious, more numerous and more complicated'

(see **3.21.4** on *mā zāla* ما زال 'not to cease' and **2.5.4** for invariable *ba'du* **بعدُ** 'afterwards', 'yet')

6.7 With *'aw* أو and *'am* أم 'or' (▷C3:48)

These have alternative or disjunctive force, either exclusive or inclusive according to context.

6.7.1 *Standard use of* 'aw أو *'or'* (▷C3:49; and see **2.19.4**)

'aw أو is the basic alternative conjunction and denotes a free choice between alternatives, usually inclusive (though often exclusive in questions):

*fa-qad 'afsadat hāḏihi l-ta'ābīru **'aw** kādat tufsidu jamāla l-qiṣṣati*
فقد أفسدت هذه التعابير أو كادت تفسد جمال القصة
'these expressions have spoilt **or** nearly spoilt the beauty of the story'

*rubbamā li-'annahā lan tajida jawāban .. **'aw** li-'annahā 'alifat hāḏihi l-ḥayāta*
ربما لأنها لن تجد جوابا .. أو لأنها ألفت هذه الحياة
'maybe because she would never find an answer .. **or** because she liked this [way of] life'

*hal tanāwalta **'aw** nāqašta hāḏihi l-qaḍāyā ma'a zumalā'ika?*
هل تناولت أو ناقشت هذه القضايا مع زملائك؟
'have you taken up **or** discussed these cases with your colleagues?

*nakūnu **'aw** lā nakūnu*
نكون أو لا نكون
'we are **or** we are not', i.e. 'to be or not to be'

As with all the conjunctions, the grammatical operators are most often omitted:

***'an** yaqūmū bi-dawrati ṣiyānatin fī maydāni l-'amali **'aw** 'alā l-'aqalli yajtami'ū bi-ntiẓāmin li-munāqašati ẓurūfa l-ṣiḥḥati*
أن يقوموا بدورة صيانة في ميدان العمل أو على الأقل يجتمعوا بانتظام لمناقشة ظروف الصحة
'**that** they should carry out a maintenance routine in the work-place **or [that]** at least they should meet regularly to discuss the health circumstances'

but they may be repeated, as here:

*wa-la-šaddamā raġibat rayḥānatu **fī 'an** yatabaṭṭa'a 'abū rayḥāna fī sayrihi **'aw fī 'an** yakbuwa jawāduhu*
ولشدّما رغبت ريحانة في أن يتبطّأ أبو ريحان في سيره أو في أن يكبو جواده
'and how intensely Rayḥāna wished **that** Abū Rayḥān would slow down his pace **or that** his horse would stumble', lit. 'wished **for that** R. would slow down his pace … **or for that** his horse would stumble'

6.7.2 *Standard use of* ’am أم *‘or’* (▷C3:50; and see **2.19.5**)

’am أم corresponds more closely to ‘either . . . or’, and implies exclusive disjunction. It is mostly used with interrogatives and rhetorical questions (▷C3:55; and see **10.13.1**), often elliptically:

*fa-hal namla’u farāġanā bi-l-‘azfi ‘alā l-biyānū? **’am** bi-l-‘azfi ‘alā l-‘ūdi?*
فهل نملأ فراغنا بالعزف على البيانو؟ أم بالعزف على العود؟
‘shall we fill our spare time with playing the piano? **Or** playing the lute?’

’am أم is also used with *’anna* أنّ (▷C3:51; and see **3.2.2**) coordinating two alternative statements of fact (cf. also *sawā’un* سواء, **6.10**):

*hal hum-u l-‘ulamā’u llaḏīna qaṣṣarū fī ’adā’i l-wājibi **’am ’anna** l-dawlata lā turīdu ’an tastafīda min hāḏā l-nahri l-mutadaffiqi*
هل هم العلماء الذين قصّروا في أداء الواجب أم أنّ الدولة لا تريد أن تستفيد من هذا النهر المتدفق
‘is it the scientists who are not doing their duty **or** is it **that** the state does not want to benefit from this overflowing river [of resources]?’

*’a-huwa l-ḥaẓẓu ḥaqqan **’am ’annahum** lā yuḥibbūna l-‘amala l-šāqqa?*
أهو الحظّ حقّا أم أنّهم لا يحبّون العمل الشّاقّ؟
‘is it luck really, **or that** they do not like hard work?’

6.7.3 *Idiomatic use*

The following idiomatic structures use either *’aw* أو or *’am* أم and perfect verbs in a quasi-conditional/concessive sense (cf. **8.1.9**):

*ši’ta **’am** ’abayta* شئت أم أبيت ‘whether you want to **or** refuse’

*ši’ta hāḏā **’aw** lam taša’* شئت هذا أو لم تشأ ‘whether you want this **or** not’

In the particular case of *kāna* كان ‘to be’, there is always inversion of the predicate noun (cf. **3.16.2**):

*rajulan kāna **’am**-i mra’atan*
رجلا كان أم امرأة
‘be he man **or** woman’, lit. ‘man he may be or woman’

*ḥissiyyatan kānat **'aw** ma'nawiyyatan*
حسّية كانت أو معنوية
'whether they [= causes of injury] be tangible **or** abstract'

6.8 With *'immā* إمّا (▷C3:53; and see **2.19.7**)

'immā إمّا 'either' is used in pairs, namely, *'immā* إما . . . *'immā* إما 'either . . . or' or with *'aw* أو 'or' in the second clause. Ellipsis is common in the second clause.

With repeated *'immā* إما, most often prefixed with *wa-* و 'and':

*sa-yadūru l-ḥadīṯu 'anhu **'immā** mubāšaratan, **wa-'immā** bi-mā sawfa yufḍī 'ilayhi l-ḥadīṯu*
سيدور الحديث عنه إمّا مباشرة، وإمّا بما سوف يفضي إليه الحديث
'conversation will revolve about it **either** directly **or** through whatever the conversation will lead to'

It also coordinates clauses with complementizers *'an* أن and *'anna* أنّ 'that' (▷C3:53):

***'immā** 'an nazīda fī l-'intāji **wa-'immā** 'an nuqallila fī l-maṣrūfāti*
إمّا أن نزيد في الإنتاج وإمّا أن نقلل في المصروفات
'**either** [that] we increase production **or** [that] we reduce costs'

***'immā 'an** yuštarā bi-l-si'ri l-murtafi'i **wa-'immā** 'an yaẓalla mumtani'an 'an-i l-širā'i*
إمّا أن يشترى بالسعر المرتفع وإمّا أن يظلّ ممتنعا عن الشراء
'**either** [that] it will be bought at a high price **or** [that] it will remain impossible to buy' (for *ẓalla* ظلّ 'remain', see **3.17.14**)

***'immā 'annahu** 'abqariyyu zamānihi **wa-'immā 'annahu** min 'aġbā l-'aġbiyā'i*
إمّا أنّه عبقريّ زمانه وإمّا أنّه من أغبى الأغبياء
'**either [the fact is that]** he is the genius of his time **or [the fact is that]** he is one of the most stupid'

***'immā 'anna** tawqī'a l-wazīri muzawwarun **wa-'immā 'anna** l-wakīla ḫada'a l-jamī'a*
إما أن توقيع الوزير مزور وإما أن الوكيل خدع الجميع
'**either [the fact is that]** the minister's signature is forged **or [the fact is that]** the representative has deceived everyone'

With *'aw* أو 'or' in second clause:

*kānat qabla ḏālika tarfuḍuhumā **'immā** bi-da'wā 'anna hunāka ḥizbayni faqaṭ … **'aw** bi-da'wā 'anna 'l-dīmuqrāṭiyyata' hiya mumārasatun ġarībatun*

كانت قبل ذلك ترفضهما إما بدعوى أن هناك حزبين فقط . . . أو بدعوى أن 'الديمقراطية' هي ممارسة غريبة

'they had before that rejected them **either** with the claim that there [should be] only two parties … **or** with the claim that 'democracy' was a foreign practice'

*'ammā dirāsātu l-'arabi bi-wajhin ḫāṣṣin, fa-kānat – 'alā l-'arjaḥi – **'immā** saṭḥiyyatan, fī l-ġālibi, **'aw** 'mutaḥayyizatan', **'aw** tattaḫiḏu mawqi'an difā'iyyan 'izā' 'al-'āḫari'*

أمّا دراسات العرب بوجه خاص، فكانت – على الأرجح – إمّا سطحية، في الغالب، أو 'متحيّزة'، أو تتخذ موقعا دفاعيا إزاء 'الآخر'

'as for Arab studies in particular, they were – on the whole – **either** superficial by and large, **or** partisan, **or** they adopted a defensive stance against "the other"'

Also with complementizers:

*lā budda 'anna l -rajula llaḏī ṭallaqahā **'immā 'an yakūna** rajulan lā yahwā l-nisā'a **'aw** 'annahu 'insānun ġabiyyun jiddan*

لا بد أن الرجل الذي طلقها إما أن يكون رجلا لا يهوى النساء أو أنه إنسان غبي جدا

'the man who divorced her must **either be** a misogynist **or else** extremely stupid'

***'immā 'anna** l-taqārīra l-'ūlā kānat ġayra daqīqatin, **'aw**-i l-ṯāniyata hiya llatī ka-ḏālika*

إمّا أنّ التقارير الأولى كانت غير دقيقة، أو الثانية هي التي كذلك

'**either** the first reports were inaccurate **or** the second were', lit. 'or the second were those who were like that'

(cf. **5.3.1** on nominalized relatives)

***'immā 'an** lā yakūna mutawaqqi'an bi-'akṯara mimmā yajibu … **'aw** 'an yakūna wāqi'an taḥta ta'ṯīri kiyānin mā*

إمّا أن لا يكون متوقعا بأكثر مما يجب . . . أو أن يكون واقعا تحت تأثير كيان ما

'**either** he is not expecting more than he ought … **or** he lies under the influence of some entity or other'

(on the vague *mā* ما postpositive 'some[thing] or other', see **1.12.4.1**)

6.9 With *lā siyyamā* لا سيّما ‘especially’ (▷C3:195)

This is structurally a relative, approximate meaning ‘there is nothing the equal of what’ (cf. 5.8 on relative conjunctions of this type) and often prefixed with *wa-* و ‘and’:

wa-yu’addī ḏālika ’ilā ’iṣrārin yaġlibu ‘alā l-ra’yi, ***lā siyyamā*** *’iḏā taṣaddā l-mutakallimu ’aw-i l-bāḥiṯu li-qaḍiyyatin ḫilāfiyyatin*

ويؤدّي ذلك إلى إصرار يغلب على الرأي، لا سيما إذا تصدّى المتكلم أو الباحث لقضية خلافية

‘this leads to an obstinacy which gets the better of good sense, **especially** when the speaker or researcher takes up a controversial issue’

The clauses after *lā siyyamā* لا سيما are predominantly elliptical:

wa-’in takun ṯarwatuhā l-nafṭiyyatu qad sā‘adathā ’ilā ḥaddin ba‘īdin fī ’injāḥi hāḏihi l-siyāsati ***lā siyyamā*** *‘alā l-mustawā l-’inmā’iyyi*

وان تكن ثروتها النفطية قد ساعدتها الى حد بعيد في انجاح هذه السياسة لا سيما على المستوى الانمائي

‘even if her oil wealth has largely helped her to make this policy a success, **especially** [to make it a success] on the developmental level’

nāla jā’izata l-’adabi l-riwā’iyyu l-’almāniyyu ġuntīr ġrās (71 sanatan), ***wa-lā siyyamā*** *‘alā riwāyatihi l-ṯulāṯiyyati ‘ṭabli l-tanaki’*

نال جائزة الأدب الروائي الألماني غنتير غراس (٧١ سنة)، ولا سيما على روايته الثلاثية ’طبل التنك‘

‘The German novellist Günther Grass (71 years [old]) has received the Literature Prize, **especially** [he received it] for his trilogy [*sic*] “*The Tin Drum*”’

Nouns coordinated by *lā siyyamā* لا سيما still show agreement with their antecedent:

fī šibhi l-jazīrati l-‘arabiyyati wa-duwali l-ḫalīji maṯalan tu‘abbiru l-ḥadāṯatu ‘an nafsihā bi-ḥadāṯati l-’adabi ***wa-lā siyyamā*** *l-ši‘ri wa-l-naqdi l-’adabiyyi*

في شبه الجزيرة العربية ودول الخليج مثلا تعبر الحداثة عن نفسها بحداثة الأدب ولا سيما النقد الأدبي

‘in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf States for example modernity expresses itself through modernity of literature [obl.], **especially** [it expresses itself through modernity of] poetry [obl.] and literary criticism [obl.]’

6.10 With *sawā'un . . . 'a, 'am*, or *'aw* . . . . . سواء . . . أ، أم، أو . . . 'it is the same whether . . . or . . .'

(▷C2:500; and see **2.19.6** for phrase level)

Syntactically, *sawā'un* سواء 'same' is the preposed predicate of its following disjunctive clause, 'the same are: whether x or y', in the structure of an indirect question (cf. **10.16**, **10.17**), as the interrogative prefix *'a-* أ before the first clause shows, though it is often omitted. Ellipsis in the second clause is also very common. All the examples are of *sawā'un* clauses in adverbial function, and no independent sentences with *sawā'un* (▷C3:103) were found.

- With full indirect question structure and *'am* أم 'or' in second clause:

  *wa-lākinna l-ḍajjata hiya hiya **sawā'an 'a**-taḥaddaṯū dāḫila l-qā'ati **'am** ḫārijahā*

  ولكن الضجة هي هي سواء أتحدثوا داخل القاعة أم خارجها

  'but the noise was the same **whether** they talked inside the hall **or** [talked] outside it'

  (cf. **3.1.2.1** on *hiya hiya* هي هي, lit. 'it is it', i.e. the same)

- With *kāna* كان 'be' for 'be it [one or the other]', and full indirect question structure:

  ***sawā'an 'a**-kāna l-'arḍu 'amāma 'adasāti l-ṣiḥāfiyyīna **'am** 'amāma minaṣṣāti l-maḥākimi*

  سواء أكان العرض امام عدسات الصحافيين ام امام منصات المحاكم

  '**whether** the display is before the lenses of journalists **or** [is] the benches of the courts'

  ***sawā'an 'a**-kāna ḏālika dāḫila baytihā ka-zawjin **'am** ḫārijahu bi-'tibārihā mra'atan 'āmilatan*

  سواء أكان ذلك داخل بيتها كزوج أم خارجه باعتبارها امرأة عاملة

  '**whether** that is inside her home as a partner or [is] outside it in her capacity as a working woman'

  ***sawā'an 'a**-kāna rasmiyyan **'am** ḫāṣṣan*

  سواء أكان رسميا ام خاصا

  '**whether** it is official **or** [it is] private'

- Without the interrogative prefix *'a-* أ in the first clause, and with *'aw* أو or *'am* أم in the second:

With *sawā'un … 'a, 'am*, or *'aw …* سواء…أ، أم، أو… 'it is the same whether … or …'

fa-l-muqaddamu fī l-ḥašdi huwa l-mu'addu li-l-taḍḥiyati bihi ***sawā'an*** *ḥaraqa nafsahu fī l-sāḥāti l-'āmmati,* ***'aw*** *'arraḍa nafsahu li-raṣāṣi l-būlīsi*

فالمقدّم في الحشد هو المعدّ للتضحية به سواء حرق نفسه في الساحة العامة، او عرّض نفسه لرصاص البوليس

'for the spearhead in a crowd is the one who is prepared to be sacrificed, **either** by burning himself in a public square **or** exposing himself to the bullets of the police', lit. 'equal [are]: he burned himself … or he exposed himself'

sawā'an *ṭalaw wujūhahum bi-l-zayti* ***'aw*** *lam yaṭlūhā*

سواء طلوا وجوههم بالزيت أو لم يطلوها

'**whether** they painted their faces with oil **or** they did not paint them'

(cf **11.7.1** on paranomasia)

iktišāfuhu 'anna l-brūtīnāti, ***sawā'an*** *fī l-'insāni* ***'am****-i l-ḥayawāni* ***'am****-i l-nabāti, ḏātu 'alāmātin mumayyizatin*

اكتشافه أنّ البروتينات، سواء في الإنسان أم الحيوان أم النبات، ذات علامات مميزة

'his discovery that proteins, **whether** [they are] in humans, **or** animals **or** plants, possess distinctive markers'

- With *kāna* كان 'be' for 'be it [one or the other]', omitting interrogative *'a-* أ:

wa-l-bī'atu l-ṣuġrā llatī yanša'u fīhā ***sawā'an*** *kānat-i l-bayta* ***'am****-i l-madrasata, wa-l-bī'atu l-kubrā* ***sawā'an*** *kānat-i l-mujtama'a l-qawmiyya* ***'am****-i l-'ālama*

والبيئة الصغرى التي ينشأ فيها سواء كانت البيت أم المدرسة، والبيئة الكبرى سواء كانت المجتمع القومي أم العالم

'and the micro-environment in which it [= human selfishness] grows, **whether** it be home **or** school, and the macro-environment, **whether** it be the national society **or** the world [at large]'

sawā'an *kāna ḏahāban min miṣra* ***'am*** *'iyāban 'ilayhā*

سواء كان ذهابا من مصر أم إيابا إليه

'**whether** it was a going away from Egypt **or** a returning to it'

sawā'an *kāna fī mal'abi kuratin* ***'aw*** *fī ṣālatin muġlaqatin*

سواء كان في ملعب كرة أو في صالة مغلقة

'**whether** it was in a football stadium **or** [it was] in a closed hall'

6.11 With *ḥattā* حتّى ‘even’ (▷C3:93)

This word retains and extends its original sense of ‘until’ (see **2.6.6** and **2.19.12** as a phrasal conjunction; for *ḥattā* حتى as a subordinating conjunction ‘until’, ‘so that’, see **7.6.7**).

- With the sense of ‘even’, ‘as far as’:

  *badat-i l-ġurfatu ’ajmala min qablu **wa-ḥattā zawjī** aḥmad ’aṣbaḥa qarīban min qalbī ’akṯara*

  بدت الغرفة أجمل من قبل وحتى زوجي أحمد أصبح قريبا من قلبي أكثر

  ‘the room seemed more beautiful than before and **even my husband** Ahmad became much nearer to my heart’

  *inšiġālu ‘ā’iša bi-‘ubayd ’ansāhā kulla šay’in ‘adāhu, **ḥattā** ṭiflatuhā l-ṣaġīratu lam ta‘ud tahtammu bihā kaṯīran*

  انشغال عائشة بعبيد أنساها كل شيء عداه، حتى طفلتها الصغيرة لم تعد تهتم بها كثيرا

  ‘‘Ā’iša’s preoccupation with ‘Ubayd made her forget everything but him, **even** her little baby girl she no longer cared much about’

  (for the doubly transitive *’ansāhā* أنساها ‘made her forget’ see **3.11.2.1**; for *lam ta‘ud* لم تعد ‘no longer’, see **9.5.3**; on *‘adā* عدا ‘except’, see **3.21.1.1**)

  *bi-miqdāri mā yanfa‘u ’abnā’a ‘ašīratihi ’aw qaryatihi ’aw ’usratihi ’aw jamā‘atihi, **hattā ’iḏā** kāna ḏālika ‘alā ḥisābi l-maṣlaḥati l-‘āmmati*

  بمقدار ما ينفع أبناء عشيرته أو قريته أو أسرته أو جماعته، حتى إذا كان ذلك على حساب المصلحة العامة

  ‘by how much he can benefit his kinsfolk, his village, his family or his community, **even if** that is at the cost of the general good’

  *wa-yastamirru ’i‘ṭā’uhu l-dawā’a **ḥattā ba‘da ’an** yufīqa min ġaybūbatihi*

  ويستمرّ إعطاؤه الدواء حتى بعد أن يفيق من غيبوبته

  ‘the medicine will continue to be given to him **even after** he recovers from his coma’

  It is commonly prefixed to clauses which are already subordinated by another conjunction:

- With *'inna* إنّ and other particles (▷C3:95; and see **3.2.1**):

  wa-qad 'akkadat hāḏihi l-ḫuṭwatu šafāfiyyata l-sulṭati ***ḥattā 'anna*** *l-nuwwāba l-'āna yajidūna l-ma'lūmāti 'indamā yaṭlubūnahā*

  وقد أكدت هذه الخطوة شفافية السلطة حتى إن النواب الآن يجدون المعلومات عندما يطلبونها

  'this step has confirmed the transparency of authority **even to the point that** the deputies [can] now find information when they seek it'

  fī l-rakḍi ṣārūḫun lā yastaṭī'u 'aḥadun-i l-liḥāqa bihi ***ḥattā 'innahum*** *laqqabūhu bil-ṭahfi (al-'i'ṣāri)*

  في الركض صاروخ لا يستطيع أحد اللحاق به حتى إنهم لقبوه بالطهف (الإعصار)

  'at running [he was like] a rocket who no one could catch up with, so that they **even** nicknamed him "al-ṭahf" (the Hurricane)'

- *ḥattā* حتى can introduce adverbial clauses (circumstantial qualifiers) introduced by *wa-* و 'and' (cf. **6.2.7**):

  yaẓallu yaqra'u ***ḥattā wa****-huwa fī l-maṭbaḫi*

  يظل يقرأ حتى وهو في المطبخ

  'he continues to read **even while** he is in the kitchen'

- In the following example the *wa-* و belongs to the compound adversative conditional 'even if' (see **8.1.12**):

  wa-lā yusmaḥu lahu bi-l-'awdati 'ilā 'ahlihi ***ḥattā wa-'in*** *tāba wa-staqāma*

  ولا يسمح له بالعودة إلى أهله حتى وإن تاب واستقام

  'he will not be permitted to return to his family **even if** he repents and goes straight'

6.12 Negative coordinating conjunctions

In general these are dealt with in **4.2.7**.

6.12.1 *Default* wa lā ولا *'nor'*

The default resumptive negative 'nor' between negative verbal sentences (for negative nominal sentences, see **6.12.2**) is usually *wa-lā* ولا 'and not' (▷C1:106), replacing the original negative of whatever kind:

mā 'allamathā ***wa-lā*** *tarakat ġayrahā yu'allimuhā*

ما علمتها ولا تركت غيرها يعلمها

'she neither taught her **nor** let anyone else teach her'

(for *taraka* ترك ‘to let’, ‘to leave’, see **3.24.3**)

*fa-hum lā ya‘malūna **wa-lā** yasurruhum ’an ya‘mala l-’āḫarūna*
فهم لا يعملون ولا يسرّهم أن يعمل الآخرون
‘they do not work, **nor** does it please them that the others work’

*naḥnu lam nazra‘ hāḏā l-ṣinfa fī l-māḍī **wa-lā** nazra‘uhu l-’āna*
نحن لم نزرع هذا الصنف في الماضي ولا نزرعه الآن
‘we did not plant this kind in the past **nor** are we planting it now’

*ṯumma sāda ṣāmtun ġarībun lam yuftaḥ il-ḍaw’u **wa-lā** bāna ’aḥadun fī l-šubbāki*
ثم ساد صمت غريب لم يفتح الضوء ولا بان أحد في الشباك
‘then a strange silence reigned [during which] the light did not go on **nor** did anyone appear at the window’

This example combines an emphatic preposed agent (see **3.9.1**):

*wa-llaḏī lā nadrī **wa-lā huwa** yadrī min ’ayna jā’a bi-l-laqabi*
والذي لا ندري ولا هو يدري من اين جاء باللقب
‘and who we do not know, and **nor** does **he** know, where he got the title from’, i.e. ‘who does not know, any more than we do, where he got the title from’

In the next examples an elided verb can be assumed, or they may be treated as cases of negative phrase coordination (see **2.19.10**):

*kunnā mā nufakkiru bi-mā yajrī **wa-lā** bi-mā sa-yajrī*
كنا ما نفكر بما يجري ولا بما سيجري
‘we did not use to think about what was happening **nor** [did we think] about what was going to happen’

*laysa ṣa‘ban **wa-lā** musta‘ṣiyan ‘alā l-‘ilāji*
ليس صعبا ولا مستعصيا على العلاج
‘it is not difficult **nor** [is it] resistant to treatment’

Occasionally, the second negative is simply omitted if the form of the coordinated verbs allows no ambiguity (▷C1:107):

*man lam yuwāẓib ‘alā l-ḥuḍūri **’aw** yataqaddam bi-‘tiḏārin munāsibin fa-’innahu yarsubu ’āḫira l-‘āmi*
من لم يواظب على الحضور أو يتقدم باعتذار مناسب فإنّه يرسب آخر العام
‘he who does not come regularly **or** [does not] bring an appropriate excuse will fail at the end of the year’

6.12.1.1 However, if the two verbs are felt to be negated individually, that is, without the sense of 'nor', the appropriate negative particles are repeated with *wa-* و 'and':

lam *yuhādin fī hāḏā l-mawqifi* ***wa-lam*** *yatarāja'*
لم يهادن في هذا الموقف ولم يتراجع
'he did **not** compromise in this position and he did **not** falter [either]'

lā *yūjadu* ***wa-lan*** *yūjada*
لا يوجد ولن يوجد
'there is **not** and **never** will be'

(for *lan* لن 'not', see **4.2.5**)

This may be compared with normal negative coordination 'and not' after a positive sentence, where 'nor' would be incorrect in English:

hazza ra'sahu ***wa****-lam yanṭiq*
هزّ رأسه ولم ينطق
'he shook his head **and** did **not** speak'

wa-l-fatqu yuṣbiḥu muttasi'an ***wa-lā*** *yumkinu ratquhu*
والفتق يصبح متسعاً ولا يمكن رتقه
'and the tear [in the fabric] becomes wide **and** can**not** be repaired'

The following example is ambiguous, since *lā* لا occurs anyway as the first negative:

al-šafahiyyu ***lā*** *yudaqqiqu* ***wa-lā*** *yuḥallilu*
الشفهي لا يدقق ولا يحلل
which could mean either 'the oral does **not** achieve precision **nor** does it analyse' or 'the oral does **not** achieve precision **and** it does **not** analyse [either]'

Here the *wa-* و 'and' element is elided in imitation of Western asyndetic coordination:

'innaka ḏāhibun li-tata'allama ***lā*** *li-talhuwa*
إنك ذاهب لتتعلم لا لتلهو
'you are going away to learn, **not** to play about'

6.12.2 *'Nor' with nominal sentences*

In negative nominal sentences, which are invariably categorical negatives (see **4.1.2**; equational sentences negated with *laysa* ليس 'not to be' are dealt with as verbal sentences in **6.12.1**), *wa-lā* ولا 'nor' is also used, sometimes without elision (▷C1:115):

lā hiya mūriqatun ***wa-lā hiya*** *ḥayyatun 'alā l-'iṭlāqi*
لا هي مورقة ولا هي حية على ا لإطلاق
'it is not in leaf **nor is it** alive at all'

but more often with the elision of the irrelevant or understood portions (▷C3:56):

man lā 'irādata lahu ***wa-lā*** *mawqifa*
من لا ارادة له ولا موقف
'he who has no will **nor** [has a] standpoint'

kayfa tuḥibbīna man lā ṭumūḥa lahu ***wa-lā*** *raġbata fī l-ḥayāti?*
كيف تحبّين من لا طموح له ولا رغبة في الحياة؟
'how can you love someone who has no ambition **nor any** desire for life?'

Since MWA is usually unvocalized, the form of the second noun in the above examples has to be taken as identical with the antecedent, namely, invariable *-a* (cf. **4.1.2**). In the following, the variant with *bi-* بـ (cf. *bi-* بـ with *laysa* ليس in **4.2.8**) removes this problem:

al-jawwu ġarībun hāḏihi l-'ayyāma ***lā*** *huwa bi-l-ṣāfī* ***wa-lā*** *huwa bi-l-ġā'imi*
الجو غريب هذه الأيام لا هو بالصافي ولا هو بالغائم
'the weather is strange these days, it is **neither** clear **nor** cloudy'

mā *hiya bi-l-ṭawīlati* ***wa-lā*** *bi-l-qaṣīrati*
ما هي بالطويلة ولا بالقصيرة
'she is **neither** tall **nor** short'

6.12.3 *'And not' after positive sentences* (▷C3:123)

(wa)-laysa وليس 'and [is] not' occurs in elliptical negative coordination. It differs from *wa-lā* ولا 'nor' in that it occurs only after positive statements and could thus never be translated as 'nor':

mā ṣana'tahu bi-nafsika yuksibuka l-iḥtirāma ***wa-laysa*** *mā tarakahu laka 'abūka*

ما صنعته بنفسك يكسبك الاحترام وليس ما تركه لك أبوك

'what you do by yourself brings you respect, **and not** what your father left you'

ta'tīka l-sa'ādatu min rāḥati l-nafsi ***wa-laysa*** *min-a l-māli llaḏī taqtanī*

تأتيك السعادة من راحة النفس وليس من المال الذي تقتني

'happiness comes to you from peace of mind, **and not** from the wealth you possess'

ṭalabtu min-a l-maḥkamati l-šar'iyyati 'an taqsima tarikata muḥammad wafqa l-šarī'ati .. ***wa-laysa*** *wafqa l-qānūni .. fa-māṭalūnī*

طلبت من المحكمة الشرعية أن تقسم تركة محمد وفق الشريعة .. وليس وفق القانون .. فماطلوني

'I asked the Sharia Court to divide Muhammad's legacy according to the Sharia … **and not** according to the Civil Code … and [so] they made me wait'

(on the *fa-* ف indicating the temporal/logical sequence of events in the last clause, see **6.3.1**)

The normal verb–agent agreement rules apply:

'anna l-quwwata tafriḍu l-šar'iyyata .. ***wa-laysat****-i l-'umamu l-muttaḥidatu*

أنّ القوة تفرض الشرعية .. وليست الأمم المتحدة

'that power determines legality … **and not** the United Nations', lit. 'and the UN is not [fem. sing.] [what determines legality]'

(for additional examples, see **4.2.8.3**)

Chapter 7

Subordination

7.0 General principles

Subordination is the process by which independent sentences become clauses dependent on the main clause, either asyndetically or by means of a subordinating conjunction. The subordinate clause will be a nominal or verbal sentence (cf. **3.0**), and its form will vary according to the conjunction and the syntactic function of the clause.

7.1 Classification of subordinate clauses

Formally, there are three types of subordinate clauses: asyndetic, syndetic single clause, and syndetic correlative clauses.

7.1.1 Asyndetic subordination

The verbs have independent imperfect form, and are found in two types of subordinate clause, namely, circumstantial qualifiers and indefinite adjectival clauses.

Circumstantial qualifiers (see **7.3**):

inṭalaqat fī l-šāri'i ***tabḥaṯu*** *'an-i l-'aṭfāli*
انطلقت في الشارع تبحث عن الأطفال
'she went into the street **looking** for the children'

Here may be included many clauses with modal and other verbs as their head, for example:

*kuntu **'atawaqqa'u** šay'an min hāḏā l-qabīli*

كنت أتوقّع شيئا من هذا القبيل

'I was **expecting** something of this kind' (for compound tenses, see **3.10.6**)

*lā 'aḥsabuka **tahtammu** bi-hāḏihi l-ḫurāfati*

لا أحسبك تهتمّ بهذه الخرافة

'I do not think **you are interested** in this fantasy' (for double transitivity, see **3.11.2.1**)

*da'nī **'usā'idka 'alā l-ṣu'ūdi***

دعني أساعدك على الصعود

'let me **help** you go up' (for periphrastic imperative, see **3.24.3**)

For syndetic circumstantial qualifiers, see **7.3.2**.

Indefinite adjectival (relative) clauses (cf. **5.1**):

*rajulun **yaqūlu** l-ḥaqqa* رجل يقول الحقّ 'a man **who speaks** the truth'

Appositional clauses are subordinate by position, though their function is determined by their antecedent. In the following example the repeated verb is in apposition to a subordinate verb:

*kam 'arāda **'an yabūḥa lahā** bi-kulli l-'aḏābāti llatī 'āšahā ṭīlata l-sanawāti l-māḍiyati, **yabūḥa lahā** bi-l-layālī llatī sahirahā*

كم أراد أنْ يبوح لها بكلّ العذابات التي عاشها طيلة السنوات الماضية، يبوح لها بالليالي التي سهرها

'how he wanted **to reveal** to her all the agonies he has lived during these past years, **to reveal** to her the nights he has stayed up' (see **11.5**)

It is in effect formally indistinguishable from asyndetic coordination (see **6.1**).

7.1.2 *Syndetic, single clause*

In this clause there is a single subordinating element, for example, *'an* أنْ 'that', *lammā* لمّا 'when':

*yus'idunī **'an takūna** ra'īsan li-hāḏihi l-mu'assasati*

يسعدني أنْ تكون رئيسا لهذه المؤسّسة

'it pleases me **that you will be** head of this organization'

7.1.3 *Syndetic correlative*

In this, two paired clauses are each introduced by a subordinator, such as *ma'a 'anna . . . 'illā 'anna . . .* إلا أنّ . . . مع أنّ . . . 'although . . . , nevertheless . . .' (see **7.5.2.11**):

***ma'a 'anna** l-ḍarā'iba tuḫṣamu 'alā rātibihi min-a l-manba'i . . . **'illā 'anna** maṣlaḥata l-ḍarā'ibi tuṭālibuhu bi-mabāliġa 'iḍāfiyyatin*

مع أن الضرائب تخصم على راتبه من المنبع . . . إلا أنّ مصلحة الضرائب تطالبه بمبالغ إضافية

'**although** taxation is deducted from his salary at source . . . **[nonetheless]** the tax office is asking him for additional amounts'

or *lam . . . ḥattā . . .* لم . . . حتّى . . . 'hardly . . . when . . .' (see **7.6.7.7**)

***lam takad**-i l-ḥukūmatu tu'linu farḍa ḍarībati l-mabī'āti **ḥattā** sāra'a l-tujjāru bi-raf'i l-'as'āri*

لم تكد الحكومة تعلن فرض ضريبة المبيعات حتى سارع التجار برفع الأسعار

'**hardly had** the government delared the imposition of the purchase tax **when** the dealers rushed to raise prices'

7.2 Nominalized and non-nominalized clauses

From the functional point of view, subordinate clauses may be subdivided into nominalized and non-nominalized clauses. While every clause containing a dependent verb is subordinate, not every subordinate clause contains a dependent verb or even a verb at all. For example, the complementizers *'anna* أنّ 'that', etc. (see **3.2**, excluding *'inna* إنّ, see **7.5.2**) are usually followed by nominal sentences.

7.2.1

Nominalized clauses may have any nominal function, for example:

- Topic (in this instance inverted, see **3.1.3**):

  *'ārun 'alayya **'an 'as'alaka** ma'rūfan* (verbal clause)

  عار عليّ أنْ أسألك معروفا

  'it is a shame for me **[that I] ask** a favour of you'

- Comment:

  *al-maṭlūbu minhu **’an yuqaddima** l-bayānāti*

  المطلوب منه أن يقدم البيانات

  ‘what is required of him is **to present** the details’

- Agent (in this case of passive verb):

  *fa-yutāḥu lī **’an ’ata‘allama** min fārisin miṯlika*

  فيتاح لي أنْ أتعلّم من فارس مثلك

  ‘so it has been permitted to me **that I learn** from a horseman like you’, i.e. ‘I have been allowed to learn’

- Direct object:

  *māḏā taẓunnu **’annahā fā‘ilatun***

  ماذا تظنّ أنّها فاعلة

  ‘what do you think **that it** [fem.] **will do**?

(see active participles **2.10.2**)

- Object of a preposition:

  *wa-’aḍāfa bi-**’anna l-wizārata tadrusu ḥāliyyan . . .***

  وأضاف بأنّ الوزارة تدرس حاليا . . .

  ‘he added **that the ministry is currently studying . . .**’

Here also may be included adjectival and circumstantial clauses, whether nominal or verbal:

*tarakahā ma‘a ’aḫin wāḥidin **‘umruhu tis‘u sanawātin***

تركها مع أخ واحد عمره تسع سنوات

‘he left her with one brother **whose age was nine years**’ (see **5.1**)

Also annexation to time qualifiers (note that there is no particular verb form for this, it may be imperfect or perfect, see **2.3.8**):

*yawma **ta‘ūdu** l-bilādu ’ilā ’aṣḥābihā l-šar‘iyyīna*

يوم تعود البلاد إلى أصحابها الشرعيين

‘on the day the country **reverts** to its legitimate rulers’, lit. ‘the day of the country returns’

See below for more detailed examples.

Sentences occurring as comments (see **3.3**) are not strictly subordinate because they are not in the same constituent as their head. In this way

they can be considered as having an independent function as predicates. However, they may be regarded as subordinate if analysed as subordinated by the topic. This is justified by the fact that such sentences are only meaningful as comments, since they contain an anaphoric reference to the topic. Such sentences may be nominal or verbal:

mawḍū‘u l-ḫilāfi ***ḥaqā’iquhu wa-’asrāruhu ‘indaka***
موضوع الخلاف حقائقه وأسراره عندك
‘the truths and secrets of the dispute are known by you’, lit. ‘the subject of the dispute, **its truths and secrets are known by you**’

ṯamanu jawzi l-hindi ***rtafa‘a*** *hāḏihi l-’ayyāma*
ثمن جوز الهند ارتفع هذه الأيّام
‘the price of coconut [it] **has gone up** recently’

However, for the purposes of this chapter these clausal comments will not be classified as subordinate clauses.

7.2.2 *Nesting of subordinate clauses*

A subordinate clause may itself be superordinate to a further subordinate clause, as in the following illustration:

‘alā l-raġmi min ’anna l-ihtimāmāti l-ṭabī‘iyyata li-l-’imbarāṭūrati tajrī fī ’awqāti l-‘uṭlāti l-ḫāṣṣati ’illā ’anna l-miṣriyyīna kānū hunāka li-ltiqāṭi ṣūratin lahā wa-hiya tuṭliqu l-baṭṭa min marābiḍihi
على الرغم من أنّ الاهتمامات الطبيعية للإمبراطورة تجري في أوقات العطلات الخاصّة إلا أنّ المصريين كانوا هناك لالتقاط صورة لها وهي تطلق البطّ من مرابضه
‘even though the natural interests of the Empress manifest themselves during times of private holidays, [nonetheless] the Egyptians were there to take a picture of her as she released the ducks from their pen’

In the example, the main syntax may be divided accordingly:

X-(*‘alā l-raġmi min ’anna l-ihtimāmāti l-ṭabī‘iyyata li-l-’imbarāṭūrati tajrī fī ’awqāti l-‘uṭlāti l-ḫāṣṣati*
على الرغم من أنّ الاهتمامات الطبيعية للإمبراطورة تجري في أوقات العطلات الخاصّة

Y-[*’illā ’anna l-miṣriyyīna kānū hunāka li-ltiqāṭi ṣūratin lahā*
إلا أنّ المصريين كانوا هناك لالتقاط صورة لها

Z-{*wa-hiya tuṭliqu l-baṭṭa min marābiḍihi*
وهي تطلق البطّ من مرابضه**}-Z]-Y)-X**

The clauses Y- and Z- are dependent clauses. The clause beginning at Z- is subordinate to the one beginning at Y-, which is subordinate to the clause beginning at X-. X- and Y- are correlative clauses.

7.3 Circumstantial qualifiers (▷C3:242)

Circumstantial qualifying clauses or phrases, in Arabic *ḥāl* حال, lit. 'situation', 'circumstance' (for main treatment of single term circumstantial qualifiers, see **2.4.6** and **3.29.7**).

The circumstantial qualifier element describes the state or condition of the antecedent. It occurs simultaneously with the event or action expressed in the main verbal clause, and may be a participle, noun phrase, verbal sentence or a prepositional phrase. As the phrase, it is normally indefinite, although it may be defined through annexation (see **2.4.6.4**).

The circumstantial qualifying clause may modify any preceding noun, such as the subject of the main verbal clause, its object, or even the noun operated upon by the preposition:

ra'aytu ṭāriqan fī l-bayti ***wa-huwa yanhāru***
رأيت طارقا في البيت و هو ينهار
'I saw Tariq in the house **while it [the house] was falling down**'

The circumstantial qualifying clause may be nominal or verbal, asyndetic (see **7.3.1**) or syndetic (see **7.3.2** and **6.2**).

7.3.1 *Asyndetic circumstantial qualifier*

The asyndetic circumstantial qualifying clause or phrase is one in which there is no linking particle between the main action or event of the main clause or phrase and the modifying circumstantial qualifying element. Note that noun phrases, though asyndetic, are not clauses.

- Noun phrases
  The circumstantial qualifying element is in the dependent case and is subordinated to the main verb. It is normally indefinite. See also examples in **2.4.6** and **3.29.7**:

  fa-yahuzzu ra'sahu ***muṭma'innan*** *lī*
  فيهزّ رأسه مطمئنّا لي
  'and he would shake his head at me **reassuringly**'

daḫala ***ḥākkan*** *ra'sahu*
دخل حاكًا رأسه
'he went in **scratching** his head'

wa-rāḥat-i l-'aṣāfīru taqfizu min ḥawlī ***ġayra muhtammatin*** *bī 'aw bi-l-kalbi*
وراحت العصافير تقفز من حولي غير مهتمّة بي أو بالكلب
'the birds began to jump around me, **paying no attention** to either me or the dog'

- Also as first element of unreal annexation (see also **2.4.4**):

  ṣirtu 'asīru fī l-ḥārati ***kasīra*** *l-rūḥi*
  صرت أسير في الحارة كسير الروح
  'I started going around the quarter with a broken spirit', lit. '**broken** of spirit' (see unreal annexation **2.1.3.2**)

- Verbal clauses
  Imperfect verb (▷C3:246)

  If the events of both clauses are concurrent, the verb of the circumstantial qualifying clause is imperfect independent. The circumstantial qualifier may, in effect, modify the noun in any function as the following examples show.

- Verb modifying the subject of the main clause. In such cases the verb may be affirmative:

  inkamaša taḥta 'ahdābi maḫāwifihi ***yataḥassasu*** *'amānīhi*
  انكمش تحت أهداب مخاوفه يتحسّس أمانيه
  'he cowered under the (eye) lashes of his fears **groping around** for his desires'

  wa-raqadat mu'ẓama l-waqti ***taqra'u*** *ba'ḍa kutubi l-'inklīziyyati*
  ورقدت معظم الوقت تقرأ بعض كتب الإنكليزية
  'and she lay down most of the time **reading** some of the books on the English language'

  (for the dependent time qualifier *mu'ẓama l-waqti* معظم الوقت '**for** most of the time', see **2.9.1.4** and **3.29.4**)

  or negative:

  ṯumma ḫaraja min-a l-maktabi ***lā yuḥissu bi****-raġbatin fī l-'awdati 'ilā l-manzili*
  ثمّ خرج من المكتب لا يحسّ برغبة في العودة إلى المنزل
  'then he left the office, **not feeling** any desire to go back home'

*sāra **lā ya‘rifu** ’ilā ’ayna taqūduhu qadamāhu*
سار لا يعرف إلى أين تقوده قدماه
‘he walked **not knowing** where his feet were taking him’ (unmarked feminine gender of *qadamāhu* قدماه ‘his two feet’, see **1.12.2.1**)

- Verb modifying the indirect object of the main verb:

*ša‘arat bi-qalbihā **yuḫfiqu** bi-šiddatin*
شعرت بقلبها يخفق بشدّة
‘she felt her heart **beating** strongly’

- Some asyndetic clauses can be ambiguous, such as the following, in which the status of the two imperfect verbs is unclear, that is, they could both be predicate, or the second one could be a circumstantial qualifier:

*ḫanāfisu **yatasawwalu** bi-šaklin mubāširin **yaqtaribu** min-a l-muštarīna*
خنافس يتسوّل بشكل مباشر يقترب من المشترين
‘Khanafis **begs** openly, **approaches** [approaching] the buyers’

or when there are two possible antecedents:

*wa-taḥaddaṯat ’ilayhā **taḍḥaku***
وتحدّثت إليها تضحك
‘**she** spoke to **her** laughing’

- Indicating purpose or reason (▷C3:249)

The circumstantial qualifier can indicate purpose:

*kānat muqīmatan fī l-bayti **tar‘ā** šu’ūnahu*
كانت مقيمة في البيت ترعى شؤونه
‘she was staying in the house **looking after** [to look after] his affairs’

*inṭalaqat fī l-šāri‘i **tabḥaṯu** ‘an-i l-’aṭfāli*
انطلقت في الشارع تبحث عن الأطفال
‘she went into the street **looking** for the children’

- A perfect verb is used if the event in the circumstantial qualifying clause is over by the time of the event in the main clause, sometimes with *qad* قد (for which, see **3.10.4**) (▷C3:250):

*jalasat tufakkiru **qad ’aġmaḍat** ‘aynayhā wa-ġābat ‘an kulli mā ḥawlahā*
جلست تفكر قد أغمضت عينيها وغابت عن كل ما حولها
‘she sat thinking **having closed** her eyes and become oblivious to everything around her’

However, a perfect verb after *wa-qad* وقد is more common (see **7.3.2**).

- Circumstantial qualifier with demonstrative *'iḏā* إذا of surprise (▷C3:253), (for main treatment, see **3.31**)

  With imperfect:

  wa-'iḏā bi-'aḫī 'amāmī ***yuḥaddiqu*** *fiyya bi-'aynayni fīhimā ḥuznun 'amīqun*
  وإذا بأخي أمامي يحدّق في بعينين فيهما حزن عميق
  'there was my brother in front of me, **staring** at me with deep eyes full of sadness'

  With *qad* قد + perfect:

  'iḏā bihi ***qad waṣala*** *fī l-mī'ādi*
  إذا به قد وصل في الميعاد
  'to my surprise **he arrived** on time', lit. 'there he was, having arrived'

- Circumstantial qualifier with *mā bāluka* ما بالك, *mā laka* ما لك (▷C2:188, 3:251) (cf. **10.13.3.1**):

  mā bālu zawjihā ***yuẓhiru*** *lahā kulla hāḏā l-ḥubbi faj'atan wa-bi-dūni sababin wāḍiḥin?*
  ما بال زوجها يظهر لها كل هذا الحبّ فجأة و بدون سبب واضح؟
  'why is her husband suddenly **showing** her all this love without any apparent reason?'

- Series of asyndetic circumstantial qualifiers (▷C3:254)

  Sequences of more than one asyndetic circumstantial qualifiers are not uncommon:

  'aṣarra 'alā ḥurūjihi fī nafsi l-yawmi ***mutajāhilan*** *taḥḏīra l-ṭabībi* ***musta'īnan*** *bi-ṭabībin 'āḫara*
  أصرّ على خروجه في نفس اليوم متجاهلا تحذير الطبيب مستعينا بطبيب آخر
  'he insisted on leaving that same day, **ignoring** the doctor's warning, **seeking** the help of another doctor'

  wa-'aqifu ***ḥā'iran 'as'alu*** *nafsī…*
  وأقف حائرا أسأل نفسي . . .
  'and I would stand **confused asking** myself…'

7.3.2 *Syndetic circumstantial qualifiers*

The syndetic circumstantial qualifier is marked by a simple subordinator *wa-* و which is not strictly a coordinator in this context (see **6.2.6**). It is

most commonly a clause with a noun as head (either a bare equational sentence, i.e. with no preposed sentence modifiers, see **3.1**, or topicalized agent, see **3.7.2.1**), although syndetic sentences with a verb as head may also function as circumstantial qualifiers (see *wa-* و + *qad* قد + perfect below).

- Nominal sentence with *wa-* و (▷C3:267): any bare equational sentence occurs as a circumstantial qualifier. Among the most important of this type of circumstantial qualifying clauses are the following: overt noun or pronoun as head of the nominal clause:

  wa-lākinnī raġma ḏālika ’aḥkīhā ***wa-’anā wāṯiqun*** *’annahu lan yaġḍaba hāḏihi l-marrata*

  ولكّني رغم ذلك أحكيها وأنا واثق أنّه لن يغضب هذه المرّة

  ‘but in spite of that I told [the joke], **being confident** that he would not get angry this time’

  kānat ta‘ūdu fī kulli marratin ***wa-qalbuhā muṯqalun bi-l-humūmi***

  كانت تعود في كلّ مرّة وقلبها مثقل بالهموم

  ‘she would come back each time **with her heart laden with sorrows**’

  wāfaqat wa-ḫarajat ***wa-wajhuhā muḥmarrun***

  وافقت وخرجت ووجهها محمر

  ‘she agreed and left **red-faced**’

Also common with expressions *ḫuṣūṣan wa-* و خصوصا and *ḫāṣṣatan wa-* و خاصّة ‘especially’:

ḫuṣūṣan ***wa-’imkānātu l-takāmuli qā’imatun***

خصوصا وإمكانات التكامل قائمة

‘especially **as the possibilities for integration exist**’

When the circumstantial qualifier is a nominal sentence with an indefinite subject, the normal rule of inversion applies (see **3.1.3**; ▷C3:268):

yatanāwalu ṭa‘āmahu ***wa-‘alā ra’sihi ḥārisun***

يتناول طعامه وعلى رأسه حارس

‘he receives his food **with a guard [standing] over him**’, lit. ‘and at his head [is] a guard’

šāhada mra’atan talbasu l-burqu‘a ***wa-ma‘ahā ṭiflun naḥīlun jiddan***

شاهد امرأة تلبس البرقع ومعها طفل نحيل جدا

‘he saw a woman wearing the veil **with a very thin child with her**’

raḥala Š. Ḥ. ***wa-fī qalbihi šay'un min-i ttifāqi l-qāhirati***
رحل ش.ح. وفي قلبه شيء من اتّفاق القاهرة
'Sh. H. departed **with something of the Cairo Agreement in his heart**'

Inversion can also occur when the emphasis is more on the predicate than the subject, even when the latter is definite:

dalafat 'iḥsānun 'ilā l-manzili ***wa-min ḫalfihā l-muḥāsibu l-šābbu***
دلفت إحسان إلى المنزل ومن خلفها المحاسب الشاب
'Iḥsān sauntered home **with the young accountant behind her**'

Nominal circumstantial qualifiers with topicalized agent as head; the verb is generally imperfect independent:

mātat-i bnatuhu ***wa-hiya talidu***
ماتت ابنته وهي تلد
'his daughter died **while she was giving birth**'

'a-lam tataḏakkar yamīnaka llaḏī 'aqsamtahu ***wa-'anta tata'ahhalu li-mihnati l-ṭabībi****?*
ألم تتذكر يمينك الذي أقسمته وأنت تتأهّل لمهنة الطبيب؟
'do you not remember the oath you swore **while you were qualifying for the medical profession**?'

jā'at zawjatu sālimin li-ziyāratinā ***wa-hiya talbasu fustānan 'aḥmara***
جاءت زوجة سالم لزيارتنا وهي تلبس فستانا أحمر
'Salim's wife came to visit us **wearing a red dress**'

Combinations of asyndetic and syndetic circumstantial qualifiers frequently occur:

qālat ***hāmisatan wa-hiya tabtasimu***
قالت هامسة وهي تبتسم
'she said **whispering, as she smiled**'

Circumstantial qualifying clauses as adversatives (for adversative *wa-* و, see **6.2.5**):

fa-štarāhā ***wa-hiya*** *lā qīmata lahā*
فاشتراها وهي لا قيمة لها
'so he bought them **even though they** had no value'

Syndetic circumstantial qualifying clauses may also be inverted for emphasis:

wa-hum yatanāwalūna l-qahwata *taḥaddaṯa ʻan baʻḍi l-ʼanmāṭi llatī qābalahā fī l-sijni*

وهم يتناولون القهوة تحدّث عن بعض الأنماط الّتي قابلها في السجن

'**while they were drinking coffee** he talked about some of the types he had encountered in prison'

Negative syndetic circumstantial qualifiers occur in one of the following forms:

- *wa-* و + noun/pronoun + negative verb (▷C2:272):

  fī ʼaḥadi l-ʼayyāmi ***wa-bnatuhā lam takun tajāwazat šahrahā l-ḫāmisa*** *naẓara zawjuhā ʼilā l-ṭiflati wa-qāla*

  في أحد الأيّام وابنتها لم تكن تجاوزت شهرها الخامس نظر زوجها إلى الطفلة و قال

  'one day **when her daughter had not passed her fifth month** her husband looked at the child and said …'

  wa-ʼajabtu ***wa-ʼanā lā ʼaʻrifu*** *li-māḏā yuʻākisunī ramzī hākaḏā*

  وأجبت وأنا لا أعرف لماذا يعاكسني رمزي هكذا

  'and I answered **without knowing** why Ramzi was bothering me in this way'

  fāʼiza ʼaḥmad mātat ***wa-hiya lā taʻrifu*** *ʼannahā ʼajmalu ṣawtin baʻda ʼumm kulṯūm*

  فائزة أحمد ماتت و هي لا تعرف أنّها أجمل صوت بعد أمّ كلثوم

  'Fayza Aḥmad died **not knowing** that she was the most beautiful voice after Umm Kulthum'

- *wa-* و + negative verb:

  wa-ʼaṣbaḥa l-ṣabāḥu ***wa-lā nazālu*** *fī l-qāhirati*

  وأصبح الصباح ولا نزال في القاهرة

  'morning came **while we were still** in Cairo' (for *ʼaṣbaḥa* أصبح, see **3.17.3**)

- *wa-* و + negative particle + noun (see categorical negative **4.1.2**):

  kāna llāhu ***wa-lā šayʼa*** *maʻahu*

  كان الله ولا شيء معه

  'God existed **with nothing else (existing)** with him'

For negative circumstantial qualifiers with *wa-lammā* ولمّا, see **4.2.4** and **7.6.3.2** (▷C3:272).

Circumstantial qualifiers after *(wa-) munḏu* (و)منذ and other time expressions (▷C3:18, 79, 275) (see *munḏu* منذ below; also **6.2.7**).

With *munḏu* منذ 'since' as a prepositional (contrast **7.6.8** for *munḏu* منذ 'since' as a conjunction) the main clause takes the form of a syndetic circumstantial qualifier denoting the state of the antecedent since the given point of time:

munḏu *ḥulūlihā bi-šaqqati šāri'i N* ***wa-hiya taltazimu 'arīkatahā*** *turāqibu l-mārrata wa-l-jīrāna*

منذ حلولها بشقّة شارع ن. و هي تلتزم أريكتها تراقب المارّة والجيران

'**since** she moved into the N. Street flat **she has remained keeping to her couch,** watching the passers-by and the neighbours'

(note second clause beginning *turāqibu* . . . تراقب . . . 'watching' which is an embedded circumstantial qualifier of the first one)

munḏu *'ašarāti l-sinīna* ***wa-'ulamā'u l-nafsi*** *…* ***yaḥuṯṯūna*** *…*

منذ عشرات السنين وعلماء النفس . . . يحثّون . . .

'**for** dozens of years **psychologists** … **have been urging** …'

Without *munḏu* منذ

'usbū'un kāmilun wa-l-šindaġa tartajju *min 'aqṣāhā 'ilā 'aqṣāhā …*

أسبوع كامل والشندغة ترتجّ من أقصاها إلى أقصاها . . .

'**for a whole week Shindagha shook** throughout …', lit. 'from its furthest point to its furthest point'

min ṣiġarihā wa-hiya tarġabu fī *l-madḥi*

من صغرها وهي ترغب في المدح

'**since her childhood she has desired** praise'

Verbal sentence with *wa-qad* وقد + perfect (▷C3:271): *qad* قد, when used with the perfect in a subordinate syndetic circumstantial qualifiying construction, denotes that the event or action has already taken place (see also *qad* قد **3.10.4** and examples at **7.3.1** without *wa-* و). This usage should not be confused with the strictly coordinating function of *wa-* و (see **Chapter 6**):

wa-fī ba'ḍi l-'aḥyāni kānat tušāhidu zamīlātin lahā ***wa-qad-i stalqayna*** *fī ḥujrati l-mudarrisāti*

وفي بعض الأحيان كانت تشاهد زميلات لها وقد استلقين في حجرة المدرّسات

'sometimes she would watch colleagues of hers, [they] **having lain** down in the staff room'

kāna ya'innu ***wa-qad waḍa'a yadahu*** *'alā qalbihi*

كان يئنّ وقد وضع يده على قلبه

'he was groaning, **having put his hand** on his heart'

ra'aytu 'akyāsa sawātiri l-ramli l-maḍġūṭati l-maḥšuwwati 'amāma l-maḫābi'i ***wa-qad tafattaqat***

رأيت أكياس سواتر الرمل المضغوطة المحشوّة أمام المخابئ وقد تفتّقت

'I saw the compressed and stuffed protective sandbags in front of the hiding places, [they] **having split open**'

This construction is becoming increasingly common in *'ammā . . . fa-* أما . . . فـ constructions (see **3.3.4**):

'ammā ***wa-qad futiḥat*** *'abwābu l-qaṣri l-jumhūriyyi li-l-ḥiwāri . . . fa-'inna mā ḥadaṯa . . .*

أما وقد فُتحت أبواب القصر الجمهوري للحوار . . . فإن ما حدث . . .

'as for the doors of the republican palace **having been opened** for dialogue . . . then what happened . . .

'ammā ***wa-qad sabaqa*** *l-sayfu l-'azla . . . fa-'inna . . .*

أما وقد سبق السيف العزل . . . فإن . . .

'as for the sword **having preceded** isolation . . . then . . .'

Idiomatic circumstantial qualifier after elliptical *kayfa lā* كيف لا (▷C3:277) (see also **10.13.7.1**):

wa-kayfa lā ***wa-'anta ḥarīṣun*** *'alā ṣuḥbatihā 'alā l-raġmi min kulli mā ṣadara minhā?*

وكيف لا وأنت حريص على صحبتها على الرغم من كلّ ما صدر منها؟

'how could it be any different **when you are determined** to accompany her in spite of everything that she has done'?

7.3.3 *Antecedent of verbal circumstantial qualifier as definite/indefinite*

The head noun of a circumstantial qualifier is normally definite, though an intermediate degree of definiteness exists (recognized by the grammarians as *taḫṣīṣ* 'particularization') which allows a noun to be thus qualified. Under those conditions, the circumstantial qualifier will be formally identical with the adjectival relative clause qualifiying an indefinite antecedent (see **5.1**), so in the following example: *yušāhidu 'iddata* ***fatayātin yaḍḥakna***

wa-hunna yasḥabna l-ʿarūsa ʾilā ḥujratin fī l-dāḫili يشاهد عدّة فتيات يضحكن وهنّ يسحبن العروس إلى حجرة في الداخل, 'a number of girls were seen laughing as they were pulling the bride into a room in the house' the annexed phrase *ʿiddata fatayātin* عدة فتيات 'a number of girls' is formally indefinite (hence may be translated as 'who were laughing') but is definite enough (by particularization) to be the head of a circumstantial qualifier (hence translated 'laughing'). In this instance, the latter is more or less the only possibility, (a) because the verb *yušāhidu* يشاهد requires a circumstantial qualifier as its complement (cf. **3.11.2.3**), and (b) because the coordinated phrase following, *wa-hunna yasḥabna* وهن يسحبن 'they pulling', can not be anything but a circumstantial qualifier.

7.4 Final subordinate syndetic verbal clauses (▷C3:33)

7.4.1 *Causal* fa- ف- *'and so'* fāʾ al-sababiyya فاء السببية

fa- ف- may introduce a subordinate clause with verb in imperfect dependent expressing the result of a preceding clause. The preceding clause does not contain a factual statement. It can be imperative or words equivalent in meaning to an imperative, and may also express desire or hope:

ya'muruhum ***fa-tuṭīʿahu***

يأمرهم فتطيعه

'he commands them [the troops] **and [so]** they [the states] obey him'

yastaṭīʿu hāḏā l-zaʿīmu ʾan yaḫtāra zarʿa raʾsi ḥimārin maṯalan fawqa ʾajsādi l-muʿāriḍīna ***fa-yataḥawwalū*** *bayna yawmin wa-laylatin ʾilā muwālīna*

يستطيع هذا الزعيم أنْ يختار زرع رأس حمار مثلا فوق أجساد المعارضين فيتحوّلوا بين يوم وليلة إلى موالين

'this leader could choose to transplant a donkey's head, for example, on to the bodies of opponents, and **thus they would turn** overnight into followers'

7.4.2 *With* واو المعية wāw al-maʿiyya 'wa- و *of accompaniment'* (see **3.29.8**)

Examples of this category have been attested in CA, of which the following sentence is an example made up by the medieval grammarians of the time:

*lā ta'kul-i l-samaka **wa-tašraba** l-labana!*

لا تأكل السمك و تشرب اللبن

'do not eat fish **and drink** milk at the same time!'

No examples at the clausal level were located during the collection of material for this study.

7.5 *'an* أنْ and *'anna* أنّ (▷C1:78; ▷C3:105)

The principal complementizers in MWA are *'an* أنْ and *'anna* أنّ 'that', both occurring at the head of their clauses. *'anna* أنّ always heads a noun clause (in which the subject noun must be in the dependent case, see *'anna* أنّ in **3.2.2** and **7.5.2**). *'an* أنْ is a complementizer that heads verbal clauses which are equivalent to noun phrases with the same syntactic function as the verbal noun. In *'an* أنْ subordinate clauses, the verb is normally in the dependent imperfect form and generally refers to a future point in time (but see **7.5.1.12**).

7.5.1 *'an* أنْ *clauses*

7.5.1.1 *With dependent imperfect*

'an أنْ is known as *'an al-maṣdariyya* أنْ المصدرية 'the verbal noun *'an* أنْ' owing to the general substitutability of its verbal clause with the verbal noun (see *mā al-maṣdariyya* ما المصدرية **5.6**). In theory, any *'an* أنْ clause can be replaced by a verbal noun. *'an* أنْ clauses can function as subject, object, predicate, or in any other nominal function.

Consider the following examples:

*qarrara **'an yasīra***

قرّر أن يسير

'he decided that he would go' [noun clause as dir. obj.] = *qarrara **l-sayra*** قرّر السير 'he decided on **going**' [verbal noun as dir. obj.]

*kāna yurīdu **l-ḏahāba** 'ilā šarqi 'afrīqiyā*

كان يريد الذهاب إلى شرق أفريقيا

'he wanted **to go** [verbal noun as dir. obj.] to East Africa' = *kāna yurīdu **'an yaḏhaba*** كان يريد أن يذهب 'he wanted **that he go**' [noun clause as dir. obj.]

*min ġayri l-ma'qūli **'an ta'malā** ma'an*

من غير المعقول أن تعملا معا

'it is unreasonable [pred.] **that these two** [fem.] **should work** together [noun clause as subj.]'

= *min ġayri l-ma'qūli **'amaluhumā** ma'an*

من غير المعقول عملهما معا

'it is unreasonable **their** [dual] **working** together' [verbal noun as subj.]

In *'an* أنْ clauses the verb refers to events whose occurrence is dependent on something else, and is not a statement of fact. In Western sources the form of these verbs is therefore often referred to as the 'subjunctive' (see **1.4.1**, **1.12.5**). When the *'an* أنْ + verb structure as noun phrase has subject, agent or direct object function, it may easily be translated by the English infinitive (▷C3:130):

***'arāda 'an yukmila** mušāhadata fīlmi l-vīdiyū ba'da l-'ašā'i*

أراد أن يكمل مشاهدة فيلم الفيديو بعد العشاء

'**he wanted to finish** watching the video movie after dinner' (loan word 'video' fully assimilated, cf. **12.1**, and for spelling **1.2.6.1**)

*wa-**yabqā 'an 'aḏkura bi**-'anna …*

ويبقى أن أذكر بأنّ . . .

'it remains (for me) to mention that …', lit. 'it remains that I mention'

ṭalaba** minnī **'an 'ajlisa

طلب مني أن أجلس

'**he asked** me **to sit down**'

***ḥāwala 'an yuẖrija** l-naṣla*

حاول أن يخرج النصل

'**he tried to extract** the blade'

***i'tadtu** ma'a wālidayya **'an yunaffiḏā** kulla mā yaqūlānihi*

اعتدت مع والدي أن ينفذا كلّ ما يقولانه

'**I became accustomed** to my parents **carrying out** everything they said they would'

The *'an* أنْ clause may also have verbal noun status when it *precedes* the main clause with the status of topic of a nominal sentence (see **3.1**).

Broad categorizations of *'an* أنْ + imperfect dependent form verbs: the following examples are a small representation of the type of main clauses that

generally require the use of *'an* أنْ + dependent imperfect form of the verb in the subordinate clause. The class of verbs in this category is very large and the examples are only a small representation of it.

'an أنْ clauses as subject or agent:

- Possibility/impossibility/ability (cf. **3.20**):

  fa-bi-'imkāninā 'an nuqarrira *binā'an 'alā mā taqaddama*
  فبإمكاننا أن نقرّر بناء على ما تقدّم
  'so **we can decide** based on what has gone before'

  yumkinuhu 'an yal'aba *fī l-'andiyati fī dubayy*
  يمكنه أن يلعب في الأندية في دبي
  '**he could play** in one of the clubs in Dubai' (for uninflected proper names, see **1.8.5**)

  kuntu lā 'azālu ***ġayra qādiratin 'alā 'an 'artadiya*** *l-ṯiyāba*
  كنت لا أزال غير قادرة على أن ارتدي الثياب
  'I was still **unable to put on** any clothes', lit. 'other than able', (see **12.6**)

  istaṭā'a ***'an yuṭīla*** *'amada l-ma'rakati*
  استطاع أن يطيل أمد المعركة
  'he was able **to extend** the fighting period'

  Note that in formal factual statements stating that something is in someone's power, *'anna* أنّ is possible:

  bi-'imkāni l-wizārati 'anna *kulla man saddada niṣfa l-ṯamani yatasallamu šaqqatahu ba'da šahrayni*
  بإمكان الوزارة أنّ كلّ من سدّد نصف الثمن يتسلّم شقّته بعد شهرين
  '**it is in the Ministry's power that** whoever has paid half the price will receive his apartment after two months'

- Necessity (cf. **3.15.2**):

  yajibu 'an yattajiha *'awwalan wa-qabla kulli šay'in 'ilā l-turāṯi*
  يجب أن يتّجه أولا و قبل كل شيء إلى التراث
  '**it must be directed** first and foremost towards heritage'

  min ša'ni l-ḥadāṯati 'an tabḥaṯa *'an miṣdāqiyyati 'uṭrūḥātihā fī ḥitābihā nafsihi*
  من شأن الحداثة أن تبحث عن مصداقية أطروحاتها في خطابها نفسه
  '**modernism must search** for the credibility of its theses within its own discourse' (for *min ša'n* من شأن, see **11.8.1**)

wa-lākinnahu ***kāna muḍṭarran ’an yusāfira***
ولكنّه كان مضطرًا أن يسافر
‘but **he had to travel**’, lit. ‘was forced that he travel’

mā kāna ***yanbaġī ’an yakūna***
ما كان ينبغي أن يكون
‘what it **should have been**’, lit. ‘it was desirable that it be’

- Judgement or reflection on a particular action or a state of mind:

ḫaṭara lī ’an ’uḫbira *zawjī ‘ammā yuz‘ijunī*
خطر لي أن أخبر زوجي عمّا يزعجني
‘**it occurred to me to tell** my husband about what was upsetting me’

ḥasbī *fī hāḏihi l-‘ujālat,* ***’an ’uḥāwila*** *…*
حسبي في هذه العجالة أن أحاول . . .
‘**all I can do**, in this hasty compilation, **is to try . . .**’

- Right/appropriateness:

hal ***yaḥiqqu lī ’an ’aġḍaba?***
هل يحقّ لي أن أغضب؟
‘do **I have any right to get angry?**’

’a-yaṣiḥḥu *ba‘da hāḏā* ***’an nastaḫrija*** *mimmā qālahu šaw ’anna …*
أيصحّ بعد هذا أن نستخرج ممّا قاله شو أنّ . . .
‘**is it correct for us**, as a result of this, **to deduce** from what Shaw said that …’

(note transliteration of Shaw as *šaw*, effectively *šô*, cf. **1.2.6.2**)

’an أنْ clauses as object

- Desire, wish, request, hope:

kuntu ***’arjū ’an yuwāṣila*** *l-zamīlu l-kabīru … qiyādatahu*
كنت أرجو أن يواصل الزميل الكبير . . . قيادته
‘I was **hoping that** (my) distinguished colleague … **would continue** his leadership’

ṭalaba *minhu* ***’an yaṭba‘ahā*** *lahu ‘alā l-’ālati l-kātibati*
طلب منه أن يطبعها له على الآلة الكاتبة
‘**he asked** him **to type** it for him on the typewriter’

wa-huwa ***yufaḍḍilu 'an yatakallama*** *'an mabādi'a 'āmmatin*
وهو يفضّل أن يتكلّم عن مبادئ عامّة
'and **he prefers to talk** about general principles'

*wa-**tuḥibbu 'an tudā'ibahum***
وتحبّ أن تداعبهم
'and **she would love to tease them**'

*wa-**'aradtu** yawmahā **'an 'ufāji'ahu***
وأردت يومها أن أفاجئه
'and on that day **I wanted to surprise him**' (see personalized days, **2.14.5**)

- Thought, estimation:

***fakkarat** 'iddata marrātin **fī 'an tunhiya** 'alāqatahā bi-'alyā'a*
فكّرت عدّة مرّات في أن تنهي علاقتها بعلياء
'**she thought** many times **about ending** her relationship with Alya'

- Condition:

***ištaraṭat 'an 'uwāṣila** waḍ'a 'anbūbi l-'uksujīni fī 'anfī kulla laylatin*
اشترطت أن أواصل وضع أنبوب الأكسجين في أنفي كلّ ليلة
'**she stipulated that I continue** to put the oxygen tube in my nose every night'

- Decision without finality (but see also **7.5.2** below):

*wa-**qarrara l-majlisu 'an tu'raḍa** hāḏihi l-ḥālātu*
وقرّر المجلس أن تعرض هذه الحالات
'and **the Council decided** that these cases **should be examined**'

- Expectation (but see also **7.5.2** below):

*wa-**yatawaqqa'u N. 'an ta'tamida** rābiṭatu l-duwali l-mustaqillati wa-duwalu l-qārrati l-'afrīqiyyati hāḏā l-niẓāma*
ويتوقّع ن. أن تعتمد رابطة الدول المستقلّة ودول القارّة الأفريقية هذا النظام
'and **N. expects** the League of Independent Nations and states of the African continent **to approve** this system'

- Promise:

***wa'ada rāšidun 'an yamurra bi**-bārīsa yawma l-ḫamīsi*
وعد راشد أن يمرّ بباريس يوم الخميس
'**Rāshid promised to pass by** Paris on Thursday'

- Fear:

  ḫašiya ’an yamūta *fī tilka l-’arḍi l-ġarībati*
  خشي أن يموت في تلك الأرض الغريبة
  ‘**he was afraid of dying** in that strange land’

  *wa-**ḫiftu ’an ’aqa‘a** fī maṣyadati kulli l-’āḫarīna*
  وخفت أن أقع في مصيدة كل الآخرين
  ‘and **I was afraid of falling** into the trap of all the others’

’an أنْ clauses are frequently used as subjects of *min* من phrases with participles and adjectives corresponding to the verbs described above (see **3.1.4** and for *’anna* أنّ clauses in this function, see **7.5.2.4**):

*min-a l-mutawaqqa‘i **’an tantahiya minhā** ḫilāla l-sanati l-qādimati*
من المتوقّع أن تنتهي منها خلال السنة القادمة
‘they are expected **to finish with them** during the next year’
(see **2.7** and for dependent nouns as time qualifiers, see **3.29.4**)

*min-a l-badīhiyyi **’an ya‘tamida fī ḏālika ‘alā** …*
من البديهي أن يعتمد في ذلك على . . .
‘it is self-evident **that he will depend in this on** …’

*min-a l-muhimmi **’an na‘iya ’anna** …*
من المهم أن نعي أنّ . . .
‘it is important **for us to be aware that**’ …

*wa-min-a l-murajjaḥi **’an yastamirra ta’ṯīruhā** ‘alā madāri l-‘āmi l-ḥāliyyi*
ومن المرجح أن يستمر تأثيرها على مدار العام الحالي
‘and it is probable **that its effect will continue** throughout the current year’

*wa-laysa min-a l-mustab‘adi … **’an yatimma ta‘āwunun ’ūrūbiyyun** ‘alā hāḏā l-ṣa‘īdi*
وليس من المستبعد . . . أن يتمّ تعاون أوروبي على هذا الصعيد
‘it is not unlikely … **that a European cooperation** on this level **will be effected**’

or the nominal variants:

*maṭlūbun minhā **’an tabġaḍa** bi-sur‘atin wa-basāṭatin-a l-rajula l-waḥīda llaḏī ’aḥabbathu*
مطلوب منها أن تبغض بسرعة وبساطة الرجل الوحيد الذي أحبّته
‘she [was] required **to hate** quickly and simply the one man whom she had loved’

Non-substitutability with verbal noun: the *'an* أنْ clause cannot be replaced by a verbal noun when it is the predicate of *kāda* كاد or related verbs (cf. **3.17** etc.):

yakādu 'an yuṣbiḥa *rahīnata mizāji hāḏihi l-ṭiflati l-mutaqallibi*
يكاد أن يصبح رهينة مزاج هذه الطفلة المتقلّب
'**he is almost becoming** a hostage to the fluctuating mood of this child'

'asākum 'an takūnū *bi-ḫayrin wa-'āfiyatin*
عساكم أن تكونوا بخير وعافية
'**let us hope you** [masc. pl.] **are** in good health'

7.5.1.2 *As other objects* (▷C3:135–6)

'iyyāka 'an إياك أنْ type (see **2.16.4**):

'iyyāka ***'an tuġādira*** *l-madīnata qabla ntihā'i l-taḥqīqi*
إياك أن تغادر المدينة قبل انتهاء التحقيق
'**I warn you not to leave** town before the end of the inquiry'

Second direct object (▷C3:135)

iḍṭarratnī *l-ẓurūfu* ***'an 'aḏhaba*** *marratan bi-l-ziyyi -l-rasmiyyi*
اضطرتني الظروف أن أذهب مرة بالزي الرسمي
'circumstances **forced me** [1st dir. obj.] **to go** [2nd dir. obj.] once in official uniform'

7.5.1.3 *In annexation* (▷C3:136)

As second element of annexation constructions (cf. **2.3**):

iḥtimālu 'an takūna *l-kanīsatu* ***qad 'uqīmat*** *fawqa ma'badin rūmāniyyin*
احتمال أن تكون الكنيسة قد أقيمت فوق معبد روماني
'**the possibility of** the church **having been erected** over a Roman temple'

wa-qāla 'inna l-wizārata tadrusu ***'imkāniyyata 'an tuṣbiḥa*** *l-mustašfayātu l-taḫaṣṣuṣiyyatu . . . šibha ḫāṣṣatin*
وقال إنّ الوزارة تدرس إمكانية أن تصبح المستشفيات التخصّصية . . . شبه خاصّة
'and he said that the Ministry is studying **the possibility of** the private hospitals . . . **becoming** semi-private'

*qāla ’innahu **bi-mujarradi ’an ‘alima** jā’a ‘alā l-fawri*
قال إنّه بمجرّد أن علم جاء على الفور
‘he said that **as soon as he found out** he came immediately’

7.5.1.4 After preposition(al)s (▷C3:139)

Subordinate clauses with *’an* أنْ occur as annexation structures (see **2.3**) where the subordinate clause is the object of the preposition(al):

*wa-lākinna ’aḥmada **’aṣarra ‘alā ’an yal‘abū** fī l-nāḥiyati l-ġarbiyyati min šāṭi’i l-ḥūri*
ولكنّ أحمد أصرّ على أن يلعبوا في الناحية الغربية من شاطئ الخور
‘but Ahmad **insisted that they play** on the west side of the Creek beach’

*wa-huwa lā yumkinu ’an yasmaḥa lahum **bi-’an yašrabū** ‘alā l-ḥisābi*
وهو لا يمكن أن يسمح لهم بأنْ يشربوا على الحساب
‘it not being possible for him to allow them **to drink** on a tab basis’

Omission of the preposition(al) (▷C2:261, ▷C3:134, 145) (see *lā budda* لا بدّ type also at **7.5.1.6**, and cf. **3.11.4**).

Preposition(al)s accompanying a verb (or its verbal noun) before *’an* أنْ can be elided. In such cases the *’an* أنْ clause functions as a direct object:

*ismaḥū lī **[bi-]’an ’uqaddima** lakum …*
اسمحوا لي (بـ)أن أقدّم لكم . . .
‘allow me **to present to you** . . .’

*wa-la-qad ‘ajibtu **[min] ’an yataraddada***
ولقد عجبت (من) أن يتردّد
‘and I was certainly surprised **that he hesitated**’

Note, however, that preposition(al)s that may be elided before *’an* أنْ clauses functioning as noun phrases cannot be elided in the equivalent verbal noun structure:

*lā tandahiš **[min] ’an yarsuma** l-fannānu wajha ḥabībatihi ramādiyyan*
لا تندهش من أن يرسم الفنّان وجه حبيبته رماديا
‘do not be surprised **that** the artist **paints** the face of his beloved ash-grey [noun phrase as dir. obj.]’

= *lā tandahiš* ***min rasmi*** *l-fannāni wajha ḥabībatihi ramādiyyan*
لا تندهش من رسم الفنّان وجه حبيبته رماديا
'do not be surprised **by** the artist's **painting** the face of his beloved ash-grey' [verbal noun as obj. of prep.]

(See also object of verbal noun, **2.10.1**)

7.5.1.5 *With direct speech* (▷C3:113) 'an al-mufassira أن المفسّرة

'an al-mufassira, explanatory *'an* أن, heads subordinate clauses after verbs bearing the sense of to 'tell', or related meanings. The verb after *'an* أنْ is always in the imperative form and makes explicit the command or request implicit in the main verb (see **3.2.2**):

kutiba 'alā jibāhi l-'aḥyā'i ***'an-i ṣbirū wa-taṣābarū***
كتب على جباه الأحياء أن اصبروا و تصابروا
'it is written on the foreheads of the living **that** "[you] **be steadfast and forebearing**"'

ibtasama l-nā'imu wa-qabbalahumā bi-ḥanānin, rabbatatā 'alā katifayhi: ***'an qum, ḫuḏ 'ulbata l-kibrīti wa-ḏhab***
ابتسم النائم وقبّلهما بحنان، ربتتا على كتفيه: ان قم، خذ علبة الكبريت واذهب
'the recumbent [figure] smiled and kissed them both with tenderness, they stroked him on the shoulders **[as if to say] get up, take [your] box of matches and go**'

7.5.1.6 *lā budda 'an* أنْ بد لا and similar phrases (see also **7.5.2.8** with *'anna* أنّ)

There are many structures in MWA expressing inevitability which are all essentially elliptical, that is, '[there is] no escape, harm, etc.'.

lā budda بدّ لا plus or minus *min* من etc. The expression *lā budda* بدّ لا was originally followed by *min* من, namely *min 'an* أنْ من + subordinate clause:

lā budda min 'an tuġayyira *sulūkaka*
لا بدّ من أن تغيّر سلوكك
'**you must change** your behaviour'

But it also occurs frequently without *min* من (▷C2:226; ▷C1:145):

lā budda 'an yatawā'ama *l-mudīru ma'a l-niẓāmi l-jadīdi*
لا بدّ أن يتواءم المدير مع النظام الجديد
'the director **must harmonize** with the new system'

Also used for past events (determinable by context):

fa-lā budda ’an ’akūna *fī ġāyati l-faraḥi*
فلا بدّ أن أكون في غاية الفرح
‘so **I had to be** extremely joyful’

Note that the expression *lā budda* لا بدّ must always be followed by *min* من when followed by a verbal noun:

lā budda min-a l-’išārati *mujaddadan* ***’ilā*** *’anna*
لا بدّ من الإشارة مجدّدا إلى أنّ
‘**it must be pointed out** anew that’

and also with pronoun suffix, for example, *lā budda minhu* لا بدّ منه ‘it is inevitable’. *lā budda wa-’an* لا بد وأنْ is a variant on this structure (see **6.2.7**).

7.5.1.7 *Miscellaneous (see negatives in* ***4.1.2****)*

- *lā ḥaraja* لا حرج ‘no objection’:

  lā ḥaraja ‘alā l-muslimi fī ’an yajma‘a *min-a l-māli mā yašā’u*
  لا حرج على المسلم في أن يجمع من المال ما يشاء
  ‘**there is no objection to the Muslim gathering** as much wealth as he likes’ (note inverted *mā . . . min* ما . . . من, see **5.4.4.1**)

- *lā ba’sa* لا بأس ‘no harm’:

  lā ba’sa wa-lā ḍarara ’an tataḥaddaṯī *ma‘a ’aḫiṣṣā’iyyatin nafsāniyyatin*
  لا بأس ولا ضرر أن تتحدّثي مع أخصّائية نفسانية
  ‘**there is no harm or damage in your** [fem. sing.] **talking** with a specialist female psychologist’

7.5.1.8 *Negative subordination* (▷C3:114)

See **4.2.1** and other negatives, for example, *kay-lā* كيْلا ‘lest’, ‘so that not’, *ḥattā lā* حتّى لا ‘in order that not’. (Same rules as *’an* أنْ plus or minus preposition and other noun-phrase functions; see also *li-’allā* لئلا ‘lest’, see **7.6.1.4**.)

’allā ألاّ (a combination of *’an* + *lā* أنْ لا) ‘that not’ (not *’an al-muḫaffafa* أن المخففة, cf. **3.2.2**, **7.5.1.9**, **7.5.2.5**):

*najtahidu fī **'allā yakūna** ba'da ḏālika ḥalalun*
نجتهد في ألا يكون بعد ذلك خلل
'we strive **so that** after that **there are no** defects'

*qarrartu **'allā 'adḫula** l-kulliyyata bi-ziyyī l-rasmiyyi*
قررت ألا أدخل الكلية بزيي الرسمي
'I decided **I would not enter** the college in my official uniform'

*ṭawāla 'umrī 'tadtu **'allā 'ubdiya** kawāminī*
طوال عمري اعتدت ألا أبدي كوامني
'all my life I have been used **to not revealing** my hidden feelings'

Also written separately as *'an lā* أنْ لا:

*ka-mā 'annanī 'aḫšā **'an lā yattaṣila** liqā'unā fī l-mustaqbali*
كما أنّني أخشى أن لا يتّصل لقاؤنا في المستقبل
'just as I am afraid that our meeting **will not continue** in the future'

(for *kamā 'anna* كما أنّ '[it] is as if', see **5.9.9.3**)

*fa-yajibu **'an lā nafhama** minhā mā yafhamuhu 'udabā'u wa-mufakkirū 'ūrubbā*
فيجب أن لا نفهم منها ما يفهمه أدباء ومفكّرو أوربّا
'**we** should **not understand** from it what the literary figures and intellectuals of Europe understand from it'

(for negative of impersonal verb *wajaba* وجب 'to be obligatory', 'must', see **3.15.3**)

7.5.1.9 *'an al-muḫaffafa* أنْ المخففة (for full treatment, see also **4.1.5** and **7.5.2.5**)

- With *laysa* ليس 'not be' (▷C3:115):

  *wa-ra'ā **'an laysa** fī l-'imkāni 'abda'u mimmā kāna*
  ورأى أن ليس في الإمكان أبدع مما كان
  'and he considered **that there was not** possible anything more innovative than what there already was'

- with categorical negative *lā* لا 'no' (▷C3:116) (see **4.1.2**):

  *wa-ktašafa **'an lā 'aḥada** yahtammu bī 'aw ḥattā yurīdu ṣuḥbatī*
  واكتشف أن لا أحد يهتمّ بي أو حتّى يريد صحبتي
  'and he discovered **that no one** was interested in me nor even in my friendship' (for *ḥattā* حتّى 'even', see **2.19.11**, **6.11**)

7.5.1.10 *Prepositional/temporal adverbial* + ’an أنْ

Preposition(al)s can operate on subordinate clauses headed by *’an* أنْ as complementizer (cf. French *que*). The combination of some preposition(al)s and temporal adverbs with *’an* أنْ may be viewed as collocations, but they are not strictly compounds. These combinations are possible calques of similar structures in some Western languages, for example, French *aprés que* or German *nachdem*. In this section the subordinate clauses are adverbial (unlike in **7.5.1.4**, where they are indirect objects).

The subordinate clause generally occurs after the main clause but its position depends on the context.

‘alā ’an على أنْ (▷C3:141) ‘on the basis that’ (cf. *‘alā ’anna* على أنّ, and for meanings of *‘alā* على, see **2.6.2**):

qabilathu nāẓiratu l-madrasati ***‘alā ’an yu’addiya*** *’abūhu l-maṣārīfa daf‘atan wāḥidatan*

قبلته ناظرة المدرسة على أن يؤدّي أبوه المصاريف دفعة واحدة

‘the Headmistress of the school accepted him **on the basis that** his father **pay** the fees in one go’

(*daf‘atan* دفعةً ‘[in] one go’ has the pattern of a noun of instance, *ism al-marra*, cf. **1.8.1**, here with dependent form as a circumstantial qualifier, see **3.29.7**)

- *ba‘da ’an* بعد أنْ (▷C3:142) ‘after’, cf. **2.7.6**: the tense after *ba‘da ’an* بعد أنْ ‘after’ depends on the tense of the main clause verb, that is, when it is past the verb after *’an* أن is perfect; when non-past the verb after *’an* أن is dependent imperfect. Hence:
- Perfect if the action or event is already completed (cf. **7.5.1.12**):

  ḍaġaṭa ‘alā musaddasihi ***ba‘da ’an waḍa‘ahu*** *fī muqaddamati jabīnihi*

  ضغط على مسدسه بعد أن وضعه في مقدّمة جبينه

  ‘he pressed [the trigger of] his revolver **after he had placed it** against the front of his forehead’

  ba‘da ’an kānat faransā stakmalat*-i ḥtilāla l-jazā’iri*

  بعد أن كانت فرنسا استكملت احتلال الجزائر

  ‘**after France had completed** the occupation of Algeria’

  ba‘da ’an zāra *l-mašriqa l-‘arabiyya*

  بعد أن زار المشرق العربي

  ‘**after he visited** the Arab East’

- Dependent imperfect when referring to a future event or action:

  qābilnī ***ba'da 'an tušāhida*** *l-fīlma*

  قابلني بعد أن تشاهد الفيلم

  'meet me **after you have seen** the film'

  fa-'arjūkum ba'da hāḏā l-majlisi 'an tajtami'ū bi-l-sur'ati l-mumkinati wa-ḏālika ***ba'da 'an tunaẓẓimū*** *qā'imatan bi-'asmā'i llaḏīna …*

  فأرجوكم بعد هذا المجلس أنْ تجتمعوا بالسرعة الممكنة وذلك بعد أن تنظّموا قائمة باسماء الذين . . .

  'so I beg you after this session to meet as soon as possible (and that) **after you have organized** a list of names of those who …'

  wa'adanī 'an yazūranī ***ba'da 'an yakūna qad raja'a*** *min-a l-ḥajji*

  وعدني أنْ يزورني بعد أن يكون قد رجع من الحج

  'he promised to visit me **after he had returned** from the Hajj' (for description of compound tenses, see **3.10.6**)

  or the present:

  *wa-***ba'da 'an yaṣifa** *ḥayāta B. bi-l-ḥayāti l-ka'ībati … yušīru 'ilā 'anna …*

  وبعد أن يصف حياة ب. بالحياة الكئيبة . . . يشير إلى أنّ . . .

  'and **after he describes** B's life as being depressing [lit. "with a depressing life"] … he points out that …'

- *qabla 'an* قبل أنْ (▷C3:142, cf. **2.7.31**), 'before' + dependent imperfect: whether the main verb expresses something in the past, present or future, *qabla 'an* قبل أنْ is always followed by dependent imperfect (cf. *ba'da 'an* بعد أنْ 'after' above):

  fī tilka l-laylati ***qabla 'an yanāma*** *'akṯara 'aḥmadu fī l-tafkīri fī kalāmi l-sayyid*

  في تلك الليلة قبل أن ينام أكثر أحمد في التفكير في كلام السيّد

  'that night, **before going to sleep**, Ahmad thought at length about what al-Sayyid had said'

  *wa-***qabla 'an nunhiya** *l-liqā'a ma'a muftī l-būsnati kāna lā budda min su'ālihi 'an …*

  وقبل أن ننهي اللقاء مع مفتي البوسنة كان لا بدّ من سؤاله عن . . .

  'and **before ending** the meeting with the Mufti of Bosnia we had to ask him about …' (see *lā budda* لا بدّ, **7.5.1.6**)

qabla 'an yarā *jadwalan zamaniyyan*
قبل أن يرى جدولا زمنيا
'**before he sees** a timetable'

min + qabli 'an من قبل أنْ reflects a lengthening of the time scale between the events or actions of the main and subordinate clauses:

maġrūsatun fī mawḍi'ihā ***min qabli 'an yušayyada*** *baytunā bi-zamanin ṭawīlin*
مغروسة في موضعها من قبل أن يشيّد بيتنا بزمن طويل
'planted in its place **before** our house **was built** by a long time'

- *dūna 'an* دون أنْ (▷C3:145; **2.7.11**) and *bi-/min-dūni 'an* بـ \من دون أنْ 'without' with or without *bi-* بـ or *min* من:

ka-'insānin qad-i ḫtafā ***bi-dūni 'an ya'rifa*** *li-māḏā ḫtafā*
كإنسان قد اختفى بدون أن يعرف لماذا اختفى
'like someone who had disappeared **without knowing** why he had disappeared' (for *ka-* كـ 'like', see **2.6.8**)

dūna 'an yakūna *'alā dirāyatin kāmilatin*
دون أن يكون على دراية كاملة
'**without his being** completely aware'

- With *'ayyu* أيّ 'any' for emphasis (see also **2.9.1.6**, and cf. **1.12.4.1**):

dūna 'an taqūma bi-'ayyi *dawrin fa"ālin li-l-taqrībi*
دون أن تقوم بأيّ دور فعّال للتقريب
'**without carrying out any** effective role in rapprochement'

wa-qad 'arsaltu ṭalabātin 'adīdatan ***dūna 'an 'atalaqqā 'ayya*** *stijābatin*
وقد أرسلت طلبات عديدة دون أن أتلقّى أيّ استجابة
'I sent numerous requests **without receiving any response**'

- *waqta 'an* وقت أنْ 'when' as purely temporal conjunction (with relative variants *fī waqtin* في وقت 'at a time [in which]' and *fī l-waqti llaḏī* في الوقت الّذي 'at the time [in which]'):

waqta 'an kāna *ya'malu qunṣulan*
وقت أن كان يعمل قنصلا
'**when he was** working as consul', lit. 'at the time of that he was working'

fī l-waqti llaḏī yatawaqqa'u *l-ḫubarā'u 'an yaṣila ḥajmu l-'intāji [. . .]*
في الوقت الّذي يتوقّع الخبراء أنْ يصل حجم الإنتاج [. . .]
'**at the time** experts **are expecting** the volume of production to reach [. . .]'

fī l-waqti llaḏī *lā tūjadu* ***fīhi*** *riqābatun mutaḫaṣṣiṣatun*
في الوقت الّذي لا توجد فيه رقابة متخصّصة
'**at the** [same] **time [in which]** there exists no specialized censorship'

(cf. **3.18** on the passive *tūjadu* توجد 'is found' for 'exists', also cf. *fī ḥīni* في حين 'in the time of' **5.9.7***)*

fī waqtin *'aṣbaḥa* ***fīhi*** *kullu šay'in . . . 'ḫalfan dur'!!*
في وقت أصبح فيه كل شيء . . . 'خلفا در!!'
'**at a time when** [lit."in which"] everything has become . . . "about turn!!"'

- *'ilā 'an* إلى أنْ (▷C2:295, **2.6.7**, contrast **7.6.7.2**) 'until'

  Followed by perfect to denote past action or event:

  'ilā 'an 'aṣābahā *l-maraḍu l-fattāku*
  إلى أن أصابها المرض الفتّاك
  '**until** the dreadful disease **took hold of her**'

  'ilā 'an daḫala *ṣadīqī l-rassāmu wa-zawjatuhu*
  إلى أن دخل صديقي الرسّام وزوجته
  '**until** my artist friend and his wife **came in**'

  'ilā 'an waṣala *l-waqtu llaḏī 'arāda fīhi l-zawāja*
  إلى أن وصل الوقت الّذي أراد فيه الزواج
  '**until** the time **arrived** that he wanted to get married'

  or dependent imperfect to denote a present or future event:

  'ilā 'an tatasallaṭa *l-dirāsatu 'alā ba'ḍi 'intāji l-'adībi*
  إلى أن تتسلّط الدراسة على بعض إنتاج الأديب
  '**until** the study **holds sway** over some of the literary figure's productivity'

- *'iwaḍa 'an* عوض أنْ 'instead of' (see **2.7.23**):

  'iwaḍa 'an taqra'a *tatalaqqanu*
  عوض أن تقرأ تتلقّن
  'instead of [actually] reading they learn by rote'

  (note inverted clause order, which suggests a calque)

- *ka-'an* كأنْ 'such as' (cf. *kamā* كما and comparative conjunction in **5.9.9**, **5.9.9.6** for *ka-'an* كأنْ):

  'aḥyānan-i l-iḫtilāfu fī šaḫṣiyyati l-ṣadīqayni yuwaṯṯiqu l-ṣadāqata ***ka-'an yarġaba*** *l-qawiyyu fī ṣadāqati l-ḍa'īfi*

  أحيانا الاختلاف في شخصية الصديقين يوثّق الصداقة كأن يرغب القوي في صداقة الضعيف

  'sometimes the personality difference between two friends strengthens the friendship, **such as** the stronger **desiring** the friendship of the weaker'

- *badalan min 'an* بدلا من أنْ 'instead of' (**2.5.7**):

  badalan min 'an yasīra *biḍ'ata 'amtāri* ***wa-yanṣarifa*** *muwaddi'an, qarrara 'an yasīra warā'a l-na'ši l-imbarāṭūriyyi ḥattā maṯwāhu l-'aḫīri*

  بدلا من أن يسير بضعة أمتار و ينصرف مودّعا قرّر أنْ يسير وراء النعش الأمبراطوري حتّى مثواه الأخير

  '**instead of walking** a few metres and then **leaving**, he decided to walk behind the Imperial Bier until its final resting place'

7.5.1.11 *Compound prepositional phrases* + 'an أنْ

Compound prepositional phrases may themselves form annexation units with *'an* أنْ clauses (▷C3:136).

- *bi-mujarradi 'an* بمجرّد أنْ 'by merely', 'immediately upon' (cf. **2.8.4**), tends to precede the main clause. It is followed by either perfect (to denote past action or event):

  bi-mujarradi 'an ra'ā *l-yada l-mutawarrimata … tasā'ala muta'ajjiban*

  بمجرّد أن رأى اليد المتورّمة . . . تساءل متعجّبا

  '**as soon as he saw** the swollen hand … he wondered in astonishment'

  or dependent imperfect (to denote a present action or event):

  bi-mujarradi 'an tatakawwana *tabqā fī l-bī'ati*

  بمجرّد أن تتكوّن تبقى في البيئة

  '**as soon as they are formed** they remain in the environment'

- *bi-šarṭi 'an* بشرط أنْ 'on the condition that':

  bi-šarṭi 'an taqūma *l-firqatu* ***bi-l-musāhamati fī*** *ta'ṯīṯi wa-tajhīzi l-masraḥi*

  بشرط أن تقوم الفرقة بالمساهمة في تأثيث وتجهيز المسرح

  '**on condition that** the company [of actors] **takes a share in** furnishing and equipping the theatre' (see binomial annexation **2.3.7**)

- *fī sabīli 'an* في سبيل أنْ 'in the interest of' (see examples in **2.6.5**):

  fī sabīli 'an yafhama *kullun minnā l-'āḫara jayyidan*
  في سبيل أن يفهم كلّ منا الآخر جيدا
  '**so that** each of **us understands** the other well'

- *min ġayri 'an* من غير أنْ (▷C3:138; **2.9.2.3**, and cf. *ġayra 'anna* غير أنّ **7.5.2.11**) 'without' (cf. *dūna* دون 'without' and its correlates above, **7.5.1.10**).

- The use of *ġayr* غير 'other than' in this construction is very different from its function in concessive clauses (see **7.5.2.11**):

  min ġayri 'an 'aḥmila *ma'ī siwā 'awrāqi l-safari l-maṭlūbati*
  من غير أن احمل معي سوى أوراق السفر المطلوبة
  '**without carrying** with me [anything] except the required travel papers' (cf. *siwā* سوى 'except' **9.5.2**, and **2.9.2.4** for basic information, and **7.5.2.11** for *siwā 'anna* سوى أنّ)

7.5.1.12 *With perfect* (▷C3:107)

When the action of the subordinate clause is factual and completed, the verb occurs in the perfect after *'an* أنْ. This is one of the very limited number of occasions when *'an* أنْ may be followed directly by anything other than the dependent imperfect form:

yawma ***'an zāra*** *l-ra'īsu maṣna'ī*
يوم أن زار الرئيس مصنعي
'on the day (**that**) the President **visited** my factory'

(see time and date expressions, **2.14.6**, **2.14.7**)

kāna bi-natījati ḏālika ***'an-i ḥtadama*** *l-ṣirā'u l-siyāsiyyu*
كان بنتيجة ذلك أن احتدم الصراع السياسي
'it was as a result of that **that** the political conflict **flared up**'

ṯumma nqaṭa'tu 'ilā ***'an-i ḍṭurirtu*** *'ilā duḫūli l-mustašfā*
ثم انقطعت إلى أن اضطررت إلى دخول المستشفى
'then I stopped until **I had to** go into hospital' (for *'ilā 'an* إلى أنْ see **7.5.1.10**)

The verb in the perfect is particularly common after *'an* أنْ with verbs like *ḥadaṯa* حدث 'to happen' and *sabaqa* سبق 'to occur previously' (see also

3.23.2, **6.2.4**) in which the event has already taken place; also *munḏu 'an* منذ أنْ 'since' (see **7.6.8.2**), *qabla 'an* قبل أنْ 'before', and *ba'da 'an* بعد أنْ 'after' (see **7.5.1.10**).

7.5.2 'anna أنّ *'that' clauses*

(for syntax of a nominal sentence introduced by *'anna* أنّ, see **3.2.2**)

'anna أنّ is a nominalizer and the resulting noun phrase has various functions. *'anna* أنّ is followed by complete sentences of either nominal or topic-comment type, the resulting clause becoming a noun phrase and assuming all the functions of a noun phrase.

As with *'an* أنْ clauses, the function of the *'anna* أنّ clause can be any of the following:

7.5.2.1 *Subject* (▷C3:130)

ṣaḥiḥun ***'anna l-'ujrata*** *munḫafiḍatun*
صحيح أن الأجرة منخفضة
'it is true **that the rate** was low' (note inversion with complementized clauses, see **3.1.3**)

7.5.2.2 *Predicate* (▷C3:131)

al-muškilatu ***'anna l-fallāḥīna*** *lā yusaddidūna fī l-mī'ādi*
المشكلة أنّ الفلاحين لا يسدّدون في الميعاد
'the problem is **that the peasants** do not pay off their debts on time'

7.5.2.3 *Agent of verb (▷C3:130 where treated as subject)*

tabayyana 'annahu *'uṣība bi-jurḥin kabīrin*
تبيّن أنّه أصيب بجرح كبير
'**it became apparent that he** had been afflicted by a large wound'

(for passive + instrument, see **3.12.2**)

7.5.2.4 *Direct object* (▷C3:133)

'anna أنّ clauses can be the direct object of any verb that has a statement as its object. This includes verbs such as *'a'lana* أعلن 'to announce', *ṣarraḥa* صرّح 'to declare', *'awḍaḥa* أوضح 'to make clear', *ḏakara* ذكر 'to mention', *i'taqada* اعتقد 'to believe', *'arafa* عرف 'to know' (cf. those which take prepositions, **7.5.2.7**), and their negatives, as well as verbs of denial, hinting etc.:

'a'lana 'anna *l-'ijrā'āti l-'ūlā fī muwājahati l-'irāqi sa-takūnu diblūmāsiyyatan*
أعلن أنّ الإجراءات الأولى في مواجهة العراق ستكون دبلوماسية
'**he announced that** the first measures in confronting Iraq would be diplomatic'

ṣarraḥa 'anna *wizārata l-ṣiḥḥati sa-tadrusu 'imkāniyyata …*
صرّح أنّ وزارة الصحّة ستدرس إمكانية . . .
'**he declared that** the health ministry would study the possibility of …'

fa-qad ***ḏakara*** *bayānun rasmiyyun birīṭāniyyun 'amsi* ***'anna*** *wazīra l-difā'i l-'amrīkiyyi …*
فقد ذكر بيان رسمي بريطاني أمس أنّ وزير الدفاع الأمريكي . . .
'an official British statement yesterday **said that** the American Minister of Defence …'

lā 'ataḏakkaru 'annī *'alqaytu naẓarī 'alayhi marratan*
لا أتذكّر أنّي ألقيت نظري عليه مرّة
'**I do not remember that** I ever once cast a glance at him'

'awḍaḥat . . . 'anna *fatḥa bābi l-tarqiyati li-l-'āmilīna …*
أوضحت . . . أنّ فتح باب الترقية للعاملين . . .
'[…] **made clear that** opening the door of promotion for employees …'

fa-qad ***ra'aytu 'annahā*** *tuḥaddiṯu šaḫṣan mā*
فقد رأيت أنّها تحدّث شخصا ما
'**I saw that she** was talking to somebody', lit. 'a person somewhat'

for periphrastic indefiniteness with the vague *mā* ما 'what' suffix, see **1.12.4.1**.

'araftu 'annī *l-mar'atu l-'ūlā fī ḥayātihi*
عرفت أني المرأة الأولى في حياته
'**I knew that I** was the number one woman in his life'

*wa-**'aqsama 'annahu** lan yarji'a marratan ṯāniyatan 'ilā l-ġazali l-mubāširi*
وأقسم أنّه لن يرجع مرّة ثانية إلى الغزل المباشر
'**he swore that** he would not resort again to direct flirtation'

Note: verbs such as 'to imagine', 'to occur to', 'to feel', that is, those involving the senses, are always followed by an *'anna* أنّ clause:

*wa-**lā yataṣawwaru 'insānun 'annanā** nataḥaddaṯu fī majāli l-'aḥlāmi*
و لا يتصوّر إنسان أنّنا نتحدّث في مجال الأحلام
'and **no one could ever imagine that** we are talking in the field of dreams'

*wa-lākin **ẖuyyila 'ilayhā 'annahu** ṣadīqun 'āẖaru ya'īšu fī 'amrīkā*
ولكن خُيّل إليها أنّه صديق آخر يعيش في أمريكا
'**but she imagined that** he was another friend living in America'

(for the idiomatic passive *ẖuyyila* خُيّل 'it was caused to be imagined', see **3.12.4**)

***'aḥassa** fī tilka l-laylati **'annahā** laysat zawjatahu faqaṭ bal 'annahā bnatuhu wa-'uḫtuhu wa-'ummuhu*
أحسّ في تلك الليلة أنّها ليست زوجته فقط بل أنّها ابنته وأخته وأمه
'on that night **he felt that she** was not just his wife but also his daughter and sister and mother'

(for the 'not only . . . but also' calque, see **4.9**)

***taš'uru 'annahā** 'ārifatun bi-ḥālihā*
تشعر أنّها عارفة بحالها
'**she feels that** she knows about her situation'

The fixed expressions of *min-a l-* من الـ + participle (or adjective) function in the same way as the corresponding verbs described at the beginning of **7.5.2.4**, but here the أنّ clauses function as inverted noun phrase subject:

*min-a l-ma'rūfi **'anna l-salāḥifa hiya 'aṭwalu l-'aḥyā'i 'umran***
من المعروف أنّ السلاحف هي أطول الأحياء عمرا
'it is well-known **that tortoises have the longest life of all living species**'

*min-a l-mu'akkadi **'anna l-taqadduma l-tiknolūjiyya sa-yaẓallu muhimman fī l-sanawāti l-qādimati***
من المؤكّد أنّ التقدّم التكنولوجي سيظلّ مهمّا في السنوات القادمة
'it is certain that **technological advancement will remain important in the coming years**'

for *ẓalla* ظلّ 'to remain', see **3.17.14**

The same applies to adjectives and participles without *min-a l-* من الـ

ṣaḥīḥun 'anna ***'alyā'a kānat tanfiru min-a l-la'bi ma'a l-banāti***
صحيح أنّ علياء كانت تنفر من اللعب مع البنات
'it is true that **Alya had an aversion to playing with the girls**'

al-wāqi'u 'anna ***lafẓa 'l-turāṯi' qad-i ktasā fī l-ḫiṭābi l-'arabiyyi l-ḥadīṯi*** …
الواقع أنّ لفظ 'التراث' قد اكتسى في الخطاب العربي الحديث . . .
'the fact is that **the expression "heritage" has taken on the garb in modern Arabic discourse …**'

7.5.2.5 *'an al-muḫaffafa* المخففة أن instead of *'anna* أنّ (see also **3.2.2**, **4.1.5**, and **7.5.1.9**) (cf. *'an al-mufassira* المفسّرة أن **7.5.1.5**)

When a clause begins with *lā* لا (for categorical negative, see **4.1.2**) and other negative forms, *'an* أنْ can be used. This is the so-called lightened *'an* أنْ instead of *'annahu* أنّه. In such cases there is an assumed ellipsis of the 'pronoun of the matter' (*ḍamīr al-ša'n*, see **3.4**) which would have been attached to the original *'anna* أنّ:

*wa-lāḥaẓa 'annahu ġā'ibun 'an-i l-wa'yi wa-**'an lā ḥarakata wa-lā ḥayāta** fīhi*
ولاحظ أنّه غائب عن الوعي وأنْ لا حركة و لا حياة فيه
'and he noticed that he was unconscious **and that there was no movement and no life** in him'

*fa-tahuzzu bnatuhu ra'sahā **bi-'an laysa ladayhā** māni'un*
فتهزّ ابنته رأسها بأنْ ليس لديها مانع
'so his daughter would shake her head **(indicating) that she had no** objection'

For *laysa* ليس 'not be', see **4.2.8.1**.

It can also be used after future prefixes *sa-* سـ and *sawfa* سوف (see **3.10.3**), particularly following verbs conveying a sense of certainty or conviction:

*qarrarū **'an sa-takūnu hunāka** muḥākamatun wa-'annahā sa-takūnu li-l-'ahdi kullihi wa-laysa lahu bi-l-ḏāti*
قرّروا أنْ ستكون هناك محاكمة و أنّها ستكون للعهد كلّه وليس له بالذات
'they have decided **that there will be** a trial and that it will be for all the regime, not for him in particular'

(for the negative coordinator *wa-laysa* وليس 'and not', see **6.12.3**)

7.5.2.6 Annexation of adverbials to *'anna* أنّ sentences (cf. **7.5.1.3**, and **7.6.6** for fuller treatment)

fī ***ḥīni 'anna*** *mā waqa'a min ḥawādiṯa lā yumkinu muqāranatuhā bi-'ayyi ḥālin min-a l-'aḥwāli bi-mā yaqa'u fī 'awāṣima 'ālamiyyatin kubrā*

في حين أنّ ما وقع من حوادث لا يمكن مقارنتها بأيّ حال من الأحوال بما يقع في عواصم عالمية كبرى

'at **the time when** the events that happened cannot be compared in any way with what is happening in major world capitals'

7.5.2.7 *Annexation of preposition(al)s to* 'anna أنّ *sentences* (▷C3:139)

Subordinate clauses with *'anna* أنّ as noun phrases may be annexed to preposition(al)s (see **2.6** and cf. **7.5.1.4**):

'akkada 'alā ***'anna l-ṭāliba lā yataḫarraju 'illā ba'da l-ta'akkudi min ta'hīlihi***

أكّد على أنّ الطالب لا يتخرّج إلا بعد التأكّد من تأهيله

'he emphasized **that the student would not graduate until after his qualifications had been confirmed**'

*wa-'aḍāfa bi-****'anna l-wizārata tadrusu ḥāliyyan*** …

وأضاف بأنّ الوزارة تدرس حاليا . . .

'he added **that the ministry is currently studying** …'

Elided prepositions (▷C3:134): prepositions may also be elided from the main verb preceding *'anna* أنّ + sentence:

'aḫbaranī [bi-] 'annahu *yusāfiru ġadan*

أخبرني [بِـ]أنّه يسافر غدا

'**he told me that he** was leaving tomorrow'

(cf. reported speech, **10.14**, **10.15**)

7.5.2.8 *Miscellaneous followed by* 'anna أنّ + *noun clause*

- *lā šakka* لا شكّ plus or minus *fī* في '[there is] no doubt that' (cf. **4.1.2** and **2.18.2**).

  lā šakka 'annī *kuntu ka-l-walīdati l-muḫabba'ati fī l-quṭni*

  لا شكّ أنّي كنت كالوليدة المخبأة في القطن

  '**there is no doubt that I** was like the newborn baby concealed in cotton' (for *ka-* كـ 'like', see **2.6.8**)

lā šakka fī 'annahum *qad ḥajabū 'anhā ba'ḍa l-ma'lūmāti*
لا شكّ في أنّهم قد حجبوا عنها بعض المعلومات
'**there is no doubt that they** kept some information from her'

- *lā rayba* لا ريب '[there is] no doubt' (cf. **4.1.2**):

  lā rayba *'anna l-ṯuwwāra kānū yaḥtājūna 'ilā miṯli hāḏā l-'uslūbi*
  لا ريب أنّ الثوار كانوا يحتاجون إلى مثل هذا الأسلوب
  '**there is no doubt** that the revolutionaries were in need of such a method' (for this use of *miṯl* مثل 'the like of', see **2.9.2.1**)

- *lā budda* لا بدّ (see also **7.5.1.6** and **4.1.3**) '[there is] no escape', may be followed by imperfect or perfect tense verbs:

  *wa-**lā budda 'annahum yata'ahhabūna** l-'āna li-l-ḏahābi 'ilā l-'awwāmati llatī naltaqī fīhā*
  ولا بدّ أنّهم يتأهّبون الآن للذهاب إلى العوّامة الّتي نلتقي فيها
  'and **they must be getting ready** now to go the boat-house where we shall meet'

  lā budda 'annahu kāna *ṭāliban*
  لا بدّ أنّه كان طالبا
  '**he must have been** a student'

  lā budda 'annahā 'a'addat *taqrīran wāfiyan*
  لا بدّ أنّها أعدّت تقريرا وافيا
  '**she must have prepared** a full report'

7.5.2.9 *Compound prepositional phrases with* 'anna أنّ

As we have seen, preposition(al)s function as internal operators at the head of noun phrases. They can also form annexation units as compound subordinators with *'anna* أنّ nominal sentences when they are themselves annexed to other nouns. This group of nouns is restricted (cf. *'an* أنْ clauses, **7.5.1.11**) (▷C3:136). The noun after the preposition(al) never takes the definite article nor *tanwīn* because it is the first element of annexation, so, for example, *'alā 'asāsi 'anna* على أساس أنّ 'on the basis that' is to be analysed as 'on the basis of [the fact] that'.

- *ʻalā ʾasāsi ʾanna* على أساس أنّ ‘on the basis that’ (*ʻalā* على, see **2.6.2**):

  *intaqada būš-i qtirāḥa klintūn **ʻalā ʾasāsi ʾannahu** sa-yuʾaddī ʾilā fiqdāni malyūni šaḫṣin li-waẓāʾifihim*

  انتقد بوش اقتراح كلنتون على أساس أنّه سيؤدّي إلى فقدان مليون شخص لوظائفهم

  ‘Bush criticized Clinton’s proposal **on the basis that it** would lead to a million people losing their jobs’

  (for *li-* لـ paraphrase with direct object of verbal noun which cannot be annexed, see **2.10.1.7**)

- *ʻalā ʻtibāri* على اعتبار and *bi-ʻtibāri ʾanna* باعتبار أنّ ‘considering that’ (see **2.5.8.5**):

  ***ʻalā ʻtibāri ʾanna** l-waḥdata hiya ʾahammu ʾususi l-nāṣiriyyati*

  على اعتبار أنّ الوحدة هي أهمّ أسس الناصرية

  ‘**considering that** unity is the most important foundation of Nasserism’

  ***bi-ʻtibāri ʾanna** maṣāniʻa l-sajjādi mašrūʻātun ṣaġīratun*

  باعتبار أنّ مصانع السجاد مشروعات صغيرة

  ‘**considering that** carpet factories are small projects’

  ***bi-ʻtibāri ʾanna** raf‘a l-rusūmi l-jumrukiyyati laysat hiya l-ʾadāta l-waḥīdata li-ḥimāyati l-ʾintāji*

  باعتبار أنّ رفع الرسوم الجمركية ليست هي الأداة الوحيدة لحماية الإنتاج

  ‘**considering that** raising customs duties is not itself the only instrument for protecting production’

- *bi-ḥujjati ʾanna* بحجّة أنّ ‘on the grounds that’:

  ***bi-ḥujjati ʾanna** al-sāriqīna kuṯrun*

  بحجّة أنّ السارقين كثر

  ‘**on the grounds that** the thieves are [too] numerous’

- *li-darajati ʾanna* لدرجة أنّ ‘to the extent that’, ‘to the degree that’, often ‘so much so that’:

  ***li-darajati ʾanna** baʻḍa l-šaḫṣiyyāti llatī kāna yumkinu ʾan tufīda btaʻadat ḫawfan*

  لدرجة أنّ بعض الشخصيات التي كان يمكن أن تفيد ابتعدت خوفا

  ‘**so much so that** certain personalities who might have been useful stayed away out of fear’

  (for purposive complement [object of reason] *ḫawfan* **خوفاً** ‘out of fear’, see **3.29.6**)

li-darajati 'annahu *'indamā waṣala 'ilā l-ṣaffi l-rābi'i l-'ibtidā'iyyi kāna 'umruhu qad 'aṣbaḥa sab'ata 'ašara 'āman*

لدرجة أنّه عندما وصل إلى الصف الرابع الابتدائي كان عمره قد أصبح سبعة عشر عاما

'**to the extent that** when he reached the fourth grade of primary school he was already seventeen years old'

7.5.2.10 li- + 'anna لأنّ *'because', lit. 'for [the fact] that'*

(▷C3:144; for *li-* لِـ 'for', see **2.6.10**)

As a nominal subordinator *li-'anna* لأنّ must always be followed by a noun, either an explicit noun or a bound pronoun.

The order in sentences containing *li-'anna* لأنّ is really determined by emphasis. In normal word order the subordinate clause follows the main clause:

wa-lā nastaṭī'u 'an naqūla 'innahu kāna 'a'jaba l-šaḫṣiyyāti l-'insāniyyati llatī 'āšat fī ḥayyi šindaġata ***li-'anna*** *ḏālika l-ḥayya ḥafala bi-l-šaḫṣiyyāti l-'ajībati*

ولا نستطيع أنْ نقول إنّه كان أعجب الشخصيات الإنسانية التي عاشت في حيّ شندغة لأنّ ذلك الحيّ حفل بالشخصيات العجيبة

'we cannot say that he was the oddest personality living in the Shindagha quarter **because** that quarter was full of strange personalities'

In MWA the subordinate clause containing *li-'anna* لأنّ often precedes the main clause. In this case, the main clause may or may not be preceded by a discourse marker such as *fa-* فـ (see **11.1**):

*wa-**li-'annahā** takrahu l-ḥafalāti l-ḫayriyyata l-taqlīdiyyata qarrarat 'alīnā 'an tuwajjiha juhūdahā li-da'mi jam'iyyatin tusā'idu l-'aṭfāla l-mu'āqīna*

ولأنّها تكره الحفلات الخيرية التقليدية قرّرت ألينا أنْ توجّه جهودها لدعم جمعية تساعد الأطفال المعاقين

'and **because she** dislikes traditional charity celebrations Alena decided to direct her efforts towards supporting an organization that helps handicapped children'

*wa-**li-'anna** tabrīrāti l-muḫriji lam takun muqni'atan li-l-riqābati **fa**-qad 'aḥālat-i l-'amra*

ولأنّ تبريرات المخرج لم تكن مقنعة للرقابة فقد أحالت الأمر

'and **because** the director's justifications were not convincing to the (Board of) Censorship, it referred the matter'

7.5.2.11 *Adversatives and concessives with* ’anna أنّ

Adversative/concessive clauses contrast a previous statement or piece of discourse. As compounds they generally convey the sense of the preposition(al) (see, for example, individual meanings of preposition(al)s in **2.6** and **2.7**) and the content of the dependent *’anna* أنّ clause.

- *’illā ’anna* إلا أنّ (▷C3:351) (see also *raġma* رغم), *ġayra ’anna* غير أنّ, etc. ‘but’, ‘however’

  The *’illā* إلا ‘except’ in this and similar clauses is an exceptive particle which in this function bears a conditional sense, that is, ‘if not that . . .’ (see **Chapter 9** and **8.1.4**). It often follows affirmative statements.

  Most of the time English has no particular indicator for the second clause, so for convenience a default [nonetheless] will be inserted in translation where there is not a natural equivalent.

  *wa-llaḏī ‘ādatan mā yabqā fī sūqi l-ḫuḍāri ṯalāṯata ’aw ’arba‘ata ’ayyāmin ḥattā yanḍaja tamāman **’illā ’annahu** fī hāḏā l-ṣayfi kāna yanḍaju fī nafsi l-yawmi llaḏī yuḥḍirūnahu fīhi*

  والّذي عادة ما يبقى في سوق الخضار ثلاثة أو أربعة أيّام حتى ينضج تماما إلا أنّه في هذا الصيف كان ينضج في نفس اليوم الّذي يحضرونه فيه

  ‘and which normally stay in the vegetable market for three or four days before they ripen fully; **[nonetheless]** this summer they would ripen on the same day as they brought them’

  *wa-ḥaqqaqat ṯarwatan ṭā’ilatan **’illā ’annahā** baddadathā*

  وحققت ثروة طائلة إلا أنها بددتها

  ‘and she achieved enormous wealth, **but [she]** squandered it’

- *bayda ’anna* بيد أنّ (▷C3:141) ‘however’, ‘although’

  Occurs either at the head of a subordinate clause:

  *tuwājihu ṣinā‘atu l-ṣūfi fī ostrāliyā ’azmatan **bayda ’anna** muškilatahā l-kubrā laysat fī riyāḥi l-taġyīri llatī habbat ‘alā sāḥati l-mōḍati l-‘ālamiyyati*

  تواجه صناعة الصوف في أستراليا أزمة بيد أنّ مشكلتها الكبرى ليست في رياح التغيير التي هبّت على ساحة الموضة العالمية

  ‘the wool industry in Australia faces a crisis, **although** its major problem is not in the winds of change which have been blowing over the field of world fashion’

or at the head of a new piece of discourse after a full stop or even at the beginning of a new paragraph, as is potentially the case for many of these adversatives and concessives:

bayda 'annahu *ṣtadama, bādi'a ḏī bad'in, bi-l-niẓāmi l-ta'līmiyyi l-mutaḫallifi*
بيد أنّه اصطدم، بادئ ذي بدء، بالنظام التعليمي المتخلّف
'**however** *h*e was shocked, right from the start, at the backward education system' (see paronomasia **11.7.10**)

- *siwā 'anna* سوى أنّ 'except that', 'but' (**2.9.2.4** and **9.5.2**):

  wa qad-i starāḥat 'ilā hāḏā l-lawni min-a l-ma'īšati ***siwā 'annahā*** *lam takun tuḥibbu 'an ya'rifū ḏālika*
  وقد استراحت إلى هذا اللون من المعيشة سوى أنّها لم تكن تحبّ أنْ يعرفوا ذلك
  'and she found comfort in this style of living **although** [except that] **she** did not want them to know that'

- *'alā 'anna* على أنّ (▷C2:331; ▷C3:141) 'but', 'however' (see *'alā* على in **2.6.2**, especially in the sense of indicating circumstances)

  'alā 'anna *'ahamma mulāḥaẓatin yajibu 'an nu'akkida 'alayhā hunā hiya 'anna …*
  على أنّ أهمّ ملاحظة يجب أن نؤكّد عليها هنا هي أنّ . . .
  '**but** the most important observation we must emphasize here is that …'

  (for the pronoun *hiya* هي, here inserted to mark topic from comment, see **3.5.2**; for relative clauses with elative adjective, see also **5.1.1**)

  'alā 'anna *'ikrāma l-jāri lā yaqifu 'inda naw'in mu'ayyanin min-a l-'ikrāmi*
  على أنّ إكرام الجار لا يقف عند نوع معيّن من الإكرام
  '**but** respect for a neighbour does not stop at one particular kind of respect'

- *ġayra 'anna* غير أنّ (▷C2:151; ▷C3:137) (cf. *min ġayri 'an* من غير أنْ **7.5.1.11**) (▷C2:153) 'however' (general reference to *ġayr* غير in **2.9.2.3**)

  Often with the meaning of 'but', 'nonetheless' (cf. *lākinna* لكنّ 'but' **6.5.1**; see also *raġma* رغم 'in spite of'). Preceding sentence may be negative but is normally affirmative:

  ḥāwaltu 'an 'u'alliqa bi-biḍ'i kalimātin ***ġayra 'anna*** *l-mumarriḍata l-jamīlata l-šaqrā'a badat ṣārimata l-malāmiḥi*
  حاولت أنْ أعلّق ببضع كلمات غير أنّ الممرّضة الجميلة الشقراء بدت صارمة الملامح
  'I tried to add a few words **but** the beautiful blonde nurse looked stern in countenance' (for unreal annexation, see **2.1.3.2** and for *badā* بدا 'to appear', see **3.17.4**)

ġayra ’anna *hāḏā lā yamnaʿu ’an takūna hunāka baʿḍu l-iḫtilāfāti*
غير أنّ هذا لا يمنع أنْ تكون هناك بعض الاختلافات
‘**but** this does not prevent there being certain disagreements’

ġayra ’anna *ḏahābī ’ilā l-duktūri J. S. lam yaḥduṯ ’illā baʿda sabʿi sanawātin*
غير أنّ ذهابي إلى الدكتور ج. س. لم يحدث إلا بعد سبع سنوات
‘**however,** my going to Dr J. S. did not happen until five years later’

- *maʿa ’anna* مع أنّ (▷C2:317, ▷C3:140) ‘although’, ‘in spite of the fact that’ (*maʿa* مع generally, see **2.6.11**)

  Either follows the main clause:

  … ***maʿa ’annahā*** *min ’usratin muṯaqqafatin*
  . . . مع أنّها من أسرة مثقّفة
  ‘…**even though she is/was** from an educated family’

  or precedes it. When the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, it is normally preceded by the resumptive (coordinating particle) *fa-* فـ ‘and so’ (or sometimes the resumptive *’illā* إلا ‘except’, ‘even though’, see **11.1**):

  *wa-**maʿa ’annanā** qad šaraḥnā hāḏihi l-wijhata min-a l-naẓari bi-tafṣīlin … **fa**-’inna l-nuṣūṣa …*
  ومع أنّنا قد شرحنا هذه الوجهة من النظر بتفصيل . . . فإنّ النصوص . . .
  ‘**although we** explained this point of view in detail …**nonetheless** the texts …’

  maʿa مع is also used in adversative phrases:

  *wa-**maʿa** kulli hāḏā **’illā ’anna** ṣālāti l-ʿarḍi …*
  ومع كل هذا إلا أنّ صالات العرض . . .
  ‘**in spite of** all this **[nonetheless]** the exhibition rooms …’

  (see *maʿa ’anna* مع أنّ above and *maʿa* مع ‘with’ in **2.6.11**)

- *ʿalā / bi-l-raġmi* (*min*) (من) بالرغم / على */raġma* (*’anna*) (أنّ) رغم followed by resumptive *’illā* إلا ‘in spite of’, ‘even though’, ‘although’, ‘nonetheless’, ‘however’.

  This construction occurs in a number of variant forms. Since these are examples of correlative subordinates, there are always two parts. The subordinate element introduced by *raġma* رغم ‘in spite of’, and its variants, normally precedes the main clause, which may be introduced by *’illā* إلا ‘nonetheless’, as in the following examples, or a number of other options listed below:

bi-l-raġmi min 'annahā *hazzat ra'sahā bi-l-rafḍi* ***'illā 'anna*** *qalbahā ġariqa fī hazzati ḥuznin 'amīqin*

بالرغم من أنّها هزّت رأسها بالرفض إلا أنّ قلبها غرق في هزّة حزن عميق

'**even though she** shook her head in refusal **[nonetheless]** her heart was overwhelmed by a tremor of deep sorrow'

'alā l-raġmi min 'annahā *ma'rūfatun bi-smi l-sayyidati 'azīzata* ***'illā 'annahā*** *fī l-ḥaqīqati lā tazālu 'ānisatan*

على الرغم من أنّها معروفة باسم السيدة عزيزة إلا أنّها في الحقيقة لا تزال آنسة

'**in spite of the fact that she** is known as Mrs 'Azīza **[nonetheless]** she is in fact still a Miss'

(for *mā zāla* ما زال 'not to cease', i.e. 'to still be', see **3.21.4**)

*wa-**raġma 'anna** hadafahum ḥukmu miṣra **'illā 'annahum** 'aḏkiyā'u jiddan*

ورغم أنّ هدفهم حكم مصر إلا أنّهم أذكياء جدّا

'and **in spite of the fact that** their goal is to rule Egypt, **[nonetheless]** they are very clever'

Simple phrasal *raġma* رغم

***raġma** l-muddati l-ṭawīlati llatī 'amḍāhā fī l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati . . .* ***'illā 'anna** l-waṭana mā zāla ḥayyan 'indahu*

رغم المدّة الطويلة الّتي أمضاها في الولايات المتحدة . . . إلا أنّ الوطن ما زال حيّا عنده

'**in spite of** the long time he has spent in the USA, **[nonetheless]** the homeland is still alive for him'

Other resumptives after *raġma* رغم 'in spite of':

- *ġayra 'anna* غير أنّ (see also above):

*wa-**raġma 'anna** l-jawwa ḫāniqun dāḫila l-harami,* ***ġayra 'annahu** qad ta'attara bi-ḥamāsi ġunaym*

و رغم أنّ الجوّ خانق داخل الهرم غير أنّه قد تأثّر بحماس غنيم

'**in spite of the fact that** the air in the pyramid was suffocating, **[nonetheless]** he was excited by Ghunaym's enthusiasm'

(cf. **3.12.1** on quasi-passive with instrument/agent)

- *fa-'inna* فإنّ 'for [indeed]', 'nonetheless' (for *'inna* إنّ, see **3.2.1**)

  *wa-**'alā l-raġmi min 'anna** bilādahu tas'ā li-tajannubi l-ḥarbi wa-tahtammu bi-l-binā'i **fa-'innahā** sa-tuqāwimu l-'udwāna 'alayhā bi-kulli wasīlatin*

  وعلى الرغم من أنّ بلاده تسعى لتجنّب الحرب و تهتمّ بالبناء فإنّها ستقاوم العدوان عليها بكلّ وسيلة

  '**in spite of the fact that** his country is striving to avoid war and concentrating on construction [**nonetheless**] it will resist aggression against it by every means'

- *wa-qad* وقد (reinforces the verb, see **3.10.4**):

  *wa-**raġma 'annahu** laysa hunāka ḫtilāfun kabīrun baynahumā … **wa-qad** mārasa l-'adīdu min-a l-hay'āti hāḏā l-fikra*

  ورغم أنّه ليس هناك اختلاف كبير بينهم . . . و قد مارس العديد من الهيئات هذا الفكر

  '**although there is** no great disagreement between them, [**nonetheless**] a large number of organizations have practised this kind of thinking'

  (see 'many' **2.1.5.1**)

- *fa-* ف 'and so' (cf. **6.3.4** and especially **11.1**)

  *wa-**raġma** taġallubi l-'īqā'i l-sarī'i 'alā l-'aġānī l-majmū'ati, **fa**-'aġlabu l-ẓanni 'anna l-šabāba sa-yuṣābūna bi-ḫaybati l-'amali*

  ورغم تغلّب الإيقاع السريع على الأغاني المجموعة فأغلب الظنّ أنّ الشباب سيصابون بخيبة الأمل

  '**in spite of** the predominance of a fast rhythm in the collected songs, [**nonetheless**] the most likely [thing] is that young people will be disappointed'

  (note that the second clause contains an example of *'anna* أنّ introducing predicate, see **7.5.2.2**)

- *lākin* لكن 'but' (see **6.5.2**):

  ***raġma** 'ahammiyyati sūriyā wa-mawqifihā l-ṯābiti min-a l-waḥdati l-'arabiyyati **lākin** taẓallu li-l-'alāqāti l-miṣriyyati l-sūdāniyyati ḫuṣūṣātuhā*

  رغم أهمّية سوريا وموقفها الثابت من الوحدة العربية لكن تظلّ للعلاقات المصرية السودانية خصوصاتها

  '**in spite of** the importance of Syria and its firm position in Arab unity, [**nonetheless**] Egyptian–Sudanese relations still have their special features'

7.5.2.12 'anna أنّ *instead of* 'an أنْ *clauses*

A small number of verbs may be followed by *'anna* أنّ clauses when the *'an* أنْ clause might be expected. Their use is determined by the degree of certainty in the verb of the main clause.

- *qarrara* قرّر 'to decide', 'to reach a decision' (cf. **7.5.1.1**):

  fa-bi-'imkāninā 'an ***nuqarrira*** *binā'an 'alā mā taqaddama* ***'anna l-turāṯa*** …

  فبإمكاننا أنْ نقرّر بناء على ما تقدم أنّ التراث . . .

  'so we can **reach a decision** based on what has come before, **that [our] heritage** …'

- *tawaqqa'a* توقّع 'to expect' (cf. **7.5.1.1**):

  *wa-****yatawaqqa'u*** *l-maktabu 'ayḍan* ***'annahu*** *fī 'āmi 2006* …

  و يتوقّع المكتب أيضا أنّه في عام ٢٠٠٦ . . .

  'the office also **expects that** in the year 2006 …'

  (for the pronoun, *ḍamīr al-ša'n* ضمير الشأن, attached to *'annahu* أنّه 'the fact is', see **3.4**)

7.6 Further simple subordinators

7.6.1 li- لِـ *'for'* (▷C3:80; **2.6.10**) (cf. **7.6.2 kay** كيْ)

Reason or purpose; verb is dependent imperfect:

tawaqqafū ***li-yastarīḥū***

توقفوا ليستريحوا

'they stopped **in order to rest**'

'atā ḍābiṭu l-murūri ***li-yu'āyina*** *l-ḥādiṯa*

أتى ضابط المرور ليعاين الحادث

'the traffic policeman came **to inspect** the accident'

li-ya'īša *'abnā'u l-waṭani ḥayātan 'āminatan mustaqirratan*

ليعيش أبناء الوطن حياة آمنة مستقرّة

'**in order that** the sons of the fatherland **might live** a safe and stable life'

Non-purpose (▷C3:81) (*li-kay* لكيْ also, see **7.6.2**). The preposition *li-* لِـ 'for' followed by the dependent imperfect verb often introduces a subordinate clause which is not the intention (purpose) of the agent but rather a consequence of it. It often conveys the idea of an infinitive construction in English, perhaps being a calque:

ladayhi l-kaṯīru min-a l-humūmi ***li-yaṭraḥahā*** *'alā l-ra'īsi*
لديه الكثير من الهموم ليطرحها على الرئيس
'he has a lot of worries **to put to** the president', lit. 'to put **them** to'

wa-zāda l-'ajzu fī l-muwāzanati ***li-yaṣila 'ilā*** *290 bilyūna dūlārin*
وزاد العجز في الموازنة ليصل إلى ٢٩٠ بليون دولار
'the budget deficit increased **to reach** $290 billion'

insakabat 'aši"atu l-šamsi l-mušriqati bi-hudū'in ***li-tuġaṭṭiya*** *l-'arḍa l-mumtaddata*
انسكبت أشعّة الشمس المشرقة بهدوء لتغطّي الأرض الممتدّة
'the rays of the rising sun poured down gently **to cover** the earth spread out [beneath]'

7.6.1.1 *Idioms*

- *jā'a* جاء and *'atā li-* أتى لِـ lit. 'to come for':

  ṯumma ***jā'a R. P. li-yu'akkida*** *tarkīza l-ḥamlati l-intiḫābiyyati 'alā l-qaḍāyā l-dāḫiliyyati*
  ثم جاء ر.ب. ليؤكّد تركيز الحملة الانتخابية على القضايا الداخلية
  'then **R. P. came to confirm** that the election campaign would concentrate on internal issues'

  *wa-****jā'a ta'ādulu mūnākū*** *'alā mal'abihi …* ***li-yaj'alahu*** *yatasāwā ma'a munāfisihi*
  وجاء تعادل موناكو على ملعبه (. . .) ليجعله يتساوى مع منافسه
  'and Monaco's **home draw** … **came to make it** level with its rival'

  wa-'anna hāḏihi l-jā'izata l-mamnūḥata mu'aḫḫaran ***ta'tī li-tu'azziza*** *mawqi'a l-funduqi bi-'annahu …*
  وأنّ هذه الجائزة الممنوحة مؤخّرا تأتي لتعزّز موقع الفندق بأنّه . . .
  'and that this award [which was] recently given **comes to strengthen** the position of the hotel as being' …

- *ḥalā li-* لِ حلا lit. 'seemed sweet to':

  kamā kāna ***yaḥlū li-****R. Ḥ. 'an yuqaddima nafsahu*

  كما كان يحلو لر.خ. أن يقدّم نفسه

  'as R. H. **liked to** introduce himself', lit. 'as it used to please R. H. to introduce himself'

7.6.1.2 *lām al-juḥūd* (▷C3:82, not recognized as such by C [error in ▷C2:290], see **4.3**)

*wa-**mā kāna li-yatajāwaza** ḏālika hāḏā l-'āma law-lā ta'ṯīru rtifā'i 'as'āri l-nafṭi*

وما كان ليتجاوز ذلك هذا العام لولا تأثير ارتفاع أسعار النفط

'and **it would not have gone beyond** that this year had it not been for the effect of rising oil prices' (for *law-lā* لولا, see **8.2.11**)

7.6.1.3 *li-'an* لأنْ (▷C3:82) 'so that'

For purpose; verb is dependent imperfect:

*wa-qad ṣāġahu min 'āmālihim wa-'ālāmihim **li-'an yun'iša** haykala l-rūḥi fa-yaḫḍarra wa-yazdahira*

وقد صاغه من آمالهم و آلامهم لأنْ ينعش هيكل الروح فيخضرّ ويزدهر

'they have formed it from their hopes and pains **so as to refresh** the framework of the soul so it will become green and blossom'

7.6.1.4 *li-'allā* لئلا 'lest', i.e. 'in order that not', from *li-'an lā* لأنْ لا (cf. **7.5.1.8**):

***li-'allā** nansā* لئلا ننسى '**lest** we forget'

***li-'allā** yataḥawwala l-intiṣāru hazīmatan*

لئلا يتحوّل الانتصار هزيمة

'**so that** the victory will **not** turn into a defeat'

7.6.1.5 *li-* لِ + verbal noun alternative (▷C2:289) (see **2.6.10**)

For purpose or reason:

***li-**munāqašati l-qaḍiyyati l-filisṭīniyyati*

لمناقشة القضيّة الفلسطينية

'**for** discussion of the Palestinian issue', i.e. 'to discuss'

li-ta'sīsi lajnatin 'ulyā
لتأسيس لجنة عليا
'**in order to** form a supreme committee'

7.6.2 kay كيْ (▷C3:309) *also* li-kay لكيْ *'in order to'*

The particle *kay* كيْ 'so that' expresses a motive or reason and indicates the intention of the agent in the same way as the particle *li-* لِـ 'for' (cf. also *li-'an* لأنْ 'for that'). *kay* كيْ may occur by itself or with *li-* لِـ, that is, *li-kay* لكيْ. The verb after both *kay* كيْ and *li-kay* لكيْ is in dependent imperfect form.

Positive sense:

uḫrujī ma'ī 'ilā l-nāsi ***li-kay*** *yaraw 'ayya mut'atin 'a'īšu*
اخرجي معي إلى الناس لكي يروا ايّ متعة أعيش
'come out [fem. sing.] with me to the people **so that** they can see what a pleasure I am experiencing'

(for agreement with *nās* ناس 'people', see **3.8.2**)

wa-bi-l-raġmi min muḥāwalātī l-jabbārati ***li-kay*** *'ansāki*
وبالرغم من محاولاتي الجبّارة لكي أنساك
'and in spite of my enormous efforts **to** forget you'

li-kay *tal'aba dawran 'asāsiyyan*
لكي تلعب دورا أساسيا
'**in order to** play a fundamental role'

kay *yuhājimanā*
كي يهاجمنا
'**in order to** attack us'

The following example suggests the emergence of a calque style (cf. *jā'a li-* جاء لِـ above):

li-'anna l-waqta qad ḥāna ***li-kay*** *tušārika l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu bi-fā'iliyyatin*
لأنّ الوقت قد حان لكي تشارك الولايات المتّحدة بفاعلية
'because the time has come **for** [lit. "in order that"] the United States to participate effectively'

Negative sense *kay-lā* كيْلا, *li-kay-lā* لكيْلا 'lest', 'in order that not' (▷C3:309) (see also **4.2.1**). The verb is always in the dependent imperfect:

li-kay-lā *tatasarraba 'ilā 'aswāqi l-'aġḏiyati*

لكيلا تتسرّب إلى أسواق الأغذية

'**lest** they infiltrate the food markets'

kay-mā كيْما (and *li-kay-mā* لكيْما) 'in order to' (see **5.6.3**) (▷C3:310) takes independent imperfect form (although in CA the dependent imperfect form was possible with *'an* أنْ):

'ammā ḥamāda l-ṣaġīru fa-qad ḏahaba 'ilā jaddatihi ***kay-mā*** *yajidu 'indahā ba'ḍa l-ḥubbi llaḏī yaftaqiduhu ladā 'abawayhi*

أما حمادة الصغير فقد ذهب إلى جدته كيما يجد عندها بعض الحب الذي يفتقده لدى أبويه

'as for young Hamada he went to his grandmother **in order to** find with her some of the love he missed with his parents'

7.6.3 lammā لمّا *'when', 'since'* (cf. *'iḏ* إذ **7.6.4**) (▷C3:307)

lammā لمّا had a temporal and causal meaning in CA. These senses are both still found, but less commonly, particularly in the temporal sense for which *'indamā* عندما 'when' (see **5.9.8**) is used more frequently.

Temporal adverbial, with two perfect verbs where the validity of the second verb is wholly dependent upon the first:

lammā *hazzahu wajada l-rajula mayyitan*

لمّا هزه وجد الرجل ميتا

'**when** he shook him he found the man [to be] dead'

(see *wajada* وجد in **3.11.2.3**)

*wa-**lammā** qtarabat minhu ra'athu bi-dawrihā fa-btasamat*

ولمّا اقتربت منه رأته بدورها فابتسمت

'and **when** she drew near to him she saw him in her turn, so she smiled'

(on the force of *fa-* ف in the second sentence, see **6.3.1**)

lammā *kāna yawmu fatḥi makkata, 'amara l-nabiyyu …*

لمّا كان يوم فتح مكّة أمر النبي . . .

'**when** it was the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet commanded …'

(note absolute *kāna* كان here, see **3.16.1**)

*wa-**lammā** ’aš‘arahā ’annahu yuḥibbuhā wa-yarġabu fī l-taḥadduṯi ’ilayhā li-ḏālika l-sababi staġrabat*

ولمّا أشعرها أنّه يحبّها ويرغب في التحدّث إليها لذلك السبب استغربت

‘and **when** he informed her that he loved her and wanted to talk to her for this reason she found [it] strange’

Causal in the sense of ‘since’ (i.e. ‘owing to the fact that’) (▷C3:308), often with *fa-qad* فقد (see **3.10.4**) at head of main clause, here translated as ‘so’ for convenience:

*wa-**lammā** lam yakun hunāka dalīlun ‘alā tajassusihi **fa-qad** ’afrajū ‘anhu*

ولمّا لم يكن هناك دليل على تجسّسه فقد أفرجوا عنه

‘and **since** there was no evidence of his spying **[so]** they released him’

*wa-**lammā** kāna sababu ’i‘jābi wa-mayli badriyya li-fayṣal majhūlan **fa-qad** taḥayyara wa-ta‘ajjaba zumalā’uhā wa-ma‘ārifuhā min ḏālika l-’amri*

ولمّا كان سبب إعجاب وميل بدرية لفيصل مجهولا فقد تحيّر وتعجّب زملاؤها ومعارفها من ذلك الأمر

‘and **since** the reason for Badriyya’s being enamoured with Faysal and her inclination towards him was unknown **[so]** her colleagues and acquaintances were confused and surprised at it’

But it is also often unmarked:

***lammā** kānat lī ba‘ḍu l-ṣilāti bi-‘ā’ilatihā kuntu ’ata‘ajjabu li-māḏā lam tatazawwaj*

لمّا كانت لي بعض الصلات بعائلتها كنت أتعجّب لماذا لم تتزوّج

‘**since** I had certain connections with her family **[0]** I used to wonder why she had not got married’

(for indirect questions, see **10.18,** and for agreement problems with *ba‘ḍ* بعض, see **3.8.4**)

***lammā** lam yakun ladayya mā ’aqūluhu raḥḥabtu bi-da‘wati laylā li-l-la‘bi*

لما لم يكن لدي ما أقوله رحبت بدعوة ليلى للعب

‘**since** I did not have anything to say **[0]** I welcomed Layla’s invitation to play’

7.6.3.1 *lammā ’an* لمّا أنْ ‘when [that]’ (▷C3:308)

The addition of *’an* أنْ ‘that’ (+ perfect) does not appear to change the meaning:

wa-ḥāwala ’an yaṣna‘a ma‘ī hāḏā l-ṣanī‘a ***lammā ’an*** *qaddamtu ’ilā lajnati l-ta’līfi … ’uṣūla kitābī*

وحاول أن يصنع معي هذا الصنيع لمّا أن قدّمت إلى لجنة التأليف . . . أصول كتابي

‘and he tried this trick on with me **when** I presented to the publication committee … the foundations of my book’ (see paronomasia **11.7.10**)

7.6.3.2 *lammā* لمّا as ‘not yet’ (see also **4.2.4** and negative circumstantial qualifiers above)

The syntax associated with this construction is very different from the affirmative *lammā* لمّا above. It has been almost entirely replaced by *lam . . . ba‘du* لم . . . بعد ‘not . . . yet’ (see **4.2.3**).

When the main action or event has not yet taken place, the verb is apocopated:

lā yazālu yaḏkuru ḥīnamā ntaza‘ūhu min ’ummihi ***wa-lammā yabluġ****-i l-ḫāmisata min ‘umrihi*

لا يزال يذكر حينما انتزعوه من أمّه ولمّا يبلغ الخامسة من عمره

‘he can still recall when they snatched him away from his mother, **he not yet having reached** five years old’

Note that in this situation apocopated verbs (and indeed all verbs ending in an unvowelled consonant) take *-i* as their epenthetic vowel in juncture, namely, *yabluġ[0]* يبلغْ + *-i*, probably to avoid confusion with the mood inflections *-u* and *-a* (cf. **1.9.2** for paradigms).

7.6.4 ’iḏ إذ ***‘since’, ‘when’*** (▷C3:284)

’iḏ إذ is an old deictic deriving from the obsolete noun *’iḏ* إذ ‘time’. It now conveys either the sense of ‘when’ (adverbial compounds, see **2.5.3**) or ‘lo’ (see **3.31.2**).

- Introducing temporal adverbial clauses with the sense of ‘when’, denoting the past:

  … raġma taraddudihi fī l-bidāyati bi-ša’ni ḥarbi l-ḫalīji ***’iḏ*** *kāna yu’ayyidu stimrāra farḍi l-‘uqūbāti.*

  . . . رغم تردّده في البداية بشأن حرب الخليج إذ كان يؤيّد استمرار فرض العقوبات

  ‘… despite his hesitation at the beginning of the Gulf War, **when** he supported the continued imposition of sanctions’

- Causal that is, 'since' (▷C3:287). It may precede either a verbal or nominal sentence:

  *ḏālika l-mašrūʿu lam yastamirra **ʾiḏ** yabdū ʾanna l-ḥukūmata l-birīṭāniyyata qad ṣarafat-i l-naẓara ʿanhu*

  ذلك المشروع لم يستمرّ إذ يبدو أنّ الحكومة البريطانية قد صرفت النظر عنه

  'that project did not continue **as it** seems that the British government turned its attention away from it'

  *ʾillā ʾannahu waqafa mutaraddidan baġtatan **ʾiḏ** ʾadraka l-laḥẓata faqaṭ ʾannahu bi-dūni ʿunwānin*

  إلا أنّه وقف مترددا بغتة إذ أدرك اللحظة فقط أنه بدون عنوان

  'but he stood perplexed suddenly **when** he realized at that instant only that [the corpse] did not have a label'

  *lā nunkiru ʾanna hadafa rajuli l-ʾaʿmāli huwa taḥqīqu l-ribḥi **ʾiḏ** ʾannahu lā yaʿmalu ka-jihatin ḫayriyyatin*

  لا ننكر أنّ هدف رجل الأعمال هو تحقيق الربح إذ أنّه لا يعمل كجهة خيرية

  'we do not deny that the businessman's aim is to make a profit, **since** he does not act as a charitable agency'

(for *ʾanna* أنّ 'that', see **3.2.2**; cf. *li-ʾanna* لأنّ */ḥayṯu ʾanna* حيث أنّ)

The *ʾiḏ* إذ clause may also precede the main clause:

*wa-**ʾiḏ** taqtaribu l-kuwaytu min-a l-ʿāmi 2001 li-tutawwaja ʿāṣimatan ṯaqāfiyyatan fa-ʾinnahā turakkizu juhdahā fī ṯalāṯati ʾahdāfin*

وإذ تقترب الكويت من العام ٢٠٠١ لتُتَوّج عاصمة ثقافية فإنّها تركّز جهدها في ثلاثة أهداف

'and **since** Kuwait is on the verge of being crowned a cultural capital from 2001 it is concentrating its efforts on three objectives'

- Categorical negative sentences after *ʾiḏ* إذ (▷C3:289) (see **4.1.2**)

  ***ʾiḏ lā qudrata lī** ʿalā ʾan ʾastarīḥa ka-mā yaʾmura l-ṭabība*

  إذ لا قدرة لي على أنْ أستريح كما يأمر الطبيب

  '**because I am unable** to rest as the doctor orders'

- At beginning of compound sentence, 'for' (▷C3:289)

  ***ʾiḏ** law jalasta maʿahā ʿalā māʾidatin wāḥidatin la-mā ḥadaṯa šayʾun min ḏālika*

  إذ لو جلست معها على مائدة واحدة لما حدث شيء من ذلك

  '**for** if you had sat with her at the same table [lit. "at one table"] none of this would have happened' (see also **8.2.1**)

7.6.5 *'iḏā* إذا *'when'* (▷C3:291)

For *'iḏā* إذا of surprise (▷C3:292), and see **3.31**, **8.3**.

Like *'iḏ* إذ 'when', *'iḏā* إذا 'when' also derives from the obsolete noun *'iḏ* إذ meaning 'time' (as does adverbial *'iḏan* إذًا 'in that case', see **2.5.6**).

Although the function of *'iḏā* إذا in MWA has moved from temporal to conditional, examples of its purely temporal narrative function (▷C3:299) can still be found. *'iḏā* إذا is normally followed by the perfect.

Partly as a result of the conditional extension of *'iḏā* إذا, MWA has developed alternatives for purely temporal 'when':

'indamā عندما (see **5.9.8**)

ḥīna(mā) حين(ما) (see **5.9.7**)

waqta 'an وقت أن (see **7.5.1.10**)

'iḏā إذا retains its original temporal sense in many contexts, however (**8.3.11**; see also **8.3.10**):

min-a l-'ābirīna 'aqribā'u yanzilūna 'indanā ***'iḏā*** *jā'ū min-a l-rīfi*
من العابرين أقرباء ينزلون عندنا إذا جاءوا من الريف
'among those passing through are relatives who stay with us **when** they come from the country'

*wa-**'iḏā** zara'nā l-buḏūra l-mustawradata **najidhā** lā tunāsibu l-turbata*
وإذا زرعنا البذور المستوردة نجدها لا تناسب التربة
'and **when** we plant the imported seeds **we find them** unsuitable for the soil'

The occurrence of the main verb in the independent imperfect is not common (▷C3:301) (see **8.3.2**).

7.6.5.1 *Conditional meaning* (▷C3:302)

(for main treatment, see **Chapter 8**)

***'iḏā ḥaḍarat**-i l-malā'ikatu **ḏahabat**-i l-šayāṭīnu*
إذا حضرت الملائكة ذهبت الشياطين
'**if** angels **come** devils **leave**'

7.6.5.2 *'iḏā* إذا of surprise, also for *'iḏ* إذ 'lo' (for full treatment, see **3.31**)

As sentence introducer:

*fa-**'iḏā bihi** yaḥuḍḍu l-nafsa 'alā 'an taṣbuwa 'ilayhā*
فإذا به يحضّ النفس على أنْ تصبو إليها
'so **there he was**, urging the soul to incline towards it'

*fa-**'iḏā bihi** samakatun ṣagīratun*
فإذا به سمكة صغيرة
'and **there it was**, a small fish'

7.6.6 ḥīna حين *'when'* (▷C3:76)

(See also *ḥīna-mā* حينما 'when', lit. 'at the time of', **2.5.8.4** and **5.9.7**; and for *fī ḥīni 'anna* في حين أنّ 'at the time when', see **7.5.2.6**.)

ḥīna حين 'when' is a temporal adverbial annexed to verbal sentences (as first element of annexation) and may be followed by the perfect or independent imperfect:

***ḥīna** 'aqarra l-'islāmu milkiyyata l-fardi l-mašrū'ata li-l-māli fa-'innahu ḥamā tilka l-milkiyyata bi-tašrī'ihi l-qānūniyyi*
حين أقرّ الإسلام ملكية الفرد المشروعة للمال فإنّه حمى تلك الملكية بتشريعه القانوني
'**when** Islam declared the legal right of the individual to own wealth it defended that right of ownership by its legislation'

*'inna l-'idānata takūnu min naṣībi l-nisā'i **ḥīna** yaqumna bi-ṯawratin hādi'atin wa-'insāniyyatin fī sabīli l-difā'i 'an ḥuqūqihinna*
إنّ الإدانة تكون من نصيب النساء حين يقمن بثورة هادئة و إنسانية في سبيل الدفاع عن حقوقهن
'condemnation will be the lot of women **when** they carry out a peaceful and humane revolution in the cause of defending their rights'

(for *kāna* كان 'be' supplying tense to equational sentence, see **3.16.3**)

*mā jarā lahu **ḥīna** rafaḍa l-insiḥaba bi-salāmin*
ما جرى له حين رفض الانسحاب بسلام
'what happened to him **when** he refused to withdraw peacefully'

(cf. **1.12.4.2** on the indefinite *bi-salāmin* بسلام 'some peace' here)

fī ḥīni في حين plus or minus *'anna* أنّ (▷C3:77) 'at the time of/that'. *ḥīna* حين 'time' may be preceded by a preposition (*fī* في 'in' or *'alā* على 'at') and either annexed to a verbal sentence:

fī ḥīni *tarakū 'amalahum-i l-'asāsiyya*
في حين تركوا عملهم الأساسي
'**when** they abandoned their basic task'

or followed by *'anna* أنّ 'that', often contrastive:

fī ḥīni 'anna *man taḥaddaṯū …*
في حين أنّ من تحدّثوا . . .
'**while** those that did speak (i.e. in contrast to those who did not) …'

(for the plural agreement with *man* من 'he who', 'those who', see **5.4.1**)

fī ḥīni 'anna *l-'amra l-ḥāsima l-'awwala . . . nātijun 'an-i l-ta'ṯīri l-mubāširi . . . fa'inna …*
في حين أنّ الأمر الحاسم الأوّل . . . ناتج عن التأثير المباشر . . . فإنّ . . .
'**while** the first decisive issue … is a result of the direct effect …, then …'

7.6.7 ḥattā حتى *'until', 'up to the point where', 'even'*

In addition to its function as coordinating conjunction with the sense of 'even', and that of prepositional with the sense of 'until', 'as far as' (see **2.6.6**, **6.11** and **2.19.12**; cf. *'ilā* إلى 'to', 'till'), *ḥattā* حتّى also introduces subordinate dependent clauses.

7.6.7.1 *'until', with perfect* (▷C3:84; also ▷C3:86)

As a temporal, *ḥattā* حتّى 'until' may introduce a clause that is merely the effect or result of the main verb, without any implication of intention on the part of the agent. In this case, *ḥattā* حتّى may be followed by the verb in either the perfect or the independent imperfect, although the former is more common:

wa-ẓalla kullu wāḥidin minhumā yuzāyidu 'alā l-'āḫari ***ḥattā*** *waṣala si'ru l-masraḥi 'ila (25) 'alfa junayhin*
وظلّ كلّ واحد منهما يزايد على الآخر حتّى وصل سعر المسرح إلى ٢٥ ألف جنيه
'and each kept on outbidding the other **until** the price of the theatre reached 25 thousand Egyptian pounds'

(for *ẓalla* ظلّ 'to remain', i.e. persist, see **3.17.14**)

lam ʾakun ʾudriku l-maʿnā l-ʿamīqa li-hāḏihi l-ʿibārati ***ḥattā*** *marartu ḫilāla l-ʿāmi l-munṣarimi bi-tajāriba marīratin*

لم أكن أدرك المعنى العميق لهذه العبارة حتّى مررت خلال العام المنصرم بتجارب مريرة

'I did not realize the deep meaning of this expression **until** during the past year I went through some bitter experiences'

ḥattā *ʾaṣbaḥa hāḏā l-rajulu l-ʿabqariyyu yaskunu kulla baytin miṣriyyin*

حتّى أصبح هذا الرجل العبقري يسكن كلّ بيت مصري

'**until** this genius of a man came to inhabit every Egyptian house'

(for *ʾaṣbaḥa* أصبح 'to become', 'to start', see **3.17.3**)

7.6.7.2 *'so that'* (▷C3:85)

May also convey a sense of 'purpose', expressing the intention of the agent, with the sense of 'to the point that' (cf. *li-* لِـ / *kay* كيْ / *li-kay* لكيْ 'in order to', **7.6.1** and **7.6.2**). The following verb is in the dependent imperfect:

ḥattā *yatimma l-taʿāmulu maʿahā*

حتّى يتمّ التعامل معها

'**so that** cooperation can be effected with them'

(for *yatimmu* يتمّ 'is performed', 'is carried out', see **3.23.1**)

ḥattā *yatajannaba bi-qadri l-ʾimkāni l-ḫawḍa fī tafṣīlāti l-qaḍāyā l-iqtiṣādiyyati*

حتّى يتجنّب بقدر الإمكان الخوض في تفصيلات القضايا الاقتصادية

'**so that** he can avoid as much as possible going into the economic details of the cases'

ḥattā *yaḥṣula ʿalā maʿāšin*

حتّى يحصل على معاش

'**in order to** obtain a livelihood'

Note also the following examples that seem to be a rhetorical extension of the above sense, that is, 'to such an extent that':

lastu ḍaʿīfan ʾaw mahzūzan ***ḥattā*** *ʾatruka l-furṣata li-l-lāʿibi kay yaḫtalifa maʿī*

لست ضعيفا أو مهزوزا حتّى أترك الفرصة للاعب كيْ يختلف معي

'I am not [so] weak or unsure of myself **to** leave the player a chance to disagree with me'

muṭālibīna l-'idārata l-'amrīkiyyata bi-l-tadaḫḫuli ***ḥattā*** *yaḥtarima nitinyāhū ttifāqa wāy blāntayšan*

مطالبين الإدارة الأمريكية بالتدخّل حتّى يحترم نتنياهو اتفاق واي بلانتيشن

'asking that the American administration intervene **until** Netanyahu respects the Wye Plantation agreement'

(cf. **1.2.6.1** on transliteration of foreign words)

7.6.7.3 *Negative* ḥattā lā حتّى لا (▷C3:86) *'so that not'*

yanāmūna fī l-ṭarīqi wa-l-ṣaqī'i ***ḥattā lā*** *yaḍī'a dawruhum*

ينامون في الطريق و الصقيع حتّى لا يضيع دورهم

'they sleep in the street and in the cold **so that** their turn will **not** be lost'

'an tatimma bi-l-'alani ***ḥattā lā*** *takūna ḍidda maṣāliḥi man waṣaftuhum bi-du'āti l-taḥdīṯi*

أن تتمّ بالعلن حتّى لا تكون ضدّ مصالح من وصفتهم بدعاة التحديث

'to be carried out in public **so that** they should **not** be against the interests of those I have described as the advocates of modernization'

ḥattā lā *yakūna naqṣun fī 'ayyi taḫaṣṣuṣin min-a l-taḫaṣṣuṣāti*

حتّى لا يكون نقص في أيّ تخصّص من التخصّصات

'**so that** there should be **no** deficiency in any specialization at all'

(for the periphrastic indefinite construction here, see **1.12.4.1**)

7.6.7.4 *With* la-qad لقد + *perfect (*▷C3:90*; see* ***3.10.4*** *on* qad قد*)*

fa-l-ḥayātu l-mihniyyatu li-l-mu'allimi ġayru maqbūlatin ***ḥattā la-qad*** *'aṣbaḥa min-a l-ṣa'bi 'iġrā'u man yaḥṣulūna*

فالحياة المهنية للمعلّم غير مقبولة حتّى لقد أصبح من الصعب إغراء من يحصلون

'the job [lit. professional life] of a teacher is unacceptable **so much so that** it has become difficult to entice those who achieve'

7.6.7.5 *With* 'iḏā إذا *in sense of 'until when'*

wa-taẓallu l-ḫafāfīšu mu'allaqatan fī l-kuhūfi l-muẓlimati ***ḥattā 'iḏā*** *ḥalla l-ẓalāmu nṭalaqat bi-l-'ālāfi tataġaḏḏā 'alā ḥuqūli l-fākihati*

وتظل الخفافيش معلقة في الكهوف حتى إذا حل الظلام انطلقت بالآلاف تتغذى على حقول الفاكهة

'and the bats remain hanging in the caves **until when** dark descends they emerge in their thousands to feed on the fruit fields'

7.6.7.6 ḥattā ’iḏā mā حتّى إذا ما (▷C3:92) *‘until’*

*wa-yaẓallu l-’amru ‘alā hāḏihi l-ṣūrati **ḥattā ’iḏā ma** ntaqalnā ’ilā l-tawaqqu‘āti l-tarbawiyyati fa-’inna mā yabruzu fī hāḏā l-majāli …*

ويظلّ الأمر على هذه الصورة حتّى إذا ما انتقلنا إلى التوقّعات التربوية فإنّ ما يبرز في هذا المجال . . .

‘the matter remains like this **until when** we move to the educational expectations, then what stands out in this sphere (is) …’

7.6.7.7 *Time idioms with* ḥattā حتّى *‘scarcely’, ‘hardly’*

- *mā ’in . . . ḥattā . . .* ما إنْ . . . حتّى . . . (▷C3:87–8) (correlative subordinators) (see negative *mā* ما **4.1.1**) ‘no sooner . . . than . . .’

  The fossilized double negative *mā ’in* ما إنْ ‘not not’ followed by the verb in perfect or independent imperfect is used in conjunction with *ḥattā* حتّى ‘until’ which may also be followed by either the perfect or dependent imperfect:

  ***mā ’in** waṣalat maktabahā **ḥattā** rafa‘at-i l-sammā‘ata*

  ما إن وصلت مكتبها حتّى رفعت السماعة

  ‘**as soon as** she reached her office she lifted up the receiver’

  ***mā ’in** jalasā **ḥattā** rāḥa fī nawbati bukā’in histīriyyatin*

  ما إن جلسا حتّى راح في نوبة بكاء هستيرية

  ‘**hardly** had they both sat down **when** he went into a fit of hysterical weeping’

  ***mā ’in** taḥuṭṭu l-ṭā’iratu ‘alā ’arḍi bayrūta **ḥattā** yulhiba l-šawqu ’akuffahum bi-l-taṣfīqi*

  ما إن تحطّ الطائرة على أرض بيروت حتّى يلهب الشوق أكفّهم بالتصفيق

  ‘**no sooner** does the plane put down in Beirut **than** the longing sets their hands clapping’

- Note also the variant *mā ’in . . . ’illā wa . . . . . .* ما إنْ . . . إلا و . . . (see **9.4.6**):

  *wa-**mā ’in** waṣaltu ’āḫira l-ġurfati **’illā wa**-wajadtu nafsī dūna ’an ’atawaqqa‘a anẓuru ’ilayhinna …*

  وما إن وصلت آخر الغرفة إلا ووجدت نفسي دون أنْ أتوقّع أنظر إليهنّ . . .

  ‘and **no sooner** had I reached the end of the room **than** I found myself unexpectedly looking at them …’

- Also occurs with *'an* أنْ but is more likely to be a misprint than a grammatical variant (see **1.2.1.1**)

  mā 'an *yamtadda l-šatmu 'ilā šayḫānata* ***ḥattā*** *tamtali'a 'aynāhu bi-l-dumū'i*

  ما أن يمتدّ الشتم إلى شيخانة حتّى تمتلئ عيناه بالدموع

  '**as soon as** the abuse extended to Shaykhana **[then]** his eyes would become filled with tears'

- *lam yalbaṯ* لم يلبث (see **3.17.12**) or *lam yamḍi* لم يمض (see **3.22.6**) . . . *ḥattā* . . . حتّى . . . (not in C) '. . . was not long before . . .':

  *wa-**lam yalbaṯ-i** l-'uṣfuru ṭawīlan* ***ḥattā*** *htadā 'ilā bābi l-qafaṣi . . .*

  ولم يلبث العصفور طويلا حتّى اهتدى إلى باب القفص . . .

  'and **it was not long before** the sparrow was able to make its way to the door of the cage . . .' or 'the sparrow did not take long'

  lam yakun yamḍī *'usbū'un* ***ḥattā*** *nḫaraṭa l-ḥayyu kulluhu fi . . .*

  لم يكن يمضي أسبوع حتّى انخرط الحيّ كلّه في . . .

  '**not** a week **had passed before** the whole quarter got involved in . . .'

- The negative verb *mā kāda* ما كاد 'to hardly do' and variants (*lam yakad* لم يكد, *lā yakādu* لا يكاد) . . . *ḥattā* حتّى . . . (▷C3:88) (see also *kāda* كاد 'to almost, nearly do', **3.21.3**) 'hardly . . . when . . .'

  The verb following *mā kāda* ما كاد and its variants is always in the independent imperfect. The verb following *ḥattā* حتّى can be either perfect or independent imperfect:

  mā kāda *yasīru bi-sayyāratihi biḍ'ata 'amtārin* ***ḥattā*** *wajada l-ṭarīqa 'amāmahu masdūdan*

  ما كاد يسير بسيارته بضعة أمتار حتّى وجد الطريق أمامه مسدودا

  '**he had hardly** driven a few metres in his car **before** he found the road ahead of him blocked'

7.6.8 muḏ مذ *and* munḏu منْذ *'since'* (▷C3:78), see prepositions in **2.6.13** and syndetic circumstantial qualifiers in **7.3.2**

The particle *munḏu* منْذ and its variant *muḏ* مذ introduce subordinate clauses with the sense of 'since'. The particle is followed immediately by a verb in the perfect. The subordinate clause normally follows the main clause:

7.6.8.1 *With perfect verbs*

wa-laffatnī l-ḥayratu ***muḏ*** *tanāhā ’ilayya ’annahu yūjadu rajulun šarīfun fī baladikum*
ولفّتني الحيرة مذ تناهى إلي أنّه يوجد رجل شريف في بلدكم
‘and confusion has surrounded me **ever since** it came to me that there exists a noble man in your country’

(for passive *yūjadu* **يوجد** ‘it is found’, i.e. ‘exists’, see **3.18**)

faḍlan ‘an-i l-zuhdi llaḏī ḥašiyahu ***muḏ*** *ṭaraqa bāba al-šayḫūḫati*
فضلا عن الزهد الّذي حشيه مذ طرق باب الشيخوخة
‘not to mention the abstinence which had surrounded him **ever since** he knocked on the door of old age’ (see **2.6.13**)

fa-l-mabnā ***munḏu*** *wujida lam yakun faqaṭ saddan*
فالمبنى منذ وُجد لم يكن فقط سدّا
‘so the structure **ever since** it came into existence has not just been a dam’

’innahā jarīmatun ta‘rifuhā l-bašariyyatu ***munḏu*** *qāmat ‘alā wajhi l-’arḍi*
إنّها جريمة تعرفها البشرية منذ قامت على وجه الأرض
‘it is a crime which humanity has known **ever since** it stood on the face of the earth’

7.6.8.2 *With* ’an أنْ *‘that’* (▷C3:79) *(see* ’an أنْ *with prepositions* ***7.5.1.10****)*

Following verb still in the perfect:

munḏu ’an*-i staqarra ’amrī*
منذ أن استقرّ أمري
‘**ever since** my situation stabilized’

munḏu ’an *bada’a l-šahru l-karīmu*
منذ أن بدأ الشهر الكريم
‘**since** the holy month began’

7.6.9 ḥayṯu حيث *‘where’, ‘since’, ‘as’,* etc. (▷C3:279) (see **2.5.5**)

Indeclinable adverb introducing an adverbial clause with a basic locative function, to which the numerous, extended meanings can be traced back. It often modifies a place or an act of movement mentioned in the main clause. It is followed by a perfect or independent imperfect.

7.6.9.1 ḥayṯu حيث *with verbs* (▷C3:280) *has two meanings*

- 'where':

  ḥayṯu *yaltaqī l-baḥru bi-l-samā'i*
  حيث يلتقي البحر بالسماء
  '**where** the sea meets the sky'

  rāḥū 'ilā ***ḥayṯu*** *tatasannā lahum luqmatu l-'ayši*
  راحوا إلى حيث تتسنّى لهم لقمة العيش
  'they went **where** a morsel of bread could be obtained'

  wa-ḏahaba 'ilā ḥayyi šindaġata ***ḥayṯu*** *wulida*
  وذهب إلى حيّ شندغة حيث ولد
  'he went to the Shindagha quarter **where** he was born'

  ḥayṯu *sāhama fī ta'sīsi 'adadin min-a l-šarikāti*
  حيث ساهم في تأسيس عدد من الشركات
  '**where** he took part in the founding of a number of companies'

  sayṭarat-i l-qaḍāyā l-dāḫiliyyatu 'alā l-munāẓarati l-ṯāliṯati ***ḥayṯu*** *lam tuwajjah li-l-muraššaḥīna l-ṯalāṯati 'as'ilatun ḫāṣṣatun bi-l-siyāsati l-ḫārijiyyati*
  سيطرت القضايا الداخلية على المناظرة الثالثة حيث لم توجّه للمرشّحين الثلاثة أسئلة خاصّة بالسياسة الخارجية
  'domestic issues dominated the third debate **where** no questions concerning foreign policy were directed at the three candidates'

- 'in that', 'insofar as', 'since':

  lam yantabih-i l-'insānu 'ilā 'aḍrāri haḏihi l-māddati . . . 'illā ḫilāla l-sanawāti l-'ašarati l-'aḫīrati ***ḥayṯu*** *lam yakun ya'taqidu 'anna l-diyuksīna yatarassabu fī jismi l-'insāni*
  لم ينتبه الإنسان إلى أضرار هذه المادّة . . . إلا خلال السنوات العشرة الأخيرة حيث لم يكن يعتقد أنّ الديوكسين يترسّب في جسم الإنسان
  'people only became aware of the harm of this substance in the last ten years, **as** they did not believe that dioxin formed residues in the human body'

(see *'illā* إلا **9.1** and compound tenses in **3.10.6**)

7.6.9.2 With noun phrases (see *'anna* أنّ **7.5.2**) in which the clause following *ḥayṯu 'anna* حيث أنّ is normally an explanation for the previous clause (cf. *li-'anna* لأنّ 'because' **7.5.2.10** and *'iḏ 'anna* إذ أنّ 'since' **7.6.4**):

… ***ḥayṯu 'anna*** *jamī'a l-mudarribīna l-muḥtarifīna ladayhim ta'āqudātun*

. . . حيث أنّ جميع المدرّبين المحترفين لديهم تعاقدات

'…**since** all the professional trainers have contracts', lit. '…trainers, they have contracts'

(see topicalization **3.3**)

… ***ḥayṯu 'anna*** *hunāka 'tiqādan bi-'annahu sa-yattaḫiḏu siyāsatan 'akṯara nḥiyāzan li-*

. . . حيث أنّ هناك اعتقادا بأنّه سيتّخذ سياسة أكثر انحيازا لـ

'…**for** there is a belief that he will adopt a more biased policy towards'

but subordinate clause can take initial position in the sentence:

*wa-**ḥayṯu 'anna** l-sulṭāti fī ṣan'ā'a … qad ḥaraṣat 'alā taṣfiyati l-'arāḍī l-yamaniyyati min 'ayyati 'anāṣira 'irhābiyyatin … fa-'inna …*

وحيث أن السلطات في صنعاء . . . قد حرصت على تصفية الأراضي اليمنية من أية . . . عناصر إرهابية . . . فإن

'and **since** the authorities in Sana'a … have striven to cleanse Yemeni territory of any terrorist elements …, then …'

7.6.9.3 *With noun as its subject* (▷C3:280)

ḥayṯu **حيث** as adverb may be followed by a noun in elliptical equational sentences:

*fa-tawajjaha l-rašīdu bi-šaḫṣihi 'ilā **ḥayṯu** 'abū nuwāsin*

فتوجّه الرشيد بشخصه إلى حيث أبو نواس

'so Rashid went in person to **where** Abū Nuwās [was]'

*balaġnā klīflānd 'ahamma muduni wilāyati 'ūhāyū l-'amrīkiyyati ba'da dītrūyt **ḥayṯu** maṣāni'u l-sayyārāti*

بلغنا كليفلاند أهمّ مدن ولاية أوهايو الأمريكية بعد ديترويت حيث مصانع السيارات

'we reached Cleveland, the most important town in the American state of Ohio after Detroit **where** the car factories [are]'

*mufāraqatī l-bayta **ḥayṯu** 'usratī l-ṣaġīratu wa-maktabatī wa-'awrāqī*

مفارقتي البيت حيث أسرتي الصغيرة و مكتبتي و أوراقي

'my leaving the house **where** my little family, my library and my papers [were]' (for the direct object of verbal nouns, see **2.10.1**)

or even an independent pronoun:

waqaftu ṭawīlan ***ḥayṯu*** *'anā* وقفت طويلا حيث أنا 'I stood for a long time **where** I [was]'

qif ***ḥayṯu*** *'anta* قف حيث أنت 'stop **where** you [are]!'

7.6.9.4 min ḥayṯu من حيث (▷C3:283)

ḥayṯu **حيث** may also be preceded by the preposition *min* **من** and followed by a noun or independent pronoun with the sense of 'from the point of view of', 'in terms of':

min ḥayṯu *huwa 'insānun*
من حيث هو أنسان
'**insofar as** he is a human being'

diyānatun ***min ḥayṯu*** *hiya*
ديانة من حيث هي
'a religion **as such**'

min ḥayṯu *l-mabda'u*
من حيث المبدأ
'**in [terms of]** principle'

min ḥayṯu *l-'aqīdatu*
من حيث العقيدة
'**as far as** belief is concerned'

ka-ḏālika ***min ḥayṯu*** *ẓurūfu wa-šurūṭu l-'amali*
كذلك من حيث ظروف و شروط العمل
'likewise **in terms of** circumstances and conditions of employment'

(see binomial annexation **2.3.7**)

7.6.9.5 *ḥayṯu* حيث or *ḥayṯu-mā* حيث ما with perf. meaning 'wherever' (▷C3:281) (see *mā* ما in **5.6.3**)

wa-lākinna ḥalla hāḏihi l-muškilāti ***ḥayṯu-mā*** *kānat lā yumkinu 'an yatimma 'illā 'alā mustawan qawmiyyin*
ولكنّ حلّ هذه المشكلات حيث ما كانت لا يمكن أن يتمّ إلا على مستوى قومي
'but solving these problems **wherever** they are can only be realized at the national level'

(see **9.1**, *tamma* تمّ in **3.23.1**, 'can' in **3.20.1**)

7.6.9.6 bi-ḥayṯu بحيث + *verb 'inasmuch as', 'to the extent that'* (▷C3:284)

The preposition *bi* بـ + *ḥayṯu* حيث followed by a verb indicates that the meaning of the subordinate clause is a result of the event of the main clause:

'injāzu l-marḥalati l-'ūlā min-a l-kulliyyati ***bi-ḥayṯu*** *'aṣbaḥat jāhizatan li-stiqbāli l-ṭalabati*
إنجاز المرحلة الأولى من الكليّة بحيث أصبحت جاهزة لاستقبال الطلبة
'the completion of stage one of the college **so that** it has become ready to receive students'

kāna l-ḥarru šadīdan ***bi-ḥayṯu*** *lam tanfa' ma'ahu l-mahāffu*
كان الحر شديدا بحيث لم تنفع معه المهاف
'the heat was intense **such that** the fans did not help with it'

tansīqu l-qur'āni l-karīmi ***bi-ḥayṯu*** *yuḥawwalu 'ilā barāyil#*
تنسيق القرآن الكريم بحيث يحوّل إلى برايل
'arranging the Holy Qur'an **such that** it can be converted to Braille'

(cf. **1.2.6.1** on transliterations of foreign words)

7.7 Comparative subordinators

For details of all these see *kamā* كما 'as', etc. in 5.9.9.

7.7.1 ka-'an كأنْ *'such as', 'like'* (▷C3:144; see **5.9.9.6**)

'illā 'annahā 'arafat kayfa tuwājihuhā ***ka'an*** *taqūla …*
إلا أنها عرفت كيف تواجهها كأن تقول . . .
'however, she knew how to overcome them [namely crises] **such as** saying …' (see **7.5.2.10**)

7.7.2 (wa-) ka-'anna (و)كأنّ *'it is as if'* (▷C3:143; **5.9.9.4**)

(See 7.3.2 under syndetic circumstantial qualifiers)

al-nāsu ṣāmitūna ***wa-ka-'anna*** *'alā ru'ūsihim-i l-ṭayra*
الناس صامتون وكأن على رؤوسهم الطير
'the people [were] silent **as if** there were birds [of ill-omen] over their heads'

*la-**ka-'annahā** bihi wa-qad 'āda min ġaybatihi li-yaqifa bi-jānibihā fī miḥnatihā*

لكأنها به وقد عاد من غيبته ليقف بجانبها في محنتها

'**it was as though she was** there with him, he having returned from his absence to stand beside her in her crisis'

(see emphatic *la-* لـ **1.6.7**)

7.7.3 kamā كما *'just as, same as' and related structures* (▷C3:236; **5.9.9**)

7.7.3.1 *kamā* كما 'just as' (**5.9.9.1**)

***kamā** ḥaḍara marāsima l-iftitāḥi 'adadun min-a l-šuyūḫi*

كما حضر مراسم الافتتاح عدد من الشيوخ

'**just as** a number of sheikhs attended the opening ceremonies'

7.7.3.2 *kamā 'anna* كما أنّ 'just as [the fact] that' (**5.9.9.3**)

***kamā 'anna** ta'zīza l-'alāqāti l-tijāriyyati l-bayniyyati bayna l-duwali l-'islāmiyyati yaḥtāju 'ilā fatḥi 'timādātin ḫāṣṣatin*

كما أنّ تعزيز العلاقات التجارية البيْنية بين الدول الإسلامية يحتاج إلى فتح اعتمادات خاصّة

'**just as** the strengthening of commercial interrelations between the Islamic states needs the introduction of special funds'

7.7.3.3 *kamā law* كما لو 'as if' (▷C3:324; **5.9.9.7**, and cf. **8.2**)

*fa-qad-i nfarajat kurbatī **kamā law** ḥadaṯat mu'jizatun*

فقد انفرجت كربتي كما لو حدثت معجزة

'and my grief dispelled **as if** a miracle had happened'

7.8 Annexation of temporal and locative adverbs to sentences

Adverbs of time can be annexed to sentences, for example, *ḥīna* حين 'at the time [that]' (see also **7.6.6**), *yawma* يوم 'on the day [that]' (see **2.4.3.1**), and also a restricted number of adverbs of place, for example, *ḥayṯu* حيث 'where' (see **7.6.9.1**):

*min **yawmi** ʻarafahā wa-huwa yaḥyā ḥayātan ʾuḫrā*

من يوم عرفها وهو يحيا حياة أخرى

'from **the day** he got to know her he was living a different life' lit. 'from the **day of** he got to know her'

and note the redundant *wa-* و 'and', probably by analogy with *munḏu . . . wa* منذ . . . و 'since' (see **6.2.7**)

*ʾa-hāḏā kullu mā ḥadaṯa **yawma** qutila l-zaʻīmu?*

أهذا كل ما حدث يوم قتل الزعيم؟

'is this all that happened **the day** the leader was killed?'

Chapter 8

Conditionals

8.0 General conditional syntax

The two main conditional particles of CA are *'in* إنْ 'if' and *law* لوْ 'if only', each with a different function. In addition, the particle *'iḏā* إذا 'when' (past or future), although technically a temporal adverbial 'at the time of', precedes a clause often containing a conditional sense. *Law* لوْ can be followed by a verb or nominal structure; and *'in* إنْ and *'iḏā* إذا are generally, though not exclusively, followed by a verb. The verb in the conditional clause after *law* لوْ and *'iḏā* إذا must be in the perfect, whilst *'in* إنْ may be followed by the perfect or the apocopate. The fundamental functional difference between the two main conditional particles and *'iḏā* إذا is that *'iḏā* إذا sentences are generally concerned about the time when the main event or action of the verb occurs, not its being the consequence of another event. Indefinite conditional particles (see **8.5**) may, like *'in* إنْ conditionals, be followed by either the perfect or the apocopate.

It is worth noting that certain historical changes appear to have taken place in the function of these particles. Although still common in MWA at the higher literary level, *'in* إنْ is now being replaced more and more by *'iḏā* إذا and *law* لوْ, although the use of *law* لوْ tends to be reserved now for wishes and hypotheticals. In all examples in **8.3** *'iḏā* إذا is clearly the preferred particle over *'in* إنْ in MWA even though in both CA and recent modern literary Arabic (▷C3:316) the use of *'in* إنْ was predominant.

The trend for *'in* إنْ 'if' to be replaced by *law* لو 'if' and *'iḏā* إذا 'when', 'if' is likely to lead to the disappearance of *'in* إنْ from MWA except in conservative (e.g. religious) contexts and two fossilized structures: (1) the case where the result clause does not contain a conditional verb (see **8.1.2**); and (2) the incomplete conditional *wa-'in* وإنْ 'even if', 'although' (see **8.1.12**).

The following table illustrates the distribution of the temporal and conditional particles in CA and MWA, with shaded areas representing the area covered by *'iḏā* إذا and dotted lines along the original semantic boundaries.

Three features of the CA and MWA systems are contrasted here: (1) that the relatively limited dual functions of CA *'iḏā* إذا as both 'when' and 'if' have now been generalized completely; (2) that CA *law* لوْ 'if (unreal)' has expanded to cover some of the functions of *'in* إنْ 'if (real)' as the latter falls increasingly into disuse; and (3) that CA *lammā* لمّا 'when' (see **7.6.3**) has effectively been replaced by MWA *'indamā* عندما (see **5.9.8**) for narrative and historical 'when'.

As for *'iḏā mā* إذا ما 'whenever', it retains its CA function in MWA as an optional and subjective variant of *'iḏā* إذا in the sense of 'whenever' (see **8.3.13**).

	Temporal historical	Temporal habitual	Temporal durative	Conditional real (**8.1**)	Conditional unreal (**8.2**)
CA	*lammā* لمّا 'when'	*'iḏā mā* إذا ما 'whenever'	*'iḏā* إذا 'when', 'if'	*'in* إنْ 'if'	*law* لوْ 'if'
MWA	*'indamā* عندما 'when'	*'iḏā mā* إذا ما 'whenever'	*'iḏā* إذا 'when', 'if'		*law* لوْ 'if'

In addition to these three particles, there is a group of particles/compound particles (adverbs, relatives, etc.) introducing indefinite conditional constructions. These are dealt with in **8.5**.

In MWA the traditional conditional sentence is made up of a condition (the protasis) *fi'l al-šarṭ* فعل الشرط or *šarṭ* شرط (lit. '[verb of the] condition') and a result (the apodosis) *jawāb* جواب or *jazā'* جزاء (lit. 'answer' or 'requital'). It is a general principle that both protasis and apodosis are verbal sentences – made up normally of either perfect + perfect or apocopate + apocopate (although a combination of these is possible in theory) – and that the apodosis is genuinely the logical consequence of the occurrence of the protasis:

'in ***šā'at tamma*** *l-wa'du*

إن شاءت تمّ الوعد

'if **it** [namely, God's will (fem.)] **wills**, then the promise **will be carried out**'

There is, however, some flexibility in this connection. Exceptions to the rule are of two kinds, either where the apodosis is not the logical consequence of the protasis and is instead an imperative, or marked future or perfect verb:

***'in raja'a 'ilā** 'tirāfihi **fa-'mur** bi-ḥabsihi*
إن رجع الى اعترافه فأمر بحبسه
'**if he repeats** his confession **then order** his arrest'

or where the apodosis is not a verbal sentence at all:

*wa-**'in lam yatamakkanū fa-'innahum** yatawahhamūna*
و إن لم يتمكّنوا فإنّهم يتوهّمون
'and **if they cannot [then] they** use their imagination'

***'in ḏahabti 'ilā** 'ummiki **fa-'anti** ṭāliqun*
إن ذهبت الى أمّك فأنت طالق
'**if you go to** your mother **then you** are divorced'

In those cases the apodosis is invariably introduced by *fa-* فـ (cf. resumptive *fa-* فـ **11.1**; ▷C3:361–9 for a list of the contexts and for detailed treatment, see **8.1.2**).

In addition to some flexibility in the syntax of modern conditional sentences, there are genuine problems of syntactic instability and conspicuous calque structures that are reflected in conditional-type sentences which do not follow the traditional grammatical rules very closely.

8.1 *'in* إنْ 'if' (▷C3:312)

Broad outline of tenses (▷C3:313, 314): the particle *'in* إنْ 'if' introduces the condition for a certain outcome. The tense structure is by no means stable since the symmetrical patterns of CA – that is, perfect + perfect or apocopate + apocopate, or combinations of these two variables – are not always followed. The apodosis of an *'in* إنْ type conditional clause seems as likely to contain a particle *fa-* فـ at its head as the *'iḏā* إذا type clauses (see **8.1.2**).

8.1.1 *Regular classical model*

Regular classical model perfect + perfect and apocopate + apocopate, also combinations (e.g. of energetic form at head of apodosis, see **3.26.2**).

Regular CA structures are not that common in MWA, and very few examples were found during the course of this study. The symmetrical structures of perfect + perfect, and especially apocopate + apocopate, occur in proverbs and other formulaic expressions, but are occasionally found in other texts:

'in tuġliq *sam'ahā 'an ṯarṯaratihi l-yawmiyyati* ***yanṣaliḥ****-i l-ḥālu ba'ḍa l-šay'i baynahumā*

إن تغلق سمعها عن ثرثرته اليومية ينصلح الحال بعض الشيء بينهما

'**if she shuts** herself off [lit. "closes her hearing"] to his daily gossiping things **will improve** somewhat between them'

*wa-**'in qabilū*** *miṯla hāḏihi l-ittifāqiyyati* ***mazzaqathum****-i l-jamāhīru fī l-šāri'i*

وإن قبلوا مثل هذه الاتّفاقية مزّقتهم الجماهير في الشارع

'and **if they accept** such agreements the crowds **will tear them** apart in the streets'

Combinations of apocopate + perfect or vice versa are also rare:

'in 'uġliqa *bābu l-ġurfati* ***yarta'id****-i l-saqfu wa-**yubriq***

إن أُغلق باب الغرفة يرتعد السقف ويبرق

'**if** the door of the room **is closed** the ceiling **shakes** and **glitters**'

8.1.2 *Apodosis as non-logical result of protasis*

There are many conditional sentences in which the apodosis is not the logical result of the conditional clause (see also **8.3.6** with *fa-* فـ where some parallelism between the two particles is evident). In order to render this, MWA makes frequent use of various kinds of verbal sentences in the apodosis, beginning with *fa-* فـ (▷C3:315, 362–8, 370), or indeed non-verbal sentences (▷C3:361–4). The inclusion of the particle *fa-* فـ in this position permits greater syntactic flexibility – that is, the *fa-* فـ may be followed by an imperative, a complementizer, a future particle (*sa-* سـ / *sawfa-* سوف), an interrogative particle, an apocopate, etc. The particle *fa-* فـ also emphasizes in this context the time or sequential aspect of the apodosis clause – which often contains a rhetorical element – in relation to the protasis clause (see *fa-* فـ in **11.1** and also topic comment in **3.3** since the apodosis was dealt with by some of the medieval Arab grammarians as a type of 'comment').

- Verbal apodosis containing *fa-* فـ:

  'in *kāna hunāka man yarā fī ḥadīṯī mubālaġatan 'aw tašā'uman 'aw sū'a ẓannin* ***fa****-l-yuqārin bayna mā yuwazza'u min kutubi l-ša'waḏati wa-l-siḥri . . . wa-mā yuwazza'u min kutubi Muḥammad 'Abduh*

  إن كان هناك من يرى في حديثي مبالغة أو تشاؤما أو سوء ظن فليقارن بين ما يُوزَّع من كتب الشعوذة والسحر . . . وما يُوزَّع من كتب محمد عبده

  '**if** there is anyone who sees any exaggeration, pessimism or ill-will in what I am saying, [**then**] let him compare the books of sorcery and magic . . . with the books of Muhammad 'Abduh that are now being distributed' (for indirect imperatives, see **3.24.2**)

*wa-**'in** wujida **fa**-yarji'[u] 'ilā l-miyāhi faqaṭ*
وإن وُجد فيرجع إلى المياه فقط
'and **if** it does exist [**then**] it relates to [irrigation] waters only'

***'in** kāna laka sirrun **fa**-'afšihi*
إن كان لك سرّ فأفشه
'**if** you have a secret, [**then**] reveal it' (cf. direct imperative in **3.24.1**)

- Non-verbal apodosis:

*fa-**'in** lam takun-i l-ru'yā laka **fa**-li-man takūnu?*
فإن لم تكن الرؤيا لك فلمن تكون؟
'and **if** the vision is not yours, [**then**] whose then can it be?'

*wa-**'in**-i staḥkamat-i l-'awlamatu **fa**-l-kullu 'abīdun ladā l-šarikāti 'abra l-qārriyyati*
و إن استحكمت العولمة فالكل عبيد لدى الشركات عبر القارّية
'and **if** globalization takes control [**then**] all are slaves of the intercontinental companies' (see *kull* كلّ **2.9.1.1**)

8.1.3 *Reinforcement of protasis*

The protasis may also be reinforced with *la-* لـ (▷C3:315, 333, 369–70; **1.6.7**), generally preceded by *wa-* و or *fa-* ف:

*fa-**la-'in** taġayyara l-makānu bayna l-'irāqi wa-lubnāna fa-ṭabī'atu l-ṣirā'i wāḥidatun lam tataġayyar*
فلئن تغيّر المكان بين العراق ولبنان فطبيعة الصراع واحدة لم تتغير
'so **if** the place between Iraq and Lebanon changes, the nature of the dispute is still the same and has not changed'

*wa-**la-'in**-i staḥdama 'falāsifatu' l-ḥadāṯati l-'arabu 'afkāran falsafiyyatan fa-li-l-wuṣūli 'ilā ḫulāṣātin muḥaddadatin*
ولئن استخدم 'فلاسفة' الحداثة العرب أفكارا فلسفية فللوصول الى خلاصات محدّدة
'and **if** the Arab 'philosophers' of modernism use philosophical ideas [then] it is in order to reach clearly defined conclusions'

8.1.4 **'in إنْ *'if' with* 'illā إلا *'unless' in apodosis***

The apodosis of a conditional sentence beginning with *'in* إنْ may begin with the discourse marker *'illā 'anna* إلا أنّ 'nevertheless'. In such examples

the condition/result relationship between the two clauses is purely rhetorical (see also **7.5.2.11**, and **8.3.3** with *'iḏā* إذا):

*wa-hiya **'in** kānat ḥaqīqiyyatan fī l-māḍī **'illā 'annahā** lam ta'ud ka-ḏālika*

وهي إن كانت حقيقية في الماضي إلا أنها لم تعد كذلك

'and **if** it was real in the past, [**nonetheless**] it is no longer so' (see **3.21.1.1** on *lam ta'ud* لم تعد; cf. also *'illā 'anna* إلا أنّ and *lākin* لكنْ at head of apodosis of *'iḏā* إذا clauses, **8.3.3**)

*wa-**'in** kāna šaklu l-'ajhizati lā yuwaḍḍiḥu maḍmūnahā l-ḥaqīqiyya **'illā 'annahu** yušīru 'išāratan wāḍiḥatan 'ilā l-maqṣūdi min kulli jihāzin*

وإن كان شكل الأجهزة لا يوضّح مضمونها الحقيقي إلا أنه يشير إشارة واضحة الى المقصود من كلّ جهاز

'and **if** the form of the various contraptions does not make clear what their real contents are, [**nevertheless**] it does point clearly to the purpose of each contraption' (for absolute object, see **2.4.2**, **3.29.3**)

8.1.5 *Order of protasis and apodosis* (▷C3:317)

MWA maintains broadly the CA order of protasis–apodosis in conditional sentences. However, the order in MWA is often reversed:

*sa-ta'ūdu l-ḥarāratu li-mu'addalātihā l-ṭabī'iyyati **'in baqiya l-ḍaġṭu l-jawwiyyu ka-mā huwa***

ستعود الحرارة لمعدّلاتها الطبيعية إن بقي الضغط الجوّي كما هو

'the temperature will return to its normal levels **if the air pressure stays as it is**'

*wa-hiya ka-ḏālika bi-l-fi'li **'in wuḍi'at** fī 'iṭārin saṭḥiyyin*

وهي كذلك بالفعل إن وُضعت في إطار سطحي

'and it is actually so **if put** in a superfical framework'

Note the following calques in which a restoration of the CA word order would not produce a valid conditional sentence:

*maṯaluhā maṯalu ṣ-ṣinā'ati l-ṯaqīlati, **'in lam takun 'ahamma***

مثلها مثل الصناعة الثقيلة إن لم تكن أهمّ

'it is in the same position as heavy industry, **if not more important**', lit. 'if it is not more important' (see **11.8.2**)

fa-qad kānat hāḏihi l-mašākilu . . . ta'tī fī muqaddamati l-qaḍāyā l-maṭrūḥati fī l-ḥamlati l-intiḫābiyyati ***'in lam takun-i l-qaḍiyyata l-waḥīdata fi'lan***

فقد كانت هذه المشاكل . . . تأتي في مقدّمة القضايا المطروحة في الحملة الانتخابية إن لم تكن القضيّة الوحيدة فعلا

'these problems came at the forefront of the issues raised in the election campaign, **if they were not the only issue in fact**' (see negative after *'in* إنْ **8.1.11**)

8.1.6 *Parenthetical* 'in إنْ *'if' clauses* (▷C3:317)

Where a conditional clause falls between two parts of another proposition, it normally begins with *'in* إنْ followed by the verb in the perfect (see also **11.4**):

al-ḥulūlu llatī ṭaraḥahā – ***'in tammat bi-najāḥin*** *– sawfa takfī*

الحلول الّتي طرحها – إن تمّت بنجاح – سوف تكفي

'the solutions he proposed – **if they are successfully carried out** – will suffice'

nādī l-ḥikmati 'umruhu 55 'āman wa-'in šā'a llāhu ***sa-yabqā***

نادي الحكمة عمره ٥٥ عاما وإن شاء الله سيبقى

'the Ḥikma club is 55 years old and **will** hopefully **continue**', lit. 'if God wills it will remain'

8.1.7 *Continuous and non-conditional tenses* (see **8.1.4**)

When the conditional sentence is expressed through continuous tenses or other non-conditional tenses (and is therefore not a true condition but more likely a calque) *kāna* كان will occur in its usual tense modifying function:

*wa-****'in kānat-i l-mumaṯṯilātu yaḫtalifna*** *fī šay'in 'an-i l-nisā'i l-'uḥrayāti fa-fī kawnihinna 'ab'ada 'an-i l-rāḥati wa-l-hudū'i min ġayrihinna*

وإن كانت الممثّلات يختلفن في شيء عن النساء الأخرَيات ففي كونهنّ أبعد عن الراحة والهدوء من غيرهنّ

'and **if actresses differ** in one thing from other women it is that in their make-up they are less relaxed and calm than others'

8.1.8 'in إنْ *'if' followed by pronoun then verb* (▷C3:318)

Such occurrences are rare and are normally for emphasis:

'in huwa *ta'aḫḫara 'an-i l-sadādi fa-sa-yūqi'u l-banku l-ḥajza 'alā 'amwālihi*
إن هو تأخّر عن السداد فسيوقع البنك الحجز على أمواله
'**if he** delays in paying up, the bank will sequestrate his assets'

8.1.9 *Ellipsis* (▷C3:335)

The elliptical conditional *wa-'illā (fa)-* (ف) وإلا '[and] otherwise' (▷C3:338; **8.4**) is used in opposition to a preceding statement in the sense of 'otherwise', that is, the first statement must or must not happen otherwise the second proposition will/will not occur. *fa-* ف occurs at the head of the clause following *wa-'illā* وإلا and introduces non-verbal clauses:

fa-'innahum yajibu 'an yadfa'ū ***wa-'illā fa****-'innahu sawfa yuz'ijuhum fī l-karāji*
فإنّهم يجب أنْ يدفعوا وإلا فإنّه سوف يزعجهم في الكراج
'so they ought to pay **otherwise** [lit. "and if not"] he will harass them in the garage'

Verbal clauses after *wa-'illā* وإلا do not begin with *fa-* ف:

lākin min-a l-muhimmi 'an yabqā l-ḥiwāru silmiyyan wa-dīmūqrāṭiyyan …
wa-'illā *sa-takūnu l-fāji'atu l-ḥaqīqīyyatan*
لكن من المهمّ أن يبقى الحوار سلميا وديموقراطيا . . . وإلا ستكون الفاجعة حقيقية
'but it is important that the dialogue remains peaceful and democratic … **otherwise** the disaster will be[come] real'

Ellipses of protasis *kāna* كان 'to be' may be elided and the dependent case status on the predicate (see **3.16.2**) is retained:

'in *'ājilan 'aw 'ājilan*
إن آجلا أو عاجلا
'sooner or later', lit. '**if** [it were] at a future time or immediately'

Ellipses of the conditional particle in formulaic expressions also occurs:

fa-naḥnu ***ši'nā 'am 'abaynā*** *juz'un min hāḏā l-'ālami*
فنحن شئنا أم أبينا جزء من هذا العالم
'and we, whether [if] **we like it or not**, are a part of this world'

8.1.10 *Implied conditionals*

Imperative + apocopate is an old structure still used to convey a conditional sense:

uṭlub tajid *mā yasurruka*
اُطلب تجد ما يسرّك
'**seek [and if you do] you will find** what pleases you'

unẓurū *'ilā l-ḫayli* ***tajidū*** *fīhā l-sulālāti l-muḫtalifata*
اُنظروا إلى الخيل تجدوا فيها السلالات المختلفة
'[if you] look at horses **you will find** different stocks among them'

Apocopate + apocopate also occurs in restricted contexts:

ta'mal *qalīlan* ***taksib*** *kaṯīran* ***ta'mal*** *kaṯīran* ***taksib*** *qalīlan*
تعمل قليلا تكسب كثيرا تعمل كثيرا تكسب قليلا
'[if you] **work** a little [you will] **earn** a lot, [if you] **work** a lot [you will] **earn** a little'

Often in MWA the apocopate is replaced by a future marker + independent imperfect:

unẓur li-'aḥadihim ***sa-tajiduhu*** *yaḫūḍu fī . . .*
اُنظر لأحدهم ستجده يخوض في . . .
'[if you] look at one of them **you will find him** plunging into . . .', lit. 'look at one of them you will find . . .'

taḥaddaṯ ma'ahu . . . ***sa-tufāja' bi****-l-'ijābati*
تحدّث معه . . . ستفاجَأ بالإجابة
'[if you] talk with him . . . **you will be surprised by** the response', lit. 'talk with him . . . you will be surprised . . .'

8.1.11 *Negation of conditional clauses with* **'in إنْ**

Condition and result clauses are negated by *lam* لم + apocopate:

*wa-****'in lam taša' lam yatimma***
وإن لم تشأْ لم يتمّ
'but if it **(namely, God's will) does not will it [then] it will not be carried out**' (cf. **6.2.5** on adversative sense of *wa-* و 'and', here translated 'but')

*al-wāqi‘u ’anna lafẓa l-turāṯi qad-i ktasā fī l-ḫiṭābi l-‘arabiyyi l-ḥadīṯi wa-l-mu‘āṣiri ma‘nan muḫtalifan mubāyinan – **’in lam yakun munāqiḍan** – li-ma‘nā murādifihi l-mīrāṯu fī l-iṣṭilāhi l-qadīmi*

الواقع أنّ لفظ التراث قد اكتسى في الخطاب العربي الحديث والمعاصر معنى مختلفا مباينا – إن لم يكن مناقضا – لمعنى مرادفه الميراث في الاصطلاح القديم

‘the fact is, the expression ‘heritage’ in modern Arab discourse has acquired a vastly different meaning from, **if not contradictory** to, its synonym ‘*mīrāṯ*’ in ancient terminology’ (for parenthetical clauses, see **8.1.6**)

8.1.12 *Incomplete conditionals*

Incomplete conditionals with *wa-’in* وإنْ and *ḥattā wa-’in* حتّى وإنْ (see **8.2.9**; for concessives *wa-law* ولو ‘even if’ and *ḥattā wa-law* حتّى ولو:

*wa-qaṭ‘i l-‘alāqāti l-diblūmāsiyyati ma‘a l-duwali llatī taqarrara naqlu sifārātihā ’ilā l-qudsi **ḥattā wa-’in** kānat haḏihi l-duwalu muṣannafatan ‘alā ra’si qā’imati l-’aqṭābi l-kibāri*

وقطع العلاقات الدبلوماسية مع الدول الّتي تقرّر نقل سفاراتها إلى القدس حتّى وإن كانت هذه الدول مصنّفة على رأس قائمة الأقطاب الكبار

‘and the severing of diplomatic relations with the states who have decided to move their embassies to Jerusalem **even if** these states are categorized as being at the head of the list of major countries’

*mu’akkidan ’anna hāḏā l-badīla **wa-’in kāna sa-yuqallilu min** hāmiši ribḥi l-funduqi wa-l-šarikāti l-siyāḥiyyati fa-’innahu sa-yuḥaqqiqu*

مؤكّدا أنّ هذا البديل و إن كان سيقلّل من هامش ربح الفندق و الشركات السياحية فإنّه سيحقّق

‘confirming that this change, **even if it will reduce** the margin of profit of the hotel and the tourist companies, will achieve’ (note *sa-* سـ as definite future marker, **3.10.3**)

8.1.13 *Topic with* **’in** إنْ *clause as comment* (see **3.3.3**)

***fa-hā’ulā’i ’in ḫasirū** ma‘rakata l-’iqrāri ’illā ’annahum rabiḥū l-furṣata llatī ’atāḥahā lahum*

فهؤلاء إن خسروا معركة الإقرار إلا أنهم ربحوا الفرصة التي أتاحها لهم

‘**so those**, **if** [although] **they lose** the battle for recognition [nonetheless] they will profit from the opportunity it has given them’

8.2 *law . . . la-* لو . . . لـ 'if [only]' (▷C3:320)

(For *wa-law* ولو clauses, see concessives **8.6**; ▷C3:331)

The particle *law* لو is generally considered to head conditional (protasis) clauses whose validity is either impossible, highly unlikely, hypothetical or contrary to fact. It is normally accompanied by *la-* لـ (see **1.6.7**) at the head of the apodosis.

8.2.1 *As pure counterfactual* (▷C3:321; 370 for **la-** لـ)

In this sense the apodosis generally retains *la-* لـ. The verbs in both the protasis and apodosis tend to be in the simple perfect tense (often corresponding to English pluperfect, cf. **3.10.6**). The idea expressed in the following examples is that something in the past would have/would not have occurred (the protasis) had it been/not been for the validity of the idea in the apodosis:

law *sa'alanī* ***la-****qultu lahu* …
لو سألني لقلت له . . .
'**if** he had asked me, **[then]** I would have said to him …'

law *lam yakun musalsalu 'mā zāla l-nīlu yajrī' mu'attiran 'ilā ḥaddin kabīrin* ***la-****mā ḥadaṯa ḥawlahu kullu hāḏā l-iḫtilāfi*
لو لم يكن مسلسل 'ما زال النيل يجري' مؤثّرا الى حدّ كبير لما حدث حوله كلّ هذا الاختلاف
'**if** the series "The Nile flows on" had not been so extremely exciting, **[then]** all this argument about it would not have happened'

law *kāna l-'amru bi-yadin yuwāfiquhā ša'buhā 'alā taqdīmi mā huwa maṭlūbun minhā min tanāzulāti* ***la-****ḥalla l-salāmu wa-rtāḥa l-jamī'u*
لو كان الأمر بيد يوافقها شعبها على تقديم ما هو مطلوب منها من تنازلات لحلّ السلام و ارتاح الجميع
'**if** the matter had been in the hands [lit. "in a hand" (of someone)] which the people [lit. "its people"] supported in putting forward the compromises that were needed, **[then]** peace would have occurred and everyone would have been happy' (see *mā . . . min* ما . . . من **2.6.11** and **5.4.4**)

Note the use of *kāna sawfa* كان سوف (see **3.10.3**):

*rubbamā **law** ‘arafa zawjuhā ’anna l-ḫawḍa fī tafāṣīlihā ’aṯnā’a miḥnatihā kāna sawfa yusā‘iduhā wa-yuqarribuhā minhu **la**-nṣā‘a li-raġbatihā*

ربّما لو عرف زوجها أنّ الخوض في تفاصيلها أثناء محنتها كان سوف يساعدها ويقرّبها منه لانصاع لرغبتها

‘perhaps **if** the husband had known that going into details during her torment would have helped her and brought her nearer to him, **[then]** he would have yielded to her wish’

But note that a pluperfect structure in the protasis is also possible (cf. **3.10.6**):

*wa-**law** kānū qabilū bi- … **la**-mā wajadū ’anfusahum l-yawma …*

ولو كانوا قبلوا بـ . . . لما وجدوا أنفسهم اليوم . . .

‘and **if** they had accepted …, **[then]** they would not have found themselves today …’

Rare usage with *qad* قد emphasizing past aspect:

***law qad** sumiḥa lahum bi-‘ubūri l-bawwābati la-mā ḍṭurrū ’ilā l-wuqūfi hākaḏā fī l-šamsi l-ḥāriqati*

لو قد سمح لهم بعبور البوّابة لما اضطُرّوا إلى الوقوف هكذا في الشمس الحارقة

‘had they [lit. “**if** they **had**”] been allowed to pass through the gate they would not have had to stand like this under the scorching sun’

***law** ’amkana waḍ‘u makātiba ‘alā l-judrāni **la**-fa‘alū ḏālika*

لو أمكن وضع مكاتب على الجدران لفعلوا ذلك

‘**if** it were possible to put desks on the walls, **[then]** they would do it’

8.2.2 Negatives

Negation of the protasis is as for *’in* إن and *’iḏā* إذا, i.e. *lam* لم + apocopate:

***law lam yabta‘id** fī l-waqti l-munāsibi la-’aṣābahu l-infijāru*

لو لم يبتعد في الوقت المناسب لأصابه الانفجار

‘**had he not stepped away** at the right moment the explosion would have hit him’

When the apodosis clause is negated, the verb is always in the perfect and is always negated by the particle *mā* ما ‘not’:

law *kāna l-'amru bi-hāḏihi l-ṣūrati* ***la-mā*** *wajada hā'ulā'i fī 'anfusihim ḥājatan 'ilā ntiqādi štiġāli ġayrihim bi-l-turāṯi*

لو كان الأمر بهذه الصورة لما وجد هؤلاء في أنفسهم حاجة الى انتقاد اشتغال غيرهم بالتراث

'**if** the matter had been in this form **then** those people **would not** have found in themselves any need to criticize others' preoccupation with heritage'

*wa-**law** ḥaṣala miṯlu hāḏa l-taṭawwuri **la-mā** rāqa li-l-'amīrīkiyyīna*

ولو حصل مثل هذا التطوّر لما راق للأميريكيين

'and **if** a development such as this had taken place it **would not** have pleased the Americans'

law *kāna l-ḥiwāru yujdī ma'a 'aṭrāfin 'āḫarīna* ***la-mā*** *kāna mawqifu l-baṭriyarki ya'ḫuḏu hāḏā l-ḥajma min-a l-ihtimāmi*

لو كان الحوار يجدي مع أطراف آخرين لما كان موقف البطريرك يأخذ هذا الحجم من الاهتمام

'**if** the dialogue with other parties were (being) of use, the stance of the Patriarch **would not** be assuming interest of this magnitude'

8.2.3 *As synonym of* 'in إنْ (▷C3:321)

law لو 'if' can occur with the sense of *'in* إنْ 'if', thus losing its counterfactual quality. Sentences of this type with *law* لو can be divided into two categories:

Those which have *fa-* ف in the apodosis because they are normal CA non-verbal apodoses (as in **8.2.1**):

'iḏ ***law*** *kāna li-l-šaḫṣi l-wāḥidi 'akṯaru min ra'īsin mubāširin* ***fa-****lā natījata li-ḏālika ġayru …*

إذ لو كان للشخص الواحد أكثر من رئيس مباشر فلا نتيجة لذلك غير . . .

'for **if** one person has more than one direct boss **[then]** the only result of that is …' (see **9.5.1**)

Those with or without *fa-* ف in the apodosis with either *lan* لن as future negative marker (in negative apodosis clauses) or any other unmarked verb:

*wa-**law** sa'alta 'aḥadahum min 'ayna 'atayta bi-hāḏā l-ḥaqqi …* ***fa-****lan tajida raddan*

ولو سألت أحدهم من أين أتيت بهذا الحقّ . . . فلن تجد ردّا

'and **if** you ask one of them where did he get this truth from …, **[then]** you will not find an answer'

law *daḫalnā sibāqa tasalluḥin nawawiyyin fī l-minṭaqati* ***lan*** *yantahiya*
لو دخلنا سباق تسلّح نووي في المنطقة لن ينتهي
'**if** we enter a nuclear arms race in the region it will never [lit. **will not**] end'

law *'alimat bi-l-'amri* ***yumkinu*** *'an taṭluba minhu 'an yuṭalliqahā*
لو علمت بالأمر يمكن أن تطلب منه أن يطلّقها
'**if** she were to find out about the matter she could [lit. "**it would be possible** that"] ask him to divorce her'

law لو also occurs in conditional sentences with an unlikely future sense, retaining the syntax used in counterfactual sentences (see **8.2.1**):

law *'utīḥa li-l-šu'ūbi l-'arabiyyati 'an tusammiya l-za'īma l-'akṯara ša'biyyatan fī hāḏihi l-'āwinati* ***la-****'ajābat* …
لو أتيح للشعوب العربية أنْ تسمّي الزعيم الأكثر شعبية في هذه الاونة لأجابت . . .
'**if** the Arab people were given [the opportunity] to name the most popular leader during these times, [**then**] they would answer …'
(for *tamyīz*, see **2.4.4**, **2.11.1** and **3.29.5**)

8.2.4 law 'anna لو أنّ *'were it that'* (▷C3:322; see **3.2.2** for **'anna أنّ *'that'***)

If the particle *law* لو is to be followed by a noun or pronoun, the complementizing particle *'anna* أنّ must follow the particle *law* لو. The same variations for the apodosis as for *law* لو in **8.2.1** and **8.2.3** seem to apply:

Counterfactual (see **8.2.1**)

law 'annī *rajulun 'āḫaru* ***la-****kāna lī ma'ahā ša'nun*
لو أنّي رجل آخر لكان لي معها شأن
'**if I were** any other man, [**then**] I would have something to say to her'

*wa-****law 'anna*** *l-muntijīna l-sīnamā'iyyīna staqra'ū l-ta'rīḫa* ***la-****'arafū 'anna* …
ولو انّ المنتجين السينمائيين استقرأوا التاريخ لعرفوا انّ . . .
'and **if** cinema producers [had] studied history [**then**] they would know that …'

As synonym of *'in* إنْ

*wa-****law 'annanī*** *wajadtu hāḏā l-ḥubba l-dā'ima wa-l-ḥanāna l-ḥaqīqiyya* ***lan*** *'aktuba ḥarfan wāḥidan wa-sa-'akūnu sa'īdan*
ولو أنّني وجدت هذا الحبّ الدائم و الحنان الحقيقي لن أكتب حرفا واحدا و سأكون سعيدا
'and **if I** find this everlasting love and true tenderness I **shall not** write a single word and I will be happy'

law 'anna *dārisan 'ajnabiyyan lā ya'rifu tārīḫa miṣra jā'a 'ilā l-qāhirati yadrusu tārīḫahā …* ***'a'taqidu*** *'anna hāḏā l-dārisa …*

لو أنّ دارسا أجنبيا لا يعرف تاريخ مصر جاء الى القاهرة يدرس تاريخها . . . اعتقد أنّ هذا الدارس . . .

'**if** a foreign scholar who did not know the history of Egypt were to come to Cairo to study its history,…**I think** that that scholar …'

See relative clauses **5.1**, asyndetic purpose circumstantial qualifiers **7.3.1**.

8.2.5 *Elliptical variant as a wish* (▷C3:334)

The apodosis may be elided in expressions of hope, wishes:

law raḥimta *'abdaka yā mawlāya*

لو رحمت عبدك يا مولاي

'**if you pardon** your obedient servant, my Lord!'

8.2.6 *Inversion of* لو law *clause* (▷C3:323)

As with *'in* إن (see **8.1.5**) and *'iḏā* إذا (see **8.3.8**) *law* لو clauses may be inverted. Under these conditions the inverted apodosis does not bear the prefix *la-* لـ:

yumkinuhā …'an taḥtafiẓa bi-naḍārati wa-šabābi bišratihā ***law****-i ttaba'at-i l-naṣā'iḥa l-tāliyata*

يمكنها . . . أن تحتفظ بنضارة وشباب بشرتها لو اتّبعت النصائح التالية

'she … can keep the freshness and youth of her complexion **if** she follows the following advice' (see binomial annexation **2.3.7**)

8.2.7 لو law *after wishes and hopes* (▷C3:324)

With its counterfactual implications *law* لو has always been used in expressions of longing or wishing. The verb following *law* لو may be either in the perfect, apocopate, or independent imperfect:

tamannaytu ***law*** *tursilī 'ilayya šay'an*

تمنيت لو ترسلي إليّ شيئا

'I wished you [fem.] would [lit. **if**] send me something'

*yatamannā **law** kuntu ġayra mutazawwijatin*

يتمنى لو كنت غير متزوّجة

'he wishes I were not [lit. **if**] married [fem.]'

*wadadtu **law** 'aqḍī l-'umra 'amāma l-šāšati ma'a l-'abṭāli*

وددت لو أقضي العمر أمام الشاشة مع الأبطال

'I wished [**if**] I could spend my whole life in front of the screen with the heroes'

After exclamations and interjections (▷C3:325), also elliptical (cf. **8.2.5**):

*'āhi **law** tanhāru kullu l-ṣurūḥi!*

آه لو تنهار كلّ الصروح!

'How I wish [**if**] all the castles would collapse!'

8.2.8 *'if only' clauses* (▷C3:326)*, also elliptical*

(Cf. **8.2.5** and **8.2.7**)

***law kānat** qad sami'at kalāma l-ṭabībi*

لو كانت قد سمعت كلام الطبيب

'**if only she had** listened to the doctor's advice'

8.2.9 *Incomplete conditionals*

Inversion (and ellipsis) in *wa-law* ولو concessive sentences (see also **8.6**; ▷C3:335): in cases of inversion, a complete (verbal) sentence or clause is not required after *wa-law* ولو since the *law* لو clause implies an ellipsed *kāna* كان:

*al-'iḥsān[u] fī mu'āmalati l-jāri **wa-law** ġayra muslimin*

الإحسان في معاملة الجار ولو غير مسلم

'charity in dealing with one's neighbour **even if** a non-Muslim'

*fa-'iḏā kāna l-fardu lā yamliku qadran min-a l-tafā'uli **wa-law** maḥdūdan fa-'al-'afḍalu 'an yaṣmuta*

فإذا كان الفرد لا يملك قدرا من التفاؤل ولو محدودا فالأفضل أنْ يصمت

'so if an individual does not possess a degree of optimism, **even** [a] limited [amount], then it is better that he remains silent'
(see rhetorical conditional **8.3.3**)

fa-'inna 'aḥadan min 'usarihim lā yufakkiru fī l-tabarru'i ***wa-law*** *bi-šaqqatin*
فإنّ أحدا من أسرهم لا يفكّر في التبرّع ولو بشقّة
'and no one in their families is thinking of donating, **not even** a morsel (widow's mite)' (see **4.2** on negative agents)

Total ellipsis of cond. clause:

'a-tatazawwajīnahu ḥattā law lam yakun ladayhi šay'un 'alā l-'iṭlāqi? na'am, ***wa-law*** …
أتتزوّجينه حتّى لو لم يكن لديه شيء على الإطلاق؟ نعم ولو . . .
'are you going to marry him even if he possesses nothing at all? Yes, **even if** …'

ḥattā (wa)-law (و)لو حتّى 'even if' variant (cf. **8.1.12**). *ḥattā* حتى and *ḥattā wa-law* ولو حتى (**7.6.7.7**) may be followed by a clause:

ḥattā wa-law *kāna hāḏā l-dīnu huwa l-dīna l-rasmiyya li-l-dawlati*
حتّى ولو كان هذا الدين هو الدين الرسمي للدولة
'**even if** this religion is the official state religion' (for the pronoun *huwa* هو, here separating definite subject from predicate, see **3.5**)

ḥattā law *lam ya'ud 'ayyun minhā yaḥmilu smahu*
حتّى لو لم يعد أيّ منها يحمل اسمه
'**even if** none of them bears his name any more'

(for *lam ya'ud* لم يعد, see **3.21.1.1**)

or a phrase:

ḥattā wa-law *fī l-šitā'i* حتّى ولو في الشتاء '**even** in winter'

8.2.10 kamā law ('anna) كما لو (انّ) *'as if'*

(▷C3:324; for *kamā* كما 'as if', see **5.9.9**.)

After the comparative *kamā* كما, *law* لو may be followed directly by a verb in the perfect:

tu'āmiluhā ***kamā law kānat*** *ḫādimatan lakumā*
تعاملها كما لو كانت خادمة لكما
'you [sing.] treat her **as though she were** a servant of yours [dual]'

or by the complementizer *'anna* أنّ:

ṯumma nḥanā naḥwahā ***kamā law 'annahu*** *yaḥnū 'alā ṭiflatin*
ثمّ انحنى نحوها كما لو أنه يحنو على طفلة
'then he bent towards her **as though he were** leaning over a child'

ẓaharū ***kamā law 'annahum*** *yaqifūna fī wajhi fikrati l-istiqlāli*
ظهروا كما لو أنهم يقفون في وجه فكرة الاستقلال
'they appeared to be [lit. "**as though they are**"] standing in the face of the idea of independence'

8.2.11 law-lā لولا *'if it were not for'* (▷C3:326)

law-lā لولا 'if it were not for' clauses have an elided predicate. The apodosis normally begins with *la-* لَـ (▷C:370; **1.6.7**)

law لو + negative *lā* لا may be prefixed to either nouns:

law-lā *ṣabru l-'aṭibbā'i wa-l-waqtu l-ṭawīlu llaḏī kānū yamnaḥūnahu lahumā bi-l-šarḥi wa-l-waṣfi wa-l-ṭam'anati* ***la****-mā staṭā'ā 'an yaṣmudā*
لولا صبر الأطبّاء و الوقت الطويل الّذي كانوا يمنحونه لهما بالشرح و الوصف والطمأنة لما استطاعا أنْ يصمدا
'**if it were not for** the patience of the doctors and the long time they devoted to explaining, describing and reassuring them, **[then]** the two of them would not have been able to hold out'

or pronouns (▷C3:327):

wa-'annī ***law-lāhā*** *la-mā mtalaktu tilka l-jaḏwata – al-ṭāqata l-hā'ilata*
و أنّي لولاها لما امتلكت تلك الجذوة – الطاقة الهائلة
'and that **had it not been for that** I would not have possessed that firebrand – [that] enormous energy'

The previous examples contain a negative apodosis (for detailed explanation, see **4.1.6**). However, a positive apodosis is also possible, of course:

law-lāhā ***la****-ṣārat mumillatan*
لولاها لصارت مملّة
'**if it were not for them** [the treacheries] **[then]** it [i.e. life] would have become boring'

Inversion is not uncommon (▷C3:328). Under these conditions the inverted apodosis does not bear the prefix *la-* لـ:

wa-hāḏihi l-majmūʿatu hiya l-raʾsu l-mufakkiru llaḏī bi-dūnihi taḥtallu mawāzīnu l-ʿamali wa-tasūdu l-fawḍā ***law-lā*** *qiyāmuhā*

وهذه المجموعة هي الرأس المفكّر الّذي بدونه تختلّ موازين العمل و تسود الفوضى لولا قيامها

'this group is the think-tank without which the balance(s) of work would be destroyed and chaos would prevail, **were it not** for its [the group's] existence'

8.2.12 law-lā ʾanna لولا أنّ *'if not for the fact that'*

Often inverted (▷C3:328; **8.2.4**):

kānū qad-i ttafaqū ʿalā l-tanfīḏi ***law-lā ʾanna*** *l-ḥarba qad qāmat*

كانوا قد اتّفقوا على التنفيذ لولا أنّ الحرب قد قامت

'they would have agreed to the carrying out [of it] **were it not for the fact that** the war had started'

8.2.13 law-lā ʾan لولا أن *'but for'*

Quasi-adversative (▷C3:329):

kāda l-taṣwīru yantahī ***law-lā ʾan*** *saqaṭat-i l-kamirā min fawqi l-ḥāmili*

كاد التصوير ينتهي لولا أن سقطت الكاميرا من فوق الحامل

'the photographing would have almost been completed **but for** the camera falling off the tripod'

8.3 *ʾiḏā* إذا 'if', 'when' (▷C3:302, C3:361–9)

In the following presentation *ʾiḏā* إذا 'if', 'when' will be dealt with under four main categories: (1) as a pure conditional (see **8.3.1**); (2) as a hybrid conditional/temporal (see **8.3.10**); (3) as a pure temporal (see **8.3.11**); and (4) in the form *ʾiḏā mā* إذا ما 'whenever' (see **8.3.13**). The latter two do not, strictly speaking, belong in a chapter on conditionals but are kept together here for convenience.

8.3.1 ’iḏā إذا *‘if’ as a pure conditional*

’iḏā ’a‘jabanī *kitābun* ***tamannaytu*** *law-i qtanaytuhu*
إذا أعجبني كتاب تمنّيت لو اقتنيته
‘**if** a book **pleases me I wish** I owned it’

(for *law* لو after wishes and hopes, see 8.2.7)

*fa-**’iḏā ḥallalnā** ‘amala hāḏā l-šaḫṣi **wajadnā** ’annahu lā yamuttu ’ilā mihnati l-handasati ’aw mihnati l-ṭibbi ’aw mihnati l-qānūni bi-ṣilatin kabīratin*
فإذا حلّلنا عمل هذا الشخص وجدنا أنّه لا يمتّ إلى الهندسة أو مهنة الطبّ أو مهنة القانون بصلة كبيرة
‘**if we analyse** the work of this person **we will find** that it does not relate very closely to the professions of engineering, medicine or law’

’iḏā tawaḫḫaynā *diqqatan* ***qulna*** *’inna …*
إذا توخينا دقة قلنا إنّ . . .
‘**if we are pursuing** accuracy **we can say** that …’

Also renders the past (determinable by context):

’iḏā kāna *kātibu l-’inšā’i mulimman bi-miṯli haḏihi l-luġāti* ***kāna*** *’aqdara ‘alā murāsalatihim*
إذا كان كاتب الإنشاء ملما بمثل هذه اللغة كان أقدر على مراسلتهم
‘**if** the secretary of the chancellery **was** conversant with such languages as these he **was** more able to correspond with them [namely, foreign people]’

8.3.2 *Variant forms of verb in apodosis*

The protasis is always perfect, but the verb of the apodosis frequently has independent imperfect form, either unmarked:

*ma‘a ḍālika **’iḏā ḫaraja** minhā fī riḥlatin ’aw ziyāratin ’ilā makānin mā min-a l-‘ālami **narāhu** lā yaḫšā l-iḫtināqa ka-’asmāki l-baḥri min hāḏā l-ḥurūji*
مع ذلك إذا خرج منها في رحلة أو زيارة إلى مكان ما من العالم نراه لا يخشى الاختناق كأسماك البحر من هذا الخروج
‘however, **if he leaves** it for travelling or to visit any place in the world **we find** [lit. “see”] that he does not fear being stifled like the fish of the sea do in this way’

'iḏā baḥaṯnā *fī šaḥṣiyyatihi* ***najidu*** *'annahu kāna yarā 'abawayhi yata'āmalāni ka-ḏālika*

إذا بحثنا في شخصيته نجد أنّه كان يرى أبويه يتعاملان كذلك

'**if we examine** his personality **we shall find** that he used to watch his parents behaving towards each other in this way'

or marked as future with *sa-* سـ or *sawfa* سوف (**3.10.3**) if specifically future meaning is intended:

*wa-**'iḏā sa'altanī*** *l-'āna li-māḏā wāṣaltu al-taradduda 'alā 'iyādatihi ba'da 'an ṣāraḥanī bi-ḏālika wa-li-māḏā lam 'aḏhab li-'iyādati ṭabībin 'āḫara* ***sa-yakūnu*** *jawābī…*

وإذا سألتني الآن لماذا واصلت التردّد على عيادته بعد أنْ صارحني بذلك ولماذا لم أذهب لعيادة طبيب آخر سيكون جوابي . . .

'and **if you ask** me now why I continued to go to his clinic after he clearly told me about that and why I did not go to some other doctor's clinic, my answer **will be** …'

8.3.3 *Apodosis as non-verbal sentence*

When the apodosis is not a verbal sentence, *'iḏā* اذا follows the same rules as *'in* إنْ 'if' (see **8.1.2**; ▷C3:302) in prefixing *fa-* فـ to the apodosis:

'iḏā 'asqaṭahā *'aḥaduhum bi-l-quwwati 'alā l-'arḍi 'aw qaḏafahā 'alā l-ḥā'iṭi* ***fa-****'innahā taruddu 'alayhi bi-silsilatin min-a l-šatā'imi*

إذا أسقطها أحدهم بالقوّة على الأرض أو قذفها على الحائط فإنها ترد عليه بسلسلة من الشتائم

'**if** one of them violently **throws her** to the ground or throws her against the wall, **[then]** she replies with a stream of abuse'

'iḏā kunnā naš'uru bihi *'aḥyānan* ***fa-****hāḏā ya'nī 'anna li-wujūdihi sababan*

إذا كنّا نشعر به أحيانا فهذا يعني أن لوجوده سببا

'**if we are** sometimes **aware of it**, **[then]** that means there is a reason for its existence', (for *'iḏā mā* إذا ما, see **8.3.13**)

'iḏā mā *taraknā l-rašīda fa-'inna l-ḫalīfata l-mu'assisa 'abā ja'far[in] al-manṣūr[i] ḥaẓiya bi-dirāsātin jiddiyyatin*

إذا ما تركنا الرشيد فإنّ الخليفة المؤسّس أبا جعفر المنصور حظي بدراسة جدّية

'**if** we leave aside al-Rašīd then [we will find that] the founding Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr has attracted serious studies'

(for *al-ẖalīfata* الخليفة 'the Caliph', a masculine noun with feminine marker, see **1.12.2.1**), and for proper name inflections, see **1.8.5**)

This also normally applies to an apodosis with imperative form:

'iḏā stamarra *fī ḍīqihi* ***fa-****ḥāwilī 'an tuġayyirī min waḍ'iyyatihi*

إذا استمرّ في ضيقه فحاولي أن تغيّري من وضعيته

'**if it [the child] remains** in discomfort, **[then]** try [fem. sing.] changing its position'

'iḏā kunta *ḥārija dā'irati l-sintrāli* ***fa-****ṭlub il-raqma (16)*

إذا كنت خارج دائرة السنترال فاطلب رقم (١٦)

'**if you are** outside the exchange area **[then]** dial 16'

although the imperative can also be unmarked:

'iḏā raġibta fī *'ilġā'i l-ištirāki* ***'arsil*** *risālatan fāriġatan 'ilā …*

إذا رغبت في إلغاء الاشتراك أرسل رسالة فارغة إلى . . .

'**if you wish** to cancel your subscription **send** an empty message to …'

In the following examples the conditional element is purely rhetorical (cf. **8.1.7**). *kāna* كان is required here because the underlying sentences are equational in Arabic (see **3.1**), which by nature can only become conditional through the introduction of *kāna* كان in its modalizing function:

*wa-****'iḏā kānat*** *riwāyatu 'ahdaf suwayf miṣriyyatan – qalban –* ***fa-****'innahā inglīziyyatun – qāliban*

وإذا كانت رواية أهدف سويف مصرية – قلبا – فإنّها انجليزية – قالبا

'and **if** Ahdaf Suwayf's story **is** Egyptian – at heart – **[then]** it is English – in shape'

*wa-****'iḏā kānat****-i l-'alāqātu l-sūriyyatu l-sa'ūdiyyatu munḏu 'amadin ba'īdin matīnatan wa-qawiyyatan …* ***fa-****'inna …*

وإذا كانت العلاقات السورية السعودية منذ أمد بعيد متينة وقوية . . . فأنّ . . .

'and **if** Syrian–Saudi relations have been firm and strong for a long time … **[then]** …'

As in sentences with *'in* إنْ 'if' (see **8.1.7**), when conditional sentences with *'iḏā* إذا are expressed through continuous tenses or other non-conditional tenses – therefore not qualifying as true conditions – *kāna* كان must be used as a modalizer after the particle *'iḏā* إذا:

ʾiḏā kunnā *naẓariyyan* ***naqūlu*** *ʾinna l-māla l-hāriba yumkinu ʾan yaʿūda fa-ʾinna l-māla l-muharraba lan yaʿūda ʾabadan*

وإذا كنّا نظريا نقول إنّ المال الهارب يمكن أنْ يعود فإنّ المال المهرّب لن يعود أبدا

'**if we [can] say** theoretically that emigrant money may come back, smuggled money will never come back'

*wa-**ʾiḏā kunnā natafahhamu** ḥirṣa ṭūkiyū ʿalā stiṯmāri daʿmihā l-ḍaḫmi li-yūniskū … fa-ʾinnanā lā nastaṭīʿu ʾan nufassira …*

وإذا كنّا نتفهّم حرص طوكيو على استثمار دعمها الضخم ليونسكو . . . فإننا لا نستطيع أن نفسر . . .

'and **if we understand** Tokyo's desire to invest its huge support in UNESCO …, we are unable to explain …'

ʾiḏā kāna *hāḏā l-namūḏaju* ***yasmaḥu bi****-našri muʿaddātin wa-nuẓumin taslīḥiyyatin mutaqaddimatin fa-hunāka namāḏiju ʾuḫrā*

إذا كان هذا النموذج يسمح بنشر معدّات و نظم تسليحية متقدّمة فهناك نماذج أخرى

'**if** this type **allows** the propagation of equipment and advanced weapon systems, there are other types'

The particles *lākinna* لكنّ 'but' and *ʾillā* إلاّ 'except' may also introduce the apodosis of these conditionals (see **8.1.4** with *ʾin* إنْ) (▷C3:352; see **9.4.5**):

wa-ʾiḏa kāna lawnu fānillati l-ʾulimbī wa-l-ʾahlī yajmaʿuhumā l-lawnu l-ʾaḥmaru, ***lākinna*** *hunāka farqan*

وإذا كان لون فانلّة الأولمبي والأهلي يجمعهما اللون الأحمر، لكنّ هناك فرقا

'and if the shirts of the Olympia and Ahli teams share the colour red, [**nonetheless**] there is a difference'

fa-ʾiḏā kāna min al-nādiri ʾan tadūra l-intiḫābātu … ḥawla l-siyāsati l-ḫārijiyyati, ***ʾillā ʾannahu*** *min-a l-nādiri ʾayḍan ʾan taġība qaḍāyāhā*

فإذا كان من النادر أن تدور الانتخابات . . . حول السياسة الخارجية, إلاّ أنّه من النادر أيضا أن تغيب قضاياها

'so if it is unusual for the elections to revolve … around foreign policy, [**nonetheless**] it is also rare that these issues would be absent'

wa-ʾiḏā kāna l-ʾamīrīkiyyūna yuḏhilūna marrātin kaṯīratan ***ʾillā ʾannahum*** *lā yuḫayyibūna ʾabadan*

وإذا كان الأميريكيون يذهلون مرات كثيرة إلا أنهم لا يخيبون أبدا

'and if the Americans often give cause for surprise [**nonetheless**] they never disappoint'

8.3.4 *With same syntax and sense as* law لو

The apodosis may also be prefixed with the emphatic *la-* لـ (see **1.6.7**) mimicking the syntax of *law* لو (see **8.2.1**):

wa-'iḏā sta'raḍnā ta'rīḫa 'ajhizatinā l-ṯaqāfiyyati ***la****-wajadnā nisbatan min kibāri l-muṯaqqafīna 'amilat bihā*

وإذا استعرضنا تأريخ أجهزتتا الثقافية لوجدنا نسبة من كبار المثقّفين عملت بها

'if we were to review our cultural organs, **[then]** we would certainly find that a (significant) proportion of senior intellectuals have worked in them'

'iḏā 'aḍafnā li-ḏālika mā yatimmu 'ijrā'uhu fī l-marākizi l-ṭibbiyyati ***la****-fūji'nā bi-raqmin ḍaḫmin yuṯīru l-rahbata*

اذا أضفنا لذلك ما يتمّ إجراؤه في المراكز الطبّية لفوجئنا برقم ضخم يثير الرهبة

'if we added to this what is happening in medical centres **[then]** we would certainly be amazed by a horrifying large number'

8.3.5 *With default* kāna كان *as conditional element of equational sentences*

In order to form conditionals from equational sentences (**3.1**) – which often includes those containing prepositions – *kāna* كان must be used in its modalizing function (see also **8.3.3**) (this would generally apply also to *law* لو and *'in* إنْ above):

'iḏā ***kāna lī*** *min 'umniyatin 'atamannāhā li-kulli llaḏīna 'uḥibbuhum fī hāḏā l-'āmi l-jadīdi fa-hiya 'an yumatti'ahum-u llāhu bi-l-ṣiḥḥati wa-l-'āfiyati*

إذا كان لي من أمنية أتمنّاها لكلّ الّذين أحبّهم في هذا العام الجديد فهي أنْ يمتعهم اللّه بالصحّة والعافية

'if **I had** one wish for all those I love this new year it would be that God grant them health and well-being', lit. '**if there was for me**' (see *min* **2.6.12** من)

8.3.6 *With* kāna كان *to express present perfect sense*

For the protasis to have explicit perfect or past meaning (▷C3:316), *kāna* كان 'to be' is combined with the main verb, which is generally reinforced with *qad* قد. Unlike non-conditional structures of this type in which the sense is generally pluperfect (see **3.10.7**), the use of *kāna* كان plus or minus

qad قد + perfect after conditional *'iḏā* إذا conveys a sense of present perfect in English. Under these conditions, the usual word order of *kāna* كان with compound tenses is retained, namely, *kāna* كان + agent + verb (see **3.10.6**). The apodosis in such cases generally begins with *fa-* فـ.

With *qad* قد:

'iḏā kunnā qad 'ašarnā *'ilā 'ahammiyyati ḥifẓi kitābi llāhi li-l-istišhādi bihi* ***fa****-lā 'aqalla min 'an yakūna kātibu l-'inšā'i ḥāfiẓan li-'aḥādīṯi rasūli llāhi 'alayhi l-salāmu*

إذا كنا قد أشرنا إلى أهمية حفظ كتاب الله للاستشهاد به فلا أقل من أن يكون كاتب الإنشاء حافظا لأحاديث رسول الله عليه السلام

'**if [given that] we have indicated** the importance of memorizing God's Book in order to cite it, **then** it was no less important for the secretary of the chancellery to be a memorizer of the Traditions of God's Messenger (Peace be upon him)'

'iḏā kānat*-i l-dawlatu l-taḥdīṯiyyatu l-'arabiyyatu* ***qad tarjamat*** *fikrata l-taqaddumi taqlīdan li-l-namāḏiji l-'ūrūbiyyati l-jāhizati …* ***fa-'inna*** …

إذا كانت الدولة التحديثية العربية قد ترجمت فكرة التقدّم تقليدا للنماذج الأروبية الجاهزة . . . فأن . . .

'**if** the modernist Arab state **has interpreted** the concept of "advancement" in imitation of ready-made European models …, **then** …'

'iḏā kānat*-i l-ḥukūmātu l-muta'āqibatu* ***qad fašilat*** *fī 'idārati l-ṣirā'i l-siyāsiyyi munḏu …* ***fa-'inna*** …

إذا كانت الحكومات المتعاقبة قد فشلت في إدارة الصراع السياسي منذ . . . فإنّ . . .

'**if** successive governments **have failed** in managing the political conflict since …, **then** …'

Without *qad* قد:

*wa-****'iḏā kānat*** *sūriyā* ***ra'at*** *masīrata l-'amni fī lubnāna* ***fa-'inna*** …

وإذا كانت سوريا رعت مسيرة الأمن في لبنان فإنّ . . .

'and **if** Syria **has overseen** the security process in Lebanon, **then** …'

*wa-****'iḏā kānat****-i l-minṭaqatu* ***'aṣbaḥat*** *taḥtawī ḥāliyyan 'alā jāmi'ātin lā taqillu 'ahammiyyatan …* ***'illā 'anna*** …

وإذا كانت المنطقة أصبحت تحتوي حاليا على جامعات لا تقل أهمية . . . إلا أن . . .

'and **if** the region **has** currently **begun** to comprise universities that are no less important …, **nonetheless** …' (see **3.17.3** and **9.4.5**)

8.3.7 *Embedded or parenthetical*

Conditionals with *'iḏā* إذا can be embedded, e.g. after *'ammā* أمّا 'as for' (▷C3:306; and cf. **3.3.4**) with conditional and rhetorical sense:

'ammā 'iḏā 'aradtum *'ijābatan 'an su'āli: li-māḏā tumawwilunā l-jihātu l-'ajnabiyyatu fa-l-'ijābatu basīṭatun*

أمّا إذا أردتم إجابة عن سؤال: لماذا تمولنا الجهات الأجنبية فالإجابة بسيطة

'**[as for] if you want** an answer to the question of why foreign agencies are financing us, the answer is easy'

'ammā 'iḏā kānat *hāḏihi l-naṣā'iḥu ġayra kāfiyatin li-tahdi'ati raw'iki fī natfi ša'riki wa-mu'āqabati ḏātiki fa-ḥāwilī l-taḥadduṯa 'an-i l-'amri ma'a 'aṣdiqā'a 'awfiyā'a*

أمّا إذا كانت هذه النصائح غير كافية لتهدئة روعك في نتف شعرك ومعاقبة ذاتك فحاولي التحدّث عن الأمر مع أصدقاء أوفياء

'**[as for] if** this advice **is** insufficient to allay your fear about plucking out your hair and punishing yourself, then try to speak about it to trustworthy friends'

or they may occur parenthetically:

lā ba'sa ***'iḏā kunti lā tuḥibbīna l-ḥalība*** *min-a l-ḥuṣūli 'alā l-kālsiyūm min 'aṭ'imatin 'uḫrā*

لا بأس إذا كنت لا تحبّين الحليب من الحصول على الكالسيوم من أطعمة أخرى

'there is no harm, **if you do not like milk**, in getting calcium from other foods'

If there is topicalization (see **3.3**), the *'iḏā* إذا sentence can form the comment:

kaṯīrun min-a l-'ašjāri ***'iḏā mana'ta 'anhā l-mā'a*** *tamtaddu juḏūruhā 'ilā 'a'māqi l-'arḍi wa-taqwā*

كثير من الأشجار إذا منعت عنها الماء تمتدّ جذورها إلى أعماق الأرض وتقوى

'many trees, **if you deprive them of water**, their roots sink deep into the earth and become strong'

8.3.8 *Inversion*

The most common clause sequence is still the CA order protasis + apodosis, but this order is now commonly reversed:

*lā 'azā'a lahum **'iḏā lam ya'rifū** ḏālika*
لا عزاء لهم اذا لم يعرفوا ذلك
'it is no consolation to them **if they do not know** that' (see categorical negative **4.1.2**)

*yaštaddu bihā hāḏā l-'iḥsāsu **'iḏā ša'arat bi**-'annahu yuhaddidu ḥaqqahā*
يشتدّ بها هذا الإحساس إذا شعرت بأنّه يهدّد حقّها
'this feeling will intensify **if she feels** that he is threatening her right'

*bi-mā fī ḏālika stiḫdāmu l-quwwati **'iḏā lazima l-'amru***
بما في ذلك استخدام القوّة إذا لزم الأمر
'including the use of power **if it becomes necessary**'

(for *bi-mā fī* بما في, see 5.7)

*intabihī **'iḏā kāna l-'amru ka-ḏālika***
انتبهي إذا كان الأمر كذلك
'watch out [fem.] **if that is how things really are**'

*fa-kayfa sawfa tufakkiru hiya **'iḏā jā'a l-yawmu** llaḏī 'anṭuqu bihi wa-lā 'uḫfī 'anhā kulla mā jāla fī dunyāya*
فكيف سوف تفكّر هي إذا جاء اليوم الّذي أنطق به ولا أخفي عنها كلّ ما جال في دنياي
'and how would she think **when the day came** that I was talking of and I would not hide anything that had been going on in my world'

'iḏā إذا is occasionally followed by pronoun then verb, mainly for emphasis (cf. **8.1.8**):

*qad yuḥkamu lahā bi-l-ṭalāqi **'iḏā hiya** raġibat fī ḏālika*
قد يحكم لها بالطلاق إذا هي رغبت في ذلك
'judgement for divorce will certainly be passed in her favour **if she** is the one who desires it' (cf. **3.9.1** on emphatic free pronoun agreement)

8.3.9 *Negation of protasis*

Negation of the protasis clause with *'iḏā* إذا is always effected by *lam* لم + apocopate (for verbal negatives see **4.2.3**, and **8.1.11**, **8.2.2**):

’iḏā lam tunaẓẓam *hāḏihi l-‘alāqātu jamī‘uhā fī ’iṭārin mutawāzinin fa-lan talbaṯa l-ḥilāfātu ’an tadibba bayna ’afrādi l-hay’ati*

إذا لم تنظَّم هذه العلاقات جميعا في إطار متوازن فلن تلبث الخلافات أن تدبّ بين أفراد الهيئة

‘**if** these relationships **are not** all **organized** in a balanced way, [then] differences between individual members of the organization will soon creep in’ (for idiomatic *lan talbaṯa* لن تلبث ‘will not tarry’, see **3.17.12**)

’iḏā lam yušāhidū *‘iqālan ‘alā ra’sihi tabassamū wa-raḥḥabū bihi bi-’aṣwātin ‘āliyatin*

إذا لم يشاهدوا عقالا على رأسه تبسّموا و رحّبوا به بأصوات عالية

‘**if they do not see** a headband on his head they smile and welcome him with loud voices’

8.3.10 *Conditional–temporal sense*

’iḏā إذا in the sense of ‘if and when’: the interpretation, as above, is subjective but the following examples seem to combine both a conditional and temporal sense. The syntax is identical to the conditional sentences illustrated above, usually with both verbs in the perfect:

’iḏā ṣaluḥat ṣaluḥa *l-mujtama‘u*

اذا صلحت صلح المجتمع

‘**if and when it** [namely, the family] **is healthy** society **is healthy**’

’iḏā ‘ajaza ‘an*-i l-qiyāmi bihi baytu l-māli* ***wajaba*** *‘alā l-muslimīna kāffatan*

إذا عجز عن القيام به بيت المال وجب على المسلمين كافة

‘**if and when** the community treasury **is unable to** carry it out, **the obligation falls** on the Muslims generally’

’iḏā ġaḍibat*-i l-mar’atu* ***faqadat*** *’unūṯatahā*

إذا غضبت المرأة فقدت أنوثتها

‘**if and when** a woman **becomes angry she loses** her femininity’

Topic with *’iḏā* إذا sentence as comment (cf. **3.3** and see also **8.1.13**):

ba‘ḍu l-kuttābi ’iḏā ḫarajū *min masāqiṭi ru’ūsihim yaḫtaniqūna bi-l-ġurbati wa-waḥšati l-’amkinati l-jadīdati ‘alayhim*

بعض الكتّاب إذا خرجوا من مساقط رؤوسهم يختنقون بالغربة ووحشة الأماكن الجديدة عليهم

‘**some writers, if/when they leave** their birthplace, become stifled by the separation and the loneliness of the places new to them’

8.3.11 *Temporal*

Purely temporal: here the meaning may be a non-specific 'when' or, overlapping with *'iḏā mā* إذا ما (see **8.3.13**), the sense of 'whenever'. Note that the sense can be past or present habitual. The syntax is identical with conditional *'iḏā* إذا:

'iḏā 'anna *marīḍun* ***'anna*** *l-jamī'u*
إذا أنّ مريض أنّ الجميع
'**when** one patient **moaned** everyone **moaned**'

'iḏā ḫarajat*-i l-'asmāku min-a l-baḥri* ***tamūtu*** *bi-l-iḫtināqi*
إذا خرجت الأسماك من البحر تموت بالاختناق
'**when** fish **come out** of the sea **they die** of asphyxiation'

'iḏā sami'a *'aḏāna l-fajri fī hudū'i l-layli* ***ṭariba*** *l-qalbu*
إذا سمع أذان الفجر في هدوء الليل طرب قلبه
'**when he hears** the dawn prayer call in the calm of the night his heart **rejoices'**

With inversion:

wa-lākinnahā ***bada'at*** *ta'lafu tilka l-ibtisāmāti wa-taftaqidu ṣāhibahā* ***'iḏā ġāba***
ولكنّها بدأت تألف تلك الابتسامات و تفتقد صاحبها إذا غاب
'but she **began** to get used to those smiles and miss their bearer **when(ever) he was away**'

min-a l-'ābirīna 'aqribā'u ***yanzilūnā*** *'indanā* ***'iḏā jā'ū*** *min-a l-rīfi*
من العابرين أقرباء ينزلون عندنا إذا جاءوا من الريف
'among those passing through (are) relatives who **stay** with us **whenever they come** from the countryside'

8.3.12 *With* kāna كان *(or its sisters) to express habitual acts*

To express a past (historical) meaning the auxiliary *kāna* كان 'to be' (or any of its 'sisters') is used (▷C3:300; and cf. **3.10.6**). The whole sentence then becomes a comment on the noun-agent of *kāna* كان (or its 'sisters'); verbs in the interior of the sentence are normally perfect although they can be independent imperfect as they generally indicate habitual acts:

ḥattā ***ṣāra ’iḏā waṣalat*** *‘arabatu l-mā’i wa-lam yakūnū mawjūdīna* ***mala’a*** *lahum jirārahum*

حتّى صار إذا وصلت عربة الماء ولم يكونوا موجودين ملأ لهم جرارهم

‘until **the situation reached the point that whenever** the water wagon **arrived** when they were not around he **would fill** their clay pitchers for them’

kuntu ’iḏā waṣaltu ’ilā *l-munḥanā ‘inda furni l-ḥājji nāsif* ***’altafitu*** *’ilā l-ḫalfi*

كنت اذا وصلت الى المنحنى عند فرن الحاج ناصيف التفت الى الخلف

‘**whenever I used to reach** the corner at Hajj Nasif’s bakery I **would look** behind me’

*wa-****kānat-i l-šawāri‘u ’iḏā tasāqaṭa ‘alayhā l-maṭaru ’aṣbaḥat*** *mamlū’atan bi-l-ṭīni*

وكانت الشوارع أذا تساقط عليها المطر أصبحت مملوءة بالطين

‘and **the streets would**, **whenever rain fell on them**, **become** full of mud’

8.3.13 *Followed by* mā ما *and with the sense of ‘whenever’*

’iḏā mā إذا ما has the meaning ‘whenever’, ‘when’ (▷C3:305), where the redundant *mā* ما suffix serves to suggest vagueness (see **5.6.3**), and it thus overlaps with plain *’iḏā* إذا in this sense. The syntax is the same as the unsuffixed *’iḏā* إذا:

’iḏā mā *qtarabat min-a l-sifārati futiḥa bābu l-sifārati l-kahrabā’iyyu*

إذا ما اقتربت من السفارة فتح باب السفارة الكهربائي

‘**whenever** it [namely, the car] approached the embassy the electric gate of the embassy was opened’

’iḏā mā *stayqaẓa l-rašīdu, istad‘ā nadīmahu*

إذا ما استيقظ الرشيد، استدعى نديمه

‘**whenever** Rashid woke up, he summoned his drinking companion’

’iḏā mā *ḥāwalnā taqyīma hāḏihi l-ḥujaji yumkinu ’an nu’akkida ‘alā ba‘ḍi l-mulāḥaẓāti*

إذا حاولنا تقييم هذه الحجج يمكن أنْ نؤكّد على بعض الملاحظات

‘**when** we try to evaluate these arguments we can confirm certain observations’ (for *yumkinu* يمكن, see **7.5.1.1** for example, also **3.20.1**)

8.4 Elliptical conditional *wa-'illā* وإلا 'if not', 'if it is not the case' (▷C3:336)

wa-'illā وإلا (and sometimes *wa-'illā fa-* وإلا فـ, see **8.1.9** and **11.3**) in the sense of 'if not', 'if it is not the case', relates to a previous statement. It is historically an exceptive (see **Chapter 9**) with the assumed etymology of *'in lā . . .* إن لا . . . 'if not . . . then . . .' of which it is a compound. The verb after the compound is elided:

Negative apodosis clauses after *wa-'illā* وإلا are headed by *la-* لـَ which suggests an implied protasis with *law* لو 'if' (see **8.2.1**):

wa-hāḏihi l-bunā lam tutajāwaz ***wa-'illā*** *la-mā staṭā'at 'an tuṭilla bi-ra'sihā l-yawma ḥayyatan wa-fa"ālatan fī l-bunā l-mujtama'iyyati l-mu'āṣirati*

وهذه البنى لم تتجاوز وإلا لما استطاعت أنْ تطلّ برأسها اليوم حية و فعالة في البنى المجتمعية المعاصرة

'these structures have not been superseded; **otherwise** [lit. 'if they had'] they would not be able to stand high today as living and effective in the structures of modern society'

wa-hiya 'ayḍan 'awfā min sayyidika wa-sayyidī ***wa-'illā*** *la-mā māta kalbun ḥasratan 'alā sayyidihi llaḏī raḥala*

و هي أيضا أوفى من سيدك و سيدي وإلا لما مات كلب حسرة على سيده الّذي رحل

'and they [the dogs] are more faithful than you or me; **otherwise** [lit. "if not"] no dog would have died from grief at the death of its master'

This construction is often used after an elided apodosis of a true conditional sentence:

al-siyāsatu min-a l-dīni wa-man qāla 'inna l-'islāma lā siyāsata fīhi radadnā 'alayhi wa-'alqamnāhu l-dalīla fa-'in tāba . . . ***wa-'illā*** *'udnā*

السياسة من الدين ومَن قال إنّ الإسلام لا سياسة فيه رددنا عليه و ألقمناه الدليل فإنْ تاب . . . وإلا عدنا

Politics is part of religion, and whoever says that Islam does not have any politics in it, we would reject this from them and make them swallow the evidence, and if he repents [all well and good], **and if not**, we would return [to the matter, i.e. do it again]

8.5 Indefinite conditionals (▷C3:353)

There is a small set of particles that may be divided into three categories whose accompanying sentences are closely related to conditional structures. It is said that these particles 'assume the meaning' of a conditional particle, in addition to their normal (original) function as interrogatives, for instance. They are called indefinite conditionals because they refer to an undefined entity in the protasis that they introduce. Syntactically they mimic the true conditional particles because they contain both a protasis and apodosis, and their syntax shows the same flexibility associated with conditional clauses in MWA. The same rules for *fa-* فـ in the apodosis as for other conditional structures above apply (contrast indirect questions with *man* مَن 'who' and *mā* ما 'what' in **10.18** where the syntax is different). That the particles in this group may occur with apocopates, in their conditional function, enables us to distinguish them from relatives and interrogatives.

8.5.1 *Relative conditionals* (cf. nominalized relatives **5.4**)

The particles in the set of relative indefinite conditionals function either pronominally or adverbially, or both.

man مَن 'who[so][ever]' (▷C3:354–5) may be followed by verbs either in the perfect or apocopate, although the latter is more common. Alternatively, the apodosis may be preceded by *fa-* فـ + nominal sentence or *fa-qad* فقد + perfect (contrast paired relative sentences **5.4.1.1**, with perfect or independent imperfect verb, in both cases with the non-conditional sense 'the kind of people who do x also do y'):

man *yanẓur 'ilā l-ta'ṯīri l-'abqā yarahu fī l-'adabi wa-l-fanni wa-l-'ilmi*
من ينظر الى التأثير الأبقى يره في الأدب والفن والعلم
'**whosoever** would take a look at the most lasting effect would see it in literature, art and science' (note that *yarahu* يره is clearly apocopate)

man *yaḍa' rijlahu fīhā yaḥkum 'alā nafsihi bi-l-'amā*
من يضع رجله فيها يحكم على نفسه بالعمى
'**whoever** would put his foot into it would doom himself to blindness'

man *yarahā yaẓunna ’annahā ḥāmilun bi-’arba‘ati tawā’ima*

من يرها يظن أنها حامل بأربعة توائم

‘**whoever** saw her would think that she was pregnant with four [sets of] twins’

mā ما as indefinite conditional in *mahmā* مهما ‘whatsoever’ (▷C3:208, 354):

mā ما does not occur by itself as an indefinite conditional; rather it is invariably replaced by *mahmā* مهما. The verbs in both the ‘conditional’ and the ‘result’ clause can be perfect, apocopate or independent imperfect. The result clause may also begin with *fa-* فـ. Unlike *man* من above, which can have either a relative or conditional function, *mahmā* مهما is always conditional, and either pronominal or adverbial.

Pronominal ‘no matter what’ (▷C3:355):

mahmā *kāna ḥajmuhu*

مهما كان حجمه

‘**no matter what** its size may be’

mahmā *kānat-i l-tafsīrātu ḥawla hāḏihi l-nuqṭati bi-l-ḏāti fa-’inna …*

مهما كانت التفسيرات حول هذه النقطة بالذات فإن . . .

‘**whatever** the explanations concerning this particular point [then] …’

mahmā yakun*, lā yata‘āraḍu ‘timādu l-nuẓumi l-rādāriyyati l-maḥmūlati ‘alā l-ṭā’irāti ma‘a …*

مهما يكن، لا يتعارض اعتماد النظم الرادارية المحمولة على الطائرات مع . . .

‘**whatever might be [the case]**, the reliability of the radar systems carried on aeroplanes does not conflict with …’

(note that the verb following *mahmā* مهما in the idiomatic ‘whatever the case’ is normally apocopate)

The use of the independent imperfect on the verb in the apodosis, as in the following example, shows a clear departure from CA syntax:

mahmā *balaġa ḥadsu l-’insāni ’aw quwwatuhu ‘alā l-tanabbu’i* ***tabqā*** *laḥaẓātun fī dā’irati l-ġaybi*

مهما بلغ حدس الإنسان أو قوّته على التنبؤ تبقى لحظات في دائرة الغيب

‘**Whatever** man’s intelligence and power of prediction may achieve, some moments **will remain** in the sphere of the unknown’

Adverbial 'no matter how' (▷C3:355):

*'innahum **mahmā** ḫtalafū šu'ūban wa-'awṭānan, fa-'innahum 'iḫwatun qarābatan wa-nasaban*

إنّهم مهما اختلفوا شعوبا وأوطانا فإنهم إخوة قرابة ونسبا

'**no matter how** they differed as peoples or in homeland, they are brothers in kinship and relationship' (see specifying complement **2.4.4.1**)

***mahmā** tuḥāwil 'an tuġayyira l-ḥaqā'iqa 'aṣābahā wahanun*

مهما تحاول أن تغير الحقائق أصابها وهن . . .

'**no matter how** it attempts to alter the facts it has been afflicted by a weakness', lit. 'a weakness has afflicted it'

Postposing of the *mahmā* مهما clause is not uncommon in MWA:

*li-'anna l-ṭifla yaš'uru bi-ḏālika **mahmā** ṣaġurat sinnuhu*

لأنّ الطفل يشعر بذلك مهما صغرت سنّه

'because a child will feel that **no matter how** young it is'

mahmā . . . min مهما . . . من 'no matter what . . . in the way of' (▷C3:356):

***mahmā** 'tarāhu fī l-nihāyati **min** wahanin wa-mtiqā'in*

مهما اعتراه في النهاية من وهن و امتقاع

'**no matter what** langour and pallor finally came over it [namely, her face]', lit. 'no matter what . . . **in the way of** . . .' (see explanatory *min* من **2.6.12** and **5.4.4**)

8.5.2 *Quasi-interrogative conditionals*

(Contrast interrogatives in indirect questions, **10.16**, **10.17**.)

The following are attested as conditional particles in CA, although they were rarely used. Some educated Arab writers continue to emulate the classical style, but only a small number of these particles with a true conditional function in MWA has been found during the collection of material for this study. These conditionals function nowadays mainly as adverbials:

'annā أنّى 'however', 'wherever'

(restricted to literary usage) and

'ayyāna أيّان 'when', 'whenever'

(the latter being an archaic particle of which no examples were found)

yulāḥiquhā ʻāruhā ***ʼannā*** *ḏahabat*

يلاحقها عارها أنّى ذهبت

'her disgrace follows her **wherever** she goes'

ʼayna[-mā] أين(ما) 'wherever' (▷C3:359).

The adverbial *ʼayna* أين 'where' occurs with *mā* ما followed by the perfect tense or apocopate form. The position of the conditional clause with *ʼayna* أين (*mā* ما) at its head is flexible, occurring either in the normal position or postposed, which is very common in MWA. The syntactic rules pertaining to the 'result' clause are flexible, that is, with the verb of that clause not occurring in any fixed tense, particularly in the postposed examples:

ʼaynamā *ḏahaba wa-jāla fī ʻawāṣimi l-ʻālami wa-ʼanḥāʼi l-ʼarḍi yaḥmilu maʻahu šayʼan ʻan-i l-janūbi*

أينما ذهب وجال في عواصم العالم وأنحاء الأرض يحمل معه شيئا عن الجنوب

'**wherever** he goes and roams in the capitals of the world and parts of the globe he (always) takes with him something about the south'

al-ʼislāmu yūṣī bi-ʼahli l-kitābi ḫayran ***ʼaynamā*** *kānū*

الإسلام يوصي بأهل الكتاب خيرا أينما كانوا

'Islam recommends charity towards People of the Book **wherever** they may be'

kānat tatbaʻuhu l-ʼabṣāru ***ʼaynamā*** *ḥalla*

كانت تتبعه الأبصار أينما حل

'eyes followed him **wherever** he went'

ʼayyu أيّ (▷C:357) 'whichever', 'whatever'

Indefinite pronoun with verb, normally *kāna* كان, occurring in the perfect or apocopate: note that the pronoun inflects according to its grammatical status in the sentence, in this case, preposed predicate of *kāna* كان:

bi-ʻtibārihā ʼumman ***ʼayyan*** *kānat wasīlatu l-ʼumūmati*

باعتبارها أمّا أيّا كانت وسيلة الأمومة

'in her capacity as a mother **no matter what** the means of motherhood may have been' (for *bi-ʻtibāri* باعتبار see **2.5.8.5**; and for object of verbal nouns, see **2.10**)

ʼayyan *takun-i l-ḫalfiyyātu wa-l-dawāfiʻu*

أيّا تكن الخلفيات والدوافع

'**no matter what** the backgrounds and motives were'

'ayyumā أيّما 'which/whatever' (▷C3:357) (for its exclamatory usage, see ▷C3:228; and **3.28.3**).

Followed by noun in independent case, although its occurrence is rare in MWA:

'ayyumā qalbun *lam yaḫfiq bi-l-ḥubbi wa-law marratan wāḥidatan?*
أيما قلب لم يخفق بالحب ولو مرة واحدة؟
'**whatever heart** has not pulsated with love even once?'

kayfa [-mā] كيف(ما) 'however' (▷C3:358, 359).

kayfa كيف 'how' can form a compound with *mā* ما followed by the perfect or independent imperfect and is normally postposed:

wa-jarraba mu'jizātihi baqiyyata l-yawmi wa-l-'ayyāmi l-tāliyati fī 'amākina mutafarriqatin ***kayfa-mā*** *ttafaqa*
وجرّب معجزاته بقية اليوم والأيّام التالية في أماكن متفرّقة كيفما اتّفق
'he tried out his miracles for the rest of the day and during the following days in different places **however** it happened'

wa-huwa l-qādiru 'alā balwarati hāḏihi l-dunyā ***kayfa-mā*** *yašā'u*
وهو القادر على بلورة هذه الدنيا كيفما يشاء
'he being the one capable of crystallizing this world **however** he wants'

kayfa كيف 'however' as a true conditional is rare:

kayfa *takun takun mu'āmalatu l-nāsi laka*
كيف تكن تكن معاملة الناس لك
'**however** you may be, so will be other people's treatment of you'

matā متى 'whenever' (▷C3:359).

More common as an adverbial:

matā *taṣilu tajidunā fī ntiẓārika*
متى تصلُ تجدُنا في انتظارك
'**when** you arrive you will find us waiting for you'

although the following reading is also possible:

matā *taṣil tajidnā fī ntiẓārika*
متى تصل تجدنا في انتظارك
'**whenever** you arrive you [will] find us waiting for you'

8.5.3 *Adverbial conditionals*

The following examples illustrate the function of a small set of adverbials that can also have conditional meaning, being compounded with *mā* ما to emphasize their vagueness. The following verb is nearly always in the perfect tense.

ḥayṯumā **حيثما** 'wherever' (▷C3:282) (for *ḥayṯu* **حيث**, see **7.6.9**)

With adverbial *ḥayṯumā* **حيثما**, as with so many of this type of particle, the accompanying syntax is flexible. When the particle occurs at the head of the 'conditional' clause the verb in each clause may normally be either apocopate or perfect (but see **5.9.6** where there is evidence that its status is becoming indeterminate). When *ḥayṯumā* **حيثما** occurs postpositionally only the following verb is subject to conditional rules with all conditional structures:

ḥayṯumā *ḥalla ḫallafa warā'ahu dahšatan*

حيثما حلّ خلّف وراءه دهشة

'**wherever** he stopped he left astonishment behind him'

al-judrānu sawdā'u wa-mahdūmatun 'aḥjāruhā mutasāqiṭatun ***ḥayṯumā*** *ttafaqa l-suqūṭu*

الجدران سوداء و مهدومة أحجارها متساقطة حيثما اتفق السقوط

'the walls were black and destroyed, the stones falling **wherever** they happened to fall' (cf. paronomasia in **11.7.10** and for *na'ṭ sababī*, see **2.1.3.4**)

kullamā كلّما 'the more . . . the more . . .', 'whenever' (▷C3:219) (for *kull* كلّ as quantifier, see **2.9.1.1**).

kullamā كلّما has a quasi-conditional function conveying the sense of 'the more . . . the more . . .', in addition to its sense of 'whenever', 'each time when' (see **5.9.10**). The verbs in each clause are normally in the perfect:

wa-lākin ***kullamā*** *marrat-i l-sanawātu faqadnā l-kaṯīra*

و لكنْ كلّما مرّت السنوات فقدنا الكثير

'but **the more** the years passed, the more we lost'

kullamā كلّما 'the more . . .' is occasionally repeated but is not necessary:

kullamā *tamassakat tilka l-mu'assasātu bi-l-dawri l-munāṭi bihā* ***kullamā*** *tawārā l-farāġu l-siyāsiyyu 'an-i l-'anẓāri*

كلما تمسكت تلك المؤسسات بالدور المناط بها كلما توارى الفراغ السياسي عن الأنظار

'**the more** those organizations stuck to the role entrusted to them, **the more** the political void disappeared from view'

8.6 Concessive clauses (▷C3:330, 332)

wa-law ولو 'even if' and *wa-'in* وإن 'even if' in postpositionals (see **8.1.12** and **8.2.9**; ▷C3:331).

In concessive constructions, the actuality of the event stated in the 'even if/though . . . (something were to happen)' clause has no influence upon the validity of the non-conditional clause, whose event will occur regardless.

The concessive clause is nearly always postpositioned (but it may also occur parenthetically) and the same grammatical rules as for normal conditional clauses apply. The postpositioned conditional clause is linked to the preceding clause by the coordinating particle *wa-* و:

laysa hāḏā kalāmanā, ***wa-'in*** *kunnā nu'ayyiduhu*

ليس هذا كلامنا وإن كنّا نؤيّده

'this is not what we said, **even though** we supported it'

qad 'aṣbaḥū min-a l-nāḥiyati l-siyāsiyyati ka-l-muslimīna . . . ***wa-'in*** *baqū min-a l-nāḥiyati l-šaḫṣiyyati 'alā 'aqā'idihim*

قد أصبحوا من الناحية السياسية كالمسلمين . . . وإن بقوا من الناحية الشخصية على عقائدهم

'they became like the Muslims from the political point of view, **even though** they remained from the personal point of view in their own beliefs'

hākaḏā yabda'u bi-hudū'in qaḍā'a sā'ātihi l-'aḫīrati ***wa-'in*** *ẓallat-i l-laḥẓatu l-nihā'iyyatu majhūlata l-mawqi'i*

هكذا يبدأ بهدوء قضاء ساعاته الأخيرة و إن ظلّت اللحظات النهائية مجهولة الموقع

'thus he began calmly to spend his last hours, **even though** the occurrence of the final moment was still unknown' (for unreal annexation, see **2.1.3.2**; and for *ẓalla* ظلّ, see **3.17.14**)

With *ḥattā (wa-) law* حتّى ولو 'even if' (see *ḥattā* حتّى in **6.11** and **7.6.7** and *ḥattā (wa-) 'in* حتّى وإن):

li-'anna l-ṭifla l-marīḍa yaḥtāju 'ilā man yarfa'u lahu ma'nawiyyātihi ***ḥattā wa-law*** *kānat-i l-qulūbu tuḫālifu l-wujūha*

لأنّ الطفل المريض يحتاج الى مَنْ يرفع له معنوياته حتّى ولو كانت القلوب تخالف الوجوه

'because a sick child needs someone to raise its morale, **even if** the heart contradicts the face'

wa-ka-'anna l-riwāyata turīdu 'an taqūla 'an lā šay'a sa-yataġayyaru fī hāḏā l-mujtama'i ***ḥattā wa-law*** *nasafat-i l-ḥarbu kulla l-māḍī l-muẓlimi l-mu'timi*

وكأنّ الرواية تريد أن تقول أنْ لا شئ سيتغيّر في هذا المجتمع حتّى ولو نسفت الحرب كلّ الماضي المظلم المعتم

'it is as though the novel wants to say that nothing will change in this society **even if** the war were to blow away all of the dark and gloomy past' (see *'an al-muḫaffafa* أن المخففة **4.1.5**, **3.2.2**, **7.5.1.9**)

This construction (like *wa-law* ولوْ or *wa-'in* وإنْ) may also occur parenthetically:

'iḏā ṭalaba l-'amāna 'ayyu fardin ***ḥattā law*** *kāna min-a l-muḥāribīna qubila minhu*

إذا طلب الأمان أيّ فرد حتّى لو كان من المحاربين قُبل منه

'if (when) any individual seeks safe conduct, **even if** he is one of the combatants, [the request] will be accepted from him'

(for *'iḏā* إذا 'when' in clear temporal sense, see **8.3.11**)

8.7 Conditionals in reported speech

(for indirect questions with *'iḏā* إذا, see **10.19.1**; and with *'in* إنْ, see **10.19.3**)

'iḏā إذا, 'when', and to a lesser degree *'in* إنْ 'if', are used to head reported questions, involving the verb *sa'ala* سأل 'to ask', or similar verbs. Such sentences often bear the traits of a calque from Western languages with the sense of 'if', 'whether':

wa-sa'altu ***'iḏā*** *kuntu 'astaṭī'u 'an 'ajlisa hunāka*

وسألت إذا كنت أستطيع أن أجلس هناك

'and I asked **whether** I could sit there'

(note use of *kāna* كان 'be' with an independent imperfect verb in the protasis to reproduce the English conditional 'would be able to')

lā 'a'rifu ***'iḏā*** *kāna hāḏā ṭabī'atan fīhā 'am li-'annahā lā tunjibu*

لا أعرف إذا كان هذا طبيعة فيها أم لأنها لا تنجب

'I do not know **whether** this was a peculiarity in her or [whether it was] because she is not producing children'

Chapter 9

Exceptives

9.0 General principles

The exceptive particle with the widest range of functions in MWA is *'illā* إلّا 'except', although it is being replaced more and more in MWA by *siwā* سوى (see **9.5.2** as an exceptive particle, and also **2.9.2.4** and **7.5.2.11** for clausal *siwā* سوى).

Exceptive sentences contain two parts: the general thing from which the exception is made, that is, the antecedent (*al-mustaṯnā minhu*), which is the part that generally precedes the particle *'illā* إلا, and the excepted element (*al-mustaṯnā*). Since *'illā* إلا is etymologically *'in* إن + *lā* لا 'if not', it will have negative, that is exclusive, effect after a positive statement (+ × − = −) and positive, that is inclusive, effect after a negative statement (− × − = +). The same also applies to *ġayr* غير (see **9.5.1**). Accordingly, elements which are logically included in the statement will show agreement with their antecedent (cf. **2.0**), and excluded elements will default to the dependent form (cf. **2.0**).

Traditional grammar recognizes three types of 'exceptive sentence' (*jumlat al-istiṯnā'*) in MWA, differing in the logical relationship between the antecedent and the excepted element, which determines the inflection of the latter. By far the most common is *istiṯnā' mufarraġ* (lit. 'exhaustive exception'), where there is no antecedent (see **9.1**). Second, there is *istiṯnā' muttaṣil* (lit. 'continuous exception'), where antecedent and excepted element are homogeneous (see **9.2**), and finally, the least common type, *istiṯnā' munqaṭi'* (lit. 'discontinuous exception'), where antecedent and excepted element are heterogeneous (see further in this paragraph).

There are in practice four possible structures (the examples below are artificial, see the relevant paragraphs for authentic specimens):

1. Exhaustive exception, always negative: there being no antecedent, the excepted element is the logical argument and inflects accordingly, for example:

mā qāma ’illā ***zaydun***
ما قام إلا زيدٌ
‘only **Zayd** stood up’ or ‘no one stood up except **Zayd**’
(cf. **4.2.2** on negative agents)

literally, ‘not stood up if not **Zayd** [indep.]’, with *zaydun* زيدٌ marked here as the logical agent of the verb.

2. Continuous exception, positive: the excepted element is excluded from the action and therefore has default dependent case (for non-agreement, see **2.0**), for example:

qāma l-qawmu ’illā ***zaydan***
قام القومُ إلا زيدًا
‘the people [indep.] stood up, except **Zayd** [dep.]’

that is, Zayd is excluded from the standing up and so cannot agree in case with *al-qawmu* القومُ ‘the people’.

3. Continuous exception, negative: the excepted element, after a double negative (‘not . . . if not’), is logically in apposition to the antecedent and therefore agrees with it (cf. **2.2.2**), e.g.

mā *qāma l-****qawmu*** *’illā* ***zaydun***
ما قام القومُ إلا زيدٌ
‘the **people** [indep.] did **not** stand up except **Zayd** [indep.]’

literally, ‘not stood the people, if not Zayd’

4. Discontinuous exception is very rare and no examples were found. The following made-up example simply illustrates the principle that in this type the excepted element, being heterogeneous with the antecedent, has default non-agreement in dependent case:

*lam yaḥḍur-i l-****musāfirūna*** *’illā* ***’amti‘atahum***
لم يحضر المسافرون إلا أمتعتهم
‘the **travellers** [indep.] did not arrive except their **belongings** [dep.]’

where the belongings and the travellers are of a different genus.

Exceptive sentences vary in their complexity, and the agreement rules are not always followed (as in CA, there is a tendency for dependent forms

to occur where agreement would be correct). The particle *'illā* إلا may also be accompanied by another particle, or followed by a noun or noun phrase, prepositional phrase or even longer clauses and sentences.

There are a number of translation options for exceptive sentences: 'only' (even when the initial clause is negative in Arabic), 'nothing but', 'not . . . until', and even 'without', when the exceptive particle is followed by a subordinate clause.

9.1 *istiṯnā' mufarraġ* 'exception without antecedent'

The general principle of *istiṯnā' mufarraġ* 'exception without antecedent' is that the excepted element must be inflected for the logical and grammatical function of the absent antecedent.

- It occurs only in negative sentences. In the following examples the excepted elements are classified by function.

  Agent:

  *wa-lam yabqa lahu **'illā** l-samaru wa-mu'ānasatu l-tilifiziyūn*
  ولم يبق له إلا السمر ومؤانسة التلفزيون
  'nothing was left for him **but** conversation and watching television'

  *lam ya'ud 'amāmahā **'illā** munāšadatu wazīri l-ta'līmi*
  لم يعد أمامها إلا مناشدة وزير التعليم
  'there was nothing left for her **but** to seek help from the Minister of Education'

  Predicate of *kāna* كان:

  *lam yakun **'illā** majnūnan*
  لم يكن إلا مجنونا
  'he was nothing **but** insane'

  Object of verb:

  *lam 'aṣḥab ma'ī **'illā** juz'an wāḥidan min-a 'l-futūḥāt al-makkiyya'*
  لم أصحب معي إلا جزءا واحدا من 'الفتوحات المكّية'
  'I only took with me one part of "The Meccan Revelations"', lit. 'did not take with me **except**'

  *lam yuqaddim **'illā** 'arḍan masraḥiyyan wāḥidan faqaṭ*
  لم يقدّم إلا عرضا مسرحيا واحدا فقط
  'has presented **only** one single theatre show' [obj. of verb]

(note the use of *faqaṭ* فقط for emphasis, see **3.30.3**)

lam tanqul ʾillā ṯamāniyata ʾašḫāṣin faqaṭ
لم تنقل إلا ٨ أشخاص فقط
'carried [fem. sing.] **but** 8 people only' [obj. of verb]

Predicate of equational sentence:

*mā bayāḍuhu **ʾillā** nʿikāsun li-ḍawʾi l-šamsi*
ما بياضه الا انعكاس لضوء الشمس
'its whiteness is **nothing but** a reflection of the light of the sun'

*mā hum **ʾillā** ṭuġmatun min-a l-jubanāʾi*
ما هم إلا طغمة من الجبناء
'they are **nothing but** a bunch of cowards'

Prepositional phrase:

*mā min nārin **ʾillā** fīka wa-mā min samāʾin **ʾillā** fīka*
ما من نار إلا فيك وما من سماء إلا فيك
'there is no hellfire **except** in you and no heaven **except** in you'

(see negative *mā . . . min* ما . . . من in **4.1.1**)

*ʾamrāḍun lā tuʿālaju **ʾillā** bi-l-dawāʾi l-mustawradi*
أمراض لا تعالج إلا بالدواء المستورد
'illnesses which can **only** be treated with imported medicine' [prepositional phrase]

*al-dahru miṯlu l-ʾarḍi fa-huwa lā yatakawwanu **ʾillā** min tatālī l-ṭāqāti l-kawniyyati*
الدهر مثل الأرض فهو لا يتكوّن إلا من تتالي الطاقات الكونية
'time is like the earth, it is composed **only** of the succession of cosmic powers' [prepositional phrase]

- Adverbs of time:

*lam ʾabqa **ʾillā** ṯawāniya*
لم أبق إلا ثواني
'I stayed **only** some seconds'

*lā yuftaḥu l-jihāzu **ʾillā** baʿda taġḏiyatihi bi-hāḏihi l-ʾarqāmi l-ʾarbaʿati*
لا يفتح الجهاز إلا بعد تغذيته بهذه الأرقام الأربعة
'the apparatus will **only** be switched on after entering these four numbers, lit. 'after the supplying of it with these four numbers'

*lam tastamirra **’illā** ‘āman wāḥidan*

لم تستمرّ إلا عاما واحدا

‘it lasted **only** a single year’

*lā talbasu l-fustāna mahmā kāna ġāliyan **’illā** marratan wāḥidatan*

لا تلبس الفستان مَهْما كان غاليا إلا مرّة واحدة

‘she wears the dress, no matter how expensive it was, **only** one single time’

(Note how the two clauses can be interrupted by a parenthetical clause, but the grammatical status of the excepted element is unaffected.)

- A pronoun may also be attached to *’illā* إلا:

*lam ’a‘ud ’arā **’illāka***

لم أعد أرى إلاك

‘I no longer see **anyone but you**’

9.2 *istiṯnā’ muttaṣil* ‘continuous exception’: positive (▷C3:349)

The general principle of *istiṯnā’ muttaṣil* ‘continuous exception’ is that the logical exclusion is marked by grammatical discord. The excepted noun takes dependent case:

*wa-qad turjimat **kutubu**hu fī ḥayātihi **’illā kitāban** wāḥidan turjima ba‘da wafātihi bi-ḫamsi sinīna*

و قد تُرجمت كتبه في حياته إلا كتابا واحدا تُرجم بعد وفاته بخمس سنين

‘all his **books** were translated during his life **except one** [dep.] which was translated five years after his death’

*taraka l-**‘amala ’illā ’ašġālan** ḫafīfatan yu’addīhā li-ba‘ḍi jīrānihi*

ترك العمل إلا أشغالا خفيفة يؤدّيها لبعض جيرانه

‘he gave up **work except** small **jobs** [dep.] which he did for some of his neighbours’

9.3 *istiṯnā’ muttaṣil* ‘continuous exception’: negative

The general principle is that the logical inclusion is marked by agreement with the antecedent:

lam yatruk lahum ***šay'an 'illā naṣība****hu fī baytin qadīmin*

لم يترك لهم شيئا إلا نصيبه في بيت قديم

'he did not leave **anything** for them **except** for his **share** in an old house'

In the following example the independent form on noun after *'illā* إلا is required since the concord is with the function and not the form of the antecedent:

lā 'ilāha ***'illā*** *llāhu*

لا إلاه إلا الله

'there is no God **but** Allah' (see categorical denial **4.1.2**)

9.3.1 istiṯnā' munqaṭi' *'discontinuous exception'*

This is a category of which no examples were found for this study.

9.4 Inter-clausal *'illā* إلا

9.4.1 *With conditional particle*

'illā إلا also occurs in conjunction with an independent conditional-type clause headed by *'iḏā* إذا (see **8.3**) and may be preceded by negative (or occasionally positive) phrases and sentences (▷C3:339) (see also negatives in **Chapter 4** and conditionals in **Chapter 8**).

In such constructions the idea expressed in the first clause, which is usually, though not necessarily, negative, is not valid unless the proposition in the conditional clause is carried out.

The category of exhaustive exception may involve more complex longer sentences such as conditionals. In such examples the antecedent is implied. For instance:

wa-lā tustaṯāru šahiyyatu l-ḥāḍirīna 'alā l-kalāmi ***'illā 'iḏā*** *kāna l-ḥadīṯu ḥawla jarīmati qatlin 'aw qaḍiyyatin dīniyyatin*

و لا تُستثار شهية الحاضرين على الكلام إلا إذا كان الحديث حول جريمة قتل أو قضية دينية

'the appetite to speak amongst those present was **only** stirred when the conversation was about a murder, crime or a religious issue', lit. 'was not stirred **except when**'

lan tadḫula fī ’ayyi ḥiwārin ma‘a munaẓẓamati l-taḥrīri l-filasṭīniyyati ***’illā ’iḏā*** *ltazamat bi-l-šurūṭi*

لن تدخل في أيّ حوار مع منظّمة التحرير الفلسطينية إلا إذا التزمت بالشروط

‘[the USA] will not enter into any dialogue with the PLO **unless** it adheres to the conditions’, lit. ‘**except if/when**’

’inna l-dīna lā yakūnu dīnan ***’illā ’iḏā*** *rabaṭa l-ḫalqa bi-l-ḥaqqi*

إن الدين لا يكون دينا إلا إذا ربط الخلق بالحقّ

‘religion is not religion **unless** it binds people to the Truth’, lit. ‘**except when**’

9.4.2 ’illā إلا + *inverted equational sentence (no* wa- *و)* (▷C3:340; cf. **9.4.6**)

’illā إلا ‘except’ can be followed by inverted equational sentences (see **3.1.3**):

mā ‘aẓīmun ***’illā warā’ahu mra’atun***

ما عظيم إلا وراءه امرأة

‘behind every great man is a woman’, lit. ‘there is no great man **except behind him [is] a woman**’

mā ẓahara ḥaqqun ***’illā warā’ahu muṭālibun***

ما ظهر حق إلا وراءه مطالب

‘no right was ever realized **without there being someone in pursuit [of it]**’

9.4.3 mā huwa/hiya ’illā ’an . . . ḥattā ما هو\هي إلا أن . . . حتى *‘no sooner . . . than’* (▷C3:346–7; cf. **4.2.6** and **7.6.7.7**)

’illā إلا ‘except’ can also be followed by a clause beginning with *’an* أن with noun phrase function (see **7.5**) in conjunction with *ḥattā* حتّى ‘until’:

mā huwa ’illā ’an *naẓarnā ’ilā mawḍū‘i l-da‘awāti* ***ḥattā*** *ktašafnā ’annanā . . .*

ما هو إلا أن نظرنا إلى موضوع الدعوات حتى اكتشفنا أننا . . .

‘**no sooner had** we looked at the subject of the demands **than** we discovered that we . . .’

mā/’in . . .’illā . . .wa- ما\إنْ . . . إلا . . . و ‘no more than . . . until’ (▷C1:128–9; ▷C3:347; see also **4.2.6** and **7.6.7.7**)

Negative *mā* ما 'not' combines with *'illā* إلا 'except' with a temporal expression, to form an exceptive idiom with *wa-* و 'and', whose clause has the status of a circumstantial qualifier (see **7.3.2**):

***mā** hiya **'illā** laḥaẓātun wa-štabakat-i l-nujūmu ma'a l-kawākibi fī ma'rakatin bi-l-'aydī wa-l-'arjuli*

ما هي إلا لحظات واشتبكت النجوم مع الكواكب في معركة بالأيدي والأرجل

'it **was no** [lit. "is no"] more **than** [a few] moments before the Stars and the Planets became engaged in a battle with hands and feet'

Negative *'in* إن is still used occasionally in MWA in this way:

***'in** hiya **'illā** biḍ'u sā'ātin wa-yaṭla'u l-fajru*

إن هي إلا بضع ساعات ويطلع الفجر

'it **is no** more **than** a few hours before dawn breaks'

9.4.5 'illā 'anna / 'illā 'an إلا أن *adversative, 'but', 'yet'* (▷C3:351–2) (see **7.5.2.11** and also cf. **lākinna** لكنّ *'but'*, **6.5**)

'illā 'anna إلا أنّ and *'illā 'an* إلا أن introduce adversative clauses, often in rather loose relationships. The preceding clause may be either affirmative or negative:

*taraddadat **'illā 'annahā** faqadat ḫajalahā sarī'an*

ترددت إلا أنّها فقدت خجلها سريعا

'she hesitated, **but [she]** quickly lost her embarrassment'

*lam taḥẓa 'iḥsānun 21 'āman bi-qadrin kabīrin min-a l-jamāli wa-l-fitnati **'illā 'annahā** kānat tamliku min-a l-māli mā yakfī li-'is'ādi 'ašarātin min zumalā'ihā*

لم تحظ إحسان ٢١ عاما بقدر كبير من الجمال والفتنة إلا أنّها كانت تملك من المال ما يكفي لإسعاد عشرات من زملائها

'in 21 years Iḥsān was not blessed with much beauty or charm, **yet she** possessed enough wealth to make dozens of her fellows happy', lit. 'of wealth what was enough'

(for the reversed *mā . . . min* ما . . . من construction here, see **5.4.4.1**)

*'aḥjamat 'an-i l-duḫūli fī l-tajribati ṭīlata 'āmayni dirāsiyyayni **'illā 'annahā** saqaṭat ṣarī'ata naẓratin ḫāṭifatin*

أحجمت عن الدخول في التجربة طيلة عامين دراسيين إلا أنّها سقطت صريعة نظرة خاطفة

'she refrained from entering the experiment for two academic years **but alas** she fell victim to a stolen glance'

The construction *'illā 'anna* إلا أنّ is especially common after the concessives like *ma'a* مع (with or without *'anna* أنّ) 'although' and all *raġma* رغم combinations 'in spite of' (see **7.5.2.11**):

*lam 'aqdir 'alā raddihi **raġma** mu'āyašatī lahu bi-stimrārin **'illā 'anna** l-ḥanīna haḏihi l-marrata kāna muġāyiran*

لم أقدر على ردّه رغم معايشتي له باستمرار إلا أنّ الحنين هذه المرّة كان مغايرا

'I was unable to resist it [= yearning] **in spite of** having lived with it constantly, **but** this time the yearning was different'

***ma'a** taḥaffuẓī fī tanāwuli ba'ḍi l-'aṭ'imati l-dasimati **'illā 'anna** waznī qad zāda ziyādatan malḥūẓatan*

مع تحفّظي في تناول بعض الأطعمة الدسمة إلا أنّ وزني قد زاد زيادة ملحوظة

'**in spite of** my caution in eating fatty foods **[nonetheless]** my weight increased noticeably'

Also after conditionals (see **8.3.3**):

*wa-**'in** 'aṣarrū 'alā l-safari sa-nasmaḥu lahum **'illā** 'annanā lan nuqaddima 'ayyata musā'adatin*

وإن أصروا على السفر سنسمح لهم إلا أننا لن نقدم أية مساعدة

'and if they insist on travelling we will allow them, **except** we will not give them any assistance'

Note the use of *'illā 'an* إلا أن in the idiomatic expression *mā kāna min* ما كان من + noun. 'there was no choice for . . . but to':

*fa-mā kāna min-a l-'imbarāṭūri **'illā 'an** šadda riḥālahu*

فما كان من الإمبراطور إلا أن شدّ رحاله

'so the Emperor had no choice **but to** leave', lit. 'but that he fasten his saddlebags'

*fa-mā kāna min ṣadīqihā **'illā 'an** 'aḫraja min jaybihi mablaġan māliyyan 'alā sabīli l-'iqrāḍi*

فما كان من صديقها إلا أن أخرج من جيبه مبلغا ماليا على سبيل الإقراض

'her friend had no choice **but to** take an amount of money from his pocket by way of a loan'

Also with negative *mā . . . min* ما . . . من variant (see **4.1.1**):

*mā min šay'in 'amāmahu **'illā 'an** ya'ūda li-qaryatihi*

ما من شيء أمامه إلا أن يعود لقريته

'there was nothing before him **except** to return to his village' (probably a calque)

9.4.6 *'illā wa-* إلا و + *phrases and sentences, 'without'* (▷C3:344, 346)

'illā wa- إلا و may be followed by either verbal or nominative sentence or prepositional phrase, all of which function as an adverbial subordinate clause. In each case, therefore, the clause following *'illā* إلا has the status of a circumstantial qualifier (see **7.3.2**) in which the occurrence of the event/information conveyed in the circumstantial clause is simultaneous to the event/action of the main clause:

lam nuqdim 'alā l-zawāji ***'illā wa****-kullun minnā yaṯiqu bi-l-'āḫari ṯiqatan 'aẓīmatan*
لم نقدم على الزواج إلا وكلّ منّا يثق بالآخر ثقة عظيمة
'we did not enter into marriage **without** each of us being extremely confident about the other'

(for *ṯiqatan* ثقة 'confidence' as absolute object, see **3.29.3**; and for *kull* كل, see **2.9.1.1**)

li-'annahu lā tamūtu 'ajūzun fī 'ā'ilatikum ***'illā wa****-li-wālidika naṣībun fī 'irṯihā*
لأنّه لا تموت عجوز في عائلتكم إلا ولوالدك نصيب في إرثها
'because no old woman in your family dies **without** your father having a share of her inheritance'

(for the pronoun/*ḍamīr al-ša'n* on *li-'annahu* لأنّه 'because [the fact] is', see **3.4**)

mā šāhadtu 'āṯāran 'islāmiyyatan ***'illā wa****-taḏakkartu baytan qadīman*
ما شاهدت آثارا إسلامية إلا وتذكّرت بيتا قديما
'I never saw any Islamic remains **without** remembering some old verse of poetry'

Also occurs without *wa-* و:

wa-lākin mā min ṯawratin ***'illā*** *ntahat bi-l-inhiyāri tadrījiyyan*
ولكن ما من ثورة إلا انتهت بالانهيار تدريجيا
'but no revolution has ever ended in anything but gradual collapse', lit. 'but there is no revolution **except** it has ended in collapse gradually'

mā min 'ummatin šā'a fīhā ḥtirāmu l-ḥuqūqi wa-'adā'u l-wājibāti ***'illā*** *stamsaka 'ūduhā*
ما من أمّة شاع فيها احترام الحقوق وأداء الواجبات إلا استمسك عودها
'there is no nation among whom respect for rights and performance of duties is all-pervasive which has not retained its strength', lit. '**except** that it has retained its strength'

9.4.7 *Elliptical* wa-'illā و إلا *'if not'*

Elliptical *wa-'illā* و إلا 'if not' (for main treatment, see **8.4**)

*hal hāḏā kulluhu natījatu l-ḫurūji 'alā [qawānīni l-māḍī] wa-tawāzunāti l-'ayši fīhi? . . . **wa-'illā** li-māḏā taġību l-sa'ādatu l-ḥaqīqiyyatu 'an 'ālaminā hāḏā?*

هل هذا كلّه نتيجة الخروج على قوانين الماضي وتوازنات العيش فيه؟ . . . وإلا لماذا تغيب السعادة الحقيقية عن عالمنا هذا؟

'is all of this a result of transgressing the [laws of the past] and the equilibrium of living in it? . . . **if not** then why is true happiness missing from this world of ours?'

9.4.8 *After quasi-negatives* (▷C3:348)

Exceptive sentences are quite common after verbs or nouns with a negative sense:

*nahānā ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama 'an duḫūli buyūti 'ahli l-kitābi **'illā** bi-'iḏnin*

نهانا صلّى الله عليه و سلّم عن دخول بيوت أهل الكتاب إلا بإذن

'The blessed [Prophet] has forbidden us to enter the houses of the People of the Book **without** permission' (note that the blessing replaces the name of the Prophet)

*'adamu l-lujū'i 'ilā ṭabībin **'illā** 'inda l-ḍarūrati l-quṣwā*

عدم اللجوء إلى طبيب إلا عند الضرورة القصوى

'not visiting a doctor **except** in extreme necessity'

*warā'a maktabin ḫālin **'illā** min tilifūnin*

وراء مكتب خال إلا من تلفون

'behind a desk empty **but for** a telephone'

They also occur with an interrogative in a negative sense (*istifhām 'inkārī*) (see also **4.8**; ▷C3:349):

*hal sami'ū minnī **'illā** kulla mā yasurruhum?*

هل سمعوا منّي إلا كلّ ما يسرّهم؟

'have they ever heard anything from me that did not please them?', lit. '**except** everything that pleased them'

***hal** 'umniyātī **'illā** ḥamāqatun fī miḥrābi ḥubbiki?*

هل أمنياتي إلا حماقة في محراب حبك؟

'**are** my hopes **nothing but** foolishness in the sanctuary of your love?'

9.5 Other exceptive elements

9.5.1 *ġayr* غير *'other than', 'except'* (cf. **2.9.2.3**)

When *ġayr* غير functions as an exceptive noun its case ending is as for the excepted noun after *'illā* إلا. In other words, its inflection indicates the logical/grammatical function of the phrase which it heads; dependent if excluded, agreement if included in the antecedent. Since *ġayr* غير functions as the first element of an annexation structure, the following noun is always in the oblique case (see **2.3**). The exceptive meaning arises from the negative construction only, that is, 'not . . . other than', while in a positive construction the sense is 'else', 'other than':

ka-ḏālika fa-'inna l-bunūka lā tajidu ***ġayra*** *l-ḥāriji . . . li-tūdi'a fīhi 'amwālahā*

كذلك فإنّ البنوك لا تجد غير الخارج . . . لتودع فيه أموالها

'likewise the banks can find **only** [lit. "cannot find other than"] abroad . . . to deposit their money'

*lā yu'ṭī l-'islāmu 'ayya 'tibārin li-***ġayri** *l-'uḫuwwati l-'insāniyyati*

لا يعطي الإسلام أيّ اعتبار لغير الأخوة الإنسانية

'Islam gives no consideration to **anything but** human brotherhood'

lā šay'a fīhā ***ġayru*** *najmatin wāḥidatin*

لا شيء فيها غير نجمة واحدة

'there was nothing in it **except** a single star', lit. 'other than a single star' (see **4.1.2**)

ġayra 'anna غير أن, see **7.5.2.11** (▷C2:151), 'however', 'but', occurs as conjunction, followed by noun or pronoun:

'innahu lā yufakkiru bi-tarki l-maḫzani ***ġayra 'annahu*** *lā yanbaġī 'an yasmaḥa lahum bi-ktišāfi hāḏihi l-ḥaqīqati*

إنّه لا يفكّر بترك المخزن غير أنّه لا ينبغي أن يسمح لهم باكتشاف هذه الحقيقة

'he is not thinking about leaving the store **but he** should not allow them to discover this fact'

Phrasal *ġayr* غير preceded by an affirmative does not have an exceptive sense (see **2.9.2.3**):

*yusmaḥu li-l-'a'ḍā'i wa-***ġayri l-'a'ḍā'i** *bi-l-'akli fī l-maṭ'ami l-ḥārijiyyi*

يسمح للأعضاء وغير الأعضاء بالأكل في المطعم الخارجي

'members and **non-members** are allowed to eat in the outside restaurant'

9.5.2 siwā سوى *'other than', 'except'*

(see **2.9.2.4** for main treatment)

siwā سوى occurs interphrasally in an exceptive sense and has similar syntax to *ġayr* غير. However, *siwā* سوى cannot be followed by an adjective (cf. **2.9.2.4**), nor used generically with definite article (cf. *ġayr* غير **2.9.2.3**). It is invariable and occurs mainly with negatives.

*li-'anna l-baṭṭa lā yatanāwalu **siwā** l-'aġḏiyati l-ḫaḍrā'i faqaṭ*
لأنّ البطّ لا يتناول سوى الأغذية الخضراء فقط
'because ducks accept nothing **but** green foods only'

(for the generic article, see **1.12.3.1**)

*'iḏ lam yakun 'ibrāhīmu **siwā** mudarrisin fī 'iḥdā l-madārisi l-ibtidā'iyyati*
إذ لم يكن إبراهيم سوى مدرّس في إحدى المدارس الابتدائية
'as Ibrahim was **only** a teacher in one of the primary schools'

*fa-'arabu l-nafṭi laysa lahum hammun **siwā** 'inhā'i dawrinā*
فعرب النفط ليس لهم هم سوى إنهاء دورنا
'the oil Arabs have no other concern **but** to put an end to our role'

Reinforced with *faqaṭ* فقط (see in restrictives, **3.30.3**):

*lam yabqa bi-ḫazīnati l-nādī **siwā** 15 'alfi junayhin **faqaṭ***
لم يبق بخزينة النادي سوى ١٥ ألف جنيه فقط
'there remained in the Club Treasury **but** £15,000 **only**'

Also used instead of *'illā* إلا (although it should only be followed by noun phrase):

*lam yaṣil ba'du **siwā** 'ilā qillatin min buyūti l-miṣriyyīna*
لم يصل بعد سوى إلى قلّة من بيوت المصريين
'has not yet reached **but for** a small number of Egyptian homes'

Also with relative *mā* ما 'what' (see **5.4**):

*laysa 'indī **siwā mā** wariṯṯuhu 'an wālidī*
ليس عندي سوى ما ورثته عن والدي
'I only have what I have inherited from my father', lit. 'I do not have **except what**'

siwā ’anna سوى أنّ ‘except that’, ‘but’ (see **7.5.2.11**) occurs as a conjunction followed by noun or pronoun:

*lam ya‘ud yaḏkuru **siwā ’anna** l-waqta marra sarī‘an fī tilka l-laylati*
لم يعد يذكر سوى أنّ الوقت مرّ سريعا في تلك الليلة
‘he still remembers **only** that the time passed quickly that night’

Also occurs with *’an* أنْ (cf. *’illā ’an* إلا أنْ **9.4.5**)

***lam ’ajid min ḥīlatin** li-taskīni l-’ālāmi siwā ’an ’āḫuḏahu fī ḥiḍnī*
لم أجد من حيلة لتسكين الآلام سوى أنْ آخذه في حضني
‘**I found no other way** to calm the pains than to take him to my bosom’

Like *ġayr* غير it may be preceded by an affirmative, but the sense is then not exceptive (see also **2.9.2.4**):

*‘indanā wa-‘inda **siwānā***
عندنا وعند سوانا
‘amongst us and others’, lit. ‘**other than us**’

*bi-’annahā qāmi‘atun li-ra’yi **siwāhā***
بأنها قامعة لرأي سواها
‘that it suppresses the opinion of others’, lit. ‘**other than it**’

9.5.3 *Fossilized exceptive verbs*

(*mā*) *ḫalā* خلا (ما), (*mā*) *‘adā* عدا (ما), *ḥāšā* حاشا (▷C3:192), also *fī-mā ḫalā* فيما خلا combination, all in the sense of ‘excluding’.

These exceptive structures function either as verbs + noun in dependent case (when used with *mā* ما) or as particles + pronoun or noun in oblique case:

*fī kaṯīrin min-a l-ḥālāti **mā ‘adā** l-ḥālāti l-istiṯnā’iyyata*
في كثير من الحالات ما عدا الحالات الاستثنائية
‘in many situations **excluding** exceptional ones, lit. ‘exceptional situations’

*taḫtalifu jiḏriyyan ‘an kulli **mā ‘adāhā***
تختلف جذريا عن كلّ ما عداها
‘it differs radically from **everything else’**

wa-nkabba l-jamī'u yudawwinūna mulāḥaẓātihim . . . ***mā 'adāhu*** *huwa*
وانكبّ الجميع يدوّنون ملاحظاتهم . . . ما عداه هو
'they all bent forward recording their observations . . . **except him**'

(for emphatic pronouns, see **2.8.5**)

'adā *l-faṣli l-'aḫīri minhu*
عدا الفصل الأخير منه
'**excluding** the last chapter'

ḥāšā *li-llāhi*
حاشا لله
'God **forbid**'

No examples of *mā ḫalā/fī-mā ḫalā* ما خلا\فيما خلا 'except' were found during this study.

Chapter 10

Interrogatives, indirect speech

10.0 Introduction

There is no inversion or other word order change in questions, even when the question is introduced by one of the interrogative elements.

Questions can always be informally marked with '?' alone (not a CA usage, but borrowed from Western conventions), especially in dialogues:

hāḏā wa'duki هذا وعدك؟ 'is this your promise?'

wa-'anā? وأنا؟ 'what about me?', lit. 'and I?'

but mostly one of the interrogatives described below will be used.

Yes–no questions are introduced by either the particle *'a* أ (see **10.1**) prefixed to the first word of the sentence, or the free-standing word *hal* هَلْ (see **10.2**). In CA the two were not synonymous: while *'a-* أ was used with any type of question, *hal* هل was used predominantly with questions anticipating the answer 'no' or implying a negative, but this distinction is not so clearly made in MWA. However, MWA, like CA, continues to use only *hal* هل in indirect questions (see **10.16**).

In MWA *hal* هل is rather rare with the marked neg. (but see **10.13**), while negative questions with *'a-* أ are frequent (see **10.1.1**).

Wh-questions are headed by an interrogative from the set: *mā* ما 'what?', *man* مَنْ 'who?', *'ayna* أين 'where?', *matā* متى 'when?', *kayfa* كيف 'how?', *kam* كم 'how much?', *'ayyu* أيّ 'which?' and *li-māḏā* لماذا 'why?', and in combination with preposition(al)s, dealt with below, as well as some less common interrogatives.

In all cases the presence of a question mark (often combined with an exclamation mark) is increasingly common, though it is strictly speaking

redundant, cf. **1.3**. The translations below retain the original punctuation, that is, single, double or absent question marks, etc., regardless of the English conventions.

Indirect questions use the same interrogatives (see **10.16** and **10.17**), but there are some differences in syntax between relative *mā*/*man* ما/من 'what', 'who' (see **5.4**) and their interrogative homonyms (see **10.18**).

Rhetorical questions are listed as a separate category in **10.13**, though they cannot always be identified with certainty, especially in view of the variations in punctuation.

It will be obvious that many of the examples here are taken from transcriptions into MWA of speech which may well have been originally in dialect. All that can be said is that the resulting written forms nevertheless represent at least an assumption of literary validity, even if occasionally the product is not very convincing.

10.1 Questions with *'a-* أ (▷C1:137)

'a- أ is prefixed to both nominal and verbal sentences in yes–no questions.

- Nominal sentences:

  'a-hāḏāni *mā tabḥaṯūna 'anhu?*
  أهذان ما تبحثين عنه؟
  '**are these two** what you are looking for?'

  'a-huwa *ġaḍabu wālidihi?*
  أهو غضب والده؟
  '**is it** the anger of his father?'

- With *ḥaqqan* حقا 'truly', 'really' (cf. **2.4.8** on the dependent, i.e. adverbial form):

  'a-ḥaqqan *'anā 'ušbihuka wa-bi-hāḏā l-jamāli??*
  أحقا أنا أشبهك وبهذا الجمال؟؟
  '**Do I really** resemble you, and in this beauty??'

- Verbal sentences:

  'a-tumāni'u *law ṭalabtu minka l-nuzūla 'ilā ḫāriji l-sayyārati?*
  أتمانع لو طلبت منك النزول إلى خارج السيارة؟
  '**would you object** if I asked you to get out of the car?'

'a-kāna *l-jundiyyu yuḥāwiruhu ḥaqqan?*

أكان الجندي يحاوره حقا؟

'**was** the soldier really speaking to him?'

'a-hākaḏā yamūtu *banī 'ādama?*

أهكذا يموت بني آدم؟

'**is this how** people die?', lit. 'is it like this people die?'

Note semi-colloquial invariable *banī 'ādama* بني آدم literally 'sons of Adam', which should here be *banū* بنو [indep.] but by now is almost a proper name, hence with default dependent form (cf. **1.8.5**).

10.1.1 *Alternative questions* (▷C3:50)

Alternative questions use *'a-* أ or *hal* هل, with mostly *'am* أم 'or' (see **6.7**) before the second question, often with ellipsis in the second clause. The occurrence of *'aw* أو 'or' in alternative questions was not found in our data.

- With *'a-* أ:

'a*-huwa jadīrun bi-l-riṯā'i* ***'am****-i l-ḥanaqi?*

أهو جدير بالرثاء أم الحنق؟

'**is it [more]** worth lamenting it **or** getting angry over it?'

'a*-huwa tahdīdun 'am wa'dun bi-l-'ifrāji? naḏīru bad'i l-'aḏābi* ***'am*** *bašīru ntihā'i l-miḥnati?*

أهو تهديد أم وعد بالإفراج؟ نذير بدء العذاب أم بشير انتهاء المحنة؟

'is it a threat **or** a promise of deliverance? A warning of the start of the torment **or** the good news of the end of the ordeal?'

'a*-kānat hiya l-'uḫrā ḫaḍrā'a* ***'am*** *ṣaḥrā'a jardā'a?*

أكانت هي الأخرى خضراء أم صحراء جرداء؟

'**was it** also green **or** [was it] desert and bare?'

*'**a-laysū** muwāṭinīna lahum kāffatu ḥuqūqi l-muwāṭanati?* ***'am*** *hum muwāṭinūna min-a l-darajati l-ṯāniyati 'aw-i ṯāliṯati?*

أليسوا مواطنين لهم كافة حقوق المواطنة؟ أم هم مواطنون من الدرجة الثانية أو الثالثة؟

'**are they not** *c*itizens with all the rights of citizenship? **Or are they** citizens of second or third rank?'

- With *hal* هل:

  ***hal**-i l-sa'ādatu ta'tī **'am** naṣna'uhā?*
  هل السعادة تأتي أم نصنعها؟
  '**does** happiness [simply] come **or** do we manufacture it?'

  ***hal** huwa ḥulmun **'am** yaqẓatun?!*
  هل هو حلم أم يقظة؟!
  '**is it** a dream **or** wakefulness?!'

  ***hal** sā'at-i l-'umūru baynahu wa-bayna laylā … **'am** māḏā?*
  هل ساءت الأمور بينه وبين ليلى . . . أم ماذا؟
  '**have** things gone wrong between him and Layla … **or** what?'

  ***hal**-i ktašafa kawkaban durriyyan lam yakun yu'raf min qablu **'am** 'awjada ḫtirā'an yaj'alu min-a l-ḥayāti 'akṯara yusran, **'am** yanḏuru bi-kāriṯatin 'ūzūniyyatin jadīdatin?*
  هل اكتشف كوكبا دريا لم يكن يعرف من قبل أم أوجد اختراعا يجعل من الحياة أكثر يسرا، أم ينذر بكارثة أوزونية جديدة؟
  '**did he** discover a bright star previously unknown **or** did he create an invention which makes life easier, **or** which warns of some new ozone catastrophe?'

  (here the last pair of alternatives are both dependent on 'an invention')

The following is not an alternative question but a simple disjunction (see **6.7**):

***hal** 'astaṭī'u? **'aw** ḥattā **hal** 'urīdu?*
هل أستطيع؟ أو حتى هل أريد؟
'**Can I? Or do I** even want to?'

(for *ḥattā* حتى 'even', see **6.11**)

As with simple questions no interrogative prefix is needed (cf. **10.0**) if the context is clear:

*al-ḥallu bi l-dawlati **'am** ḫārijahā?*
الحلّ بالدولة أم خارجها؟
'is the solution within the country **or** outside it?'

*min masqaṭ **'am** min makānin 'āḫara?*
من مسقط أم من مكان آخر؟
'from Muscat **or** from some other place?'

10.1.2 *Negative questions* (▷C1:138)

Compounds with *'a-* أ and negative questions (cf. **4.7** on the negatives; some of these may also be considered as rhetorical questions, see **10.13**).

- *'a-lā* ألا:

  'a-lā *tarġabu fī l-mazīdi?*
  ألا ترغب في المزيد؟
  '**don't you** want your change?', lit. 'the excess [money]'

  'a-lā *taẓunnīna 'anna ḏālika l-kalba qad 'aḍḍahu?*
  ألا تظنين أن ذلك الكلب قد عضه؟
  'you [fem. sing.] **don't** think that that dog has bitten him [do you]?'

  'a-lā *yakfī bi-'annaka 'āṭilun?*
  ألا يكفي بأنك عاطل؟
  '**is it not** enough that you are out of work?'

- *'a-laysa* أليس:

  'a-laysa *ġarība 'anna . . .?*
  أليس غريبا أنّ . . . ؟
  '**is it not** strange that . . .?'

  'a-laysat *hiya l-muta'allimata?*
  أليست هي المتعلمة؟
  '**is not** she the educated one?'

  'a-lasti *sa'īdatan bi-'an sa-takūnu laki 'uḫtun ṣaġīratun?*
  ألست سعيدة بأن ستكون لك أخت صغيرة؟
  '**aren't you** [fem. sing.] happy that you are going to have a little sister?', lit. 'that a little sister will be to you'

  (for *'an* أن 'that' + future prefix *sa-* سـ, see **3.10.3.1**)

- *'a-lam* ألم:

  'a-lam *taḏkur yamīnaka llaḏī 'aqsamtahu?*
  ألم تذكر يمينك الذي أقسمته؟
  '**do you not** remember the oath you swore?'

  'a-lam yakun*-i l-mudīru l-'āmmu 'ab'ada naẓaran?*
  ألم يكن المدير العام أبعد نظرا؟
  '**was not** the managing director more far-sighted?'

(for comparative syntax, see **2.11**)

'a-lam *tašba'ī min-a l-ṭayarāni?*

ألم تشبعي من الطيران؟

'**haven't you** [fem. sing.] had enough of flying?'

- *'a-mā* أما:

'a-mā *yazālu ḥayyan?*

أما يزال حيا؟

'**is** he still alive?', lit. '**has** he **not** ceased living?'

(for *zāla* زال 'to still do', see **3.21.4**)

- *'a-lan* ألن:

'a-lan *natazawwaja?*

ألن نتزوج؟

'are we **not going to** get married?'

'a-lan *tal'abī ma'ī?*

ألن تلعبي معي؟

'**won't** you [fem. sing.] play with me?'

10.2 Questions with *hal* هل (▷C1:139)

hal هل occurs with both nominal and verbal sentences in yes–no questions.

- With nominal sentences:

hal *hiya mra'atun majnūnatun?*

هل هي امراة مجنونة؟

'**is** she a madwoman?'

hal *'anti 'arabiyyatun?*

هل أنت عربية؟

'**are** you an Arab [woman]?'

hal *hunāka 'aṣ'abu fī ḥayātinā min 'an narā 'azwājanā yumaṯṯilna 'amāmanā 'adwāra l-'išqi?*

هل هناك أصعب في حياتنا من أن نرى أزواجنا يمثلن أمامنا أدوار العشق؟

'**is** there anything more difficult in our life than to see our wives acting in front of us roles of love?'

- With verbal sentences:

  hal *yaḥiqqu lī ’an ’aġḍaba?*

  هل يحق لي أن أغضب؟

  ‘**do I** have the right to be angry?’

  (for impersonal verbs with *’an* أن ‘that’, see **7.5.1.1**)

  hal *tarā ’anna ḏālika ’amrun jayyidun?*

  هل ترى أن ذلك أمر جيد؟

  ‘**do you** think that is a good thing?’

  hal *tubaddilu malābisaka bi-ntiẓāmi?*

  هل تبدل ملابسك بانتظام؟

  ‘**do you** change your clothes regularly?’

  hal *nastad‘ī l-šurṭata?*

  هل نستدعي الشرطة؟

  ‘**shall we** call the police?’

- More complex questions:

  hal man yajhalu *ḫayrun mimman ya‘rifu?*

  هل من يجهل خير ممن يعرف؟

  ‘**is he who is ignorant** better than him who knows?’

  (cf. **5.4.1** on *man* من ‘he who’ and the spelling *mimman* ممن = *min* مِنْ + *man* مَنْ)

- *hal min* هل مِنْ occurs when the subject of the question is totally vague (cf. indefiniteness with *min* من in **1.12.4.1** and negation with *laysa min* ليس من in **4.2.8**):

  hal min *ḍayrin li-man yarġabu fī ’iṣlāḥi l-dunyā?*

  هل من ضير لمن يرغب في إصلاح الدنيا؟

  ‘**is it any** offence for someone who desires to reform the world?’

  hal min *’amalin fī taġlībi l-ḫayri ‘alā l-šarri fī l-bašari?*

  هل من أمل في تغليب الخير على الشر في البشر؟

  ‘**is there any** hope for the triumph of good over evil among mankind?’

For *hal* هل in rhetorical questions, see **10.13**, in indirect questions **10.16**.

10.3 *man* مَنْ 'who' (▷C1:142)

man مَنْ 'who?' is invariable, like the relative *man* مَنْ (see **5.4**).

Unlike relative clauses, which contain a referential pronoun to link them to the antecedent, interrogative sentences with *man* من (and *mā* ما, see **10.4**) by definition lack the item being asked about, hence there is no requirement for a referential pronoun.

- With nominal sentences (see **3.0**) *man* من replaces the predicate:

  man *huwa?*
  من هو؟
  '**who** is he?'

  man *sa'īd?*
  من سعيد؟
  '**who** is Sa'īd?'

  man *'as'adu ḥālan?*
  من أسعد حالا؟
  '**who** is in the happier situation?', lit. 'happier as to situation'.

  (cf. **2.4.4.1**)

- With verbal sentences *man* من replaces any element:

  man *qara'ahā?* **..** ***man*** *'aḫrajahā min qabri l-ḥurūfi ..?*
  من قرأها؟ .. من أخرجها من قبر الحروف .. ؟
  '**who** read it? .. **who** brought it out from the tomb of letters ..?'

  man *yansā ḏāka l-manẓara?*
  من ينسى ذاك المنظر
  '**who** will ever forget that sight?'

  man *sa-yafhamu 'annanī kārihun – munḏu l-bidāyati – li-l-safari?*
  من سيفهم أنني كاره – منذ البداية – للسفر؟
  '**who** will understand that I have disliked – from the beginning – to travel?'

  man *turaššiḥu li-laqabi 'afḍali lā'ibī hāḏā l-mawsimi?*
  من ترشح للقب افضل لاعبي هذا الموسم؟
  '**who[m]** will you nominate for the title of best players of this season?'

These interrogatives also follow the same principle as the relative *man* من and *mā* ما (see **5.4**) with preposition(al)s; unlike English, the prepositional unit cannot be separated:

'ilā man *nattajihu?* إلى من نتجه؟ '**to whom** do we turn?'

with no possibility of an equivalent to '**who** do we turn **to**?'

miṯlu man?
مثل من
'**like who[m]**?', lit. 'the like of whom'

ma'a man *'unāqišu l-mawḍū'a l-'āna?*
مع من أناقش الموضوع الآن؟
'**with whom** do I discuss the subject now?

They also occur as the second element of an annexation unit (see **2.3**):

dīmuqrāṭiyyatu ***man?***
ديمقراطية من؟
'**whose** democracy?', lit. 'the democracy of **who[m]**?'

The variant *man ḏā* من ذا, reinforced by the deictic *ḏā* ذا 'there', 'that' (▷C1:144; ▷C3:169) and always written as separate words (contrast *māḏā* ماذا 'what' in **10.4**, usually written as one word) was not found in the data.

10.3.1 *Redundant separating pronouns*

There is a marked tendency for a redundant pron. (notionally a 'separating pronoun', cf. **3.5**, perhaps with interference from relative syntax, see **5.0.1**) to intervene between *man* من and the topic of the question with the sense of 'who is the one who':

man ***huwa*** *l-'afḍalu baynahum?*
من هو الافضل بينهم؟
'who is **[the one who is]** the best among them?', lit. 'who is he, the best among them?'

man ***huwa*** *l-mas'ūlu 'an tajmī'i hāḏa l-'adadi l-kabīri min-a l-ḍubbāṭi?*
من هو المسؤول عن تجميع هذا العدد الكبير من الضباط
'who is **the one** responsible for gathering together this large number of officers?'

For the explicit relative sense *man* من is combined with the relative nouns (▷C1:144; ▷C3:169; as also *mā* ما below):

man-i llaḏī *sa-yuṣābu bi-rtifā'i ḍaġṭi l-dami?*

من الذي سيصاب بارتفاع ضغط الدم؟

'**who** is **the one who** will be afflicted with a rise in blood pressure?'

10.4 *mā* ما 'what' (▷C1:142)

mā ما 'what?' does not vary for case, number or gender, like the relative *mā* ما (see **5.4**, and see below for compounds such as *li-māḏā* لماذا 'why?', etc.).

As with *man* من 'who?' (see **10.3**), the difference between the relative and the interrogative structure is that interrogative clauses contain no referential pronoun.

- With nominal sentences (see **3.0**) *mā* ما replaces the predicate:

  mā *hāḏā l-wāfidu l-jadīdu?*

  ما هذا الوافد الجديد؟

  '**what** is this new delegate?'

  mā *l-'amalu 'iḏan?*

  ما العمل إذن؟

  '**what** is to be done, then?', lit. 'what is the action, then?'

  (cf. **2.5.6** on adverbial *'iḏan* إذن 'then', 'in that case' and compare the spelling with the variant إذاً below, see **10.13.3**)

  mā *tafsīru kulli hāḏā?*

  ما تفسير كل هذا؟

  '**what** is the explanation of all this?'

  mā *naw'u l-nihāyati llatī yasta'iddu li-mulāqātihā?*

  ما نوع النهاية التي يستعد لملاقاتها؟

  '**what** is the kind of end which he is preparing to meet?'

- Often with redundant pronoun, cf. *man* من above, see **10.3.1**, **10.4.1**:

  mā ***huwa*** *l-sababu?*

  ما هو السبب؟

  'what is the cause?'

mā ***hiya*** *l-'iršādātu l-murfaqatu bi-l-māddati?*
ما هي الإرشادات المرفقة بالمادة؟
'what are the instructions enclosed with the substance?'

- With verbal sentences (see **3.0** and **3.7**) the expanded *māḏā* ماذا variant (usually written as one word, contrast *man ḏā* من ذا above) is found more often than simple *mā* ما perhaps because *mā* ما already has several other pre-verbal functions:

māḏā *taqūlu l-waṯā'iqu?*
ماذا تقول الوثائق؟
'**what** do the documents say?'

māḏā *yanquṣu l-muntaḫabu ḥāliyyan?*
ماذا ينقص المنتخب حاليا؟
'**what** does the team currently lack?'

māḏā *kāna warā'a l-ziyārati?*
ماذا كان وراء الزيارة؟
'**what** was behind the visit?'

bal ***māḏā*** *yamna'u lubnāna min-a l-su'āli 'an mu'āhadati l-difā'i l-muštaraki?*
بل ماذا يمنع لبنان من السؤال عن معاهدة الدفاع المشترك؟
'but **what** is preventing Lebanon from asking about the Common Defence Pact?'

māḏā *yašġaluki yā 'azīzatī?*
ماذا يشغلك يا عزيزتي؟
'**what** is bothering you, my dear?'

Like *man* من above, both *mā* ما and *māḏā* ماذا are found with relative clauses as the question (▷C1:144; ▷C3:169):

mā llaḏī *'awqa'ahā fī ḏālika l-maṣīri l-muḫīfi?*
ما الذي أوقعها في ذلك المصير المخيف؟
'**what** was it **that** plunged her into that fearful fate?'

For questions with prepositionals, *bi-ma* بم 'with what?', etc., see **10.5**.

10.4.1 *Gender agreement* (▷C1:149)

Both *man* من and *mā* ما may refer to any number or gender. With *man* من agreement is with the natural or grammatical number and gender of the topic of the question:

man ***hum****? wa-mā* ***hiya*** *huwiyyatuhum?*

من هم؟ وما هي هويتهم؟

'who **are they**? And what **is** their nationality?', lit. 'what is **it** [fem.] their nationality'

man ***hum****-u* ***llaḏīna yaqifūna*** *warā'a hāḏihi l-muḫaṭṭaṭāti?*

من هم الذين يقفون وراء هذه المخططات؟

'who **are those who are standing** behind these plans?'

With *mā* ما only singular pronouns occur, the feminine also occurring when the reference is to a non-human plural (cf. **2.1.1** on feminine agreement with plural):

mā ***hāḏihi*** *l-tanmiyatu* ***llatī*** *yataḥaddaṯūna 'anhā?*

ما هذه التنمية التي يتحدثون عنها؟

'what is **this** development [fem.] about which they are talking?'

mā ***hiya*** *l-ṣūratu llatī tatašakkalu hunā?*

ما هي الصورة التي تتشكل هنا؟

'what is the image which is being formed here?', lit. 'what is **it** [fem.] the image which …?'

mā ***hiya*** *l-ḫaṣā'iṣu llatī tumayyizu kulla marḥalatin?*

ما هي الخصائص التي تميز كل مرحلة؟

'what **are** the traits [non-human plur.] which distinguish each stage?'

10.5 *mā* ما in shortened form

mā ما 'what?', in the shortened form *-ma* ـمَ, is combined with prepositionals to form compound interrogatives, for example *bi-ma* بمَ؟ 'with what?', *li-ma* لمَ؟ 'for what?', 'why?'. The shortening distinguishes them from the relatives *bi-mā* بما 'that with which', 'with what', *li-mā* لما 'that for which', 'because of what', *'ammā* عما 'about what', etc.

However, the rule is not always observed, and the unshortened forms are still seen:

bi-mā yu'minu

بما يؤمن

'what does he believe in' (unmarked question)

Usage is not consistent in indirect questions (see **10.18.2**).

mā ما in shortened form

10.5.1 li-ma لِمَ *'why?' and* li-māḏā لِماذا *'for what?'* (▷C1:148; ▷C2:289)

For 'why', both *li-ma* لِمَ and the longer *li-māḏā* لِماذا, literally 'for what', are used:

- *li-ma* لِمَ (note that confusion with *lam* لم 'not', see **4.2.3**, is often eliminated on distributional grounds, since *lam* لم does not occur before perfect verbs or other negatives):

  li-ma *tastajību?* لم تستجيب؟ '**why** *does she answer?*'

  (if this were negative *lam* لم 'not' apocopate, namely, 'she did not answer', the verb would be *tastajib* تستجب)

  li-ma *lā 'atafā'alu?*
  لم لا أتفاءل؟
  '**why** should I not be optimistic?'

  li-ma *hāḏihi l-'aswāru l-ḍaḫmatu?*
  لم هذه الأسوار الضخمة؟
  '**why** these thick walls?'

  li-ma *kunta tulāḥiqunī?*
  لم كنت تلاحقني؟
  '**why** have you been chasing me?'

- *li-māḏā* لِماذا:

  li-māḏā *'akūnu muḫtalifatan 'an ġayrī?*
  لماذا أكون مختلفا عن غيري؟
  '**why** should I be different from others?'

  li-māḏā *l-'āna wa-laysa min qablu?*
  لماذا الآن وليس من قبل؟
  '**why** now and not before?'

  (for *wa-laysa* وليس 'and not', see **6.12.3;** for invariable *qablu* قبلُ 'before', see **2.5.4**)

  li-māḏā *lam ta'tī bi-l-'amsi?*
  لماذا لم تأتي بالأمس؟
  '**why** did you [fem. sing.] not come yesterday?'

  li-māḏā *lā tuṣaddiqūna?*
  لماذا لا تصدقون؟
  '**why** do you not believe?'

10.5.2 *Other questions with* -ma (▷C1:149)

Other combinations of prepositions and shortened forms of *mā* ما (for the shortening of *-mā* to *-ma*, see **10.5**) are: *'ilā-ma* إلامَ 'up to where', 'whither?', *'alā-ma* علامَ 'on what?'; *bi-ma* بمَ 'by what?', *'amma* عمَّ 'about what?' (cf. **1.2.2** for spelling, and contrast this with *'ammā 'iḏā* أما إذا below, **10.19.2**), *mimma* مم 'from what?' (for spelling, see **1.2.2**), *ḥattā-ma* حتامَ 'until what?'; not all were seen in the data:

bi-ma *taš'uru 'indamā tusajjilu hadafan ḥāsiman?*
بم تشعر عندما تسجل هدفا حاسما؟
'**what** do you feel when you score a decisive goal?'

*mā 'adrāka 'annahu ntaḥara? wa-**mimma**?*
ما أدراك أنه انتحر؟ ومم؟
'how do you know he committed suicide? And **what from**?'

(the phrase *mā 'adrāka* ما أدراك is Qur'anic, lit. 'what made you know?')

ḥattāma *hāḏā l-'iṣrāru?*
حتام هذا الإصرار؟
'how long will this insistence go on?, lit. '**until what** this insistence?'

'ilāma *hāḏā l-tajāhulu?*
إلام هذا التجاهل؟
'how long will this feigned ignorance go on?', lit. '**to what**?'

'alāma *tuba'ṯiru 'amwālaka?*
علام تبعثر أموالك؟
'**on what** are you squandering your money?'

10.6 *'ayyu* أيّ 'which?', 'what?' (▷C1:150)

'ayyu أيّ 'which', 'what?' is annexed to its noun and is the only interrogative which is inflected for gender and case, though the masculine is tending to become the default, for example:

'ayyu *ḥayratin?* ***'ayyu*** *majhūlin?*
أي حيرة؟ أي مجهول؟
'**what** [masc.] confusion [fem.]? **what** unknown person?'

min ***'ayy****i l-buldāni 'anta?*

من أي البلدان أنت؟

'from **which** country are you?', lit. 'which [masc.] of the countries [grammatically fem. sing.]'

But the feminine is also seen:

'ayyatu *rā'iḥatin hāḏihi?* أية رائحة هذه؟ '**what** smell is this?'

For the exclamatory *'ayyu* أيّ 'what . . . !', see **3.28.3**; for *'ayyu* أيّ indicating vagueness 'any', see **1.12.4.1**, **2.9.1.6**; and for *'ayyu* أيّ in conditional sentences, see **8.5.2**.

The example below is punctuated as a question but the intention is obviously exclamatory (cf. **1.3**):

'ayyu *ḥulmin 'awṣalatnā 'ilayhi hāḏihi l-la'batu?*

اي حلم اوصلتنا اليه هذه اللعبة؟

'**what** a dream this game brought us to!'

10.7 *kam* كَمْ 'how much?', 'how many?' (▷C1:156)

Interrogative *kam* كم 'how much?', 'how many?' is always followed by singular nouns in the dependent form (cf. numerals at **2.12.4**) and its syntax is thus quite different from the expletive *kam* كم (see **3.28.2**), which is followed by oblique nouns:

kam qiršan *dafa'ta fī hāḏā?*

كم قرشا دفعت في هذا؟

'**how many piastres** [dep. sing.] did you pay for this?'

This type must be seen as elliptical:

kam 'umruka?

كم عمرك؟

'how old are you?', lit. 'how much is your age?', namely, *kam* ***sanatan*** *'umruka* 'how many **years** is your age?'

As with *man/mā* من/ما and all the wh-interrogatives, preposition[al]s immediately precede them:

bi-kam*-i štarayta ḏālika?*

بكم اشتريت ذلك؟

'**for how much** did you buy that?'

10.8 *'ayna* أين 'where?' (▷C1:160)

'ayna أين 'where?' and the remaining interrogatives occur before both nominal and verbal sentences:

*wa-**'ayna** 'anā l-āna?*
وأين أنا الآن؟
'and **where** am I now?'

***'ayna** yakūnu jtimā'unā?*
أين يكون اجتماعنا؟
'**where** will our meeting be?'

***'ayna** naḍa'uhu?*
أين نضعه؟
'**where** shall we put it?'

10.8.1 *'ilā 'ayna* إلى أين *'whither?' and* min *'ayna* من أين *'whence?'*

'ilā 'ayna إلى أين 'to where?', 'whither?' and *min 'ayna* من أين 'from where?', 'whence?' are extensions of *'ayna* أين:

***'ilā 'ayna** 'ahrubu?*
إلى أين أهرب؟
'**whither** shall I flee?'

***'ilā 'ayna** yamḍī?*
إلى أين يمضي؟
'**where** can/will he go [to]?'

***min 'ayna** kāna lahā 'an tatanabba'a 'annahā sawfa taqḍī šahrayni?*
من أين كان لها أن تتنبأ أنها سوف تقضي شهرين؟
'**from where** did she get the right to prophesy that she would spend two months?'

(for this sense of *li-* لِـ 'right, privilege', see **2.6.10**)

***min 'ayna** lahu bi-l-nuqūdi?*
من أين له بالنقود؟
'**where** would he get the money **from**?'

(cf. **10.13.2.1** on the idiom with *li-* لـ 'for', 'to')

10.9 *kayfa* كيف 'how?' (▷C1:159)

kayfa *'ahrubu?*
كيف أهرب؟
'**how** shall I flee?'

kayfa *yataḥaddadu mafhūmu l-turāṯi?*
كيف يتحدد مفهوم التراث؟
'**how** is the concept of heritage defined?'

kayfa *tantahī l-riwāyatu?*
كيف تنتهي الرواية؟
'**how** does the story end?'

With nominal sentence a redundant pronoun (cf. **10.3.1**) is sometimes found:

kayfa ***hiya*** *sti'dādātukum?*
كيف هي استعداداتكم؟
'how are [**they**] your preparations?'

10.10 *matā* متى 'when?' (▷C1:159)

matā *'astaṭī'u 'an 'aktuba bi-yadī?* متى أستطيع أن أكتب بيدي؟
'**when** shall I be able to write with my own hand?'

matā *hāḏā l-ḥaflu?* متى هذا الحفل؟ '**when** is this gathering?'

10.10.1 munḏu matā منذ متى *'since when?' and* 'ilā matā إلى متى *'until when?'*

munḏu matā منذ متى 'since when?' (cf. *munḏu* منذ in **2.6.13**) and other compounds occur, often with an interposed *wa-* و 'and', cf. **6.2.7**:

munḏu matā *wa-huwa mahjūrun? wa-**ḥattā matā** sa-yaẓallu jā'i'an?*
منذ متى وهو مهجور؟ وحتى متى سيظل جائعا؟
'**since when** had he been deserted? **Until when** would he remain hungry?'

'ilā matā *wa-'anta tasta'iddu li-'an tamtaṭiya ḥiṣānaka l-'abqa'a?*
إلى متى وأنت تستعد لأن تمتطي حصانك الأبقع؟
'**until when** will you be prepared to ride your piebald steed?'

10.11 *'annā* أنّى 'how?'

'annā أنّى 'how?', 'where?' is an obsolete interrogative now likely to be used only in consciously classicizing contexts. It was not found in the data.

10.12 Answers to questions

As in most languages, the answer may be elliptical, as in some of the examples below.

10.12.1 na'am نَعَمْ 'yes' (▷C1:163)

na'am نَعَمْ, also *'ajal* أَجَلْ 'yes' (the latter with somewhat more rhetorical intensity):

na'am *la-qad-u stu'milat kalimatu … bi-l-firansiyyati fī ma'nan majāziyyin*
نعم لقد استعملت كلمة . . . بالفرنسية في معنى مجازي
'**yes**, indeed the word … was used in French figuratively'

(for the emphatic *la-* prefix, see **3.10.4**)

'ajal *'inna hāḏā l-kitāba yūḍiḥu*
أجل إن هذا الكتاب يوضح
'**yes indeed**, this book makes clear'

*waḍa'tu 'abā'atī 'alā ra'sī .. **'ajal** labistu l-'abā'ata fī l-baṣrati*
وضعت عباءتي على رأسي .. أجل لبست العباءة في البصرة
'I put my turban on my head .. **yes, indeed**, I wore a turban in Basra'

10.12.2 balā بلى 'but yes' (▷C1:165)

balā بلى 'but yes', 'on the contrary' asserts a positive answer when a negative answer is implied in the question:

qāla lahā: balā. balā
قال لها: بلى. بلى
'he said to her, "but yes, yes" ' (i.e. 'on the contrary, yes!')

10.12.3 lā لا *'no' and* kallā كَلّا *'by no means'* (▷C1:167)

bi-l-ta'kīdi ***lā*** بالتأكيد لا 'certainly **not**', lit. 'with certainty **no**'

li-ma ***lā*** لم لا 'why **not**?' (cf. **10.5.1**)

kallā *laysat-i l-ḥadāṯatu mawqifan fardiyyan*
كلا ليست الحداثة موقفا فرديا
'**not at all**, modernism is not an individual position'

laysa 'aban … wa-lā zawjan … wa-lā 'aḫan … ***kallā*** *… bal ṣadīqan*
ليس أبا . . . ولا زوجا . . . ولا أخا . . . كلا . . . بل صديقا
'he is not a father … nor a husband … nor a brother … **not at all** … on the contrary he is a friend'

(cf. **4.2.8** on *laysa* ليس 'is not', **6.12.1** on resumptive negative *wa-lā* ولا 'nor' and *bal* بل 'but rather', and note agreement of *ṣadīqan* صديقا 'a friend', also dependent by coordination)

kallā *… naksiru l-bāba li-naktašifa l-sirra*
كلا . . . نكسر الباب لنكتشف السر
'**no way** … we shall break down the door to discover the secret'

lā šay' لا شيء 'nothing' (lit. 'no thing', cf. **4.1.2** on categorical negative) is used elliptically (▷C1:168):

wa-kam tataqāḍā 'alā hāḏihi l-ḫadamāti l-layliyyati? ***lā šay'a, lā šay'a*** *'alā l-'iṭlāqi*
وكم تتقاضى على هذه الخدمات الليلية؟ لا شيء، لا شيء على الإطلاق
'and how much do you charge for these night services? **Nothing, nothing** at all'

10.12.4 rubbamā رُبَّما *'maybe'*

rubbamā رُبَّما 'maybe', 'perhaps' is also used elliptically (cf. also **3.30.2**):

hal yufassiru nuzū'ī hāḏā mā qara'tuhu yawman 'an šarāsati l-maḥkūmi 'alayhi bi-l-'i'dāmi? ***rubbamā***
هل يفسر نزوعي هذا ما قرأته يوما عن شراسة المحكوم عليه بالإعدام؟ ربما
'does what I read one day about the viciousness of the condemned man explain this tendency of mine? **Maybe**'

10.13 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions in Arabic are of two kinds:

1 A group of traditional CA patterns are still in use, for example *hal laka* هل لك 'how about?' (see **10.13.1.1**), *man lī* من لي 'who will help me?' (see **10.13.2.1**), *mā 'anā wa-* ما أنا و 'what have I to do with?' and *mā bālu-* ما بال 'what is wrong with?' (see **10.13.3.1**), *'ayna 'anā wa-* أين أنا و 'what have I to do with?' (see **10.13.6.1**), *kayfa (lā) wa-* كيف (لا) و 'how can it (not) be, when?' (see **10.13.7.1**), *turā* ترى 'do you think?' (see **10.13.9**).
2 The other type is syntactically identical with normal questions and can usually only be recognised by the punctuation or the context. However, the punctuation is not always a reliable guide (cf. **1.3**): most of the examples here have exclamation marks in the original, but sometimes they are not signalled at all or questions marks are used instead of exclamation marks. It may therefore be a matter of interpretation whether some of the examples belong here or among the simple questions above (see **10.1**, **10.2**).

10.13.1 *'a-* أ *and* **hal** هل *rhetorical questions*
(▷C1:138, 141; and cf. **10.1**, **10.2**)

- Positive questions: no simple rhetorical questions with *'a-* أ were found, though it often seems to have a rhetorical sense in alternative questions (see **10.1.1**). It may be because *hal* هل has always had a rhetorical force, implying a negative answer:

*fa-**hal** min mujībin?!*
فهل من مجيب؟!
'and will anyone answer?!' (No, they won't)

lākin, 'iḏā kānat 'al-ṭabī'atu' lā tataġayyaru, hal-i staṭā'a l-'insānu l-ḥadīṯu, fī l-muqābili, 'an 'yaḫtari'a' 'aškālan jadīdatan wa-ḏakiyyatan li-l-sa'ādati
لكن، إذا كانت 'الطبيعة' لا تتغير، هل استطاع الإنسان الحديث، في المقابل، أن يخترع أشكالاً جديدة وذكية للسعادة
'but, if "Nature" was never going to change, **would** modern man, in return, be able to "invent" intelligent new forms of happiness' (No, he wouldn't)

wa-lākin ***hal*** *ba‘da hāḏā l-ḫiyāri* ***min*** *ḫiyārin ’āḫara?!*
ولكن هل بعد هذا الخيار من خيار آخر؟!
‘but **is there** after this choice **any** other choice?!’ (No, there is not)

The following minority example requires a positive answer in the context:

hal *yaḥzunu l-ṭiflu .. ?!*
هل يحزن الطفل؟!
‘**is** [not] the child going to be unhappy .. ?!’ (Yes, it will be)

- Negative questions: here *’a-* أ is the predominant interrogative particle, except for the special case of *hallā* هلاّ ‘why not?’ (see below):

’a-lā *yamtalikunā l-ša‘bu?*
ألا يمتلكنا الشعب؟
‘**does not** the people own us?’

’a-lā *yata‘allaqu l-’amru bi-riddatin fikriyyatin?*
ألا يتعلق الأمر بردة فكرية؟
‘**is not** the matter connected with an intellectual response?’

’a-lā *yakfīnā l-ḥāḍiru laḥẓata ltiqāṭi l-’anfāsi?*
ألا يكفينا الحاضر لحظة التقاط الأنفاس؟
‘**will** the present **not** allow us a moment enough to catch our breath?’

(for *yakfī* يكفي ‘it suffices’, here ‘give enough’, see **3.15.2**)

yumkinu fī hāḏā l-siyāqi ’an ’ušīra ’ilā baladayni nafṭiyyayni … ***’a-lā*** *wa-huma l-jazā’iru wa-l-‘irāqu*
يمكن في هذا السياق أن أشير إلى بلدين نفطيين . . . ألا وهما الجزائر والعراق
‘in this context I can refer to two oil countries … **are they not** Algeria and Iraq?’ (see **6.2.7**)

- Reinforced with *fa-* فَـ (cf. **6.3.4**):

’a-fa-lā *yakūnu ṭabī‘iyyan ’an nad‘uwa ’iḫwānanā?*
أفلا يكون طبيعيا أن ندعو إخواننا؟
‘**is it not then** natural that we should call upon our brethren?’

’a-fa-lam *tastamirra ’aš‘āru hūmīrūs ḫamsatan wa-‘išrīna qarnan?*
أفلم تستمر أشعار هوميروس خمسة وعشرين قرنا؟
‘**and have not** the poems of Homer lasted twenty-five centuries?’

Other combinations such as *’a-lā .. fa-* ألا .. فـ with imperatives ‘why don’t you?’ (▷C1:139), and *’a-la‘alla* ألعلّ ‘is it not perhaps?’ (▷C2:239) are known, but none were seen in the data.

- *hallā* هَلاّ 'why not?', a combination of *hal* هل and *lā* لا 'not' but always written as one word and invariably followed by a perfect verb with the sense of an invitation:

  hallā šaraḥta *lahā ba'ḍa mā tu'ānī?*

  هلا شرحت لها بعض ما تعانيه؟

  '**why don't you explain** [perf.] to her some of what you are suffering?'

  The following is not an instance of *hallā* هلا: the separation of *hal* هل and *lā* لا suggests that the modal *lā tazālu* لا تزال 'still [does]' (see **3.21.4**) had to be preserved and is probably not even perceived as negative. The expected answer here is obviously 'yes':

  hal lā tazālu tastaṭī'u *l-falsafatu, al-'adyānu, al-ši'ru, al-riwāyatu, al-fannu, al-mūsīqā, al-masraḥu, al-rasmu …, 'an taf'ala ḏālika?*

  هل لا تزال تستطيع الفلسفة، الأديان، الشعر، الرواية، الفن، الموسيقى، المسرح، الرسم . . . ، أن تفعل ذلك؟

  '**are not** philosophy, religions, poetry, fiction, art, music, theatre, drawing …, **still capable** of doing that?'

  (note that pausal forms would be used before the commas, hence the transliteration is particularly artificial here)

10.13.1.1 Idiomatic *hal laka* هل لك 'how about?' (cf. idioms *mā laka*, ما لك *mā bālu-* ما بال, **10.13.3.1**):

hal ***lī*** *'an 'aṭluba minka ḫidmatan?*

هل لي أن أطلب منك خدمة؟

'may I ask you a favour?', lit. '**is it for me** that I ask …?' in the sense 'have I the right' (cf. **2.6.10** on *li-* لِـ)

10.13.2 *Rhetorical questions with* man مَنْ *'who?'* (cf. **10.3**)

wa-lākin ***man*** *yanbaġī lahum 'an yuḥāribū 'awwalan? wa-bi-****man****? wa-****kayfa****? wa-****min 'ajli māḏā****?*

ولكن من ينبغي لهم أن يحاربوا أولا؟ وبمن؟ وكيف؟ ومن أجل ماذا؟

'but **who** should they fight first? And with **whom**? And **how**? And **why**?'

*fa-****man*** *minnā kāna yataḫayyalu 'an yaṣila l-'amru 'ilā hāḏihi l-darajati?*

فمن منا كان يتخيل أن يصل الأمر إلى هذه الدرجة؟

'and **who** of us would have imagined that the matter would reach this degree?'

10.13.2.1 Idiomatic *man lī bi-* بِـ لي مَنْ, literally 'who is for me with?', that is, who will help me with?' (▷C2:303), *min 'ayna lī* من أين لي literally 'from where for me', that is, 'how will I?', with complementized *'an* أن clauses:

***man lī bi-**'an 'asta'īda ba'ḍa mā kāna lī fī qalbihā?*
من لي بأن أستعيد بعض ما كان لي في قلبها؟
'**who will help me** restore some of what used to be in her heart for me?, lit. 'who is there for me with that I restore …?'

***min 'ayna lī** 'an 'a'rifa sma 'unṯā l-ḥimāri!*
من أين لي أن أعرف اسم أنثى الحمار!
'**how am I supposed** to know the name for the female donkey!'

10.13.3 *Rhetorical questions with* mā[dā] [ذا]ما, li-mādā لماذا (cf. **10.4**)

*wa-lākin **mā** hāḏā!*
ولكن ما هذا!
'but **what** is this!'

*fa-**mā** ṭa'mu l-ḥayāti bi-lā hadafin .. bi-lā 'amalin*
فما طعم الحياة بلا هدف .. بلا أمل
'and **what** is the savour of life without a goal .. without a hope'

mā llaḏī taf'aluhu nuqūduka hāḏihi
ما الذي تفعله نقودك هذه
'what will this money of yours do?', lit. 'what is it that this money will do?' (see **10.4**)

***māḏā** yahummu ba'da ḏālika 'an yamūta l-rajulu min 'aṯari l-lakmati 'aw yamūta ḥuznan*
ماذا يهم بعد ذلك أن يموت الرجل من أثر اللكمة أو يموت حزنا
'**what** does it matter after this that a man should die from the effect of the blow or that he should die of grief'

(for the specifying qualifier *ḥuznan* حزنا 'in terms of grief', i.e. 'of grief', see **3.29.5**)

***fa-li-māḏā** yay'asu l-nāsu wa-yantaḥirūna 'iḏan?*
فلماذا ييأس الناس وينتحرون إذاً؟
'so why do people despair and commit suicide then?'

(note the plural agreement with *nās* ناس 'people', see **3.8.2**; and the spelling of *'iḏan*, here إذاً, but often إذن, as in **10.4** above)

'ammā ***li-māḏā****? fa-li-'anna*
أما لماذا؟ فلأنّ
'[You ask] **why**? [I tell you] because', lit. 'as for why, well, because'

(for *'ammā* أمّا see **3.3.4**)

Elliptical (and probably a calque of 'what if?'):

wa lākin ***māḏā*** *law 'anna l-sijilla l-mu'āṣira li-ġalabati l-balāġati wa-l-faṣāḥati ntaqala l-yawma 'ilā marākiza 'uḫrā fī-l-'ālami*
ولكن ماذا لو أنّ السجل المعاصر لغلبة البلاغة والفصاحة انتقل اليوم إلى مراكز أخرى في العالم
'but **what** if the contemporary scroll of victory for eloquence and fine language moved today to other centres in the world'

(cf. conditional *law* لو 'if' in **8.2**)

Though formally a question, the following seems to be a nominal relative clause, probably a calque:

wa-lākin ***māḏā*** *yadūru bi-ra'sihā l-ṣaġīri . . . lā 'aḥada ya'rifu*
ولكن ماذا يدور برأسها الصغير . . . لا أحد يعرف
'but **what** was going on in her little head . . . no one knew'

10.13.3.1 Idiomatic questions: *mā bāluhu* ما باله *mā lahu* ما له 'what is wrong with him . . . ?' (▷C2:188; ▷C3:251):

mā bālunā *bi-l-marākizi l-'uḫrā?*
ما بالنا بالمراكز الأخرى؟
'**what have we got to do** with the other centres?', lit. 'what is our concern with . . . ?'

When complemented by a clause, this may be seen as a circumstantial qualifier:

mā lahu *lā yukallimunā?*
ما له لا يكلمنا؟
'**what is wrong with him** that he is not speaking to us?', i.e. 'he not speaking'

mā lakum *lā tastaḥūna min-a llāhi?*
ما لكم لا تستحون من الله؟
'what is wrong with you [masc. plur.] that you have no shame before God?', i.e. 'you not having shame'

mā ša'nuhu wa- ما شأنُه و 'what is his business with?' (cf. the idiomatic use of *ša'n* شأن in discourse, **11.8.1**). The collocated noun is originally an accompanying object, hence its dependent form (see **2.4.7**):

***mā ša'nuhum wa**-hāḏā l-ġayra law kānat-i l-ḥadāṯatu mawqifan fardiyyan bi-hāḏā l-ma'nā?*

ما شأنهم وهذا الغير لو كانت الحداثة موقفا فرديا بهذا المعنى؟

'**what business would they have with** this "other" [dep.] if modernity were an individual position in that sense?' (for *al-ġayr* الغير with the definite article, see **2.9.2.3**)

10.13.4 *Rhetorical questions with* 'ayyu أيّ (cf. **10.6**)

'ayyu أيّ 'what', 'which', with the same variable gender agreement as the pure interrogative above:

***'ayyatu** maṣlaḥatin tujnā min hāḏā l-'amri*

أية مصلحة تجنى من هذا الامر

'**what** benefit could be gained from this affair'

10.13.5 *Rhetorical questions with* kam *(كم) 'how much'* (cf. **10.7**)

(Contrast the expletive *kam* كم 'how much!' in **3.28.2**)

***kam ḥādiṯatan** miṯla hāḏihi taḥtājuhā qabla 'an tastami'a li-'awāmiri l-ṭabībi!?*

كم حادثة مثل هذه تحتاجها قبل أن تستمع لأوامر الطبيب!؟

'**how many accidents** like this one will you need before you listen to the doctor's orders!?'

10.13.6 *Rhetorical questions with* 'ayna أين *'where'* (cf. **10.8**)

***'ayna** kānat-i l-'umamu l-muttaḥidatu!?*

أين كانت الأمم المتحدة!؟

'**where** were the United Nations!?'

probably a calque, contrast the older CA structure in the next section.

10.13.6.1 Idiomatic *'ayna . . . min* أين . . . مِنْ, lit. 'where . . . in respect of . . .' (▷C2:272; for *min* من 'from', 'in respect of', see **2.6.12**):

***'ayna** naḥnu min-a l-mawāridi wa-l-'awā'idi l-ḍaḫmati?*

أين نحن من الموارد والعوائد الضخمة؟

'**where** are we **when it comes** to incomes and fat returns?', lit. 'where . . . in respect of?'

***'ayna naḥnu min** kulli hāḏihi l-šu'ūbi!?*

أين نحن من كل هذه الشعوب!؟

'**what have we to do with** all these peoples!?'

10.13.7 *Rhetorical questions with* kayfa كيف *'how'* (cf. **10.9**)

*yā 'ilāhī **kayfa** lam 'ufakkir fīhā bi-l'amsi?*

يا الهي كيف لم افكر فيها بالامس؟

'O my God, **how** could I have not thought about her yesterday?'

*wa-lākin **kayfa** tatimmu l-'amaliyyatu l-'ibdā'iyyatu 'inda l-mar'ati?*

ولكن كيف تتم العملية الإبداعية عند المرأة؟

'but **how** is the creative process carried out in a woman?'

10.13.7.1 Idiomatic *kayfa [lā] yakūnu . . . wa-* كيف (لا) يكون . . . و 'how can that (not) be, when . . . ?' (▷C1:34, 113; ▷C3:277), in which a circumstantial qualifying clause introduced by *wa-* و 'and' supplies the adversative element in the question (see **7.3.2**):

*wa-**kayfa yakūnu ḏālika wa**-hāḏā l-mašrū'u lan taqilla taklifatuhu 'an 20 milyūna junayhin?*

وكيف يكون ذلك وهذا المشروع لن تقل تكلفته عن ٢٠ مليون جنيه؟

'and **how can that be when** the cost of this plan will not be less than £20 million?'

*wa-**kayfa** yastaṭī'u l-muwarridu 'an yalja'a 'ilā siyāsati l-'iġrāqi **wa**-hunāka ḍawābiṭu taḥkumu l-si'ra?*

وكيف يستطيع المورد أن يلجأ إلى سياسة الإغراق وهناك ضوابط تحكم السعر؟

'and **how can** the supplier resort to a saturation policy **when** there are rules which control the price?'

Variants:

***kayfa** lī 'an 'arfuḍa?*
كيف لي أن أرفض؟
'**how can I** refuse?' (cf. idioms with *lī* لي, **10.13.1.1**, **10.13.2.1**)

***kayfa lī** 'an 'anqula hāḏihi l-risālata?*
كيف لي أن أنقل هذه الرسالة؟
'**how can I** transmit this message?'

10.13.8 *Rhetorical questions with* matā متى *'when'* (cf. **10.10**)

*wa-sīnamā l-klūb al-miṣriyyi **matā** wa-kayfa malakat-i l-fu'āda?*
وسينما الكلوب المصري متى وكيف ملكت الفؤاد؟
'the Egyptian Club Cinema, **when** and how did it [ever] have the heart?'

(note the topic-comment structure, see **3.3**)

10.13.9 *Idiomatic* turā تُرَى (▷C1:136)

Invariable *turā* تُرَى, 'do you see', 'see how?' lit. 'are you seen/shown?', cf. idiomatic passives, **3.12.4**:

***turā** mā zāla yataḏakkarunī?*
ترى ما زال يتذكرني؟
'**I wonder** if he still remembers me?'

*fa-hiya lam taḏkur wa-lā marratan 'ayya šay'in 'an tilka l-buḥayrati … **turā** li-māḏā?*
فهي لم تذكر ولا مرة اي شيء عن تلك البحيرة. ترى لماذا؟
'and she never once said anything about that lake. **I wonder** why?'

***turā** man yakūnu l-zā'iru?*
ترى من يكون الزائر؟
'**I wonder** who the visitor will be?'

Also with vocative particle *yā* يا 'O' (see **2.15**):

***yā turā** mā llaḏī yantašilu l-'insānu min-a l-ḫaṭari*
يا ترى ما الذي ينتشل الأنسان من الخطر
'**I wonder** what man can snatch from danger'

wa-qad zāra l-maktbata – fī l-ʿāmi l-māḍī – 400 bāḥiṯin, fa-kam ***yā turā*** *ʿadadu zuwwārihā min-a l-bāḥiṯīna l-ʿarabi?!*

وقد زار المكتبة – في العام الماضي – ٤٠٠ باحث، فكم ياتري عدد زوارها من الباحثين العرب؟!

'last year 400 researchers visited the library, and how many **do you think** was the number of visitors who were Arab researchers?!' (sarcastic)

10.14 Direct speech

Direct speech is usually signalled by *qāla* قال 'to say', now often with quotation marks and a number of other typographical conventions, especially in dialogues (see **1.3** and **1.3.1**). One example will suffice (for simplicity the punctuation is exactly as in the original):

qālat bi-ṣawtin maʿdiniyyin ʿlā lā ʾantaẓiru ʾaḥadan'

قالت بصوت معدنى 'لا لا أنتظر أحدا'

'she said in a metallic voice "no, I am not expecting anyone"'

10.15 Indirect speech

CA had no specific syntactical distinction between direct and indirect speech, that is, there was no regular shift of person and tense in indirect speech. Instead the actual words spoken were introduced by *qāla* قال 'to say' or the equivalent, for example *zaʿama* زعم 'to assert', *iddaʿā* ادّعى 'to claim', etc. Since many sentences in direct speech are already introduced by *ʾinna* إنّ 'indeed', 'verily' (see **3.2.1**), it has long been the compulsory particle after *qāla* قال 'to say' to introduce indirect speech (see **10.15.1**, but also **10.15.3.1** for *qāla* قال with *ʾanna* أنّ), while with all other verbs of saying, statements become direct or indirect objects through the complementizer *ʾanna* أنّ 'that' (see **3.2.2**, **7.5.2** and **10.15.3**).

10.15.1 *Standard indirect speech* (▷C3:128)

qāla قال 'to say' reporting indirect speech is almost always followed by *ʾinna* إنّ 'indeed'. Since the *ʾinna* إنّ may have formed part of the original utterance (namely 'indeed', 'verily'), it is never absolutely certain whether it is to be included (direct speech) or interpreted as 'that' (indirect speech),

thus in *qāla **'inna** hunāka ḥājatan li-'inšā'i mustašfan jadīdin fī l-šāriqati* قال إن هناك حاجة لإنشاء مستشفى جديد في الشارقة, there are two possible structures: direct speech: 'he said "**Indeed** there is a need to build a new hospital in Sharjah"' or (in practice far more likely in MWA) indirect speech: 'he said **that** there **was** a need to build a new hospital in Sharjah' (on this use of *hunāka* هناك 'there', see **3.1.3.1**).

Similarly:

*qāla **'inna** ḥaflata ftitāḥi l-kulliyyati l-rasmiyyati **sa-yatimmu** masā'a ġadin*
قال إن حفلة افتتاح الكلية الرسمية ستتم مساء غد
'he said **that** the official opening ceremony of the college **would take place** the next evening'

could also be read as direct speech, 'he said "the official opening . . . **will take place** tomorrow evening"'.

With 3rd person verbs it is usually impossible to distinguish direct from indirect speech anyway:

*qāla 'inna hāḏihi **lā tazālu** dirāsatan taqūmu bihā l-wizāratu*
قال إن هذه لا تزال دراسة تقوم بها الوزارة
'he said this **was still** a study which the ministry was carrying out', lit. '**is still**' (see **3.21.4** for *lā tazālu* لا تزال 'does not cease', 'is still')

But where a distinction is possible it is clear that MWA largely emulates the person and tense shifts of Western syntax (a trend visible in CA but not to such an extent):

*qāla li-'ummī **'innahu** māḍin 'ilā mustašfā l-qaṣri l-'aynī*
قال لأمي إنه ماض إلى مستشفى القصر العيني
'he told my mother **that he** was going to the Kasr el-Ayni Hospital'

in direct speech this would be *qāla . . . **innī** māḍin* قال . . . إني ماض 'he said . . . "**Indeed I** am going"'

*qāla lī **'innahu** qaliqun munḏu 'an qultu . . .*
قال لي إنه قلق منذ أن قلت . . .
'he told me **that he** had become anxious since I said . . .'

not *qāla innī* قال إني 'he said, "**I** . . ."'

*yaqūlu lahā **. . . 'innahu sa-yaḫruju** ma'ahā fī nuzhatin qaṣīrati l-madā*
يقول لها . . . إنه سيخرج معها في نزهة قصيرة المدى
'he says to her . . . **that he will go out** with her for a short walk'

10.15.1.1 Idiomatic *qāla bi-* قال بـ 'to hold an opinion', 'to maintain', that is, the speaker makes an assertion in which the exact spoken words are not the issue:

inṭilāqan min musallamatin 'ilmiyyatin ***taqūlu bi-'anna*** *l-ẓāhirata l-fikriyyata laysat nabātan fiṭriyyan*

انطلاقا من مسلمة علمية تقول بأن الظاهرة الفكرية ليست نباتا فطريا

'proceeding from a scientific premise which **maintains that** the intellectual phenomenon is not innate growth'

10.15.2 *Indirect speech with* **'an أن** (▷C3:113)

Indirect speech with *'an* أن is usually a variant of the normal subordination of verbs of commanding, requesting, etc. (see **7.5.1.1**). With *qāla* قال in this sense, that is, 'to tell':

qāla *lahu 'an yattaṣila bi-l-'ustāḏi*

قال له أن يتصل بالأستاذ

'he **told** him **to contact** the professor', lit. 'he said to him that he should contact'

lākinnahu kāna yaqūlu lanā fī kulli marratin ***'an nastamirra*** *fī l-kalāmi li-'anna ḏālika lā yuḍāyiquhu*

لكنه كان يقول لنا في كل مرّة ان نستمر في الكلام لأن ذلك لا يضايقه

'but he **used to tell** us every time **to continue** to talk because that did not annoy him', lit. 'to say to us that we should continue'

10.15.3 *Assertions with other verbs* (▷C3:129)

All other verbs of asserting, stating, thinking, etc. are either followed by *'anna* أنّ 'that' clauses (see **7.5.2.4**) or double direct objects (see **3.11.2.4**):

- With complementizer *'anna* أنّ 'that':

  idda'at ***'annahā*** *kānat fī manzilihā*

  ادعت أنها كانت في منزلها

  'she claimed **that** *she was in her home*'

- With double object:

  *yaẓunnu**hu rasūla** l-'āmiri*

  يظنه رسول الآمر

  'he thinks **he** is **the messenger** of the commandant',
  lit. 'thinks him [1st obj.] the messenger [2nd obj.]'

10.15.3.1 Occasionally, *qāla* قال is found with *'anna* أنّ (contrast **10.15.1**), again in a context where the exact words of the speaker are not used or reported:

*qāla bi-ḥamāsatin **'annahu** la-ṭālamā tamannā law yazūru bal law ya'īšu fī l-baladi*

قال بحماسة أنه لطالما تمنى لو يزور بل لو يعيش في البلد

'he said with enthusiasm **that** he had long hoped to visit, nay to live in the country'

(for *la-ṭālama* لطالما 'for a long time!', see **5.9.15**; for *tamannā* تمنى 'to hope' with *law* لو, see **8.2.8**; and for *bal* بل 'nay more', see **6.6**)

10.16 Indirect questions (▷C3:97)

Indirect questions become agents or objects of the main verb.

They all follow the CA pattern and use the standard interrogatives listed above, except that indirect yes–no questions are introduced only by *hal* هل (see **10.2**). The other interrogative *'a* أ (see **10.1**) is restricted to alternative structures with *sawā'un* سواء 'the same' (see **10.20** and **6.10**) as it was in CA.

There is a tendency to replace *hal* هل questions with calques using the extended temporal *'iḏā* إذا 'when' (already now well established for 'if' in conditional sentences, see **8.3**) in yes–no questions (see **10.19**) and, as a further development, a new compound interrogative has emerged, *'ammā 'iḏā* عما إذا, reproducing 'whether' (see **10.19.2**).

As with indirect speech, it is not always clear whether the question is posed as direct speech or in the form of a subordinate clause with pronoun shift (but see also **10.17**):

*wa-nas'alu 'anfusanā **hal** 'ajazat-i l-'ajhizatu l-'amaniyyatu?*

ونسأل أنفسنا هل عجزت الأجهزة الأمنية؟

'and we ask ourselves, "**has** the security apparatus broken down?"' or '**whether** the security apparatus has broken down'

In this example pure direct speech is used:

wa-l-fannānātu yas'alna ba'ḍahunna ***hal waṣalaki*** *l-šarīṭu?*

والفنانات يسألن بعضهن هل وصلك الشريط؟

'and the artistes ask each other, "**has** the tape **reached you** yet?"'

While in the next example the punctuation (reproduced by the nearest English equivalent in the translation) specifies direct speech even though at the rhetorical and discourse level indirect speech would also be possible:

*wa-ba'du fa-***hal** *ṯammata min sā'ilin yas'alu:* ***li-māḏā*** *qutila Ḥ. M.?*
*wa-***man** *huwa l-qātilu? 'ammā li-māḏā, fa-rubbamā najidu jawābahā*

وبعد فهل ثمة من سائل يسأل: لماذا قتل ح. م.؟ ومن هو القاتل؟ أما لماذا، فربما نجد جوابها

'Now then, **is** there anyone who will ask, "**why** was H. M. killed?" And "**who** was the killer?" As for why, we may find the answer'

(for the vague feminine *jawābuhā* جوابها 'answer for **it/them**' [probably 'question(s)]' see **1.12.2.2**; cf. **10.2** on *hal* هل and *min* من together in vague questions and **3.9.4** on paronomastic expression of indefinite agents)

Here the writer has had problems with the sequence of tenses:

wa-hal ***'iḏā haraba suqrāṭu kāna sawfa yatamakkanu min*** *mumārasati ḥurriyyati l-kalimati*

وهل إذا هرب سقراط كان سوف يتمكن من ممارسة حرية الكلمة

'and whether **if Socrates had run away he would have been able to** practise freedom of speech' (cf. **3.10.6** on compound tenses)

10.17 Indirect yes–no questions (▷C3:99)

Regular indirect questions with interrogative particles, excluding *man* من, *mā* ما, for which, see **10.18**:

- Yes–no questions (but see **10.19** also):

  lā na'rifu ***hal-i*** *l-'ālamu sa-yan'amu fi'lan bi-dawā'in šāfin li-maraḍi l-saraṭāni*

  لا نعرف هل العالم سينعم فعلا بدواء شاف لمرض السرطان

  'we do not know **if** the world will actually be pleased with a drug for curing cancer'

*rāḥa yas'alu 'ummahu – faqaṭ – 'an ḥarūfi l-'īdi .. wa-**hal** wāliduhu štarā ḏālika 'am lā*

راح يسأل أمه – فقط – عن خروف العيد .. وهل والده اشترى ذلك أم لا

'he proceeded to ask his mother – only – about the lamb for the feast .. and **whether** his father had bought that or not'

(for alternative questions, see **10.1.1**)

- Wh-questions:

*yajibu 'an nata'allama **kayfa** naḥtarimu šu'ūra wa-'īḥsāsa wa-nfi'ālāti l-'aṭfāli*

يجب أن نتعلم كيف نحترم شعور وإحساس وانفعالات الأطفال

'we must learn **how** to respect the feeling, perception and emotions of children' (for polynomial annexation, see **2.3.7**)

*'ataḏakkaru **kayfa** kānat-i l-kalimātu tufarriḥunī*

أتذكر كيف كانت الكلمات تفرحني

'I remember **how** words used to make me happy'

*lā ya'rifu **kayfa** yastaḥdimu hāḏā l-fanna*

لا يعرف كيف يستخدم هذا الفن

'does not know **how** to use this art'

*sa'altu nafsī **kam** 'umruhā*

سألت نفسي كم عمرها

'I asked myself **how** old she was'

*lā ta'rifu **kam** min-a l-zamani marra 'alayhā*

لا تعرف كم من الزمن مر عليها

'she does not know **how much** time had passed [over her]'

*lam ya'ud muhimman **'ayna** hiya*

لم يعد مهما أين هي

'it was no longer important **where** she was'

(for the idiom *'āda* عاد 'to return', in the negative 'be no longer', see **3.21.1**)

*wa sa'altuhu **'ilā 'ayna** ḏāhibun fī 'amrīkā l-šāsi'ati*

وسألته إلى أين ذاهب في أمريكا الشاسعة

'I asked him **[to] where** he was going in distant America'

*al-salāmu llaḏī lā ya'rifu ma'nāhu wa-lā ḥajmahu wa-lā **matā** ya'tī 'illā …*
السلام الذي لا يعرف معناه ولا حجمه ولا متى يأتي إلا . . .
'the peace which nobody knows the meaning of nor its size nor **when** it will come, except …'

Contrast *matā* متى 'when' with *'iḏā* (see **10.19**): the former enquires about a point of time, the latter about a situation.

*tatasā'alu **'ilā 'ayyi** mīnā'in sa-ya'ūdu bi-zawraqi ḥubbihimā*
تتساءل إلى أي ميناء سيعود بزورق حبهما
'she wonders **to which** harbour he will bring back the boat of their love'

(note verb of motion, here 'return', with *bi-* بـ 'with' in sense of 'bring [back]', see **3.11.4.1**); see also ▷C1:153; ▷C3:100 on *'ayyu* أي.

When the Western sequence of tenses is being emulated, it can become clear that an interrogative clause is a genuine indirect question:

*lastu 'ataḏakkaru l-yawma **fī 'ayyi** kitābin **kuntu** qara'tu hāḏihi l-ḥikāyata*
لست أتذكر اليوم في أي كتاب كنت قرأت هذه الحكاية
'I do not remember today **in which** book I **had** read this story'

where *kuntu* كنت 'I was' makes a pluperfect (cf. **3.10.6**) and shows that this is an indirect question.

10.18 Indirect questions with *man* من, *mā[ḏā]* [ذا]ما (▷C3:100, 170)

Indirect questions with *man* مَنْ 'who?', *mā[ḏā]* [ذا]ما 'what?' (cf. **10.3**, **10.4**): these are identical to the relative nouns 'what' and 'who' (see **5.4**), but when used as interrogatives there is usually a structural indication, namely that there is no referential pronoun (see **5.0.1**) in the interrogative clause (for the reason that interrogatives seek information precisely about that element), hence in:

*kayfa nuḥaddidu **man**-i l-mas'ūlu 'an hāḏā?*
كيف نحدد من المسؤول عن هذا؟
'how can we determine **who** is responsible for this?'

*lā yadrī **mā** 'alāqatu ḏālika bi-zawājihi*
لا يدري ما علاقة ذلك بزواجه
'he does not know **what** the connection of that is with his marriage'

if these were relative clauses, *man* ***huwa*** من هو 'who he [is]' or *mā* ***huwa*** ما هو 'what **it** [is]' would be expected, with *huwa* هو 'he' as the referential pronoun. The form *māḏā* ماذا 'what?' is exclusively interrogative, hence the question of relative syntax does not arise:

dafa'ahum 'an yaḏhabū wa-yušāhidū ***māḏā*** *tarakat lahum-u l-ḥarbu*
دفعهم أن يذهبوا ويشاهدوا ماذا تركت لهم الحرب
'[it] impelled them to go and see **what** the war had left them' not *tarakathu* 'had left it' (relative clause)

Similarly:

lākinnahā fahimat ***māḏā*** *taqṣidu ġāda*
لكنها فهمت ماذا تقصد غادة
'but she understood **what** Gada intended'

not *taqṣiduhu* تقصده '**that which** Gada intended'

In short clauses, the referential pronoun may be omitted (see **5.4.3**), leaving the construction ambiguous:

mā kāna ***yaqūlu*** *lī wālidī*
ما كان يقول لي والدي
'what my father used to **say** to me'

(formally a relative would be *yaqūluhu* يقوله '**say it**'; the full context is in **10.18.1**)

The above examples also show that, as with the other interrogatives, *man* من and *mā[ḏā]* ما[ذا] clauses may occur as objects of verbs. Additional examples:

yaṭraḥu tasā'ulan ***māḏā*** *yakūnu l-waḍ'u law wajada šarīkatan 'uḫrā lahu ..?*
يطرح تساؤلا ماذا يكون الوضع لو وجد شريكة أخرى له ..؟
'he asks wonderingly **what** would the situation be if he found another partner [fem.] for him ..?'

wa-lā 'a'rifu ***mā*** *l-sababu*
ولا اعرف ما السبب
'and I do not know **what** the reason is'

(with annexation to *man* من, cf. **10.3**)

nas'alu baytu ***man*** *hāḏā?*
نسأل بيت من هذا؟
'we ask [ourselves], **whose** house is this?', lit. 'the house of **whom**?'

yalūḥūna bi-'a'lāmin ḥumrin lā nadrī ***li-man***
يلوحون بأعلام حمر لا ندري لمن
'they appear with red flags which we do not know **whose they are**'

10.18.1 *Indirect 'why' questions*

Indirect questions with *li-māḏā* لماذا 'why' (see **10.5.1**) follow the same pattern as *māḏā* above:

lā ya'rifu ***li-māḏā***
لا يعرف لماذا
'he does not know **why**'

kuntu 'ata'ajjabu ***li-māḏā*** *lam tatazawwaj*
كنت أتعجب لماذا لم تتزوج
'I used to wonder **why** she had not married'

lā 'a'rifu ***li-māḏā*** *huwa waḥdahu llaḏī wahabanī*
لا أعرف لماذا هو وحده الذي وهبني
'I do not know **why** he alone was the one who gave to me'

(for *waḥdahu* وحده 'by himself', see **2.4.6.4**)

lā 'adrī ***li-māḏā*** *taḏakkartu ba'da ḏālika bi-qalīlin ma kāna yaqūlu lī wālidī qabla 'an yanāma*
لا أدري لماذا تذكّرت بعد ذلك بقليل ما كان يقول لي والدي قبل أن ينام
'I don't know **why** I recalled a short time later what my father used to say to me before he went to sleep'

(the clause *mā kāna yaqūlu lī* ما كان يقول لي 'what he used to say to me' is ambiguous, either relative or indirect question, see **10.18**)

In the next case the quotation marks indicate direct speech but the pronoun has shifted into indirect speech (cf. **10.16**):

kam marratin sa'alat nafsahā 'li-māḏā lam yakun ***lahā*** *'aḫun?'*
كم مرة سألت نفسها 'لماذا لم يكن لها اخ؟'
'how many times she asked herself "why does **she** not **have** a brother?" instead of "why do **I** not have?"'

(on expletive *kam* كم 'how much/many!', see **3.28.2**)

The short, purely interrogative form *li-ma* لمَ (see **10.5**) has not been found in indirect questions.

10.18.2 *Other indirect questions*

Indirect questions with other prepositionals and *mā* ما: since in these cases the *mā* ما is shortened to *-ma* ـمَ (see **10.5.2**), there is no ambiguity between interrogative and relative clauses. Contrast this relative clause:

*'inna 'alaynā 'an natasā'ala **'ammā** 'aḍāfahu*
إن علينا أن نتساءل عما أضافه
'we must wonder about **what** he added'

(with long *'ammā* عما 'about what' and *'aḍāfahu* أضافه bearing a referential pronoun, namely 'he added **it**')

With the interrogative:

*sa'altuhu **mimma** yaškū 'abūhu*
سألته مم يشكو أبوه
'I asked him **what** his father was complaining of' lit. '**of what** his father is complaining'

In the particular case of *'an* عن 'about' there is a tendency to prefer the long (relative) form *'ammā* عما 'about what' in both relative and interrogative clauses.

- Interrogative:

  *lam yas'alhu yawman **'ammā yuḥibbu** 'aw **yakrahu***
  لم يسأله يوما عما يحب أو يكره
  'he never asked him once [lit. "on one day"] about **what he liked or disliked**', with no referential pronoun

- Relative:

  *sa'alahu l-ṣuḥufiyyūna **'ammā** taḥaddaṯat **'anhu** wikālātu l-'anbā'i*
  سأله الصحفيون عما تحدثت عنه وكالات الأنباء
  'the journalists asked him **about what** [rel. form] the news agencies had talked about', with referential pronoun in *'anhu* 'about it'

The following is a series of several kinds of indirect questions:

*sa'alahā **'amman** takūnu wa-**min 'ayyi** l-bilādi, wa-'an sirri ḫtiyārihā li-hāḏihi l-ḥadīqati, wa-**hal** ta'tī 'alā marāḥila ba'īdatin mutaqaṭṭi'atin 'am bi-stimrārin*
سألها عمن تكون ومن أي البلاد، وعن سر اختيارها لهذه الحديقة، وهل تأتي على مراحل بعيدة متقطعة أم باستمرار
'he asked her **[about] who** she might be and **from which** country, and about the secret of her choosing this garden, and **whether** she came at distant and interrupted intervals or continuously'

(note *takūnu* تكون 'she might be', cf. **3.16.3**).

10.19 *ʾiḏā* إذا etc. in yes–no indirect questions

ʾiḏā إذا originally 'when' (see **7.6.5**), then spreading to 'if' (see **8.3**) and 'whether', is starting to replace *ʾa-* أ and *hal* هل (see **10.16**) in yes–no indirect questions. Cf. **8.7** for additional examples of indirect questions overlapping with conditionals.

10.19.1 *Standard 'if' questions with* ʾiḏā إذا

Indirect questions with *ʾiḏā* إذا alone are perhaps not true questions but rather calques of Western constructions; the following example has closer similarities to an inverted pseudo-conditional sentence (cf. **8.6**):

ʾaḫbirnī ***ʾiḏā*** *kunta qad qara'ta fī ḥayātika qaṣīdatan ʾašadda minhā waqāḥatan*
أخبرني إذا كنت قد قرأت في حياتك قصيدة أشد منها وقاحة
'tell me **if** you have ever in your life read a more brazen poem than this one'

(for comparative 'more intense as to brazenness', with specifying element, see **2.11.1**, which might be paraphrased as an inverted conditional: '**when/if** you have ever read . . . , tell me'.)

The following, however, are real indirect questions, clearly echoing Western patterns:

lā ʾadrī ***ʾiḏā*** *kāna ʾahmadu yarġabu ʾan ʾunjiba lahu ʾawlādan*
لا أدري إذا كان أحمد يرغب أن أنجب له أولادا
'I do not know **whether** Ahmad wants me to produce children for him'

saʾalatnī ***ʾiḏā*** *kuntu ʾaʿrifu ʾaḥada l-muḫtaṣṣīna bi-l-tajmīli*
وسألتني إذا كنت أعرف أحد المختصين بالتجميل
'she asked me **if** I knew one of the specialists in cosmetics'

wa-saʾaltu ***ʾiḏā*** *kuntu ʾastaṭīʿu ʾan ʾajlisa hunāka*
وسألت إذا كنت أستطيع أن أجلس هناك
'and I asked **whether** I could sit there'

Note that pure when-questions use *matā* متى 'when' (see **10.17**).

10.19.2 *'Whether' questions with* ʿammā عمّا, ʾiḏā إذا

Increasingly, *ʾiḏā* إذا is now combined with *ʿammā* عمّا 'about what', the relative *-mā* ـما suffix producing a compound conjunction (for this function of *mā* ما, see **5.8**; also for the true interrogative *ʿamma* عمّ 'about what?',

see **10.5.2**). The resulting complex may be analysed broadly as 'about-what-if', with *'an* عن supplying the link to the preceding verb (inevitably one which takes a proposition as its direct object), *-mā* ـما enabling *'an* عن to operate as a conjunction and *'iḏā* إذا providing the indirect interrogative sense. The compound is clearly not a direct calque of any Western conjunction but an indigenous innovation reproducing the semantic components of English 'whether':

sa'altuhu ***'ammā 'iḏa*** *kuntu 'astaṭī'u 'an 'arā wālidahu*
سألته عما إذا كنت أستطيع أن أرى والده
'I asked him **whether** I could see his father'

lam yu'lin ḥattā l-'āna ***'ammā 'iḏā*** *kāna sa-yastamirru ma'a l-farīqi*
لم يعلن حتى الآن عما إذا كان سيستمر مع الفريق
'he has not yet announced **whether** he will be continuing with the team'

al-taḥadduṯu bi-ṣarāḥatin wa-wuḍūḥin ***'ammā 'iḏā*** *kāna hunāka mašākilu*
التحدث بصراحة ووضوح عما إذا كان هناك مشاكل
'to say frankly and clearly **whether** there are any problems'

fa-qad kānat tas'aluhu ***'ammā 'iḏā*** *mā kānat qad ẓallat fī nafsi l-makāni*
فقد كانت تسأله عما إذا ما كانت قد ظلت في نفس الكان
'she used to ask him **whether** she should not have stayed in the same place'

with the added complication of a negative *mā* ما (cf. **4.2.2**) before the subordinate verb!

The *'an* عن 'about' component is not always present, probably because there is no actual question being asked or intimated (perhaps as a calque of 'what if?'):

*na'ūdu li-su'āli l-maḫāṭiri, wa-****mā 'iḏā*** *kāna hunāka mā yuhaddidu ra'sa l-māli*
نعود لسؤال المخاطر، وما إذا كان هناك ما يهدد رأس المال
'we return to the question of the risks, and **whether** there is anything there which threatens the capital', lit. 'and what if there were that which threatens'

li-yūḍiḥa lahu ***mā 'iḏā*** *kānat jīnātuhu sa-tu'arriḍuhu mustaqbalan li-ḫaṭari l-'iṣābati bi-maraḍi 'alzahāyimir'*
ليوضح له ما إذا كانت جيناته تعرضه مستقبلا لخطر الإصابة بمرض ألزهايمر
'to clarify for him **whether** his genes will expose him in the future to the danger of being afflicted by Alzheimer's disease'

10.19.3 *Indirect questions with* 'in إن *'if'* (▷C3:101)

Infrequently, the indirect question is introduced by *'in* إن 'if' (for the true conditional function of *'in* إن, see **8.1**), evidently a calque, also reflecting the same extension of 'if' to 'whether' as English:

*'indamā sa'ala būlārd **'in** kāna kullu šay'in 'alā mā yurāmu*
عندما سأل بولارد إن كان كل شيء على ما يرام
'when he asked Pollard **if** everything was OK'

*sawfa yas'aluhā **'in** kānat tarġabu fī 'an yantaẓirahā*
سوف يسألها إن كانت ترغب في أن ينتظرها
'he will ask her **if** she wants him to wait for her'

10.20 *sawā'un* سواءٌ **with indirect question syntax** (▷C3:103)

The coordinating element *sawā'un* سواءٌ 'same' is often used with indirect question syntax, so it may be included here (for more detailed treatment under coordination, see **6.10**). The first clause is introduced by the interrogative prefix *'a-* أ (see **10.1**) and the second by either *'aw* أو or *'am* أم 'or' (see **6.7**):

*qāla 'inna l-kahrabā'a sa-yartafi'u ṯamanuhu **sawā'an** 'a-buniyat-i l-qanāṭiru l-jadīdatu 'am lam tubna*
قال إن الكهرباء سيرتفع ثمنها سواء أبنيت القناطر الجديدة أم لم تبن
'he said that electricity cost would rise **whether** the new locks were built or not built'

(notice repetition of 'built' rather than elliptical 'built or not', cf. **11.7.7** and **11.7.8**)

Chapter 11

Hypersentence and discourse

11.0 Introduction

MWA preserves in some contexts the CA convention that all lengthy stretches of formal discourse, written or spoken, begin and end in principle with a blessing, with all the intervening sentences being joined by the coordinating and subordinating devices described in **Chapters 6** and **7**. In particular, nearly all the coordinators in **Chapter 6** are used as paragraph introducers and connectors with much the same meaning as they have between sentences. However, the paragraph structure of MWA is also showing signs of Western influence, notably in the increasingly frequent appearance of sentence introducers paired with a resumptive *fa-* فـ 'and/so', a substantial extension of the archetypal CA topicalizer *'ammā . . . fa- . . .* أما . . . فـ . . . 'as for . . .', 'well . . .' (see **3.3.4**).

Later in this chapter (see **11.7**) there is also a brief assessment of some stylistic aspects of MWA involving repetition of nouns and verbs in different forms for either structural or stylistic purposes.

11.1 With resumptive *fa-* فـ (▷C3:31; cf. **6.3**)

Resumptive *fa-* فـ or *fa-qad* فقد or even *fa-la-qad* فلقد (see **3.10.4**).

In the following examples, the resumptive particle *fa-* فـ introduces the main part of the sentence. It is particularly common after adverbial and prepositional phrases. These phrases generally link the main clause after *fa-* فـ with preceding paragraphs, either as a consequence, a parallel, or a contrast.

There appear to be two types of sentence introducers paired with resumptive *fa-* فـ. These are: (1) those functioning as full discourse markers; (2) hybrid forms involving the preposing of prepositional phrases, which are syntactically natural, but which have been elevated artificially to the level of discourse marker. A third type of sentence introducer (see **11.2.1**) is almost certainly a simple inversion with strong calque qualities.

- Full discourse markers

bi-l-nisba li- . . . fa-['inna] [إن] فـ . . . لـ بالنسبة 'with regard to':

*wa-**bi-l-nisbati li**-l-jānibi l-iqtiṣādiyyi **fa-'inna** . . .*
وبالنسبة للجانب الاقتصادي فإنّ . . .
'**and as far as** the economic side **is concerned**[,] . . .'

*wa-**bi-l-nisbati li**-l-istirātijiyyāti l-muttaba'ati fī ḥamlati l-intiḫābāṭi **fa**-nulāḥiẓu 'anna . . .*
وبالنسبة للاستراتجية المتّبعة في حملة الانتخابات فنلاحظ أنّ . . .
'and **with regard to** the strategies followed in the election campaign[,] we observe that . . .'

bi-l-tālī بالتالي both 'hence' and 'subsequently', with various conjunctions:

*wa-**bi-l-tālī fa**-qad 'a'raba 'an ḫašyatihi 'an . . .*
وبالتالي فقد أعرب عن خشيته أنْ . . .
'and **subsequently** he expressed his fear that . . .'

*wa-**bi-l-tālī fa**-qad 'addā ntihā'u l-ḥarbi l-bāridati 'ilā . . .*
وبالتالي فقد أدّى انتهاء الحرب الباردة إلى . . .
'**subsequently**[,] the end of the cold war has led to . . .'

*wa-**bi-l-tālī fa**-'inna 'amāma hāḏihi l-'amwāli 'iddata ṭuruqin li-l-ḫāriji*
وبالتالي فإنّ أمام هذه الأموال عدّة طرق للخارج
'**as a result**[,] these sums of money have a number of ways out of the country before them'

Others introduced by *bi-* بـ:

***bi-l-ṭab'i fa**-'inna l-ḥālata . . .*
بالطبع فإنّ الحالة . . .
'**naturally** the case . . .'

*wa-**bi-ṣarfi l-naẓari ‘an** rudūdi fi‘li ba‘ḍi l-mas’ūlīna . . . **fa**-la-qad ’ayyada l-ba‘ḍu minhum mā jā’a fī l-kitābi*

وبصرف النظر عن ردود فعل بعض المسؤولين . . . فلقد أيّد البعض منهم ما جاء في الكتاب

‘**notwithstanding** the reactions of some of the officials[,] . . . some of them did support what appeared in the book’

(for agreement with *ba‘ḍ* بعض ‘some’, see **3.8.4**)

*wa-**bi-ḥasabi** wikālati l-ṭāqati l-duwaliyyati **fa**-qad tajāwaza l-ṭalabu l-‘arḍa*

وبحسب وكالة الطاقة الدولية . . . فقد تجاوز الطلب العرض

‘**according to** the International Energy Agency[,] demand has outstripped supply’

With *fī-* في:

*wa-**fī hāḏā l-’iṭāri fa**-min-a l-mutawaqqa‘i ’an . . .*

وفي هذا الإطار فمن المتوقّع أنْ . . .

‘and **in this framework**[,] it is expected that . . .’

***fī ḥālati** wujūdi ‘uṭlin fī l-jihāzi **fa**-’inna ‘alā l-muštariki murāja‘ata markazi l-ṣiyānati*

في حالة وجود عطل في الجهاز فـإنّ على المشترك مراجعة مركز الصيانة

‘**in case of** failure in the equipment[,] it is up to the subscriber to consult the repair centre’

(for idiomatic use of *‘alā* على ‘incumbent upon’, see **2.6.2**)

*wa-**fīmā yata‘allaqu bi**-‘amaliyyati l-salāmi **fa**-qad ’akkada barnāmiju l-ḥizbi l-dīmūqrāṭiyyi . . .*

وفيما يتعلّق بعملية السلام فقد أكّد برنامج الحزب الديموقراطي . . .

‘concerning the peace process[,] the democratic party’s programme has confirmed . . .’

With *‘alā* على:

***‘alā** sabīli l-miṯāli **fa**-qad ’ašāra l-ra’īsu ’ilā . . .*

على سبيل المثال فقد أشار الرئيس إلى . . .

‘**by** way of example[,] the president indicated . . .’

***‘alā kulli ḥālin, fa**-la-qad kāna muhimman*

على كلّ حال فلقد كان مهمّا

‘**anyway**[,] it was important’

ʻalā ḏālika fa-*ʼinna l-ḏarīʻata l-ʼamrīkiyyata …*
. . . على ذلك فإنّ الذريعة الأمريكية
‘**nevertheless**[,] the American pretext …’

Other preposition(al) phrases:

*wa-**dūna** ʼadnā šakkin **fa**-la-qad kānat hunāka ḥisābātun wa-ḥtimālātun*
ودون أدنى شكّ . . . فلقد كانت هناك حسابات واحتمالات
‘**without** the least doubt[,] there were calculations and possibilities there’

*wa-**min hunā fa**-ʼinna l-ʻalāqata llatī tarbiṭu l-šarikata …*
. . . ومن هنا فإنّ العلاقة الّتي تربط الشركة
‘**hence**[,] the tie which binds the company …’

***ʻadā ḏālika fa**-huwa lā yakādu yuġādiru baytahu ʼillā ḥina l-ḍarūrati*
عدا ذلك فهو لا يكاد يغادر بيته إلا حين الضرورة
‘**other than that**[,] he hardly left his house except when the need arose’

(see exceptives **9.1** and **9.5.3**; also *kāda* كاد ‘to almost’ in **3.21.3**)

*wa-**ʼilā jānibi hāḏā fa-** …*
. . . وإلى جانب هذا فـ
‘and **in addition to this**[,] …’

maʻa مع ‘nonetheless’ / *li-ḏālika* لذلك ‘therefore’ type (cf. ▷C3:31):

***li-ḏālika fa**-la-qad ʼaṭlaqnā sarāḥahu*
لذلك .. فلقد أطلقنا سراحه
‘**because of that**[,] we released him’

***li-ḏālika fa**-min-a l-mumkini jiddan ʼan …*
. . . لذلك فمن الممكن جدا أن
‘**so**[,] it is very possible that …’

***maʻa ḏālika fa**-lā yastaṭīʻu ʼaḥadun ʼan yatanabbaʼa …*
. . . مع ذلك فلا يستطيع أحد أنْ يتنبّأ
‘**however**[,] no one can predict …’

***maʻa ḏālika fa**-qad qaraʼnā ʼanna …*
. . . مع ذلك فقد قرأنا أنّ
‘**nevertheless**[,] we have read that …’

min ṯamma من ثمّ 'hence':

*wa-**min ṯamma fa**-qad 'ulliqat 'ayyatu wasāṭatin ma'a ḥukūmati l-ḫarṭūmi*
ومن ثمّ فقد عُلّقت أيّة وساطة مع حكومة الخرطوم
'**hence**[,] all mediation with the Khartoum government has been suspended'

*wa-**min ṯamma fa**-l-taṭarrufu fī qaryatinā lā wujūda lahu*
ومن ثمّ فالتطرّف في قريتنا لا وجود له
'**hence**[,] extremism in our village does not exist'

ka-ḏālika كذلك 'likewise':

***ka-ḏālika** fa-'inna l-mutaṭarrifīna llaḏīna jarā l-qabḍu 'alayhim …*
كذلك فإنّ المتطرّفين الّذين جرى القبض عليهم . . .
'**likewise**[,] the extremists who were arrested …'

- hybrid forms in which preposed prepositional phrases have been elevated to status of discourse marker, usually with a redundant *fa-* ف-:

  *wa-**li-'īqāfi** l-tasarrubi **fa**-'inna l-duktūra J. 'A. yaṭraḥu …*
  ولإيقاف التسرب فإنّ الدكتور ج.ع. يطرح . . .
  '**to stop** the leakage[,] Dr J. A. suggests …'

  ***min 'ajli** rāḥatika wa-tawfīran li-l-waqti **fa**-qad 'a'addat-i l-hay'atu 'anmāṭan muṣawwaratan wa-mulawwanatan*
  من أجل راحتك فقد أعدّت الهيئة أنماطا مصوّرة و ملوّنة
  '**for** your convenience [,] the authority has prepared illustrated and coloured models'

  *wa-**min 'ajli ḏālika fa**-'inna l-banka yas'ā …*
  ومن أجل ذلك فإنّ البنك يسعى . . .
  '**because of that**[,] the bank endeavours to …'

11.1.1 ***Adverbials and object qualifiers*** (see **2.5.7**)

***binā'an 'alā ḏālika fa**-min ġayri l-mutawaqqa'i 'an …*
بناء على ذلك فمن غير المتوقّع أن . . .
'**on that basis**[,] it is not to be expected that …'

***faḍlan 'an ḏālika fa**-laysa min-a l-ma'rūfi …*
فضلا عن ذلك فليس من المعروف . . .
'**and on top of that**[,] it is not known …'

(for the *min al-* من الـ formula in these two examples, see **3.1.4**)

*wa-**ḫawfan min** 'an yaẓhara 'annahu ḍa'īfun fī majāli l-difā'i, **fa**-qad 'akkada …*

وخوفا من أنْ يظهر أنّه ضعيف في مجال الدفاع . . . فقد أكّد . . .

'and **fearing that** it would appear that he was weak in the defence area[,] he emphasized …'

(for dependent complement expressing cause, here preposed, see **3.29.6** and **2.4.5**)

***'akṯara min ḏālika, fa**-qad laja'a l-kaṯīru min 'aṣḥābi dūri l-našri 'ilā*

أكثر من ذلك فقد لجأ الكثير من أصحاب دور النشر إلى

'**more than that**[,] many owners of publishing houses have resorted to' (see **2.1.5.1** on *al-kaṯīru min*)

*wa-**l-'āna fa**-'inna waḍ'anā l-ṯaqāfiyya …*

والآن . . . فإنّ وضعنا الثقافي . . .

'and **now**[,] our cultural situation …'

*wa-**'ilāwatan 'alā ḏālika fa**-'inna l-wizārata tuqaddimu jamī'a l-tashīlāti li-l-muštarikīna*

وعلاوة على ذلك فإنّ الوزارة تقدّم جميع التسهيلات للمشتركين

'and **in addition to that** the Ministry gives all facilities to subscribers'

*wa-**'ijmālan fa**-'inna hunāka ḫaṭawātun muhimmatun*

وإجمالا فإنّ هناك خطوات مهمّة

'and **in sum** there are important steps'

This use of resumptive *fa-* فـ is increasingly being employed in MWA to accommodate inversions such as subordinate clauses of motive or reason (see *li-'allā* لئلا **7.6.1.4**).

11.2 With *wa-* و 'and' (cf. 6.2)

wa- و also functions as a discourse marker in conjunction with a limited range of expressions. They are distinguished from the examples in **11.1** by being syndetic circumstantial qualifiers (see **7.3.2**):

hāḏā wa- هذا و (▷C1:5) 'besides', 'this being so'

The invariable correlative expression *hāḏā wa-* هذا و tends to be a textual marker, linking paragraphs or longer sentences. It sums up the preceding narrative and may also assume an adversative sense, that is, 'in spite of all this':

hāḏā wa*-min-a l-muntaẓari ’an …*
هذا ومن المنتظر أن . . .
‘**this being so**[,] it is anticipated that …’

hāḏā wa*-min-a l-muqarrari ’an …*
هذا ومن المقرّر أن . . .
‘**this being so**[,] it is decided that …’

(see **7.5.1.1**; and for the *min-a l-* من الـ– formula in these two examples, see **3.1.4**)

hāḏā wa*-qad ṣarraḥa l-muhandisu …*
هذا وقد صرّح المهندس . . .
‘**in spite of this**[,] the engineer declared …’

hāḏā wa*-lā yumkinu ’an nulāḥiẓa*
هذا ولا يمكن أن نلاحظ
‘**this being so**[,] we cannot remark’

Sub-varieties:

kullu ḏālika wa- كلّ ذلك و (▷C1:6) ‘all that (is the case) whilst’:

kullu ḏālika wa*-l-ḥukūmatu ġāfilatun ‘an kulli mā yajrī fī l-sūqi*
كلّ ذلك والحكومة غافلة عن كلّ ما يجري في السوق
‘**all that [is taking place] whilst** the government is unaware of what is happening in the market’

ḫāṣṣatan خاصّة / *ḫuṣūṣan wa-* خصوصا و ‘especially (as)’ (▷C3:277):

ḫāṣṣātan wa*-’anna ladayhi ’asbābahu li-tajannubi tanāwuli l-siyāsati l-ḫārijiyyati*
خاصّة وأن لديه أسبابه لتجنّب تناول السياسة الخارجية
‘**especially**[,] as he has his reasons for avoiding dealing with foreign policy’

The following is a double discourse marker:

hāḏā wa*-min nāḥiyatin ’uḫrā …*
هذا ومن ناحية أخرى . . .
‘**this being so**[,] from another point of view …,’

11.2.1 *With no resumptive marker*

The following markers are almost certainly simple inversions with strong calque like qualities:

'ayḍan أيضا 'also' (cf. **2.4.8**):

'ayḍan 'uḥibbu *'an 'u'akkida 'annanā* …
أيضا أحبّ أن أؤكّد أنّنا . . .
'**also I would like** to stress that we …'

'ayḍan, wa-fī ḥisābi l-ṭalabi …
أيضا، وفي حساب الطلب . . .
'**also**, in the accounting figures for the application …'

min ṯamma من ثم 'hence' (cf. **2.5.5** and **11.1**):

*wa-**min ṯamma laysa lanā** ḥaqqu l-hurūbi*
ومن ثمّ ليس لنا حقّ الهروب
'**hence we have no** right to run away'

'ilā ḏālika إلى ذلك 'in addition' (cf. **2.2.5**):

'ilā ḏālika tajūzu *muqāranatu l-ṭirāzāti l-ṯalāṯati*
إلى ذلك تجوز مقارنة الطرازات الثلاثة
'**in addition** the three models **may be compared**'

'ilā ḏālika *yu'tabaru ktišāfu l-ittijāhi l-zāwī min-a l-nāḥiyati l-juġrāfiyyati ḏā 'ahammiyyatin mu'akkadatin*
إلى ذلك يُعتبر اكتشاف الاتّجاه الزاوي من الناحية الجغرافية ذا أهمية مؤكدة
'**in addition to that**[,] the discovery of the angular direction from a geographical point of view is of definite importance'

11.3 *wa-'illā fa-* وإلا فـ **'otherwise'** (▷C3:338)

This expression is used to oppose two statements in the sense of 'otherwise'. It is derived from a category of elliptical conditional sentences, which explains the presence of the *fa-* فـ at the beginning of the clause following *wa-'illā* وإلا (see **8.4** and see also **9.4.7**):

*yata'ahhadu l-ṭarafu l-ṯānī bi-daf'i l-'ujrati fī 'awwali kulli šahrin **wa-'illā fa-**li-l-ṭarafi l-'awwali 'inhā'u l-ta'āqudi*
يتعهّد الطرف الثاني بدفع الأجرة في أول كل شهر وإلا فللطرف الأول إنهاء التعاقد
'the second party undertakes to pay the rent at the beginning of each month, **otherwise** the first party has the right to end the contract'

11.4 Parenthetical phrases and clauses

A parenthesis can, in theory, occur between most major parts of a sentence (topic-predicate; verb and its subject/object etc.). A parenthetical sentence in MWA may or may not be clearly marked by the punctuation (here [,] is used only when the original text lacks explicit punctuation):

- parenthetical phrases, marked either by punctuation or by *wa-* و

  ḏukira ’anna l-wizārata ***wa-bi-kulli mukawwinātihā*** *yu‘ādu tanẓīmuhā*

  ذكر أن الوزارة وبكلّ مكوّناتها يُعاد تنظيمُها

  ‘it was mentioned that the Ministry[,] **with all its components**[,] would be reorganized’

(see **3.3** for topicalization and *‘āda* عاد for the prefix ‘re-’ in **3.21.1**)

fa-’innanā – ***wa-qabla l-iftitāḥi*** – *sa’alnā ba‘ḍa l-muṯaqqafīna* …

فإنّنا – وقبل الافتتاح – سألنا بعض المثقّفين . . .

‘so we – **before the inauguration** – asked some of the educated people …’

sa-yaštariku ***wa-li-’awwali marratin-i*** *l-qiṭā‘u l-ḫāṣṣu*

سيشترك و لأوّل مرّة القطاع الخاصّ

‘the private sector will[,] **for the first time**[,] participate’

- parenthetical clauses

  yus‘ifuka ***’iḏā ḍāqa l-ḥālu*** *bi-l-naqdi llaḏī yakfī li-l-ḏahābi ’ilā l-sīnimā*

  يسعفك إذا ضاق الحال بالنقد الّذي يكفي للذهاب إلى السينما

  ‘(he) would help you[,] **when things were tight**[,] with the cash that would be enough to go to the cinema’

  li-’anna firāraka ***wa-’in ’anqaḏaka li-ba‘ḍi l-waqti*** *fa-lan yu‘fiyaka min ḫaṭarihim ṭīlata l-waqti*

  لأنّ فرارك وإن أنقذك لبعض الوقت فلن يعفيك من خطرهم طيلة الوقت

  ‘because your running away[,] **[even] if it will save you for a certain time**[,] will not deliver you from the danger of them in the long run’

(for parenthetical conditionals, see **8.1.6** and for incomplete conditionals, see **8.1.12**)

11.4.1 *Restrictive conditionals* (▷C3:375) *of the 'even if' type as true parentheticals* (see **8.1.12**)

kāna l-jamī'u mumta'iḍīna ***wa-'in lam yufṣiḥū 'an šu'ūrihim*** *li-wujūdi hāḏihi l-fatāti l-'ajībati*

كان الجميع ممتعضين وإنْ لم يفصحوا عن شعورهم لوجود هذه الفتاة العجيبة

'everyone was displeased[,] **even if they did not reveal their feelings**[,] because of the presence of this strange girl'

11.4.2 *Relatives* (▷C3:377) (see **6.2.2**)

Non-restrictive relatives are always parenthetical:

hāḏihi l-'aḥdāṯu l-ġāmiḍatu ***wa-llatī yaṣ'ubu šarḥuhā*** *tarakat fīhi 'aṯaran balīġan*

هذه الأحداث الغامضة والّتي يصعب شرحها تركت فيه أثرا بليغا

'these mysterious happenings[,] **which are difficult to explain**[,] made a great impression on him'

11.5 Cohesive reiteration

Where the verb is some distance from its object or any of its subordinates by attributives or parenthetical statements, or a set of intervening units, the verb sometimes needs to be repeated as a form of resumption:

yaqūlu l-riwā'iyyu l-faransiyyu fīlīb sūlīr *wa-huwa llaḏī qāda l-ḥarakata l-yasāriyyata llatī najamat 'an-i ntifāḍati l-ṭalabati 'āma 1968* ***yaqūlu fīlīb*** *'inna …*

يقول الروائي الفرنسي فيليب سولير وهو الّذي قاد الحركة اليسارية الّتي نجمت عن انتفاضة الطلبة عام ١٩٦٨ يقول فيليب إن . . .

'**the French novelist Philippe Soldre says**[,] who led the leftist movement out of which came the student uprising of 1968[,] [**says Philippe**] that …'

(for the explanatory *wa-* و '[and] he being the one who led', see **6.2.6**)

***hal yumkinu 'an nataṣawwara** 'anna miṯla hāḏā l-rajuli llaḏī yajlisu fī hāḏā l-kuški l-'ālī – wa-huwa llaḏī kullu waẓīfatihi 'an yasma'a jarasan fa-yuġliqa l-mazlaqān wa-'indamā yamurru l-qiṭāru yaftaḥu l-mazlaqāna – **hal yumkinu li-'ayyi 'insānin 'an yataṣawwara** 'anna …*

– هل يمكن أنْ نتصوّر أنّ مثل هذا الرجل الّذي يجلس في هذا الكشك العالي وهو الّذي كلّ وظيفته أنْ يسمع جرسا فيغلق المزلقان وعندما يمرّ القطار يفتح المزلقان – هل يمكن لأيّ إنسان أنْ يتصوّر أنّ (. . .)

'**can we imagine** that a man like this who sits in this high box – whose whole job is to hear a bell then close the level crossing and when the train passes to open it again – **can anyone imagine** that …?'

(for syndetic circumstantial qualifiers, see **7.3.2**; for explanatory circumstantial qualifiers, see **6.2.6**; and for causal *fa-* ف, see **6.3.4** and **7.4.1**)

This reiteration also occurs with nouns:

*wa-'abraza l-nuqqādu 'anna **'abṭālī** 'aṣḥāba tilka l-mawāqifi llatī tušbihu mawāqifī 'ilā darajatin kabīratin ma'a ḫtilāfin fī l-tafāṣīli bi-l-ṭab'i **ha'ulā'i l-'abṭālu** wuṣifū min qibali ḫuṣūmihim bi-l-mušāġabati wa-l-junūni*

وأبرز النقاد أن أبطالي أصحاب تلك المواقف التي تشبه مواقفي إلى درجة كبيرة مع اختلاف في التفاصيل بالطبع هؤلاء الأبطال وصفوا من قبل خصومهم بالمشاغبة والجنون

'and the critics have pointed out that **my heroes**, the ones who take these stands which resemble mine to a great extent, with a difference in details, of course, **these heroes** were described by their adversaries as troublemakers and lunatics', lit. 'described with troublemaking and madness'

(for *'aṣḥāb* أصحاب see idiomatic annexation phrases **2.3.8**; and for periphrastic agents of passive verbs, see **3.12.1**)

11.6 Explanation (*tafsīr* تفسير)

When a piece of discourse is clarified, emphasized and explained in more detail, it is called *tafsīr* تفسير 'explanation' in traditional grammar. In the following example the words 'do not give up and be brave' explain the 'strong words' mentioned previously:

fa-'iḏā staqarra bihi l-maṭāfu fī mustašfā l-ṭibbi l-nafsiyyi ***yasma'u kalāman qawiyyan*** *yanbiḍu bi-l-ṯiqati* ***lā tastaslim wa-kun šujā'an***

فإذا استقرّ به المطاف في مستشفى الطبّ النفسي يسمع كلاما قويا ينبض بالثقة لا تستسلم وكنْ شجاعا

'and when he eventually winds up in a psychiatric hospital **he hears** [strong] **words** pulsating with confidence [as to say] **"Do not give up and be brave"'**

(contrast *'an al-mufassira* أن المفسّرة in **7.5.1.5**)

11.7 Issues of style

This section deals with a variety of features such as repetition of nouns or verbs, or where two or more cognate words with a similar or related meaning bear a syntactic relationship. Such devices have deeply rooted origins in CA but are also used frequently by writers in MWA. They may be used for emphasis or special stylistic effect, or may reflect a deeper syntactic connection between the elements concerned.

The term paronomasia is used in this section in a very restricted sense (see **11.7.10**). However, a broader interpretation of the term to include structural and stylistic issues of the type covered in the following sections is also very plausible. Consequently, the reader may find references to paronomasia elsewhere in this book that include some or all of the categories dealt with in **11.7**.

11.7.1 *Essential repetition of nouns*

The lack of availability in MWA of nominal possessive pronouns ('yours', 'mine' etc.), and the absence of an anaphoric substitute for singular or plural count nouns ('ones', 'those' etc.) in some contexts results in the repetition of the noun for the following structural reasons (▷C2:44 and 451; cf. **6.10** and **11.7.8** for repetition with verbs):

- As part of an annexation structure:

  ḥattā 'alat ***'aṣwātu*** *l-'aṭfāli 'alā* ***'aṣwāti*** *l-'aṣāfīri*

  حتّى علت أصوات الأطفال على أصوات العصافير

  'until **the sounds** of the children exceeded those [lit. **the sounds**] of the birds'

*wa-fahimnā bi-ṭarīqatin mā 'anna rijāla l-qaḍā'i min **ṭīnatin** 'uḫrā ġayri **ṭīnati** l-bašari*

وفهمنا بطريقة ما أنّ رجال القضاء من طينة أخرى غير طينة البشر

'we understood somehow [lit. "in some undefined way"] that men of the judiciary were of another **clay**, a different one [lit. **clay**] **clay** from that of the rest of mankind'

(for the use of *mā* ما to denote vagueness, see **1.12.4.1**)

*bayrūtu tabdū mustaḥīlata l-manāli, fī **dunyā** ġayri **dunyāhā***

بيروت تبدو مستحيلة المنال، في دنيا غير دنياها

'Beirut seemed unobtainable, in a **world** different from its own [**world**]'

(for unreal annexation, see **2.1.3.2**)

As the object of a verb:

*tu'ādilu **misāḥatuhu misāḥata** l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati*

تعادل مساحته مساحة الولايات المتّحدة

'**its area** is equal to **that of** the USA'

As a predicate:

***marḥalatu l-ṭufūlati** wa-l-ṣibā **marḥalatun 'ajībatun** min ḥayāti l-'insāni*

مرحلة الطفولة والصبا مرحلة عجيبة من حياة الإنسان

'**the phase of childhood** and youth is an extraordinary one [lit. "**is an extraordinary phase**"] in man's life'

*'an tuṣbiḥa **l-mustašfayātu** l-taḫaṣṣuṣiyyatu l-tābi'atu li-l-wizārati **mustašfayātin** šibha ḫāṣṣatin*

أنْ تصبح المستشفيات التخصّصية التابعة للوزارة مستشفيات شبه خاصّة

'that the specialized **hospitals** belonging to the Ministry could become semi-private [**hospitals**]'

As noun-phrases:

***ḫuṭṭatun** qaṣīratu l-madā wa-**ḫuṭṭatun** ba'īdatu l-madā*

خطّة قصيرة المدى وخطّة بعيدة المدى

'a short-term **plan** and a long-term one', lit. 'and a long-term **plan**'

(for unreal annexation, see **2.1.3.2**)

- Prepositions can only operate on one pronoun and must also be repeated:

***'alaynā wa-**'alayhim*

علينا و عليهم

'**on us and** [on] **them**'

11.7.2 *Repetition of noun for emphasis*

A noun may be repeated for emphasis:

- syndetic

  wa-taḏakkara ***riḥlātin wa-riḥlātin***
  وتذكّر رحلات ورحلات
  'he remembered **dozens of journeys**'

  wa-lākinna qirā'ata <qindīl 'umm hāšim> ***marratan wa-marrātin*** *wa-'ana tilmīḏun fī l-madrasati*
  ولكنّ قراءة ʾقنديل أم هاشمʿ مرّة ومرّات و أنا تلميذ في المدرسة
  'but reading "Umm Hashim's Lamp" **over and over again** whilst I was a pupil at school', lit. 'one time and times'

(see circumstantial qualifiers 7.3.2)

ṭāfa bi-mustašfā wilādatin wa-jam'iyyatin-i stihlākiyyatin wa-maṣna'in li-l-'adawāti l-kahrabā'iyyati ***wa-ġayrihā wa-ġayrihā***
طاف بمستشفى ولادة وجمعية استهلاكية ومصنع للأدوات الكهربائية وغيرها وغيرها
'he went round a maternity hospital and a consumer cooperative and a factory for electrical **appliances and many others besides**', lit. 'and others of them and others of them'

- asyndetic

  tilka l-mu'āhadatu llatī 'uqidat ***min zamānin zamānin*** *fī 'iṭāri l-jāmi'ati l-'arabiyyati*
  تلك ʾالمعاهدةʿ الّتي عقدت من زمان زمان في إطار الجامعة العربية
  'that pact which was concluded **years and years ago** in the framework of the Arab League', lit. 'time and time ago'

11.7.3 *Verb and agent* (▷C2:441)

A verb and its agent may be expressed as cognates to indicate the indefinite nature of the agent, that is, with the sense of 'someone' (cf. 3.9.4). The agent is usually in indefinite and active participle form:

qad ***yaqūlu qā'ilun*** *. . . wa-mā l-'aybu fī hāḏā?*
قد يقول قائل . . . وما العيب في هذا؟
'**someone** might **say** . . . what is wrong with this?', lit. 'a sayer might say'

*wa-**hamasa** fī ’uḏunī **hāmisun***

وهمس في أذني هامس

‘and **someone whispered** in my ear’, lit. ‘a whisperer whispered in my ear’

11.7.4 *Absolute object* (▷C2:444)

The absolute object (see also **2.4.2** and **3.29.3**) as verbal noun cognate with the verb (and its derivatives) strengthens the meaning of the action of the verb:

*wa-huwa **mariḍa maraḍan** zāda ‘alā šahrin*

وهو مرض مرضا زاد على شهر

‘and he **was ill for more than a month**’, lit. ‘fell ill with an illness which exceeded a month’

Or as first element of annexation:

*al-ḥulmu ṯaqīlun **ṯiqala** l-’aḥlāmi*

الحلم ثقيل ثقل الأحلام

‘the dream was as heavy as dreams can be’, lit. ‘heavy [with] **the heaviness** of dreams’

Or by annexation to a qualifier:

*qad ḥaraṣa l-banku **’ašadda l-ḥirṣi***

قد حرص البنك أشد الحرص

‘the bank has been **extremely eager**’

11.7.5 *In annexation* (▷C2:450)

Emphasis can be expressed by annexing the elative adjective to its own positive, usually plural:

*ṣadīquhā hāḏā ’immā ’an yakūna min **’aḏkā l-’aḏkiyā’i** ’aw min **’aġbā l-’aġbiyā’i***

صديقها هذا إمّا أن يكون من أذكى الأذكياء أو من أغبى الأغبياء

‘this friend of hers is either one **of the most intelligent** or one **of the most stupid**’

11.7.6 *Indefiniteness* (▷C2:450)

Prepositional phrases may be used periphrastically to denote indefinition (see **1.12.4.1**):

fī ***yawmin min 'ayyāmi*** *l-ṣayfi l-ḥārrati*
في يوم من أيّام الصيف الحارّة
'on one of the hot summer days', lit. '**one day of the days**'

11.7.7 *Pronominal relative clauses* (▷C3:209; cf. **5.4**)

Verbs may be repeated in contexts involving indefinite relative pronouns (*man* من/*mā* ما) for vagueness, or paraphrasing an indefinite pronoun (cf. **3.9.4** and **3.11.1.2**):

*wa-**fariḥa man fariḥa** wa-**ḥazina man ḥazina***
وفرح من فرح و حزن من حزن
'and **those who rejoiced rejoiced and those who grieved grieved**'

fa'ala mā fa'alahu *jamī'u l-ṭuġāti*
فعل ما فعله جميع الطغاة
'**he did what** all tyrants **have done**'

yukābidu mā yukābiduhu *min 'anatin wa-qahrin wa-ḍīqin*
يكابد ما يكابده من عنت وقهر وضيق
'**he suffers what he suffers** of hardship, oppression and frustration'

qutila man qutila *min 'ābā'ihim*
قُتل من قُتل من آبائهم
'those of their fathers **that were going to be killed, were killed**'

intahat *'azmatu l-ḫalīji* ***'ilā mā ntahat 'ilayhi***
انتهت أزمة الخليج إلى ما انتهت إليه
'the Gulf crisis **finished up where it did**'

Variants with repetition of root but not the same part of speech:

ṯumma baqiya lahu waḥdahu ***ba'da raḥīli man raḥala***
ثمّ بقي له وحده بعد رحيل من رحل
'then it was left to him alone **after the death of those who died**'

*raġma kulli mā **qīla wa-yuqālu***
رغم كلّ ما قيل ويقال
'despite everything that **has been said and is said**'

*wa-**mā ’aṣābahā ’illā mā yuṣību** zawjātin lā ḥaṣra lahunna kulla yawmin*
وما أصابها إلا ما يصيب زوجات لا حصر لهنّ كل يوم
'and she was only afflicted by what afflicts innumerable wives every day', lit. '**and nothing afflicted her except what afflicts** innumerable wives every day'

11.7.8 *Verbs in temporal clauses*

Verbs in purely temporal *’iḏā* إذا clauses (see **8.3.11**):

*wa-huwa **yajludu ’iḏā jaluda***
وهو يجلد إذا جلد
'and **he is really tough when he is tough**'

***yaktubu ’iḏā kataba** fī ḥayā’in*
يكتب إذا كتب في حياء
'**he writes, when he does**, with modesty'

11.7.9 *Repetition of verb for emphasis*

(See syndetic coordination **6.2**.)

*hākaḏā ṣirtu **’aktubu** wa-**’aktubu** wa-**’aktubu** ḥattā marrat ḫamsu sanawātin*
هكذا صرت أكتب وأكتب وأكتب حتّى مرت خمس سنوات
'and so it was that I started **writing** and **writing** and **writing** until five years had passed'

11.7.10 *Paronomasia*

Paronomasia (Arabic *jināś* جناس) occurs in a writer's stylistic choice of words; for example, where two words with very similar sound and meaning occur in close proximity:

***al-’āna ’āna** lahā ’an tataḥaqqaqa*
الآن آن لها أن تتحقّق
'**now came the time** for it to be realized'

mā ’ašadda ***qālibiyyatahu hāḏā l-qālibu*** *l-jāhizu l-mukarrasu*

ما أشدّ قالبيتَه هذا القالب الجاهز المكرّس

‘what **mouldability** it had, **this** ready and consecrated **mould**’

(see exclamatory verbs in **3.27.1** and apposition in **2.2.1.2**)

11.7.11 *Oxymoron* (▷C2:492)

Two adjectives with opposite meanings may modify the same noun asyndetically:

al-qaḍiyyatu ***l-qadīmatu l-jadīdatu***

القضيّة القديمة الجديدة

‘**the old-new** case’

11.8 Idioms involving repetition

11.8.1 ša’n شأن *literally ‘affair’, ‘business’*

ša’nuhum *fī ḏālika* ***ša’nu*** *l-muslimīna*

شأنهم في ذلك شأن المسلمين

‘in that **they were in the same position as** the Muslims’, lit. ‘their affair in that was the affair of the Muslims’

ša’nuhā ša’nu *bāqī fi’āti l-mujtama‘i*

شأنه شأن باقي فئات المجتمع

‘**it is in the same position as** the remaining sectors of society’, lit. ‘its affair is the affair of’

min ša’ni ’an أنْ شأن من lit. ‘part of its affair’

’anna stimrāra hāḏihi l-fi’ati l-ma’jūrati fī hutāfātihā l-mu‘ādiyati ***min ša’nihi ’an*** *yu’addiya ’ilā hubūṭi l-farīqi*

أنّ استمرار هذه الفئة المأجورة في هتافاتها المعادية من شأنه أن يؤدّي إلى هبوط الفريق

‘that the persistence of this paid mob in its hostile shouting **is something which can only lead to** the team going down’, lit. ‘that the persistence of this paid mob in its hostile shouting **it is “part of the affair of” that** it lead to the team going down’ (see topicalization **3.3**).

kāna min ša'ni hāḏihi l-ḫāṣṣiyyati 'an *'aṣbaḥat hāḏihi l-qaryatu makānan li-'iddati maṣāni'a ṣaġīratin*

كان من شأن هذه الخاصّية أن أصبحت هذه القرية مكانا لعدّة مصانع صغيرة

'this characteristic could only lead to this village becoming a place for a number of small factories', lit. '**it was "part of the affair of" this characteristic that** this village become a place for a number of small factories'

(cf. *mimmā* ممّا and *al-'amru llaḏī* الامر الّذي in **5.5**, also *mā ša'nu . . . wa-* ما شأن . . . و above, see **10.13.3.1**)

11.8.2 maṯal مثل (cf. miṯl مثل **2.9.2.1**)

maṯaluhā maṯalu *l-ṣinā'ati l-ṯaqīlati*

مثلها مثل الصناعة الثقيلة

'**it is in the same situation as** heavy industry', lit. '**its example is the example** of heavy industry'

maṯaluhā maṯalu *l-muhandisīna wa-l-munaffiḏīna*

مثلها مثل المهندسين و المنفّذين

'**its situation is the same as** that of engineers and executives', lit. '**the example of it is the example** of engineers and executives'

Chapter 12

Lexicon

12.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the more obvious changes in the vocabulary of MWA from the morphological and semantic perspective. It thus enlarges or completes the general morphological information provided in **Chapter 1**. The topics covered are: loan words (see **12.1**), innovations with the *nisba* suffix *-ī* ـيّ (see **1.8.6.3**) in adjectives and nouns (see **12.2–12.4**), compound nouns (see **12.5**), negative compounds (see **12.6**), compound adjectives (**12.7**), developments in verbs (see **12.8**), general morphological innovations (see **12.9–12.10**) and lexical and semantic developments (see **12.11–12.12**). This is a large topic, and only a few samples can be given of what appear to be the most significant trends.

Since these are largely lexical issues, the data are not exclusively gathered directly from current MWA, but are also taken from recent dictionaries and secondary sources published after 1990. However, all collected natural data items have been checked against Wehr's *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, 1985 (= W5) and generally it will be noted when an item is not found in W5. It can of course never be ruled out that apparently modern coinages were in fact current in medieval Arabic, for example, *'islāmī* 'Islamic'.

Unless it is relevant (e.g. when data are quoted in context), case and other terminal features will not be shown here. The feminine suffix *-atun* ـةٌ will appear in its pausal form *-a* (the *-h* of the spelt form ـه is never heard) and the long feminine singular suffix *-ātun* ـاة as *-ā(h)* to distinguish it from the feminine plural *-ātun* ـاتٌ (hereafter *-āt*). There will be some inconsistencies in the representation of vowels clearly corresponding to *o* and *e* (cf. **1.2.6.1**), and W5 will not always be followed.

It is as well to note that most of the developments here are simply extensions of the potential in CA rather than profound structural changes in a direction away from the principles of CA.

12.1 Loan words

The general phonological/orthographical principles are set out in **1.1** and **1.2**. Two categories deserve notice: (a) those which accommodate to Arabic patterns and may become productive; and (b) those which retain their original morphology, without having any corresponding pattern in Arabic.

12.1.1 *Integration into the pattern system* (see **1.4.2**)

Often, foreign words are borrowed as if their most prominent consonants were radicals, and the resulting loan word is accommodated to the CA pattern system. Many may be nonce-words, there is no way to be sure how long they will last, for example (not in W5):

raskala رسكلة 'recycling', regular quadriliteral noun on a root R-S-K-L

while others have at least succeeded in becoming dictionary entries:

halwasa هلوسة 'hallucination', assumes a root H-L-W-S

takaṯlaka تكثلك 'to become a Catholic' (cf. **12.8.2**), root K-Ṯ-L-K

daynam دينم 'dynamo', dropping last syllable from the original, with broken plural *dayānim* ديانم

(contrast with the alternative *dīnāmū* دينامو presumably with plural *dīnāmūhāt* دينامواهات as with other borrowed words ending in *-ū* ـو, see **12.10.1**)

Such borrowings may then become productive within MWA:

'oksīd أكسيد 'oxide' gives rise to the verbs *'aksada* أكسد 'to oxidize', *ta'aksada* تأكسد 'to become oxidized', and the noun *'aksada* أكسدة 'oxidization'

būdra بودرة 'powder' (French *poudre*) has spawned the denominative *mubawdara* مبودرة 'powdered up'

makyāž or *mikyāj* (thus in W5) ماكياج 'make-up' (*maquillage*) has likewise spawned *mumakyaja* ممكيجة 'wearing make-up'

Western suffixes, for example -ate, -id, -ous, -ic are attached to Arabic stems in scientific domains:

kibrītīd كبريتيد 'sulphide', from *kibrīt* كبريت 'sulphur', *ḥadīdīk* حديديك and *ḥadīdūz* حديدوز for 'ferric' and 'ferrous' respectively from *ḥadīd* حديد 'iron', *ẖallīk* خليك for 'acetic', from *ẖall* خل 'vinegar', *faḥmāt* فحمات 'carbonate' from *faḥm* فحم 'coal'

(for the abstract noun suffix يّة- *-iyya*, see also **12.4.2**)

Other (purely token) examples of full morphological assimilation:

kādir كادر 'cadre' forms the broken plural *kawādir* كوادر 'cadres'

fābrīka فبريكة 'factory' < French *fabrique*, hence *fabraka* فبرك 'to manufacture, fabricate', *mufabrak* مفبرك 'manufactured', 'fabricated', and there is also a broken plural *fabārik* فبارك 'factories' in addition to the sound plural *fābrīkāt* فبريكات

barmaja برمج 'to programme [a computer]' < *barnāmaj* برنامج 'programme', itself naturalized so that only four of its five consonants are regarded as radicals, viz. B-R-M-J, hence the broken plural *barāmij* برامج 'programmes' and other derivatives

tafalwara تفلور 'to fluoresce' < *filūr* فلور 'fluorine' (alongside *florisant* فلورسنت 'fluorescent'), and *mufalwir* مفلور 'fluorescing'

tamalġama تملغم 'to amalgamate'

12.1.2 *Non-assimilation to the pattern system*

Alternatively, the borrowed words retain their foreign form to a degree which is fundamentally incompatible with the CA root and pattern system. This also happened in CA, though relatively infrequently (particularly in scientific and medical borrowings), but seems to have reached a point in MWA where the traditional limits on the number of root consonants (five, of which one usually had to be treated as an augment in any change of pattern) and range of possible patterns are now no longer in effect. For syllable structure, see **1.1.2**.

Many can be regarded (for the time being) as mere transliterations with no implications for their subsequent linguistic evolution. Even though they have been adapted to the phonological and orthographical conventions, it is impossible to say whether they will become productive as new roots:

'aršī 'abisqūbīs أرشي أبسقبيس 'archbishop' < Gk. *archiepiskopos*

'aršidūq أرشدوق 'archduke'

sīnīmātoġrāf سينيماتوغراف 'cinematograph'

bībliyoġrāfiyā بيبليوجرافيا 'bibliography'

mānīfātūra مانيفاتورة 'manufactured goods'

bakāloriyūs بكالوريوس 'baccalaureate' (appears with varying vowel lengths marked, cf. **1.2.6.1**)

fīsiyolojiyā فيسيولوجيا 'physiology'

kārikātūriyya كاريكاتورية 'cartoon', 'caricature'

tiknoqrāṭ تكنوقراط 'technocrat'

Alternations in ending can arise, either invariable *-iyā* or feminine *-iyya[tun]* (whether the latter is now fully inflected is rather uncertain: a permanent pausal pronunciation seems more likely, namely, *iyya* in both cases anyway):

tiknolojiyā تكنولوجيا or *tiknolojiyya* تكنولوجية 'technology'

fantāziyā فنتازيا or *fantāziyya* فنتازية 'fantasy'

There is occasionally an accommodation to the pattern of an early but still not fully assimilated borrowing:

fīziyā(') فيزيا(ء) 'physics', echoing *kīmiyā'* كيمياء 'chemistry' (an old borrowing, cf. the pattern also found in *sīmiyā(')* سيميا(ء) 'natural magic')

With all these, in contrast to the first group, the possibility of further derivatives seems remote, except for suffixation, namely, the adjectival suffix *-ī* ـي (see **12.2**) and the feminine plural suffix *-(h)āt* ات(ـه), (see **12.10.1**).

For neologisms created from within the resources of Arabic vocabulary, see further in **12.8**.

12.1.3 *Regional variations*

There are often regional variations of a historical or geographical origin which can only be briefly noted here: the survival or eventual dominance of individual words is a political and cultural issue common to all languages in contact.

Inevitably, many loan words reveal their sources, of which the names of the Christian months is the most obvious example; compare, for example, the month 'June' *ḥazīrān* حزيران, *yūniū* يونيو and *jwān* جوان, also place

names such as *landan* لندن v. *lundra* لندرا 'London' where the foreign originals are easily discernible. As a result, there may be variations between synonyms in the different regions of the Arab world:

'hotel': *'otel* أوتيل, *funduq* فندق, *lokanda* لوكنده, *nazl* نزل

'diploma': *diblūm* دبلوم or *diblūma* دبلومة

'bus': *'otobīs* أوتوبيس, *bāṣ* باص, *omnībūs* أمنيبوس, *ḥāfila* حافلة
(the Academies' choice)

'lorry': *lorī* لوري, *kamyōn* كميون, *sayyārat naql* سيارة نقل
(the Academies' choice)

and it is not always the Academy's proposed term which predominates:

hātif هاتف lit. 'disembodied voice shouting'

is often seen, but what is usually said is:

tilifōn تلفون 'telephone'

(and certainly there is no verb from *hātif* هاتف, which is expressed instead by the denominative *talfana* تلفن 'to telephone').

There are signs of different degrees of morphological assimulation, for example the unassimilated *tilifizyon* تلفزيون 'television' versus the assimilated تلفاز *tilfāz*, conforming to a regular CA pattern.

An interesting case (here mentioned purely as a possible model for the future) is the doublet *tahlīn* تهلين (regular stem II denominative with root H-L-N) and *halyana* هلْيَنة 'hellenization' (now with root H-L-Y-N, both of course from 'hellen[ize]'), possibly influenced by an older doublet *tamaddana* تمدَّن and *tamadyana* تمدْيَن 'to become civilized', both from *madīna* مدينة 'town', 'city', treated as a triliteral (M-D-N) and quadriliteral (M-D-Y-N) root respectively.

12.2 Adjectival suffix *-ī* (*nisba*)

A most striking lexical development is the proliferation of the adjectival suffix *-ī* ـِي (for *nisba*, see **1.8.6.3**; **2.1.6**) which is now fully productive to form adjectives on any nominal base. Furthermore, its feminine singular form is now very productive in the creation of new abstract nouns (see **12.4**).

Historically, CA was far less prolific in such coinages, though it is quite probable that the examples given here include items dating back some centuries. Of the two substantive rules relating to the formation of the *nisba*

adjective in CA, only one is retained, namely, that the feminine suffix *-at* ـة must be removed before suffixing *-ī* ـي (but see **12.3**). The other rule (which was not fully observed even in CA) that this suffix should only be added to the pattern *fa'al-* (thus *madanī* مدني 'someone from Madīna', 'Medinese', with *al-madīna* المدينة providing the stem *madan-*, *qabalī* قبلي 'tribal' < *qabīla* قبيلة 'tribe' etc.) has long been abandoned, and there is now no restriction on the form of the stems to which the *-ī* ـي suffix may be added.

12.2.1 *Recent examples*

This is an open set, and it is impossible to say how ephemeral some of the examples may be. Comparison with W4 (1979) shows that many were first noted in W5, but the examples below are not found in W5:

istimrārī استمراري 'continual', 'continuous' < *istimrār* استمرار 'continuing' (though W5 has the abstract *istimrāriyya* استمرارية 'continuity')

tabādulī تبادلي 'mutual' < *tabādul* تبادل 'mutual activity'

tajrīmī تجريمي 'incriminating' < *tajrīm* تجريم 'incrimination' (W5 has *tajrīm* تجريم 'incrimination')

tašjī'ī تشجيعي 'encouraging' < *tašjī'* تشجيع 'encouragement'

ta'hīlī تأهيلي 'qualifying' < *ta'hīl* تأهيل 'qualification', 'training'

sukkānī سكاني 'populational' < *sukkān* سكان 'inhabitants'

ḏukūrī ذكوري 'of males' < *ḏukūr* ذكور 'males' (W5 has *ḏakarī* ذكري on the sing. base)

mu'assasī مؤسسي 'institutional' < *mu'assasa* مؤسسة 'institution'

ḥadāṯī حداثي 'modernist' < *ḥadāṯa* حداثة 'modernism'

ẖidmī خدمي 'relating to service' < *ẖidma* خدمة 'service'

rujūlī رجولي 'masculine', 'manly' < *rujūla* رجولة 'manliness'

'imārātī إماراتي 'of the Emirates', e.g. *al-šabābu l-'imārātiyyu* الشباب الإماراتي 'the Emirates youth [football team]', *al-juzuru l-'imārātiyyatu* الجزر الإماراتية 'the Emirate islands'

ẖawājātī خواجاتي 'of foreigners' < *ẖawājāt* خواجات 'foreign gentlemen'

This ending can freely be attached to loan words of any structure (cf. **12.1.1**).

- those with Arabic patterns (examples from W5):

  kūdi كودي 'in code'

  taktīkī تكتيكي 'tactical'

- non-assimilated patterns:

  tiknolōji تكنولوجي 'technological'

  dīnāmīkī ديناميكي 'dynamic'

  *al-'ijrā'ātu l-**'akādamiyyatu** l-mu'tarafu bihā*
  الإجراءات الأكادمية المعترف بها
  'the acknowledged **academic** procedures'

Note that *kīmyā'* كيمياء 'chemistry' currently has three possible adjectives, *kīmī* كيمي, *kīmyā'ī* كيميائي and *kīmāwī* كيماوي (cf. **12.3** on the last).

In the case of *kozmobōlītīkī* كوزموبوليتيكي 'cosmopolitan' (not in W5), we have an apparent hybrid based on French *cosmopolite* with additional suffix modelled on French *-ique*.

The adverbial *-iyyan* ـِيًّا set is a major exploitation of this form, for example *siyāsiyyan* سياسيًّا 'politically' (see **2.5**).

12.2.2 *New adjectives for substances*

In CA, words for materials and substances were set in annexation or apposition to the qualified noun, for example *ḫātamu ḏahabin* خاتم ذهبٍ 'a ring of gold' or *ḫātamun ḏahabun* خاتمٌ ذهبٌ 'a ring, gold' (see **2.2.1**), but MWA prefers the suffixed adjectival form, which in CA would have been a pure *nisba* adjective, that is, meaning 'person concerned with':

ḏahabī	ذهبي	'golden', 'of gold' (formerly 'a gold-merchant or dealer in gold')
ḥarīrī	حريري	'silken', 'of silk' (formerly 'a silk-merchant or dealer in silk')
ḥadīdī	حديدي	'iron', 'of iron'
ḫašabī	خشبي	'wooden', 'of wood'
fiḍḍī	فضي	'silver', 'of silver'

12.2.3 *Doublets*

It is now possible to have doublets on a singular or plural base, often with a difference of meaning:

dawlī	دَوْلي	'of the state'	< *dawla*	دولة	'state'
v. *duwalī*	دُوَلي	'international'	< *duwal*	دُوَل	'states'
jumhūrī	جمهوري	'republican', 'national'	< *jumhūr*	جمهور	'mass', 'crowd'
v. *jamāhīrī*	جماهيري	'of the masses'	< *jamāhīr*	جماهير	'masses'
ṭalī'ī	طليعي	'avant-garde'	< *ṭalī'a*	طليعة	'the avant-garde'
v. *ṭalā'i'ī*	طلائعي	'pioneering'	< *ṭalā'i'*	طلائع	'pioneers', 'avant-garde'
jazarī	جزري	'insular'	< *jazīra*	جزيرة	'island'
v. *jazā'irī*	جزائري	'Algerian', 'islander'	< *jazā'ir*	جزائر	'islands', also 'Algeria'

12.3 Adjectival suffix *-awī, -āwī*

A subset of the *nisba* adjective which is also becoming increasingly productive is the *-awī* ـَوي variant, which also occurs in a long form *-āwī* ـاوي. Both of these are an ancient phenomenon and regularly used, then as now, to form adjectives on the base of weak third radical or defective nouns, and especially non-Arab place names ending in vowels, by analogy with such regular examples as *badawī* بدوي 'bedouin' from *badw* بدو, *šatawī* شَتَوي or *šitwī* شِتْوي from *šitā'* شتاء 'winter'. Likewise, from *yad* يد 'hand' the CA adjective *yadawī* يدوي 'manual' and *damawī* دموي 'bloody' from *dam* دم 'blood'.

Defective feminine nouns also take this suffix, again an ancient phenomenon (cf. the doublet *makkī* مكي and *makkāwī* مكاوي 'Meccan' from *makkatu* مكة 'Mecca', eliding the feminine suffix in both cases). Still common are *sanawī* سنوي 'annual' from *sana* سنة 'year', *kurawī* كروي 'spherical' from *kura* كرة 'ball', 'sphere', *šafawī* شفوي 'oral' from *šifa* شفة 'lip' (with variant *šafahī* شفهي < *šafah* شفه) etc.

Finally, the long form *-āwī* ـاوي is also a CA phenomenon and was regularly used to make the *nisba* adjective from nouns ending in the sequence *-ā'* ـاء, for example *ṣaḥrāwī* صحراوي 'of the desert', from *ṣaḥrā'* صحراء 'desert'.

12.3.1 *MWA extensions of these two suffixes*

The short form *-awī* ـَوي now occurs as an adjectival suffix on feminine nouns with an original weak third radical, for example (the feminine suffix here being reproduced as *-a*, i.e. its pausal form). These examples are all in W5:

tarbawī	تربوي	'educational'	< *tarbiya*	تربية	'education'
tanmawī	تنموي	'developmental'	< *tanmiya*	تنمية	'development'
ṯānawī	ثانوي	'secondary'	< [*madrasa*] *ṯāniya*	[مدرسة] ثانية	'second [level school]'
mi'awī	مئوي	'centesimal', 'percentile'	< *mi'a*	مئة	'hundred'
ḥayawī (contrast *ḥayātī*	حيوي	'lively' حياتي 'of life')	< *ḥayā(h)*	حياة	'life'
'unṯawī	أنثوي	'feminine', 'womanish'	< *'unṯā*	أنثي	'female'

The above are entirely consistent with CA principles, but the following must be regarded as structural innovations, where feminine nouns with no phonological defects nonetheless acquire this suffix. None are in W5 (though W5 does have *waḥdawī* وحدوي 'of unity', that is, 'unionist' < *waḥda* وحدة 'unity', which may therefore be one of the earliest models):

nahḍawī نهضوي 'of the [Arab] Renaissance' < *nahḍa* نهضة, the 19th century cultural 'awakening', where CA might have required **nahaḍī* or **nahḍī*

riḥlawī رحلوي 'of travelling' < *riḥla* رحلة 'journey'

jabhawī جبهوي 'of the front' < *jabha* جبهة 'front'

It is also attached to nouns with other endings (W5 has *fawḍawī* فوضوي 'anarchical' < *fawḍā* فوضى 'anarchy', which again may have served as a model):

māḍawī ماضوي 'of the past' < *māḍī* ماضي 'past'

ẖalawī خلوي 'cellular' < *ẖaliyya* 'cell', and note that this is now a homonym with *ẖalawī* (W5) 'solitary', 'isolated' from *ẖalwa* خلوة 'solitude'

The long form, *-āwī* ـاوي is also becoming more frequent, mostly occurring with nouns whose stem ends in a long syllable with a weak consonant. This has resulted in an interesting pair of homonyms, the CA *bayḍāwī* بيضاوي 'a man from al-Bayḍā'' and MWA *bayḍāwī* بيضاوي 'pertaining to Casablanca' from *al-dār al-bayḍā'* الدار البيضاء 'Casablanca'. Other examples from W5:

ma'sāwī مأساوي 'tragic' < *ma'sā(h)* مأساة 'tragedy'

'abdallāwī عبداللاوي or عبدلاوي a type of melon < *'abdullāh* عبد الله ''Abdullah'

kāfkāwī كافكاوي 'kafkaesque' (not in W5)

This pattern is peculiarly prominent to denote local origins or membership of groups (these not in W5):

maḥallāwī محلاّوي ‘person from Maḥalla’ < *maḥalla* محلّة, place name

marṣafāwī مرصفاوي ‘of al-Marṣafī’

(sign in a street named after a person called al-Marṣafī; curiously at the other end of the same street the sign reads *šāri‘ al-marṣafī* شارع المرصفي ‘al-Marṣafī St.’ with the regular CA *nisba*!)

haramāwī هرماوي ‘person who exploits tourists at the Pyramids’ < *al-haram* الهرم ‘the Pyramids’

With football clubs:

’ahlāwī أهلاوي ‘supporter of Ahli’ < *’ahlī* أهلي

zamlakāwī زملكاوي ‘Zamalek supporter’ < *zamālik* زمالك

ismā‘īllāwī اسماعيلاوي ‘supporter of Ismailiyya’ < *ismā‘īliyya* اسماعيلية

What looks like subtype with loan words ending in *ū* ـو is prosodically quite regular, however, since the *ū* breaks down to *uw*:

’išārāt rādiyuwiyya إشارات راديوية ‘radio signals’ < *rādiyū* راديو ‘radio’

12.3.2 *‘First’, ‘primary’*

In the special case of *’awwal* أول ‘first’ (see **2.13.1**), a well-attested derivative is the regular suffixed form *’awwalī* أولي with the more specific sense of ‘primary’, ‘principal’, ‘basic’ etc.:

maṣādiru ’awwaliyyatun مصادر أولية ‘primary sources’

‘adadun ’awwaliyyun عدد أولي ‘prime number’

intiḫābātun ’awwaliyyatun انتخابات أولية ‘primary elections’

’is‘āfātun ’awwaliyyatun إسعافات أولية ‘first aid’

(plural, possibly under French influence, cf. *ma‘lūmāt* معلومات ‘information[s]’, see **12.4.1**, though French *secours* ‘aid’ is actually singular)

istiḫlāṣu taṣawwurin ’awwaliyyin استخلاص تصور أولي ‘extracting a first impression’

From this is derived the abstract *’awwaliyya* أولية ‘axiom’, ‘original element’, ‘priority’.

This is not to be confused with *’awlawī* أولوي ‘primary’, from *’awlā* أولى ‘most appropriate’ (from the root *waliya* ولي) which has derivatives *’awlawiyyāt* أولويات ‘priorities’ and the abstract *’awlawiyya* أولوية ‘priority’, as in:

al-'ijrā'ātu ḏātu l-'awlawiyyati l-'ūlā
الإجراءات ذات الأولوية الأولى
'the procedures having first priority'

(for *ḏāt* ذات 'possessor [fem. sing.] of', see **2.8.3**)

12.4 Nouns with suffix *-iyya*

There is now a massive number of new nouns with the *-iyya* ـِيّة suffix, exploiting a CA mechanism for creating abstract nouns by this means, for example *kayfiyya* كيفية 'quality', literally 'howness', *māhiyya* ماهية 'quiddity', literally 'whatness'. They are formally identical with the feminine singular adjectives described above, but their nominal function is usually quite obvious.

12.4.1 *New abstract nouns*

The following examples are merely representative, and none are found in W5:

nujūmiyya نجومية 'stardom' < *nujūm* نجوم 'stars'

miṣdāqiyya مصداقية 'credibility' < *miṣdāq* مصداق 'believable', 'credible'

haykaliyya هيكلية 'structure' < *haykal* هيكل 'skeleton', 'structure'
(W5 has *haykalī* هيكلي 'structural')

sādātiyya ساداتية, *wafdiyya* وفدية, political terms, 'Sadatism', 'Wafdism'
(W5 has *nāṣiriyya* ناصرية 'Nasserism' and *wafdī* وفدي 'of the Wafd')

rasūliyya رسولية 'prophetic quality', 'prophethood' < *rasūl* رسول
'prophet', 'messenger'

al-ta'addudiyyatu l-ḥizbiyyatu التعددية الحزبية 'the multi-party system'
from *ta'addud* تعدد 'being numerous' (cf. *ta'addud* تعدد reproducing prefixes 'multi-', 'poly-' in **12.7.1**)

Plurals are an extension of this, often echoing plurals in the source languages (these from W5):

ma'lūmiyyāt معلوميات 'informatics'

(cf. *ma'lūmiyya* معلومية 'fact of being known'; cf. also *ma'lūmātī* معلوماتي, a new *nisba* 'pertaining to information technology')

madyūniyyāt مديونيات ‘debts’ (cf. *madyūniyya* مديونية ‘indebtedness’, from *madyūn* مديون ‘in debt’)

siyāsiyyāt سياسيات a calque for ‘policies’ < *siyāsa* سياسة ‘politics’, ‘policy’

iqtiṣādiyyāt اقتصاديات ‘economics’ *iqtiṣād* اقتصاد ‘economy’

sulūkiyyāt سلوكيات ‘behaviour patterns’ *sulūk* سلوك ‘behaving’

’ījābiyyāt wa-salbiyyāt إيجابيات وسلبيات ‘pluses and minuses’, lit. ‘positives and negatives’

12.4.2 *Abstract noun doublets*

As a result of the productivity of the *-iyya* ـِيّة suffix, there are now many doublets where the CA would have made do with the verbal noun both for the action and the abstract concept of that action:

’imkān إمكان ‘being possible’ v. *’imkāniyya* إمكانية ‘possibility’, ‘potential’

istimrār استمرار ‘continuing’ v. *istimrāriyya* استمرارية ‘continuity’

izdiwāj ازدواج ‘being doubled’ v. *izdiwājiyya* ازدواجية ‘duality’

taḫalluf تخلف ‘being backward’ v. *taḫallufiyya* تخلفية ‘backwardness’

ta‘bīr تعبير ‘expression’ v. *ta‘bīriyya* تعبيرية ‘expressiveness’, ‘expressivity’

This may lead to further doublets where the distinction is rather hard to pin down:

’aġlabiyya أغلبية v. *ġālibiyya* غالبية both meaning ‘majority’ < *ġalaba* غلب ‘predominate’

Even more delicate contrasts are possible:

iṯnāniyya اثنانية ‘dualism’ < *iṯnāni* اثنان ‘two’

ṯunā’iyya ثنائية ‘binarism’ < *ṯunā’ī* ثنائي ‘twofold’, ‘binary’

ṯanawī ثنوي ‘dualist’ and *ṯanawiyya* ثنوية ‘dualism’ a neologism (cf. **12.3**) ‘related to two’ here in the theological sense

ṯānawiyya ثانوية ‘secondariness’ < *ṯānawī* ثانوي ‘secondary’

Note that there is a growing number of pseudo-prefixes (see **12.5–12.7**) but still only one suffix, *-iyya* ـِيّة, for all the Western options -ity, -ness, -ism, -ation, etc., used in creating abstract nouns (the scientific suffixes -ide, -ic, etc., in **12.1.1** are from a different domain).

12.4.3 *Nouns with masculine* nisba *suffix*

There are more pure nouns in *-ī* ـِي now, that is, nominalized adjective of the *nisba* type (cf. **2.1.6**). The older model is perhaps the Turkish suffix, for example *sā'ātī* ساعاتي 'watchmaker' < *sā'a* ساعة 'watch', 'clock'.

Those referring to people and places conform to the traditional system:

al-aṭlanṭī الأطلنطي, *al-bāsīfīkī* الباسيفيكي 'the Atlantic', 'the Pacific', mirroring English usage

'irhābī إرهابي 'terrorist' < *'irhāb* إرهاب 'causing terror'

'iḥṣā'ī إحصائي 'statistician' < *'iḥṣā'* إحصاء 'counting'

but others must be regarded as new functions:

iḥtiyāṭī احتياطي 'reserve supply', 'stand-by' < *iḥtāṭa* احتاط 'to make provision'

dawrī دوري 'league' in sporting competitions < *dawr* دور 'a round', 'a turn'

'ijmālī إجمالي 'the whole sum', 'total amount', < *'ijmāl* إجمال 'gathering together'

12.5 Compound structures

True compound nouns have always been rare in Arabic, being limited to a few place names and the numbers 11–19 and the hundreds (cf. **1.8.10**). What usually appears as a compound noun in Western languages was normally expressed by annexation, and this is still the commonest procedure in MWA, e.g. *ḥaqībatu yadin* حقيبة يد 'handbag', literally 'the bag of a hand' (see annexation etc. in **2.3.1**).

However, MWA has also greatly extended the somewhat infrequent CA alternative of *naḥt*, that is, the fusion of parts or whole words to create new compounds, both nouns and adjectives, by which means MWA is now able to replicate the many prefixes of Western languages (see further **12.7.1**).

Four methods are used to form true compound nouns, in addition to annexation:

1 Pure *naḥt*, that is, the fusion of part of two words into one new one:

kahraṭas كهرطس 'electromagnetism' < *kahrabā'* كهرب 'electricity' + *maġnāṭīṣ* مغناطيس 'magnet'

Adjectives follow the same system (see **12.7.1**):

bayṯaqāfī بيثقافي 'intercultural' < *bayna* بين 'between' + *ṯaqāfa* ثقافة 'culture'

bilāstīḥarārī بلاستيحراري 'thermoplastic' < *bilāstīk* بلاستيك 'plastic' + *ḥarāra* حرارة 'heat'

2 Fusing two whole words, usually with default vowel *-i-* or *-ī-* between them:

ra'simāl رأسمال 'capital' < *ra's* رأس 'head' + *māl* مال 'wealth'

3 Suffixing *-n* ـن:

ġarbana غربنة 'Westernization' (not in W5) > *al-ġarb* الغرب 'the West'

(cf. the traditional device of stem X as used in *istaġraba* استغرب 'to adopt Western ways')

See further **12.5.2**.

4 Attaching a foreign affix to an Arab noun (these not in W5):

ṣawtim صوتيم 'phoneme' *sawṭ* صوت 'voice' + English suffix -eme

fimto-ṯāniya فمتو ثانية 'femto-second' < English femto + *ṯāniya* ثانية 'second'

All these are technically fully or at least partially inflected according to pattern, though it is likely that they are broadly treated as uninflected now, like proper names (see **1.8.5**).

Negative compound nouns are listed below with negative adjectives in **12.6**. For compound adjectives, see **12.6**.

12.5.1 *Plurals of annexed compounds*

There are variations with plurals in annexed compounds. Either both elements are pluralized: for example, with *raddu fi'lin* ردّ فعل 'reaction', literally 'returning of act':

rudūdu 'af'āli *ba'ḍi l-mas'ūlīna*

ردود أفعال بعض المسؤولين

'the **reactions** of some of those responsible'

'awliyā'u l-'umūri

أولياء الأمور

'**those** in charge of matters', plur. of *walī l-'amri* ولي الأمر, lit. 'manager of the matter'

Or only the first part is pluralized:

rudūdu *fi'lin wāsi'atun*
ردود فعل واسعة
'widespread **reactions**'

(note that the feminine singular *wāsi'a* واسعة 'wide' agrees with broken plural, see **2.1.1**)

wijhātu *naẓarihim*
وجهات نظرهم
'their points of view', plural of *wijhatu l-naẓari* وجهة النظر.

12.5.2 *Extension of root with* -n *suffix*

The suffix *-n* ـن has appeared in at least two new coinages, of which one, *ġarbana* غربنة 'Westernization', is mentioned above (see **12.5**). The other is:

'aqlana عقلن > 'to rationalize' < *'aqlānī* عقلاني 'rational', a secondary form of *'aql* عقل 'intellect', 'reason', with verbal noun *'aqlana* عقلنة

The interest in this item is that it exploits an ancient method of root extension which is still applied in colloquials and may well become productive: so far, for example, the word **'almana* علمنة 'secularization' has not been seen, but it might be expected, given the existence of the neologism *'almāni* علماني 'secular', based on *'ālam* عالم 'world' + the adjectival suffix *-ānī* ـَاني.

12.5.3 *Doublets*

Lexical doublets can emerge when local etymologies compete with borrowings:

taknīk تكنيك 'technique' < English or French, v. *tiqniyya* تقنية, based on the root Q-N-Y قنى 'to acquire' (though now re-analysed as T-Q-N تقن 'to acquire proficiency')

Similarly, pairings of indigenous and loan words occur in a mutually explanatory role (somewhat like English 'might and main' with one Saxon and one French word):

al-taḥakkum wa-l-kontrōl
التحكم والكنترول
'control and control'

al-'otomātikiyya (al-'āliyya)
الأوتوماتيكية (الآلية)
'the automatic (mechanical)'

al-monolog 'aw al-ḥadīṯu l-fardiyyu al-sawdāwiyyu wa-l-tirājīdiyyu
المونولوج أو الحديث الفردي السوداوي والتراجيدي
monologue, or melancholy and tragic solitary speech'

al-niẓāmu l-baṭriyārkiyyu – al-'ā'iliyyu –
– العائلي – النظام البطرياركي
'the patriarchal – family – system'

12.6 Negative compound nouns and adjectives

Negative compound nouns and adjectives, that is, reproducing Western 'un-', 'dis-', etc., are dealt with syntactically in **2.9.2.3**, **2.9.2.4**, **2.9.2.5** and **2.18.1**; the list here is simply to give some idea of the range.

Those with preposed *lā* لا 'no', 'not' inflect as normal, and definiteness is effected by prefixing *al-* الـ to *lā* لا, while all the others are annexation units, hence with nominal annexation only the first noun inflects for the function of the whole unit, the second remaining in the oblique form, and definiteness is effected by making the second definite, while with adjectival annexation definiteness is effected by prefixing *al-* الـ to the adjective.

- *'adam* عدم 'absence', 'lack of':

  'adamu l-fa"āliyyati
  عدم الفعّالية
  'ineffectiveness', lit. 'lack of effectiveness'

  'adamu wujūdin
  عدم وجود
  'non-existence'

  'adamu 'iḏā'ati l-juz'i l-ṯaliṯi
  عدم إذاعة الجزء الثالث
  'failure to broadcast the third part'

  'adamu l-maqdirati 'alā širā'i l-kutubi
  عدم المقدرة على شراء الكتب
  'the inability to buy books'

'adamu 'imkāniyyati sti'ṣāli il-maraḍi
عدم إمكانية استئصال المرض
'the impossibility of eradicating the disease'

'adamu kifāyati l-'umlati l-mutabaqqiyati
عدم كفاية العملة المتبقية
'insufficiency of remaining currency', i.e. 'there not being enough money left'

- The adjectival equivalent uses *'adīm* عديم 'lacking' in unreal annexation (see **2.1.3.2**):

  'adīmu l-naẓīri
  عديم النظير
  'incomparable', indefinite; the definite is *al-'adīmu l-naẓīri* العديم النظير

  muḥāwalatun ***'adīmatu l-jadwā***
  محاولة عديمة الجدوى
  'a **fruitless** attempt'

- *ġayr* غير 'other than' makes only negative adjectives (for this and other functions, see **2.9.2.3**):

  ḏālika l-ṣawtu ***ġayru l-mutawaqqa'i***
  ذلك الصوت غير المتوقع
  'that **unexpected** sound'

  ġayru *manṭiqiyyin*
  غير منطقي
  '**il**logical'

- With *qābil* قابل 'receptive to' (for positive examples, see also **12.7.1**):

  ġayru qābilin *li-l-naqli*
  غير قابل للنقل
  '**un**transport**able**'

  ġayru qābilin *li-l-'iṣlāḥi*
  غير قابل للإصلاح
  '**incapable of** improvement'

  ma'lūmātun muwaṯṯaqatun ***ġayru qābilatin*** *li-l-šakki*
  معلومات موثقة غير قابلة للشك
  'reliable information which is **not capable of** being doubted'

- *lā* لا ‘no’, ‘not’ (for negative nouns with *lā* لا generally, see **2.18.1**)

  Nouns:

al-lā-tawāṣul	اللا تواصل	‘discontinuity’
al-lā-‘aqlāniyya	اللا عقلانية	‘irrationality’
al-lā jinsiyya	اللا جنسية	‘statelessness’
al-lā markaziyya	اللا مركزية	‘decentralization’
bi-lā-mubālātin	بلا مبالاة	‘with indifference’, lit. ‘with no-being-concerned’

  Adjectives:

lā ’insānī	لا إنساني	‘inhuman’
lā qānūnī	لا قانوني	‘illegal’, ‘unlawful’
lā šaklī	لا شكلي	‘amorphous’
lā ’aḫlāqī	لا أخلاقي	‘amoral’
lā ḥizbī	لا حزبي	‘non-party’

12.7 Compound adjectives

True compound adjectives, that is, equivalent to hyphenated pairs in Western languages, are created in MWA simply by juxtaposition, commonly also with a hyphen:

waṭanī -qawmi
وطني – قومي
‘ethno-political’

iqtiṣādī-ijtimā‘ī
اقتصادي – اجتماعي
‘socio-economic’

al-ijtimā‘ī – al-siyāsī
الاجتماعي – السياسي
‘socio-political’ (note definite article on both elements)

Here the compound adjective has been borrowed as a single word:

*al-sahlu l-’**afrū’āsiyawiyyu***
السهل الأفروآسيويّ
‘the **Afro-Asiatic** Plain’

12.7.1 *Pseudo-affixes*

Pseudo-affixes, that is, the Arabic equivalent of Western prefixes and suffixes: these are mostly calques or *ad hoc* representations of Western words. There are many ways of reproducing Western compound adjectives and nouns.

- Noun + adjective:

  al-ḥukmu l-ḏātī الحكم الذاتي 'autonomy', lit. 'personal government'

- Annexation of adjective + noun:

  ʻadīmu l-ḥayāti عديم الحياة 'lifeless', lit. 'lacking of life' (see **12.6**)

- Apposition:

  niṣf 'semi' (uninflected according to W5), lit. 'half'

- Preposition(al) + noun:

  fawqa l-bašarī فوق البشري 'superhuman', lit. 'above the human'

- A fusion of a significant part of a prepositional to a noun or adjective (*naḥt*, see **12.5**):

  fawbašarī فوبشري 'superhuman', reduction of *fawqa l-bašarī* فوق البشري

- Simple paraphrase:

  ḫārija mutanāwali l-šuʻūri خارج متناول الشعور 'subliminal',
  lit. 'outside the range of consciousness'

- Relative clause (in which case the syntax is somewhat obscure, here treated as annexation to the clause; see also **2.1.1.11**):

  ʼaṭfālu ***mā qabla*** *l-ḥaḍānati*

  أطفال ما قبل الحضانة

  'pre-nursery infants', lit. 'infants **of what is before** the nursery'

The sheer variety of strategies and the lack of clear principles confirm the impression that MWA is still in a transitional stage with these structures, and at the time of writing it is not at all clear what the life-expectancy of some of the coinages is, especially those for which a choice exists in the form of a more traditional structure. Many seem to be from the world of medicine and science, and it is impossible to say exactly how widespread their use is. Thus, for 'prewar' there is either the newly coined adjective *qabḥarbī* قبحربي < *qabla l-ḥarbi* قبل الحرب 'before the war' or the indigenous prepositional phrase *min qabli l-ḥarbi* من قبل الحرب 'from before the war'. The former poses fewer syntactical problems since it merely follows adjectival

rules, but the latter is probably felt to be more authentic even though such phrases become difficult when questions of agreement and definiteness are involved.

The examples are in strict alphabetical order of transliteration (diacriticals ignored), and when cited purely as lexical items they are left uninflected unless quoted in illustrative phrases. The literal meanings of these elements are discussed in the paragraphs indicated.

ʻabr عبر 'trans-' (cf. **2.7.1**), is prefixed only to nouns, and thus has the same syntax as *ġayr* غير:

ʻabra qawmī عبر قومي 'trans-national', lit. 'across national'

ʻabra l-qārāt عبر القارات 'transcontinental'

ʻadīm عديم '-less' (see **12.6**)

ʾamām أمام 'pre-' (cf. **2.7.2**):

ʾamāmijabhī أمامجبهي 'prefrontal'

baʻd بعد 'post-' (cf. **2.1.1.11**; **2.7.6**), prepositional syntax:

fī fatrati ***mā baʻda l-ḥarbi*** *l-bāridati*

في فترة ما بعد الحرب الباردة

'in the **post**-cold-**war** period', lit. 'in the period of what after the cold war'

al-mujtamaʻu ***mā baʻda l-ṣināʻiyyi***

المجتمع ما بعد الصناعيّ

'**post-industrial** society', lit. 'the society what after industrialism'

With *naḥt* form (alternatives stated where known):

baʻdītaḥrījī بعديتخريجي 'postgraduate' or *baʻda l-taḥarruj* بعد التخرج 'after graduation'

baʻdīwalīmī بعديوليمي 'post-prandial' or *baʻda l-ʻašā ʾ* بعد العشاء 'after dinner'

baʻdīḥarbī بعديحربي 'post-war' or *mā baʻda l-ḥarb* ما بعد الحرب 'what is after the war'

bayn بين 'inter' (cf. **2.7.7**), *naḥt* forms with alternatives:

bayqārrī بيقاري 'intercontinental' < *bayn* بين 'between' + *qārrī* قاري 'continental'

bayṯaqāfī بيثقافي 'intercultural' < *bayn* بين + *ṯaqāfī* ثقافي 'cultural'

baysaṭrī بيسطري 'interlinear' < *bayn* بين + *saṭrī* سطري 'linear'

contrast the periphrastic alternative *mudrajun bayna l-suṭūr* مدرج بين السطور 'inserted between the lines'

bayḫalawī بيخلوي 'intercellular' < *bayn* بين + *ḫalawī* خلوي 'cellular'

cf. the alternative *wāqi'un bayna l-ḫalāyā* واقع بين الخلايا 'occurring between the cells'

bayṭā'ifī بيطائفي 'interdenominational', or *bayna l-ṭawā'if* بين الطوائف 'between the denominations'

ḏātī ذاتي 'auto-', 'self-' (cf. **2.8.3**), adjectival option:

mulāḥaẓa ḏātiyya ملاحظة ذاتية 'self-observation', 'introspection'

naqd ḏātī نقد ذاتي 'self-criticism'

dūn دون 'sub-' (cf. **2.7.11**), *naḥt* and prepositional phrase alternative:

dūmi'yārī دومعياري 'substandard' or *dūna l-mi'yār* دون المعيار 'below the standard'

dūsawī دوسوي 'subnormal' or *dūna l-sawiyya* دون السوية 'under the normal'

fawq فوق 'super-', 'ultra-' (cf. **2.7.12**), *naḥt* and prepositional phrase alternative:

fawbanafsajī فوبنفسجي 'ultraviolet' or *fawqa l-banafsajī* فوق البنفسجي 'above violet'

fawṭabī'ī فوطبيعي 'supernatural' or *fawqa l-ṭabī'a* فوق الطبيعة 'above the natural'

fawsam'ī فوسمعي 'supersonic' or *fawqa sur'ati l-ṣawt* فوق سرعة الصوت 'above the speed of sound'

ḫalf خلف 'post-' (cf. **2.7.14**), *naḥt*:

ḫalfīmiḥwarī خلفيمحواري 'postaxial'

ḫalfī'anfī خلفيئنفي 'postnasal'

'i'ādа إعادة 're-' is a verbal noun annexed to nouns only (cf. the verb *'a'āda* أعاد 'to do again' in **3.21.1.2**); *'i'ādatu l-ṯiqati* إعادة الثقة 'restoration of confidence' is literal, but the following are pure calques:

'i'ādatu l-naẓar إعادة النظر 're-examination', lit. 'doing again of the looking'

'i'ādatu haykala إعادة هيكلة 'restructuring'

'i'ādatu tartīb إعادة ترتيب 'rearranging'

'i'ādatu tanšīṭ إعادة تنشيط 'reactivating'

'i'ādatu rasmi *l-ḥudūdi l-muštarakati*
إعادة رسم الحدود المشتركة
'**redrawing** the common borders'

'i'ādatu binā'i *l-farīqi* إعادة بناء الفريق '**rebuilding** the team'

niṣf نصف 'semi-', 'hemi-' (cf. **2.14.2**):

niṣfu šahrī نصف شهري 'semi-monthly' (adj.), lit. 'half of monthly'
niṣfu l-dā'ira نصف الدائرة 'semicircle' (noun), lit. 'half the circle'

Adjectival:

timṯāl niṣfī تمثال نصفي 'bust', 'torso', lit. 'half-statue'
šalal niṣfī شلل نصفي 'hemiplegia'

With *naḥt*:

niṣẓahrī نصظهري 'mid-dorsal' < *niṣ[f]* نصف 'half' + *ẓahr* ظهر 'back'

qābil قابل '-able' (for negative with *ġayr* غير, see **12.6**; and cf. the idiomatic passive type, for example *maḥmūl* محمول 'carried' 'portable' in **2.10.4** and **3.12.4**). The word *qābil* قابل is an active participle and has normal participial syntax (see **2.10.2**), not unreal annexation: since it must always bear its own definite marker, it cannot be annexed to its direct object, so the latter is paraphrased with *li-* لِـ 'of':

qābilun li-l-taḥwīli قابل للتحويل 'convertible' lit. 'receiving [indef.] of conversion', v. *al-qābilu li-l-taḥwīli* القابل للتحويل 'receiving [def.] of conversion' (the equivalent annex. *qābilu l-taḥwīli* قابل التحويل would mean 'which has received conversion')

qābil li-l-ġasl قابل للغسل 'washable', lit. 'receiving of washing'

qābil li-l-šifā' قابل للشفاء 'curable'

qābil li-l-iltihāb قابل للالتهاب 'combustible'

qabl قبل 'pre-' (cf. **2.7.31**) is found as an adverbial relative clause, *mā qabla* ما قبل 'what before' (see **2.1.1.11** and *mā* ما in **5.7**), also with *naḥt* alternative:

fī 'uṣūri ***mā qabla l-ta'rīḫi***
في عصور ما قبل التأريخ
'in prehistoric ages', lit. 'in the ages of what before history'

'aṭfālu ***mā qabla l-ḥaḍānati***
أطفال ما قبل الحضانة
'pre-nursery infants'

min marḥalati ***mā qabla l-ra'simāliyyati***
من مرحلة ما قبل الرأسمالية
'from a **pre-capitalist** stage'

Evidently, this unit can now bear the definite article when required:

allatī ttajahat naḥwa tajāwuzi al-bunā ***l-mā qabli l-ra'simāliyyati***
التي اتجهت نحو تجاوز البنى الما قبل الرأسمالية
'which tended towards going beyond **the pre-capitalist** structures'
(the inflection is probably indeterminate here)

As a phrasal adjective:

raṣdun qabla l-nihā'iyyi رصد قبل النهائي 'an interim balance'

Alternatives with *naḥt*:

qabḥarbī قبحربي 'pre-war' or *min qabli l-ḥarb* من قبل الحرب
'from before the war'

qabsarīrī قبسريري 'preclinical'

qabjirāḥī قبجراحي 'pre-operative'

šibh شبه 'quasi-', 'semi-' and such (cf. **2.9.2.2**) is always annexed to nouns or adjectives, thus having the same syntax as *ġayr* غير and other quantifiers (more at **2.9.2**); see *niṣf* نصف above for the specific sense of 'half'.

Nouns:

šibh jazīra شبه جزيرة 'peninsular', lit. 'the likeness of an island'

šibhijumla شبهجملة 'quasi-sentence'

Adjectives:

šibh 'askarī شبه عسكري 'paramilitary'

šibhu rasmī شبه رسمي 'semi-official'

šibhu ḥizbī ta'addudī
شبه حزبي تعددي
'quasi-multi-party', lit. 'the likeness of multiple party [adj.]',
cf. also *ta'addud* تعدد below

sū' سوء 'dis-', 'ill-', ' mis-' is always annexed to nouns, and has the same syntax as *ġayr* غير and other quantifiers (more examples at **2.9.2.6**, and note that *ḥusn* حسن 'goodness' is used as an antonym for *sū'* سوء, e.g. *ḥusn al-ta'bīr* حسن التعبير 'euphemism', lit. 'goodness of expression'):

sūʾu l-ʾidāra سوء الإدارة 'mismanagement', lit. 'badness of management'

sūʾu l-tafāhum سوء التفاهم 'misunderstanding', 'disharmony'

sūʾu l-tawāfuq سوء التوافق 'discordance', 'incongruity'

taʿaddud تعدّد 'being numerous' (verbal noun), and the participle *mutaʿaddid* متعدّد 'numerous', used for poly-, multi-:

taʿaddud al-zawājāt

تعدد الزواجات

'polygamy', lit. 'being numerous of marriages'

mutaʿaddid al-marāḥil

متعدد المراحل

'multistage', lit. 'numerous of stages'

taḥt تحت 'sub-' (cf. **2.7.36**), prepositional phrase, *naḥt* or adjectival:

taḥta l-šuʿūr تحت الشعور 'subconscious', lit. 'under the consciousness'

ṭahbaḥarī تحبحري 'submarine' or *taḥta saṭḥi l-baḥr* تحت سطح البحر 'below the surface of the sea'

taḥqamarī تحقمري 'sublunar'

taḥjawwī تحجوي 'sub-atmospheric'

Adjective, regular *nisba* form:

al-binyatu l-taḥtiyyatu

البنية التحتية

'substructure' lit. 'the underneath [adj.] structure'

warāʾ وراء, 'super', 'ultra-', 'trans' (cf. **2.7.43**), in relative phrase with *mā* ما, see **5.4.2**:

mā warāʾa l-ṭabīʿa ما وراء الطبيعة 'the supernatural', lit. 'what is behind nature'

mā warāʾa l-ʾurdunn ما وراء الأردن 'Transjordan'

mā warāʾa l-biḥār ما وراء البحار 'overseas'

wasṭ وسط 'mid-' (cf. **2.7.44**), prepositional or apposition:

wasṭa l-ṣayf وسط الصيف 'midsummer', lit. 'in the middle of the summer'

wasṭ malʿab وسط ملعب 'mid-field' (soccer)

Appositional:

ḥajm wasaṭ حجم وسط 'medium size', lit. 'size medium'

12.8 Extension of existing verbal patterns

The examples below are far from exhaustive; they merely illustrate various potentialities and trends, and it should perhaps be emphasized that all the phenomena described simply exploit the morphosemantic possibilities already available in CA.

12.8.1 *Pattern* faw'ala

The pattern *faw'ala* فوعل is now productive for forming denominative verbs from nouns with a long first syllable (excluding *ī/ay*):

'awlama عولم 'to globalize' < *'ālam* عالم 'world', with verbal noun *'awlama* عولمة, e.g. *fī 'aṣri l-'awlamati* في عصر العولمة 'in the age of globalization'

mawlakatun مولكة, perhaps *ad hoc*, because the author has to explain it as meaning 'mamlukization', < *mamlūk* مملوك !

Here possibly also:

ta'awraqa تعورق 'to become rooted [of foreign words]' < *'irq* عرق '(deep) root' or perhaps *'āriq* عارق 'deeply rooted'

The following, on the other hand, though they may be neologisms, merely apply the regular principle of quadriliteral roots to the consonants in each word:

tawnasa تونس 'to Tunisify' > *tūnis* تونس 'Tunis(ia)', root T-W-N-S

sawdana سودن 'to make Sudanese' > *al-sūdān* السودان 'Sudan', root S-W-D-N

12.8.2 *New quadriliterals with 'a-*

A well-established neologism is *'aqlama* أقلم 'to acclimatize' and *ta'aqlama* تأقلم 'become acclimatized', from the medieval loan word *'iqlīm* إقليم 'climate', resulting in a quadriliteral homonym with a triliteral stem IV *'af'ala* (which would also be *'aqlama* أقلم, though no such word is in fact recorded for CA or MWA).

On the same model, such neologisms as *ta'arjaḥa* تأرجح 'to swing' < *'urjūḥa* أرجوحة 'swing' are formed, creating a new quadriliteral root *'-r-j-ḥ* أرجح from the original triliteral *r-j-ḥ* رجح 'to outbalance', 'to preponderate'. The genuine quadriliterals *ta'amraka* تأمرك 'to become Americanized' < *al-'amrīkān* الأمريكان 'the Americans', *ta'almana* تألمن 'to become Germanized'

(< *al-'almān* الألمان 'the Germans'), *ta'angala* تأنجل 'to become anglicized' < *al-'ingilīz* الإنجليز 'the English' (the existence of a verbal noun *'angala* أنجلة suggests a transitive verb *'angala* أنجل 'to anglicize' as well, though this has not been spotted yet), exploit this possibility and thus produce potential homonyms with triliteral stem IV **'amraka* أمرك, **'almana* ألمن, and *'anjala* أنجل respectively, though in practice only *'anjala* أنجل is found, 'to pasture cattle' in medieval Arabic.

However, perhaps the most interesting neologism in this set is a new quadriliteral root created from the triliteral stem IV *'islām* إسلام or *'aslama* أسلم 'to become a Muslim': *'aslama* أسلم 'to islamicize', 'make Islamic' (not in W5) is a true quadriliteral homonym of the stem IV triliteral *'aslama* أسلم 'to become a Muslim', and has a verbal noun *'aslama* أسلمة, hence also *ta'aslama* تأسلم, 'to become islamicized', with verbal noun *ta'aslum* تأسلم, as in ***al-ta'aslumu** l-siyāsiyyu l-raḫīṣu* التأسلم السياسي الرخيص 'cheap political **islamization**'. No imperfect has been spotted yet, but it would be *yu'aslimu* يؤسلم, in this form not a homonym with triliteral stem IV *yuslimu* يسلم, of course.

The above are structurally identical with the true quadriliterals of the type *tafarnaja* تفرنج 'to become Europeanized' < *al-'ifranj* الإفرنج 'the Franks', that is, Europeans, *tafarnasa* تفرنس 'to become French' < *firansī* فرنسي 'French', *taṭalyana* تطلين 'to become Italian' < *al-ṭalyān* الطليان 'the Italians', but these do not produce homonyms with stem IV of existing triliteral roots.

12.8.2.1 *New quadriliterals with* ma-

The same process is observed with prefix *ma-*, forming new quadriliteral denominative verbs (relatively rare in CA), for example *tamarkaza* تمركز 'to be concentrated', 'centred on' from *markaz* مركز 'centre', with radicals R-K-Z, *masḫara* مسخر 'to ridicule' from *masḫara* مسخرة 'object of ridicule', radicals S-Ḫ-R. Cf. also the case of *tamaddana/tamadyana* تمدّن/تمدين 'to become civilized', mentioned above, **12.1.3**.

12.8.3 *New verbs or types*

Reduplication has been used to create a new stem:

ḫaṣḫaṣa خصخص 'to privatize' < *ḫaṣṣa* خصّ 'be private'

(not a recent coinage but it is a new type, though not in W5), e.g. *ḫaṣḫaṣatu ba'ḍi l-munša'āti* خصخصة بعض المنشآت 'the privatization of certain foundations'.

Re-etymologized stems:

'aššara أشّر 'to indicate', 'to point to'

seems to be a stem II denominative (radicals '-Š-R) from *'išāra* إشارة 'indication', although this noun is the regular stem IV verbal noun of *'ašāra* أشار 'to indicate' (radicals Š-W-R).

tasawwala تسوّل 'to wonder'

is now established, showing re-etymologizing of *su'āl* سؤال 'question' as *suwāl* سوال (cf. **1.2.1.2**) thus creating a new root, S-W-L, though the verb *sa'ala* سأل 'to ask' itself survives intact in stem I, as well as VI, *tasā'ala* تساءل 'to ask oneself', 'to wonder'.

Strong stems with weak radicals:

izdawaj ازدوج 'to be paired', active participle *muzdawij* مزدوج 'paired', 'dual'

is actually a new strong root, stem VIII, contrasting with the usual pattern (e.g. *izdāda* ازداد, not **izdawada* *ازدود, 'to increase').

The phenomenon is ancient, and it is only a question of whether it is expanding: the type *hawisa* هوس 'to be crazy' with strong middle radical is still found, even with a strong passive particle, *mahwūs* مهووس 'crazed', 'fanatical', 'visionary'.

12.8.4 *Compound stems*

Although so far only observable in the colloquial, there are several indications that the CA verb stem system is being expanded, so that stem X, for example, can be based on other than stem I, for example *istibārak* استبارك 'to seek blessing', a stem X based on stem III *bāraka* بارك 'to bless'. There is also evidence that a variant of stem III, with *ō* in the first syllable instead of *ā*, for example *sōgar* سوجر 'to register (mail)' is also evolving, but there is no way to determine whether these will ever become part of MWA.

12.9 Morphological innovations

(Cf. also orthography etc. in **1.2.2**, **1.2.3**.) These are only straws in the wind: it is not certain whether they will generalize themselves as the norm or become productive.

12.9.1 *Overlap of patterns*

The patterns *fa'āl(a)* (فَعالـ(ة and *fi'āl(a)* (فِعالـ(ة seem to be overlapping, leading to the following variants (based on reading out loud from written texts or comparison with medieval and modern dictionaries):

wazāra وَزارة 'ministry' for CA *wizāra* وِزارة
safāra سَفارة 'embassy' for CA *sifāra* سِفارة
ṣaḥāfī صَحافي 'journalist' for CA *ṣiḥāfī* صِحافي
walāya وَلاية 'control', 'rule' for CA *wilāya* وِلاية
jahāz جَهاز 'equipment' CA *jihāz* جِهاز
ḥaḍāna حَضانة 'nursing' for CA *ḥiḍāna* حِضانة

Conversely:

CA *ḏahāb* ذَهاب 'going away' now alternates with *ḏihāb* ذِهاب
CA *za'āma* زَعامة 'leadership' alternates with *zi'āma* زِعامة
CA *'alāqa* عَلاقة 'connection', 'link' has been seen vocalized as *'ilāqa* عِلاقة

12.9.2 *Variations in vocalization*

Variations in vocalization are frequent and may represent either dialect influence or natural sound changes (variation in the internal vowels of stem I verbs being an ancient and widespread phenomenon). The examples here are simply tokens of the range of possibilities:

lahja لهجة 'dialect' has plurals *lahjāt* لَهْجات and *lahajāt* لَهَجات
'afrīqiyā أفريقيا 'Africa' v. *'ifrīqiyā* إفريقيا (an ancient alternative?)
ḫawā' خَواء 'emptiness' v. *ḫuwā'* خُواء
yantiju ينتِج 'produces' v. *yantuju* ينتُج
šatawī شَتَوي 'wintry' v. *šitwī* شِتْوي
zalzāl زَلْزال 'earthquake' v. *zilzāl* زِلْزال

Cf. also **1.2.1.3** for retention or dropping of *hamza*, e.g. *hādi'* هادئ or *hādī* هادي 'peaceful', 'pacific'.

12.10 Plurals

The CA principles are intact (see **1.12.1.2**), and the following tendencies are observable.

12.10.1 *Plurals of loan words*

Sound feminine plural tends to be the default for loan words, especially those which do not fit into existing Arabic patterns:

hormonāt هرمونات 'hormones'

silindirāt سلندرات 'cylinders'

kabsūlāt كبسولات 'capsules'

And note that *-h-* ـهـ is inserted with loan words ending in *-ū* ـو (= *-ō*):

sīnāriyōhāt سيناريوهات 'scenarios' < *sīnāryū* سيناريو

istūdiyōhāt استوديوهات 'studios' < *istūdyū* استوديو

Incidentally, the same *-h-* ـهـ is inserted with the dual of such words:

li-sīnāriyōhayni ʾāḫarayni لسيناريوهين آخرين 'for two other scenarios'

Words where the *-h* ـه is part of the stem still have sound feminine plural:

šalēhāt شاليهات 'chalets', sing. *šalēh* شاليه

māyōhāt مايوهات 'swimming costumes' < *māyōh* مايوه

(the final *-h* ـه is not needed in the singular, but perhaps differentiates it from *māyō:* مايو '[month of] May')

Note the variation in the names of the decades, either with the sound feminine plural *-āt* ـات alone or together with the *nisba* suffix (cf. **12.4**), namely, *-iyyāt* ـِيّات:

al-sittīnāt الستينات v. *al-sittīniyyāt* الستينيات 'the sixties'

al-ṯamānīnāt الثمانينات v. *al-ṯamānīniyyāt* الثمانينيات 'the eighties'

However, with 'the twenties' only the simple sound feminine plural has been seen: *al-ʿišrīnāt* العشرينات.

Curiously, these decades are all based on the dependent/oblique stem, and the independent stem type **al-sittūnāt* الستونات, for example, is not seen. However, there is a neat contrast with some of the *nisbas*, so *sittūnī* ستوني 'a sixty-year-old' v. *sittīnī* ستيني 'of the sixties', *sabʿūnī* سبعوني 'a seventy-year-old' v. *sabʿīnī* سبعيني 'of the seventies'.

12.10.2 Alternative plurals

Some words now have alternative sound and broken plurals:

mašrū‘ مشروع ‘plan’, ‘project’, plur. *mašrū‘āt* مشروعات or *mašārī‘* مشاريع

mawḍū‘ موضوع ‘subject‘, ’topic’, plur. *mawḍū‘āt* موضوعات or *mawāḍī‘* مواضيع

muškila مشكلة ‘problem’, plur. *muškilāt* مشكلات or *mašākil* مشاكل

(note that many CA words had more than one broken plural)

The principle of selection is not at all clear, though is probably not related to the preference for broken plural with nominalized participles, for example *mašhūr* مشهور ‘famous’, *mašāhīr* مشاهير ‘famous [people]’.

Occasionally, the choice of plural serves to distinguish different meanings: *tarjama* ترجمة ‘translation’, ‘biography’ has sound plural *tarjamāt* ترجمات for ‘translations’ and broken plural *tarājim* تراجم for ‘biographies’.

12.10.3 Double plurals

Double plurals existed in CA, and are still used in MWA, for example *buyūtāt* بيوتات ‘houses’ (= great families), sound plural of *buyūt* بيوت, itself the broken plural of *bayt* بيت ‘house’, ‘tent’, *rijālāt* رجالات ‘men of distinction’, sound plural of *rijāl* رجال, itself broken plural of *rajul* رجل ‘man’.

12.10.4 New plurals

mudīr مدير ‘director’ has a new broken plural *mudarā’* مُدَراء by analogy with *safīr/sufarā’* سفير\سفراء ‘ambassador(s)’, although the *mu-* مُـ is not a radical but the stem IV participial prefix, which normally takes a sound plural, for example *murīd* مريد ‘postulant’, also a stem IV active participle, sound plural *murīdūn* مريدون.

12.10.5 Ad hoc plurals

An *ad hoc* broken plural of *mulla* مُلّة ‘mullah’ (not in W5), namely, *malālī* ملالي, may perhaps be regarded as a journalistic whimsy, though it does conform to CA morphological principles, and has a model in *malālīm* ملاليم, plural of *millīm* مليم ‘millieme’.

12.11 Lexical innovations

As did CA before it, MWA has responded very flexibly to the need to express concepts from other languages, adapting the imports to the morphology of MWA in the manner outlined in the rest of this chapter. Since there is no assurance that these coinages will take root, only a few samples will be given here.

Many calques exactly reproduce the metaphors in the source language:

taġḏiya تغذية 'feeding' (as of data into a computer) < *ġaḏḏā* غذّى 'to feed'

balwara بلورة 'crystallization' < *billawr* بِلَّور 'crystal' (also now *ballūr*)

farmala فرمل 'put the brake on' < *farmala* فرملة 'car brake'

Obvious calques at phrase level:

sāda l-ṣāmt ساد الصمت 'silence reigned' (literally)

tumlīhā l-ḥājatu تمليها الحاجة 'the need dictates' < *'amlā* أملى 'to dictate a text to a scribe'

'umla ṣa'ba عملة صعبة 'hard currency' (literal translation of 'hard' as 'difficult', hence 'soft currency' is *'umla sahla* عملة سهلة 'easy currency')

'arqām falakiyya أرقام فلكية 'astronomical figures' < *falakī* فلكي 'astronomical' in the scientific sense

'ahammiyya stiṯnā'iyya أهمية استثنائية 'exceptional importance'

For the 'not only . . . but also' calque, see also **4.9**.

12.12 Semantic changes

It is obvious that much MWA is translated literally from Western languages or at least is heavily responsive to lexical, syntactic and stylistic pressures. Semantic changes, however, are rather more diffuse: it is a cultural rather than linguistic problem, for example that *naffāṯa* نفّاثة in the Qur'ān refers to a woman who spits upon knots for divinatory purposes, while in MWA the same word has been chosen to denote 'jet plane', which led Wehr to list them as separate words.

12.12.1 *Some prominent examples*

- The shift (itself quite ancient) of *rubbamā* ربّما from the meaning of 'frequently' to 'perhaps', 'maybe' (see **3.30.2**)
- The extension of *ka-ḏālika* كذلك 'like that', 'thus' to the point where the meaning 'also' is now predominant, with the notable exception of the calques *wa-huwa ka-ḏālika* وهو كذلك 'that's how it is', 'so be it' and *'a-laysa ka-ḏālika?* ؟أليس كذلك 'is it not so?' (*n'est-ce pas?*)
- A redistribution in the temporal and conditional particles in which the CA four-part set *law* لو 'if' (counterfactual) – *'in* إن 'if' (hypothetical) – *'iḏā* إذا 'when' (temporal/habitual, supplemented by *'iḏā mā* إذا ما for the specifically habitual) – *lammā* لمّا 'when' (temporal/punctual) has tended to be replaced by the less discriminating tripartite set *'iḏā* إذا for both 'if' and 'when' (temporal and hypothetical), *law* لو 'if' (both hypothetical and counterfactual), and *'indamā* عندما 'when' (both temporal/habitual and punctual), cf. **8.3**.

Bibliography

13.0 Introduction

This is intended only as a preliminary guide to a growing secondary literature. It is quite likely that bibliographies in a permanently updated and searchable form will be available in the Internet.

The choice of works is intended to provide access to the history of the study of the subject as well as to the most important recent publications. It needs perhaps emphasizing that many of the works listed below include substantial bibliographical references of their own.

Since the lists are so short, their contents are arranged in chronological order.

13.1 Standard reference works for classical Arabic

Reckendorf, H., *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, Leiden, 1895–98 (repr. 1967).

Wright, W., *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd edn. Cambridge, 1896–98 (reissued several times).

Reckendorf, H., *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg, 1921.

Fleisch, H. *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut, 1961, 1979.

13.2 Specific studies of developments in modern written Arabic

Mainz, E., *Zur Grammatik des modernen Schriftarabisch*, Diss. Hamburg, 1931.

Wehr, H., 'Die Besonderheiten des heutigen Hocharabischen', *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, 1934, pp. 1–64.

Monteil, V., *L'arabe moderne*, Paris, 1960.
Cantarino, V., *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose*, Bloomington, 1974–77.
Barbot, M. 'Réflexions sur les réformes modernes de l'arabe littéral', *Revue des Études Islamiques* 48, 1980, 99–129.
Blohm, D., 'Die arabischen Fachsprachen im 20. Jahrhundert und ihre Forschung: eine Übersicht', in L. Hoffmann etc. (eds), *Fachsprachen/ Languages for Special Purposes*, Berlin/New York, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 1610–1618.
El-Ayoubi H., Fischer W., Langer M., *Syntax der Arabischen Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Band 1, Das Nomen und sein Umfeld. Band 2, *Die konnektiven Wortarten des Nomens: Pronomina, Adverbien, Präpositionen*. Teil 2. *Die Verbalgruppe*, Teil 3. *Die Partikeln und ihre Funktionen. Die Satzverbindungen*. Unter Mitarbeit von Dieter Blohm und Zafer Youssef, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Wolfdietrich Fischer, Weisbaden, 2001–2010.

13.3 Dictionaries

Wehr, H., *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, 5th edn, Wiesbaden, 1985 (last English version, 4th edn. 1979).

13.4 Statistical surveys

Landau, J. M., *A Word Count of Modern Arabic Prose*, New York, 1959.
Fromm, W.-D., *Häufigkeitswörterbuch der modernen arabischen Zeitungssprache*, Leipzig, 1982.

13.5 General works on the Arabic language

Stetkevych J., *The Modern Arabic Literary Language. Lexical and Stylistic Developments*, Chicago and London, 1970.
Fischer, Wolfdietrich (ed.) *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*, vol. I, Wiesbaden, 1982.
Holes, C. *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions and Varieties*, London, 1995.
Versteegh, K. [C. H. M.], *The Arabic Language*, Edinburgh, 1997.
Versteegh, K. et al. (eds), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, 5 vols., Leiden, Boston, 2006–2009.

13.6 Works in Arabic

Muḥammad al-ʻAdnānī, *Muʻjam al-aġlāṭ al-luġawiyya l-muʻāṣira*, Beirut, 1986.

Muḥammad Isbir and Bilāl Junaydī, *al-Šāmil: Muʻjam fī ʻulūm al-luġa al-ʻarabiyya wa-muṣṭalaḥātihā*, Beirut, 1981.

13.7 Exclusions

It seems desirable to give some reason why certain categories are omitted from this bibliography. Teaching grammars, for example, might well provide more data, but to make a selection here would be invidious. Conversely such highly focused works as L. Edzard, *Language as a Medium of Legal Norms, Implications of the Use of Arabic as a Language at the United Nations*, Berlin, 1998, or S.-O. Dahlgren, *Word Order in Arabic*, Gothenburg, 1998, are decidedly not for the beginner.

The entire literature on 'diglossia' (a term which can no longer be used without quotation marks) has to be left out, though there are plenty of references to it in Holes and Versteegh, for example.

The indigenous grammatical tradition is likewise omitted, though it will surely become increasingly relevant as the various profound changes now going on have to be formally assimilated into the new grammar.

Glossary

absolute object a *complement*, *object* in *dependent* form that is cognate with the *verb* and serves to intensify the action

accusative traditional term for *dependent* case

adjective word or syntactic unit (see *relative*) specifiying an attribute of a *noun*

adverb one of the *complements* (usually *dependent*), which indicates the time, place, manner and other features of an action (see *adverbial*)

adverbial *adjective*, *noun* or *noun phrase* (in *dependent* case), or *clause* with status of *adverb*

adversative contrasting a previous piece of discourse

affix *morphemic* element attached to a *stem* of any type

agent the entity (or the word denoting it) that carries out the action of the *verb*

agreement the features expressing a grammatical link and commonality between words in *gender*, *number* and *case* (see also *concord*)

allomorph variant form of a single *morpheme*

anaphora the reference of a pronoun to its antecedent (cf. *cataphora*)

annexation the compounding of two juxtaposed elements – *noun* + *noun*, *noun* + *pronoun*, or *noun* + *sentence* (also *adjective* + *noun* in *unreal* annexation) into a fixed and inseperable unit (often referred to traditionally as *genitive*)

antecedent an element (often a *head*) to which reference is made later and which can affect *agreement* in *pronoun*s, *adjective*s and *verb*s

apocopated mood of the *verb* relating to the *imperfect* and is the marker of non-occurring events, either because they are *imperative*s, negatives or *conditional*s

apodosis result clause of a *conditional sentence* which will/would take place upon the fulfilment of the *protasis*

apposition relationship between two consecutive *noun*s or *noun phrase*s, and occasionally verb phrases, in which one entity may substitute directly for another, agreeing with all the same properties as the previous one, such as *case*, *number* and *gender* where relevant

article prefixed *modifier* used before *noun* to give it *definiteness*, i.e. to particularize an entity known to both listener and speaker. May also have generic use to indicate class, e.g. man is a creature of habit

aspect grammatical property of verbs contrasting formally between a *perfect*(ive) or *imperfect*(ive) action, i.e. completed or not completed

assimilation *phonological* process in which one *phoneme* assumes the features of an adjacent sound

asyndetic linked without *conjunctions* or other joining elements

attraction change of *agreement* under the influence of a nearby element, e.g. 'these [plur.] kind of definitions [plur.]'

attributive *adjective* or *noun phrase* modifying *head* of *noun phrase* (cf. *predicative*)

augmented *stem*s of the *verb* extended by *prefix*es etc., also nouns

biliteral *stem*s with two *root* consonants

binomial *annexation* units involving two *head noun*s

bound pronoun *pronoun* which must always be attached directly to a *noun* as part of *annexation* (possessive) or to *verb* as *direct object*, or to *preposition(al)*s and some *particle*s (cf. *free pronoun*)

broken plural *plural* of *noun* or *adjective* formed by changing the *pattern* of the *singular*

calque expression borrowed from another language whose parts are translated separately into the new language

cardinal form of numeral used for counting quantities in sequence (cf. *ordinal*)

case part of the *inflection* system indicating the syntactic function of a *noun*, or a word in the status of a noun, including *adjective*

cataphora the reference of a pronoun to its anticipated stated subject (cf. *anaphora*)

categorical negation negation of the whole species

circumstantial qualifier indicates the circumstances of a preceding *noun* (in any function), and may be a *verb* or *participle*, etc.

citation form The form conventionally used for referring to words, mostly *verb*s. In many languages it is the *infinitive*, but Arabic, having no infinitive, has always used the 3rd masc. sing. perf. verb

classical Arabic the written Arabic of the Qur'an and the pre-modern heritage

clause a structural *syntactic* unit containing a *subject* and a *predicate*

collective *noun* in *singular* form denoting a group or collection (also: mass)

comment a clause which gives information about the *topic*

comparative component of the linguistic category of degree, specifically part of the *elative* conveying sense of 'more than' (cf. *superlative*)

complement *noun*s or noun-*clause*s which qualify *verb*s, either *adverbial*ly or as *agents*, *object* etc.

complementizers *conjunction* introducing a *complement clause*

compound a word combining two base forms (may be *adjective*, *noun*, *adverb*, etc.)

concessive *clause*s referring to completed actions or existent states with sense of 'in spite of, although'

concord see *agreement*

conditional generic term for *sentence* generally containing two *clause*s expressing events that will/would occur if certain conditions are/were to be fulfilled

conjunctions words linking *phrase*s or *clause*s (see *coordination* and *subordination*)

constituent syntactic unit that is part of a larger construction

continuous verb form expressing duration or incompleteness

coordination combining of two or more linguistic units of equal grammatical status

correlative constructions containing a pair of *particle*s, e.g. 'either'/'or', 'neither'/'nor'

corroborators see *emphasizer*

declension see *inflection*

defective nouns with only two *root* consonants; verbs and nouns with third root consonant of *wāw* or *yā'* (see also *biliteral* and *weak*)

definite specific or individual entity (*noun* or *adjective*), either intrinsically (proper nouns) or by prefixing definite *article*, and also by *annexation*

deictic lexemes with personal (*relative*s, for example), spatial (*demonstrative*s, 'here', 'there', 'for instance') or 'temporal' ('at that time', etc.) reference

demonstrative word with noun status in Arabic denoting something near by or further away, namely, 'this', 'that'

dependent the *case* of *noun*s principally as *object*s of *verb* or *adverb(ial)*s. Also term for verbs after most *complementizer*s, especially *'an* 'that', traditionally referred to as 'subjunctive' *mood*

derived stem verbal attribute denoting extension of basic root form by *affix*, *prefix* or additional consonants

determiner *noun* occurring with other noun to express such meanings as quantity, e.g. 'some'

deverbative *noun*s derived from verbal *stem*s

diminutive *pattern* denoting 'affection' or 'small', 'contemptible' quality in the noun

diphthong in Arabic refers to two vowels or vowel and semivowel

direct object *noun* (or *pronoun*) in *dependent* case indicating the person or thing to whom or which the action of the *verb* is being done

direct question question expressed in a main clause as *interrogative*

direct speech utterance expressed in the actual words of the speaker (see *indirect* and *reported* speech)

discourse piece of language longer than the *sentence*

disjunction property of *correlative* sentences, e.g. 'either . . . or' in which the relationship between elements is contrastive

doubled *root* with identical second and third consonants

dual category of items considered as two, and the markers thereof, on *noun*s, *verb*s, *adjective*s, etc.

elative generic term for *comparative* and *superlative*

elision see *ellipsis*

ellipsis omission of part of a sentence

embedding the *insertion* of one *syntactic* unit into another

emphasizer *noun* that emphasizes other *noun*s such as 'itself'; also words, mainly *particle*s, introducing or emphasizing *topic*s or *phrase*s

emphatic consonant phonetic categorization of certain consonants deemed to require emphatic pronunciation

energetic emphatic form of *apocopate* mood of *verb*

equational sentence asserting that the *subject* and *predicate* are identical things

exception the syntactic exclusion of an element from a prior statement

exceptives *particle*s used to exclude elements from a prior statement

exclamations mainly *particle*s with function of exclaiming, e.g. 'woe to . . . '

free pronoun unattached pronouns occurring as *topic*s, less often as *predicate*s, or *appositiona*l reinforcements of various kinds, or as separators (see *bound pronoun*)

gender one of the two classes – masculine or feminine – in Arabic to which every *noun* (and hence noun *modifier*), *pronoun* and *verb agent* belongs

genitive see *oblique*

grapheme smallest unit in the writing system

head syntactically most prominent element of a *noun* or *verb* phrase on which all the other elements depend

hendiadys a single idea expressed by two words linked by a *conjunction*

hypersentence *discourse* beyond the sentence level

imperative mood of the *imperfect* verb expressing a command

imperfect verb denoting an incomplete action, with three *moods*: *independent*, *dependent* and *apocopated* (see *aspect* and *tense*)

indefiniteness the state of referring to no particular individual or entity (see *definiteness*)

independent *case* of a noun in *nominal sentences*, *subject* of *verb* etc., and also the *imperfect* verb mood endings, regarded as the basic case. For nouns it is traditionally called the *nominative* case

indirect object entity which becomes the object of a *verb* indirectly (cf. *direct object*) through a *preposition*

indirect question question expressed in indirect speech, usually in a *subordinate* clause

indirect speech utterance in the form of reported speech, not the speaker's actual words

infinitive verb form which lacks all *person*, *tense* and *mood* markers, non-existent in Arabic. The functions of an infinitive are mostly performed by the Arabic *verbal noun*. The *citation form* of verbs, however, is the 3rd masc. sing. perf.

inflection system indicating *tense aspect* (*mood*), *number* and *person* of *verbs*, and *number*, *gender* and *case* of *noun*s

instance *noun* formed by adding feminine marker to denote a single occurrence of an event

interrogatives a word which is used to ask a question

intransitive *verb* that does not take a direct *object*. Many intransitive verbs take *indirect* objects

invariable property of words which do not change their terminations, hence are *uninflected*

inversion syntactic reversal of a sequence of elements

locative object *dependent noun complement* indicating the time or place of an action

modal verbs express speaker's intentions in terms of *mood*, e.g. possibility, probability, necessity, etc.

modifier an element that makes another element more specific, such as *adjective* modifying *noun*, or the *article*

mood property of *verb*s manifested in morphological changes pertaining to the way in which information is presented, e.g. as wish, fact, command etc., normally marked by specific *inflection*s

morpheme smallest contrastive grammatical unit within words; includes *affix*es, *suffix*es and *prefix*es in *verbs*, for example

morphology study of the structure of words; may be inflectional or derivational

nominal word or phrase functioning as *noun*
nominal clause *clause*, e.g. *relative*, which functions as a single *noun*
nominative see *independent*
noun word denoting thing, place, person, concept (see also *pronoun*)
noun of manner *noun* pattern denoting the manner of an action
noun phrase a *phrase* with a *noun*, or a word with the status of a noun, at its *head*
number distinction between *singular*, *dual* and *plural* in *noun*s, or words in status of noun, and also in *verb*s
object *noun* or *noun phrase* to which the action of the *verb* happens (see *direct/indirect object*
oblique the case of *noun*s mainly after *preposition(al)*s and as second element of *annexation*, traditionally called the *genitive*.
operate (on) to affect *case* and verbal *mood* endings (traditional grammar 'to govern')
operator element responsible for *case* in *noun*s or *mood* in *verb*s
optative form of the *verb* expressing desire or wish
ordinal numerals expressing order in sequence
parenthetical word, *phrase* or *clause* inserted between elements already syntactically linked. Omission of parenthetical element does not normally affect meaning of the two linked clauses.
paronomasia the repetition of words either in identical or similar form
participle *deverbative* nouns and adjectives denoting the doer (*agent*) or object (*patient*) of an action
particle words with a grammatical function but which do not belong to the noun or verb class or their derivatives
passive voice property of the verb in which the true *agent* is not mentioned; original *object* moves into agent position
patient *noun*s that have undergone the action of the *verb*
pausal form reduced form originally restricted to word endings in final utterance position or other breaks
perfect tense of *verb* referring to a completed action or aspect
periphrasis replacing a simple expression by a longer or less direct one, often for syntactic advantage
phoneme minimal contrastive unit of a language's sound system
phonology study of the sound system of a language
phrase any expansion of a central element, normally known as the *head*, and may be *nominal* or *verbal*
pluperfect *verb* form that conveys completion of an event or action before the time of some other event, usually the main verb
plural property of *noun*s or *verb*s indicating more than one entity

polynomial with more than two *head noun*s (see *binomial*)
postposing placing a *noun*, *phrase* or *clause* after its normal position (contrast *preposing*)
predicate what is said about the *topic* (see also *comment*)
predicative *adjective* or *noun* that functions as *predicate* of a *clause*, unlike *attributive* that modifies a *noun phrase*
prefix *affix* added to the front of a *stem*
preposing placing a *noun*, *phrase* or *clause* before its normal position (cf. *postposing*)
prepositionals *dependent* nouns with the function of *prepositions*
prepositions a set of *particle*s which indicate locations, relationships
prohibition category of negation using specific negative *particle* before *apocopated* and *perfect* verb
pronoun substitute for a *noun* or *noun phrase*, personal, possessive, resumptive, *interrogative* or *indefinite* (there are no *demonstrative* pronouns in Arabic)
proper name name of person or a place
protasis the *clause* in a *conditional sentence* containing the 'condition' that must be carried out for the action or event of the *verb* in the *apodosis* (main clause) to occur
purposive object *dependent* form of *verbal noun complement* indicating the reason for an action
quadriliteral *root*s with four original consonants
quantifiers word expressing quantity, e.g. 'all' or 'much'
radical a consonant forming part of the *root*
reflexive action done by the *agent* to itself, or a construction in which the *agent* and *object* are effectively the same thing; in Arabic rendered either by *augmented stem* of *verb* or use of restricted number of *corroborators*
relative clause *subordinate* clause modifiying a *noun phrase*
relative pronoun anaphoric pronoun in *relative clause*
restrictive *relative clause* which specifically identifies the *head* (cf. *non-restrictive*)
root the consonants (in Arabic two to five, mostly three) which express a particular lexical meaning and from which all words denoting that meaning are derived
semantic pertaining to meaning
sentence largest syntactic unit, not dependent on any other structure, containing a complete meaning and generally consisting of one or more *clause*s (cf. *discourse*)
singular referring to a single entity: often reflected in *inflection* and verb patterns

sound feminine a feminine plural formed by suffixation

sound masculine a masculine plural formed by suffixation (cf. *broken plural*)

specification a *dependent* complement expressing a particular quality in the *head* noun

stem the realization of a *root* in forms which serve as the base for a paradigm

subject see *topic*

subordination process of *embedding* of clauses in which one *clause* is dependent on another, namely, the main clause

suffix *affix* added to a the end of a *stem*

superlative component of the linguistic category of degree, specifically part of the *elative* conveying sense of 'the most' (cf. *comparative*)

syllable component of a word, though not in itself meaningful, usually a consonant and vowel or larger group (with language-specific contraints on the number)

syndetic employment of *conjunctions* to link any type of construction

syntax study of how words and *phrases* are joined to make phrases, *clauses* and *sentences*

tense reference of a *verb* to past, present or future time

topic the subject of a *comment* clause

transitive *verb* that takes a *direct object*

triliteral *root*s consisting of three consonants

uninflected does not vary in *case* or *mood* (see *invariable*)

unreal annexation annexation structure in which the first element is an *adjective* and not a *noun* (see also *annexation*)

verb word class denoting action or event, (see also *tense aspect voice* and *mood*)

verbal noun noun derived from a verb *stem* and representing the concept of that verb, often serving as the equivalent to an *infinitive*

vocative addressing someone or something directly, usually with a specific *particle* of address

weak *nouns* or *verbs* from *roots* comprising the semivowels [w] and [y] as *radicals*

Arabic index

Technical terms, grammatical and lexical items

Note that the following list is not intended to be exhaustive. Some of the grammatical and technical terms used here are purely for convenience, and do not necessarily correspond exactly to those used by the Arab grammarians. The definite article *al-* الـ is discounted in the alphabetical arrangement. Words containing the prefix *m-* م are not given according to root consonant order: the prefix is treated as the alphabetical first letter.

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