ADVERBIAL USAGE IN EGYPTIAN COLLOQUIAL ARABIC

by

Amāl Abdel Ghany Abou Shaady

Thesis submitted for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

at

The School of Oriental and African Studies

University of London

1995

This dissertation has not previously been submitted to this

or any other university

ProQuest Number: 10731714

ProQuest 10731714

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ومن ءايته خلق السموات والأرض واختلف السنتكم وألوانكم إن فى ذلك لأيت للعلمين

سورة الروم آية ٢٢

"And of His signs is the creation
of the heavens and the earth, and the
variety of your tongues and colours."

Qoran (xxx:22)

To

my mother and father

'Apart from doctors, there is nothing more

ridiculous than a grammarian'

"Athenaios"

Abstract

This study is concerned with the syntactic order of adverbials in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic. The thesis reviews previous treatments of the adverb both in Arabic and English and investigates a consistent body of data from a particular type of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic and specifically from female usage which differs in some respects from that of men. Previous treatments were mainly structural of the Bloomfieldian type or Transformational-Generative following the work of Noam Chomsky. Treatment of the adverb within the latter framework has undergone various changes throughout the years mainly centering around the place of generation of the Adverb within the tree of any particular sentence and also around the actual identification of certain strings as adverbial.

The position taken in this study is that the adverb is any element of the sentence other than the obligatory major constituents, namely the subject and the predicate. Adverbs are thus optional or structurally disposable constituents, which may be deleted without affecting grammaticality.

It is hypothesized that the distinct problems that adverbials pose for the analyst lie in the relative distributional freedom they enjoy in the sentence. Semantic considerations as well as that of the usage of certain adverbials are examined in order to explain the syntactic

behaviour of adverbials where necessary.

After discussing different views held towards the adverbial category, a classification system is suggested. It was found that adverbials are best classified on the grounds of position and function. In chapter 4, a thorough examination of their modifying function is presented followed by an examination of their sentence position and the effect of this on sentence acceptability.

Acknowledgements

I owe a great debt to all who helped, encouraged and urged me along the path to completion of this study. My deep gratitude and appreciation go to Dr. Bruce Ingham, my academic supervisor,for the constant help, attention and advice he has given me especially at times when I was more able to identify than solve problems. His friendly attitude and constant encouragement have given me added impetus to carry on with this research. His deep insights into both the linguistic approaches and the Arabic language have been one of the assets on which I have heavily drawn. In fact, I feel that my debt of gratitude to him is unrepayable.

I should also like to put on record my thanks to Dr. O. Wright and Dr. L. Glinert of S.O.A.S. for the fruitful discussions on the subject of adverbs. My thanks also to Prof. S. Greenbaum of University College, London for his individual help, valuable guidance and for enabling me to attend his lectures on syntax in 1983-84 at U.C.L. from which I benefited a great deal.

I would like to record my thanks to Dr. H. Wise of Queen Mary's College, London for her constructive criticism, her patience, and her willingness to give much of her valuable time.

I would like to express my deepest thanks also to all those friends and colleagues for their scrupulous attention to my examples and their keen perceptions regarding

Contents

Chapter 1

Literature on Adverbs

Chapter Two

Criteria for Classification

Section I

Chapter 3

Semantic analysis of adverbials with a special attention to Time and Place adverbials

Section I

Section II

Chapter 4

Syntactic features of the adverb

Section I

Chapter 5

Position of the Adverbials

Section I

Introduction

The validity of the adverb as a traditional word class
has been challenged by Arab linguists. Some of them have
claimed that it is not really possible to set up a grammatical
class of 'adverbs'. By the term 'adverbial' they intend here
the use of the accusative use which is called by Arab
grammarians /ʔazzarf/ 'the vessel', on account of its
function. It conveys the notion of either time or place of
the action expressed by the verb. /ʔalmafᵒuul/ is another
term used which refers to the noun which is the object of an
explicit, or sometimes implicit, /fii/ 'in'. The words that
can properly be called adverbs in Arabic are few compared to
languages like English, for example, where there is the
prodᵘctive suffix -ly. But there are, however, many linguistic
forms that perform the function of the adverb. One of these
linguistic forms is the verb. Al-ᵒAqqaad, for example
(1963:94), adds /ʔal haal/ 'circumstantial clause', and
/ʔalmafᵒuul maᵒaho/ as in /saara wa ljabal/ 'he walked
alongside the mountain'. (ibid.) The class of adverbs as a
whole has been handled neither clearly nor comprehensively.
It is perhaps because of the unwieldy nature of this class and
the non-homogeneity of its members that it has been only
briefly touched upon, if at all, in most of the previous
studies done either on the classical or on the colloquial
variants of the language.

The aim of this study is not to give a comprehensive

account of previous scholarship in the field, but to try and shed some light on some areas of this vexed subject. The objective has not at any time been to underestimate the value of previous studies. On the contrary, their contribution to certain aspects of the class 'adverbs' will certainly continue to be highly appreciated. We have tried to reach a more satisfactory framework and to gain more insight into the nature of adverbs. We have tried to explore and comment on the syntactic as well as the semantic functions of some of the exponents of the node Adv. within the general framework of Transformational Generative Grammar. Some modifications suggested in more recent publications and discussions which were confirmed by my own observations on this particular dialect are also introduced. This study does not pretend to be a transformational analysis of adverbials in ECA, but uses transformational techniques as a diagnostic device.

Jacobson (1964:17) says: "One should ask oneself: what is the nature of the grammar which would account for the linguistic behaviour of adverbials, rather than: what scheme of classification can I fashion such that any adverbial construction may find a home within."

Treatment of the adverb within this framework has been subject to a number of radical changes of opinion, mainly hinged on the place of generation of the adverb within the tree of any particular sentence and also the actual decision as to whether certain strings are in fact adverbial **/zarf/**

or not. The opinion taken in this study is that the adverb
is any element of the sentence other than the major
obligatory constituents, namely /fiˤl / 'verb', /faaˤil/
'subject' and /mafˤuul/ 'object'. Adverbs are those
optional or structurally disposable constituents of the
sentence. They may be deleted without affecting the
grammaticality of the sentence.

A problematic area in ECA in which copulas are not
always present is the designation in locative and temporal
clauses of a notional verb 'to be'. The problem is solved
in this thesis by following the classical Chomskyan position
of inferring the existence of 'to be' in the underlying
structure.

These points and others of similar complexity are
dealt with thoroughly in Chapters Four and Five and the
reader who wishes to delve immediately into these problems
is referred to those chapters.

This study is concerned with the semantic
characteristics as well as the syntactic functions of
adverbials in ECA. The adverbs are analysed with respect to
their semantic features and their function as modifiers.
All possible positions that different types of adverbials
may occupy is also an important issue that is also dealt
with in Chapter Five as function and position are the
determining criteria upon which adverbials are classified.
We do not present complete lists of adverbs, or tabulate
them according to the sub-classes they may belong to, but

rather discuss at length the nature of their modification, their morphological make-up, the positions they readily occupy, etc.. Because one of our aims in this study is to set up other classes of adverbial, i.e., to find as many items conveying the meaning and functions of adverbials as possible, classifying (by listing) and sub- classifying readily available adverbials would lead to no more than the existing analyses. However, individual items are discussed so that distinctions can be made between homonyms. We should make clear that phrases like /bitta:li/ 'consequently', /birraɣm min/ 'in spite of that', 'yet', /?illa ?inn/ 'however', /ᵉila:wa ᵒala kida/ 'in addition to this', 'moreover', etc., which are traditionally termed adverbials are excluded. They are used mainly as 'conjunctions' rather than adverbials. They indicate a relationship between the sentence or clause they introduce and the preceding one.[1] Or to sum up what Greenbaum (1969:35-7) says, they indicate that what is being said is either an addition, a reinforcement, a similarity, a change, an explanation, contrast, a reassessment, a replacement, a complete opposition or a consequence to what has been said before.

The study is concerned, as its title suggests, with

1. Sweet (1891:Part I:140) has referred to them as "half-conjunction adverbs". Fries (1952:249-50) calls them "sequence signals or introducing words". Strang (1978:194-5) regarded them as "joining words" which have either a "conjunctive function" or a "disjunctive" one. To Greenbaum (1969:35) they are simply "conjuncts".

4

the usage of adverbials in ECA. It comprises five chapters. A brief survey of previous works on adverbials is made in Chapter One. Our main purpose for doing so was to illustrate how difficult the area of adverbials is as well as to try and draw up lines between the major and the minor points to be covered in the following chapters.

Chapter Two presents the Arab traditional grammarians views regarding the adverbial category and the strong connection between the adverb and the preposition. We have concentrated mainly on the work of those who deal with this class extensively. The chapter also attempts to present definitions of the 'adverb' suggested by individual grammarians.

Chapter Three is devoted to exploring some semantic characteristics of the adverb. This chapter deals with some semantic aspects of the adverbial, especially those which are relevant to its distributional properties. Although semantic criteria are important for the designation of the adverb, they must be used in conjunction with syntactic and positional ones as shown in the following chapters.

Chapter Four presents a variety of points pertaining to the syntactic behaviour of ECA adverbials. The following points have been discussed: the adverb as a modifier, free and bound adverbials, the terms 'disjunct', 'conjunct' and 'adjunct', the place in which the adverb is generated in the deep structure of the sentence, obligatory adverbials as predicates, amongst others. In essence, Chapter Four can be

considered as an outgrowth of the foregoing chapters as it approaches the core of the problem.

At this stage in the thesis, it was still questionable whether one could draw a clear-cut demarcation between the semantic and syntactic orientation of adverbials. The position that the adverbial is liable to occupy in the sentence had to be examined since it constituted a crucial factor in the delimitation of adverbial clauses.

Chapter Five presents, through different types of structure, the different positions of the adverbial in a sentence and the effect of this on its acceptability.

1. Material on which the description is based

"The proper way to introduce syntactic ideas about language is through the use of language."

Crystal (1987:14)

Arabic vernaculars - Cairene included - cannot be considered as homogenous and static varieties of language. Education, urbanization, the existence of the mass media, the mosque, and so on have been contributing to this change for some time. The study of dialects of Arabic as grammatical systems did not begin until the second part of the 19th Century. Also the grammatical study of Arabic by Arabists has mainly been based on morphology. Syntax was almost totally excluded.

The dialect under discussion is spoken in variable ways by all sorts of speakers, old and young, male and female, educated and uneducated. We, however, have

6

concentrated on the educated sector of speakers. In their

speech we find the frequent usage of classicisms, frequent

quotations from the Quran or literary sources which reflect

his/her awareness of a prestigious usage of words.[1]

A unique characteristic of this dialect is the usage

of the sounds 's', hard 'g', 'd' or 'z' and '?' to replace

'θ', 'ʒ', 'd̪' and 'q' respectively. The use of the 'q'

sound in the right place as in the words /mu:si:qa/ 'music',

/?ilqa:hira/ 'Cairo' is probably the most important single

phonetic feature that distinguishes educated speech. These

may be considered 'classicisms' in the colloquial as

Mitchell (1956:5) calls them.

There is also another interesting factor we noticed

when examining the data. There are certain characteristics

that are typical of female speech. The writer, being a

female, has noticed the following:

1. The raising of the long vowels /e:/ and /o:/ in

some instances giving for example /sanati:n/ for /sanate:n/

'two years' and /yo:m/ for /youm/ 'day'.

2. The repetition of certain intensifiers such as

/?awi ?awi/ 'very, very', /xa:lis xa:lis/ 'absolutely,

absolutely'.

3. The preference for certain etiquette words over

---

1.   Ferguson (1983:80), describing any two speakers using a language
      in communicating, says: "As they use the language they exhibit the
      linguistic markers of their social status, their interpersonal
      relations, and their unique personalities."

others, e.g. such as /mersi/ or /šokran/ rather than /motašakkira/ 'thank you'.

There are some minor differences in the grammar of individuals. However, it is obvious that while speakers may vary in terms of certain rules and constructions, they nevertheless have enough rules in common to enable us to say that all of them speak the 'same language', and this brings us to a very interesting aspect of the nature of language: if the speakers of a language all share a body of linguistic rules, then we can rightly say that they all share a certain conceptual mechanism. "We are not merely studying individual rules when we study the language of a given speaker, but we are in fact studying a cognitive or mental ability that is shared by a wide number of other humans, i.e., the ability to use and understand sentences of their language." Akmajian and Heny (1975:19)

It is also worth mentioning here that speakers who know the rules of classical /**?iᵒraab**/ do not always use them correctly. Their ordinary speech that covers their practical daily affairs does not usually contain the phenomena governed by these rules. The misuse of these rules, however, sometimes leads to comic situations. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore the fact that a fairly large proportion of educated spoken Arabic does carry the markers of classical /**?iᵒraab**/. It is not restricted only to 'proverbs' and 'set phrases'. Badawi (1973:175) has rightly used the term /**ᵒa:mmiyyat ?almotanawiri:n**/ 'vernacular of

8

the enlightened' to refer to this blend of the classical and the spoken varieties.[1] Mitchell (1962:11) writes:

"No reasonable man..., in whatever homogenous society, is anxious to talk like a book, much less like a newspaper or a public orator, and the language that the same educated Egyptian uses on return to the bosom of his family or generally with his compatriots is quite other than that in which he addresses non-Egyptians."

This second language is the subject of our study. It is the dialect that is characteristic of Lower Egypt generally and Cairo particularly, where the writer and the informants were educated. No mention is made of Upper Egyptian dialect which represents the second main dialectal division in Egypt.

We have also dealt with certain aspects of CA grammar that are relevant to the study of adverbs, without forcing the facts of ECA adverbial system into the strait-jacket of the classical. We are aware of the fact that there is a great gap between Classical Arabic and the colloquial speech of daily intercourse. The co-existence of /**fuṣḥa**/ 'classical' and /ªa:**mmiyya**/ 'colloquial'is reflected in educated speech. The usage of either one or the other depends on the situation. "A sermon in a mosque is quite often (in fact more often than not) given in educated spoken

---

1. For other terms like 'elevated colloquial' and 'semi- literary', see Blanc (1960).

Arabic, or even in pure colloquial, depending on the type of audience listening to the sermon." El-Hassan (1977:114) The language described in this thesis is "the ordinary conversational language of educated people." Ferguson (1959:330)

2. Notation systems

There are two notation systems used in the thesis. One is a transliteration system used for names, Classical Arabic quotes, and Arabic terminology. The other is a broad transcription system used to convey the actual language material used in the thesis.

(a)   Transliteration system

This approaches the one often used by Arabists and is as follows:

Arabic letters

ﺀ	?
ﺏ	b
ﺕ	t
ﺙ	θ
ﺝ	g
ﺡ	ḥ
ﺥ	Kh
ﺩ	d
ﺫ	đ
ﺭ	r
ﺯ	z

س	s
ش	š
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓh
ع	ʿ
غ	ġ
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	y

The vowels in CA are conveyed as follows:

long a	aa
short a	a
long i	ii
short i	i
long u	uu
short u	u
diphthongs	ay & aw

(b). Transcription system

A) <u>Consonants</u> – The following have virtually identical distributions in non-emphatic contexts:

/b/ voiced bilabial plosive (as in /ba:b/ 'door')

/d/ voiced dento-alveolar plosive (as in /dahab/ 'gold')

/f/ voiceless labio-dental fricative (as in /fidil/ 'stayed')

/g/ voiced velar plosive (as in /gami:l 'beautiful')

/h/ glottal fricative (as in /mohandis/ 'engineer')

/ḥ/ voiceless pharyngeal fricative (as in /mofta:ḥ/ 'key')

/l/ voiced denti-alveolar lateral (as in /balah/ 'dates')

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal (as in /mofi:d/ 'useful')

/n/ voiced denti-alveolar nasal (as in /nafs/ 'self')

/q/ voiced uvular plosive (as in /mu:si:qa/ 'music')

/r/ voiced alveolar flap (as in /riwa:ya/ 'novel')

/s/ voiceless denti-alveolar sulcal fricative non-emphatic (as in /sakan/ 'lived')

/š/ voiceless palato-alveolar fricative (as in /miši/ 'he left')

/t/ voiceless denti-alveolar plosive non-emphatic (as in /be:t/ 'house')

/w/ voiced labiovelar semi-vowel (as in /wa:ḥid/ 'one')

/x/ voiceless uvular fricative (as in /xarag/ 'he went out')

/y/ voiced palatal semi-vowel (as in /yidarris/ 'he teaches')

/z/ voiced denti-alveolar sulcal fricative non-emphatic (as in /ziya:ra/ 'a visit')

/?/ glottal plosive (as in /?idir/ 'he was able to')

/ᵒ/ voiced pharyngeal fricative (as in /liᵒib/ 'he plays')

/ɣ/ voiced uvular fricative (as in /ɣa:li/ 'expensive')

12

In producing these non-emphatic consonants the tongue is laterally contracted and its front part is rather high in the mouth, i.e. raised towards the hard palate. At the same time, it expands laterally while its front is kept low, and the lips are usually neutral (when producing the following emphatic consonants):

/ṭ/ voiceless denti-alveolar plosive (as in /ṭibbi/ 'medical')

/ṣ/ voiceless denti-alveolar fricative (as in /ṣaḥiḥ/ 'really')

/ḍ/ voiced denti-alveolar plosive (as in /ḍaraboh/ 'he hit him')

/ẓ/ voiced denti-alveolar fricative (as in /iẓẓa:hir/ 'it seems')

B) <u>Vowels</u> – Vowels in ECA appear either short:

/a/ as in /xarag/ 'he went'

/i/ as in /fiḍil/ 'he remained'

/o/ as in /kotob/ 'books'

or long:

/a:/ as in /fa:ᵓil/ 'subject', /xa:rig/ 'abroad'

/i:/ as in /wazi:r/ 'minister', /ṭawi:l/ 'long'

/u:/ as in /maftu:ḥ/ 'open', /mafᵓu:l/ 'object'

In addition there are two other long vowels: /e:/ and /o:/.

They mainly correspond to the CA diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ in their incidence as in: /sanate:n/ 'two years',

13

/mile:n/ 'two miles', /be:t/ 'house', /mo:z/ 'bananas'.

However, in many cases their incidence is different as in /tu:m/ 'garlic' and /li:l/ 'night'. /e:/ and /o:/ may be shortened according to the rules of syllable structure: /betha/ 'her house', /mozna/ 'our bananas'.

/ay/ and /aw/ do occur in ECA: /fayda/ 'interest', /dayxa/ 'dizzy', /mostawdaº/ 'reservoir', /mostawsaf/ 'local clinic'.

They may be viewed rather as vowel + consonant sequences.

1) The long vowels tend to be tenser and higher than the short ones. Thus while /u:/ is fairly stable as a tense long high back rounded vowel, /ʊ/ may vary in quality between a lax [ʊ] and a lax mid-high [o]. It will generally be perceived as similar to the vowel in English 'foot'.

2) Similarly, while /i:/ is fairly stable as a tense long high front unrounded vowel, /i/ may vary in quality between a lax [I] and a lax mid-high [e]. It will generally be perceived as similar to the vowel in English 'sit', although the lower allophones will tend to resemble rather the vowel of English 'bet'.

3) Given that [o] is an allophone of /u/, it follows that /u/ and /o:/ may overlap when the latter is shortened. Similarly, given that [e] is an allophone of /i/, it follows that /i/ and /ee/ may overlap when the latter is shortened. Thus, there may be virtually no distinction in pronunciation

between such pairs as:

/?ulha/ 'say it' and /?olha/ 'her saying'

/gibha/ 'bring it' and /gebha/ 'its pocket'" O.
Wright (1983: 9)

4) All vowels, whether 'long' or 'short', are shorter
when followed by voiceless sounds, e.g. /t, k, f, s/, and
longer when followed by voiced sounds, e.g. /b, g, d, z/, or
when final especially when stressed.

C) Remarks

i) Gemination and length are two distinctive features
of the sound system of ECA. Any of the above consonants may
be doubled. Except when final, a doubled consonant should
be pronounced at least twice as long as its single
counterpart and is characterised by greater muscular tension
in the articulating organs. Doubled consonants are usually
pronounced shorter when final, as in /madd/ 'stretched' and
/šadd/ 'pulled'. They are often written single in the
thesis, i.e., /mad/, /šad/. Gemination will be represented
by a doubling of the sound, cf. /?aⁿⁿad/ 'he caused someone
to sit down', and /kattib/ 'he caused someone to write'.

ii) The vowels listed above in the inventory represent
only the short allophones. Long vowels also occur
especially when the syllable is stressed, cf. /ka:tib/
'writer', /kala:m/ 'speech'.

iii) Long syllables, those with a long vowel (CVV and
CVVC) and those of the structure CVCC where C is consonant
and VV is long vowel, are always stressed. Since long

15

vowels are always stressed, it follows that if there is only one stressed syllable per stress unit, there will also only be one long vowel possible. Hence:

/ma:li/ — /maliyyan/

and not:

/ma:liyyan/

Cf. also:

/be:t/ 'house', /betha/ 'her house'

/sa:kin/ 'resident', /sakinha/ 'living in it'

/ka:tib/ 'writer', /katibha/ 'he has written it'

/kala:m/ 'speech', /kalamna/ 'our speech'

In the majority of cases, as here, the reduction of the long vowel is complete.

iv) We must also point out here that long vowels sometimes occur in non- prominent syllables in loan words from CA, for example, /ᵒa:datan/ 'usually', /?ahya:nan/ 'sometimes'. The vowel in such cases is not as long as in prominent syllables but it is distinctly longer than the short counterpart.

v) The style of utterance on which this study is based is normal colloquial. In slow speech and sometimes in some utterances typical of women's speech, vowels are commonly pronounced long only before a pause. A succession of two consonants may occur with a very indistinct vowel in between (cf. /kəbi:r/ /kbi:r/ /kibi:r/ /kəbe:r/ 'big', /kəti:r/ /kti:r/ /kiti:r/ /kəte:r/ 'a lot', 'many'. The sentence brings out features of pronunciation that are not apparent

with the word in isolation.

vi) Finally, for ease and consistency of spelling, the definite article /ʔal- /, /ʔil-/ 'the' changes either to /il-/ when the /l/ is not assimilated (cf. /min ilbe:t/ 'from the house'), or simple /i-/ (with a double consonant following (cf. /min iddong/ 'from the drawer').

(c) Symbols and Notational Conventions

A) Symbols

* asterisk: indicates a deviant sentence.

( ) parentheses: enclose optional element in a rule.

{ } braces: enclose alternative elements in a rule.

[ ] square brackets: enclose syntactic or phonological features.

/ / obliques: enclose phonological units.

/ oblique: is used to abbreviate examples.

> howwa taᵒba:n ʔawi/šowayya
>
> He (is) tired very/a little
>
> 'He is very/a little tired.'

abbreviates the sentences:

> howwa taᵒba:n ʔawi
>
> 'He is very tired.'

and

> howwa taᵒba:n šowayya
>
> 'He is a little tired.'

Ø zero: indicates the absence of any element.

hash: marks the sentence boundary

? large question mark preceding the utterance: doubtful

~ : alternates, either, or

→ to be rewritten as

‖   indicates a pause

Italics: orthographic representation (or transcription)

B) <u>Abbreviations</u>

CA	Classical Arabic
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
ECA	Egyptian Colloquial Arabic
TG	Transformational Grammar
EST	Extended Standard Theory
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
N	Noun
NP	Noun Phrase
P	Preposition
Ps	Prepositions
PPS	Prepositional Phrases
Aux	Auxiliary
Comp(s)	Complement(s)
Pred Phr	Predicate Phrase
PSRs	Phrase Structure Rules
PM	Phrase Marker
SD	Structural Description
SC	Structural Change
Adj	Adjective

AdjP	Adjective Phrase
Adv	Adverb
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase
Advl	Adverbial
S	Sentence
$\bar{S}$	Higher sentence or clause
VMA	Verb-Modifying Adverbial
VPMA	Verb Phrase-Modifying Adverbial
SUBMA	Subject-Modifying Adverbial
SMA	Sentence-Modifying Adverbial
loc	Locative
dir	directional
I	Initial
M	Medial
F	Final
Vs	versus

(d) Other usages

1) After each quotation, the name of the writer is written, followed by the year in which the work is published, then the page number. When it is necessary, some footnotes are added.

2) The examples are put between /   / when they appear in the text, otherwise they occur without them.

3) We shall include rule diagrams only where necessary, to clarify our explanations. Constituents are the word sequences (including those that are single words) that occur at the bottom of sub trees. We have used PSRs more

frequently than labelled tree diagrams as it is possible

with the former to show the optionality of the item.

4) Throughout the thesis, we shall use an asterisk '*'

before a word or a sentence to mark its unacceptability. A

question mark '?' is used before the utterance to denote

its doubtfulness. These are now standard practice in

linguistics.

5) In general, the translation is intended to show

correspondence with the items of the Arabic examples. But it

should be noted that the English sentence patterns are not

translations of the Arabic sentence patterns. This is because

translation equivalents are not necessarily grammatical

equivalents. For example, the Arabic adverbial /?abadan/

'never' commonly requires a negative verb and must appear at

the end of the sentence, while in English it is one word,

'never'. If literal translation had been followed, an

unnatural element would have been presented for the Arabic

sentence. Also, since the Arabic tense/aspect system does not

coincide with the English one, the English translation should

not be taken as indicative of Arabic categories. There are

some similarities, but it should also be noted that English

sentences are structured in a way which is in most cases

different from that of Arabic. English ways of saying things

had to be taken into consideration when translating certain

sentences. Where Arabic usage is idiomatic, or needs more

clarification, both 'literal' translation and 'normal'

translation equivalents are given.

(e) Data

Data for the present study have been drawn from various sources, the main one being the speech of the writer, a native speaker of ECA. This, however, was supplemented by a number of informants who are also native speakers of the dialect. This was done because of the fact that intuitive judgements are rarely reliable especially if they are made by a linguist regarding his or her native language, and also because the intuitive judgements of linguists might be determined by their theoretical inclinations, i.e. a committed linguist is, in some cases, perhaps in most cases, overdriven by his or her theory to the extent that the linguist's judgement is often at variance with that of the layman.[1] The informants play a supporting role in the checking of examples that I have queried or rejected. Their comments or decisions are added where it seemed appropriate to do so. They were mainly consulted when, as Greenbaum (1969:4) puts it, "one's intuitions fail, or when one is concerned with checking intuitions against an independent source."

The sentences used in this study are ones I feel are entirely natural to everyday situations. I have avoided

---

1. The question of native intuitive judgement is a difficult one. Here it is taken as a working assumption that aims to make linguistic objectivity possible.

literary, political or technical discourse as these may be areas where classicism tends to creep in. Very long sentences are also avoided. In the main, sentences and non-sentential segments are short as it is supposed that very long sentences would exceed the memory span and would not parse grammaticality. I have recorded and transcribed speech that is completely spontaneous as well as speech that has been pre-planned, even outlined. Speech read from manuscript has been excluded from our main analyses.

Another source of the data has been newspapers, radio interviews and extracts from novels written in the dialect. All of the examples are used with due regard to the context. In this respect, note the following extract from Hetzron (1971:60):

"A very important assumption made here is that in language nothing is uttered without motivation, without a context. If some utterance seems to violate this principle, it will be regarded as deviant ... which means fabricating a specialized context for it. The criteria for recognizing deviant utterances are based on the apparent unmotivatedness in the situation in which they are uttered. It is, therefore, unpermissible to take out of context, half-absurd statements as examples and analyze them in order to reach conclusions about the nature of language."

From the analysis of the data at hand, two points emerged. They, we think, deserve comment.

1) An important difference is observable between the

language of newspaper reporting (group (1)), on the one

hand, and that of novels written in the dialect (imaginative

writing in particular, or plays recorded from the radio

(group (2)), on the other.

2) Group (2) shows a much larger percentage of Manner

adverbs. However, it has only just over half the percentage

of Degree adverbs found in group (1). As many of the

sentences in group (1), whether they were recorded

interviews or extracts from newspapers, concern political

and state affairs, intensifiers occur frequently. Items of

news are usually highlighted by intensifying emphasis so

that, for example, a person is not /ǥe:r ra:di/ 'not

satisfied' but /ǥe:r ra:di tama:man/ 'greatly dissatisfied',

and the situation is not /ṣaᵒb/ 'difficult' but /ṣaᵒb

giddan/ 'very difficult'.

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE ON ADVERBS

1.0 Introduction: Purpose of the study of adverbials

The word-class adverb is a subject that has caused a great deal of controversy among grammarians. The lack of homogeneity within the class could have been the reason for this. Although the class has a certain coherence, it is by no means uniform.

My aim in this chapter is neither to give a comprehensive account of previous scholarship in the field, nor to criticise what has been written, but to indicate the different opinions that grammarians have held concerning this subject. I am not going to discuss the validity of any of these opinions. A careful study of the literature on ECA shows that there is hardly any serious work that deals with the adverbs. Studies that set out to investigate different aspects of the dialect: Gadallah (1959), Abul Fetouh (1961), Gamal-Eldin (1961), Gary and Gamal-Eldin (1981), Mitchell (1962, 1978), Wise (1975), Atiya (1976), Anwar (1979), Sallam (1979), Azer (1980), Mallawany (1981), Kamel (1982), and Edwards (1988), to name but a few, have either completely avoided adverbials or referred to them in passing. All that they have mentioned would not amount to more than a few pages. Attempts by some of them to arrive at a refinement of this class have been resisted by "its multifarious function, its semantic diversity, its unsettled

24

nomenclature, its multiple occurrence in the same clause and its mercurial position. Syntactically, it can be applied to many sentence constituents. Semantically, it represents various meanings. Formally, it can be realized by different types of constructions. Positionally, it is rather free-floating." (Abbas 1991:2). This is one of the reasons that led me to investigate this subject.

1.1 The word-class adverb, non-homogeneity, classification and sub-classification.

The major aim of this chapter is not to survey historical contrastive linguistics; nevertheless a brief description of the work done on adverbs is not out of place. In Chapter 2 we shall deal with the adverb as viewed by Arab grammarians.

The apparent lack of homogeneity within the class of adverbs has concerned grammarians such as Christophersen and Sandved, who wrote:

"What is one to do, then with adverbs as a class? It seems that there are two possible ways of dealing with them. Either one can say that it is not possible to establish a class of adverbs on any other basis than that of position, i.e. distribution in sentences, or one can try to define adverbs on the basis of not inflectional but derivational suffixes." Christophersen and Sandved (1972:60)

To Gleason (1965:129) the adverb is "an excellent example of a traditional category that does not fit well in English ... The difficulty from the linguist's point of

view, then, is not in the form of the definition, but in the fact that there is no homogeneous group of words which fits the definition."

He adds: "The traditional 'adverbs' are a miscellaneous lot, having very little if anything in common." The only definition that many linguists have considered proper and were, in fact, ready to give to any part of speech was the definition given to the adverb in the school grammars. The adverb is defined as "a word that modifies a verb, an adjective or another adverb." (ibid:129) There were attempts to alter the old school definition. Most of the adverbs which modified adjectives or adverbs were excluded as 'intensifiers'. What remained to be modified by the adverb was the verb. This would suggest that the new definition might become: 'an adverb is a word that modifies a verb'. This new definition is a better one. However, one should remember that such a definition presupposes the base-and-modifier analysis in which the modifier of the phrase is considered the modifier of the head word of that phrase. An adverb can function as a modifier of verbs, predicates or whole sentences. The above definition can only be useful in the framework of "amended school grammars." (ibid:131)

After a brief attempt to sub-classify adverbs according to their position in the clause, Gleason comments briefly on the work of the Transformational-generative grammarians in the area of classification and

sub-classification of the major parts of speech. He thinks that the TG grammarians tend to "overdo it". He says: "Every paper of theirs, it seems, involves the further sub-classification of some subclass. In the welter, it is a little difficult to see the broader outlines or to understand the significance of the work." Nevertheless, he adds: "this extension of classification will certainly prove to be one of the important contributions of the movement." (ibid:134)

Crystal (1966:24ff.) and Vestergaard (1977:132) are among the grammarians who noted the strong connection between the adverb and the verb. To them, an adverb is traditionally said to be governed by a verb, just as an adjective is governed by a noun. This is not a complete definition, as adverbs may be used when they are governed by other word classes, particularly adjectives. Adverbs help to define and specify the meaning of a verb, and they therefore tend to answer questions such as 'How?' or 'When?' In the sentence *The boy is running* the verb is not particularised in any way. But it would be possible to ask how the boy was running, and then it would be necessary to introduce an adverb. The resulting sentence might then be *The boy is running quickly* or *The boy is running lazily*. Both *quickly* and *lazily* are adverbs because they indicate how the action of the verb is performed.

Earlier grammarians did not find an apparent difficulty dealing with adverbs as a class. Sweet found

"few difficulties". He looked at adverbs as being divisible into two groups: **General** and **Special**. The former class includes such words as: *there, quite, very* etc. which, he suggests, are **Primary** in that they are not formed from other parts of speech. The second group is the one which includes **Special** adverbs which are mainly formed directly from adjectives by the addition of -ly. They are **Secondary** because "they are formed from other parts of speech." Sweet (1891:118). The area where problems might arise, from Sweet's point of view, is the area of sentence-versus-word modifying adverbs: "It is often difficult to distinguish between the two classes." (ibid:123). New difficulties are bound to arise in this particular word-class because, as he states in part II *Syntax*: "Adverbs modify so many different parts of speech." Sweet (1891:II:18).

After discussing adverbs in great detail, Poutsma (1926) reaches the conclusion that there are problems, but these are of a "minor nature". He says (1926:24): "Sometimes there is some difficulty in deciding whether we have to deal with an adverb formed from the adjective by the suffix -ly or with an adjective in -ly used by way of adverb, e.g.:

We get *poorly*.

A *deadly* wounded man.

She was very *cleanly* and *plainly* dressed."[1]

Poutsma seems to be in general agreement with Sweet. His Primary and Secondary classes correspond to Sweet's General and Special classes.

Hill, in his *Introduction to Linguistic Structures*, calls for further research into the word-class adverb: "There are several classes within the large group of adverbs, all of which are not yet fully investigated." (1958:223). Crystal agrees, generally, with Hill that a thorough investigation is needed. He states that the adverbs have never been considered semantically in relation to the English verbal description, "most traditional text-books resolving the relationship in terms of a vaguely defined notional 'modification'." (1966:1). After trying to establish some sort of relationship between verbs and adverbs he comments: "Clearly to say that a word is an adverb, for example, explains little and confuses much, when one thinks that by "adverb" one could be taken to be referring to the range of words in which such disparate items, as 'then', 'however', 'yes', 'slowly', 'very', 'well' and 'who', have been yoked together." (ibid:24).

---

1.   The examples given by Poutsma here are not appropriate to the point. The context in the three examples allows adverbial interpretation only.

So far we have noticed that traditional grammarians have realized the complexities of the word-class 'adverb'. They have tried classifying and sub-classifying groups of adverbs hoping to reach a more homogeneous class without suggestions for clarifying the class. Modern linguists, on the other hand, have suggested different ways of approaching the area of adverbs. One could say that their aim was more to clarify than to classify adverbs. Some preferred to keep the class intact, whilst others attempted a process by which they eliminated from the class words that appear peripheral. Strang (1978) is one of the few contemporary linguists to take adverbs as a whole and classify them using morphological as well as other criteria, bearing in mind that the class is not easily distinguishable from other classes. Therefore we think that it is appropriate at this point to deal at some length with her comments on (and classification of) adverbs.

She writes in her book *Modern English Structure*: "We may follow tradition in applying to the class of verb-adjuncts as a whole the term 'adverb'." (1978:181-2). Pointing out some of the problems involved in the class, she says: "if more than one adjunct functions with a single head they fall into positional sub-classes; and the various differences do not much coincide, so that it is impossible to make a really neat representation." (ibid:182) She suggests that when one is interested in making distinctions within the class of adverbs, one should think in terms of "a

30

spectrum of functions rather than a spectrum of form-classes." (ibid.)

Using a simple test frame, she establishes four sub-classes:

(1) **Central adverbs**: 'pure' in that they do not have any other function but as 'adverbs' ... *here, now, often, there, seldom.*

(2) **Central variables**: adverbs which allow comparison. *'It sells cheapest/washes whitest of all detergents.'*

(3) **De-adjectival adverbs**: consisting of an adjective base followed by suffix ‑ly.

(4) **Other derivatives**: such as *astir, forwards, anyway,* etc.

She remarks: "since these divisions are partly linked with others, the distinctions are not too clear cut." (ibid:184) After a fairly brief investigation of the class she concludes: "From our survey of the adverb, it has emerged that there is a central type, with marginal types so divergent that at one point or another they impinge on the borders of the noun, pronoun, relative, interrogative, conjunction, interjection, and sentence substitute, on everything in fact except the verb." She adds: "No representation is likely to be altogether clear, straightforward, comprehensive, and free from repetition; but the most promising way of dealing with the related phenomena seems to be to take them as a whole and classify them in various ways." (ibid:191).

Morphological, functional and semantic criteria are the ones most often used by traditional grammarians in order to make distinctions within the word-class adverb. Some grammarians tend to have at least two of these criteria in mind. Others, like Christophersen and Sandved (1972), for example, depended on making their distinctions solely on the morphological criterion: "One can try to define adverbs on the basis of, not inflectional, but derivational suffixes." (1972:60). Their clear breaking of the traditional lines is reflected in the following statement: "Our class of adverbs is very different from the traditional one. Forms like *then, now, thus, yesterday, exceptionally* etc. are not adverbs. Nor are they adjectives. They very often occur in positions that are normally occupied by adverbs, however, and whenever that is the case they will be called *adverbials*." (ibid:61).

Similarly, in his attempt to 'amend' the definition given to the adverb by old school grammars, Gleason (1965) followed a purely morphological method and excluded 'intensifiers', 'limiters', 'sentence introducers', etc. from the old class 'adverb' in order to have a narrowed category. Yet the results were not satisfactory. What remains of the old adverb class are "words (which) largely modify verbs or verb phrases, whole predicates or whole sentences." (ibid:131)

32

1.2 Functional or Syntactic Criteria

The notion **modifier** has often been used in connection with adverbs. Most linguists agree that the adverb is the word that 'modifies' a verb, an adjective, etc. In phrase structure grammar the word 'modifier' has always been used to refer to the 'optional' constituent. I shall consider the adverb to have a 'function' which would be its role in the structure or structures of which it can be a constituent.

The following are examples from Armstrong (1974:15):

"   Verb phrase
He | ran (home) (quickly)| adverb modifies verb;
                                 modifies whole of Verb
                                 phrase

              Adjective phrase
              (as complement)
She is |(extremely) clever| adverb modifies adjective

              Adjective phrase
              (in apposition)
She stood |(quietly) alert| adverb modifies adjective

              Adverb phrase
She paints |(extremely) well| adverb modifies adverb

              Sentence
|(Clearly) he made a mistake| adverb as sentence
                               modifier"

The words between brackets in the above examples can be 'taken away' without affecting the grammatical structure of the sentence. They are constituents of the structure in

which they occur, but they are 'optional' constituents. The
following rules might introduce an adverb as an optional
element, within the phrase-structure grammar framework.
Chomsky (1965:106-7):[1]

(ii)   Pred. phr. ———> Aux ⌒ VP (Place) (Time)

(iii) VP ———>
$$
\left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Copula} \frown \text{predicate} \\[2ex]
\text{V} \left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\text{S}' \left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\text{(NP)(Prep-phrase)(Prep-phrase)(Manner)} \\[4ex]
\text{Predicate}
\end{array}
\right.
\end{array}
\right.
\end{array}
\right\}
$$

   From the above rules we notice that adverbs of 'Place'
and 'Time' are optional constituents of the Predicate
phrase, while those of 'Manner' are derived under the VP.
In other words, the categories of 'Place' and 'Time' are
external to the VP while 'Manner' is an internal category to
the VP[2] as indicated by the sentence: 'He rang the bell
loudly, at 5 o'clock, in the hall.' in the diagram on the
next page.

1.   For the full set of rules, see Chomsky (1965:106-7).

2.   For the terms 'internal' and 'external', see Chomsky (1965:105).

34

S

NP

VP

AUX
(Past)

V

NP

Manner

Time

Place

P

NP

P

NP

He   rang   the bell   loudly   at   5 o'clock   in   the hall
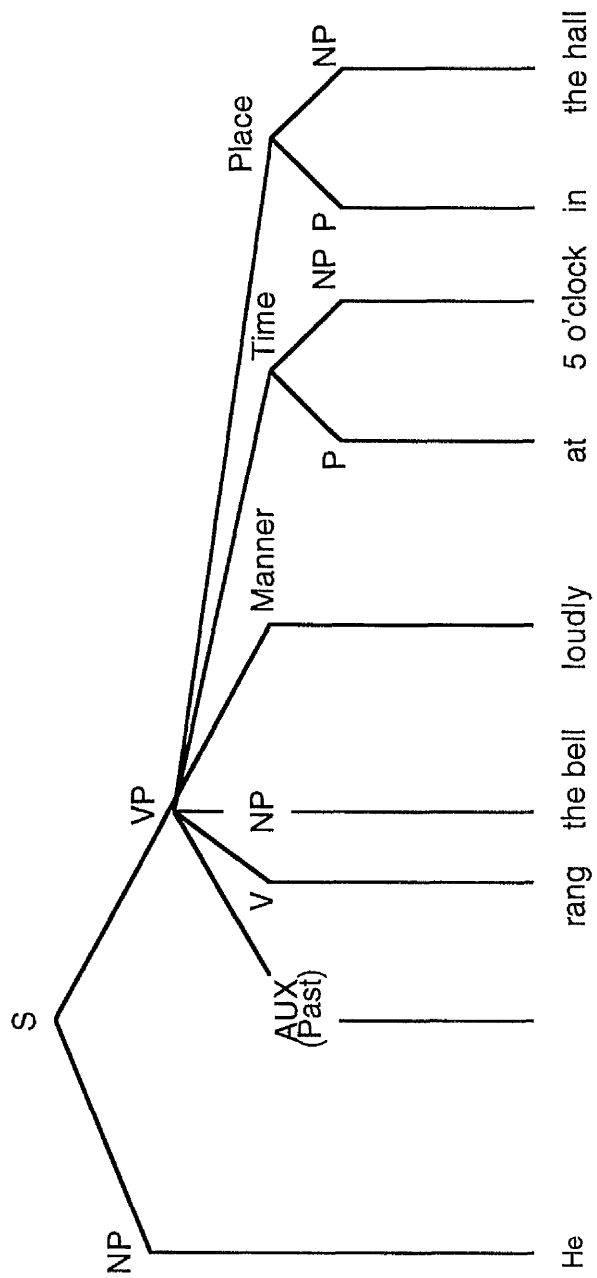
Some linguists[1] depended mainly on the distinction between adverbs as sentence modifiers and as verb or verb-phrase modifiers. This underlies Greenbaum's division of adverbs into the categories **Adjunct, Conjunct,** and **Disjunct.** Jacobson (1964) also depended on the functional role of adverbs to fashion his system. He extends the usual

function that an adverb can perform to cover more than the traditional modification process. He divides adverbs into four main classes. The first one comprises adverbs that perform the traditional modifying functions. The second includes **Complementary adverbials,** i.e. adverbials that serve as complements. The **Referential** adverbials include ones that are drawing attention to other constituents. The last class contains adverbials that connect sentences or constituents, i.e. **Conjunctive** adverbs. Jacobson has an additional class which consists of such adverbials as 'who' and 'after', as in the following examples from Jacobson (1964:28-52):

"<< who >> here, by the way, is doing all this?

The damage may occur before, during, or immediately << after >> birth.

The following examples illustrate classes 2-4:

2.a) <u>Out</u> came the slow smile.

---

1.   See Steinitz (1969) and Jackendoff (1969).

b) Almost certainly God is not <u>in time</u>.

3.a) I'm sorry for you, <u>especially</u> as you are a sensitive person.

b) (Background) <u>alone</u> was lacking.

4.a) A large living room and a bedroom alongside it occupy this side of each flat. <u>Behind</u> are another bedroom..."

From the foregoing sections we notice that most linguists clarify adverbs by their function as modifiers. Fries (1952) is a notable exception. He could be taken as following different lines to other linguists, as shown by the following passage:

"All the conventional school grammars deal extensively with the 'parts of speech', usually given as eight in number, and explained in definitions that have become traditional. It has often been assumed that the traditional definitions furnish an adequate set of criteria by which to make the classification." Fries (1952:65)

He indicates that the definition given to various parts of speech are not consistent, giving as an example: "a noun is a name", which classifies by lexical meanings, "an adjective is a word that modifies a noun or a pronoun, which attempts to classify by function." And further: "The basis of definition slides from meaning to function ... we cannot use 'lexical' meaning as the basis for the definition of some classes 'function' in the sentence for others, and formal characteristics for still others." (ibid:67-8)

He regarded parts of speech as "functioning units"

37

(ibid:73). He did not discard completely the notion of 'function'.[1] He uses it in the sense of position of occurrence; a word functions as an adverb (i.e. a class 4 word) according to its position in the sentence. Fries' notion of function here is similar to that used by phrase structuralists. He attempted a different method for classifying word-classes. According to Fries, words can be collected into four groups by a process of substitution. Group 4 is equivalent to adverbs. He divided his function words into fifteen groups. Seven of these fifteen groups contain items under the label 'adverb' (at least in the traditional sense of the word) although we are warned against considering members of this group equivalent to those in the traditional adverb group. The adverb class, according to Fries, is divisible into eight new classes. There is a degree of homogeneity among the members of each new class, yet some of the groups that Fries uses are "not homogenous enough to help reach best results." Gleason (1965:130)

"Fries' method of classifying parts of speech by structural, substitution frames without resorting to traditional terminology circumvents, to a great extent, the controversy regarding adverbs and other word-classes, but his work is limited by its method and does not appear to

---

1. For more on the notions of 'function' and function words in this sense, see Christophersen and Sandved (1972:66-7).

have been followed up by other scholars with any
seriousness. It would be interesting, for example, to see
how he would deal with a situation where a 'group 4' word
corresponding most closely to the traditional adverb
category did not fit into the position it is said to hold in
any of his three frames, e.g. 'He *slowly* walked away.'
Fries assumes that words which we would recognise as adverbs
occupy end positions." Armstrong (1974:11)

1.3 Semantic Criteria

"The adverb has been defined semantically as a
sentence constituent which expresses a *function of a*
function where the term function is to be understood in the
sense in which it is used in the predicate calculus." Huang
(1975:9) In the light of this definition, it is obvious
that constituents that satisfy it can vary a great deal in
their syntactic properties. "The syntactic category of
adverbs, then, somewhat in the style of Lyons (1966) can be
defined, in languages for which it is relevant, as the part
of speech satisfying the semantic definition for adverbs but
failing to exhibit the inflectional or distributional
properties of nouns, verbs and adjectives." (ibid.)

Linguists have not always been able to distinguish
between syntactic criteria on the one hand, and the semantic
ones on the other. It is always useful to use both, yet the
area of 'meaning' is often resorted to when ambiguity occurs
in the order of words. Some grammarians depend on purely
syntactic criteria and some others may find semantic ones

39

more tempting to clarify ambiguities. It is not usually an easy matter to draw a clear line between the two.

The traditional classification of adverbs has often been done with the help of the 'meaning' of those adverbs. Reference to the interrogative words to which adverbs would respond helps in establishing different classes of adverbs. How?, why? and when? are the generally accepted adverbial interrogatives and 'place', 'time', 'quantity', 'cause', 'assertion', etc. are some of the main heads under which adverbs are classified according to their meaning. Adverbs of Comparison e.g. *alike*, Association e.g. *together*, Lack, Separation e.g. *hopelessly*, Means, Instrument, Material Agent e.g. *thereby*, and adverbs of Origin e.g. *hence* were established by Jacobson (1964) in his detailed classification of adverbs accroding to meaning. He maintains that several shades of meaning have to be noted especially when one is dealing with adverbs like those of 'Manner'. The force of one adverb may 'overshade' (Jacobson 1964:22) that of another; for example, *badly* in:

I *badly* want a drink.

is a mixture of Degree and Manner, but the force of Degree is stronger than that of manner. All through his work one finds examples of adverbials that seem to have multiple semantic functions.

Gleason (1965) has three classes of adverb: **Manner** (how), **Temporal** (when) and **Locative** (where). He did not have a class of adverbs responding to the Interrogative

40

(why). This may have been because Reason adverbs are often

in the form of the adverbial phrase or clause:

'He went home because he wanted to.'

rather than a single word.

Since there is no definite set of criteria for

identifying the adverb class, we now turn our attention to

more recent linguistic works on adverbials, as well as to

works by linguists who considered overlapping criteria of

different kinds as a way of making distinctions within the

class.

Lakoff's discussion of adverbs has been criticised in

recent works on adverbial constructions. Lakoff (1971a) is

of the opinion that there is no need for a separate category

for adverbials in general, and for manner adverbials in

particular, in the base of the grammar. According to

Lakoff, adverbials appear as predicates of higher sentences,

i.e. in sentences of the base structure which are higher in

the structure tree than what corresponds to the main clause

of the surface structure. "In these higher sentences we

have, as predicates, constructions consisting of an

adjective and a preposition, for example,

     .... carefully .... careful in

     .... well .... good in"

<div align="right">Bartsch (1976:347)</div>

Lakoff maintains that in the case of negation and

question formation, what is actually negated or questioned

is the VP of the highest underlying sentence. Also, in the

case of the imperative, it is the highest sentence that is interpreted as imperative, "and the sentence minus the imperative is presupposed to be true:

Drive carefully!;

Be careful in driving!" (ibid.)

Lakoff presented similar arguments for locative and other adverbs. He also argued that in the case of instrumental, reason, locative and frequency adverbs, too, the negation does not refer to the verb of the main clause or sentence but rather to the adverbial.[1]

Kuroda (1969) concentrated on manner adverbials and their relationship to adjectives. He followed Katz and Postal (1964)'s suggestion that adverbs like 'elegantly', 'happily' and 'unbelievably' cannot be derived from 'in an ADJ manner'. This is only possible for 'elegantly'. "The phrase 'in an unbelievable' manner' cannot be transformed in English into the manner adverb 'unbelievably', since 'unbelievably' can only function as a sentence adverb." Bartsch (1976:350)

According to Kuroda, all the -ly adverbs, whether sentence adverbials or manner adverbials, are surface realisations of predicative adjectives of sentences which stand one grade higher in the deep structure. In Kuroda's study of adverbs no detailed analaysis of the deep

1. See Bartsch (1976:348-9) for examples to refute Lakoff's claim.

structure is given.

In his dissertation 'The free adverbial in a generative grammar of German', McKay (1969) makes a distinction between free and non-free adverbials. Free adverbials do not require a subcategorisation of the verb; non-free adverbials, however, do. Locative, temporal and causative adverbials are included in the free adverbials group. They are introduced into the structure tree as a co-constituent of a sentence nucleus and appear under S.

```
                    S
                  /   \
                /       \
             Nucl        Adv  (free adverbials)
            /  \
          NP    VP
```
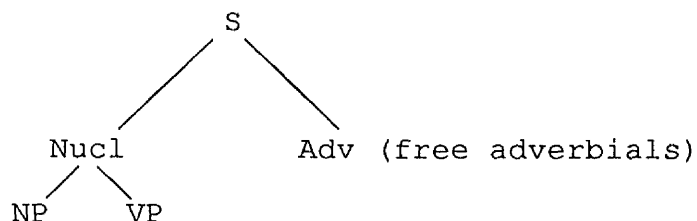
All adverbials that can be predicated of events, circumstances and acts are free adverbials that can occur outside a sentence nucleus node, except for obligatory locative adverbials. McKay thinks that modal verbs[1] cannot appear together with free adverbials within the same structure which itself is the reason that the category Adv cannot be put next to S. However, Bartsch (1976:351) gives examples such as:

"(8) In Liechtenstein branchst du Keine Steuern

---

1.   For 'modal' verbs, see Svartvik (1966:10).

zuzahlen, im Gegensatz Deutschland.

'In Liechtenstein you need not pay taxes, in contrast to Germany.'

(9) Im Hause drafst du Lärmen soviel du willst, aber nicht draussen.

'Inside the house you may make as much noise as you like, but not outside.'

(10) Vor 10 Jahren mussten die Schweden links fahren, jetzt aber rechts.

'Ten years ago the Swedes had left-hand traffic, today they have right-hand traffic.'"
in which modal verbs co-occur with locative and temporal adverbials in the same structure.

One can argue in favour of McKay's analysis of locative, temporal and other relational adverbials and say that these adverbials cannot be applied to sentences used performatively but only to their propositional content. The analysis proposed in McKay's study of adverbs does not explain clearly how, among other things, adverbs of duration and frequency, for example, are to be represented within the nucleus.

In Chapter 5 of his dissertation, Jackendoff (1969) thoroughly investigates the questions of the syntactic representation and semantic interpretation of adverbials. He generates adverbials directly in the position of AUX in the base. By using a transportability convention they can then be optionally moved either into sentence initial position, which is typical of sentence adverbs in English,

or into sentence final position, which is characteristic of the VP-adverbs in English. "Adverbs like 'cleverly', 'clumsily', etc. ... are ambiguous in auxiliary position since they can be interpreted either as sentence adverbs or as VP-adverbs." (ibid:214) Jackendoff offers two different projection rules, for the semantic interpretation of sentence adverbs and VP-adverbs respectively. Jackendoff's rules attracted a lot of criticism from many linguists. Bartsch (ibid:353), for instance, sees that they are not quite clear and sees that the functions of the two projection rules call for an explication which can be best done by means of a "logico-semantic representation". (ibid.) In Jackendoff's view, temporal and locative adverbials are indifferent with respect to the distinction of sentence adverb versus VP-adverb.

Two points should be made clear regarding Jackendoff's analysis of adverbials. First, temporal and locative adverbials exhibit a particular syntactic behaviour which is quite different from that of manner adverbs or from that of instrumental adverbs. Second, Jackendoff argues that manner adverbials (or any other adverbial) can be generated in the base, simply because they can appear in connection with gerundive noun phrases. This is not so.

"What the derivation of Jackendoff's example (25) requires –

(25) John's rapidly reading the letter ... (gerundive)

- is that the nominal in (25) should be generated by means of nominalization which should apply only after the adverbial has already been generated. Thus, Jackendoff's structure (24)

(24) John's rapid reading of the letter ... (derived nominal)

has to precede (25) in the process of derivation. It is in fact converted by nominalization to (25). Instead of deriving, in the usual way, (24) from the sentence (15) 'John is rapidly reading the letter', we may choose the opposite way: we can derive (15) from the form 'John's reading of the letter is rapid', which corresponds to (24)." Bartsch (1976:353)

Steinitz (1969) bases her analysis on the traditional subject-predicate dichotomy following Chomsky's 'Aspects of the theory of syntax'. She splits the sentence up into an NP and a VP, and the adverbials belong to the VP. The category adverb is divided into two sub-categories: Adv and Advb. Adv is an obligatory co-constituent of the verb and it contributes to the subcategorization of verbs. Advb is further classified into $Advb_1$ and $Advb_2$; it is an optional complement and has no bearing on the subcategorization of the verbs. According to Steinitz, the category $Advb_1$ covers the causative, durative, instrumental and locative adverbials. Manner, instrumental and locative adverbials are included in the category $Advb_2$. She maintains that $Advb_1$-adverbials can be further developed into sentences,

while Advb$_2$-adverbials cannot. Certain verbs, by the Steinizian analysis, must contain an obligatory directional or locative adverbial as a co-constituent. These verbs also contain the Pro-form relation R$_{dir}$(r,y), or R$_{loc}$(r,y) with unspecified y in the logical representation. "One may thus argue against Steinitz's proposal by pointing out that there is no need to introduce an obligatory category Adv into the deep structure, since the appropriately subcategorized verbs contain in their logico-semantic analysis, R$_{dir}$(r,y) or R$_{loc}$(r,y) where y is a Pro-form. This means that the corresponding semantic features, so long as they are unspecified, are contained among the semantic features of the verbs as 'to somewhere', 'from somewhere' or 'somewhere'. Therefore, it is not always necessary to attach directional or locative adverbials to these verbs, i.e. to specify the relations R$_{dir}$(r,y) or R$_{loc}$(r,y) in actual usage." Bartsch (ibid:360)

In his criticism of Steinitz's approach, Bartsch also adds: "This specification can, for example, be given by the speech situation as in (Peter comes often). It may even be the case that no specification is needed at all, as for example in (Peter travels much). The assumption of an obligatory directional or locative adverbial for some verbal subclasses would have the consequence that one should be forced to consider as ungrammatical sentences like (Peter travels much), (Peter throws far), (Peter travels in Africa), (Peter runs in the stadium), (Peter throws in the

47

stadium), (Peter lives in luxury), (Mariechen was just running without support)." (ibid:360-1)

These sentences and similar ones should be listed separately, as the obligatory adverbial is not present. The mode of action described by the verb is the reason for this. In the logico-semantic analysis, however, the sentences mentioned above are not ungrammatical as the verbs in sentences like (Peter is sitting) contain the unspecified directional or locative complements (to somewhere), or (from somewhere), or (somewhere). These complements are never specified and can disappear from the surface structure completely if the speaker diverts his attention to another type of information, such as the efficiency, mode, time, etc. of the action, for example (Hans would like to throw). Bartsch, therefore, finds no need to have either obligatory or optionial categories of these adverbials. "In other words, the category ADV can be dispensed with in surface structure for locative and directional adverbials because of the semantic representation given for the verbs subclassified with respect to ADV_{loc} or ADV_{dir}, if it is not further specified by additional information. Thus, in contrast to the Steinitzian approach, the adverbials need not be classified into obligatory and optional adverbials, and this is so because we have given a uniform relational representation for predicates that contain locative or directional adverbials." (ibid.)

He adds: "The advantage of this approach is evident

since – as is shown by the above mentioned examples – quite

a few verbs that would require, according to Steinitz,

obligatory directional adverbials, can in fact very well

stand without a directional adverbial or with a locative,

manner, or temporal adverbial. In some cases they can be

used without any adverbial." (ibid.)

Steinitz (1969:14) states that not only do Adv_{loc} and

Adv_{dir} require a subcategorization of the verbs, but also

manner adverbials (Adv_{mod}). Verbs like 'act', 'behave',

'conduct' all require a manner complement. In pages 72-3

she attempts to explain all adverbials on the basis of

prepositional phrases.

To Steinitz the following sentences are ungrammatical:

Die Einweihung des Denkmals fand statt.

'The inauguration of the monument took place.'

Das feuer im Keller war enstanden.

'The fire in the cellar arose.'

Der Unfall mit der Rehgruppe geschah.

'The accident with the deer herd had happened.'

Der Brand brach aus.

'The blaze broke out.'

Der Tumult brach aus.

'The tumult broke out.' (ibid:26-8)

We notice that the verbs in the above sentences refer

to and specify the existence or the coming into being of an

event or circumstance. These verbs have an obligatory

adverbial complement only in the cases where the sentence

subject is definite.   If the corresponding sentences are used with an indefinite article in the sentence subject phrase, the sentences are still grammatical and meaningful:

Ein Feuer (im Keller) war enstanden.

'A fire arose (in the cellar).'

Ein Unfall mit der Rehgruppe geschah.

'An accident happened with the deer herd.'

Ein Brand brach aus.

'A blaze broke out.'

Ein Tumult brach aus.

'A tumult broke out.'

"Steinitz's claim must be corrected in the following way.   Verbs which express existence or coming into being do not always require adverbial complements - only if the sentence subject is a definite description.   If the sentence subject is an indefinite description, then the adverbials can be dispensed with.   For example,

Ein Tumult brach aus.

'A tumult broke out.'" (Bartsch 1976:364)

The above explanation provides a solution to the problems that sentences like 'Peter is at home' pose.   The locative adverb in such sentences cannot be deleted.   The verb 'to be' here has the meaning of 'is' or 'is located'. In other words, no more information is provided other than what is already contained in the presupposition connected with the definite subject, the proper noun in our sentence.

From the above discussion we conclude that "the

Steinitzian distinction between obligatory and optional
adverbials is not a matter to be accounted for in the
syntactic component but rather a question which can best be
explained by means of the formation rules of the logico-
semantic representation and by means of the logico-semantic
(lexical) representations of verbs." (ibid:365)

1.4 Syntactic - Semantic Criteria

Greenbaum (1969:14) uses criteria which are both
syntactic and semantic. An adverb is acceptable in a
particular syntactic environment only after its equivalence
or non- equivalence of meaning is tested in two environments
(because of the existence of homonyms). His
'Correspondences' is an instance of such semantic-syntactic
criteria, where the sentence is paraphrased within a certain
structural framework (Greenbaum 1969:104):

"Wisely,
Rightly, } he didn't say anything about it.
————> For him not to say anything about it was wise.
The action is wise.
————> It is a wise action.
The action is right.
————> It is a right action.
The man is wise.
————> He is a wise man.
The man is right.[1]

1.   Right (and other adjectives in the same semantic area, e.g. wrong,
      correct, incorrect) do not occur as attributive adjectives with
      the same meaning as they have as predicative adjectives, unless
      the noun is factive like action above. (cf. Bolinger 1967:14)
      (Greenbaum 1969:109).

51

———> He is a right man."

Greenbaum uses well-defined criteria to differentiate
between his categories of conjuncts, disjuncts and adjuncts.
His criteria were selected to 'isolate' those adverbs that
are most peripheral in the clause. He recognises various
types within each category. Some of them were similar in
name to the ones used by other linguists like 'temporal' and
'manner', and others such as 'aspectual adjuncts' (ibid:163)
which include adverbs like: *morally*, *politically*,
economically etc. One of the features of this type of
adverb is that they can be replaced by a construction with
the participle *speaking*, e.g. economically can be replaced
by *economically speaking*, as in the following example:

Economically, the country is facing a great problem

———> Economically speaking, the country is facing a
great problem.

'Formulaic adjuncts' (ibid:167) is another of
Greenbaum's types of adjunct. They are restricted to
certain environments. *Humbly*, *graciously*, and *kindly* are
among the members of this new type. Greenbaum's
classification is based on what may loosely be called
'transformational criteria'. He tests the ability of the
adverb to operate in certain structures that are
syntactically and semantically related to one another, then
establishes his diagnostic criteria. It is mainly in this
respect, as well as in the use of question forms, that
modern linguists have given some precision to the area of

classifying adverbs on semantic bases.

The area of sentence versus word-modifying adverbs is one of the difficult areas in the study of language. A clear distinction is not always easy to draw. Meaning or 'Semantic force' of the adverbial element as well as its position in the structure are often used to clear ambiguities. Sweet (1891:123) remarks: "All adverbs fall under the two heads of word-modifying and sentence- modifying, although it is often difficult to distinguish between the two classes." Some cases of ambiguity concerning sentence- and word-modifying adverbs are discussed by Western in his book *Some Remarks on the Use of English Adverbs*. Western was not sure about sentences like: 'Banishing the reserve I had so foolishly planned.' (Western 1906:75). He asks: "Does it mean that I planned the reserve in a foolish manner, so that the plan failed when it came to be carried out, or does it mean that I considered it a foolish thing to have planned that reserve at all." (ibid.)

Western then decides that it is a sentence modifier and remarks that it is generally possible to decide on the basis of position between the sentence-modifier adverbs and those which modify verbs only, although the rule is not always without exception.

1.5 Greenbaum's Diagnostic Criteria

The distinction between adverb as a VP modifier and as a sentence modifier underlies Greenbaum's division of adverbs into the categories Adjunct, Conjunct, Disjunct. Greenbaum devotes much of his work *Studies in English*

Adverbial Usage (1969) to sentence-modifiers or sentence adverbs. In this book, he suggests ways to distinguish the broad category of adjuncts from the categories which mainly occur as sentence-modifiers, i.e. conjuncts and disjuncts. A series of tests is applied to adverbs in clauses to determine the presence or absence of "certain syntactic features of the adverbs". (ibid:15) Criteria are established and the adverb is tested against them in order to determine whether it has 'adjunctive' function in the clause. According to Greenbaum, one of these criteria, at least, must be satisfied, otherwise the adverb would not perform the 'adjunctive' function. Conversely, all the criteria must be inapplicable in order for the function to be other than adjunctive (i.e disjunct or conjunct).

Here follow the criteria with examples to illustrate them:

"**Diagnostic Criterion 1:** The item must be unacceptable in initial position in an independent tone unit with a rising, falling-rising, or level nuclear tone when the clause is negated.

Diagnostic Criterion 2: The item must be able to serve as the focus of clause interrogation, as demonstrated by its ability to be contrasted with another focus in alternative interrogation.

Diagnostic Criterion 3: The item must be able to serve as the focus of clause negation, as demonstrated by its ability to be contrasted with another focus in

alternative negation."(ibid:24)

An adverb that does not satisfy any of the above criteria is not an adjunct. In other words, if the adverb is affected by clausal processes, it is an adjunct. For example, although *quickly* can appear initially in a positive clause, as in:

1.   *Quickly*, he answered the question.

it cannot do so if the clause is negative:

1a.   **Quickly*, he didn't answer the question.

Hence, *quickly* is an adjunct. *Perhaps*, on the other hand, is unaffected by whether the clause is positive or negative:

2.   *Perhaps* they paid the money.

2a.   *Perhaps* they didn't pay the money.

Adverbs in the following examples are adjuncts because they are integrated to some extent into the structure of the clause and they satisfy criteria 2 and 3 respectively.

3.   She spoke to him *willingly*.

3a.   Did she speak to him *willingly*, or did she speak to him reluctantly.

4.   She always replied *politely*.

4a.   She did not always reply politely, but she did reply *politely* sometimes.

Adverbs thus separated were then assigned to two major classes on the basis of one criterion: whether they could serve as the response to a *yes/no* question (though they sometimes require to be accompanied by yes or no). Those that could not serve as a response (even if accompanied by yes or no) were classed as <u>conjuncts</u>, while those that could

55

were classed as <u>disjuncts</u>. In the following examples
certainly is a disjunct:

5   *Certainly,* she didn't know what she was doing.

5a   Did she *certainly* know what she was doing? Or did she
partially know what she was doing?

5b   She *certainly* didn't know what she was doing, but she did.

5c   Did she know what she was doing?

       Certainly, yes.

and *however* is a conjunct

       Was the lecture long?

       *However, yes.

       Conjuncts and disjuncts are peripheral to clause
structure, the distinction between them being that conjuncts
have primarily a connective function. The word 'disjunct'
is "a term suggesting their lack of integration within the
clause to which they are subordinate." (ibid:25) Figure 1.1
below (Quirk et al. 1985:421, fig.8.1) summarises the
distinctions that have just been made:

Figure 1.1

```
                          Adverbs
                         /       \
                        /         \
                       /           \
                      /             \
              Integrated         Peripheral
           in clause structure   in clause structure
                  |                    /     \
                  |                   /       \
                  |                  /         \
                  |            Primarily      Primarily
                  |         non-connective    connective
                  |                |              |
                  |                |              |
              Adjuncts         Disjuncts      Adjuncts
```
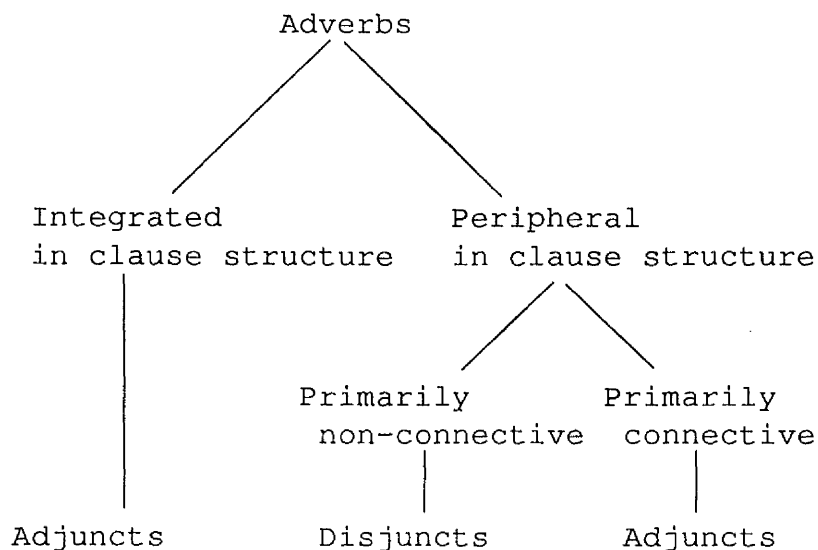
Disjuncts were in turn divided into sub-classes: style disjuncts (ibid:81-93) and attitudinal disjuncts (ibid:94-182).

1.6 Armstrong's Criticism of Greenbaum's Criteria

In her thesis on Manner adverbs, Armstrong extracted all the -ly adverbs from a large corpus and tested them against Greenbaum's criteria. Here follow some of her examples (Armstrong 1974:26-7):

"5. The marriage will be <u>quietly</u> celebrated in early February.

5a. *<u>Quietly</u>, the marriage will not be celebrated in early February.

5b. Will the marriage be <u>quietly</u> celebrated or will it be widely celebrated?

5c. The marriage will not be <u>quietly</u> celebrated but will be tastefully celebrated.

6.   Kennedy assured Chiang Kai-Check's emissary that

the US is as _firmly_ opposed as ever to the admission of Red China to the UN.

6a. *As _firmly_ as ever, the US is not opposed to the admission of Red China to the UN.

6b. Is the US as _firmly_ opposed as ever to the admission ... or is she half-heartedly opposed?

6c. The US is not as _firmly_ as ever ... but she is strongly opposed."

After checking similar -ly adverbs against the three criteria suggested by Greenbaum, Armstrong writes:

"Some examples answered two criteria with ease, but there was some doubt about a third criterion, and it became increasingly obvious that Greenbaum's last two criteria, especially the third, were not easy to handle and needed to be widened in scope." (ibid.)

One of the difficulties in applying Greenbaum's criteria is the type of verb that allows a predictable relationship with certain adverbs. These verbs collocationally restrict the range of adverbs used as modifiers:[1]

"- He urgently urged a ceasefire.

- He courageously defends the rights of small nations.

- Spanish textiles pour into the British market unrestrictedly.

---

1. For further comments on collocability, see Chapter 4 p. 212-17.

- We should stand firmly and courageously for our

    right of access to Berlin.

In these contexts, the verb 'urge' implies 'urgency';
'defend' implies some form of courage; 'stand', particularly
with the auxiliary 'should', restricts the use of alternative
adverbs; 'pour' implies 'without restriction'. Thus, in every
case it is difficult to find an adverb of contrasting meaning
that could fit easily into the alternative negation and
alternative interrogation tests."(ibid:28)[1]

Another of the difficulties in applying Greenbaum's
criteria concerns the tight restriction on the range of
adverbs that would be allowed in alternative negation and
alternative interrogation, in other words when criterion (i)
and criterion (ii) are applied, as *politely* in the following
example:

"'He replied to them politely.'" Greenbaum (1969:20)
Greenbaum says that it satisfies criterion (ii) since it can
be contrasted in alternative interrogation:

"'Did he reply to them *politely* or did he reply to
them *rudely*?'" (ibid.)

---

1. Perhaps Greenbaum has such examples in mind when he admits that
   only one criterion needs to be satisfied for the adverb to qualify
   as an adjunct, thus allowing this degree of latitude, particularly
   in the area in question.

Unfortunately, these examples and similar ones tend to put some restrictions on the type of adverb that is allowed in alternative negation or alternative interrogation. We think that the adverb does not have to be completely antonymous with the word which it contrasts. We agree with Armstrong (1974:28) in assuming that both the following are acceptable uses of criterion (ii):[1]

1 He did not reply to them *politely*, but he did reply to them *coherently*.

2 He did not reply to them *politely*, but he did *at least* reply to them.

Therefore, for *politely* to satisfy criterion (ii), it is not essential for it to be completely antonymous with items like *rudely* as one can take 1 and 2 above as acceptable uses of the criterion.

Armstrong chose 12 examples from her corpus and the adverb *clearly* appeared in each of them. All the examples were tested against Greenbaum's diagnostic criteria for adjuncts and then tabulated. (Armstrong 1974:29-31) Seven of the examples answered at least one of the criteria and were, therefore, according to Greenbaum, considered adjuncts, whereas the remainder were taken to disjuncts. Examining the sentences used by Armstrong, the following

---

1. In Quirk et al. (1984:422) there is another example which seems to widen the scope: "He writes to his parents because he wants to" — Does he write to his parents because he wants to or because he needs money?"

points need to be taken into consideration with regard to the diagnostic criteria suggested by Greenbaum:

(1) The appearance of adverbs like *clearly* followed by a string such as *into focus* which implies clarity in sentences like:

The plot of the tournament came *clearly into focus*.

(Armstrong's example 4)

puts a fairly tight restriction on the type of adverb that can be used in alternative interrogation and alternative negation tests. It is difficult, as we mentioned earlier in the chapter, to find an adverb of contrasting meaning to fit the requirements of those tests. For this reason, the following, as Armstrong noted, would be unacceptable:

*dimly into focus

*vaguely into focus

(2) Another point concerns the question which Greenbaum does not seem to answer fully,[1] i.e. the question of the alternative adverb that has to be used for the criterion or criteria to be applicable. For instance, one would ask if an adverb such as *obviously* occurs in a sentence like the following:

She has *obviously* understood the answer.

Will the following alternatives be acceptable:

Does she *obviously* know the answer - or

---

1.   See p. 54-6   for earlier reference to this point.

only *vaguely*?

only *partially*?

At this point, it has become clear that the issue has its seeds in traditional grammar. In the light of recent linguistic views, such points have been subject to more explanation and research. In the following chapters attempts will be made to explore these points and, hopefully, reach a solution using our own corpus material.

CHAPTER TWO

CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFICATION

SECTION I

2.1.0 The Adverb in Traditional Grammar

Traditional, Structural, Transformational, Tagmemic etc. are labels given to competing grammatical models in linguistics. Most of the studies done on adverbs have made use of one or the other of these models. Despite the fact that the procedures followed in each and every model are not dissimilar, there is advantage to be gained in allotting them different labels as each study represents a certain period in the development of linguistic theory.

In previous pages, we have briefly covered the most prominent studies on adverbs without making specific reference to the approach followed in each study. It was mainly the traditional approach that we looked at as our starting point whilst hinting at other models which were built on the traditional basis but had specific assumptions and contributions to areas of interest in the category of adverb.

Most of the studies carried out by traditionalists in the area of adverbs are generally characterised by the following:

(1) Extensive use of examples. Some of the studies can be considered as supportive information, being mainly

citation dictionaries of adverbs.

(2)   Special emphasis on the historical development of each individual expression that contains an adverb.   This often resulted in unsystematic presentations as it was based on random methods of example collection.

(3)   Some interest in specific areas such as verb-adverb compounds.   Generalisations were made but we were always forewarned of many exceptions (see H. Eitrem, 'Stress in English Verb-Adverb Groups', *Englische Studien*, XXXII, 1903).

(4)   Lack of the formal machinery that the generative grammarians possess, which has led to an indirect and somewhat awkward approach to 'related Structures' and co-occurrence restrictions by such traditionalists as Western ('Some Remarks on the Use of English Adverbs', *Englische Studien*, XXXVI, 1906).

(5)   Interest in distribution and how it affected meaning.

(6)   A tendency to make semantic statements without trying to analyse the structural signals which account for the semantics.

In conclusion, the traditionalists have probably made more original statements about adverbs than have any other grammarians.   Areas like distribution, substitution, strict subcategorisation and co-occurrence restrictions were covered.   Significant statements in reference to two-word verbs were made.   They even suggested some transformations.

Yet, all of these were offered without the use of a systematic and complete formal model. Their most important subcategorisations of adverbs were based on meaning. Their writings were mainly motivated by logic and semantics (rather than syntax) and their definitions were inconsistent. Nevertheless, the contributions they made in the area of adverbs were significant. The early traditionalists were the first to set up the category 'Adverb' and were also the first to give us a penetrating insight into the system of adverbials. More specific problems were investigated in the other models and at least some of the findings of the traditionalists were formalised.

Those who adopted the tagmemic approach offered a little more than a mere procedure for classifying adverbs. The structural model is as formal as the tagmemic one. It also has points of weakness which prevent it from being useful to a sufficient degree: it does not account for anything except performance and lacks the transformational component.

In this study, the syntactic as well as the semantic functions of the exponents of the 'Adv' node will be examined within the general framework of the transformational generative model. We shall also make use of the findings of the traditionalists, the structuralists, etc. Minor modifications are needed for the rules in the discovery of relationships between sequences. Both semantic and syntactic criteria will be used to account for the

functions performed by adverbs.

Those grammarians who have treated the adverb as an autonomous category have generally been content to set up classification procedures necessarily based on performance (rather than competence) and which, therefore, could never represent a comprehensive account of the general properties of adverbials. Those grammarians who have treated adverbials from the standpoint of transformational grammar have dealt only with minor segments of the overall adverbial category and have substantiated the autonomy of just that particular segment with which they concerned themselves.

If considered from a purely linguistic point of view, the category adverbial is much too heterogeneous to be considered a single category. On the other hand, the concept of adverbial, with all its heterogeneity, is a well-known concept to the extent that grammarians are generally in agreement as to which expressions are adverbials and which are not.

In this study, the adverb is therefore considered to be a useful, but highly arbitrary, construct.

2.1.1 The Adverb as a Modifier:[1] A Criterion for Classification

Lyons (1969:334) writes: "It is a fundamental principle of traditional grammar, and also of much modern

---

1. For the function of the adverb as a modifier of an adjective or another adverb, see Chapter 4, p 274-5 and p. 376 for the adverb as a modifier of the verb.

syntactic theory that every simple declarative sentence

consists of two obligatory major constituents (a subject and

a predicate), and it may contain, in addition, one or more

adjuncts (adjuncts of place, time, manner, reason, etc.)

which are optional or structurally disposable constituents

of the sentence: they may be removed, without affecting the

remainder of the sentence."

In the same book Lyons tries to find a proper

definition of the adverb and writes on page 326: "the adverb

is a part of speech which serves as a modifier of a verb, an

adjective, or another adverb or adverbial phrase." Lyons

was not the only grammarian to define the adverb in relation

to modification. Many grammarians depended on the vaguely

notional modification to resolve the relationship between

the adverb and other parts of speech. The term 'adverb'

depended implicitly upon an earlier and wider sense of

'verb'. Adjectives and verbs were considered as members of

the same major class.

The Latin prefix 'ad-' in 'adverb' may be translated

as 'attached to and modifying'. This perhaps explains why

the adverb has always been defined as a modifier of the

verb. However, the definition given above makes reference

to the 'modification' of adjectives as well as to

'modification' of verbs. The definition also implies that

the adverb is a 'recursive'[1] category in the sense that an adverb may modify another. In addition, adverbs themselves constitute a very heterogeneous class and it is doubtful whether any general theory of syntax would have the power to bring together, as members of the same syntactic class, all forms that are traditionally known as adverbs. Yet, one may avoid being submerged in the vast whirlpool of adverbs by limiting the definition that centres the adverb's function around the verb and regard it as a verb modifier. This certainly suggests a more homogeneous group. However, one has to bear in mind that it presupposes the base and head modifier analysis which underlies the school grammars whereby the modifiers of the head word in the phrase can also function as modifiers of the whole phrase. Adverbs modify verbs, predicates and whole sentences, but verbs can play the role of 'head' in a predicate or in a sentence. Certainly, the definition which limits the adverb to a 'verb-modifier' is a better definition as it narrows the adverb class and makes it easy to handle. Yet, it has its drawbacks, and a good deal of subclassification is needed as the class is still far from homogeneous. Besides, as many recent studies (Kuroda (1969), Jackendoff (1969), Lyons (1977), Quirk et al. (1984 and 1986) and Mittwoch (1980)) have shown, there are certain adverbs that cannot always be

---

1.   Lyons (1969:326).

taken as modifying just the verb. Larger segments of the sentence may be covered in the process of modification performed by the adverb.

Moreover, the process of subclassification is bound to produce few subclasses of adverbials which are not distinguishable as such solely on the basis of their function as modifiers in the structure. Another point has been referred to by Lyons in *Semantics Part II* (1977:450): "It has long been recognised by grammarians that there are many syntactically and semantically distinguishable subclasses of what are conventionally classified as adverbs, and that several of these subclasses are such that their members cannot be said to modify an adjective, a verb or another adverb."

However, there is a class of adverbs which seems to satisfy the traditional syntactic criterion and that is the class of adverbs of Degree. There is always a transformationally explicable relationship between an expression containing an adjective modified by an adverb of Degree on one hand, and a noun modified by an adjective on the other, as in "'remarkably clever' and 'remarkable cleverness', and in 'outstandingly beautiful' and 'outstanding beauty'." (ibid.)[1]

Adverbs of Manner such as 'fluently' in 'He speaks

---

1.   See also Mathesuis (1975:140-1).

English fluently' would also seem to satisfy the traditional criterion as the adverb 'fluently' modifies the verb 'speaks'. There is also a transformationally explicable relationship between a noun modified by an adjective ('fluent speech') and the corresponding verb modified by an adverb ('speaks fluently').

As we mentioned earlier, certain adverbs cannot always be taken as verb-modifiers alone. Recent work by linguists and logicians has shown that some adverbs of Manner, if not all, can modify larger constituents within the sentence. This becomes clear if one compares the following two sentences cited by Lyons (ibid.):

(1)   He slowly tested all the bulbs.

(2)   He tested each bulb slowly.

There is definitely a correlation between the position in which the adverb of Manner appears and what it modifies. Many adverbs, when they occur initially, can hardly be said to modify anything within the sentence. They always function as sentence modifiers and are commonly called sentence-adverbs, e.g.

(1)   t̞ibbiyyan fi:h aktar min sabab lilḥa:la di
       'Medically, there is more than one reason for this
       case.'

(2)   min wighit naz̞ari ilmawd̞ou:ᵒ t̞awi:l ?awi
       'From my point of view, the topic is very long.'

(3)   ᵒomu:man ittasgi:l ka:n wa:diḥ
       'Generally, the recording was clear.'

These and similar ones are used by the speaker to

convey some evaluation of a situation. They serve to express his opinion or attitude towards the proposition that the sentence expresses or describes.

This supports the view that the adverb does not always modify the verb alone. The typical definition of the adverb as a verb modifier, though useful in narrowing the class, is not a practical one, as we have noted above.

In addition, one should consider two subclasses of adverbs that may not have the syntactic function of modification if they occur as complements in copulative sentences (they may also occur as disjuncts, i.e. syntactically omissible expressions). These are locative adverbs such as /hina/ 'here', /hina:k/ 'there', /gowwa/ 'inside', /barra/ 'outside', /taht/ 'under', /fou?/ 'above', /wara/ 'behind', /?odda:m/ 'in front/in front of', and some nouns which function temporally such as /?innaha:rda/ 'today', /bokra/ 'tomorrow', etc., as shown in the following:

?ikkita:b <u>hina</u>

'The book is here.'

?ilfa:nu:s <u>barra</u>

'The lantern is outside.'

?ilhafla <u>lhadd</u>

'The party is on Sunday.'

?ilmaºa:d <u>issa:ºa xamsa</u>

'The appointment is at five o'clock.'

The underlined words in the above examples which refer

either to time or place are essential parts of the sentence.
However, they are considered disjuncts or omissible
constituents in

šoft ikkita:b <u>hina</u>

'I saw the book here.'

haṭṭi:na lfa:nu:<u>s barra</u>

'We put the lantern outside.'

haysa:fro <u>lhadd</u>

'They will travel (on) Sunday.'

It is always easier to say what an adverb is not,
rather than what it is.

2.1.2 The Need for a Number of Criteria

As we have seen, excessive dependence on the function
performed by the adverb may entail difficulties because
there is no single criterion that is sufficiently applicable
to all. On the other hand, one may find little difficulty
in dealing with adverb as a class on the basis of position
and distribution in the sentence. Problems are expected
only when dealing with the question of sentence versus
word-modifying adverbs (see Chapter Three of this thesis).
Therefore, position and function will be taken into
consideration in order to obtain satisfactory results.

As has been noted, adverbs can fulfil various
functions and appear in different subclasses having distinct
syntactic and, perhaps, semantic properties. A knowledge of
these possible properties as well as of the various stress
patterns of the sentence (which can serve to separate the

adverb from the rest) is necessary to in order to place the adverb within its proper class.

To illustrate this, consider the following example:

?aḥmad ḥa?i:?i iqtanaᵒ bilfikra

'Ahmad truly was convinced by the idea.'

where the adverb /ḥa?i:?i/ 'truly' is referring to the subject's state of mind. If the said adverb is moved by an optional- movement rule to pre-subject position and followed by a comma in writing or a pause when the sentence is uttered, it would then be referring to the speaker's state of mind when making the statement.

This justifies the need for semantic as well as syntactic criteria, for such will help in defining the phenomenon of overlapping between classes. Among other things, it is hoped to obtain a representation that is fairly free from repetition.

2.1.3 Formal Classification

It is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a rigid line of demarcation between such 'traditional' classes as

simple, compound, and group adverbs.[1] Such distinctions are
not, we believe, very practical. Adverbs such as /hina:k/
'there', /hina/ 'here' and /kama:n/ 'also', 'as well' are
obviously simple and indecomposable. Adverbs like
/ᵉa:datan/ 'usually', /yawmiyyan/ 'daily', /?aḥya:nan/
'sometimes', /ǥa:liban/ 'often', etc. are clearly formed
from existing words by means of the accusative marker /-an/.
But between the two extremes we find every degree of
transition. There are adverbs such as /lissa/ 'not yet',
/badri/ 'early', /bokra/ 'tomorrow', /bišwe:š/ 'slowly',
etc. which are, for all practical purposes, indecomposable
and therefore to be learned exactly as if they were simple
words. There are others such as /ḥa:lan/ 'immediately' and
/dayman/ 'always'. The former is formed from a recognisable
root /ḥa:l/ which means 'state', 'condition', but differs in
meaning from the derived word /ḥa:lan/. The second word
/da:yman/ is formed by adding the suffix /-an/ to the
adjective /da:yim/ 'continuous' and is related in meaning to
the root from which it is derived. We also find words like
/bišwe:š/ 'slowly' which has no root and simply exists in

1.   Palmer (1939:171-2), for instance, has classified adverbs into
     simple (such as too, quite, yet), compound (such as nicely,
     happily, daily), and group adverbs. He states that "the
     distinction between the first two kinds of adverbs is by no means
     obvious." He does not tell us much about group adverbs except:
     "The only distinction between certain compound adverbs and certain
     group adverbs is that in the former case they are written as one
     word and in the latter case they are written as two or more
     words." He adds: "Some group adverbs are practically
     indistinguishable from adverbial phrases, and then again are not
     always easily distinguishable from adverbial clauses." (ibid.)

the language. Adverbial phrases like /fi ma:yo/ 'in May',
and /ºand ilba:b/ 'by the door', /bissikki:na/ 'with the
knife', /biṣara:ḥa/ 'frankly', will simply be treated as
prepositional phrases consisting of P + (± def.N). Rather
than their morphological make-up, we are more interested in
the functions that all these forms perform which vary from
temporal and locative to instrumental and manner.

2.1.4 Positional Criterion

Here we will examine the positional criterion in order
to see how workable it is in establishing a positional class
of adverbs.

If one decides to look at adverbs as a whole as a
primarily positional class, one should ask oneself the
following questions: Which of the adverbs (presumably there
should be a considerable amount of data which has adverbs
occurring within sentences) can occur in some sense or
another, in sentence- initial position? Which can occur
before the predicate or which can appear finally in the
sentence?, and so forth.

Transformationally, this approach undoubtedly has its
drawbacks. A positional class may contain both items for
which one position is basic (e.g. /liḥosn ilḥaẓẓ/
'fortunately', in

     liḥosn ilḥaẓẓ itṭayya:ra waṣalit badri

     'Fortunately, the plane arrived early.'
and others where some shifting transformation would be
involved, e.g.

howwa ?aki:d hayru:ḥ maṣr issana gga:ya

'He will certainly go to Egypt next year.'

———>

?aki:d howwa hayru:ḥ maṣr issana gga:ya

'Certainly, he will go to Egypt next year.'

For this and other reasons, a positional class may be surprisingly heterogeneous and more sophisticated criteria are required.

2.1.5 Central and Peripheral Adverbs

ECA adverbs can generally be divided into two types: the central and the subsidiary or peripheral. The subclass of central adverbs is quite different from those included in the peripheral one. Central adverbs do not share membership with any other class and have no function but that of adverb. Examples of these are /?abadan/ 'never', /lissa/ 'not yet', /hina/ 'here' and /hina:k/ 'there'. The term 'pure adverbs' was first given to this type of adverb by Strang (1978:184).

Now consider the following:

(1) ꜥa:datan ilgaw biyku:n ḥarr fi ṣṣe:f fi maṣr
    'Usually, the weather is hot in Egypt in the summer.'

(2) ?ahya:nan biyzoru:na
    'Sometimes they visit us.'

(3) ꜥilmiyyan ilbaḥs da mofi:d
    'Scientifically, this research is useful.'

(4) bixtisa:r koll ḥa:ga ga:hza
    'Briefly, everything is ready.'

76

(5)   <u>lihosn ilhazz</u> ilboli:s waṣal ªala ṭu:l

       'Fortunately, the police arrived straightaway.'

Despite the fact that the underlined elements in the

above sentences differ morphologically, they function as

sentence modifiers when they occur in this position. The

peripheral type of adverb, on the other hand, can fulfil

various functions and, as already noted, appear in various

subclasses. At each stage of classification, therefore, one

would expect to come across words which are members of other

subclasses. Thus, certain adverbs may belong to both

subclasses, though in different senses. This appears

clearly in the following sentences:

(6)   ?ahmad <u>bizza:t</u> da:fiª ªan ilqara:r   da

       'Ahmad particularly defended this decision.'

(7)   hiyya <u>bass</u> ra:ḥit ilmasraḥ

       'She only went to the theatre.'

The underlined adverbs may modify either the whole

sentence or some specific word in it, which they will follow.

In the utterance, the latter case is usually distinguished

from the former by a change in intonation and stress pattern;

in the orthography this could be indicated by commas before

and after the adverb. Without these devices of intonation and

stress, ambiguity might well arise and what the grammarians

call 'overlapping' between classes could occur. The most

promising way to deal with adverbs, therefore, seems to be to

take them as a whole and variously classify them, bearing

their syntactic and, whenever possible, semantic behaviour and

morphological make-up in mind.

77

"Like cutting a cake first horizontally and then vertically. The cake gives us a real starting point and helps us to envisage the relationship of its segments; how we proceed to dismember it is up to us, but we shall not find out about it unless we cut it up somehow." Strang (1978:191-2)

As mentioned earlier, the adverb is the most heterogeneous of the part-of- speech categories. It is, therefore, necessary to subcategorise Adverb Category in such a way that generalisations may be made about the sub-categories which could not be made about adverbials in general.

SECTION II

2.2.1 Prepositions

There is a close relationship between adverbs and prepositions. The latter present a much simpler subject for analysis than adverbs. To quote Strang (1978:192): "Their membership is clearly defined, they have one distinct syntactic function and one typical position. They indicate a relationship between one noun-like item and another." They range morphemically from simple items to complex ones as well as items larger than the word. Also, (ibid:193) "The items larger than the word cannot be exhaustively listed; they shade off indefinitely into two-word sequences." There are three main kinds of use:

(1) Preceding the noun-like expression which is the

object or second term of the relationship, as in 'Sheila ran round the field twice', 'Jim felt on top of the world', 'Mary's taller than me'.

(2)   With its own head or object forming a phrase (called a **prepositional phrase**), the whole of which may modify a preceding noun-like head, as in 'Men at work', 'House for sale'.

(3)   Collocating with preceding verbs, not only in patterns covered by (1) and (2), but also in others which require us to take the sequence verb + preposition (or verb + adverb + preposition) as an idiom and not to make a separate analysis of the words composing it, as in 'I gave it up'.

Although their distinctive features have in the past established the tradition that prepositions should be treated as distinct from adverbs, they are really at one end of a continuum which has the central adverbs at the other; "nearly all the one-word prepositions can also be adverbs, and in that case all we are distinguishing is that the same forms used without object are adverbs, with object are prepositions no more than the distinction we make between transitive and intransitive verbs." (ibid:193).

Much of what Strang says above is also reflected in Arabic. In ECA as in English, a number of lexical items can fulfil both the functions of adverb and preposition. These are in the majority of cases connected with either a temporal or a locative concept like /ʔabl/ 'before', /baᶜd/

79

'after', /taḥt/ 'under', etc.[1] This section sets out to discuss and define the class of prepositions and their relationship with adverbs.

2.2.2 Are Prepositions Losing Their Meaning?

In Arabic there is a subset of widely used prepositions each of which fills a number of semantic and syntactic functions. In many languages, including Arabic, there is a tendency for some prepositions to become so extensively used in so many different contexts that they relinquish more and more of their lexical content and informativeness. To interpret this phenomenon in another way, we may say that these words are not 'losing' their meanings, but are becoming the victims of creeping polysemy, actually expanding their range of meanings. However, these two points of view reflect the same phenomenon: the diffusion of a preposition's semantic power, a tendency which is evident in many languages (e.g. English *of*, French *de* and *a*, Arabic *fi* and *min*) and which is probably the result of some universal properties of this class (Weinreich 1963:181 and Magnusson 1954:27-8). This characteristic underlies a major obstacle when dealing with this subset of vocabulary items: how can one possibly learn a word or its uses when its semantic content is extremely diffused and

1. For more on this, see Gamal-Eldin (1961:23), Gadalla (1959:61), and Lentzner (1977:32-4).

often dependent to a great extent on the surrounding

context?

In addition, the task of studying the functions of the

prepositions could be a complicated one if we consider the

fact that prepositions have no characteristic form and are

often morphologically akin to a noun or a verb. Because of

their nature as "mixed signs", as Weinreich (1965:150) has

termed them, they do not fall neatly into the system of form

class division.[1]

2.2.3 Treatment of the Preposition in Generative Grammar

In fact, there is a paucity of prepositional studies

in the generative literature. This may be due to the

existence of equally complicated situations in many

languages. In his article, Jackendoff (1973) has offered an

explanation for the absence of serious studies on

prepositions and prepositional phrases. He states: "The

neglect of prepositions arises from the assumption that

prepositional phrases invariably take the form P-NP; if this

were the case, prepositions would indeed be dull." He takes

upon himself the task of clarifying the internal structure

of the English prepositional phrases. He shows that P^s seem

to have never been taken seriously despite the fact that the

1.   Jackendoff has argued strongly for the establishment of the
      category of prepositions as a "dignified category of their own."
      (Jackendoff 1973:355).

internal structure of PP^S is "much more rich and diverse."
(Jackendoff 1973 in Riemsdijk 1978:9).

2.2.3.1 The Aspects Position: John decided on the boat

In *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, Chomsky talks
about the three degrees of cohesion between PPs and the main
verb, illustrating this by the following set of rules:

"(5) a. Pred.Phr. → Aux-VP-(Place)-Time

b. VP → {
be—Predicate

V- {
(NP)-(Prep.Phr.)-(Prep.Phr.)-(Manner)

Adj

S'

(like)-Predicate-Nominal
}
}

c. Prep.Phr. → {
Direction

Duration

Place

Frequency

etc."
}

Chomsky (1965:106:7)

These deal with the difference between such examples
as the one he gives, i.e.

'He decided on the boat.'
which can be interpreted in two ways:

(a) 'He chose the boat.

(b) 'He made the decision while on the boat.'

The underlying structures (1) and (2) below represent
(a) and (b)

(1)

```
                    S
          ┌─────────┼──────────┐
         NP         VP         PP
          │          │        ┌──┴───┐
        John      decided     P      NP
                              │       │
                              on   the boat
```

(2)

```
                    S
          ┌─────────┴──────────┐
         NP                    VP
          │              ┌──────┴──────┐
        John             V             PP
                         │          ┌──┴───┐
                      decided       P      NP
                                    │       │
                                    on   the boat
```

He points out that a PP can be either a part of the conjunction between a phrasal verb and its object as in interpretation (a), or an adverbial of some sort as in (b). The third case is concerned with selectional cohesion between some verbs and particular prepositions such as "dash

83

— into the room (V- direction) and remain — in England (V-Place)." (ibid:102) Riemsdijk (1978:12) holds that the weakness of *Aspects* position is the confusion between the functional and structural properties of the PP.

Since *Syntactic Structures* in which Chomsky discussed PPs very briefly in connection with the passive by-phrases, linguists have mostly continued to split up and overlook the category 'preposition'. It seems that one of the factors for the long neglect – until recently - of PP[s] is that they have played an insignificant role in the changing conceptions about the theory of syntax within transformational grammar.[1] Another factor, which is related to the previous one, is the phenomenon of preposition stranding,[2] which allows many rules operating on NPs to be unaffected by the presence of a preceding preposition. This renders prepositions as a category that has little or no significance on the operation of transformation. Prepositions were not, therefore, syntactically investogated on a deeper level.

2.2.3.2 Filmore's position: P = case

Filmore (1968) differs from the general Chomskyian position in stressing the function of the preposition and

---

1. Filmore's case grammar in Bach, E. and R. Harms (eds.) (1968) is the only exception.

2. For a full account of this phenomenon, see Reimsdijk (1978:132: 75).

84

the relationship of certain prepositions to specific verbs, such as use-with, last-during, precede-before, etc. (in Reimsdijk (1978:15). He is also interested in the fact that in some languages such as English, the surface case of nouns is not always signalled, and two different functions of an NP can appear the same on the surface, i.e.

"(1) a) The door opened.

b) John opened the door." (ibid.)

Here, 'door' appears once as subject of the verb and once as its object, but functionally both are in fact 'patient' or 'acted upon'. His use of the term preposition as a deep structure element related to case (P = case) has probably little relevance for our study since we are concerned with surface structure prepositions and their involvement in adverbial function.

2.2.3.3 The EST position PP = PP

Klima (1965), at least as far as the analysis of PPs is concerned, was a precursor of EST in that he "realized that prepositions are more than markers on NPs. He showed that many 'adverbs' such as downstairs and afterward can advantageously be identified as 'intransitive prepositions', that is, prepositions that do not take an object." Jackendoff (1973:345). Emonds (1970), following the footsetps of Klima (1965), offers a detailed analysis of the particles of verb-particle constructions such as show-up, hand-in, fend-off, etc., as intransitive prepositions. This was followed by Jackendoff's (1973) article on 'The base

85

rules for prepositional phrases', in which he gives a complete account of the phrase structure of prepositional phrases. He also shows how the phrase structure rules for PPs can be integrated into the x-bar theory of phrase structure.

But, whatever the reasons for the neglect of prepositions may be, we have briefly highlighted a number of points with regard to the status of the preposition, which have also led to the present situation where it has finally been recognised that "prepositions must instead be accorded the right to a small but dignified category of their own." Jackendoff (1973:355)

The above three treatments show the great variety of treatments of the preposition with_in the_ TG approach, linking prepositions with preceding verbs in some cases and with putative following nouns in others. Some of the factors causing the difference of opinion with regard to English prepositions do not occur in Arabic. Thus, though in English we can say 'he came in' implying an object of 'in', in Arabic we cannot strand the preposition /fi/ and can only have /daxal fi:h/ or /daxal fi:ha/. There are, however, six elements often called 'intransitive prepositions' which do somewhat resemble the English prepositions. Lentzner (1977:44) says: "There are certain dhuruff which are capable of functioning as one-argument predicates", but behave more like adverbs in ECA. These elements, namely /?odda:m/ 'in front of', /wara/ 'behind', /fou?/ 'above', /taht/ 'under',

/barra/ 'outside' and /gowwa/ 'inside' are dealt with in
some detail in this chapter.

2.2.4 Prepositions, Adverbs: The Arab Grammarians' View

Long (1961:25) writes: "Prepositions are what gives
syntactic character to prepositional units, and this
character can be distinct as adverbial." Also, Lentzner
(1977:12) states: "Just as verbs establish a relationship
between a subject and an object, Arabic prepositions may be
viewed as linking their antecedents and objects with a
similar sort of predicative power."

English and Arabic possess different bases for
determining membership of this form class in terms of the
organisation of the lexicon. In MSA (Modern Standard
Arabic) the designation **huruuf al-jarr** is restricted to
essentially ten lexical items,[1] and many lexemes considered
prepositions in English are considered in MSA to be
substantive-derived locative adverbs **(dhuruuf)**. Whereas the
dhuruuf, or locative adverbs, function as place naming
devices (e.g. /fawq/ 'above', /taht/ 'under', /?ama:m/ 'in
front of') the **huruuf al-jarr** are the lexical elements which
contain the most essential locative and directional notions:
rest in (a place), movement from (a place) and movement
toward (a place), or, as W. Wright (1970:II:129) puts it:

---

1.   These prepositions are: ᵒala 'on', min 'from', fi 'in', ᵒan
     'about, ?ila 'to', bi- 'by', li- 'for, baᵒda 'after', ᵒinda 'at',
     bayna 'between'.

"the prepositions all originally designate relations of place (local relations), but are transferred, first, to relations of *time* (temporal relations), and next, to various sorts of *ideal* relations, conceived under the figure of the local relations to which they correspond. They are divided into *simple* and *compound*. The simple prepositions are again divisible into three classes, indicating respectively motion proceeding from or away from a place, motion to or towards it, and rest in it." The first part of the compound is generally /min/ and the second part is another so-called preposition.[1] Compound prepositions, though by no means rare in ancient Arabic, are more common in the later stages of the language.[2]

Prepositions in Arabic have characteristics of the major form classes (verbs, nouns, adjectives) in that they

1.   See pp. 101-102   for these prepositions.

2.   It is interesting to note here that the second part of the compound which used to be in the accusative, as traditional Arab grammarians gave it the same status as the noun because it can be preceded by a preposition, is no longer so. It is in the genitive, as we can see in the example quoted by W. Wright (ibid:189) /talaˤa min fawqi ljabali wa nazala min taḥtih/ 'He ascended the hill and descended by the other side (lit. behind it).'

have semantic content and may refer to extralinguistic situations.[1] They share other characteristics with the minor form classes (conjunctions, particles, etc.) in that they consist of a well-defined (by listing) subset of language items; they signal relationships between two (or more) lexical items and they tend to be morphologically invariable, not subject to inflection.

Traditional Arab grammarians divided lexical items into three major form classes: **afᵒaal** 'verbs', **asmaa?** 'nouns' and **ḥuruuf** 'particles'.[2] According to orthodox Arab grammarians, /ism/ covers the western concepts 'noun' and 'adjective',[3] /fiᵒl/ 'verb' corresponds exactly to the western usage, and /ḥarf/ 'particle' which includes all the rest and covers elements defined in western terms as prepositions, conjunctions and adverbs.

This tripartite division subsumes items playing different functions. These functions are dependent on the positions they occupy in the sentence and on the diacritics they bear, i.e. the grammatical case they are in. **ḥuruuf,**

---

1. For more on 'extralinguistic' and 'intralinguistic' relations, see Leech (1974:34).

2. For more on this division, see Weiss (1976:25).

3. These are distinguishable only by function, not by morphological shape. A syntactic context is required to assert that it is either one or the other.

particles, for example, include items that range from adverbials /?al?aana/ 'now', /qabla/ 'before', to conjunctions /li-/ 'in order that', /?anna/ 'that', and prepositions /?ila/ 'to', /ºala/ 'on', /bayna/ 'between', etc.[1]

The particle is considered to signify a meaning "not for its own sake but as an element 'in something else'" (**fi gayrihi**) (Weiss:ibid.), and therefore has significance only within a context, that is, when functioning with other words. This concept of meaning 'in something else' is equivalent to what are now termed 'function words', "intralinguistic relators which do not have extralinguistic reference in the same sense that nouns and verbs do, but which serve as 'logical elements whose function and definition is internal to the language system.'" Leech (1974:34)

Adverbs are not classified as a separate part of speech. What we would call adverbs are covered partly by the term **ḥarf** and are regarded as 'true adverbs', such as /?ams/ 'yesterday', /hona/ 'here', /?al?aana/ 'now', partly by **zarf zamaan** or **zarf makaan**, such as /taḥta/ 'under', /xalfa/ 'behind', /?amaama/ 'in front of', /bayna/

---

1.   For more on these divisions, see Sibawayh (1889;2) and Ibn ºAqiil (1964:3).

'between', etc., partly by **mafᵃuul muṭlaq** 'cognate object'[1] which is a verbal noun such as /naama nawman/ 'he slept a sleep' that may either stand alone or be followed by an adjective such as /naama nawman ṭawiilan/ 'he slept a long sleep', and partly by the **ḥaal** or 'clause of attendant circumstance', such as /masruuran/ 'happy', in:

ḏahaba moḥammadon ila ?ahlihi masruuran

'Mohammad went to his family happy.'

According to those grammarians, adverbials are represented only by:

(a) single nominals, or what they call true adverbs such as /?al?aan/ 'now'. These words have no inflection as they do not change their final vowel irrespective of the role they play in the sentence.

(b) nouns and adjectives in the accusative case. The word, in most cases, ends with either -an, as in /ṣayfan/ 'in the summer', /ᵒaadatan/ 'usually', /daa?iman/ 'always', or -a. The function these words fulfil determines whether they are classified as adverbs or not.

The use of types (a) and (b) mentioned above can be seen in sentences (1) and (3) and non-adverbial uses of the same elements can be seen in sentences (2) and (4).

(1)   xaraja moḥammadun mina addaari laylan

'Mohammad went out of the house at night.'

---

1.   For more on the cognate object, see W. Wright (1964:II:53- 9), al-Sayyid (1975:300-2) and pp. 233-4   of this thesis.

(2)   kaana laylan ṭawiilan

       'It was a long evening.'

(3)   satadhabo mona ila lmadrasati l?aana

       'Mona will leave for school now.'

(4)   ?al?aana waqto lᵒamali

       'Now is the time for work.'

The two classes of adverb recognised by early Arab grammarians are those referring to Time and Place which are drawn from both (a) and (b) above. They also describe the adverb as **?almafᵒuul fiih** 'the thing (time or place) in which the action is done': the noun that functions as an adverbial in this case is the object of the explicit or, sometimes, implicit preposition /fi/ 'in'. If this is not the case, the noun is not an adverbial but an ordinary noun that receives the appropriate case ending according to its function in the sentence. In other words, the adverbial should imply the preposition /fi/ 'in'. Sentences (5) and (6) below show the contrast between the two usages:

(5)   bana muusa ddaara

       'Musa built the house.'

       Here, /?addaara/ 'the house' is a noun acting as the object of the verb because it is not acceptable to say

       bana muusa fiḍḍaari

       'Musa built in the house.'

       In (6), however,

(6)   sakana muusa addaara

       'Musa lived (in) the house.'

the word /?aḍḍaar/ is not the object of the verb /sakana/ but the object of a covert preposition /fi/ 'in', so it is a

92

noun having the function of a locative adverbial. Thus, the sentence would sound quite acceptable if a preposition was used overtly, as in (6a):

(6a) sakana[1] muusa fiddaari

      'Musa lived in the house.'

Some lexical items that belong to other parts of speech acquire adverbial status and are used in the same way as the **mafᵃuul fiih**. The maṣdar, some prepositions such as /mod/ and /mondo/ 'since', nouns[2] referring to the six directions, i.e. /fawq/ 'above', /taht/ 'below', /yamiin/ 'right', /šimaal/ 'left', /?amaam/ 'in front', /xalf/ 'behind', /waraa?/ 'behind', /?asfal/ 'under' and the rarely used /?aᵒla/ 'above'. Some demonstrative particles such as /hona/ 'here' and /θomma/ 'then', nouns that refer to vague or unspecified time such as /borha/ 'a while', /waqt/ /zamaan/ 'time', items like /qabl/ 'before', /baᵒd/ 'after', /fawq/ 'above', when occurring in a non-idaafa structure, and words that refer to specific times such as /?al?aan/ 'now', /?ams/ 'yesterday', /sahar/ 'the time just before dawn', and /bokratan/ 'early in the morning'. Therefore, one cannot say that the adverb is a distinct part of speech for there is no

---

1.   Arab grammarians classify verbs like /sakana/ 'live', /nazala/ 'dwell', /ᵈhahaba/ 'go', /daxala/ 'enter', etc. as special verbs that contribute to render the meaning of the adverbial. See Hassan (1968:197-8) about the relationship between the ẓarf and /fi/.

2.   They have been called nouns because of their ability to occur after prepositions like /min/ 'from'. See pp.97-8 , W. Wright (1970:ii:189-90) and Sibawayh (1889:77).

adverb which may not be found either among nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions or particles.

None of the lexical items listed above is an adverb in the true sense of the word, but they share one important aspect with the adverbs in that they convey the meaning of **?almafᵃuul fiih**. When any one of the above items occurs in a sentence its function is to relate the action to its time and place. The difference between what grammarians consider to be a 'pure adverb' and those items that form part of an adverbial clause is very subtle and the dividing line seems fuzzy, but it must be recognised as it leads to different designations of the connecting elements in sentences like (3), (4) and (5) below.

(3)   sahawto <u>fi</u> toluuᵒi ššamsi. **harf jarr** (preposition)

'I woke up (in) at sunrise.'

(4)   sahawto <u>waqta</u> toluuᵒi ššamsi. **zarf mubham** (adverbial)

I woke up time rise the sun.

'I woke up at the time of sunrise.'

(5)   ?asho <u>mata</u> tatlaᵒo ššamso. **zarf** (adverb)

'I wake up when the sun rises.'

In (3) above the element /fi/ is regarded as a **harf** (preposition acting adverbially (as part of the function of adverbiality **dharfiyy** (Hasaan 1968:197)). It is regarded as having a function of **?ihtiwaa?** 'containment', in that it expresses the 'containing' of the action of 'rising' within 'the time of sunrise'. In (4) and (5), on the other hand, the relation is one of **?iqtiraan** 'concurrence', in that the two actions are linked in time and place by the elements

94

/waqta/ **zarf mubham** and /mata/ **zarf**. Note that the main
difference between this approach and ours is that it
concentrates on the function of one word items /mata/ and
/waqt/, /fi/, while our approach concentrates on the
function of 'clausal constituents', whether they be one word
like /?ams/ or a clause like /waqta tolu:° iššams/, as we
shall see later.

In Arabic grammar, prepositions are separated from the
class of **huruuf** (particles). They are designated as **huruuf
al-jarr** (particles of attraction). (W. Wright 1970:I:278)
They are also referred to as **huruuf al-idaafa** and **huruuf
al-xafd** (particles of addition and particles of lowering),
i.e. pronouncing the final consonant with the vowel (-i).
"It is worth noting here that the two most common terms for
'genitive' (the possessive case) in Arabic have lexical
roots having to do with 'attraction' or 'addition' (**jrr** and
dyf respectively)." Lentzner (1977:31) In addition to this
type of annexation structure noticeable in Arabic
prepositional phrases, there is also what Sibawayh terms
"What is before the noun and what is after it." He sees
harf al-jarr as a means of 'adding' or bringing into
relationship one lexical item with another, as in /xarajto
fi ssabaahi/ 'I went out in the morning', where the
preposition /fi/ helps to relate the verb to the genitivised
noun. In his famous book, *Al Kitaab*, one of the most highly
respected on Arabic grammar, Sibawayh states: "*fa-amma
al-baa'-u wa'amma aṣhaaba-ha fa-laysat bi-dhuruuf-in wa laa*

95

asmaa'-in wa laakinna-haa yuḍaaf-u bi-haa ilaa al-ism-i maa qabla-hu wa maa baᵉd-a-hu."[1] Sibawayh (1889:I:178) He also considers that it is the first term of annexation structure (idaafa) which is responsible for genetivising the second term. In other words, it is the preposition, locative adverb or noun that carries the power to genetivise the following substantive. As for the prepositional phrase, in addition to the the type of annexation structure involved, there is also the linguistic entity that the preposition establishes with its object.[2] Lentzner writes: "Just as verbs establish a relationship between a subject and an object, Arabic prepositions may be viewed as linking their antecedents and objects with a similar sort of predicative power." Lentzner (1977:31)

2.2.5 Distinctions between ḥuruuf al-jarr and other form-classes

In Classical Arabic there are up to 20 prepositions, yet they are fewer than those in Spoken Arabic. Some of these prepositions, such as /ṣawba, naḥwa, tijaaha/ 'toward', /wijhat, hayθo/ 'where', /ḥiina/ 'when', 'at the

---

1. "As for baa' and the like (ḥuruuf al- jarr) they are neither adverbs nor nouns, but something by which what is before the noun or what is after it is added to that noun."

2. For the relationship between the preposition and its object and their connection to the verb, see pp. 98-100.

time', etc.[1] are no longer used in Spoken Arabic even by
educated speakers. These prepositions, which are classified
on a morphological basis, are, in turn, classified as to the
type of noun they can take as a complement. Some of them
take common nouns, others may take pronouns and other nouns
as their complements. (Hasan 1963:II:403)

The distinction between what is a locative adverb and
what is a preposition in Classical Arabic rests on
derivation, morphology and, to some extent, semantic
considerations. Words such as /ᵉinda/ 'at', 'with', /ṣawba/
'towards' and /bayna/ 'between', 'among', /xalfa/ 'behind',
etc. are considered **dhuruuf al-makaan** 'locative adverbs'
when appearing in an idaafa or annexation structure. These
act syntactically very much like the **huruuf al-jarr**, as they
genitivise their noun complements. Morphologically, they
are all based on triliteral roots and are assumed to be of
nominal origin. Beeston writes that a good many of them
"seem to have been originally substantives marked as
adverbial by the marker of subordinate status." Beeston
(1970:88), and he points out that some of them retain the
potentiality of functioning in independent position, e.g.
/ṣawb-a/ 'towards' from /ṣawb-on/ 'direction'.

The retention of independent function in syntax is
total for some locative adverbs but only partial for others.

---

1.   For more on these prepositions and their usage, see Hasaan
      (1968:III:140-6).

Many change their case inflection from adverbial -a, as in
(1a) and (2a), to the genitive -i, as in (1) and (2), if
they become the object of a **harf al-jarr**.

(1)   dahaba min ºindi al-moºallimi

        'He went from (at/chez) the teacher.'

        'He left the teacher.'

(1a)   ra?aytoho ºinda lbaabi

        'I saw him at the door.'

(2)   jaa?a min fawqi lmanzili

        'It came from above the house.'

(2a)   ?alkitaabo fawqa lmaa?idati

        'The book is (above) on top of the table.'

        It is worth mentioning here that most of the **huruuf**
al-jarr do not show obvious change in their case inflection
in Spoken Arabic, as they almost always end with **sukuun**.

2.2.6 Differences among the Arab Grammarians

        For the most part, grammarians agree on which lexical
items belong to which category. However, Ibn ºAqiil
(1967:III:7) writes that Ibn Maalik listed /laºalla/, /kay/
and /mataa/ as **huruuf al-jarr**, whereas they are considered
to be huruuf 'particles' by other grammarians. He admits
that those who consider /laºalla?, /kay/ and /mataa/
prepositions are few. Ibn ºAqiil also reports that Sibawayh
claimed that the word /lawlaa/ 'if it were not for' was a
preposition, but that it only occurred with pronoun objects,
e.g. /lawlaahu/ 'if it were not for him' (ibid.) Moreover,
Sibawayh considered /ºala/ 'on', which most now treat as a
preposition, as a locative adverb, because he states: "You

98

say: <u>min °alayka</u>, 'from above you', as well as <u>min fawqi-ka</u>, 'from above you'." Sibawayh (1889:I:177) However, it is an established rule in Arabic grammar that when preceded by a preposition most Arabic words change their normal final vowel **ḍamma** (short vowel 'u') into **kasra** (short vowel 'i'). On the other hand, true adverbials, for example /ba°du/ 'after' and /qablu/ 'before', retain their final vowel 'u' even when preceded by a preposition. So we get paradigms like:

(1)   satarji°i ?oxti <u>min arriḥlati</u> ǧadan

       'My sister will return from the trip tomorrow.'

(2)   lam ?aðhab ?ila baytihi <u>min qablu</u> fi ḥayaati

       'I have not been to his house before in my life.'

(3)   xaraja zaydon <u>qabla lɣoruubi</u>

       'Zaid went out before sunset.'

(4)   sanaðhabu ila lḥaflati <u>ba°da saa°atin</u>

       'We will leave for the party after one hour (in one

       hour's time).'

Beeston feels that lexical items such as /°ala/, which he claims function in all attested Arabic as prepositions, "may well be historically fossilized substantives." Beeston (1970:87) It is possible that /°ala/ has become so fossilised that it is no longer subject to morphological modification even though, according to Arab grammarians, since it can act as the object of **ḥarf al-jarr**, it must be of substantive origin. Thus, classical Arabic grammars considered locational items preceded by a preposition (usually /min/, rarely /?ilaa/) as nominals which could not accurately be termed **huruuf al-jarr**. In the following

sections we will investigate at a rather deeper syntactic

level the nature of the members of this form class as

distinct from the other form classes in a bid to establish

the very existence of the p as a category on its own,

distinct from adverbs. Areas where grammarians differ

concerning certain items will be touched upon briefly.

Certain items are prepositions, the same items are locative

adverbs, others are fossilised items that can be both. Then

we will investigate the prepositional complement, or what is

referred to as prepositional phrases, as this will help

define the prepositional phrase as one of the configurations

of the adverbial node.

2.2.7 The Preposition as Distinct from the Noun

On pp.97-8 we have seen how the preposition differs

from the adverb. We shall now turn our attention to the

distijntions between the preposition and the noun in order

to isolate certain prepositions and distinguish them from

what we call adverbial nouns.

On page 98 we mentioned that Sibawayh has stated that

/ᵒala/ 'on', 'above' is considered a locative adverb. It

was also referred to in Beeston's argument concerning the

origin of similar lexical items as "historically fossilized

substantives". Beeston (1970:88) Some Arab grammarians

support this view by saying that since /ᵒala/ and other

lexical items (/fawq-a, taḥt-a/ etc., 'above', 'under',

etc.) can act as the object of **harf al-jarr**, it must be of

substantive origin. The phrase /min ᵒala/, for example, is

interpreted by Sibawayh to mean 'from the top of', not 'from on'!

A sequence of two prepositions in the same pbhrase in Arabic, however, is not always possible. To render the sense of English 'out of', Arabic uses the phrase /min daaxil/ 'from the interior of' (it cannot be /min fi/ since the sequence of the two prepositions, i.e. ḥuruuf al-jarr, in the same phrase is not possible).; The noun /daaxil/[1] 'inside', 'interior' refers to a place. It can act as an adverb and also serve as the object of the preposition /min/ 'from', /xaraja min daaxil ilbayt/ 'He went out from (inside) the house.'

Gadallah (1959:15), in his work on prepositions in Cairene Arabic, called the combination of simple prepositions, occurring medially with the following nouns, 'compound prepositions'.[2] One of several possible explanations is that the second element, underlined in the following examples, is two-fold: it 'functions' as a noun in

1.   /daaxil/ ~ /qalb/ 'interior', 'inside' occurs in the subject and
     object position only in the non-relational sense of an inside that
     can be removed, i.e. the inside of the nut. See Filmore (1968:61)
     for the notional 'relational', and Glinert (1974:10-12) for an
     analysis of similar items in Hebrew.

2.   Mitchell terms them 'particle complex'. (1962:52)

relation to the preceding preposition (i.e. the first

element of the combination) and as a prepositional noun in

construct with the following noun.

(1)   ?ilḥalawiyya:t min <u>barra</u> lbe:t

'The sweets are from outside the house.'

(2)   ?ikita:b wi?iᵒ min <u>ᵒala</u> arraf[1]

'The book fell from on the shelf.'

(3)   ?aḥmad nazzil ?iššanta min <u>fou?</u> ?iddola:b

'Ahmad took the suitcase down from on top of the cupboard.'

(4)   ?ilᵒomma:l biyistaxrigo ilfaḥm min <u>taḥt</u> il?arḍ

'The workers extract coal from under the ground.'

As we pointed out earlier, items like /taḥt/, /fou?/,

etc. are considered by Arab grammarians to be locative

adverbs. The fact that they can occur as second elements in

nominal structures similar to the following:

(5)   mosma:r fou?

'(The) nail (of) above'

'The nail above' (the nail which is above)

(6)   fanu:s ?odda:m

'(The) lantern (of) front.'

'The lantern in front' (the lantern which is in front)

(7)   mofta:ḥ barra

'(The) key (of) outside'

'The key outside' (the key which is outside)

---

1.   As mentioned on page /ᵒala/ 'on', 'at' is assumed to be of
      nominal origin, like the other underlined terms shown here. It
      refers to a specific location, yet, because of its nature as a
      transitive preposition, it will be excluded here. Transitive and
      intransitive prepositions are discussed on pages112-15.

does not necessarily mean that they are nouns. The simple
addition of the definite article to the second element would
result in the following unacceptable sequences:

(5a)   *mosma:r ?ilfou?

(6a)   *fanu:s ?il?odda:m

(7a)   *mofta:ḥ ?ilbarra

instead of the normal

(8)   mosma:r innagga:r

      '(The) nail (of the) carpenter'

      'The carpenter's nail'

(9)   fanu:s iggi:ra:n

      '(The) lantern (of the) neighbours'

      'The neighbours' lantern'

(10) mofta:ḥ ilba:b

      '(The) key (of the) door'

      'The doorkey'

From the above examples we notice that there is some
sort of possessive relationship that can be indicated by the
following surface structure:

$$\left[\begin{bmatrix} + \text{N} \\ - \text{Def} \end{bmatrix} \right]_{\text{NP}} \qquad \left[\begin{bmatrix} + \text{NP} \\ \pm \text{Def} \end{bmatrix} \right]_{\text{NP}}$$
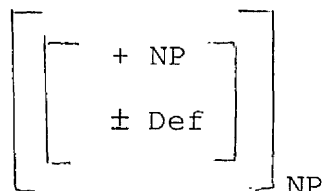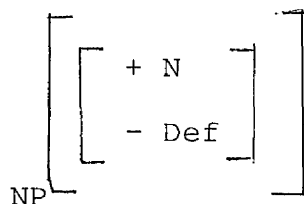
Thus the possessive relationship is implied in 5, 6 and 7 as an abstract concept of 'belonging' rather than the more normal variants:

(5b)   ?ilmosma:r bita:ꞓ <u>fou?</u>[1]

'The nail of above.'

(6b)   ?ilfanu:s bita:ꞓ[2] <u>?odda:m</u>

'The lantern of front.'

(7b)   ?ilmoftaḥ bita:ꞓ <u>barra</u>

'The key of outside'

Again, the use of the definite article with any of these items would result in the unacceptable:

*?ilmosma:r bita:ꞓ ?ilfou?

instead of the normal sequence with a real noun, as in:

?ilmosma:r bita:ꞓ innagga:r

'The nail of the carpenter.'

'The carpenter's nail.'

However, these constructions may complicate our task in trying to distinguish prepositions from nouns, as they occur only as related variants in alternation with the more normal variants of 5b-7b.

These points will be discussed in some detail later in the thesis (see Chapter 4). At this stage, it is worth mentioning that there are some items that clearly fit into

---

1.   Mitchell considers /bita:ꞓ/ and its derivations to be "always in construct with the following noun." (1962:51) This may be taken to prove that the underlined items in 5b, 6b and 7b are nouns. However, this is not always the case, as shown above. For more on /bita:ꞓ/, see pp. 314-9   and Wise (1975:137-8).

2.   Gadallah (1959:19) considered /bita:ꞓ/ a preposition.

being prepositions. These items never in their particular phonological form function as verb, adjective or noun. They can display neither the vowel patterns of the verbs nor the adjective suffixes typical of the adjectives. But to prove that they are not really nouns standing in what is traditionally termed a **Construct relation** to a following NP, it is not sufficient to point out that the items concerned never occur elsewhere by themselves as subject or object of a clause, for we do find cases of nouns, too, that are restricted to appearing in just such a Construct relation, e.g.

(1)   šatṭ ilbaḥr

       'seashore'

(2)   ᵒe:n iggamal[1]

       'walnut' (lit. 'the eye of the camel')

       Rather, it is the inability of these items to serve as the head of such constructs that indicates that they are not nouns.[2]

       In the following paragraphs, we will try to take a

---

1.   It should be noted that the second noun may or may not have the article; the first one can never be prefixed with it. A sequence of constructs is possible: e.g. /šatt bahr iskindiriyya/ 'The shore of Alexandria Sea', /ba:b be:t ilmodi:r/ 'The door of the manager's house.'

2.   Items like /li/, /fi/, /min/, /ᵒala/, etc. are unable to serve as the head of such **construct** constructions, as evidenced by the failure of any adjective or verb to agree with them in the way that /gami:l/ 'beautiful', /madhu:n/ 'painted' agree with the construct /ba:b ilbe:t gami:l/madhu:n/ 'The door of the house is beautiful/painted.' That indicates that they are not nouns. For more on the 'Construct' in ECA, see Mitchell (1956:16).

closer look at the morphological structure of some of the **huruuf al-jarr,** hoping to distinguish items that clearly fit into the category of prepositions.

In Arabic, **huruuf al-jarr** are traditionally separated into two morphological categories:

(1) those which have a minimal shape of one consonant plus short vowel and which are written as prefixes attached to their noun complements; examples of these are:

/bi-/ 'in', 'at', 'with', 'by'

/li-/ 'for', 'to', 'in order to'

(2) those which are biliteral or triliteral independent lexical items, some of which are derived from noun or verb roots but are lexical primitives, e.g.

/min/ 'from', 'of'

/ᵒan/ 'from', 'away from'

These prepositions must occur in construction with a follwoing noun, but there are two exceptions. The first one concerns /li-/. It can precede an imperfective verb form with the meaning 'in order to' in MSA, but does not occur with verbs of any form in ECA, where it is usually replaced by /ᵒalaša:n/ 'because of', 'in order to'. The second exception concerns /bi-/ 'in', 'at', 'with', 'by'. In MSA it can occur as a prefix attached to its noun complement and may have any of its four meanings. In ECA, only the last two meanings of /bi-/, i.e. 'with' and 'by' are acceptable, e.g.

(1)   ahmad ?ataᵒ ?ilborto?a:na bissikki:na
       'Ahmad cut the orange with the knife'

(2)   marre:na <u>bi</u>ṣabna ?abl ma nru:ḥ ?ikkolliyyah

       'We passed by our friends before going to college.'

       El-Hassan (1977:129-30) observes that "different

relations obtain between certain verbs/nouns and some of

these prepositions in the different Colloquials. This

cannot be accounted for on a grammatical basis. They can

best be regarded as a matter of collocation in the

Colloquials concerned."[1]

       There is also a morphological category of triliteral

root items. They are considered **ḍhuruuf makaan** (locative

adverbs) by the majority of Arab grammarians and they act

syntactically very much like **huruuf al-jarr** genitivising

their noun complements. This category includes /bayn-a/

'between', /ᵒind-a/ 'at', /taḥt-a/ 'under', 'underneath',

/fawq-a/ 'above', 'over', etc.

       In addition to the above items there are in the

dialect forms consisting of one of the recognisable

prepositions plus an item unknown in any other context, such

as /bišwe:š/ 'slowly', /ᵒalaša:n/ 'because of', 'in order

to', /bita:ᵒ/ 'of' and /lissa/ 'not yet'. We shall

regard them as lexical items in their own right instead of

entering the second component of these elements in the

lexicon which would, in any case, be meaningless.[2]

1.   For more on collocation, see Palmer (1979:94-8), Lyons (1975:318),
      Strang (1978:224-5) and Halliday (1966:57-67).

2.   For a list of similar items in Hebrew, see Glinert (1974:10- 12).

Before we move to another point, it is appropriate to quote Versteegh here. In his book, *Greek Elements In Arabic Linguistics* (1977:53), he writes: "In Arabic grammar many words which we would call prepositions are included in the category of nouns under the name **dhuruuf**." This perhaps shows that the task of establishing significant differences in this area is not an easy one. The situation is more complicated in Spoken Arabic because of the absence of case inflection in speech, with most lexical items ending in sukuun. Nevertheless, there are items that are clearly fit to be categorised as prepositions, as we noted earlier. These consist of a well-defined (by listing) subset of items. These items indicate relationships between two or more lexical items and they tend to be morphologically invariable, not subject to inflection.

2.2.8 Metaphoric Usage

There are still other items that do ordinarily serve as nouns but which can occur in several syntactic contexts uncharacteristic of N. The first of such contexts concerns the complement of the items in question, e.g. /ºala ºe:ni/ in the following:

(1)   momkin tistilifli ikkita:b milmaktaba

       'Could you borrow the book for me from the library?'

(1a)   <u>ºala ºe:ni</u>

       'Willingly.' (lit. 'on my eye')

108

(2)   ?iddoktu:r ša:l išša:š min <u>ºala ºe:ni</u>

'The doctor took the gauze (away) from on (or over) my eye.'

(3)   koll ikkala:m illi ?alu:ḥ ?imba:riḥ, ka:n <u>kala:m filḥawa</u>

'All the words that they said yesterday were words in the air.' (i.e., 'nonsense')

(4)   ?ayy ḥa:ga titlobha, ?ana <u>f xidmitak</u>

'Anything which you ask, I am at your service.'

(5)   ṣaḥbo da miš kowayyis, yiṣta:d <u>f mayya ºikra</u>

'This friend of his is not good. He fishes in muddy water.' (i.e., 'he is an opportunist')

(6)   ?into ºamalto koll ḥa:ga ºalaša:ni, gimi:lkom <u>ºala ra:si</u>

'You did everything for me. Your favour is on my head.' (i.e., 'a debt of gratitude')

(7)   mafaḍliš min lbiºsa illa šahre:n, ºalaša:n kida biyištaγal <u>taht daγt</u> šdi:d

'Only two months remain of the scholarship. So he works under great pressure.'

(8)   ?a:l laha, ?ana <u>taht ?amrik</u>

'He said to her, "I am under your orders." (i.e., 'at your service')

(9)   ?aḥmad mowaẓẓaf momta:z wi somºito <u>bºi:da ºan iššakk</u>

'Ahmad is an excellent employee and his reputation is far from doubt.'

(10) ?il?amr da mayxoṣṣakš li?innak <u>barra l mawdu:º</u>

'That matter does not concern you because you are outside the matter.'

Many place prepositions have abstract meanings which are clearly related, through metaphorical connection, to the locative uses. In this usage, prepositions very often keep

the groupings that they have when used in literal reference to place.

/ˤala ˤe:ni/, as its gloss implies, etymologically is a prep-object construction. It is used metaphorically in (1a) and literally in (2). This applies to all the underlined elements in the above examples. We are therefore faced with a single prepositional unit in all the above examples, rather than p + N, and this would deprive us of the right to assign special interpretations to lexical terms with reference to their syntactic or lexical environment. So, in distinguishing p from N we shall not base our argument on notions of metaphoricality but on syntactic evidence. We shall pay attention only to their meaning and syntactic behaviour as individual items. Idiomatic usage is a concern of the dictionary rather than of grammar.[1]

2.2.9 The Semi-adjectival Prepositions

Now, let us consider these examples:

(1)   ʔikkita:b mofi:d

        'The book is useful.'

(2)   ʔikkita:b barra

        'The book is outside.'

(3)   ʔilwalad ša:ṭir

        'The boy is clever.'

---

1.   See Palmer (1979:98-100) and Cutler (1982:passim) for the
       structure and usage of similar idioms in English.

(4)   ?ilwalad gowwa

'The boy is inside.'

Certain prepositions can occur in the predicate
position and they can replace the predicate which is,
morphologically speaking, an adjective. They may be
prefixed to the suffix /-a:ni/ and function as true
adjectives. They then inflect for gender, number and
definite article within the general behaviour of
noun-adjective agreement, e.g.

(5)   ?ikkita:b ilfou?a:ni

'The above book.'

This usage is restricted to three items and their
opposites. They are: /taht/, 'under' and its opposite
/fou?/ 'above', 'on', /barra/ 'outside' and its opposite
/gowwa/ 'inside', /?odda:m/ 'opposite to', 'in front of' and
its opposite /wara/ 'behind'. This does not mean that these
lexical items are adjectives. They cannot fulfill the true
syntactic and semantic roles played by adjectives in certain
constructions. A simple test would make the point clearer,
i.e. prefixing any of the above six items with the definite
article /al-/ would produce the ungrammatical string:

(6)   *ikkita:b ilbarra

'The book the outside.'

The same six items may function as adverbs modifying

verbs without governing a noun or a pronoun[1] as in:

tili̥ᵒ <u>fou?</u>

'(He) went up(stairs).'

/fou?/ is postposed to the verb /tili̥ᵒ/ modifying it

adverbially. This is a result of applying the rule that

moves p to the end of the sentence, i.e. over the verb.[2]

The difference between

(1)   ?aḥmad <u>fou?</u>

'Ahmad (is) up(stairs).'

and

(2)   ?aḥmad <u>filbe:t</u>

'Ahmad (is) in the house.'

is that in (1) /fou?/ is a constituent, "predicative

adjunct" Quirk et al (1984:307), while in (2) /fi-/ is not a

constituent. The sequence in (2) would be considered

unacceptable in Spoken Arabic if the predicate is permuted

over the subject to render:

(3)   *<u>filbe:t</u> ?aḥmad

'In the house Ahmad.'

although it is a well-formed sentence in CA:

<u>filbayti</u> ?aḥmado

or

---

1.   These are referred to as 'intransitive prepositions', i.e. with no
      object or any other complement to follow. See Riemsdijk (1978:51)
      for more on this.

2.   This rule is called the p^{III} over the V rule in Riemsdijk
      (1978:53).

?albayto fiihi ?aḥmado

'Ahmad is in the house.'

However, if the above rule is applied to (1) it will render a totally different structure with the meaning 'above Ahmad':

fou? ?aḥmad

	NP	P
SD	1	2 Optional $\longrightarrow$
SC	2	1

Conditions: a) 2 should not be part of 1 and should be an intransitive; b) 1 should be [± definite].

Most grammarians regard these six items mentioned on page₁₁₁as having some sense of location. Terms like 'locatives', 'locative adverbs', 'locational items' and 'intransitive prepositions' are given to them. We will treat them as items referring to locations and they do not necessarily have to be followed by objects. If they were to be followed by an object, this would make them function like ordinary prepositions, e.g.

(1)   ?ikkita:b fou?
      'The book (is) above.'

(1a) ?ikkita:b fou? irraf
      'The book (is) above the shelf.'

(2)   ?aḥmad gowwa
      'Ahmad (is) inside.'

(2a) ?aḥmad gowwa lbe:t
      'Ahmad (is) inside the house.'

(3)   ?ilmaḥaṭṭa odda:m
      'The stop (is) in front.'

(3a)   ?ilmaḥaṭṭa <u>odda:m</u> širkit il?adwiyya

'The stop (is) in front of the drug company.'

The examples in (1a), (2a) and (3a) above contain what might appear to be construct state nouns. The items are followed by nouns to form the construct. They can also occur without an object, i.e. as intransitive prepositions. This makes the proposal of listing them **huruuf al-jarr** a doubtful one.

One of the sub-classes of Place adverbials is what is called **mubham** 'vague' (see Chapter 3, pp. 166-7   ). 'Vague' or non-specific locatives such as /taḥt/ 'below' and /fawq/ 'above' have been placed into the adverb category by traditional Arab grammarians, separate from what they call **ḥuruuf al-jarr** 'prepositions'. Lentzner (1977:25) writes: "The division seems unnatural to an English speaker to whom <u>below</u> and <u>above</u> seem quite clearly in the same form-class as <u>in</u> and <u>on</u>. The reasons behind this differentiation in form-classes ... rest on morphological and derivational as well as semantic bases."

Now let us consider the following, which is not an exhaustive list of this type of item:

(1)   /ᵒand/ 'at', 'by'

(2)   /?abl/ 'before'

(3)   /baᵒd/ 'after'[1]

(4)   /?oṣa:d, ?oba:l/ 'in front of', 'opposite'[2]

(5)   /gamb/ 'next', 'beside', 'by'

(6)   /be:n/ 'between'

(7)   /naḥyit/ 'in the direction of'

      /yammit/ 'towards'

(8)   /ḥawali:n/ 'around'

(9)   /šima:l/ 'left'

      /šama:l/ 'north'

(10) /ganu:b/ 'south'

(11) /šar?/ 'east'

(12) /ǧarb/ 'west'

(13) /yimi:n/ 'right'

'Locatives', 'Directionals', 'Prepositional Adverbs', 'Adverbs of Place' and 'Transitive Prepositions'[3] are some of the 'terminology' given to the above items. Each of these terms refers to a function that can be performed by the item when appearing in the structure. We will divide

---

1.   /?abl/ 'before' and /baᵒd/ 'after' are treated here as locative rather than temporal items.

2.   /?oba:l/ is rarely used.

3.   Riemsdijk (1978:51) states: "By intransitive preposition we mean prepositions without any object or another complement." He adds that Emonds (1970, 1972), citing Klima (1965), and Jackendoff (1973) have argued strongly for the existence of intransitive prepositions. "Most if not all intransitive prepositions are phonologically identical to transitive prepositions." (ibid.) Emonds (1972) has also argued that the particles of the English verb-particle construction "are really intransitive prepositions, for example the verb (to put) obligatorily selects a direct object and a locative p . ·Intransitive locative prepositions satisfy this requirement.
     'I have put the socks ⎧ behind the underwear
                          ⎨   behind.'" (Riemsdijk, ibid., e.g.34)

them into two groups, (A) and (B). Group (A) will include
items (1)-(8) and Group (B) will comprise the remainder.
While a N/NP or a pronoun has to follow any of the members
of the first group and thus form some sort of **construct
relation,** this is not necessary for items in Group (B). We
can have:

(A)

(1)   ?ikkorsi ᵒand ilba:b

        'The chair (is) by the door.'

(2)   mabna ilwiza:ra ?oṣa:ḍ ilmaḥaṭṭa

        'The ministry building (is) opposite the station.'

(3)   šofto ma:ši gamb ilmostašfa

        'I saw him walking by the hospital.'

(4)   hiyya ka:nit baᵒdi fiṭṭa:bu:r

        'She was after me in the queue.'

and

(B)

(1)   šofto ma:ši šma:l

        'I saw him walking (to the) left.'

(2)   ?imši li?a:xr išša:ri wibaᵒde:n ḥawwid yimi:n

        'Walk till the end of the street, then turn right.'

(3)   ?iṭṭayya:ra ṭa:rit šima:l

        'The plane flew to the left.'

and the equally acceptable:

(4)   ?iṭṭayya:ra ṭa:rit šima:l borg ilmora?ba

        'The plane flew (to the) left of the observation tower.'

Members of Group (B) can either be prefixed with the definite article /al-/ and behave as independent nouns,[1] or inflect for gender, number and definiteness, often within the general behaviour of noun-adjective agreement and function like true adjectives, as in:

?ilgoz? iššama:li min maṣr biyku:n bard fiššita

'The northern part of Egypt is cold in winter.'

?aswa:n filmanti?a lganobiya min maṣr

'Aswan is inn the southern region of Egypt.'

Each item in both groups can appear as first constituent in a 'construct state' or 'annexation structure' noticeable in Arabic prepositional phrases as can be seen in examples (1) - (3) in Group (A) and example (4) in Group (B).

At this stage, the items in Groups (A) and (B) above cannot be precisely classified as adverbs or prepositions as they have qualities of both these as well as of other form-classes. Beeston (1970:88-9) summarises this by saying: "It is not easy to establish for Arabic a clearly defined word class of prepositions: most of its items seem to have been originally substantives marked as adverbial by the marker of subordinate status (and these are even today borderline cases) ... Contrast for example *mata qabla fušuwwi tta°un* 'he died before the outbreak of the plague', with *mata sanata fušuwwi tta°un* 'he died the year of the

---

1.   Items (1) - (4) and (6) in Group (A) cannot be prefixed with /al-/; items (5) and (7) can.

outbreak of the plague.'" These are identically structured

with verb + adverbial marked as having subordinate status

and substantive marked as having dependant status;

consequently, *qabla* has the same structural status as *sanata*

'year' and could be evaluated as a substantive with the

value "antecedent period". (ibid.)

2.2.10 ḥuruuf al-jarr and the ḍhuruuf

On page 89 we stated that the **ḥuruuf al-jarr** share

other characteristics with the minor form-classes

(conjunctions, particles, etc.) in that they consist of a

well-defined (by listing) subset of language items. The

ḍhuruuf, on the other hand, are open to expansion through

the productive process of adding the accusative marker to a

noun of place. Moreover, the **ḥuruuf al-jarr** have the

ability to be used in abstract senses. They also have the

following characteristics which distinguish them from

adverbs:

(1) They may not be permuted over direct object NPs.

/?itkallim ºan ilmawḍu:º/

'He spoke about the subject.'

*/?itkallim ilmawḍu:º ºan/

'He spoke the subject about.'

(2) A preposition can be preposed to a question word.

/ºan ?e:h itkallim/?

'About what did he speak?'

(3) A Manner adverb can come between a verb and a

following preposition.

/?itkallim biṣu:t ᵒa:li ᵒan ilmawḍuᵒ/

'He spoke loudly about the subject.'

For many speakers, a short parenthetical phrase cannot
be inserted after a preposition when the phrase appears
between the verb and a following NP.

*/?itkallim ᵒan wihowwa zaᵒla:n ilmawḍu:ᵒ/

'He spoke about, angrily, the subject.'

(4) Prepositions are always unstressed (but may
receive higher grades of stress under contrastive emphasis).
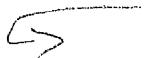
/?iddi:t iggawa:b limi:n/?

'You gave the letter to whom?'

/mi:n ?iddi:t loh iggawa:b/?

'Whom you gave to him the letter.'

'You gave the letter to whom.?'

Furthermore, **ḥuruuf al-jarr** may acquire abstract or
grammatical meanings which have little apparent relation to
their spatial-temporal functions, whereas **ḍhuruuf**, although
they may be used figuratively, do not acquire these. /?ana
taḥt ?amrak/

'I am under your command.'

/?aᵒad taḥt iššagara/

'He sat under the tree.'

(5) Most of the **ḥuruuf al-jarr** can combine with verbs
to form prepositional idioms (i.e., expressions with
specific semantic content not derivable from the separate
meanings of the two parts), whereas the **ḍhuruuf** do not.

/dawwar ᵒala/ 'to look for'

/zaºil min/ 'to be angry with'

/da:fiº ºan/ 'to defend'

/?idda li/ 'to give to'

/?ittafa? maºa/ºala/ 'to agree with/on'

/?assar fi/ºala/ 'to have an effect/influence on'

(6) The possibility of reflexiVisation is also a sufficient but not a neccesary indicator of a preposition. Some clear cases of prepositions do not tolerate a reflexive pronoun in their complement. /gamb/ 'beside', 'next to', /baºd/ 'after',[1] for instance, require the ordinary pronouns /-ha/, /-hom/, /-oh/, etc. rather than /nafsoh/ 'himself', /nafsaha/ 'herself', as in:[2]

/?ana hatte:t ikkita:b gambi/

'I put the book beside me.'

but not

*/?ana hatte:t ikkita:b gamb nafsi/

'I put the book next to myself.'

and

/fi:h na:s ya:ma baºdi fitta:bu:r/

'There are lots of people after me in the queue.'

but not

*/fi:h na:s ya:ma baºd nafsi fitta:bu:r/

1.   /baºd/ 'after' in its locational, not temporal, sense.

2.   A phenomenon comparable perhaps to the non-reflexiVisation in English examples like: "Near him Charlie placed a snake." For more on this, see Postal (1971:Ch.1).

'There are lots after myself in the queue.'

A comprehensive treatment is required that would examine their syntactic behaviour and distributional restrictions in addition to their semantic functions. However, the items mentioned on pp. 86-7 definitely function as adverbs in some contexts, as is shown within the body of the thesis.

CHAPTER THREE

SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF ADVERBIALS WITH   SPECIAL ATTENTION TO TIME AND PLACE ADVERBIALS

SECTION 1

3.1.0 Introduction

In this section we shall present a general classification of adverbs based on their semantic function in the sentence. I take these semantic functions to be of fairly abstract character so that they carry cross-linguistic validity. Studying the semantic functions of the adverb will help us understand how the meaning of an adverb 'interacts' with meanings of other elements in the sentence. By using the full potential of the lexicon and the semantic component, we will try to "bring order to a large segment of the adverbial system" (Jackendoff 1976:56-7)

Adverbs have been classified:

(1) Formally, i.e. according to whether they are simple, derivative, compound or group-adverbs.[1]

(2) According to their meanings (manner, time, degree, etc.).

(3) According to their manner of modification (epithets, complements or interrogative conjunctives).

(4) According to their grammatical function (i.e. the

---

1.   See p.74,142 for more on this.

122

part of speech they modify).

(5) According to the position they occupy in the sentence.

Point (1) above has been covered in the previous chapter. Points (3) and (4) will be dealt with in Chapter 4. Point (5) will be our main concern in this chapter.

When problems of part-of-speech classification touch upon the category of the adverb, meaning furnishes an important criterion. We have seen in the previous pages how significant are the different semantic roles that the adverb can play in the sentence. They are vital in establishing subclasses within the class. Much more complex than the problems of 'parts-of-speech' is the problem of 'parts-of-the-sentence' (Fries:1952:65-86):[1] the subject, the predicator (the predicate), the adjunct (or adverbial modifier), the complement (or object), etc. To explain what parts-of-the-sentence are, especially when one wishes to make distinctions within the general class of adverbs, one has also to turn to the concept of linguistic or, more specifically, syntactic function. The function of a linguistic unit is the purpose for which it is reproduced in a given utterance, i.e. the role which it plays in the latter. For the distinctions to be as clear as possible, we should, as Strang (1978:182) writes "think in terms of a

1.   See Fries (1952) on parts of the sentence, Quirk and Greenbaum (1985: 10-26) and Jespersen (1987: 68-69).

spectrum of functions rather than a spectrum of form-classes."

We have already established (see Chapter 1, p. 31) a subclass of adverbs called **"pure adverbs"**, i.e. adverbs that do not have any other function but that of adverb. This subclass includes such words as /hina/ (here), /hina:k/ (there), /dilwaʔti/ (now), /abadan/ (never), /lissa/ (not yet), etc. They perform what at this stage may be called 'adverbial functions'.[1] Ordinal numbers, words like /ʔinnaha:rda/ (today), /bokra/ (outside), /gowwa/ (inside), etc. may also be included in this subclass of adverbs but they are not as 'pure' as the ones mentioned earlier because they also function non-adverbially. We shall call these, following Strang (1978), **"central variables"**. The last subclass will include words which, despite having all the characteristics of adjectives, function adverbially too. They differ from words in the other two subclasses in that they can occur[2] in both the superlative and comparative forms, thus /na:dir/, /ʔandar/ (rare, rarer, rarest), /ʔawi/, /ʔaʔwa/ (strong, stronger, strongest), etc. We will call this subclass of adverbs **"de-adjectival adverbs"**, again, following Strang (1978:184).

So far we have established three major subclasses, the

1. See Chapter 4 (pp. 203-6) for more on the term 'adverbial'.
2. Except /kowayyis/ (good), /xa:lis/ (very, never).

first consisting of the most "central adverbs", the second of "central variables", and the third of "de-adjectival adverbs". Again, we should bear in mind that since these divisions are partly linked with others, the distinctions are not expected to be too clear-cut. Once the lines of demarcation between these classes are apparent, finding out more about adverbs should become an easier task. The role that the adverb plays in a given utterance will be examined later, but in the following pages we shall first attempt to clarify certain points about adverbs using their semantic role as a guideline.

3.1.1 What is meant by semantic function of an adverb

It is true that semantics is an elusive criterion which can often be misleading as a basis of classification, but it is inevitably involved in the process of adverbial classification for the reasons mentioned earlier (see pp.127-32 of this thesis). This, as previously mentioned, is not the main criterion followed in this thesis. However, purely for information's sake, I present here an exploratory semantic classification based on the criteria used by writers such as Nilsen (1972), Huang (1975), Bolinger (1977), Jacobson (1977), Svartvik (1980), Quirk et al (1986), Lee (1987), Jackson (1990) and Greenbaum (1991).

Adverbials as a whole express a wide range of semantic relations denoting, for example, Approximation, /yadoub/ 'nearly', Restriction /bass/ 'only', Cause /min ilbard/ 'from cold', Amplification /bidaraga malhu:za/ 'noticeably',

125

Diminution /šwayya/ 'a little', Reason /li?innaha ka:nit
ᵒayya:na/ 'because she was ill', Measure /giddan/ 'very
much', Purpose /ᵒalaša:n yidris kimya/ 'in order to study
chemistry', Manner /ma:ši/ 'walking' and /biṣara:ha/
'frankly', Instrument /bissikki:na/ 'by (the) knife',
Frequency /koll youm/ 'everyday', Agency /?itᵒalgit ᵒand
iddoktu:r/ 'she was treated by a doctor', and Span /limoddit
sanate:n/ 'for two years'. This is in addition to the
relations that adverbials express with regard to Location.
From our survey of the data at hand, we found that a great
number of adverbial prepositional phrases were concerned
with Location. These will be dealt with in the appropriate
section.

Semantically, the most frequent function of an adverb
or adverbial construction can be summarised as follows:

(1) To refer to the intensity of the action expressed
by V or VP, as in:

/ḍarabo ga:mid/

'He hit him hard.'

(2) To refer to the frequency of the action:

/?aḥmad biyᵒu:m kiti:r/

'Ahmad often swims.'

/hiyya bitru:ḥ issinima koll osbu:ᵒ/

'She goes to the cinema every week.'

(3) To denote the intensity of some quality or state,
as in:

/?ilmayya barda šwayya/

'The water is a little bit cold.'

/ʔilʔakl soxn <u>ʔawi</u>/

'The food is very hot.'

(4) The manner in which the action is performed:

/mišyit <u>biraša:ga</u>/

'She walked gracefully.'

/ʔitkallim <u>biṣara:ha</u>/

'He spoke frankly.'

From the point of view of their meaning, traditional grammarians classified adverbs into groups according to whether they constitute answers to such questions as /ʔizzay/ (how), /ʔimta/ (when), /limoddit ʔadd ʔe:h/ (for how long), /fe:n/ (where), etc. This, however, can be no more than an arbitrary classification, for two or more classes so shade into each other that it is not always easy to distinguish clearly between them. Moreover, a very large number of adverbs may be used with two or more meanings according to context and word-order.

SECTION 2

3.2.0 Classifying adverbs according to their meaning

A convenient scheme of classification may be the one according to which adverbs are classified with regard to their 'intrinsic meanings'. We shall pay this some attention bearing in mind that 'meaning' is not the sole factor in determining classes and subclasses of adverb. It is a helping agent in making a more satisfactory framework for the group of elements called adverbs. Therefore, in the following pages, a rather general treatment will be given to

127

the following types of adverb:

(1) Adverbs of Manner, state-of-mind adverbs

(2) Adverbs of Degree, Quantity and Precision

(3) Adverbs of Time: Point time adverbs, Duration time
adverbs, Adverbs of Frequency and Repetition, Result time
Adverbs

(4) Adverbs of Place and Position

(5) Miscellaneous

(5a) Adverbs of Addition and Enumerative Adverbs

(5b) Performative Adverbs and Adverbs of Viewpoint

(5c) Attitudinal Adverbs

(5d) Adverbs of Response

(5e) Adverbs of Affirmation, Probability and Negation

We earlier referred to the definition given to the
adverb as a 'verb modifier'. The notion of modification as
well as the range of the adverb as a modifier of the verb
and other parts of speech will be discussed in the following
chapter. The aim of this chapter is to provide a semantic
analysis of adverbs in general and shed some light on the
different roles that adverbs can play in sentences, as this,
we hope, will pave the way for the next chapter. It will
also help in distinguishing the major features associated
with adverbial expressions. For a full understanding of the
above definition, one has to properly analyse the ways in
which verbs in general, and action verbs in particular, are
grouped in order to determine the different aspects of
action that can be associated with the verb. Event,

Participant in event and Result of an event are some of the concepts related to action sentences. Adverbs may be used in reference to indicate any one of these concepts. Certain adverbs, for instance, may refer to the state of mind of the participant when the action is taking place, as in:

(1)   ?aḥmad nazzil ?iššonaṯ min ʿa ddola:b <u>biºna:ya šdi:da</u>

       'Ahmad took the cases down from the top of the
       cupboard carefully.'

where /biºna:ya šdi:da/ ascribes some state of mind to the agent Ahmad. Such adverbs will be referred to as **State-of-Mind adverbs**. Similar to these are those called **Evaluative adverbs**, as they refer to the speaker's evaluation of the event, or, as Huang (1975:61) puts it, "express an assessment of the actor's participation (or lack thereof) in an event." For example, /bibara:ºa/, as in:

(2)   ?ilmoḥa:mi da:fiº ºan ilmottaham <u>bibara:ºa</u>

       'The lawyer defended the accused skilfully.'

       Adverbs of Result are said to be those adverbs which
refer to the end result of the action, as in:

(3)   ?ilmoḥa:dir raḍ ºasso?a:l <u>ṣaḥ</u>

       'The lecturer answered the question correctly.'

where /ṣaḥ/ (correct, correctly) cannot denote the fact that the action of answering was performed in a correct manner but refers to the attitude of the speaker in evaluating the action of the participant. However, in some cases, it is difficult to decide whether an adverb is a manner adverb or a state-of-mind adverb. Consider, for instance:

(4)   ?itkallimit ºand iddoktu:r <u>bibot?</u>

       'She spoke at the doctor's slowly.'

129

where it is not easy to determine whether the adverb /bibot?/[1] is used to impute to the agent a state-of-mind rather than characterise her action, or vice-versa. Huang (1975:15-16) states, "Some state-of-mind adverbs are ambiguous between the case where the state of mind is imputed to the actor during the period <u>preceding</u> the action indicated by the verb and the case where the state of mind is imputed to the actor <u>during</u> the action. Thus, 'John <u>deliberately</u> ate the soup' means either that John ate the soup <u>from deliberation</u> or that he did it <u>with deliberation</u>. Similarly, "He <u>carefully</u> raised his hand" is ambiguous between the sense in which, say, he took care to perform the act as part of some coordinated signal, and the sense in which he took care in raising his hand because he had no way of knowing where the cave was and he was afraid of bats."

When ambiguity occurs in the case of state-of-mind adverbs similar to the ones mentioned above, it can often be resolved by positioning the adverb either before or after the verb that signifies the action. For example, sentences (1), (2) and (3) express the manner in which the subject (?ittalaba, ?iddoktu:r) did the standing, the driving, etc. Sentences 1a-3a, however, give an explanation for the subject's performance of these acts:

(1)   ?ittalaba wi?fo f itta:bu:r <u>bintiza:m</u>
        'The students stood in the line systematically.'
(2)   ?iddoktu:r sa:? ilºarabiyya <u>bisorºa giddan</u>
        'The doctor drove the car very quickly.'

---

1.   For 'semantic blends' see Quirk et al (1972:462).

(3)   ?iddoktu:r fataḥ iggarḥ bi°na:ya
       'The doctor opened the wound carefully.'
(1a)   ?iṭṭalaba bintiẓa:m wi?fo f iṭṭa:bu:r
       'The students systematically stood in line.'
(2a)   ?iddoktu:r biṣor°a giddan sa:? il°arabiyya
       'The doctor very quickly drove the car.'
(3a)   ?iddoktu:r bi°na:ya fataḥ iggarḥ
       'The doctor carefully opened the wound.'

Example (4) in the previous page can be paraphrased by
something like

(4a)   lamma ka:nit °and iddoktu:r itkallimit bibot?
       'When she was at the doctor's she spoke slowly.'

At first approximation (4a) might be taken as the
appropriate underlying structure for (4) because it at least
gives some semantic clarification for the sentence in (4).

Huang (1975:62-64) cannot find, at least as far as
English is concerned, "enough relevant syntactic facts to
independently justify the positing of the two clauses in
sentences like: John didn't indicate his name when he
returned the book (Huang's e.g. (50)) which is a paraphrase
for John returned the book anonymously (Huang's e.g. (51))
Unfortunately, I have looked in vain for evidence of this
sort." (ibid.) However, he finds indirect evidence for this
in suffixless languages such as Arabic, Lahu, Tagalog and
Mandarin (which is true in the case of Arabic at it uses
such clauses as those in (4a) above (which are mainly
conditional) to express the meaning of (4).) The second
indirect evidence is to do with where these adverbs are
generated. He concludes by saying that "these adverbs

cannot come from higher predicates", "these adverbs cannot come from coordinate structures" and that (50) would have a deep structure much like that which underlies (51). (Huang 1975:62-3).

Huang sums up the situation after observing that "The fact that in the course of deriving (50) from (51), elements in the main clause are largely deleted and the subordinate clause becomes ultimately the main clause in the surface structure suggests that the proposed deep structure is suspect." He further adds, "I now acknowledge the possibility that it may be wrong altogether." (Ibid) He then mentions a few examples of which (54) below is one.

"(54) John stupidly stayed in Berkeley"
and asks, "Does (54) mean that John was stupid in that he stayed in Berkeley or that because John was stupid, he stayed in Berkeley?"

Finally, he says, "Results of checking around with my native informants are not entirely uniform though a majority maintain that for each sentence the first interpretation is the more correct one." (ibid:64)

We shall now turn our attention to a detailed treatment of the types of adverb listed on p.128.

3.2.1.1 Adverbs of Manner

Of all types of adverb, Manner adverbs, in the sense in which the term is used in traditional grammar, is the class whose linguistic forms (compared to Temporal or Locative adverbs, for example) are so diverse that they may

132

be hard to comprehend. This is mainly because Arabic

expresses /maºna azzarf/[1] 'adverbial meaning' by the usage

of language elements that range from verbs to prepositional

phrases and from participle to nouns. It uses verbs to

express the idea of manner, as in /gih biygri/[2] 'he came

running', prepositional phrases /gih bsorºa/ 'he came

quickly' to describe the way in which the action is carried

out, a participle or a verbal noun to express either the

idea of state of mind of the actor or the idea of the result

of the action, as in /gih ma:ši/ 'he came walking' and /gih

gariy/ 'he came running', or nouns to refer to either the

time or place of the action, /gih issobh/ 'he came (in) the

morning' and /gih ilbe:t/ 'he came (to) the house'.

Manner adverbs help to characterise the action

indicated by the verb, as in:

(1)   ?ahmad giri <u>bsorºa</u>

       'Ahmad ran quickly.'

or

(2)   darabo <u>ga:mid</u>

       'He hit him hard.'

or

---

1.   For more on this see al-ºAqqaad (1963:92-93 and 94-98 on /wasaa?il
      ittaºbiir ºan maˑna azzarfiyyia/ "means of expressing what the
      adverbial signifies.")

2.   Unlike state-of-mind adverbs, /gih biyidhak/ 'he came laughing',
      /gih biygri/ only pertains to or characterises the mode or the
      manner in which the action of coming is carried out. It does not
      tell us at the same time about the mental state of the agent in
      ways state-of-mind adverbs do.

(3)   ka:nit bititkallim <u>bibot?</u>

       'She was speaking slowly.'

or

(4)   ?ana šaraḥt ilmawqif lisami:r <u>biṣara:ha</u>

       'I explained the situation to Samir frankly.'

(5)   ᵒaraḍ wighit naẓaroh <u>bixtiṣa:r</u>

       'He presented his point of view briefly.'

       They may serve as answers to such questions as

/?izzay/ (how). Some manner adverbs are used only as

epithets,[1] as in (4), others as sentence adverbials.[2] The

adverb /fag?ah/ (suddenly), for instance, is a complement in

(6), while in (6a) it is an epithet. Both utterances can

serve as answers to a 'how' question, in which case 'how' is

considered an interrogative-conjunctive adverb of manner.

(6)   ?iktašafo ilḥofra <u>fag?ah</u>

       'They discovered the hole suddenly.'

(6a) fag?ah, ?iktašafo ilḥofra

       'Suddenly, they discovered the hole.'

       There is a distinction between adverbs used as

epithets on the one hand and those used as complements on

the other. Those who consider them as components of the

---

1.   For the usage of adverbs as epithets, see Kamel (1982:313) and p. 364-372
      of this thesis.

2.   In 4   /biṣara:ha/ is a subject adjunct, unless heavily marked by
      a pause and a low pitch.

same class argue that the complement construction in (6) above is a transformation of the 'epithet construction' in (6a), as the adverb in (6) may be moved by an optional rule to the pre-subject position to produce (6a).[1]

Sometimes, there is a rather close affinity between the manner adverbial and the verb (see examples 1-3 above), making it so that the 'V-Adv of manner' construction functions as a sort of predicate complement. The relationship is often so strong that ambiguity arises.[2] In the following example:

/?aḥmad fataḥ ilba:b bibot̩? šdi:d/

'Ahmad opened the door very slowly.'

the adverb /bibot̩? šdi:d/ (very slowly) appears in final position. The sentence is vague in the message it conveys. In one reading, /bibot̩? šdi:d/ is a state-of-mind adverb and the sentence expresses the idea that Ahmad was slow and careful in opening the door. In another reading, it describes the way in which Ahmad opened the door and the adverb is a manner adverb. The sentence means that Ahmad

---

1.   For more on the epithet/complement function of the adverb, see
     Strang (1978:186-187), Kamel (1982:313-315) and p.290-7 in Chapter 4
     of this thesis for the adverb as a sentence or a predicate
     modifier.

2.   Both Fries (1952:135-137) and Fraser (Dissertation 1965 and 1966
     45:61) have discussed, in a rather detailed manner, the strong
     relationship between verb and adverb. See also Nilsen
     (1972:81-97) and pp. 356-9 of Chapter 5 of this thesis.

opened the door in a slow manner, and here the adverb

functions as a complement.[1] We notice from this example and

similar ones that meaning, position, as well as the stress

pattern given to the utterance in which the adverb occurs,

help to clear ambiguities. This is discussed in some detail

in Chapter 5.

3.2.1.2 Degree Adverbs: Adverbs of Quantity and Precision

Degree adverbs help to indicate the degree or extent

of a certain quality or state. They serve to show degrees

of intensification or deintensification of an action. Many

grammarians as well as linguists have devoted much of their

writings on language to adverbs of degree. There is good

reason to believe that every language possesses a set of

descriptive degree adverbs, Arabic in particular having a

large and complex (yet systematic) subset of them. They

serve either to indicate descriptively something about the

degree, as in:

/hiyya zakiyya <u>giddan</u>/

'She is very intelligent.'

or to express the speaker's reaction to the degree, as in:

/hiyya zakiyya <u>bdaraga malhu:za</u>/

'She is noticeably intelligent.'

---

1.   For more on subject adjuncts and manner adjuncts, see Armstrong
      (1974:102) and Quirk *et al* (1984:466).

Comparative adjectives may be included in this category of adverbs due to their ability to add a certain amount of strength to the structure in which they occur. For example, the adjectival forms /ɣa:lib/ (overwhelming) and /na:dir/ (rare) of the temporal adverbs, /ɣa:liban/ (often) and /na:diran/ (rarely), have comparisons in the usual way, i.e. /ʔaɣlab/ and /ʔandar/, which, if appearing in a sentence, add some emphasis to the content of that sentence. But, generally speaking, the other central adverbs can occur in neither the comparative nor the superlative form; thus, we do not have:

* /ʔaktar hina:k/ 'more there'
* /aktar imba:riḥ/ 'more yesterday'
* /ʔilʔaktar bokra/ 'most tomorrow'

etc.

Adjectives, in the main, constitute the largest set of words which occur with degree adverbs. Although modified by the same degree adverb, /giddan/ (very), each of the adjectives in the following examples refers to a different state or attribute:

(1)   ʔaḥmad zaki <u>giddan</u>

'Ahmad is very intelligent.'

(where 'intelligence' is a mental state)

137

(2)   ka:nit zaᵉla:na giddan

'She was very angry'

(where 'anger' is a psychological state)[1]

(3)   ?ilmodarris da ṭawi:l giddan

'This teacher is very tall.'

(where 'tallness' is a physical state)

Most adverbs can occur with adjectives whereas adverbs
of degree, in particular, always occur as postmodifiers to
adjectives and, where appropriate, to their antonyms.

In ECA, the verbal noun is often used to add emphasis
to the statement, as in:

(4)   ḍarabo ḍarb ga:mid

'He hit him hitting hard.'

'He hit him hard.'

or refer to quantity, as in:

(5)   ?ištaᵹalo šoᵹl kti:r

'They've worked a lot of work.'

'They've worked hard.'

If the adjectives in the above examples are deleted
and the verbal noun receives the main stress, the intonation
patterns of the sentences will change and the syllable be
unusually lengthened to produce:

(4a)   ḍarabo ḍa:rb

(5a)   ?ištaᵹalo šo:ᵹl

where the verbal nouns /da:rb/ and šo:ᵹl/ imply that the

---

1.   Strang (1978:171) classified these adjectives roughly and referred
      to them as "psychological adjectives and adjectives of prediction,
      e.g. afraid, ambitious, anxious, apt, privileged, ready, sorry,
      certain, sure, likely, possible, and their opposites."

action was repeated and carried out to a pronounced degree.

Apart from the semantic role of 'amplification' that a degree adverb can play in a sentence, it can also refer to diminution and measure as respectively demonstrated in the following two examples:

(6)   ru:ḥ liṣaḥbak yimkin yisa:ᵒdak šwayya

'Go to your friend, he may help you a little.'

(7)   ʔoxti bitḥib issinama aktar min ilmasraḥ

'My sister likes the cinema more than the theatre.'

Other features of degree adverbs are discussed in Chapter 4 (pp. 215-20).

3.2.1.3 Time Adverbs

3.2.1.3.a Point time adverbs, Duration time adverbs

In natural language, time is extremely important. There is no statement that may escape it. No action may be conceived of without being situated in time. "The omnipresence of time has been taken for granted by linguists and not given enough attention in analysing language. On the other hand, formal logic got rid of it completely." Hetzron (1971:35). Hetzron adds, "I think that associating the content of every linguistic utterance with time is indispensable in linguistic analysis and this conception dominates our way of thinking." (ibid.) This has been reflected in the writings of Arab grammarians; Hasan (1969:250), for example, says, "/ʔazzamaan ʔalmojarrad la wojuuda laho/", i.e. 'there is no absolute time.' It is impossible to have time with no incidents to occur in, or

139

existing incidents to continue. For time to be void of any

new or continuing events is impossible. Hasan adds, 'To put

it more precisely, each event must be coupled with time. It

is not possible to have events happening outside the scope

of time. That is why time is called a "vessel" as being

similar to the real vessel or container which has to have

something in." (Ibid) Obviously, there are universal

statements which are timeless. For example,

> "a) Two times two make four.

> b) Birds are feathered animals.

The time of (a) will clearly be always, at all times a

statement; (b) is a definition with a special value of time;

whenever there are birds, they are covered with feathers,

i.e. from the beginning of the emergence of birds to their

decline." Hetzron (1971:35)

The time of the utterance in relation to the present

is best marked by a Time adverbial (a Temporal). It may be

given in vague terms /mubham/[1], for example, /moddah,

fatrah/ 'period', /wa?t/ 'time'. Hetzron (1971:36) also

writes: "Time may also be intentionally omitted, in which

case, it will not be reduced to zero, but will be positively

marked as 'unspecified'. This will only mean that time is

not defined in terms of 'public knowledge', and in case past

tense verbs are used, time will be "sometime before now" (in

---

1.   For the terms /mubham/ 'vague' and /moxtass/ 'specified', see
      Hasan (1969:251-52) and Chapter 2 of this thesis.

relation to the story-teller, and, as a corollary, in relation to the reader/hearer."

Our principal purpose here is to investigate the semantic content of a class of adverbial constructions belonging to the semantic field of time, duration and frequency. It should be noted that, while we deal systematically with the major types of expression denoting time, duration and frequency, there are others which are not included in our analysis. Temporal adverbials[1] function as means of indication of temporal localisation or single moments of time (Point time adverbs), temporal limitation or stretches of time (Duration time adverbs)[2] and frequency of occurrence (Frequency adverbs) of the narrated event. They express almost as many time situations as do verbal expressions.

The scope of individual subclasses of verbal expressions of temporal adverbials is determined by the criterion of question procedure. According to the question procedure, time, duration and frequency adverbials can be defined as distributional classes of constructions answering

1. The term 'Temporal adverbials' here is used to refer to the conjunction of the distributional class of Time adverbials (which we shall refer to as Point time adverbs), Duration adverbials and Frequency adverbials.

2. These terms were used by Huang (1975:19).

the question /?imta/? 'when', e.g. /bille:l/ 'in the
evening', /limoddit ?add ?e:h/? 'for how long', e.g. /tu:l
ille:l/ 'all night', and /koll ?add ?e:h/? 'how often', e.g.
/koll le:la/ 'every night' respectively. The answers to
such questions may be adverbs proper, group adverbs[1],
adverbial phrases and adverbial clauses.

Temporal adverbials can be expressed by:

(1) Days and parts of the day

(2) Years

(3) Seasons

(4) Dates

(5) Weeks, months

(6) Holidays

(7) Hours

(8) Moments in the past from the present mmoment, i.e.
a long time ago, some time ago, a quarter of an hour ago,
hours ago, etc; a year ago tomorrow, a year ago yesterday,
etc.

(9) Moments in the future measured from the present
moment:

/baᵓd xamas da?a:yi?.../

'In five minutes time...'

/fixla:l sanate:n min innaharda.../

'(In) two years from today...,' etc.

---

1.   The term 'group adverbs' was first used by Palmer (1939:237). For
      more on 'group adverbs', see Chapter 2, pp.

142

(10) The /fi-, bi-/ 'in the course of' group:

/fil?aga:za.../

'In the holiday...', i.e. 'during the holiday...'

/bille:l/

'In the night...', i.e. 'during the night...'

(11) Adverbial clause of time:

/lamma yru:ḥ.../

'When he goes...'

/wa?ti ma ti?dar.../

'Whenever you can...'

/ba°di ma yixallaṣu:ha.../

'After they finish it...'

/(bi) mogarrad ma ti:gi.../

'As soon as you come...'

Some grammarians[1] use substitution tables to show some

thousands of temporal everyday expressions "in a compact and

easily assimilable form" Palmer (1939:237). Thus, for

example, table (1) below stands for twenty four expressions

beginning: 1- /?innaha:rda iṣṣobḥ/ 'in the morning today',

2- /?awwil imba:riḥ iṣṣobḥ/ 'the day before yesterday

morning', 3- /?imba:riḥ iṣṣobḥ/ 'yesterday morning', etc.

---

1.   See Palmer (1939:237-256)

Table (1)

/ʔinnaha:rda/	/ʔiṣṣobḥ/
Today	(In the) morning
/(ʔawwil) ʔimba:riḥ/	/ʔiddohr/
(The day before) yesterday	(At) noon
/(baᵒd) bokra/	/ʔilᵒaṣr/
(The day after) tomorrow	(In the) afternoon
/koll yo:m/	/ʔilmaɣrib/
Every day	(At) sunset

The underlined elements in (1), (2) and (3) below represent Point time, Duration time and Frequency adverbials respectively:

(1)   safro maṣr <u>issana illi fa:tit</u>
      'They went to Egypt last year.'

(2)   ʔaᵒad yitkallim <u>(limoddit) talat saᵒa:t</u>
      'He went on talking for (a period of) three hours.'

(3)   <u>koll ma</u> yru:ḥ barra yigi:b laha fosta:n
      'Whenever he goes abroad, he brings her a dress.'

3.2.1.3.b Semantic characteristics of some temporal nouns:

Temporal adverbials are represented in the surface structure of the sentence by prepositional or nominal constructions or by adverbs. The semantic nature of the

nouns which participate in, and are part of, the structure

of prepositional and nominal strings (which in turn function

as temporal adverbials) is very important. A classification

of the nouns which occur in these structures will be

attempted, as the distinction between different types of

noun has interesting linguistic consequences, as we shall

see later.

We shall propose that temporal nouns be classified as

belonging to two sets which we shall call Set (A) and Set

(B). First, examples of some typical elements of Sets (A)

and (B) will be given and then a formal definition of the

two sets will be attempted.

SET (A)

/?iṣṣobḥ/ 'morning'

/bille:l/ 'night'

/(youm) litne:n/ '(the day of) Monday'

/(youm) ?ittala:t/ '(the day of) Tuesday'

/(šahr) ma:ris/ '(the month of) March'

/(šahr) ?abri:l/ '(the month of) April'

/?imba:riḥ/ 'yesterday'

/?innaha:rda/ 'today'

SET (B)

/di?i:?a/;... 'minute'

/sana/;... 'year'

/šahr/;... 'month'

/sa:ºa/;... 'hour'

Each noun in Set (A) contrasts with other nouns from

the same set which mark a period of time that is viewed as a
comparable subdivision of some larger time segment. For
example, /?iṣṣobḥ/ contrasts with /bille:l/. This is not
the case for the nouns in Set (B). In order to formalise
this important difference between Sets (A) and (B), we shall
introduce (following Kučera and Trnka (1975:3)), in a
preliminary way, the notion of an ANTONYMY SET. The concept
is important here as it is necessary to isolate and limit
the members of the two sets. Kučera and Trnka (Ibid) write:
"An Antonymy set of temporal nouns is a set whose elements
are mutually exclusive in non-coordinate multiple temporal
constructions." Consider, for example, the following
sentences:

(1)   *youm ittala:t ?aḥmad gih youm ilxami:s
        'On Tuesday Ahmad came on Thursday.'

(2)   *youm iggomºa illi fa:tit zakirt tu:l youm ilhadd
        'Last Friday I studied the whole day of Sunday.'

(3)   youm ittala:t illi fa:t sihirt tu:l ille:l
        'Last Tuesday I was awake the whole night.'

(4)   ?issana illi fa:tit ?aºad šahr ka:mil fi maṣr
        'Last year he stayed for a whole month in Egypt.'

        (1) and (2) are not acceptable as /youm ittala:t/
'Tuesday' and /youm ilxami:s/ 'Thursday' belong to the same
antonymy set. (3) is well formed and semantically
acceptable as /youm ittala:t/ 'Tuesday' and /tu:l ille:l/
'all night' belong to different antonymy sets. Finally, (4)
is meaningful and well formed with both the temporal nouns
involved in this sentence belonging to Set (B).

146

It is interesting also to note that in English the ambiguity of the temporal noun *day* is actually a consequence of the fact that this noun can be a member of both sets (A) and (B). In the meaning of day = 'daytime', it belongs to (A). In the meaning of day = '24 hours', it is an element of (B). In the former meaning, *day* thus belongs to the antonymy set with <u>night</u>. In the latter, it does not. This also explains the acceptability of (1) and the ill-formedness and unacceptability of (2):

(1)   *During the day, they visited us at night.

(2)   (On) the following day, they visited us at night.

3.2.1.3.c Verb tenses and time adverbials referring to the immediate past and those which may include the present time

As far as time is concerned, adverbs of time can express distant past, immediate past, past, present, future, immediate future and distant future. There are often rather severe restrictions between verb tenses and Time adverbials.[1]

Time adverbials referring to ~~to~~ the immediate past, and those which may include present time, are acceptable with the perfective stative present which indicates that the action took place some time before the time when it is being described, and the state resulting from the completion of the action continues until that time. For example,

---

1.   For more on Time adjuncts and the verb, see Quirk *et al* (1984:482-506) and Quirk (1986:passim).

147

adverbials like /ʔinnaha:rda/ 'today', /ʔilmarra di/ 'this time', /ʔilʔosbu:ᵒ da/ 'this week'/, etc. are acceptable with the following sentences:

/ʔiddoktu:r ka:šif ᵒale:h ʔinnaha:rda/

'The doctor examined him today.'

/ʔoxti msa:fra maṣr ilʔosbu:ᵒ da/

'My sister will travel to Egypt this week.'

but adverbials referring to the remote past which do not include the present such as /ʔimba:riḥ/ 'yesterday', /ʔilʔosbu:ᵒ illi fa:t/ 'last week', /min sanate:n/ 'two years ago' are not acceptable in sentences involving this pattern:

*/ʔiddoktu:r ka:šif ᵒale:h ʔilʔosbu:ᵒ illi fa:t/

*/ʔoxti msa:fra maṣr imba:riḥ/

As Strang (1978:143) writes, referring to the relationships between verb-adverb constructions, "these differentiations should not be thought of as a property of the verb acting alone but as a system signalled by patterns of co-occurrence between verbs and adverbs."

The above passage from Strang refers particularly to the English distinction between such adverbs as 'yesterday', 'last year', 'at three o'clock', 'in 1921', on the one hand, and 'for three years', 'for two seconds', on the other. In English these two sets collocate with the plain past, 'I saw him', and the present perfect, 'I have known him', respectively. In Arabic, however, this distinction is less easy to maintain since we can say both:

/itˤarraft ˤale:h min sana/

'I met him a year ago.'

and

/ʔaˤrafo min sana/

'I have known him for a year.'

3.2.1.3.d Duration-time adverbs

As mentioned above, the time span during which the action is taking place may be referred to as "duration-time adverbs". Duration is expressed by:

a) Idiomatic phrases like /lilʔabad/ (for ever)

b) /ṭu:l/ (throughout, lit. 'length') as in:

/ka:no barra ṭu:l ilʔaga:za/

'They were abroad throughout the holiday.'

c) /ˤala/ which normally accompanies noun phrases denoting special occasions such as holidays, seasons, festivals, and so generally refers to a shorter period of time than /ṭu:l/, as in:

/hayzorna ˤal ˤi:d/

'He will visit us at (the time of) Eid.'

and

d) /min .... li/,[1] /li ḥadd/, /liɡa:yit/ (from ....

1. This is another pair of prepositions whose locative meaning is transferred to duration.

149

to, until, till) as in:

> /?aᵒadna ᵒandohom min ma:ris lisibtambir/
>
> 'We stayed with them from March till September.'
>
> In the following pairs of sentences:

(1) ?itkallim filmaglis (limoddit)[1] talat saᵒa:t

'He spoke in the assembly for (the period of) three hours.'

(1a) ?itkallim filmaglis talat saᵒa:t

'He spoke in the assembly (for) three hours.'

(2) ?iddoktu:r kašaf ᵒale:h f xamas da?a:yi?

'The doctor examined him in five minutes.'

(2a) ?iddoktu:r kašaf ᵒale:h xamas da?a:yi?

'The doctor examined him for five minutes.'

(3) ?aᵒado ᵒandina ?osbu:ᵒ

'They stayed with us (for) a week.'

(3a) ?aᵒado ᵒandina ṭu:l il?osbu:ᵒ

'They stayed with us throughout the week.'

(4) ?ilfilm istamar xamas saᵒa:t

'The film lasted (for) five hours.'

(4a) ?ilfilm istamar min sitta l tisᵒa/

'The film lasted from six till nine.'

(5) ?aᵒado ᵒandina f ramaḍa:n

'They stayed with us in/during (the month of) Ramadan.'

---

1. If /li/ in /li moddit/ is deleted, this sentence will still be acceptable. However, if /moddit/ is deleted, the sentence becomes unacceptable to many native speakers. Deletion of the whole of the prepositionsl phrase /li moddit/ does not affect the acceptability of the sentence as in 1a).

(5a) ?aᵒado ᵒandina[1] ramaḍa:n

'They stayed with us throughout/for the whole month of
Ramadan.'

We notice that it is not only the adverb that gives
the sentence the durational sense, but also the influence of
some verbs which have the idea of duration and continuity,
as in the examples 3-5a. We also notice that all the
adverbials used are denoting the length of time during which
the action took place. There are also adverbials that
denote duration from some preceding point of time, as in:

/mistanniyya gawa:b min maṣr <u>min saᵒit</u> ma waṣalit hina/
'I have been waiting for a letter from Egypt since I
arrived here.'

/?il?aḥwa:l liqtisa:diyya ?iddahwarit giddan <u>filfatra l</u>
<u>?axi:ra/</u>
'Economic conditions have deteriorated (very much)
lately.'

3.2.1.3.e Adverbs of Frequency and Repetition

One should be careful not to confuse adverbs of time
proper (i.e. those which answer the question /*?imta*/
('when') with adverbs of duration (which answer the question
/*limoddit ?add ?e:h*/ ('for how long') or with adverbs of
frequency (which answer the question /*koll ?add ?e:h*/ '(how
often'). /*koll*/ (every) may have a temporal significance if

---

1.   On absence of prepositions of time, see Quirk and Greenbaum (1985:
      6-25).

followed by a noun referring to time, in which case it signifies that the action is repeated. Thus, as answers to the questions /bitru:ḥ iskindiriya koll ?add ?e:h/? 'How often do you go to Alexandria?', /bitšu:fo koll ?add ?e:h/? 'How often do you see him?', the following are all acceptable:

(1)   binru:ḥ iskindiriya

      'We go to Alexandria

(2)   bašu:fo

      'I see him'

      koll osbu:ᵒ 'Every week.'[1]

      koll youm 'Every day.'

      koll sa:ᵒa 'Every hour.'

      koll šahr 'Every month.'

      koll sana 'Every year.'

      koll ma?dar 'Whenever I can.'

      /marra/ (once) can be used before /koll/ in the above examples to emphasise the fact that the action takes place only once. An emphatic sense is given to the sentence if any of the above temporal nouns is used in the accusative, as in:

(1a) bašu:fo osbu:ᵒiyyan

      'I see him weekly.'

(2a) bašu:fo yawmiyyan

      'I see him daily'.

etc.

---

1.   If the noun following /koll/ is preceded by the definite article /?al-, ?il-/, the meaning of /koll/ will change to 'all', 'the whole of'.

However, this is not always the case as temporal nouns such as /sa:ºa/ (hour), /di?i:?a/ (minute), /sa:ɾya/ (second) do not occur in the accusative in the spoken language.

Adverbials like /bistimra:r/ (continuously), /dayman/ (always), /ºa:datan/ (usually), /?ahya:nan/ (sometimes), /?olayyil/ (little), /na:dir/ (rarely), /kiti:r/ (a lot), etc., can also be used as frequency adverbs and can replace the phrases of time in (1) and (2) above to show how frequently the act is done. Their morphological structure and syntactic functions are discussed on pp.

Before leaving this point, it is interesting to notice that the Frequency adverbial /koll youm/ 'every day' in sentences like (1) below does not refer to frequency:

(1)   koll youm filwa?t da binku:n xaragna minilbe:t
       Two translations can be offered:

(1a)   'Every day by this time, we will have left the house.'

(1b)   'Every day by this time we (always) leave the house.'

       /koll youm/ 'every day' in the first translation (1a) does not limit the action to present, past or future. Unless this adverbial is coupled with another adverbial that limites the action to a specific time in the past or in the future, the verbal pattern cannot be said to indicate the completion of an action before another in the future or in the past. "And when it is coupled with any adverbial of the type mentioned, it cannot be used in the environment of the pattern biyku:n + a suffix form." Radwan (1975:61-62) Hence the following example is an unacceptable one:

*/koll youm filwa?t da il?osbu:º igga:y binku:n
xaragna min ilbe:t/

'By this time next week, we (always) leave the house.'

The adverbial 'always' is bracketed in (1b) because

there is no equivalent in the Arabic example. It is put here

for the sake of clarification. The use of this adverbial here

indicates that a speaker of ECA "imports the pattern biyku:n +

a suffix form as one expressing a timeless habitual action,

not a future habitual action." Radwan (ibid.)

3.2.1.3.f Result time adverbs

Some adverbs characterise the result of the action

identified by the verb rather than the action *per se*. In

the sentence

/?aḥmad katab ?iddars <u>biwdu:h/</u>

'Ahmad wrote the lesson <u>legibly</u>.'

what Ahmad wrote was legible. Here it is senseless to

interpret the adverb in question as characterising the

manner in which the action of writing is carried out as

legible. These adverbs refer to the end result of the

action. They correspond to the interrogative /*?izza:y*/

'how'. Gleason (1964), however, did not have a class of

adverbs corresponding to the interrogative (why). This may

have been because Reason adverbs are often in the form of

the adverbial phrase or clause.

Each of the following groups of sentences refers to a

separate stretch of time. Sentences in the first group

refer to the duration of the action and are thus very

similar to sentences 1-5a above. Sentences of the second group indicate the duration between the time of the speech act and the action of the main verb. These often refer to a 'happening' in the future. Those in group (3) indicate the duration of the resulting state.

Group (1)

(1)   ?itkallim ma°a ṣaḥbo <u>sa:°a w noṣ</u>

'He talked with his friend for an hour and a half.'

(2)   giri ilmasa:fa kollaha <u>fsaba° da?a:yi?</u>

'He ran the whole distance in seven minutes.'

(3)   xallaṣo mizaniyyit išširka <u>f?osbo°e:n</u>

'They finished the company's budget in two weeks.'

Group (2)

(1)   hayzoru:na <u>ba°d youme:n</u>

'They'll visit us in two days time.'

(2)   hanirga° ilbe:t <u>ba°d sa:°a</u>

'We'll come back home in an hour's time.'

(3)   fixla:l sa:°a w rob° hayku:no waṣalo ?aswa:n

'In an hour and a quarter, they will have reached (arrived at) Aswan.'

Group (3)

(1)   ra:ḥo maṣr <u>šahr w noṣ</u>

'They went to Egypt for a month and a half.'

(2)   safro ?aga:za <u>?osbo°e:n</u>

'They went on holiday for two weeks.'

(3)   ?aḥmad sa:b iššoġl <u>talat iyya:m</u>

'Ahmad left work for three days.'

(3a) ?aḥmad sa:b iššoġl <u>mo?aqqatan</u>

'Ahmad left work temporarily.'

The underlined adverbs in Group (3) can be viewed as

adverbs of result as well as adverbs of time. In example

(3), for instance, the adverb serves to indicate that the

resulting state of the action of leaving work was that Ahmad

did no work for three days. Similarly, (3a) means that

Ahmad left work and did no work temporarily. /mo?aqqatan/

(temporarily) cannot occur with activity verbs:[1]

> */?aḥmad ḍarab ?axu:h mo?aqqatan/
>
> * 'Ahmad hit his brother temporarily.'
>
> */wi?ºit min ºala ṣṣatḥ mo?aqqatan/
>
> * 'It fell off the roof temporarily.'

are not acceptable. Some linguists consider such adverbs as

occupying a midpoint between time and result adverbs. We

shall regard them as purely temporal ones because their

generally accepted value has always been that of time.

---

1. Jackson (1990:14) states "The verb sing in 'She sang in clubs and in concerts' illustrates a type of action called activity: a person or other animate agent is involved in doing something. The action is viewed as durative (lasting over a period of time), but no result or achievement is implied (i.e. it is non-conclusive). The example at [28] with discover (In 1901 Landsteiner discovered the ABO blood group system) illustrates an accomplishment (i.e. it is conclusive). Like activities, though, accomplishments are viewed as taking place over a period: they are durative. The example with the verb kick at [29] (He kicked the razor clear) illustrates a momentary act:: an agent performs an action which is viewed as punctual (taking place in a moment of time) but the action has no end result (i.e. it is non-conclusive). The example at [30] (He began his search) illustrates a transitional act: again, the action is viewed as punctual, but it is also conclusive. It involves a change of state, in the case of begin from not happening to being under way." We should note, however, that a verb word may belong to more than one of the semantic subclasses. (For these subclasses, see Jackson (1990: 8-21) as with a verb such as taste in:
   (10) This soup tastes of garlic. (quality)
   (11) I can taste the garlic in the soup (perception)
   (12) Would you kindly taste the soup? (activity)
   (fn. cont. overleaf)

Another adverb of time that has this dual function is
/dilwaʔti/ (now). One of the meanings of this adverb is
that it indicates a change from what has been said before
while referring to the continuity of the discourse. In the
following example, /dilwaʔti/ is not an adverb of time:[1]

/ʔinta msa:fir iskindiriyya w koll ḥa:ga gahza, tiʔdar
tiʔu:lli dilwaʔti ʔe:h ilmoškila/

'You are travelling to Alexandria and everything is
ready; now can you tell me what is the problem?'

where /dilwaʔti/ (now) might be paraphrased by 'following
from what I say'. It has a similar function to the
conjunct. Adverbs, as mentioned earlier, have a tendency to
pass from one group to another. Several factors, besides
meaning, contribute to finally distinguishing an adverb and
viewing it as belonging to one class or another.

3.2.1.3.g Time relaters

Quirk and Greenbaum (1985: 285-287) talk about Time
relaters and time relationships between sentences which can

---

1. (cont. from previous page)
   Jacobson further states that "There are many verbs which belong
   both to the 'goings on' subclass and to the 'activity'
   subclass,for example 'work':
   (31) Every new machine would not work.
   (32) He worked for me for two years. Other verbs belong to the
   'transitional event' subclass and to the 'transitional act'
   subclass, e.g. stop.
   (33) The tractor stopped.
   (34) He stopped working. As a final e.g. we may cite the verb
   write which belongs to both the activity subclass and the
   accomplishment subclass
   (35) I write very little and very quickly.
   (36) I wrote letters for some of the illiterates." (ibid:15)

be signalled by adjectives (Ibid:286) or adverbials or by tense, aspect and modality in verbs. (Ibid:40- 58) "Once a time reference has been established, certain adjectives and adverbials may order subsequent information in relation to it." (ibid:286) They divided time-relationship into three major divisions:

"(1) Previous to given time reference: where adverbials like *already*, *as yet*, *before*, *first*, *so far*, *previously*, etc. are used, e.g. I shall explain to you what happened, but *first* I must give you a cup of tea ('before explaining what happened').

(2) Simultaneous with given time-reference: where adverbials such as *at present*, *at this point*, *meantime*, *meanwhile*, *now*, etc. are used, e.g. Several of the conspirators have been arrested but their leader is as yet unknown. *Meanwhile*, the police are continuing their investigations into the political sympathies of the group ('at the same time as the arrests are being made').

(3) Subsequent to given time-reference: where adverbials like *afterwards*, *again*, *immediately*, *later*, *next*, *since*, *then*, *after that* are used, e.g. The manager went to a board meeting this morning. He was *then* due to catch a train to London ('after the board meeting')." (ibid.)

We notice from the above that all adverbials mentioned

have temporal significance and they have a connective

function. However, in the case of some adjectives[1] this is

not always true. Compare:

- He gave a good speech. His previous speeches were

all long and boring ('previous to that good speech').

where *previous* has a connective function

and

- His *previous* wife died last year.

where no mention is made of the person's subsequent or

present wife.

3.2.2 Summary of the semantic roles of Time adverbs

The semantic roles of time adverbs can be summarised

as follows:

(A)   Position

As with Locatives (see pp 163-8), the temporal

semantic role encompasses a number of circumstances of time:

POSITION, DURATION and FREQUENCY. POSITION in time is

parallel to POSITION in space.[2] It provides an answer to

the simple question /?imta/ (when), which serves to place an

---

1.   The use of adjectives as time relaters is not mentioned here as it
      is not relevant to the point under discussion.

2.   For more on this, see Quirk (1986:58).

action or event at a point or period in time.

/birna:mig ilmasraḥ ka:n <u>?abl ittamsiliyya</u>/[1]

'The programme about the theatre was before the play.'

/ra:ḥo ilḥaflah <u>issa:ºa tala:ta</u>/

'They went to the party at three o'clock.'

/?izziya:ra ntahat <u>filwa?ti da</u>/

'The visit ended at that time.'

(B)   <u>Duration</u>

The notion of duration in time has some parallels with
that of DISTANCE in space. Both refer to the measurement of
extent, and the question */?add ?e:h/* (how far) for DISTANCE
is matched by the same question */?add ?e:h/* but is expressed
by 'how long' for DURATION.

(1)   safro ?aga:za sitt ?asa:be:º

'They went for six weeks holiday.'

(2)   ?aºad yišraḥ filmawḍu:º ?arbaº saºa:t

'He continues to explain about the matter for four
hours.'

DURATION may also be related to ORIENTATION in time,
either FORWARD into the future or BACKWARD into the past.[2]
Duration with forward- orientation corresponds to the
question */liḥadd ?imta/* 'until when', as in (3):

---

1.   The parallel between LOCATIVE and TEMPORAL POSITION is reinforced
       by the fact that many prepositions may be used for types of
       Position, e.g. /min sa:ºa/ 'an hour ago' and /min ilbe:t/ 'from
       the house', /baºd ilɣada/ 'after lunch' and /baºd il madrasa/
       'after school'.

2.   See Quirk and Greenbaum (1985:285-287) for another semantic
       division of time-relationships.

(3)   ?iḥtima:l inn ziya:rit irrayyis tastamirr liḥadd

iššahr igga:y

'It is possible that the president's visit will last till

next month.'

Duration with backward orientation corresponds to the

question /min ?imta/ 'since when', as in:

(4)   min youm ilḥadsa w howwa taṣarrofa:to ǥari:ba

'Since the accident, his behaviour has become strange.'

The TEMPORAL expression of duration in (1) and (2) is

of the general type with the characteristic prepositional

phrase /limoddit/ deleted.

(C)   <u>Frequency</u>

In the following examples

(5)   ?asⓢa:r iddawa bitartafiⓢ bistimra:r

'The price of medicine is continually rising.'

(6)   da:yman ba:gi hina lamma baku:n f ?aṣwa:n[1]

'I always come here when I am in Aswan.'

we notice that the reference is not to a point in time,

/?imta/ 'when', or extent through time, /?add ?e:h/ 'how

long', but to the incidence of an event or action in time

relating to the question /koll ?add ?e:h/ 'how often'. This

question is typically answered by adverbs such as

/bistimra:r/ and /da:yman/ in (5) and (6) respectively. The

1.   Dual frequency can occur in sentences such as:
      /biyšrab ?ahwa bistimra:r koll youm /
      'He drinks coffee frequently every day.'
      / kan da:yman yiddi:loh talat kotob koll šahr /
      'He always gave him three books every month,'

question /ka:m marra/ 'how many times' is also used to refer
to the frequency of the act.

(7)   ᵒamal kida kaza marra, wi miš hayru:ḥ hina:k ta:ni

'He did that several times, and he is not going to go
there again.'

(8)   darabna:hom talat marra:t

'We hit them three times.'

The following diagram illustrates the above
discussion:

TEMPORAL

Position   Duration   Frequency

/ʔimta/ 'when'   /koll ʔadd ʔe:h/

'how often'

General   Orientation

/ʔadd ʔe:h/ 'for how long'   Backward   Forward

/min ʔimta/ /liḥadd ʔimta/

'since when'   'until when'

162
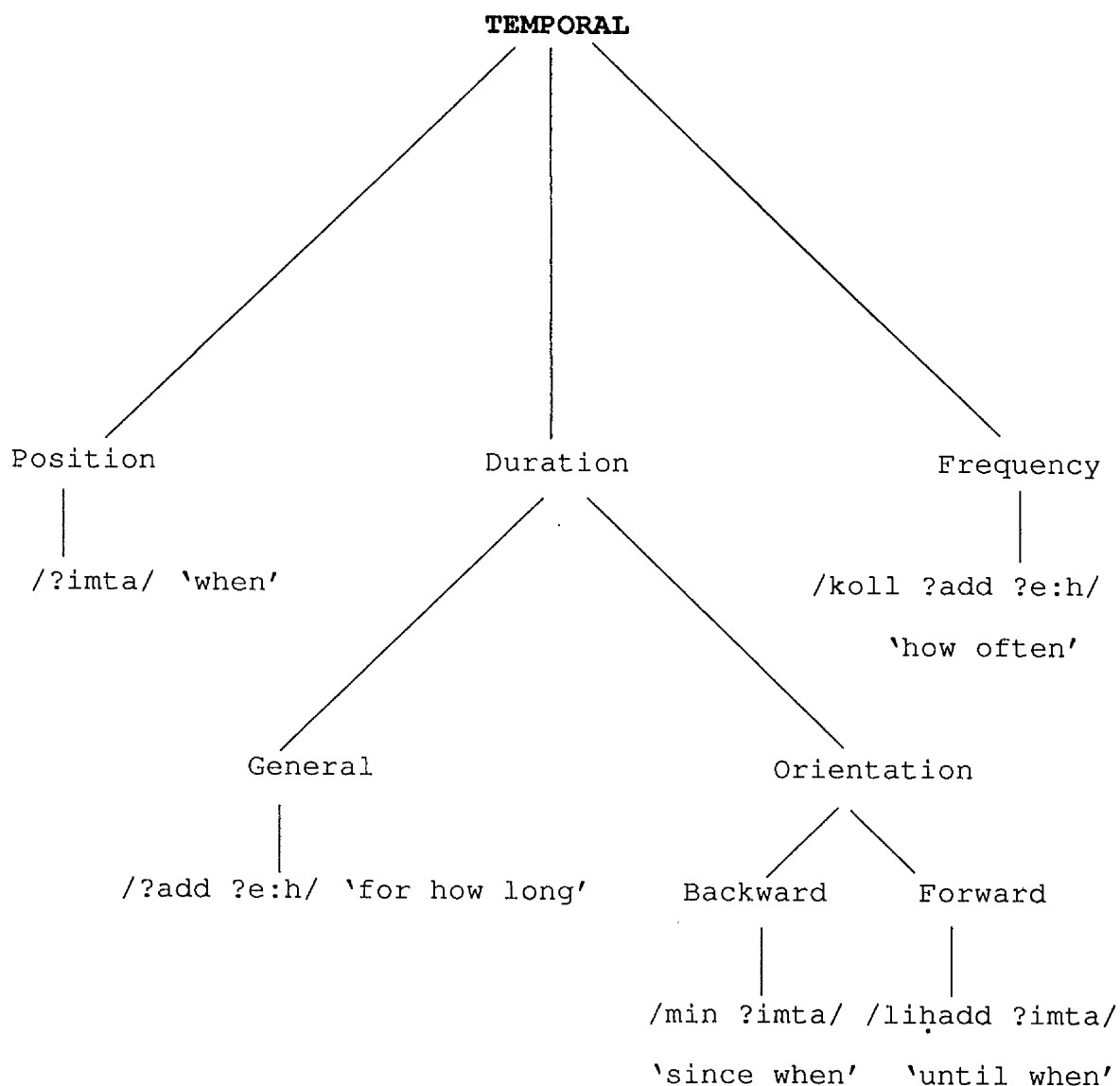
3.2.3 Adverbs of Place and Position

Time and place are 'interconnected' /motala:zima:n/ in
the words of Hasan (1969:III:306), i.e. the occurrence of
one necessitates the occurrence of the other. It is
impossible for time not to involve new or continuing events.
It is equally impossible to have events happening outside
the scope of place. The grammatical structure of Arabic as
well as that of other languages helps to reflect the
importance of the location of things around us. It would
seem indeed that in human communication 'location' in time
is almost as insistently dominant as location in space. "We
need the contrast of *now* and *then* as we need that of *here*
and *there*." (Quirk 1986:57) "human beings seem to find it
difficult to refer to time without drawing upon the analogy
of physical space:

She was born in Paris.
She was born in 1960.

They walked from the hotel to the library.
They walked from dawn to dusk.

I drove for 150 kilometres.
I drove for two hours.

He stopped at the street corner.
He stopped at noon.

Compare also the temporal use of *here* and *there* in a
sentence like: 'Well, *here* we are in 1984, so let's compare
what 1984 seemed likely to be back *there* when Orwell's book
was published in 1949.' Of course, there are spatial items
such as *under, over, before, after, behind* in which the

temporal usage shows less direct parallelism, and there are time-specific items such as *till*, *until*, *during*. Moreover, there are notable respects in which time is both conceptualised and linguistically represented differently from place. For example, with locative relations, it is we who move through space, whereas with temporal relations it is often time that is conceived as moving:

They want to pass us quickly.

They want the time to pass quickly." (ibid:59)

There are differences between temporal and spatial relations. In

/ʔaḥmad waṣal ʔabl mḥammad bisa:ºa/

'Ahmad arrived one hour earlier than Mohammad.'
we do not have to specify a third dimension according to which Ahmad and Mohammad are to be judged, as we do with /ʔaḥmad ºala šma:l mḥammad/. There are three points of time in a speech event. We speak of events as occurring in the past, present or future, but not so of locations, yet place can be occupied or deserted and time cannot. Time can fly and can be spent but not place.

In Arabic, locative expressions are the only adverbials that can be used predicatively[1] with first-order nominals[2] as their subjects. Also, one can enquire about

---

1. For the use of locative and temporal adverbials as predicates, see W. Wright (1964:II:252-253) and Beeston (1970:66-67).

2. For first-order nominals, see Lyons (1969:347).

the place of an entity without having to ask what its function is, what is happening to it or what it is like, etc. We take interest in the actions, and physical and other properties of entities around us. Their spatial characteristics, their extension in space, and their shape, are equally important. Lyons (1977:476) writes "Places may have physical dimensions, just as first-order entities do, and some of them have shape (cf. 'that field is square'). Furthermore, place-referring expressions are intersubstitutable with entity-referring expressions (and may be conjoined with them) in many sentences. There is nothing peculiar, for example, about the sentence 'I like London but not the people who live there.' In any language in which it is possible to conjoin place-referring and entity-referring expressions as subjects or objects of the same verb, they must, presumably, be given the same syntactic classification. In at least some contexts, then, place-referring expressions must be classified as nominals."

Nominals may refer to entities or places. Context plays an important role in determining whether the nominal expression used is referring to an entity or a place. For instance, each of the following words, /ʔilbe:t/ (the house), /ʔilmaktaba/ (the library), /ʔigga:miʕ/ (the mosque), refers to a physical entity located in a particular place. This physical entity would still be identified as such even if it were moved to some other place. Nouns referring to place, in ECA, can be divided, using the

terminology used by Lentzner (1977:24) for Classical Arabic, into the following:

(1) **/mubham/** ('vague' or 'non-specific')[1] i.e. has no shape or form, no sides or borders, and no beginning or end.

Examples of this subclass are the words referring to six directions:

/ʔodda:m/ (in front of)

/wara/ (behind)

/yimi:n/ (right)

/šima:l/ (left) (north)

/fou?/ (above)

/taḥt/ (under)

/ᵒand/ (at)

/wiṣt/ (middle, centre) and /be:n/ (between) may also be added to the above.

(2) **/moxtaṣṣ/** ('specified')

Nominals in this subclass refer to certain entities that are located and can be identified easily, e.g. /be:t/ (house), /ʔouḍa/ (room), etc. These nominals also refer to places within which other entities can be located, as two locative expressions may occur in 'equative sentence-nuclei',[2] as in:

---

1. For the notion of 'unspecified time' and the adverbial, see Hetzron (1971:36).

2. Lyons (1977, Vol.II:475). See also Anwar (1979:52) for 'equative sentence'.

Loc (+ Cop) + Loc

Such structures will underly sentences like:

/ʔilbe:t iggidi:d fi:h xamas ʔowaḍ/

'The new house has five rooms.'

'There are five rooms in the new house.'

(3) Nouns referring to distance, such as /kilo(mitr)/ (kilometre), /mitr/ (metre), /mi:l/ (mile),[1] etc.

(4) Words that are structured according to the form /mafᵒal/, such as: /maṣnaᵒ/ (factory), /maᵒmal/ (laboratory), /malᵒab/ (playground). This again supports the term applied by the grammarians to the adverb of time and place. They called it /ʔazẓarf/ (the vessel) or /ʔalmafᵒuul fiih/ (that in which the act is done).

The adverbs of place and of time can bring a new dimension to the general meaning of the sentence in which they occur by adding a new idea about time or place. Hasan (1969 Part III:252) has given the term **/ẓarf moʔassis/** 'establishing adverb' to this type of adverb, and **/ẓarf moʔakkid/** 'emphasising adverb' to adverbs such as /fouʔ/ (above) in

/ṭiliᵒ fouʔ iṣṣaṭh/

'He went up to the roof.'

where the adverb /fouʔ/ (above) comes as a natural consequence of the appearance of verbs like /ṭiliᵒ/ to add

---

1.   These do not have a deleted /fi-/, unlike those in (2) where /fi-/ must be used because the place of the act is definitely specified.

emphasis to the message the speaker wishes to convey.

There is also what grammarians call **/ʔaẓẓarf illagw/**
'the redundant ᵃᵈ⁄verb' which, in most cases, works as a
sentence substitute and can be dropped without affecting the
meaning, as in:

/mše:t ʔadd ʔe:h/

'How far did you walk?'

/mile:n/

'Two miles.'

i.e. /mše:t masa:fit mile:n/

'I walked for a distance of two miles.'

3.2.3.1 Motional vs Locational

Becker and Arms (1969:4) suggest that there are
basically two types of preposition, 'motional' and
'locational' and that a sentence such as 'She is at the
door' can have only a locational meaning, while one such as
'He is through the line' would have a motional
interpretation. A sentence like 'She is over the hill'
would be ambiguous, meaning either that she is located at a
place which is over the hill or that she has finished the
act of moving over the hill. They go on to state that "When
a sequence of two or more prepositions occurs unmarked by a
conjunction, the two prepositions are different in some
syntactically relevant way." (ibid.)

Therefore, in:

(a) She is over at Sally's.

(b) She is up on the roof.

168

the <u>over</u> in (a) and the <u>up</u> in (b) would be motional while
the <u>at</u> in (a) and the <u>on</u> in (b) would be locational.
Arabic syntax is much more restricted than English in terms
of the combinations because although most English
prepositions may fill either the locational or the motional
roles (except <u>at</u> which is strictly locational), only two
prepositions in ECA, i.e. */min/* and */li-/*, can fill the
motional role and they never have a locative function. The
lexical items that fill the locational role include all
ẓuruuf almakaan 'Locative adverbs' plus the two
substantive-derived **ḥuruuf al-jarr**, <u>ᵊala</u> and <u>ᵊan</u>

> /wi?iᵊ min ᵊala ššagara/
> lit. He fell from on the tree
> 'He fell off the tree.'
> /ru:ḥ min ᵊalyimi:n/
> lit. Go from on the right
> 'Follow (the road) on the right.'

None of the other prepositions occur in these
combinatory structures. The quality of being motional or
locational is inherent in the preposition or locative adverb.

Quirk (1985:42) sees location markers as *absolute* or
relative. "I may say, for instance, that I own a villa
exactly fifteen degrees longitude east and forty-seven
degrees latitude north. This is about as absolute as one
can be. Alternatively, I may say that the villa is near
Graz. This is partly absolute, partly relative, and it has
a better chance of being understood in relation to my
addressee's knowledge and experience. It would be a better

chance still if it were more explicitly relative: my villa
is a hundred kilometers or so south-west of Vienna, the
capital of Austria." (ibid.)

3.2.4 Remarks on the semantic roles of adverbs of Place and Position

As mentioned earlier (p. 164-5), a locative
expression may occur in the nucleus of a kernel-sentence[1]
as its predicative complement with a first-order nominal
subject. The semantic role of the adverb of place in
sentences like the following will be that of Position which
is a static notion, by contrast with the dynamic Direction,
Source, Goal and Distance. It provides an answer to the
question /fe:n/ 'where' (i.e. where is something situated
or where did some event/action take place?):

(A)   Position

(1)   ištaǥal fimadi:nit nasr

       'He worked in Nasr city.'

(2)   la?e:t ikkita:b illi sa?alt ᵒanno fiddorg

       'I found the book which you have asked about in the
       drawer.'

(3)   haṭṭe:ṭ ilḥaga:t gowwa ššanṭa

       'I put the things inside the suitcase.'

(B)   Direction

Direction locatives refer mainly to two different kinds of
movement in space: movement from a SOURCE and movement to a

---

1.   For more on kernel-sentence, see Quirk et al (1986:950).

GOAL. The notions of SOURCE and GOAL are expressed by the question forms /mine:n/ 'where from' and /life:n/ 'where to' respectively.

(4)   xod ?axu:k <u>barra</u>

        'Take your brother outside.'

(5)   ramat ?ilḥagar <u>yammit iššibba:k</u>

        'She threw the stone towards (in the direction of) the window.'

(6)   šofna:hom mašiyi:n naḥyit ilyimi:n

        'We saw them walking towards the right.'

(B1)   <u>Goal</u>

(7)   hanru:ḥ <u>?ilbank</u> ?innaharda

        'We'll go to the bank today.'

(8)   safro <u>?iskindriyya</u> ?aga:za

        'They went to Alexandria for a holiday.'

(9)   ?irrigga:la kollohom giryo <u>yammit markibna</u>

        'All the men ran towards our boat.'

(B2)   <u>Source</u>

(10)   haysafro <u>min maṣr</u> l?aswa:n bilmarkib

        'They'll travel from Cairo to Aswan by boat.'

(11)   ṭallaᵉo <u>milḥofra</u> ḥawa:li xamsi:n kilo dahab

        'They removed from the hole about 50 kilos of gold.'

(C)   <u>Distance</u>

        The third type of locative mentioned earlier is DISTANCE. It refers to space expressions answering the question /li (ḥadd)/, /(ɣayit) fe:n/ 'how far'. The answer with the Distance Locative may contain either an expression of a specific type of amount with a word like /mi:l/ 'mile' (as in (12) below) or an expression with a vaguer term like /ṭari:?/ 'way' or /masa:fa/ 'distance' (as in (15)).

(12)   safro <u>xamsa w talati:n mi:l</u> bass

'They travelled only 35 miles.'

(13)   ʔiṭṭayyara ṭa:rit <u>ʕala boʕd talati:n ʔalf qadam</u>

milborg

'The plane flew at a height of thirty thousand feet

from the tower.'

(14)   ʔilḥadsa ḥaṣalit <u>ʕala masa:fit tisʕa mitr</u> minhina

'The accident happened 9 metres from here.'

(15)   miši <u>lmasa:fa</u> kollaha/

'He walked all the distance.'

The following points can be made before we turn to

another type of adverb.

1. – Within the structure of the prepositional phrase

which represents the largest formal type of adverbial, the

majority of items do in fact refer to location.

2. – Adverbs of place may refer to a point in location

as in examples (1) to (3), or to an expanse of location, as

in example (10). They may refer also to the location of an

action, as in:

/ʔilḥadsa ḥaṣalit fišša:riʕ/

'The accident happened in the street.'

/ṣawwaro koll mana:zir ilfilm f ʔasbanya/

'They shot all the scenes of the film in Spain.'

3. – As with locatives, temporal references may be

"<u>absolute</u> or <u>relative</u>:

I was in Geneva in October 1985.

I was in Geneva a month before the Reạgan–Gorbachev

summit." (Quirk:1986:58)

Quirk also states that "spatial measure may be expressed in terms of temporal measure.... A villa near Graz may be located as <u>two hours drive from Vienna</u> and, indeed, with extremely long distances, time-based reference is normal.

The nearest star is about ten light years from the earth." (ibid.)

4. As with indicators of place, temporal reference can occur with other functional roles than just the adverbials. The following are variant roles of an expression of temporal duration:

/hatidris <u>sa:ºa waḥda</u>/ (adverbial)

'You will study for one hour.'

/waʔt iddira:sa <u>sa:ºa waḥda</u>/ (complement)

'The studying time is one hour.'

/<u>sa:ºa waḥda</u> hatiḥta:gha liddira:sa/ (subject)

'One hour you will need for studying.'

/ʔiddira:sa hatastamir <u>sa:ºa waḥda</u>/ (object)

'The study will need one hour.'

5. Adverbs of place may also refer to the new location of the action identified by the main verb, as in the following examples:

/ḥaṭṭ ilʔawra:ʔ kollaha ºalmaktab/

'He put all the papers on the desk.'

/baºd ma ṣa:do issamak ramu:h kollo filbaḥr/

'After they caught the fish, they threw them all back in the sea.'

/ʔaººad axu:h ºala kkorsi/

'He made his brother sit on the chair.'

We notice in the above examples that the objects of the action verbs /ḥaṭṭ/ (put), /rama/ (threw) and /ʔaᵒᵒad/ (caused to sit) shift their physical locations as a result of the actions. Some grammarians consider these adverbs as adverbs of result rather than of place.[1]

SECTION III

3.3.1 Miscellaneous Types:
3.3.1.a Adverbs of Addition and Enumerative Adverbs

These adverbs have been referred to as "Conjuncts" by Greenbaum (1969:35): "They express one of the most obvious meanings of the conjunct 'and', i.e. they indicate that what is being said is an addition to what has been said before."

They are divided into adverbs of addition and enumerative adverbs. The first type, besides adding some information to whatever else has been said, either (1) add prominence and reinforcement to what has been said before, or (2) point out a similarity to what has been said before. These include: /kama:n/ (as well), /barḍo/ (also), /ta:ni/ (again), /ᵒila:wa ᵒala kida/ (furthermore), /ʔaktar min kida/ (moreover).

As for the second type of adverb, they include: /ʔawwalan/ (firstly), /saniyyan/ (secondly), etc., /wibaᵒde:n/ (then), /ʔaxi:ran/ (lastly), etc. They are

---

1.   See Huang (1975:21).

clearly defined sets and they denote 'a cataloguing or
inventory of what is being said.'

These adverbs give an understanding to some previous
statement and help in marking the sentence they introduce as
being parallel in some sense to the previous one (e.g.
/kama:n/ (as well), */barḍo/* (also)). Some of these adverbs
mark a contradiction to the earlier statement, e.g. */maᵒa
kida/* (despite that), */bilᵒaks/* (on the contrary), or
express a consequence (e.g. */bitta:li/* (consequently),
/bona:ʔan ᵒala kida/ (accordingly)). Some grammarians may
prefer to call them 'conjunctions' rather than 'adverbs' as
they are used in much the same way as conjunctions. We
shall call them 'conjunctive adverbs'. They are not purely
conjunctions; they conjoin sentences and add some
qualifications to those sentences. Thus, the semantics of
these adverbs must be dealt with and examined in relation to
a wider context than the domain of a single sentence.

3.3.1.b Performative Adverbs and Adverbs of Viewpoint
1. Performative adverbs

The class of performative adverbs includes */biṣara:ḥa/*
(frankly), */ḥaʔi:ʔi/* (truly), */bitta:li/* (consequently),
/filḥaʔi:ʔa/ (as a matter of fact/to tell the truth), */ᵒala
raʔiy ..../* (to quote so-and-so), etc.

These adverbs occur both in action and non-action
sentences. Their contribution to describing what is
happening is only indirect. The major factors in describing
the **event** are the Actor, Action and Result. Some

175

performative adverbs indicate the speaker's state of mind, others indicate not the speaker's state of mind, but that of one of the participants in the sentence, as in the following example:

/ḥaʔi:ʔi,[1] ʔilmodi:r ḥaʔi:ʔi ʔiqtanaᵃ bilfikra/

'Truly, the manager truly was convinced of the idea.'

The first /ḥaʔi:ʔi/ comes from a higher clause and obviously indicates the speaker's state of mind. The second occurrence is in the embedded sentence and refers to the subject's (ʔilmodi:r) state of mind. The first adverb describes the speaker's role with regard to the event, and comes from a higher clause, and the higher clause is not part of the sentence. The main verb in the higher clause is /yiʔu:l/ (say) or its equivalent abstract predicate, as is clear in such expressions as /walla:hi/ (by God), /ᵊomu:man/ (generally), /bixtiṣa:r/ (in brief), which have an embedded verb (yiʔu:l, yitkallim, etc.) that is omitted when the adverb is used to refer to the state of mind of the speaker. Thus,

/ᵊomu:man ilmodi:r iqtanaᵃ bilfikra/

'Generally, the manager was convinced by the idea.'
could be paraphrased as

---

1.   /ḥaʔi:ʔi/ 'really, truly' is one of the adverbs that are mainly used by the female sector of speakers. It is hardly used by men as it reflects a very feminine manner of speech. For more on this, see the Introduction.

/ºomu:man (ʔana baʔu:l ʔin) ilmodi:r iqtanaº bilfikra/

'Generally, (I say that) the manager was convinced by

the idea.'

in which case the adverb refers to the fact that the speaker

is making a rough generalisation. As for adverbs such as

/ḥaʔi:ʔi/ (truly) and /biṣara:ḥa/ (frankly), they imply the

fact that the the speaker is being frank in what he is

saying. Very often, however, they are used when the speaker

is not being frank.[1]

Some performative adverbs may, by optional movement

rule, be moved to the post-subject position. It may sound

irrelevant to talk about position here, but we shall see

that their position is related to the semantic

classification of these adverbs. The occurrence of a

performative adverb in a post-subject position can render

the structure ambiguous:

(1)   ʔiḥna lissa mabadaʔna:š moragºa

       'We still haven't started revision.'

If we consider that /lissa/ belongs to the lower

sentence, the meaning of the sentence would be 'We have not

started revision yet', in which case /lissa/ is a time

adverb. The other meaning is:

       /ʔana lissa baʔu:l innina mabadaʔna:š moragºa/

       'I still say that we haven't started revision.'

1.   See Feldman (1959) for a psycho-analytic treatment of instances of
      the use of some of these adverbs. Also, Greenbaum (1969:93).

177

or

> 'I have just been saying that we haven't started
> revision.'

where, in both cases /lissa/ belongs to the higher clause.

2. Adverbs of Viewpoint[1]

"These can be roughly paraphrased by 'if we consider
what we are saying from an (adjective)point of view' or 'if
we consider what we are saying from the point of view of
(noun phrase) .'" (Quirk *et al*:1984:429)

These include adverbs such as /*min wighit naẓar(i)*/
(from (my) point of view), /*ʔiqtiṣadiyyan*/ (economically),
/*naẓariyyan*/ (theoretically), /*ṭibbiyyan*/ (medically),
/*liḥosn ilḥaẓẓ*/ (luckily), etc. They are also called
'adverbs of comment'. Semantically, they are closely
related to the theme of discourse. They normally appear in
the initial position of the sentence. Some of these adverbs
indicate the point of view around which the whole sentence
revolves (as in sentence (2)). Some reflect the speaker's
point of view concerning what is being said (as in sentence
(4)). Others denote a general and often vague viewpoint (as
in sentence (6)).

Examples of the first type are:

(1)   <u>ʔiqtiṣadiyyan</u>, ilbalad fi ḥa:lit fawḍa

      'Economically, the country is in chaos.'

1.   Prof. Greenbaum's lectures, UCL, Dec. 1983.

(2) <u>tibbiyyan</u>, ilkoholl xaṭar °aṣṣiḥḥa

      'Medically, alcohol is a danger to health.'

      Examples of the second type (speaker's viewpoint) are:

(3) <u>lihosn ilḥazz</u>, kollohom nagaḥo

      'Luckily, they've all passed.'

(4) <u>min wighit naẓari</u> ?ilmoškila malha:š ḥall

      'From my point of view, there is no solution to the

      problem.'

      Examples of the third type (vague) are:

(5) naẓariyyan, <u>?ilmanti?a</u> di mo°arraḍa lizzala:zil

      'Theoretically, this area is prone to earthquakes.'

(6) <u>?asa:san</u>, ?ilbe:t miḥta:g šowayyit ta°di:la:t

      'Basically, the house needs some refurbishment.'

In the above sentences, all viewpoint adverbs occur

initially. They are connected to the general meaning of the

sentence. They can also appear finally as modifiers of

adjectives. In this usage they are mainly adding more

specific meaning to the utterance. They reflect the

speaker's specific comment and/or view regarding it.

(7) ?ilwaḍ° fissoda:n da°i:f ?iqtiṣadiyyan

      'The situation in Sudan is weak economically.'

(8) ?il?aḥwa:l filbalad motadahwira maddiyyan

      'The situation in the country is deteriorating financially.'

(9) kala:mak da ǥe:r maqbu:l[1] naẓariyyan

      'This speech of yours is not acceptable theoretically.'

1. /ǥe:r maqbu:l/ is one of those phrases that characterise educated
    speech. It is interesting to note that in female speech such a
    phrase sometimes occurs as /ǥi:r makbu:l/ with the vowel raised in
    /ǥi:r/ and the /q/ replaced by /k/.

The structures in which these and other adverbs occur as well as the positions they occupy will be thoroughly examined in the chapters to follow.

3.3.2 Attitudinal Adverbs and Style Disjuncts
3.3.2.a Attitudinal Adverbs

Disjuncts other than Style Disjuncts are called **Attitudinal Disjuncts**. In general, they express the speaker's attitude and what he is saying, his evaluation of it, or shades of certainty or doubt about it. In other words, they express an opinion on the truth-value of what is being said. They can be subdivided into two sub-sets:

(1a) Those that express shades of doubt or certainty about what is being said.

(1b) Those that state in what sense the speaker judges it to be true or false.

Examples of (1a)

(1) Those that express conviction: /*?aki:d, bitta?ki:d*/ 'certainly', 'surely', /*bidu:n šakk*/ 'undoubtedly', /*?ilha?i:?a*/ 'indeed', /*ha?i:?i*/ 'truly'.

(2) Those that express some degree of doubt: /*momkin*/ 'possibly', /*?ihtima:l*/ 'probably', /*yoqa:l*/ 'it is said', /*?iftira:dan*/ 'supposedly'.

To illustrate the operation of these adverbs, consider the following sentence:

/saggilo ilbirna:mig innaha:rda/

'They recorded the programme today.'

This states an event. If /*?ihtima:l*/ 'probably'

180

occurs initially, a wider context will be required for the statement to be fully understood. On the other hand, the role of adverbs such as */ɣari:ba/* (surprisingly) or */miš ma?u:l/* (it is unbelievable), in the following, is to express an external evaluation of the event as a whole and the whole sentence refers to a fact:

/ɣari:ba ?innohom saggilo ilbirna:mig innaha:rda/

'Surprisingly, they recorded the programme today.'

which means

'The fact that they recorded the programme today was surprising.'

Adverbs such as these will be called Attitudinal adverbs as they refer to the speaker's attitude or reaction to the statement. This type of adverbial will be classed as sentence adverbials.[1] They are either attitudinal, meaning "I can judge the situation by saying .... about it" or they could be style adverbials, meaning "I can say .... about my attitude to the situation" or they could have a connective function. As disjuncts, they can be distinguished from conjuncts by a single test: disjuncts can serve as a response to a <u>yes - no</u> question. Some of these adverbials are listed below and followed by some examples:

/tabi:ºi/ 'naturally'

/bitabi:ºit ilḥa:l/ 'by the nature of things'

/ºomu:man/ 'generally'

---

1.   Since sentence adverbials are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, we shall not deal with them here in detail.

/°ala l°omu:m/ 'generally'

/bilmonasba/ 'incidentally'

/bixtiṣa:r/ 'briefly'

/barḍo/ 'still'

/bil?iḍa:fa lkida/ 'in addition to this', 'besides',

'furthermore'

/min naḥya tanya/ 'on the other hand'

/°aša:n kida/ 'therefore'

/ma°a za:lik/ 'nevertheless'

/birraǧm min/ 'despite', 'in spite of', 'nevertheless'

/ma°a ha:za/ 'nevertheless'

/?axi:ran/ 'lastly'

/?awwalan/ 'first'

/?asa:san/ 'basically'

/°ala fikra/ 'by the way'

/robbama/ 'perhaps'

/bima°na ?a:xar/ 'in other words'

/fi°lan/ 'actually', 'in fact'

/°ala ?ayy ḥa:l/ 'at any rate'

/fi nafs ilwa?t/ 'at the same time'

/kama:n/ 'too', 'also'

/wiba°de:n/ 'then', 'next'

/ḥatman/ 'definitely'

/bibaṣa:ṭa/ 'simply'

/filḥa?i:?a/ 'truly', 'in fact'

/tab°an/ 'of course'

/biṣara:ḥa ?ilwalad kadda:b/

'Frankly, the boy is a liar.'

/bixtiṣa:r riḥlit ?asba:nya ka:nit gami:la giddan/

'Briefly, the journey to Spain was very nice.'

/howwa <u>bilmonasba</u> ᵒomro mara:ḥ ilmanṭiʔa di/

'He, incidently, has never been to that area.'

/ᵒa:šit fi faransa talat sini:n <u>w maᵒa kida</u> mabtiᵒrafš

titkallim faransa:wi kowayyis/

'She lived in France for three years; nevertheless, she

can't speak good French (she can't speak French well).'

/<u>ʔaki:d</u> aḥmad ga:y ilḥafla/

'Certainly, Ahmad is coming to the party.'

/<u>ᵒala fikra</u> samar miš ra:dya ᵒan ilbe:t iggidid/

'By the way, Samar is not pleased with the new house.'

/biyʔu:lo ʔinnohom mattafaʔu:s maᵒa:kom, la:kin

hayiktibo lᵒaʔd <u>birraᵱm min kida</u>/

'They say they haven't agreed with you, but they'll

sign the agreement nevertheless.'

/ʔilmodarris ʔa:l ʔinnak <u>hatman</u> hatingaḥ issana di/

'The teacher said that you will definitely pass this

year.'

3.3.2.b Style Disjuncts

A sub-class of disjuncts can be isolated, these being
the adverbs that refer to the "form of the communication"
(Poldauf (1964:245 in Greenbaum 1969:81) can be called
"Style Disjuncts." (ibid.)

For a proper semantic understanding of style
disjuncts, a verb of speaking (such as 'speak', 'say',
'tell') must be understood. In /biṣara:ḥa ilwalad kadda:b/
'frankly, the boy is a liar', we can show the relationship
of /biṣara:ḥa/ to the rest of the sentence by a number of
correspondences:

183

/ʔana batkallim biṣaraːḥa lamma baʔuːl ʔinn..../

'I am speaking frankly when I say that....'

/ᵒalašan ʔakuːn ṣariːḥ maᵒaːk laːzim ʔaʔuːl (lak) ʔinn..../

'In order to be frank with you, I have to tell you that....'

Apart from a miscellaneous assortment, two semantic classes of style disjuncts can be distinguished. (1) those expressing that the speaker is making a rough general-isation: /biṣifa ᵒaːmma, ᵒomuːman/ 'generally', /bittaʔriːb, taʔriːban/ 'approximately', 'nearly' and (2) those expressing that the speaker is being 'frank', 'honest', etc. in what he is saying: /biṣaraːḥa/ 'frankly', /ḥaʔiːʔi/ 'honestly'.

3.3.3 Adverbs of Response

Some grammarians have suggested a class of 'Adverbs of Response'. These are adverbs used as a sole sentence constituent in answer to a question. They stand as a sentence when the rest of the sentence has been deleted, as shown in examples (1)-(7) below. In fact, this does not constitute a semantic class of the same type as (1)-(6) above rather than a syntactic function of any of the classes mentioned below. Nevertheless, it is of interest to mention this usage here.

3.3.4 Adverbs of Affirmation, Probability and Negation

This subcategory of adverbs includes all adverbs

equivalent to /ʔaywa/ (yes), /robbama/ (perhaps) and /laʔ/
(no). They refer to what grammarians call 'responses'.
They can replace whole sentences and frequently are used as
sentence adverbs. Some grammarians[1] consider an adverb like
/ʔaywa/ (yes) in the following example to be a response
adverb that stands for the whole sentence:

/roḥti ilḥafla imba:riḥ/?

'Did you go to the party yesterday?'

/ʔaywa/

'Yes.'

The semantic content and the grammatical relationships
of the new sentence are built on the information provided by
the preceding question.

Another view is that these adverbs modify words in
sentences that can only be understood within a context. If
they were sentences in themselves, they would have a
complete thought and there would be no need for the context
to provide any information.

We prefer to consider adverbs of response as
pro-sentence or sentence substitutes, although we do not
consider them unique in this respect. In fact, any adverb
can act as a sentence substitute as noted previously with
/ʔaẓẓarf illaɣw/ 'the redundant adverb' (see p. 168). An
adverb of response can be any of the following adverbs:

---

1.   See Palmer (1939:180).

185

1. Adverb of Manner

2. Adverb of Instrument

3. Adverb of Purpose

4. Adverb of Reference

5. Adverb of Extent

6. Adverb of Time

7. Adverb of Place

and can function as a sentence substitute only when preceded by an information question which starts by any of the following question words: /izzay/ (how), /le:h/ (why), /?e:h/ (what), /bi?e:h/ 'what with', ?imta/ (when), /fe:n/ (where), etc. as exemplified by the following:

(1)   giri izzay?

'How did he run?'

bsor°a

'Quickly.' **Manner**

(2)   ?aššarti ttufa:ḥa b?e:h?

'With what did you peel the apple?'

bissikki:na

'With the knife.' **Instrument**

(3)   howwa tili° °almasrah le:h?

'Why did he go up on stage?'

°alaša:n yiɡanni

'In order to sing.' **Purpose**

(4)   ?itkallim °an ?e:h?

'What did he speak about?'

°an doktu:r ikkimya

'About the chemistry doctor.' **Reference**

(5)   xad daraga:t ?ad ?e:h?

'How many marks did he get?'

aktar min ṣaḥboh

'More than his friend.' **Extent**

(6)   saggilo lbirna:mig imta?

'When did they record the programme?

imba:riḥ

'Yesterday.' **Time**

(7)   hanit?abil fe:n?

'Where shall we meet?'

fi maktabi

'In my office.' **Place**

Certain adverbs marking prominence (e.g. /?aki:d/ (surely), /ºomr(i)/ (never), /?abadan/ (never), /tabºan/ (of course)) may conveniently be included in this category, i.e. adverbs of response.

/ºomr(i)/, /?abadan/ (never) and /la?/ (no) can function as adverbs of negation with a slight change in meaning which involves a definite negation if either /ºomr(i)/ or /?abadan/ is used.[1]

---

1.   For more on adverbs of Negation and their place in a negated sentence, see Chapter 5 (pp. 370-72).

CHAPTER FOUR

SYNTACTIC FEATURES OF THE ADVERB

SECTION I

4.1.0 Introduction

This study does not aim at a comprehensive formulation of ECA grammatical structure and transformational rules, but only at that part of it which pertains to the adverbial and its relation to the rest of the sentence. This will require a brief survey of essential word order aspects and their grammatical significance. A brief study of the types of sentence, clause patterns and essential word order will prepare the ground for the subject of the present chapter.

4.1.1 Types of sentence in Classical Arabic

In Arabic grammatical thought, the subject **/?almosnad ilayh/** '*that upon which the attribute leans, or by which it is supported, that to which something is attributed*, and the predicate /?almosnad/ '*that which leans upon or is supported by the subject*', are said to be the essential constituents of the sentence. The relation between those constituents is that of attribution **/?al?isnaad/** '(lit. the act of leaning (one thing against another))'[1]

---

1.   See W. Wright (1964:II:250).

188

Every sentence which begins with the subject (noun or pronoun: expressed or implied in the verb) is called by Arab grammarians /jomlah ismiyyah/ 'a nominal sentence'. The predicate of such a sentence can be a noun /?ahmad tabiib/ 'Ahmad is a doctor', an adjective /howa kariim/ 'He is generous', a verb /hiya najahat/ 'She passed', or an adverb (which is usually a preposition with an accompanying genitive noun, i.e. a prepositional phrase /jaaron wa majruuron/, as in /?arrajolu fiddaar/ 'The man is in the house'. What actually constitutes the predicate is a matter of indifference. "What characterises a nominal sentence according to them is the absence of a logical copula expressed by or contained in a finite verb." (ibid:251) The sentence that starts with a verb is a verbal sentence /jomlah fiᵒliyyah/. The verb may be a predicate preceding the subject. It may or may not have the complements but it must have a subject. A verb alone can represent a verbal sentence when it includes both subject and predicate verbs like /ɣaaba/ '(He) is absent', /maata/ '(He) is dead'; these can constitute verbal sentences on their own. The pronoun /howa/ 'he' is implied in such verb forms. The subject of a verbal sentence is called /?alfaaᵒil/ 'the agent', and its predicate /?alfiᵒl/ 'the action or verb'. In the nominal sentence the subject is called /**?almobtada?**/ 'that with

which a beginning is made, the inchoative and its predicate /**?alxabar**/ 'the enunciative or announcement'.[1]

Before leaving this point, it is appropriate to call attention to the fact that recognising the nominal sentence is a straightforward matter. However, the nature of sentences such as /maata rrajolu/ 'lit. died the man', 'the man died', is controversial. Most grammarians regard them as being transposed nominal sentences.[2] There is, however, a general agreement among those grammarians that the sentence that starts with a verb is a verbal sentence and the sentence that has a noun (phrase) in initial position is a nominal one.

4.1.2 The sentence structure in ECA

If the criterion used by Arab grammarians in classifying sentences is applied to the dialect under discussion, we find that almost all sentences in ECA are nominal. Nearly all of the sentences in the data collected begin with a NP. The few that start with a V or a VP are mostly classicisms such as /baaraka llaaho fiik/ 'May God bless you', /?asᵉada llaaho masaa?kom/ 'lit. 'May God make your evening happy', 'Good evening'. From our survey we found that there are the following types of sentence

---

1. (ibid.)

2. See Barakat (1982:I:24-96) for a detailed discussion of the nominal sentence, and pp.161-288 for the verbal sentence.

containing verbs: the verbal sentence proper (cf. the
examples above which could be analysed in terms of NP
post-posing, verb preposing, or in terms of subject pronoun
deletion rule), the nominal sentence with a verbal
predicate, and the nominal sentence with a sentential
predicate.

In analysing the material in our data we picked up the
sentences whose boundaries are not in doubt, those in which
sequences of simplay familiar words combine in familiar
patterns that typically occur in the dialect and express
readily understood meanings, through a symbolism which, as
Sapir said, quoted by Long (1961:9) "can be transferred from
one sense to another, from technique to technique. An
underlying assumption is that, in normal uses of language,
words which follow each other without decisive breaks have
syntactic relationships to each other or are parts of larger
units that do." Therefore the nominal sentences which
represent the majority of sentences in ECA will be divided
into two subgroups. Sentences in the first group
(henceforth group 1) contain an overt verb, whereas
sentences in the second subgroup (group 2) do not have any
surface realisation of a verb element.[1] Sentences in group
2 refer generally to either a fact of permanent validity, as
in

---

1.   Examples (1)-(4) on p.186 belong to group 1, while (5)-(7) represent
     group 2 sentences.

/ʔilᵒiJm nu:r/

'Knowledge is light.'

or present relevance, as in

/ʔoxti doktu:rat ʔaṭfa:l/

'My sister is a paediatrician.'

When talking about ECA, sentences in group 1 will be referred to as verbal, those in group 2 as nominal.

Ibn Hishaam (1964) adds a third type of sentence. He calls it /ʔaljomlah ʔaẓẓarfiyyah/ 'adverbial sentence'. It is the sentence whose predicate appears as a quasi-sentence /šibh jomlah/, consisting of an adverbial or preposition followed by a noun which in most cases indicates a place. W. Wright (1964:II:253) adds another type and calls it "ʿjomlah jaariyah majra ẓẓarfiyyah' 'a sentence which runs the course, or follows the analogy of a local sentence.'" In such a sentence the genitive indicates any other relation but that of place.

The conditional sentence, or /jomlato ššarṭ/, is the fourth possible type for Ibn Hishaam.[1] Our main concern is the third type of sentence, the adverbial type. The first two will be examined if they happen to have as one of their constituents an element (which appears either within the sentence and thus modifies any of its parts or outside the borders of the sentence) which has a direct or indirect

---

1.   See Ibn Hishaam (1964:367) and Makhzuumi (1966:86-7).

relation to any of its constituents or to the content of the sentence as a whole, when it functions as its modifier.

Lyons (1977:334) followed the traditional view in stating that "the subject and predicate form the nucleus of the sentence. The subject and the predicate are therefore nuclear." Lyons also added the optional and nonessential constituent of "adjunct" which is "extranuclear". (ibid.) If a particular element is deleted and its absence does not affect the semantic power of the sentence, that element is viewed as an optional one.

As mentioned earlier, there is a wide range of items that are traditionally classed as adverbs. Despite the fact that the adverb has always been viewed as the "optional", "peripheral" (Glinert 1974, Greenbaum 1969), "nonessential", "extranuclear" (Lyons 1977), "dispensable" (W. Wright 1964:II) element in the clause, we must bear in mind that some adverbs have a gradient of integration in the clause and the distinctions between the integrated and the unintegrated are not very clear-cut.

In the following pages, we shall investigate the syntactic features that adverbs exhibit. We will be concerned with some of the functions of those elements in the clause that are not Subject, Verb or Complement.

4.1.3 Clause patterns of ECA

The object of this study, as pointed out earlier, is not to arrive at a formulation of a general grammatical structure of the dialect. Neither do we aim to produce a

comprehensive formulation of transformational rules to

account for all the different structural possibilities of

the sentence in ECA. Our interest lies in the part of it

that pertains to the adverb and its relationship to the rest

of the sentence or clause in which it may occur. Some

Phrase Structure Rules (PSRs) will be introduced to account

for the different realisations of the Adv node. Before we

proceed to do this, we shall examine briefly a number of

unmarked sentence/surface structures which may be listed

under the notion of Clause patterns.[1] Forms of the simplest

affirmative, declarative structures which may combine to

form complex derived structures will also be examined.

These structures will be considered as representatives of

Clause patterns of ECA (see table 1). Such sentences have

only one verbal element in the surface structure, with no

conjunction and no secondary operators such as modality or

negation, and therefore show only the obligatory

constituents required by the class of the verb involved.

The optional elements (as distinguished from the obligatory

ones) are generally dispensable and semantically peripheral.

"These sentences are derived by obligatory transformations.

They can be called 'atomic'sentences because they contain

the fundamental syntactic relationships." Stockwell

(1977:106) Any active declarative sentence can be analysed

1.   For more on the notion of Clause patterns, see Quirk et al.
      (1972:342-4)

194

bearing these relationships in mind. The following represents the clause patterns of ECA. They are based on the essential clause patterns regarded as obligatory. The adverbial represents the clause element that is more detachable and more mobile than the others.[1] (see Table (1) overleaf.

(1)   NP   V

         sami:ra   xaragit
    'Samira went out.'

(2)   NP   V   NP

      sami:ra   katabit   gawa:b
    'Samira wrote a letter.'

(3a)   NP   V   prep.   NP

      ?ilmoha:mi   da:fiº   ºan   ilmottaham
    'The lawyer defended the accused.'

(3b)   NP   V   NP   prep.   NP

      ?ana   dde:t ikkita:b   li   mhammad
    'I gave the book to Mohammad.'

(4)   NP   V   NP   Adv

       ?ana   hatte:t   ikkita:b   ºa lmaktab
    'I've put the book on the desk.'

(5)   NP   Cop   NP

       di   madrasitna
    'This is our school.'

---

1.   These are parallel to the "nuclear" "extranuclear" elements of
     Lyons (1977), and "non-peripheral vs peripheral" dichotomy of
     Glinert (1974). Quirk et al (1972) refers to them as "adjuncts and
     disjuncts". In Chapter 7:2, Quirk's clause patterns include
     adverbials as obligatory elements but with no further specific
     reference. They were not mentioned in his list of elements
     referring to complement functions (p.344), preposition functions
     (p.304), or types of complementation (Chapter 12, p.821).

TABLE (1) MAJOR CLAUSE TYPES IN ECA

TYPE	NP	V(erb)	NP	Adj	Adv
1) NP V S V	<u>Subject</u> sami:ra 'Samira'	<u>intransitive</u> xaragit 'went out'			
2) NP V NP S V O	 sami:ra 'Samira'	<u>monotransitive</u> katabit 'wrote'	<u>direct object</u> gawa:b 'a letter'		
3) (a) NP V prep NP	?ilmoḥa:mi 'The lawyer'	da:fiᵓ ᵓan 'defended'	<u>direct object</u> ?ilmottaham 'the accused'		
(b) NP V NP prep NP	?ana	<u>ditransitive</u> ?idde:t	<u>direct object</u> ?ikkita:b 'the book' <u>indirect object</u> limhammad 'to Mohammad'		
4) NP V NP Adv	?ana 'I'	<u>monotransitive</u> hatte:t 'I've put'	<u>direct object</u> ?ikkita:b 'the book'		<u>object-related advl</u> ᵓala lmaktab 'on the desk'
5) NP Cop NP	di 'This	<u>copula</u> ∅	madrasitna 'our school'		
6) NP Cop Adj	sami:ra 'Samira'	<u>copula</u> ∅		<u>Subject Comp</u> ḥilwa 'pretty'	
7) NP Cop Adv	?ilḥafla 'The party'	<u>copula</u> ∅			<u>subject-related advl</u> bokra 'tomorrow'

196

```
(6)        NP              Cop           adj

      sami:ra                       hilwa
                                      ʼ
      ʻSamira is pretty.ʼ

(7a)       NP              Cop           adv

      ʔikkita:b                     hina
      ʻThe book is here.ʼ

(7b)       NP                            adv

      ʔilhafla                      bokra
             ʼ
      ʻThe party is tomorrow.ʼ
```

The adverbial in (4), (7a) and (7b) above is
obligatory. It serves as a verbal complement in (4) and a
predicative obligatory advl in both (7a) and (7b).
Semantically, these adverbs and similar ones belong to the
class of adverbials of place and time. Optional adverbials
can be added to any of the above sentences. The
grammaticality of these sentences is not going to be
affected by the presence of the newly added elements.
Neither does their absence influence it. These elements are
generally mobile and their mobility determines their
function in the sentence.

In this study the copula will be marked in the surface
structure as a zero (Ø) element in sentences marked for
present tense as in (5)-(7). The dividing line between the
subject and the predicate in such cases is signalled by
other markers which are surface traces for the copula in the
deep structure. The absence of the definite article on the
initial element in the predicate phrase can be one of these

197

markers, unless that element is either inherently definite, as for example in pronouns and proper nouns, or idiomatically definite, e.g. /innaha:rda/ 'today', /ʔilmaɣrib/ 'sunset'.

In non-verbal sentences, the definite/indefinite contrast signals the subject- predicate boundary. In the phrase /ʔiddars iṭṭawi:l/ 'the long lesson', where both elements are definite, the construction is endocentric, its constituents being /ʔiddars/ (head) and /iṭṭawi:l/ (modifier). In /ʔiddars ṭawi:l/ 'The lesson (is) long', the fact that the predicative adjective is marked for indefiniteness signals the boundary between topic and comment. Where /ikkita:b ʕala lmaktab/ 'The book (is) on the desk' is interpreted as a subject-predicate structure, /kita:b ʕala lmaktab/ 'a book on the desk' can only be understood as a noun head (NH) with a post-modifying relative clause.

In the case of equative structures where, by definition, both subject and predicate are definite, /aḍḍamir lʕaʔid/ 'a resumptive pronoun' will function like a copula. This pronoun must copy all the features of the subject NP and should occur in the position that the copula typically occupies. /howa/ 'he' in the following example is considered by many ECA analysts as a copula:

/ʔaḥmad howa l modi:r/

'Ahmad (he is) the manager.'

Occasionally in such structures the pronoun is

replaced by an intonational pattern that signals the division between subject and predicate. It is a falling pattern, where the nuclear syllable shows a falling pitch and where a pause often occurs between subject and predicate at the place of the copula.

/'ʔaḥ mad̥ il moˋdi:r/[1]

I will restrict the reference to the proper function of the copula to occurrences of the verbal form /ka:n/ 'was' which appears when the sentence is marked for tense. It is a tense and/or aspect carrier and can inflect like any other verb in ECA.

?iššibba:k ka:n maftu:ḥ

'The window was open.'

lamma tku:n figgamˤa ha:tli ikkita:b maˤa:k

'When you are in the university, bring me the book with you.'

inša:ʔa llah hanku:n fiskindiriyya ?abl ilmaγrib

'God willing, we will be in Alexandria before sunset.'

Other verbal forms can occur in place of /ka:n/ such as /baʔa/ 'become', 'remain', /fiḍil/ 'stay', 'continue', /?istamar/ 'continue'. They all have aspectual significance and realise an intensive relationship between subject and predicate.

1.   The conventions used to mark intonation here are those of O'Connor and Arnold. (1961, passim.)

199

Besides copular sentences, equative ones[1] are also attributive in function. Table 1, p.196 provides us with sentences containing intransitive verbs such as (1) /xarag/, monotransitive verbs such as (2) /katab/, and a subclass of ditransitive verbs as in (3a) and (3b). More examples of the latter type of verb will be examined when the relation between the verb and adverb is discussed. It is hoped at this stage that the ground has been prepared for the subject of this chapter.

4.1.4 General remarks on the adverb /?azzarf/, /?al maf^ₐuul fiih/ and /?al maf^ₐuul laho/

The adverb, as we mentioned earlier, was considered by early grammarians as the mediator of the parts of speech: "the adverb had a reference so wide that it seemed to cover every activity of the human mind." Michael (1970:73) Arab grammarians were fairly restrictive concerning what the adverb, in general, could refer to. They called it /zarf/ 'vessel' or /maf^ₐuul fiih/ 'that in which the act is done.' W. Wright (1964:II:110-112) Ibn ^ₐAqiil (1964:587) also describes the **/zarf/** as **/?almaf^ₐuul fiih/** because the noun

---

1.   For more on equative sentences in ECA, see Kamel (1082:140), Lyons
      (1977:474-5) and Anwar (1979:52).

is the object of the explicit or sometimes implicit preposition /fi/ 'in', otherwise it is counted as an ordinary noun object. The following sentences show the difference between the two uses: In /banayto lbayta/ 'I built the house', /?albayta/ 'the house' is an ordinary noun object since it cannot be preceded by the preposition /fi/, i.e. it is not acceptable to say */banayto fil bayti/[1]; while in /sakanto lbayta/ 'I lived (in) the house', /?albayta/ is a noun object used adverbially as it is not strictly the object of the verb /fi/ 'in'. If a preposition is used overtly, as in /sakanto fil bayti/[2] 'I lived in the house', the sentence would be acceptable.

The adverb designates the time at or during which an act takes place. It is generally restricted to words that carry a temporal meaning, hence **zarf zamaan**, or refers to the local extension of that act if the act itself is general and indefinite (i.e. the place in which it is performed), hence zarf makaan. Arab grammarians do not always make a disticntion between time and place. To them, both refer to

1.   This string cannot occur independently as a sentence. However, the preposition /fi/ can be used with some verbs to add a component of continuousness. When this is done, a time-duration adverbial must also occur following it: /banayto fil bayti xamsata ?aʕwa:min/ 'I continued building the house for five years'.

2.   Verbs that behave similarly to /sakana/ 'live', 'dwell', 'reside'contribute to the identification of the adverbial. The verbs are listed by al-Raadi (686H:I:339). The list includes such verbs as /daxala/ 'enter', /ḍahaba/ 'go', /nazala/ 'dwell', 'lodge', etc.

that time/place in which something is done (?al maf°uul

fiih), but they stress that the adverbial should imply the

preposition /fi/. They do, however, differentiate between

two kinds of noun: that of time and that of place, which do

not always fall into the realm of adverbials. Examples such

as:

(a)   ?allaaho ya°lamo hayθo yaj°alo risaalataho

        'Allah knows where He sends His message.'

(b)   ?inna naxaafo min rabbina yawman qamṭariira

        'We fear from our Lord a day which will be disastrous.'

have always been quoted in the grammar books to show that

words like /hayØo/ and /yawman/ function as the object of

the sentence because they could not imply the preposition

/fi/ 'in', and more importantly they do not contain the

action of the verb. Therefore Arab grammarians categorise

these nouns as the object of the sentence. This suggests

that sentence (a) indicates that they are afraid of the day

itself and does not in any way mean that their fear occurs

in that day. The semantics of (b) do not imply that the

revelation of His message was delivered in that place, but

it implies that God Himself knows the place where His

message is to be revealed.[1]

They used **/?al maf°uul laho/** to refer to the motive or

reason why the verbal action takes place or why the subject

undertakes the action. The adverb may also refer to the

1.   Abbas (1991:Ch.6:6).

202

state or condition, **haal**, of the subject or object of an act

or of both while the act is happening. In other words, its

main function is to introduce the complementary

modifications of the verb regarding any special

circumstances surrounding the action. All adverbs of Reason

and Manner constitute a branch of adverbs which have a

similar function to that expressed by the haal. These are

dealt with later in this chapter as they constitute the

non-essential clause elements, the behaviour of which is our

main concern. They are generally mobile elements, but the

degree of their mobility depends on their constituent

structure and function in the sentence. The discussion of

their position and mobility is deferred to the following

chapter.

4.1.5 The terms adverb and adverbial

It is not an easy task to find some common

characteristics for all the adverbs that may occur in an ECA

sentence or clause. By 'adverb' one could be referring to

the range of words in which such items as /hina/ 'here',

/min sana/ 'a year ago', /ʔorb ilba:b/ 'near the door',

/biṣara:ha/ 'frankly', /ʔasa:san/ 'basically', /kiti:r/ 'a

lot', 'very', /liʔinno ka:n misa:fir/ 'because he was

travelling', have been yoked together. It is difficult, at

first glance, to discern what such a group of items has in

common. Morphologically, there is no affix by means of

which new adverbs can be created from other parts of speech,

as Arabic possesses neither adverbial patterns nor adverbial

affixes that could be compared to the productive -ly suffix in English. We would like to point out here that it is true that the number of items that can be referred to as adverbials in English far exceeds those occurring in Arabic; this does not mean, however, that Arabic is incapable of expressing the meanings and functions assumed by adverbials, rather that the function is realised by a wider variety of linguistic forms and structures which are used in the language with great ease and flexibility.

Ferguson (1959:77) confirms this when he states, "a real pride is felt in the ability of Arabic to provide just the right word for any concept, abstract or concrete."

Before we proceed to explore those forms and structures, it is appropriate here to establish what is meant by 'adverbial' as it is a term that we shall be meeting throughout the thesis. The term 'adverbial' will be used to describe all words and structures that have the qualities of adverbs. The use of the term 'adverbial' is as follows: Adverbials (henceforth advls) range in form from words clearly marked as "pure adverbs" (Strang 1978:182), /bokra/ 'tomorrow', /?imba:riḥ/ 'yesterday', /hina/ 'here', to those that are classed formally as other parts of speech. For instance, such words as /youm ilhadd/ 'Sunday', on the one hand, /ºa:datan/ 'usually', /da:yman/ 'always', /ºawi/ 'very', /xa:liṣ/ 'very', on the other, which are basically nominals and adjectivals respectively, may also appear as advls, that is, they occupy an advl position and perform

that function. Forms which have this adverbial character
may be conveniently called 'adverbials'. The term
'adverb' can be reserved for the sub-class of 'pure adverbs'.
In traditional grammar[1] the term 'adverb' is mainly applied
to the class of verb- modifiers, while 'adverbial' is given
to "the function of modifying the verb in an endocentric
construction." Lyons (1969:297) Strang (1978:184) suggests
that "since key features in the identification of adverbs
are position and function, it is useful to have a term which
shows the relationship between adverbs and larger structures
which share adverbial position and function."

The underlined strings in the following examples have
something in common between them:

	gih came	min sa:ºa an hour ago
	gih came	fimaºa:dah on time
?ilbawwa:b 'The porter'	?aºad sat	hina:k there
	?aºad sat	gamb ilba:b by the door
	?aºad sat	liwahdoh alone.

---

1. See Palmer (1928), Sapir (1921), Poutsma (1926), Sweet (1891),
    Jespersen (1909) who are considered major grammarians of English.
    See also Chapter I of this thesis for a brief discussion on the
    treatment of the adverb by some of these grammarians.

Many phrases and clauses as well as single words will be subsumed under the designation of 'adverbial', a term which "indicates their function is a larger structure, but leaves us free to describe their internal structure as we think best." Strang (ibid.)[1]

4.1.6 Introducing Advl into the PSRs

Following the grammarians of the Chomskian school, the sentence is split up into an NP and a VP in the traditional way. The adverbial belongs, in most approaches, to the VP. Some grammarians depend, in their classification of adverbs, on the strong 'cohesion'that exists in most cases between the verb and its adjunct. Similarly, if the adverb occurs as an obligatory co- constituent of the verb, it contributes to the subcategorisation of that verb. A constituency grammar, according to Chomsky (1965), is required to make the relationship among constituents and the degree of 'cohesion'between them explicit.

In *Aspects*, 'Manner'is one of three channels through which adverbials are introduced into the PSRs. It is assignable only to a subclass of verb which can be transformed into the passive, perform the function of Verbal

---

1.   See also Christophersen and Sandved (1972:60-1) and Quirk and
      Greenbaum (1985:126) for the terms adverb and adverbial in English.

206

Complements and, by definition, have the necessary features

to render them a subcategory of the verbal class. The other

two channels are those which are VP[1] dominated and those

which are prepositional phrases. Functional nodes such as

'Time', 'Place', 'Manner', etc. represent the adverbial

functions according to the *Aspects* model. Manner is closely

associated with the verb, while Place and Time have no such

close relationship with the verbal element. They are more

closely associated with the aspectual element in the

sentence, i.e. the category Aux. They occupy a sister node

to Aux which is immediately dominated by the Predicate

Phrase and are assumed to function as VP-complements.

Vestergaard (1977:19) argues, in his functionally

oriented analysis, that the constituency model suggested in

Aspects is not adequate to account for the "degree of

cohesion" that exists between the verb and its adjunct.

From our study of the semantic functions of adverbs in

the previous chapter, it is obvious that adverbs display

various semantic features that help to express a gradient

nature of adverbial cohesion with the verb. This

'cohesion' is, in most cases, not so easily explained. It

causes ambiguities which make the task of establishing

dividing lines a difficult one. Vestergaard also states

---

1.   The grammatical category VP is an essential sentence constituent
      which dominates the verb and the complement(s) that the verb
      co-occurs with. This category is kept distinct from the Adverbial
      Phrase (AdvP) which is an optional category in our grammar.

that some VP-dominated prepositional phrases, which are
adverbial in nature, tend to perform an object function.
Aspects inctroduces 'object' into the PM (Phrase Marker) only
through the category NP dominated by VP. Vestergaard
considers that not all prepositional phrases dominated by VP
are adverbials. (ibid:14) He further argues that the three
possibilities suggested by Chomsky in *Aspects* for
introducing the adverbial into the PM are not sufficient due
to the fact that the range of prepositional phrases that
actually occur is so wide. Three channels are simply not
enough to account for the full range of prepositional
phrases performing adverbial functions. Introducing new
nodes may be a good solution, yet it is a "dangerous course
of action" (ibid:19) because it would not be independently
motivated.

In this study I shall adhere to Chomsky's standard
nodes for introducing adverbials. Vestergaard's claim for
introducing new nodes will, in the main, not be taken into
consideration. However, I will make use of the criterion he
used (see pp. 214-20) in distinguishing between Free
adjuncts and Bound adjuncts.

Before proceeding any further, we should have a set of
rules because, as Lyons (1977:153) writes, "Whether a
certain combination of words is or is not grammatical is a
question that can only be answered by reference to a
particular system of rules which either generates it (and
thus defines it to be grammatical) or fails to generate it

208

(and thereby defines it to be ungrammatical." Our Phrase

Structure rules relevant to the adverb are similar to those

used by Wise (1975:1).. An adverb may be introduced through

the following PSRs of Phrase Structure Grammar.[1]

(1) S → (pre S) NP + Pred.

(2) Pred. → (pre verb) (Neg) (Tense) $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Pred.p} \\ \text{VP} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left(\text{Adv} \right)$

(3) Pred P → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(zayy) NP} \\ \text{adj (degree)} \\ \text{Loc} \\ \text{Time} \\ \text{Prep.p} \end{array} \right.$

(4) Adv → (Loc) (Time) (Purpose) (Condition) (Reason)

In Arabic, as mentioned earlier, the subject and the

predicate are essential constituents of the sentence. The

sentence may or may not have complement(s). Any other

essential category in the sentence is viewed as part of the

verb complement. A particular category is semantically

optional if the omission of that category does not render a

sentence string incomplete in meaning. These optional or,

rather, peripheral categories (to use Glinert's (1974) term)

have the following realisations in the surface structure.

(1) <u>Adverbial complement</u>

/ʔilºomma:l daxalo lmasnaº/

---

1.   Attention will be given, in the main, to the exponents of the Adv.
      node as well as to the other nodes in which the adverb can
      feature. For a full list of Wise's PSRs (1975) see Chapter I. of
      her book. For a comprehensive coverage of both Phrase Structure
      Grammar and Transformationaql Grammar, see Huddleston (1981:35-56).

'The workers entered the factory.'

/haṭe:ṭ il?alam f ge:bi/

'I put the pen in my pocket.'

/?il?osta:z sa:kin figgi:za/

'The teacher lives in Giza.'

(2) <u>The beneficiary complement</u>

/?ilmodi:r wa:fi? ºa lmašru:º ºalaša:nak/

'The manager agreed on the project for your sake.'

/sa:fir maṣr ºalaša:nha/

'He went to Egypt for her sake.'

(3) <u>The prepositional complement</u>

/liḥadd dilwa?ti mafi:š ḥall lilmoškila/

'Until now, there is no solution to the problem.'

/?ilka:tib na?al ?afka:r moºayyana m irriwa:ya/

'The writer copied certain ideas from the novel.'

The categories of adverb which show up as a configuration or a rewriting of rule (4) of the PS rules mentioned in p. 209 are as follows: Locative, Time, Purpose, Conditional and Reason. They have various realisations in the surface structure. They range from single nominals to prepositional phrases, and to clauses derived from the latter. These clauses result from expanding NP as one of the exponents of the prepositional phrase into S instead of N or N+S, for example:

(1) "/# .... ?abl mayru:ḥ ilmo?tamar .... #/

' .... before he goes (to) the conference ....'

(2) /# .... li?inno ka:n taºba:n .... #/

210

'.... because he was sick ....'

(3) /# .... law iššams titla° .... #/

'.... if the sun comes out ....'"

Wise (1975:10)

The most common types of adverbial realisation as well as the order of the above mentioned five categories will be discussed later in this Chapter (see pp. 233-237). Clauses similar to the ones mentioned by Wise (ibid.) will not be covered in great detail as the components of the clause will be discussed as possible exponents of the Adv node.

Before we proceed to distinguish between VP-Complements (Free adjuncts) and Verbal Complements (Bound adjuncts), we shall first consider Jackendoff's (1972) claim that it is not necessary to divide adverbs into syntactic categories if we assume that lexical items have semantic properties. Jackendoff (1972:48) argues that in the case of adjectives, for example, properties of colour, degree, size and quality are semantically accounted for "by their semantic interpretations". He assumes that this can be true in the case of adverbs as well. The simple violation of selectional restrictions causes the unacceptability of *'John knew the answer terribly' which does not require a special consideration in the syntax any more than *'The green ideas' does.[1]

1. For strict subcategorisation restrictions, see Jackendoff (1972:37-43, 64-6, 377).

211

In our analysis of adverbs in ECA we shall not follow
the same lines. As mentioned earlier, both semantic and
syntactic properties of adverbs should be given necessary
considerations in order to reach a system in which degrees
of centrality and peripherality can be distinguished.
Neither syntactic properties nor semantic features of the
adverb can be ignored because, as Katz and Postal (1964:1)
write: "a linguistic description of a natural language
consists of three components: syntactic, semantic and
phonological. The syntactic component is fundamental in the
sense that the other two components both operate on its
output." Studying the mobility features of adverbials,
their expansions, reductions, the ways in which the adverbs
combine with other words in the clause, their behaviour in
various contexts together with their semantic behaviour help
make "the differences between adverbials easy to detect."
Bartsch (1976:29)

4.1.7 VP-Complements (Free adjuncts) and Verbal Complements (Bound adjuncts)

Grammarians such as McKay (1969) have taken the
difference between free and non-free adverbials seriously.
We think it appropriate to say a few words about his
analysis and the reaction to it of other grammarians.

McKay(1969) bases his study of adverbials in German on
Chomsky's *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. He offers a
disticntion between "free and non-free adverbials".
According to him, "non-free adverbials require a sub-

categorisation of the verb while free adverbials do not.
Locative, temporal and causative (reason) are free
adverbials. They are introduced into the surface tree as a
co-constituent of a sentence nucleus (NUCL) under S, and the
category Adv cannot appear next to S because modal verbs
such as 'think' cannot occur with free adverbials within the
same structure.

```
                    S
                   / \
                  /   \
                 /     \
               Nucl      Adv (Free advl)
               / \
              /   \
            NP     VP
```
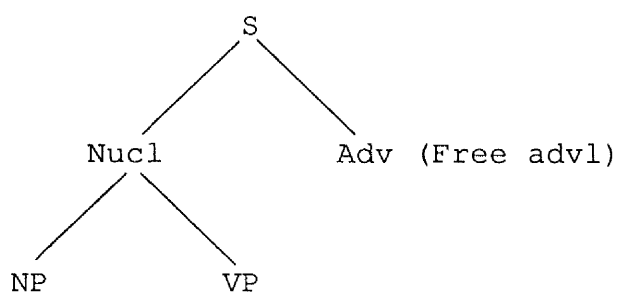
Bartsch (1976:350-1) writes: "It is questionable,
however, whether this argument is based on the right premise
since modal verbs can very well co-occur with locative and
temporal adverbials in the same structure in sentences like

    - Inside the house you may make as much noise as you
like, but not outside.

    - In Holland, you need not pay taxes, in contrast to
Germany."

    Furthermore, McKay considers durative, iterative and
frequency adverbials as quantifiers which are applicable to
NUCL. It is, however, unclear how these adverbials are to
be respresented within the nucleus. If this is the case,
frequency, iterative and durative adverbials will not be

applicable to sentences concerning Locative, Temporal or Causative adverbials. In McLay's view, sentences (b) but not (a) are possible:

"11a) Seldom Peter comes because of the vacuum cleaner.

11b) Because of the vacuum cleaner Peter comes seldom.

12a) Often Hans goes to the Protestant Church.

12b) To the Protestant Church Hans goes often.

13a) Often Hans lives during the holidays in his weekend house.

13b) During the holidays Hans often lives in his weekend house." (ibid:351)

In sentences marked (a) above, the frequency adverbial is modifying the whole sentence including the Locative and Temporal adverbials. In sentences (b), however, it is applied to the sentence without these adverbials.

The distinction between VP-Complements and Verbal Complements can be made clearer by means of the useful criterion suggested by Vestergaard (1977:16). He states that "a verb without its verbal complements may not be the focus of a do/happen/what sentence." According to this criterion, Directional adverbials remain 'bound' adjuncts whereas Frequency and Durational adverbs are 'free'. 'Place' is sometimes 'free', sometimes 'bound' and co- occurs with stative verbs of inert "perception and cognition such as 'know' only in the past tense. This makes 'place' a context with respect to which verbs are sub-categorised, therefore a VP- dominated category." (ibid.) Manner

adverbials are also considered to be 'free', although they seem to be more closely associated with the verb by restrictions that are not applicable, for example, in the case of Frequency or Durational adverbials. Vestergaard also states that Verbal Complements "may occur outside the scope of a do/happen/what proform only if (a representative of) the adjunct is repeated in the answer (or identifying) clause." (ibid:132)

In ECA there is a subclass of verbs, mainly positional, directional[1] and existential verbs, which take Verbal Complements. Examples of these are:

/daxal/ enter

/ʔittagah/ head for

/ʕa:š live

/raʔad/ lie

/nizil/ descend

/tiliʕ/ ascend

/ʔada/ spend 'time'

/xašš/ enter

/ra:ḥ/ go

/naṭṭ/ jump

---

1.   See Mallawany (1981) for an elaborate discussion of directional verbs in ECA.

/haṭṭ/ put

/waṣal/ arrive

/ʔaᵉʔad/ sit

/tann¹/ remain, stay

/sakan/ live

Lyons (1977) classes complements these verbs take as 'nuclear' elements and Quirk regards them as one of the obligatory clause elements (1984). By comparing constructions in which some of these verbs occur with bound adverbials, with constructions that contain verbs occurring with free adverbials (see 4.1.7a and 4.1.7b below), certain results will be forthcoming. Differences between the two types of adjunct will be made clearer in the light of Halliday's criterion

"What N^1 did to N^{11} was V pro-N^{11}"

Halliday (1968:III:196)

by means of which he distinguished "(Central) participants" using a pseudocleft form in which the verb alone is identifier and, of necessity, followed by a pronoun that is co-referential with the object NP.

1.   This is related to the verb /istanna/ and has an incomplete formal
      scatter occurring in only the forms /tann-ak/ 'wait', /tann-ik/
      'wait f.', etc. and /tannu hina/ 'he was waiting here',
      /tannet-ni/ 'I waited', and rarely /tannena/ 'we waited'.

4.1.7.a Bound Adjuncts

(1) ?aḥmad ḥaṭṭ iggawa:b ᵒala lmaktab

'Ahmad put the letter on the desk.'

(1a) *?illi ᵒamalo aḥmad ᵒala lmaktab howwa ?inno ḥaṭṭ

iggawa:b

'What Ahmad did on the desk was to put the book.'

(2) ᵒa:šit[1] f ro:ma sitt sni:n

'She lived in Rome for six years.'

(2a) *?illi ᵒamalito f ro:ma innaha ᵒa:šit sitt sni:n

'What she did in Rome was live for six years.'

(3) waṣalna maṣr min sa:ᵒa

'We arrived in Cairo an hour ago.'

(3a) *?illi ᵒamalna:h f maṣr innina waṣalna min sa:ᵒa

'What we did in Cairo was arrive an hour ago.'

(4) biyḥibb yi?di agazto f asba:nya

'He likes to spend his holidays in Spain.'

(4a) *?illi biyḥib yiᵒmilo f asba:nya howwa inno yi?di ?agazto

'What he likes to do in Spain is spend his holidays.'

4.1.7b Free Adjuncts

(5) samar katabit gawa:b ᵒala lmaktab

'Samar wrote a letter on the desk.'

(5a) ?illi ᵒamalito samar figgawa:b howwa innaha katabito

ᵒalmaktab

1. "Verbs which express existence or coming into being do not always require adverbial complements, only if the sentence subject is a definite description. If the sentence subject is an indefinite description, the advls can be dispensed with: 'A tumult broke out'." Bartsch (1976:364)

'What Samar did to the letter was write it on the desk.'

(6)   nisbit issoyya:ḥ bitzi:d hina koll sana

        'The percentage of tourists increases here every year.'

(6a)   ?illi bitzi:d hina koll sana (hiyya) nisbit issoyya:ḥ

        'What increases here every year is the percentage of

        tourists.'

(7)   samar darasit kimya f holanda

        'Samar studied chemistry in Holland.'

(7a)   ?illi ᵒamalito samar f holanda innaha darasit kimya

        'What Samar did in Holland was study chemistry.'

(8)   sami:r kal ilbalaḥ kollo

        'Samir ate all the dates.'

(8a)   ?illi ᵒamalo sami:r filbalaḥ ?inno kalo kollo

        'What Samir did to the dates was eat them all.'

(9)   ?aṭṭaᵒit ikke:ka bissikki:na, wibaᵒde:n ?assimitha

        ᵒale:na

        'She cut the cake with the knife, then divided it

        among us.'

(9a)   ?illi ᵒamalito fikke:ka ?innaha ?aṭṭaᵒitha bissikki:na,

        wibaᵒde:n ?assimitha ᵒale:na

        'What she did to the cake was cut it with the knife, then

        divide it among us.'

(10)   ?a:so il?arḍ bilmitr ᵒalaša:n yibi:ᵒu:ha filmaza:d

        'They measured the land by metre in order to sell it in

        the auction.'

(10a)   ?illi ᵒamalu:h fil?arḍ innohom ?a:su:ha bilmitr

        ᵒalaša:n yibi:ᵒu:ha filmza:d

        'What they did to the land was measure it by metre in

        order to sell it in the auction.'

        From the above examples we notice the closeness in

syntactic status between such constituents as obligatory

objects and Bound Adjuncts (Verbal Complements). Structures
(1)-(4) that responded positively to this criterion will
constitute the obligatory category of Verbal Adverbial
Complements. Adverbial functions subsumed by Bound Adjuncts
are Direction, Place and Path which apply to all the verbs
in the group, and I will include also Duration for verbs
such as /ºa:š/ 'live', /?aºad/ 'stay', 'continue',
/?istanna/ 'wait', /tann/ 'remain', /fiḍil/ 'continue',
'remain':

/ºa:šit ḥawa:li tamani:n sana/

'She lived for nearly eighty years.'

/?aºad (fiḍil) yiḡanni talat saºa:t/

'He continued singing for three hours.'

/?aºadit ºandina sana ka:mla/

'She stayed with us for a whole year.'

/?istanno l?aṭr sa:ºa bizẓabt/

'They waited for the train for an hour exactly.'

/tanno sa:kit ṭu:l ilwa?t/

'He remained silent all the time.'

Kamel (1982:306) considers "Time, Duration, Frequency,
Reason, Measurement, Epithet or Subject adjunct, Manner,
Place, Instrument, Means, Having, Comitative and Beneficial"
as functions that can be subsumed under Free Adjuncts. To
my mind, it is not the adverbial function which is the
determining factor, but the class of verb since, as we have
seen above, the class of verbs involving motion either of
the actor or the patient cannot occur in structure 'What N[1]

did to N[11] was V pro N[1] while others, as shown below, can.

So perhaps the division should be into Bound and Free

'verbs' rather than Bound and Free 'adverbs'.

4.1.8 Adverbial realisation

To get a sufficiently homogenous class is a
troublesome task here. If, for example, all question words
are put together because all of them mark the sentence as a
question, a difficulty will arise due to the fact that they
behave like several other classes. Cross-cutting may be
useful, as stated earlier, and the use of a term like
'Interrogative adverb' may be a good way out of this
overlapping. In other cases, it is not always as easy. We
may be faced with certain constituents whose syntactic
functions are hard to define. An excellent example of such
constituents is the different realisations of the node Comp.
in the following

/ʔaḥmad sa:fir daraga ʔu:la/   Comp.
'Ahmad travelled first class.'   (N + Adj)
/sa:mir ra:yiḥ ilbe:t/   (N)
'Samir is going home'   P (NP) (Adj)
/ᵒali min ᵒe:la kowayyisa/
'Ali (is) from a good family.'

where the difference between the object and the adverbial
adjunct is not easy to detect. Passive transformation is
found by some grammarians to be a way of drawing a line
between the prepositional object and the prepositional
adverbial phrase. If, in the passive construction, the
preposition remains occupying the position after the verb,
this will indicate that the prepositional phrase functions
as an object. On the other hand, if the preposition is not
closely joined to the rest of the prepositional phrase, it
is bound to be an adverbial adjunct. In certain cases,
however, this is not completely reliable. In the following
(active) sentences, the prepositional phrase functions as an
adverbial:

$$NP^1 \qquad\qquad V \qquad\qquad (PNP^2)$$

(1)   sami:r na:m <u>fil?ouḍa ikkibi:ra</u>

       'Samir slept in the big room.'

(2)   sami:r ?ara <u>fikkita:b</u>

       'Samir read in the book.'

(3)   sami:r kal <u>mil?akl</u>

       'Samir ate from the food.'

       In their passive forms, the preposition appears
immediately after the verb also:

$$\rightarrow NP^2 \qquad\qquad V \qquad\qquad P + pronoun$$

(1a)   ?il?ouḍa ikkibi:ra <u>itna:m fi:ha</u>

       'The big room was slept in.'

(2a)   ?ikkita:b <u>it?ara fi:h</u>

       'The book was read in.'

(3a)   ?il?akl <u>itta:kil minnoh</u>

       'The food was eaten from.'

where the change from active to passive has resulted in meaningful sentences.

Now let us consider the following sentences:

(4)   mona ᵒa:šit maᵒa ṣaḥbitha

'Mona lived with her friend.'

(5)   ᵒa:dil fiḍil filbe:t

'Adel stayed in the house.'

(6)   moṣtafa ?aᵒad ᵒand axu:h

'Mostafa lived (stayed) at his brother's.

the structure of which is exactly the same as in sentences (1)-(3) above, but the application of passive transformation would result in structures that are not acceptable:

NP^1 V (P NP^2) $\rightarrow$

*NP2 V P + -h

In this case, it is not possible to transfer the object NP^2, which is the nominal part of the prepositional phrase and which operates as an adverbial adjunct, into the subject of the corresponding passive construction. Here we find that the problem becomes evident when the relation between the form and the function of the object is not one to one. From the above discussion, it becomes clear that syntactic criteria are not totally reliable; the task of gathering the language items that assume the advl function using those criteria alone at this stage would be impractical. Therefore, morphological as well as semantic criteria will be set out at this stage to identify the various items that are advls. Before we go any further, two points need to be made clear. First, as mentioned before,

we must not overlook the fact that advls are better explained simultaneously in semantic and syntactic terms as there is always a corrolation between the syntactic and semantic features of expressions. The newly defined major class of advls will ultimately be defined on the basis of the function they perform and the position they occupy. Subsequently, some generalisations about the syntactic features exhibited by minor groups can be stated. The second point I wish to make is that different groupings would, expectedly, result from a different choice of criteria.

What follows are the most common types of advl realisation:[1]

4.1.8.1 The class of items traditionally called 'adverbs'

These words are the most characteristic of the class because they do not have any other function but that of adverbs. They also have unusual morphological forms which

---

1. For a list of the types of adverbial realisation in English, see Wölck and Mathews (1965:5-7).

are scarcely found in the language. For instance, /hina/ 'here', /hina:k/ 'there', /robbama/ 'perhaps', etc., which are used also in CA, and /tamalli/ 'always', 'usually', /bardoh/ 'also', 'as well', 'too', /lissa/ 'not yet', 'still', /?omma:l/ '(now) then', /yadoub/ 'just', 'almost', /bass/ 'only', 'mere', /ya:ma/[1] 'a lot', and /kama:n/ 'as well', 'also', which, to my knowledge, have no origin in CA. We have already referred to them as 'pure adverbs'.

4.1.8.2 Indefinite as well as definite nouns[2]

(A) Indefinite nouns occurring with the accusative ending -an.

Most of these forms are classicisms which have become solidly established in colloquial usage:

N (Indef) + -an → advl

?ahya:n + -an → /?ahya:nan/ 'sometimes'

ºa:dah + -an → /ºa:datan/ 'usually'

ºamd + -an → /ºamdan/ 'deliberately'

ha:l + -an → /ha:lan/ 'immediately'

?asa:ʂ + -an → /?asa:san/ 'basically'

1. This particle occurs either after a noun or preceding a verb, as in /ºando kotob ya:ma/ 'he has such a lot of books', or /ya:ma rohna lhom w akalna piza/ 'How many times we have been to them and eaten pizza.' It is composed of the conjoiner ma: and the particle ya:, reminiscent of the similar use in CA, as in /ya: la: kaθrat ma:lih/ 'What a lot of property he has!'

2. Some grammarians were obliged to say that certain nouns are a kind of adverb, for example, /?iʂʂobh/ 'morning', /?innaha:rda/ 'today' partook the nature of nouns and adverbs. See al-Sayyid (1975:324-6).

224

Frequency can be conveyed by such words as /?aḥya:nan/
and /ᵒ?a:datan/. Manner can be conveyed by /ᵒ?amdan/ and
similar nouns in the accusative which describe how the act
is done. /ḥa:lan/ conveys time, and words like /?asa:san/
assert that what is being said is true in principle,
"despite minor qualifications that might be done." Greenbaum
(1969:206)

Indefinite nouns such as /nawᵒ/ 'kind', 'sort' and
/ḥadd/ 'limit', 'extent', when followed by an enclitic /ma/:

This usage is limited to educated speakers of the
language. Note that in sentences like

(1)   ?ilxiṭṭa ?orayyiba nawᵒan ma milli fbalna
        lit. 'The plan is near, kind of, to that which is in our
        mind.'

        'The plan is pretty close to what we have in mind.'
and

(2)   howwa nawᵒan ma xabi:r fil maga:l da
        lit. 'He (is) sort a expert in field this.'

        'He is something of an expert in this field.'
/?ila ḥaddin ma/ 'to some extent' can replace /nawᵒan ma/
without any change of meaning.

Indefinite nouns like /šar?/ 'east', /šama:l/ 'north',
/yimi:n/ 'right', /šima:l/ 'left', etc. occur usually as
part of a nominal construct, as in /šar?i lqa:hira/ 'east of
Cairo', /šama:l moᵒaskar igge:š/ 'north of the army camp',
to convey 'local' interpretation.

(B) Definite nouns, nominal constructs and longer noun phrases

/ʔiṣṣobḥ/ '(in the) morning', /ʔille:la/[1] 'tonight', /binnaha:r/ 'during the day', /ṭu:l innaha:r/ 'all day long', /ʔilḥaʔi:ʔa/ lit. 'the truth', 'indeed', 'truly', /ʔilmafru:d/ 'supposedly', /waʔt ilɣada/ 'lunchtime', /youm ilḥadd/ '(the day of) Sunday, /sa:ºit ʔada:n ilmaɣrib/ 'the time of maghrib prayer'.

The word /koll/ 'every', 'all' can occur with either a definite or an indefinite noun and form an /idaafa/ 'annexation' construction which will have an adverbial function, as in

/taºa:la koll youm ḥadd/

'Come every Sunday.'

/biytfarragu ºala lbirna:miɡ da koll le:la/

'They watch this programme every night.'

If, however, /koll/ occurs followed by a definite noun, it will have the sense of 'all', as in /koll iṣṣobḥ/ 'all morning', /koll youm ittala:t/ 'all Tuesday', lit. 'all the day of Tuesday'. It is important to note here that the occurrence of /koll/ with definite nouns is more restricted to CA. The majority of the native speakers consulted preferred /youm ittala:t kolloh/ to /koll youm tala:t/. The few, however, who considered the latter to be more common

---

1. The definite article in nouns like /ʔille:la/ lit. 'the night' has the force of a demonstrative (i.e. meaning 'this night').

have some sort of classical educational background. /ṭu:l/

lit. 'length', 'all' is more common in the dialect, as in

/ṭu:l innaha:r/ above.

The word /koll/ 'all' sometimes modifies verbal nouns

and thus conveys emphasis, as in

/biyḥibbu:h kolli lḥobb/

lit. 'They love him all the love.'

'They love him very much.[1]

4.1.8.3.a Adjectives which are either Classical or of foreign origin or of no obvious source

These include such as /momkin/ 'possibly', /tama:m/

'perfectly', 'absolutely', 'exactly', /maxṣu:ṣ/

'especially', 'particularly', /na:dir/ 'rarely', 'seldom',

/ḥilw/ 'nicely', 'well', /moḥtamal/ 'probably', /kowayyis/

'well', /duǧri/[2] 'straight', 'straightaway', etc. which

describe how an action is (was) done, have a frequency

reference (cf. /na:dir/ and /kite:r/) or convey an emphatic

interpretation to the sentence, as in the usage of /ʔaki:d/

'surely', /ʔawi/ 'very', /xa:liṣ/ 'very' and /ḥaʔi:ʔi/

'truly' with verbs such as /yiḥibb/ 'like', 'love'.

---

1. For more about the usage of /koll/ 'all', 'every', see Ibn ᵒAqiil (1964:I:588-9).

2. For the Turkish doğru 'exactly', 'straight'.

4.1.8.3.b Adjectives occurring with the accusative suffix -an.

These include such as:

yawmi + -an → /yawmiyyan/ 'daily'

sanawi + -an → /sanawiyyan/ 'annually'

šaxṣi + -an → /šaxṣiyyan/ 'personally'

ma:li + -an → /ma:liyyan/ 'financially'

siya:si + -an → /siya:siyyan/ 'politically'

ʔiqtiṣa:di + -an → /ʔiqtiṣa:diyyan/ 'economically'

naẓari + -an → /naẓariyyan/ 'theoretically'

Frequency is conveyed by words like /yawmiyyan/,
/sanawiyyan/ /šaxṣiyyan/, on the other hand, has an
evaluative role which relates to the subject and has
corresponding constructions with verbs of speaking like
/ʔa:l/ 'say', /ʔitkallim/ 'speak', etc. or corresponding
prepositional phrases like /min inna:ḥya nnaẓariyya/ 'from
the theoretical point of view'. A simple rewrite rule would
produce these adverbials, as in the following:

min inna:ḥya X iyya X→-iyyan

'from the X point of view = X -ly

4.1.8.4 Prepositional phrases of all kinds
**4.1.8.4.1 Prepositional phrases which do not necessarily refer
to time or location.**
(a)   ʔaḥmad doktu:r <u>fikkimya</u>

'Ahmad is a doctor in chemistry.'
(b)   kiti:r min ilxorafa:t laha ʔasa:s <u>min innahya ttarixiyya</u>
lit.   'Many myths have a basis from the past historical.'
'Many myths have foundation historically.'

(c) <u>fil ḥa:la di</u> la:zim tisa:fir

'In this case, you must travel.'

(d) šoft axu:k <u>filbadla</u> iggidida

'I saw your brother in the new suit.'

(e) xalla ṛaʔabti <u>fissama</u>

lit. 'He made my neck (be) in the sky.'

'I am proud of him.'

(f) ʔana <u>taḥt ʔamrak</u>

lit. 'I (am) under your command.'

'I am at your service.'

(g) howwa dilwa:ti <u>ºa lmaºa:š</u>

'He is now in retirement.'

(h) ʔaṣa:bak doul mašyi:n <u>bimazaghom</u>

'These friends of yours are doing what they like.'

In the above sentences, the underlined prepositional
phrases indicate any relation but that of place. W. Wright
(1964:II:253) calls such phrases "'jomlah ja:riyah majra
zzarfiyah' 'a sentence which runs the course, or follows the
analogy of a local sentence.'"

4.1.8.4.2 A preposition + indefinite noun[1]

(a) ʔitkallim <u>biḥikma</u>

lit. 'He spoke with wisdom.'

'He spoke wisely.'

(b) <u>bibaṣa:ṭa</u> law masabš il filu:s fil bank ilmašru:º
hayitʔaxxar

'Simply, if he does not leave the money in the bank,

---

1. For more on these prepositional phrases, see Beeston (1967:44).

the project will be delayed.'

(c)   _bixtiṣa:r_ ṭu:l maḥna binitna:ʔiš biṭṭari:ʔa di miš

       haniwsal liḥall

       'Briefly, as long as we keep discussing things in this

       way, we will never reach a solution.'

       The underlined words in the above examples

semantically express an evaluation of what is being said

with respect either to the form or communication or its

content.

4.1.8.4.3 (1) A preposition + definite noun

       Prepositional phrases such as /fiddorg/, /miṣṣobḥ/,

/ʔabl ilfilm/, in the following examples, convey either the

locative interpretation, as in

(a)   ḥaṭṭe:ṭ ikkita:b fiddorg

       'I put the book in the drawer.'

(b)   xaragit miṣṣobḥ

       'She has been out since morning.'

(c)   tiḥib ta:kol ḥa:ga ʔabl ilfilm?

       'Would you like to eat something before the film?'

4.1.8.4.3 (2) A preposition + a definite noun.

       These include such as /liʔasaf/, /maºalʔasaf/

'unfortunately', /filḥaʔi:ʔa/ 'in fact', /bilmana:sba/

'incidentally', /bittaʔki:d/ 'surely', 'indeed',

/bittaḥdi:d/ 'accurately', /ºala l ºomu:m/ 'generally', etc.

which are different from those in 3(1) as they either have

an attitudinal reference meaning 'I can judge the situation

by saying ... about it' and express shades of certainty

about what is being said, or express a judgement about what is being said, meaning 'I can say ... about my attitude to the situation'. In the following example, /lil?asaf/ refers to an observation or a perception of a certain state of affairs,

/lil?asaf innadwa ka:nit tawi:la/

'Unfortunately, the debate was long.'

while the usage of /bitta?ki:d/ in

/masr, bitta?ki:d ᵒazi:za ᵒale:na kollina/

'Egypt surely is dear to all of us.',

for instance, expresses the speaker's conviction while inviting agreement from the person or persons addressed.

4.1.8.4.(4) A preposition + indefinite/definite noun + adjective/demonstrative

These include phrases such as /filḥa:la di/ 'in this case', /fi nafs ilwa?t/ 'at the same time', /bil?iḍa:fa lkida/ 'in addition to this', /bimaᵒna ?a:xar/ 'in other words', /min nayḥa tanya/ 'on the other hand'.

4.1.8.4 (5) Items that are generally considered as belonging to the verb class.

They appear in a morphological form typical of verbs, as, for example, /ba?a/ lit. 'it stays', 'it remains', 'then', /yaᵒni/ lit. 'it means', /yiẓhar/ 'it seems', 'probably', /yimkin/ 'it is possible', 'possibly', which can occur in the pre-subject position, as in the following frame:

—— Samar nagaḥit issanadi / '—— samar passed this year.'

to imply an evaluation on the part of the speaker. /yaᵒni/ must occur with a pause to convey the meaning that Samar's success in the exam was not a brilliant one,

/yaᵒni, samar nagaḥit issanadi/

'Well, I suppose Samar did pass this year.'

Some degree of doubt is also implied when /yiẓhar/ or /yimkin/ is used.[1]

/yiẓhar inno katab ikkala:m da f gawa:b ṭawi:l liṣaḥbo f ?almanya/

'It seems that he wrote this in a long letter to his friend in Germany.'

/yimkin yoxrog mi lmostašfa bokra/

'He will probably leave hospital tomorrow.'

Verns like /ḥassin/ 'improve' and /rigiᵒ 'return' can be used to render what is equivalent to an adverbial in English. Here are some examples:

---

1.   See p 273 of this thesis for the use of /yaᵒni/ as a 'downtoner adverbial'.

232

/ḥassin rasmoh/

lit. 'improved drawing his.'

'He improved his drawing.'

/rigiᵓ yidris handasa/

lit. 'returned (he) studies engineering.'

'He started studying engineering again.'[1]

The verb may be complemented by its own verbal noun /masdar/, or what is referred to in CA as /ʔalmafᵓuul ʔalmoṭlaq/.[2] The masdar in such an instance is called a 'cognate accusative'. It can occur alone or may itself be modified by an adjective, in which case it may be translated into English as an adverbial expression:

verb + verbal noun + adjective

(a)   na:m noum kowayyis

'he slept sleeping good'

'He slept well.'

where the verbal noun occurs following the verb and is modified by an adjective. If the structure occurs without the adjective, it must be pronounced in an emphatic tone

---

1.   See Haywood (1962:426) and Tritton (1970:117) for more on these verbs in Classical Arabic.

2.   The term 'accusative object' has also been given to /ʔalmafᵓuul ʔalmoṭlaq/ by Arabists. We prefer to use 'cognate accusative (object)' as it is more appropriate considering the verbal noun is cognate with the verb of the sentence. For more on the cognate object in ECA, see El-Rabbat (1978:80-4). He writes, "The nearest approximation to this in English is 'she sang a song' where the element 'range' is realised by an etymologically cognate item. /ilwilaad liᵓbo liᵓba gdiida/ 'The boys played a new game' (lit. 'The boys played a new play'). (ibid:81)

with a special stress on the verbal noun.

(b)   na:m nóum

   lit. `he slept sleeping.'

   `He slept too much.'

   katab kitá:ba

   lit. `He wrote writing'

   `He wrote a lot.'

This construction has the function of intensifying the action of the verb.

The cognate object can also occur with another noun in an /idaafa/ `annexation' construction, as in

   /sabaro sabr ?ayyu:b/

   lit. `They were patient the patience of Job.'

   `They were as patient as Job.'

4.1.8.4 (6) Words like /fou?/ `on top of', `above', /taht/ `under', `below', /barra/ `outside', /gowwa/ `inside', /wara/ `behind/, /?odda:m/ `in front of'

   These are basically prepositions; they also behave adverbially and always express the locative notion. When they occur in a construct followed by a noun, there is no doubt about the fact that the behaviour of the construct is typical of adverbs of Place. For example, /fou?/ and /barra/ in (b) and (d) below occur in adverbial phrases. In (a) and (c), however, these words occur as one word with the adverbial function.

(a)   ?ana hatte:t ikkita:b fou?

   lit. `I put the book above.'

   `I put the book upstairs.'

234

(b)   ?ana ḥaṭṭe:ṭ ikkita:b fou? iṭṭarabi:za

'I put the book (above) on top of the table.'

(c)   ?aḥmad xaraq barra

'Ahmad went outside.'

(d)   ?aḥmad xaraq barra lbe:t

'Ahmad went outside the house.'

4.1.8.4.(7) Clauses

(a) of Time, such as /lamma waṣal/ 'when he arrived',
/wa?tima xaraqo/ 'when at the time they went out', which
refer to the time in or during which the action takes place,
thus giving a temporal interpretation to the sentence.

(b) of Causation: /li?innu ka:n hina/ 'because he was
here', /º?alaša:n yiru:ḥ ilmadrasa/ 'so that he goes to
school', etc.

(c) Circumstantial clause or the /ḥaal/ construction:
it is so-called as it describes the condition or attendant
circumstances surrounding its head at the time of the event
in question. It can thus be used to express manner and
corresponds to Manner Advls, or sometimes adverbs of Time
in English. For further discussion of the /ḥaal/
construction, see p 319-23 of this thesis.

From what has preceded, it can be claimed that there
is a subclass of adverbs (those listed on pp.223 under (1))
that has no morphological relationship to either nouns,
adjectives, verbs, pronouns, particles or prepositions. At
this stage one can certainly say that there is a subclass of

ECA adverbs that does not have any parallel in English because in the latter language such a morphological relationship always exists, as Michael (1970:445), quoting from Fell (1784:67), writes: "The adverb can never be strictly and justly considered as a distinct part of speech, for there is not an adverb which may not be found either among nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, particles or prepositions." It can also bƒe claimed that when the accusative suffix -an occurs with either indefinite nouns or adjectives, words that are semantically equivalent to English adverbials are formed. Also, when the article /ʔil-/ is prefixed to words like /ṣobḥ/ 'morning', /le:la/ '(one) night', /mafru:d/ lit. imposed, 'supposed', /ḥaʔi:ʔa/ 'truth', a sentence context is required for these words to be identified as adverbials. Let us consider /ʔille:la/ 'the night' in the following sentences where it is an adverbial in (1) and a nominal in (2):

(1) biyʔu:lo innohom hayru:ḥo issinima lle:la

      'They say that they will go to the cinema tonight.'

(2) ka:nit le:la ɣami:la

      'It was a beautiful night.'

      Also, the word /ʔilḥaʔi:ʔa/ is an adverbial in (4) and a nominal in (3):

(3) ʔaḥmad ʔa:l lilmaḥkama lḥaʔi:ʔa kollaha

      'Ahmad told the court the whole truth.'

(4) ʔilḥaʔi:ʔa lmaºrad ka:n momta:z

      'In fact, the exhibition was excellent.'

      Certain functions tend to be realised more frequently

in one form rather than another. In usage, it was
discovered that NPs tend to realise Time and Direction
rather than Place, for example. Place is, in most cases,
realised as prepositional phrases whereas clauses cover a
large number of functions which are also covered by other
categories.

The types of adverbial and similar expressions
investigated in previous pages will constitute our starting
point as well as our data for exploring the positions and
functions of such adverbials in the following chapter.

SECTION II

4.2.1 Characteristics of the adverb

In school grammars, the adverb has always been treated
as a part of speech that serves as a modifier of a verb,
hence the name ad- verb. Words that modify other parts of
speech were also referred to as adverbs; some of them can be
freely added to any clause type, or just as freely omitted.
In Chapter Two we covered various definitions and opinions
concerning them. In what follows we shall be concerned with
the syntactic features that characterise the adverb, bearing
in mind that 'modification' is a major role an Adv or any
other exponent of the Advl node would play.

4.2.2 General discussion of the concept of 'modification'

In the previous chapter we considered adverbs
according to their semantic functions. In this chapter, we
aim to look at the different ways in which adverbs perform

their modifying functions. Before we proceed to do this, we shall first explain the 'head' and 'modifier' concept, as this will help us to find out more regarding the nature of different types of adverb as well as their influences as essential or non-essential parts in the sentence in which they occur.

The letters S, P, C, A are often used by linguists to refer to Subject, Predicate, Complement and Adjunct respectively, with the last-mentioned commonly beginning a clause. The 'head' is the more essential element in the clause. Words which precede or follow the head in the same clause are called modifiers. In the usage of some linguists those which precede are called modifiers or pre-modifiers, while those which follow are called 'qualifiers' or 'postqualifiers'. So (M) H (Q) would refer to an essential head word and optional modifiers and qualifiers. To explain this further, we would add that items may be related to each other as equals or unequals. In cases where the relationship is between equals and where the items are coterminous, we have apposition, as in

/?issitti lmodarrisa .../

'The lady teacher ...'

/?aḥmad mode:r išširka .../

'Ahmad, the company manager ...'

where one item has to occur immediately after the other and the sequence implies equality.

When items are not equal and coterminous, we have

modification, where an item is said to be a 'modifier' of the other which is being 'modified',[1] as in:

/?inna:s hina .../

'The people here ...'

/?ilbint ilhilwa .../

'The pretty girl ...'

/?il?inta:g il°a:lami .../

'World production ...'

Here we find examples reflecting the characteristic Arabic order HM where the modifier follows the head. The head or modifier may be of many different word classes. Consider the following examples:

/hilwa giddan .../

'Very sweet ...'

/fanu:s barra .../[2]

'The outside lantern ...'

/?il?alam illi fou? ilmaktab .../

'The pen which is on the desk ...'

Here we have modifiers of the following types: Adj + adv, N or (NP) + Adv (or adverbial phrase) respectively. /hilwa/, /fanu:s/ and /?il?alam/ are called 'heads' as their

1. For the use of these terms, see Strang (1978:87-8). She also suggests that the terms 'specifier' or 'determiner' could be used for 'modifier' and 'determined' or 'specified' for 'modified'.

2. The element /barra/ is here the second part of a construct unlike the others in this section which are adjectives or nouns in apposition. See 307-9 .   of this thesis.

distribution is the same as that of the resultant

construction. The other items are called 'modifiers'.

Postpositive modifiers are characteristically

adverbial or clausal:

/?ilmohandsi:n hina .../

'The engineers here ...'

/?il?atˌfa:l bass .../

'The children only ...'

/sa:ºa bizzabt .../

'An hour exactly ...'

/?inna:s illi ºandohom šihada:t .../

'People who have certificates ...'

Adverbs are relatively rare as noun modifiers when

they occur in order to add 'something extra'to the preceding

noun; such cases are mostly of the temporal or locative

classes, as in:

/ḥaflit issa:ºa xamsa .../

'The party at five o'clock .../

/?inna:s taḥt .../

'The people downstairs ...'

/?ilbalad dilwa?ti .../

'The country now ...'

/xorogna maºa baºd .../

'Our going out together ...'

The most characteristic postpositive modifiers of

adjectives in Arabic are adverbs, especially adverbs of

Degree, as in:

```
Adj          Adv
```

/kowayyis giddan/

'Very good'

/na:dir ?awi/

'Very rare'

/kiti:r xa:lis/

'Too much'

It is interesting to note that the adjectives in the above constructions are also members of the adverb class and may occur as verb modifiers. Notice:

/bitɣanni kowayyis/

'She sings well.'

/biyzoru:na na:dir/[1]

'They visit us rarely.'

/na:dir ma biyktib filmagalla di/

'He seldom writes in this magazine'

/kalo kti:r/

'They ate a lot.'

Adverbials can also work as heads in adverbial-headed units, as in /bisorʕa giddan/ 'very quickly', and as principals and appositives in adverbial-opposed units, as in:

/taht, hina:k/

'down, there'

/fou?, innahya di/

---

1.   /na:dir ma biyzoru:na/ 'They seldom visit us' is more frequent.

'up, towards that side'

/ʔodda:m, ᵒa liyme:n/

'towards the front, to the right'

and as co-ordinates, as in /min hina wga:y/ (lit. from here and coming) 'from now on'.

Many adverbs are limited in function, yet, so far, the adverbs which are most helpful in forming a classification have been found to be those of:

(1) Adjunct

(2) Prepositive modifier

(3) Postpositive modifier (of an adjective or another adverb)

(4) Preposition (as in locative and temporal expressions):

/fi:h maktaba kowayyisa <u>f kolliyyit ilʔada:b</u>/

'There is a good library in the Faculty of Arts.'

/barra filbard .../

'Outside in the cold ...'

As for the 'Adjunct',[1] which is the old term used for adverbials in general, it is best to look upon it as "a 'modifier' attached to a 'head' upon which it is dependent and from which it can be detached without any consequent

---

1.   The 'Adjunct' here refers to what is normally considered
     sentence-adjuncts, rather than the modifiers of lower-level
     constituents of the sentence such as adjectives modifying nouns
     within the noun phrase, adverbs modifying verbs within the verb
     phrase, etc.

syntactic change in the sentence." Lyons (1977:344-5). They can be optionally added to either transitive or intransitive clauses and their different realisations can, if necessary, be classified by their function. They may be adjuncts of Time, of Place, of Result, of Degree, etc. They may modify phrases, noun phrases and prepositional phrases and, themselves, may be clauses, phrases or words which can be attached to the sentence and function as sentence modifiers.[1] Some of these adjuncts (e.g. adjuncts of Time and Place) have a more interesting place in the structure of language than others. Structures containing adjuncts of time or of place will be examined later in this chapter (see pp.285-88 . However, the few generalisations we have made will need to be revised as knowledge in this field advances. What seems clear at this stage is that adverbs, being adjuncts, have the ability to function as modifiers. The nature of their modification determines, in many cases, the position they take in the structure. However, the function of an adverb or adverbial unit is not determined solely by its position. It is not entirely dependent on surface structure either, but rather on the deep structure of the sentence in which it occurs (see p353-60 of this thesis).

As mentioned earlier, Greenbaum (1969) depended for

---

1.   Except for /giddan/, /?awi/, /xa:lis/ 'very', which are adverbs
      that function only as modifiers of adjectives and adverbs, but not
      as sentence modifiers.

his classification of adverbs into the categories adjunct, conjunct and disjunct, upon the distinction between an adverb as a VP modifier and as a sentence modifier (see pp 122-124). However, there are grammarians like Fries who, in his *Structure of American English*, was very careful to keep the concept of 'modifier' separate and distinct from his categories. He gave examples to show how impossible it is to define the adverb or the adjective by what they modify. We tend to agree with the majority of grammarians in their view that the kind of information often referred to as 'functional information' is vital for the sound interpretation of sentences. Functional information is obtained from the way constituents are organised in deep structure. It is not always the content of the constituent which is important - its position is equally important. As we mentioned earlier, two of the features in the identification of adverbs are position and function. Adverbials in general can fulfil at least two different syntactic functions in modern Arabic: the function of attribute and the function of adverbial modifier. In the following pages we will be concerned with the latter in order to find out more about the adverb, the purpose for which it is produced in an utterance, and the role it plays in the latter. The role of the adverb as a modifier of different parts of the sentence will be discussed in a rather detailed manner. We shall also deal with cases of multiple modification, as well as ambiguity that might occur.

Throughout the discussion, different examples of the syntactic functions of the adverb will be cited to give us a better understanding of the class. Together with other features, syntactic functions performed by the adverb play an important role in clarifying the general 'blurred' picture of the adverb in ECA.

4.2.3 Syntactic functions

The syntactic role of the adverb can be discussed in two ways:

(A) Under its Hierarchical Status; and

(B) Under its degree of integration in the clause.

4.2.3(A) Hierarchical status of the adverb

There are two types of syntactic function which the adverb can fulfil according to this classification.

(1) Major clause constituent

This is where the adverb appears as the head of a clause or the sole clause constituent. In such cases the adverb functions on the same level as the subject, verb, object or complement. Here it is not serving a peripheral function.

On the other hand, if it functions in the clause itself as adverbial, as a constituent distinct from subject, verb, object and complement, it is usually an optional element and thus peripheral to the structure of the clause:

/samar dayman tiwṣal mit?axxara/

'Samar always arrives late.'

245

/maḥammad xad iššiha:da min sanate:n/

'Mohammad got his degree two years ago.'

/daras ki:mya fingiltera/

'He studied chemistry in England.'

Adverbials as predicates of the higher sentence

Bartsch (1976:347) is of the opinion that there is no
need for a separate category for advls, in particular for
Manner adverbials, in the base of the grammar. "They appear
rather as predicates of higher sentences, that is, in
sentences of the base structure which stand higher in the
structure tree than what corresponds to the main clause of
the surface structure."

If adverbs are to be considered as predicates of
higher sentences as Lakoff claims, one may take negation or
question formation as a criterion here to find out how
important is the existence of the adverb when the sentence
is under any of the two processes. If the sentence that
contains the adverb is negated or questioned, it is the VP
of the hiḥest underlying sentence that undergoes the process
of negation and question formation, and the sentence without
the adverbial is presupposed to be true. Notice:

/?ana roḥt ikkolliyya min youme:n/

'I went to college two days ago.'

/?ana maroḥtiš ikkolliyya min youme:n/

'I didn't go to college two days ago.'

/šoft samar issa:°a xamsa/

'I saw Samar at 5 o'clock.'

/šoft samar issa:ᵒ xamsa/?

'Did you see Samar at 5 o'clock?'

Similarly, in the case of the imperative, the highest
sentence is interpreted as imperative and the absence of the
adverb does not affect its grammaticality.

/sa:fir biṭṭayya:ra/

'Travel by plane.'

/sa:fir/

'Travel.'

However, in the case of Instrumental, Locative and
Frequency adverbs, the negation does not refer to the verb
of the main clause of the surface structure but rather to
the adverbial.

This approach may yield satisfactory results but also
has its drawbacks as it should be noted that adverbs occur
as predicates of the highest sentence only under normal
intonation.

Now let us turn to the second type of syntactic
function.

(2) Modifier of verb, adjective or adverb

The adverb can function as an adjective post-modifier.
It can pre-modify as well as post-modify another adverb.
Adverbs may also modify larger constituents like phrases,
noun phrases, and prepositional phrases. They can also
function as modifiers of sentences. In all of these it has
a peripheral function.

In general, adverbial modification acts on the verbal

247

element in the sentence. However, it can also modify other essential elements in their relation to the verb. The adverbial takes a more independent function within the verbal sentence. Certain adverbials also have the tendency to modify the verb in particular rather than the predicate or the sentence as a whole. Such adverbs typically co-occur with a fairly small number of verbs, and are controlled in various ways by the verb.[1] We should immediately point out that the occurrence of adverbial elements is not limited to the verbal sentence (i.e. meaning in our usage the sentence that contains an overt verb, not necessarily a sentence that begins with a verb), but it can appear in the nominal sentence and modify any of its parts, be it verb, noun or adjective, or even the sentence as a whole, though this is not true of all adverbs.[2] In addition, as an independent part of speech, the adverb may modify a preceding idea or statement or refer to a sentence that follows.[3] The adverbial also has the ability to move within, as well as outside, the scope of the sentence. It has a satellite status orbiting in the sentence environment. This mobility

---

1.   See p.215-6 for a list of these verbs.

2.   /giddan/ and /xa:liṣ/ 'very' are the most obvious examples of adverbs that do not function as sentence modifiers.

3.   See p.323 of this thesis and Chapter 3 of Greenbaum (1969) for more on these adverbs. In some cases, the English adverbial concept is embodied in the Arabic verb and the English predicate in an object term, as in "`/ʔasraᵓu maśyahum/ 'They hastened their walk', 'They walked hastily'." Beeston (1970:89)

248

seems to interact with the functions that it performs. Varying degrees of acceptability would result in the different cases. Before dealing with the adverb as a modifier, we shall first consider the main types of adverbial in ECA.

4.2.3 (B) The main types of adverbial in ECA

There are two main types of adverbial in ECA:

(1) An obligatory type[1] which can be further subdivided into two groups:

(a) adverbials that function as predicative elements, (they will be referred to as predication adjuncts) as in:

/maḥammad <u>filbe:t</u>/

'Mohammad is in the house.'

/?ikkita:b hina/

'The book is here.'

/ilbirna:mig <u>issaºa sitta</u>/

'The program is at six o'clock.'

(b) adverbial complement co-occurring with a limited number of verbs, both transitive and intransitive. Here there is always a degree of cohesion between the verb and its adverb. Therefore, the adverb is considered to be part of the 'nuclear' sentence, as in:

/ti?dar ti?ºod <u>ºala ?ayy korsi</u>/

---

1.   See Quirk et al (1986:55-6) for more on 'obligatory adverbials'.

'You can sit on any of the chairs.'

/ᵒa:š f maṣr/

'He lived in Egypt.'

/miši talata kilo/

'He walked for three kilometres.'

This type of adverbial is referred to as an adjunct, a
term used for adverbials in general and implying that they
are integrated within the clause structure. The adverbs can
also function as a sentence adjunct, as in

/ṭalabit ?oxtaha fittilfoun milbe:t/

'She rang her sister from the house.'

/?ibtasam lamma ša:fna/

'He smiled when he saw us.'

/ᵒalaša:n tisbit illi ?alito ᵒazamithom f be:tha/

'To prove what she said she invited them in her house.'

An item is called an adjunct if it conforms to at
least one of the following conditions:

"(1) If it cannot appear initially in a negative
declarative clause marked off from the rest of the clause by
comma punctuation or its intonational equivalents. The more
mobile an adverb is, the less it is tied to the structure of
the clause. Its independence is demonstrated if it can
appear initially set off from the rest of the clause, and
particularly if its position is not affected by the clause
process of negation.

(2) If it can be contrasted with another adverbial in
alternative interrogation, since this shows that it can be

250

the focus of clause interrogation: Are they waiting <u>outside</u> or are they waiting <u>inside</u>?

(3) If it can be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative negation, since this shows that it can be the focus of clause negation:

I didn't see him <u>beforehand</u>, but I did see him <u>afterwards</u>.

Examples of adjuncts:

They are waiting <u>outside</u>.

We haven't <u>yet</u> finished it.

<u>Proudly</u>, he showed his diploma to his parents.

I can <u>now</u> understand it.

He spoke to me about it <u>briefly</u>."

<div align="right">Quirk et al (1984:269)</div>

Long (1961:16) divides adjuncts into two types: tight adjuncts and loose adjuncts: 'tight adjuncts' are words that are "smoothly incorporated into the flow of words in their clauses. From the point of view of meaning in particular situations, tight adjuncts are likely to be essential within their clauses.... When adjuncts are essential, it is particular situations that make them essential. Subjects and complements are essential in a more general way." Loose adjuncts on the other hand "are felt relatively non-essential, or incidental. The written language encloses them in commas or stronger marks, the spoken language sets them off with pauses:

<u>Well</u>, you're right.

John, it's your turn again.

Unfortunately, the old city still has charm, though it cannot be called as comfortable as the new suburbs." (ibid:17)

Long further states that "loose adjuncts can sometimes be assigned arbitrarily, but not always. Thus in

One of my favorite teachers was the man who taught me freshman Greek the subordinate clause who taught me freshman Greek

is necessarily a part of the complement in the main clause, not a loose adjunct." (ibid.)

(2) An optional type, the presence of absence of which does not affect the grammaticality of the utterance and it is not integrated within the clause. An adverbial of this type is referred to as a **disjunct**. What has been said about the adjuncts applies to them in reverse. They are likewise neither integrated in the structure of the sentence nor involved in sentence processes such as negation and interrogation.

"(1) They can appear initially in a negative declarative clause marked off from the clause by punctuation or its intonational equivalents:

Frankly, he isn't tired.

(2) They cannot be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative interrogation:

*Is he tired probably or is he tired possibly?

(3) They cannot be contrasted with another adverbial in

252

alternative negation:

        *He isn't tired <u>probably</u>, but he is tired <u>possibly</u>."
(ibid.)

        To the above we may add a subclass of adverbials
referred to by Greenbaum (1969:35-80) and others (Quirk, et
al. 1984:41,49,59,71,89-94; Jespersen 1987:67-9) as **conjuncts**.
They are peripheral to the clause structure and have primarily
a connecting function. Semantically they indicate the
connection between what is being said and what was said
before.

        /ʔana <u>ºalaša:n kida </u>baʔu:l innaha bari:ʔa/

        'I am, therefore, saying that she is innocent.'

        /<u>wamaºa ha:za </u>la:zim taºtazir laha/

        'Nevertheless, you should apologise to her.'

        /ºandoh sabºi:n sana <u>illa ʔinno </u>biyilºab salla/

        'He is seventy years old but he plays basketball.'

        Greenbaum (1983) added a subclass of adverbials which
he called **subjuncts** (Greenbaum 1983). They are usually
related to one part of the sentence. They may have a 'wide
orientation' as in

        /<u>ta:ri:xiyyan</u>, malhomš ṣolṭa filmanṭiʔa/

        'Historically, they have no authority in the region.'

        /<u>hasab illi ʔa:lo ilxabi:r</u> ilbalad bitmorr bimarḥala ḥariga/

'According to what the expert has said, the country is passing through a critical stage. '

or may have a 'narrow orientation'[1] as in

/mabiyḥibbaha:š ?<u>abadan</u>/

'He doesn't like her at all'

/ᵒandaha walade:n <u>bass</u>/

'She has only two children.'

The 'wideness' and 'narrowness' here referred to means that in the narrow orientation the adverb refers only to the nearest constituent to it, while in the wide orientation it can refer to a whole clause or sentence.

The figure below summarises the distinction that has just been made:

1. The terms 'wide orientation' and 'narrow orientation' were introduced to me by Prof. Greenbaum in his series of lectures at UCL in 1983.

254

```
                        Adverbials
                       /         \
                      /           \
                     /             \
                    /               \
          Integrated              Peripheral
          in clause               in clause
          structure               structure
                                  /        \
                                 /          \
                                /            \
                      Primarily            Primarily
                   non-connective          connective
                         |                     |
                         |                     |
                         |                     |
          Adjuncts   Disjuncts            Conjuncts
```
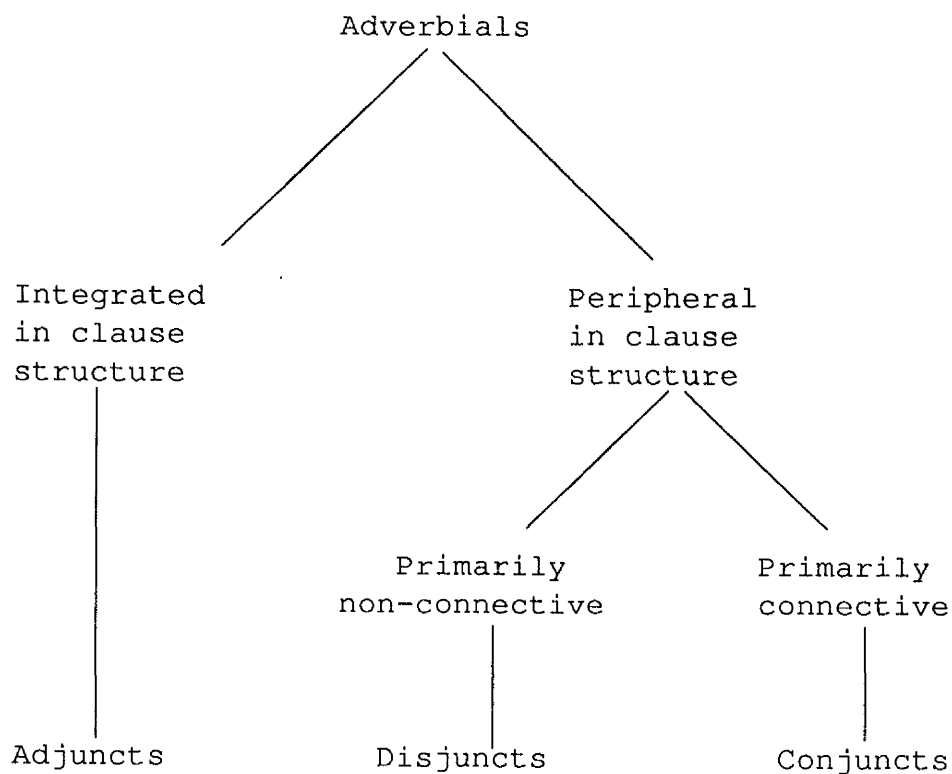
Many linguists have tried a similar 'rough' approach
to the question of adverbials without getting involved in a
serious and detailed study of adverbial functions. Bach
(1974:106), for instance, considers the analysis of
adverbials to be "a major problem of English syntax", and
Stockwell et al. are of the opinion that deciding upon the
number of adverb nodes, where to introduce them and what
their constituent structure might be is a problem for which
the solution can only be based upon "shaky evidence".
Stockwell et al. (1973:26).

Charles C. Fries (1940) was the first grammarian to

propose a distinction between form and function words.[1] He
made many useful observations but, as with other
structuralists, he failed to make reference to the most
important distinction of all, the fact that form words are
capable of expansion, a quality that function words have
been shown not to have. This characteristic, in particular,
is of great interest to the transformationalist. Form words
can undergo an infinite number of expansions. With the
category 'adverb', for example, there are the recursive
rules associated with the adverb itself.

Another important factor to consider is the
distinction between a 'closed system' and an 'open system'.
Although this classification is not absolutely coextensive
with that of 'function words' and 'form words', there is a
tendency for 'function words' to be part of a 'closed
system' and 'form words' of an 'open system'. Quirk et al.
(1976:2.14:446-7) called the class of function words
'closed-system' items. That is, "the sets of items are
closed in the sense that they cannot normally be extended by
the creation of additional members: a moment's reflection is
enough for us to realise how rarely in a language we invent
or adopt a new or additional pronoun." The form words
represent the 'open class'. The class is open in the sense
that it is 'indefinitely extendable'. Nouns, verbs,

1.   For more on 'function words', see Fries (1952:87-109), Quirk et al
      (1986:48-9).

adjectives and adverbs are included in this class. There is a constant flow of new items being created and added to this class. This certainly affects the way we define any item that belongs to this class. "While it would obviously be valuable to relate the meaning of room to other nouns with which it has semantic affinity (chamber, hall, house, ...) one could not define it as 'not house, not box, not plate, not indignation ...'" as one might define a closed-system item like this as not that.

However, we must not exaggerate the ease with which we create new words. We do not create or make up new nouns in the same way we form new sentences while speaking. "We must also point out here that the adverb and the verb are perhaps mixed classes, each having small and fairly well defined groups of closed-system items alongside the indefinitely large open class items." (ibid.)

As mentioned earlier in the thesis, the 'adverb' has seldom been treated as an autonomous class. Nearly all studies have dealt with it on a fragmentary basis. The very few who have tried to examine the complete adverb category have failed to cover areas where reductions, expansions and relationships between various expressions can be proved to have a vital role in clarifying the entire adverbial picture. The strict limitation on the class of adverb and on adjectives functioning adverbially, as well as on the lexical content of sentence adverbials, may well have led to the existence of the "heterogeneous nature" (Lyons 1963:326)

257

of the Advl as a whole in grammar.

4.2.4 General characteristics of the modifier adv

Since the above mentioned adverbials share many of the
syntactic features of other adverbials, we avoid repetition
by including them in our account of the syntactic features
of the adverbial later on pp. 269-310   Nevertheless, several
generalisations about the advl can conveniently be stated
here:

(a) It is sometimes difficult to assign specific
functions to certain adverbs, especially if the adverb
changes its position in the sentence. Similarly, the
semantic change resulting from transposition is not always
clear. For example, we may be in doubt as to whether the
two instances of /biṣara:ha/ 'frankly'in (1a) and (1b) below
have identical functions or not.

(1a)   ?aḥmad itkallim (biṣara:ha)

'Ahmad spoke frankly.'

(1b)   (biṣara:ha) ?aḥmad itkallim/

'Frankly Ahmad spoke.'

The mobility of the advl seems to interact with its
function, thus producing varying degrees of acceptability.
The ambiguity can easily be resolved if /biṣara:ha/ in (1b)
is intonationally set off from the rest of the clause. In
such a case, the adverb is not involved in sentence
processes such as negation and interrogation - it is an
attitudinal adverb rather than a manner one. (See also (h)
below.)

258

(b) Adverbs when functioning as conjuncts do not accept premodifiers or post- modifiers. Thus */bitta:li giddan/ 'very consequently' and */maᵒa kida xa:liṣ/ 'very nevertheless' are not acceptable. They are also not usually coordinated, unlike listing conjuncts. So /?awwalan wa ?a:xi:ran/ (first and foremost) and /xa:misan wa sa:disan/ (fifthly and sixthly) are perfectly normal.

Other adverbials such as /?iftira:ḍan/ 'presumably', /robbama/ 'perhaps', /ḥa?i:?i/ 'truly', 'indeed', 'really', /?asa:san/ 'basically', cannot be modified (except perhaps in a jocular context). Some adverbials that accept modification vary in the modifier they will allow. /giddan/ 'very', for instance, can premodify advls from most classes but not like /yuqa:l/ 'reportedly', 'it is said', /bigadd/ 'seriously', 'truly', /bidu:n šakk/ 'undoubtedly', etc.

Adverbs of focus (as the term is used in (Armstrong:1977) such as /?asa:san/ 'basically', /tama:man/ 'exactly', completely', /biẓẓabt/ 'exactly', /yadoub/ 'just', as well as viewpoint adverbs such as /min wighit naẓari/ 'from my point of view', /(ᵒala ma) ?aᵒtaqid/ '(according to what) I believe', /bass/ 'only' do not accept any modification.

(c) Certain adverbs are not acceptable in a passive structure. Note in the following

(1)   /?aḥmad širib iššay bisorᵒa/

     'Ahmad drank the tea quickly.'

(2)   /?aḥmad ṭiwil xamsa ṣanti fsana/

     'Ahmad grew taller by five centimeters in a year.'

259

that, despite the fact that both examples appear of similar construction – NP^I + V + NP^{II} + adv – their structural difference can be shown if we apply the pasive transformation rule to each of them, thus producing the acceptable

(1a) ?išša:y itšarab bisorᵒa

'The tea was drunk quickly.'

but the unacceptable

(2a) *xamsa santi iṭṭiwlo fsana

'Five centimeters were lengthened in a year.'

Gamal-Eldin (1961:57) considers words like /?išša:y/ 'the tea' and /xamsa santi/ in the examples above as nominal adverbs. He also states that a nominal adverb may also occur after transitive verbs: /kasar iššibba:k hittite:n/ 'He broke the window into two pieces.'

(d) Certain adverbs do not normally occur in initial position, especially in imperative sentences. This is typical of adverbs which have verbal connection.[1] Examples of these are:

/yaᵒni/ '

'I mean', 'in other words'

/yiẓhar/

'It seems'

/ba?a/

1. For a full discussion of these adverbs, see pp. 231–32

'Then'

(e) Temporal adverbs[1] can be positioned next to any component of the verbal or nominal sentence without seemingly making any difference in meaning:

Verbal sentences[2]

/ʔilmaṭar nizil le:l naha:r/

'The rain fell night and day.'

'It rained continuously.'

/ʔilmaṭar le:l naha:r nizil/

'The rain night and day fell.'

'It continuously rained.'

/le:l naha:r ilmaṭar nizil/

'Night and day the rain fell.'

'Continuously it rained.'

Nominal sentences

/ḥasan mohandis iṣṣobh w baºd iḍḍohr ṭa:lib/

'Hassan is an engineer in the morning (but in the afternoon he does something else) and a student in the evening.'

/ḥasan iṣṣobh mohandis/

'Hassan in the morning is an engineer.'

/ʔiṣṣobh ḥasan mohandis/

'In the morning, Hassan is an engineer.'

---

1. For more on Time adverbs, see pp. 139-163.

2. The verbal sentence in our analysis is the sentence that contains a verb (see pp. 191 of this thesis) and not necessarily the sentence that has a verb occurring initially.

(f) Certain groups of adverbs tend to co-occur with definite groups of verbs. So that, for instance, style adverbs typically co-occur with a fairly small range of verbs. We shall refer to these verbs as 'verbs of speaking'. They include such verbs as: /?a:l/ 'say', /?itkallim/ 'speak', /ºallaʔ/ 'comment', etc. However, in many cases these adverbs occur often in initial position in the sentence with no verb occurring which they can be linked to. Here a verb of speaking must be understood for a proper interpretation of these adverbs. Also, an adverbial of Manner can occur with verbs like /?ištaɣal/ 'work', /dihik/ 'laugh', /katab/ 'write', /liºib/ 'play', /ga:wib/ 'answer', /da:fiº/ 'defend', /istaga:b/ 'respond', /sa:b/ 'leave', /sa:ʔ/ 'drive', /itharrak/ 'move', etc., but not with /itkallif/ 'cost', /yišbih/ 'look like' or verbs that indicate ownership or possession such as /yimlik/ 'own', 'possess' and the form (ºand + possessive pronoun), as in /?ahmad ºandoh be:t bigne:na/ 'Ahmad has a house with a garden'. Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1970:95) note the strong relation between the verb and adverb. They propose that the P-Marker (Phrase Marker) underlying a sentence such as (23a) below contains an actual occurrence of the adverbial in the S being nominalised, and that the stative verb be followed by only a set of features characterising the types of adverbial that can follow it. "For example, the verb <u>murder</u> (<u>strangle</u>, <u>die</u>) cannot occur with Frequency adverbials. Note the unacceptability of <u>'They murdered the princess many</u>

<u>times'</u>."

"23a) The shooting of an elephant by a hunter occurred frequently.

*The shooting of an elephant occurred before it was alive.

b) Their murdering of the princess happaned at midnight.

*Their murdering of the princess happened every day.

Thus the string underlying (23a) will consist of <u>the</u> - <u>activity</u> - <u>at</u> - <u>frequent</u> - <u>intervals</u> - <u>occurred</u> - [+ frequency]. Just in case the nominalized S contains an adverbial of the type following the stative verb, this adverbial is moved out of the S and placed in the position immediately following this verb before the action nominalization applies." (ibid.)

Point Time and Duration adverbs are, in the main, associated with verbs such as /ʔistamarr/ 'continue', /fiḍil/ 'remain', 'stay', and /ʕa:š/ 'live'. /ʕa:š/ in the sense of /sakan/ 'live in a place', is often followed by a locative adverb:

/ʕa:š filbalad di tisaʕ sini:n/

'He lived in this country for nine years.'

The verb here would either mean 'live' or 'stay', and it would be equally acceptable if /sakan/ replaced /ʕa:š/. If, however, the locative adverb is deleted the meaning will change

/ʕa:š tisaʕ sini:n/

'He lived for nine years.'

(g) Style adverbs like /ᵒomu:man/, /ᵒala lᵒomu:m/, /biṣifa ᵒa:mma/ 'generally', 'in general', /bitta?ri:b/, /ta?ri:ban/ 'approximately' and /ḥawa:li/ 'nearly' express the fact that the speaker is making a rough generalisation, while /biṣara:ḥa/ 'frankly', /ḥa?i:?i/ 'truly', /walla:hi/ (lit. by God) 'truly', 'indeed', /ṣaḥi:ḥ/ and /?ilḥa?i:?a/ 'in fact', 'as a matter of fact' represent another group of style adverbs which when used by the speaker would imply that he is not being frank in what he is saying.[1]

(h) It was mentioned earlier in the thesis that some adverbs belong to more than one class. Context and common sense often play a major part in assigning proper functions to similar elements. Many adverbs are "syntactic homonyms", Quirk et al. (1976:424). If we say that the adverb is a disjunct of a certain subclass, we are actually referring to the adverb in a particular function and ignoring its homonyms. Both /bixtisa:r/ 'briefly' and /biṣara:ḥa/ 'frankly' are disjuncts in

/(biṣara:ḥa) itkallim filmo?tamar/

'Frankly, (I am being frank in saying that) he spoke in the conference.'

/(bixtiṣa:r) ligtima:ᵒ ka:n mofa:gi?/

'Briefly, (I am being brief in saying that) the meeting

---

1. For more on style disjuncts, their syntactic features and semantic classification, see Greenbaum (1969:81-93).

264

was sudden.'

while in

/?a:lit li ºan ilhika:ya (bixtiṣa:r)/

'She told me about the story briefly.'

/?itkallim filmo?tamar (biṣara:ha)/

'He spoke in the conference frankly.'

they are adjuncts.

Also, both /maẓbu:t/ and /biẓẓabt/ are used as
adverbials with the same meaning of 'exactly', but with
different functions in different contexts. In

(1) safro issa:ºa tala:ta (biẓẓabt)

'They travelled at three o'clock exactly.'

the adverbial /biẓẓabt/ qualifies an expression of time
/?issa:ºa tala:ta/ 'at three o'clock'. It is an adjunct as
it can be contrasted with another adverbial in alternative
negation.[1]

/masafru:š issa:ºa tala:ta biẓẓabt la:kin safro issa:º
tala:ta lla xamsa/

'They didn't travel at 3 o'clock, but they travelled at
five   to three.'

In (2) below, however, the adverbial qualifies the
subject and it is a disjunct as it is unaffected by whether
the clause is positive or negative.

1.   For diagnostic criteria for adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts, see
      Greenbaum (1969:18-25), Quirk et al. (1984:269).

(2) mi:n (biẓẓabt) ?a:l kida ?

'Who exactly said that?'

mi:n (biẓẓabt) ma?a:lš kida ?

'Who exactly didn't say that?'

/biẓẓabt/ occurs with the meaning 'quite' in mainly

negative clauses:

(3) miš ºa:rif ?aºmil ?e:h (biẓẓabt)

'I don't know quite what to do.'

Apart from meaning 'exactly' /maẓbu:t/ has different

meanings according to what it modifies.

(4) biyštaġal (maẓbu:t)

'He works properly.'

If it modifies nouns, it functions as a predicative

adjective, in which case it reflects its expected agreement

with the noun head, as in:

(5) za:kir mizakra (maẓbu:ta)

He studied study proper. (lit.)

'He studied properly.'

(6) saºtak maẓbu:taº

'Is your watch right?'

(7) kalamº maẓbu:t

His words are exact. (lit.)

'He is right.'

Essential differences can be detected if we consider

how they behave in various contexts:

/?inti ºa:wza kita:b ṭibbi (maẓbu:t)/?

'You want a medical book, don't you?'

/?inti ºa:wza kita:b ṭibbi/?

'Do you want a medical book?'

/(maẓbu:t)/

'Exactly.'

Here we find that it is only the context that
determines the function of the adverb. In other cases it is
the position that determines the function (see Chapter 5).
Other adverbs such as /bass/ 'only', /yimkin/ /momkin/
'probably', 'perhaps', /yaºni/ 'in other words', /baʔa/
'then', /?omma:l/ 'then', /yadoub/ 'just', 'hardly',
'rarely', 'almost', 'scarcely', differ in their functions as
pre- or post-modifiers. Their place of occurrence, the tone
of the utterance and sometimes the tense of the verb with
which they co-occur, the ways in which they combine with
other words and the patternings of clauses and clause
equivalents help to assign correct functions to adverbs
which have the same morphological structure. The
expressions enclosed in parentheses in the above examples
are all syntactically 'omissible modifiers' (i.e. adjuncts)
of various kinds. Lyons (1977:II:470).[1] The examples without
the parenthesised adjuncts are representative of
kernel-sentences in ECA. Temporal and locative expressions,
as in /ºa:š xamas sini:n/, /ºa:š fi maṣr/ are on an equal
footing with nominals and verbals in these examples, in that

---

1.   Where an item may be either a disjunct or an adjunct, the context
      will usually indicate the more probable semantic interpretation.

they are regarded as essential components of the sentence. This is dependent on the nature of the verb in that certain verbs seem to require the presence of a following time or place adverbial. This is so with such verbs as /ᵒa:š/ and /sakan/, although it is true that in the rather specific meaning of 'survive' one could use it on its own, and similarly one could use /sakan/ in isolation with the meaning become 'tranquil'.[1] Unlike all other adverbials, however, locative and temporal expressions may be used predicatively as complements of an unexpressed copula with 'first order nominals'[2] as their subject. That locative or temporal adverbs may be used in this way is hardly surprising. Locative and temporal adverbs may be used as naturally as verbs, adjectives and nominals in comprising the essential elements in the make-up of the sentence or (like all other kinds of adverbial) may act as extra-nuclear adjuncts.[3]

1. In fact, this is mainly a Classical usage.

2. The term 'first order nominals' is used by Lyons (1977:II:446-7). See also pp. 294 of this chapter.

3. For more on locative and temporal adverbs as essential or non-essential constituents, see the adverb as a sentence or predicate modifier, pp.288-97

4.3.1 The Adverb as a modifier

(A) Intensifiers

The only modifier of both verbal and adjectival forms
is the adverbial. The modifying adverb is often an
intensifier indicating the scope or degree of intensity of
the head verb or adjective. The usage of the adverb as a
verb modifier will be covered in Chapter 5. It may also
refer to diminution, thus giving the utterance a less
intensive interpretation – here it would be considered a
'downtoner'. The most frequently used modifiers of
adjectives are the Degree adverbs, i.e. 'intensifiers'.[1]
/ʔawi/, /giddan/, /xa:liṣ/ 'very' and /kiti:r/ 'a lot' are
commonly used as adjective and verb post-modifiers in ECA.
Of the three equivalents of 'very', /giddan/ is the least
frequently used. Its usage is mainly restricted to educated
speakers – it may have a slightly formal air. Thus it is
not surprising to have it collocated with the equally
classical /mutašakkir/ 'thanks', although /mutašakkir ʔawi/,
/mutašakkir xa:liṣ/ 'thank you very much' are equally
acceptable. In examples (1)-(8), the adverb post-modifies
the adjective and in (9) it post-modifies the verb.

(1)   ʔilʔakl ka:n momta:z <u>ʔawi</u>

---

1.   For more on 'downtoners' and 'intensifiers', see Greenbaum
      (1969:85-8, 127-53, 189-91).

(2)   ilfilm da ṭawi:l <u>giddan</u>

       'This film is very long.'

(3)   limtiḥa:n sahl <u>xa:liṣ</u>

       'The exam is very easy.'

(4)   ?ilfilm malya:n ḥaga:t gami:lah <u>ṣaḥi:ḥ</u> (bass ma

       ᵒagabni:š)

       'It is true the film is full of beautiful things (but I

       didn't like it).'

(5)   ?ibnik moʔaddab <u>?aktar min ibnaha</u>

       'Your son is more polite than her son.'

(6)   hiyya zakiyya <u>?add abu:ha</u>

       'She is as clever as her father.'

(7)   howwa <u>?aštar</u> wa:ḥid filmagmu:ᵒa

       'He is the cleverest one in the group.'

(8)   ka:n mabṣu:t minno <u>lidaragit inno idda:lo qa:yza</u>

       'He was so pleased with him that he gave him a prize.'

(9)   hiyya bitḥibbo <u>?aktar ma bitḥib ?ay ḥadd ta:ni</u>

       'She loves him more than she loves anyone else.'

       It may be said that the usage /xa:liṣ/, as in (3) is

preferred in women's speech, but it is also used by

menwithout any hint of effeminacy. /ṣaḥi:ḥ/[1] and /ḥaʔi:ʔi/

1.   If /ṣaḥi:ḥ/ is used in an interrogative sentence, it seeks
      confirmation:
                /?a:bilt samar imba:riḥ/ 'I met Samar yesterday.'
                /ṣaḥi:ḥ/ '(Did you) really?'
      A sentence may, however, take the form of a grudging concession
      which is then cancelled or undermined:
                /howwa xallaṣ ilbaḥs ṣaḥi:ḥ la:kin baᵒdi sana/
                'It's true he finished the book, but a year later'
      The variant /biṣaḥ:ḥ/ may occur in place of /ṣaḥi:ḥ/ when alone,
      or when qualifying an adjective and final in the utterance.
                /?a:bilt samar imba:riḥ/ 'I saw Samar yesterday.'
                /biṣaḥi:ḥ/? 'Really?'
                /?ana taᵒba:na biṣaḥi:ḥ/ 'I'm really tired.'

although having the morphological form typical of adjectives, can function as adverbs and are occasionally translatable as 'very'. As exemplified below, these adverbs are in complementary distribution. Thus, for the exact equivalents of (1)-(3) above, we could have:

(1a) ?il?akl ka:n momta:z <u>ha?i:?i/ṣahi:ḥ</u>

(2a) ilfilm da ṭawi:l <u>ha?i:?i/ṣahi:ḥ</u>

(3a) limtihan sahl <u>ha?i:?i/ṣahi:ḥ</u>

However, I am inclined to regard them as having the sense of 'very' only in cases where more emphasis is required. As they primarily convey confirmation, agreement or personal evaluation, they are better suited to be treated as evaluative adverbs. Thus, they would be more adequately rendered in translation as 'really' or even 'truly'. The use of either of these adverbs adds emphasis when they occur as pre-modifiers to /gami:l/ 'beautiful' in:

(10) fosta:nha <u>ha?i:?i/ṣahi:ḥ</u> gami:l

      'Her dress is <u>really</u> beautiful.'

(11) fosta:nha gami:l <u>biṣahi:ḥ</u>/

      'Her dress is <u>really</u> beautiful.'

(12) fosta:nha gami:l fiᵒlan

      'Her dress is <u>really</u> beautiful.'

Syntactically, the constituents underlined above have in common the same Q- replacement expression: /?add ?e:h/ (how much? - lit. 'as much as what?'). They also occur in the same position, i.e. immediately after the head, except with example (10). Semantically, as noted earlier, they add more strength to the head verb or adjective.

The choice of intensifier is likely to result in some

271

minor semantic differences; they are, however, of no real significance. For syntactic reasons, they still belong to the same category.

It is possible to have an infinite number of intensifiers strung together without conjunctions. /giddan/ and its equivalents can be repeated for more emphasis only when they occur as postmodifiers. Apart from /giddan giddan/, the repeated forms of /ʔawi/ and /xa:liṣ/ can be used by men and women, yet the latter (i.e. /ʔawi ʔawi/ and /xa:liṣ xa:liṣ/) are typical of female speech.

The intensifiers /ʔawi/, /xa:liṣ/ etc. (but not /giddan/) may occur with negative predicates:

(13)   ʔilʔakl miš soxn <u>ʔawi</u>

'The food is not very hot.'

/bata:tan/ and /ʔabadan/ (never) are also used. (14) is equally acceptable if /ʔabadan/ replaces /ʔawi/ in (13) above:

(14)   ʔilʔakl miš soxn <u>ʔabadan</u>[1]

'The food is not hot at all.'

/ʔabadan/ is restricted to negative predicates and occurs in the same positions as the other intensifiers (i.e. post- adjective).

---

1.   Compare also the usage of 'never' in Cockney and other dialects of
     English as a general or perhaps emphatic negative.

4.3.1.(B) Downtoners

Downtoners have a lowering effect on the force of the verb and many of them scale gradable verbs. Quirk et al. (1976:452-9) have divided them semantically into four groups:

"a) *Compromisers* have only slight lowering effect

b) *Diminishers* ⎫
                    ⎬ scale downwards considerably
c) *Minimizers* ⎭

d) *Approximators* serve to express an approximation to the force of the verb, while indicating its non-application."

And, further, "The assignment of individual downtoners to particular groups is not beyond dispute."(ibid.) /yaᵒni/ with the meaning 'sort of' in /yaᵒni ilḥafla ᵒagabitni lakin ana roḥt ḥafala:t ?ahsan min kida/ 'I sort of liked the party, but I have been to better ones', is a representative of group (a). /šwayya/ 'slightly', 'a little', and /?ila haddin ma/ 'to some extent' in /?il?akl ka:n ha:di? šwayya/ 'The food was slightly salty' and /?ana mitif?a mᵒa:h ila haddin ma/ 'I agree with him to some extent' respectively are diminishers belonging to group (b) above. Minimizers include words like /?abadan/ 'at all', /ᵒomr(-i) (-aha) etc./'I never', 'she never', and /na:dir/ 'rarely', as in:

/mabiyḥibbiš yilᵒab hina:k ?abadan/

'He does not like to play there at all.'

/ᵒomri ma šoft film zayy da ?abl kida/

'I have never seen a film like this before.'

/?il?osta:z da na:dir mabiysa:ᵒid ḥadd/

'That lecturer seldom helps anyone.'

/taʔr:ban/ 'almost' and /yadoub/ 'almost', 'just' are approximators belonging to group (d). Approximators differ from most other downtoners in that they imply a denial of the truth-value of what is denoted by the verb. Hence the complete version of the sentence

/samar taʔr:ban istaʔa:lit/

'Samar almost resigned.'

would be

/samar taʔr:ban istaʔa:lit bass hiyya filḥaʔi:ʔa masta?a:litš/

'Samar almost resigned but in fact she didn't resign.'

There is a single (feature) that all downtoner adverbs share and that is that none of them can be the focus of /barḍoh/ 'also'. A few downtoners can premodify a negative verb phrase:

/ʔana taʔri:ban masmiᵒtu:š/

'I almost didn't hear him.'

/ʔana yaᵒni maḥabbitš ʔaʔu:llo ilḥaʔi:ʔa/

'I sort of didn't want to tell him the truth.'

A certain sub-class of adjectives which Nasr (1967:107) terms rather confusingly "qualities" cannot take intensifiers as post- or pre- modifiers.[1] They are mainly of the morphologically simple variety which can be made into a comparative form accac. Thus /kari:m/ 'generous' yields

---

1. The premodifier structure, although not famous in ECA, is found in the Syro-Lebanese varieties, i.e. /kiti:r ḥiliw/.

274

/ʔakram/ 'more generous', /sari:º/ 'quick' /ʔasraº

'quicker', while /maksu:r/ 'broken', /maṣri/ 'Egyptian',

etc. do not have parallel comparative forms. When the

so-called 'quality' adjectives occur in their comparative

forms as in (15) and (15a), or in the superlative form as in

(16), the intensifier /kiti:r/bikti:r/ 'a lot', 'much' used

as a postmodifier is favoured, although using it as a

premodifier is also possible, but it is a less common

alternative:

(15)   hiyya aḥla bikiti:r min ṣaḥbitha

       'She is more beautiful a lot than her friend.'

       'She is far more beautiful than her friend.'

(15a) ʔhiyya kti:r aḥla min ṣaḥbitha

       'She is much more beautiful than her friend.'

       'She is far more beautiful than her friend.'

(16)   hiyya aḥla lbana:t kollohom

       'She is the prettiest of all girls.'

       The tendency of speakers to favour certain

intensifiers over others is generally influenced, among

other factors, by the subject matter of discourse and the

level of formality. For syntactic purposes /šwayya/

'little' and /kiti:r/ 'a lot', /bikti:r/ 'much more' are

members of the same category.

4.3.1.(C) The adverb as a modifier of the adjective

       (1) <u>The use of adverbs of degree with predicative</u>

<u>adjectives</u>

       The adverb can also modify both attributive and

predicative adjectives. Most commonly, the modifying adverb
is an intensifier. In

(17)   ?ilbint di ḥilwa giddan

     'This girl is very beautiful.'

     /giddan/ post-modifies the predicative /ḥilwa/. The
same degree adverb can modify an adjective used
attributively, as in

(18)   ?abilt bint ḥilwa giddan

     'I met a very beautiful girl.'

     Another class of words that behaves like nouns and is
homonymous with adjectives is what Strang (1978:113) called
"de-adjectival class nouns". They have the general meaning
"the class of things, people, etc. having the attribute.
Such forms are always plural and must collocate with the
determiner 'the'. They are items which have moved 'halfway
along the road from being adjectives to nouns and stayed a
bit as well as not going all the way'. Examples are 'the
poor, the first of the few, the very rich."[1] In

     /?il?aǥniya giddan, taᵒbani:n/

     'The very rich are unhappy (lit. tired).'

     /giddan/ post-modifies the subject and cannot be taken
to be a pre-modifier of the predicate. It is also just
possible, although not all speakers find this acceptable, to
premodify the predicate, as mentioned on the previous page,

---

1.   For more on adjectives that function as heads of noun phrases and
    (like all noun phrases) can be the subject of the sentence, see
    Quirk et al (1984:251).

as this class of adjectives does not easily accept the
Degree adverb as a pre- modifier. Therefore,

   /ʔilʔag niya giddan taᵊbani:n/

   'The rich are very unhappy.'

   is less favoured in ECA.

   The following pairs of sentences illustrate the uses
of two types of predicative adjective:

(19a) ʔilbint ḥilwa

   'The girl is beautiful.'

(19b) ʔilbint na:yma

   'The girl is asleep.'

(20a) ʔaḥmad ša:ṭir

   'Ahmad is clever.'

(20b) ʔaḥmad fa:him ʔiddars

   'Ahmad understands the lesson.'

   From the point of view of internal structure, the
predicative adjectives in (20a) and (20b) belong to
different subclasses, the first being noun/adjective,[1] the
second verb/adjective or participle. They are different
from adjectives mentioned earlier. Consider:

(21)   ʔilbint di miš šaṭra ʔabadan

   'This girl is not clever at all.'

(22)   ʔilbint di miš fahma ddars ʔabadan

   'This girl does not understand the lesson at all.'

where the adjective is post-modified by /ʔabadan/. In (22)

---

1.   Contrast /ʔilbint na:yma/ with /ṣaḥḥi inna:yim/ 'wake up the
      sleeping one'.

/fahma/ has a transitive verb root which explains the

occurrence of the object /?iddars/. /šaṭra/ cannot replace

/fahma/ in the example above. Although both items belong to

the same class of adjectives, they display different

syntactic behaviour. An object of some sort can occur after

the adjective in (22) but if the same were applied to (21)

it would produce the unacceptable

> */?ilbint di miš šatra (-object-, i.e. /?iddars/,

/?ikkala:m/, 'What is being said' /?ilmawḍu:ᵒ/ 'the

subject/matter', etc.) ?abadan/

Each of the following words, for example, will

function either as an adjective or as an adverb depending on

the context in which it occurs:

> /ga:mid/

> 'hard'

> /kowayyis/

> 'good', 'well'

> /?awi/

> 'strong', 'very'

> /ha?i:?i/

> 'real', 'indeed'

> /xa:liṣ/

> 'pure', 'very'

> /wa:ḍih/

> 'clear', 'clearly'

> /ba:yin/

> 'obvious', 'it seems'

(2) <u>The use of viewpoint adverbs with adjectives</u>[1]

Apart from Degree adverbs, Viewpoint adverbs also

function as adjective modifiers. These are adverbs, as

mentioned in the previous chapter (see p; 178-80)that express

the viewpoint from which the statement is being made. For

example

(23)   ?ilbaḥs momta:z <u>ta:ri:xiyyan</u>

       'The research is excellent, historically.'

has the equivalents

(23a) ?ilbaḥs <u>ta:ri:xiyyan</u> momta:z

       'The research is, historically, excellent.'

(23b) <u>ta:ri:xiyyan</u> ?ilbaḥs momta:z

       'Historically, the research is excellent.'

The initial and final occurrences of the adverb are

the most acceptable. When the adverb occurs medially, as in

(23a), it must be preceded and followed by a pause in

speech. The change of position of the adverb in the

examples above, however, does not change the meaning of the

sentence to a significant degree.

Using an 'analytical manner of expression' (Mathesius

1975:143), whereby several words are used to denote a notion

that is usually expressed by one word, would render (23) as:

(23c) ?ilbaḥs momta:z <u>min inna:hya itta:ri:xiyya</u>

       'The research is excellent from a historical point of

       view.'

----

1.   These are also referred to as 'subjuncts'. See pp. 178-8u.

the adverb /ta:ri:xiyyan/ 'historically' being replaced by the prepositional phrase /min inna:ḥya itta:ri:xiyya/. The adjective /momta:z/ in the main clause is modified by the new prepositional phrase which contains an adjective related, transformationally, to the original adverb. Using the formula from an X point of view, where X is the adjective corresponding to the adverb X-an, these also include /ṭibbiyyan/ 'medically', /ᵒilmiyyan/ 'scientifically', /naẓariyyan/ 'theoretically', etc. These adverbs, although they have an adjectival source, do not accept modifiers and tend to modify deverbal adjectives, i.e. adjectives derived from verbs:[1]

(23d) *?ilbaḥs momta:z ta:ri:xiyyan giddan

'The research is excellent historically very.'

is not acceptable. If the intensifier is permuted to a post-adjective position, its function is then restricted to that of 'adjective modifier' and must, in that case, be preceded by a pause. This and other related points will not be elaborated upon here but will be included in our discussion of position of adverbs in Chapter 5.

(3) The usage of Degree/Manner adverbs with adjectives

The underlined items in the following examples are adverbs of Degree modifying the preceding adjectives. They all convey emphasis. They have the role of 'amplifier', as

---

1.   As in /?ilḥall da ɣe:r ma?bu:l di:niyyan/ 'This solution is not acceptable from a religious standpoint.' /?ilmas?ala di momkina naẓariyyan/ 'This matter is possible theoretically.'

in (24)-(27), 'emphasiser', as in (24a)-(27a) or

'downtoner', as in (27b) below, because they can be answers

to the interrogative /?add ?e:h/ 'how much' and /lidaragit

?e:h/ 'to what extent', are sometimes confused with the

Manner adverbs inasmuch as they can also stand as answers to

the interrogative /?izzay/ 'how'.

(24)   limtiḥa:n ka:n sahl <u>tama:man</u>

      'The exam was easy completely.'

      'The exam was very easy.'

(24a)   limtiḥa:n ka:n sahl <u>sohu:la</u>

      'The exam was easy, easiness.'

      'The exam was extremely easy.'

(25)   ?axu:h gaba:n <u>bišǎkl miš maᵒ?u:l</u>

      'His brother is a coward in an unbelievable way.'

      'His brother is unbelievably cowardly.'

(25a)   ?xu:h gaba:n <u>gu:bn</u>

      'His brother (is) cowardly, cowardliness.'

      'His brother is extremely cowardly.'

(26)   ka:n mohtamm bilmas?ala <u>bidaraga kbi:ra</u>

      'He was concerned about the matter to a great extent.'

      'He was greatly concerned about the matter.'

(26a)   ka:n mohtamm bilmas?ala <u>ihtima:m</u>

      'He was concerned in the matter, concern.'

      'He was greatly concerned about the matter.'

(27)   samar kasla:na <u>bitari:?a ɣari:ba/</u>

      'Samar is lazy in a strange way.'

      'Samar is extremely lazy.'

(27a)   samar <u>kasla:na kasa:l</u>

      'Samar is lazy, laziness.'

      'Samar is extremely lazy.'

(27b) samar <u>kasla:na šowayya</u>

     'Samar is a little bit lazy.'

     In the examples (25)-(27), the adjective is
post-modified either by the prepositional phrase bi- +
'dummy' noun /daraga/ 'degree' /šakl/, /tari:?a/ 'way'or by
a cognate verbal noun. As mentioned earlier, the cognate
verbal noun can function as a degree modifier and adds
emphasis to the utterance. The verbal nouns /sohu:la/
'ease', /gobn/ 'cowardliness', /?ihtima:m/ 'concern' and
/kasal/ 'laziness' in the above examples can themselves be
postmodified by the intensifying adjectives /ga:mid/,
/šidi:d/ 'great', 'extreme', when the speaker wishes to
convey extra strength. Most commonly, the modifying adverb
is an intensifier. This would be parallel to our treatment
of Manner adverbials consisting of verbal noun plus
modifying adjective.

4.3.1(D) The Adverb as a modifier of another Adverb

     Adverbials also work as heads in adverbial headed
units such as /bisorᵉa giddan/ 'very quickly', as principals
and appositives in adverbial opposed units such as /hina:k
taht ikkorsi/ '(over) there under the chair', as coordinates
in adverbial multiple units /min hina w ga:y/ 'from now on',
and as nominal groups, functioning as disjuncts such as /min

ǥe:r šakk/ and /bidu:n šakk/ 'undoubtedly'. Many adverbs
are highly specialised words that are quite limited in
function, and those which are not in "correspondence
classes" (Greenbaum 1970:122) do not accept modification.[1]
Conjuncts accept neither premodification nor
postmodification.

On the other hand, there may be several occurrences of
Adv where the second occurrence is dominated by Adv in the
higher sentence, for example

/?aḥmad ista?a:l <u>ᵒalaša:n ka:n zaᵒla:n ?awi ᵒalaša:n</u>

<u>matra??a:š min sanate:n</u>

'Ahmad has resigned because he was very angry because he

has not been promoted for two years.'
which can be represented by the following simplified diagram:

---

1.   Examples of these are: /?iftira:ḍan/ 'supposedly', /robbama/
      'perhaps', /?asa:san/ 'basically', /ha?i:?i/ 'truly, indeed'.

```
                        S
            ┌───────────┴───────────┐
           NP                      Pred.
            │                ┌───────┴───────┐
         ?ahmad            VP              Adv (Reason)
            .               │                 │
                            │              pred. P
                            │           ┌──────┴──────┐
                        ?ista?a:l      prep          NP
                                        │             │
                                     ºalaša:n         S
                                              ┌───────┴────────┐
                                             NP              Pred.
                                              │         ┌──────┴──────┐
                                            howwa       VP         Adv (Reason)
                                                        │              │
                                                ka:n zaºla:n ?awi    ºalaša:n
                                                            .        matra??a:š
                                                                     min sanate:n
```
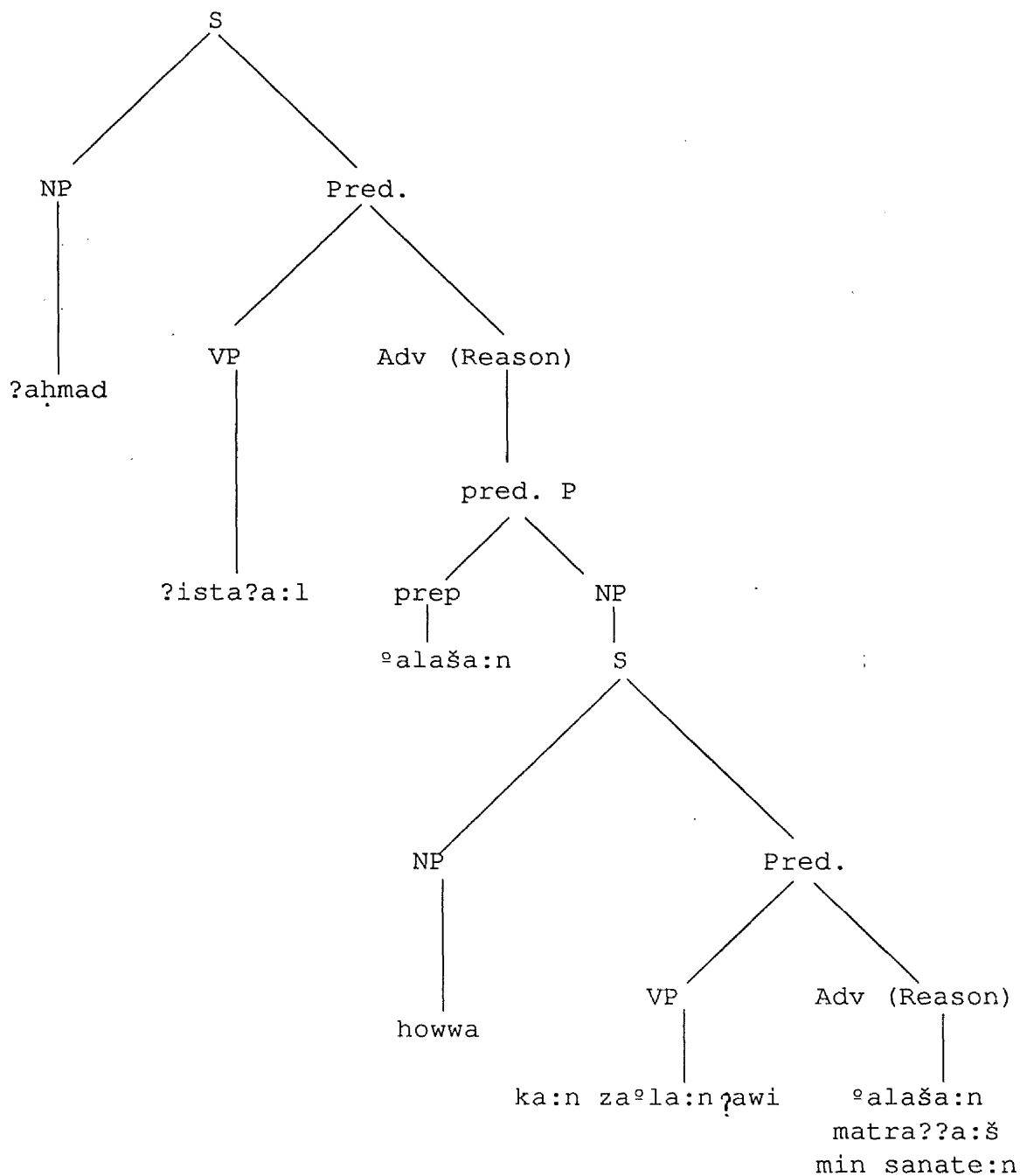
The same set of intensifiers is used for both
adjectives and adverbs. Manner and, to a certain extent,
Degree adverbs tend to occur freely with all other types of
adverb. Instrumental adverbs are probably the least common
sub-class of adverbs that accept modifiers. Some disjuncts
such as /ḥa?i:?i/ 'really', /robbama/ 'maybe', /?asa:san/

'basically', etc. and conjuncts like /bitta:li/
'consequently', /ṭibqan li-/ 'according to', /maºa kida/ 'in
spite of', etc. do not co-occur with most adverbial
expressions as well as adverbs that belong to the same
class. Some grammarians are of the view that when the
adverb is modified by another adverb of the same class, the
one referring to more general connotation precedes the more
specific. On the other hand, others are of the opinion that
the specific order of elements is not of significant
importance as the semantic differences produced are minor.
The juxtaposition of the expressions referring to time, for
instance, in the examples (1) and (1a) below is only a
matter of stylistic preference. It often depends – except
in idiomatic usage – on the context and/or the speaker's
wish to convey a specific message.

(1)   hansa:fir bokra issa:ºa tala:ta
        'We will travel tomorrow at three o'clock.'
has the equivalent

(1a)   hansa:fir issa:ºa tala:ta bokra
        'We will travel at three o'clock tomorrow.'
        Gamal-Eldin (1961:83) states that the dialect shows a
preference for hierarchic structure in the case of Time
adverbs, with those of more general reference appearing
before the more 'specific'. He used the example of /bokra
?iṣṣobḥ/ 'tomorrow (in the) morning' (where primary stress
falls on one syllable only) as preferred in usage to
/?iṣṣobḥ bokra/ '(in the) morning tomorrow'.
        The first is more or less an idiom that is used as a

single item. 'General' and 'specific' are, of course,

comparative terms - they have no absolute value. Taking a

more neutral example, where a 'general' adverb of Time

immediately follows and modifies a 'specific' one, as in

(2)   haysa:fro youm issabt issa:ºa xamsa

      'They'll travel on Saturday at five o'clock.'
we see that the order of adverbs here is the preferred

rather than the only order, as

(2a)   haysa:fro issa:ºa xamsa youm issabt

      'They'll travel at 5 o'clock on Saturday.'
is equally acceptable.[1]

   The speaker wants to convey related but different

messages in the case of the above sequences.

Psychologically, the speaker would utter the first unit of

the message he wishes to convey as it is felt to be more

important than what follows. This, to a large extent, is

evident in conversation. The primary stress normally falls

on the unit that is more relevant to what takes place in the

speech act. However, in the case of unmarked sequence of

information where the speaker does not wish to stress one

particular group of words, there is a preference for those

of more 'general' reference to precede the more 'specific'

ones. Other examples may make this point clearer:

(3)   limtiḥa:n il?osbu:º igga:y youm litne:n

      'The exam is next week on Monday.'

1.   For more on this, see Wise (1975:10-11) and Chapter 5 pp. 389-94.

(3a) limtiḥa:n youm litne:n il?isbu:ᵒ igga:y

'The exam is on Monday next week.'

(4) hanzu:r torkiya issana gga:ya fiššita

'We'll visit Turkey next year in winter.'

(4a) hanzu:r torkiya fiššita issana gga:ya

'We'll visit Turkey in winter next year.'

(5) ?aḥmad xalla samar to?af. hina:k ᵒand ilba:b

'Ahmad made Samar stand there by the door.'

(5a) ?aḥmad xalla samar to?af ᵒand ilba:b hina:k

'Ahmad made Samar stand by the door over there.'

Sentences containing more than one locative expression, like those containing temporal expressions, will be treated as resulting from conjoined sentences where identical elements are deleted, not as recursive categories forming a hierarchic structure. Sentences containing two locatives such as

/f ?ouḍa kbi:ra f be:tna .../

'In a large room in our house ...'

may not only be derived from conjoined sentences which have identical elements deleted, but also from an embedded relative clause which has a relative clause paraphrase: /?illi f be:tna/ 'which is in our house'. Locative adverbials which modify the content of the whole sentence are freely permutable with the other sentence adverbials and they may all optionally be moved to the initial position in the sentence. If the Locative adverbial, however, is one of the re-writes of PredP., its preposing to the beginning of the sentence will not be possible but it can permute with sentence adverbials. Compare, for example

/sami:ra ka:nit figgaza:yir min sana/

'Samira was in Algiers a year ago.'

where the Locative occupies the initial position in the predicate, with

/sami:ra ka:nit min sana figgaza:yir/

'Samira was a year ago in Algiers.'

which is possible but less acceptable.

We shall follow Wise (1975:12) in applying similar rules to Time adverbials immediately dominated by PredP. as distinct from adverbials of Time that are dominated by the node S. Compare:

/ilḥigg issana di fiššita/

'Pilgrimage this year is in winter.'

which is less favoured than

/?ilḥigg fiššita ssana di/

'Pilgrimage is in winter this year.'

This will be dealt with extensively in the following pages as well as in Chapter 5.

4.3.1.(E) The adverb as a sentence or predicate modifier

In an immediate-constituent analysis, it would be reasonable to make the first cut between the conjunct or disjunct and the rest of the clause (cf. Jacobsen 1964:15).

This would account for the application of such terms as 'sentence modifier' or 'sentence adverb' to these items.[1]

The term 'sentence' adverbial has been adopted by those writing within the framework of the theory of transformational generative grammar (e.g. Katz and Postal (1964:77) and Chomsky (1965:102)).

Sentence adjuncts may be of various ranks (clauses, phrases or words). A sentence, for instance, like /?aḥmad xarag/ 'Ahmad went out' can have the clause /bimogarrad ma waṣalt/ 'as soon as I arrived', or the phrase /baºd sa:ºa w noṣ/ 'an hour and a half later' or the word /mobaŠaratan/ 'immediately' attached as adjuncts. Adjuncts as modifiers of the sentence fall into various classes according to their semantic function; they may be adjuncts of time, of place, of purpose, of result, of condition and so on. In

(1)   <u>yimkin</u> nisa:fir bokra

       'Probably, we'll travel tomorrow.'

(2)   <u>ºilmiyyan</u> wighit naẓaroh ṣaḥ

       'Scientifically, his point of view is correct.'

(3)   <u>?ilḥa?i:?a</u> ?ana ?aºtaqid kida

       'In fact, I believe this.'

(4)   <u>biṣara:ḥa</u> ?ana ?olt raºiyy l mona

       'Frankly, I told Mona my opinion.'

1.   For the term 'sentence modifier' see, for example, Sweet (1891:125-7), Poutsma (1926:692-3), Francis (1958:399, 403-4, 408), Strang (1978:87-8), Jacobson (1964:28-33, 48, 51). For the term 'sentence adverb', see Palmer (1939:171, 179, 180), Zandvoort (1962:249-50).

the underlined items are 'sentence adverbials'. Sentence
adverbials are either attitudinal, meaning 'I can judge the
situation by saying ... about it', or they could be style
adverbials (style disjuncts, to use Greenbaum's term
(1969:81-93)), meaning 'I can say ... about my attitude to
the situation', or they could have a connective function as
in

> /?iddonya ka:nit bard ?awi wi maᵉakida ra:ḥit ikkoliyya/
> 'It was very cold, yet she went to college.'

4.3.1.(E)(1) Sentence adjuncts and predicative complements

Earlier in the chapter (p.209) we introduced the
adverb into the basic structure of the grammar through a set
of PSRs (see also Wise:1975:1). These rules will be
expanded as follows:

S → Comp S¹ (Adv)

S¹ → Aux Pred (Adv)

$$\text{Pred} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{V NP (PredP) PrepP} \\ \text{PredP NP} \end{Bmatrix} \text{(Adv)}$$

The Adv sister node to S¹ is an optional category. It
is not tied to any particular constituent in the sentence;
in fact, they have a "sentential scope" (Kamel: 1982:312)
which is evident in the functional criteria employed by
Vestergaard (1977:45) to distinguish such adverbials from
other adverbials in the sentence. These criteria are
expressed in terms of entailment: a sentence containing a
non-role playing element (Sentence Adverbial) will entail
any of the following:

1. Adverb it is $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{true}\\ \text{the case}\end{array}\right\}$ that S

2. S. this is $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{true}\\ \text{the case}\end{array}\right\}$ Adverb

3. S. This is Adjective (derived from the Adverb)[1]

Such entailment can be borne out only by the fact that these adverbials have the whole sentence as their scope, and this will justify their sister adjunction to S¹ (see pp 389) which is the basic predication in the sentence.

Adjuncts of time and place have a particularly interesting place in the structure of language. They have been attracting the attention of those writing about ECA and other dialects of Arabic, too.[2]

At the rank of the word and the phrase (though not at the clause rank), temporal and locative adjuncts are frequently identical in internal structure with temporal and locative complements. The term complement can be analysed in relation to a nominal or adjectival expressions which combine with the copula in such structures as:

/?ilbint ḥilwa/

'The girl (is) beautiful.'

and

---

1. The form of this entailment has been modified to accomodate all the realisation forms of adverbials, not only prepositional phrases (Vestergaard's main concern). I believe there is nothing to prevent his criteria applying to adverbs generally.

2. See, for instance, Ghaly (1988) for the Arabic of Central Saudi Arabia.

/samar bint ḥilwa/

'Samar (is) a beautiful girl.'

In traditional grammar the term is used to refer to any word or phrase other than the verb itself which is an obligatory constituent of the predicate, for instance the object of a transitive verb, as in

/ʔaḥmad kasar iššibba:k/

'Ahmad broke the window.'

The predicative complement is syntactically required in order to "complete" (Lyons 1969:345) the structure of the predicate (hence the term complement). More practically, the term complement is used of such adverbial expressions as /youm ilḥadd/, /f ʔasba:nya/ in sentences like /ligtima:ᵉ ka:n youm ilḥadd/ 'The meeting was on Sunday' and /ṣaḥbiti ka:nit f ʔasba:nya/ 'My friend was in Spain'. The temporal and locative phrases in these two sentences are obviously not adjuncts (since */ligtima:ᵉ ka:n/ and */ṣaḥbiti ka:nit/ are syntactically incomplete).

The difference between an adjunct and a complement in principle is quite clear: the former is an optional constituent and the latter an obligatory constituent of the sentence.

In practice, however, the distinction between sentence- adjuncts and predicative complements is often far from clear. As we have just seen, the same class of words or phrases may occur as a locative or temporal adjunct in one set of sentences and as a complement (of the copula) in

the other.   This fact alone would be of small importance.
In traditional accounts of Arabic grammar verbs like
/hadaθa/ and /haṣala/ 'happen' are regarded as intransitive
(which by definition combines with a nominal to form a
complete sentence and requires no complement).   Therefore a
sentence such as /?ilhadsa haṣalit youm ilhadd/ 'The
accident took place on Sunday' is a complete sentence.
This description of /haṣal/ implies that /?ilhadsa haṣalit/
(unlike */?ilhadsa ka:nit/) is a complete sentence and
therefore that /youm ilhadd/ is an adjunct.   On the other
hand the semantic relationship between /ligtima:ᵒ ka:n youm
ilhadd/ and /ligtima:ᵒ haṣal youm ilhadd/ tends to suggest
that /haṣ:al/ and /ka:n/ are elements of the same type, and
therefore that /youm ilhadd/ is a predicative complement in
both instances.

To account for the underlying constituent structure of
sentences like /ligtima:ᵒ ka:n youm ilhadd/ and /?ilhadsa
ka:nit / haṣalit youm ilhadd (?issa:ᵒa xamsa fišša:riᵒ)/,
the following two rules (1) and (2) would seem to be
required:

    (1) S → Nominal + Time

    (2) S → Nominal + Place

in addition to rule (3) which underlies at least the
intransitive nuclei (including the 'adjectival' nuclei) of
non-locative and non-temporal sentences.

    (3) S → Nominal + Verbal

"A number of questions arise at this point in connection with the distinction, if there is any clear distinction, between adjuncts and complements." Lyons (1969:347)

There should be a condition on the nominals occurring in such sentences as temporal complements under the application of rule (1). Sentences such as */ilkalb ḥaṣal youm ilḥadd/ 'The dog happened on Sunday' must be excluded as ungrammatical. Therefore a distinction must be drawn at this stage between what Lyons (ibid.) calls "first-order" and "second-order" nominals. He also states that only second order nominals may occur in sentences whose underlying structure is Nominal + Time. In the most obvious instances, first order nominals denote persons, animals, things or places; in 'notional' terms they are the most noun-like nominals. Second-order nominals do not denote 'substances'. Some of them may be items listed in the lexicon, e.g. /ḥadsa/ 'accident', /ḥafla/ 'party', /faraḥ/ 'wedding', etc. But the majority can be transformationally derived from sentence-nuclei generated by means of rule (3). The example /liḡtima:ᵒ ka:n .../ is of this type.

It is appropriate to call attention here to what Beeston (1970:68) writes in this regard as it further calrifies the point. "The marker of a locatory predicate is a zero syntagmeme: namely, the absence of any item in the sentence which might indicate that the locatory phrase is not a predicate. If a theme 'the meeting' is followed by

the locatory phrase 'on Friday 13th' and nothing else, the locatory phrase must be a predicate translating 'is on Friday 13th'. If the sentence contains something else which is a viable predicate, then the locatory phrase is a prepositional amplification of the theme, as in 'The meeting on Friday 13th is a bad omen." He adds, "Ambiguity is created when the further phrase is itself locatory, and it may well be formally impossible to tell which of the two locatory phrases is the predicate, i.e. to distinguish between 'the meeting is on Friday after lunch' and 'the meeting on Friday is after lunch.'"

In the following we shall pay attention to, among other things, locative and temporal adverbs as they may be immediately dominated by S, thus qualifying the content of the whole sentence or may be dominated by PredP in which case they relate to a sentence element. Locative adverbials will be dealt with here and what is said in their respect applies equally to temporal adverbials. A major distinction between Advls dominated by S and those dominated by PredP is the ability of the former to be freely permutable with other sentence adverbials. All sentence locative adverbials can be optionally put at the initial position of the sentence. PredP-dominated locatives, although having the ability to be permuted with sentence adverbials, as in (2) and (2a) are not capable of undergoing such preposing (i.e. occurring initially in the sentence) as is the case with (2b):

(2)   hiyya kalit <u>hina min šwayya</u>

        'She ate here a little while ago.'

        (locative occurring in initial position in the predicate)

(2a)   hiyya kalit <u>min šwayya hina</u>

        'She ate a little while ago here.'

        (locative occurring finally in the sentence)

(2b)   *hina hiyya kalit <u>min šwayya</u>

        'Here she ate a little while ago.'

        Similar rules apply to Time adverbs immediately

dominated by PredP as distinct from sentence-dominated

adverbials:

(3)   hanru:ḥ niḥigg <u>fi sibtambir issana di</u>

        'We'll go on the Haj in September this year.'

(3a)   hanru:ḥ niḥig <u>issana di fi sibtambir</u>

        'We'll go on the Haj this year in September.'

(3b)   *<u>fi sibtambir</u> hanru:ḥ niḥigg issana di

        'We'll go on the Haj in September the Haj is this year.'

        Sometimes the distinction between adjuncts and

predicative complements, or in other words between sentence

modifiers and predicate modifiers, is so difficult to

establish that one would wonder whether such a distinction

is really so essential for a description and explanation of

adverbial positions as to make it worthwhile to observe it

in all individual cases. The difference in the position of

the adverbial /fiššita/ 'in winter' in the two sentences

/fiššita binru:ḥ ?aswa:n/ 'In winter we go to Aswan' and

/binru:ḥ ?aswa:n fiššita/ 'We go to Aswan in winter' can,

for instance, very well be explained without special

reference to the type of modification, and this applies to
many other similar cases (see Gamal-Eldin 1961:81-3, Wise
1975:10-11, and Kamel 1982:129). Besides, there is always a
choice involved in the arrangement of elements, and it is
usually motivated by what Leech calls "thematic meaning",
which is "mainly a matter of choice between alternative
grammatical constructions ... [whose] communicative effect
may be somewhat different." Leech (1974:23) Therefore, we
shall make the distinction between sentence modifiers and
predicate modifiers only when it serves some special purpose.

4.3.1.(E)(2) Adjunction

The combination of several adverbials modifying the
sentence or any of its components is known as "adjunction".
Steinitz (1969:47) In this case, it is not the adverbial
that is modified, but the predicate or the whole sentence
which, in turn, may contain another advl/advls. Elements of
the same advl sub-class can occur in 'adjunction' as in:

(3)   lamma ti:gi: <u>°andi ilbe:t</u> ha?u:lak illi ḥaṣal

       'When you come to me at home, I'll tell you what happened.'

(4)   ru:ḥ <u>barra figgine:na</u>

       'Go out in the garden.'

(5)   ḥaṭṭaha <u>gamb ilba:b hina:k</u>

       'He put it by the door over there.

(6)   ru:ḥ <u>dilwa?ti ḥa:lan</u>

       Go now immediately.

       'Go right now.'

The second occurrence of the adv. in the last three examples plays the role of a 'specifier'. It adds emphasis and specification in order to guarantee a well-conveyed message. The order of Time and Place adverbs may be reversed without introducing any shift of emphasis, as in:

(9) šofto f ikkolliyya imba:riḥ

'I saw him at college yesterday.'

(9a) šofto ?imba:riḥ f ikkolliyya

'I saw him yesterday at college.'

It is appropriate here to point out briefly that locative adverbs may co-occur with either a Time adverbial (as in example 9 above) or a Manner adverbial or both. If the locative adverb is nominal it immediately follows the verb with the Time and/or Manner adverbial following. Notice

(10) ?odxol ilfaṣl bišwe:š baᵒd šwayya

'Enter the class quietly after a while.'

Time and Manner adverbs may change position:

(11) ru:ḥ ilbe:t dilwa?ti bsorᵒa

'Go home now quickly.'

When the Locative is non-nominal, the Time adverbial may take precedence; nevertheless, the favourite candidate for post-verbal position is the Manner adverb.[1]

---

1. For more on the position of these adverbs see Chapter 5. pp.387-89.

4.3.1.(F) The adverb as a prepositional-phrase modifier

As noted earlier, there is a close relationship
between prepositions and adverbs. Nearly all types of
adverb have a prepositional phrase of some sort in their
underlying structure. The surface realization of adverbs of
Manner and Instrument, in particular, is that of P + N(NP).
This, besides the face that adverbs constitute a recursive
category, i.e. an adverb or an adverbial phrase has the
ability (without violating the rules of acceptability within
the proposition) to modify another adverb or adverbial
phrase within the proposition, is bound to make any
representation full of repetition as one would be talking
about modifiers of modifiers which themselves are modifiers.
Therefore, we shall limit our discussion here to two main
cases:

(a)   where there is a preference of one order to
another especially when adverbs of Place occur with those of
Time;

(b)   where the so-called adverbial prepositions are
post-modified by prepositional phrases.

The adverb of Time in the following examples
post-modifies the locative prepositional phrase which is a
predicate:

(1)   ?ilbana:t filbe:t min zama:n

'The girls have been (lit.'are') in the house a long time.'

(2)   ?aḥmad f holanda dilwa?ti

'Ahmad is in Holland now.'

(3)   ?ikkita:b da ᵖarraf <u>min sana</u>

        'This book has been (lit.'is') on the shelf for a year.'

        If the adverb of Time were permuted with the

predicate, the utterances would be less acceptable:

(1a)   ?ilbana:t min zama:n <u>filbe:t</u>

        'The girls since a long time have been in the house.'

(2a)   ?ahmad dilwa?ti <u>f holanda</u>

        'Ahmad is now in Holland.'

(3a)   ?ikkitab da min sana <u>ᵖarraf</u>

        'This book has been for a year on the shelf.'

        Nevertheless, there are instances in which there

exists no special preference for one order rather than

another. Consider:

(4)   hatt ikkita:b gamb iqqa:mu:s <u>min sa:ᵖa</u>

        'He put the book next to the dictionary an hour ago.'

(4a)   hatt ikkita:b min sa:ᵖa <u>gamb iqqa:mu:s</u>

        'He put the book an hour ago next to the dictionary.'

(5)   biyštaɣal filmathaf ilqawmi <u>min talat sini:n</u>

        'He has been (lit.'is') working in the National Museum

        for three years.'

(5a)   biyštaɣal <u>min talat sini:n</u> filmathaf ilqawmi

        'He has been (lit.'is') working for three years in the

        National Museum.'

(6)   ?aᵖado f ?asbanya <u>sana ka:mla</u>

        'They stayed in Spain a whole year.'

(6a)   ?aᵖado <u>sana ka:mla</u> f ?asbanya

        'They stayed a whole year in Spain.'

        We notice in the sentences above that no special

preference exists for the position of the Time adverb (see

also Chapter 5). The choice of a specific order would

depend on the speaker having it in mind to render certain parts of the sentence with a special stress. In this event, he would either first utter what he considers important in order to highlight the essential item or items, or would utter the sentence using the normal order of words but place a special stress on the element or elements of the sentence that he wished to emphasise: "What determines the choice of one possible order of elements over another is the intended semantic relation of the combining concepts." Stiehm (1975:56)

4.3.1.(F)(1) The usage of prepositional phrases as specifiers of an adverbial preposition

We shall now turn our attention to the class of adverbial prepositions that comprises the three oppositional pairs /barra/ 'outside' and /gowwa/ 'inside', /fou?/ 'above', 'over' and /taht/ 'below', 'under', and /?odda:m/ 'in front of' and /wara/ 'behind'. These are the only examples of conjunction of adverbial prepositions (or compound prepositions, as we referred to them earlier in the thesis). They are quite clearly a special class and severely restricted in distribution. As already stated, they were considered by some traditional Arab grammarians to be of nominal nature because they can act as the object of **harf al-jarr**, as in /min fawqika/ 'from above you' (see pp.99 of this thesis). We have also pointed out that, among other factors, it is the inability of these items to serve as the head of a construct-phrase that disqualifies them from being

301

nouns. Neither are they adjectives, as they cannot occur in
functions typical of adjectives. We shall label each of
these six items P^1 as distinguished from items that clearly
fit into being prepositions, often of one or two syllables,
occurring before the noun or the noun phrase. These will be
referred to as P^2.

Whenever we take a grammatical sentence with an
adverbial preposition P^1 introducing a prepositional phrase,
we find that the corresponding sentence with P^2 and its
object NP deleted, is also grammatical. Consider:

(7)   ?il?iryal fou? ᵒaṣṣatḥ

       'The aerial is above on the roof.'

       'The aerial is on the roof.'

(8)   ?iddawša barra fišša:riᵒ

       'The noise is outside in the street'

and

(7a)   ?il?iryal fou?

       'The aerial is above.'

(8a)   ?iddawša barra

       'The noise is outside.'

These can be accounted for by adopting a rule (1)
(Legum's 25, 1968:59) of

Prepositional Phrase Deletion

(1) PP - Deletion

SD [+V]   (NP) P^1 P^2 NP

           1   2   3   4 →

SC 1   2   3   0

The role of the prepositional phrase in (7) and (8)
above is simply to add more specification to the location or

302

direction indicated by the P^1. If the P^{1}s in (7) and (8)

are deleted to render:

(7b)   ?il?iryal ᵒaṣṣaṭḥ

        'The aerial is on the roof.'

(8b)   ?iddawša fišša:riᵒ

        'The noise is in the street.'

the result would still be meaningful and grammatical.

4.3.1.(G) The adverb as a modifier of numerals

Numerals, both cardinal and ordinal, can be modified

by adverbs. Typical modifiers of numerals are /ta?ri:ban/ -

and its variant /bitta?ri:b/ - /ḥawa:li/, the verbals /yi:gi

li-/ (lit. 'come to'), /yiṭlaᵒ li-/ (lit. 'ascend to') (all

of which mean 'nearly', 'almost/approximately', 'about'),

/ᵒalal ?a?al/ 'at least', /ᵒalal ?aktar/ 'at most',

/bil?ali:la/ 'at the least' and /bikkiti:r/ 'at the most'.

We shall now consider the following examples:

(9)   ka:n filḥafla ḥawa:li xamsi:n wa:ḥid

        'There were nearly fifty people at the party.'

(10)   sitti:n ṭa:lib ta?ri:ban nagaḥo filimtiḥa:n

        'Almost sixty students passed the exam.'

(11)   yigilhum sitta w tala:ti:n

        'There are approximately 36 of them.'

(12)   yiṭlaᵒ laha tala:ta ki:lo

        'It is nearly three kilos.'

(13)   fi:h ?aktar min/?a?al min mite:n ṭa:lib filqism da

        'There are more than/less than 200 students in this

        department.'

(13a) fi:h mite:n ṭa:lib ᵒalal ?aktar/ᵒalal ?a?al fil qism da/

'There are 200 students <u>at the most/at the least </u>in

this department.'

(13b) fi:h <u>bikkiti:r/bil?ali:la </u>mite:n ṭa:lib filqism da

'There are <u>at the most/at the least </u>200 students in this

department.'

The following points can be made in relation to the

examples above:

(i) /ḥawa:li/ tends to occur always as a pre-modifier.

If it were moved to post-modify the numeral in (9) the

sentence would be unacceptable, unlike /ta?ri:ban/ which has

the ability to function as both a pre-and a post- modifier

of the numeral phrase. It can occur in all the positions

occupied by adverbs in all the examples above.

(ii) /yi:gi li-/, /yitlaᵒ li-/ followed by the

appropriate pronoun occur only as pre-modifiers of cardinal

numbers. They can neither pre-modify nor post-modify

ordinal numbers.

(iii) In (13), the superlative forms /?aktar min/

/?a?al min/ pre-modify the numeral and must always be

followed by it. If they were moved to post-modify the

numeral, the result would be unacceptable:

*/fi:h mi:te:n ṭa:lib ?aktar min/?a?al min filqism da/

'There are 200 students more than/less than in this

department.'

(iv) /ᵒala l?aktar/ /ᵒala l?a?al/ occur in (13a) as

post-modifiers although /ᵒala l?a?al/ is more acceptable as

a pre-modifier of the numeral phrase /mite:n ṭa:lib/. The

variant /bikkiti:r/ would be more acceptable here as a pre-modifier than /ºala lʔaktar/. /bilʔali:la/ and /bikkiti:r/ have more freedom in movement both within and outside the borders of the sentence.

(v) Ordinal numbers also accept adverbs, mainly as pre-modifiers. Note:

(14) hisa:bo filbank waṣal taʔri:ban[1] ilʔalf ittalta

'His account in the bank has reached nearly the third thousand.'

'He has nearly three thousand in his bank account.'

(15) ʔibno gih ilxa:mis

'His son came (the) fifth.'

(vi) When the sentence is stating a fact, as in (16) below, none of the adverbs mentioned above is acceptable after the numeral for the reason that they all reflect the idea of approximation.

(16) ʔilºišri:n sinn ḥariga

'The twenties is a critical age.'

(vii) With ordinals, a definite determiner is obligatory for pre-modification.

(viii) Adverbs like /taʔri:ban/ can modify pronouns, as in:

---

1.   /taʔri:ban/, /ḥawa:li/, /bittaʔri:b/ 'nearly', 'roughly', 'approximately' respectively express that the speaker is making a rough generalisation. Greenbaum (1969:93) classifies the English equivalents as 'style disjuncts'; they express that the speaker is making a rough generalisation.

/ʔilmawgodi:n kollohom taʔri:ban ka:no mowafʔi:n/

'Nearly all those who were present agreed.'

in which case /koll/ is placed after the noun, in annexation

with a pronominal suffix and referring anaphorically to the

noun which is, as it were, repeated in the suffix.

/bittaʔri:b/ 'approximately', /yadoub/ 'just',

'hardly', and /mogarrad/ 'mere' are also used as modifiers

of numerals, but always imply smallness in number.

/mogarrad/ occurs only as pre-modifier of the numeral, while

/tama:m/, /bikka:mil/ 'in total' can occur in both

functions. /bass/ 'only' and /biẓẓabt/ 'exactly' (pp.265-67 for

the difference in image between /biẓẓabt/ and /maẓbu:t/

'exactly') prefer the post-modifier position.

4.3.1.(H) The Adverb as a noun phrase modifier

One of the three general headings under which

Form-classes can be examined is 'noun-phrase', the other two

being the 'verb-phrase' and the class whose members are not

primarily associated with either of these kinds of phrase,

which we are referring to here as 'peripheral categories'.

The words that act as a 'head' in the noun-phrase represent

an easily distinguishable class. Of course, there are

divisions and sub-divisions within the class but we shall

not concern ourselves with this issue here. Our immediate

concern is the class of nouns that, functionally, can be the

subject or the head of the subject NP, or (with a change in

the case-system and morphological marking, with regard to

MSA only) complement of a sentence. They constitute the

306

group of words that positionally can be preceded by
prepositions. They may also stand in what is traditionally
known as a construct phrase, mainly in idioms which are at
the level of "syntactic frozenness" (Cutler 1982:317) as
well as in constructions which are "virtually unfrozen"
(ibid.) and function as wholes, as in /mangam faḥm/ 'coal
mine', /ᵒe:n gamal/ 'walnut', etc.

   A small group of the elements traditionally called
adverbial-prepositions have the ability to form a construct
with the following NP, in which case they will be dealt with
as fulfilling the role of a preposition. They can also
occur by themselves and be treated as intransitive
prepositions (see also pp.112-45). These items are: /taḥt/
'underneath', 'below', /wara/ 'behind', /gowwa/ 'inside' and
their opposites /fo:?/ 'above', 'over', /?odda:m/ 'in front
of' and /barra/ 'outside'. As mentioned earlier in the
thesis, the majority of Arab grammarians considered these
items to be on an equal footing with nouns since they can
all be preceded by a preposition. I consider that they
function as 'true' adverbs of Place when not followed by a
noun or a noun phrase. When any of these items occurs in
this role, it functions predicatively and will be called
zarf xabar 'predicative adverb' in Arabic grammatical
terminology. Note:

   /?ilmadrasa ?odda:m/

   'The school is ahead (of you).'

/ʔilbana:t ka:no <u>fouʔ</u>/

'The girls were upstairs.'

/ʔilmabna ikkibi:r ka:n <u>wara</u>/

'The big building was behind.'

where the definiteness of the head noun is a condition here.
The above elements can also be part of a construct phrase,
as in

/ilmadrasa <u>ʔodda:m ilbe:t</u>/

and the entire string will still be an essential part of the
sentence.

If the subject NP is definite, as in the set of
examples mentioned on page 102, here repeated for
convenience, a borderline case arises between the adjectival
and adverbial usage of these elements. Consider:

(17) mosma:r <u>fouʔ</u> ...

'(The) nail (of) above ...'

'A nail above ...'

(18) fanu:s <u>ʔodda:m</u> ...

'(The) lantern (of) front'

'A lantern in front ...'

(19) mofta:h <u>barra</u> ...

'(The) key (of) outside ...'

'A key outside ...'

The underlined items can easily be converted to
adjectives by the addition of the adjectival suffix /-a:ni/.
This, besides their occurrence after the noun and agreement
with it in number and gender, would qualify them as
adjectives. In general, all types of adverb play the role
of a modifier of some sort. In doing so, they take

different positions in the sentence. For instance, whether
adverbs of Manner occur before or after the subject they
always refer to the manner in which the action is done by
that subject.[1] They do not necessarily need to have a
direct relation with either the subject or the object of the
sentence. /bizza:t/ 'in particular', /šaxṣiyyan/
'personally' and /bass/ 'only' are among adverbs that
typically post-modify noun phrases. See p373-5 -of this thesis.

/?inta bizza:t sabab ilmaša:kil/

'You in particular (are) the cause of the problems.'

/?ana šaxṣiyyan mowa:fi? ҁalal mawdu:ҁ da/

'Personally I agree about this matter.'

/?iḥna bass illi waṣalna badri/

'We alone (are the ones who) arrived early.'

Examples (17), (18) and (19) above imply
possessiveness. (17), for example, can be paraphrased with
the possessive particle /bita:ҁ/ 'belonging to', giving

(17a) almosma:r bita:? fou?

'The nail of above'

Before we leave this point, we should say a word about
the rather difficult particle /bita:ҁ/. Neither
morphological nor syntactic criteria aid the classification
of /bita:ҁ/. Morphologically, it acts like both an
adjective and a noun: its adjectival characteristics are

---

1. See Greenbaum (1969:103-4) for affinity of the disjunct to the
   subject.

shown in

(20)   ?ikkita:b <u>bita:ᵒ</u> ?aḥmad

         'The book <u>belonging to</u> Ahmad.'

(21)   ?ilmakwa <u>bitaᵒit</u> samar

         'The iron <u>belonging to</u> Samar.'

(22)   ?il?afla:m <u>bitu:ᵒ</u> ḥasan

         'The films <u>belonging to</u> Hasan.'

where it agrees with its head in both number and gender.

Its nominal noun characteristics are shown in:

(23) ?issagga:da <u>bitaᵒitna</u>

         '<u>Our</u> carpet.'

where /bita:ᵒ/ forms a construct with the following NP, so
that the feminine ending is realized as '.. it' rather than
'.. a', as also in (21) above. /bitu:ᵒ/ can only occur with
a plural definite noun, so that the following is
unacceptable:

(24)   *gibt kita:b bita:ᵒi?

         'Did you bring a book of mine?'

         Semantically, /bita:ᵒ/ functions rather like a
possessive preposition. Syntactically, however, it is quite
different. For instance, the /bita:ᵒ/ phrases can only
stand as a topic if given strong emphatic stress, e.g.

(25)   ?il?alam bita:ᵒi

         'The pen is mine.'

but

(26)   bitaᵒi il?alam

         'It's mine, the pen.'

         The role that /bita:ᵒ/ plays to disambiguate
structures will be discussed later in this chapter.

310

4.3.1.(I) The Adverb and the construct-phrase

The adverbial may occur as part of a construct phrase,
or as a whole construct phrase that has noun-like sentence
functions and positions. Many adverbs of Time are NPs
(headed by common nouns) that can be construed as referring
to a point or period of time. They refer to calendrical
units such as days, months or years. Note:

(27)   ?aḥmad waṣal – ?illaḥza, (?iddi?i:?a, ?issa:ºa, ?ilyoum,

   ?il?osbu:º, ?iššahr, ?issana)– di (da)

   'Ahmad arrived – the moment, the minute, the hour, the

   day, the week, the month, the year – this.'

   'Ahmad arrived this moment, this minute, etc.'

There are also NPs that pick out particular intervals
of the calendar year and NPs that function as proper names
for temporal periods, as in:

(28)   ?aḥmad sa:fir <u>fi (šahr) abri:l</u>

   'Ahmad travelled in (the month of) April.'

(29)   ?aḥmad sa:fir <u>(youm) xamsa ma:ris</u>

   'Ahmad travelled on the (day of) fifth of March.'

(30)   zaru:na <u>(youm) ilhadd</u>

   'They visited us (on the day of) Sunday.'

They can also be NPs headed by the common noun /wa?t/ (time):

(31)   hayi:gi (wa?t) (?ada:n) iddohr

   'He will come (at the time of) the call for mid-afternoon

   prayer.'

The temporal proform /filwa:t da/ 'then', 'at this
time' and the deictics /dilwa:ti/ 'now', /?imba:riḥ/
'yesterday', /bokra/ 'tomorrow' and /?innaha:rda/ 'today'
also function in the same way. It is worth mentioning here

that items referring to the particular place or time in
which the action took or takes place can be deleted without
affecting the meaning of the sentence. Note that

/giri sitta mi:l f xamas saºa:t/

'He ran six miles in five hours.'

is equally acceptable as its full variant:

/giri masa:fit sitta mi:l f moddit xamas saºa:t/

'He ran the distance of six miles in the time of five

hours.'

The number of NPs that can similarly be picked out as
referring to locations is very restricted. To our
knowledge, aside from locative proforms and deictics, the
only NP adverbs of location are those headed by the common
noun /maka:n/ or its variant /matrah/ 'place' together with
a variety of determiners, as in:

(32)   sakanna f maka:n gami:l gamb ilbahr

'We lived in a beautiful place near the sea.'

(33)   zorna šwayyit/koll (il)?ama:kin (is)siya:hiyya

'We visited some/all of the tourist places.'

There are also the NP adverbs consisting of the
locative proform /hina:k/ 'there' and the deictic /hina/
'here', but this exhausts the class. Proper names for
locations, which would be analogous to temporal ones, e.g.
/?ilhadd/ 'Sunday', cannot appear as NP adverbs. So it is
acceptable to have /?ihafla ilhadd/ 'The party (is on)
Sunday', /?ilmo?tamar ittala:t/ 'The conference (is on)
Tuesday', but not */?ilhafla ilmadrasa/ 'the party the
school' and */?ilmo?tamar madi:nit nasr/ 'the conference

Nasr City', which can be made acceptable by the insertion of the preposition /fi/ 'in' between the two nouns.

Adverbs which occur as part of the construct phrase adopt positions and perform functions typical of NPs as mentioned earlier. They can only occur in the singular and cannot collocate with determiners, adjectives or nominals. They may be used quasi-adjectivally as in:

/gaww imba:riḥ/

'Yesterday's weather.'

/ḥaflit ilxami:s igga:y/

'Next Thursday's party.'

/gi:l il?ayya:m di/

'Today's generation.'   etc.

Such constructions represent relatively fixed patterns of usage. However, they are different from idioms as their total lexical content is not fixed. In other words, they are not syntactically frozen (cf. p.108-10). They accept adjectives which have to agree with the head of the construct, /?almoḍa:f/ in Arabic grammatical terminology, in number and gender, as in

/ḥaflit ilxami:s igga:y hatku:n kowayyisa inša:? alla:h/

'Next Thursday's party will be nice, God willing.'

A few adverbs (mainly downtoners) modify noun phrases and precede them in doing so. Consider:

(34) da mogarrad kala:m fa:ḍi

'It is just mere nonsense.'

(35) di bass ḥa:ga baṣi:ta

'This is only a small thing.'

313

Other adverbs may follow the NP:

(36) ?adawa:t ilmatbax <u>bizza:t</u> lafatit naẓarha

     'Kitchen utensils, in particular, attracted her attention.'

     Any transformation that would cause the adverb to move
and occur after the noun would render (34) and (35)
unacceptable. /bass/ 'only' (see Strang 1978:191-2) has the
peculiar behaviour of being acceptable in a wide variety of
positions. The different positions adverbs such as this
might take in the sentence, as well as the general effect of
the movement of such adverbs on the meaning of the sentence,
will be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.3.1.(J) Deriving the Construct

     On pages 309-10 we referred in passing to the possessive
particle /bita:ᵉ/ and its possible occurrence in constructs
that contain an adverb as an element: /?ilmofta:ḥ bita:ᵉ
barra/ 'The key of outside'. To investigate the construct
phrase thoroughly would probably be essential in order to
provide more syntactic evidence for this statement; yet it
is somewhat beyond the scope of the present work. In what
follows we shall limit our discussion to a brief account in
which we propose to derive the construct from an embedded
relative clause of the form:

```
                        NP
                ┌───────┴───────┐
                N               S
                │           ┌───┴───┐
           ?issandu:?      NP      Pred.
                           │        │
                           N      PrepP
                           │      ┌──┴──┐
                           │    Prep.    NP
                           │      │       │
                       ?issandu:?  li   iddahab
                       'the box'  'for'  'gold'
```
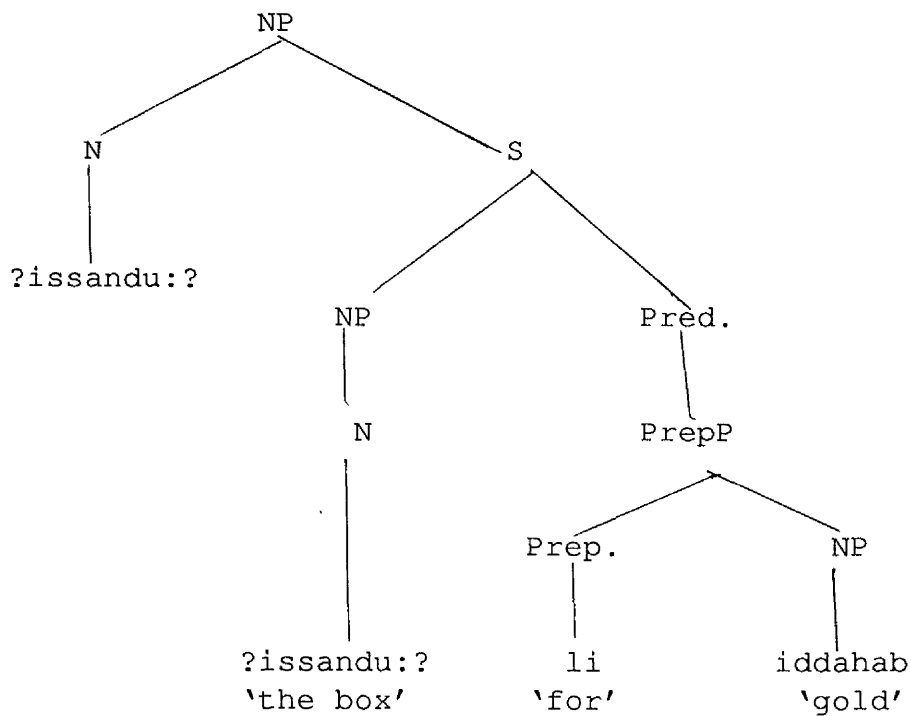
Other prepositions such as /min/ 'of' may also be
chosen to occur in the deep structure so as to produce the
complete NP in:

(37)   sandu:? (min) iddahab

       'A box (which is) of gold'

together with the NP

(38)   ?issandu:? illi (li)ddahab

       'The box (which is) for gold'

       (37) and (38) above result from relative clause
reduction and deletion transformation respectively. The
construct transformation deletes the preposition and any
indefinite marker attached to the head noun. If the
feminine marker '-a' occurs in the head noun, it is then
realised as '-it' instead, as in example (21) above. Hence
the ambiguity of

/kobbayit mayya/

(a)   'A glass of water'

or

(b)   'A water glass'

This also explains the different readings of sentences such as

(39)   ʔiddoktu:r samaḥ loh yišu:f birna:miġ koll le:la

(a)   'The doctor permitted him to see (one) programme every night.'

(b)   'The doctor permitted him to see every night programme.'

(40)   huwwa biyktib gawa:b koll osbu:ᵒ

(a)   'He is writing a letter (of) every week.'

        'He is writing the weekly letter.'

(b)   'He writes a letter every week.'

If the sentence in (40), for example, is uttered without putting in an extra- long pause between the indefinite noun and the adverb, there would be ambiguity between:

(A)


```
                          S
                      ／      ＼
                   NP            VP
                   |          ／    ＼
                   |        V        NP
                   |        |         |
                   |        |         |
                howwa   biyiktib   gawa:b koll osbu:ᵒ
                 'he'   'is writing' 'a letter (of) every week.'
```
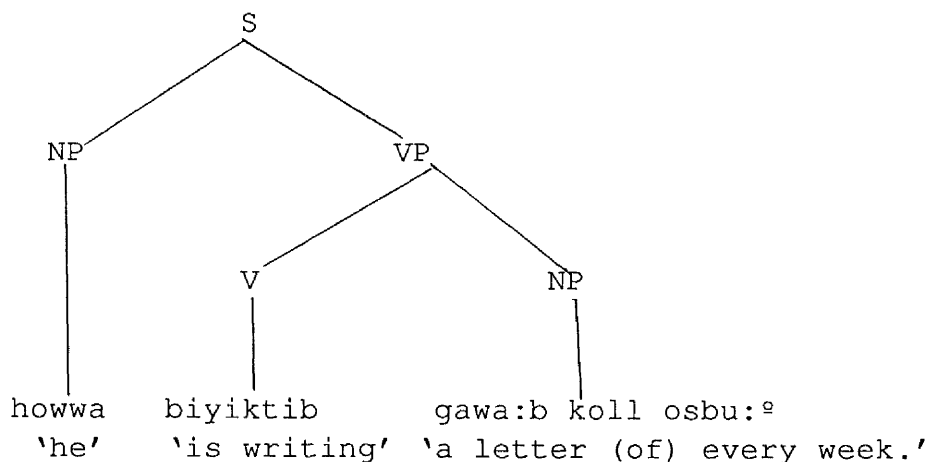
in which the adverbial of Time /koll osbu:ᵒ/ is part of the construct phrase /gawa:b koll osbu:ᵒ/, and

316

(B)

```
                           S
             _____/_|_____
            NP                          VP
            |                        ___/|___
            |                      V          Pred.
            |                      |            |
            |                      |            NP
            |                      |         __/|___
            |                      |        N       Adv
            |                      |        |        |
            |                      |        |        |
         howwa               biyiktib   gawa:b    koll osbu:º
          'he'               'writes'  'a letter' 'every week'
```
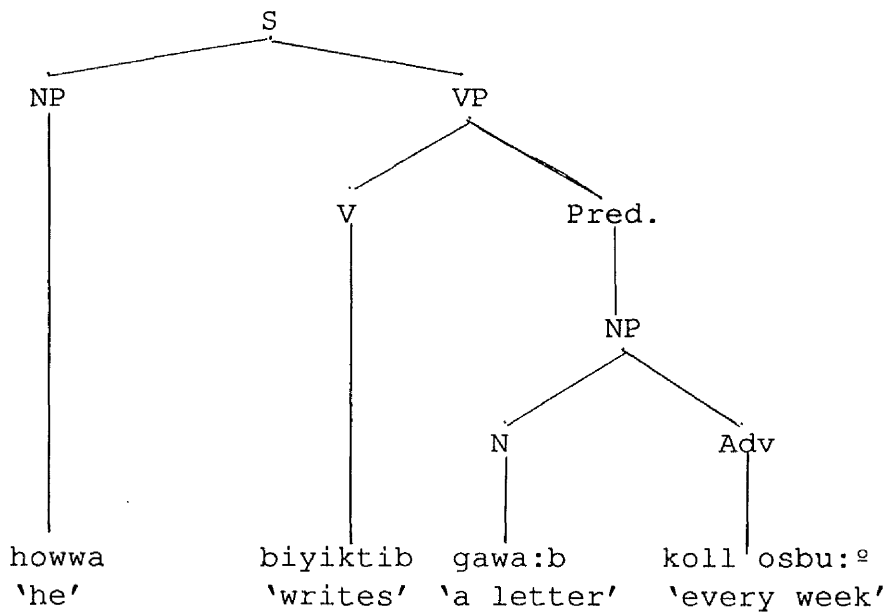
in which the adverbial of Time /koll osbu:º/ is ~~directly~~

under the VP node.

The addition of an adverb of Time such as /dilwa?ti/

'now' immediately after the adverbial /koll osbo:º/ will

disambiguate the sentence and make the adverbial part of the

larger phrase:

/gawa:b koll osbo:º/

'Every week's letter.'

which is reflected in (A). Note:

(41)   howwa biyiktib gawa:b koll osbu:º dilwa?ti

'He is writing every week's letter now.'

'He is writing the weekly letter now.'

However, the successive occurrence of /dilwa?ti/ and

/koll osbu:º/ in (B) of (40) would result in the

unacceptable:

(42)   *howwa biyiktib gawa:b koll osbu:º dilwa?ti

'He is writing a letter every week now.'

317

If the head noun in the construct phrase is feminine and ends in '-a', which is realised instead as '-it', the distinction is easy to draw. Consider:

(43)   hayaxdu ºilawa issana gga:ya

'They'll receive a rise (in salary) next year.'

where /issana gga:ya/ is clearly an adverbial of Time. If it occurred as part of the construct phrase

/ºilawit issana gga:ya/

'Next year's rise.'

the addition of the adverb of Time /dilwaʔti/ 'now' would result in

(44)   hayaxdo ºilawit issana gga:ya dilwaʔti

'They'll take next year's rise now.'

As was the case with example (42) above, the occurrence of /dilwaʔti/ in (43), where /ʔilawa issana gga:ya/ is not a construct phrase, would result in the unacceptable

(45)   *hayaxdo ºilawa issana gga:ya dilwaʔti

'They'll take a rise (in salary) next year now.'

Wise (1975:137-8) suggests: "Rather than having 'preposition' in the deep structure' [as in our (37) and (38)], it would be better to have a more abstract notion – possibly 'relation' – which will subsume a number of semantic relations such as 'consisting of', 'for the use of', 'containing', 'belonging to', etc. Some of these will be realised by prepositions, some by /bitaaº/, and 'all will have the option of the construct transformation, i.e. /bitaaº/ may be the exponent of a number of relations, not

318

just of "belonging to"', e.g.:

/ilbayya:ᵒ bitaaᵒ ilbalaḥ/

'The seller of the dates.'

/ilfinga:n bitaaᵒ išša:y/

'The teacup.' (not 'cup of tea')

/ilbawa:b bitaaᵒ il ᵒima:ra di/

'The doorkeeper of this block.'"

Following Wise's proposal, the ambiguity of (40) can

easily be resolved by having /bita:ᵒ/ in its deep structure

(40a) howwa biyktib iggawa:b bita:ᵒ koll osbu:ᵒ

to give the reading represented in diagram A.

While on the subject of ambiguity, we should say a

word about the fact that it is mainly in the written

language that one comes across ambiguous structures. In the

spoken form of the language, intonational features, besides,

of course, the grammatical vowelling in the case of MSA,

help the sentence to convey one particular meaning,

especially if it appears out of context. In that case,

turning to a wider context would not be required in order to

determine its proper function. If the context shows that a

certain function of the item or items (within the sentence)

is intended, it would not be necessary to use intonational

devices, and, as Greenbaum (1969:191) states: "where an item

may be either a disjunct or an adjunct, the context will

usually indicate the more probable interpretation."

4.3.2 /ẓarf ilḥaal/

On p.307 the predicate adverbial was referred to as

zarf xabar. In the following, we shall concern ourselves
with another type of zarf, i.e. **zarf ilḥaal,** or what is
called circumstantial state. It can serve as an adverbial
modifier as it describes the state or condition of one of
the noun phrases associated with the verb, while the action
is taking place. It can thus be used to express what
corresponds to Manner adverbials in English, as it can serve
as an answer to the interrogative /ʔizzay/ 'how'. The
sentences

(1)   šoft ilmodarrisa

        'I saw the teacher.'

(2)   ʔilwalad gih

        'The boy came.'

are complete sentences. The addition of the adjectival
phrase /xa:rga milbe:t/ 'leaving the house' to the sentence
in (1), and the appearance of the active participle /ma:ši/
'walking' in sentence (2) does bring a specific description
to the object NP in (1) and to the subject NP in (2). It
describes the state of /ʔilmodarrisa/ 'the teacher' in (1)
and that of /ʔilwalad/ 'the boy' in (2).

        The **haal** (lit. 'state', 'condition', 'circumstantial
state') is considered by Arab grammarians a **fadlah** 'optional
item' (W. Wright 1964:II:113), a redundant element in
relation to the grammatical structure to which it is
associated. In the above sentences, the occurrence of the
active participle only adds a description of a state and
without that description the sentences would still be
grammatical and meaningful. The subject or object NP to

which the **ḥaal** refers is usually definite and the **ḥaal** always occurs as a post-modifier. Rare exceptions appear only in CA.[1]

The **ḥaal** construction may be an adjective, participle or noun phrase, and often indefinite. It may be part of a construct as in /rigiᵉ maksu:r ilxa:tir/ 'He returned broken hearted', but is never found preceded by the definite article. It may also be a **maṣdar** 'verbal noun'[2] that is equivalent in meaning to a participle[3] as in:

(3) gih maši

   'He came walking.'

   (maši - verbal noun)

   /gih ma:ši/

   (maši - active participle)

1. See W. Wright (1964:II:117-121) and al- Sayyid (1975:I:326-7) for these exceptions.

2. The usage of the /maṣdar/ as an adverbial modifier is semantically restricted. It occurs mainly with a group of verbs indicating manner of motion as in /ru:ḥi gari/ 'dash off', lit. 'go (fem. sing.) runnning', but it may also be used to qualify expressions of time as in /?ilmasa:fa min hina lilbe:t xamas daʔa:yiʔ maši bass/ 'the distance from here to the house is five minutes (walking) only'. For more on the /ḥaal/, see Beeston (1970:89-91, 95-6), where he refers to it as the "circumstantial clause", al-Sayyid (1975:I:320-35) and Barakat (1982:I:288-90).

3. For the usage of participle, the controversy surrounding /baaṣiṭun/ 'had its legs stretched' Su:rat al-kahf, Su:ra 181, verse 18, and whether or not the participle refers to past tense, see Mitchell (1978:229-33) and Abbas (1991:17-20).

It may also be a concrete substantive, as in:

(4)   šaraḥt loh iddars kilma kilma

        'I explained to him the lesson word by word.'

(5)   kattibo ilmaqa:la saṭr saṭr

        'He made him write the article line by line.'

It may also be a sentence, in which case it is usually

introduced by a subordinating conjunction /wi-/ 'while'. An

independent pronoun which must agree with the modified noun

in gender and number, usually follows the conjunction /wi/.[1]

If the /haal/ clause is a verbal sentence, both the

conjunction /wi/ and the pronoun are deleted.

        /xaragit min ligtima:ᵒ wi hiyya bitᵒayyaṭ/

        (verbal sentence)

        'She left the meeting (and she was) crying.'

1.   "In complex sentences co-ordered with *wi* 'and', verb forms must be
        accordant, i.e. past tense must accompany past tense, participle
        accompany participle. Thus, for example, compare the
        co-occurrence of both participles in the Egyptian /kaan kaatib
        iggawaab wi mabṣuuṭ/ 'He was pleased he had written the letter'
        (lit. he had written the letter and (was) pleased. Although the
        participles here are, so to speak, 'mixed' between active and
        passive, the sentence is as regular as /kaan kaatib iggawaab wi
        maaši/ (2 x active participle) 'He had written the letter and
        gone'; or its alternative form /kaan katab iggawaab wi miš/ (2 x
        past tense). It should be noted that the accordance rule by
        which, for instance, */kaan laabis ilbadla wi ?alaᵒha is
        unacceptable/ - not only by reason of the already explained
        semantic incompatibility of the forms of the two main verbs, but
        also because of the 'discordance' between participle /laabis/ and
        past tense /?alaᵒ/ - applies only in the environment of the
        coordinator *wi-* 'and'; it does not apply, for example, to
        sentences coordinated by *bass* or *lakin* 'but'. The subjects of the
        two main verbs must also be coreferential for the rule to apply,
        so that the syntactic structure is not that of the so-called *waw*
        (=wi) of accompanying circumstance (Ar. *waawu lhaal*). The latter
        is illustrated by, say, the Egyptian /gaa w(i?)ana ᵒaamil kull
        ḥaaga/ 'He came when (lit. 'and') I (had) done everything."
        Mitchell (1978:244-5).

After the deletion of /wi/ and the pronoun:

/xaragit min ligtima:ᵒ bitᵒayyaṭ/

'She left the meeting crying.'

/xaragit min ligtima:ᵒ miᵒayyaṭa/ (participle)

'She left the meeting crying.'

In all the above examples the /haal/ clause functions as a Manner adverbial. In examples like the following, the /ḥaal/ clause serves as a Time adverbial

/na:m wiššams ṭa:lᵒa/

'He slept (or fell asleep) while the sun was shining.'

The subject NP in (3), for instance, which is called by the Arab grammarians **ᵒa:mil ilḥaal**, can be deleted. /maši/ or /ma:ši/ can be answers to:

/?izza:y gih/? or /gih izza:y/?

'How did he come?'

4.3.3 Coordination of adverbials

Adverbials of the same type can be coordinated if their semantic components are not contradictory. Adverbials, whether or not of the same type, can be coordinated by the /wa:w/ 'and'. They may also occur strung together with no coordination at all in which case they reflect a more idiomatic usage, as in

/šwayya šwayya/

'gradually, slowly'

/ṣaba:ḥan mas:?an/

'day and night, continuously'

/dilwa?ti ha:lan/

'now', 'immediately', etc.

Adverbials which have quite different underlying semantic structures are not coordinated in a sentence. To coordinate adverbials that belong to the same sub-class is sometimes impossible due to either their semantic incompatibilities, i.e. contradictory semantic components, or to the performative use of these adverbials.

Sentence adverbials are applied to the sentence that does not contain any other sort of adverbial in the order they are given in the schematic representation, i.e. adverbs which stand closer to the sentence will be applied to it first. The second sentence adverbial will then be applied to the sentence that results from the application of the first sentence adverbial to it. The sentence adverbials will be described under their respective sub-classes.

CHAPTER FIVE

POSITION OF THE ADVERBIALS

SECTION I

5.1.0 Introduction

It is not always the content of the constituent which
is important; its position is important, too. Fries (1952)
was very careful to keep the concept of 'modifier' separate
and distinct from his categories. He gave examples to show
how impossible it is to define the adverb or the adjective
by what they modify. As mentioned earlier, some adverbs can
appear in various subclasses and thus fulfill various
functions. By function here I mean the possible role that
the adverbial can play in the structure or structures of
which it is a constituent. In other words, it is the sum of
its syntactic features and not its position of occurrence.
We have also mentioned that the function of an adverb or
adverbial unit is not determined solely by its position in
the surface structure either, but rather by the deep
structure of the sentence in which it occurs. We have also
seen that adverbials have the function of modifying, and
their position depends in many cases on the nature of the
modification. There are two properties that characterise
adverbials:

1) Their optionality: they can be deleted without any
resultant changes in the meaning of the remaining parts of

the sentence and that has become clear from our discussion
of the adverb as a modifier.

2) Their mobility: they can often occupy more than one
position in the sentence.

A question that one would ask oneself is which of our
adverbs can occur, in some sense or another, in
sentence-initial position, which can occur before a
predicative or attributive adjective, which can occur
finally, and so forth. To put it differently, "We sometimes
find the sentence adverb at the very beginning of the
sentence, or after the verb, at or near the end of the
sentence; in the former case followed by a slight pause, and
in the latter case preceded by a pause in both cases marks
the adverb or adverbial element as a sentence modifier."
Curme (1931:132)

Compare, for instance

/lihosn ilhazz ilhadsa hasalit bille:1/
'Fortunately, the accident happened at night.'
and others where some shifting transformation would be
involved

/?ilhadsa lihosn ilhazz hasalit bille:1/
'The accident fortunately happened at night.'
/?ilhadsa hasalit bille:1 lihosn ilhazz/
'The accident happened at night, fortunately.'
We notice from the above example that, speaking
transformationally, there will be some drawbacks. A
positional class may contain both items for which this
position is basic. For this and other reasons (for example,

326

the nature of word order in the dialect) a positional class may be surprisingly heterogenous. There is a wide variety of factors which influence the placement of the adverbial. More sophisticated criteria are needed. Further experiments would reinforce the validity of the generalisations reached and reveal other factors influencing positional choices, for example, sentence mood. However, in current practical applications, it seems that the "positional norms"[1] of adverbials are likely to be of prime importance.

It is a fairly well-agreed fact that adverbials have wide ranging privileges of occurrence throughout a given sentence. Some adverbs "swim freely..." (Jackendoff 1972:83) in the sentence, sometimes changing their function as their position changes. Positional mobility of the adverb has an important effect on the meaning of the whole sentence, as we shall see below.

In this chapter, adverbs will be examined according to the degree of acceptability in various positions. The criterion for considering a particular adverb acceptable or not will be the intuitive reaction of native speakers of the dialect. In cases of non-unanimous reaction, I used my own discretion.

The type of modification involved, the phonological prominence of the various constituents of the sentence, are

1. Greenbaum (1976:1)

among the factors which influence the placement of
adverbials. In most cases, the position of the adverb
indicates its function. As we mentioned in the previous
chapter, an adverb may modify the verb, the adjective or
another adverb. Adverbials also may relate not only to a
single word or a constituent, but also to the content of the
whole sentence and function as sentence modifiers. In other
words, they may be classified according to their grammatical
function.

We would like to make it clear here that we are not
seeking a scheme of classification that any adverbial
construction may find a home within. Some factors
influencing adverbial linguistic behaviour are investigated
in order to create a more homogenous class.

In Chapter 4, we have examined all language items
performing the function of 'adverbial'. In this chapter, we
shall re-classify the adverbials investigated in the
previous one and explore all positions they may occupy.

Re-classifying adverbials is necessary in certain
cases. "For example, when the adverbs occurring in a
specific position within a certain construction were further
sub-calssified by additional criteria, adverbs may be of
both classes, though in different senses." Wölck and
Matthews (1965:3).

Jacobson (1964:44) states that "an adverbial relating
to a sentence element is usually placed next to this
sentence element." This would be an ideal criterion for

328

establishing the difference between an adverbial relating to a sentence element and that which qualifies the content of the sentence as a whole. To establish such a criterion would be an easy task since the two types of adverbial differ in their respective sentence positions. Yet the matter is not as simple as this. A thorough investigation as well as some kind of cross-cutting classification is needed. Furthermore, punctuation and intonation devices may be relevant to the designation of the adverbial position when cases of ambiguity arise.

In the following pages, we shall cover the following points as factors influencing adverbial positions:

1) Word order in traditional Arabic grammar and its relevance to the dialect.

2) The relationship of morphological form of the adverb to its sentence position.

3) Context.

4) Intonation.

5) Constituent structure of the sentence.

6) Sentence type and adverbial position.

7) Order of sentence constituents.

Several generalisations will result from examining the above points. These generalisations, together with the results of the word-placement test which was conducted to establish positional norms and to investigate features that influence positional choices away from the norms, will help us to account for the proper usage of adverbials occurring

in various positions.

5.1.1 The determination of word order in traditional Arabic grammar

When everything one wishes to isolate is inseparably related to something else and when several points of view need to be maintained simultaneously, then even the illusion of order and system becomes a necessary comfort and the breathless grammarian props himself against a good long list of items (in our case, of adverbs!)

A fairly large amount of terminology is introduced by Sibawayh and his contemporaries. His book, *Al-Kitaab*, is considered as the basic core of Arabic grammatical tradition. The fact that Arabic is the sacred language of the Holy Quran adds importance to this terminology. /mawḍiᵒ/ 'function' (lit. place) and /manzila/ 'status' are just two of the terms he uses. By the first, Sibawayh means /mawḍiᵒ filkalaam/ 'place in speech', which is intended to be understood as a linguistic form. We notice that /kam/ which has /mawḍiᵒayni/ 'two positions', one predicative when it means 'a few' or 'an amount', and the other interrogative when it means 'how much' or 'how many'.[1]

Not only did Sibawayh and his successors classify different parts of speech according to their functions, but they also categorised them according to their formal

1.   Sibawayh (1889:291).

330

contrastive ability. Sibawayh is well known for his insightful treatment of language phenomena. He views language as social behaviour and uses the criteria of /ḥasan/ 'good', /qabiiḥ/ 'bad' which are structural terms to evaluate strings of words. /mustaqiim/ 'right', 'possible' and /muḥaal/ 'impossible', which are closely related to social situations where the speaker and the listener reach the desired goal, i.e. communication. Sibawayh also cites (Ibid:8) examples like

(1)   ?ataytuka ?amsi wa sa?aatiika ɣadan

        'I came to you yesterday and I will come (to you) tomorrow.'

which are definitely correct, but if the adverbials exchange positions, they will become ungrammatical, or at least unacceptable.

On the other hand, we find him offering other examples like (2) below, which are grammatical and meaningful[1] but carry an impossible message:

(2)   ḥamaltu ljabala wa šaribtu maa?a lbaḥri

        'I carried the mountain and drank the sea water.'

Lyons (1977:155) comments on similar examples in English by saying: "Of some unacceptable combinations of words we will say that they are grammatical, but meaningless, of others although they are both grammatical

---

1.   For the notions of 'grammatical', 'meaningful', see Lyons (1977:154-55 and 421-23).

and meaningful, they would nct normally occur because of the occasion for saying what they 'express' could hardly arise."

Another two conditions that Arab grammarians regarded as of vital importance to the ordering of sentence components are what they called /ᵓaamil/ usually translated as 'grammatically affecting' or simply 'the regent' and /maᵓmuul fiihi/ 'grammatically affected' or 'the regimen'. They confirm that every regimen must have a regent. /kulla maᵓmuulin labudda lahu min ᵓaamil/ 'every regimen must have a regent', /alᵓaamil labudda ?an yastawfiya maᵓmuulahu lxaaṣṣa bihi/ 'the regent must accord with its special regimen' and /la yajtamiᵓu ᵓaamilaani ᵓala maᵓmuulin waaḥidin/ 'there cannot be two regents for one regimen.'[1]

Arab grammarians are divided into two groups regarding the /ᵓaamil/. To one group, the regent is so important to the sentence that it governs the position of words in it, and the functions of these words are reflected in the diacritics that occur on them. (Mainly this involves case endings on nouns.) This group also considers the verb as a very important element in the sentence as it determines the use of the three case-making vowels (a pehnomenon that does not exist in the dialect), i.e. ḍamma, fatḥa and kasra on the subject, object and a noun following a preposition respectively as in (3) where the diacritics are underlined:

1.   See al-Jurjaani (1978: II:356).

332

(3)   qatala rrajul<u>u</u> lli<u>ss</u><u>a</u> bissikki:nat<u>i</u>

'The man killed the thief with the knife.'

The other group, that considers the regent as an
external force that acts outside the sentence nucleus, views
the speaker as the real regent and the words in the sentence
as mere utterances that cannot incorporate the regent. To
this group, the verb plays no important role in the sentence
and the letters that constitute verbs like /qatala/ in the
above sentence are considered to be simply sounds /qa ta la/
chosen by the speaker to govern the constituents that follow.

We shall not elaborate on this as it is beyond the
scope of our study, although fascinating. Our main aim was
to illustrate how the Arab grammarians view the factors
affecting the positions of different constituents of the
sentence.

In the previous Chapter, we mentioned in passing that
certain factors, one of which is the choice of the verb, are
relevant to the choice of adverbial position. Morphological
realisation, sentence structure, predeliction of the speaker
and the nature of the text are among these factors.
Speakers and writers of the dialect, especially educated
ones, tend, in many cases, to flavour what they say/write
with quotations and expressions from classical Arabic. A
certain order of adverbial occurrence can be noticed in
these quotations as some tend to be less flavoured than
others. Because of the importance of these factors in
determining adverbial position, we shall reconsider them in
some detail.

5.1.2 The relationship of morphological form of the adverb to its sentence position

Lyons (1977:194-195) states, "In older books on languages, the distinction between morphology and syntax is sometimes represented in terms of a distinction between 'form' and 'function'. This also rests upon the implied primacy of the word: according to their function in the sentence, which is accounted for by the rules of syntax (with reference to such notions as 'subject', 'object', 'complement', etc.) words are said to assume a different 'form' and the forms are handled by morphology."

The factor of length affects the order that adverbials may take in a given sentence. Causal adverbials tend to occur after single word adverbials or phrasal adverbials; this is also the most natural order of adverbials in Classical Arabic, as in the following examples:

(1)   samar saafarat <u>masa:?an</u> ila banha lihoduuri hafli zafaafi ?axiiha

'Samar travelled <u>in the evening</u> to Banha to attend her brother's wedding.'

(2)   saafarat samar <u>laylan</u> ila banha lihoduuri hafli zafaafi ?axiiha

'Samar travelled <u>at night</u> to Banha to attend her brother's wedding.'

In ECA, adverbials seem to follow the same ordering of occurrence. The sentence in (1) above would be rendered in ECA as:

(3)   samar safrit <u>bille:l</u> banha ºaša:n tiḥḍar faraḥ axu:ha

      'Samar travelled <u>at night</u> (to) Banha to attend her

      brother's wedding.'

      We notice that the adverbial /masaa?an/ in example 1

and /laylan/ in example 2 have changed to an adverbial

phrase /bille:l/ which literally means 'in the night'.

Also, the preposition /?ila/ is not used with the verb

/sa:fir/ 'to travel'. In spite of the fact that (3) is

acceptable, the majority of native speakers consulted

preferred:

(3a) samar safrit banha bille:l ºaša:n tiḥḍar faraḥ axu:ha

      'Samar travelled (to) Banha at night to attend her

      brother's wedding.'

where we find that the single word adverbial precedes the

adverbial phrase, and the adverbial clause appears at the

end of the sentence. Adverbials in the above examples can

interchange positions or even move to occur initially, but

this results in some cases in only marginal acceptability of

the sentence. In (3b)

(3b) ºaša:n tiḥdar faraḥ axu:ha, samar safrit banha bille:l

      '(In order) to attend her brother's wedding, Samar

      travelled to Banha at night.'

where the adverbial clause is permuted to initial position,

the speaker must follow the initial adverbial clause with a

slight pause in order to achieve acceptability. However,

this does not make the utterance in (3b) fully acceptable.

      In this respect, we conclude that ECA imposes a degree

of restriction on the occurrence of clauses. On the other

hand, we find that adverbial clauses implying a condition

335

are exclusively positioned in initial position, as in:

(4)   lamma ti:gi, nitfarrag ºalbirna:mig sawa

        'When you come, we shall watch the programme together.'

(5)   ?iza wa:fi?t· tibi:º lilmaktab da ?adfaº lak ilfilu:s
        ha:lan

        'If you agree to sell me this desk, I shall pay you the

        money now.'

        Also, the /ḥaal/ clause when preceded by the manner

particle /w-/ 'while' occurs only in final position, as in

(6) and (7) below:

(6)   ṣalla wiššams ṭalºa

        'He prayed while the sun was up.'

(7)   ?ilxaṭi:b ka:n biyuxtob winna:s xarga

        'The speaker was giving his speech while people were

        leaving.'

5.1.3 Verb Type

        Arab grammarians clearly specify the relationship

between their classifactory adverbials and the verb of the

sentence. They point out that temporal adverbials like

/yawman/ 'a day' absorb the whole action of the verb. The

action of verbs like /sirto/ 'I walked' is complemented by a

temporal adverbial such as /yawman/. That is, the 'walking'

in (8) occurred in the whole day (24 hours):

(8)   sirto yawman

        'I walked a day.'

        With verbs like /tahajjada/ 'to perform a voluntary

night prayer', temporal adverbials can only show a partial

absorption of the action, as in (9):

336

(9)   tahajjatto xamsa layaalin

       'I performed night prayers for five nights.'

    It is possible to see the semantic difference between

(8) and (9) by the fact that (8) can serve as a response to

a question beginning with /kam .../? 'how long?', whereas

(9) would be a proper response to a question introduced by

/mata .../? 'when?'.

    From this perspective, though it is narrow, we can

prolong our discussion to see what a crucial part the type

of the verb plays in defining the type of adverbial it

readily goes with. We have noticed that there are some

restrictions on the co-occurrence of particular adverbs with

particular verbs. This part can be of bilateral effect:

semantic and syntactic. Semantically, there are certain

features available in the type of the verb which allow their

co-occurrence with the adverbials. On the other hand, other

features disallow their co-occurrence and make the

occurrence of that particular adverbial undesirable or

impossible. The latter type of feature which is responsible

for an absence of the consistency between the verb and the

adverbial renders the sentence awkward. Sentence (10), for

example, is deviant due to the incompatibility between

non-durative verbs and temporal adverbials.

(10)   *wasalit salwa lihadd issa:ºa sitta

       'Salwa arrived until six o'clock.'

    To explain this in more detail, its unacceptability

stems from the fact that the duration of an instantaneous

event cannot be specified because the action does not

indicate a span of time. Conversely, the sentence reading

turns out to be acceptable if the non-durative verb is

replaced by a durative one, as in (11), or the durative

adverbial is replaced by a non-durative one, as in (12).

(11)   fiḍlit salwa liḥadd issa:ºa sitta

       'Salwa stayed until six o'clock.'

(12)   waṣalit salwa issa:ºa sitta

       'Salwa arrived at six o'clock.'

The same semantic selectional restrictions can hold

between manner adverbials, sometimes degree adverbials and a

feature (± stative) of the verb. Manner or degree

adverbials are incompatible with stative verbs. Thus, we

can attribute the unacceptability of sentences (13) and (14)

to the inability of the manner adverbial to describe the

manner of the action or of the degree adverbial to add any

intensification to the verb /da:?/ 'to taste':

(13)   *?aḥmad da:? il?akl biẓẓabt/tama:man

       'Ahmad tasted the food completely/exactly.'

or to /ša:f/ in (14)

(14)   *salwa ša:fit ikkita:b biboṭ?/ºamdan

       'Salwa saw the book slowly/deliberately.'

Syntactically, the compatibility shown between certain

types of verb and adverbials is determined, to a certain

extent, by the number of steps in the hierarchy of their

constituent structure. That is, most adverbials modifying

the verb or verb phrase of the sentence normally appear to

the left of the verb. A representative example is (15)

below where the dependency relationship between the verb and

the following adverbial is obvious. Any disassociation

between such an adverbial and the verb results either in an

awkward utterance or a change in meaning:

(15)   na?šo lmawḍu:ᵒ siya:siyan w iqtiṣa:diyan

'They discussed the matter politically and economically.'

(15a) ?siya:siyyan w iqtiṣa:diyyan na?šo lmawḍu:ᵒ

'Politically and economically they discussed the matter.'

(15b) *na?šo siya:siyyan w iqtiṣadiyyan ilmawḍu:ᵒ

'They discussed politically and economically the

matter.'

We would go as far as to say that the semantics of a

given adverbial will render it incompatible for collocation

with certain verbs. For instance, the adverbials /marra

tanya/ 'once more' or /ta:ni/ 'again' suggest a repetition

of the action of the verb when used with such verbs as

/yiftaḥ/ 'to open', /yirinn/ 'to ring', /yiḍrab/ 'to beat,

hit'. However, no repetition is possible with verbs like

/yiksar/ 'to break', /yi?ṭaᵒ/ 'to tear'. Thus, sentences

(16) and (17) are impossible except under specific, highly

defined circumstances.

(16)   salwa rannat iggaras <u>marra tanya</u>

'Salwa rang the bell <u>once more</u>.'

(17)   ?aḥmad fataḥ iššibba:k <u>ta:ni</u>

'Ahmad opened the window <u>again</u>.'

(18)   *?ilwalad kasar iṭṭaba? <u>marra tanya</u>

'The boy broke the plate once more (again).'

(19)   *?ilbint ?aṭṭaᵒit iṣṣu:ra <u>ta:ni</u>

'The girl tore the picture again.'

339

5.1.4 Context

Kirkwood (1969:88) states, "The communicative function of word order and the different formal means available in different languages of achieving a distribution of content in keeping with the communicative intention have been investigated in a number of studies by Prague linguists (Mathesius:1929, Firbas:1958, 1959, 1964, Beneš: 1964, 1967). The sentence is considered from the point of view of the information it conveys. Communication normally develops from what is known to speaker and listener, or what may be inferred from the context, to what is unknown, to the new information to be conveyed."

Context is to be understood in a wide sense as verbal and situational, or what might be called the context of interest or expectancy. The speaker may anticipate items of interest to the listener and use them to introduce the utterance, thus establishing a common basis. "From this point of departure the utterance is developed by way of "transitional elements" to the communicative core. This is the sequence characteristic of relaxed speech..... In emotive speech this order may be reversed. The communicative core may be placed first in a position of emphasis." (ibid)

Barakat (1982:PartI:II) discusses a similar situation in the Arabic language: "*?inna lkalima biḍawaabiṭiha l?iᵒraabiya la takuunu wa la tuḥaddadu taḥdiidan daqiiqan ?illa min xilaali ᵒalaaqatiha bima yojaawiruha min waḥdaat luɣawiyya saabiqatin ᵒalayha ?aw laaḥiqatin biha*" / "A word

340

with its grammatical case endings can only be accurately

defined through the relation to the linguistic units that

are close to it whether preceding or succeeding it (i.e. its

contextual position)."

Contextualisation as a determining factor is supported

by early Arab grammarians like Khaliil and Sibawayh.

Khaliil points out that the speaker is impelled to complete

the sentence, especially an equational sentence, once he has

aroused the expectations of the listener. That is, its

communicative meaning is determined by the speaker and the

listener in addition to other subsidiary factors: the

situation they are in, their needs, the inherent motive of

speech. It is inadmissible to commence an equational

sentence with an undefined subject or with anything that the

listener and the speaker know nothing about. The often

quoted Classical example is

(1)   *rajulun filbayti

       'A man (is) in the house.'

To make this grammatical, it would have to be reversed

giving a "fronted comment", i.e. **/xabar muqaddam/** as in

(1a)   filbayti rajulun

       'In the house (is) a man.'

Sibawayh's view coincides with Khaliil when he

confirms that the listener is the only one who determines

the rightness of an utterance.[1] We often notice that
Sibawayh's "Book" /al-Kitaab/ invokes "context of situation
as an overriding factor affecting the grammaticality of an
expression."[2] To illustrate, some predicates sound
ungrammatical because of the lack of a proper context. With
sentences (2) and (3), the reader or the listener expects
something to be added to them in order to convey a complete
message.

(2) ? salwa haṭṭiṭ ikkita:b.....
      'Salwa put the book.....'

(3) ? ?aḥmad ᵒa:š.....
      'Ahmad lived.....'

By the intervention of an appropriate type of
adverbial which is directly suggested by their verbs, the
above sentences can be rendered more acceptable. They
require location and duration adverbials respectively:

(2a)   salwa haṭṭiṭ ikkita:b ᵒarraf
       'Salwa put the book on the shelf.'

(3a)   ?aḥmad ᵒa:š xamsi:n sana
       'Ahmad lived for fifty years.'

We can conclude here that early grammarians drew
attention to the importance of contextual factors in the
correct formation and interpretation of messages.

1.   See Sibawayh (1889:214).

2.   See Carter (1968:149).

Ambiguities are "usually resolved in the light of the wider text." Greenbaum (1969:188)

5.1.5. Intonation

Hill (1961:7) writes: "The number of intonation patterns is small, but no utterance can be given without one of them." It is well-known that intonation has an important role in marking the grammatical function of linguistic elements. It is the intonation and stress that make a word or part of a word prominent in order to give special intensity to its meaning or to show that it is in contrast with other words. In this respect, Jones (1962:145) points out that "One function of stress is to give emphasis to words. Thus it is the use of stress in the sentence, strong stress being employed to make a word or part of a word stand out in order to give special intensity to its meaning or to show that it is in contrast with something. It is probable that this use of stress is to be found to a certain extent in stressless languages as well as in stress languages." Mathesius (1975:141) also writes, "English prefers to have a decrease both in stress and pitch as the end of the sentence and it is precisely the postposition of the adverb by which this decrease can be achieved."

In some cases, Arabic prefers to have a fall in pitch at the end of the sentence and it is precisely the postposition of the adverb by which this decrease can be achieved. Thus, the stress on the adverbial /?innaharda/ 'today' imparts importance to it and in turn allows the

speaker to express his concern regarding the day of the event, and excludes any other days:

/hayru:ḥ yizorhom innahá:rda/

'He will go to visit them today.'

Comma punctuation is essential in order that the item should be taken as a disjunct. But if the context makes it clear that the item is, for example, interpreted as a disjunct, it is not absolutely necessary to follow it by a comma. Greenbaum (1969:184-85) states that: "Punctuation and intonation devices may not be used if the context makes it obvious that a disjunct is intended. The context may be wider than the clause to which the disjunct refers. Within its clause, the item may be ambiguous, but in the wider context it may lose its ambiguity."

5.1.6. Word Order

A major part of the meaning of any sentence is shown by the structure within which words are arranged. Our interpretation of the constituents may vary according to their position in the deep structure. For example, although the word /ʔilʔasa:tza/ 'the lecturers' in the following two sentences:

(1)   ʔilʔasa:tza la:zim yisaᵒdo iṭṭalaba

'The lecturers must help the students'

(2)   ʔiṭṭalaba la:zim yisaᵒdo ilʔasa:tza

'The students must help the lecturers.'

seems to be the same in both structures, we understand in the second that /ʔilʔasa:tza/ are the ones who should be

helped, whereas in the first /?iṭṭalaba/ 'the students' are

the ones who are doing the 'helping'. This kind of

information, vital for the semantic interpretation of

sentences, is often called *functional information*. It is

obtained from the way constituents are arranged in the deep

structure and not from the lexical meaning of the individual

constituents. But, whatever underlying syntactic structure

we might wish to postulate, no syntactic description of a

language is complete without a description of surface

structure. To describe surface structure we must know the

order in which units can occur. But a description that is

concerned with language use will not be satisfied with a

system that lists the possible positions. It will establish

the normal positions as well as the range of the

alternatives, and it will explain the factors that influence

positional choices away from the norm.

As Kirkwood (1969:90) states, "The extent to which

word order can be freely manipulated to conform to the

communicative intention is limited by formal constraints

imposed by the grammatical structure of the language." A

major part of the meaning of any sentence is associated with

the structure within which words are arranged. Our

interpretation of the constituents may vary according to

their position in the sentence as we have seen in examples

(1) and (2) above.

A study of a fairly large text in Arabic reveals that

a variety of word orders are encountered comparatively

frequently. This variety includes word orders like VSO SVO

VOS and SOV. However, the order SVO is taken to be the

basic one in ECA. The sequence VSO does also occur and

because it is a derivation from the normal order, it may be

emphatic.

Languages which admit more than one order in their

sentences are assumed to have one basic word order. In the

words of Greenberg (1963:111), "The vast majority of

languages have several variant orders but a single dominant

one." The word order SVO is chosen as basic in the dialect

because it is the most common one which can initiate

discourse. It is also the sentence that invariably answers

questions about the general states of affairs, like /?e:h

illi ḥaṣal/ 'what happened'. In Classical Arabic, however,

as one constituent can be distinguished from another by its

case marking, word order is freer. The Arabic word carries

along something that indicates its parsing status. This

contrasts with some languages in which the syntactic value

of a word is determined by its specific position in the

sentence. Any change in that specific position of the word

would result in a change in its syntactic function.

/?iᵃra:b/ 'parsing, case marking' is a very important

feature of Classical Arabic as it preserves the inherent

features of each constituent when more than one word order

is used. It is true that /?iᵃra:b/ gives sentence

constituents a great deal of freedom; it also systematises

the communications of the constituents in such a way that

each of them could retain its function no matter where it is likely to move. The role of /?iᵃra:b/ has been supported and its importance has always been emphasised by Arab grammarians. Sibawayh, for example, comments on the following sentence whose NPs retain their vowel signs wherever they are placed:

/ḍaraḅa ºabdullaahi zaydan/

'Abdullah hit Zaid.'

by saying that "if you advance the object and postpose the subject, the performance would be the same as before (the permutation). In so doing, you actually want to say what you have said (earlier)."[1]

The discussion about the flexibility of Arabic word order may be impeded by the existence of examples where no overt case markers are exhibited as one can see in sentences (1) and (2) below:

(1)   daºa muusa ºiisa

       'Musa invited Isa.'

(2)   daºat mona hoda

       'Mona invited Huda.'

Therefore, position is important in the study of adverbs in ECA because it is not demarcated morphologically.

In what follows we shall identify all possible positions that are occupied by the adverbials identified.

1.   The text is originally in Arabic. See Sibawayh (1889:V.1:34)

347

5.1.7 Positional Terms

5.1.7.1 Initial position

This is the position at the very beginning of the sentence whatever its type: nominal or verbal, as in

(1)   hina ilgaw bard

'Here the weather is cold.'

(2)   bokra hanru:ḥ ilḥafla

'Tomorrow we will go to the party.'

In general, the initial position is the emphatic one and, while there are other methods of emphasis (for example, stress), the initial position always seems to be left free so that an element to which attention is directed may occur first. "It is the element the speaker selects to use as a starting point, hence its positional emphasis. It is as divorced from other elements of the structure by being fronted as an immediate constituent of the initial node." Kamel (1982:105). It is believed that an adverbial may be moved around depending on the meaning required but, as we mentioned above, placing the adverbial in an initial position makes it a carrier of the main interest of the speaker or the writer.

5.1.7.2 Medial position

The term 'medial position' covers a number of actual functions depending on which sentence constituent it modifies. We shall follow Abbas (1991:Chap 6) allocating a number preceded by the letter 'M' referring to the word 'medial'. Thus, the position occupied by Subject Modifying

348

Adverbials (SUBMAs) will be represented by 'M₁'. 'M₂' refers to the position occupied by Verb Modifying Adverbials (VMAs). 'M₃' refers to the position occupied by Verb Phrase Modifying Adverbials (VPMAs) when followed by another constituent. As for the Auxiliary (Aux) position, the presence of an adverbial in this position is not allowed by Arabic grammatical rules as well as those applicable to the dialect which allow only one verb /yiku:n/, /ka:n/ 'be, was' to assume the function of the auxiliary. For example,

(1)   ?aḥmad ka:n xarag lamma sa?alt ᵒale:h min sa:ᵒa
       'Ahmad had left when you asked about him an hour ago.'

       As for the future marker /ha-/ which is rendered by English auxiliaries, it is inseparable from the verb, being a prefix. Thus, the English sentence

       I will certainly write to her
does not have a similarly structured Arabic equivalent sentence

(2)   *?ana ha ?aki:d aktib laha

       The sentences (3a), (4a) and (5a) below are awkward because of the intervening adverbial between the verb and the future marker, while sentences 3 - 5 are acceptable and normal.

(3)   samar hatru:ḥ inna:di bokra
       'Samar will go to the club tomorrow.'

(4)   lamma tiwṣalo hayku:no xarago barra
       'When you arrive they will have gone out.'

(5)   hayxallaṣ dirastoh baᵒd sana
       'He will finish his studies in a year's time.'

(3a)   *samar ha bokra tru:ḥ inna:di

‘Samar will tomorrow go to the club.’

(4a)   *lamma tiwṣalo ha barra yku:no xarago

‘When you arrive will out they be gone.’

(5a)   *ha baᵉd sana yixallaṣ dirastoh

‘Will after one year he finish his studies.’

We thus conclude that there is no sub-class of Aux MAs (Auxiliary Modifying Adverbials) in the dialect similar to the one in English.

5.1.7.3 Final Position

Here the adverbial occupies the position at the very end of the sentence irrespective of its type. We shall refer to this position by ‘F’.

5.1.8 Classification

In the previous chapters, we mentioned that position and function are the basic classification criteria. We also stressed and showed that it is equally important to consider semantic properties of the advl as they may interact with positional and/or functional criteria in helping to define categories of adverb. Sub-classifications will be based on the behaviour of the adverbial constructions concerned with respect to certain changes in the word order of the sentence, certain transformations and negations.

Many problems emanate from the heterogeneity as well as the high mobility of the adverbial. This, added to the fact that adverbial ordering is subject, to a certain

extent, to the user's discretion, makes our task in trying to follow these adverbials, orbiting both in the sentence and outside its borders, a difficult one. The order of the nuclear constituents in an Arabic sentence is relatively fixed,[1] and this goes for ECA, too. They consist of subject verb, direct and indirect objects, subject and object complements and obligatory adverbials used in the complementation of certain verbs. Such transpositions can easily be recognised as non-normal variants by the speakers of the language. The existence of these obligatory adverbials (a term used by Greenbaum (1976:1)) can make our task less difficult. The head and its associate adverbial almost always form one semantic unit. Sentence constituents sometimes display a cohesive relationship in such a way that they are consistent with each other in their ordinary environment. To make this clearer, consider the sentences:

(1)   ?aḥmad xad ilmasa:fa kollaha gary
       (lit. 'Ahmad took the distance all of it running')
       'Ahmad ran the whole distance.'

(2)   siḥi:t iṣṣobh
       'I woke up (in) the morning.'

(3)   na:m bille:l
       'He slept at night.'

---

1.   The reason I say that it is relatively fixed is because certain elements can be transposed to convey greater prominence to a specific part of the sentence. For more on this, see Kamel (1988:passim) and Edwards (1988).

(4) ? samar ºa:šit f ?asba:nya bsorºa

'Samar lived in Spain quickly.'

In 1, 2 and 3, we find that there is a certain
'harmony' or 'cohesion' between the verb and the adverb
whereas in 4, despite the fact that it is grammatically
correct, it is not acceptable to native speakers surveyed as
there is no consistency between the verb /ºa:š/ 'live' and
the adverbial /bsorºa/ 'quickly'.

More concrete evidence is presented by Ibn Hishaam
(1963:235) when he states that in sentences like

/naama ṭṭiflu haadi?an ṭuula lyawmi/

'The baby slept quietly the whole day.'
the **ḥaal** construction is seen as part of the sentence
because it is essential to the meaning of the verb.
Therefore, the best place for it is next to or close to the
verb.

On the other hand, the peripheral elements in the
sentence – the optional adverbials – appear to have
comparitively greater freedom of movement. However, freedom
of adverbial placement is restricted. The type of the
adverbial and its function play an important role here:
"Because of the numerous types of adverbials and their
varying mobility, their positions are not as obvious as
those for the nuclear elements in the sentence." Greenbaum
(1976:1)

A simple field experiment was carried out to test
this. A variety of sentences from the corpus was written in
a booklet and presented to a group of 22 educated speakers

(males and females). The preliminary instruction to each of them was: "Put the word in the position that seems most natural and normal to you." This was conducted separately for each individual. The word or the adverbial was put in bold on top of the sentence. The sentences were not uttered so as to avoid influencing their decision as to where to put the adverbial. They were asked to write down the whole sentence to ensure that they had read it in the correct manner. They were clearly asked, in writing, at the beginning of the booklet to write down the sentence, using the word on top, only once.

An study of the responses led to an analysis in terms of the three major positions mentioned on pp.348-50 Listing the positions adverbials may occupy in a given sentence is not the issue. Rather, it is the degree of acceptability which highlights the normal positions. Now we shall return to our base and see what happens to the classification adopted when applied to ECA. The results of the test will be commented upon later in the chapter.

5.1.9. The adverbial: a sentence or a verb-modifier?

Now the question arises, how are adverbials, whether adjuncts, disjuncts or conjuncts, introduced into the syntax? To put it differently, at what point in the

sentence does the adverb appear in the Deep Structure. In Chapter 4, it became clear that the syntactic function[1] performed by the adverbial is one of the essential factors in making a clear distinction between sentence-modifying adverbs, on the one hand, and word or word-group modifying adverbs, on the other. However, many adverbs, when they occur initially, can hardly be said to modify anything within the sentence. They always function as sentence modifiers and are commonly called sentence adverbs. Another important factor is the position the adverbial occupies in the sentence. A useful diagnostic criterion offered by Greenbaum (1969:24) establishes that disjuncts, when occurring as sentence adverbials, are not included in sentence processes such as negation and interrogation, not integrated into the structure of the sentence and are highly mobile. They form a pre-sentence unit in underlying structure. They are best preposed to avoid ambiguity and when they appear initially they are usually intonationally set off from the rest of the clause.

In the sentences

(1)   howwa ga:wib ᵒasso?a:l <u>biṣara:ha</u>
       'He answered the question frankly.'

(2)   <u>biṣara:ha</u>ᵔhowwa ga:wib ᵒasso?a:l
       'Frankly he answered the question.'

---

1.   By this, we mean here the division into such types as "place", "time", "manner", "degree", etc.

354

(3)   howwa <u>biṣara:ha</u> ga:wib ᵉasso?a:l

'He frankly answered the question.'

(4)   howwa ga:wib <u>biṣara:ha</u> ᵉasso?a:l

'He answered frankly the question.'

Is /biṣara:ha/ a separate lexical item so that the sentences display four homonyms?[1] Or do we have one lexical item with more than one manifestation? If it is only one lexical item, do we ascribe its four manifestations to four syntactic classes? Or do we regard them as members of one syntactic class with differences in their syntactic relationship to the other constituents of the clause?

If we assume that 2 or 3 instances of /biṣara:ha/ above are related semantically, are we also to consider them members of the same syntactic class? At one level of observation they all function as 'Adjunct' and hence we can assign them all to the class of 'Adjunct Adverbs' (to borrow Greenbaum's 1969 term). The difference in the perception of the function of /biṣara:ha/ in the sentences (1) and (2) above is the result of the semantic difference reflected by a variation in position.

In (2) and (3) where the adverb occurs in a pre-verb position,[2] ambiguity might arise between adjunct and

1.   "Items that are identified in their written and spoken forms but that differ syntactically are considered to be syntactic homonyms." Greenbaum (1969:6)

2.   See Jacobson (1968:86-8) for the placement of pre- verb adverbs in a sentence.

disjunct (see Trees 2 & 3). In (2), however, if the adverb is followed by a pause and the sentence is uttered with two contours

(2a) biṣara:ha ‖ howwa ga:wib ᵒasso?a:l

the adverb forms a pre-sentence unit in the underlying structure and in this position it functions as a sentence modifier and is a disjunct. This is represented as Tree (1)[1] There is, however, a simple syntactic test to show that /biṣara:ha/ in (1) differs from /biṣara:ha/ in (2):

If we transform the sentences into questions we can only retain /biṣara:ha/ in the interrogative transformation of (1)

/ga:wib ᵒasso?a:l ?izza:y/?

'How did he answer the question?'

In surface structure, /biṣara:ha/ in (1) is a Manner Adjunct, i.e. it can serve as a response to an interrogative transformation introduced by 'How'. The adverb in this case is internal to the VP.[2]

1.   In deep structure /biṣara:ha/ in (2a) above can also be shown to be a Manner Adjunct in the clause because it can be paraphrased as "If I may speak frankly". The whole clause here functions as an Attitudinal Adjunct. It belongs to the higher sentence S̄. (See Tree (1))

2.   "By the strictly local sub-catagorisation principle we know that certain categories must be internal to the VP and others must be external to it." Chomsky (1965:106)

(1)

```
                              S
                   _____
                  /                        \
                Adv                          S
                                 _____|_____
          bisara:ha            /             |            \
          frankly            NP              V              PP
                             |               |            __|__
                             |               |           /     \
                             |               |          P       NP
                             |               |          |       |
                           howwa          ga:wib      °a      sso?a:l
                            he           answered    (on)   the question
```

(2)

```
                              S
                   _____|_____
                  /           |                   \
                NP            VP                    Adv
                 |        ____|____                  |
                 |       /         \                 |
                 |      V           PP               |
                 |      |         __|__              |
                 |      |        /     \             |
                 |      |       P       NP           |
                 |      |       |       |            |
               howwa  ga:wib   °a    sso?a:l     bisara:ha
                He   answered  (on) the question  frankly
```

357

(3)

```
                        S
                    ╱       ╲
                 ╱             ╲
              NP                 VP
              │               ╱  │  ╲
              │            ╱     │     ╲
              │          ╱       │        ╲
              │        V         PP         Adv
              │        │       ╱   ╲         │
              │        │     ╱       ╲        │
              │        │    P         NP      │
              │        │    │         │       │
            howwa   ga:wib   ºa     sso?a:l  biṣara:ha
             He     answered  (on)  the question  frankly
```
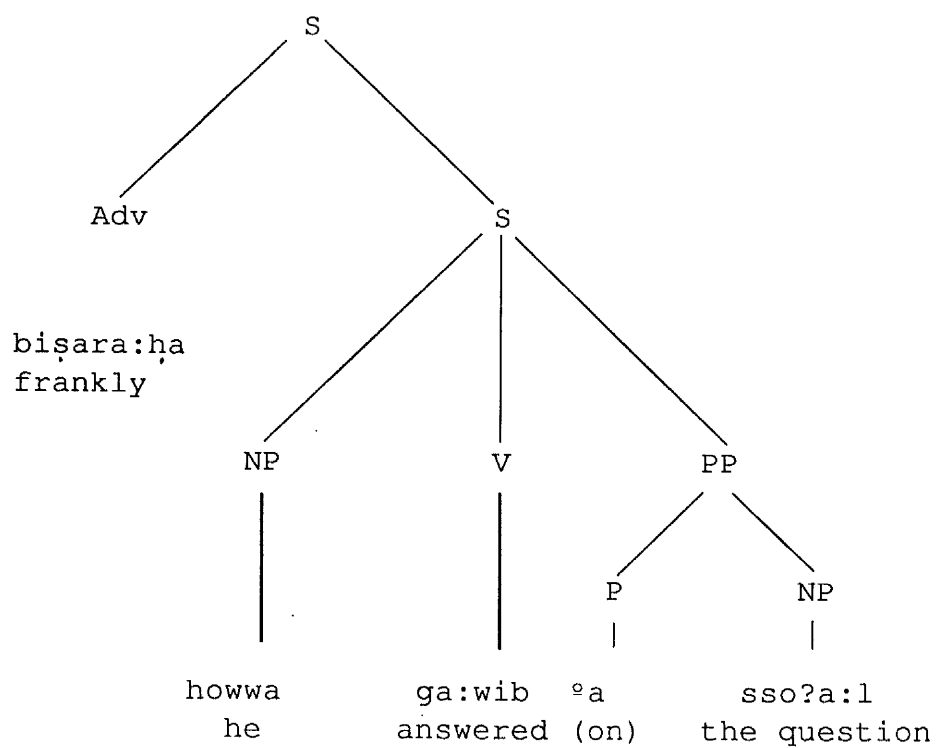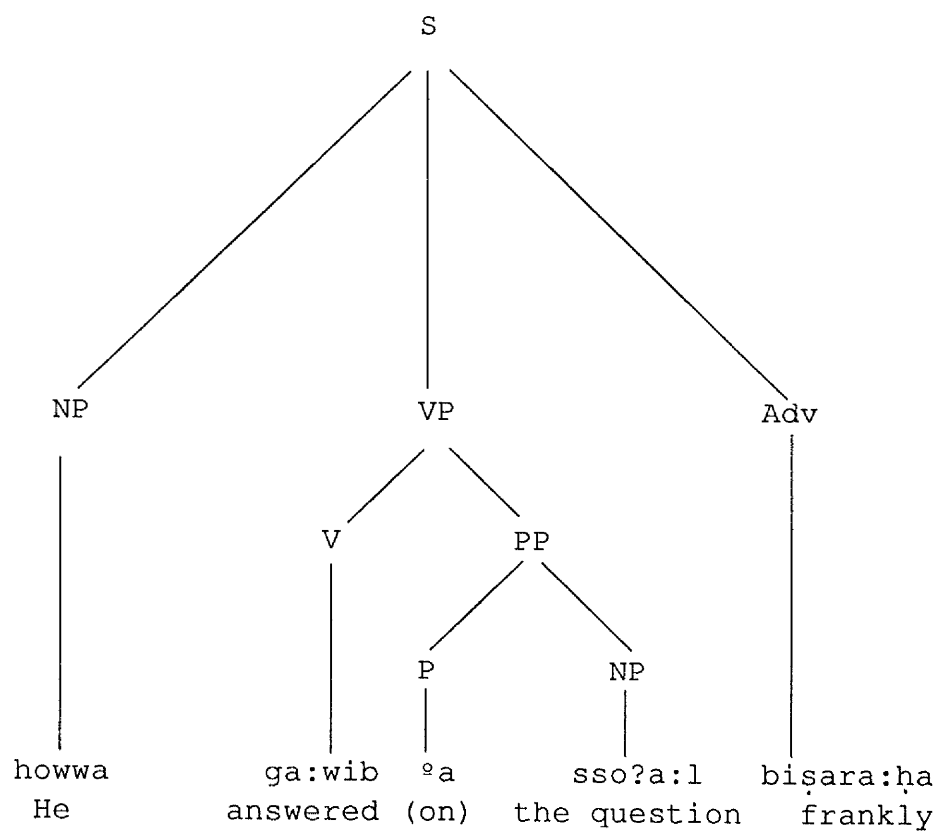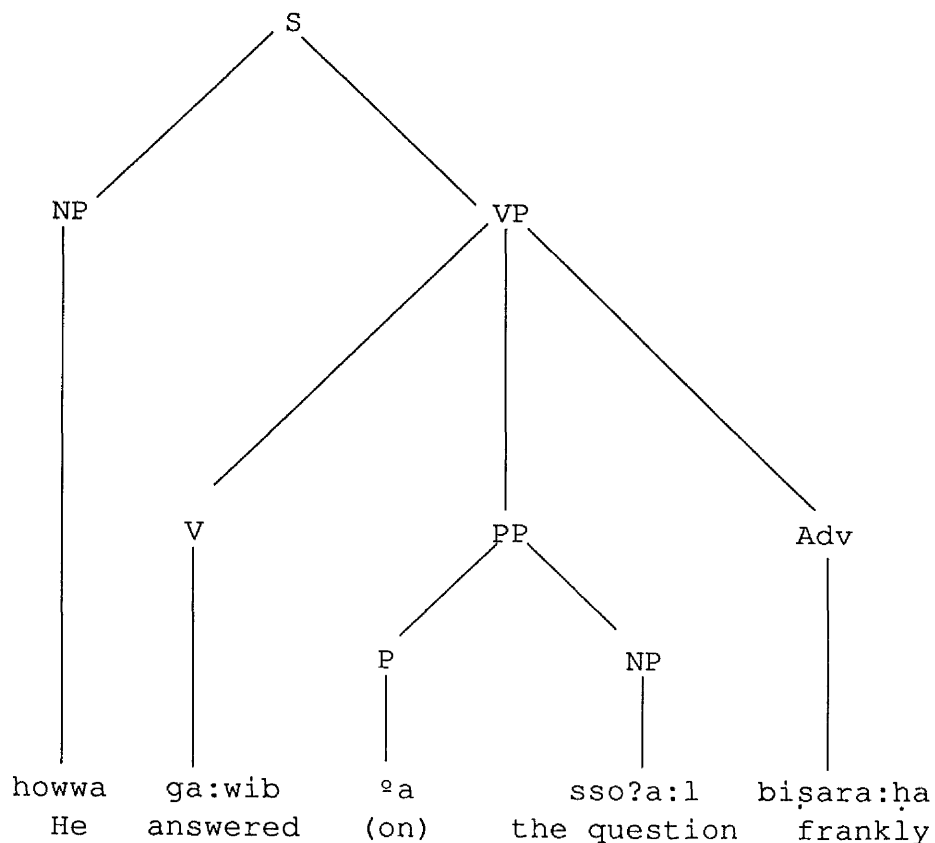
The adverb in the above diagram is immediately
dominated by the VP node.[1] The two constituents will be
called – following Bach (1974:85-6) – "sisters". Hence the
special case is called 'sister- adjunction' because the two

1. See Jacobson (1968:Chap 1) for the deep structures of sentences
    with adverbs immediately dominated by the node S as contrasted
    with adverbs dominated by the node VP.

constituents are "immediately attached to the same higher node". (ibid.) However, the final position of the adverb seems to be the most acceptable to all native speakers who participated in the test. On the other hand, if the rule of adverb movement[1] is applied to the sentence in Diagram (2) (which can be interpreted as either 1 or 3), the problem can be solved so long as the adverbial is moved to the front of the sentence and is simultaneously separated from the rest of the sentence by means of a comma or the like.

If the adverb is moved by the rule of topicalisation to appear initially, it will receive both types of emphasis: "focal" and "positional", see Kamel (1982:126 and Section 3.6). It is important to point out that topicalisation in ECA will not correspond to the rule carrying the same name in English Transformational Grammar as explained by Ross (1968:233) and Chomsky (1970:passim). Instead, topicalisation is used as a general term to cover all forms of leftward movement. It consists of a number of rules that

---

1. "Suppose we want to assume that the rule of adverb movement produces changes like this
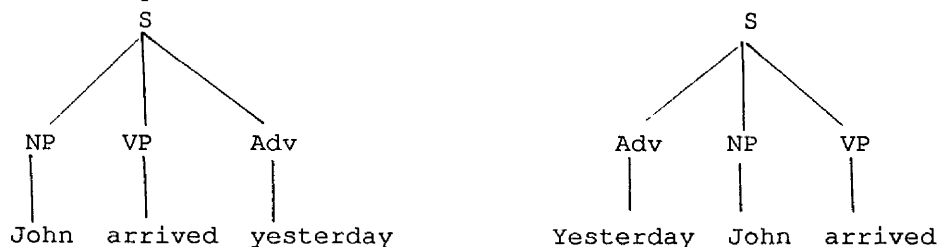
then we can say that the adverb is sister adjoined to the left of the initial NP (Adv. plus NP is substituted for NP) and the original Adv. is deleted." Bach (1974:85-6)

result in the fronting of noun phrases, adverbs, verbs and predicate phrases including adjectives and noun phrases. A nominal element in ECA can be shifted to initial position without leaving a pronominal copy. "But elements such as adverbs are not required to leave a copy and are subject to fronting rules which have different properties from those relevant to NP shift." Kamel (1982:127)

The test that was carried out on this adverbial and similar ones shows that the native speaker would use the adverb in position 'M$_2$' or 'F'. Position 'I' is also frequent and seems to be the most suitable. In this position, it is unlikely there would be ambiguity since the homonyms of the adjunct are unlikely to appear here. 'M$_1$' was seen in 3 samples out of the 22 as a possibility.

5.1.10. Position, Punctuation and Intonation as features of identification of disjuncts.

However, the separation of /biṣara:ḥa/ (as in Diagram 1, p.357) in an independent tone unit is not in itself sufficient to identify it as a disjunct. Greenbaum (1969:191) states, "A disjunct cannot be identified merely by its position or by features of intonation or punctuation that accompany it. Where an item may be either a disjunct or an adjunct, the context will usually indicate the more probable semantic interpretation." Greenbaum (1969:183) cites the following example:

"Bournvita helps you relax naturally" where *naturally* is ambiguous between disjunct and adjunct, even though it is

in an independent tone unit. The sentence can be
interpreted both as 'Bournvita helps you relax, of course.'
and as 'Bournvita helps you relax; moreover, Bournvita helps
you relax by natural means.' In the first interpretation,
naturally is the "attitudinal adjunct, while in the second
interpretation it is the manner, sole linguistic unit in a
'supplementary' clause, a type of elliptical clause for
which the whole of the preceding or interrupted clause
constitutes the ellipsis. The relationship of the nuclear
tones has contributed to the ambiguity." He adds, "The
subtle distinctions that are possible in intonation are not
always paralleled in punctuation. In the written medium,
naturally would be ambiguous between the adjunct and the
supplementary clause.

     Bournvita helps you relax, naturally.

The writer would have to move it to another position
to make it clear that he wanted it to be interpreted as a
disjunct and in this context the initial position would be
the most suitable.

     Naturally, Bournvita helps you relax." (ibid:184)

Homonyms of the disjunct are unlikely to appear in
this position, hence it is unlikely for ambiguity to occur.
In the written text, there will be no need for the use of a
comma after the word and it would not need to be in a
separate tone unit in speech. Also, unless other linguistic
units were added, e.g.

     Bournvita helps you relax – and *naturally*..
     Bournvita helps you relax – *naturally*, in fact.

naturally could not be unambiguously a supplementary clause. "There would not, however, be any ambiguity if the supplementary clause were attached to a type of clause not open to a disjunct. Hence there is no doubt that *naturally* in the following headline is a supplementing clause. An article in a woman's magazine is seductively entitled:

HOW YOU

CAN

LOOK

PRETTIER –

NATURALLY (*Woman* 2/7/66:8,1)

Since the disjunct cannot appear within an indirect question, *naturally* here is unambiguously an adjunct in a supplementing clause." (ibid)

Wider context usually solves the problem. It makes it obvious that a disjunct is intended. "Within its clause the item may be ambiguous, but in the wider context it may lose its ambiguity." (ibid:185)

Sometimes, the choice between positions appears to be merely a matter of stylistic preference as we mentioned earlier. Our concern is mainly with those cases where choice between positions is significant.

SECTION II

One of the aims of the positional test that we carried out was to investigate the intuitive judgements of native speakers about the acceptability of adverbial positions and

362

eventually establish a scale of acceptability of the
adverbials examined. Two points became clearer after the
experiment:

(1) There were some unexpected errors but they were
insignificant. The mobility of the adverbial meant that
members of the adverbial class occupied many positions in
the same sentence.

(2) The freedom that adverbials enjoy by occurring in
almost any position is a result of the demands of
communication and cohesion. This freedom of mobility was
exploited and most adverbials were placed in positions which
are, in most cases, acceptable to native speakers; marginal
unacceptability also occurred.

(3) Choice of the appropriate position is sometimes
affected by contextual aspects of the sentence. In other
words, co- occurrence restrictions influence the positional
choice. Such restrictions are almost purely semantic and
characterise the way adverbials combine with other elements
in the sentence.

5.2.0 Functional / Positional approach

Throughout the thesis, we have been emphasising the
importance of function as a criterion in establishing and
clarifying ambiguities in the classsification of adverbials.
We also mentioned that functional/positional criteria
together with the semantic features that the adverbial
confers to its head are essential to make the task easier.

Some adverbials tested against different sentences

were listed, then a sentence and a representative adverbial were chosen, followed by a description which lists the adverbial characteristics based on functional, positional, semantic and syntactic criteria.

5.2.1. Sentence Modifying Adverbials (SMA)

These adverbials can very revealingly be related to what some linguists have called 'performative' or 'predicative' verbs. "Some linguists have stated that predicative verbs may be reduced to two classes only; one of the TELL type, and the other of the KNOW type." Hetzron (1971:31) Because they are independent, one of them should be enough. One cannot tell anything without having some kind of previous knowledge about it. Similarly, one cannot reveal knowledge without telling it.

This same type of verb is referred to by Austin as a "performative verb".[1]

"Consequently, the performative verbs (Austin 1962) will be derived from these two basic verbs, i.e. TELL and KNOW." (ibid) Complex lexicalisations will result when these verbs occur with adverbials that modify them. These complex lexicalisations actually occur in natural language.

---

1. The term 'performative verb' is used by Boyd and Thoren (1969:57) for such verbs as 'promise', 'pay', 'state', 'assert', etc.

Most sentence adverbials would be of the KNOW type.
"They are not generated in one statement."[1] (ibid:32)

I know with no certainty → probably.

I know with inference → apparently.

I know with firm conviction → obviously, etc.

Other sentence adverbs come from Manner Adverbials of
TELL. For example,

I am telling you with regret → unfortunately

I am telling you with satisfaction → fortunately

This does not cover the complete surface category of
sentence adverbs. Adverbs like originally, suddenly (both
derived from temporal clauses) also become sentence-adverbs
on the surface.[2]

In the cases where the S is modified by more than one
adverbial, the adverbials that are closer to the sentence
will be applied first. The second sentence adverbial will
then be applied to the sentence that results from the
application of the first. Sentence adverbials which have
different underlying semantic structures are not expected to
produce acceptable sentences when coordinated.

Consider the sentence

?a:lo ?inn aḥmad biyza:kir <u>filbe:t</u> <u>kọwayyis</u>

'They said that Ahmad is studying at home well'

---

1.   Statement is a degree higher than S. S̄ refers to the sentence
      that does not contain a sentence adverbial. It has been referred
      to as S̄ in the X̄ syntax. For more on this, see Jackendoff (1977:
      passim), Chomsky (1970a) and Cook (1994:87-120).

2.   See Corum (1975:133-41) for more on sentence adverbs.

365

In a similar sentence in which the coordinator /w/ occurs between the adverbial of place /filbe:t/ and the word /kowayyis/, the latter will be an adjective, not an adverb, and will refer back to the subject, the sentence being:

/?a:lo ?inn aḥmad biyza:kir <u>filbe:t</u> <u>w</u> <u>kowayyis</u>/

'They said that Ahmad is studying at home and is well.'

We shall be concerned in this section with sentences modified by one adverb only; combinations of adverbials and their order will be discussed in Section III.

In the sentences

(1)   ?aḥmad ḥaḍar ilḥafla

       'Ahmad attended the party.'

(2)   ?ilwadͦ be:n ilbalade:n biyitḥassin

       'The situation between the two countries is improving.'

Adverbials like /bibaṣa:ṭa/ 'simply', /bixtiṣa:r/ 'briefly', /biṣara:ḥa/ 'frankly', /filḥa?i:?a/ 'in fact', 'indeed', /lisu:? ilḥazz/ 'unfortunately', /liḥosn ilḥazz/ 'fortunately', /lil?asaf/ 'regrettably', /yaxṣa:ra/ 'what a pity', /yare:t/ '(I) wish', /ṭabͦan/ 'of course', /ṭabi:ͦi/ 'naturally', /?aki:d/ /mo?akkad/ 'certainly', /bitta?ki:d/ 'for sure', 'surely', /yimkin/ 'maybe', /(min il)momkin/, /(min il)moḥtamal/, /?iḥtima:l/ 'possibly', 'probably', /yizhar/, /?izza:hir/ 'it seems', 'it appears', /la:zim/ 'must', etc.[1] can appear. The adverbial typically occurs in

---

1.   The list is by no means exhaustive. The adverbials in this list
      are likely to express meanings of possibility, reservation,
      attitude and interjection.

Initial position (henceforth 'I'). By initial position we mean the position before any of the sentence elements, i.e. pre-sentence position as we established earlier. In general, sentence adverbials are not tied to any particular constituent in the sentence. They have the whole sentence as their scope, "and this justifies their sister adjunction to $\bar{S}$, which is the basic predication in the sentence

$\bar{S} \rightarrow \text{Aux Pred (Adv)}$

sister adjunction" Kamel (1982:313)

Their occurrence in initial position gives them both precedence and positional emphasis. When they appear initially, they are usually set off from the rest of the clause and, as we mentioned earlier in the thesis, they are syntactically distinguished from other adverbials by being uninvolved in sentence processes such as negation and interrogation.

In sentence (1) above, only the position intervening between the verb and the sentence complement, which I have referred to earlier as 'M$_2$', is unacceptable. As for sentence (2), 'I'[1] is the most acceptable and normal position for the adverbial. Final (henceforth 'F') and 'M$_1$' are also acceptable and represent an afterthought. The

---

1. Adverbials referring to what has just been said can also occur initially in declarative sentences. These include: /maᵉa kida/ 'despite this', /ᵉila:wa ᵉala kida/ 'in addition to this', /ᵉalaša:n kida/ 'therefore, thus, so', /bona:ʔan ᵉala kida/ 'according to this', etc.

occurrence of the adverbial between the two parts of the prepositional phrase is considered as unlikely and rare by some speakers and is completely rejected by others.

The above discussion is summarised in the following table.

Table (1)

Adverbial: /biṣara:ḥa/

Sentence: /?aḥmad ḥaḍar ilḥafla/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	SMA
Positional	Mobile
Semantic	Attitudinal
Syntactic	Optional

Now let us consider the following sentences:

(1)   ?ana bašrab išša:y bisokkar (ºadatan)

        'I drink (the)tea with sugar usually.'

(2)   howwa biyru:ḥ ilmaktaba (dayman)

        'He goes to the library always.'

(3)   homma biyzu:ro ?oxti (bistimra:r)

        'They visit my sister always.'

Adverbials in the above examples prefer the 'F' position[1] as that is the most acceptable, followed by 'M₁'

---

1.   Adverbials that are likely to occur in this position are those referring to location, time, frequency, cause and reason.

position[1] where it gives general emphasis to the sentence and expresses reservation. Other positions require contrastive intonation to sound more acceptable.

Table (2)

Adverbial: /dayman/

Sentence: /homma biyzu:ro ?oxti/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	SMA
Positional	Restricted
Semantic	Attitudinal
Syntactic	Optional

*   *   *

Pre-sentence adverbs, or 'aspectual adjuncts' as Greenbaum (1969:163) calls them, take the 'I' position as their favourite place of occurrence. In sentences

(1)   (ºamaliyyan) ?ilxiṭṭa hatiḥta:g baḥs

        'Practically, the plan will need research.'

(2)   (?iqtiṣa:diyyan) ilkala:m miš maẓbu:ṭ

        'Economically the speech is not correct.'

(3)   (naẓariyyan) ?ilmoškila laha ?aktar min ḥall

        'Theoretically the problem has more than one solution.'

'F' is odd, unless the adverbial is replaced by the phrase /min innaḥya lºamaliyya/, //liqtiṣa:diyya/, etc. 'from the practical point of view', 'from the economic point of

---

1.   This position is typically occupied by "emphatic or preverb adverbs in English as in I <u>certainly</u> will go and I <u>always</u> like ice cream." Gleason (1965:132)

view', etc., and preceded by a pause. The same thing

applies to 'M₁' position. 'M₂' is completely rejected.

Table (3)

Adverbial: /ˈamaliyyan/

Sentence: /?ilxiṭṭa hatiḥta:g baḥs/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	SMA
Positional	Restricted
Semantic	Attitudinal
Syntactic	Optional

* * *

So far we have seen adverbials that are freely mobile

in the sentence and others that are restricted in their

movement within the boundaries of the clause. Now we shall

consider some negative sentences which were frequently used

in the experiment to see if negation in the sentence has an

effect on the mobility of the adverbial. Before listing the

sentences, two points are useful here:

<u>First</u>: English adverbials can be negated independently

by attaching one of the negative prefixes un-, im- whereas

in ECA adverbials are negated by the most frequently used

negative particle /miš/ /moš/ 'not'. Such a formational

distinction, which helps English negative adverbials to move

around, restrains the ECA ones.

<u>Second</u>: Sentence negation in English can be fulfilled

by verb negation and/or adverbial negation, while in ECA

only one of the negation processes is enough. (Double

negation is achieved when a negative verb appears with an

adverbial referring to negation such as /?abadan/ 'never',

/ºomri/ lit. 'in my life', /xa:liṣ/ 'never', and sometimes

prepositional such as /f(i)ḥaya:ti/ 'in my life' (which

sometimes co-occurs with /ºomri/ to add more emphasis to the

negation as in the following sentences:

(1)   ?ana ºomri/f ḥaya:ti mašribt xamra

        'I never in my life drank alcohol.'

which has the alternative:

(1a)   ?ana mašribtiš xamra ºomri/f ḥaya:ti

        'I have never drunk alcohol in my life.'

(2)   mabiyḥibbaha:š xa:liṣ/?abadan

        'He does not like her at all.'

(3)   sami:r ºomroh mabyittifi?š maºa gra:noh

        'Samir never gets on with his neighbours.'

which has the alternative

(3a)   sami:r mabiyttifi?š ºomroh maºa gra:no

        'Samir does not get on with his neighbours ever.'

        /niha:?iyyan/, /moṭlaqan/, /?iṭla:qan/. /kolliyatan/,

/bata:tan/, etc., which all have the meaning of 'absolutely

never', are mainly used by educated speakers to add more

emphasis to the negated sentence. They typically occur in

'F' position. Any of the above adverbials can replace

either /xa:liṣ/, /?abadan/ in (2) or /ºomri/, /f ḥaya:ti/ in

(1a). The occurrence of these adverbials in all other

positions is marginally acceptable. 'M2' is totally

rejected. As for the adverbials in (1) and (3) above, the

most acceptable place for them is 'M1'; 'M2' is equally

371

acceptable. 'F' (as in (1a)) is less frequent.

In the following sentences, only the verb is negated:

(4)   miš haysa:fro iskindiriyya <u>?isse:f igga:y</u>

'They will not travel to Alexandria next summer.'

(5)   ?ana mabanamš <u>?abl noss ille:l</u>

'I do not sleep before midnight.'

(6)   ?irrayyis miš hayoxṭob <u>ilmarra di</u>

'The president is not giving a speech this time.'

'I' and 'F' are the only normal positions for the adverbial

to occur in the above sentences. 'M1' is allowed but with

contrastive stress. Adverbials are disallowed between

negative particles and following verbs. Also, native

speakers asked were reluctant to put the adverbial in medial

position although no strict restrictions operate on

adverbial appearance in positions between the subject and

the object of the sentence or between the direct object and

indirect one. Native speakers are likely to avoid

accomodating the adverbial there as it is in the place where

intonation plays an important role.

Table (4)

Adverbial: /?ilmarra di/

Sentence: /?irrayyis miš hayoxṭob/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	SMA
Positional	Fairly restricted
Semantic	Temporal
Syntactic	Optional

5.2.2. Subject Modifying Adverbials (SUBMA)

Despite the fact that the normal habitat for SUBMAs is after the subject, the dialect allows another position. This positional placement is one means through which focus is achieved, stress- assignment being another means. In the following sentences:

(1)   ?ilwazi:r daxal ilmaka:n <u>šaxṣiyyan</u>

        'The minister entered the place personally.'

(2)   ?iṭṭa:lib katab ilmaqa:la <u>bi nafso</u>

        'The student wrote the article (by) himself.'

(3)   ?ana ?are:t ilbaḥs <u>wa ana ta°ba:n</u>

        'I read the paper when I was tired.'

(4)   ?il°ayya:n daxal ilmostašfa <u>ma:ši</u>

        'The patient entered the hospital walking.'

(5)   ?iṭṭayya:ra waṣalit ilmaṭa:r <u>sali:ma</u>

        'The plane arrived (in) the airport safe.'

(6)   sami:r xarag milbe:t <u>ġaḍba:n</u>

        'Samir went out of the house angry.'

(7)   howwa haywazza° iggawa:yiz <u>bass</u>

        'He will distribute the prizes only.'

(8)   ?ana badris hina <u>kama:n</u>

        'I am studying here as well.'

final position is perfectly acceptable. The other positions are rare, but marginally acceptable. Out of the 22 native speakers asked, 19 thought they were rare and the rest were not sure about the acceptability of the sentence. 'M$_1$' is more acceptable in sentences (1)-(3) above than in sentences (4)-(8). 'M$_2$' (post verbal) is more acceptable in (4), (5) and (6) than in (1)-(3). As mentioned earlier, the type of

the verb determines, in many cases, the selection of the adverbial position. In sentences (1)-(6), it is noted that the verb requires the object of the sentence to be close to it, thus pushing the adverbial to the end of the sentence.

Table (5)

Adverbial: /šaxṣiyyan/

Sentence: /ʔilwazi:r daxal ilmaka:n/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	SUBMA
Positional	Rather restricted
Semantic	Subject-oriented
Syntactic	Optional

In sentences (7)-(8) above, 'M' (post subject) is the favourite for the adverbial. An air of emphasis is felt when the adverbial occupies this position.

We also notice that while /šaxṣiyyan/ in (1) can occur in 'I' position (with the condition that it be followed by a slight pause), neither /binafso/ in (2) nor /bass/ in (7), for example, can occur in this position. /bass/ 'only' and /kama:n/ 'also' can move freely in the sentence, thus changing their function as their position changes. In the case of /bass/ and /kama:n/, rhythm and pitch play an important role in disambiguating the utterance. This may be clearer if we consider the following:

(1)   ʔaḥmad ‖ <u>bass</u> ḥaḍar limtiḥa:n iššafawi

       'Ahmad alone (only) attended the oral exam.'

374

(2)   ?aḥmad ḥaḍar limtiḥa:n iššafawi‖ <u>bass</u>

'Ahmad attended the oral exam only.'

(3)   ?<u>bass</u> ‖?aḥmad ḥaḍar limtiḥa:n iššafawi

'Only Ahmad attended the oral exam (and not any

other exam)'

(4)   ?aḥmad ḥaḍar ‖ <u>bass</u> limtiḥa:n iššafawi

'Ahmad attended only the oral exam (and not any other

exams).'

(4a)   ?aḥmad ḥaḍar <u>bass</u> ‖ limtiḥa:n iššafawi/

'Ahmad attended only the oral exam (but he was not

asked any questions).'

In (1) /bass/ must be followed by a pause to mark
Ahmad as the only one who attended the oral exam, also to
emphasise the fact he did. The occurrence of /bass/ as a
SUBMA in (3) was felt to be somewhat unusual to some of my
informants but, nevertheless, as synonymous with (1). The
occurrence of /bass/ finally as in (2) makes the sentence
ambiguous between (4) and (4a).

However, if /bass/ is placed at the beginning of the
sentence and separated from the rest by a long pause and a
high pitch, its function would be completely different:

/bass   ᵉirift illi ḥasal/

'Hey I know what happened.'

Here it is a sentence modifier and this position is
the normal habitat for it.

Table (6)

Adverbial: /bass/[1]

Sentence: /aḥmad ḥaḍar limtiḥa:n iššafawi/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	SUBMA
Positional	Mobile
Semantic	Subject-oriented
Syntactic	Optional

5.2.3 Verb-modifying adverbials

5.2.3.1 Manner adverbials

(1)   ?itkallim <u>bittafṣi:l</u>

'He spoke in detail'

(A)   (2)   ga:wib <u>bixtiṣa:r</u>

'He answered briefly'

(3)   ġannat <u>kowayyis</u>

'She sang well'

Two out of five positions are acceptable. These are position 'M₂' as it is the nearer to the modified verb, and position 'F'. The unacceptability of positions 'I', 'M₁' and 'M₃' is due to the constraint on the movement of the adverb that prevents it from moving outside the clause of its head. The meaning of the sentence would be affected if this were to happen.

1.   See El-Hassan (1977:125) for the positions of /?ayḍan/ 'also' and /faqaṭ/ 'only' in Classical Arabic.

Table (7)

Adverbial: /bittafṣi:l/

Sentence: /?itkallim/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	VMA
Positional	Rather restricted
Semantic	Manner[1]
Syntactic	Optional

5.2.3.2 Duration/Frequency adverbials

(1)   biyza:kir <u>tu:l innaha:r</u>

    'He is studying all day'

(2)   ᵒomma:l išširka di biyštaǥalo <u>xamas saᵒa:t filyoum</u>

    'The workers of this company work five hours a day.'

(B)   (3)   wi?fo <u>tilt</u> sa:ᵒa yistanno il?aṭr

    'They stood for one-third of an hour waiting for

    the train.'

    'They waited twenty minutes for the train.'

(4)   ?aᵒado ᵒandina <u>šahre:n</u>

    'They stayed with us (for) two months.'

---

1.   Verbs do take Manner adverbs freely, but there are some which do
not. /yimlik/ 'to own, 'to have', /yitkallif/ 'to cost' and
/yišbih/ 'to look like'. "Lees has called these verbs <u>Middle Verbs</u>
characteristically, the verbs with following NPs that do not
undergo the passive transformation." Chomsky (1965:103)

377

Table (8)

Adverbial: /ṭu:l innaha:r/

Sentence: /biyza:kir irradiyo/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	VMA
Positional	Fairly mobile
Semantic	Duration/Frequency
Syntactic	Optional

'F' is the most acceptable position for both adverbials denoting duration and those denoting frequency. 'M2' is possible, as in (3). M1 was found to be less favoured. 'I' occurrence puts the adverbial on a higher scale of emphasis.

5.2.3.2a Adverbs of Time/Location and the Imperative

The imperative denotes a potential action which may happen any time between the initiation of speech and some point in the future, unless the time is designated by an adverbial element. The adverbials chosen in the sentences below are temporal and locative respectively. Any of the sentences mentioned in group (A) or (B) above can be put in the imperative, but then the normal position of the adverbial may change accordingly.

(1)   ?iktibo <u>dilwa?ti</u>/<u>hina</u>

'Write now/here.'

(2)   ?oxrog ḥa:lan/barra

'Go out immediately/outside.'

(3) taºa:lo <u>bokra/ºand ilmadrasa/</u>

'Come tomorrow near the school.'

The normal position for the adverbial, whether
temporal or locative, is 'F'. 'I' is far less acceptable and
rarely used. Whenever adverbial occurs in position 'I', it
has to be followed by a pause to imply contrast. Therefore,
if /dilwaʔti/ 'now' occurs before the imperative verb in
(1), it marks the speaker's wish that the writing should
take place now and not earlier or later.

Table (9)

Adverbial: /dilwaʔti/hina/

Sentence: /ʔiktibo/

Criterion	Type Characteristics
Functional	VMA
Positional	Rather restricted
Semantic	Temporal/Locative
Syntactic	Optional

5.2.3.3 Degree adverbials

(1) ʔiḍḍoyu:f ziºlo <u>xa:liṣ</u>

'The guests became very angry.'

(2) ilmodi:r itwattar <u>ʔawi</u>

'The manager became very tense.'

(3) ʔilmasgu:n itºazzib <u>kiti:r</u>[1]

'The prisoner was tortured a lot.'

---

1. /kiti:r/ is used here to signify extent rather than frequency.

'F' is the normal position for this type of adverbial.
'I' is dubious as it is the normal place of SMAs. 'M1' is
less acceptable than 'F'. Functionally, it marks added
emphasis intended by the speaker.

Table (10)

Adverbial: /xa:liṣ/

Sentence: /?iddoyu:f ziºlo/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	VMA
Positional	Rather restricted
Semantic	Degree
Syntactic	Optional

5.2.4 Verb phrase - modifying adverbials

5.2.4.1 Locative adverbials

(1)   haṭṭe:ṭ[1] iššonat kollaha <u>fil?ouḍa</u>

'I put all the suitcases in the room.'

(2)   ?ilwalad sa:b ilḥalawiyya:t <u>barra</u>

'The boy left the sweets outside'

(3)   baḥibb a:kol samak <u>filmaṭºam da</u>

'I like to eat fish in this restaurant.'

These adverbials show a peculiarity in that they only

accept the position 'F'. 'I' is unacceptable, 'M₁' is

---

1.   /ḥaṭṭ/ 'put' is one of those verbs that have a strong cohesion
      with their adverbial. Its presence in a sentence makes it
      necessary for a locative adverbial to occur. This is very similar
      to the behaviour of /sakan/ 'live' which also takes an obligatory
      locative when it refers to "staying in (a place)" rather than "to
      become tranquil". (See pp. 267-8 of this thesis.)

rejected and 'M2' is unusual. Even if it did occur there,
it would be used mainly for emphasis purposes.

Table (11)

Adverbial: /fil?ouḍa/

Sentence: /ḥatte:ṭ lššonat kollaha/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	VPMA
Positional	Restricted
Semantic	Locative
Syntactic	Optional

5.2.4.2 Instrumental adverbials

(1)   ?a:s ilmaka:n <u>bilmitr</u>

'He measured the place with a tape measure.'

(2)   ḍarab ilwalad <u>bilᵒaṣa:ya</u>

'He hit the boy with the stick.'

(3)   ?aššarit ittoffa:ha <u>bissikki:na</u>

'She peeled the apple with the stick.'

We also notice in the above sentences that 'F' is the
right position for the adverbial. If it is moved to
position 'I', it renders the sentence marginally acceptable
and rare in occurrence. 'M1' is less acceptable than 'M2'.
The adverbial would occur in any of the last-mentioned
positions mainly for emphasis purposes.

Table (12)

Adverbial: /bilmitr/

Sentence: /?a:s ilmaka:n/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	VPMA
Positional	Rather restricted
Semantic	Instrumental
Syntactic	Optional

5.2.4.3 Manner adverbials

(a) <u>In declarative sentences</u>

(1)   mona fataḥit ilba:b <u>birra:ha</u>[1]

'Mona opened the door slowly.'

---

1.   In some cases, there is a slight danger of confusion between Manner adverbs and "Focusing Adjuncts" (see Quirk et al (1972:431)) because the latter do not respond to any of the criteria for Manner adverbs. There are also other ways in which they differ (see Quirk et al (1972:430-435) for a list of the differences). For instance, they will not take modification, which also distinguishes them from Degree adverbs . The following examples are not acceptable: */la:zim yi?u:l min ilbida:ya howwa yo?ṣod ?e:h <u>bizzabt giddan</u>/ 'He must say from the beginning what does he mean very exactly.' /*ziya:dit il?inta:g ka:nit <u>?asa:san ?awi</u> issabab fi ziya:dit ittaṣdi:r/ 'The increase in production was very mainly the reason for the increase in export.' */?a:š <u>mogarrad</u> <u>xa:liṣ</u> xamsi:n sana fil be:t da ?abl izzilza:l/ 'He lived for merely very fifty years in that house before the earthquake.' On the other hand, the underlined Manner adverbials in sentences 1-6 can also overlap in function with Degree adverbs. In some sentences, as in (2), the adverbial is more relevant to the subject's state of mind when the action was taking place. We consider the case of example (2) as a blend of Manner and Degree. This issue and related ones were covered in Chapter 3. For more on the phenomenon of 'overlapping' between classes see Quirk et al (1984:235) and Huang (1975:15-16)

(2)   ?aḥmad daxal il?ouḍa <u>bihodu:?</u>

        'Ahmad entered the room quietly.'

(3)   ?issawwa:? sa:? ilᵒarabiyya <u>bibot?</u>

        'The driver drove the car slowly.'

(b) <u>In negative sentences</u>

(4)   ?ilbint marattibitš ilḥaga:t <u>kowayyis</u>

        'The girl did not arrange the things properly.'

(5)   ?ilᵒaskari maᵒamilš ilmasgu:n <u>birifq</u>

        'The policeman did not treat the prisoner gently.'

(6)   ?ana maxallaṣtiš šoɣli <u>bsorᵒa</u>

        'I did not finish my work quickly.'

        Final is the only normal position for the adverbials
in (a) and (b) above. In (b), 'M2' is marginally
acceptable. Others are either marginal or completely
rejected (sentences 4-6). In sentences 1-3, other positions
are possible but not as common as 'F'. This is reflected in
Tables 13 and 14 respectively.

        Table (13) (for sentences 1-3)

        Adverbial: /birra:ḥa/

        Sentence: /mona fataḥit ilba:b/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	VPMA
Positional	Rather mobile
Semantic	Manner
Syntactic	Optional

Table (14) (for sentences 4-6)

Adverbial: /kowayyis/

Sentence: /ʔilbint marattibitš ilḥaga:t/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	VPMA
Positional	Rather restricted
Semantic	Manner
Syntactic	Optional

5.2.4.4 Manner, Time and Locative adverbials in interrogative sentences.

(1)   katabo irradd <u>biwodu:h</u> ?

     'Did they write the reply clearly?'

(2)   ʔilxiṭṭa itnaffizit <u>bitafaṣi:ilha</u> ?

     'Has the plan been carried out in its details?

(3)   sami:r xad ilfilu:s <u>ʔabl ligtima:ᵒ</u> ?

     'Did Samir take the money before the meeting?'

(4)   ʔilmohandisi:n daraso lmašru:° <u>ilʔosbu:ᵒ illi fa:t</u> ?

     'Did the engineers study the project last week?

(5)   šofti samar <u>filmostašfa</u> ?

     'Did you see Samar in the hospital?'

(6)   ʔa:bilt ilʔost:z <u>fikkolliya</u> ?

     'Did you meet the professor in the college?'

     All positions are rejected except one: final. Some native speakers feel that other positions are not totally unacceptable. However, they are uncomfortable places for the adverbial to occur in. Despite the fact that there are a variety of adverbials (Manner in (1) and (2)), Time in (3) and (4), Location in (5) and (6) in the above questions) 'F'

384

is still the favourite position for all.

Table (15)

Adverbial: /biwoḍu:ḥ, ?abl liḡtima:ᵒ, filmostašfa/

Sentence: (question) /katabo irradd/?

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	VPMA
Positional	Restricted
Semantic	Manner/Temporal/Locative
Syntactic	Optional

SECTION III

5.3.0 Hierarchy of modification

Under the title "The Universal Sequencing
Conventions", Allan (1987:54-6) states: "Next in the
hierarchy of ordering constraints on constituents are the
universal sequencing conventions. I doubt that there are
true accessibility hierarchies, although there is some
evidence that peripheral positions in a sequence are more
easily accessed than medial ones (cf. Murdock, 1962; Glanzer
& Cinitz, 1966). Nevertheless, it is conventional to
present things in naturally ordered sequences like the
following:

first/second/..../last

A/B/..../Z

beginning/middle/end

anterior/posterior"

He adds that under constraint from the universal

sequency conditions, "if the temporal adverbial 'on Sunday' were omitted from 6(b) in the following sentences, in the morning would be interpreted 'on the following morning'.

6(a) On Sunday we visited my aunt twice, once in the morning and again in the evening.

6(b) ?*On Sunday we visited my aunt twice, once in the evening and again in the morning." (ibid:55)

A simple verb + adverb structure of modification may itself be the head of another structure of modification with another adverb as a modifier. In all the sentences mentioned above, only one adverbial occurred and its position was examined in relation to the sentence or any of its components. However, there are cases where there is an adverbial construction consisting of a combination of several adverbials modifying either the whole sentence or any of its parts such as, for example, the V or the VP. In this case, it is not the adverbials that undergo the process of modification, but rather the whole predicate or sentence that may already contain other adverbials.

In what follows, we shall pay attention to sentences where a combination of two or more adverbials (belonging to different classes) occurs. The hierarchy of modification will be examined to find the normal position that each adverbial may take as well as to establish whether a different ordering of adverbials would result in different meanings of the sentence or not.

5.3.1 The hierarchy of Manner and Locative adverbials

Now let us consider the following sentences:

(1)   sami:r šaraḥ iddars <u>bṣout ºa:li fil?ouḏa</u>

'Samir explained the lesson in a loud voice in the room.'

(2)   ?iddoktu:r kašaf ºalmari:ḏ <u>bisorºa filºiya:da</u>

'The doctor examined the patient quickly in the clinic.'

Sentence (1) can have the following orderings also:

(1a) sami:r šaraḥ iddars <u>fil?ouḏa bṣout ºa:li</u>

'Samir explained the lesson in the room in a loud voice.'

(1b) <u>bṣout ºa:li</u> fil?ouḏa sami:r šaraḥ iddars

'In a loud voice in the room Samir explained the lesson.'

(1c) <u>fil?ouḏa</u> sami:r šaraḥ iddars <u>bṣout ºa:li</u>

'In the room Samir explained the lesson in a loud voice.'

In (1) the first adverbial /bṣout ºa:li/ 'in a loud

voice', in any acceptable position, modifies the predicate,

and the second adverbial /fil?ouḏa/ 'in the room' functions

as a modifier of the whole preceding structure of verb

phrase modification. (1a) is more acceptable and more

frequent than (1), but (1b) is clumsy since it is

inappropriate for a sequence of adverbials to start the

sentence. The adverbial in (1c) should be followed by a

pause to make the sentence more acceptable.

Table (16)

Adverbials: /bṣout, ᵒa:li, fil?ouḍa/

Sentence: /sami:r šaraḥ iddars/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	Serial modifiers
Positional	Rather restricted
Semantic	Sequence: Manner, Locative
Syntactic	Optional

5.3.1a The hierarchy of Locative and Manner adverbials

(1)   ḥaṭṭe:ṭ iššonaṭ <u>fil?ouḍa</u> <u>bsorᵒa</u>

'I put the suitcases in the room quickly.'

(1a)   ḥaṭṭe:ṭ iššonaṭ <u>bisorᵒa</u> <u>fil?ouḍa</u>

'I put the suitcases quickly in the room.'

(1b)   <u>bsorᵒa</u> ḥaṭṭe:ṭ iššonaṭ <u>fil?ouḍa</u>

'Quickly, I put the suitcases in the room.'

(1c)   <u>fil?ouḍa</u> ḥaṭṭe:ṭ iššonaṭ <u>bsorᵒa</u>

'In the room, I put the suitcases quickly.'

These adverbials occur with the Locative (fil?ouḍa) modifying the predicate and followed by /bsorᵒa), a Manner adverbial that modifies the whole preceding structure. The sequence in sentence (1) is the most natural sequence as the obligatory use of the Locative adverbial should follow the verb immediately. (1a) is also acceptable, (1b) is fairly normal but requires a pause after the adverbial, while (1c) is rare and requires a contrastive intonation to render it more acceptable.

388

Table (17)

Adverbials: /fil?ouḍa, bsorᵓa/

Sentence: /haṭṭe:ṭ iššonat/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	Serial modifiers
Positional	Fairly mobile
Semantic	Sequence: Locative, Manner
Syntactic	First obligatory, second optional

5.3.2 Successive occurrence of adverbials in a sentence

Before we proceed to discuss other combinations of
adverbials, it is appropriate here to mention what Steinitz
(1969:47) says regarding the successive occurrence of
adverbials in one sentence. She states, "the combination of
several adverbials modifying the sentence or its components
as, for example VP or MV (= main verb), is called
'adjunction'." She also says that, in this case, it is not
the adverbial that undergoes modification; it is either the
predicate or the sentence that may already have other
adverbials. Different adverbial categories would occupy
different positions to be described in relation to the verb.
Different adverbs belonging to different subclasses may be
combined in "adjoined position." (ibid) Rarely, however,
two elements of the same adverbial subclass do occur in
adjunction. In the following example, for instance, there
is an occurrence of two Manner adverbials in sequence, but

it is essential for a p*a*use to occur between them.

     lamma šoftoh ka:n biyiktib gawa:b <u>bibot?</u>, <u>bihtima:m</u>.[1]

     'When I saw him, he was writing a letter slowly,

carefully.'

     The above type of sentence is, however, far more

common with a coordinator between the two adverbials.

Interestingly, on the other hand, when adverbs are repeated

or when two synonymous (or near synonymous) adverbs follow

in succession, they will occur without the coordinator /w/

'and' as in:

(1)   ?ilḥara:mi giri bsorºa giddan giddan

     'The thief ran very very fast.'

(2)   ?il?atr wasal mit?axxar ?awi ?awi

     'The train arrived very very late.'

(3)   taºa:la dilwa?ti ha:lan

     'Come now immediately.'

     Here, the repetition indicates a series of actions.

     A fixed order for the various subclasses of a given

category of adverbs cannot be determined by categorisation

rules[2] because several adverbials can occur in adjoined

position under a single adverbial category. When

combinations of adverbs belonging to the same subclass occur

in a sentence, any change in the order of these adverbs will

1.   Note that the successive occurrence of adverbs in /dilwa?ti,
      ha:lan/ 'immediately', /le:l naha:r/ 'constantly', etc. is
      acceptable because of the idiomatic nature of the phrase.

2.   For these rules and more on categorisation see Jackendoff (1993)
      "Semantics and Cognition" pp. 77-94.

result in a slight change of meaning. This is true of the

following examples:

(1)   sakano <u>f ša??a</u> <u>fizzama:lik</u>

'They lived in a flat in Zamalik.'

(2)   ?ilmohandis ka:n ?a:ºid <u>fi kazino</u> <u>ºanni:l</u>

'The engineer was sitting in a casino by the Nile.'

(3)   mona wi?fit <u>ºal mahaṭṭa</u> <u>fišša:riº</u>

'Mona stood at the stop in the street.'

and

(4)   saggilo ilbirna:mig <u>imba:rih</u> <u>issa:ºa xamsa</u>

'They recorded the programme yesterday at five.'

(5)   biy?u:l innohom ?aºado yidawwaro ºale:h <u>?awwil imba:rih</u>
<u>talat saºa:t</u>

'He says that they were looking for him the day before

yesterday for three hours.'

(6)   ?aḍat <u>issana illi fa:tit</u> <u>xamas tiyya:m f maṣr</u>

'She spent last year five days in Egypt.'

In any of the above, if we change the order of the

adverbs, a change in the information structure of the

sentence will occur in that the first adverb will be taken

to be the most informationally important or relevant.

Compare, for instance,

biy?u:l innohom ?aºado yidawwaro ºale:h <u>talat saºa:t</u>
<u>?awwil imba:rih</u>

'He says that they were looking for him for three

hours the day before yesterday.'

with (5) above.

Earlier writers have held slightly different views

regarding such examples. Gamal-Eldin (1961:82) believes

that the sequential order of these adverbs depends on the relationship of 'general' to 'specific', while Wise (1975:10) takes the ordering to be purely a matter of stylistic preference. It would therefore be dangerous, under certain conditions, to consider one single order of adverbial sub-clases as primary and look at the remaining orderings as possible permutations. Different orderings of adverbials normally result in different meanings of the sentence. "The problem with adverbs is that they very often have functions associated with different positions." Greenbaum (1983) This may not have been too clear in the examples mentioned above. In

(1)   howwa biyza:kir <u>da:yman</u> <u>min ɣe:r fa:yda</u>

        'He studies always in vain.'

if the adverbials change position, we have

(1a)   howwa biyza:kir <u>min ɣe:r fa:yda</u> <u>da:yman</u>

        'He studies in vain always.'

        The different ordering of adverbials shows different functional relations. They determine which adverbial is to be applied to which sentence. Thus, in (1) above '/min ɣe:r fa:yda/ is applied to /howwa biyza:kir da:yman/ and in (1a) to /howwa biyza:kir/. It is evident that ordering relations among adverbials play a functional role in the sentence.

        This, in fact, is in line with what Bartsch (1976:223) says: "Depending on its position in the sentence, the adverbial bears different relations to the other adverbials of the sentence. These relations indicate in what order and to which underlying sentences the relations corresponding to

392

the adverbial and predicates corresponding to the sentence

adverbials have to apply. These relations, in other words,

explain why we get different meanings of the sentence in the

case of different orderings of adverbials."

5.3.3 Hierarchy of Locative and Reason adverbials on the one hand, and Directional and Reason adverbials on the other.

(1)   biy?u:lo ?inno istaxabba <u>filbe:t</u> <u>xawfan</u>[1] <u>min ilboli:s</u>

‘They say that he was hiding in the house because he was

afraid of the police.’

(2)   fiḍil <u>ᵒandohom</u> <u>ᵒalaša:n yi?a:bil ṣaḥboh</u>

‘He stayed with them in order to meet his friend.’

(3)   ?aᵒad <u>f ?ouḍit ittilivizyoun</u> <u>ᵒalaša:n yitfarrag ᵒa</u>

<u>lfilm</u>

‘He sat in the television room in order to watch the film.’

(4)   samar ra:yḥa <u>ilmasraḥ ilqawmi li?innaha waᵒaditni</u>

<u>nit?a:bil hina:k</u>

‘Samar is going to the National Theatre because she

promised to meet me there.’

In the above sentences the order shown is the normal

sequence for these adverbs. The nature of the verbs

necessitates the immediate occurrence of the Locative

---

1.   Cantarino (1975:Vol.II:172) says, "The adverb can express the
      motive or reason why the verbal action takes place or why the
      subject performs the action. It is called /?al mafᵒuul laho/
      ‘that because of which something is done’ by Arab grammarians."
      In sentence (1) above /xawfan min ilboli:s/ can be considered as
      the answer to /istaxabba filbe:t le:h/ ‘why did he hide in the
      house’. There can be no adjective in the clause being modified by
      the adverb of reason, which makes it different from the
      circumstantial adverb, as in /šofto ?a:ᵒid/ ‘I saw him sitting.

adverbials in (1) - (3) and the directional one in (4). If the adverbials exchange positions the result will be only marginally acceptable. This is allowed in sentences (1) - (3). As for sentence (4), the occurrence of another adverbial /hina:k/, which is coreferent with the original directional one /ilmasraḥ ilqawmi/, makes it more difficult for the adverbials to be permuted. Therefore, even with a pause in 'M2', the sentence is not acceptable.

*samar ra:yha li?innaha waᵒaditni nit?a:bil <u>hina:k</u> <u>ilmasraḥ ilqawmi</u>

'Samar is going because she promised me to meet there the National Theatre.'

Table (18)

Adverbs: /filbe:t, xawfan min ilboli:s/

Sentence: /biy?u:lo ?inno istaxabba/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	Serial modifiers
Positional	Rather restricted
Semantic	Sequence:Locative/Directional/Reason
Syntactic	Optional

5.3.4 Hierarchy of adverbs of Reason and Degree adverbs

(1) sami:r biykoḥḥ <u>qa:mid ᵒalaša:n ᵒando bard</u>

'Samir is coughing badly because he has a cold.'

(2) ?ommaha darabitha <u>ḍarb ᵒalaša:n mabtismaᵒš ikkala:m</u>

'Her mother hit her (lit. hitting) hard because she does not listen.'

The permutation of the adverbials in the above

sentences have a different effect in the two examples. In
(1), it will result in a new sentence where the Degree
adverb /ga:mid/ now refers to the phrase /°ando bard/, i.e.
meaning 'because he has really got a cold.' In (2),
however, it is not possible to permute them since the Degree
adverb /ḍa:rb/ is a cognate object and must stay close to
its verb. Therefore, the permuted structure would be
unacceptable.

Table (19)

Adverbials: /ga:mid, °alaša:n °andoh bard/

Sentence: /sami:r biykohh/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	Serial modifiers
Positional	Restricted
Semantic	Sequence: Manner, Reason
Syntactic	Optional

5.3.5 Hierarchy of Instrumental and Manner adverbials[1]

(1)   ʔaššar ittoffa:ḥa bissikki:na bsor°a

       'He peeled the apple with the knife quickly.'

(2)   ġasalit ilhodu:m bissa:bu:n iggidi:d kowayyis

       'She washed the clothes with the new soap well.'

---

1.   In certain cases, a sequence of instrumental and subject related
      adverbials can occur, as in: /ʔatta' ittoffa:ḥa bissikki:na
      w howwa miġammad °i:ngh/ 'He cut the apple with the knife while
      his eyes were closed.' In /ʔatta° ittoffa:ha bissiki:na w hiya
      lissa mastawatš/ 'He cut the apple with the knife while it was
      still not ripe.' the instrumental adverbial precedes an object
      related adverbial. The usage of the latter sequence is rare and
      requires a contrastive intonation to diminish its rareness.

The permutation of adverbials does not change the meaning in the above sentences, i.e. the underlying structure remains unchanged. Depending on the particular message the speaker is wanting to convey, one sequence is favoured over another.

Table (20)

Adverbials: /bissikki:na, bsorºa/

Sentence: /?aššar ittoffa:ha/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	Serial modifiers
Positional	Mobile
Semantic	Sequence: Instrumental/Manner
Syntactic	Optional

5.3.6 Hierarchy of Modal, Locative and Time adverbials

(1) wa:dih ?inno ka:n mistanni filbe:t min badri ?awi

'It is clear that he has been waiting in the house for a very long time.'

(2) ga:yiz inno ka:n ºa:yiz yi:gi hina innaha:rda

'It is possible that he wanted to come here today.'

(3)   <u>la:zim</u>[1] tiru:ḥ tišu:foh <u>filmostašfa</u> <u>bokra</u>

'You must go and see him in hospital tomorrow.'

The Modal adverbials[2] (see Gamal-Eldin (1961:78-83))

cannot exchange position with any of the other adverbials

occurring in the above sentence. Position 'I' is the

typical position for them to occur in. The Locative

adverbials can exchange positions with the Temporal ones

with no change in the meaning of the sentence. The

permutation of the Modal adverbial to position 'F', however,

will make the sentence unacceptable.

Table (21)

Adverbials: /wa:ḍiḥ, filbe:t min badri ?awi/

Sentence: /ka:n mistanni/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	Serval modifiers
Positional	Rather restricted
Semantic	Sequence: Modal, Locative, Temporal or Modal, Temporal, Locative
Syntactic:	Optional

---

1.   /la:zim/ has different semantic content according to the tense of
     the verbal following it: (a) it has the sense of obligation when
     followed by an imperfect as in (3) above, (b) when followed by any
     verbal other than the non-complete it has an inferential sense:
     /la:zim xad koll ḥa:ga/ 'He must have taken everything'.

2.   These adverbials are also called 'preverbals'. Most of them have
     the morphological build-up of adjectives. They are also called
     "non strictly subcategorised adverbs." Jackendoff (1972:69) "The
     categorial difference between these and adverbs like 'hard' in 'He
     hit him hard' is that 'hard' serves to characterise the state of
     affairs and is independent of the mood of the sentence." (ibid)

5.3.7 Instrumental, Locative and Manner adverbials

With these three types a hierarchy of ordering occurs in the majority of sentences, namely Instrumental-Locative-Manner. This occurs in (1) below. Other permuted structures also occur, as shown in (1a), (1b) and (1c). These are less frequent than the example in (1), but produce no significant change in meaning.

(1)   ?aḥmad biya:kol <u>biššouka w issikki:na</u> <u>filmatᵒam da</u> <u>kowayyis</u>

'Ahmad eats with knife and fork in this restaurant properly.'

(1a)   ?aḥmad biya:kol <u>kowayyis</u> <u>biššouka w issikki:na</u> <u>filmatᵒam da</u>

'Ahmad eats properly with knife and fork in this restaurant.'

(1b)   ?aḥmad biya:kol <u>filmatᵒam da</u> <u>biššouka w issiki:na</u> <u>kowayyis</u>

'Ahmad eats in this restaurant with knife and fork properly.'

(1c)   ?aḥmad biya:kol <u>filmatᵒam da</u> <u>kowayyis</u> <u>biššouka w issikki:na</u>

'Ahmad eats in this restaurant properly with knife and fork.'

In (1) the three adverbials appear in the hierarchy of modification. The first /biššouka w issikki:na/ lit. 'with fork and knife' modifies the predicate, the second /fil matᵒam da/ 'in this restaurant' functions as a modifier of the whole preceding structure of verb phrase modification, and the third modifier /kowayyis/ 'properly' modifies the whole sentence.

398

Table (22)

Adverbials: /biššouka w issikki:na, filmmaṭºam da,

kowayyis/

Sentence: /?aḥmad biya:kol/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	Serial modifiers
Positional	Mobile
Semantic	Sequence: Instrumental, Locative, Manner
Syntactic	Optional

5.3.8 Hierarchy of Instrumental, Directional and Time: 'Frequency'

(1) sami:ra bitru:h <u>bilºarabiyya, iskindiriyya koll osbu:º</u>
     'Samira goes by car to Alexandria every week.'

(1a) sami:ra bitru:h <u>iskindiriyya koll osbu:º bilºarabiyya</u>
     'Samira goes to Alexandria every week by car.'

(1b) sami:ra bitru:h <u>koll osbu:º iskindiriyya bilºarabiyya</u>
     'Samira goes every week to Alexandria by car.'

(1c) sami:ra bitru:h <u>bilºarabiyya koll osbu:º iskindiriyya</u>
     'Samira goes by car every week to Alexandria.'
     The adverbials occur in a different order in the four

examples above. The permutation of one adverbial over the other does not result in a drastic change in meaning. Because of the nature of the verb[1] as a Directional one, (1a) is expected to be more frequent and higher in degree of acceptability than the others because of the immediate occurrence of the adverb after the verb. (1) and (1b) are equally acceptable; (1c), however, is less frequent because of the occurrence of the Directional adverb right at the end of the sentence and far away from the verb.

Table (23)

Adverbials: /iskindiriyya, bilᵉarabiyya, koll

osbu:ᵉ/

Sentence: /sami:ra bitru:ḥ/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	Serial modifiers
Positional	Fairly mobile
Semantic	Sequence: Directional, Instrumental, Temporal
Syntactic	Optional

1. In /ʔilbint bitza:kir dilwaʔti/ 'the girl is studying now' and /ʔilmodarris biyišrah iddars fillaḥza di/ 'the teacher is explaining the lesson at this moment', the verbs expressing actions that are going on at the moment of description collocate with adverbials referring to the present moment.

5.3.9 Hierarchy of Haal, Manner, Directional

(1)   šoft aḥmad ma:ši[1] <u>bsorᵒa</u> <u>naḥyit ḥamma:m issiba:ḥa</u>

'I saw Ahmad walking quickly towards the swimming pool.'

(1a) šoft aḥmad <u>ma:ši</u> <u>naḥyit ḥamma:m issiba:ḥa</u> <u>bsorᵒa</u>

'I saw Ahmad walking towards the swimming pool quickly.'

(1b) šoft aḥmad <u>bsorᵒa</u> <u>ma:ši</u> <u>naḥyit ḥamma:m issiba:ḥa</u>

'I saw Ahmad quickly walking towards the swimming pool.'

(1c) ?šoft aḥmad <u>naḥyit ḥamma:m issiba:ḥa</u> <u>ma:ši</u> <u>bsorᵒa</u>

'I saw Ahmad towards the swimming pool walking quickly.'

The directional adverbial's place of occurrence in

(1a) right after the word expressing the /ḥaal/, i.e.

/ma:ši/, which is a participle with inherent meaning of

direction makes the sentence the most acceptable one. (1) is

equally acceptable while (1c) is clumsy. The occurrence of

/bsorᵒa/ 'quickly' close to the verb /šoft/ in (1b) makes it

function as a verb modifier with the implication that

'seeing Ahmad was quick' rather than 'his walking was quick'.

---

1.   Constructions in which adjectives or participles used as
     adverbials are predicates of what is denoted by the subject-noun
     phrase. For more on the /ha:l/ 'circumstantial clauses' which are
     clauses marked as adverbials of Time, Causation, etc., by
     appropriate functional markers ('when he came', 'because he came')
     etc., see Beeston (1970:89-91 and 97-103).

Table (24)

Adverbials: /ma:ši, naḥyit ḥamma:m issiba:ḥa, bsorᵉa/

Sentence: /šoft aḥmad/

Criterion	Type/Characteristics
Functional	Serial modifiers
Positional	Fairly mobile
Semantic	Sequence: Haal, Directional, Manner
Syntactic	Optional

5.3.10 Conclusion

From the above discussion, it has become obvious that where there is a selection of position for the adverbial, many factors contribute: order, relation, realisation, type of modification and sentence structure being one set, intonation, euphony and homonymous interpretation being another. The following positional conclusions can be drawn:

(1) Adverbials in ECA are freely able to appear in many positions in the sentence. However, there are occasional contexts where such freedom is restricted and the adverbial is confined to specific position(s).

(2) The most normal position for the majority of adverbials tested is the 'F', although there are instances of other positions. This highlights the distinction between normal usage and other usages, e.g. emphatic ones. Position 'I' is kept for those adverbials that occur normally in either positions 'M' or 'F'. The placing is intended for contrast, emphasis or balance.

(3) The way adverbial function is viewed earlier in

this thesis is confirmed as most adverbials are regarded as optional elements whose deletion does not affect the sentence syntactically or semantically.

(4) What has been mentioned in (2) does not contradict the tolerance of the word order to be perceived in ECA. We have demonstrated that ECA word order is, grammatically speaking, flexible enough to place the adverbial almost anywhere in the sentence, even between the verb and its preposition in the case of prepositional verbs (see).

(5) What has been stated about word order does not apply to all types of sentence. We have seen that the relative freedom the adverbial enjoys in declarative sentences is rather limited in other sentence types. Here, they are restricted to specific positions.

(6) When two adverbials belonging to the same class occur finally, the most informationally important or relevant will occur first. Stylistic variations are also possible or, as Strang (1978:186) puts it, "There are cases where placing in one of two positions appears to be merely a matter of stylistic preferance."

(7) Adverbials expressing different semantic roles assume various modifying functions. The homonymous use of a certain set of adverbials is an interesting phenomenon noticed in the study. The difference between those adverbials which are in homonymy is in general not indicated by the form of the adverbial but there are differences in semantics, position and the intonation contours of the

adverbial. To clarify this, members of VMAs, in certain

contexts, have two homonymous uses: one intensifying the

verb meaning (Degree) and the other augmenting the verb

meaning (Manner) (see p. 233-4). This language phenomenon

cannot apply in all classes. It is interesting to note that

English is more liberal than ECA in using its SMAs in

homonymy. Certain English SMAs, although semantically,

positionally and intonationally different but the same

formally, may occur within the same sentence:

'Wisely, John has answered the question wisely.'

Similar sentences sound peculiar in ECA:

min ilhikma, ?inn sami:r ga:wib ᵒasso?a:l bihikma

However, the equivalent sentence in CA sounds

perfectly natural:

min alhikmat(i) ?anna samiir(a) ?ajaab(a) ᵒala

sso?aal(i) bitaᵒaqqol(in)

'It was wise that Samir answered the question wisely.'

(8) We have noted in all the modified structures

discussed that the place of the post-modifying element or

phrase directly follows the element it post- modifies.

However, discontinuous modification takes place. Other

items occur between the head and its modifier. In the

following example,

/hat?a:bil wa:hid bokra issa:ᵒa xamsa la:bis badla

kohli/

'You will meet someone tomorrow at 5 o'clock wearing a

navy blue suit.'

404

where the Time adverbials occur between the head and the post-modifier, the permutation of any of the adverbials in the sentence does not affect its grammaticality. Hence, the acceptability of all the following:

/hat?a:bil wa:ḥid issa:ºa xamsa bokra la:bis badla koḥli/

'You will meet someone at 5 o'clock tomorrow wearing a navy blue suit.'

/hat?a:bil wa:ḥid la:bis badla koḥli bokra issa:ºa xamsa/

'You will meet someone wearing a navy blue suit tomorrow at 5 o'clock.'

and

/?issa:ºa xamsa bokra hat?a:bil wa:ḥid la:bis badla koḥli/

'At 5 o'clock tomorrow you will meet someone wearing a navy blue suit.'

(9) When two adverbials of a different class cluster in position 'F' of the sentence, their position is not governed by strict rules. However, certain factors such as verb type, specification and realisation are important to consider. For example, adverbials that are regarded as essential constituents of the sentence immediately follow the verb. They are hardly ever preposed to the initial position of the sentence and they are usually followed by other adverbials.

(10) No doubt, the few generalisations we have been able to make will need revision as knowledge advances. Perhaps future automatic computer analysis of syntactic

functions and positions of adverbials may be available for
the researcher to make his task easier. What does seem
clear is that adverbs have the function of modifying, and
that their position depends in many cases on the nature of
the modification.

<div align="center">*   *   *   *</div>

Bibliography

Abbas, A.K.   (1991)

A pragmatic analysis of English and Arabic adverbial

positions. Ph.D. thesis, Leicester University.

Abdalla, A.G.   (1960)

An instrumental study of the intonation of Egyptian

colloquial Arabic. Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan.

ᵒAbduh, D.   (1983)

al-Binyah al-daaxiliyyah lil-jumlah fil-ᵒArabiyyah'.

Al-Abhaath xxxi. American University of Beirut, Beirut,

Lebanon.

Abul Fetouh, H.M.   (1961)

A morphological study of colloquial Egyptian Arabic.

Ph.D. thesis, Austin   University, Austin, Texas.

Akhmanova, O. and G. Mikael'an.   (1969)

The theory of syntax in modern linguistics. Mouton, Paris.

Akmajian, A. and F. Heny.   (1975)

An introduction to the principles of transformational

syntax. MIT Press, Massachusetts.

Allan, K.   (1987)

'Hierachies and the choice of left conjuncts (with

particular attention to English)'. Journal of Linguistics

23(1), pp.51-77.

Allen, K.   (1973)

'Complement Noun Phrases'. Foundations of Language 10,

pp.377-97.

Andersen, S. and P. Kiparsky (eds.). (1973)

A Festschrift for Morris Halle. Holt, Rinehart and

Winston Inc., New York.

Anshen, F. and P.A. Schreiber. (1968)

'A focus transformation in Modern Standard Arabic'.

Language 44(4), pp.792-7.

Anwar, M.S. (1979)

'Be' and equational sentences in Egyptian Arabic.

Studies in Language Comparison Series (SLCS). John

Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Aoun, J. (1987) 'Two types of locality'.

Linguistic Inquiry 18, (4), pp.537- 579.

al-ºAqqaad, A. (1963)

Shataat mojtamiºaat fil-loɣhati wal-?adab. Daar al-

Maºaarif bi-Misr.

Armstrong, P.B.A. (1974)

A study of English manner adverbs and related adverbs in

-ly, based on data from the Brown University standard

sample of present-day American English. Ph.D. thesis,

Lancaster University.

Atiya, J.W. (1976)

A transformational analysis of conjunction, negation and

relativitism in Egyptian Arabic. Ph.D. thesis, Lancaster

University.

Azer, H.A. (1980)

The expression of modality in Egyptian colloquial Arabic,

its syntax and semantics. Ph.D. thesis,London University.

Bach, E. (1974)

    <u>Syntactic theory</u>. Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc.,

    New York.

Bach, E. and R. Harms. (1968)

    <u>Universals in linguistic theory</u>. Holt, Rinehart and

    Winston Inc., New York.

Badawi, El-S. (1973)

    <u>Mustawayaat alºArabiyyah almuºaasirah fii miṣr</u>. (Levels

    of Contemporary Arabic in Egypt) Daar al-Maºaarif, Cairo.

Baker, C.L. (1989)

    <u>English Syntax</u>. The MIT Press, Cambridge, London

Barakaat, I.I. (1983)

    <u>al-ºAlaaqah bayn al-ºalaamah al- 1?iºraabiyyah wal-maºna</u>

    <u>fii Kitaab Sibawayh</u>. Maktabat al-Khangi bi- Misr.

Barker, G.L. (1972)

    <u>The story of language</u>. Pan Books, London.

Bartsch R. (1976)

    <u>The grammar of adverbials</u>. North Holland Linguistic Series.

    North Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam.

Becker, A.L. and D.G. Arms. (1969)

    'Prepositions as predicates', in <u>Papers from the 5th</u>

    <u>Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society</u>, Robert

    I. Binnick et al, pp.1-11. Department of Linguistics,

    University of Chicago, Chicago.

Beeston, A.F.L. (1968)

Written Arabic: an approach to the basic structure.

Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Beeston, A.F.L. (1970)

The Arabic language today. Hutchinson University Library,

London.

Beeston, A.F.L. (1974)

'Embedding of theme - predicate structures in Arabic'.

Language 50(3), pp.474-7.

Bennett, D.C. (1972)

'Some observations concerning the Locative-Directional

Distinction'. Semiotica (5) pp.58-88.

Bennett, D.C. (1975)

Spatial and temporal uses of English prepositions: an

essay in stratificational semantics. Longman, London.

Blanc, H. (1960)

'Style variation in spoken Arabic: a sample of inter-

dialectal conversation', in C.A. Ferguson (ed.),

Contributions to Arabic linguistics. pp.   Harvard Middle

Eastern Monograph Series.

Bloomfield, L. (1935)

Language. Allen and Unwin, London.

Bloomfield, L. (1983)

An introduction to the study of language. John Benjamins,

Amsterdam.

Bolinger, D.L.   (1952)

> 'Linear modification'. Publications for the Modern
>
> Language Association of America 67, pp.1117-44. New York.

Bolinger, D.L.   (1967b)

> 'Adjectives in English: attribution and predication'.
>
> Lingua 18, pp.1-34.

Bolinger, D.L.   (1975)

> Aspects of language. Harcourt Brace, Jovanovich.

Bolinger, D.L.   (1977)

> Meaning and form. Longman, London.

Bos, G.F.   (1967)

> Categories and border-line categories. Adolf M. Hakkert,
>
> Amsterdam.

Boyd, J. and Thoren, J.P. (1969)

> 'The semantics of modal verbs'. Journal of Linguistics, 5
>
> pp.57-74.

Bresnan, J.   (1973)

> 'Syntax of the comparative clause construction in English'.
>
> Linguistic Inquiry 4, pp.275-343.

Bubenik, V.   (1974)

> 'Thematization and passivization in Arabic'. Lingua 49(4),
>
> pp.295-313.

Cantarino, V.   (1975)

> Syntax of modern Arabic prose. Bloomington, Indiana
>
> University Press, London.

Carter, M.G.   (1968)

   A study of Sibawayh's principles of grammatical analysis.

   Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University.

Chao, Y.R.   (1968)

   Language and symbolic systems.   Cambridge University Press,

   Cambridge.

Chomsky, N.   (1965)

   Aspects of the theory of syntax.   MIT Press, Massachusetts.

Chomsky, N.   (1969)

   Syntactic structures.   Mouton, The Hague.

Chomsky, N.   (1969)

   Deep structure, surface structure and semantic

   interpretation.   Indiana University Linguistic Circle.

Chomsky, N.   (1970)

   'Remarks on nominalization', in Jacobs R.A. and P.S.

   Rosenbaum (eds.), Readings in English transformational

   grammar, pp.184-221, Ginn and Company, Massachusetts.

Chomsky, N. and H. Lasnik   (1977)

   'Filters and control'.   Linguistic Inquiry 81, pp.425-504.

Christophersen, P. and A.O. Sandved.   (1972)

   An advanced English grammar.   Macmillan, London.

Cook, V.J.   (1994)

   Chomsky's Universal Grammar: an introduction.   Blackwell,

   London.

Corum, C.   (1975)

   'A pragmatic analysis of parenthetic adjuncts', in Roslin,

   E. and R.E. Grossman (eds.), Papers from the 11th Regional

Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, pp.133-41.
Chicago.

Crystal, D. (1966)

'Specification of English tenses'. Journal of Linguistics,
pp.1-34.

Crystal, D. (1967) 'English'. Lingua 7, pp.27-56.

Crystal, D. (1978)

Child language, learning and linguistics. Edward Arnold,
U.S.A.

Curme, G.O. (1931)

Syntax: a grammar of the English language 3. Heath, Boston.

Cutler, A. (1982)

'Idioms: the colder and the older'. Linguistic Inquiry
13(2), pp.317-23.

Dean et al. (1971)

The play of language. Oxford University Press, London.

Dinneen, F.P. (ed.) (1966)

Report of the 17th Annual Round Table Meeting on
Linguistics and Language Studies. Georgetown University
Press, Washington.

Dryer, M.S. (1991)

'SVO languages and the OV:VO typology'. Journal of
Linguistics 27(2), pp.443-82.

Edgren, E. (1971)

Temporal clauses in English. Almqvist and Wiksell, Uppsala.

Edwards, M.H.   (1988)

>   A generalized phrase structure grammar of Egyptian
>   colloquial Arabic. Ph.D. thesis, London University.

El-Halese, Y.A.   (1976)

>   'Some grammatical functions of prominence in Arabic'.
>   BSOAS xxxix.I, pp.83-90.

El-Hassan, S.A.   (1978a)

>   'Educated spoken Arabic in Egypt and the Levant: a
>   critical review of Diglossia and related concepts'.
>   Archivum Linguisticum 8(2), pp.112-32.

El-Rabbat, A.H. (1978)

>   The major clause types of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, A
>   participant-process approach, Ph.D thesis, University of
>   London.

El-Sayyid, D.   (1962)

>   The part of speech system and the grammatical categories
>   of Egyptian colloquial Arabic. Ph.D. thesis, Cornell
>   University.

El-Yasin, M.K.   (1985)

>   'Basic word order in classical and Jordanian Arabic'.
>   Lingua 65(1-2), pp.107-22.

Fell, J.   (1784)

>   An essay towards an English grammar, with a dissertation
>   on the nature and peculiar use of certain hypothetical
>   verbs in the English language. London.

Ferguson, C.A.   (1959a)

>   'The Arabic Koine'. Language 35(4), pp.616-30.

Ferguson, C.A.   (1959b)

'Diglossia'.   Word 15, pp.325-40.

Ferguson, C.A. (ed.)   (1960)

Contributions to Arabic linguistics.   Harvard Middle Eastern Monograph Series.

Ferguson, C.A. (1976)

'Structure and use of politeness formulas', Languages in Society 5, pp.129-136.

Ferguson, C.A.   (1983)

'God-Wishes in Syrian Arabic'.   Mediterranean Language Review I, pp.65-81.

Filmore, C.J.   (1968)

'The case for case', in Bach, E. and R. Harms (eds.), Universals in linguistic theory, pp.1-88.   Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., New York.

Fodor, J.A.   (1970)

'Three reasons for not deriving "kill" from "cause to die". Linguistic Inquiry 1(4), pp.429-38.

Francis, W.N.   (1958)

The structure of American English.   Ronald Press Company, New York.

Fraser, B.   (1966)

'Some remarks on the verb-particle construction in English', in Dinneen, F.P. (ed.), Report of the 17th Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies, pp.45-61. Georgetown University Press, Washington.

Fraser, B. (1970)

'Some remarks on the action nominalization in English', in R.A. Jacobs and P.S. Rosenbaum, <u>Readings in English Transformational Grammar</u>, pp.83-98. Ginn and Company, Massachusetts.

Fries, C.C. (1940)

<u>American English Grammar</u> New York.

Fries, C.C. (1952)

<u>The structure of English: an introduction to the construction of English sentences</u>. Harcourt Brace, New York.

Fries, C.C. (1954)

'Meaning and linguistic analysis'. <u>Language</u> 36, pp.57- 68.

Gadalla, M.A.G. (1959)

Prepositions in colloquial Egyptian Arabic. M.A. dissertation, University of Texas.

Gamal-Eldin, S. (1961)

<u>A syntactic study of colloquial Egyptian Arabic</u>. Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 34. Mouton, The Hague.

Gary, J.O. and Gamal-Eldin, S. (1981)

<u>Cairene Egyptian colloquial Arabic</u>. Croom Helm, Kent.

Ghaly, H.M.H. (1988)

A syntactic study of the nominal piece and its temporals in Darᵉiyyah Arabic based on the theory of government and binding. Ph.D. thesis, London University.

Gleason, H.A. (1961)

<u>An introduction to descriptive linguistics</u>. Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., New York.

Gleason, H.A. (1965)

Linguistics and English grammar. Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., New York.

Gleason, H.A. (1975)

An introduction to descriptive linguistics. Unwin Bros. Ltd., London.

Glinert, L.H. (1974)

A generative study of peripheral categories in Modern Hebrew. Ph.D. thesis, London University.

Greenbaum, S. (1969)

Studies in English adverbial usage. Longman, London.

Greenbaum, S. (1970)

Verb-intensifier collocations in English. Mouton, The Hague.

Greenbaum, S. (1974a)

'Frequency and acceptability'. Mimeograph. Department of English, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Greenbaum, S. (1974b)

'Positional norms of English adverbs'. Mimeograph. Department of English, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

Greenbaum, S. (1976)

'Positional norms of English adverbs'. Studies in English Linguistics 9, pp.1-16.

Greenbaum, S. (1983)

Lectures on syntax of English, given at UCL, London.

Greenbaum, S. (1991)

An introduction to English grammar. Longman, London.

Greenbaum, S., G. Leech, and J. Svartvik (eds.) (1980)

   Studies in English linguistics for Randolf Quirk. Longman,

   London.

Greenbaum, S. and R. Quirk. (1970) .

   Elicitation experiments in English linguistic studies in .

   use and attitude. Longman, London.

Greenberg, J.H. (ed.) (1963) .

   Universals of language. Cambridge University Press,

   Cambridge.

Halliday, M.A.K. (1966)

   Some notes on 'deep' grammar', Journal of Linguistics 2,

   pp.57-67.

Halliday, M.A.K. and R. Hassan. (1980) .

   Cohesion in English. Longman, London.

Hanna, M.H. (1962)

   The phrase structure of Egyptian colloquial Arabic. Ph.D.

   thesis, Cornell University.

Harrel, R.S. (1957) .

   The phonology of Egyptian colloquial Arabic. American

   Council of Learned Societies, New York. .

Harrel, R.S. (1960)

   'A linguistic analysis of Egyptian radio Arabic', in

   Ferguson, C.A. (ed.), Contributions to Arabic linguistics.

   Harvard Middle Eastern Monograph Series.

Hasan, A. (1969) .

   al-Nahw al-waafi. Daar al-Maᵒaarif bi-Misr.

418

Hasaan, T. (1968)

   al-Luɛah al-ºArabiyyah mabnaaha wa maºnaaha. Daar

   al-Thaqaafah, Casablanca.

Hetzron, R. (1971)

   'The deep structure of the statement'. Linguistics 65,

   pp.25-61.

Hill, A.A. (1958)

   Introduction to linguistic structures. New York.

Hill, A.A. (1961)

   'Grammaticality'. Word 57, pp.1-10.

Hinds, M. and El-S. Badawi (1986)

   A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic, Introduction, pp.VIII-XVIII.

   Librairie du Liban, Beirut.

Huang, S.F. (1975)

   A study of adverbs. Mouton, Paris.

Huddleston, R. (1981)

   An introduction to English transformational syntax.

   Longman, London.

Hudson, R.A. (1967)

   'Constituency in a syntactic description of the English

   clause'. Lingua 18, pp.225-50.

Hyon, P. (1973)

   Relativization in Hebrew. Mouton, The Hague.

Ibn ºAqiil, B.A.º. (1964)

   Sharh ibn ºAqiil ºalaa alfiyyah al- Imaam al-Hijjah fi

   al-Diin Ibn Maalik. Al-Maktabah al-Tijaariyyah al-Kubraa

   bi-Misr.

Ibn Hishaam, G.A.A.M.   (1964)

>   Mughni al-labiib ºan kutub al-Aºaariib.   Al-Maktabah

>   al-Tijaariyya al-Kubraa, Cairo.

Ibn Jinni, A. ºU.I.J.   (1952-60)

>   Al-Munsif edited by Ibraahim Mustafa and ºAbdallah Amiin

>   Mustafa.   al-Baabi al-Halabi, Cairo.

Ibrahim, M.H. and B.H. Jernudd (eds) (1986)

>   Aspects of Arabic Sociolinguistics, special volume 61 of

>   The International Journal of the Sociology of Language.

>   Mouton de Gruyter, Amsterdam, Introduction pp.5-6.

Jackendoff, R.S.   (1969)

>   'An interpretative theory of negation'.   Foundations of

>   Language 5, pp.218P41.

Jackendoff, R.S.   (1972)

>   Semantic interpretation in generative grammar.   MIT Press,

>   Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Jackendoff, R.S.   (1973)

>   'The base rules for prepositional phrases', in Andersen,

>   S. and P. Kiparsky (eds.), A Festschrift for Morris Halle,

>   pp.345- 56.   Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., New York.

Jackendoff, R.S.   (1977)

>   X syntax: a study in phrase structure.   Linguistic Inquiry

>   Monograph 2.   MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Jackson, H.   (1980)

>   Analysing English: an introduction to descriptive

>   linguistics.   Pergamon Press Ltd.

Jackson, H.   (1990)

Grammar and meaning: a semantic approach to English grammar. Longman, London.

Jacobs, R.A. and P.S. Rosenbaum (eds.).   (1970)

Readings in English transformational grammar. Ginn and Company, Massachusetts.

Jacobson, B.   (1977a)

'Adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions in English: a study in gradience'. Studia Linguistica xxxi(1), pp.38-64.

Jacobson, B.   (1977b)

Transformational generative grammar. North Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam.

Jacobson, S.   (1964)

Adverbial positions in English. Uppsala dissertation. Studentbok, Stockholm.

Jacobson, S.   (1968)

The placement of preverbs in American English. Mimeograph. Stockholm University, Stockholm.

Jespersen, P.   (1933)

Essentials of English grammar. Allen and Unwin, London.

Jesperson, O.   (1949)

A modern English grammar on historical principles. Allen and Unwin, London.

Jesperson, O.   (1987)

Essentials of English grammar. Allen and Unwin, London.

Jones, D. (1969)

An outline of English phonetics. Heffer W. and Sons Ltd.,
Cambridge. (First edition 1918.)

al-Jurjaani, A.B.A.A. (1978)

Dalaa?il al-i°jaaz fi °ilm al- ma°aani, edited by Muhammad
°Abduh, Mahmuud al-Shanqiiti and Rashiid Ridaa. Maktabat
al-Qaahira, Cairo, 1969. Repr. Daar-al-Ma°aarif, Beirut.

Kamel, S.A. (1982)

Topicalization of the Noun Phrases in colloquial Cairene
Arabic. Ph.D. thesis, Leeds University.

Katz, J.J. and P. Postal. (1964)

An integrated theory of linguistic descriptions. MIT
Press, Massachusetts.

Kaye, A.S. (1970)

'Modern Standard Arabic and the colloquials'. Lingua 24,
pp.374-91.

Kaye, A.S. (1972)

"Remarks on diaglossia in Arabic: well-defined versus
ill-defined". Linguistics 81.

Kennedy, L.N. (1971)

'Topic Comment and Relative Clause in Arabic'. Language
47(4), pp.810-25.

al-Khaliil, A.A.A.B. (1405H).

'Kitaab al °Ayn', in Mahdi al Makhzuumi and Ibraahiim al
Saamarraa?i (eds.). Daar al-Hijra, Qom.

Kirkwood, H.W. (1969)

    'Aspects of word order and its communicative function in

    English and German'. <u>Journal of Linguistics</u> 5, pp.85-107.

Kortmann, B. and E. König (1992)

    'Categorial reanalysis: the case of deverbal prepositions',

    <u>Linguistics</u> 30-4, pp.671-97.

Kučera H. and K. Trnka (1975)

    <u>Time in language</u>. Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Kuroda, S.-Y. (1968)

    'English relativization and certain related problems'.

    <u>Language</u> 44, pp.244-66.

Kuroda, S.-Y. (1973)

    'Some remarks on adverbs', in Jacobs R.A. (ed.), Readings in English
Transformational grammar, pp.152-64, Ginn and Company, Massachusetts.

Lakoff, G. (1971a)

    'On generative semantics', in Steinberg and Jacobovits

    (eds.), 1971, pp.232-96.

Lascarides, A. (1992)

    'Knowledge, causality and temporal representation',

    <u>Linguistics</u> 30-5, pp.941-73.

Lee, D. (1987)

    'The semantics of "just"'. <u>Journal of Pragmatics</u> 2, pp.

    377-98.

Leech, G. (1974)

    <u>Semantics</u>. Penguin Books Ltd., Middlesex.

Long, R.B.   (1961)   .

>   The sentence and its parts.   University of Chicago Press,

>   Chicago.

Lyons, J.   (1969)   .

>   Introduction to theoretical linguistics.   Cambridge

>   University Press, Cambridge.

Lyons, J.   (1975)   .

>   New horizons in linguistics.   Penguin, Middlesex.

Lyons, J.   (1977)

>   Semantics II.   Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Lyons, J.   (1981)   .

>   Language, meaning and context.   The Chaucer Press, Bungay,

>   Suffolk.

McKay, J.   (1968a)

>   'Some generative rules for German time adverbials'.   .

>   Language 44, pp.25-50.

McKay, J.   (1969)

>   The free adverbial in a generative grammar of German.

>   Ph.D. thesis, U.C.L.

McLoughlin, L.J. (1972)

>   'Towards a definition of Modern Standard Arabic', Archivum

>   Linguisticum III.

Magnusson, R.   (1954)   .

>   Studies in the theory of parts of speech.   Lund Studies

>   in English 24.   Gleerup, Lund; Munksgaard, Copenhagen.

Makhzuumi, M.   (1966)

>   Fi al Nahw al ºArabi. Manshuuraat al-Maktaba al-ºAsriyya,
>   Beirut.

Mallawany, M.   (1981)

>   Modality in colloquial Cairene Arabic, with corresponding
>   features in English. Ph.D. thesis, Leeds University.

Mathesius, V.   (1975)

>   A functional analysis of present-day English on a general
>   linguistic basis, edited by Vachek, J., Prague: Academia

Michael, J.   (1970)

>   English grammatical categories and their tradition to 1800.
>   Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Mitchell, T.F.   (1962)

>   Colloquial Arabic: the living language of Egypt. English
>   Universities Press, London.

Mitchell, T.F.   (1978)

>   'Educated spoken Arabic in Egypt and the Levant, with
>   special reference to participle and tense.' Journal of
>   Linguistics 14(2), pp.227-58.

Mitchell, T.F.   (1980)

>   'Dimensions of style in a grammar of education spoken
>   Arabic'. Archivum Linguisticum 2(2), pp.89-109.

Mitchell, T.F. (1986)

>   "What is Educated Spoken Arabic?", in M.H. Ibrahim and
>   B.H. Jernudd, Journal of the Sociology of Language,
>   Mouton de Gruyter, Amsterdam.

Mitchell, T.F. (1993)

Pronouncing Arabic 2, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Mitchell, T.F. and El-Hassan, S. (1994)

Modality, Mood and Aspect in Spoken Arabic, Kegan Paul

International Ltd., London.

Mittwoch, A. (1980)

The grammar of duration. Studies in Language 4, pp.201-

27.

Myhill, J. (1995)

"Change and continuity in the functions of the American

English modals". Linguistics 33-2, pp.157-211.

Nasr, R.T. (1967)

The structure of Arabic, from sound to sentence. Libraire

du Liban, Beirut.

Nilsen, D.L.F. (1972)

English adverbials. Mouton, The Hague.

O'Connor, J.D. and G.F. Arnold. (1961)

Intonation of colloquial English: a practical handbook.

Longman, London.

Palmer, F.R. (1979)

Semantics: a new outline. Cambridge University Press,

Cambridge.

Palmer, H.G. (1939)

A grammar of spoken English on a strictly phonetic basis.

Cambridge, England.

Postal, P.M.   (1971)

   Crossover phenomena. Ch.1. Holt, Rinehart and Winston
   Inc., New York.

Poutsma, A.H.   (1926)

   A grammar of late modern English. Noordhoff, Groningen.

Pulken, G. and D. Wilson.   (1977)

   'Autonomous syntax and the analysis of auxiliaries'.

   Language 53(4), pp.741-88.

Quirk, R.   (1968)

   The use of English. Longman, London.

Quirk, R.   (1986)

   Words at work: lectures on textual structure. Longman,
   London.

Quirk, R. and S. Greenbaum.   (1985)

   A university grammar of English. Longman, London.

Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech and J. Svartvik.   (1986)

   A comprehensive grammar of the English language. Longman,
   London.

Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum and J. Svartvik.   (1984)

   A grammar of contemporary English. Longman, London.

Quirk, R. and J. Mulholland.   (1964)

   'Complex prepositions and related sequences'. English
   Studies 44, pp.64-73.

Quirk, R. and J. Svartvik.   (1966)

   Investigating linguistic acceptability. The Hague.

Radwan, M.R.S.   (1975)

A semantico-syntactic study of the verbal piece in
colloquial Egyptian Arabic.   Ph.D. thesis, London
University.

Reimsdijk, H.V.   (1978)

A case study in syntactic markedness.   Foris Publications,
Holland.

Roslin, E. and R.E. Grossman (eds.).   (1975)

Papers from the 11th Regional Meeting of the Chicago
Linguistic Society.   Chicago.

Ross, J.   (1968)

Constraints on variables in syntax.   Ph.D. thesis, MIT 1967.
Reproduced by Indiana University Linguistics Club.

Sallam, A.   (1979)

The Noun Phrase in the educated Arabic of Egypt and the
Levant.   Ph.D. thesis, Leeds University.

Sapir, E.   (1921)

Language: an introduction to the study of speech.   Harcourt,
Brace and World, New York.

al-Sayyid, A.º.   (1975)

Fi ºilm al-nahw.   Daar al-Maºaarif bi- Misr, Cairo.

Schiffrin, I.M.   (1985)

'Conversational Coherence: the role of "well"'.   Language
61, pp.640-67.

Schreiber, P.A.   (1958)

English sentence adverbs.   New York.

Schreiber, P.A.   (1970)

'Some constraints on the formation of English sentence
adverbs'.   _Linguistic Inquiry_ 1, pp.83-101.

Schreiber, P.A. (1972)

'Style disjuncts and the performative analysis'. .
Linguistic Inquiry 3, (3). Thompson, Sandra.

Selim, G.D.   (1967)

'Some contrasts between classical Arabic and Egyptian
Arabic', in Stuart, D.G. (ed.), _Linguistic studies in memory
of R.S. Harrell_, pp.133-52.   Georgetown University Press,
Washington.

Sibawayh, F.I.ºU.   (1889)   .

Kitaab Sibawayh al-mashhuur fil-nahw ismuhu al-Kitaab.
n.p., Paris.

Smith, C.S.   (1961)

'A class of complex modifiers in English'.   _Language_ 37,
pp.342-65.

Steinitz, R.   (1969)   .

Adverbial syntax.   Akademie, Berlin.

Stiebels, B. and Wunderlich, D. (1994)

'Morphology feeds syntax: the case of particle verbs'.
Linguistics 32-6, pp.913-68.

Stockwell, R.P., P. Schachter and B. Hall Partee   (1977)

The major syntactic structures of English. Holt, Rinehart
and Winston Inc., New York.

Strang, B.   (1978)

    <u>Modern English structure</u>.   Edward Arnold, London; St.

    Martins Press, New York.

Stuart, D.G. (ed.)   (1967)

    <u>Linguistic studies in memory of R.S. Harrell</u>.   Georgetown

    University Press, Washington.

Sturtevant, E.H.   (1983)

    <u>An introduction to linguistic science</u>.   Yale University

    Press, New Haven.

Svartvik, J.   (1966)

    <u>On voice in the English verb</u>.   Mouton and Company, The Hague.

Svartvik, J.   (1980)

    '"Well" in conversation', in Greenbaum, S., G. Leech and

    J. Svartvik (eds.), <u>Studies in English linguistics for</u>

    <u>Randolf Quirk</u> pp.167- 77.   Longman, London.

Sweet, H.   (1955-60 repr.)

    <u>A new English grammar: logical and historical</u>.   Oxford

    University Press, Oxford.

Turner, G.W.   (1970)

    <u>Stylistics</u>.   Penguin.

Versteegh, C.M.M.   (1977)

    <u>Greek elements in Arabic linguistics</u>.   Brill, Leiden.

Vendler, Z.   (1967)

    <u>Linguistics in philosophy</u>.   Cornell University Press.

Vestergaard, T.   (1977)   .

    <u>Prepositional phrases and prepositional verbs: a study in</u>

    <u>grammatical function</u>.   Janua Linguarum Series.   Mouton,

    The Hague.

Weinreich, U.   (1963)

    `On the semantic structure of language', in J.H. Greenberg

    (ed.), 1963, <u>Universals of language</u>, pp.142-216.

Western, A.A.   (1906)

    `Some remarks on the use of English adverbs'.   <u>Englische</u>

    <u>Studien</u> 36, pp.75-99.

Wise, H.   (1975)

    <u>A transformational grammar of Egyptian spoken Arabic</u>.

    Publications of the Philological Society xxvi.   Basil

    Blackwell, Oxford.

Wölck, W. and P.H. Mathews.   (1965)

    <u>Preliminary classification of adverbs</u>.   Indiana University

    Linguistics Club, Indiana University.

Wright, W.   (1964)

    <u>A grammar of the Arabic language</u>.   Cambridge University

    Press, Cambridge.

Wright, O.   (1983)

    <u>Colloquial Egyptian</u>, Printed by the School of Oriental and

    African Studies, London University.

Wuref, V.D.   (1989)

    `The syntax of participle adjuncts in Eastern Bengali'.

    <u>Journal of Linguistics</u> 25(2), pp.373-416.