

## The Verbal Paradigm in Embedded Clauses

In this chapter, a selection of substantival, adjectival, and adverbial clauses is discussed. The discussion is centered on the functional oppositions marked by the verbal forms in these clauses. Each section starts with the analysis of the simple and modified forms, then the compound and the negated forms are discussed. Limited distribution or special uses of a form are specifically noted. Given that some observations are relevant for more than one type of clauses—sometimes even for all—a certain amount of repetition is inevitable. Some semantic notions and other relevant concepts are mentioned only in brief, awaiting further elaboration in the following chapters.

### 7.1 Preliminaries

In the hierarchical structure of the text, embedded clauses constitute the lowest stratum. Embedded clauses are constituents of complex clauses: they occupy the syntactic position of a noun-phrase or an adverbial. In most cases, they do not refer directly to the deictic center of the text (see above 4.2), but relate to it via their matrix clause (for an exception, see [7.72] below). Since embedded clauses do not refer directly to the situation of the speaking/narrating subject, the expression of certain modal meanings, in particular volition, is less salient in them. In general, indicators of subjective involvement are more limited in embedded clauses, though not entirely absent from them. Embedded generic clauses, like all generic clauses, have a privative referential value. However, within the generic domain, one verbal situation may refer to another, thus being assigned a location in time which is relative to it.

The verbal paradigm in embedded clauses consists of indicative forms: simple, modified, and compound. With simple forms, the non-symmetrical configuration of [main clause + embedded clause] is syntactically marked, by the embedding operator and the syntagmatic sequence; with modified and compound forms, it is also morphologically marked, by the modifier or the auxiliary (against the use of a simple form in the main clause).

An important feature which affects the interpretation of the verbal form is the nature of the verbal lexeme or verb-phrase. There are two pertinent semantic distinctions in this regard: the first, between potentially bounded (telic) and unbounded (a-telic) situations, and the second, between situations

analyzable into phases, i.e. (dynamic) activities, and ones which are not, i.e. (static) states.<sup>1</sup>

The verbal forms may be sorted into two groups: the first comprises the simple forms *yaf'alu*, *fa'ala*, and the active participle, which do not mark the verbal situation as necessarily bounded; the second group comprises the modified forms *sa-yaf'alu*, *qad fa'ala*, and the passive participle, which impose an initial or terminal bounding of the verbal situation.

## 7.2 Substantival (Content) 'anna-clauses

The operator 'anna introduces content clauses of verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge (including perception). Rarely, they also follow desiderative verbs. Clauses introduced by 'anna may function as object complements of verbs or as genitive complements of prepositions, e.g.: *li-'anna*, *ka-'anna*, *ma'a 'anna*. The operator 'anna heads a nominal clause whose nominal theme is assigned the accusative case.

Given their high frequency in the corpus, substantival 'anna-clauses provide a good starting point for the exploration of the verbal paradigm in embedded clauses. The observations made henceforth regarding the semantic oppositions marked by the verbal forms are for the most part also pertinent in adjectival and adverbial clauses.

The contour of a verbal situation, including its temporal value, is largely determined by the interaction between the verbal lexeme and the verbal form, or to be more precise, between the internal and the external boundary-marking of the verbal situation. Modal nuances are more context dependent than aspectual and temporal meanings, thus not as easily predictable. The time reference of the verbal form is relative to the one established in the main clause. We observe that:

- Both *yaf'alu* and *fā'ilVn* indicate concurrence with unbounded (including stative) lexemes and posteriority with bounded ones.<sup>2</sup> The difference is that

1 Though correlating to a large extent, the distinction between these two sets of semantic oppositions should be kept, as the verbal forms interact differently with each of them. Cf. Rothstein, *Structuring Events*, 12 ff., for a classification of events according to the 'two aspectual properties' defined as [ $\pm$ stage] and [ $\pm$ telic].

2 I use the term 'concurrence' to refer to the temporal relation between two (or more) events which co-occur at the same time frame, though not necessarily at the very same instant. I use the term 'simultaneity' to refer to exact synchronicity.

*yaf'alu* marks the dynamic unfolding of the situation while *fā'ilVn* marks it as static. Futurity expressed by *yaf'alu* nearly always involves a modal flavor, whereas with *fā'ilVn*, a modal meaning does not surface as much.<sup>3</sup>

- *sa-yaf'alu* indicates that the situation is yet to occur and thus has a posterior time reference with all lexemes, regardless of their being bounded or unbounded, dynamic or static.
- *fa'ala* indicates persistence ('existing state') with stative lexemes and anteriority with dynamic, either bounded or unbounded, lexemes.<sup>4</sup>
- Both *qad fa'ala* and *maf'ūlVn* indicate a bounded verbal situation. The difference is that *qad fa'ala* depicts a state resulting from a previous process, thus it is analyzable into phases,<sup>5</sup> while *maf'ūlVn* refers to the resultant state alone.

Table 7.1 summarizes the aspectual and temporal distinctions marked by the verbal forms in *'anna*-clauses. The examples which follow illustrate each case referred to in the table. Notice that with *sa-yaf'alu*, *maf'ūlVn* and *qad fa'ala* only examples with potentially unbounded lexemes are adduced, to show the bounding force of the verbal form:

TABLE 7.1 *Temporal-aspectual distinctions in 'anna-clauses*

Verbal form	Time reference	
	Bounded lexeme	Unbounded lexeme
<i>yaf'alu</i>	posteriority [7.1]	concurrency-dynamic [7.2]
<i>fā'ilVn</i>	posteriority [7.3]	concurrency-static [7.4]
<i>sa-yaf'alu</i>	posteriority [7.5]	

3 For a more detailed discussion of futurity as expressed by *yaf'alu*, see below 9.2.1.

4 The meaning paraphrased as 'present state exists' emerges from the interaction of 'anterior' and stative predicates; see Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *Evolution*, 74.

5 I hold a different view than Beeston, *Arabic Language*, 78, who ascribes to *qad* a 'conversive force', by which the dynamic aspect of the 'suffix-set' is transformed into a static one. In fact, the modified form *qad fa'ala* embodies two phases: the (dynamic) process and its (static) result.

TABLE 7.1 *Temporal-aspectual distinctions in 'anna-clauses (cont.)*

Verbal form	Time reference	
	Bounded lexeme	Unbounded lexeme
<i>fa'ala</i>	anteriority [7.6]	persistence [7.7] (stative lexemes)
<i>maf'ulVn</i>	resultativity-static [7.8]	
<i>qad fa'ala</i>	resultativity-dynamic [7.9]	

- (7.1) *fa-'alima l-qawmu 'anna-hum yulāqūna l-qitāla*  
And the people knew that they will meet battle. (*Mağāzī*, 49)
- (7.2) *fa-'lam 'anna-hū yurīdu qatla-ka*  
Then know that he wants to kill you! (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 109)
- (7.3) *'a'lim-hum 'annī sā'irun 'ilay-him*  
Make them know that I am going to them!<sup>6</sup> (*Riwāyāt* 2, 11)
- (7.4) *fa-lammā ra'ā l-rağulu 'anna l-dī'ba qāšidun naḥwa-hū*  
And when the man saw that the wolf was proceeding toward him ...  
(*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 63)
- (7.5) *wa-'arafa 'anna-hū qad 'awqa'a fī nafsi-hī mā ṭalaba wa-'anna l-'asada sa-yahḍaru l-ṭawra wa-yatahayya'u la-hū*  
And he knew that he had planted in his mind what he wished, and that the lion will be wary of the ox, and will get prepared for him. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 95)
- (7.6) *'uḥbira 'anna 'amra bna sālīmīn wa-'ašḥāba-hū rāḥū 'amsi*  
He was informed that 'Amr b. Sālīm and his companions had gone yesterday. (*Mağāzī*, 205)

6 The verb *sāra* may have either a bounded or an unbounded reading (i.e., 'to go away, depart': 'to go'). In [7.3], *sā'iran* is followed by the complement *'ilay-hi* which specifies the destination of the going, thus the participle is interpreted as bounded.

- (7.7) *ʿinnā naḥšā yā rasūla llāhi ʿan yazunna ʿaduwwu-nā ʿannā karihnā l-ḥurūǧa ʿilay-him ḡubnan ʿan liqāʿi-him*  
 We fear, O Messenger of God, that our enemy will think that we did not want to come out to them out of fear of encountering them. (*Maǧāzī*, 210)
- (7.8) *fa-ʿawwalu mā ʿawqaʿa fī rūʿī ʿanna māl-ī mahfūzun ʿalay-ya*  
 The first thing that struck my mind is that the preservation of my wealth is incumbent upon me (lit. ‘that my wealth is preserved upon me’). (*Buḥalāʿ*, 78)
- (7.9) *ǧīʿtu ʿuḥbiru-ka ʿannī qad ʿāmantu bi-llāhi wa-bi-rasūli-hī muḥammadin*  
 I came to inform you that I have become a believer (lit. ‘that I have believed’) in God and in his Messenger Muḥammad. (*Sīra* 1, 230)

The meaning of the verbal form is not only affected by the lexico-grammatical features described above. Quite often, the surrounding context or other pragmatic features are involved in its interpretation. For instance, repetition or presupposition seem to explain cases in which *yafʿalu* forms, instead of indicating posteriority with bounded lexemes, indicate concurrence. In these cases, *yafʿalu* refers to a situation whose ‘actual referential concern’ is extended over a period of time including the one indicated in the main clause.<sup>7</sup> What calls for the ‘still actual or relevant’ interpretation of *yafʿalu* is its being conceived or presented as given or backgrounded. Consider, for instance, the following example:

- (7.10) *wa-saʿaltu ʿan-i l-muǧannīna ʿayna yaǧtamiʿūna [...] wa-qad balaǧa-nī ʿanna l-qawma yaǧtamiʿūna ʿinda-ka*  
 And I asked about the singers, where do they gather [...] I came to know that the people gather at your [place]. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 17)

The verb *yaǧtamiʿūna* in the substantival clause repeats the same information that was already mentioned in the question ‘where do they meet’, and whose abiding actuality and relevance are in fact presupposed by it. It indicates a frequentative situation taking place within the time frame indicated by *qad*

7 Janssen, *Preterit as Definite*, 168–169, explains the use of the present tense in such cases where the event ‘does not coincide temporally with the time the sentence is spoken’, as indicating ‘actual referential concern to the speaker from his vantage point’. See also below 9.2.1.

*balaġa-nī*. The same frequentative meaning of *yafʿalu* with bounded lexemes is also observed in generic *ʿanna*-clauses, which by definition refer to information that is presented as common ground shared by all:

- (7.11) *yā ʿaġaban man raʿā ʿaw samiʿa ʿanna l-buzāta taḥtaṭīfu l-ġilmāna*  
O how astonishing! Who [ever] saw or heard that falcons snatch children. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 119)

As opposed to the frequentative *yafʿalu*, a generic participial form, whether active or passive, yields a static meaning of the verbal situation, due to the non-phasal contour marked by this grammatical form:

- (7.12) *kāna bi-yaqīnin maʿlūman ʿanna l-zamāna muḥdaṭun*  
It was surely known that time is created. (*Taʿrīḥ* 1, 18)

Substantial *ʿanna*-clauses also feature compound forms with the anterior *kāna*. The situation expressed by *kāna yafʿalu* is located within a time span previous to the one indicated in the main clause; the situation expressed by *kāna faʿala* is located at a point in time previous to the one indicated in the main clause. Thus, *kāna faʿala* carries a double marking of anteriority: it accentuates the anterior meaning already indicated by the simple *faʿala* (see above 5.1):

- (7.13) *iʿlam ʿannī munḍu yawmi waladtu-hā [...] kuntu ʿarfaʿu min daqīqi kulli ʿaġīnatin ḥafnatan*  
Know, ever since I gave birth to her [...] I used to take a handful of flour from every piece of dough. (*Buḥalāʿ*, 55)
- (7.14) *fa-ʿaḥbara-nā ʿanna muḥammadan kāna ʿaraḍa li-ʿiri-nā fī badʿati-nā*  
And he informed us that Muḥammad had been observing our caravan since we started our [journey]. (*Maġāzī*, 28)

In my corpus, the negated forms *lā yafʿalu*, *mā faʿala*, and *lam yafʿal* were attested in *ʿanna*-clauses. The negative particles do not seem to have special bearing on the temporal interpretation of the verbal form: with bounded lexemes, *lā yafʿalu* has a posterior time reference, whereas with unbounded or stative lexemes, it has a concurrent meaning:

- (7.15) *wa-waqaʿa fī nafsi-hī ʿanna-hū lā yarġīʿu ʿilā makkata*  
It occurred to him that he is not going back to Mecca. (*Maġāzī*, 36)

- (7.16) *ma'a 'annī lā 'āmanu 'an takūna l-dā'iratu 'alay-kum*  
 Along with that, I am not sure that you will have any success. (*Mağāzī*, 63)

The negated forms *mā fa'ala* and *lam yaf'al* were both found to be used in the same syntactic environment. A functional distinction between the two, as the one found in main clauses (see below 9.2.4), could not be observed in embedded clauses introduced by 'anna:

- (7.17) *fal-ya'lam 'anna-hū lam yu'ta fī dālika min qibali-nā wa-'innamā 'utiya min qibali ba'di nāqilī-hi 'ilay-nā*  
 [The reader] should know that he was not given this [information] by us, but rather it was brought by some of its transmitters to us. (*Tarīḥ* 1, 7)

- (7.18) *wa-kāna man taḥallafa lam yulam li-'anna-hum mā ḥaraḡū 'alā qitālin wa-'innamā ḥaraḡū li-l-īri*  
 Whoever stayed behind was not scolded because they did not go out for a battle, but rather they set out for the caravan. (*Mağāzī*, 21)

On very rare occasions, 'anna-clauses follow desiderative verbs. In my corpus, such examples were only encountered in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* text, where 'anna-clauses followed the verb *wadda* 'to wish', featuring both *yaf'alu* and *fa'ala*. Given the scarce evidence, it is hard to tell the exact functional distinction between both forms. However, the particular contexts in which the examples are found suggest that *yaf'alu* is used to refer to a hypothetical yet possible state of affairs, while *fa'ala* is used to refer to a counterfactual one (see also above 5.3.2):

- (7.19) *wa-la-wadidtu 'annī 'uqtalu fī sabīli llāhi*  
 I wish that I would be killed for the cause of God. (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 17)
- (7.20) *la-wadidtu 'anna-ka dakkarta-nā kulla yawmin*  
 I wish that you had reminded us every day. (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 29)

In [7.19], 'uqtalu conveys the wish of the Prophet, which, at the time when pronounced, is still realizable. In [7.20], on the other hand, the wish *dakkarta-nā* is answered with an explanation as to why the desired action is not feasible.

### 7.3 Adjectival/Relative Clauses

Adjectival clauses may be adjoined directly to their nominal antecedent by means of juxtaposition, or they may join it via a *mawṣūl* 'conjunctive pronoun', semantically representing the nominal antecedent and syntactically appositive to it. The *mawṣūl*, here referred to by the general term 'operator', functions as the grammatical nucleus of the clause. In adjectival clauses where no such operator is explicitly present, one may assume, on the basis of paradigmatic opposition, that an implicit conjunctive pronoun occupies this slot.<sup>8</sup> Another way of analyzing this construction is to view the close syntagmatic contact between the clause and its antecedent as the marker of the adjectival relation.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, asyndetic adjectival clauses must immediately follow their nominal antecedent, and cannot be freely positioned in the text, unlike adjectival clauses which are headed by an operator (i.e., which incorporate their grammatical nucleus).

The pronominal operators which introduce adjectival (or, more generally, relative clauses) may be classified into two sets: (a) *llaḍī* and its inflection and (b) *mā*, *man*. The first set marks the grammatical categories of number, gender, definiteness, and sometimes case; the second set marks the distinction between persons and non-persons. The *llaḍī*-set often follows its nominal antecedent while the *mā/man*-set seldom follows an explicit noun-phrase. Both types of adjectival clauses can occupy any syntactic position in a complex clause or in a nominal phrase in which a simple noun can occur.

The verbal paradigm in adjectival clauses consists of the same set of indicative forms found in substantival 'anna-clauses. The (implicit and explicit) operators introducing adjectival clauses do not impose a certain word order on the clause. I exclude from the present discussion conditional constructions headed by the operators *mā* and *man*: the overall configuration of these bipartite constructions, as well as their verbal paradigm (comprising, besides *fā'ala*, the apocopate *yaf'al*), are clearly distinct from the ones found in adjectival clauses.

#### 7.3.1 *llaḍī*-clauses

The pronominal operator *llaḍī* heads adjectival clauses whose antecedent is determined. It marks the categories of number and gender in the singular

8 Cf. Goldenberg, *Allaḍī al-Maṣḍariyyah*, 252.

9 For such a view of 'contact clauses' in English (e.g.: 'this is the boy we spoke of') see Jespersen, *Modern English*, 3, 81 ff.



and plural and, in addition, the category of case in the dual. The nominal antecedent of *llaḍī*-clauses may be either particular and specific or generic.

The verbal paradigm in *llaḍī*-clauses consists of simple, modified, and compound indicative forms. In principle, the same observations outlined above with respect to *'anna*-clauses are pertinent also in *llaḍī*-clauses. There are, however, some modal nuances which appear to be more salient in this type of adjectival clauses.

The form *yaf'alu* indicates concurrence with unbounded lexemes:

- (7.21) *fa-taqaddama bi-hā 'ilā mawḍī'i-hā llaḍī yurīdu rasūlu llāhi 'an yaḍa'a-hā fī-hi*  
 And he proceeded with it to the place where the Messenger of God wanted him to place it. (*Maḡāzī*, 56)

Repetition or presupposition may bring about a concurrent reading of *yaf'alu* with bounded lexemes:

- (7.22) *man hāḍā l-raḡulu llaḍī yaḍribu 'alay-ki bāba-ki kulla laylatin*  
 Who is this man that knocks at your door every night? (*Sīra* 1, 335)

In [7.22], *yaḍribu* repeats the same piece of information that was already recounted in the previous narrative: *fa-ra'aytu 'insānan ya'tī-hā min ḡawfi l-layli fa-yaḍribu 'alay-hā bāba-hā* 'And I saw a man coming to her in the middle of the night and knocking on her door'. The adverbial phrase *kulla laylatin* makes it plain that the situation expressed by *yaḍribu* is frequentative.<sup>10</sup> The same frequentative meaning of *yaf'alu* is also observed in *llaḍī*-clauses whose antecedent is generic:

- (7.23) *wa-l-lāzibu huwa llaḍī yaltaziqu ba'ḍu-hū bi-ba'ḍin*  
 And the sticking [substance] is that which sticks to something else. (*Ta'riḡ* 1, 88)

The difference between *yaḍribu* in [7.22] and *yaltaziqu* in [7.23] resides in the bounded or unbounded time span in which the frequentative repetition takes place, a span determined by the reference to a particular thus bounded

10 The presence of the adverb *kulla laylatin* is by no means a necessary condition for the habitual interpretation of *yaf'alu*. It provides an additional, explicit marking of this meaning.

subject-entity ('this man') or to a generic thus unbounded subject-entity ('the sticking substance').

It is rather uncommon that *yafʿalu* within a *lladī*-clause indicates plain futurity. Consider the following example:

- (7.24) *ʿandiġ ħubz-ī lladī yūdaʿu bayna yaday-ya*  
 Prepare well my bread that is served to (lit. 'put in front of') me!  
 (*Buḥalāʿ*, 84)

It is the imperative *ʿandiġ* in the main clause that sets a future time reference for the situation in its entirety, while *yūdaʿu* retains a frequentative meaning. Rather than asserting a future occurrence, *yafʿalu* often conveys the meanings of possibility and ability:

- (7.25) *wa-man-i lladī yuḥriġu-nā min-hu ʿa-lasnā ʿaʿazza l-ʿarabi wa-ʿaktara-*  
*hum mālan wa-silāḥan*  
 Who will [be able to] take us out of it? Aren't we the strongest and most  
 wealthy and armed among the Arabs?! (*Riwāyāt* 2, 36)

The simple form *faʿala* has anterior meaning with dynamic lexemes. With stative lexemes it indicates persistence:

- (7.26) *naḥnu nuʿtī-ka lladī saʿalta*  
 We will give you that which you asked for. (*Maġāzī*, 373)
- (7.27) *fa-raġaʿa wa-ḥaddara ʿaḥāba-hū lladīna baqū*  
 And he came back and warned his friends who stayed [there]. (*Riwāyāt*  
 2, 14)

While anteriority is doubly marked by the compound form *kāna faʿala* (see [7.33] below), the modified *qad faʿala* emphasizes the complete realization of the verbal situation, as shown in [7.28]. We recall that both these meanings, i.e., anteriority and completion, may be conveyed by *faʿala*, although *faʿala* is not explicitly marked for any of them:

- (7.28) *ʿaštahī l-laḥma lladī qad taḥarraʿa*  
 I crave for the meat that has been overcooked. (*Buḥalāʿ*, 91)

Participial forms, both active and passive, are not very common in *lladī*-clauses. In my corpus, there were only examples in which the participle could be interpreted as concurrent, with both unbounded and bounded lexemes:

(7.29) *'a-ra'ayta law qultu fī-ka ġayra llaḍī 'anta la-hū mustahiqqun min-a l-bāḡīli*

Look at that, if I would have composed false poems about you, which you are not worthy of ... (*Riwāyāt* 1, 7)

(7.30) *fā-mā llaḍī 'anta fī-hi l-'āna muġmi'un*

What is it that you are decided about now? (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 67)

In cases when the time reference indicated in the main clause is (concrete or fictional) past, the distinction between *yaf'alu* and *kāna yaf'alu* in the adjectival clause is subtle: the compound form reproduces the expression of past time reference, whereas the simple form is temporally unspecified, indicating only a frequentative repetition:

(7.31) *fā-ħaraġat min madħali l-mā'i llaḍī kāna yaħruġu min-a l-ġadīri*

And it came out from the mouth of the water that would flow out from the pond. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 90)

(7.32) *fā-waḍa'ā-hā 'alā šafīri l-nahri llaḍī yašubbu fī l-ġadīri*

And they both laid it on the edge of the river that flows to the pond. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 91)

Just as in *'anna*-clauses, in *llaḍī*-clauses, the use of the compound form *kāna fā'ala* accentuates the anterior meaning indicated already by the simple form (see above 5.1):

(7.33) *wa-'ayna llaḍī kunta ḥabbarta-nī bi-hī*

Where is that which you have told me about? (*Riwāyāt* 2, 193)

In my corpus, I have encountered very few examples of negated forms in *llaḍī*-clauses. The attested negated forms are *lā yaf'alu* and *lam yaf'al*, referring to future time and past time, respectively:

(7.34) *al-ħamdu li-llāhi llaḍī lā yubramu mā naqaḍa*

Praise be to God; what He has destroyed will never be re-established. (*Ta'riħ* 6, 3286)

- (7.35) *wa-kāna qad balaġa fī l-buġli wa-l-takdiyati wa-fī kaṭrati l-māli l-mabāli-  
ġa llatī lam yabluġ-hā ʾaḥadun*  
He has attained, through his greed and mendicancy and [his] great  
wealth, sums of money that no one has ever attained [before]. (*Buḥalāʾ*,  
71–72)

In [7.34], due to the divine nature of the antecedent, *lā yafʿalu* is interpreted as a certain prediction. In [7.35], due to the presence of a generic referee (ʾaḥadun ‘[no]one’), *lam yafʿal* is interpreted as a sweeping negation of the past (see below 11.3). In both cases, the verbal form does not negate the occurrence of a specific future or past event, but rather affirms the validity of a general truth.

### 7.3.2 *Asyndetic Adjectival Clauses*

Asyndetic adjectival clauses, *šifa* ‘descriptive’ in the Arabic grammatical tradition, are not introduced by an explicit operator. Rather, they follow directly after their nominal antecedent, which may be analyzed as the nucleus of the clause (see above 7.3). The nominal antecedent in asyndetic adjectival clauses is not determined. It may be either particular and non specific or generic.

The verbal paradigm in asyndetic adjectival clauses consists of the same forms found in *llaḍī*-clauses. In general, the aspectual and temporal distinctions that were specified above with regard to ʾanna-clauses are also observed in asyndetic adjectival clauses. Yet, this type of clauses features some particularities which deserve a discussion of their own.

With stative lexemes, *yafʿalu* indicates concurrence with the situation expressed in the main clause, whether the overall temporal frame is past or non-past:

- (7.36) *wa-ġaʿalū kullamā hāġa-hum ʾaḥadun min-a l-ʾawsī wa-l-ḥazraġi bi-  
šayʾin yakrahūna-hū lam yamši baʿḍu-hum ilā baʿḍin*  
Whenever someone from ʾAws or Ḥazraġ provoked them with some-  
thing they hated, they stopped (lit. ‘began not’) going to one another  
[for help]. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 14)
- (7.37) *ibʿat maṯ raġulan min tiqāti-ka yafhamu bi-l-ʾarabiyati*  
Send with me one of your trustworthy men who understands Arabic!  
(*Riwāyāt* 2, 192)

The same concurrent meaning of *yafʿalu* is also evident with dynamic, unbounded lexemes:

- (7.38) *fa-laḳīya mraʿatan taḥmilu taʿāman*  
And he came across a woman carrying food. (*Sīra* 1, 320)

Rather than mere futurity, it is often the case that *yafʿalu* with bounded lexemes conveys the modal meanings of ability or possibility:

- (7.39) *ʿarā fi hādīhi l-ʿaḡamati samakan katīran naṣīdu-hū li-muddatin*  
I see in this swamp many fish that we could fish for a while. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 84)

- (7.40) *hal ḡaʿala fi yad-ī min hādā ṣayʿan ʿarḡīʿu bi-hī ʿilā bayt-ī*  
Did he thereby put anything in my hand I could take back to my home?  
(*Buḡalāʿ*, 49)

In certain cases the exact modal nuance expressed by *yafʿalu* is not easy to demarcate. Thus, the meaning of ability appears sometimes to be fraught with that of obligation. This is the case in [7.41]–[7.42], where people are appointed to some duty, specified in the adjectival clause:

- (7.41) *wa-staʿmala rasūlu llāhi ʿalā l-ḡarasi muḡammada bna maslamata fi ḡamsīna raḡulan yaṭūfūna bi-l-ʿaskari*  
The Messenger of God appointed Muḡammad b. Maslama as the head of the guard of fifty men, who would go around the army [camp].  
(*Maḡāzī*, 217)

- (7.42) *wa-ʿamara la-hum bi-ḡādīmin yaḡdimu-hum wa-ʿabdin yasqī-him l-māʿa*  
He ordered [to provide] them [with] a servant that would serve them and a slave that would provide them water. (*Rīwāyāt* 1, 7)

In all the above examples, the interpretation of *yafʿalu* as expressing plain futurity, devoid of modal nuances, does not seem to be supported by the context. However, the following example presents us with a different case:

- (7.43) *wa-ʿin lam tafʿalū kāna la-hū fi-kum dabḡun tumma buʿittum min baʿdi mawti-kum fa-ḡuʿilat la-kum nārun tuḡraqūna fi-hā*  
But if you do not act [as he calls you to] he will have you slaughtered; then you will be raised from the dead and put in fire, in which you will be burned. (*Sīra* 1, 326)

Although not directly uttered by the Prophet, this is a prophecy stating the general divine plan. In this context, the statement is granted the status of an absolute truth and, consequently, conveys the utmost certainty regarding its future execution (cf. [7.34] above). Thus, compared with the other examples, we may say that *tuhraqūna* indeed functions as an assertion of future event.

Just as in substantival *'anna*-clauses and adjectival *lladī*-clauses, in asyndetic adjectival clauses, *fa'ala* with stative lexemes indicates persistence, whereas with dynamic lexemes it indicates anteriority relative to the time frame established in the main clause:

(7.44) *su'ila l-nabiyyu 'an 'ašyā'a kariha-hā*  
The Prophet was asked about things he detested. (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 36)

(7.45) *'utiya hiraqlu bi-rağulin 'arsala bi-hī maliku ġassāna*  
Heraclius was brought a man, whom the king of Ġassān had sent.  
(*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9)

The modified form *qad fa'ala*, due to the bounding force of *qad*, indicates anteriority with both stative and dynamic lexemes, relative to the time frame established in the main clause:

(7.46) *inṭaliq bi-nā 'ilā 'adnā mā'i l-qawmi [...] bi-hā qalībun qad 'arāftu 'uḏū-bata mā'i-hā*  
Let us reach the nearest point to the water of the people [...] in it there is a well, whose sweet water I have already come to know. (*Mağāzī*, 53)

(7.47) *fa-ğalasadā 'alā sarīrin qad wuḏī'a la-humā*  
They both sat on a bedstead that had been put down for them. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 24)

We observe a special use of *fa'ala* and *qad fa'ala* in asyndetic adjectival clauses whose nominal antecedent functions as an internal object, derived from the same root as the main verb (either in the form of a verbal noun or a *nomen vicis*). In these cases, *fa'ala* and *qad fa'ala* do not refer to an anterior situation, but to the immediate consequence of the preceding event. The nominal antecedent does not refer to a particular entity but to an outstanding exemplar of a certain type or kind ('such a x that'):

- (7.48) *fa-ṣāḥa ṣayḥatan sami'a-hā raḥṭu-hū*  
 He shouted [such] a shout that it reached his troop (lit. 'that his troop heard it'). (*Riwāyāt* 2, 24)
- (7.49) *wa-'inna burġūtan dāfa-hā dāta laylatin fī firāši dālika l-šarīfi fa-laḍa'a-hū laḍ'atan 'ayqazat-hu*  
 And a flea was her (i.e., the ant's) guest one night, in the bed of that distinguished man, and he stung him [such] a sting that it awakened him. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 93)
- (7.50) *fa-'inna-hū qad 'afraṭa fī 'amri l-tawri 'ifrāṭan qad haġġana ra'ya-hū*  
 For he had exaggerated in the matter of the ox [such] an exaggeration that made him (lit. 'his mind') scorned. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 81)

In my corpus, the participle occurred only in very few cases as the predicate of an asyndetic adjectival clause. With bounded lexemes, active participial forms were found to indicate posteriority relative to the time frame established in the main clause. Compared to *yaf'alu*, the participle seems to not be imbued with the modal nuances of possibility and obligation; rather, a straightforward reference to the immediate or expected future is expressed by the participle:<sup>11</sup>

- (7.51) *wa-qad ruwiya 'an rasūli llāhi [...] 'axbārun 'anā dākīrun min-hā ba'ḍa mā ḥaḍara-nī*  
 There have been reports transmitted on the authority of the Messenger of God [...] of which I shall mention some that have reached me. (*Ta'rīḥ* 1, 61)

Asyndetic adjectival clauses also exhibit compound forms. As elsewhere, *kāna* indicates an anterior point of reference (relative to the main clause), while the predicative forms *fa'ala* and *yaf'alu* are left to indicate the aspectual opposition between bounded/incidental and unbounded/habitual situations. The compound *kāna fa'ala* accentuates the meaning of anteriority whereas *kāna qad fa'ala* marks both the anteriority and completion of the verbal situation:

11 For the notions of 'immediate future' or 'expected future', referring to 'events which are expected to occur in the near future, or to those which have been prearranged', see Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *Evolution*, 249 ff. It may be that with immediate future one is not concerned with the expression of predictions in the strict sense, but with 'assertions announcing the imminence of an event' (273), see also below 9.2.1.

- (7.52) *hādihi riwāyatu l-kalbiyyi fī qaṣā'ida kaṭīratin kāna yaqūlu-hā fī-hi*  
This is al-Kalbī's version as to many poems he used to compose with regard to him. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 187)
- (7.53) *fa-staḥraġa sayfan kāna la-hū wa-dir'a ḥadīdin kānā duḥinā fī nāḥiyati l-mazra'ati*  
And he drew out a sword he had and an iron armor that had been buried at the corner of the field. (*Maġāzī*, 208)
- (7.54) *fa-lammā statqala nawman 'amadat 'ilā sammin kānat qad hayya'at-hu*  
And when he fell into heavy sleep, she took up a poison that she had fixed. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 78)

In my corpus, asyndetic adjectival clauses featured the negation of *yaf'alu* with either *lā* or *mā*. As is the case in main clauses, *mā yaf'alu* was mostly used with stative and unbounded lexemes, thus indicating concurrence with the main clause (see also below 9.2.4):

- (7.55) *la-qad-i staqbalta-nī bi-ʾamrin mā 'arā-ka qulta-hū li-ʾaḥadi ra'iyati-ka munḍu walayta*  
Indeed, you have welcomed me with something I don't think you have said to anyone of your citizens (lit. 'herd') since you became the ruler. (*Ta'riḥ* 3, 1145)

As already illustrated above, the negative *lā yaf'alu*, like the affirmative *yaf'alu*, may convey various degrees of certainty. The interpretation of the form as expressing a lower or a higher degree of certainty is determined, *inter alia*, by the particular or generic context in which the clause is situated. Consider the following examples:

- (7.56) *ḥattā ḥabasa-hū fī maḥbasin lā yadḥulu 'alay-hi fī-hi 'aḥadun*  
To the point that he put him in prison in which no one would/could come to [visit] him. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 187)
- (7.57) *'inna min-a l-šaġari šaġaratan lā yasquṭu waraḡu-hā*  
There is a kind of tree (lit. 'a tree among the trees') whose leaves never fall. (*Šaḥiḥ* 1, 25)



In the narrative from which [7.56] is extracted, the characterization of the prison as such that ‘no one would/could visit’ is invalidated later in the story when someone in fact visits the person in prison. By contrast, the generic statement in [7.57] conveys a fact which cannot be invalidated.

The same consequential meaning indicated by *fa’ala* and *qad fa’ala* following an internal object was also attested with the negated form *mā fa’ala*. The negated form *lam yaf’al*, also when following an internal object, was used to indicate past negation:

(7.58) *wa-qad fuǧī’at nafs-ī bi-faǧī’atin mā ’aṣabtu min-hā ’iwaḍan*  
My soul was afflicted by [such] a disaster, for which I could not find consolation. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 120)

(7.59) *wallāhi la-’in ’ištu la-ka la-’aqtulanna-ka qitlatan lam yuqtal-hā ’ara-  
biyyun qaṭṭu*  
By God, If I outlive you[r plot], I will kill you in a way by which no other Arab has ever been killed yet. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 195)

### 7.3.3 *mā*-clauses

The pronominal operator *mā* represents non-persons. The thing or matter indicated by *mā* may have either particular or generic, specific or non-specific reference. The clause headed by *mā* rarely follows an explicit nominal antecedent. However, it is often the case that the clause is preceded or followed by a prepositional *min*-phrase, which serves to specify the lexical content represented by the grammatical nucleus *mā* (see [7.63] and [7.72] below).<sup>12</sup> Clauses headed by *mā* may occur independently or as genitive complements of prepositions or nouns in the construct state.<sup>13</sup>

The verbal paradigm in relative *mā*-clauses comprises simple, modified, and compound indicative forms. In the following, the semantic oppositions between these will be discussed.

With unbounded (including stative) lexemes, *yaf’alu* indicates concurrence, whether the temporal frame established in the main clause is past or non-past:

12 The degree or kind of specificity indicated by a *min l-bayān* phrase vis-à-vis the definite article and the *tanwīn* is a subject well worthy of study.

13 Though relative *mā*-clauses may be paraphrased by substantives, they are distinct from other substantival *mā*-clauses, in that they do not express content (*mā* = ‘that’) but refer to an entity (*mā* = ‘what’).

- (7.60) *kāna rasūlu llāhi ʿid ʿamara-hum ʿamara-hum bi-mā yuṭīqūna*  
Whenever the Messenger of God ordered them, he ordered them to do what they were able to bear. (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13)
- (7.61) *fa-qad yaḥḍuru ṭaʿāma-kum l-šayḥu lladī qad dahaba famu-hū wa-l-ṣabīyyu lladī lam yunbat famu-hū wa-ʿaṭʿimū-hum mā yaʿrifūna*  
For the old man whose teeth (lit. ‘mouth’) are already gone, and the boy whose teeth haven’t come out yet, may well attend your meal, so provide them with what they are accustomed to! (*Buḥalāʾ*, 105)

Also with bounded lexemes, *yafʿalu* may indicate concurrence. In such cases, the content expressed by *yafʿalu* is presupposed or backgrounded, as in the following example:

- (7.62) *fa-lam yaʿriḍ ʿalay-hi l-ṭaʿāma wa-naḥnu naʿkulu [...] fa-qultu subḥana llāhi law danawta wa-ʿaṣabta maʿa-nā mim-mā naʿkulu*  
He did not offer him anything to eat while we were eating [...] so I said: ‘God forbid! If you could draw near us and have some of what we are eating.’ (*Buḥalāʾ*, 38)

The speaker refers to a state of affairs that was previously mentioned, and that is presented as still abiding at the time of the utterance. The concurrent reading of *yafʿalu* is occasionally corroborated by adverbs referring to the present situation of speech:

- (7.63) *wa-ʿinnamā kānat ʿiṣat-ī ʿilā l-yawmi mim-mā ʿaṣīdu hāhunā min-a l-samaki*  
For my living until today was [based] on those fish I catch here. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 83)

It is interesting to compare [7.62] and [7.64], where the same lexical content, i.e. ‘to eat’, is expressed by *yafʿalu*:

- (7.64) *ʿinnī qad taraktu la-ka mā taʿkulu-hū ʿin ḥafaḏta-hū*  
I have left you what you could eat (i.e. live from) if you are careful of it. (*Buḥalāʾ*, 73)

In [7.64], as is usually the case with bounded lexemes, *yafʿalu* indicates posteriority. The meaning of futurity is nevertheless coupled with that of possibility: the certainty of the prediction expressed by *taʿkulu-hū* is not only limited by the

subjective epistemological position of the predictor, but also by the following conditional. A somewhat different position for making predictions is assumed by the first person, when committing himself to doing something. In this case, the prediction is inevitably tinted with the subjective intention of the executer (see also below 9.2.1):

- (7.65) *yā 'āla 'awsin qātilū 'alā l-'aḥsābi wa-ṣna'ū miṭla mā 'aṣna'ū*  
 O people of 'Aws, fight for honor (lit. 'for the noble descents') and do as  
 I will do! (*Maḡāzī*, 224)

When generically interpreted, *yaf'alu* is not located in a time relative to the temporal frame established in the main clause. The generic *yaf'alu* indicates a concurrent meaning, inasmuch as it conveys a general truth that is valid for all times (see below 11.3). This temporal relation is observed with both bounded and unbounded lexemes, the difference is that the first have a (dynamic) frequentative reading while the latter have a static one:

- (7.66) *māta ka-mā yamūtu l-nāsu*  
 He died [the same way] as people die. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 21)
- (7.67) *lammā qadīma 'alā l-nu'māni ṣādafa-hū lā māla 'inda-hū wa-lā 'atāṭa wa-lā mā yaṣluḥu li-malikīn*  
 When he arrived to Nu'mān he found him with neither money nor property or whatever is appropriate for a king. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 187)

To see the difference between particular and generic reference, it is interesting to compare [7.75] below and [7.66]. In the first case, the characterization of the particular *l-nāsu* as 'those who used to stand at the door' is limited in time, while in the latter case the characterization of the generic *l-nāsu* as 'those who die' is an a-temporal fact.

The simple form *fā'ala* indicates with stative lexemes a persisting situation, as shown in [7.68]. With dynamic lexemes, *fā'ala* indicates anteriority relative to the time frame established in the main clause, whether that be past or non-past, as shown in [7.69]:

- (7.68) *naḡ'alu yā 'abā l-qāsimi mā 'aḥbabta*  
 O 'Abū Qāsim, we will do what you want. (*Maḡāzī*, 364)

- (7.69) *'a-lā taḥmusu mā 'aṣabta min banī l-naḍīri ka-mā ḥamasta mā 'aṣabta min badrīn*  
 Will you not take one fifth of what you have taken [as booty] from Banū Naḍīr, the same as you took one fifth of what you had taken [as booty] from Badr? (*Maǧāzī*, 377)

As elsewhere, also in *mā*-clauses the modified form *qad fa'ala*, with both bounded and unbounded (stative or dynamic) lexemes, depicts a static situation resulting from a dynamic process:

- (7.70) *'aṣāba-nā min-a l-ʿamri mā qad 'alimta*  
 The matter that you know (lit. 'you have come to know') of has befallen us. (*Maǧāzī*, 411)
- (7.71) *wa-'innā naḥṣā 'alay-ka wa-'alā qawmi-ka mā qad daḥala 'alay-nā*  
 We fear for you and your people [that you will face] that which has befallen us. (*Sīra* 1, 252)

The example below illustrates a special case: the modified form *qad maḍā* does not refer to a point in time previous to the narrative time indicated by *qāla*; rather, it indicates anteriority relative to the time of reporting itself:

- (7.72) *fa-qāla bnu 'ishāqa mā qad maḍā dikru-hū*  
 Ibn 'Ishāq said what has already been mentioned. (*Ta'rīḥ* 1, 192)

Just as *yaf'alu*, the active participle *fā'ilun* may indicate either concurrence with unbounded lexemes or posteriority with bounded ones. The differences are that: (a) *fā'ilun* indicates a static rather than a frequentative situation, and (b) the future indicated by *fā'ilun* is not fraught with modal nuances such as ability and obligation. Rather, this form indicates imminence or an expected future (see also [7.51] above):

- (7.73) *wa-'in zaḥirtum lam nanam 'an-i l-ṭalabi [...] wa-yašǧal-kum min ša'ni-nā mā 'antum-u l-ʿāna min-hu ḥālūna*  
 If you overcome [us], we will not rest [from] looking for revenge [...] and you will be troubled by our matter which you are now free of [concern]. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 40)

- (7.74) *wa-qad ġadat qurayšun fa-ġalasū fi 'andiyati-him yantazirūna mā 'abū ġahlīn fā'ilun*  
 Qurayš had already had breakfast and sat in their assemblies to watch what 'Abū Ġahl was about to do. (*Sīra* 1, 190)

In *mā*-clauses the compound form *kāna yaq'alu* is primarily used to refer to an unbounded or recurring situation, extending over a period of time previous to the one indicated in the main clause:

- (7.75) *fa-waqafa 'alā mā kāna yaqifu l-nāsu 'alay-hi fi l-qadīmi*  
 And he stood [at the door] in the same way people used to stand in old times. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 252)

We observe a less common use of the compounds *kāna yaq'alu* and *kāna fā'ilan* in *mā*-clauses, where *kāna* serves to indicate a hypothetic meaning. In these cases, the *mā*-clause functions as the topic of a complex clause, whose following comment is preceded by *fa-*. This structure, similar to topicalizations marked by *'ammā fa-*, is reminiscent of conditional constructions. The resemblance, however, is syntactic rather than semantic, since the meaning of implication clearly does not emerge in these structures:

- (7.76) *fa-mā kuntum turīdūna 'an tašna'ū yawman min-a l-dahri fa-min-a l-'āni*  
 And that which you would have liked to do some day—now is the time [to do it]. (*Mağāzī*, 364)

Anteriority is doubly marked with the compound form *kāna fa'ala*. The compound *kāna fa'ala* is not only used in the narrative, relative to the past or the fictional time indicated by *fa'ala*, but also in the dialogue, relative to the present time of speech:

- (7.77) *wa-salaba-hū mā kāna 'ātā-hu min mulki l-samā'i l-dunyā wa-l-'arḍi*  
 He deprived him of the rule that he had (lit. 'had come to him') over the lower heaven and the earth. (*Ta'riḥ* 1, 101)
- (7.78) *qad 'alimta ḥaqqā-ka 'alay-ya wa-widda mā bayn-ī wa-bayna-ka wa-mā kuntu ġa'altu la-ka min nafs-ī wa-dimmat-ī 'ayyāma 'arsala-nī 'ilay-ka l-'asadu*  
 You know my duty to you, and the affection between us, and my devotion (lit. 'soul') and responsibility for you in the days when the lion sent me to you. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 96)

The contrast between a dynamic aspect marked by *yaf'alu* and a static aspect marked by the participle is most evident in *kāna*-compounds, comparing, for instance, [7.75] above and [7.79] below:

- (7.79) *tabayyana la-hum mā kāna 'an-hum mustatiran*  
They became aware of what had been concealed from them. (*Ta'riḥ* 1, 94)

The static (or non-phasal) structure of the verbal situation is indicated by both the active and passive participles with the anterior *kāna*. In [7.80], the topical *mā*-clause refers to a situation (*kāna mulaṭṭaḥan*) which came about prior to the past event indicated in the comment (*dulika*):

- (7.80) *fa-mā kāna min-hā mulaṭṭaḥan dulika dālika dalkan šadīdan*  
And that part of it (i.e., of the thick bread) that had been smeared—this was rubbed well. (*Buḥalā'*, 85)

Topical *mā*-clauses exhibit the hypothetical use of *kāna* also with the participle (see [7.76] above). In [7.81], the imperative *fa-šna'-hu* in the comment clause establishes a future time frame, in which the situation indicated by *kunta šāni'an* could be realized:

- (7.81) *fa-mā kunta šāni'an 'idā ḥallū bi-ka fa-šna'-hu*  
Then do what you would do when they stay with you! (*Mağāzī*, 204)

Clauses headed by *mā* feature the negation of *yaf'alu* with *lā* (the negation with *mā* is apparently precluded in order to avoid homonymy). With both bounded and unbounded lexemes *lā yaf'alu* was found to indicate the meaning of impossibility:

- (7.82) *'inna hāḍā l-'a'mā l-mulḥida l-zindīqa qad hağā-ka fa-qāla bi-'ayyi šay'in fa-qāla bi-mā lā yanṭuqu bi-hī lisān-ī wa-lā yatawahhamu-hū fikr-ī*  
This blind, unbelieving infidel has lampooned you [in verse]! He said: 'By saying what?' He replied: 'By [saying] what my tongue cannot utter and my mind (lit. 'thought') cannot imagine.' (*Riwāyāt* 1, 261)

Past negation in *mā*-clauses is indicated by the negated form *lam yaf'al*. Here, again, one can assume that the use of the negative particle *mā* is precluded since it is homonymic with the pronominal operator *mā*:

(7.83) *li-ʾanna-humā qarawiyāni yaṣifāni mā lam yarayā*

Because they both are countrymen, describing what they have not seen. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 176)

### 7.3.4 *man*-clauses

The pronominal operator *man* represents persons. The person referred to by *man* is either particular or generic, specific or non-specific. Clauses headed by *man* rarely follow an explicit nominal antecedent (for an exception see [7.87] below). The identity of the person represented by *man* is often specified by a prepositional *min al-bayān* phrase (see [7.85] and [7.97] below). Adjectival *man*-clauses occur independently or as genitive complements of prepositions or nouns in the construct state.

The verbal paradigm in adjectival *man*-clauses consists of simple, modified, and compound indicative forms. The verbal forms in *man*-clauses present some deviations from the temporal-aspectual distinctions observed in other embedded clauses. These, as well as the common uses, will be henceforth discussed.

With unbounded (including stative) lexemes, *yafʿalu* indicates concurrence with the time frame established in the main clause:

(7.84) *iḡtamaʿa nāsun fī l-masǧidi mimman yantaḥīlu l-iqtisāda fī l-naḡaḡati*

In the mosque, there gathered people who profess the economy of expenditure. (*Buḡalāʿ*, 53)

With bounded lexemes, *yafʿalu* is normally interpreted as having a posterior time reference. As noticed above, the future meaning of *yafʿalu* is fraught with modal nuances, ranging from ability, possibility, or obligation—that is, lower certainty—to absolute validity or certainty as to the execution of the verbal event. The degree of certainty is affected by the epistemological position or authority of the predictor/executer, allowing him to make more or less ‘objective’ predictions. The following examples illustrate the difference between prediction made by a particular person, whose knowledge and ability to foresee the future is limited, and prediction made by a predictor who holds an absolute knowledge as to future happenings:

(7.85) *fa-lammā ḡtamaʿū bi-bābi-hī ʾamara riḡālan min ḡundi-hī ʾan yadḡulū l-ḡāʾira llaḡī banā tumma yaqtulū kulla man yadḡulu ʾalay-him min-a l-yahūdi*

And after they gathered at his door, he ordered men from among his soldiers to go into the cistern that he had built, and then kill all the Jews who will/may enter upon them. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 11–12)

- (7.86) *wa-la-‘amr-ī la-‘in kāna muḥammadun kāḍiban ‘inna fī l-‘arabi la-man yakfī-nā-hu*

By my life, if Muḥammad is a liar there are among the Arabs those who will/can save us from him. (*Maḡāzī*, 42–43)

- (7.87) *fa-ḥalaqa fī ‘awwali sā‘atin min hādīhi l-ṭalāṭi l-sā‘ati l-‘aḡāla man yahyā wa-man yamūtu*

And in the first one of these three hours he created the [fixed] terms, who will live and who will die. (*Ta‘rīḥ* 1, 20)

The pronoun *man* often represents a generic entity. In such cases *yaf‘alu* does not refer to a point in time relative to the one established in the main clause, but to a situation which is temporally unbounded, and which therefore appears as concomitant with any other point in time:

- (7.88) *fa-daqqa ‘alay-hi l-bāba daqqa wātiqin wa-daqqa mudillin wa-daqqa man yahāfu ‘an yudrika-hū l-‘asasu*

He knocked on his door [with] the knock of a confident person, and the knock of a presumptuous person, and the knock of someone afraid that the night guard would catch him. (*Buḥalā’*, 66)

The use of the form *fa‘ala* in *man*-clauses deviates to some extent from its use in other types of embedded clauses. With stative lexemes, *fa‘ala* indicates a persisting situation. The same meaning is also indicated by the negated form *lam yaf‘al*:

- (7.89) *‘ayyu l-‘islāmi ḥayrun qāla tuṭ‘imu l-ṭa‘āma wa-taqra’u l-salāma ‘alā man ‘arafta wa-man lam ta‘rif*

Which [way of practicing] Islam is best? He said: ‘Serve food and greet with “Peace [be upon you]” those whom you know and those whom you don’t know.’ (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 11)

With dynamic lexemes, *fa‘ala* may refer not only to anterior situations but also to posterior situations:

- (7.90) *wa-‘ašāra ‘ilay-hi man ḥaḍḍara-hū wa-qālū uskut fa-sakata*

Those who brought him in signaled to him and said: ‘Shut up!’ So he became silent. (*Riwayāt* 1, 254)



- (7.91) *fa-lammā nazala fī l-nahri kāda yağraqu fa-ra'ā-hu qawmun min 'ahli l-qaryati fa-'arsalū 'ilay-hi man-i staḥrağa-hū*

And when he went down in the river he almost drowned. Then, some people from the village saw him and sent to him someone who pulled him out. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 63–64)

In [7.91], the event of ‘pulling out’ clearly follows the event of ‘sending’. Notice that the syntagmatic order of the clauses conforms with the chronological order of the events: the embedded *man*-clause follows the main verb and depicts the next event in the narrative chain.

In generically interpreted *man*-clauses, *fa'ala* is also used to indicate persistence. In this case, however, persistence does not coincide with a particular period of time, but is interpreted as an ever-enduring state:

- (7.92) *al-muslimu man salima l-muslimūna min lisāni-hī wa-yadi-hī*

The Muslim is one who the Muslims are safe from [the harm of] his tongue and hand. (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 11)

Since *fa'ala* in generic *man*-clauses does not indicate a temporally bounded event, one may encounter such cases where it interchanges with *yaf'alu*, the typical form in generic clauses:

- (7.93) *talātun man kunna fī-hi wağada ḥalāwata l-'imāni [...] wa-man yakrahu 'an ya'ūda fī l-kufri ba'da 'id 'anqaḍa-hū llāhu ka-mā yakrahu 'an yulqā fī l-nāri* : (in the title) *bābu man kariha 'an ya'ūda fī l-kufri*

There are three [traits] that whoever has them in him finds the sweetness of belief [...] and [the third of which is] one who hates to revert to infidelity after God has saved him, the same way as he hates to be thrown into the fire [of hell].: The chapter on he who hates to revert to infidelity (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13)

Adjectival *man*-clauses often follow the elative *'awwal* ‘(the) first’ as genitive complements.<sup>14</sup> In these cases, too, *fa'ala* is not used to indicate anteriority (unless the genitive construction is preceded by *kāna*):

- (7.94) *fa-'anā 'awwalu man 'ağāba 'ilā dālika wa-banū 'abdi manāfin ma'ī*

Then I am the first to agree to it and Banū 'Abd Manāf are with me. (*Mağāzī* 1, 200)

14 Cf. Reckendorf, *Syntaktischen Verhältnisse*, 2, 605.

Another special use of *fa'ala* in *man*-clauses is observed in 'tautological' constructions such as illustrated in the next example:

- (7.95) *'anta 'arsalta 'ilā qurayšin 'an tarǧī'a fa-raǧā'a man raǧā'a wa-maḍā man maḍā*  
*You have instructed (lit. 'sent to') Qurayš to come back, so some came back (lit. 'he who came back came back') and some went on (lit. 'he who went on went on'). (Maǧāzī 1, 45)*

It appears that *man* is used in these cases to mark the underspecification of a class of referents, relative to other markers of nominal determination: *man raǧā'a* is both indefinite (as opposed to *al-rāǧī'u*), and not quantified (as opposed to *rāǧī'un/rāǧī'ūna*).<sup>15</sup>

I could not find a single example in my corpus in which *qad fa'ala* was employed in a *man*-clause.<sup>16</sup>

In my corpus, there were very few examples in which the participle was attested in *man*-clauses. In the following example, the participle, with a bounded lexeme, is employed to indicate an immediate future (see [7.51] and [7.74] above):

- (7.96) *maqrūnan dīkru kulli man 'anā dākīru-hū min-hum fī kitāb-i hādā bi-dīkri na'mā'i-hī wa-ǧumali mā kāna min ḥawādīti l-'umūri fī 'ašri-hī*  
*To the account on everyone whom I mention in this book of mine, an account on his graces and a summary of the events which took place at his time is added. (Ta'rīḥ 1, 5)*

The compound forms are employed in *man*-clauses as elsewhere: *kāna yaf'alu* indicates an unbounded, recurring or ongoing, situation, which extends over a period of time previous to the one indicated in the main clause. With dynamic lexemes, *kāna fa'ala* depicts an event that has occurred prior to the time frame established in the main clause, and with stative lexemes, a situation that still persists at that time:

15 Cf. Fischer, *Classical Arabic Grammar*, 218, who describes the 'uncertainty' expressed by *man* in these cases.

16 Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 432, adduces one example of *qad fa'ala* within a *man*-clause: *'inna 'awsan man qad 'arafta* 'Aws ist einer, den du kennst'.

(7.97) *fa-bnu 'ubayyin lā yanšuru ḥulafā'a-hū wa-man kāna yamna'u-hū min-a l-nāsi kulli-him*

Ibn 'Ubayy would not help his allies and those who used to protect him from all the people. (*Mağāzī* 1, 369)

(7.98) *wa-ma'a rasūli llāhi 'ammu-hū ḥamzatu bnu 'abdi l-muṭṭalibi wa-'abū bakri bni 'abī quḥāfata l-ṣiddīqu wa-'alīyyu bnu 'abī ṭālibin fī riğāli min-a l-muslimīna mimman kāna 'aqāma ma'a rasūli llāhi bi-makkata*

And with the Messenger of God were his uncle Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 'Abū Bakr b. 'Abī Quḥāfa the righteous, and 'Alī b. 'Abī Ṭālib, from among the Muslims who stayed with the Messenger of God in Mecca. (*Sīra* 1, 225)

The same as the affirmative *yaf'alu* (see [7.88] above), the negated *lā yaf'alu* also indicates a temporally unbounded situation in generically interpreted *man*-clauses:

(7.99) *wa-lā ra'ya li-man lā yuṭā'u*

There is no [significance to the] opinion of one who is not obeyed. (*Mağāzī*, 52)

#### 7.4 Adverbial *ḥīna*-clauses

The operator *ḥīna* 'at the time when' heads a temporal clause. Like other time-denoting nouns with adverbial function, *ḥīna* is in the construct state. The clause that follows it functions as its genitive complement.

Adverbial *ḥīna*-clauses follow the main clause as a rule.<sup>17</sup> The temporal relation expressed by *ḥīna* is that of coincidence or immediate adjacency between two events: the event in the main clause and the event in the embedded *ḥīna*-clause are presented as realized within a common time frame, whether in reality they precede, follow, or overlap each other.<sup>18</sup> The verbal forms occurring

17 I encountered one exception to this rule in my corpus: *fa-ḥīna ḍaraba faḥḍa-hū ḍarabtu ra'sa-hū bi-sayfin* (*Riwāyāt* 2, 23)—'And right after he hit his thigh, I hit his head with a sword.'

18 Declerck, *When-clauses*, defines the semantics of *when* as that by which a 'common frame' or 'coreferentiality' between two intervals of time is established. *When*, accordingly, does not express strict overlapping, but rather, 'all that is required is that the two [situations] should be conceived as falling within the same interval' (245).

in *hīna*-clauses are *fa'ala* and *yaf'alu*, nearly always in the affirmative.<sup>19</sup> While *hīna fa'ala* indicates recentness with respect to the event in the main clause, *hīna yaf'alu* indicates simultaneity, with both bounded and unbounded lexemes:

(7.100) *fā-nṭalaqa hīna 'atā-hu kitābu-hū*

And he left as soon as his letter had reached him. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 193)

(7.101) *law nazarta 'ilay-hi hīna yadhulu 'alay-ka*

If you look at him, when he enters upon you ... (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 95)

(7.102) *'in ra'ayta l-'asada hīna yanḡuru 'ilay-ka*

If you see the lion, when he looks at you ... (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 109)

The distinction between *hīna* and other time-denoting operators, such as *lammā* 'after' and *baynā/baynamā* 'while', is described in the grammatical literature mostly in semantic terms. According to Reckendorf, *lammā* and *hīna* are different in that the first indicates the *Zeitpunkt* in which the event occurs, thereby marking a clear boundary between two succeeding events, whereas the latter indicates a short or long *Zeitraum* in which the event occurs.<sup>20</sup> Beeston defines the functional contrast between *lammā* and *hīna* as that between the marking of 'past time' (with stative aspect) and the marking of 'actual simultaneity'.<sup>21</sup> Though not incorrect, these descriptions overlook two important syntactic facts: (a) *lammā* co-occurs only with *fa'ala*, while *hīna* co-occurs with both *fa'ala* and *yaf'alu*; and (b) *lammā*-clauses come first in the chain while *hīna*-clauses nearly always follow their matrix clause. In fact, from a syntactic point of view, *lammā*-clauses are better compared with *baynā/baynamā*-clauses, since both types of clauses partake in structures of mutual dependency as setting or background units (see below 8.4 and 10.4). Clauses headed by *hīna*, on the other hand, are embedded in the main clause and function as local adverbial expansions. Also from a semantic point of view, the definition of the

19 Reckendorf, *Syntaktischen Verhältnisse*, 2, 662, adduces one example in which *hīna* is followed by a negated form: *numsiku l-ḡayla [...]* *hīna lā yumsiku-hā 'illā l-ḡuburu* 'We hold the horses [...] as only the patient hold them'. In this case, it is not negation but restriction that is marked by the *lā 'illā* structure.

20 Reckendorf, *Syntaktischen Verhältnisse*, 2, 662.

21 Beeston, *Arabic Language*, 99. Beeston ascribes to *lammā* the same 'conversive force' he ascribes to the modifier *qad*, transforming the dynamic aspect of the 'suffix-set' verb into a static one.

contrast can be refined: while *lammā* marks the transition from one interval to another ('after'), and *baynā/baynamā* the inclusion of one interval in another ('while'), *hīna* indicates a temporal adjacency which may extend from a single point of contact (with *fā'ala*) to total overlapping (with *yaf'alu*). These observations are summarized in the table below:

TABLE 7.2 *The contrast between hīna, lammā, and baynā/baynamā*

	<i>hīna</i>	<i>lammā</i>	<i>baynā/baynamā</i>
Verbal form	<i>fā'ala, yaf'alu</i>	<i>fā'ala</i>	<i>yaf'alu</i>
Position	subsequent	initial	initial
Dependency status	embedded	mutually dependent	mutually dependent
Semantic relation	immediate adjacency (‘upon’, ‘when’)	succession (‘after’)	inclusion (‘while’)

## 7.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the semantic oppositions marked by the verbal forms in a selection of embedded clauses. I have tried to demonstrate how the interaction between the lexical content and the grammatical form defines the internal structure of the verbal situation and determines its relative time reference. Some aspectual and temporal properties of the verbal forms were observed in all types of embedded clauses. Other contextual features which were found to be pertinent across the board are: repetition and presupposition, deixis, specifically the distinction between particular and generic reference, and the epistemic position of the speaker/agent, which allows him to make more or less valid or confident predictions.

Special uses of the verbal forms were encountered in specific types of clauses. Thus, a consequential meaning of *fā'ala* and *qad fā'ala* was observed in asyndetic adjectival clauses whose antecedent is an internal object. In *man*-clauses, *fā'ala* displayed what may be described as loose temporality, allowing for both anterior and non-anterior readings of the form. Moreover, some operators were found to have greater bearing on the interpretation of the verbal forms than others. Adverbial *hīna*-clauses, for instance, express the meaning of ‘sloppy simultaneity’ with both *fā'ala* and *yaf'alu*,<sup>22</sup> regardless of the nature

22 For the concept of ‘sloppy simultaneity’ see Declerck, *When-clauses*, 231, 244–248.

of the verbal lexeme. The exclusion of *qad fa'ala* from this type of clauses may also be attributed to the semantics of the operator *ḥīna*. In contrast, the operators of substantival and adjectival clauses do not have such an effect on the temporal interpretation of the verbal forms. Rather, one may even discern in certain adjectival clauses the lack of temporal specificity or the preference of modal meanings over a strict temporal one.