

The Predicative Paradigm

In this chapter, a variety of embedded, dependent, and mutually dependent clauses is discussed. In the grammatical literature, these clauses are treated separately, as distinct types of verbal complexes or subordinate structures. Nevertheless, these clauses have a common trait which justifies their analysis under a single heading: they all present the same set of verbal forms which function as second predicates in complex predications. I shall therefore apply the term the predicative paradigm to this set of forms. The following discussion will focus on the paradigmatic regularity, which can be shown to cross-cut diverse syntactic levels, and the functional oppositions marked by the predicative forms in each clause type.

8.1 Preliminaries

The term predicative has a long history in general linguistics. It is traditionally associated with a nominal—usually adjectival—form, which completes the content of the primary verbal (mostly copular) predicate. The predicative is sometimes distinguished from other related categories, such as the ‘converb’ and the ‘co-predicative’, both referring to an adverbial constituent (whether verb-derived or not) which ‘expands’ or ‘restricts’ the content expressed by the primary verb.¹ However, the borderline between these categories is not clearly demarcated in every language. Moreover, there is no general consent as to their scope of application.² I prefer, therefore, the term predicative for being general enough, i.e., for not being necessarily connected with a specific word-class (e.g., verb or noun), or a grammatical realization thereof (e.g., non-finite or accusative). I use the term predicative to refer to the syntactic position assumed by a predicate whose function is to complete the content expressed by another predicate, so as to form a complex predication.

1 For a detailed discussion of these categories and some relevant literature, see Prempfer, “*Zustandssätze*”, 304–321.

2 The term ‘converb’ would have been quite proper for the description of the predicative forms in Arabic, if not typically associated with non-finite verbs, see Haspelmath’s definition of a converb as ‘a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination’ (*Converb*, 3).

Complex predications consist of (at least) two predicates, often referred to as ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’. The primary predicate is the grammatical nucleus of the complex predication, whereas the secondary predicate is usually the semantically salient constituent. Rather than an hierarchy of predicates, it seems thus more correct to speak of integration or combination of predicates or clauses. Integration—as opposed to the traditional dichotomy of coordination and subordination—is regarded as a scalar phenomenon, accommodating various degrees and forms of predicate or clause-combining.³ The extent to which both predicates are integrated follows from the amount of grammatical and lexical material shared by them. Whether the construction presents a high degree of ‘elaboration’ or a high degree of ‘compression’, to use Lehmann’s terms,⁴ integration entails that: (a) both predicates or clauses are not self-contained syntactic units, and (b) they depict one common occasion.

In Classical Arabic the predicative paradigm consists of three forms: *yafʿalu*, the participle, and *qad faʿala*. In this well-defined syntactic slot, one may speak of a basic aspectual meaning of the forms, *yafʿalu* marking a dynamic-progressive situation, the participle marking a static state, and *qad faʿala* marking a state resulting from a previous process. As for their temporal value, the predicative forms are essentially co-temporal, indicating either simultaneity (total overlap) or coincidence (partial overlap) with the time frame established in the main clause:

TABLE 8.1 *The predicative paradigm*

Predicative form	Aspect	Temporal value
<i>yafʿalu</i>	dynamic-progressive	simultaneous, coincidental (terminal)
<i>fāʿilVn/mafʿūlVn</i>	static	simultaneous
<i>qad faʿala</i>	resultative	coincidental (initial)

The triad of *yafʿalu*, the participle, and *qad faʿala* constitutes the core of the predicative paradigm. The form *faʿala* seldom functions as a predicative. This may be explained by the fact that *faʿala* is used to indicate self-contained events

3 See Van Valin, *Syntactic Relations*; Haiman and Thompson, “Subordination”; Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, 216 ff.; Lehmann, *Clause Linkage*; Matthiessen and Thompson, *Discourse and Subordination*; Raible, *Junktion*. In Arabic linguistics, see Isaksson, *Circumstantial Qualifiers*; most notably Waltisberg, *Satzkomplex*.

4 Lehmann, *Clause Linkage*, especially 216.

(hence its use as the narrative form), not coinciding with other events. The same goes for *sa-yaf'alu*, which rarely participates in complex predications (see below 8.2.4). Quite often, when *fa'ala* and *sa-yaf'alu* are used, the predication involves a certain abstraction at the semantic level, thus calling for some extension of the notion of common occasion.

A wide definition of complex predications, as such realizing a certain degree of syntactic and semantic integration between (at least) two predicates, covers a large and quite heterogenic group of structures. These extend from simple morphological constituents—closely-integrated with their matrix clause—to textual units, where integration is rather loose.⁵ In the following sections, I start by discussing closely integrated complexes in which the predicative form is embedded. Then, one type of dependent clauses, the syndetic circumstantial clause, is discussed, and finally, mutually dependent, setting and presentative clauses are presented. The common denominator of all these constructions is the presence of the predicative paradigm.

8.2 Verbal Complexes

The term verbal complex covers various manifestations of [main verb + embedded verb]. These range from closely integrated structures, involving auxiliaries and modifying verbs, to lexically and grammatically looser ones, where the main verb retains its full semantics.⁶ The main verb is the grammatical nucleus of the complex in that it marks the syntactic status of the entire complex; the embedded verb is usually the lexical pivot of the complex. Nonetheless, it should be stressed that both verbs convey some amount of grammatical and lexical information: the main verb is never entirely depleted (even the auxiliary *kāna* may be said to convey the notion of 'being'), while the predicative form marks such categories as number, gender, diathesis, and aspect.

In both medieval and modern grammars of Classical Arabic, the structures which are here subsumed under the title of verbal complexes are treated as separate categories. Despite their formal identity, a distinction is drawn between structures initiated by the auxiliary *kāna* and the mental di-transitive verbs (*'af'al l-qulūb*), in which the predicative is deemed as kernel, and structures

5 Most structures exhibit the iconic relation pointed out by Givón, *Syntax*, 2, 328, between semantic and syntactic integration: The greater is the semantic connectivity between two events the stronger will be the syntactic dependency between the clauses indicating them.

6 The same verb can have a double realization, either as a lexically 'full' verb (*tāmm*) or as a lexically 'deficient' verb (*nāqiṣ*), which is thus followed by a predicative form.

initiated by intransitive and mono-transitive verbs, in which the predicative is considered peripheral. The Arab grammarians designate the first type of predicative *ḥabar* ‘rheme’ (paired-off with *ism* ‘theme’), whereas the latter is termed *ḥāl* ‘circumstantial’ (defined in contrast to a proper *mafʿūl* ‘object complement’).⁷ This distinction follows from a categorical semantic approach, classifying verbs into distinct ‘families’, and a strict formal view of the clause, dividing it into an essential part (*ʿumda*) and a redundant part (*faḍla*). However, the distinction between *ḥāl* and *ḥabar* is not always kept, and the fact that the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably is in itself quite telling: it discloses the special identity of this syntactic constituent, which at the same time is both predicative (in its essence) and adverbial (in its position).⁸ From a diachronic point of view as well, adverbial-circumstantial and predicative clauses may be regarded as akin to each other: the latter, more inherently integrated with their matrix clause, reflect a further grammaticalization of the former.⁹

Verbal complexes present the same syntactic structure, whatever the lexical class of the main verb is: the predicative—a verb(-derived) form in adverbial position—is juxtaposed to the main verb;¹⁰ both verbs exhibit subject-identity (in that we include inalienable entities, see below [8.46]). The adverbial status of the predicative obtains a formal mark when the predicative is realized as a nominal (verb-derived) form, i.e., as the accusative participle. The finite forms *yafʿalu* and *qad faʿala* occupy the same syntactic position as the participle and thus acquire—by virtue of their paradigmatic interrelation—an adverbial status.

The following discussion of verbal complexes is divided into five sections according to the class of the main verb. I will proceed from *kāna*-compounds, located on one end of the integration scale, toward less integrated complexes,

7 See Sībawayhi, *Kitāb*, 2, 13–14, 15–17.

8 Levin, *Kāna*, 192–196, discusses the correspondence between the categories termed *ḥabar*, *ḥāl*, and *mafʿūl tāni* in Sībawayhi’s *Kitāb*. It is worth quoting in this regard Ibn Yaʿīš, *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, 2, 7, who explicitly states that *al-ḥālu ziyādatun fi l-fāʿidati wa-l-ḥabari* ‘The circumstantial expression is an addition to the informativity [of the clause] and to its predicate’. He explains that in a clause like *marartu bi-l-farazdaqī qāʾiman* ‘I passed by al-Farazdaq [while] standing’ the predication (*ʾiḥbār*) of ‘passing by’ is added another predicate (*ḥabar āḥar*); the only difference is that the first is obligatory (*ʿalā sabīli l-luzūmi*), whereas the latter is additional and can thus be renounced (*ziyādatan yağūzu l-istiğnāʾu ʿan-hā*).

9 Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 295.

10 On the internal structure of compound verb forms and the adverbial status of the predicative complement see Goldenberg, *Compound Verbs*.

initiated by modifying verbs, motion and state verbs, perception and permission verbs, and speech verbs. Complexes initiated by full action verbs (which present the same syntactic structure) are not dealt with. Nearly all the examples illustrate verbal complexes in main clauses (see but [8.16] and [8.18]). For *kāna*-compounds in dependent clauses, see chapter 7 above.

8.2.1 *kāna*-compounds

Compound *kāna* forms present the highest degree of integration within a verbal complex. The auxiliary verb *kāna* expresses either a temporal or a modal meaning (see above 5.2.3). In this section, however, I will only discuss compounds initiated by the anterior *kāna*. The predicative form indicates the content of the verbal situation as well as its internal unfolding. The opposition between the predicative forms operates therefore at the lexical as well as the grammatical levels.

The compound form *kāna yaf'alu* was thoroughly studied by Nebes, who applied a semantological method of categorization to his Classical Arabic material.¹¹ The form *kāna yaf'alu*, according to Nebes, is an imperfect whose marked time reference is past. This meaning of *kāna yaf'alu* stands in opposition to the marked perfectivity of *fa'ala*, on the one hand, and the unmarked time reference of *yaf'alu*, on the other.¹²

The present discussion is not concerned with the general function of *kāna yaf'alu*. Rather, the opposition between *yaf'alu* and the other verbal forms which co-occur with *kāna* is in focus. As mentioned, this opposition resides in two domains: (a) the lexical domain, to which the issues of lexical compatibility and the valence of the verb-phrase belong, and (b) the grammatical domain, in which the aspect marked by the verbal form comes into play.

The verbal form *yaf'alu* is the least lexeme-sensitive of all verbal forms: it may convey all types of verbal situations, both static and dynamic, telic and atelic, and be realized in both intransitive (active and passive) and transitive verb-phrases. Intransitive and transitive are used here in a strict syntactic sense, to refer to the grammatical relation between a verbal situation and its accusative complement(s).¹³ As for its grammatical aspect, *yaf'alu* depicts an unbounded situation: either one that continues throughout the period of time indicated by *kāna*, or one that constantly repeats itself. The repetition is frequentative in nature, i.e., it is not a mere iteration of the verbal situation, but

11 Nebes, *Kāna Yaf'alu*, especially chapter 2, in which his analytical method is presented.

12 Ibid., especially chapter 7.

13 As a semantic concept, transitivity is obviously multi-faceted and scalar, cf. Hopper and Thompson, *Transitivity*.

a regular and predictable recurring which is valid through the entire period of time indicated by *kāna*.¹⁴ In the following, the various manifestations of *kāna yaf'alu* will be illustrated and explained.

With both stative and dynamic lexemes, *kāna yaf'alu* occurs in transitive verb-phrases. Transitivity may code a different semantic relation in each case:

- (8.1) *wa-kāna rasūlu llāhi yuḥibbu l-fa'la wa-yakrahu l-ṭirata*
The Messenger of God used to love the good omen and hate the evil omen. (*Mağāzī*, 218)
- (8.2) *'ayyu-hā l-maliku kunna qawman 'ahla ḡāhiliyyatin na'budu l-'ašnāma wa-na'kulu l-maytata wa-na'tī l-fawāḥiṣa wa-naqṭa'u l-'arḥāma wa-nusī'u l-ḡiwāra*
O king! We were people of the *Ḡāhiliyya*, worshiping the idols, eating the carrion, committing abominations, violating the rules of consanguinity, and harming those who sought our protection. (*Sīra* 1, 219)
- (8.3) *wa-kāna mra'an tanaṣṣara fī l-ḡāhiliyyati wa-kāna yaktubu l-kitāba l-ibrāniyya fa-yaktubu min-a l-'inḡili bi-l-'ibrāniyyati mā šā'a llāhu 'an yaktuba*
And he was a man [who] became Christian in the *Ḡāhiliyya*. He used to write in the Hebrew script and would write in Hebrew whatever God wished him to write from the Gospel. (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5)

Also in intransitive verb-phrases *kāna yaf'alu* is used. Example [8.4] below exhibits the passive form of *'arafa* 'to know':

- (8.4) *fa-'aḥraḡa qawsa-hū wa-ḡu'bata-hū wa-sayfa-hū wa-kāna yu'rafu bi-l-šaḡā'ati*
And he took out his bow and his quiver and sword; and he was known for [his] bravery. (*Mağāzī*, 223)

Within *kāna*-compounds, certain lexemes are not encountered with the participle but only with *yaf'alu*. These pertain to various classes of verbs, including mental states,¹⁵ perception, or action:

14 For a discussion of the semantic nature of frequentative repetition, see below 11.3.

15 The verb *yurīdu* is another prominent case where *yaf'alu* is preferred to the participle, see also Waltisberg, *Satzkomplex*, 293.

- (8.5) *wa-kuntu 'arġū 'an 'arudda-hū 'alā qurayšin fa-'āḥuḍa l-mi'ata nāqatin*
And I was hoping to bring him back to Qurayš and to get [as a reward]
the one hundred she-camels. (*Sīra* 1, 331)
- (8.6) *fa-kuntu 'arā min-a l-nāsi wa-l-ḥayli mā lā 'aṣifu min-a l-kaṭrati*
And I saw people and horses which I cannot describe due to their great
numbers. (*Mağāzī*, 408)
- (8.7) *wa-kāna 'abū 'aḥmada raġulan ḍarīra l-baṣari wa-kāna yaṭūfu makkata*
'alā-hā wa-'aṣfala-hā bi-ġayri qā'idin
'Abū 'Aḥmad was a blind man and he used to walk around Mecca,
[from] its highest [to] its lowest parts, without anyone to lead [him the
way]. (*Sīra* 1, 316)

The compound *kāna yaf'alu* often co-occurs with adverbs and adverbial clauses which specify the frequentative nature of the verbal situation:

- (8.8) *wa-kāna 'idā rakiba yab'atu 'ilay-himā bi-ba'irayni yarkabāni ma'a-hū*
And whenever he rode, he used to send to both of them camels so that
they would ride with him. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 58)
- (8.9) *wa-kāna 'abū bakrin kaṭīran mā yasta'dīnu rasūla llāhi fī l-ḥiġrati*
'Abū Bakr kept asking the Messenger of God for permission to [set out]
on the *Hiġra*. (*Sīra* 1, 323)

In some cases, *kāna yaf'alu* co-occurs with the modifiers *qad* and *la-qad*, which precede the compound form as a rule. The modifier *qad* expresses both anteriority (already indicated by *kāna*) and completion:

- (8.10) *man hādā fa-qālū hādā fulānu bnu fulānin fa-qāla l-'asadu qad kuntu*
'a'rifu 'abā-hu
Who is this? They said: 'This is so-and-so, son of so-and-so.' So the lion
said: 'I had known his father.' (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 70)

In [8.10] the 'knowing' of the father, who is already deceased by the time the clause is uttered, is marked as 'cut-off' by *qad*. The modifier *la-qad*, unlike the plain *qad*, embodies an explicit mark of asseveration. Thus, in [8.11] the speaker asserts the unusual sight he has seen by means of *la-qad*:

- (8.11) *la-qad kunnā narā riġālan biḍan ‘alā ḥaylin bulqin mā kunnā narā-hum qablu wa-lā ba‘du*
Indeed, we saw white men on piebald horses. We never saw them before or after. (*Maġāzī*, 409)

Following *kāna*, the predicative *yaf‘alu* is always negated with *lā*:

- (8.12) *fa-ḥaraġnā nas‘alu ‘an rasūli llāhi wa-kunnā lā na‘rifu-hū lam nara-hū qabla dālika*
We went out to ask the Messenger of God, and we did not know him, nor had we seen him before that. (*Sīra* 1, 294)

The compound form *kāna fā‘ilan/maf‘ūlan* shows a clear contrast to *kāna yaf‘alu*, at both the lexical and the grammatical levels. The predicative participle is found almost exclusively in intransitive configurations. It serves to indicate a static situation which is viewed in its entirety, i.e., which does not break down into internal phases or recurrent instances.

The predicative participle is used with stative lexemes:

- (8.13) *wa-kullu-hum kāna lī muḥibban wa-‘ilay-ya mā‘ilan wa-lī muṭī’an*
And everyone loved me and was favorably inclined to me and was obedient to me. (*Riwayāt* 1, 35)

Notice that *muḥibban* is connected with its object by means of the preposition *l-*,¹⁶ whereas *yuḥibbu* in [8.1] has a direct object. Derived from verbs of mental state and disposition, the adjectival patterns *fa‘il*, *fa‘il*, and *fa‘lān* often serve as predicative forms side by side with the participle:

- (8.14) *wa-naša‘a l-naġāšīyyu ma‘a ‘ammi-hī wa-kāna labīban ḥāzīman min-a l-riġāli*
The Negus grew up with his uncle, and he was wise and resolute from among the men. (*Sīra* 1, 222)

16 The Arab grammarians consider this *l-* as *al-lām li-taqwiyat al-‘amil* ‘the *lām* which strengthens the regent’, cf. Wright, *Grammar*, 2, 61 ff. Being a nominal form, the participle has less ‘power’ to govern an object complement; the *lām* thus serves as an explicit exponent of this grammatical relation.

The participle is very common with verbs of state and motion. With motion verbs, the participle indicates the situation of being in a move, rather than actual kinesis or progression:

- (8.15) *wa-kāna 'adiyyu bnu zaydin wāqifan bayna yaday-hi*
 'Adī b. Zayd was standing in front of him. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 184)
- (8.16) *ḥattā 'idā kunnā bi-l-muṣallā rāǧi'ina min badrin baraka 'alay-nā*
 Until [the time] when we were near al-Muṣallā, coming back from Badr, it (i.e. the camel) fell on its knees (lit. 'kneeled down to us').
 (*Maǧāzī*, 25)

Besides indicating the mental state of a subject, the participle is also found with stative lexemes depicting a physical state:

- (8.17) *wa-kāna dāri'an wa-'alay-hi miǧfarun lā raḥḥa la-hū fa-kānat ḥanǧa-ratu-hū bādiyatan*
 And he was wearing armor and a helmet with no visor, so his neck was exposed (lit. 'visible'). (*Maǧāzī*, 227)

The participle rarely occurs with transitive lexemes. When it does, it is often realized in the passive form, so that the verb-phrase is intransitive:

- (8.18) *'id kāna l-iḥtilāfu fi dālika mawǧūdun bayna dawī l-naẓari fi-hi*
 As the controversy about that [matter] exists between those holding a view about that. (*Ta'riḥ* 1, 86)

The participle may also be realized in the active form. However, in these cases transitivity is not exercised, since the verb occurs without an explicit object complement:

- (8.19) *wa-qāla li-'uḥti-hi 'a'tī-nī hādīhi l-ṣaḥīfata [...]'anzuru mā hādā lladī ḡā'a bi-hī muḥammadun wa-kāna 'umaru kātiban*
 And he said to his sister: 'Give me this leaf [of book ...] so that I may take a look at that which Muḥammad has brought,' for 'Umar was literate (lit. 'writer'). (*Sīra* 1, 226)

Comparing the participle in [8.19] and *yaf'alu* in [8.3], we observe two points of contrast: (a) the participle *kātiban* has no object complement, and (b) rather than indicating recurring instances of writing like *yaktubu*, it expresses a state

so stable that has reached the status of a skill. This stands to reason, as the participle is an adjectival form which inherently indicates an attributive relation. Whether the attribute is accidental (temporary) or inherent is not specified by the participial form, but only by the context.¹⁷

The compound *kāna fā'īlan/maf'ūlan* is occasionally preceded by the modifiers *qad* and *la-qad*. As elsewhere, *qad* imparts both the meanings of anteriority and completion, thus it sets limits to the static situation indicated by *kāna fā'īlan/maf'ūlan*; *la-qad* stresses the veracity of the verbal situation:

(8.20) *qad kuntu 'anā ḡāhīlan miṭla-ka ḥattā waffaqa-nī llāhu 'ilā mā huwa 'aršadu*

I used to be ignorant like you until God made me successful in achieving the right way. (*Buḥalā'*, 40)

(8.21) *la-qad kāna 'ilay-nā muḥsinan wa-la-nā mukarriman*

Indeed, he was good to us and honoring us. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 103)

Within *kāna*-compounds, the predicative participle is negated as a rule by *ḡayr*:¹⁸

(8.22) *wa-kānat-i l-'am'ā'u muttaṣīlatan ḡayra mutabāyanatin*

The intestines were intertwined [and] not separated from each other. (*Buḥalā'*, 99)

The compound form *kāna qad fa'ala* or *qad kāna fa'ala* can be analyzed in two ways: as the modified form *qad fa'ala* expanded by *kāna*, or as the compound form *kāna fa'ala* modified by *qad*. Examples of both orders are found in the corpus, although *kāna qad fa'ala* is by far more common:

(8.23) *wa-kānū qad 'u'ṭū baṣṭatan fī l-ḥalqi*

They were given a large stature. (*Ta'rīḥ* 1, 167)

17 Cf. Reckendorf, *Zum Gebrauch des Partizips*, 256. There are languages in which the distinction between an accidental and an inherent attribute is marked on the (inflected) adjectival form, see Goldenberg, *Predicative Adjectives*.

18 I have encountered one case in which the predicative participle was negated by *lā* in a conditional clause: *fa-'in kunta lā 'ākīlan ṣay'an sakattu 'anā wasakatta 'anta* (*Buḥalā'*, 47)—'And if you were not eating anything, I would have been silent and you would have been silent.' This example is unusual in two points: the participle is negated by *lā* and realized in a transitive verb-phrase.

- (8.24) *wa-qad kāna 'u'ṭiya fatā'a l-sinni*
 He was given youth (lit. 'the youth of age'). (*Riwāyāt* 1, 19)

The compound *kāna qad fa'ala* embodies the meanings of anteriority and completion. Anteriority is doubly marked by both the modifier and the auxiliary. Similarly to *kāna fa'ala* (to be discussed below), *kāna qad fa'ala* is mostly used as a background form in the narrative. However, *kāna qad fa'ala* is more frequent and has a wider distribution than *kāna fa'ala*. It is found with nearly all classes of verbal lexemes; the only class of verbs which does not occur with *kāna qad fa'ala* is that of state verbs such as *'aqāma* 'to dwell'. This may be explained by the fact that *kāna qad fa'ala*—due to the effect of *qad*—indicates a temporally framed situation which is incompatible with stative background descriptions. Indeed, we often encounter *kāna qad fa'ala* in contexts where temporality, or to be more precise, the successive order of the events, is salient to the narrative:

- (8.25) *fa-lammā raġa'a ba'da ḥīnin ṭalaba ḥadīda-hū wa-kāna l-raġulu qad bā'a-hū*
 And after a while, when he came back, he asked for his iron, [but] the man had already sold it. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 119)
- (8.26) *wa-kāna 'abū 'āmirin-i l-fāsiqu qad ḥaraġa fi ḥamsīna raġulan min 'awsi llāhi ḥattā qadima bi-him makkata ḥīna qadima l-nabīyyu l-madīnata*
 'Abū 'Āmir, the sinner, had already gone out with fifty men from 'Aws Allāh until he arrived with them in Mecca, at the time when the Prophet arrived in Medina. (*Maġāzī*, 205)

- (8.27) *fa-'in kāna dālika ka-dālika fa-qad kāna l-mā'u wa-l-rīḥu ḥuliqā qabla l-'arṣi*
 If this is so, then the water and the wind were created before the throne.
 (*Ta'rīḥ* 1, 37)

The compound form *kāna fa'ala* is less frequently used than *kāna qad fa'ala*. It gains preference in cases where the lexical input is incompatible with the meaning of bounding marked by *qad*, or when the relative order of the events is not considered as important as the assertion of their actual occurrence. Example [8.28], for instance, presents a case where *kāna fa'ala* occurs with the state verb *makaṭa* 'to stay':

- (8.28) *kāna nūḥun makata fi qawmi-hi ʿalfa sanatīn ʿillā ḥamsīna ʿāman yadʿū-hum ʿilā llāhi*
 Noah had stayed among his people for 950 years (lit. ‘thousand years minus fifty years’), calling upon them to [worship] God. (*Taʿrīḥ* 1, 186)

In narratives, *kāna faʿala* is used when the temporal sequence is not deemed as important as the assertion of the actual occurrence of the events. Notice the difference between [8.25] and [8.29], extracted from the same story: in the first case, the temporal sequence is crucial to the point of the narrative (the man claims back his iron *after* the iron has already been sold); in the latter case, the events themselves (that are reported in direct speech) are given the most focus:

- (8.29) *kuntu waḍaʿtu ḥadīda-ka fi nāḥiyatin min-a l-bayti fa-ʿakala-hū l-ḡurdānu* (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 119)
 I had placed your iron at a corner of the house and the rats ate it.

Although the temporal sequence is not in focus, *kāna faʿala* may co-occur with temporal adverbs:

- (8.30) *wa-kāna ḡabalun ḥaraḡa laylan min mawḍiʿin kāna fī-hi*
 Ḡabal had gone out at night from the place where he had been. (*Bu-ḥalāʿ*, 65)

In [8.30] the adverb *laylan* ‘at night’ indicates the temporal setting of the situation. However, this setting is not presented as relative to some other point. The compound *kāna faʿala* also occurs with the focus particle *ʿinnamā*, which stresses the veracity of the situation expressed in the clause. In this case, too, it is not the relative position of the event within the narrative sequence that is being asserted, but the fact that it has actually taken place:

- (8.31) *ʿinnamā kāna qatala l-qātilu min-humā ʿaḡā-hu ʿanna llāha ʿazza wa-ḡalla ʿamara-humā bi-taqribi qurbānin*
 The fact of the matter is that one of them killed his brother because God ordered them to offer a sacrifice. (*Taʿrīḥ* 1, 142)

As it does not carry a specific marking of temporal framing, *kāna faʿala* is also compatible with an adverb such as *rubbamā*, which indicates an unbounded iteration:

- (8.32) *wa-kānū rubba-mā ḥaṣṣū-hu fa-waḍa'ū bayna yaday-hi l-durrāğata l-samīnata*
 They often endowed him with special honor and put in front of him a plump francolin. (*Buḥalā'*, 85)

The predicative *qad fa'ala* is generally incompatible with negation. The predicative *fa'ala* is also not negated. Instead, *lam yaf'al* is used:

- (8.33) *kāna yaḥrusu rasūla llāhi lam yufāriq-hu*
 He used to guard the Messenger of God; he would not leave him.
 (*Mağāzī*, 217)

8.2.2 *Modifying Verbs*

Modifying verbs, *aḥawāt kāna* 'kāna's sisters' in the Arabic grammatical tradition, serve to describe a certain phase or aspect of the verbal situation, which is expressed by the predicative form. In Classical Arabic, modifying verbs comprise several lexical classes;¹⁹ however, the main semantic distinction can be drawn between two groups of verbs: those which indicate the initial phase of the verbal situation and those indicating its continuation or duration. There are no modifying verbs referring to the terminal phase of the verbal situation or to its accomplishment, hence this group of verbs is incompatible with the resultative meaning of *qad fa'ala*.

The predicative form *yaf'alu* is compatible with both groups of modifying verbs. The most common representative of the first is *ğa'ala* 'to start'.²⁰ The verbal complex *ğa'ala yaf'alu* is found with all classes of verbs, in affirmative and negative forms:

- (8.34) *fa-ğa'ala yamšī wa-yaq'udu wa-yanzuru 'ilā l-ṭarīqi ḥattā rufi'a la-hū dimnātu muqbilan*
 And he started to walk and sit and look at the road until Dimna, [while] approaching, came into his sight. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 75)

19 Modifying verbs, the same as *kāna*, can also be used as full verbs. Cf. Waltisberg, *Satzkomplex*, 198–199, for some ambiguous examples, where the verbal form may be interpreted either as a modifying or a full verb.

20 Waltisberg, *Satzkomplex*, 348, reports that verbs indicating ingressivity formed 72% of the modifying verbs attested in his corpus; the verb *ğa'ala* had by far the greatest number of tokens.

- (8.35) *fa-ğā'alū yaḍribūna-hum ḥattā nuqīdat šufūfu-hum*
 And they started to hit them until their lines were destroyed. (*Mağāzī*, 226)
- (8.36) *fa-ğā'alū lā yaṭrabūna la-humā wa-lā yuğabūna bi-himā kamā kānū yaṭrabūna*
 And they stopped (lit. 'started not') being moved and delighted by them the way they used to be. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 57)

With cognitive verbs which are, by their nature, static, *ğā'ala* indicates the entrance into a state or a disposition, thus the meaning of becoming ('starting to be'):

- (8.37) *wa-ğā'ala 'abū ġahlīn yusarru bi-mā šana'a l-mušrikūna bi-'utbata*
 And 'Abū Ġahl became delighted by what the polytheists did with 'Utba. (*Mağāzī*, 66)

Besides *ğā'ala*, there are other verbs which indicate inchoative meaning. These originate from diverse lexical classes, e.g.: *'ašbaḥa* 'to be [in] day time', *'aḥaḍa* 'to take', *indaḥā'a* 'to rush off'. The modifying verb *šāra*, illustrated in [8.38], also functions as a motion verb indicating the arrival at a certain place or destination (e.g. *šāra 'ilā fulānīn* 'He came to such a one'):

- (8.38) *fa-'idā širtu ka-dālika fa-qad dahaba kasb-ī min māli ġayr-ī wa-šāra ġayr-ī yaksibu min-nī*
 If I become like that, my earnings from someone else's money will disappear and someone else will start earning from me. (*Buḥalā'*, 93)

To the same group of inchoative verbs also belong verbs indicating imminence or intention. These verbs do not refer to the actual outset of the verbal situation but to the phase immediately preceding it, either in the physical or in the mental world of the agent:²¹

- (8.39) *fa-lammā ntaḥā 'ilā l-nahri lam yağid 'alay-hi qanṭaratan li-yaqṭa'a-hū wa-l-dī'bu kāda yudriku-hū*

21 In the Arabic grammatical tradition, *'af'āl al-šurū'* 'the verbs of beginning' and *'af'āl al-muqāraba* 'the verbs of approximation' are lumped together, cf. Wright, *Grammar*, 2, 106–109.

And when he got to the river he did not find a bridge to cross it over, while the wolf was about to reach him. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 63)

The predicative *yafʿalu* often co-occurs with the second group of modifying verbs, indicating the continuation or duration of the verbal situation. Among these verbs, *lam yazal* ‘to not cease’ is by far the most frequently encountered. Notice in [8.41] the opposition between the predicative participle and *yafʿalu*, the first indicates a static situation while the latter indicates a dynamic one:²²

- (8.40) *wa-naḥnu lam nazal naḍribu-hū bi-suyūfi-nā maʿa l-ʿawsi fī ḥarbi-him kulli-hā*
 And we continued to fight him with our swords, together with ʿAws, throughout their war. (*Maḡāzī*, 369)

- (8.41) *wa-qīla ʿanna-hū lam yazal muqīman bi-makkata yaḥuḡḡu wa-yaʿta-miru*
 It was reported that he continued to stay in Mecca, performing the pilgrimages of the *Ḥajj* and the *ʿUmra*. (*Taʿrīḥ* 1, 164)

The predicative participle is seldom found with the first group of modifying verbs indicating an inchoative meaning. This may be explained by the non-phasal nature of the participle, which rules out the reference to its internal phase. However, with stative lexemes, the participle may co-occur with modifying verbs conveying the meaning of becoming, i.e., the entrance into a new state. In such cases, the verbal situation is not broken down into its internal phases but the entire situation (‘non-being x’) is transformed to another (‘being x’):

- (8.42) *wa-qad wallāhi yā rasūla llāhi ʿaṣbaḥtu muštāqan ʿilā murāfaqati-hī fī l-ḡannati*
 By God, O Messenger of God, I have come to yearn to accompany him in Heaven. (*Maḡāzī*, 213)

The participle is quite common with the second group of modifying verbs indicating the continuation or duration of the verbal situation. As with *kāna*, the predicative participle mostly occurs in intransitive verb-phrases:

²² *Taʿrīḥ* 3, 1150, provides a parallel example, in which *yafʿalu* specifies, by negation, the dynamic aspects of ‘standing still’: *fa-mā ziltu wāqifan mā ʿataqaddamu ʿamām-i wa-lā ʿarḡīʿu warāʿ-i* ‘And I kept standing, I did not proceed forward or returned back.’

- (8.43) *wa-lam 'azal li-dālika l-sammi min lisāni-ka ḥā'ifan mušfiqan 'an ya'urra-nī bi-šay'in kārihan li-qurbi-ka dākiran li-maw'izati l-'uqalā'i fī ḡtinābi muqārabati 'ahli l-fuḡūri*

And because of your poisonous tongue, I kept being afraid and worried that I would be ashamed of something, [and I kept] hating your closeness [while] remembering the lesson of the wise men: to avoid being close to immoral men. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 118)

Besides typical modifying verbs such as *lam yazal* or *mā dāma*, there are other verbs which serve to indicate continuation or duration. These are often motion and state verbs, such as *maḏā* 'to pass' and *labīta* 'to abide', which in some contexts undergo semantic bleaching:

- (8.44) *fa-labīta l-'awsu wa-l-ḥazraḡu mutaḥāribīna 'iṣrīna sanatan fī 'amri sumayrin*

'Aws and Ḥazraḡ kept fighting for twenty years because of the matter of Sumayr. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 19)

As mentioned above, modifying verbs expressing either inchoative or durative meaning are incompatible with *qad fa'ala*. Also the simple *fa'ala* is rarely found with modifying verbs; the few existing examples stem mostly from poetry.²³ In my corpus, I have encountered one example in which the form *'arāda* 'he wanted' co-occurred with the modifying verb *'asā* 'it might be'. The compatibility of *'arāda* and *'asā* may be explained by the fact that, as opposed to *qad fa'ala*, *fa'ala* does not indicate the complete and concrete realization of the verbal situation:

- (8.45) *fa-'asā-hu 'arāda l-tafḏīla fī l-qismati*

Perhaps he wanted [to be given] preference in the allotment [of the gifts]? (*Buḥalā'*, 91)

8.2.3 *Motion and State Verbs*

Verbs expressing a movement towards a destination or a certain position or location in space are very common in complex predications. Such verbs indicate the outset or setting of the verbal situation which is specified by the following predicative form. With this group of verbs we find the predicative triad *yaf'alu*, *fā'ilan/maf'ulan*, and *qad fa'ala*, marking the opposition between a

23 Cf. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 297, for poetry quotes such as *'aṣbaḥat 'aḏalatnī*.

progressive, a static, and a resultative aspect, respectively. As both the main verb and predicative verb refer to the same situation and are co-temporal, *fa'ala*—being neither simultaneous nor coincidental—is excluded from the predicative paradigm.

In both traditional and modern grammatical literature, verbal complexes initiated by motion and state verbs provide the most typical example of circumstantial constructions. While the Arab grammarians were mostly concerned with the grammatical properties of the *ḥāl* 'circumstantial expression', and the syntactic relation with its (pro)nominal antecedent, i.e. *ḍū al-ḥāl* 'the circumstantial expression's referee', modern studies of circumstantial clauses focus on the semantics of the main verb and its effect on the interpretation of the predicative form. The following discussion is concerned with the semantic compatibility between the main verb and the predicative verb, as well as the functional opposition between the predicative forms.

In the Arabic grammatical tradition, the predicative form *yaf'alu* is considered to have two manifestations: (a) as *ḥāl muqārin* 'simultaneous circumstantial', or as (b) *ḥāl muqaddar* 'intended circumstantial'.²⁴ Modern grammars maintain the same distinction between *yaf'alu* forms which are 'simultaneous with or following the action expressed by the governing verb'.²⁵ In his short article, Abboud diverts attention from *yaf'alu* to the semantics of the main verb: since *yaf'alu* co-occurs with 'event-completion' verbs, it may refer either to the event or to its 'eventual completion'. According to Abboud, such an explanation 'obviates the need for a *ḥāl muqaddar*'.²⁶ A somewhat different view is presented in Waltisberg's work on circumstantial clauses. Although he, too, maintains that the semantics of the main verb affects the interpretation of *yaf'alu*, Waltisberg suggests a neat separation between a 'modal' (simultaneous) and a 'final' (posterior) function of *yaf'alu*, which are then paired off with syndetic circumstantial clauses and final clauses, respectively.²⁷

A detailed examination of all the possible combinations shows that the temporal value of *yaf'alu* is not solely determined by the content of the main verb, nor by that of the predicative verb, but by the interaction of both. We observe a general rule: if (at least) one of the verbal lexemes is potentially unbounded (a-telic), then *yaf'alu* is interpreted as simultaneous (totally overlapping); if neither is unbounded, then *yaf'alu* is interpreted as coincidental (partially

24 Cf. Wright, *Grammar*, 2, 19–20.

25 Fischer, *Classical Arabic Grammar*, 220.

26 Abboud, *Ḥāl Construction*, 195.

27 See Waltisberg, *Satzkomplex*, § 5.2 and § 5.6; Cf. Marmorstein, *Review on Waltisberg*, 381–382.

overlapping), i.e., the situation expressed by *yaf'alu* proceeds from the one expressed by the main verb. The coincidental relation should not be analyzed as simple succession, since both the main verb and *yaf'alu* refer to the same situation, the first depicting its outset or setting, the latter its destination.

The rule outlined above is demonstrated in the following set of examples, where the main verb indicates: (a) movement towards a destination, i.e., motion and goal; (b) movement in space with no goal; or (c) static position in space. In [8.46]–[8.47] the main verb belongs to the first group of motion verbs while the predicative verb indicates an unbounded situation; *yaf'alu* is thus interpreted as simultaneous:

(8.46) *fa-raġa'a bi-hā rasūlu llāhi yarġufu fu'ādu-hū*
And the Messenger of God returned with them (i.e. the verses) his heart shivering. (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5)

(8.47) *fa-labisa dir'a-hū wa-'aḥada sayfa-hū fa-ḥaraġa ya'dū*
He wore his armor, took his sword and went out running. (*Maġāzī*, 370)

In [8.48] the main verb belongs to the first group of motion verbs while the predicative verb indicates a bounded situation; *yaf'alu* is thus interpreted as coincidental:

(8.48) *fa-ḥaraġū yaṭlubūna-humā fi kulli waġhin*
They went out looking for both of them in all directions. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 24)

In [8.49] the main verb belongs to the second group of motion verbs; *yaf'alu* is thus interpreted as simultaneous:

(8.49) *wa-marrū yaḍribūna bi-l-dufūfi wa-yazmirūna bi-l-mazāmīri*
They marched striking tambourines and playing the pipes.²⁸ (*Maġāzī*, 375)

In [8.50]–[8.51], where the main verb belongs to the third group of state verbs, *yaf'alu*, whether unbounded or bounded, is interpreted as simultaneous:

28 The verb *marrā* can be interpreted as either bounded ('to pass by') or unbounded ('to march'). In the latter case, no limitation or destination of the movement is indicated, as in [8.49].

(8.50) *fa-bāta yabkī*
He spent the night crying. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 32)

(8.51) *fa-bātū yaṭlubūna-hū ḥattā ya'isū min-hu*
They spent the night looking for him until they gave up all hope of
[finding] him. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 178)

Not only with verbs of (vectorial) motion, but also with verbs of caused motion, *yaf'alu* indicates the goal of the event launched by the main verb:

(8.52) *fa-'arsala 'ilay-hi yad'ū-hu*
And he sent to him [a messenger] inviting him [to come]. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 29)

In these cases, too, *yaf'alu* is not strictly successive, nor does it indicate finality; rather, it indicates the terminal stage of the verbal situation. That the two notions, i.e., final and terminal, are not simply overlapping can be demonstrated, *inter alia*, by the fact that proper final clauses, such that are introduced by an explicit operator (e.g. *li-* 'for'), are external to the verbal situation and hence can be negated, whereas the terminal *yaf'alu*—being an internal and inseparable part of the verbal situation—is never negated.

While coincidental or terminal *yaf'alu* forms cannot be negated, *yaf'alu* indicating simultaneity does exhibit negation with *lā*. Quite often, *lā yaf'alu* paraphrases the content expressed by the preceding (affirmative) predicative form:

(8.53) *wa-bātat ṣāhilatan ḥaylu-hum lā tahda'u*
Their horses stayed up the night neighing; they would not calm down.
(*Mağāzī*, 217)

(8.54) *wabaqītu mabhūtan lā 'astaṭīru l-kalāma wa-lā l-ğawāba wa-lā l-ḥarakata li-mā ḥālaṭa qalb-ī*
I remained speechless; I could not talk nor respond or move for what had befallen me. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 46)

The predicative participle depicts a static situation. It may indicate: (a) the outcome of a previous process in the passive form; (b) the persistence in a certain state with dynamic lexemes; or (c) the endurance of a state with stative lexemes. These three options are illustrated in the examples below. Notice that in [8.56] the participle, as elsewhere (see [8.17] above), is used to describe

physical appearance, dressing, and specifically, the girding of a sword (other parallel examples are *Riwāyāt* 2, 185: *mutaqallidan*; *Sīra* 1, 225: *mutawaššihan*); Example [8.57] demonstrates the functional opposition between the participle and *yaf'alu* with regard to transitivity: the first is used in intransitive verb-phrases whereas the latter takes an object complement:

- (8.55) *fa-makata mumallakan 'alay-hā 'ašhuran*
He remained its king (lit. 'enthroned') for several months. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 184)
- (8.56) *fa-'aqbala muṣlitan sayfa-hū fi nafarin min-a l-yahūdi*
He approached unsheathing his sword amid a group of Jews. (*Mağāzī*, 372)
- (8.57) *fa-ḥarağnā ḥā'ifīna nahāfu l-raṣada*
We set out afraid; we were fearing an ambush. (*Mağāzī*, 28)

The last example illustrates a general principle of complex predications. We may refer to it as the principle of increased specificity: each predicative is added to the previous one, thereby depicting the given situation in greater detail. The increased specificity is obtained by the accumulation of predicates, and not by their internal order. Consider, for instance, [8.58]–[8.59] in which *rakiba* 'to ride' functions either as the main (specified) verb or as the predicative (specifying) form:

- (8.58) *lam 'arkab ḥaṭwatan dāhiban wa-lā rāğī'an*
I did not ride a single step either going or coming. (*Mağāzī*, 26)
- (8.59) *'aqbaltu rākiban 'alā ḥimārin 'atānin*
I came close, riding on a she-ass. (*Şaḥīḥ*, 31)

Quite often, the lexemes of both the main verb and the predicative form pertain to the same class of motion verbs. According to Waltisberg, in such cases the participle serves to mark 'situation-identity' between both verbal forms.²⁹ It appears, however, that the notion of situation-identity fails to capture the specifying function of the participle and its semantic contribution to the verbal complex. To be sure, there are cases where the content of both verbs is very

29 Waltisberg, *Satzkomplex*, 286–291.

similar. However, even in these, the predicative is not simply tautological, but serves to elaborate the content of the main verb, often by indicating the point of departure or the direction of the motion:

(8.60) *wa-ʾaqbala ʾabū ġubaylata sāʾiran min-a l-šāmi*
And ʾAbū Ġubayla came proceeding from al-Šām. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 11)

(8.61) *hattā qumtu fī qiblati-hī mustaqbila-hū*
Until I stood in his direction of praying facing him. (*Sīra* 1, 228)

Unlike *yafʿalu*, the participle is rarely interpreted as indicating the terminal stage or destination of the verbal situation. Example [8.62] is one case that may be interpreted as such:

(8.62) *ġiʿtu-ka ʿāʾidan bi-ka*
I came to you asking for your protection. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 55)

In other cases where the main verb indicates vectorial motion, what one usually finds is the participle indicating an appointment or assignment, rather than the destination or goal. As an adjectival form, the participle is most suited to the expression of such attributes, whether these have a temporary or a permanent validity. Example [8.63] provides a good illustration to the distinction between the participle, indicating an appointment, i.e., an (assigned) attribute, and *yafʿalu*, which breaks down this attribute into its actual instances. The Qurʾānic quote in [8.64], which has a parallel in the *Sīra*, is yet another case where the participle, like non-derived adjectives, is used to indicate an appointment ('being sent as') rather than a goal ('being sent to');

(8.63) *fa-baʿaṭa llāhu ʾiblisā qāḍiyan yaqḍī bayna-hum*
God sent ʾIblis as a judge to judge among them. (*Taʾrīḥ* 1, 85)

(8.64) *fa-baʿaṭa llāhu l-nabiyyīna mubašširīna wa-mundirīna | wa-lākinna llāha baʿaṭa-nī bašīran wa-naḍīran*
God sent the prophets as bringers of glad tidings and warners. (Q 2:213; *Taʾrīḥ* 1, 184) / But God sent me as a bringer of glad tidings and a warner. (*Sīra* 1, 189)

As already mentioned above, a predicative *faʿala* is incompatible with motion verbs, due to its self-contained temporal framing (this is not to be confused with the notion of boundedness: *faʿala*, with stative lexemes, may well indi-

cate unbounded persisting situations). The modified *qad fa'ala*, on the other hand, does co-occur with motion verbs, indicating a process whose result is coincidental with the situation expressed by the main verb. As opposed to the coincidental *yaf'alu*, the tangent point of *qad fa'ala* and the main verb is not the terminal stage of the latter but its initial one:

(8.65) *fa-ğā'a 'a'rābiyyun qad 'aqbala min tihāmata*
A Bedouin arrived [after] approaching from Tihāma. (*Mağāzī*, 46)

(8.66) *wa-'aqbala l-mušrikūna qad šaffū šufūfa-hum*
The polytheists approached [being] already arranged in lines. (*Mağāzī*, 220)

8.2.4 Perception and Permission Verbs

Perception verbs and verbs indicating permission form a sub-group of complement-taking verbs in Classical Arabic. Both these classes of verbs head raising constructions. The term 'raising' refers to the syntactic fusion of two clauses, a complement-taking verb and its propositional complement, whereby the subject of the second clause is fronted to the object position of the first. The raised element is in fact shared by both clauses, and thus cannot be analyzed as an exclusive member of either.³⁰

The mechanism of raising allows for two interpretations of perception verbs: either as indicators of concrete perception of an object and its condition (e.g., 'I saw him doing'), or as indicators of notional perception of a whole situation or fact (e.g., 'I saw that he was doing'). The latter use may trigger a further shift or abstraction of the meaning of the verb, from physical perception to mental comprehension (e.g., 'I realized that he was doing').³¹

30 Discussing such examples as 'I found her gone', Jespersen, *Philosophy*, 122, suggests regarding the entire combination ('nexus') *her gone* as the object of the main verb. According to Givón, *Syntax*, 2, 272, such cases exhibit the process of raising, whereby an argument of the subordinate clause is converted to an argument of the main clause. By contrast, Waltisberg, *Satzkomplex*, 322–323, views the raised element as still belonging to the embedded clause. As a matter of fact, this question cannot be decided, for the raised element is formally marked (through its case and agreement) as relating to both clauses at the same time.

31 According to Arabic grammatical tradition, when *ra'ā* and *wağada* are not intended in their physical denotation (i.e., in the sense of *ru'yat al-'ayn* 'the seeing of the eye' or *wiğdān al-dālla* 'the finding of the lost beast'), but rather in their mental denotation, their second object is indispensable to the clause, serving as the predicate of the first object, see Sibawayhi, *Kitāb*, 1, 13.

The distinction between the patterns of concrete and notional perception is not only semantic, but it also has syntactic correlates: (a) complement clauses introduced by the operator *ʾanna* are not free variants of raising constructions, but mostly interchange with the pattern of notional perception;³² and (b) the paradigm of predicative forms which is compatible with the expression of notional perception is wider and also includes verbs not indicating co-temporality with the main verb. Thus, while the pattern of concrete perception involves only the predicative triad, *yafʿalu*, *qad faʿala*, and the participle, the pattern of notional perception also includes *faʿala* and *sa-yafʿalu*, both referring to events which are not envisaged as co-occurring with the situation of perception.

The predicative form *yafʿalu* occurs with both patterns of concrete and notional perception. With the first pattern, *yafʿalu* depicts an ongoing situation, simultaneous with the moment of seeing, hearing, or finding:

(8.67) *fa-raʿā-nī ʾatawaddaʿu min kūzin ḥazafin*
He saw me performing the ablution using a pottery jug. (*Buḥalāʿ*, 37)

(8.68) *ʾa-mā wallāhi la-samiʿtu muḥammadan yaqūlu*
Verily, by God, I heard Muḥammad saying. (*Maḡāzī*, 35)

(8.69) *wa-ʿtabir ʾaydan dālīka bi-l-milḥi llaḍī yūḍaʿu taḥta l-misraḡati wa-l-nuḥālāti llatī tūḍaʿu hunāka li-taswiyati-hā wa-taṣwībi-hā kayfa taḡiduhumā yanʿaṣirāni duhnan*
Consider that too, along with the salt that is put under the lamp, and the bran that is put there to level it and tilt it, how much oil you will find them (i.e., the salt and bran) to exude. (*Buḥalāʿ*, 41)

In the negative form as well, *lā yafʿalu* functions as predicative in raising constructions. Example [8.70] is ambiguous in that the syntactic relation between the indefinite object *qawman* and the following *lā yurīdūna* can be analyzed as either predicative or attributive (see above 6.1.3):

(8.70) *wa-lākinnī wallāhi raʾaytu qawman lā yurīdūna ʾan yaʿūbū ʾilā ʾahlī-him*
But, by God, I saw people not willing to return to their families. (*Maḡāzī*, 62)

32 Waltisberg, *Satzkomplex*, 340.

The predicative *yaf'alu* is also compatible with *ra'ā*, when this indicates—rather than concrete ocular perception—the seeing of a certain scene in a dream or the envisioning of a scene:

- (8.71) *'innī qad ra'aytu ru'yan [...] wa-'arā bn-ī yaṭlubu-nī ṭalaban ḥaṭītan*
I dreamt (lit. 'I saw a dream') [...] and I see my son looking for me anxiously. (*Sīra* 1, 254)

With the second pattern of notional perception or comprehension, *yaf'alu* expresses a prediction, a situation that is not concomitant but posterior to that indicated by the main verb. As the moment of comprehension does not coincide with the comprehended fact, the posterior *sa-yaf'alu* may also be used:

- (8.72) *fa-tarā muḥammadan yaḥṣīru-nā sanatan*
Do you think that Muḥammad will besiege us for a year? (*Majāzī*, 368)
- (8.73) *wa-'ammā ṭalabu bn-ī 'īyyā-ya tumma ḥabsu-hū 'ann-ī fa-'innī 'arā-hu sa-yaḡhadu 'an yuṣība-hū mā 'aṣāba-nī*
And as for my son's looking for me and being withheld from me, I see it [as if] he will strive so that what happened to me will happen to him [too]. (*Sīra* 1, 254)

As with verbs of motion and caused motion, when *yaf'alu* co-occurs with permission verbs it may be coincidental, referring to the terminal stage of the complex situation:

- (8.74) *fa-qad 'amara-nā 'an lā nada'a-ka tastaqīrru 'alā l-'arḍi*
He has instructed us to not let you stick to the ground. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 248)

The predicative participle is compatible with the expression of concrete as well as notional perception. In both cases it depicts a static situation, one that exists or persists at the moment of perception:

- (8.75) *tumma ḡā'at-i mra'atu l-ḥaḡḡāmi ba'da sā'atin li-musāmarati ṣadīqati-hā mra'ati l-'iskāfi fa-waḡadat-hā marbūṭatan*
Then the wife of the cupper came after one hour to have an evening chat with her friend, the wife of the shoemaker, and she found her tied up. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 79)

(8.76) *fa-lammā wağada-hū qā'idan fi 'aṣḥābi-hī 'akabba 'alay-hi wa-ānaqa-hū*

When he found him sitting among his friends, he bent down over him and embraced him. (*Buḥalā'*, 43)

(8.77) *fa-qultu yā rasūla llāhi mā la-ka 'an fulānin fa-wallāhi 'innī la-'arā-hu mu'minan*

So I said: 'O Messenger of God, what do you have [in mind] about so-and-so, for by God, I think he is a believer.' (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15)

With verbs indicating permission, the predicative participle also depicts a static situation. Notice that in [8.78] the participle, as elsewhere, is intransitive, whereas the following *yaf'alu* has an object complement:

(8.78) *fa-'aḥbara-nā 'anna muḥammadan kāna 'araḍa li-'iri-nā fi bad'ati-nā wa-'anna-hū taraka-hū muqīman yantaḥiru rağ'ata-nā*

And he informed us that Muḥammad was observing our caravan since we started our [journey], and that he had left him to stay [there] and watch for our return. (*Mağāzī*, 28)

The predicative form *qad fa'ala*, in both patterns of concrete and notional perception, is used to indicate a process whose resultant state coincides with the time of perception itself:

(8.79) *'asma'u l-ṣawta qad-i rtafa'a fi 'alā qawrā*

I hear the voice already risen at the top of Qawrā. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 47)

(8.80) *'innī 'arā qurayṣan qad 'azma'at 'alā l-ḥurūği*

Indeed, I think that Qurayṣ have already decided to go out. (*Mağāzī*, 36)

As is usually the case, *qad fa'ala* is preferred to *fa'ala* when the chronological order of the events is deemed salient to the narrative. Thus in [8.81], the fact that 'Adī was already dead when the messenger found him, and not just the mere fact of his death, has great bearing on the later development of the narrative:

(8.81) *'innī wağadtu 'adiyyan qad māta qabla 'an 'adhūla 'alay-hi*

I had found 'Adī already dead before I entered upon him. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 191)

In some cases, the perceived situation consists of a number of scenes, either overlapping or following each other in time. Example [8.82] is a good illustration of the predicative triad. We observe that the order of the forms—first the participle, then *yaf'alu*, and *qad fa'ala*—is a fixed one, regardless of the nature of the matrix clause. This order may be viewed as iconic, reflecting the decreasing degree of integration of the predicative form with the main verb:³³

(8.82) *wa-la-ka-'anni 'anzuru 'ilay-kum zā'inīna yataḍġā šibyānu-kum qad taraktum dūra-kum ḥulūfan wa-'amwāla-kum*

It is as if I look at you departing, your children crying out, [after] you have left your homes and possessions neglected. (*Maġāzī*, 365)

In my corpus, a predicative *fa'ala* was not found in raising constructions very often. Unlike the temporally bounded, coincidental *qad fa'ala*, *fa'ala* refers to a self-contained period of time. With concrete perception, *fa'ala* is found with lexemes indicating an enduring state. Notice in [8.83] the indefinite time frame indicated by the adverb *zamānan* 'for a while':

(8.83) *'innī qad ra'aytu l-malika 'aqāma bi-makāni-hī hādā zamānan lā yabraḥu min-hu*

Indeed I have seen [that] the king remained in this place of his for a while, not moving from it. (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 73)

The predicative *fa'ala* is more likely to occur when perception is not intended in its physical sense, but in its mental sense. Thus, *fa'ala* is used in visions and dreams, or in the expression of realizations and conclusions:

(8.84) *ra'aytu rākiban 'aqbala 'alā ba'iri-hī [...] fa-'arā l-nāsa ḡtama'ū 'ilay-hi*
I saw [in a dream] a rider [that] approached on his camel [...] and I saw [that] the people gathered to him. (*Maġāzī*, 29)

(8.85) *fa-'innī 'arā rīḥan qad hāġat min 'a'lā l-wādī wa-'innī 'arā-hā bu'itat bi-našri-ka*

I see a wind has risen from above the valley and I think it has been sent to help you. (*Maġāzī*, 29)

33 Though they fill the same functional slot in the clause, the participle, *yaf'alu*, and *qad fa'ala* are different in their degree of finiteness and, therefore, in the extent to which they are integrated (i.e., share the same grammatical categories) with the main clause.

As is the case elsewhere, the predicative *fa'ala* is not encountered in the negative form; instead, *lam yaq'al* is used:

- (8.86) *inḥaḍ-i l-sā'ata 'ilā l-faḍli bni yaḥyā fa-'inna-ka taḡidu-hū lam ya'dan li-
'aḥadīn ba'du*
Get up [and go] now to al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā; you will find him not allowing
anyone [in] yet. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 30)

8.2.5 *Speech Verbs*

Another defined class of verbs which initiate verbal complexes are speech verbs. The predicative forms which co-occur with speech verbs are *yaq'alu* and the participle. These forms increase the specificity of the verbal situation by referring either to the content expressed or to the vocal quality of speech itself. Notice that [8.88] exhibits an unusual case where the participle is followed by an object complement:

- (8.87) *qāla l-'a'sā yamdaḥu l-samaw'ala*
Al-'A'sā said praising al-Samaw'al. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 27)
- (8.88) *qāla l-walīdu rāfi'an ṣawta-hū*
Al-Walīd said raising his voice. (*Buxalā'*, 65)

8.3 *Circumstantial Clauses*

Not only in verbal complexes, i.e., in embedded clauses, but also at higher syntactic levels, the predicative paradigm is found. In this section I will discuss one type of dependent clause, the circumstantial clause, in which the predicative triad is used. The aspectual oppositions between the forms are the same as those described above: *yaq'alu* indicates an ongoing situation or process, the participle indicates a static state, and *qad fa'ala* indicates a result.

The category of *al-ḡumla al-ḥāliyya* 'the circumstantial clause' was described by the Arab grammarians as a complex ('periphrastic') manifestation of the *ḥāl* category. However, modern research has demonstrated that the asyndetic *ḥāl* constituent and the syndetic *ḡumla ḥāliyya* do not interchange freely with each other.³⁴ In fact, there are a number of formal and functional distinctions between them:

34 Cf. Premper, "Zustandssätze"; Isaksson et al., *Circumstantial Qualifiers*; Waltisberg, *Satzkomplex*.

- (a) The subject of the syndetic circumstantial clause is not necessarily co-referential with the subject of the main clause, thus both clauses do not necessarily refer to the same verbal event. It should be noted, however, that the subject of the circumstantial clause is not entirely new, but can be retrieved from the previous context.³⁵
- (b) The syndetic circumstantial clause is not lexeme-sensitive: it does not co-occur with specific classes of verbs in the matrix clause.
- (c) Syndetic circumstantial clauses are backgrounded whereas their asyndetic counterparts are foregrounded. The latter distinction is often correlated with the temporal relation marked by the syndetic and asyndetic clause, to wit, simultaneity vs. sequentiality (or chaining).³⁶ Although generally correct, this correlation is too sweeping. As was already discussed, the predicative forms refer to situations which overlap with the situation indicated by the main verb, or which precede or proceed from that situation.

The formal and functional distinctions outlined above reflect different degrees of integration of asyndetic and syndetic circumstantial clauses and their matrix clause. The asyndetic predicative forms, occupying the position of an adverbial (accusative) complement, show a higher degree of integration than syndetic circumstantial clauses, connected to their matrix clause as self-standing clause units (we recall that the participle in syndetic circumstantial clauses takes the nominative case!). Also from a functional point of view, asyndetic predicative forms serve to single out a certain aspect, feature, or stage of the complex situation. Syndetic circumstantial clauses, on the other hand, are comments elaborating on a certain entity, depicting in greater detail the situation indicated in the main clause, or describing the setting in which the latter takes place.

Except for some minor cases in which *fa-* is used, the circumstantial clause is connected as a rule with *wa-*.³⁷ The connective *wa-* is a general connective particle: it simply indicates the adjoining of two or more elements or clauses. The particular semantic relation between the adjoined clauses, whether it

35 It is rather unusual that the subject of the circumstantial clause is newly introduced into the text. As the following example shows, the subject may be indefinite, though still strongly associated with other topics and hence presupposed (like inalienabilia): *kuntu 'inda šayḥin min 'ahli marwa wa-šabīyyun la-hū šağīrun yal'abu bayna yaday-hi* (Buḥalā' 38)—'I was at [a place of] a sheikh from the people of Marw, and a young boy of his was playing in front of him'.

36 Cf. Premper, "Zustandssätze", 275.

37 For circumstantial clauses introduced by *fa-*, see Nebes, *Satzschema*.

be chronological, causal, contrastive, or other, is not indicated by *wa-* but determined by the given context.³⁸

wāw al-ḥāl ‘the circumstantial *wa-*’ may introduce either a nominal or a verbal clause (see above 4.5). When the predicate is *yafʿalu* or the participle, the nominal clause pattern is mandatory; with *qad faʿala*, the pattern of the verbal clause is preferred, although there are a few examples where the subject is fronted. In the following, I will illustrate and discuss circumstantial clauses with each of the verbal forms.

Circumstantial clauses whose verbal predicate is *yafʿalu* may refer to a situation concomitant with the one indicated in the matrix clause. The concomitant relation is sometimes interpreted as contrastive, especially when the subject of the circumstantial clause is not only different, but in fact confronted to the subject of the main clause:

(8.89) *fā-ḡaʿaltu ʾamsī ruwaydan wa-rasūlu llāhi qāʾimun yuṣallī yaqraʾu l-qurʾāna*

I started to walk slowly while the Messenger of God was standing, praying, [and] reciting the Qurʾān. (*Sīra* 1, 228)

(8.90) *fā-daḥala ʾalay-hi raḡulun kāna la-hū ḡāran wa-kāna lī ṣadīqan fā-lam yaʾriḍ ʾalay-hi l-ṭaʾāma wa-naḥnu naʾkulu*

When in came a man, a neighbor of his and a friend of mine, and he did not offer him food, though we were eating. (*Buḥalāʾ*, 38)

Like the asyndetic *yafʿalu*, the circumstantial *yafʿalu*—being co-referential with the subject of the main verb—may refer to the same verbal event as the latter. Thus, in [8.91]–[8.93], the same verb *qāla* is followed each time by a circumstantial clause, specifying either the manner of speech, its location, or the content expressed:

(8.91) *fā-lammā qāla surāqatu mā qāla wa-huwa yanṭiqu bi-lisāni ʾiblisā ṣaḡuʾa l-qawmu*

And when Surāqa said what he said, and he was speaking with the tongue of ʾIblīs, the people were encouraged. (*Maḡāzī*, 39)

38 For a different view of syndetic circumstantial clauses, as such indicating a ‘catalogue’ of semantic relations, see Waltisberg, *Satzkomplex*, 358. König, *Converb Constructions*, provides a general account of the controversy over the polysemous or vague nature of adverbial verb forms.

- (8.92) *sami'tu 'alīyyan yaqūlu wa-huwa yaḥṭubu bi-l-kūfati*
I heard 'Alī saying while he was delivering a sermon in Kufa. (*Mağāzī*, 57)
- (8.93) [...] *qāla wa-huwa yuḥadditu 'an fatrati l-wahyi*
He said, while delivering a *ḥadīṭ* on the period of pause in revelation. (*Ṣaḥīḥ* 1, 6)

In circumstantial clauses *yaf'alu* is negated by *lā*. Quite often, *lā yaf'alu* occurs with verbs of knowledge, depicting a situation where one subject is ignorant about the activity of the other:

- (8.94) *fa-marrat-i l-ḥayyatu 'alā l-ḥazanati wa-hum lā ya'lamūna*
The snake passed by the keepers [and entered] while they did not know. (*Ta'rīḥ* 1, 104)

Circumstantial clauses whose predicate is the participle are either co-referential with the situation depicted by the main verb, or refer to a concomitant situation. We observe that the participle in [8.95] follows a non-derived adjectival form which indicates the mental state of the subject (see [8.14] above). In [8.96], the participle refers to the physical appearance of the subject, specifically to his girding for battle (another example is *Mağāzī* 1, 39: *wa-huwa mutawaššihun bi-sayfi-hī*; see also [8.17] and [8.56] above):

- (8.95) *fa-ḡā'a-nī wa-huwa ḥazīnun munkasirun*
He came to me sad and [heart] broken. (*Buḥalā'*, 90)
- (8.96) *wa-'aḥada l-nabiyyu l-qawsa wa-'aḥada qanātan bi-yadi-hī [...] wa-l-muslimūna mutalabbisūna l-silāha*
The Prophet took the bow and he took the spear in his hand [...] while the Muslims were putting on their weapons. (*Mağāzī*, 215)

The same as the asyndetic participle, the circumstantial participle occurs as a rule in intransitive verb-phrases, either with intransitive lexemes or, with transitive lexemes, in the passive form:

- (8.97) *laqiya-hū safihun min sufahā'i qurayšin wa-huwa 'amidun 'ilā l-ka'batī*
One of the Qurayš fools came across him while he was heading towards the Ka'ba. (*Sīra* 1, 246)

- (8.98) *li-ʾanna-hū lā šayʾa yatawahhamu-hū mutawahhimun fī qawli qāʾili dālika ʾillā wa-huwa mawǧūdun fī qawli qāʾilin*
 Because there is nothing which one may presume [to be implied] in this statement without existing in a statement such as ... (*Taʾrīḥ* 1, 58)

On rare occasions the participle takes an object complement. We observe, however, that the object in such cases is not a prototypical one, i.e., an individualized affected entity, but in fact, forms a collocation with the verbal form:

- (8.99) *wa-kayfa yastaṭīʿu dālika wa-huwa ʾākilun ʾuṣban*
 How is he able to do that while being a grass-eater? (*Kalīla wa-Dimna*, 92)

Circumstantial clauses whose predicate is *qad faʿala* exhibit mainly the pattern of the verbal clause, although one may encounter a few cases in which the subject is fronted:

- (8.100) *wa-raǧʾa l-naǧāšiyu wa-qad ʾahlaka llāhu ʾaduwwa-hū*
 The Negus came back [after] God had already destroyed his enemy.
 (*Sīra* 1, 221)
- (8.101) *wa-ḥaraǧa l-ḥabaru ʾilā l-nāsi wa-riǧālu banī l-muṣṭaliqi qad-i qtusimū wa-mulikū*
 The news went out to the people, while the men of the Banū Muṣṭaliq had already been divided [among their captors] and become [their] property ... (*Maǧāzī*, 411)

A plausible explanation to the different clausal pattern of *wa-qad faʿala* vis-à-vis *wa-huwa yafʿalu/wa-huwa fāʿilun* may be that the latter nominal patterns are indeed plot-external descriptions, sometimes even generic or encyclopedic comments, centered on a certain entity, while *wa-qad faʿala*, though deviating from the main *faʿala*-plotline and depicting an anterior event, is not purely descriptive, but rather incorporated in the stream of events (see also below 10.3.2).

Circumstantial clauses sometimes present the *inna la*-clausal pattern. The operator *inna* introduces the entire clause whereas the modifier *la-* precedes the predicate. When the predicate is verbal, *la-* may be prefixed to either *yafʿalu* or the participle. The structure *wa-ʾinna la-* has an emphasizing function: it indicates that the content expressed in the clause stands against a certain expectation, explicit or implicit in the surrounding context, and that it is there-

fore remarkable. There is an important functional distinction between ordinary circumstantial clauses and *wa-ʿinna la*-clauses: unlike the first, *wa-ʿinna la*-clauses are not merely descriptive or orientational (if at all), but they present the personal evaluation of the narrator regarding the narrated situation. Consider, for instance, the examples below:

(8.102) *wa-la-qad raʿaytu-hū yanzilu ʿalay-hi l-waḥyu fī l-yawmi l-šadīdi l-bardi fa-yuḥṣimu ʿan-hu wa-ʿinna ġabīna-hū la-yatafaṣṣadu ʿaraqan*
 And I saw him [when] the revelation came upon him, on a very cold day; then it departed from him, while his forehead was dripping with sweat. (*Šaḥīḥ*, 6)

(8.103) *fa-la-qad luddat maymūnātu wa-ʿinna-hā la-šāʿimatun*
 And Maymūna was given the medicine while she was fasting. (*Sīra* 2, 1007)

In [8.102], ʿĀiša says that it was an extremely cold day when the revelation came upon the Prophet, but nevertheless she saw that he was sweating. In [8.103], Maymūna is reported to be given medicine, despite the fact that she was fasting.

Being unusual in the nominal clause pattern, *qad faʿala* is also not found in the *ʿinna la*- pattern. Nevertheless, *qad faʿala* is compatible with the emphasizing *la*- which precedes the modified form. The same as *wa-ʿinna-hū la-yafʿalu/wa-ʿinna-hū la-fāʿilun*, also *wa-la-qad faʿala* has an evaluative function: it imparts the impression of the narrator regarding the related event:

(8.104) *la-qad ḥaddata-nī ʿabdu llāhi bni ʿabbāsīn ʿanna ʿādama nazala ḥīna nazala bi-l-hindi wa-la-qad ḥaġġa min-hā ʿarbaʿīna ḥiġġatan ʿalā riġlay-hi³⁹*
 ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbbās told me that when Adam came down it was in India; from there he had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca on foot forty times. (*Taʿrīḥ* 1, 124)

39 Interestingly, *wa-la-qad ḥaġġa* does not refer to an anterior event relative to the preceding *nazala*. It may be that *la-qad faʿala*, as opposed to *qad faʿala*, serves mainly an expressive goal and is not used for the purpose of grounding. This suggestion awaits further research.

8.4 Mutually Dependent Clauses

Mutually dependent constructions are exocentric, that is, neither their first nor their second part may be said to function as the main constituent or nucleus to which the other is subordinate. As already discussed above (6.1.2), mutual dependency is marked as distinct from other types of interdependency by inverting the usual order of the conjoined dependent clause, from subsequent position to initial. The global meaning of a mutually dependent construction is gathered from the contents of both its parts, so that neither one can be omitted without giving up much of the sense of the entire construction.

Conditional sentences are perhaps the best known example of mutually dependent constructions. The conditional meaning is obtained by the juxtaposition of a protasis and an apodosis.⁴⁰ Conditional clauses may be introduced by the same conjunction as modifying adverbial clauses, e.g.: *'in* 'if', *'idā* 'when/if'. However, the relative position of the clause determines its interpretation. When the clause takes the initial position it is a conditional, when it is postposed it is an adverbial expansion of the main clause.⁴¹ The seemingly inverted order of the conditional construction marks the relation of mutual dependency, whereby both clauses have an equal syntactic status.⁴² Not only the syntagmatic order, but also the paradigmatic constitution of the verbal forms is different in conditionals and in modifying adverbial clauses. Prototypical conditional sentences present a limited range of possibilities, the verbal form in the protasis—*fa'ala* or *yaf'al*—triggers off the verbal form in the apodosis—*fa'ala* or *yaf'al*, and both forms assume a hypothetical meaning.⁴³

40 Cohen, *Conditionals*, 15, views the syntactic relationship between both parts of the conditional construction as mutual dependency. As far as their semantic interrelation is concerned, 'ordinary conditionals' are defined by him as 'structures containing two domains of events or state of affairs' of which 'neither domain can be confirmed or denied at the time of the utterance, and the likelihood of one domain (the apodosis) to take place depends directly on the realization of the other domain (the protasis)'.

41 That the protasis and apodosis cannot be inverted while maintaining their function was already observed by the Arab grammarians. The Arabic terminology also reflects the distinction between a proper conditional, termed *šarf*, and a postposed modifying conditional, termed *zarf*; cf. Peled, *Conditional Structures*, 139–140.

42 A conditional clause is not just less integrated with its matrix clause, compared to postposed dependent clauses (Waltisberg, *Satzkomplex*, 75–77); rather, it exhibits a different kind of interdependency, a mutual dependency.

43 Besides the prototypical construction there are other types of conditional sentences in which the apodosis is not selected by the protasis but, following the conjunction *fa-*, is free

By contrast, modifying adverbial clauses are free to follow a wide variety of clause patterns,⁴⁴ and the temporal or modal meaning of their verb, as is generally the case in dependent clauses, is relative to the point of reference of the main clause.

Apart from conditional sentences, there are other types of mutually dependent constructions. The present discussion focuses on those in which the predicative paradigm is employed. These constructions can be divided into two interrelated kinds: (a) setting clauses and (b) presentative clauses. Although the predicative paradigm is common to all of them, there is an important difference between verbal complexes and circumstantial clauses, on the one hand, and setting and presentative clauses, on the other. The former operate at the syntactic level of the complex-clause, and thus may be found in any type of discourse, e.g., dialogues, narratives, expositions, etc.; the latter operate at the text level and can only be found in narratives. They are, in fact, marked patterns of narration (for a detailed discussion, see below 10.4).

8.4.1 *Setting Clauses*

Setting clauses are introduced by the operator (*fa-*)*baynā/baynamā* ‘while’. They take the first position in the complex construction (like conditional clauses), followed by a presentative clause. Clauses headed by *baynā/baynamā* exhibit the pattern of the nominal clause, where the nominal theme precedes an adverbial (prepositional) or a verbal predicate. In cases where the predicate is verbal, it is realized as either *yafʿalu* or the participle, always in the affirmative. Here, as well, we observe the opposition between the dynamic-progressive-transitive *yafʿalu* and the static-intransitive participle:

(8.105) *baynā ʿanā ʿamši ʾid samiʿtu ṣawtan min-a l-samāʿi*

As I was walking, I suddenly heard a voice from heaven. (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, 6)

(8.106) *fa-baynamā humā wāqifāni bayna yaday-hi ʾid saqaṭa ṭāʾirāni ʿalā l-sūri*

And while they were standing in front of him, suddenly two birds landed on the wall. (*Riwāyāt* 2, 180)

The modified form *qad faʿala*, incompatible with the durative (unbounded) meaning of *baynā/baynamā*, is not attested in this clause type. However, *qad*

to comprise verbal and nominal patterns other than *faʿala* or *yafʿal*; cf. Peled’s category of ‘modally split conditional sentences’ (*Conditional Structures*, chapter 4).

44 Peled, *Conditional Structures*, 140 ff.

fa'ala may be incorporated into the setting in the form of a circumstantial clause. Notice that in [8.107] the subject of the circumstantial is fronted, so as to match the order of the *baynā/baynamā* clause:

- (8.107) *fa-baynā 'anā fi mağlis-ī wa-l-ḥadamu qad ḥaffū bī wa-ğawāriy-ya yata-raddadna bayna yaday-ya 'idā 'anā bi-šayḥin*
 And while I was in my living room, the servants had already surrounded me and my maids were coming and going in front of me, all of a sudden there was an old man with me. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 45)

Setting clauses may also take the form of the *'inna la*-pattern. The same as in *baynā/baynamā*-clauses, *yaf'alu* and the participle function as verbal predicates. The distinction between setting clauses introduced by *baynā/baynamā* and those introduced by *'inna* is not a syntactic one:⁴⁵ both types of clauses exhibit a mutually dependent construction with the same verbal paradigm. Rather, the distinction resides in the domain of expressivity. Setting clauses introduced by *'inna* signal the presence and stance of an internally involved, 'homodiegetic' narrator, telling the story from his own first-hand experience:⁴⁶

45 I hold a different view than Nebes, *Inzidenzschema*, who draws a syntactic distinction between a setting clause introduced by *baynā/baynamā* and one introduced by *'inna*. The first is labeled 'the dependent clause-main clause construction', whereas the latter is labeled 'the "emphatic" main clause-main clause construction'. According to Nebes, the past time reference of *yaf'alu* (the imperfect) in the *baynā/baynamā*-clause is obtained due to its being dependent upon and concomitant with *fa'ala* (the perfect) in the following superordinate clause. In *'inna*-clauses, by contrast, *yaf'alu* does not assume its past meaning relative to *fa'ala*, but is interpreted as 'historic present': its temporal value is endowed by the speaker/narrator, who envisions past events as if currently unfolding in front of his eyes. In my view, both clauses exhibit the same syntagmatic relations and paradigmatic structure: *yaf'alu* and the participle in both cases mark the same aspectual distinctions, while the temporal frame of reference is established by the eventive-narrative *fa'ala*. Moreover, the general qualification of *'inna* as 'emphatic' can be further specified. To be sure, *'inna* does not indicate a contrastive focus; it does not assert the content of the clause against the explicit or implicit preceding context. On the contrary, *'inna* (like *baynā/baynamā*) presents cataphoric background: it frames the narrative scene in which the dramatic development is about to take place.

46 For the notion of 'homodiegetic', see Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, 245. In my corpus I could find only one example in which a setting clause introduced by *'inna* did not stem from a first-person narrative. In this example the predicate is not verbal but a prepositional phrase, thus the following presentative is introduced by *'idā*: *fa-'inna 'abda l-ḥakami yawman la-fi l-masğidi l-ḥarāmi 'idā fatan dāḥilun* (*Riwāyāt* 1, 64)—'One day while 'Abd al-Ḥakam was in the holy mosque, there came in a young man'.

(8.108) *fa-wallāhi 'innī la-'amšī naḥwa-hū [...]* 'id ḥaraḡa naḥwa bābi banī sahmīn

By God, I was walking toward him [...] when suddenly he went out toward the gate of Banū Sahn. (*Maḡāzī*, 31)

(8.109) *fa-wallāhi 'innī la-qā'idun fī 'ahl-ī 'id naẓartu 'ilā za'īnatin*

By God, I was sitting among my people when suddenly I noticed a woman in a camel-borne sedan. (*Sīra*, 2, 948)

8.4.2 Presentative Clauses

Presentative clauses take the second position in the complex construction. Presentative clauses which involve the predicative paradigm are introduced by the particle 'idā and exhibit the pattern [nominal-phrase + predicative form].⁴⁷ The predicative paradigm comprises the triad of *yaf'alu*, the participle, and *qad fa'ala*. Interestingly, the participle in 'idā-clauses—rather than taking the accusative case (as in verbal complexes)—assumes, as a rule, the nominative case:⁴⁸

(8.110) *fa-qāla unẓurū mā hādā l-'adānu fa-'idā baššārun yu'addīnu sakrāna*

And he said: 'Look what is this call!' And there was Baššār calling for prayer while drunk. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 261)

47 The nominal presentee after 'idā may be definite or indefinite. It either takes the nominative case or is realized as the genitive complement of the preposition *bi-* 'with'. However, when followed by a predicative form, the nominal presentee is nearly always attested in the nominative.

48 In my corpus, as well as in the major grammars of Classical Arabic, there are no examples of 'idā-presentatives in which the participle is attested in the accusative case. On the other hand, there are quite a few examples of presentatives introduced by *hādā* in direct speech, in which the participle takes the accusative, e.g.: *fa-qāla yā rasūla llāhi hādā 'umarū bnu l-ḥaṭṭāb mutawaššihan l-sayfa* (*Sīra* 1, 227)—'And he said: O Messenger of God, [out] there is 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb girding the sword'. This double manifestation of the participle is explained by Bloch, *Presentative Structures*, as a semantogrammatical development of presentatives in Arabic, from 'amplified' constructions, in which the participle (or some other form) is adverbial (i.e. accusative), to 'proclitic' constructions, in which it is predicative (nominative). In a synchronic view, however, the fact that a fluctuation between both manifestations exists is by itself instructive: it reflects the adverbial-yet-kernel status of this 'amplifying' term, which, unlike other adverbials (e.g., temporal or locative), forms part of the predicative core of the clause, see above 8.2.

(8.111) *fa-ğītu ʾilā ʾibrāhīma l-mawṣiliyyi fa-ʾidā l-bābu maftūḥun wa-l-dihlizu qad kunisa wa-l-bawwābu qāʾidun*

I came to ʾIbrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, and behold, the door was opened, the hall was already swept, and the door-keeper was sitting. (*Riwāyāt* 1, 28)

(8.112) *fa-fataḥa-hā la-hū fa-ʾidā fi-hā šūratu ʾādama wa-durriyyati-hī kulli-him fa-ʾidā kullu raḡulin maktūbun ʾinda-hū ʾaḡalu-hū wa-ʾidā ʾadamu qad kutiba la-hū ʾumru ʾalfi sanatin*

He opened it (i.e. His hand) for him, and behold, in it there was the picture of Adam and all his progeny, and there was the [life] term of each man written down with Him, and there was Adam, a term of thousand years already written down for him. (*Taʾrīḥ* 1, 156)

8.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed a paradigm of verbal forms which function as predicatives in complex predications. This paradigm consists of *yafʿalu*, the participle, and *qad faʿala*, marking an ongoing situation, a state, and an outcome, respectively. All three forms are co-temporal, either simultaneous (totally overlapping) or coincidental (partially overlapping) with the time frame established in the main clause. The predicative paradigm cross-cuts different syntactic levels: it is used in verbal complexes and circumstantial clauses at the (complex-)clause level, and in mutually dependent constructions at the text level, as summarized in table 8.2 below:

TABLE 8.2 *The predicative paradigm across the board*

	The predicative triad	Other verbal forms
verbal complexes	<i>yafʿalu</i> <i>fāʾilan/mafʿūlan</i> <i>qad faʿala</i>	<i>fāʿala</i> (auxiliary, perception) <i>sa-yafʿalu</i> (perception)
circumstantial clauses	<i>wa-huwa yafʿalu</i> <i>wa-huwa fāʾilun/mafʿūlun</i> <i>wa-qad faʿala</i>	

TABLE 8.2 *The predicative paradigm across the board (cont.)*

	The predicative triad	Other verbal forms
setting clauses	<i>baynā/baynamā huwa yafʿalu</i> <i>baynā/baynamā huwa fāʿilun</i> * <i>qad faʿala</i> not adjacent to <i>baynā/baynamā</i>	
presentative clauses	<i>ʾidā huwa yafʿalu</i> <i>ʾidā huwa fāʿilun/mafʿūlun</i> <i>ʾidā huwa qad faʿala</i>	

The identification of the predicative paradigm leads to some interesting observations with regard to the Classical Arabic verbal system in general. Firstly, by contrast to the general opinion (see above chapter 3), *faʿala* and *yafʿalu* do not function as a binary pair. As a predicative form, *faʿala* is quite marginal vis-à-vis the dominant role played by *yafʿalu* and its counterparts, the participle and *qad faʿala*. Secondly, despite their close syntactic *muḍāraʿa* ‘resemblance’ (see above 2.3.2), *yafʿalu* and the participle are distinct at several semantic levels, as presented in table 8.3 below:

TABLE 8.3 *yafʿalu vs. the participle*

	<i>yafʿalu</i>	Participle
Grammatical aspect	dynamic-progressive	static
Verbal attribute	habit / goal	property / appointment
Transitivity	(mostly) transitive	intransitive
Lexical informativity	higher	lower

Thirdly, it is clear that *qad faʿala* is not simply an extension of *faʿala*, at both the syntactic and semantic levels: (a) *qad faʿala* is far more frequent as a predicative, whereas *faʿala* usually functions as the main verb; and (b) *qad faʿala* indicates a temporally bounded situation, whereas *faʿala* indicates a self-contained event. These distinctions are summarized in table 8.4 below:

TABLE 8.4 *qad fa'ala* vs. *fa'ala*

	<i>qad fa'ala</i>	<i>fa'ala</i>
Favored syntactic position	predicative	main
Grammatical aspect	resultative	perfective-eventive
Temporal reference	coincidental	self-contained