Arabic Syntactic Structures
A Linguistic Study According to the Neo-Khalilian Theory

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Abstract

The neo-Khalilian theory (Hadj Salah: 1979, 2011) is a contemporary linguistic theory based on the *nahw al-ʿarabī* (النّحو العربي) of early grammarians of Arabic. This paper presents a linguistic analysis of the syntactic structures in Arabic using what is known in the neo-Khalilian theory as the *tectonie*. This latter is made up of governing units (R), governed units (T_i) and peripheral units (D).

Keywords :
Arabic language - syntactic structures - tectonie - neo-Khalilian theory.

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الملخّص

يقدم هذا المقال دراسة لسانية للبنى التركيبية في اللّغة العربيّة في ضوء النّظريّة الخليليّة الحديثة، التي أسّسها صاحبها الأستاذ الدّكتور عبد الرّحمن الحاج صالح (1979، 2011)؛ ونستعين في ذلك بمفهوم البنية التركيبية القائمة على أساس العامل (ع) والمعمول (م) والوحدات الخارجة عن هذه البنية (المخصصات).

الكلمات المفاتيح :

اللغة العربية ـ البنى التركيبية ـ العامل ـ المعمول ـ النظرية الخليلية الحديثة.

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Résumé

La théorie néo-Khalilienne est une théorie linguistique fondée par le linguiste algérien Abderrahmane Hadj-Salah (1979, 2011) dans le cadre d'une interprétation globale du *naḥw al-'arabi* (النّحو العربيّ) (qui veux dire littéralement la grammaire arabe). Nous proposons dans cet article de décrire les structures syntaxiques de l'arabe en utilisant la *tectonie*, définie dans la cadre de la théorie néo-Khalilienne comme l'unité linguistique composée de termes régissants (R), de termes régis (T_i) et d'unités périphériques (D).

Mots clés :

Langue arabe - structures syntaxiques - tectonie - théorie néo-Khalilienne.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the study of the fundamental Arabic syntactic structures as described by the early grammarians of Arabic and examines the patterns proposed in the neo-Khalilian linguistic theory (1979, 2011) in an attempt to formalize this description.

The neo-Khalilian theory is founded by the Algerian linguist Abderrahmane Hadj-Salah who has undertaken an investigatory research trying to bring some insights into the theoretical framework of the works of the early generations of Arab grammarians and define the fundamental concepts that were at the basis of _'ilm al-'Arabiyya_ (علم العربيّة). He has tried, as explained in his own words, to make:

a study as exhaustive as possible of the rational and experimental principles on which the grammar (_al-nahw_ النحو) is generally based and the principles and methods, which were at the basis of the collection and control of the data of the _'Arabiyya_ (العربية); - as well as the deep analysis of the theories and patterns elaborated and made by these grammarians.[1]

In the neo-Khalilian theory, the analysis of language starts from a central level called the level of the _lafẓa_ (مستوى اللفظة, _i.e._, the level of the _lexie_[2]) from which it is possible to reach both higher (_i.e._, the level of the _tectonie_ and that of the super government) and lower levels (_i.e._, that of the _kalim_ and that of the phonemes). As will be shown in the following sections, the level of the _tectonie_ is the one that interests us most in this paper.

To analyse language at this level a structure made up of governing (R) and governed terms (T_i) is used. This structure belongs to an abstract level that does not result from the simple combination of the linguistic units of the inferior levels, since syntax does not exclusively appear at that level as can show the example of the verbal lexie _ḍarabtuhu_, (ضربته, _i.e._, _I hit him_). In fact, syntax in the neo-Khalilian theory is based on a far more abstract level than the one of the "subject-verb-complement" (_cf._ Hadj Salah 2004: 8), going up to a level even more abstract known as the level of the _super government_ in which the existence of "_an initial structuring position_" with an "_abstract structuring effect_" allows to have an indirect government of the element governed by the governing units. (_cf. Ibid._: 16).

In fact, according to Hadj Salah, among what characterizes most *al-nahw al-'arabi* and makes its conception different from the post-saussurian structuralism which operates generally by simple abstraction and where everything is based on intensive and inclusive abstractive processes is the use by the Arab grammarians of the *qiyās* (القياس) (*cf. Ibid.*: 28).

The operations of the *qiyās* belong to "*a constructive and extensive abstraction: the elements of the bāb-s are related directly. This shows then a more abstract structure that integrates and goes beyond them.*"[3]. As will be shown in the following section, the concept of *qiyās* is more than central to this approach of language analysis, since the *qiyās* as a concept: "*1-allows a simulation of the reality by the construction of models (generating schemes = mutul, plu. of mitāl); 2- makes emerge structures even more abstract (through a set of equivalences).*"[4].

It is only by adopting this constructive and operatory approach that we can understand the importance given by the Arab grammarians to what *Sībawayh* called "*tark al-'alāma*" (ترك العلامة), *i.e.*, an absence not considered for itself, but within the structured set in which it appears (*cf.* Hadj Salah 2003: 24). If not considered in this perspective, one cannot conceive that an absence can have a governing effect on another position of this structure (*cf. Ibid*).

2. The Basic Concepts of Language Analysis According to the Neo-Khalilian Theory

Before presenting in detail the Arabic syntactic structures, we propose to go through the concepts identified in the neo-Khalilian theory as being the basis of language analysis. These concepts are:

- The concept of *qiyās* (قياس), *i.e.*, comparison between items to come out with a generalised pattern that can be used to generate the linguistic units of language ;
- The concepts of *bāb* (باب), *i.e.*, set of elements, and *mitāl* (مثال), *i.e.*, pattern;
- The concepts of *asl* (أصل), *i.e.*, kernel element from which other elements are derived, and *far'* (فرع), *i.e.*, derived element ;
- The concept of *lafza* (لفظة, *i.e.*, lexie) and the three axioms by which it is defined:
  - The *infirād* (انفراد), *i.e.*, independence and separability ;
  - The *'ibtidā'* (ابتداء), *i.e.*, beginning, and *infisāl* (انفصال), *i.e.*, separability ;
  - The *tamakkun* (تمكّن), *i.e.*, capacity to receive additions.

2.1. The *qiyās*

The *qiyās* is one of the most important operatory concepts of the *'ilm al-'Arabiyya*. It is defined as *"an inductive device for extracting general principles from the data and as the means by which speakers create new utterances by extrapolating from speech patterns already known"* (Strazny 2005: 78). What Hadj-Salah calls *"la mise en qiyās"* (~ comparison) is a huge work based on a rational thinking whose goal is the search for correspondences between individual linguistic items, groups of items and even operations, and the discovery of implicit mechanisms.

The *qiyās*, goes beyond the mere comparative analysis that is based on identity and inclusion. It is based on the notion of equivalence of structure, behaviour,... (*cf.* Hadj-Salah 1979: II, 418). The abstraction deriving from the *qiyās*[5] allows the linguist to describe the linguistic units not for their own sake, since their analysis is not directed towards their static characteristics or only what differentiate them from the other units. This kind of linguistic analysis of items allows to study language as a whole network of intensive and extensive relations.

We can give as an example: *kitāb* (كتاب, *i.e.*, *book*) which can be compared to the *kalim* (الكلم, *i.e.*, plural of *kalima*) that share the same consonantal root: **k - t - b** such as: *kataba* (كَتَبَ, *i.e.*, *he wrote*), *kutub* (كُتُب, *i.e.*, *books*), *kātib* (كاتب, *i.e.*, *writer*), *maktab* (مكتب, *i.e.*, *desk*). . We can also compare the *kalim* which have the same pattern, *i.e.*, *wazn* (وزن)[6]. For example, *maktab* (مكتب, *i.e.*, place where we write), *mal'ab* (ملعب, *i.e.*, place where we play), *maǧma'* (مجمع, *i.e.*, place where we gather), have in common the pattern *maf'al* (مَفْعَل) and which means *ism makān* (اسم مكان, *i.e.*, place where we do something). Another type of analogy can also be made at the level of discourse as shown in the following example where the sequences appearing in the second column occur in the same position in speech:

# *ištaraytu*	*kitāban* # [7]
# *ištaraytu*	*al- kitāba al-mufīda* # [8]

Figure 1

2.2. The *Bāb*

The *qiyās* is entirely based on two other concepts: the *bāb* (باب) and the *naẓīr* (نظير). The *naẓā'ir* (نظائر, plural of *naẓīr*) are *"the elements that are similar to each other and that are similar to the representing element which is*

the pattern of the group to which they belong"[9]. The *naẓā'ir* are regrouped in *bāb-s*[10]. We speak, for example, of the *bāb* of the verbs: *ḏahaba* (ذهب, i.e., *He went*) and *saraqa* (سرق, i.e., *He stole*), which belong to one set of elements because they share a common structure (i.e., a common sequential pattern) which is that of *fa'ala* (فَعَلَ, i.e., *He did*). A *bāb* can be empty whenever there is no linguistic item which can correspond to the pattern it characterises[11]. A more abstract *bāb* is the one which integrates other *bāb-s* having the same pattern but at a higher level of abstraction.

In each *bāb*, there are elements which represent the *qiyās*. Some elements may behave in a different way from these ones. In this case, we say that these elements are *šāḏa* (شاذة, i.e., do not follow the general rule), since the *qiyās* is based on the most frequent and not the scarce[12].

2.3. The *Ḥadd*

The *ḥadd* (الحد) or *miṯāl* (المثال) is a pattern which defines the linguistic units at a given language level. It is a tool of simulation that is designed for simplification and schematization.

The *ḥadd* of the *lexie*[13], for example, is the pattern that gathers a number of equivalent sequences. The organisation of this set of equivalent sequences is not random: they are ordered from the smallest utterance, namely the least uttered sequence (*al-kalima al-mufrada* (الكلمة المفردة)), to the largest one.

2.4. The *Mawḍi'*

The positions of the *ḥadd* are called *mawāḍi'* (مواضع, i.e., plural of *mawḍi'*). The concept of *mawḍi'* (موضع) is essential to the analysis of the Arab grammarians, since it exists at each level of language from the very lower to the higher ones. It has the meaning of a position in a structured pattern[14] rather than the place of occurrence of an element in language.[15] The *mawāḍi'* are discovered through the comparison (i.e., using the *qiyās*) of two or more sequences. For the early Arab grammarians, each position of the pattern denotes a *dalāla waḍ'iyya* (دلالة وضعية, i.e., the denotation that derives from the *waḍ'* (وضع)) so that the pattern constitutes a formal basis for the analysis of the meaning deriving from the *waḍ'*.

The *mawḍi'* is a virtual entity since it can be empty or contain one or more elements. In addition, a *kalima* can occupy more than one position. In fact, generally speaking, each position of the pattern can be empty, except that of the kernel.

2.5. The *Taḥwīl*

The Arab grammarians gave a great importance to the notion of *taḥwīl* (تحويل, *i.e.*, transformation), since they have considered the whole linguistic system as a transformational network in which each linguistic unit is to be considered to be either an *aṣl* (أصل), or a *far'* (فرع) deriving from the *aṣl* : *"each linguistic entity is either a kernel upon which other elements are structurally integrated or is an entity which is derived from one or more kernels according to a given pattern"*[16].

Within a linguistic pattern, the transformations allow to add elements to the left and the right of the kernel according to the rules of a given linguistic system and thus defining the linguistic units according to the different positions that can contain them. Each transformation has a corresponding operation which is the transformation in the opposite direction. The early Arab grammarians, in this case, speak of *raddu al-šay' ilā aṣlihi* (ردّ الشيء إلى أصله).[17] According to Hadj-Salah, this reversibility brings us to speak of a true algebra structure forming what is called in mathematics a group.

2.6. The *Aṣl* and *Far'*

The two concepts of *aṣl* and *far'*, *i.e.*, respectively kernel and derived element, identify the items of language. They allow the establishment of an order in the paradigmatic axis, since *"the term aṣl applies to any element which (...) invariably occurs in other forms of elements which are its furū'* (فروع, *i.e. plural of far') and which contain it and overlap it by virtue of some kind of material and/ or formal addition."* (Hadj-Salah 1987). Two items can be said to have the same *martaba* (مرتبة) if none of them is the *aṣl* of the other.

By classifying the linguistic units into *'uṣūl* (أصول, *i.e.*, plural of *'aṣl*) and *furū'*, and at the same time determining the *martaba* of each linguistic element (linguistic unit or operation), since, as we have mentioned in the preceding section, for the Arab grammarians everything in language is either an *aṣl* or a *far'* derived from an *aṣl* by means of a transformation (*cf.* Hadj-Salah 1979: I, 122):

all the linguistic phenomena whatever they are, are necessarily either *furū'* or *uṣūl*, or both of them at the same time [...]. This way of being of linguistic elements or these phenomena of dependence have been interpreted by the Arab linguists according to two points of view: that of a genetic derivation and that of a logico-mathematic combinatory.[18]

The *aṣl* is *"what exists and functions by itself with regard to its furū'. It is also what is given and not what is constructed (mā yu-bnā 'alayhi wa-lā yu-bnā 'alā ġayrih* ما يبنى عليه ولا يبنى على غيره *(cf. Ğurğānī))"*[19].

To distinguish the *aṣl* from its *furū'*, it is important to know that :

the *aṣl* is not only what is first with regard to its *furū'*, but also what, both in the objects themselves and in their behaviour, is invariable. It is the constant and permanent character of some phenomena which confers it the quality of *aṣl*. (...) the invariants constitute for the variables which belong to the same class of objects of reference, a common denominator or a set of permanent characters that all the *furū'* must possess : it is then a prototype whose particular reproductions are the *furū'*.[20]

In fact, the *aṣl* does not need a *'alāma* (علامة, *i.e.*, mark) to be distinguished from its *furū'*.[21] We end this section by presenting the criteria which the *aṣl* must meet whether it is an object or a process (*cf.* Hadj-Salah 1979: I, 136-137):

1- Invariability (*istimrār al-aṣl* استمرار الأصل): *"compared to them [i.e., the furū'], it appears as a substance or as a form, at the level of the content and/ or of the expression, in all these elements, and, reciprocally that no element among them cannot be reduced to it by any transformation"*.[22]

2- Zero mark: (*tark al-'alāma*): *"it includes always with regard to them [its furū'] the zero mark"*.[23]

3- Autonomy (*istiġnā'* استغناء): It can, consequently, *"appear alone in some productions, while the other elements which are compared to it come only with it or in its context"*.[24]

4- Not resulting from other elements (*ġayr musabbab* غير مسبب): *"It is not the effect or the consequence of none of these elements."*[25]

3. The Level of the *Tectonie* in the neo-Khalilian Linguistic Model

The *supra-lexical* level is a linguistic level which is made up by what Hadj-Salah (1979) calls the *tectonies*. These latter are made up of governing[26] (R) and governed elements (T$_i$) and some peripheral elements (D) which can be deleted without any structural damage to the whole *tectonie*[27].

According to the neo-Khalilian theory, the nature of the structure of the *tectonie* excludes any segmental analysis, because at this level we do not handle directly units of lower levels, but units of a more abstract nature. This

is why Hadj-Salah speaks of a real abstraction which transforms a group of true and virtual positions into a pattern in which the units of the inferior level and some *kalim*[28] are integrated in a specific way.

The generalized pattern of these syntactic structures is represented in the following formal way:

$$(R \rightarrow T_1), T_2 \pm D$$

The unit $(R \rightarrow T_1)$ constitutes the basic syntactic pattern at this level. It is called by Hadj-Salah the '*pivot*' of the *tectonie* upon which T_2 (or eventually T_3 and T_4[29]) is structurally integrated. The positions of the *tectonie* can contain a single *kalima* like *Kāna* in the position of R (*cf.* figure 1), or a *lexie* like # *al-raǧulu al-ṭawīlu al-laḏī ra'aytuhu* # which appears in the position of T_1 (*cf.* figure 2) or an entire syntactic structure : a *tectonie* like # *a'lamtu Bakran* # contained in the position of R (*cf.* figure 3) :

R	T_1	T_2
# kāna (V_e)	Al-raǧulu al-ṭawīlu al-laḏī ra'aytuhu	qā'iman # [30]

Figure 2

R			T_1	T_2
R	T_1	T_2		
# a'lam	-tu	Bakran	Zaydan	qā'iman # [31]

Figure 3

Three kinds of syntactic relations are defined at the level of *tectonie* as shown below:

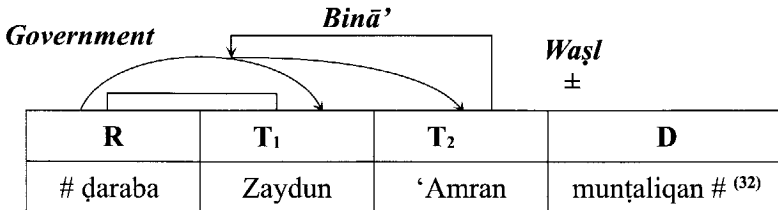| R	T_1	T_2	D
# ḍaraba	Zaydun	'Amran	munṭaliqan # [32]

Figure 4

The *tectonie* can also be represented in the form of a tree as in the following figure showing the analysis of: # *Kataba al-awlādu al-kibāru tamārīnahum* # [33] :
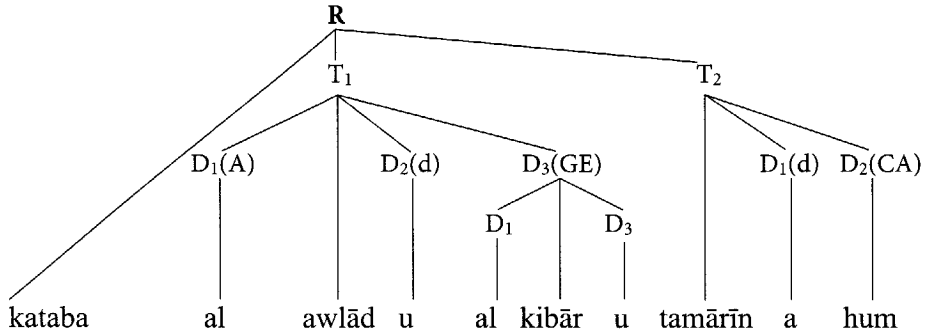
Figure 5 (Cf. Hadj-Salah 2004: 11)

4. Types of Syntactic Structures in Arabic

The pattern $(R \rightarrow T_1)$, $T_2 \pm D$ is detailed further according to whether there is a *binā'* on the *'ism* (البناء على الاسم) or on the *fi'l* (البناء على الفعل). We have cases where the governing element can be expressed ((E (like *Inna*)/ Ve (like *Kāna*)/ V (like *ḍaraba*)) or non expressed (Ø)[34]. In this latter case, the position of the governing element is empty. This case of governance is called *at-ta'riya min al-'awāmil al-lafẓiyya* (التعرية من العوامل اللفظيّة) and the governing element in this case is called *al-'ibtidā'* (الابتداء).

To classify the Arabic syntactic structures, Hadj-Salah looks for the *aṣl* (*i.e.*, the kernel structure) from which derive the syntactic structure in question. Two formulae are thus proposed to describe all the syntactic units according to the type of the governor (R) (Hadj Salah 1979: II, 210).

- Formula A

This formula regroups, as will be shown in detail through the different types of Arabic syntactic structures, all the sequences which derive from the structure made up of an attribute and a predicate, respectively the first and second governed term. This latter, known as the *ḫabar* (الخبر, *i.e.*, a predicate) is structurally integrated upon (*mabnī 'alā* مبني على) a noun known as being a *mubtada'* (مبتدأ, *i.e.*, an attribute). Their governor can be Ø[35], or *kāna* and its homologues (*kāna wa 'aḫawātuhā* كان وأخواتها), or *inna* and its homologues (*Inna wa 'aḫawātuhā* إنّ وأخواتها):
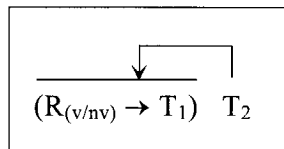

Figure 6: Formula A

- Formula B

In this formula the governing element is always a verb, or a verbal noun, or a verbal adjective. The second governed term is structurally integrated upon (*mabnī 'alā* مبني على) the verb and its subject.
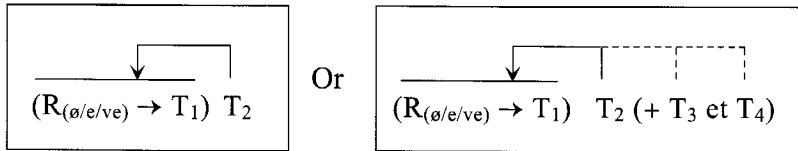

Figure 7: Formula B

It is the verb (*fi'l* فعل) which governs the subject and also the complements. What is worth emphasizing here is that the Arabic verb always co-occurs with its subject in the following order Verb-Subject, as opposed to English where the order is rather Subject-Verb (except in interrogative statement patterns where the order is Operator-Subject).

In fact, the order of the elements in $(R \rightarrow T_1)$ is fixed. Thus, we cannot say : **hu-ḍarabtu* (*i.e., him I hit*). In this case, we can say : # *iyyāhu ḍarabtu* # (إِيّاهُ ضربت) [36]. In case the first governed term is not a pronoun, it can precede the verb in the following way: # *Zaydan ḍarabtu* # (*i.e., I hit Zayd*) - especially when the infliction at the end of the noun shows if it is the subject or the object of the verb[37] as in: # *'Amran ḍaraba Zaydun* #[38]. We can also have the following sequence # *ḍaraba 'Amran Zaydun* #[39] (*cf.* Hadj-Salah 1979: II, 214).

This kind of distortions which may occur in discourse can be analysed as follows:

$R_\emptyset$	T_1	T_2		
		R_v	T_1	T_2
# Ø	Zaydun	ḍaraba	Ø	'Amran # [40]

Figure 8

T_2	$R_\emptyset$	T_1		
		T_1	R_v	T_2
# 'Amran	Ø	Zaydun	ḍaraba	Ø # [41]

Figure 9

The second governed element, on the other hand, can precede the governing element as in the following example where the order of T_1 and T_2 is inverted:

R	T_2	T_1
# ḍaraba	'Amran	Zaydun# [42]

Figure 10

or:

T_2	R	T_1
# 'Amran	ḍaraba	Zaydun # [43]

Figure 11

To 'reconstruct' the order of the linguistic units in each sequence, we have to detach our vision from the order which appears at the surface structure. This operation is called by the Arab grammarians: *at-taqdīr* (التّقدير)[44]. They *"used this principle of a level beneath the surface level of speech utterances in order to explain the grammatical form of these utterances, in particular the declensional endings"* (Versteegh 2006: 435). In fact, in the *dikr* (الذكر, *i.e.* real discourse), we can find sequences like: {R, T_1, T_2}, {T_2, R, T_1}, {R, T_2, T_1}, but all these sequences have only one *taqdīr* (تقدير واحد): (R→T_1, T_2). We note also that even in Arabic, this distortion is possible only when we deal with units whose case shows their position in the structure. This is the case of *Zaydan* in the figures above, in whatever position it appears, the "-*an*" at its end indicates that it is the complement (*i.e.*, T_2). This is not the case, for example, of *'īsa* (عيسى) or *abī* (أبي) in # ḍaraba *'īsa abī* # (ضرب عيسى أبي), *i.e.*, *Aissa hit my father*) and # ḍaraba *abī 'īsa* # (ضرب أبي عيسى), *i.e.*, *My father hit Aissa*).

5. Types of Governors in Arabic

If we have to classify the possible governors in Arabic in a schematic way, we can say that there is the non expressed governor "Ø", the non verbal governor, and the verbal governor consisting of an intensive verb like *Kāna*[45] (in the case of these three first units, we are dealing with constructions deriving from formula A, (*cf.* Figure 6)), or an extensive verb or a verbal noun or a verbal adjective (appearing in formula B (*cf.* Figure 7)).

Each type of these governors will be handled in the following sections, namely the non-expressed governor, the intensive verb, the monotransitive verb by itself, and the monotransitive verb through a preposition. These governors will be described according to the patterns in which they appear trying to find their corresponding clause types in English.

5.1. The Non Expressed Governor "Ø"

Al-'ibtidā' [46] R	Al-Mubtada' [47] T₁	Al-Ḥabar [48] T₂	
# Ø	*Derna*	*madīnatun #*	[49]
# Ø	*al-mutaṣāri'ūn*	*yābāniyūn #*	[50]
# Ø	*aṭ-ṭalibu*	*mu'addabun #*	[51]
# Ø	*al-lawnu*	*bāhitun #*	[52]

Figure 12

Hadj-Salah defines in a formal way the *mubtada'* as being a governed term which has no expressed governor, *i.e.*, it is preceded by the *'ibtidā'*, while the *ḥabar* is the second term which is governed by this *'ibtidā'*. This structure, *i.e.*, $[(\emptyset \rightarrow T_1), T_2]$, is described by Hadj-Salah as being the kernel from which derive the other nominal structures (*i.e.*, *a-t-tarākīb al-ismiyya* التّراكيب الاسميّة) in which *inna* (إِنَّ, meaning literally: indeed, in fact) is the governor.

According to Hadj-Salah, most of the latest grammarians who came after *Al-Ḥalīl* and *Sībawayh*, like *Ibn Malek*, have misinterpreted the writings of the early Arab grammarians and have analysed the *mubtada'* as being the first item by which starts what is called *al-ǧumla al-'ismiyya* (الجملة الاسميّة, *i.e.*, the nominal sentence).

This state of *'ibtidā'* can be transformed by the introduction of a linguistic unit in the position of the gorverning unit. *Sībawayh* writes in this context : "*wa 'innamā yadḫulu an-nāṣibu wa-r-rāfi'u siwā al-'ibtidā' wa-l-ǧarru 'alā al-mubtada'* "[53] (I, 48). This means that the we can put the *mubtada'* in the nominative case (مرفوع) as in *# Kāna Zaydun munṭaliqan #*[54], or in the accusative case as in *# Ra'aytu Zaydan munṭaliqan #*[55], or in case of *al-ǧarr* as in *# Marartu bi-Zaydin munṭaliqan #*[56].

These examples are represented by Hadj-Salah in the following way:

R	T₁	T₂	Outside the *Binā'*
# Ø	*Zaydun*	*munṭaliqun #*	[57]
# Kāna	*Zaydun*	*munṭaliqan #*	
# Ra'ay-	*tu*	*Zaydan*	*munṭaliqan #*
# Marar-	*tu*	*bi-Zaydin*	*munṭaliqan #*

Figure 13

It is interesting to note that Arabic allows the structural integration of a noun on a noun as in # *Derna madīnatun* # (درنة مدينة, *i.e.*, Derna is a city) or an adjective on a noun as in # *aṭ-ṭālibu mu'addabun* # (الطّالب مؤدّب, *i.e.*, The student is polite). This characteristic is generally underlined as *"the most notable feature of Arabic syntax."* (Kasem 2000 : 183).

In English, this kind of structures needs intensive verbs. *The sky is blue* instead of **The sky blue. The blue sky* exists, but in addition to the fact that it is not a *tectonie*, the characteristic *blue* in the first sentence means that it is temporary in *the sky*, while in the second example we are speaking only of *the blue sky.*

Thus, the syntactic structures of the type $[(R_\emptyset \rightarrow T_1), T_2]$ correspond in English to the SVCs[58] clause pattern where the intensive verb (generally known as copular verb or linking verb) links the subject to its complement as in *He became angry.*

5.2. The Non Verbal Governor Like *Inna*[59]

There are in the Arabic language some particles (*ḥurūf* حروف) which are comparable to verbs[60]. These occur in the position of the governor in formula A (*cf.* Figure 6). What is specific to this kind of constructions is that we cannot interchange the order of T_1 and T_2, except when T_2 is an adverb of place or time (*ẓarf zamān aw makān* ظرف زمان أو مكان) (*cf.* Hadj-Salah 1979: II, 213).

Inna and its homologues are of the number of six: *Inna* (إنَّ), *anna* (أنَّ), *lakinna* (لكنَّ), *layta* (ليت), *la'alla* (لعلَّ) or *'alla* (علَّ), *ka'anna* (كأنَّ). These are some examples of constructions where this kind of governors appear:

R	T_1	T_2	
# Inna	'Abdallāhi	munṭaliqun #	(61)
# Inna	Zaydan	muǧtahidun#	(62)
# Inna	Zaydan	šuǧā'un#	(63)

Figure 14

As we can see when *Inna* appears in the position of the zero governor, *i.e.*, *al-'ibtidā'*, the first governed term becomes *Zaydan* (*Zayd* in the accusative case) instead of *Zaydun* and it is called *ism inna* (اسم إنّ, *i.e.*, the noun of *inna*), while the second term *muǧtahidun* (مجتهد) remains *marfū'* (its case remains unchanged) and it is called *ḥabar inna* (خبر إنّ, *i.e.*, the predicate of *inna*). The two terms T_1 and T_2 in this kind of constructions have the same referent. # *Inna*

Zaydan šuǧā'un #, for example, is translated to English in the following way: *Zayd is courageous indeed*. Thus, it has the same structure as the translation given to *# Kāna Zaydun šuǧā'an #* (*i.e., Zayd was courageous*), except of course the tense of the verb *To be*. The *tawkīd* (emphasis) denoted by the particle *Inna* is translated in English by *indeed*, while the relation between the subject and the complement is possible through the linking verb *be*.

5.3. The Verbal Governor

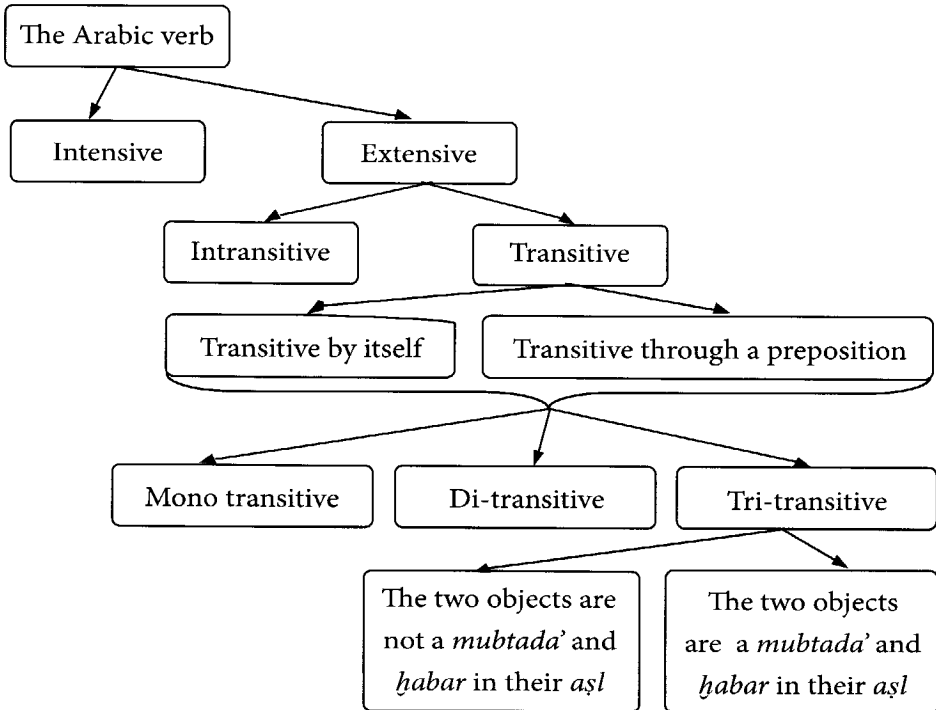Verb categories in Arabic can be summarised in the following figure:

Figure 15

The Arabic verb can be either intensive[64] or extensive. When it is non intensive, the Arabic verb can be intransitive or transitive. The transitive verb, i.e., *Al-fi'l al-muta'addī* (الفعل المتعدي), needs more than its subjects to complete its meaning. In Arabic, the transitive verb can have in addition to its subject, one or two or three objects. The governing effect of the transitive verb puts the subject in the nominative case (which is in Arabic *ar-raf'* الرفع) and the object (*al-maf'ūlu bihi* المفعول به) in the accusative case (*an-naṣb* النصب). We add to this the distinction that is usually made between the verb which is transitive by itself and the verb which is transitive through a preposition.

5.3.1. The intensive Verb: *Kāna* and its Homologues

Kāna (كان)[65] and its sisters (=homologues)[66] (*Kāna wa 'aḫawātuhā*) are classified in Arabic as being a special class of verbs. In fact, the early Arab grammarians distinguished three word classes: *"al-kalimu ismun wa fi'lun wa ḥarfun ğā'a li-ma'nā laysa bi-ismin walā fi'l"*[67]. This means that the *kalim*[68] were classified only into: the noun, the verb and the *ḥarf*[69]. In this context, *Kāna* and its homologues are considered to be *'af'āl nāqiṣa* (أفعال ناقصة) and *'af'āl nāsiḫa* (أفعال ناسخة). They are verbs, because they are linked to their subjects and they are *nāqiṣa* (ناقصة), because to complete their meaning, they need a subject and an object.

This is why *al-af'ālu-n-nāqiṣa*[70] are sometimes considered as auxiliaries. But, not at a hundred percent since they can occur alone without other full verbs[71], while the auxiliaries occur alone only in context determined syntactic constructions like the short answers. Thus, we propose rather to refer to this kind of verbs as *"linking verbs"* (or *copular verbs*).

They are also *'af'āl nāsiḫa* (أفعال ناسخة) and this is important with regard to the transformations it causes on its attribute and its predicate. In the case of *Kāna* and its homologues, they occur in the position of the *'ibtidā'* and the attribute is put in the nominative case and is called the *ism* of *Kāna* (*i.e.*, its noun), while the predicate is put in the accusative case and is called the *ḫabar* of *Kāna*.

Al-'ibtidā' R	Mubtada' T$_1$	Ḫabar T$_2$	
# Kāna	'Abdullāhi	fariḥan #	[72]

Figure 16

The English translation for this example, *i.e.*, *Abdullah was happy*, shows that a possible corresponding English clause for this type of Arabic constructions, whose governor is *Kāna* and its sisters, is the SVC clause. Another example for this kind of constructions is # *Kāna Zaydun nā'iman* #, which can be translated into English by the following statement: *Zayd was sleeping*.

5.3.2. The Extensive Verb

As shown in Figure 15, the extensive verb can be either intransitive or transitive (by itself or through a preposition).

5.3.2.1. The Intransitive Verb

The intransitive verb, *i.e.*, *Al-fiʿl al-lāzim* (الفعل اللّازم), governs only its subject and does not have an effect on what comes after this latter. This is the case of the verbs like *ḏahaba* (ذهب, *i.e.*, *He went*) and *ḥaraǧa* (خرج, *i.e.*, *He went out*).

Fiʿl (Verb)	Fāʿil (Subject)
# ḏahaba	Ø #
# ḥaraǧa	Ø #

Figure 17

These two examples function as *tectonies*, since they are comparable to constructions of the kind *ḥaraǧa al-waladu*. Hadj Salah represents them as an R → T$_1$ construction:

R	T$_1$	
	Pronoun	Lexie
# ḏahaba	Ø #	-
# ḥaraǧa	Ø #	-

Figure 18

These constructions are thus anaysed through formula B (*cf.* Figure 7), since R is a verb. It corresponds in English to the SV clause pattern where the verb is intransitive, dynamic and extensive as in: *The child went out.*

We note here that the *fāʿil* (الفاعل, *i.e.*, subject) in both languages is necessary to actualise the action of the verb. It is important to underline here that the clause containing an intransitive verb cannot be transformed to its corresponding passive voice statement both in Arabic and English: *He went → *He is went. ḏahaba →*ḏuhiba.*

Sībawayh classified this kind of verbs in a *bāb*[73] which he called "*bāb al-fāʿil al-laḏī lam yataʿaddahu fiʿluhu ʾilā mafʿūl*"[74] (I, 66) with the object which has no subject (*i.e.,* a logical subject) and whose verb has no other objects : "*al-mafʿūl al-laḏī lam yataʿadda ilayhi fiʿlu fāʿilin wa lā taʿadda fiʿluhu ilā mafʿūlin ʾāhar*"[75] (*Ibid.*).

Thus, *iǧtahada al-waladu* (اجتهد الولد)[76] and *Kutiba ad-darsu* (كُتِبَ الدرس)[77] belong to the same *bāb*. These two examples are represented by Hadj-Salah in the following way:

R	T$_1$
# iǧtahada	al-waladu #
# Kutiba	ad-darsu #

Figure 19

Al-waladu is the subject of *iǧtahada* and *ad-darsu* is the object of *kataba*, but in this representation, it occupies the position of the subject and it is called *nā'ib al-fāᶜil* (نائب الفاعل), *i.e.*, the grammatical subject replacing the logical subject.

The construction $(R \rightarrow T_1)$ constitutes the pillar of the *tectonie* since *"the verb must have an effect of government on at least one term"*[78] and in Arabic, even the intransitive verb can govern in addition to its subject, one of these six units: *al-maṣdar* (المصدر), *ẓarf al-makān* (ظرف المكان, *i.e.*, the locative object -adverb of place), *ẓarf az-zamān* (ظرف الزمان, *i.e.*, the temporal object -adverb of time-), *al-ḥāl* (الحال), *al-mafᶜūl maᶜah* (المفعول معه, *i.e.*, the comitative object), and *al-mafᶜūl lah* or *li-'aǧlih* (المفعول له أو لأجله, *i.e.*, the causative object) as shown in the following examples :

- *al-mafᶜūl al-muṭlaq* (المفعول المطلق, *i.e.*, the absolute object) as in : # *qāma zaydun qiyāman* # [79].

- *al-mafᶜūl lah* or *li-'aǧlih* as in # *sāfartu 'ilā firansā raġbatan fi-t-taᶜallumi* # [80].

- *al-mafᶜūl maᶜah* as in : # *mašaytu wa-l-baḥra* # [81].

- *ẓarf az-zamān*, as in : # *tanāwaltu al-ᶜašā'a qabla 'awānihi* # [82].

- *ẓarf al-makān* as in : # *iḥtaba'a al-qiṭṭu taḥta al-mā'idati* # [83].

- *al-ḥāl* as in : # *aqbala al-waladu musriᶜan* # [84].

All these units are put by Hadj-Salah in the position of the *muḥaṣṣiṣāt* (المخصّصات, *i.e.*, peripheral elements (D)) which are defined as syntactic determiners.

5.3.2.2. The Transitive Verb

A. The Transitive Verb by Itself

A.1. The Monotransitive Verb

The monotransitive verb is known as *al-fiᶜl al-mutaᶜaddi li-mafᶜūlin wāḥid*[85]. This is the case of the verbs like *kataba*.

Fiᶜl (Verb)	*Fāᶜil* (Subject)	*Mafᶜūl bih* (Object)
# kataba	Zaydun	risālatan #[86]

Figure 20

These verbs occur in the syntactic constructions of the type: $(R \rightarrow T_1) \, T_2$. They are represented by Hadj Salah in the following way :

R	T_1		T_2	
	Pronoun	*Lexie*	**Pronoun**	*Lexie*
# kataba	-	Zaydun	-	risālatan #

Figure 21

Formula B (*cf.* Figure 7) allows to describe this type of syntactic structures, since R is a verb. It corresponds to the SVO_d English clause pattern in which the verb is monotransitive and extensive. An example of this kind of clauses is: *John wrote a letter*.

As already mentioned, the clause containing a monotransitive verb, both in Arabic and English, accepts a passive transformation. In Arabic, during the passivization process, the verb is transformed from the *wazn* (*i.e.,* pattern) *faʿala* (فَعَلَ) to *fuʿila* (فُعِلَ) and from *yafʿalu* (يَفْعَلُ) to *yufʿalu* (يُفْعَلُ); in addition, the subject (الفاعل, *i.e.,* al-fāʿil) loses its position as a first governed term and is replaced by the object (المفعول به, *i.e.,* al-mafʿūl bih) which becomes the grammatical subject of the sentence (نائب الفاعل, *i.e.,* nāʾib al-fāʿil) in the following way:

Position of the governing element R	Position of the 1st governed element T_1	Position of the 2nd governed element T_2	
# ḍaraba	ʿAbdullāhi	Zaydan #	(87)
# ḍuriba	Zaydun #...		(88)

Figure 22 (cf. Hadj-Salah 2004: p. 9)

Thus, [($R_{v\text{-active}} \to T_1$), T_2] becomes ($R_{v\text{-passive}} \to T_1$). When the voice of the verb is active, the first governed term is a subject, and when the voice of the verb is passive, the first governed term is a *nāʾib fāʿil* (*i.e.,* grammatical but not logical subject).

A.2. The Ditransitive Verb

The ditransitive verb, *i.e.,* al-fiʿl al-mutaʿaddi ilā mafʿūlayn[89], governs in addition to its subject, two objects. In Arabic, these two objects can be derived from a kernel structure in which they are either a *mubtadaʾ* and a *ḫabar* or not.

A.2.1. The ditransitive Verb Whose Two Objects Are Not a *Mubtadaʾ* and *Ḫabar* in Their *Aṣl*[90]

This type of verbs is described by Hadj-Salah through formula B (*i.e.,* ($R \to T_1$), T_2)) in which the second object (here the third governed term)

appears outside the *binā'* (*i.e.,* outside the structural integration). *Sībawayh* puts this category of verbs in a group which he entitles: the group of *"verbs which govern two objects: if you want you can keep only the first object, or the verb transits to the second object as it does for the first one"*[91].

This is the case of the verbs like *a'ṭā* (*i.e., He gave*)[92] in the example: *a'ṭā Zaydun 'Amran risālatan* (*i.e., Zayd gave Amr a letter*).

Fi'l (Verb)	*Fā'il* (Subject)	1st *Maf'ūl bih* (1st object)	2nd *Maf'ūl bih* (2nd object)
# a'ṭā	Zaydun	'Amran	risālatan # [93]

Figure 23

First of all, we have to note that the two complements of the Arabic clause VSOO are not in their *aṣl* (primitive form) an attribute and a predicate (ليس أصلهما مبتدأ وخبراً) such as # *as-sama'u zarqā'u* # (السماء زرقاء, *i.e., The sky is blue*) in # *ẓanantu as-sama'a zarqā'a* # (ظننت السّماء زرقاء, *i.e., I thought the sky was blue*). This latter is treated as being derived from formula A (Figure 6). For *Sībawayh*, # *a'ṭā Zaydun 'Amran risālatan* # is grammatical as well as # *a'ṭā Zaydun 'Amran* # or # *a'ṭā Zaydun risālatan* #.

According to Hadj-Salah, the second object is governed by the verb *a'ṭā* just like the first object *Zayd* since it is in the accusative case (منصوب, *i.e., manṣūb*), but as we have just seen, since it can be omitted from the formal point of view, it is outside the *binya* (البنية) $(R \rightarrow T_1)$, T_2. It is represented as follows:

R (*fi'l*)	T_1 (*fā'il*)	T_2 (1st *maf'ūl bih*)	Outside the *binā'* (2nd *maf'ūl bih*)
# a'ṭā	Zaydun	'Amran	risālatan #

Figure 24

This brings us to deal with the units which can appear outside the *binya*. In the clauses of the type VSO like # *ra'ā Zaydun 'Amran* #, many linguistic units can appear and disappear without destroying the syntactic construction at this level. These units are called peripheral units and are symbolised in the tectonie by D:

R	T₁	T₂	D	
# Ra'ā	Zaydun	'Amran	munṭaliqan #	(94)
# Ra'ā	Zaydun	'Amran	yanṭaliqu #	(95)
# Ra'ā	Zaydun	'Amran	yaktubu risālatan #	(96)
# Ra'ā	Zaydun	'Amran	abūhu qā'imun #	(97)
# Ra'ā	Zaydun	'Amran	al-yawma #	(98)
# Ra'ā	Zaydun	'Amran	fi-d-dāri #	(99)
# Ra'ā	Zaydun	'Amran	ḥaqqan #	(100)

Figure 25

To distinguish this kind of units appearing at this position from other ones which can appear inside the positions constituting the *binya*, Hadj-Salah proposes the test of substituability of the subject by the object in the passive, since this cannot be applied on the units occupying the position of D.

- *The test of position change:*

The clause containing a ditransitive verb, both in Arabic and English, accepts the following possible passive transformation :

R	T₁	T₂	Outside the *binā'*	
# a'ṭā	'Abdullāhi	Zaydan	risālatan #	(101)
# u'ṭiya	Zaydun	risālatan #		(102)

Figure 26

While this position change is not possible with the other units appearing also outside the *binya*, but this time as true additional units. These linguistic units never occur in the position of the first or second governed term even in the passive voice sentences as is shown by the following examples:

R	T₁	T₂	D	
# Ra'ā	Zaydun	'Amran	munṭaliqan #	(103)
# * Ra'ā	Zaydun	munṭaliqan #		(104)
# Ra'ā	Zaydun	'Amran	yanṭaliqu #	(105)
# * Ra'ā	Zaydun	yanṭaliqu #		(106)
# Ra'ā	Zaydun	'Amran	yaktubu risālatan #	(107)
# * Ra'ā	Zaydun	yaktubu risālatan #		(108)

Figure 27

According to Hadj-Salah, "*what does not allow to consider the sequence: # ḍarabtu munṭaliqan .. # a tectonie at the same title as # ḍarabtu Zaydan .. #, otherwise, what does not allow « munṭaliqan » to be the second governed term as «Zaydan » is*"[109], is the fact that "*T_2 is, in its primitive form (i.e., aṣl), either an attribute (in formula A, Figure 6), or an object (i.e., mafʿūl) (in formula B, Figure 7)*"[110] and "*only the attribute in A and the object in B can substitute the attribute for the first and the subject of the verb for the second*"[111]. To clarify this, the following examples are given (*cf.* Hadj-Salah 1979: II, 216):

	R	**T$_1$**	**T$_2$**		
#	ḍaraba	Zaydun	⟨ʿAmran⟩	... #	(112)
#	ḍuriba	⟨ʿAmrun⟩		... #	(113)

Figure 28

	R	**T$_1$**	**T$_2$**		
#	Ø	al- : raǧulu	qāʾimun	...#	(114)
#	Ø	al- : qāʾimu	al-raǧulu	...#	(115)
#	kāna	al- : raǧulu	qāʾiman	...#	(116)
#	kāna	al- : qāʾimu	al-raǧula	...#	(117)

Figure 29

As Hadj-Salah underlines it, this is not a mere inversion of position, but a true position change. For example, the *ḥāl* (mainly adverb of manner)[118] *munṭaliqan* in # *Raʾā Zaydun ʿAmran munṭaliqan* #[119] cannot become # **Raʾā Zaydun munṭaliqan* #[120] (as is shown in Figure 27 above).

This test of position change is then used to differentiate the object from the *ḥāl*. This is important, because in the pattern proposed by Hadj-Salah (1979: II, 209), *munṭaliqan* and *al-tawba* appear both outside the *binya*. But *munṭaliqan* is described as being a *DH* (*Ḥāl*) in # *Raʾā Zaydun ʿAmran munṭaliqan* #[121], while *tawban* in # *kasawtu Zaydan al-tawba* #[122] is a direct object. The proof is that *al-tawba* can occur in T$_1$ (# *kusiya al-tawbu* #[123]), while *munṭaliqan*, as we have just seen, cannot. In addition, the *ḥāl*, as we have mentioned, appears even in the syntactic constructions containing the verbs which can govern only their subjects (*i.e.*, the intransitive verbs). Thus, if *munṭaliqan* was a second governed term in # *ḍahaba Zaydun munṭaliqan* #,

this would have meant that it could be replaced by units such as *Amr*. This is being impossible, since # *ḏahaba Zayd Amr* # is ungrammatical. (*cf. Sībawayh* (I, 20) cited in Hadj-Salah (1979: II, 218)). This is also the case of the adverbs of place and time which occur as syntactic determinants, *i.e.*, in the position of D for Hadj-Salah. This position being a free one and its content can be deleted without any damage to the structure of the *tectonie*.

Nevertheless, there are some cases where the adverbs may occur as true second governed terms as in these examples quoted by Hadj-Salah (1979: II, 218) :

	R	T₁	T₂ ou D
#	ḍaraba	Zaydun	ḍarban ḍaʿīfan … # [124]
#	ḍuriba	ḍarbun ḍaʿīfun # [125]	…

Figure 30

	R	T₁	T₂ ou D
#	sāra ʿalayhī	Zaydun	yawmayni … # [126]
#	sīra ʿalayhī	yawmāni # [127]	…

Figure 31

These syntactic structures correspond in English to the SVOO clause type in which the verb is ditransitive (extensive and dynamic) as in : "*She gives me expensive presents*" or "*John gave Peter a letter*".

A.2.2. The Ditransitive Verb Whose Two Objects are a *Mubtada'* and *Ḥabar* in Their *Aṣl*[128]

The verb which governs, in addition to its subject, two objects whose structure in its primitive form (*aṣl*) is an attribute + predicate, are intensive verbs like *Kāna* and its homologues, but they are not *nāqiṣa* as these latter. These verbs are ditransitive full verbs which need a subject to govern the two objects which follow them. The two objects being in their *aṣl* a *mubtada'* and *ḥabar* (*i.e.*, their two objects are in their primitive form respectively an attribute and a predicate). These verbs are *afʿāl al-ẓann wa ar-raġaḥān* (أفعال الظن والرجحان)[129], *afʿāl al-yaqīn* (أفعال اليقين)[130] and *afʿāl at-taḥwīl* (أفعال التحويل)[131].

We can give the example of *ẓanna* (ظن, *i.e., He thought*) in : # *ẓannantu Zaydan nāǧiḥan* #[(132)] (*i.e., I thought Zayd winning*). This verb puts in the accusative case (*yanṣibu mafʿūlayn* ينصب مفعولين) two objects, which can be replaced by the sequence *Anna*[(133)] + attribute + predicate (*i.e., Anna and its ism and its ḥabar*) in the following way:

# ẓannan	-tu	Zaydan	nāǧiḥan # [(134)]
# ẓannan	-tu	anna Zaydan nāǧiḥun # [(135)]	

Figure 32

We can give also the following example:

# ẓannan	-tu	-ka	marīḍan # [(136)]
# ẓannan	-tu	annaka marīḍun # [(137)]	

Figure 33

We note here that the meaning of the verb *ẓanna* itself is very important, because when it has the meaning of '*to think/ to imagine*' it is ditransitive, but when it has the meaning of '*to accuse*', it becomes monotransitive as in : *ẓanna al-qāḍī Zaydan* (*i.e., The judge thought Zayd -literal translation*), with the meaning of '*ittahamahu* (اتهمه , *i.e., He accused him*).

This kind of syntactic constructions are treated by Hadj-Salah as being part of formula A (Figure 6) in the following way (R → T₁, T₂, T₃) and are represented in a way which is comparable to the structure (R → T₁, T₂):

R		T₂	T₃
R	T₁	1st object	2nd object
# ḥasib	-tu	Zaydan	ǧālisan # [(138)]

Figure 34

This kind of syntactic structure correspond in English to the SVOC clause pattern as in the following example : *I imagined her beautiful* (Quirk & al. 1988 : 170).

A.3. The Tri Transitive Verb[(139)]

The verbs which are tri-transitive in the Arabic language require in addition to the subject, three objects. But what is specific to the clauses made up of these verbs is the fact that the second and third objects are in their *aṣl*

respectively an attribute and a predicate. This class of verbs need in addition to its subject an object in order to govern two other objects. The most known verbs in Arabic of this kind are: *arā* (أرى), *'a'lama* (أعلم), *'anba'a* (أنبأ), *nabba'a* (نبّأ), *'aḫbara* (أخبر), *ḫabbara* (خبّر), *ḥaddaṯa* (حدّث).

One example of this kind of verbs in Arabic is the verb *'a'lama* (*i.e., to inform*) whose "*first object is in its aṣl an explicit noun (ism ẓāhir* اسم ظاهر) *or a pronoun (ḍamīr* ضمير), *while the second and third are in their aṣl an attribute and a predicate*" (*cf.* Yakoub 1984: 31). For example, in : # *'a'lamtu Zaydan 'Amran ḏāhiban al-yawma* # (*i.e., I informed Zayd that 'Amr is going today*), the two last objects can also be replaced, just as for the second and third object of the verb *ẓanna*, by the *al-maṣdar al-ma'ūl* (المصدر المؤول): *anna Amran ḏāhib* (*i.e., that 'Amr is going today*):

# 'a'lam	-tu	Zaydan	Amran	ḏāhiban #
# 'a'lam	-tu	Zaydan	anna Amran ḏāhibun	#

Figure 35

These constructions are described by Hadj-Salah through formula A (Figure 6) in the following way [140]:

R			T₃	T₄
R	T₁	T₂		
# 'a'lam	-tu	Zaydan	Amran	ḏāhiban #
# 'aray	-tu	ka	al-sayyārata	musri'atan #

Figure 36

We underline here that what is specific to formula A is that the first and second governed terms (which are structurally equivalent to T_3 and T_4) have the same referent, while this is not the case in formula B, where T_1 and T_2 refer respectively to the subject and the object.

If we look at the English grammatical system, we find that there is no reference to tri transitive verbs. But, let us try to analyse carefully the corresponding English construction for one of the examples given above in an attempt to find a corresponding construction to this kind of Arabic tri transitive verbs namely: *I informed Zayd that 'Amr is going today*. Thus, we propose an SVOO structure with *"Amr is going"* as a second object. It is outside the *binya*. It can enter the *binā'*, in case we transform this clause into its corresponding passive voice : *Zayd was informed Amr is going*.

B. The Transitive Verb Through a Preposition

The transitive verb by itself does not need a preposition to govern its object like: # *baraytu al-qalama* # (بريت القلم , *i.e., I sharpened the pencil*). There are in the Arabic grammatical system some verbs which need a preposition to govern their objects like *ḏahaba* in: *ḏahabtu bika* (ذهبت بك) with the meaning of *aḏhabtuka* (أذهبتك, *i.e., I made you go*). The object which is linked to its verb through a preposition is *maǧrūr* (مجرور)[141], because it is linked to a preposition, but it is also *manṣūb maḥallan* (منصوب محلا)[142], because it appears in the position of the object of the verb (*cf.* Hadj-Salah 1979: II, 218). For this kind of verbs we can give the following representation proposed by Hadj-Salah (1979: II, 207):

R	T_1	T_2	D
# marar-	tu	bi-'Amrin	munṭaliqan # [143]

Figure 37

If we look at the English grammatical system, we find that the clause type that could be compared to such constructions is the SVA clause type, following the example: *He got through the window* (Quirk & al. 1988: 170).

The ditransitve verbs may also govern one of its objects directly, while the other object is related to its verb through a preposition like in : *'addū al-'amānāti 'ilā 'ahlihā* (أدُّوا الأمانات إلى أهلها)[144]. Following the first description given in the figure above, we can represent this example as follows:

R	T_1	T_2	T_3 (Outside the *binya*)
# 'addū	-	al-'amānāti	'ilā 'ahlihā #

Figure 38

The English clause type that could be compared to such syntactic constructions is the SVOA clause type such as: *I put the plate on the table.*

6. Concluding remarks

We end this paper by focusing again on the fact that the syntactic structures are not limited "*to the level including the two structures of : fi'l and fā'il/ mubtada' and ḥabar for the existence of a level which is superior it that can delimit these two structures in one structure more abstract*"[145].

According to Hadj-Salah, for the Arab grammarians a syntactic governing unit has always a governed term. With regard to this point also, both in Arabic and English it is the term that cannot be omitted in any case, because the governor must have an effect on at least one element, the only exception to this in English, are the short answers, though they are context dependent.

The order of the subject and the verb cannot be inverted in both languages. In English, for example, *Takes* in *He takes* never precedes the subject as opposed to the auxiliaries which appear in the position of the operator. In Arabic, this characterizes the linguistic units which are in the nominative case since they cannot precede their governors. The pronouns in the subjective case also cannot come after the full verb: *pay he*. Instead of the subjective pronouns, as we have seen above, there are corresponding pronouns in the objective case that are inflicted forms of the pronouns in the subjective case: *pay him*. The same phenomena is observed also in Arabic: the pronouns are affixed and are inflicted forms of the subjective pronouns because they are governed by the verb. Instead of **ḍaraba huwa hum* (*ضرب هو هم, *i.e.,* **he hit they*) or **ḍaraba anā anta* (*ضرب أنا أنت, *i.e., I hit you*) we have *ḍarabahum* (ضربهم) and *ḍarabtuka* (ضربتك).

Notes

1- Our translation of :

> "- l'examen aussi exhaustif que possible des principes rationnels et expérimentaux sur lesquels repose le *nahw* d'une façon générale, ainsi que les principes et les méthodes qui ont été à la base de la saisie et du contrôle des données de la *'Arabiyya* ; - l'examen également approfondi des théories et des modèles élaborés et mis en œuvre par ces grammairiens." (Hadj-Salah 1979: I, 41)

2- The term *lexie* is used by Hadj-Salah (1979) to translate the term *lafẓa* that was used for the first time by *al-Raḍī al-'Astrābādī* (الرضي الاسترابادي) to refer to the linguistic units of the lexical level. *Sībawayh* refers to it as a group of *kalim* behaving as one *kalima*. The *lexie* is a "*kalima mufrada*" or "*mā bi- manzilati kalimatin wāḥida*" (Cf. Hadj-Salah 2003: 25).

3- "une abstraction *constructive* et *extensive*: les éléments relevant de deux *bāb*-s sont mis en rapport directement. Cela fait apparaître alors une structure plus abstraite qui les *intègre* et les *déborde*." (Ibid.: 28)

4- "1- permettre une *simulation* de la réalité par la construction de *modèles* (les *schèmes* générateurs = *muṯul*, plur. de *miṯāl* ; 2- faire émerger des structures beaucoup plus abstraites (par une série de mises en équivalence)." (Ibid.: 19)

5- We have mentioned here only the use by the linguist of the *qiyās* as a tool of language analysis, but there is also the act of *qiyās* consisting in the intuitive use of the generating patterns by the speaker himself and which can be unconscious (Cf. Hadj-Salah 1979: I, 207). This is an important characteristic of the *qiyās* because the speakers do not only use the utterances which they have heard or learned, but use the *qiyās* to construct new utterances that conform to the structure of language.

6- Also called *miṯāl* (*i.e.*, pattern) which is a group of symbols in a given order that represent the structure of the *bāb*.

7- *i.e., I bought a book.*

8- *i.e., I bought the interesting book.*

9- Our translation of: "... les *naẓā'ir* sont des éléments semblables entre-eux et semblables à un élément-type qui est le schème de la classe à laquelle ils appartiennent." (Hadj-Salah 1987).

10- A *bāb* is an organised set of elements having in common a characteristic, a behaviour, a pattern, etc : "le *bāb* est sémiologiquement considéré comme l'ensemble des *naẓā'ir*." (Hadj-Salah 1979: I, 128)

11- Hadj-Salah gives the example of *fi'ūl* which is a pattern that results from the lexical combinations of the *'Arabiyya* but which is non existent in the real usage of the Arab speakers.

12- Sībawayh gave the example of *qāma* which would have been *qawama* if it followed the *qiyās* of its *bāb* (*Cf. Ibid.*: I, 213-223).

13- The linguistic unit at the central level of analysis according to the neo-Khalilian theory.

14- In the pattern of the nominal *lexie*, for example, each constituent of the *lexie* has a specific position: the determiner always appears in the first position on the right of the *aṣl* (*i.e.*, kernel) (in the perspective of the Arabic language which is written from right to left).

15- In this case, the Arab grammarians use rather the term *mawqiʿ* (موقع).

16- "كل كيان لغوي إما أصل يبنى عليه غيره أو فرع يبنى على أصل أو أصول أو أصول مع مثال سابق" (*Sībawayh*: I, 22).

17- The Arab grammarians used also the term of *at-taḥwīl at-taqdīrī* to refer to the transformation that allows the linguist to detach himself from the form that is directly observable to reach the virtual form. This was mainly used in the case of ambiguous terms, or in case of utterances in which there is an elision or deletion, or which do not conform to the intended structure compared to their homologues.

18- Our translation of: "Tous les phénomènes linguistiques, quels qu'ils soient, sont nécessairement soit des *furūʿ* soit des *uṣūl*, ou les deux en même temps: *furūʿ* par rapport à d'autres prototypes plus généraux, et *uṣūl* par rapport à des métatypes plus spéciaux. Cette manière d'être des éléments linguistiques ou ces phénomènes de dépendance ont été interprétés par les linguistes arabes selon deux points de vue: celui d'une dérivation génétique et celui d'une combinatoire logico-mathématique." (Hadj-Salah 1979: I, 129)

19- Our translation of "Le *aṣl* est donc ce qui existe ou fonctionne par lui-même par rapport à ses *furūʿ*. C'est aussi ce qui est donné et non ce qui est construit (*mā yu-bnā ʿalayhi wa-lā yu-bnā ʿalā ġayrih* (Voir *Ǧurǧānī, Taʿrīfāt*, art. *aṣl* et *farʿ*))." (*Ibid.*: I, 135-136).

20- Our translation of: "le *aṣl* est non seulement ce qui est premier par rapport à ses *furūʿ* mais aussi ce qui, tant dans les objets en eux-mêmes que dans leur comportement, est invariable. C'est le caractère constant et permanent de certains phénomènes qui leur confère la qualité de *aṣl*. (...) les invariants constituent pour les variables qui appartiennent à la même classe un objet de référence, un dénominateur commun ou un ensemble de caractères permanents que tous les *furūʿ* doivent posséder: il s'agit donc d'un prototype dont les reproductions particulières sont les *furūʿ*" (Ibid.: I, 131).

21- Our translation of: "ce sont les *furūʿ* qui ont besoin de *ʿalāmāt* et non les *uṣūl* qui n'en ont guère besoin." (quoted by Hadj-Salah (Ibid.: I, 136)).

22- Our translation of: "comparé à eux, il apparaît comme substance ou comme forme, sur le plan du contenu et/ou de l'expression, dans tous ces éléments, et, réciproquement qu'il n'y ait aucun élément parmi eux qui ne puisse lui être réduit par une transformation quelconque (caractère invariant du *aṣl: istimrār al-aṣl*)" (*Ibid.*: I, 136-137).

23- Our translation of: "il comporte toujours par rapport à eux, la marque zéro (*tark al-'alāma*);" (*Ibid.*).

24- Our translation of: "il peut, par conséquent, se suffire à lui-même en ce sens qu'il peut se retrouver seul dans certaines réalisations, alors que les autres éléments qui lui sont apparentés ne se retrouvent qu'avec lui ou dans son sillage. C'est le principe d'autonomie ou *istiġnā'* (voir ci-dessous);" (Ibid.).

25- Our translation of: "il n'est l'effet ou la conséquence d'aucun de ces éléments (*ġayru musabbab*)." (*Ibid.*).

26- For Versteegh:

The choice of the words "governor" and "governance" in the translation of the Arabic terms conjures up the image of modern linguistics and specifically the government and binding model. This raises the question of the permissibility of such terms in translating Arabic grammatical theory. In fact, any translation of technical terms from another tradition poses a problem, since even terms such as "noun", "verb", "nominative", "accusative", "morphology", or "syntax" are closely connected with the Western grammatical tradition and therefore likely to distort the original meaning. (1997: 6)

27- In fact, the deletion of *'Inna* or *Kāna* brings us back to the *aṣl* (# *Zaydun munṭaliqun* #) while the deletion of *ḍaraba* or any other verb destroys entirely the *binā'*.

28- *cf.* endnote 67 of this paper.

29- The number of governed elements cannot exceed four because the verb in the position of the governing element can be mono-transitive (like *halaka*), di-transitive (like *ra'ā*) or tri-transitive (like *'a'lama*).

30- i.e., *The tall man that I saw was getting up.*

31- i.e., *I told Amr that Zayd got up.*

32- i.e., *Zayd hit Amr going.*

33- *i.e., The big boys did their exercises.* "R = governing element ; T$_1$ = first governed term ; T$_2$ = second governed term ; D = determiner ; A = article ; d = declensional endings ; CA = complément; GE = attribute." (Cf. Hadj-Salah 2004: footnote 5, p. 11)

34- Ø stands for the " *'ibtidā'*" that is the zero mark; E stands for "exposant"; D for the peripheral elements; Ve for an exponential verb which is the only type of verbs that occurs as governor in the nominal construction. What is specific to

these verbs is that it is possible to omit them with a return to the kernel made up of a governing element that is Ø and two governed terms; while, in other types of structures, the deletion of the verb destroys the tectonie. In addition, these verbs can govern up to four terms when they are tri-transitive.

35- This symbol means that the governor in this case is not expressed phonologically.

36- Pronoun specially used for the *naṣb*.

37- In Arabic, *Zayd* for example is *marfū'* (*i.e., in the nominative* case) when it is a subject (*fā'il*) and takes the form : *Zaydun*, and it is *manṣūb* (*i.e., in the accusative* case) when it is an object (*maf'ūl bih*) and takes the form *Zaydan*. Thus, whether we say : # *ḍaraba Zaydun 'Amran* # (*i.e., Zayd hit Amr*) or # *Zaydun ḍaraba 'Amran* # (*i.e., Amr hit Zayd*), we know in both examples through the case *endings* that *Zayd* is the subject and *'Amr* is the object. The other possible inflection for nouns in Arabic is the genetive case (*al-iẓāfa*) as in *Zaydin*. -u, -a and -i are called *'alāmāt al-i'rāb*.

38- *i.e., Zayd hit Amr.*

39- *i.e., Zayd hit Amr.*

40- *i.e., Zayd hit Amr.*

41- *i.e., Zayd hit Amr.*

42- *i.e., Zayd hit Amr.*

43- *i.e., Zayd hit Amr.*

44- The *taqdīr* means "literally 'estimating, guessing', viz. of the underlying structure" (Versteegh 2006: 435).

45- The verbal particles, *al-adawāt al-fi'liyya* (such as *kāna* and its homologues, *af'āl aš-šurū'*, ...) are classified in grammar books with the non verbal particles (*al-'adawāt al-ḥarfiyya* like *mā* and *laysa* and *ann* and *lā*), which are used *for* negation, because they all have in common the characteristic of changing the case of the linguistic units. In the neo-Khalilian theory, these appear at the *supra-lexical* level as part of the *tectonie*.

46- Absence of an expressed governor, also called by *Sībawayh, at-ta'riya.*

47- A linguistic unit which functions as an attribute.

48- A linguistic unit which functions as a predicate.

49- *i.e., Derna is a city. (Mannā' 1967: 14).*

50- *i.e., The wrestlers are Japanese* (Ibid.).

51- *i.e., The student is polite* (Ibid.).

52- *i.e., The colour is dim.*

53- "وإنما يدخل الناصب والرافع سوى الابتداء والجار على المبتدإ"

54- *i.e., Zayd was gone.*

55- *i.e., I saw Zayd going.*

56- *i.e., I went by Zayd going.*

57- *i.e., Zayd is going.*

58- S=Subject ; V = Verb ; Cs = Subject complement.

59- Hadj-Salah calls it *'exposant corroboratif'* (Cf. Hadj-Salah 1979, II: 189, footnote 11).

60- They are sometimes called *"marqueurs d'évidentialités"* (El Kassas 2005: 416).

61- *i.e., Abdullah is (indeed) gone.*

62- *i.e., Zayd is (indeed) studious.*

63- *i.e., Zayd is (indeed) courageous.*

64- Hadj Salah calls them "des verbes exponentiels".

65- Literally *To be* in the past.

66- The sisters of *Kāna* are: *Aṣbaḥa, 'amsā, 'azḥā, bāta, ġadā, 'aẓhara, 'ashara, 'afġara, ẓalla.* Each one of these verbs have a special denotation concerning the time when the action happened continuously.

67- According to *Sībawayh* "الكلم: اسم، وفعل، وحرف جاء لمعنى ليس باسم ولا فعل" (*Sībawayh*: I, 2).

68- For Hadj-Salah, *"the kalima is the linguistic unit that appears in one of the positions contained in the lexical pattern. It is a meaningful segment whose minimal nature derives from the pattern in question and not from its content (which is minimal only in relation to it)."* (Hadj-Salah 1987)

69- To give an example of the *ḥarf*, we can mention the preposition, *ḥarf al-ǧarr* *"fī"* (*i.e., in*), in *"fī-l-kitāb"* (*i.e., in the book*), and the determiner *"al"* (*i.e., the*) in *"al-kitāb"* (*i.e., the book*) and *"lā"* (*i.e., not*) in *"lā 'urīd"* (*i.e., I do not want*). Note that each of these three examples (i.e., *"fī"*, *"al"*. and *"lā"*) are neither nouns nor verbs but they denote a meaning. The last one, for example, "*lā*" denotes the negation.

70- In Arabic, there are two sets of *al-af'āl nāqiṣa* : *Kāna* and its homologues and *Kāda* and its homologues.

71- Though, *Kāna* can function as an independent verb with complete meaning as in the Coran : *"kun fa-yakūn"* (كُنْ فَيَكُونُ) .

72- *i.e., Abdullah was happy.*

73- For more details about the *bāb*, cf. endnote 10 of this paper.

74- باب الفاعل الذي لم يتعدّه فعله إلى مفعول

75- المفعول الذي لم يتعدى إليه فعل فاعل ولم يتعدّه فعله إلى مفعول آخر

76- *The boy has worked hardly.*

77- *The lesson was written.*

78- Our translation of : "*le régissant doit avoir un effet de rection sur au moins un terme*". (Hadj-Salah 1979: II, 193).

79- *i.e.*, *Zayd got up* (with energy). Or: *ḍaraba al-waladu aḫāhu ḍarban mubriḥan*, *i.e.*, *The boy hit his brother violently* (*cf.* Homeidi : 8).

80- *i.e.*, *I travelled to France for studying*. Or *waqaftu iḥtirāman li-'ustāḏī*, *i.e.*, *I stood up in respect to my teacher*. (*Ibid.*).

81- *i.e.*, *I walked along the sea*. Or: *sirtu wa-šāṭi'*, *i.e.*, *I walked along the seafront*. (*Ibid.*).

82- *i.e.*, *I ate diner before time*. Or: *taṣilu zawǧati ġadan*, *i.e.*, *My wife arrives tomorrow*. (*Ibid.*).

83- *i.e.*, *The cat hid under the table*.

84- *i.e.*, *The boy came rapidally*.

85- الفعل المتعدي لمفعول واحد

86- *i.e.*, *Zayd wrote a letter*.

87- *i.e.*, *Abdullahi hit Zayd*.

88- *i.e.*, *Zayd was hit*.

89- الفعل المتعدي إلى مفعولين

90- الفعل المتعدي إلى مفعولين ليس أصلهما المبتدأ والخبر

91- باب الفاعل الذي يتعداه فعله إلى مفعولين، فإن شئت اقتصرت على المفعول الأول، وإن شئت تعدّى إلى الثاني كما تعدى إلى الأوّل

92- These verbs are : *'aʿṭā* (*i.e.*, to give), *manaḥa* (*i.e.*, to grant), *sa'ala* (*i.e.*, to ask), *kasā* (*i.e.*, to cover), *'albasa* (*i.e.*, to cloth), *'allama* (*i.e.*, to teach).

93- *i.e.*, *Zayd gave Amr a letter*.

94- *i.e.*, *Zayd saw Amr going*. (*Cf.* Hadj-Salah 1979: II, 216)

95- *i.e.*, *Zayd saw Amr, he was going*. (*Cf. Ibid.*)

96- *i.e.*, *Zayd saw Amr, he was writing a letter*. (*Cf. Ibid.*)

97- *i.e.*, *Zayd saw Amr, his father standing up*. (*Cf. Ibid.*)

98- *i.e.*, *Zayd saw Amr today*. (*Cf. Ibid.*)

99- *i.e.*, *Zayd saw Amr in the house*. (*Cf. Ibid.*)

100- *i.e.*, *Zayd saw Amr really*. (*Cf. Ibid.*)

101- *i.e.*, *Abdullah gave Amr a letter*.

102- *i.e.*, *Zayd was given a letter*.

103- *i.e.*, *Zayd saw Amr going*.

104- *i.e.*, **Zayd saw going*.

105- *i.e.*, *Zayd saw Amr, he was going*.

106- *i.e.*, **Zayd saw, he was going*.

107- *i.e.*, *Zayd saw Amr, he was writing a letter*.

108- *i.e.*, **Zayd saw, he was writing a letter*.

109- « ce qui empêche de considérer la séquence: # *ḍarabtu munṭaliqan* .. # comme une tectonie au même titre que # *ḍarabtu Zaydan* .. # autrement dit, qu'est-ce qui empêche que « *munṭaliqan* » soit le second terme d'une tectonie comme l'est « Zaydan »?» (Hadj-Salah 1979: II, 216).

110- « T₂ est, dans son *aṣl* ou état primitif, soit un *ḥabar* ou attribut (dans la formule A) soit un *mafʿūl* ou complément (dans la formule B) » (*Ibid.*)

111- « seuls le *ḥabar* dans A et le *mafʿūl* dans B sont capables de se substituer en tant que tels au *mubtada'* pour le premier et au *fāʿil* ou sujet du verbe pour le second. avoids the sequence. » (*Ibid.*)

112- *i.e., Zayd hit Amr.*

113- *i.e., Amr was hit.*

114- *i.e., The man is standing up.*

115- *i.e., The one who is standing up is the man.*

116- *i.e., The man was standing up.*

117- *i.e., The one who is standing up is the man.*

118- The *ḥāl* is most of the time an adverb of manner. It *"describes the subject or the object when the action happens."* (al-Sīrāfī in (*Sībawayh* I, 82, footnote 1)).

"الحال وصف من أوصاف الفاعل أو المفعول في وقت وقوع الفعل منه".

119- *i.e., Zayd saw Amr going.*

120- *i.e., *Zayd saw going.*

121- *i.e., Zayd saw Amr going.*

122- *i.e., I made Zayd wear the cloth – I covered Zayd with the cloth.*

123- *i.e., He was covered with the cloth.*

124- *i.e., Zayd hit weakly.*

125- *i.e., Zayd was hit weakly.*

126- *i.e., Zayd has ridden it for two days.*

127- *i.e., It has been ridden for two days.*

128- الفعل المتعدي إلى مفعولين أصلهما المبتدأ والخبر

129- Such as: *ẓanna, ḫāla, ḥasiba, zaʿama, ḥaǧā, ʿadda, ǧaʿala, hab.*

130- Such as : *arā, ʿalima, darā, waǧada, alfā, ǧaʿala, taʿalama.*

131- *Afʿāl at-taḥwīl* are : *ṣayyara, ǧaʿala, radda, taraka, ttaḫaḍa, ittaḫaḍa, wahaba.*

132- Example given by Yakoub (1984: 151).

133- *Anna* belongs to the class of *Inna.*

134- *i.e., I thought Zayd winning.*

135- *i.e., I thought that Zayd is winning.* These kind of constructions could be compared to the following English construction: *I consider John intelligent* (example given by Chomsky 1981, p. 35).

136- *i.e., I thought you were ill.*

137- *i.e., I thought that you were ill.*

138- *i.e., I thought that Zayd was sitting.*

139- *Al-fi'lu al-muta'addi ilā ṯalāṯati mafā 'īl* الفعل المتعدي إلى ثلاثة مفاعيل

140- We underline here that # *'a 'lamtu 'Amran Zaydan munṭaliqan* # is comparable to # *kāna Zaydun munṭaliqan* # since T_3 et T_4 can enter in $((R \rightarrow T_1), T_2)$. Thus, the construction $((R \rightarrow T_1), T_2) (+ T_3, T_4)$ can be represented as an $((R \rightarrow T_1), T_2)$. through an embedding at the level of R.

141- In the genitive case.

142- In the position of the accusative case.

143- *I passed by Amr going.*

144- أدُّوا الأمانات إلى أهلها , *i.e., Convey the trusts to their owners.*

145- »أما البنى النحوية الخاصة بالكلام فإنها لا تنحصر فيما فهمناه من كلام الخليل وسيبويه، في المستوى المتضمن للبنيتين : فعل وفاعل/ مبتدأ وخبر لوجود مستوى أعلى منه يمكن أن تتحدّد فيه هاتان البنيتان في بنية واحدة تكون أعم وأشمل« (Hadj-Salah 2014: 20)

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