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FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE

(A contrastive Study of English and Arabic)

by

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A thesis presented to the Faculty of Arts of the
University of Glasgow in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

GLASGOW

DECEMBER 1984

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MOTTO

wa min āyātihi khalqu s-samāwāti wal-arḍi,
wa-ikhtilāfu alsinatikum wa-alwānikum

Qur'ān XXX/23

'And of His signs are the creation of the
heavens and the earth, and the variety of
your languages and of your complexions'.

DEDICATION

TO MY SONS YASIR AND MUHAMMAD,
IN ADMIRATION AND AFFECTION,
TO MY WIFE RABAB, IN LOVE AND
COMPASSION.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis was carried out in the Department of Linguistics and Phonetics at Glasgow University. It was wholly sponsored by the Iraqi Government. I owe my thanks to both for providing me with the opportunity to complete it. Naturally, this work was not possible without the help of many people, to whom I am much indebted.

First and foremost I would like to sincerely thank Professor Simpson, Head of the Linguistics and Phonetics Department, and Dr. J. Fronek for their supervision, advice, scholarly guidance and encouragement from which I have greatly benefited throughout my research. I am also indebted to Dr. J. Mattock, Head of the Arabic Department, whose help and ready advice were major factors in the completion of this work. I also would like to thank all those who kindly answered my questionnaire and all the informants who readily responded to my queries.

Last, but not least, my wife, Rabab and my sons, Yasir and Muhammad, to whom this work is dedicated, deserve my thanks and acknowledgements for putting up with me during the writing of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an investigation into the thematic structure of English and Arabic. It is carried within the framework of the Prague School theory of Functional Sentence Perspective. The thesis consists of six chapters, an introduction and some conclusive remarks.

Chapter One gives an historical review of the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective and other related approaches to language description. Chapter Two outlines our own framework of investigation. It is based on Daneš's three-level approach to syntax combined with Tesnière's model of 'verb valency'. Chapter Three deals with 'existential constructions' in the two languages under observation. Chapter Four demonstrates the relation between verb valency and the semantic relations expressed in the sentence. Chapter Five investigates the thematic structure of 'equational' sentences in English and Arabic. Chapter Six presents a variety of structural means used in English and Arabic for the purposes of Functional Sentence Perspective. In the concluding remarks we hope to offer some suggestions for further research.

INTRODUCTION

Theory

The theory of Functional Sentence Perspective, one of the main contributions of the Prague School to the development of linguistics, has been almost unknown in wider linguistic circles until recently. In the last two decades the phenomenon of 'Functional Sentence Perspective' has been generally accepted as one of the most important aspects of language. The theory, primarily, accounts for the manifold problems of the linear arrangement of linguistic elements in an utterance. In the words of Firbas (1964: 115):

"The starting point of the theory is the assumption that it is in accordance both with the character of human thought and with the linear character of the sentence to arrange the sentence elements in a consistent theme-rheme sequence, i.e. according to the degree of CD (Communicative Dynamism), starting with the lowest and gradually passing on to (ending with) the highest".

The fundamental purpose of communication is transference of information. It is generally accepted that each communication unit (sentence, utterance) attempts to impart a piece of new information. The dichotomy Theme (WHAT IS SPOKEN ABOUT) - Rheme (WHAT IS SAID ABOUT THEME) appears to be of crucial importance for the treatment of the linear organization of the sentence. It is clear that 'Theme' and 'Rheme' cannot be identified with any grammatical form, since they are not pure syntactic notions. However, they are not completely pragmatic notions either in the sense that they are completely unconstrained, except by the speaker's knowledge of extra-linguistic reality.

Various criteria for assigning Theme and Rheme in the sentence will be described in this thesis. In context-bound sentences elements which provide given or old information and link the sentence to the preceding text carry low degrees of Communicative Dynamism. They are often thematic. On the other hand, elements which provide the new piece of information, carry high degrees of Communicative Dynamism; they are often rhematic.

In context-free utterances the semantic structure of the sentence may operate in line with the basic distribution of communicative dynamism. In sentences expressing the semantic structure existence or appearance on the scene, the adverbial elements expressing the setting (local or temporal) would carry low degrees of communicative dynamism and hence are thematic. Some linguistic elements, by their own semantics, would under neutral conditions, carry low degrees of communicative dynamism, e.g. deictics, personal pronouns and definite articles. In English, more likely than in Arabic, the intonation contour of an utterance would indicate the distribution of information. Elements which carry the main (sentence) stress, under neutral pronunciation, would constitute the new piece of formation in the sentence; they carry high degrees of Communicative Dynamism, hence they are rhematic. In Arabic, some particles, like 'inna' ('verily') would often precede thematic elements. Particles like 'inna' in Arabic are called THEMATIZERS, i.e. elements following them are identified with theme.

Aims

In this thesis we will attempt to examine concepts and notions related to the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective, e.g. 'psychological subject - psychological predicate', 'given-new', 'first instance' and 'second instance' sentence and others.

The main purpose of this thesis will essentially be four-fold:

- 1) To describe the structure of English and Arabic against the background of a linguistic theory,
 - 2) To describe the means of expression utilized by the two languages concerned for fulfilling the purposes of Functional Sentence Perspective,
 - 3) To demonstrate the importance of Functional Sentence Perspective in the description of language,
- and
- 4) To broaden the framework of investigation into Functional Sentence Perspective by including a Semitic language in the wealth of languages contrasted.

Method

The entire work will be centred upon the utilization of the means of expression for fulfilling the purposes of Functional Sentence Perspective in English and Arabic. For this purpose we will adopt the method of contrastive analysis , introduced by V. Mathesius and further developed by J. Firbas and his students. The basis of this methodology consists in a comparison of languages of different types without regard to their genetic relations. We agree with Mathesius that "the relative importance of a linguistic fact within the grammatical system of a given language can be ascertained only from the point of view of the whole system, that is by considering its real function within the system, and may be set off by a well considered use of foreign comparative material." (Mathesius, 1928 rep. in Vachek, 1964: 307).

Corpus

Our exemplification material has been drawn from various sources. The main ones are from literary texts and their reliable translations in both directions, i.e. English original with its Arabic translation and Arabic original with its English translation. Our examples from English are drawn from modern writings. Examples from Arabic are drawn from both modern as well as classical writings. The Holy Quran is given special attention in exemplification, since we consider it the acme of perfection in Arabic.

Further examples were drawn from everyday conversation, press and grammar books. Informants were consulted where examples were not encountered in the materials we used for this thesis. They were consulted either directly or via a questionnaire. We will try to eschew complexities of exemplification by selecting simple examples for the purpose of illustration, especially where Arabic is under observation.

We will rather concentrate on sentence patterns than deluging the reader with hundreds of examples of a similar nature in which one element gives way to another, while the basic pattern remains basically the same. Furthermore, by using simple examples we hope to clarify certain aspects of the language systems rather than merely describing the languages themselves.

Presentation

The thesis will consist of six chapters. Chapter One will be divided into two parts (A and B). Part A gives an historical account of problems related to Functional Sentence Perspective. It discusses the traditional logical considerations of the sentence dichotomy, i.e. subject-predicate and the psychological considerations prevailing in linguistic studies of the late 19th century in Germany. Part B gives a detailed account of the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective and its concepts. Theme and Rheme in an utterance. Chapter Two will give the descriptive framework which we will be using throughout this thesis. Chapters Three and Four will concentrate on the semantic field. Chapters Five and Six will be syntactically orientated. They will present a detailed account of the various syntactic means used in English and Arabic for fulfilling the purposes of Functional Sentence Perspective.

In the concluding remarks we hope to offer some suggestions for further research.

The chapters are divided into sections which are referred to by number. Thus, e.g. the third section of Chapter 4 is referred to as Section 4.3. The sections sometimes are divided into subsections, thus e.g. 4.3.1 reads as subsection one of section three, Chapter Four.

Transcription

The following symbols are used to transcribe Arabic sentences.*

| <u>Arabic Symbol</u> | <u>Transcription</u> | <u>Phonetic Symbol</u> |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| س | ' | ʔ |
| ب | b | b |
| ت | t | t |
| ث | th | θ |
| ج | dj | ʤ |
| ح | h | ħ |
| خ | kh | x |
| د | d | d |
| ذ | dh | ð |
| ر | r | r |
| ز | z | z |
| س | s | s |
| ش | sh | ʃ |
| ص | ṣ | ʕ |
| ض | ḍ | ɗ |

*For the phonetic value of these consonants see Al-Ani (1970) and Ziadeh (1957). The phonetic symbols are from the International Phonetic Alphabet.

ب
 ت
 ث
 ج
 د
 ذ
 ر
 ز
 س
 ش
 ص
 ض
 ط
 ظ
 ق
 ك
 خ
 غ
 ف

t
 z
 ʒ
 gh
 f
 q
 k
 l
 m
 n
 w
 h
 y

ṭ
 ẓ
 ʒ̣
 ʃ
 b
 f
 q̣
 k
 l
 m
 n
 w
 ḥ
 j

In our desire to do as much as possible without diacritics and phonetic symbols in our transcription we used combinations with h for five consonants. To avoid misreading these five consonants we used an apostrophe to show that the two sounds are to be pronounced separately. The apostrophe in this usage represents no sound, but since it only occurs between two consonants (of which the second is h) it cannot be confused with the apostrophe which represents the glottal stop (hamza), which never occurs between two consonants. The three short vowels are

i u

a

and the three long vowels are

ī ū

ā

Thus for long vowels we used the diacritics preferring them to

doubling the symbol as they show only the lengthening of the vowel. However for lengthening the sound of a consonant we doubled the symbol, thus the first symbol would act as the 'arresting consonant' and the second as 'releasing consonant' (to use Abercrombie terms, cf. Abercrombie 1967, pp. 39-40). For 'hamzatu al waṣli' (written but not pronounced glottal stop) we wrote only the consonant following it. For initial glottal stop we wrote only the vowel following it.

General symbols

* in front of a sentence shows that the example is ill-formed (ungrammatical) either absolutely or from a specific point of view.

? in front of a sentence shows that the example is of questionable acceptability.

() round brackets are used in the ordinary conventional ways, and so is the oblique stroke/meaning alternatively. In translating Arabic sentences the round brackets are used to enclose the highly equivalent English translation.

[] Square brackets are used in transliterating Arabic sentences word by word. Where the brackets are inside the sentences, they show that the word or words inside them are to be included in the English translation, although it/they are not represented in the Arabic counterpart.

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| A | = Agentive |
| ACC | = Accusative |
| ADV | = Adverb |
| Adv (Loc) | = Adverbial Locative |
| (M) | = Adverbial of Manner |
| (P) | = Adverbial of Place |
| (T) | = Adverbial of Time |
| C | = Complement |
| CD | = Communicative Dynamism |
| DAT | = Dative |
| DEF | = definite |
| DO | = direct object |
| E | = Enunciation |
| FSP | = Functional Sentence Perspective |
| I | = Inception |
| INDEF. | = Indefinite |
| IO | = Indirect object |
| NOM | = Nominative |
| O | = Objective/Object |
| P | = Predicate |
| POSS | = Possessive |
| PRET | = Prepositional case |
| R | = Rheme |
| S | = Subject |

CHAPTER I

FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE
AND RELATED APPROACHES

A. APPROACHES RELATED TO FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE

1.1 Aristotelian Approach

As early as the 4th century BC Aristotle (384–322 BC) proposed the hypothesis that a logical proposition can be divided into two concepts: A is cited, about which something is affirmed or denied through a concept B. He calls the former concept the 'subject' or the 'object of thought' ('hypokoimenon') and the latter the 'predicate' or the 'content of the proposition' ('kategoroumenon') (Aristotle, Categories; sections 1–4). Aristotelian logic recognises among others two basic forms of statement-making formulae: statements which affirm or deny their subjects:

(i) X is Y, and

(ii) X is not Y

where the variables X and Y stand for subject (object of thought) and predicate (content of proposition), e.g.

(1) Socrates is wise

and the negation of such a statement, e.g. Socrates is not wise.

The terms subject and predicate as conceived by Aristotle referred roughly to that part of the sentence which names what the statement is about (i.e. the subject or the 'object of thought') and that part of the sentence which says something about it (i.e. the predicate or the 'content of the proposition').

Aristotle recognises four chief 'categories' which show the relation of predicate to subject:

- (i) Category of substance, e.g. X is a lion
- (ii) Category of quality, X is wise
- (iii) Category of quantity, There are five X's
- (iv) Category of relation, X is the father of Y.

It was perhaps because of the close analogy between a logical proposition and a grammatical sentence that the distinction between the two levels remained obscure despite the fact that a logician's understanding of these two categories was different from that of a grammarian. A logician would consider as subject "that part of the experience spoken of from which the judgement starts" (Welton 1898:20); a grammarian would consider it as that part of the sentence which is in the nominative case and with which the verb agrees in number and person. Later on (in the 18th century) the German philosopher Kant drew the attention to the difference between a logical judgement and a grammatical sentence and accordingly between logical subject or logical predicate on the one hand and grammatical subject and grammatical predicate on the other.

1.2 Logical approach:

Following Kant, Steinthal distinguished between grammatical categories and logical ones. Steinthal used the term 'logical subject' in distinction to 'grammatical subject'. He notes: "Wir sehen also, daß mehrere Urtheile sich zu einem Satze zusammenziehen und ein Urtheil zu mehreren Sätzen sich auseinanderdehnen kann" (Steinthal, 1855:171). (We see that many judgements can be found in one sentence and one judgement can stretch over many sentences'). Thus in e.g.

(2) Rosen und Tulpen und Nelken sind Blumen

analysed from a strictly logical point of view may imply three judgements with three 'logical subjects', namely, Rosen, Tulpen and Nelken; although it is one statement.

Steinthal seems to be referring to the logical subject in its thematic sense, i.e. in the sense of 'WHAT IS TALKED ABOUT' as we will demonstrate later in this chapter. He argues that in, e.g.

Wem gehört dieses Buch? Es gehört Herrn N
('Whom does this book belong to?') ('It belongs to Mr. N.')

The two datives, namely the question word Wem ('to whom') and Herrn N. ('Mr. N.') are the two logical subjects of the two sentences, since it is to them that a further concept should be linked and not vice versa, i.e. to the person is linked the concept represented by Buch ('book'). But in a sentence such as Er hat gut geschlafen ('He slept well'), in the context of an answer to e.g. Wie hat der Patient geschlafen? ('How has the patient slept?'), it is geschlafen which stands for the logical subject and gut for the logical predicate.

In the first example Steinthal shows that it is possible for the logical subject to be in the dative case, as against the grammatical subject which is always in the nominative case. In the second example he shows that context is important in identifying the logical subject, which, in this case, does not necessarily associate with a nominal, as it is the case with the grammatical subject. Rather it is associated with 'GIVEN' and 'NEW' information, i.e. gut as the new element in the example above.

The way Steinthal identifies the logical subject can be shown in the following argument: "In einem Vortrag über den Blitz heißt es: das Eisen leitet ihn; Frage: Wo ist das Subjekt? Vom Eisen sollte nicht prädikiert werden, nicht von ihm sollte geurtheilt werden, sondern vom Blitze; folglich ist ihn das logische Subjekt. Umgekehrt, es sei vom Eisen die Rede, und man sage: Elektrizität wird von ihm geleitet: so ist von ihm das Subjekt." ('In a talk about lightning one says: Iron conducts it; question: where is the subject? The predication is not to be made of the iron, since the judgement is not to be made about it, but about the lightning. It follows that it (ihn) is the logical subject. On the other hand, if the talk is about iron and one says: Electricity is conducted by it; so by it is the subject') (Steinthal, 1855: 199, our translation).

1.3 Traditional Arabic Grammarians' Approach:

From the 8th and 9th centuries AD up to the 12th century, Arabic grammarians contributed a great deal to linguistic studies in the Middle Ages. In their pursuit of the 'purity' of Arabic language, they set about the task of analysing the syntactic structures of Arabic language, describing its grammar in minute details, and prescribing rules for what they considered 'correct' Arabic. For this purpose, they limited their data to three sources only, namely:

(i) Early Arabic Poetry, (ii) The Holy Quran and (iii) Specific native speakers whose accent remained 'pure', i.e. unaffected by the neighbouring Persian, Ethiopic or Greek. Throughout their linguistic investigations, Arabic grammarians dealt with a number of linguistic problems. One of the linguistic problems which

received much of their attention was that of the structural relations within the sentence..

Studying the sentence structure of Arabic, Arabic grammarians are of the opinion that syntactically, sentences could be classified into two main types on account of the formal features of the first constitutive element in the sentence: (i) 'NOMINAL' sentences and (ii) 'VERBAL' sentences. Ibn Hishām (Mughnī , II, 420) writes: "fa-l-ismiyyatu hiya l-latī ṣadruhā smun, walfiṣliyyatu hiya l-lati ṣadruhā fiṣlun" ('The nominal [sentence] is that whose first constitutive element is a noun and the verbal [sentence] is that whose first constitutive part is a verb.')

Thus for instance:

(3) Zaydun ḍaraba ʿamran

{Zayd-NOM hit Amr-ACC}

is a 'nominal sentence'; whereas

(4) ḍaraba zaydu ʿamran

{Hit Zayd-NOM Amr-ACC}

is a 'verbal sentence'. Both mean Zayd hit Amr .

However, this way of classification entails a difference in categorization of syntactic units. Arabic grammarians propose that a nominal sentence can be divided into two syntactic units:

'mubtada' (INCEPTION) and 'khabar' (ENUNCIATION)* but

* Our terminology. We prefer the term 'inception' for 'mubtada'' instead of the commonly used 'inchoative' which has an established meaning ('to become').

a verbal sentence into verb-subject (-complement).*

As we shall see presently, the categorization inception and enunciation is rather communicatively orientated, whereas the order verb-subject (-complement) is semantically orientated. The syntactic structures for (3) and (4) will be (5) and (6) respectively:

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| (5) | <u>Zaydun</u> inception | <u>ḍaraba</u> | <u>9amran</u> enunciation |
| (6) | <u>ḍaraba</u> verb | <u>zaydun</u> subject | <u>9amran</u> object |

The semantic function of the constituents are identical in both (5) and (6). In both of them zayd is the ACTOR, and 9amran is the GOAL of the action. The action is denoted by the verb ḍaraba in both sentences. The difference lies rather in the communicative structure of the sentence, vis-à-vis the context in which they may occur.

*Despite the fact that Aristotle's sentence dichotomy proposition - enunciation was formulated centuries ahead of the traditional Arabic grammarians 'mubtada-khabar', yet it should be noted that at that time Arabic grammarians were not familiar with Aristotle's works - which were translated into Arabic in the 11th and 12th centuries. The only hint we have is that Al-Naḍr bin Sayyar suggested to his tutor the eminent Arab grammarian and linguist Al-Khalil to write a book on Arabic. He drew his tutor's attention to the book on Sanskrit. Here Al-Naḍr might be referring to Panini's grammar of Sanskrit. He might have described it to his tutor. But such a hint would be quite enough for a genius such as Al-Khalil to set to the task of describing Arabic in such a way that it is now almost the sole reference in this subject. Compare Mirsa's (1966) "The Descriptive Technique of Panini".

It seems that Al-Khalil left the part on Arabic grammar to his student Sibawayhi who, in his turn, fulfilled the task in his "Alkitāb" (Al-Omar, 1979).

Let us consider some of the grammarians' definitions of the sentence dichotomy inception and enunciation. In his book, known "[al-mubtada]ṭab", ('the book'), Sībawayhi gives the following definition:

"[al-mubtada] kullu ismin ubtudi'a bihi liyubnā 9alayhi kalāmun. wal-mubtada'u wal-mabniyyu 9alayhi raf9un" ('inception is any nominal starting a sentence in order that an enunciation be said about it. Both the inception and what is said about it get the nominative case') (Sībawayhi, 1889: 132).

In Sībawayhi's definition, both the logical notion of the subject (in the sense of 'object of thought') and the grammatical notion (in the case reference) are combined together. It consists of two parts: In the first part 'any nominal starting a sentence in order that an enunciation be made about it', inception is conceived as that thing which is cited, and the khabar as the enunciation one makes about the inception. In the second part, both the inception and the enunciation are defined by their apparent grammatical features, i.e. both parts get the nominative case marker. So the inception is identified by its formal features, i.e. its initial position, and its surface case marker for nominative, while the enunciation is identified by its thematic relation to the inception and by the syntactic feature, namely, nominative case.

To illustrate this view let us take some examples which show the dichotomic nature of nominal sentences as well as the overt case markers for nominative, namely the suffixes (-u-ān and -ūn) for singular, dual and sound masculine plural respectively:

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (7) | ar-radjul-u [The-man-NOM] | Karīm-un generous-NOM-INDEF] |
| (8) | al-fatayāt-u [The girls-NOM] | muhadhhabāt-un well bread-NOM-INDEF] |
| (9) | al-mu'min-ūn-a [The believers-NOM] | ikhwat-un brothers-NOM-INDEF] |
| (10) | ar-risālat-ān-i [The two letters-NOM] | raqīqat-ān-i nice-NOM] |
| (11) | Al-Lāhu [Allah-NOM] | ghafūr-un raḥīm-un forgiver-NOM-INDEF merciful NOM-INDEF] |

In these sentences both the inception and the enunciation are in the nominative case. The inception is represented by substantives preceded by a definite article. Whereas the enunciation is followed by the suffix (-n), a morphological marker for indefiniteness.

In (11) there are two appositional substantives, ghafūrun and raḥīmun. They are called first inception and second inception.

Syntactically there is no rule governing the number of 'appositional' nominals in the enunciation part, e.g. a sentence as (11a) is possible.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (11a) | <u>wa-l-lāhu</u> | <u>ghafūr-un</u> 1st | <u>raḥīmun</u> 2nd | <u>qawiyun</u> 3rd |
| | | <u>ḡazīzyn</u> 4th | <u>hakīmun</u> 5th | <u>ḡalīmun</u> 6th |

But we observed that this kind of expansion is exclusive to Al-Lāh's names or traits.

In ordinary written Arabic, it is conventional to use no more

to the inception. Similar analysis is given to other sentences whose enunciation is other than a substantive.

In certain cases defining inception by its initial position needs to be qualified. Consider

- (17) Zayd-u-n marīd-u-n akh-ū-hu
 [Zayd - his brother is ill] (Zayd's brother is ill)
- (18) fī d-dāri radjul-u-n
 [In the house [there is] a man] (There is a man in the house)
- (19) liz-zarāfat-i 9unuq-u-n ṭawīl-u-n
 [To a giraffe a neck long] (A giraffe has a long neck)
- (20) 9ind-ī kitāb-u-n yabḥathu fī tārīkhi l-9irāqi
 [With me a book deals with the history of Iraq]
 (I have a book with deals with the history of Iraq)

In (17) akh-u is considered 'second inception' ('mubtada' thāni), yet it occupies final position. In (18-21) radjulun, 9unuq-un ṭawīlun, and kitābun farīdun are inceptions, yet their position is not at the beginning of the sentence. In (17) and (21) both inceptions akh-u and kitāb-un are part of the primary enunciation.

The traditional grouping of the syntactic units in (17-21) can be further illustrated by the following diagrams.

| | <u>Primary enunciation</u> | | |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| | Primary inception | 2nd preposed enunciation | 2nd postposed inception |
| (17) | Zaydun | marīdun | akh-ū-hu |
| | <u>Preposed enunciation</u> | | <u>postposed inception</u> |
| (18) | fī d-dāri | | radjulun |
| (19) | <u>Preposed enunciation</u> | | <u>postposed inception</u> |
| | liz-zarāfati | | 9unuqun ṭawīlun |
| (20) | <u>Preposed enunciation</u> | | <u>postposed inception</u> |
| | 9ind-ī | | kitābun nāfi9un |
| (21) | <u>Preposed enunciation</u> | | <u>postposed inception</u> |
| | 9ind-ī | | kitābun yabḥathu fī tārīkhi l-9irāqi |

Some of the orientalists would describe nominal sentences as 'verbless' sentences. For instance, Lecomte (1968) writes that nominal sentences: "par DEFINITION elle ne comporte pas de verbe" (by definition it [i.e. a nominal sentence] has no verb) (Lecomte, 1968: 109).

Fleisch (1968) classifies nominal and verbal sentences on the basis of whether they include a verb or not in the predicate part: "Est verbale la phrase dont le predicat est un verbe, est nominale la phrase dont le predicat est un élément nominal" (A sentence is verbal if its predicate is a verb, it is nominal if its predicate is a nominal) (Fleisch, 1968: 166).

F.J. Ziadeh and B. Winder (1957) write: "nominal sentences have no verb by definition but only a subject and predicate." (23). But they remark: "However, it frequently happens that the predicate itself contains a verb." (Ziadeh, 1957: 23).

The definition of a nominal sentence reads that a sentence is nominal if its FIRST CONSTITUTIVE PART is a nominal. This, however, does not exclude a sentence which contains a verb from the class 'nominal sentences', provided that the verb does not stand at the beginning of the sentence. Generally, in a nominal sentence there are three varieties of predicate:

1. The predicate may be a nominal, a pronominal or an adjective, e.g.

(22) akhī ustādh-un nādjiḥun
 [Brother-my teacher-NOM successful]
 (My brother is a successful teacher)

(23) alduniy-ā hiya hiya*
 [The world is it] (The world is as it is,
 (The world is the same as it was before) nothing has changed)

* (22) and (24) are quite common, but (23) is very rare.

(24) al-zahratu djamīlatun

(The rose is beautiful)

2. The predicate may be a prepositional phrase, e.g.

(25) ar-radjulu fī d-dāri

(The man is at home)

3. The predicate may be a clause which in its turn may be (a) verbal,
e.g.

(26) Zaydun qāma akhū-hu

(Zayd, his brother stood up)

(27) Al-Lāhu yuḥibbu lmuḥsinīna

(Allah loveth good doers)

(b) nominal, e.g.

(28) Zaydun akhū-hu shā'irun

(Zayd, his brother is a poet)

Another interesting definition of 'inception' and 'enunciation' is Ibn Yaʿīsh's: "iʿlam innama l-aṣlu fī l-mubtada'i an yakūna maʿrifatan wa aṣlu l-khabari an yakūna nakiratan, wadhālika li-anna l-gharaḍa mina l-ikhbārāti ifādatu l-mukhāṭabi mā laysa ʿindahu watanzīluhu manzilatika fī ʿilmi dhālika l-khabari, wal-ikhbāru ʿani n-nakirati lā fā'idata fīhi idhā ibtadā'ta bil-ismi l-ladhī yaʿrifuhu l-mukhāṭabu kamā taʿrifuhu anta fa-innamā yantaziru l-ladhī lā yaʿlamuhu" ('Basically inception is to be definite and enunciation is to be indefinite; that is because the *raison d'être* of enunciations (ikhbārāt) is to inform the addressee about something which he does not know so as to put him (i.e. the addressee) on a par with you in the knowledge of that enunciation (khabar). There is no point in informing about

something which is indefinite (nakiratun). When you started with the nominal which the addressee knows as much as you do, so he would await (to hear) what he did not know') (Ibn Ya9īsh, 1882. vol. 2: 179).

As we can see from the definitions of 'inception' and 'enunciation', there is a confusion between the grammatical level and the thematic level of the sentence.

By paraphrasing the definition on these two levels separately we will get at the following interpretation: on the grammatical level inception is expressed by a definite nominal and is assigned the nominative case; enunciation (predicate) is the rest of the sentence. On the thematic level inception stands for the informational rallying point between the two interlocutors, i.e. the shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee. It is thus the topic of the message. The enunciation represents the 'new' piece of information concerning the topic which is to be imparted to the addressee. The latter conceptions of inception and enunciation are very close to the modern Praguean approach to the THEME-RHEME dichotomy, as we shall see in Section B of this chapter.

Another linguistic problem discussed by Arabic grammarians was the relation of the order of segments of thought to their linguistic representation. In this respect it is interesting to note that this relation did not fail to capture the interest of Arabic philologists as well. In his "dalā'ilu l-i9djāz", Al-Djurdjāni postulated the stylistic hypothesis that the ordering of segments of thought in the mind decides the ordering of linguistic elements in the sentence. This understanding of the relation between the segments of thought and the order of their linguistic representation is to a great extent similar to Henry Weil's (cf. Weil, 1844: 12), though many centuries ahead of it.*

* see footnote on page 37 in this thesis.

1.4 Psychological Approach:

The terms 'psychological subject' and 'psychological predicate' were, to the best of our knowledge, first introduced into linguistics by the German linguist, G. von der Gabelentz in his "Sprachwissenschaft" (1884) and before that in his "Ideen zu einer vergleichenden Syntax" (in Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft, VI 1869 and VIII 1874). Von der Gabelentz introduced the term 'psychological subject' to discriminate between 'grammatical subject' and 'real subject', or what Steinthal has called 'logical subject'.*

Von der Gabelentz defines both 'psychological subject' and 'psychological predicate' from the point of view of the hearer. The speaker organizes his speech, he writes, in such a way that a listener follows the train of thought in the way it is presented to him. The psychological subject according to von der Gabelentz, is "that linguistic element about which the speaker wishes to make the hearer think, and to which he [the speaker] would like to direct the hearer's attention; the psychological predicate is that which he [the speaker] wishes him to think about the psychological subject" (von der Gabelentz, 1869: 378, our translation).

*It is interesting here to cite Henri Weil's note on this matter:

"M.G. von der Gabelentz has published some articles on comparative syntax. Among the facts gathered by this linguist, I regard as particularly interesting those pertaining to the function of the particle wa in the Japanese language. In his general review upon the principle of the order of words there is nothing I did not point out twenty-five years before him." (in Henri Weil's preface to his De l'ordre...3rd impression 1879). But we are not sure about the term psychological subject whether it was new for H. Weil or not. For in his book (1844) he used 'point of departure-enunciation' or the French original 'LE POINT DE DEPART-LE BUT DU DISCOURS'. The idea of the psychological subject is present in his "De l'ordre ..." but the actual term is not; De l'ordre was translated into English by Ch.W. Supen, . 1887, rep. 1978 Amsterdam.

Von der Gabelentz's view of word order could be put in the following way: In the communicative act elements of the sentence follow each other in a certain order; "the psychological subject always occupies the first place and the psychological predicate the second place" (von der Gabelentz, 1869: 379-380). Thus the sequence of thought would be the psychological subject as the 'initial notion' and the psychological predicate as the 'goal of the communicative act' whatever order the grammatical structure of the sentence might have.*

Von der Gabelentz pointed out that the order psychological subject-psychological predicate is rather a universal one: "Diese Anordnung bildet hinsichtlich der entsprechenden grammatischen Kategorien in allen mir bekannten Sprachen die Regel, für die psychologischen ist sie ein Gesetz, das, wie mir scheint, keine Ausnahme erlaubt". ('This order i.e. psychological subject-psychological predicate makes a rule with regard to the corresponding grammatical categories in all languages known to me; for psychologists it is a law which, as it appears to me, permits no exception') (Von der Gabelentz, 1896:379). Yet this fixed order may be departed from on grounds of cognitive or communicative motivations. Deviation is possible by using linguistic means available to the language concerned, such as inversion, clefting, passive sentences, etc. Thus for instance, in (28) and (29) both

*"The credit for this discovery", namely that "word order as the only grammatical criterion for the discovery of S and P" (i.e. subject and predicate) (Sandmann, 1954: 94) belongs to Henri Weil, who outlined in his book De l'Ordre ... (Paris, 1844, 2nd ed. 1869, 3rd ed. 1879) an essentially similar doctrine. This opinion is quoted by Sandmann (1954: 103) from J. Van Ginneken's Principes de psychologie linguistique, Paris, Leipzig, Amsterdam, 1907, p. 495. See also our note above.

cognitive order as well as the thematic structure are different, yet still (28) and (29) show the order psychological subject-psychological predicate

(29) Napoleon wurde bei Leipzig geschlagen

(30) Bei Leipzig wurde Napoleon geschlagen

(Gabelentz's examples 1869: 380).

Since the hearer would get no more or less information from one sentence than another, both (28) and (29) have what Daneš (1968: 68) has termed, identical 'cognitive content'. But with regard to the cognitive order there is a deep difference. In (28) it is the element Napoleon which stands in perspective (or in the focus of attention) and the rest of the sentence is thrown out of perspective, i.e. it is only brought into focus by relating it to the psychological subject; whereas in (29) it is the locative element which stands in perspective or the focus of attention and the rest of the sentence is thrown out of perspective.

Von der Gabelentz's psychologically based views about the movement of thought left unanswered the question whether the cognitive process induced in the listener by the speaker should follow the order in which the linguistic elements are presented. According to this view the train of thought of the listener to the Arabic sentence:

(31) fī Lāybzīk indaḥara Nābilyon

(Leipzig was where Napoleon was defeated)

would move from the location Leipzig to the action indaḥara ('defeated') then to the goal (experiencer) of the action Napoleon. Whereas the cognitive movement in the English equivalent translation (31)

(32) Napoleon was defeated in Leipzig.

would move from the goal of the action to the scene where that action took place. Marty (1897: 174) proposed the doctrine of 'Doppelurteil' which might solve some of the problems. According to Marty's analysis the Arabic (31) and the English (32) would have two cognitive acts: that Napoleon was defeated and that his defeat was in Leipzig. As for the Arabic example it would have the cognitive acts: Leipzig was the scene of something, and that this something is that Napoleon was defeated. (31) and (32) have different 'grammatical sentence perspectives'. They would have then different thematic meanings despite their identical 'cognitive content'.

For the German Psycholinguist Wundt (1900), this problem is resolved by recalling his notion of 'apperception' ('Gesamtvorstellung'). The hearer would 'apperceive' the whole representation ('Gesamtvorstellung') of the sentence, then he (the hearer) would analyse the sentence into its semantically related constituents; this means that the listener would apperceive the sentence as a whole and not in successive parts.*

Wundt's disposition with regard to psychological subject is similar to that of von der Gabelentz. In his "Sprache", Wundt writes: "One can distinguish, in fact after the approach of von der Gabelentz, between logical or grammatical and psychological subject and predicate. The psychological subject can be defined as the group of ideas which appear first in the consciousness of the thinker and the speaker. The psychological predicate is described as the content, which is related to those ideas on which the speaker wishes to make the hearer concentrate and to which he wishes to direct his (i.e. the hearer's) attention.

*APPERCEPTION is a term first used by Kant (Blumenthal, 1970:12) to refer to the focus of attention.

Logical subject and logical predicate are therefore independent of word order which is manifested by the grammatical structure of the sentence. The psychological subject and predicate will then be shown through word order; for what the speaker first wishes to draw attention to, naturally comes first; what he thinks about it, follows. Thus in the two sentences: Today is my birthday and My birthday is today the psychological subject should be today and birthday respectively" (Wundt 1900; 259 ff, our translation).

Both Wundt and von der Gabelentz identify the psychological subject as that part which stands in focus of attention ('Blickpunkt der Aufmerksamkeit'). It is regarded as the dominating concept ('dominierende Vorstellung') in the sentence. A similar stand is taken by some modern linguists. For instance Fillmore (1977) proposes that "the perspective taken in a clause is determined by some sort of hierarchy of IMPORTANCE" (59; our emphasis). This hierarchy of importance he calls the 'saliency hierarchy'. The speaker/writer may choose for his psychological subject elements which he wishes to be in perspective or in the focus of attention. But this might be circumscribed by constraints imposed on a language by its grammatical structures.

In our opinion, the possibility of alternating the psychological subject and the psychological predicate, like Today is my birthday and My birthday is today, is rather restricted by the syntactic structures available to the given language. In Arabic this is possible with sentences with the structure

$$NP^1 + \emptyset + NP^2$$

(where both NP¹ and NP² have the same referent and Ø stands for the missing copula). The second NP is identified by a 'construct' phrase (iḍāfatun) i.e. adjoined to a nominal. e.g.

- (33) Al-Lāhu rabbu-nā
(Allah is our Lord)
- (34) rabbu-nā L-Lāhu
(Our Lord is Allah)
- (35) Muḥammadun nabiyyu r-raḥmati
(Muḥammad is the Prophet of Mercy)
- (36) nabiyyu r-raḥmati Muḥammadun
(The Prophet of Mercy is Muḥammad)
- (37) Zaydun mudīru l-madrasati
(Zaid is the headmaster of the school)
- (38) mudīru l-madrasati Zaydun
(The headmaster of the school is Zaid)
- (39) Asmā'u ukhtī
(Asma is my sister)
- (40) ukhtī Asmā'u
(My sister is Asma)

Sometimes the interchange between psychological subject and psychological predicate might entail a change in the cognitional content of the message. We quote here an example from Qur'ān in which the interchange of position would entail some religious consequences:

- (41) innamā l-bay'ū mithlu r-ribā wa- aḥalla L-Lāhu l-bay'ū
wa-harrama r-ribā (Qur. II/125).

('Truly selling is but an usury: and yet GOD hath permitted selling and forbidden usury') (Sale: p. 30).

It shows the way in which those who devour usury present their argument. They did not say that usury is like selling which then would mean that because selling is permitted so should be usury. Instead they said selling is but like usury, which means that if usury is forbidden so should be selling; since selling is permitted, so is, ipso facto, usury. The second part of the argument, namely, and yet GOD hath permitted selling and forbidden usury logically shows that it was not right to permit selling as long as usury is forbidden which supports the first part of the argument.

As an example from English consider (42) and its variant (42a)

(42) In view of the victorious end of the war in Europe and the necessity of establishing as soon as possible the condition of lasting peace, the conference agreed upon the following statement of common policy

(42a) The conference agreed upon the following statement of common policy for establishing, as soon as possible, the conditions of lasting peace after victory in Europe.

(From accords of the Conference of Potsdam).

(42 a) was proposed as an amendment to (42) by the British representative to the Conference at Potsdam, then Bevin. In (42a) the idea of agreement is being foregrounded, victory is being backgrounded. Further, peace is made the goal of the agreement in (42a) whereas in (42) peace is a by-product of the agreement.

Sometimes the semantics of the finite verb would allow for alternating psychological subject and psychological predicate without changing the grammatical structure, e.g. to meet, to see, to talk to, qābala, ra'ā, taḥaddatha ila, etc.

- (43) Peter met Paul
(44) Jane saw my wife
(45) I talked to the manager
(46) Aḥmadun qābala 9aliyan (Ahmed met Ali)
(47) Laylā ra'at zawdjatī (Layla saw my wife)
(48) takallamtū ma9a l-mudīri (I talked to the manager)

allow for

- (49) Paul met Peter
(50) My wife saw Jane
(51) The manager talked to me
(52) 9aliyun qābala Aḥmādan (Ali met Ahmed)
(53) zawdjatī ra'at Laylā (My wife saw Layla)
(54) almudīru takallama ma9ī (The manager talked to me)

Here the psychological subject and hence the element in the focus of attention, communicatively, would have a specific purpose, a purpose that cannot be fulfilled had the speaker chosen the other order. In his 'Sprache' Wundt employed the term 'apperception' for the study of the movement of thought in the consciousness of the speaker and the cognitional process occurring in the consciousness of the hearer.

Wundt's interpretation of psychological subject shows the importance of the order of linguistic elements in presenting the communicative intention of the speaker. Where word positioning is free, not bound by grammatical constrictions, they would follow each other according to the degree of emphasis on the concepts. The strongest emphasis would then fall on the concept that forms the main content of the statement. It also comes first in the sentence. In many cases it is the subject of the sentence, in others it can be the predicate or the object.

Discussing Wundt's views on the importance of word order in determining what we call the 'thematic structure' of the sentence, Blumenthal writes: "Where there is free word-ordering the principle of positioning is simply a special application of the general psychological principle of the SUCCESSIVE APPERCEPTION OF ASPECTS OF A WHOLE ACCORDING TO THEIR PROPORTIONATE EFFECT ON COGNITION" (Blumenthal 1970: 29, our emphasis).

Another eminent figure in the 19th century German linguistic circle, who addressed himself to similar problems, is Herman Paul. Paul's views on general linguistics, as we shall see presently, are of great relevance to the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective. In his "Prinzipien" ('Principles') H. Paul investigated linguistic problems similar to those investigated by Wundt. Yet their views regarding language performance and the nature and function of the sentence were not identical. Wundt defines sentence as "the linguistic expression for the arbitrary structuring of a whole representation (vortstellung) in which the constituents are linked to each other in a logical relationship" (Wundt,

1900: 240). This definition shows Wundt's concern with associative relationships among constituents, while Paul's definition of a sentence shows that he Paul is stressing the speaker - hearer relationship in producing, as well as in understanding the communicative message carried by the sentence. Paul defines sentence as "the linguistic expression or symbol, denoting that the combination of several ideas or groups of ideas has been effected in the mind of the speaker; and is at the same time the means of reproducing the same combination of the same ideas in the mind of the hearer " (Paul, 1888:171).

Paul's disposition to the dichotomy psychological subject-psychological predicate is similar to Gabelentz's. Paul writes: "It thus happens that every sentence consists of at least two elements. These elements are related to each other, not as exact equivalents, but are differentiated according to their function. They are termed subject and predicate. These grammatical categories repose on a psychological, a logical, relation. No doubt we have to distinguish between the psychological and the grammatical subject or predicate since the two do not always correspond " (Paul, 1888: 112).

Thus, in a sentence like Karl is going to Berlin tomorrow the psychological predicate could be any of the elements of the sentence, depending on what the speaker wants to call attention to. Compare this view with Bolinger's view of 'SECOND INSTANCE' (Bolinger, 1952). *

*Bolinger (1952) is represented in Bolinger (1965).

With regard to psychological subject both Paul's and Wundt's conceptions are to a great extent similar. Both of them adopted v.d. Gabelentz's conception of the psychological subject. Compare Wundt's definition of the psychological subject as "the group of ideas that appears first in the consciousness of the speaker" (see definition above) to Paul's: "The psychological subject is the group of ideas which is first present in the consciousness of the speaker or thinker" (Paul, 1888: 113).

Yet Paul's suggested criterion for predicting the psychological predicate was not word order as was the case with von der Gabelentz: instead Paul relied mainly on sentence stress (nuclear tone, to use Halliday's terminology, cf. Halliday 1967: 203). "Originally there was one method, and only one, of marking the difference between subject and predicate - i.e. stress or tone. In the case of the isolated sentence, the psychological predicate is always the more strongly accented, as the more important portion of the sentence, and as one containing the new matter" (sic. Paul, 1888: 114-115).

Here the characteristics which Paul assigns to the psychological PREDICATE have much in common with the Prague School approach to RHEME. It is generally accepted that the "RHEME (R) designates that portion of the utterance which is usually identified with NEW information" (Fronek, 1978: 22). Quite often the tonic of the sentence coincides with the NEW piece of information. Daneš (1967) has pointed out that one of the functions of sentence intonation was that it signals the T-C (topic-comment), (i.e. theme-rheme) structure of utterance. The comment of the utterance would be associated with the centre (nucleus) of (terminal) intonation contour" (Daneš, 1967: 508).

Paul's views with regard to word order and to the movement of thought might be presented in the following way: In context-free sentences the usual order distinguishing the psychological subject are stress, definiteness and position. The only criterion for signalling the psychological predicate is that it carries the heaviest stress in the sentence in isolated speech. The communicative importance of the psychological predicate lies in that it carries the new piece of information; it represents the very 'raison d'être' of the sentence and not the psychological subject as in Wundt's view, and hence Paul sees it as the element to which the listener's attention is directed. As to the position of the psychological subject, Paul's view is that it assumes the initial position in descriptive or narrative speech acts.

1.5 Linguistic approach

A true pioneer work in functional sentence perspective was H. Weil's "De L'Ordre" (1844). In this work, Weil compared word orders in ancient languages (Greek and Latin) to those in modern languages (French, German and English). Weil's view was that people think and express themselves similarly, whether they speak modern languages or an ancient one, and that "the order of words (in a sentence) ought to reproduce the order of ideas" (1844:12). Words for Weil are linguistic representatives of segments of thoughts; they are signs of ideas. So to study the sequential order of words in the sentence, would mean the study of ideas which come to the mind of the speaker.

In his De L'ordre, H. Weil observes two kinds of word orders: NATURAL (UNMARKED) order and EMOTIVE or pathetic (MARKED) order. In a natural order, Weil observes, the development of thought proceeds from an 'initial notion' towards the goal of the utterance. The initial notion in an utterance often represents the piece of information which is known to the speaker and the hearer; while the goal of an utterance represents a new piece of information which is only known to the speaker. Thus a sentence can be broken down into a 'point of departure' or inception and 'enunciation' (Weil, 1844: 29).*

As to the relation between word order and the ordering of segments of thought, Weil noticed that modern languages "tend to make of the (grammatical) subject the point of departure for the thought" (Weil, 1844: 37). The point of departure serves as that known information which is equally present to the speaker and the hearer; it makes "the ground upon which the two intelligences meet" (idem: 29); while enunciation or the goal of the utterance makes the statement or the piece of information which is to be transmitted by the speaker to the hearer.

*Notice the similarity in the terminological use of 'point of departure' or 'inception' and 'enunciation' to the traditional Arabic grammarians' 'mubtada' and 'khabar' (inception-enunciation) for the two parts of a sentence, i.e. psychological subject-psychological predicate or as Reckendorf puts it 'natural subject' and 'natural predicate' (Reckendorf, 1895: 782).

He remarks that the general relations of time and place are the most suitable for the initial notions of an utterance. This was supported by an investigation of English, French and German which showed that these languages frequently allow these general circumstances, of time, place, manner, etc., to occupy initial positions which are, under normal circumstances, occupied by the grammatical subject. (Weil, 1844: 31). In Weil's view general circumstances often, so to speak, pave the way for the speaker to arrive at the gist or the goal of his utterance.

About the levels of the sentence, Weil remarks that a sentence should be treated on two distinct levels: "There are in the proposition two different movements: an objective movement, which is expressed by the syntactic relations and a subjective movement, which is expressed by the order of words" (Weil, 1844: 30). Here Weil is suggesting an approach to syntactic investigations. It is not enough to analyse a sentence only by stating the grammatical relations among its elements. These grammatical relations are in themselves only one aspect of the sentence; it is the objective aspect. The other aspect is the way linguistic elements follow each other. This aspect is quite relevant to understanding a sentence. Languages might use different syntactic constructions but the order of 'ideas' remains basically the same. (idem., 1844: 35). For Weil, grammatical structure is but a means to bring ideas to the foreground in a communicative act: "It happens that we find nothing which will prepare the hearer for that which we wish to communicate to him, and that, not wishing to enter into the matter without preparation, we begin with that which is most general, most indispensable, but also insignificant; namely, with the idea of existence pure and simple (e.g. There was a king)" (idem., 1844: 33).

Weil also touches upon 'text coherence' or 'text connexity' which he calls 'transition of thought'. He remarks that there are two types of connections: parallel connection and progressive connection: "If the initial notion (of a sentence) is related to the united notion of the preceding sentence, the match of the two sentences is to some extent parallel: if it (i.e. initial notion) is related to the goal of the sentence which precedes, there is a progression in the march of the discourse (Weil, 1844: 41). In terms of functional sentence perspective this means that in a parallel connection the theme of a sentence is related to the theme of the preceding one. In progressive connection the rheme of a sentence will be the theme of the following one.

The credit for discriminating between psychological and linguistic notions of the concepts 'subject' and 'predicate', however, goes to the Czech linguist V. Mathesius (1882-1945).*

Mathesius distinguished between a formal analysis of a sentence and an analysis which takes into account the concrete situation and context in which the sentence is uttered. To use de Saussure's terminology, the former belongs to the level 'la langue', the latter to 'la parole'.

As to the dichotomic nature of sentences, he writes: "A closer examination of sentences shows an overwhelming majority of all

* In this respect Daneš (1974) writes, "Er [V. Mathesius] unterscheidet scharf zwischen der formal-grammatischen und der kommunikativen, auf eine aktuelle Redeabsicht eingestellten Satzgliederung" (Daneš, 1974a:219).

sentences to contain two basic content elements: a statement and an element about which the statement is made The element about which something is stated may be said to be the basis of the utterance or the THEME, and what is stated about the basis is the nucleus of the utterance or the RHEME " (Mathesius 1975: 81).

In this respect Mathesius agrees with Weil and von der Gabelentz about the dichotomic nature of the sentence. Mathesius used the terms THEME and RHEME to refer to 'what the sentence is about' and 'what is said about it' respectively. In his view the theme represents 'what is known' or at least obvious in a given situation, i.e. it is the starting point from which the speaker proceeds in his discourse; the rheme (enunciation) represents 'the new piece of information, i.e. the very purpose of a communicative act. In his studies on comparative word order in Slavic languages, English and German, Mathesius observes that in the unmarked, i.e. OBJECTIVE order the theme invariably precedes the rheme. In his words: "The theme and the rheme are not the same as the grammatical subject and the grammatical predicate (or - in terms of the older terminology - the psychological subject and the psychological predicate) are not identical, respectively, with the grammatical subject and the grammatical predicate" (1975: 84). Hence 'functional' and 'formal' analysis of the sentence should be strictly distinguished from each other.

His view regarding the formal and functional analysis of the sentence is of great importance for further research on functional sentence perspective, on a DIACHRONIC basis as well as on a SYNCHRONIC one: "The period during which the theme and the grammatical subject

coincided cannot have been of long duration. As regards syntactic structures in contemporary languages, it is an indisputable fact that correspondence between functional sentence perspective and formal sentence structure is often lacking. This conflict between the functional and the formal patterning of the sentence has to be resolved; since even though on the one hand the forms of a language are firmly established, on the other hand the task of functional sentence perspective is to adapt the forms to the needs of the momentary situation. Each language resolves this conflict in a different manner. (Mathesius, 1975: 84-85).

Mathesius's conception of language as a 'system of signs' led to the functional-structural approach: "The relative importance of a linguistic fact within the grammatical system of a given language can be ascertained only from the point of view of the whole system, and may be set off by a well considered use of foreign comparative material" (idem: 307). The technique which Mathesius used for the study of language was that of 'analytical comparison', based on the universal principle that "general needs of expression and communication [are] common to all mankind" (Mathesius, 1975: 306), and that languages use different means for expressing these needs.

With regard to the Saussurian 'dichotomy' for language study, namely, 'synchrony' versus 'diachrony', Mathesius gives the synchronic analysis a higher priority than the diachronic analysis: "A systematic analysis of any language can be achieved only on a strictly synchronic basis and with the aid of analytical comparison, i.e. comparison of languages of different types without any regard to their genetic relations (idem.; 306).

Yet Mathesius's most significant contributions to the theory of functional sentence perspective was his inquiry into the role played by FSP in determining the order of words in an utterance. In his comparative studies in word order, Mathesius has laid the most solid foundation for the study of word order as part of the language system. (Fronek, 1978: 83). In his view word-order phenomena constitutes a system characterised by a hierarchy of word order principles. The hierarchy is determined by the extent to which the principles operate (cf. Firbas, 1974: 13).

These principles are:

- (i) the principle of grammatical function;
- (ii) the principle of coherence of members;
- (iii) the principle of functional sentence perspective;
- (iv) the principle of sentence rhythm.

The principle of grammatical function refers to the relationship between the syntactic function of an element and its position in the sentence. For instance in English the element which has the syntactic function 'subject' precedes the element which has the function 'finite verb', e.g. John hit Peter as against Peter hit John.

The principle of coherence of members is shown in the impossibility of inserting other qualifications between two sentence elements to which the principle of coherence is applicable. Typical examples are possessive and prepositional phrases in Arabic, e.g.

kitāb-ī ('my book'), fī ṣ-ṣundūqi ('in the box').

The principle of FSP generally refers to the tendency to open the sentence by thematic or 'given' elements and close it by rhematic or 'new' elements.

The principle of sentence rhythm refers to the tendency of accenting (stressing) the element which conveys the new part of the message, i.e. the rhematic part of the sentence.

Languages differ in determining the hierarchy of principles according to the extent to, and the manner in which the principles operate within the system of the given language. In some languages, e.g. Czech, Arabic, the principle of FSP ranks first; in others, e.g. English, it is the principle of the grammatical function that ranks first. In the former languages it is the theme-rheme sequence that renders word order 'unmarked'. In the latter languages it is the subject-predicate that renders word-order as 'unmarked'.

B. Functional Sentence Perspective

1.6 Functions of Language

Language is basically a system of the means of expression. It has various functions to fulfil. If we reflect on the use made of language, we find that communication of information is the main one. Yet language fulfils many other tasks in addition to the communication of information. "A great deal of human language is used, for example, in greeting people; passing the time of day with them; buying bus tickets, newspapers, food and so on; asking questions; giving orders;

entertaining others; in religious services; in inciting or encouraging others, and so on " (Simpson, 1979: 171). Numerous lists of the functions of language are drawn up by linguists, philosophers, anthropologists and psycholinguists. These lists vary according to the standpoint of the investigator. It is probably impossible to compile one single list of 'the functions of language'.

Aristotle noticed that different people could use language for different purposes. Aristotle observed that language could be used to support one's dialectic or to shape one's argument. The logician could use language to find the truth - value of an argument, the orator to persuade people, and the sophist to detect falsehood in other's arguments.

A modern classification of the functions of language is that given by Abercrombie (1967: 7ff). Abercrombie's list of the functions of language includes:

- (i) the communicative function
- (ii) the 'indexical' function
- (iii) the sociological function

in addition to other functions. He describes language as a means of social control which makes human society possible. It acts as an 'index' which reveals personal characterisation of the speaker. He describes three classes of indices in speech:

- (a) those indicating membership of a group
- (b) those characterising the individual
- (c) those revealing changing states of the speaker.

Lyons (1977) draws a distinction between the 'communicative' or 'social'

and the 'informative' or 'cognitive' functions of language. Lyons suggests that "a signal is communicative if it is intended by the sender to make the receiver aware of something of which he was not previously aware ... Communicative means meaningful to the sender " (Lyons, 1977: 33). This is contrasted with 'informative' in the sense that: "a signal is informative if (regardless of the intention of the sender) it makes the receiver aware of something of which he was not aware. 'Informative' therefore means "meaningful to the receiver". (Lyons, 1977: 33). For Lyons, what a speaker says is communicative, but his accent is informative. Further, Lyons adopts Abercrombie's classification of indices, and proposes one further category, based on Abercrombie's third type, viz. those that reveal changing states of the speaker . Lyons calls this proposed category a 'symptom'; "any information in a ... signal which indicates to the receiver that the sender is in a particular state, whether this be an emotional state (fear, anger, etc.), a state of health, a state of intoxication, or whatever (can be) described as symptomatic of that statement" (Lyons, 1977 : 108).

A plausible classification of the functions of language is that which has been developed by Karl Bühler (1965). Bühler observes three main functions in language:

- (i) EXPRESSIONAL ('Ausdruck')
- (ii) EVOCATIONAL ('Appell') and
- (iii) REPRESENTATIONAL ('Darstellung')

Bühler's classification is derived from the way he analyses a speech-act. He regards a speech-act as constituting three essential factors:

ADDRESSER

CONTENT

ADDRESSEE

Hence the three functions of language could be presented symmetrically:

EXPRESSIONAL

REPRESENTATIONAL

EVOCATIONAL

Halliday (1974) distinguishes three grammatically relevant language functions:

- (i) the IDEATIONAL
- (ii) the INTERPERSONAL, and
- (iii) the TEXTUAL

They correspond to a great extent to Bühler's classification. The ideational function serves to express the speaker's experience of the real world, including the inner world of his own consciousness. The interpersonal function serves to establish and maintain social relations. The textual function of language enables the speaker or writer to construct 'texts' in contrast to random sets of unrelated sentences.

Roman Jakobson (1960) classifies language functions via a survey of the factors involved in the act of verbal communication. The ADDRESSER sends a MESSAGE to the ADDRESSEE. To be operative, the message requires a CONTEXT referred to, a CODE common to the addresser and the addressee, and finally a CONTACT between the addresser and the addressee. (R. Jakobson 1960: 350-377). Thus, schematically, a speech act involves the following six factors:

CONTEXT

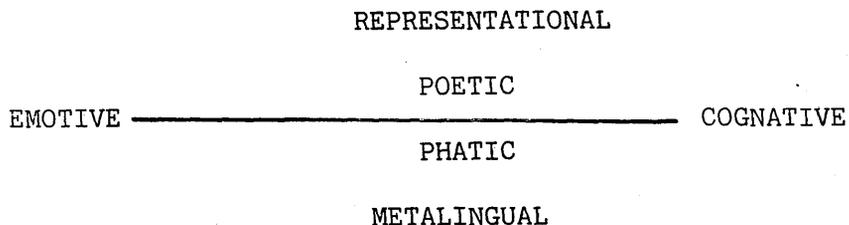
MESSAGE

ADDRESSER ————— ADDRESSEE

CONTACT

CODE

Jakobson supplements the schemes of the factors involved in a communicative act by a symmetrical one for the functions:



From this short survey of various classifications of language functions it seems that they add to the work carried out by Prague school linguists in stressing the communicative function of language. This view has been confirmed by the work of other non-Praguian researchers, e.g. E.G. Oller et al. (1969) argues that linguistic theories which fail to consider the communicative function of language develop a 'vicious circularity' and become untenable.

In his 'Elements of General Linguistics'*, Martinet asserts that the essential function of language is communication. Martinet suggests that language has to be regarded as a reflection of thought. When we speak, we analyse our experience into a number of elements, each corresponding to a linguistic sign; the signs corresponding to a message are ordered in a succession. (Martinet, 1964: 11ff). This means that when we speak, we pick out certain characteristics of some objective reality, conceptualize them in segments of speech, arrange them in a certain order and decode the resultant utterance/inscription. Whorf (1965: 240ff) observes that different languages conceptualize objective reality differently, vis-a-vis the arrangement of these linguistic elements. In a speech-act two processes take place:

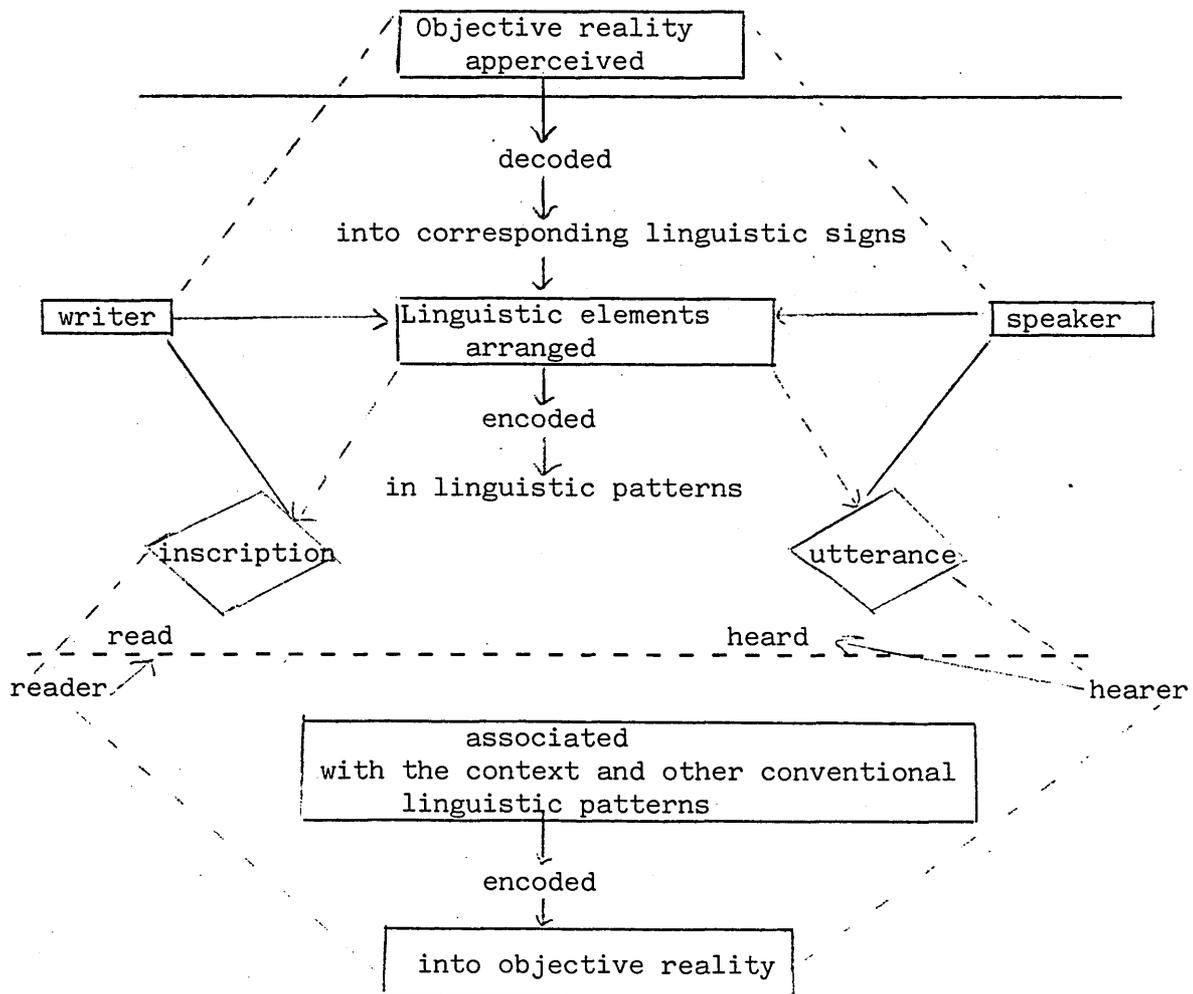
- (i) a mental process in which the objective reality is decoded into the corresponding linguistic elements; and

*Translated from the French original 'Éléments de linguistique générale' by E. Palmer.

(ii) a physical process in which these linguistic elements are decoded in the form of an utterance or an inscription.

The former process belongs to the realm of what Mathesius has termed 'FUNCTIONAL SYNTAX' (Mathesius, 1975:16). This indicates that a communicative act passes through different stages. The addresser perceives a certain objective reality, decodes it into its corresponding linguistic segments, arranges these linguistic segments in a certain order and addresses it to the addressee; the addressee, for his part, decodes these segments referring them back to the original objective reality, which they express. Thus the objective reality would be the rallying point, hence understanding.

The circle of encoding and decoding a message could be illustrated schematically as in our scheme (1). The different stages involved in a communicative act can be illustrated by the following scheme which we adopted from Mathesius (1975: 14) with modification:



Yet it is not always possible to discern these different stages by introspection. We often find certain aspects of objective reality which are difficult to express by means of language. Often the addressee misunderstands an utterance mainly because, while he is trying to refer it back to its original objective reality, he finds himself arriving at a certain objective reality which is different from or not in complete conformity with that which is expressed by the addresser. Such observation might be considered as clues leading to the view of the existence of stages in a communicative act. On the other hand the context and situation in which a sentence is uttered affects, in some respects, the two processes of encoding and decoding. For instance, in the context of an answer to, say,

How are you?

the speaker, in order to minimise effort, need not give all grammatical constituents essential in the answer when he/she encodes it. Thus one word often would be sufficient, i.e.

fine, good, bad, ill, well, etc.

For his part, the listener need not hear all the linguistic elements uttered in order to understand the utterance; instead, he/she would understand 'fine'! against the background of the whole sentence, say 'I am fine', i.e. the hearer subconsciously provides the missing words (cf. Zipf's Law of 'minimum effort': Zipf, 1949: 52).

1.7 Order of Linguistic Elements

Another important issue in the theory of functional sentence perspective is the relation between language and thought. In the previous sections we saw how psychological consideration of language dominated linguistic studies in the second half of the 19th century.

These studies boil down to the conclusion that language reflects thought in motion. The succession of words in an utterance reflects the progression of thought in the consciousness of the speaker. For the further discussion of this issue we recall here some related views held by 20th century linguists and philosophers.

Studying the mutual position of the subject of a sentence and its verb in different languages, Jespersen arrived at the conclusion that: "In the earliest times, sometimes one of them comes first, and sometimes the other. Then there is a growing tendency to place the subject first, and as this position is found not only in most European languages but also in Chinese and other languages of Far-away, the phenomenon must be found in the very nature of human thought" (Jespersen, 1923: 356). This observation made Jespersen put forward the idea that the order S-V (subject-verb) "is only natural to DEVELOPED HUMAN THOUGHT" (idem : 356, his underlining). Evidently there exists a certain kind of relation between the ordering of thoughts and the ordering of their linguistic representation. But the restriction of a certain order, here S-V, to developed human thought, needs more evidence and verification on grounds other than philology. We order our thought in a manner identical to the way we apperceive the extra-linguistic reality which we reflect in our speech. Sentence linearity cannot but reflect the normal and natural order of phenomena as occurring in the extra-linguistic reality. Thus, for instance, initiating an action, the actor necessarily exists before it. The relation between the order of elements as a reflection of our experience of extra-linguistic reality has also been discussed by Admoni (1970: 248 ff). Admoni states that the cognitive content

of sentences may be represented in different ways according to the point of view (Einstellung) taken by the speaker. Different elements can be made the point of departure of the sentence, e.g. the choice of a different construction or of a particular verb category, or entail a manipulation of the order of elements, where this is allowed, without changing the relations holding among them. For instance, in English the basic sentence patterns of the types 'There are some toys in the box' and 'The box has some toys in it' express identical cognitive content. But the points of view which they express are different. Hence different constructions. Beneš (1970: 103) writes that in a relatively context-free situation a neutral sequence of elements will be chosen in which the subject will express the psychological subject, which is determined or characterised by the grammatical predicate which will express the psychological predicate. In this way, the actor will be characterised by the action, a particular by a universal, and in the act of communication the progression of thought of both speaker and listener will move from the element that is to be characterised to what characterises it. The point of-view of the speaker with regard to the cognitive content may come into conflict with the 'normal' predicative form. The point of departure may then not be the subject, but another sentence element. Paul (1888) also refers to the discrepancy that may arise between the grammatical subject and predicate and the psychological subject and predicate; and writes that "the idea of the subject, no doubt, always precedes in the consciousness of the speaker; but as soon as he begins to speak, the more significant idea of the predicate may pass so far in the foreground that it must be uttered in the first place, and the subject not be added till afterwards" (Paul, 1888: 311).

Indeed Henry Sweet (1931: 20) argues that "the finite verb was originally formed by the agglutination of a subject-pronoun coming AFTER the predicate root" (his italics). Sweet then arrives at a conclusion quite different from Jespersen's view above. He writes that "not only is the order of subject and predicate to a great extent conventional, but that the very idea of the distinction between subject and predicate is purely linguistic, and has no foundation in the mind" (idem : 20).

From the above discussion we can say that the order of linguistic elements was to a certain extent unstable in the early stages of language. In the course of time certain orders of elements may have become established in the community, thus belonging to the central structure; others may have become periphery. The prominent word order then becomes, so to speak, conventionalised or idiomatic among native speakers and will make what Coseriu calls 'habitual word order' or the 'norm'. This norm might be violated in certain contexts. For instance the order S-V in English became the norm in the course of the history of English. Yet the other order V-S is retained in certain contexts, e.g. 'may God save the Queen', 'Oh yes, said he , 'About this time died the gentle Queen Elizabeth'. In these examples we see how certain word orders which have become peripheral in the language may be drawn on when needed.

In his article on word order, Danes^v (1967) observed certain rules which govern it. Languages allow deviations according to the rules which govern their word order system. Thus in English word order has become grammaticalised, i.e. the position of a linguistic

element determines its grammatical function. Hence the rules which govern word order in English have become strong or more rigid so much so that it allows for deviation from this word order only when there are strong motivations. Other languages, e.g. Arabic, might have a less rigid or rather a free word order. Hence the rules which govern it are 'weak', so that they allow variations to occur easily.

The phenomenon of word order change has been discussed by Jean Aitchison (1979). In her very interesting article 'The Order of Word Order Change', Aitchison questions two modern theories which account for word order change with examples from Greek. The two theories in question are referred to as the 'CATASTROPHE' theory and the 'CHRONIC INFECTION THEORY'. The Catastrophe Theory by Rene Thom (1973) assumes that there is a gradual build up of pressure within the language system, followed by a major upheaval which results in a new word order. In a chronic infection, presented by Ross (1973) on the other hand, one relatively insignificant change follows another with no definable crisis point (Aitchison, 1979: 45ff).

1.8 Functional Sentence Perspective (Theory and Concepts)

In the previous section we showed that structural relations within the sentence were dealt with in many studies of authors from different nations since the old ages up to the 20th century. Most of these studies were in the form of views and notions with no well-developed linguistic theory to give support to those views. In the twenties of this century the Czech linguist V. Mathesius laid the foundation for a linguistic theory which provides a detailed analysis of these relations.

In the Prague School English language publications, the theory was mostly referred to by the name FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE. The name Functional Sentence Perspective is given as a counterpart to Mathesius's Czech AKTUÁLNÍ ČLENĚNÍ VĚTNÉ ('actual sentence division') (Daneš, 1974b: 219). Mathesius's approach of ACTUAL SENTENCE DIVISION is based on a consistent correlation between the behaviour of communicative units in an utterance, i.e. FOUNDATION and NUCLEUS (Základ-jádro), STARTING POINT OF THE UTTERANCE and NUCLEUS (východisko-jádro), or later THEME-RHEME ('téma-réma'), and the syntactic structure of the sentence, having constant regard to CONTEXT (Fronek, 1978:4).

The theory has been further developed by linguists of the Prague School tradition, e.g. Firbas, Daneš, Beneš, Sgall, Dahl, Hajičová and others. Since the early twenties of the present century up to the present time, many studies were carried out within this framework; it has been applied for the description of various languages. Nevertheless, the theory remained a new concept for the linguistic world at large and to the Arabic linguistic world in particular. It seems rewarding to present a short survey of the theory, in which we present the views of some of the influential authors in regard to the theory and its concepts.

1.8.1 THEME-RHEME

In the literature on Functional Sentence Perspective there are various 'names' and 'notions' for the concepts THEME and RHEME (Daneš, 1974b, Fronek, 1978:16). In his important papers, entitled

(On the so-called Functional Sentence Perspective),* Mathesius (1939, reprinted in 1947) defines the "starting point of the utterance (východisko)"** as "that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation, and from which the speaker proceeds" in his discourse (qu. Firbas, 1966:268), whereas "the core of the utterance (jádro)" is "what the speaker states about, or in regard to, the starting point of utterance"(qu. Daneš, 1974a:106). In a later paper (1942, quoted in Daneš 1974 and Firbas 1966) Mathesius defines "the foundation (or the theme) of the utterance (základ, téma)" as something "that is being spoken about in the sentence", and "the core (jádro, réma)" as "what the speaker says about this theme."(Daneš, 1974 :106).

Here, it seems to us, a number of criteria are applicable in identifying THEME and RHEME, i.e.

- (i) Thing spoken about and what is said about it;
- (ii) Known information and new information;
- (iii) The starting point of the utterance.

In what follows we will discuss each of these criteria separately.

* The paper was in Czech and carries the title "O tak zvaném aktuálním členění větě".

** Mathesius, in his (1942) uses the terms 'Theme' and 'Rheme' (téma and réma) (Daneš, 1974 :106).

1.8.11 Thing spoken of and What is Said About It

The distinction THING SPOKEN OF and WHAT IS SAID ABOUT IT has its deep roots in traditional grammar and in Aristotelian logic. (cf. Aristotelian dichotomy of a proposition into 'object of thought - predicate' cited above). For example, Curme (1931: 2) writes that all sentences are divided into two basic parts ... a subject and a predicate, where the former is defined as "that which is spoken of" and the latter as "that which is said about the subject".

Sapir (1921: 119) recognises the fundamental division of a sentence into 'what it is about' or 'subject of discourse' and 'what is said about it' (i.e. about the subject of discourse).

In a polemic article ("On the so-called Functional Sentence Perspective") referring to Mathesius's 1939, Trávníček (1962) rejects Mathesius's definition of THEME as 'that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation and from which the speaker proceeds in his discourse'. Instead Trávníček suggests that THEME "is the sentence element that links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from it and opens the sentence thereby" (qu. Firbas, 1966: 269). Kirkwood (1973) questions Trávníček's notion of 'the object of thought as "difficult to work with; for it leaves out of account significant linguistic criteria, semantic and contextual, that have an influence on the choice of the initial element." (92).

Meanwhile, the formula 'thing spoken about' as identified with the 'subject of discourse' or 'object of thought' and what is said about the subject of discourse or the object of thought

has become the target of attack. The main argument was the fact that the function 'thing spoken about' fits with everything in the sentence, and the same holds true about the function 'what is said'. In a sentence like

(55) John likes Mary

one says something about John and about Mary. Thus if we represent the sentence in a logical formula, we arrive at one like:

Fab

where F stands for the predicate likes and a and b for John and Mary.

From this formula it is difficult to say that it is about a or about b or even about a and b. Consider

(56) John likes Mary; the same is true for Agnes

or

(57) The British hate the French; the same is true for the Germans
These two examples are ambiguous. Their ambiguity rises mainly because it is difficult to state 'what the sentence is about' in the main clause. The subordinate clause introduced by the same should refer to 'what the main sentence is about' and since that reference is ambiguous (i.e. John and Mary in the former and The British and The French in the latter),^{so} it is the resultant subordinate clause.

Yet it can be argued that, in the absence of syntactic or formal evidence, the reader/hearer might use his/her intuition to discover the object which the sentence is about. Lyons (1968) asserts that a sentence such as

(58) John ran away

is structurally unmarked for the distribution of topic and comment.

He notes: "And yet, if we were presented with this sentence, in

isolation from the context in which the corresponding utterance had occurred or might occur, we would no doubt agree with Hockett and most linguists and logicians since the time of Plato) that something is said about John rather than about running away."(Lyons, 1968: 336).

A possible test for identifying 'what the sentence is about' is by paraphrasing the sentence by using verbs like say or tell, e.g.

(59) John says about his sister that she has married

(60) James says about John that he (John) ran away

No doubt the part after about is 'what the sentence is about', i.e. theme of John's and James's utterances above and that what comes after that refers to its rheme, i.e. 'what is said about the theme'. Thus to disambiguate John likes Mary, we get at the possible two paraphrases, i.e.

(61) James says about John that he likes Mary

(62) James says about Mary that John likes her

A note should be made that the member THAT sometimes occurs as a relative pronoun, e.g.

(63) John told me about the crash that had happened near Vauxhall.

Hence the construction 'about....' represents both 'what is said' and 'what is said about it'. Sentences as above might have further paraphrases as, e.g.

(64) John told me about the crash that it happened near Vauxhall which draws a division line between 'what is said' and 'what is said about it.'

In addition to 'intuition' there is a good deal of syntactic evidence in various languages which enable native speakers to distinguish 'what the sentence is about' from 'what is said about it'.

Czech and many other Slavonic languages use the position in the sentence to indicate the theme of the sentence, i.e. 'what the sentence is about', cf.

(Czech)

(65) Bratr mi dal knihu (Fronek, Personal communication)

(My brother gave me a book)

as against

(66) knihu mi dal bratr (Fronek, Personal communication)

(The book was given to me by my brother)

(Russian)

(67) Ženscina vysla iz domu (Fronek, 1978: 121)

(The woman came out of the house)

as against

(68) Iz domu vysla ženscina (ditto, 121)

(A woman came out of the house)

Mandarin signals what the sentence is about by placing it in initial position (examples from Li and Thompson 1976):

(69) Nei-xie shumu shu-shēn dà (p. 462)

[Those trees tree-trunk big]

(Those trees (topic), the trunks are big)

(70) Zhèi-jian xīnwēn guǎngbō le (p. 480)

(This news(topic), it has been broadcast)

Arabic signals what the sentence is about by placing it in initial position and leaving a 'resumptive' pronoun (pronominal copy) in its place, e.g.

(71) al-waladu māta abū-hu

(The boy died father-his)

(The boy (topic), his father died)

(72) alfīlu hurtūmu-hu ṭawīlun

[The elephant trunk - its long]

(The elephant (theme or topic), its trunk is long)

Some languages use morphological markers to designate 'what the sentence is about', i.e. the topic of the sentence. In Japanese the marker wa is attached to some definite or generic noun phrases and this noun phrase is found in initial position. If the theme is not the grammatical subject of the sentence, the subject is followed by the marker ga. If both theme and grammatical subject coincide, the subject is followed by wa. Compare the following examples from Kuroda (1969)

(73) John - ga ano -hon-o kat - ta

John-SUB MARKER that book bought

(John bought that book)

(74) John - wa ano - hon-o kat - ta

John-TOPIC MARKER that book bought

(As for John, he bought that book)

(75) Ano - hon - wa John - ga kat-ta

that book TOPIC MARKER John SUB MARKER bought

(As for that book, John bought it).

In Tagalog, a language of the Philippines, the particle ang is placed before a definite noun phrase which "expresses the focus of attention in the sentence" (Schachter 1972), e.g. (From Schachter, op. cit.)

(76) Tumulong sa babae ang bata

helped the woman the child

(As for the child, the woman helped it)

(77) Tinulungan ng bata ang babae

helped the child the woman

(As for the woman, she helped the child)

Chinese examples from Tsao (1977):

(78) Zhang san, sou-tiam lai kan wo

(Zhang san (topic), (he) came to see me yesterday)

(79) Zhe-ben shu, zhen nan

(This book (topic), (it) is really difficult)

(80) Lisi, wo yijing song-le yi-fen li

(Lisi (topic), I have already given (him) a present)

(81) Nei kuai tian daozi zhangole hen da, hen shi-quian

(That piece of land (topic), rice grows very big (in it);

(it) is worth a lot of money)

1.8.1.2 Given - New

The contradistinction 'what is spoken' - 'what is said about it' is closely connected with the dichotomy of 'given information' - 'new information' or 'what is known' - 'what is new'. The dichotomy GIVEN-NEW (pointed out by Mathesius, 1939, Daneš, 1974a) relates closely to Halliday's system of INFORMATION (cf. Halliday, 1967: 200ff). However,

Halliday's interpretation of GIVEN and NEW differ in some respects from that of the other students of the subject, e.g. Mathesius, Firbas, Dahl, Chafe and many others.

Halliday's views in this respect could be put as follows:

A piece of discourse would consist of a linear succession or a chain of message blocks, 'the information units', realised by 'tonality': i.e. as a sequence of tone groups. Each information unit is the point of origin for the choice of information FOCUS, by which one element is selected as focal, optionally followed by a further, secondary point of focus; the choice is realised by tonicity. (idem : 211). Halliday's interpretation of 'given' and 'new' mostly rests on the SPEAKER's point of view: "The constituent specified as new is that which the speaker marks out for interpretation as non-derivable information, either cumulative to or contrastive with what has preceded; the given is offered as recoverable anaphorically or situationally " (idem:211).*

This means, if we have understood him correctly, that what is 'new' is correlated with

- (a) elements in final position in the utterance,
- (b) elements carrying the tonic (i.e. 'logical stress' by others)

while 'given' is correlated with elements recoverable from (a) context (i.e. anaphorically) (b) situation.

*For a criticism of Halliday's 'Information Systems' see Fronek, 1983.

Like Mathesius (1939) and many other Prague School linguists, Halliday (1967) keeps the distinction between the two aspects of FSP separate. Thus he distinguishes two simultaneous structures of text:

- (1) "Information focus" (Given-New), and
- (2) "Thematisation" (Theme-Rheme).

Yet unlike Mathesius, Halliday prefers to reserve the function THEME to clause initial position; in his own words: "Basically, the theme is what comes first in the clause; and while this means that ... there is in the unmarked case.... an association of the theme with the given, the two are independent options (cf. Firbas, 1964). The difference can perhaps be best summarised by the observation that, while 'given' means what you were talking about (or 'what I was talking about before'), 'theme' means 'what I am talking about' (or 'what I am talking about now'); and, as any student of rhetoric knows, the two do not necessarily coincide" (idem : 212).

These two aspects of functional sentence perspective, i.e. the contextual and the thematic, have been pointed out by other linguists as well, e.g. E. Beneš (1959, 1968), P. Sgall (1969), F. Daneš (1964, 1970) and Firbas (1964, 1968).

"It has been generally recognised that there is a considerable degree of correlation between 'given' and 'theme' (topic) on the one hand, and 'new' and 'rheme' (comment) on the other - but at the same time, as has been stressed especially by Prague scholars (cf. Daneš, 1973), there is no one-to-one relationship between the two" (Fronek, 1983: 313).

We agree with Fronek (1978) and Daneš (1974) in their observation that the notion 'given' (known) is relative and very broad. Givenness operates on the basis of "syntactico-semantic" mechanisms of varying degrees of sophistication (Fronek, op.cit. : 19). In order to throw more light upon the relationship of the notions 'given' (Known) information and 'theme', we will discuss some of the mechanisms upon which givenness would operate.

(i) Ellipsis

An omission of a part of a clause is generally called ellipsis. It involves systematic features which have no realisation in (surface) structure and therefore it has no potentiality of association with information focus: "what is unsaid", Halliday writes, "cannot be otherwise than taken for granted" (Halliday, 1967: 206). E.g. (elliptic items are indicated by the sign (\emptyset)).

(82) He meant to write to her a letter and (\emptyset) actually wrote one

(83) Ten people suffered from shock and (\emptyset) were taken to hospital

In newspaper registers, especially in the type of style known as 'headlines' there often occurs ellipses which ordinary spoken or written English scarcely ever makes use of (Jespersen, 1927, VI,sec.19.8) e.g.

(84) OXFORD BUS COMPANY SEEKS FARE INCREASE:

COUNCIL MAY OPPOSE (\emptyset)

(ii) Reference

By 'reference' we understand an association between two occurrences of phrases in the text, i.e. reference in an anaphoric sense. Perhaps the most common device in English and Arabic for signalling anaphoricity by reference are articles and pronouns.

(ii a) The use of article

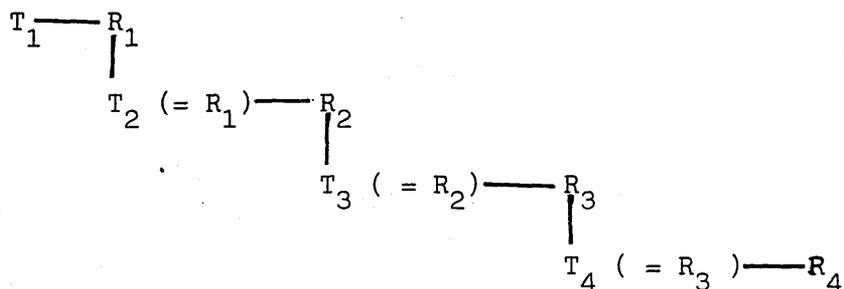
It is commonly agreed among grammarians that the principal function of the definite article lies in the capability of a noun followed by it to signal coreferentiality of the noun to a previously mentioned noun (cf. Zandvoort 1965: 117, Jespersen MEG VII 4-21 ff for English, and Zamakhshari for Arabic).

The definite article often signals anaphoricity in the text or in the actual situation. In its textual use, the definite article serves to identify or reidentify an element in the text. On this account a noun preceded by the definite article would be assumed as providing 'known' or 'given' information. Consider the following text from Arabic:

- (85)
- | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|
| T_1 | | R_1 | | |
| Al-Lāhu | nūru | s-samāwāti | wal-ardi, | mathalu |
| $R_1 = T_2$ | | R_2 | | $R_2 = T_3$ |
| nūrihi | ka | mishkātin | fihā-miṣbāḥun, | al-miṣbāḥu |
| R_3 | | $R_3 = T_4$ | | |
| fī | zudjādjatin, | az-zudjādjatu | ka'annahā | |
| R_4 | | | | |
| kawkabun | durriyun | (Qur. | XXIV | /35) |

- (86) God [is] the light of heaven and earth: the similitude of his light [is] a niche [in a wall] wherein [there is] a lamp, [and] the lamp [enclosed] in a [case of] glass; the glass [appears] as it were a shining star (Sale, p: 267)

In this example the definite article has the function of 'reidentifying' its head substantive within the text, thus ensuring a text cohesion; the nouns preceded by the definite article are introduced as 'given' information as against the nouns which are NOT preceded by the definite article (=indefinite article in English) which are presented as the 'new' piece of information in each clause of the text. The linear 'thematic' structure of the whole text could be shown as follows (T = theme, R = rheme):



(iib) Pronouns

It is generally accepted that personal pronouns very frequently have a coreferential interpretation; the same holds true for demonstrative pronouns. Personal pronouns frequently refer to full nominals in the text, e.g.

(87) $\begin{array}{cc} T & R \\ \hline \text{John} & \text{is sitting in the garden} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{cc} T & R \\ \hline \text{He} & \text{is reading a book} \end{array}$

(88) $\begin{array}{cc} T & R \\ \hline \text{John said} & \text{that he was ill} \end{array}$

(89) $\begin{array}{cccc} & & T & R \\ & & \hline \text{John said} & \text{that} & \text{Bill} & \text{had shot him} \\ & & T & R \end{array}$

(90) $\begin{array}{cc} T & R \\ \hline \text{I met Peter at the station} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{cc} T & R \\ \hline \text{He is one of my best friends} \end{array}$

(iii) Co-occurrence

(91) I saw a man yesterday. The man was carrying a red umbrella

(92) Did John rent a home? - No he bought one

In Arabic, where the thematic element covers a 'long portion' of the sentence, a repetition of the theme 'proper' (to use Firbas's term) in the rhematic part will be necessary, e.g.

(93) inna l-khaṭara min qiyāmi ḥarbin nawawīyatin khaṭarun qā'imun

[thematic danger from starting a war nuclear a danger standing
particle]

(The threat of a nuclear war is a real one)

(94) al-kitābu l-ladhī sh-shtaraytu bil-amsi kitābun nāfi'un

(The book which I bought yesterday is a useful one)

Firbas (1966) and Daneš (1974a) suggest that given or known information is derivable or recoverable from the context, situation and the common knowledge of the speaker and listener. Firbas (1966) sees the communicative feature 'givenness' or 'familiarity' as a graded property. Firbas (1966: 246) writes, "The degree of familiarity, however, varies." Thus an element may be known, well determined or familiar to both the speaker and the listener, "and yet in regard to the narrow, ad hoc scene, it may appear as unknown, new, contextually independent".

1.8.1.3 Initial Position of THEME

Some linguists, e.g. F. Trávníček, K. Boost and M.A.K. Halliday would tie the assignment of THEME with the initial position in a sentence.

Trávníček (1962) quoted in Firbas (1964) defines the THEME as "the sentence element that links up directly with the object of thought, proceeds from it and opens the sentence thereby" (qu. Firbas, 1964: 269). "The concept of the object of thought", Firbas writes, "has been suggested to Trávníček by the idea that 'every thought has its object (O) - a section of reality, taken in by the senses or mediatorially given - which the speaker (writer) has in mind and to which the thought refers" (ditto, 269).

Halliday (1974) points out that his understanding of THEME is closest to that of Trávníček: "I myself take 'theme' in Trávníček's sense: it is that FSP element that is realised by first position, and has nothing to do with previous mention" (Halliday, 1974: 53).

In this respect Boost's (1964) conception of THEME is interesting. Boost conceives a sentence as a 'GANZHEIT' (i.e. as a 'whole entity', (cf. Wundt's GESAMTVORSTELLUNG). A sentence represents a 'tension' (Spannungsnorm) between the speaker/writer (Urheber) and the listener/reader (Aufnehmender). In order that a sentence may be understood by a listener/reader, it has to have a specific structure (Gliederung). The most appropriate structure which can fulfil this function is to start with "what is known to the speaker and the listener" (Boost 1964: 25).

Elements with which a sentence starts, e.g. Therefore, so, that, etc.,

connect the sentence with text, and because of their 'givenness' (Gegebenheiten), they make suitable "Basis für Sprecher and Hörer" (27). Boost at first called this concept "Basis" (basis) and then changed it for Ammann's (1911) THEME. He writes: "Wir waren versucht, diesem Satzglied vor dem Prädikat den Namen 'Basis' zu geben ... es ist AMMANN, der,den Begriff des 'Themas' einführt und damit dem Satzbeginn den Rang verleiht und die Funktion gibt, die ihm zukommt." (Boost 1964: 28). Once a speaker/writer mentions the THEME of his/her sentence a tension of expectancy (Spannung) would build up, which is only resolved in the course of the sentence towards the end. Boost draws on Ammann for his understanding of the concepts of THEME and RHEME as 'what is said' and 'what is said about the theme' respectively. Since, to the best of our knowledge, it is Ammann who first introduced the term 'Rheme' (rheme) in its modern understanding. In view of the historical importance of Ammann's concept we quote him here: "Auf einen früher von mir eingeführten Ausdruck zurückgreiffend., werde ich den Gegenstand der Mitteilung im Folgenden gelegentlich auch als 'Thema' bezeichnen: das Neue, das, was ich dem Hörer über das Thema zu sagen habe, konnte man entsprechend mit dem (scheinbaren) Reimwort 'Rhema' belegen." (Ammann, 1928: 3, qu. Boost, 1964: 31). *

* The term 'Rhema' was used in Greek grammar in a sense similar to 'predicate' (Boost, 1964: 32).

1.8.1.3 Presupposition - Focus

The terms presupposition-focus, proposed by Chomsky (1968), roughly corresponds to the dichotomy topic-comment, theme-rheme, as known from works on FSP. The notion of presupposition as used nowadays in linguistics is applied to refer to several rather distinct empirical phenomena. What is relevant in our study is the contradistinction presupposition-focus, as has been shown by Sgall (cf. Sgall, 1971), Sgall and Hajičová (1971) and Hajičová (1972). The very term 'presupposition' remains rather vague. Boguslawski (1977); 155-159) criticised the heterogeneity of presuppositions, which can contain elements inherent to (presupposed by) the predicate as inalienable arguments (93), as well as quite optional elements that were in no way 'presupposed' by the predicate relations (94).

(93) John went to Paris. /Presupposing 'John went somewhere'.

(94) John laughed because he has been shown a funny picture. /Presupposing 'John laughed for some reason'.

In our view testing of the notion presupposition can be carried either intuitively, or by the test of negation. In the former sense presupposition would then fall within the realm of psychology, in the latter sense within logic. Let us consider some illustrative examples from R.P. English, (cf. Halliday, 1970).

- (95) //John reads a book in the garden//
- (96) //John reads a book in the garden//
- (97) //John reads a book in the garden//
- (98) //John reads a book in the garden//
- (99) //John takes his wife to the movies//
- (100) //John takes his wife to the movies//
- (101) //John takes his wife to the movies//
- (102) //John takes his wife to the movies//

(underlining for tonic // for tone unit boundary)

Using the test of intuition, we can say that the first three sentences presuppose certain context, occurs in the context of an answer to who...?,

(98) to Does? (99) to who does John take to the movies?

About sentence (98) Halliday says that it "presupposes nothing; it is not necessarily the 'answer' to anything at all: it may just be the beginning of a discourse" (Halliday, 1970: 335). In our view //John takes his wife to the movies// still presupposes that a certain 'John' should exist together with the idea that 'this 'John' should have a wife'. The other test of presupposition is the negation test: under negation we understand that "the sentence is used to give quite different instructions, yet the presuppositional conditions are unaffected" (Fillmore, 1969: 121). But consider the following examples from Hajičová (1972: 16).

- (103) Harry caused our defeat
 (104) We were defeated
 (105) Harry didn't cause our defeat
 (106) Our defeat was caused by Harry
 (107) Our defeat was not caused by Harry

(103) is entailed by (104). But the test of negation shows that (103) cannot be considered a presupposition of (104) since (103) is not entailed by (104): in (104) the defeat might not have to be the case. Consider

- (108) Harry didn't cause our defeat. This time he has helped
 a great deal to our victory.

The corresponding passive constructions (106) and (107) entail (103) irrespective of whether they have affirmative or negative forms.

Similar considerations hold in the case of Arabic (109) - (112):

- (109) surra 9aliyun li ru'yati l-ahrāmi

(Ali was delighted to see the Pyramids)

- (110) 9aliyun ra'a l-ahrāma

(Ali saw the Pyramids)

- (111) Lam yusarra 9aliyun li ru'yati l-ahrāmi

(Ali was not delighted to see the Pyramids)

- (112) ru'yatu l-ahrāmi lam tussira 9aliyan

(The sight of the Pyramids did not bring any delight to Ali)

Here (110) is not the presupposition of (109), since we cannot say that (110) is also entailed by (111). (110) is entailed by (112), as in the case of affirmative statement (109). Note that both in (107) and (112) the element in question (the noun phrase our defeat, in the

former and the participial phrases ru'yatu l-ahrāmi in the latter set of sentences) are outside the scope of negation; they identify those entities that are spoken about, and thus they are untouched by negation. In (105) and (111) these elements are in the comment part and they are in the scope of negation.

In 'Aspects...' (p. 221), Noam Chomsky suggests that "topic-comment is the basic grammatical relation of surface structure corresponding roughly to the fundamental subject-predicate relation of deep structures". Chomsky defines 'topic' as 'the leftmost NP immediately dominated by S in the surface structure; and comment as the rest of the string (Chomsky, 1965: 221).

Thus for example, in

(113) It was in England that I met him

the topic is in England and the comment is the rest of the sentence. While the deep 'logical' subject of the sentence is I and the deep structure predicate is met him in England.

In the same work (p. 163), Chomsky notes the extensive discussion concerning the difference between the grammatical subject and predicate of a sentence and its "logical" or "psychological" subject and predicate. In "Deep structure", Chomsky notes that a sentence like

(114) Archie rejected the proposal

is responsive to any of the questions in (115) but not in the question in (116)

(115) a. What happened?

b. What did Archie do?

c. What did Archie reject?

(116) Who rejected the proposal?

A sentence like

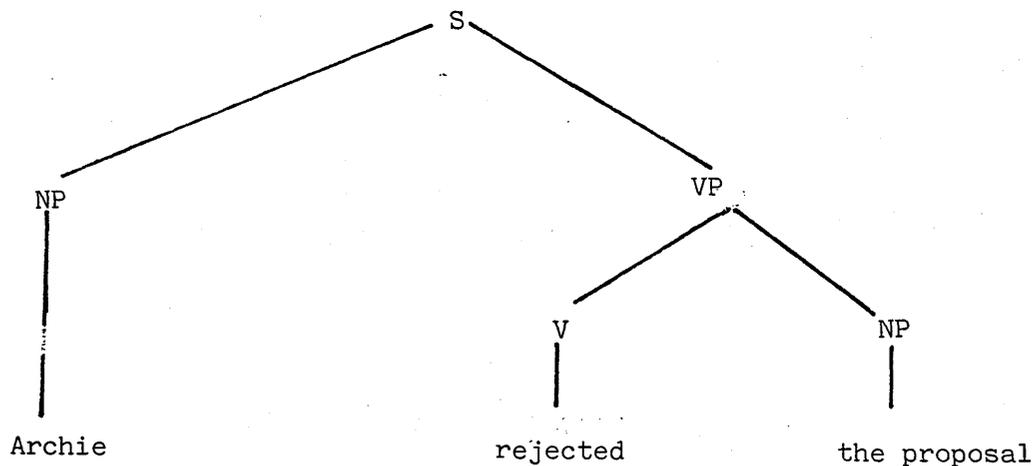
(117) Archie rejected the proposal

is responsive to (116) but not to any of the questions in (115).

Jackendoff (1972: 229-278) agrees with Chomsky that the distinction between the PRESUPPOSITION AND FOCUS is definable in terms of the surface structure. The FOCUS is incorporated into the grammar by means of a syntactic marker F which can be associated with any node in the surface structure (Fronek, 1978: 40). This means that the various sentences in (118) could share a common underlying structure, namely (119), and that the various sentences are derived by rules that single out some constituent, mark it for FOCUS (i.e. emphatic stress) and/or move it to a more prominent position in the sentence (examples from Gundel 1974: 38-39):

- (118) (a) Archie rejected the proposal
 (b) Archie rejected the proposal
 (c) Archie rejected the proposal
 (d) What Archie rejected was the proposal
 (e) The one who rejected the proposal was Archie
 (f) It was Archie who rejected the proposal
 (g) It was the proposal that Archie rejected
 (h) (As for) Archie, he rejected the proposal
 (i) (As for) the proposal, Archie rejected it
 (j) The proposal Archie rejected
 (k) The proposal Archie rejected
 (l) Archie rejected it, the proposal
 (m) He rejected the proposal, Archie

(119)



The transformations involved in deriving (118) from structures that contain (119) include the following:

- I Emphatic stress placement (b, c and i)
- II Pseudo-cleft formation (d and e)
- III Cleft formation (f and g)
- IV Left dislocation (h and j)
- V TOPICALIZATION (j and k)
- VI RIGHT DISLOCATION (l and m)

As we shall see in Chapter VI these are various semantics-syntactic mechanisms which serve the purposes of Functional Sentence perspective.

1.8.2 Communicative Dynamism

The term 'communicative dynamism' was first used in Firbas 1956 though the idea of communicative dynamism was mentioned by Mathesius (1939) (cf. Mathesius's Paper quoted in Firbas 1964). Firbas and many other Prague School linguists, e.g. Daneš and Sgall hold that linguistic communication is a dynamic phenomenon; hence the concept

of communicative dynamism (CD) is understood as a property of communication. CD is displayed in the course of the development of the information to be conveyed. Any element that is an utterance is a carrier of a certain amount or degree of CD. By the degree of CD carried by an element, is understood the extent to which that element, so to speak, pushes the communication forward, thus contributing to the further development of a communicative act.*

As early as 1957, Firbas rightly uses the concept of communicative dynamism to define the two concepts THEME and RHEME. Because of the importance of Firbas's view we quote him in full: "Viewed thus, those sentence elements which convey something already known or something that may be taken for granted, in other words those elements that may be inferred either from the verbal or from the situational context, are to be regarded as the communicative basis of the sentence. They are referred to in this paper as the Theme** of the sentence On the other hand, those sentence elements which convey the new piece of information are to be regarded as the communicative nucleus*** of the sentence. They are referred to in this paper as the rheme**** of the sentence Needless to say, the thematic elements are less

* A summary of various observations made by Firbas as well as his understanding of the concept of communicative dynamism can be found in Firbas's (1971) paper carrying the title "On the Concept of Communicative Dynamism."

** Translating Mathesius's term *východisko výpovědi* (Firbas's note 7).

*** Translating Mathesius's term *jadro výpovědi* (Firbas's note 8).

**** Firbas's note 9: We have decided in favour of RHEME against NUCLEUS.

important in the given situation, being communicatively less dynamic than the rhematic elements. The former as a rule contribute nothing or very little, to the development of the discourse, whereas the latter, conveying the new piece of information, undoubtedly develop it very substantially" (Firbas.1957:72). Thus Firbas identifies thematic elements with those carrying the lowest degrees of CD and the rhematic with those carrying the highest degrees of CD in the utterance. But the question is how can we decide the amount (degree) of CD which an element would carry in the sentence). In answer to such a question Firbas (1959, 1971, and elsewhere) suggests the following means of signalling degrees of CD: i) Context (both situational and verbal, ii) Semantic means, iii) Word-order, iv) intonation. In what follows, we will briefly review these various means of realisations.

(i) Context

By context we refer to the verbal and situational 'environment' in which an utterance is produced. Its function in determining the amount of communicative dynamism which is to be carried by a linguistic element is very important. This is mainly due to its function in altering the distribution of CD. It thus can 'dedynamize' or 'thematize' elements otherwise 'dynamic', i.e. rhematic and vice versa, it can 'dynamize', i.e. 'rhematize' elements otherwise 'non-dynamic', i.e. 'thematic'. "Any element already mentioned in the preceding context normally conveys the lowest amount of CD within a sentence irrespective of the position occupied in it." (Firbas, 1966: 240).

Consider the following illustrative example:

(120) The man gave the boy a ball

Even when there is no verbal context preceding this sentence, the elements the man and the boy may most naturally be interpreted as known, i.e. as conveyed by the actual situation. The informational weight of the man and the boy would be very small and their contribution to development of the communication will be comparatively little. In terms of CD both the man and the boy would carry very low degrees of CD. On the other hand a ball may be interpreted as a NEW piece of information, i.e. not mentioned in the preceding context. In terms of CD it will carry a high, in fact the highest, degree of CD. Fluctuation in the degrees of CD due to the operation of context manifest themselves differently in different languages. For example, in English it manifests itself in the change of the intonation contour of the sentence,

(121) The man gave a boy the ball

versus

(122) The man gave the boy a ball

(Using Halliday's system of intonation where // denotes the boundary of a clause and underlying for the element with the main stress, 'sentence stress' or 'nucleus') (cf. Halliday, 1970).

In Arabic as we shall see in the subsequent chapters, degrees of CD often manifest themselves in the position of the linguistic elements in the sentence. Consider:

(123) a9tā r-radjul-u l-walad-a kurat-an

[Gave the man the boy a ball]

(The man gave the boy a ball)

versus

(124) a9tā r-radjul-u l-kurat-a walad-an.

[Gave the man the ball a boy]

(The man gave the ball to a boy)

In these examples contextual boundaries are signaled by the definite article preceding the contextually bound element. Thus while in (123) alwalad-a may be interpreted as 'known' from the preceding context, in (124) it is alkurat-a, hence the change in the order of elements. In the English examples (121) and (122) the change in the degrees of CD entails different accentuation of the sentence, though the position of linguistic elements remain the same.

Contextual boundness often manifests itself in 'pronominalizing', and hence dedynamizing the element which has been mentioned in the preceding context. Consider:

(125) When Mary got the letter, she fainted

(126) John will do it, if he can

(127) James often beats his wife, she never grumbles

Contextual dependence sometimes is determined by what Firbas has called 'narrow' 'ad hoc' scene of a communicative act. Nouns preceded by a definite article may be known or familiar to both the speaker and the hearer and yet in regard to the narrow scene may appear as unknown or new, i.e. contextually independent.

Thus, in the sentence John has gone up to the window,* the window may be familiar to both the speaker and the hearer; it may be then interpreted as contextually bound. But since the purpose or the raison d'être of the utterance is the expression of the direction of the movement, the window appears as contextually independent. Under the circumstances, it is non-derivable (non-recoverable) from the preceding context.** In terms of CD the window would carry the highest degree of CD in the sentence, e.g.

(128) Father has gone for a walk with John

Theme proper Rheme pr.

(129) Father has gone with John for a walk

Theme pr. Rheme pr.

(130) John has been taken out for a walk by Father

Theme pr. Rheme pr.

(Firbas, 1959: 42).

or in Arabic

(131) 9aly-un ishtara dhalika al-bayta l-djadid-a

Theme pr. Rheme pr.

(Ali bought that new house)

(132) dhalika l-bayt-u l-djadidu ishtarahu 9aliy-un

Theme pr. Rheme pr.

(That new house was bought by Ali)

*Example from Firbas (1971: 136).

**By circumstances it is meant that the sentence is taken as pronounced (when read) with the 'logical stress' on window.

(ii) Semantic Structure

As to the semantic structure, "it operates within that section of the sentence that has remained unaffected by, independent of, the preceding context" (Firbas, 1966: 240). The means of signalling CD are provided here by the semantic content of the element in question as well as by the semantic relations with which this context may occur" (ditto: 240). For a detailed investigation see Chapter Four of this thesis.

It has been observed that generally there is a special group of words predisposed by their semantic content to carry low degrees of CD. e.g. personal, demonstrative, progressive and reflective pronouns, copulas and other linking verbs and words denoting existence or appearance, the definite article. Some languages would have linguistic elements which (to a certain extent) systematically occur in the thematic or the rhematic part of the sentence, e.g. wa in Japanese and inna in Arabic accompany thematic elements; even, only in English and auch in German would regularly accompany elements with high degrees of CD or rhematic elements.

The operation of the semantic structure of the sentence, i.e. the semantic relations in which linguistic elements may participate, is often looked into from the point of view of communication. Thus, for instance, an object expresses the goal (outcome) of an action, will carry a higher degree of CD than the verb irrespective of the position occupied within the linear arrangement (Firbas, 1971: 137).
E.g.

- (133) I have read a fine book
- (134) Ich habe ein schönes Buch gelesen (German)
- (135) Četl jsem pěknou knihu (Czech)
(I have read a fine book)
- (136) laqad qara'tu kitāban mumti9an (Arabic)
(I have read a fine book) *

(iii) Word-Order

As to the function of word order in determining degrees of CD, it is assumed that in harmony with both human thought and the nature of human apprehension linguistic elements develop along linear areas of a sentence. (Firbas, 1971: 138).

In another place Firbas writes: "The starting point of the theory (of functional sentence perspective) is the assumption that it is in accordance both with the character of human thought and with the linear character of the sentence that sentence elements follow each other according to the amount (degree) of communicative dynamism (CD) they convey, starting with the lowest and gradually passing on to the highest" (Firbas, 1966: 240). But it is expected that because of structural restrictions, natural languages may deviate from this order (cf: for instance Mathesius's studies on comparative word order, which show that there is a marked difference in word order in English and Czech sentences. Firbas and many other Prague School linguists have observed this feature of natural language.

* The German and Czech examples (134) and (135) are from Firbas(1971: 137).

Firbas (1966) writes: "In producing their sentences, however, languages may deviate from the BASIC DISTRIBUTION OF CD. They may do so on account of grammatical structure, for emotive reasons, for the sake of the rhythm, etc." (240, our capitals).

1.8.3 Instance Levels

With regard to the influence of context, both verbal and situational, Firbas (elsewhere, in particular in 1959, 1966) differentiates between two 'INSTANCE LEVELS' of the sentence: (i) sentences unmarked by contrast, FIRST INSTANCE SENTENCES, and (ii) sentences which single out one element for special attention (usually for the sake of heavy contrast or emphasis) which Firbas calls after D.L. Bolinger (1965) SECOND INSTANCE SENTENCES. In the former sentence elements are arranged according to the degree of the dependence on the context and situation, i.e. according to the degrees of CD which they carry.

In this case the prosodic means of signalling CD in the sentence does not have too much significance. Thematic elements, on the one hand, in the unmarked pronunciation, would not carry the 'tonic' (to use Halliday's term for 'nucleus'). The rheme, on the other hand, not only acquires stress, but even carries the 'tonic' of the sentence.

In second instance sentences any linguistic element may be singled out for contrastiveness, thus functioning as a one-element RHEME PROPER, all the other elements forming an extensive THEME PROPER, e.g.

- (137) The HUNTER killed the lion
 (138) The hunter KILLED the lion
 (139) The hunter killed the LION

1.8.4 Identification of Theme

From our review given above, it can be inferred that, while the Prague School linguists hold different views regarding the concept THEME, yet they agree in regard to the concept RHEME the element(s) which provide the new piece of information of the sentence. Another general understanding among Prague School linguists is that declarative sentences can be viewed as answers to 'explicit' or 'implicit' questions. Boost (1964: 33)* suggests some kind of 'diagnostic' question-test for identifying the thematic structure of a sentence.

The element questioned about would then provide the new information in the answer. Boost, however, only gives two examples which he provides as illustrative rather than exhaustive, examples. Thus in a question like:

- (140) Wer hat denn das Buch gefunden? (Boost 1964: 33)

the question word wer will be the theme and das Buch the rheme, of the question.

*Boost (1964) is the 5th impression of Boost(1955).

A possible answer to such a question would be

(141) Das Buch hat Hans gefunden

in which the rheme of the question will have the function of the theme of the answer and Hans will provide the element questioned about, i.e. the new element in the sentence. Thus an answer like

(142) Hans hat das Buch gefunden

would not be the appropriate one in the context of the given question.

A.G. Hatcher (1956) has provided a scheme of 12 questions with regard to sentences with the structure S-V-O. In his review of Hatcher, Firbas (1962) carries her scheme further to account for possible adverbials that may accompany SVO structures. Thus Firbas brings the total of forty-two questions, all are devised from the point of view of the unknown element.

1.9 Conclusive remarks

In this chapter we saw that in the literature on the thematic structure of the sentence, various terms have been used, referring to the same general divisions, but with some subtle differences which might cause some confusion to the reader. Perhaps a table showing these terms would give the reader an idea about this proliferation of terminology. Table 1 certainly does not exhaust all the terms that have been used. But it does at least represent some of the most widely cited terms.

Table 1

Theme-Rheme Terminology

| | |
|--|---|
| THEME-RHEME | J. Firbas, F. Daneš, E. Golková, A. Svoboda, E. Beneš, H.W. Kirkwood, H.A.K. Halliday, J. Fronek, K. Boost, and in this thesis |
| TOPIC-COMMENT | Ch. F. Hockett, Ch.N. Li, O. Dahl, P. Sgall, E. Hajičová, N. Lewkowicz |
| BASE-TERM D'ABOUTISSEMENT | A. Sechehaye |
| LE POINT DE DEPARTURE-LE BUT DU DISCOURSE | H. Weil |
| GIVEN-NEW | W.L. Chafe, M.A.K. Halliday |
| PREPOSITION-FOCUS | N. Chomsky, R.S. Jackendoff |
| ZÁKLAD-JÁDRO (Foundation-Nucleus) | V. Mathesius |
| LOGICAL SUBJECT-LOGICAL PREDICATE | H. Steinthal |
| PSYCHOLOGICAL SUBJECT- PSYCHOLOGICAL PREDICATE | G.u.d. Gabelentz, W. Wundt, H. Paul, H. Reckendorf |
| LOGICO-GRAMMATICAL SUBJECT LOGICO-GRAMMATICAL PREDICATE | V.Z. Panfilov |
| MUBTADA ¹ -KHABAR (Inception-Enunciation) | Sibawayhi, Ibn Ya9īsh, and other traditional Arabic grammarians |

CHAPTER TWO

FRAMEWORK

2.1 The three-level model

Following Daneš (1964), we will base our investigation on the three-level model he proposed for the description of the sentence. The respective levels are:

- (i) the level of the grammatical structure of the sentence,
- (ii) the level of the semantic structure of the sentence, and
- (iii) the level of the thematic structure of the sentence.*

I. On the level of the grammatical structure we will analyse the sentence into its respective components which will be referred to as SYNTACTIC POSITIONS, such as subjects, objects, adjuncts and complements. The question is how can we identify these syntactic positions on the grammatical level without referring to the semantic level. A detailed investigation shows that there are two criteria of identifying them. The one pertains to the form of the linguistic element and its position in the sentence; the other pertains to the syntactic valency of the verb which governs these positions. Thus, for instance, the contrast between the two syntactic positions Subject and Object in English is expressed mainly by the position of the nominal relative to the verb. The nominal which precedes the verb and with which the verb agrees in number is subject, that which follows is object. In Arabic the said contrast is expressed by means of the inflectional forms of the noun case. The nominal filling the syntactic position Subject has the form of the Nominative case, and the noun or nominal filling the syntactic position Object has the form of the Accusative case.**

*We used (iii) instead of Daneš's "level of organization of utterance" (Daneš, 1964: 225). This is due to the linguistic fact that the strict methodological distinction between the terms 'sentence' and 'utterance' was convincingly criticized as inconsistent (cf. Fronek, 1978; note 43, Chapter 1). In order to avoid confusing FSP as one of the levels of language description, we used (3) instead of Fronek's "the level of the FSP" (Fronek, 1978: 60).

**Criteria for the distinction between complements ('actants') and adjuncts ('circumstants') will be discussed in a fairly detailed way later on in this chapter.

II. The semantic structure of the sentence can be viewed as a kind of analogue of an extralinguistic situation. It is based on the kind of relations that is sometimes called 'logical'. These relations are often derived from nature and society, e.g. actor and action, experiencer and experience; different circumstantials of place, time, manner, etc. These semantic relations are often indicated by certain 'semantic features' which are inherent in the verb, i.e. by what we shall call the 'logical valency' of the verb. Thus, for instance, the semantic features inherent in the verb hit require the semantic pattern

- | | | | |
|-----|-------|--------|------------|
| (1) | AGENT | ACTION | PATIENT ** |
| (2) | John | hit | Peter |

in which the subject is identified with the semantic function agent or the 'doer' of the action expressed by the verb hit; the grammatical object is identified by the semantic function patient. Both the semantic functions viz. agent and patient should have by definition*** the semantic feature [+ animate]. The question arises as to how we analyse sentences of the type

- | | | | |
|-----|----------|-----|-----------|
| (3) | The ball | hit | the wall |
| (4) | The car | hit | the fence |

in terms of the semantic functions (i.e. deep cases) of the lefthand and the right-hand actants, since both of them are characterised by the semantic feature [- animate]. This means that neither the left-hand actant is capable of performing an action by itself nor the right-hand actant is capable of so to speak, 'feeling' the effect of the action. According to Fillmore (1975) (3) and (4) would be analysed as having the semantic structure:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------|--------|------|
| (5) | OBJECT | ACTION | GOAL |
|-----|--------|--------|------|

This would require two lexical entries for the verb 'hit', the one with the logical valency Agent - Patient, the other with Object - Goal. This begs the question as to whether we choose either of

* The deep case categories referred to here are basically derived from the work of Fillmore (1968) and his revised version (1971). However we will be using further case categories of our own or derived from other sources. These will be explained as they occur in the development of our study.
 ** cf. Fillmore (1968:24) for the Agentive case "the case of the typically

the lexical entries to account for 'hit' in

(6) John hit the fence

(7) The ball hit John

or whether we should assign another two lexical entries to it. In our work we prefer to consider (2) as a basic pattern and the others as SIMULATIONS*. Thus we speak of Agent-like subject and Patient-like object.

III. The level of thematic structure could be considered as the level which helps relate the grammatical and the semantic structures of the sentence to a purposeful act of communication. In his detailed analysis of thematic subjects, Fronek observes that "when constructing grammatical sentences it is not sufficient to observe rules and constraints only of a syntactic and semantic nature. We also have to take into account their communicative function in the concrete situations in which they are uttered" (Fronek, 1978: 357). Different communicative situations require different arrangement of information 'units' in accordance with their relative informational weight in the respective sentence. These information units cluster around what we call after Fronek "INFORMATION CENTRES" (Fronek, 1978: 16). On the level of the thematic structure of the sentence we distinguish between two information centres, namely THEME (roughly WHAT THE SENTENCE IS ABOUT) and RHEME (roughly WHAT IS SAID ABOUT THE THEME).

2.2 Dependency Grammar

One of the most consistent approaches for the description of the syntactic system of the language is that of dependency grammar.

.... / animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb". Patient would be the animate being affected by the action identified by the verb.

*cf. Daneš 1968: 63.

Dependency grammars assign the central role in the organization of the sentence to the verb. The syntactic-semantic properties of the verb are shown to determine the number and the kind of the major participants in the sentence.

2.2.1 The Traditional Arabic Grammarians' Dependency Model

The concepts of 'dependency' and 'verb valency' were not only known to the traditional Arabic grammarians but they were the key concepts in their doctrine of Syntax.

As early as the 8th century (the start of linguistic studies in Arabic) problematic cases of dependency were at the heart of linguistic discussions among Arabic grammarians. Actually one of the major division lines between the two eminent linguistic circles of Basra and Kufa was marked by the solution they offer to such problems.

Let us start with an example of one of these problematic cases. Both Baṣrī and Kūfī grammarians agree on the dependency rule:*

(A dependent (maḡmūl) could be governed by one régissant ('ḡāmil') only).

Sentences such as, e.g.

(8) djā'a wa dhahaba ḡaliyun (Ali came and went away)
 [came and went Ali]

would be problematic as to which of the two RÉGISSANTS, here the two verbs, is governing the DEPENDENT, here the subject. The Baṣris argue that it is the last régissant, i.e. the one closest to the dependent, the Kufis argue that it is the first régissant which governs that dependent. (F. AS-Sāmarā'i, 1970: 219ff).

*Basris and Kufis refer to followers of the two eminent grammar schools of Basra and Kufa

Another example of the problematic cases in dependency grammar was the regissant which governs 'inception' and 'enunciation' in nominal sentences, e.g.

(9) alwālidu yaktubu (Father is writing)
[Father-NOM writes]

(10) albintu djamīlatun (The girl is beautiful)
[The girl-NOM beautiful-NOM]

(9) is problematic because if it said that the verb is the regissant and that the subject alwālidu is its dependent, then one would violate one of the rules of dependency which reads:

"rutbatu l09āmil t-taqdīmu"

('The régissant should precede its dependent') (F. As-Sāmarā'i, 1975: 248); and to the Arabic grammarians a rule should not allow for exceptions.

(10) is then problematic in two respects. First there is no apparent régissant governing the inception and second there is no verb in order to govern the enunciation.* So again the grammarians of the two schools are at dispute. The Kufis propose a solution which, they believe, could solve both of the two problems. Their solution lies in the idea of a 'reciprocal governing' between the inception and the enunciation. While the Basris argue that alwālidu in (2) and albintu in (3) are governed by an 'implicit régissant' ('9āmilun ma9nawy') realized by the position of the constituent in the sentence, i.e. its 'incipiency' ('al-ibtidā''), the nominal constituent in the enunciation part in (3) is then governed by the inception. Here both the Basris and the Kufis are violating, by their solutions, the rule which they agreed to, namely that which

*We used the term INCEPTION for Arabic mubtada' instead of that most common among European Arabists, namely INCHOATIVE. This is to avoid misunderstanding 'inchoative' which is used to express change of state, e.g. She became a teacher, Water turned ice, etc.

reads: "al-aṣlu fī l-asmā'i an lā taḡmal" ('basically, nouns do not govern other dependents') (F. As-Sāmarā'i, 1975: 248). This rule is numbered three in the order of about twenty rules (or rather characteristics) and conditions of dependency is not out of place here if we mention some of these rules which we think might clarify the notions of dependency and of verb valency in traditional Arabic grammars:

i. kulu taghyīrin iḡrābīyin innamā huwa atharun liḡāmil

('Every grammatical declension is the direct effect of a régissant')

ii. al ḡamalu fī l-djumali lil-fiḡl

('Verbs are the principal régissants')

iii. al-aṣlu fī l-asmā'i an lā taḡmal, wamā yaḡmalu mina l-asmā'i mushabbabun bi l-fiḡl

('Basically nouns do not govern other dependents, and nouns which may govern other elements do so by analogy with the verb')

iv) lā yadjūzu iḡmālu ḡāmilayni fī maḡmulin wāḡid

('A dependent can be governed by one regissant only')

v) rutbatu l-ḡāмили t-taqdīm

('The régissant should precede its dependent')

(cf. F. As-Sāmarā'i 1975, 1970, 1969)

From this brief account of the theory of dependency in traditional Arabic grammarians' view we can derive the following three points:

- (a) Dependency relations among linguistic elements are understood in terms of influencing the word's declension ('iḡrāb') i.e. they are morphologically orientated.

- (b) The verb is given the central role in the sentence, i.e. it is considered the main regissant;
- (c) The hierarchy of dependency is understood in terms of the linear order of linguistic elements in the sentence, i.e. a régissant should precede its dependent.

With regard to the theory of dependency and the model of very valency, the pioneer work in Arabic grammar is Sībawayhi's "Al Kitāb" ('The book'). However, Sībawayh's concepts of dependency and verb valency were mainly derived from those of his teacher, the eminent Arabic linguist, Alkhalīl.

Although Sībawayhi did not clearly define the phenomenon of the 'valency' of the verb, he employed it for the subclassification of the verb system in Arabic. This can be shown by the usage of the term 'ta9adda' which in Sībawayhi's understanding means 'to govern the accusative' cf. "'al-fā9ilu l-ladhī yata9addāhu fi9luhu ilā maf9ūl" (The AGENT whose VERB governs a PATIENT). Sībawayhi did not define the concepts of ACTANTS and CIRCONSTANTS on whose possible presence or absence in the sentence the subclassification of verbs is made. Yet the consistency in which Sībawayhi carried the sub-classification would make the following observation possible:

- i) Verbs are of two major forms: active verbs and passive verbs.
- ii) Actants are identified with 'Agent' and 'Patient'.
- iii) Circonstants are identified with 'Circumstantials' (ismu laḥadathān) which includes all types of adverbs or adverbials of PLACE and TIME
- (iv) Verbs are classified on the basis of the number of actants they could govern. Circonstants are free to occur, hence they do not influence the verb's valency.

- v) Prepositional objects, e.g. ila Sh-shami in dhahabtu ila sh-shami (I went to Damascus) are excluded from the function of actants.
- vi) Copulas such as kāna ('was'), yakūnu ('is'), aṣbaḥa ('became'), mā dāma ('is still') etc. are considered by Sibawayhi as a special verb class in that the two actants which they require have the same referent. Sibawayhi did not call them fāʿil and mafʿūl as he did call actants of other verbs. Instead he called them ismu l-fāʿil and ismu l-mafʿūl ('active' and 'passive' participle respectively).

Thus Sibawayhi distinguishes eight verb classes besides the special class of copulas. If we exclude the class of copula as a special case and the three passive verb classes as they might merely be DIATHESES of the active verbs corresponding to them, we are left with five verb classes for the whole Arabic verb system. These five verb classes could be arranged in terms of the modern concept of verb valency as follows:

- i) Monovalent verbs, e.g. dhahaba Zaydun (Zayd went away)
- ii) Bivalent verbs, e.g. ḍaraba Zaydun ʿamran (Zayd hit Amr)
- (iii) Trivalent verbs, e.g. danna ʿamrun khālidan akhāka
(Amr thought Khalid your brother)

iv) /

iv) Trivalent verbs with one optional actant (other than the subject)

e.g.

a9ṭaytu l-walada hadiyatan

(I gave the boy a present)

v) Tetravalent verbs, e.g. ara L-Lāhu Zaydan Bishran abāka

(God showed Zayd your father Bishr)*

2.3 Verb valency

The idea of assigning the central role in the syntactic organization of the sentence to the verb was by itself now new. But it is generally accepted that it was first fully formulated and systematically employed for the description of language by the French scholar Lucien Tesnière (1959). Tesnière's model of verb valency did only enjoy some kind of popularity after it had been introduced into German grammar by Brinkmann (1962) and Helbig (1965). Since then many German grammarians, e.g. Helbig, (1969), Heringer (1973), Engel (1972) and Erben (1972) took up the model into the description of verbal systems of German. On the other hand, this wide use of the theory of verb valency for the description of the verbal system in one language, i.e., German, suggests differences in approaches to the theory and to its concepts. Since the theory of verb valency was introduced as an area within dependency grammar, it is preferable to describe it on the basis of the dependency model.

*In this example your father is an appositive to Bishr. We did not encounter any actual example of true tetravalent verb. Even this example which is given by Sibawayhi does not express a tetravalent verb, since Bishran and abaka have one and the same referent; actually they are one and the same actant.

In his 'Éléments', Tesnière started with the basic notions that syntax (German 'Satzlehre') is the study of the sentence, and that the sentence should be given the central role in the description of syntactic structure of organised language (cf. Tesnière, 1980, ch. 1). In Tesnière's understanding a sentence is an organised whole whose elements are the words as well as the connections among these words. To make a sentence means to put unordered words into some kind of an ensemble; to understand a sentence means to understand both the words in the ensemble and the relations which hold between them. Thus, for instance, the sentence

(11) Paul is speaking

consists of the words Paul and is speaking as well as the relation that holds between them. "Der Begriff der Konnexion gehört somit zu der gesamten strukturalen Syntax" ('The concept of 'connexion' therefore belongs to the foundation of the whole of structural syntax') (Tesnière, 1980, Ch. 1, par. 1). And "Auf Grund der strukturalen Konnexionen bestehen Dependenzbeziehungen (Abhängigkeitsbeziehungen) zwischen den Wörtern" (On the basis of such structural connections there exists dependency relations among the words (in the sentence) (ditto). In principle, every connection binds a 'superior' and an 'inferior' term together. The superior term is called the 'régissant' (governor), the inferior the 'subordonné' (dependent). The connection is of a hierarchical nature. It runs from top to bottom in terms of governing and from bottom to top in terms of dependency. A schematic representation for e.g. Paul is speaking would be something like (sch. 1)

is speaking

Paul

(sch.1)

A sentence such as e.g. my friend is speaking would be schematically shown

is speaking

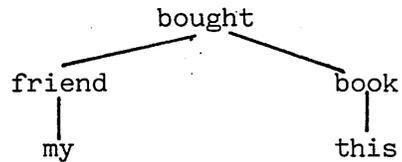
friend

my

(sch.2)

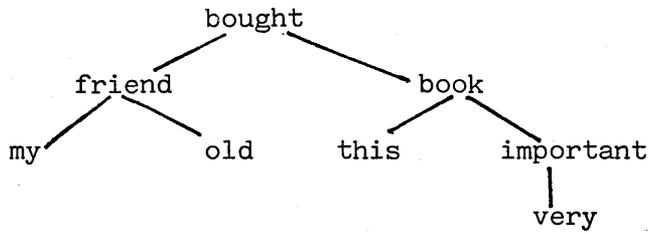
Linguistic elements are shown by 'nodes' on the diagram of the sentence, and a structural connection between two nodes is shown by a solid line.

For instance the schematic representation of my friend bought this book would be shown as in scheme 3

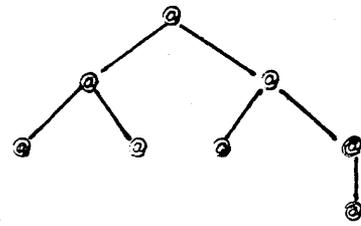


(sch.3)

In principle a higher node can govern more than one node but a lower one can be governed by one node only. A sentence such as my old friend bought this very important book would appear schematically as (sch.4) and the abstract representation would be in the form of (sch.5)



(Sch.4)

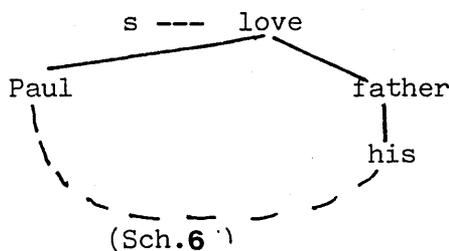


(Sch. 5)

Tesnière distinguishes two kinds of syntactic orders:

- i) LINEAR ORDER which is manifest in the sequence of words as they follow each other along the linear development of the sentence:
- ii) STRUCTURAL ORDER which is represented by a scheme showing the kind of relations that holds between an element and other elements in the sentence.

Further, Tesnière deals with various possible relations which hold between elements in a sentence, e.g. the relations between his and Paul in Paul loves his father or between the 3rd person singular s and the subject. He refers to such relations as 'connexions anaphoriques' and they are shown by a broken line on the structural scheme, cf.(sch.6).



(Sch.6)

It is not within the scope of the present study to go over all these kinds of relations. Instead, we will be concerned mainly with

the structural connexion between the verb and its dependents, a connexion which is of essential relevance to the theory of verb valency.

Tesnière distinguishes two kinds of relations between a verb and its dependents:

- i) relation of PARTICIPATION
- ii) relation of DESCRIPTION

On account of these two kinds of relations, Tesnière classifies constituents* into ACTANTS and CIRCONSTANTS.

In Tesnière's understanding actants participate, in one way or another, in the process; circonstants describe the circumstances in which the process takes place. These two concepts, viz. actants and circonstants assumed different names and values in the literature on valency.

In the present work we shall be using the terms 'actant' and 'adjunct' for Tesnière's 'actant' and 'circonstant' respectively

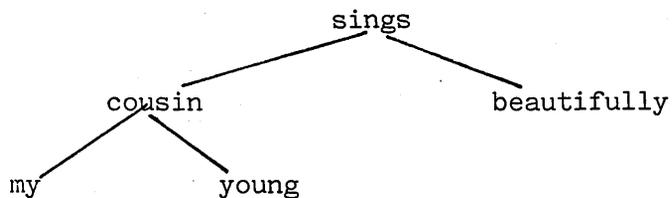
In line with the traditional grammarians Tesnière classifies constituents on the basis of their formal characteristic: "Die vier Arten voller Wörter sind somit Substantive, Adjektive, Verb und Adverb. Diese vier Elemente sind die Ecksteine der Sprache " (Ch. 32 sec. 21) ('The four kinds of 'full' words are thus: noun, adjective, verb and adverb.

These four elements are the corner-stones of language'). Tesnière then gives the following symbols:

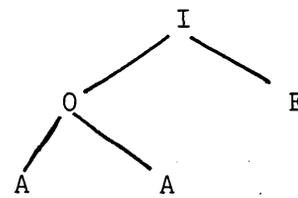
*The term constituent is used here to refer to structural units which are directly governed by the verb, i.e. occupy the node, just under the verbal node in the structural representation.

O = noun
 A = adjective
 I = verb
 E = adverb

My young cousin sings beautifully could be represented structurally
 (sch.7) or abstractly (sch.8)



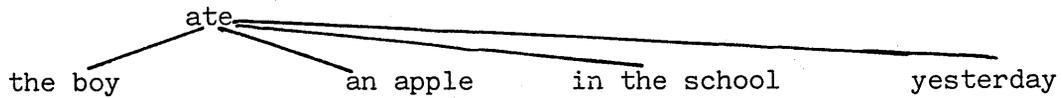
(Sch. 7)



(Sch.8)

2.3.1 Actants and Adjuncts

Tesnière identifies 'actants' with the word-class nouns and 'adjuncts' with the word-class adverbs: "Die Aktanten sind immer Substantive oder Äquivalente von Substantiven. Umgekehrt nehmen die Substantive im Satz grundsätzlich immer die Funktion von Aktanten ein. Die Angaben bezeichnen Umstände der Zeit, des Ortes, der Art und Weise usw., unter denen sich das Geschehen vollzieht" (Actants are always nouns or noun equivalents. Conversely, nouns assume almost always the function of actants. Adjuncts describe the circumstances of time, place, manner and kind, etc. under which the process takes place')(Tesnière, 1980 sec.6 par. 7). Thus a sentence, e.g. The Boy ate an apple in the school yesterday would have two actants, viz. the boy and an apple and two adjuncts, viz. in the school (adverb of place) and yesterday (adverb of time). Structurally it would appear as:



(Sch. 9)

or in an abstract scheme as



(Sch. 10)

The distribution of actants and adjuncts on the structural scheme (9) shows that both are direct dependents of the verb. Graphically, where it is possible, actants will be shown to the left and adjuncts to the right of the verbal node.

On the semantic level actants are characterised as "die Personen oder Dinge, die auf irgendeine Art am Geschehen teilnehmen" (Actants are the persons or things which, in one way or another, participate in the process) (Tesnière, 1930, Ch. 50, par. 1).

They make with the verb "eine Einheit, die oft soweit geht, dass die Verbbedeutung ohne die Bedeutung des Aktanten unvollständig wäre". (One unit to the extent that without that actant the meaning of the verb would be obscured) (id. ch. 57 par. 4). For instance, Paul hit John without the second actant the sentence would not be understood.

Adjuncts, on the other hand, are basically optional. They are free to occur without altering the syntactic valency of the verb. An adjunct occurs in the sentence mainly as an elaboration to the verb. consider:

- (12) Paul hit Peter
- (13) Paul hit Peter yesterday
- (14) Paul hit Peter at the school
- (15) Paul hit Peter with a stick
- (16) Paul hit Peter brutally

On account of their participation in the process, actants are grouped into actants of first, second and third ranks: "der erste Aktant ist der welcher eine Tätigkeit ausführt, ... der zweite Aktant ... ist ... welchem eine Tätigkeit/Handlung widerfährt; ... der dritte Aktant ('the first actants are those which perform the action, second actants are those which undergo the process, and third actants are those to whose benefit or disadvantage something happens') (Tesnière, 1980: 90-91, our translation).

Here Tesnière limits the function of actants in an active sentence to Agents, Patients and Beneficiary. On the grammatical level they correspond to subject, indirect object and object respectively.

Since these functions are limited, their occurrence is determined by the type of the verb; the verb, on its part, is characterised by the number of such actants it requires.

One of the syntactic characteristics of a verb is its capability to govern a determined number of actants. It is this characteristic of the verb which is termed its valency.

To sum up the characteristics of actants and adjuncts we can say that:

- i) Actants are identified with substantives, adjuncts with adverbs or adverbial phrases;
- ii) Actants are obligatory for the syntactic structure of the sentence, adjuncts are optional;
- iii) Actants occur in a limited number in the sentence, adjuncts are free to be added to the sentence;
- iv) Actants are identified with the grammatical function subject, direct object and indirect objects, adjuncts with circumstantial participants;
- v) Actants are identified with the semantic function Agent, Object, Patient, Experiencer, Beneficiary, adjuncts with adverbials of place, time, manner, etc.
- vi) Verbs are classified on account of the number of actants they require in a grammatically acceptable sentence.

2.3.2 Some Problematic Cases

German Grammarians, e.g. Helbig (1969), Brinkmann (1973), Erben (1972) and Engel (1972), when applying the valency model for describing the German verbal system noticed that certain adverbials shift into the category of object, hence, the distinction is drawn between 'enge Verbergänzungen' and 'freie Angaben' rather than between object and adverbials as Tesnière did in his model. This difference in distinction could be shown graphically:

| | Actants Objects | Adjuncts Adverbial |
|------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Tesnière's | | |
| Helbig's | Actants Enge Ergänzungen | Freie Angabe |
| | | |

(Sch. 11)

This means that German grammarians included in the valency structure of certain verbs certain kinds of adverbials, e.g. with 'wohnen' an adverbial locative, e.g.

(17) Mein Freund wohnt in Berlin

(18) Mein Freund wohnt in einem Hotel

with 'liegen' an adverbial locative, e.g.

(19) München liegt an der Isar

(20) Das Buch liegt auf dem Tisch

with 'dauern' a temporal adverbial, e.g.

(21) Die Beratung dauerte zwei Stunden

with 'fahren' a directional adverbial

(22) Er fährt nach Berlin

and so on.

Consider similar examples from English and Arabic

(23) London lies on the river Thames

(24) My friend lives in Berlin

(25) The meeting lasted for two hours

(26) Paul left for London

(27) He laid the book on the table

- (28) He thrust the key into the lock
- (29) Peter behaved very well
- (30) Peter put the jewels in the box
- (31) Peter treated Paul badly
- (32) Baghdādu taqa9u 9alā Didjlata (Baghdad lies on the river Tigres)
- (33) ṣadīqī y9īshu fī Baghdāda (My friend lives in Baghdad)
- (34) istammara l-idjtimā9u sā9atayni (The meeting lasted two hours)
- (35) safara akhī ilā Landana (My brother left for London)
- (36) wada9tu l-kitāba 9alā l-mindadati (I put the book on the table)
- (37) adkhaltu l-miftāḥa fī l-ḥufli (I thrust the key into the lock)
- (38) taṣṣarafa Aḥmadun biadabin (Ahmed behaved himself)

In all the above sentences the omission of the adverbial would render them ungrammatical.

These sentences show that certain adverbials are tied to a particular class of verbs. For instance, direction adverbials are tied to verbs of motion, locative adverbials to verbs of existence, manner adverbials to verbs of behaviour and so on.

We believe that it is due to this very close bond between certain classes of verbs and certain classes of adverbials that some kinds of sentence structures have become 'idiomaticized' or semi-idiomatic. Thus, for instance,

- (39) My friend lives in Paris

would be considered ungrammatical without the locative adverbial.

But if we further investigate into such sentences we find that the verb to live is monovalent and it only needs the locative adverbial for further specification, like 'exist'. If the locative adverbial is omitted a general one (i.e. universe) would be assumed on the part of the listener, e.g.

- (40) Lions exist (Lyons 1968)
(41) He went to London
(42) dhahaba ilā Sh-Shāma (He left for Damascus)
(43) dhahaba Sh-Shāma (He left for Damascus)

in which the directional adverbial has become idiomatic so as when it is ellided a general one is subsumed, e.g.

He went = He went somewhere

Sībawayhi argues that in

- (43) dhahaba Sh-Shāma
(He left for Damascus)

there is no indication in the semantics of dhahaba ('he went') on Damascus; instead it has indication on the act of going and on place, i.e. general.

Similar examples are: (examples from Sībawayhi)

- (44) dhahabtu farsakhayni
[Went - I two miles - Acc] (I walked for two miles)
(45) sirtu milayni
[Walked - I two miles - Acc] (I walked for two miles)
(46) dhahabtu shahrayni
[went - I two months - Acc] (I travelled for two months)
(47) sirtu yawmayni
[Walked - I two days - Acc] (I walked for two days)

Here, despite the apparent accusative case of the second actant, Sibawayhi rightly, regards it as adjunct. His examples of similar sentence with adjuncts of time show that Sibawayhi regards such verbs as monovalent whether there is an adverbial of place (which is essential to the meaning of the verb) or not, even when such an adverbial appears in the form of a nominal in the accusative, as in the above examples.

Various tests have been set by grammarians for the marking of actants and adjuncts. The 'elimination' test is one of them. It is based on the criterion that: actants are obligatory; without them the sentence would be rendered ungrammatical.

On the basis of this test a constituent is grouped an actant if its absence renders the sentence ungrammatical, c.f.

the adverbials in, e.g. He lives in Paris .

The ungrammaticalness of a sentence is judged on a structural basis rather than logical, semantic or communicative bases. Thus, e.g.

(48) Two and two are five

is logically rather than syntactically unacceptable or incorrect.

(49) He killed the stone

is semantically unacceptable

(50) He lives

is communicatively rather than syntactically unacceptable, in the context other than He exists or He has not died.

On the other hand, in specific situations some actants might be added or omitted without disturbing the grammaticality of the sentence, e.g.

- (51) He is reading a novel vs. He is reading
 (52) He is writing a letter vs. He is writing
 (53) He ran a race vs. He ran
 (54) She sang a song vs. She sang

Yet, a novel, a letter, a race, a song, in the above examples are still considered actants and not adjuncts despite their omissibility. Here the effect of the elimination test is nullified and we must return to Tesnière's formal and semantic criteria in order to be able to group elidable elements as actants. It is only after classifying such constituents as actants that we can apply the elimination test, which then only helps to distinguish between optional and compulsory actants.

Another problematic case is posed by what is called 'phrasal verbs' in English, e.g. come in, get up, look out for, wait for, etc.

These verbs are distinguished on syntactic grounds using TRANSFORMATIONAL AND SUBSTITUTION criteria (cf. He got up at six = He rose at six, what time did he get up? etc.).

In this case we must distinguish between adverbials, e.g.

- (55) He walked past the station
 (56) She ran across the street

and verb-adverbial particle combinations which act like a single verb, e.g.

- (57) He got up at six = He rose at six.

With most of these phrasal verbs, the particle can either come before or follow a noun object:

(58) They turn on the light = they turned the light on.

(cf. Leech and Svartvik, 1975, par. 696, ff.).

Yet, personal pronoun objects always have to come before the adverb, cf.

They turned it on

versus the ungrammatical

* They turned on it

Other examples:

catch on = understand

Give in = surrender

turn up = appear, arrive

blow up

break off

bring about

burn up

fall out

The last five compound verbs retain the individual meaning of the verb and the adverb.

Leech and Svartvik note that most phrasal verbs are informal (ditto, par. 618).

However, sometimes it is largely by intuition that one can decide between a phrasal verb and verbs followed by a prepositional phrase.

(59) They ran over the cat

(60) They ran over the bridge

In spoken language rhythm may mark the difference between the two sentences above. Phrasal verbs thus are judged as single verbs as far as syntactic ruling is concerned. For instance the verb 'wait' in

(61) He waited (until ten o'clock)

is to be considered monovalent, whereas 'wait for' *in*

(62) He waited for his friend

is to be considered as bivalent.

2.4 Halliday's transitivity Systems

In his transitivity systems, Halliday (cf. Halliday 1967, 1971) draws on the traditional understanding of the term 'transitive'. The two verb categories 'transitive' and 'intransitive' roughly correspond to Halliday's 'extensive' and 'intensive' respectively. But instead of treating transitivity as a feature of the verb, Halliday carries the description to a higher level than the verb, namely the clause. Hence, the first division in the transitivity system is between extensive and intensive clauses. Extensive clauses would be those with a transitive verb and intensive clauses those with intransitive verbs.

Halliday distinguishes three types of sentence constituents: process, participants and circumstances. Process subsumes both ('action' and 'ascription'. Hence the first cut is made between 'extensive' (i.e. clauses with process of the type action, e.g. she washed the clothes and 'intensive' (i.e. clauses with process of the types 'ascription' e.g. she looks happy. Action type could be 'directed' e.g.

(63) She washed the clothes

or non-directed, e.g.

(64) The prisoners marched

Corresponding to the three process types 'directed action', 'non-directed action' and 'ascription' there are three participant types: actor, goal and attribuant (Halliday, 1967: 39).

Participants are of two types: 'inner participants' (roughly actants) - they are associated with the element S (subject) and C (complement), attributes and circumstances with the element C " (1967: 39). and 'outer participants' (roughly adjuncts) (1970: 149).

Halliday, like Tesnière, does not include the participant type 'circonstant' as a factor in determining the type of the clause. Thus, Halliday starts with the clause type on the basis of the type of the verb combined with the deep cases relationship of participants to the verb. This means that Halliday's transitivity system is semantically orientated. Clauses group themselves into semantically related sets (1967: 52). Further sub-classification of sentence types is made on the basis of the deep case relationship to the verb which the 'inner' participants bear. Thus, in the sub-class of directed action, the first participant (i.e. the grammatical subject) could be actor, e.g.

(65) She washed the clothes

Hence it is further sub-classified as operative, or goal, e.g.,

(66) The clothes were washed

Hence it is subclassified as receptive.

Halliday observes that "each of the three primary elements of class structure, predicator, subject and complement expresses a variety of different notions S may be actor, goal or attribuant; P may be action or ascription; C may be goal or attribute" (1967: 41).

We believe that Halliday's analysis of the clause in terms of its participants and the semantic relationships in which these participants enter among each other would be of considerable importance for the investigation of the sentence on the semantic level.

CHAPTER THREE

THEMATIC STRUCTURE OF
EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

3.0 Preliminary

Philosophers since Frege have pointed out the special nature of definite referring expressions in natural language. For instance Bertrand Russell (1919: 153-5) argues that the falsity of an existential sentence will lead to the falsity of the affirmative starting point of a premiss.* Let us take a classic example like

(1) The present King of France is bald

and its negative starting sentence

(2) The present King of France is not bald.

In terms of TRUTH-VALUE, (1) fails to make a statement, because the definite referring expression The present King of France does not succeed in identifying anyone in extra-linguistic reality about whom something could be said. But as a communication unit (1) still makes a statement. It has a theme, in the sense of what is spoken about, and a rheme in the sense of what is said about the theme.

Gundel (1974) makes a valuable suggestion, namely that a distinction should be made between existential presupposition and existential assertion. For her, a specific indefinite noun phrase like a French King in (3)

(3) A French King married his mother

does not convey an existential presupposition. Sentence (3), rather,

*The term premiss is borrowed from logic to refer to the beginning of a proposition.

asserts that there is or was a French King and that this King married his mother. If there is no such king in the extra-linguistic reality, (3) does not fail to make a statement; it is simply false. In sentences such as:

(4) The French King married his mother.

the existence of a particular king is not part of what is asserted; rather it is presupposed. From the point of view of its communicative function, (4) does not fail to make statements, even when it is not true in terms of its TRUTH VALUE.

The problem of existence and existential judgements has been discussed by the Polish linguist and philosopher A. Bogusławski (1977). He writes:

"The problem of existence and existential judgement is in itself a problem of the utmost importance, not only because it is a central topic for ontology and epistemology but because of a close relation that the notion of existence has to the notion of negation, inseparably connected with the very essence of language in particular with TRS (Thematic-Rhematic structure) "
(Bogusławski , 1977: 76).

3.1 THERE Constructions in English

The semantic relation 'existence of a person or a thing in a place' is expressed in English mainly by the grammatical structure

There + be + N¹ + Adv (LOC), e.g.

(-5) There is a book on the table.

From literature on THERE constructions in English, Cf. for example Jespersen (1924:155, 1949, VII: 107ff), Sweet (1982: 344), it is

possible to identify two types of THERE: the unstressed expletive 'there' (there_{ex}) and the usually stressed adverbial 'there' (there_d), e.g.

(6) // There's always John //
 ex

(7) // There's John // over there //
 d d

(using Halliday's notation (Cf. 1967) where // is a tone group boundary, and underlining for the tonic). It is to be noted that in (7), when uttered, there is a break in the flow of speech indicated by // in the prosodic transcript. Communicatively, this break in the flow of speech, has the significance of indicating the boundary of a complete informational unit, with the second tone group, over there, acting as appositional or as an afterthought on the part of the speaker. Jespersen (1924) remarks that THERE_{ex} though spelt in the same way as the adverbial locative THERE_d, has become different from it. THERE_{ex} has no stress and is generally pronounced with the neutral vowel / ə / instead of / eə / for the adverbial THERE_d (Jespersen 1924:154).

Equivalent Arabic translations of the English

(8) // There're lions there //
 ex d

(9) // There's John // over there //
 d d

would show the difference between existential THERE and the adverbial demonstrative THERE_d by using different forms. (10) and (11) would be the high equivalent Arabic translations to (8) and (9) respectively

(10) thammata usūdun hunāka

(11) dhāka huwa 9aliyun, hunāka

On the syntactic level it seems that there is no agreement on the role of THERE_{ex}. Quirk et al (1972: 959), Curme (1931: 8) consider

THERE_{ex} as subject. The reason for that is the employment of THERE_{ex} in yes-no answers (Is there any more coffee? Yes, there is). in tag questions (There is no need to hurry, is there?) and as 'secondary' subject of an infinitive or a gerund (I don't want there to be any doubt about it, I was surprised at there being so little traffic).

Zydati^ß (1981), Kirkwood (1969, 1973), Poldauf (1969) consider THERE_{ex} as an anticipatory element, it introduces the subject into the scene of discourse. Jespersen (1949, VII: 109) adopts an intermediate attitude. He treats THERE_{ex} as a 'quasi-subject'.

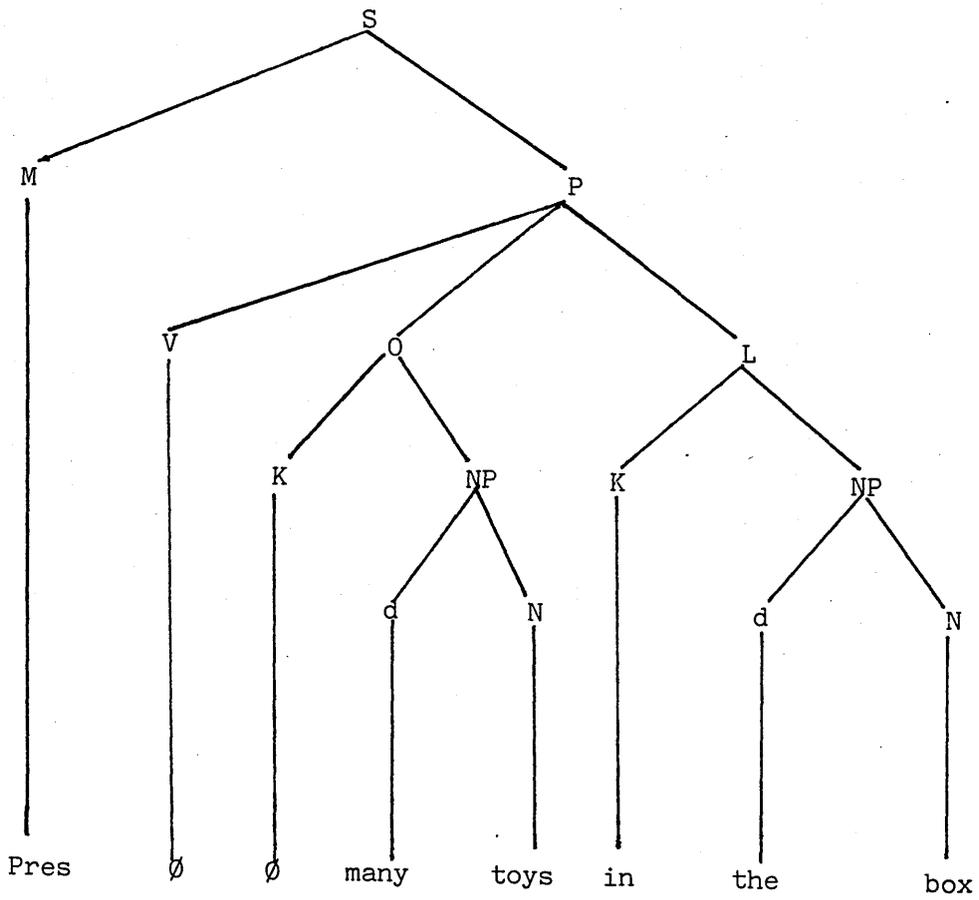
Studies on the source of 'there' in existential locative sentences pivot around two main hypotheses:

- (i) the locative analysis, and
- (ii) the communicative analysis

The locative analysis, cf. Lyons 1967 and 1968, and Fillmore 1968, suggests that in sentences as, e.g.

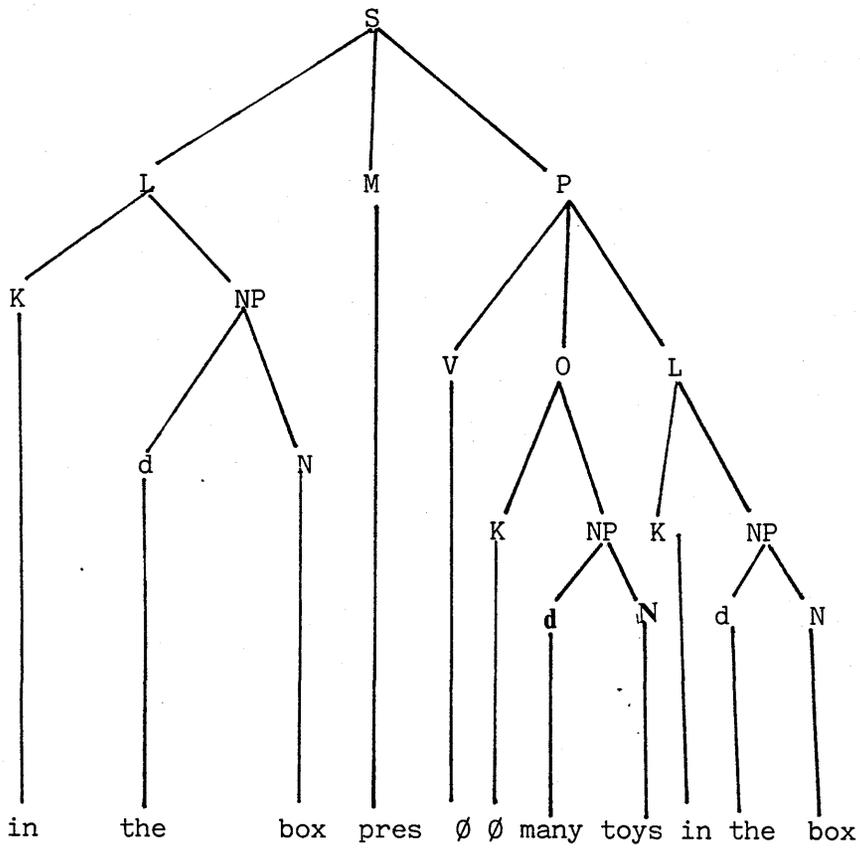
- (12) There are lions in Africa
- (13) There are many toys in the box
- (14) There is a book on the table

'there' is developed via a transformation which copies the locative phrase into subject position. The locative phrase is replaced by the proform expletive (unstressed) 'there'. For instance, to 'theme' in (13) Fillmore proposes the following sequence of representations (Fillmore's examples (83), (86) and (87)):



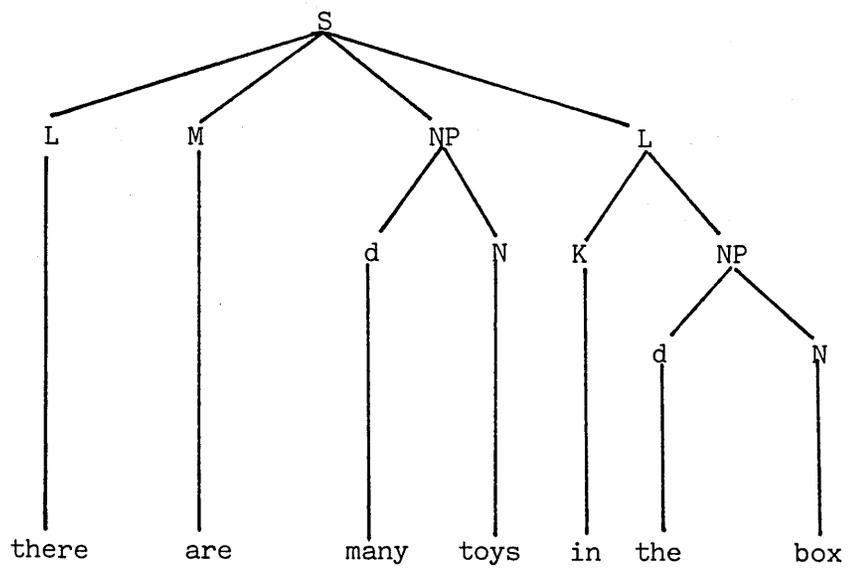
(Scheme 1)

which, through subject copying of the L, leads to (Scheme 2)



(Scheme 2)

The copied locative phrase is then pronominalised by the expletive unstressed 'there'. The result will be:



(Scheme 3)

According to the communicative analysis, cf. for example Allan 1971, Fronek 1978: 100ff., Kirkwood 1969, the expletive 'there' has the function of occupying initial position in the sentence. It thus allows the grammatical subject which carries a higher degree of CD to be transferred towards the end of the sentence. In the present study we will adopt the communicative analysis, especially as proposed by Allan (1971). Further we will propose that 'there + be' is a 'unitary' form, hence 'there' cannot be a copy of a locative phrase. Consider the following sentences:

(15) // There are lions in Africa //
 ex

(16) // There // in Africa // there are lions //
 d

(17)*// There // in Africa are lions //
 ex

These examples show that only the demonstrative there_d can be co-referential with a locative phrase such as in Africa.

3.2 Anticipatory IT

Yet the existence of the anticipatory subject IT in English raises the question whether THERE_{ex} does not perform a similar function. In contrast to THERE_{ex}, the syntactic function of the anticipatory IT is not disputed. The device is generally regarded as an anticipatory pronominal subject. To a certain degree there are analogies between both anticipatory IT and anticipatory THERE. IT anticipates a subject which is often expressed by an infinitive or a subordinate clause:

(18) It seemed natural to speak softly

(19) It is appropriate that the first volume should be about the
 theory

(20) It is rarely that he comes home before five

(21) It has been common among philosophers to begin with how we know (Rus:1959:9)

(22) It is not always realized how exceedingly abstract is the information that the theoretical physics has to give (Rus.1959:17)

The subject anticipated by THERE is often expressed by a noun, a gerund or nominal expression:

(23) There were plenty of people getting promotion (Leech & Svartvik,1975:237)

(24) There was no riding or shooting or anything of that kind

(25) There have been two bulldozers knocking the place flat (Leech and Svartvik,1975:237)

Here both IT and THERE serve to fill in the regular position of the grammatical subject, while the subject for communicative purposes, requires later placement in the sentence.

However, we must note that anticipatory IT affects the syntactic structure of the sentence but not its cognitive value.

Consider (26) and (27) as possible variants to (20):

(20) It is rarely that he comes home before five

(26) His coming home before five is rare

(27) Coming home before five is rare for him

Both (26) and (27) have similar cognitive value to (20). But the difference in the syntactic structure would entail difference in the communicative value of the sentence constituents as well as difference in the DIRECTION of the cognitive movement. In (20) the direction would be

qualificans - qualificandum

whereas in (26) and (27) it is

qualificandum - qualificans.

We will discuss the thematic structure of IT sentences in Chapter Six, when we will be dealing with some types of structuring (here CLEFTING) for the purposes of FSP. It suffices here to note that the presence of anticipatory IT is largely for the purpose of Functional Sentence Perspective: aligning the grammatical structure with the required distribution of communicative weight over linguistic elements in the sentence. Consider the following pairs of sentences:

(28a) To play with him was such fun

(28b) It was such fun to play with him

(29a) I wanted to read that book

(29b) It is that book I wanted to read

(30a) We were met by the ambassador

(30b) It was the ambassador that met us.

The rhemes of (a) sentences are taken up as themes of (b) sentences and are put into focus, thus 'dedynamizing' their communicative importance. On the one hand IT - sentences help bring the rhematic part into the grammatical subject position, thus putting it into the focus of attention and throwing the thematic part into distinct relief by placing it towards the end of the sentence. On the other hand THERE_{ex} in existential constructions has its own semantic value. Its replacement by the subject proper entails not only a change in the thematic structure of the sentence, as is the case with IT-sentences, but also a change in the semantic structure as well, e.g.

- (31a) There is a book on the table
(31b) The book is on the table
(32a) There is a man waiting outside
(32b) The man is waiting outside
(33a) There are two patients in the waiting room
(33b) The two patients are in the waiting room

(a) examples have the grammatical structure

There_{ex} + be + N + Adv (10c)

They express the existence of a person or a thing in a place. Yet the (b) examples with the grammatical structure

N + be + Adv (10c)

entails a change in the semantic relations among linguistic elements from that in the (a) examples. They express localization of someone or something in a place. Thus to use Gundel's terminology (a) examples would denote 'existential assertion', whereas (b) examples express 'existential presupposition'. Notice that the subject in (a) examples is preceded by the indefinite article which, by its semantic content, often dynamizes the element which it precedes. Due to its communicative weight, the subject then is referred towards the end of the sentence. However, English sentences with rhematic subjects in initial position like

(34) A book is on the table

are "possible but uncommon" (Leech 1981: 236).

3.3 THAMMATA Constructions in Arabic

In Arabic a non-thematic subject in initial position is not possible, cf. the ungrammatical

- (35) * kitabun 9ala l-mindadati
(A book is on the table)
- (36) * radjulun bil-bābi
(A man is at the door)
- (37) * zāirāni fī ghurfati l-intidāri
(Two visitors are in the waiting room)
- (38) * suratun 9alā l-djidāri
(A picture is on the wall)
- (39) * zaghabun fawqa shafatayhā
(Down is over her lips)

The ungrammaticalness of sentences (35-39) is due to the rhematic subject occupying initial position.* We are of the opinion that a non-thematic subject is only possible when it stands in contrast with an element in the preceding context, e.g.

- (42) mas'alatun ukhrā yakhtalifu fihā l-Islāmu wa N-naṣrāniya
(There is another question about which Islam and Christianity disagree)
- (43) mu'allifun ākharu yadjibu an na9rifa djamī9a mu'allafātihi
(There is another author, all of whose works should be known to us)

*Howel (1888:52) argues that sentences with only indefinite subjects are possible only when the sentence expresses a strange idea, e.g.

- (40) shadjaratun sadjadat (Howel 1888: 52)
(A tree prostrated)
- (41) baqaratun takallamat (Howel 1888: 52)
(A cow talked)

(44) wa-sababun ākharu li-stiqdāmi l-Mu9taṣimi lit-Turki huwa anna

(And there is another for Al-Mu9tasim's summoning the Turks. It is that)

Here ākharu ('another') presupposes numeration and shows that the non-thematic subject is connected to the preceding context. Note that sentences (42-44) will be rendered ungrammatical, if this element, i.e. ākhar (another) is eliminated unless there is a previous mentioning of the theme, Cf. *

(45) *mas'alatun yakhtalifu fihā l-Islāmu wa n-Naṣrānīyatu
(*A matter about which Islam and Christianity disagree)

(46) *mu'allifun yadjibu an na9rifa djamī9a mu'allafātihi
(An author, we should know all his works)

(47) *wa-sababun l-istiqdāmi l-Mu9taṣimi lit-Turki huwa anna
(And a reason for Al-Mu9tasim's summoning the Turks is that)

Sentences (45 - 47) could be accepted on the basis of implying a thematic deictic element before them, cf.

(45'a) hādhihi mas'alatun yakhtalifu fihā l-Islāmu wa N-naṣrānīyatu
(This is a matter about which Islam and Christianity disagree)

A note should be made that in newspaper headings, sentences like (45) - (47) are quite common, e.g.

ziyāratu r-ra'īsi li-muḥāfaḍati n-Nadjafi

(The visit of the President to Nadjaf governorate)

on the grounds of implying a thematic part at the head of the sentence like

hādha naba'u -----

This is the news of -----

When the non-thematic subject is previously mentioned in the text, sentences with initial non-thematic subjects will be possible. A missing pronominal with an anaphoric reference to the subject will then be implied, e.g.

(47) Ø wadjhun li-fallāḥatin (Mah.Mir. 24)

(It was a brown face of a peasant girl)

(48) Ø baytun naḥīlun (ditto: 26)

(It was a small house)

(49) Ø fatātun anīqatun wa-djamīlatun (ditto: 43)

(She was a chic and beautiful girl)

(50) Ø khabarun muz9idjun (ditto: 54)

(It was bad news)

The implied pronoun functions as a connector with the previous context and in the meantime, it introduces the new element, here the non-thematic subject, into discourse. Yet these sentences will be rendered ungrammatical if they are cut off from their context, e.g. in the beginning of a story. Cf.

(52)* fatātun djamīlatun wa-anīquatun

(A beautiful and elegant girl)

(53) * ḥadathun khaṭīrun lā taḥtamiluhu l-qariyatu

(A grave incident which the village cannot endure)

(54) * wadjhun asmarun li-fallāḥatin

(A brown face of a peasant girl)

3.3 THAMMATA constructions in Arabic

In a context-free situation the implication of an anaphoric pronoun is not possible without a referent preceding it to which this pronoun might refer. It is largely this referential characteristic of pronouns that makes them themeworthy. Under the general requirement that a theme be an element which is present in the shared knowledge of the two interlocutors, personal pronouns often play a relating role with regard to the previous discourse and a connecting role with regard to the subsequent discourse. The ungrammaticality of the above sentences (46-48) is mainly related to the absence of an element which may connect the utterance with the previous discourse or relate it with the subsequent one. In order to maintain the same communicative effect as in (29) - (33) Arabic would resort to constructions with the introductory 'thammata':

(55) thammata kitābun 9alā l-minḍadati

(There is a book on the table)

(56) thammata zā'irāni fī ghurfati l-intiḏāri

(There are two visitors in the waiting room)

(57) thammata ṣūratun 9alā l-djidāri

(There is a picture on the wall)

(58) thammata zaghabun fawqa shafatayhā

(There is down over her lips)

or to sentences with the general passive 'yūdjadu' ('There exist', German 'es gibt'):-

(59) yudjadu kitābun 9alā l-minḍadati

(There exists a book on the table)

(60) yūdjadu zā'irāni fī ghurfati l-intizāri
(There are two visitors in the waiting room)

(61) tūdjadu šuratun 9alā l-djidāri
(There is a picture on the wall)

It is interesting to note that from the point of view of their communicative function in the thematic organisation of the sentence, both existential THERE in English and anticipatory THAMMATA in Arabic have some features in common. Like THERE in English, THAMMATA in Arabic has the communicative function of occupying initial position in the sentence. It thus shifts the non-thematic subject into a position capable of carrying a higher degree of communicative dynamism e.g.

(62) thammata āfāqun kathīratun lābudda an tuzār (Šāl.Mau.9)
(There are many horizons which must be visited)

(63) thammata zaghabun fawqa shafatayhā (Maḥ.Mīr. 26)
(There is down over her lips)

(64) thammata laṭmatun aṭāḥat bikibrīyā'i l-djīli kullihi (Maḥ.Mīr. 21)
(There was a blow which diminished the snobbishness of the whole generation)

(65) walākin thammata farqun kabīrun bayna sayyarati djībin wa bayna sayyaratin munkhafiḍati l-aḥshā'i (Bal. 9ab. 29)
(But there is a big difference between a jeep and a low-bellied car)

(66)...thammata riyāḥan shadīdatan (Bal.9ab. 80)
(There was a gale) (Hem.Acr.) *

*For a full name of books and authors, see the section entitled 'LIST OF BOOKS' at the end of the thesis.

- (67) There is a book on the table
(thammata kitābun 9alā l-minḍadati)
- (68) There is nothing more healthy than a cold shower
(laysa thammata aṣaḥḥu min ḥammāmin bāridin)
- (69) There's a very good film on at the Royal
(thammata filmun djayidun yu9raḍu fī R-royāli)
- (70) There's a car by the door
(thammata sayyāratun bil-bābi)
- (71) There are several books on the table
(thammata kutubun 9adīdatun 9alā l-minḍadati)

Yet unlike 'there', THAMMATA does not occur where a semantically fuller verb is present. Consider the following English sentences with their high probability equivalent Arabic translations:

- (72) The door opened and there appeared John
(72a) wa-nfataḥa l-bābu wa ḡahara 9alīyun
(72b) wa-nfataḥa l-bābu *wa ḡahara thammata 9alīyun
- (73) There came a day when he no longer cared for anything
(73a) wa-djā'a yaumun ḡina lam ya9ud yaḡtamilu lishay'in
(73b) *thammata djā'a yaumun ḡina lam ya9ud yaḡtamilu li-shay'in

(74) In Arabic there exist equational sentences:

- (74a) fī l-9arabīyati tūdjadu djumalun ta9ādulīyatun
(74b) *fī l-9arabīyati tūdjadu thammata djumalun ta9ādulīyatun
- (75) There took place between him and his son a violent and painful scene
(75a) wa-waqa9a baynahu wabayna bnihi mashhadun 9anīfun wa mu'limun
(75b) *wa-waqa9a baynahu wa bayna bnihi thammata mashhadun 9anīfun
wa mu'limun

3.4 Thematic Structure of Existential Constructions

On a closer investigation of both THERE and THAMMATA constructions in English and in Arabic respectively we observed that it is almost characteristic of the subject to be indefinite. From the communicative point of view this characteristic is quite often associated with 'new' information, vis-à-vis a high degree of communicative dynamism. A defined subject, a characteristic which is often associated with a 'given' information, vis-à-vis a low degree of communicative dynamism would make introductory THERE in English and THAMMATA in Arabic redundant. In English, however, definite determiner is not always excluded; but where it occurs there is often a cataphoric reference, i.e. to what follows or an anaphoric reference, i.e. to what precedes, e.g.

(76) There was the case of Miss Flynn, the Ashcomb suicide

(77) There's the school, and there is the church, and there's
the bank.

Arabic does not permit a THAMMATA construction with a defined subject. This might be due to the tendency of languages to economise in their methods of reflecting extra-linguistic reality. This tendency towards economising efforts while speaking has been observed by many linguists and psycholinguists, c.f. for example Zipf (1949) who postulated what is now known among psycholinguists as Zipf's law of minimum effort. English is no exception to Zipf's law of minimum effort. But it seems to us that with existential constructions with the verb to BE in English, anticipatory THERE has become so established that even when initial position is occupied by a thematic element, e.g. an adjunct or a locative, it is still present, e.g.

- (78) In the house there was no sign of life
(79) On the table there was a book
(80) In the fridge there is a bottle of milk.

Duškova' (1977) went to the extent of saying that existential constructions with the verb to BE are ungrammatical if anticipatory THERE is missing (her examples).

- (81) In the house there was no sign of life
(82) In the classroom there was a lot of space

as against the less accepted

- (83) In the house was no sign of life
(84) In the classroom was a lot of space

Although (77-78) are accepted by native speakers, yet when a choice of, e.g. (75-76) is offered the latter are preferred to sentences without THERE. The preference for (75-76) over (77-78) seems to be related to the semantic weight of the locative element. Where the initial element is semantically heavy, the omission of THERE is accepted, e.g.

- (85) On top of the hill stood an old gothic castle (Halliday,1970)
(86) At the end of the bench was a bunsen burner (Scott et al. 35)
(87) in the middle of the water are little islands of
green (Hem, Acr.62)
(88) On both banks are thick plantations of date palms (Dav. Mig. 62)

But where the adjunct or the locative element is semantically not heavy, the omission of THERE would make the sentence seem odd to English native speakers, c.f.

- (89) In the house was no sign of life
(90) In the classroom is a lot of space
(91) On both banks is activity

The acceptance of sentences like (83-85) is questionable

There seems to be no communicative motivation for foregrounding the locative element, since this would make their occurrence in actual discourse very rare. In Arabic, where the initial position is occupied by a thematic element, thammata is often omitted. Compare the following English examples with their high probability equivalent Arabic translation:

(92) At the table there was another woman (Hem.Acr.66)

(92a) wa kānat bayna l-djalisāti ilā tilka l-mā'idati imra'atun
ukhrā (Bal.9ab.101)

[And among the sitting women to that table was another woman]

(93) Above his face,....there was black hair (Hem.Acr.67)

(93a) wa fawqa wadjhihi.....kāna sha9run aswadun (Bal.9ab.102)

[Above his face was black hair]

(94) From the belly of the darkness there issued forth a voice

(94a) wa naba9a min djawfi z-ḡalāmi ṣawtun

[And issued from the belly of darkness a voice]

(95) At the station there was another policeman

(95a) wa kāna fī l-maḥaṭṭati shuraṭiyun ākhar

[And was in the station another policeman]

(96) Beyond the platform there was more enchantment (Gol.Lor. 13)

(96a) kānat khalfa r-raṣīfi mabāhidja kathīratan

[Was beyond the platform much enchantment]

(97) There came through the open door the heavy scent of the lilac

(Wil.Fic. 9)

(97a) nafadha mina l-bābi l-maftūhi 9iṭrun la9allahu

9iṭru l-layladji (9aw.Ṣūr.11)

Like THERE_{ex} in English, THAMMATA in Arabic has the communicative

function of introducing a non-thematic subject into the scene of discourse. We saw that in Arabic rhematic subjects do not normally occupy initial position in the sentence. The German Arabist Reckendorf (1921 : 8) observes this phenomenon in Arabic: "Gewöhnlich steht der determinierte Ausdruck vor dem indeterminierte (Normally, determined expressions come before the indetermined ones).

In terms of communicative dynamism, indefinite expressions would, in the unmarked cases, carry a high degree of communicative dynamism. Under neutral circumstances Arabic would align the sequence of actants in the sentence with the 'basic distribution of communicative dynamism'. This alignment manifests itself by referring indefinite expressions which normally carry high degree of communicative dynamism back to the end of the sentences.

Arabic grammarians (e.g. Sībawayhi, Ibn Ya9īsh) postulated the rule of obligatory interchanging of positions between inception and enunciation. The former is expressed by an indefinite nominal phrase, the latter by a locative prepositional phrase (to use a classical example):

(98) ar-radjulu fī d-dāri

(The man is in the house)

but not

(99) *fī d-dāri ar-radjulu

(*In the house is the man)

Whereas

(100) *radjulun fī d-dāri

(A man is in the house)

is not acceptable, as against the grammatical (101

(101 fī d-dāri radjulun

a) (In the house there is a man)

b) (There is a man in the house)

(98) expresses the location of ar-radjulu (the man) in a place, here d-dāri (at home). Its thematic structure shows a clear cut dichotomy between the thematic part and the rhematic one:

| | |
|------------|-----------|
| T | R |
| ar-radjulu | fī d-dāri |

(101) expresses the existence of a person radjulun (a man) in a place. The locative element would then express the 'geographical' scene of the act of existence; hence, it is thematic. The existence of a person would denote the new piece of information introduced, hence rhematic:

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| T | R |
| fī d-dāri | radjulun |

(101) shows a marked rheme-theme order, an order which is not natural in Arabic.

It is interesting to note the remarkable similarity between the English anticipatory THERE and the Arabic THAMMATA. On examining English sentences with the construction

(102) THERE + be + N + advc (loc)

and its counterpart in Arabic

(103) THAMMATA + N + adv (loc),

we find that both 'and thammata' are used where the noun functioning as subject is preceded by a nondefinite determiner (or for that matter marked for indefiniteness in Arabic, i.e. followed by the 'nunation' suffix).

Neither THERE nor THAMMATA can normally be used in sentences in which the noun functioning as subject is defined (e.g. preceded by a definite determiner or followed by a qualificandum) cf.

- (104) *There is the book on the table
- (105) *thammata l-kitābu 9alā l-minḍadati
(*There is the book on the table)
- (106) *There is the man at the door
- (107) *thammata r-radjulu bil-bābi
(*There is the man at the door)
- (108) *There is the student in the classroom
- (109) *thammata t-tilmīdhu fi ṣ-ṣaffi
(*There is the student in the classroom)

Common to sentences with THERE or THAMMATA is the notion of existence of something in a place. The subject, a non-defined noun carrying a high degree of CD, does not open the utterance, but is introduced by some form of preparatory element which prepares the way for the actual communication core.

In Arabic existential sentences, word order can be aligned with the basic distribution of communicative dynamism. This can be carried out by the following syntactic mechanisms:

(a) Fronting a thematic locative, e.g.

(110) wa9alā abṣārihim ghishāwatun (Qur. II/6)
(And on their eyesights there is a covering)

(111) fī qulūbihim maraḍun (Qur. II/10)
(In their hearts there is a disease)

(112) wa fi l-madkhali madjālu samarin ma9a r-rādyo wa Maryāna
(Mah.Mīr. 11)

(In the passage there was a space for enjoying listening to the radio and chatting to Maryana)

(113) fī asfali l-9imārati maqhā (Mah.Mir. 11)

(At the base of the building there was a cafe)

(114) fa fī l-maḥkamati qāḍīyāni yatanāwabāni l-9amala (Hak.Yaw. 27)

(And in the court there were two judges alternating the job)

which result in what we call 'equational' sentences. In these examples the adverbial locative expressed by a prepositional phrase carries the least amount of communicative dynamism; it describes the scene where the phenomenon existing takes place. Attention is directed towards the phenomenon existing rather than to the scene. If we denote the theme with¹⁰ (or if a differentiation of degrees of CD within theme is necessary, with 11, 12, 13 ...), the transition with²⁰ (or with 21, 22, 23) and the rheme with³⁰ (or with 31, 32, 33), the thematic structure of the two sentences will be indicated in the following way: the thematic structure in terms of degrees of communicative dynamism of e.g.

(115) wa-9alā abṣārihim ghishāwatun (Qur. II/6)

(And on their eyesights there is a covering)

would appear as

(116) wa¹⁰ 9alā abṣārihim¹³ ghishāwatun³⁰

Here both the sentence conjunction wa and the prepositional phrase are thematic. Yet still the conjunction carries less communicative dynamism than the adverbial locative; this is mainly because it relates the sentence to the preceding context of discourse, while the adverbial locative relates the subject to a certain scene. This general reference of the conjunction as against the specific reference of the adverbial locative is reflected in word order as well as in the amount of communicative dynamism assigned to each element.

In the equational sentence demonstrated above, the bipartition of thematic and rhematic sections is very sharp, and no transitional element is present. Hence the abrupt rise in the degrees of communicative dynamism. Whereas in their English translations the increase in the degrees of communicative dynamism is not as sharp as its Arabic counterpart; the increase is rather gradual, c.f.

(117) In their hearts¹⁰ there is²⁰ a disease³⁰

(b) By exploiting the preparatory 'thammata' construction

thammata + indef. N + Adv.

(Loc)

e.g.

(118) thammata¹⁰ ashdjārūn³⁰ fī l-ḥadīqati¹¹

(There are trees in the garden)

Here the position of the adverbial phrase in the end of the sentence will not require an increase in the amount of communicative dynamism assigned to them.

(c) By exploiting the general impersonal passive

(Yūdjadu) (There exist) (=German 'es gibt' or 'es ist/sind')

(119) tūdjadu ashdjārūn fī l-ḥadīqati

(German: Es sind Bäume in dem Garten)

(There exist trees in the garden)

(120) tūdjadu usūdun fī Afrīqīya

(There exist lions in Africa (German) Es gibt Löwen in Afrika)

(121) Yūdjadu radjulun fī d-dāri

(German: Es ist ein Mann in dem Hause)

(There exists a man in the house)

With respect to existential sentences, English would often resort to these constructions in order to bring the sentence into line with the basic distribution of communicative dynamism, e.g.

(122) There came a day when he no longer cared

(123) There are some trees in the garden.

(124) There exist lions in Africa

However, intonation in English plays an important role in identifying the thematic structure of the sentence. It is generally agreed among linguists that the nuclear tone would fall on the element which carries the highest degrees of communicative dynamism. On this account in both (125) and (126)

(125) /There is a book on the table/

(126) /A book is on the table/

the nuclear tone would fall on book, since it carries the new piece of information. Yet in the case of there is a book on the table the nuclear tone falls towards the end of the sentence which is more natural in English (cf. Halliday 1967a). In A book is on the table the nuclear tone falls at the beginning of the sentence, which is marked for contrast. Hence (126) requires irregular accentuation in the sense that the nuclear tone, i.e. 'sentence stress' under neutral circumstances, would fall on the last element of the intonation group. This marked accentuation would make such sentences of the type A book is on the table more 'dramatic' and less common in actual discourse. Quite often English would resort to the syntactically synonymous There is a book on the table which shifts the element carrying the nuclear tone from the beginning of the sentence. Thus THERE construction would provide some kind of 'harmony' between the

unmarked intonation, the grammatical structure and the requirements of functional sentence perspective. Sentences like (127-129) would often appear in discourse as (130-138) respectively:

- (127) A book is on the table
- (128) A chair is in the corner
- (129) Lions are found in Africa
- (130) There is a book on the table
- (131) There is a chair in the corner
- (132) There are lions in Africa

In English permutation of elements for the purpose of thematic foregrounding are sometimes possible, e.g.

- (133) In the box there are some toys
- (134) In the garden there are some trees
- (135) On the table there is a book

Here thematic elements are put close to each other in the beginning of the sentence:

$\frac{T}{\text{In the box there are}} \quad \frac{R}{\text{some toys}}$

instead of splitting them as in, e.g.

$\frac{T}{\text{There are}} \quad \frac{R}{\text{some toys}} \quad \frac{T}{\text{in the box}}$

Thematic foregrounding in English is achieved by means of special constructions that have (possibly) been evolved for this purpose, c.f.

- (136) The box has some toys in it
(137) The garden has some trees in it
(138) The table has a book on it

This time, it is the thematic locative which is split, and in its place is left a 'resumptive pronoun'. We will discuss this phenomenon in greater detail in Chapter VI.

Existential constructions with the expletive **THERE** in English show susceptibility in terms of word order to the requirements of functional sentence perspective, non-thematic subjects in initial position being otherwise quite normal, especially when they are accompanied by semantically fuller verbs expressing existence or appearance on the scene, e.g. A girl entered the room;
A beautiful smile illuminated her face.

3.5 HAVE constructions

The other construction which is closely related to the existential construction is the HAVE construction, as represented in our example (11). Lyons (1967: 390) suggests that "In many, and perhaps in all, languages, existential and possessive constructions derive (both synchronically and diachronically) from locatives." This means that there exists some kind of relationship between existential locative sentences of the type There is a book on the table and possessive sentences of the type The table has a book on it,
I have a book on the table. Consider the English sentences:

- (13) He has a large picture in his room.
- (140) There is a large picture in his room
- (141) I have a glass in front of me
- (142) There is a glass in front of me
- (143) The chair has a notice on it
- (144) There is a notice on the chair
- (145) The room has a bed in it
- (146) There is a bed in the room
- (147) The box has some toys in it
- (148) There are some toys in the box

In each case the have construction is correlated with an existential locative with the verb to be. The grammatical pattern for the have constructions in English would be:

$$\text{def} + N^1 + \text{have} + N^2 + \text{adv} \quad (\text{Loc})$$

Note that both constructions denote the same objective reality, cf. February has 28 days or There are 28 days in February.

In the former we speak of localization into the sphere of the subject. In the latter the subject is referred to the sphere of the complementation of the verb.

Unlike the case with THERE, an essential characteristic of this pattern is that N^1 is definite. While in both constructions the locative element is characteristically 'identified', 'determined'. Since this linguistic element expresses the, so to speak, 'geographical scene' where the action of the verb takes place, therefore it is the most theme-worthy element in the sentence. In HAVE sentences, the locative element is foregrounded and is made both the grammatical and the psychological subject of the sentence, cf. the ungrammatical

(149)* A table has a book on it

since this could carry new information in its entirety.

Compare for instance the following sentences which are unacceptable or of questionable acceptability:

(150) A room has a bed in it

(151) A room has the bed in it

(152) ? There is a bed in a room.

(153) There is the bed in the room.

(154) There is the bed in a room.

(155) There is a bed in the room

In (153) the locative element is identified by the presence of the definite article; yet what makes its acceptability questionable is that the subject is identified as well, a characteristic which is not common in existential sentences with existential 'there_{ex}'. The syntactically synonymous equivalent for

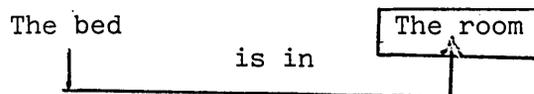
(153) There is the bed in the room

is

(156) The bed is in the room

(152) is questionable because it carries new information in its entirety. Hence it is communicatively vague.

(153) denotes the local 'specification' of an already identified subject in which the subject is referred to the sphere of the complementation. This relation of inclusion can be expressed in the following graphical form:



In sentences represented by There is a bed in the room, the locative element expresses the 'setting' or the 'scene' where existence

takes place; it then carries the lowest degree of communicative dynamism in the sentence; it is thematic. The locative element in sentences of the type (70) is rather an essential amplification of the verb, it, therefore, carries a higher amount of communicative dynamism than the verb which in its turn carries a higher degree of communicative dynamism than its subject.

From the point of view of verb valency the locative element in (152) expresses a quite different syntactic relation to the verb from the locative element in (153). In The bed is in the room, in the room is an essential component of the syntactic valency of the verb. It is thus an obligatory ACTANT, the sentence would be rendered ungrammatical if this potential actant is omitted

In There is a bed in the room, the room is associated more loosely with the verb and stands for an optional actant. The sentence will still be grammatical without it, cf.

(157) There is a bed.

However it could be argued that (157) contains a missing locative element whose general reference could be 'the universe' (cf. Lyons 1967), hence an ellipsis is occurring here. The thematic structure of (152) and (153) could be represented as

(156) The bed is in the room
 Theme Rheme

(155) There is a bed in the room
 Theme Rheme Theme

Sentences (156) and (155) could then be illustrated in terms of the distribution of communicative dynamism as follows:

- (156) The bed¹⁰ is in the room³⁰
- (155) There²⁰ is a bed³⁰ in the room¹⁰

Sentences (139-148) show that for each of the existential sentences there is a corresponding possessive one in which the locative element has been moved into initial position and is made the subject. It leaves in its place a REPLACIVE PRONOUN whose referent is the locative-made-subject noun phrase, 'there' + be

being replaced by 'have'. Yet such regularity of transformations which account for transforming existential constructions into possessive sentences is not constant all the time, since the syntactic characteristics of have sentences are different from those of the existential constructions.

The context for one construction is often different from that in which the other construction is used.

Consider:

- (158) The book has two hundred pages in it
- (159) The book has two hundred pages
- (160) There is a bed in the room
- (161) The room has a bed in it
- (162) The room has a bed
- (163) There is a chair in the centre of the room
- (164) The room has a chair in its centre
- (165) The centre of the room has a chair in it
- (166) There is some wine in the glass
- (167) The glass has some wine in it
- (168) The glass has some wine
- (169) There is someone at the door

- (170) The door has someone at it
 (171) There is a table by the window
 (172) The window has a table by it
 (173) There is a chair near the door
 (174) The door has a chair near it

Note that Fillmore (1968) suggests that in such constructions the subject is not topicworthy; hence the ungrammaticality of (170), (172) and (174). In the above examples the locative is expressed by the subject in initial position and then taken up again by a preposition and a resumptive pronoun.

3.6 Possessive Constructions in English and Arabic

Sometimes the proposition phrase (prepositional and resumptive pronoun) would be obligatory and the sentence would be rendered ungrammatical or its acceptability would be questionable if it were elided. cf.

It is important to note that Arabic has no particular verb corresponding to the English 'have' in the copulative sense as it is used in the English examples. The high probability equivalent translations of the English sentences (137 to 146) would be:

- (175) ladayhi ṣūratun kabīratun fī ghurfatihi
 (He has a large portrait in his room)
- (176) thammata ṣūratun kabīratun fī ghurfatihi
 (There is a large portrait in his room)
- (177) ladayya qadahun amāmi
 (I have a glass in front of me)

(178) thammata qadaḥun amāmi
(There is a glass in front of me)

(179) al-kursiyu 9alayhi tanbīhun
(There is a note on the chair)

(180) thammata tanbīhun 9alā l-kursiyi

(There is a notice on the chair)

(181) al-ghurfatu fī-hā sarīrun

(There is a bed in the room)

(182) thammata sarīrun fī l-ghurfati

(There is a bed in the room)

(183) aṣ-ṣundūqu fī-hi ba9ḍu l-lu9abi

(The box has some toys in it)

(184) thammata ba9ḍu l-lu9abi fī ṣ-ṣundūqi

(There are some toys in the box)

The Arabic examples show the restriction which is imposed on the use of ladā or 9inda (both equal to English belongs to). They are reserved for sentences where the subject (possessor) is animate.

- (185) *ladā ṣ-ṣundūqi lu9abun The box has toys
 (185a) *9inda ṣ-ṣundūqi lu9abun
 (186) *lada l-kitābi khamsūn ṣafḥatan The book has fifty pages
 (186a) *9inda l-kitābi khamsūn ṣafḥatan
 (187) *ladā d-dāri ḥadīqatun The house has a garden
 (187a) *9inda d-dāri ḥadīqatun
 (188) * lada l-ḥadīqati ashdjārun The garden has trees
 (188a) *9inda l-ḥadīqati ashdjārun
- vsrsus
- (189) ladā l-ustādhi kitābun The teacher has a book
 (189a) 9inda l-ustādhi kitābun
 (190) ladā ṣadīquī qurḥatun My friend has an ulcer
 (190a) 9inda ṣadīquī qurḥatun

In English it is the object which makes the restriction and not the subject. Sentences in which the object of have is animate are not acceptable if the subject is inanimate, cf.

(191)* The room has a man in it

versus

(192) The room has a chair in it

Where the subject is inanimate existential THERE is preferable, c.f.

(193) There is a woman waiting at the bus station

(194)* The bus station has a woman waiting at it.

The Arabic sentences apart from (56a) and (58a) are subtypes of the pattern common to 'equational' sentences, namely:

Preposition + def. + N¹ + indef. + N²

cf.

- (195) fī l-ghurfati sarīrun (There is a bed in the room)
 (196) 9alā l-kursiyi tanbīhun (There is a note on the chair)
 (197) 9alā l-minḍadati kitābun (There is a book on the table)
 (198) fī ṣ-ṣundūqi ba9ḍu l-lu9abi (There are some toys in the box)

In which the whole locative element represented by the grammatical from prep. + def. + N is foregrounded and made the THEME of the sentence. It is thus given the proper place in the sentence, namely the initial position, which matches its information weight.

Sentences of the type (195 to 198) could be broken down into 'psychological subject' - 'psychological predicate', or into theme-rheme sequence in terms of their thematic structure. On the grammatical level they are analysed by Arab grammarians as variations on the common grammatical pattern 'mubtada-khabar' ('inception-enunciation'), i.e. 'foregrounded enunciation - backgrounded inception'. Foregrounding elements with a low amount of communicative dynamism and backgrounding elements with a high amount of communicative dynamism is quite in line with the thematic as well as the syntactic requirements in Arabic, cf.

- (199) as-sarīru fī l-ghurfati (The bed is in the room)
 (200)* fī l-ghurfati s-sarīru (*In the room is the bed)
 (201) al-kitābu 9alā l-minḍadati (The book is on the table)
 (202) *9alā l-minḍadati l-kitābu (*On the table is the book)
 (203) at- tanbīhu 9alā l-kursiyi (The notice is on the chair)
 (204) *9alā l-kursiyi t-tanbīhu (*On the chair is the notice)

Where the inception carries a low degree of communicative dynamism, it is quite natural to put it in the initial position in the sentence. The equivalent pattern for sentences of the type alghurfatu fihā sarīrun will be

N^1 + prep. + Resu.pron. + N^2

In which only the noun denoting the location is foregrounded and made both the theme and the inception of the sentence, leaving in its place a resumptive pronoun referring to it. This pattern, from the point of view of communication is parallel to the passive sentences in English. Yet we must notice that literal Arabic translations of sentences (181 and 183) will yield ungrammatical sentences.

From the point of view of 'cognition', Arabic language associates the idea of 'POSSESSION' only with animate nouns. Inanimate nouns are only capable of being located, rather than of possessing things. Hence the Arabic equivalent to the English sentences (60, 62, and 64) retain the existential locative, cf. (179, 181 and 183).

As to the objective reality which is reflected by possessive constructions, it involves the possessor, the thing owned and the manner in which they are joined (cf. Mathesius, 1975: 119).

In English there are two types of relations between the possessor and the thing owned. Type one is that in which the possessor is in the focus of attention and the thing owned is brought into focus by relating it to the possessor via the linking verb to have or via a semantically fuller verb of the type to possess, e.g.

(205) John has a car

(206) John owns that car

The corresponding grammatical pattern is

$$N^1 + V_{\text{possess}} + N^2$$

(where N^1 and N^2 stand for the possessor and the thing owned respectively).

Type two is that in which the thing owned is made the theme and the grammatical subject of the sentence and the possessor is brought into focus of attention by relating it to the theme of the sentence via the linking verb to be or via a semantically fuller verb of the type to belong, e.g.

(207) The car is John's

(208) This car belongs to John.

The corresponding grammatical pattern is

$$N^2 + V_{\text{belong to}} + N^1$$

It has been suggested, cf. Allan 1971: Bach 1967; Fillmore 1968; Lyons 1967, 1968, that sentences of the type John has a car and The car is John's should derive from a common source constituting a locative element, an objective case (in the sense of Fillmore, 1968) and a linking verb which is realised as have when the locative element is in the focus of attention, be when the objective case element (the thing owned in the sense of Mathesius 1975) is in the focus of attention. It seems to us that there are some semantic restrictions on the choice between one type or the other.

Consider:

- (209) John has a car
- (210) The car is John's
- (211) The table has four legs
- (212)* The legs are the table's (These are the legs of the table)
- (213) The library has a book in it
- (214)* The book is in the library's
- (215) The room has a chair in it
- (216)* The chair is in the room's
- (217)? This is the chair of the room

Fillmore (1968: 61) writes: "Significant relationships exist between the dative and the genitive cases in all of the Indo-European languages, and in all but Armenian the dative and the genitive case forms figure in paraphrase relationship of kinds that are highly comparable from language to language."

Fillmore further observes that: "The relationship is observed only when the associated noun is of a particular type" (1968: 61).

There are cases where it appears that one language has chosen the dative, e.g. German, another, e.g. English, the genitive. For example notice the following sentences from Havers (1911: 1 quoted by Fillmore 1968:62)

- (218) My heart aches
- (218a) Mir blutet das Herz (German)
- (219) Tom's cheeks burned
- (219a) Tom brannten die Wangen
- (220) She fell on her mother's neck
- (220a) Sie fiel ihrer Mutter um den Hals (German)

In this respect Arabic like English appears to favour the genitive, e.g.,

in which the rheme of the first string is resumed as the theme of the second string. In the sequence John has a car; the car is John's the second string is a syntactic variant to the first. The rheme John has a car, a car is John's is not possible; instead John has a car; it is John's car which has a similar thematic structure to John has a car; the car is a Ford.

In Arabic the same objective reality, namely that which involves the possessor, the thing owned and the manner in which they are joined, is reflected in the following ways:

- (i) By the use of possessive particles, e.g. 9inda,
ladā (literally with) or li (to)

e.g.

- (229) ladā l-wazīri ṣalāḥiyātun wāsi9atun

[With the minister a vast administrative power]

(The minister has a vast administrative power).

- (230) 9indī sayyāratun.

[With me a car] (I have a car.)

- (231) li-t-tayri djanāḥāni

[To the bird two wings] (A bird has two wings)

- (232) as-sayyāratu li9aliyin.

[The car to Ali] (The car belongs to Ali.)

- (ii) By the use of semantically fuller verbs expressing possessiveness,

(e.g. yamliku ('to own' or 'to possess'), or belonging, e.g. ya9ūdu

('to belong to'), e.g.,

- (233) yamliku 9aliyun sayyāratun

[possess Ali a car] (Ali owns a car)

(234) ta9ūdu ssayyāratu li-9aliyin

(Belongs the car to Ali) (The car belongs to Ali)

The grammatical structures corresponding to sentences (228 and 229) are:

(235) $V_{\text{possess}} + N^1 + N^2, N^2 + V_{\text{belong}} + N_1$

respectively.

Since a speaker must choose a point of departure for each sentence he utters, he also has the choice of which element is to be put into the focus of attention and which is to be referred into the background. With respect to existential locative sentences, if the speaker wishes to take the 'prospective' (to use Fillmore's term for 'focus of attention' (of the possessor, i.e. the 'source'), he would choose the verb 'have'; should he wish to take the perspective of the thing possessed, he would choose the verb 'belong'.

CHAPTER IV

FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE

AND VERB VALENCY

4.0 Preliminary

Recent development of the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective, e.g. Firbas (1966,1975), Beneš (1968) and Daneš (1968), has led to the inclusion of semantics as a component of the theory. In his article "On Two Aspects of Functional Sentence Perspective", Beneš (1968) puts forward the hypothesis that: "Just as in some languages there exists a grammatical word-order for the sequence of grammatical categories, in other languages there exists a semantic word-order as an established pattern for the sequence of certain combinations of semantic categories." Works within the framework of Functional Sentence Perspective, e.g. Fronek, 1978 and Kirkwood, 1973, lend support to this view with regard to Czech and German respectively.

It is to be noted that Beneš is referring to contextually independent sentences, i.e. free utterances which are influenced neither by verbal context nor by actual situation. E.g. in Czech, in sentences with verbs denoting existence or appearance on the scene the relationship of semantic categories is reflected by a particular word order, namely

(adv) - V_x - S

Objevil se muž (Fronek, 1978: 100)

[Appeared - refl. man]

(There appeared a man)

Yet an utterance is marked by its dynamic character. It serves the function of communicating an extra-linguistic message. The conditions of the act of communication are determined by context, situation and means of expression available to the native speaker of a natural language.

Let us examine the following example from Arabic

- (1) (a) wadjada tilmīdhun s̄a9at-a-n
 [Found pupil-NOM-INDEF watch-ACC-INDEF]
- (b) wadjada-hā fī s̄aḥat-i l-madrasat-i
 [(he) found it in yard - PREP DEF - school - GEN]
- (A pupil found a watch. He found it in the school yard)

The first sentence in itself constitutes the whole discourse as a brief informative communication unit. It is contextually independent. The sequence of elements suggests that where the actor and the object of an action represent new information, it is the object of the action which will carry the highest degree of communicative dynamism and express the theme of the utterance. Compare

- (2) wadjada t-tilmīdh-u sa9at-a-n
 [Found DEF pupil-NOM watch-ACC-INDEF]

versus

- (3) wadjada s-sa9at-a tilmidhu-n
 [Found DEF watch-ACC pupil-NOM-INDEF]

In (1b), it is obvious that both tilmīdh and s̄a9a are fully recoverable from the preceding sentence. Hence both are pronominalised, a procedure which lessens the amount of communicative dynamism carried by that element. Further the pronoun whose referent is the actor is implied within the form of the verb, as against the pronoun for the object of the action which is attached to the verb. Though both of the pronouns occur in the thematic section of the sentence, the attached pronoun would, normally, carry a higher degree of communicative

(11) al-bawwābu fataḥa l-bāba

(The janitor opened the door)

III. Trivalent verbs, i.e. verbs which govern three actants, e.g.

(12) He gave Mary a present

(13) a9ṭā r-radjulu Mariyama hadiyatan

[Gave the man Mary a present]

(The man gave Mary a present)

4.2 Monovalent verbs

The verb lexicons in both English and Arabic show that monovalent verbs would determine a similar grammatical structure in both languages, namely

$$N^1 - V_f \text{ (Adv)}$$

(N^1 represents the only actant governed by the finite verb V_f (Adv) refers to the possibility of an adverbial of TIME, MANNER, DIRECTION may occur,

i.e. optional CIRCUMSTANCES). Examples:

(14) (a) John died

(b) Father slept

(c) The lady fell

(15) The door opened

(16) The soldiers marched

(17) (a) ar-radjulu māta (The man died)

(b) al-wālidu nama (Father slept)

(c) al-maṭar-u haṭala (It rained)

(18) al-babu nfataha (The door opened)

al-djunudu sārū (The soldiers marched)

These examples show that in sentences with monovalent verbs the actant would occupy the syntactic position of the 'subject'. But the semantic relations between the verb and its actants varies.

The English example (14) and the Arabic (17) show no indication of an

active participation of the actant in the event or action denoted by the verb. Verbs like die, sleep, māta, nāma, waqa9a, haṭala are marked by the characteristic feature 'unintentional action'. The non-agential character of the grammatical subject can be corroborated by the logical view that such sentences would not, normally, allow for a command imperative transformation, i.e. in the sense of ordering somebody to perform that action.

However sentences such as (20-21) in English and (22-23) in Arabic

(20) Die, you old man!

(21) Sleep baby!

(22) uḥtuḥ ayyuhā l-maṭaru

[Fall oh rain] (Oh rain fall)

(23) Mut ayyuhā l-khā'inu

[Die oh traitor]

(Oh traitor die!)

would occur in the context of a wish on the part of the speaker rather than an imperative command. The passive participation of the actant in the action denoted by the verb appears clearly in sentences such as The door opened, infataḥa l-bābu. Here the subject is marked by the semantic feature (inanimate). This might corroborate the non-agentiality of the subject, since logically it is not accepted that a door is commanded to open itself. Instead it is possible to ask somebody to open the door. This might be because the door in the door opened is an 'affected goal' of the action of opening rather than its actor. In Arabic these characteristics of the subject would entail an alteration in the morphological form of the verb in order to express the 'non-agentiality' of the grammatical subject, cf.

(24) infataḥa l-bābu (Non-agentive)
[Opened the door] (The door opened)

versus

(25) fataḥa l-bawwābu l-bāba (Agentive)
[Opened the janitor the door]
(The janitor opened the door)

Other monovalent verbs, e.g. to sit, to stand, to walk,
to march, waqafa, djalasa, rakaḍa, would require an active
participation on the part of their actant in the action denoted
by the verb. The semantic relations in, e.g.

(26) He is standing near the door

(27) John ran very fast

(28) al-waladu rakaḍa (The boy ran)

(29) at-tullābu waqafū

(The pupils stood up)

is that of an actor-action relation.

Returning to our examples

(15) The door opened

(24) infataḥa l-bābu (The door opened),

we find that the semantic relation expressed in them is rather different.

Here, the relation might be stated as 'goal-action'. Further examples:

(30) The window broke

(31) The car stopped in the middle of the road

(32) The water boiled in the kettle

(33) tadaḥradja l-ḥadjaru

(The rock rolled)

(34) inkasara l-qadaḥu

(The glass broke)

These examples show that the 'grammatical sentence pattern' $N^1 + V_F(\text{Adv})$ would express different semantic relations (cf. Daneš, 1968, with examples on the pattern $N^1 + V_F + N^2$).

Thus with the class of monovalent verbs we might distinguish two primary sets of verbs with regard to their own semantics. These are (i) verbs which denote a simple event like to fall, to die, saqata, māta and (ii) verbs which denote an action, e.g. to open, to break, infataha, inkasara and to run, to walk, rakaḍa, mashā.

In the former group the verb denotes a state, in the latter an action. Yet monovalent verbs denoting action may further be sub-grouped into two types, on account of the semantic properties of their actants: (a) verbs in which the action is directed to a goal, e.g. to open, infataha and (b) verbs in which the action is performed by an actor, e.g. to run, to march, rakaḍa, mashā, etc.

Examples (15 - 20) show that the meaning of the verbal form is completely itself. It thus does not need a further 'amplification'.* The absence of a non-thematic amplification partner would permit the verb to function as rheme proper, i.e. allow it to perform the most essential communicative role in the sentence (cf. Firbas, 1959 :50).

*The term 'amplification' is used by Firbas (1959 : 41) after A. Secheyaye. Firbas writes: "A highly valuable suggestion from which we intend to start is the classic observation on the transitive character of the verb voiced by A. Secheyaye, in his 'Essai Sur la structure logique de la phrase' (1926). Secheyaye extends the use of the term "transitive" to any verb whose semantic content is in need of an amplification, an amplification without which the meaning of the verb would be incomplete." (Firbas, 1959: 41).

In sentences with monovalent verbs, the relation between the finite verb and its actant could be stated in terms of 'determination' (to use Sandmann's terminology, 1954: 94). The subject expresses the determinans and the verb the determinandum. This relation remains the same even where there is a change in the position of the elements.

Compare

| | <u>determinans</u> | <u>determinandum</u> | | <u>determinandum</u> | <u>determinant</u> |
|------|--------------------|----------------------|----|----------------------|--------------------|
| (36) | ar-radjulu | māta | vs | māta | r-radjulu |
| | (The man died) | | | (Died the man) | |

Both mean the man died.

In both orders these sentences show identical cognitive order, i.e. the direction of the semantic relation between PATIENT and EVENT is fixed. In terms of communicative dynamism the determinant would carry a lower degree of communicative dynamism than its determinandum.

It is to be noted, however, that both English and Arabic tend to disengage the finite verb from carrying a high degree of communicative dynamism. For this purpose each language would use different syntactic means. Arabic quite often foregrounds the verb to initial position, e.g.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (37) | djā'a Zaydun | (Zayd came) |
| (38) | māta r-radjulu | (The man died) |
| (39) | nāma l-wālidu | (Father slept) |
| (40) | infataḥa l-bābu | (The door opened) |
| (41) | haṭala l-maṭaru | (It rained) |

The structure $V_F + S$ in Arabic is in line with the function of the sentence as a communicative unit. It imparts the 'news' in a non-dramatic way. Such sentences however are marked for rhematic foregrounding. The subject is preceded by the definite article

which in itself lowers the amount of communicative dynamism carried by its head substantive.

Let us demonstrate the difference in the communicative dynamism by using superscript numerals representing the gamut of communicative dynamism as displayed by the elements within the theme (11, 12, 13 ...), transition (21, 22, 23 ..) and rheme (31, 32, 33 ...)*. The numbers 10, 20, 30 are used if no further differentiation within theme, transition and rheme, respectively, seem necessary, e.g.

(42) ar-radjulu¹⁰ māta³⁰ (The man died)

(43) māta²² r-radjulu¹³ (The man died)

In English, native speakers would avoid creating a gap between the thematic and the rhematic parts of the sentence, cf.

(44) He¹⁰ swam³⁰

(45) He¹⁰ rested³⁰

(46) Mary¹⁰ sang³⁰

by what Boost has termed "Entzweiung des Prädikats" ('splitting the predicate') (Boost, 1964: 40). This is done by nominalizing the action expressed by the finite verb and filling the gap by semantically 'empty' elements, thus creating some kind of tension and throwing the rhematic part into distinct relief, cf.

(47) He¹⁰ had²⁰ a swim³⁰

(48) He¹⁰ took²⁰ a rest³⁰

(49) Mary¹⁰ sang²⁰ a song³⁰

Leech and Svartvik (1981: 450 ff) observe this tendency in English. They write: "connected with the principle of end-weight

*Transitional elements are those which carry higher degrees of CD than thematic but lower than rhematic elements.

in English is the feeling that the predicate of a clause should be longer or grammatically more complex than the subject. This helps to explain why we tend to avoid predicates consisting of just a single intransitive verb. Instead of saying Mary sang, we would probably prefer to say Mary sang a song, filling the object position with a noun phrase which adds little information but helps to give more weight to the predicate." For such purpose English often uses a general verb (such as have, take, give, and do) followed by an abstract noun phrase:

(50) He's having a swim (BrE) (compared: He's swimming)

(51) He took a rest. (Compare: He rested)

(52) The man gave a shout. (Compare: The man shouted)

(53) He does little work. (Compare: He works little)

The sentences on the left are more idiomatic than those on the right.

In a similar way a transitive verb can be replaced by an indirect object construction with the verb give, etc. :

(54) I gave the door a kick (= I kicked the door)

(55) I paid her a visit (= I visited her)

Firbas (1959 and 1961) has discussed the shift from verbal to nominal expressions in English. He observes a marked disposition in English to disengage the finite part of the verb from carrying the notional component of the predicate. The finite part of the verb

expresses the grammatical functions of concord, tense and mood, the semantic functions being expressed by the nominal part of the predicate. On the thematic level, expressed by the grammatical subject, rheme is expressed by the nominal part of the predicate and is linked by means of a 'transitional element' carrying a higher degree of CD than the theme, but a lower degree than rheme, e.g. in the use of "process nouns" in 'the meeting came to an end', 'He gave it a try', 'He gave it a push', etc. Owing to the marked rise in CD, the nominal element is brought into distinct relief in regard to the finite part of the verb. He concludes (1961: 95), "The general structure of English (i) favours the expression of rhematic notions rather by nominal than by verbal elements, and (ii) ultimately tends to render the predicative verb markedly transitional".

It is interesting to note that in Arabic there are similar constructions with 'process nouns', i.e. constructions consisting of 'an empty verb' plus a nominal which stands for the idea which otherwise would have been expressed by the finite verb, e.g.

| | |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| yunhi ——— | ya'tī 9alā nihāyati ... |
| (to finish)—— | (come to the end of) |
| yanẓuru—— | yulqī nazratan |
| (to look) —— | (to cast a look) |
| yuḥāḍiru—— | yulqī, yu9tī muḥāḍaratan |
| (to lecture) | (deliver, give a lecture) |
| yakhtatim—— | ya'tī 9alā khitāmi ... |
| (to end) | (come to the end of) |
| yazūru—— | yaqūmu bi-ziyāratin |
| (to visit) | (to make a visit) |

But an exhaustive contrastive study of this phenomenon would more likely show that English has a much richer inventory of verbo-nominal expressions (V+N phrases) like to have a look, to give a try, to take a glance, etc. than Arabic has. The systematic way in which V+N phrases are used in English would allow for a preliminary classification of this structure from both a formal and semantic point of view (following Renský 1964: 289ff):

Type A: SEMANTICALLY 'EMPTY' VERB (or COPULA) +
SUBSTANTIVE OF ACTION

to give a laugh, a smile, a look, a stare, a glare, a glance, a sigh
a cry, a howl, a cough, a bark, a snort,
a kick, a bug, a wriggle, a nod
(someone) a hint, a stare, a look, a wave, a deal, a lift etc.

to take a drink, a look, a breath, a swim, a bath, a shower,
a stride, a dip, a cut, a guess,
notice, leave, departure, offence, etc.

to make a move, a turn, a start, a sound,
a statement, a progress, a call, a chatter,
inquiries, calculations, etc.

to have a look, a drink, a talk, a go, a nibble,
a drive, a bathe, dealings, talks, etc.

to be in a hurry, in a rush, in thought, in accord,
at work, of the feeling, etc; in use, in sight,
in confusion, at a loss, underground,
under surveillance, etc.;

to do an investigation, one's work, boxing, etc.

to get a shot, a grip on, a view of, in touch with, a move on, etc.

to put in writing, into effect, to test, etc.

Type B: VERB + SUB. OF AGENT

To be a painter, a collector, a liar, etc.
a finder-out, a good-looker, a goner, etc.
a quick study, a depressant, a good shot.

Type C: VERB + SUB. OF PATIENT

To be a blackmailee, a pushee, addressee, etc.

Another method which facilitates bridging the gap between the thematic and the rhematic part is that of expanding the predicate expressing the rheme of the sentences. Expansion is often achieved by adding an adverbial element. The added adverbial will then act as a non-thematic amplification partner to the finite verb,

(56) John died of cancer

(57) The flowers bloomed splendidly

(58) The apples ripened quickly

(59) māta 9aliyun bi-s-saraṭāni

[Died Ali with cancer] (Ali died of cancer)

(60) tafattaḥati l-azhāru djamīlatan/bi-djamālin

[Bloomed the flowers beautifully] (The flowers bloomed beautifully)

In the examples above the adverbial element stands for a preferential valency of the verb. It is not part of the syntactic valency of the verb; yet its occurrence is preferable for communicative purposes.

In the context of a diagnostic question like Who (What)? the event would express shared information between the speaker and

the addressee; hence it is thematic. What is inquired about on the part of the addressee is then the PATIENT expressed by the grammatical subject; hence it is rhematic. But in the context of what happened to S? it is the event which the sentence is about. The PATIENT would constitute a part of the shared information between the interlocutors, and hence it is thematic. In Arabic the change in the thematic structure of the sentence which was necessitated by a change in the context, is accounted for by a change in the order of elements. A sentence like

(6.1) māta 9aliyun (Ali died)

would be grammatical in the context of an explicit question like

(6.2) man māta? (Who died?)

But in the context of an explicit question like

(6.3) mādhā ḥadatha li-9aliyin (What happened to Ali)

(6.1) would then be unacceptable. A proper answer to (6.3) would be

(6.4) 9aliyun māta

In English the order subject-predicator is predominant; it is not possible to change this order for the purpose of a change in the thematic structure. Thus

(6.5) John died

would be the answer to both (6.6) and (6.7)

(6.6) Who died?

(6.7) What happened to John?

But the difference between (65) as an answer to (66) and (65) as an answer to (69) would be shown in spoken English, cf. (68) and (69) respectively.

(68) / John died /

(69) / John died /

(Using Halliday's notation (cf. Halliday, 1962) where /is a tone-group boundary, the underlining is used to make the tonic unit).

4.2.1 Bivalent verbs used with one actant

For a long time, sentences like

(70) The books sells well

(71) The bread cut easily

(72) The door opened

(73) The bag ties up at the top

(74) The milk tasted sour

have attracted the attention of English linguists. This attention centred more on the relation between the subject and the verb.

Henry Sweet (1892) pointed out that some 'transitive' verbs may be used without an object*. Sweet calls such verbs 'PASSIVAL' and notes that such use is possible because the subject is logically their direct object (goal, acted upon). According to Sweet (1892) a sentence like

(75) The book sells well

might be paraphrased something like

(76) They are selling the book well

The reason of the subject not being expressed is then attributed to its indefiniteness. In his analysis Sweet then ascribes the activity expressed in The book sells well to humans, i.e. as an activity performed by an agent. Thus the semantic feature (+ human) is set as one of the conditions imposed on the subject to allow a transitive verb to be used intransitively.

The term 'indefiniteness' might be interpreted against the background of modern linguistics as a vague idea of an agent or communicatively unimportant; hence it is left out in order to increase the element of suspense in the sentence. When, for instance, people sitting together in a room suddenly notice that a door 'slowly opens', their attention will be instantaneously, and almost exclusively, focused on the possible agent behind this phenomenon.

Compare for instance

(77) A girl opened the door

(78) The door opened, and a girl entered the room.

In the latter sentence the agent is backgrounded in keeping with the element of suspense.

Otto Jespersen (1927) calls this phenomenon in English 'ACTIVO-PASSIVE' use of a number of verbs. This use, Jespersen argues, is only permitted within certain restrictions. "An active verb is notionally passive though formally active" (sec. 16.8³). He showed that *His words believe was utterly impossible, no matter how indefinite the subject (actor) was. In Jespersen's opinion, it is due to the natural intrinsic meaning of some verbs which have made the doublesidedness possible, cf.

The war began in Belgium as against The war was begun in Belgium.

This situation has been extended to sell and other verbs. Yet the extension is not so natural to the meaning, hence it is not possible to say This house sold yesterday. By His Novels sell very well, he argues, we think of the books to some extent as active themselves, as the cause of extensive sale. Activity, however, is not the only source of causation; status and relations or the nature itself may also be implemental of causation, e.g.

(79) Water boils

Sundén (1916) sees that it is not enough for a verb to be transitive, primarily. The primary transitive must have what he calls a 'causative' aspect. Hence there is no His words believe well. The intransitive sense is rather inchoative, meaning to come into a specified state (usually to an -ED state), or it refers to a specified mode of existence regarding the integrity or form of the subject, e.g.

(80) Ice melted

(81) The milk turned sour

(82) Quicksilver easily amalgamates with metals

4.3 Medio-passive verbs in English

In his article "Ergative and Nominative in English", John Anderson makes a contribution to the problem of 'activo-passive' use, to use Jespersen's terminology. In some languages there is a syntactic marker which marks the 'subject' of a 'transitive' verb as distinct from the subject of an 'intransitive' verb, hence the distinction 'ERGATIVE' and 'NOMINATIVE'. The former, i.e. subject of a transitive

verb, is said to be in the 'ergative' case.*

Compare the following sentences from the Basque language
(examples are taken from Anderson 1968, after Lafitte, 1962):

(83) aitak ogia jan du (The father has eaten some bread)

(84) aita ethorri da (The father has gone)

(85) ogia ona da (The bread is good)

In (83) the 'subject' of the transitive verb, to use Anderson's terminology, is marked as such by a special inflexion (- k), usually termed the 'active' or 'ergative'. The 'object' of the transitive verb, again Anderson's terminology, is inflexionally unmarked, ogia. So, too, are the 'subject' of the intransitive verb in (b) (aita) and the subject of the copula (da) in (c) (ogia). So, the 'object' of transitive verb and the 'subject' of the intransitive are 'grouped' as distinct from the 'subject' of the intransitive verb.** According to Anderson, the verb is to be regarded as a neutral in a construction proceeding from a non-ergative element or combining a non-ergative element with an ergative one, e.g. The bread cut easily has cut proceeding from a non-ergative the bread. But This man cut the bread combines the non-ergative the bread with an ergative this man. Anderson sees that the verb may have a causative underlying it, as in He drowned his uncle, (drown equal to its 'dictionary definition'

*Other terms for 'ERGATIVE' case are the 'casus activus' or 'casus transitivus' used by Jespersen 1924: 166, or 'Casus energeticus' (Uhlenbeck, 1916).

**cf. Fillmore (1966) used the term 'ERGATIVE' in a sense of Halliday's 'AFFECTED'. Fillmore writes: "It seems to me that ... there is a semantically relevant relation between The door and open that is the same in the two sentences (The door will open and The janitor will open the door) ... A term we might use for this function is ERGATIVE". (Fillmore, 1966: 4-5).

make to drown) or not, as in This man cut the bread. The 'disguised' ergative element (here the subject), Anderson argues, merely specifies an agent. When there is a non-ergative element only, e.g. The bread cut easily, then there should be present an adverbial of the 'easily' type, or of some other type, e.g.

(86) This bread cut easily

(87) This box fastens at the side

Verbs of sensation, Anderson observes, require an adjective, e.g.

(88) It smelled good (non-ergative)

(89) He smelled it (ergative)

As it is possible for a noun or a pronoun to stand both for an ergative and a non-ergative, some sentences may be ambiguous:

(90) They model well

(91) Car stickers sell well

(92) The machine washes well

(93) Alabaster cuts easily

Anderson extends these observations to such sentences as

(94) He made a good meal

(also said about a missionary captured by cannibals), and

(95) He takes a good photograph

(also meaning that he is photogenic).

Anderson also shows that a sentence may contain two ergatives,

e.g. (96) He made me kiss her

(97) He polishes the table with a cream

A syntactically based solution to the problem of 'activo-passive' use, is offered by Visser, 1963, p.163. Visser classifies verbs in English which can be found with and without an object into three groups.

For the importance of his view, we quote him in full:

"As the subjoined evidence shows, the instances are of three kinds:

(1) those in which the verb functions as a kind of quasi-copula (e.g. the milk TASTES sour),

(2) those which contain the verb without further qualifications, (e.g. Our fleet may winter here, CLEAN and REPAIR),

and

(3) those in which the verb is accompanied by adverbs like WELL, EASILY, BETTER, SMOOTHLY, HEAVILY, SOONER, NOT (e.g. These books sell well, These clocks wind easily, or is construed with WILL NOT, WILL NEVER (rarely WILL) (e.g. It will not spin into good yarn)" (1963: 153).

A more plausible classification to to 'passival' verbs (to use Sweet's terminology) is offered by Poldauf. In his article entitled "The so-called Medio-passive in English", Poldauf shows The book sells well to be a construction arising through transformation from an 'evaluative-predication'. It is thus not natural that these constructions abound in advertisements since advertisements want to bring forward sensual expression to catch the attention of customers.

Fronek (1978: 233) observes that with the majority of sentences with the passival verb require the presence of a manner adverbial.

As A.G. Hatcher, in her illuminating article entitled 'Mr. Howard Amuses Easy' points out, that passival verbs as in

(98) The book sells well

are "used intransitively in a potential reference" They have one general signification. The transitive verb describes a way of realizing the potential ties of the object: serving to create or develop it; to put it to the service of the agent" (Hatcher 1943: 10-11).

With regard to passival verbs the following points deserve notice:

The usage in type 2 and type 3 above is restricted to traditional idiom, and can no longer be freely extended; it is, e.g. not possible to say: 'The house builds', 'The shoe fastens', 'The cream whips', 'The clock winds'. As a rule the subject denotes a thing. If it refers to a person (as in She does not photograph well; Old persons do not transplant well); this person is more or less treated as a thing or object. Sentences like, 'They wanted to surprise me but I don't surprise so easy, But B. (a prizefighter) won't knock out so easy, But Americans don't push around easy, U.S. Marines don't massacre any too easy (all with do not), given by Hatcher in her above-

mentioned article, seem to represent a recent development in American spoken English.

As A.G. Hatcher (1943) points out, such sentences as

- (99) These couches convert easily into beds
- (100) These bed-loungers attach and adjust easily
- (101) These drawers pull out easily
- (102) This clock winds easily
- (103) This lingerie tubs quickly and irons easily
- (104) This cream whips easily
- (105) This nail-polish removes easily

with their reference to efficiency or profitability "represent the garden-variety of advertising style: they are routine expressions of the trade, characteristic more of the mail-order than of Vogue or Esquire characteristic, most of all, of the Saturday Evening Post" (Hatcher, 1943 : 12).

It is most natural that advertisements should bring forward sensual impressions:

- (106) These drawers pull out easily
- (107) This clock winds easily

instead of

- (108) It is easy to pull out these drawers
- (109) It is easy to wind this clock

in which the theme is put into focus in a direct appeal to the consumer. In sentences like (106-107) objective is made the theme and put into

focus; to this theme then are related some of its salient characteristics, i.e. relating a characteristic to its bearer.

The communicative importance of sentences of this type would be in directing attention of the bearer (say, a customer) to an extra-linguistic object, drawing, clocks etc, thus arousing some kind of curiosity or tensing the NORM OF EXPECTATION in the customer's mind. The speaker would bring his/her utterance into distinct relief by bringing into focus some qualifications and relating them to that object. Thus the direction of the cognitive movement would be

qualificans ——— qualificandum

In the other variants (103-104) the direction of the cognitive movement would be

qualificandum ——— qualificans

4.2.1.2 Active verbs with Subject as Patient

Some verbs like to open, to bend, to break, which are usually used as bivalents, may appear in sentences with only one actant. The syntactic valency of such verbs, e.g. verb open, might be represented as

open
V₂ (1)

where V^{open} stands for the lexeme (OPEN) the Arabic number outside the bracket for the 'normal' or 'preferential' valency and that inside the bracket for a possible valency. Compare:

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (110) | The $\overline{V_2}$ janitor opened the door | $\overline{V_1}$ The door opened (Fillmore 1968) |
| (111) | They filled the pool with water | The pool filled (Gardening 1983) |
| (112) | He rolled the ball | The ball rolled (Oxf. Dict.) |
| (113) | The butler broke the glass | The glass broke (Huddleston 1971) |

A characteristic feature of the right-hand sentences is that they allow the goal of the action to be foregrounded and make theme of the sentence without a change in the voice of the verb, i.e. the sentence retains its active form. Possible is:

- (114) The door was opened
- (115) The pool was filled
- (116) The ball was rolled
- (117) The glass was broken

Note the element of 'resistance' or 'acceptance' of the consequence of the action.

- (118) I rolled the ball, and it rolled
- (119) I tried to open the door, but it didn't open
- (120) I moved the stone, and it moved
- (121) I tried to move the stone, but it didn't move

Where the consequences of the action is not apparent, the intransitive use of the verb is not admissible, e.g.:

(122) I bought a book *It bought

(123) I taught the boy *The boy taught

Consider:

(124) I smelled the flowers *They smelled They smelled good

(125) I tasted the soup *It tasted It tasted good

On the basis that the experiencer is expressing the consequence of his/her experience, the subjective expression is acceptable, cf.

They tasted good. An objective expression would be unacceptable, cf.

*They smelled, *It tasted. In these sentences the action does not influence the state of the grammatical object. Logically, the objective expressions do not show the consequence of the action. In Jespersen's understanding such verbs do not result in a movement or change in the state of their object (Jespersen, 1927).

Sometimes the consequence of the action would need a different lexeme to express the same phenomenon referred to in the mono-valent use of the verb, e.g.

(126) The wolf killed the sheep The sheep died

(127) The officer dismissed the recruit The recruit went out

(128) I taught the boy The boy learned

We are of the opinion that in The janitor opened the door the verb represents a different lexeme from that in The door opened. In the former sense, open expresses an action performed; in the latter sense it denotes the consequence of the action expressed by the verb. Logically

speaking, it is not possible for one and the same lexeme (here verb) to reflect two different extralinguistic phenomena at the same time. It is either different lexemes or different syntactic structures that are needed to map the difference in the extralinguistic situation.

Visser (1963) shows that in Old English a transitive verb is used with the prefix ge- and an intransitive verb without this prefix, e.g. (examples from Visser).

Intransitive

abidan = to remain

aernan = to run

feran = to go

feallan = to fall

Transitive

geabydan = to wait for

geaernan = to reach, gain by
running

geferan = to get by going

gefeallan = to overthrow

With regard to this phenomenon, Visser makes the following statement:

"When after a gradual phonological decay (through such stages as ze-, zy-, zi-, y-, i-) the prefix ge- eventually disappeared, the verbs with and without ge- appeared in an identical form in which the transitive and intransitive characters were seemingly combined " (Visser, 1963, Part I: 123).

It has been observed by many researchers into English, e.g. Mathesius, Fronek, that English language quite often prefers the 'passive construction' to the active one for expressing the extralinguistic reality referred to in the intransitive use of such verbs, e.g.

The door was opened instead of the door opened. This procedure, we believe, helps avoid mistaking the subject in e.g. The door opened for the actor of the action performed, say for instance, The door opened itself*

*It is rather logically unacceptable. It violates the selection restrictions of the verb rather than the grammatical system of the language. Grammatically reasoning would allow for such sentences.

which is not the case. Such misunderstanding is liable to happen because in English the distinction between the subject as the actor and the subject as the patient is neither phonologically nor morphologically mapped on the form of the verb. Hence one of the syntactic reasons for the use of the passive construction in English is to avoid mistaking the patient for the actor.

4.4 Quasi-passive verbs in Arabic

In Arabic, the distinction between the subject as actor and the subject as patient is mapped on the form of the verb, e.g. (the verbs are underlined)

- (129) al bawwābu fataḥa l-bāba . albābu n-fataḥ
 (The janitor opened the door) (The door opened)
- (130) al-waladu dahradja l-kurata . alkuratu ta-dahradjat
 (The boy rolled the ball) (The ball rolled)
- (131) al-fatātu mala'at l-inā'a . al-inā'u mtala'
 (The girl filled the bucket) (The bucket filled)

Arabic grammarians refer to the class of verbs in the right-hand column as 'muṭāwi9' ('QUASI-PASSIVE'), the phenomenon is called 'muṭāwa9a' ('QUASI-PASSIVIZATION') (Literally the term 'muṭāwa9a' means 'leniency'.) It is defined as 'the leniency of the direct object towards the consequence of a transitive verb'. If we examine the above examples we find that, in regard to the aspect of leniency on the part of the object in accepting/refusing the consequences of the action, a change in the state of that object did occur. Sometimes, and as an aspect of leniency, the object may resist the influence of the action. Consider:

(132) lam yanfatiḥi l-bābu

(The door did not open)

(133) lam tatadaḥradji l-kuratu

(The ball did not roll)

(134) lam yamtali'i l-inā'u

(The bucket did not fill)

Arabic trilateral verbs (i.e. verbs with three consonants) are often grouped according to their syntactic form into three form types:

- (i) fa9ala e.g. fataḥa (to open)
- (ii) fa9ila e.g. 9alima (to know)
- (iii) fa9ula e.g. ḥasuna (to become better)

It is interesting to note that of these three form-types (awzan) only the first one, namely 'fa9ala' may derive a quasi-passive form. Thus the quasi-passive for verbs of the type 'fa9ala' could be written 'infa9ala' (e.g. infataḥa from fataḥa)

or

'ifta9ala' (ilta'ama from la'ame = healed).

It is 'ifta9ala' if the original verb starts with the following consonants:

W, L, N, M or R

otherwise it is 'infa9ala'

Verbs with tetraliteral roots may derive 'tafa9lala', e.g. tadaḥradja from dadaḥradja as a quasi-passive form.

Arabic grammarians observed that for deriving the quasi-passive, the semantic criterion stated above should be applied. Where the semantic criterion is not applicable no quasi-passive, i.e. 'muṭāwi9' form could be constructed. Thus there is no syntactic equivalent translation to the English (56) - (60) in Classical Arabic. Instead, Arabic would nominalise the verb and retain the equational sentence structure, e.g.:

- (135) madhāqu alḥasā'i māliḥun
 [The taste of the soup salty]
 (The soup tastes salty)
- (136) ikhāfati laysat sahlatan
 [Frightening me not easy]
 (I do not frighten easily)

or by preposing the thematic subject, e.g.

- (137) alkitābu bay9uhu sahlun
 [The book selling it easy]
 (The book sells well)
- (138) alfatayātu taqbiluhunna laysa ṣa9ban
 [The girls kissing them not difficult]
 (Girls kiss easily)

With some exceptions, almost all verbs which have similar semantic characteristic features to verbs such as fataḥa ('to open'), rafa9a ('to lift') etc., could derive a quasi-passive to express the resulting state denoted by the verb.

From the point of view of Functional Sentence Perspective activo-passives in English and 'muṭāwi9' in Arabic, like passives, allow for thematizing the Agentive actant. Cf. the ungrammatical (139) - (142) versus the grammatical (143) - (146):

- (139) *The door opened by the janitor
- (140) *The glass broke by the butler
- (141) *albābu infataḥa min qibali l-bawwāb-i
The door opened by the janitor
- (142) * alqadaḥu inkasara min qibali n-nādili
The glass broke by the butler
- (143) The door was opened by the janitor
- (144) The glass was broken by the butler
- (145) futiḥa l-bābu min qibali l-bawwāb-i
[Was opened the door by the janitor]
(The door was opened by the janitor)
- (146) kusira alqadaḥu min qibali n-nādili
[Was broken the glass by the butler]
(The glass was broken by the butler)

4.5 Verbs which denote existence or appearance

Another type of monovalent verbs are verbs such as to appear, to exist, to happen, to take place, etc; ḥalla ('to come into existence'), badā ('to appear'), zahara ('to appear'), ḥadatha ('to take place') etc.*

The apparent semantic characteristic property of this type of verb is that they either explicitly or implicitly denote the existence or appearance of their subject in a place, e.g.

*For the Arabic verbs we used the past form. This is mainly because it shows a much more fidelity to the root than the present. The root itself often consists of a sequence of three consonants, e.g., the trilateral root for fataḥa ('to open') would be F, T and Ḥ (or the unpronounceable FTH).

- (147) Winter came
- (148) A violent scene took place...
- (149) (The door opened, and a young girl appeared
- (150) djā'a sh-shitā'u (Winter came)
 [Came Winter]
- (151) waqa9at djināyatun (A crime took place.)
 [Took place a crime-NOM]
- (152) inbaladja l-fadjru (Dawn broke.)
 [Broke the dawn-NOM]

In these sentences the verb denotes either explicitly (e.g. took place, appear, waqa9at, inbaladja) or implicitly (e.g. came, djā'a), the existence or appearance of the phenomenon conveyed by its subject. The syntactic valency of these verbs determines the grammatical pattern

S —————> Vf

(where S stands for Subject, Vf for verb finite, and the arrow for dependency relations.).

On investigating the semantic structure of sentences with verbs of existence or appearance on the scene, we find that the verb in such sentences is primarily utilised for the purpose of denoting the existence or the appearance of its subject. This relation could be shown in terms of determination by the following scheme:

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| Subject | Verb |
| Determinandum | Determinants |

Scheme (1)

Relating this phenomenon in English to the dichotomic functions 'GIVEN - NEW', Halliday (1967) writes:

"The information unit consists of an obligatory new element, realized as tonic, optionally preceded by a given element, realised as pretonic" (204)*.

Consider:

(153) / Winter came/ **

as against the neutral

(154) / Winter came /

which is in line with English tendency to place the tonic (sentence stress) or the logical accent towards the end of a declarative clause.

In general, many grammarians and linguists have pointed to the functional importance of 'sentence stress'. Hermann Paul suggests that the psychological predicate (Halliday's NEW, our rheme) is "the most important member of the sentence, that which it is the aim of the sentence to communicate and which therefore carries the highest stress" (Paul, 1888: 283; our emphasis).

*For a criticism of Halliday's 'Information System', see Fronek (1983, p. 311-329).

**Our marking for Received Pronunciation following Halliday's use of it. cf. Halliday, 1967: 203 ff.

The idea expressed by Paul that the notion of what the sentence is about is reflected in its stress pattern, is expressed also by Th. Lipps, Ph. Wegener, and V.Z. Panfilov. They characterise what they call the logical (as opposed to grammatical) predicate as that element in the sentence which bears the highest stress and expresses something new. Panfilov (1974) notices in this respect: "Von Logikern und Sprachwissenschaftlern wurde schon lange bemerkt, daß das logische (nach Meinung anderer Autoren psychologische) Prädikat in den Fällen, in denen es nicht durch das grammatische Prädikat ausgedrückt wird, im Satz durch einen sogenannten 'logischen Akzent' hervorgehoben wird, d.h. durch eine der Intonationsarten oder durch die Wortfolge" (131). In another place Panfilov writes: "Eine besondere Bedeutung erhält dabei der Umstand, daß der logische Akzent nur eines der möglichen formalen Mittel für den Ausdruck der Gleiderung des Urteils in Subjekt und Prädikat ist, und daß insbesondere vom vielen Sprachen neben dem logischen Akzent, der in allen Sprachen zu finden ist, dafür noch spezielle Morpheme, Hilfswortarten und andere morphologische Mittel verwendet werden; auch syntaktische Mittel wie die Wortfolge u.a. können daraus dienen" (134).*

On the semantic level, a verb denoting existence or appearance seems to be incapable of determining the subject through its own semantics. It thus has the semantic function of relating the subject to a certain local or temporal scene of existence. Pala (1974) was quite successful in referring to such verbs by the term 'SEMANTIC COPULAS'.

*Quoted in Catherine El-Solami-Mewis 1980 "Zur Rolle der Satzpartikeln beim Ausdruck des Logischen Prädikats im affirmativen Somalisatz"; Zeitschrift für Phonetik 33. 1980, 185-196.

From the point of view of FSP a semantically heavy subject would carry more informational weight than a semantic copula. Under neutral circumstances, i.e. in the state of SYNTACTIC TRANQUILLITY* the focus of attention would naturally be directed towards the 'existing phenomenon' conveyed by the grammatical subject rather than on the idea of its existence or appearance denoted by the verb. Hence, the element which attention is focused on would stand for the 'raison d'être' or the rheme of the sentence. In terms of communicative dynamism, the subject would then carry the highest degree of communicative dynamism in the sentence.

Following Firbas (e.g. 1975), we suggest here a scale for distributing communicative dynamism over linguistic elements in sentences with verbs of existence or appearance on the scene. On account of the semantic properties of the verb and the subject, the scale would be 'existence or appearance on the scene - phenomenon existing or appearing' in an ascending order of communicative dynamism. Note that the scale should not be identified with word order. In cases where there happens to be a corresponding word order which is symmetrical to the scale of communicative dynamism, e.g. the case with Arabic examples above, we are speaking of aligning word order for the requirements of functional sentence perspective.

*The term 'syntactic tranquillity' is used after Behaghel's 'Syntactische Ruhelage', 1903.

Gundel (1974) argues that "the expression which names what the sentence is about (the topic) is not necessarily the leftmost element or the leftmost noun phrase in surface structure, though this is probably its most common position, and that it is always associated with the given (non-focal) information in the sentence. Hence it never has primary stress" (Gundel, 1974: 56).

The material at our hand shows that in English as well as in Arabic, quite often, verbs of existence or appearance have the logical valency: the phenomenon of existing or appearing plus location of existence or appearance as their preferential valency. Consider the following sentences from English and Arabic:

- (155) A vision of red and yellow flashed upward (Gor.Lor. 7)
- (156) A smile of pleasure passed across his face (Wil.Pic. 10)
- (157) The sun light slipped over the polished leaves (ditto, 15)
- (158) ... an expression of perplexity came over his face { 18)
- (159) [As they watched] a flash of fire appeared at
the root of one wisp (Gol. Lor. 48)
- (160) Out of his face stared two light blue eyes (ditto, 21)
- (161) in the middle of the water are little
islands of green over which hover white birds (D.J. Davies, 62)
- (162) wa inṣabbat ašhi99atu šh-šamsi 9alā l-awrāqi
l-malsa'i (9wa.Ṣūr. 17)
- (The sunlight slipped over the polished leaves)

- (163) sha99at fī muḥayyāhu ibtisāmatur-riḍā (ditto 12)
 (A smile of satisfaction came across his face)
- (164) wa waṣṭa l-mā'i djuzurun ṣaghīratun mukhḍaratun
 taḥūmu 9alayhā ṭuyūrun bayḍā'un (Ṣāl.Maw. 66)
 (In the middle of the water are little islands of green
 over which hover white birds)

Before we start analysing these sentences, let us extend our scale of communicative dynamism to include the adverbial locative which is mapped on their grammatical structure. Since this locative element has the semantic function of expressing the scene where the existence or appearance takes place, it carries less communicative dynamism than the act of existence or appearance does. This means that the locative element communicatively amplifies the act of existence or appearance; semantically it strengthens the semantic copula. On this account the scale of distributing communicative dynamism over the linguistic elements in such sentences would be a) the scene of existence or appearance b) existence or appearance c) the phenomena existing or appearing in ascending order.

Let us now return to sentences (144-158) and see how far English and Arabic reflect this scale on their syntactic structure. On the grammatical level the English sentences (144-153) show the order:

SUBJECT - VERB - ADVERBIAL LOCATIVE.

an order which represents the prevailing one in English. In the environment of verbs of existence or appearance, this order shows a remarkable deviation from the BASIC DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICATIVE DYNAMISM. It, so to speak, works counter to Functional Sentence Perspective. It seems to us that in English where there is a conflict

between the grammatical structure and the basic distribution of communicative dynamism, precedence is given to the grammatical structure. Yet spoken English resorts to another means available to it, namely, intonation, in order to put the sentence in a perspective which identifies the rhematic part of the sentence. Halliday (eg. Halliday, 1967: 204 ff) identifies the tonic with the NEW element in the sentence which comes towards the end of the sentence. On the other hand, Gundel (1974) has shown that the 'topic' (in a sense that approaches our theme) never has the primary stress. Hence the neutral or unmarked reading for 144-153 would acquire an irregular accentuation by identifying the tonic with the initial element in the sentence; the regular accentuation being that of placing the tonic "on the (accented syllable of the) final lexical item in the tone group" (sic. Halliday, 1967: 207). However, sentences (154) and (155) show a remarkable congruence with the scale of the distribution of communicative dynamism as well as with the unmarked intonation contour in English. Yet on the grammatical level they are marked for an inversion in the sequence of linguistic elements, i.e. V-S instead of the GRAMMATICALIZED order S-V.

From the point of view of Functional Sentence Perspective this is justified by the NATURAL order of the phenomena as they occur in the extralinguistic reality. In terms of expectancy the adverbial locative is put in the focus of attention and suspense is maintained throughout the sentence, until the phenomenon existing or appearing is brought into focus in relation to it. Poutsma (1928) suggests that "The best way of throwing any element of the sentence into particular relief is to give it end-position The first words of the sentence, like the cautionary words of a command, put the listener on the

alert. As the discourse proceeds, he is kept in suspense, so that his mind is prepared to receive that part of the communication on which his attention should chiefly be centred." (p. 387). However, we must note that sentences of the type represented in 160-161 do not occur very often in English. This is mainly because they are semantically bound to the inherent semantic property of the adverbial locative. A semantically heavy adverbial location often requires to be brought into the initial position of the sentence, a procedure which often results in the occurrence of inversion in word order.

Arabic examples 156-158 show that grammatical order is to a great extent flexible. Hence there is no conflict between the order of linguistic elements in the sentence and the basic communicative dynamism over them. Although there is no complete mapping of the basic distribution of communicative dynamism on the surface structure of the sentence, rhematic subjects are often referred back in the sentence by syntactic means. they never occur initially. In Arabic the prevailing grammatical order in sentences with verbs of existence or appearance is VS with the locative element left free to occur initially, e.g.(162-163), or finally, e.g. (164). This suggests that the place of the locative adverbial is determined by its own semantics, i.e. whether it requires to be in the immediate focus of attention or should it recede into the background of attention. In whichever position it occurs, it remains thematic and the degree of communicative dynamism assigned to it would not be affected.

Closely connected with verbs of existence or appearance are verbs of the type to start, to stop, to end, etc. bada'a ('to start'), tawaqqafa ('to stop'), inbathaga ('to come into existence'), intahā ('to end') They denote coming into existence or its antithesis, i.e. ceasing to exist, e.g.

- (165) The war ended
- (166) The rain stopped
- (167) The conflict started
- (168) ishta9alat l-ḥarbu (The war started)
 [Put into flames the war]
- (169) tawaqqafa l-maṭaru (The rain stopped)
 [Stopped the rain]
- (170) ibtada'a l-idjtimā9u (The meeting started)
 Started the meeting

The characteristic feature of these sentences is that their grammatical subject is preceded by the definite article, a characteristic which relates to their thematic structure. Due to its semantic features, the definite article reduces the amount of communicative dynamism which is to be carried by its head substantive. This is because the definite article identifies the substantive with which it stands with OLD information, i.e. information which is recoverable from the verbal or the situational context.

B.A. Ilysh (1965 quoted by Firbas 1966) observes that this characteristic feature of the definite article communicatively influences the substantive with which it stands as contextually recoverable. It thus, under neutral conditions, deprives its substantive from carrying high amount of communicative dynamism.

Consider the following English and Czech examples (borrowed from Fronek, 1983) with their Arabic counterparts:

- (171) The old man entered the room
- (172) ash-shaykhu dakhala ilā l-ghurfat-i
DEF - old man entered into DEF - room
- (173) Stařec vešel do pokoje (Fronek 1983)
(Old man came into room)
- (174) An old man entered the room
- (175) dakhala l-ghurfata shaykhun
Entered DEF room old man
- (176) Do pokoje vešel stařec (Fronek 1983)
Into room came old man

In the Czech. sentences, elements are arranged according to their communicative weight. In the Arabic sentences both articles and position of elements in the sentence point to the relevant communicative weight of linguistic elements.

English keeps the subject - predicator - adjunct order for syntactic reasons but uses articles to convey the relevant communicative values.

Fronek (1983) shows that "in the absence of a morphological apparatus which would clearly specify the grammatical status of the respective elements, use is made of an alternative strategy, i.e. the employment of articles to mark the informational status of the individual elements " (326).

Firbas (e.g. 1966 and 1975) has shown that there is no one-to-one correspondence between the definite article vis-à-vis the indefinite article and theme and rheme respectively. Thus a sentence such as

(177) An old man entered the room

would express the appearance of a person in a place. The adverbial element expresses the scene of appearance. Hence it is thematic. The grammatical subject expresses the phenomenon appearing. Hence it is rhematic. But the verb in

(178) The old man entered the room

expresses motion. In this case the adverbial element expressing the direction of the motion will be an essential amplification partner to the meaning of the verb. Hence it is rhematic. The grammatical subject expressing the semantic function actor will be thematic.

Verbs of motion

4.6 Verbs denoting movement

The other subtype of monovalent verbs includes verbs such as to walk, to march, to crawl, to fly, etc., masha, sara ('to walk') zahafa ('to crawl'), irtahala ('to depart'), hadjara ('to migrate') etc. Verbs of motion share the semantic feature of denoting 'MOVEMENT'.

Consider the following examples from English and Arabic:

(179) The soldiers marched

(180) He ran into the house

(181) He walked across the fields

(182) He swam across the river

(183) hādjarah r-rasūlu ilā Yathriba

(The Prophet migrated to Yathrib)

(184) sāfartu ilā Baghdāda

(I travelled to Baghdad)

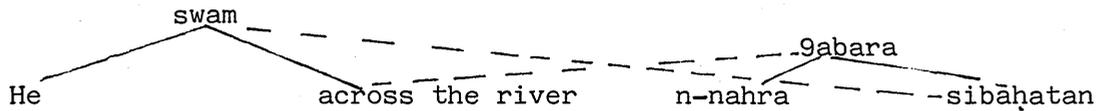
(185) mashaytu 9abra l-ḥuqūli

(I walked across the fields)

(186) 9abara n-nahra sibāhatan

(He swam across the river)

Notice the change in the structural centre (in terms of verb valency) between the English example (176) and its high probability equivalent Arabic translation (180). This difference could be illustrated by the following scheme (2)



Scheme (2)

The semantic features of verbs of motion are that they imply some kind of movement or a change in place. We shall call them verbs of MOVEMENT (verba movendi).

Halliday (1967 : 39 ff) characterises verbs of motion in English as involving 'non-directed' action, with one participant, the actor. Halliday uses the term 'non-directed' action in contrast with 'directed' action, i.e. action effecting a goal, cf.

(187) She washed the clothes

It seems to us that the term 'non-directed' action would be rather vague, especially when the verb is followed by an amplification partner indicating the direction of the movement, e.g.

(188) He walked home

(189) The soldiers marched towards their objectives

(190) The train steamed into the station

(191) The old man entered the room

(192) He swam across the river

In situations like these we have to discriminate between a directed action, e.g.

(193) She washed the clothes

(Halliday 1970)

and a directed movement, e.g.

(194) He walked home

In English some of the verbs of movement would allow for the semantic case COMITATIVE without the need of the comitative particle 'with', e.g.

(195) I walked her home

(196) The nurse walked the patient

(197) She walked her dog

Here the subject shares with the object carrying out the act of walking. With regard to the semantic role of the subject in (195 - 197) it acts as both initiator and actor of the action. (195) has assumed an idiomatic meaning of accompaniment. Similar to (195) is

(198) He showed her to the door

But a sentence like

(199) The guard marched the prisoners

could, on the one hand, accept the interpretation that the guard did perform the act of marching; hence the semantic role of the subject in (199) would be similar to that in (196). On the other hand, (199) could be paraphrased in a sequence of sentences, something like

(200) The guard made (or gave the order for)

the prisoners to march; they marched

Thus (199) would represent a 'short cut' (to use Firbas's term) towards expressing objective reality.

4.2.4 Verbs with Initiator as subject

Some of the verbs of movement in English allow for sentences with the INITIATOR AS SUBJECT, e.g.,

(201) The guard marched the prisoners

(202) The jockey ran the horse

(203) She walked the baby.

Here the actual actor is expressed by the grammatical object and the grammatical subject represents the initiator of the action. In a contextually independent sentence the highest degree of communicative dynamism would be allotted to the logical actor of the action, whereas, under neutral circumstances, in actor - action - goal pattern the actor is identified with the theme and carries a lower degree of communicative dynamism.

Under neutral conditions (i.e. in a situation of syntactic tranquility) (a) would acquire the thematic structure

(204) $\frac{T}{\text{The guard}}$ $\frac{tr}{\text{marched}}$ $\frac{R}{\text{the prisoners}}$

(T = Theme, R = Rheme and tr = transition) *

Transitive use of verbs of movement allow the interpretation of COMITATIVE for their first actant, cf.

(205) I walked her home

(I walked with her)

(206) The nurse walked the patient

(She walked with him)

(207) I showed him to the front door (I walked with him to
the front door)

which has assumed an idiomatic meaning of accompaniment.

*The term 'transition' is developed by Firbas to denote elements which carry higher degrees of CD than T but lower than R (Firbas1959).

In Arabic the semantic cases AGENTIVE, INITIATIVE and COMITATIVE are reflected by the morphological form of the verb. For instance, from the triliteral root S-Y-R three different verb-forms could be constructed corresponding to the three semantic cases open for verbs of movement. They are:

- (i) sāra which is built to the structure fa9ala; it reflects the semantic case AGENTIVE, e.g.

(202) sāra l-djundu (The soldiers marched)

- (ii) sayara which is built to the structure fa99ala; it reflects the semantic case INITIATOR, e.g.

(203) al-khalīfatu sayara l-djunda ilā bilādi Faris
(The caliph marched the soldiers to Persia)

- (iii) sāyara which is built to the structure fā9ala; it reflects the semantic case COMITATIVE, e.g.

(204) sāyartuhu ilā l-mahattati (I walked him to the station)

These three morphological structures, namely, fa9ala, fa99ala, and fā9ala when applied to verbs of movement, reflect the semantic cases AGENTIVE, INITIATIVE and COMITATIVE respectively. Since these measures are applicable to verbs of different types, the syntactic form fa9ala, for instance, is generally associated with the semantic case COMITATIVE. Sībawayhi (1889) writes: "i9lam annaka idhā qulta fā9altuhu faqad kāna min ghayrika ilayka mithla mā kāna minka ilayhi hīna qulta fā9altuhu" ('Note that when you say fā9altu-hu there will be an action from you towards him, as that from him towards you'). This means that Sībawayhi is generalising

the semantic characteristics of the structure to account for different types of verbs. Yet Sibawayhi's generalisation, when applied to verbs other than verbs of movement, the subject would be associated with the semantic case AGENTIVE rather than COMITATIVE e.g. rāwada ('try to seduce'), khada9a ('try to deceive') etc.

(211) walaqad rāwad-tu-hu 9an nafsihi; fa-sta9ṣam (Qur. XII, 33)
(I did try to seduce him; but he refused)

(212) khāda9tu-hu; fa-lam yankhadi9 (Sibawayhi, 1889)
(I tried to deceive him; but he was immune to deception)

In both (211) and (212) the first part of the sentence expresses an attempt on the part of the actor to do some kind of action which would effect the goal of the action. Yet whether the object responds to the action or not is left to be inferred from the sentence that follows the one expressing the action. Where there is reciprocal action on the part of both participants, Arabic would resort either to the repetition of the act, e.g.:

(213) qātaltuhu; waqātalani
(I fought with him; and he fought with me)

or by using the form tafa9ala, e.g.

(214) taqātal-na
(We fought with each other)

In English it is often the case that the same form of the verb stands for different semantic relations. Fillmore (1968) suggests that "instead of saying that the verb has three different meanings, we can be satisfied to say (sic) that there is a certain variety in the case frame which accept it" (29). Thus, e.g. for the verb cook Fillmore suggests the case frame + — O(A)
(O stands for Objective, A for Agentive, and parenthesis indicate optional elements). His examples:

(215) Mother is cooking the potatoes

(216) The potatoes are cooking

(217) Mother is cooking

To avoid ambiguous interpretations for (216) and (217), Fillmore ascribes A (Agentive) with the semantic feature (+ Animate) while he leaves O (Objective) unspecified for animateness. Since Fillmore makes O an obligatory in the case frame, (217) needs further classification. Fillmore justifies (217) as follows: "An idiosyncratic transformational feature of the verb is that just in case the A is present and O is some NP representing a typical NP for the verb (that is, something like food or a meal), the O element may be deleted." (Fillmore, 1968: 29). Following Fillmore's line of argument, we would describe the verb walk by the case frame [+ — A (O)] which would only account for walk in (212) and (213) but leaves (214) unspecified.

(218) The patient walked

(219) The sergeant walked the prisoners

(220) I walked her home

In English most sentences with verbs of movement would sound rather awkward or stilted when opening a conversation without the presence of circonstants indicating the direction, manner or cause of the movement, e.g.

(221) The boy walked

(222) He ran

(223) She travelled

and so on. Sentences of this type need specific communicative situations to justify them. Thus, for e.g. (221.) we might think of a situation where somebody, say, has his leg broken or a spastic or an infant boy is involved in the action. In such a context we are no more talking of the action of movement; instead we are talking about the ability of that person to walk. Even in this context, English language would prefer nominalising the action, e.g.

(224) The boy managed to walk.

(225) He had a run.

(226) She did a lot of travelling.

Further examples with process nouns:

(227) The meeting came to an end.

(228) The war came to a halt.

(229) The play came to an end.

Earlier in this chapter we noted that English often tends to expand the predicate with nominal expressions for similar communicative purposes to those where nominalization occurs. With verbs of movement this expansion often indicates the direction of the movement, e.g.:

(230) We went to London.

(231) He walked across the fields.

(232) He ran into the house.

(233) She flew to Paris.

Here the presence of adverbial elements expressing the direction or goal of the movement would influence the thematic structure of the sentence in terms of the distribution of communicative dynamism. In the unmarked cases the unexpected sentence reflects the dichotomy THEME-RHEME; the grammatical subject is identified with the theme, the finite verb with

the rheme. Since an element expressing the direction of the movement would be communicatively more important than the movement itself, the rheme of the sentence normally shifts from the verbal to the nominal expression. The semantic structure actor-movement-direction would then correspond to the thematic structure theme-transition-rheme:

(234) $\frac{T}{\text{He}}$ $\frac{\text{tr}}{\text{walked}}$ $\frac{R}{\text{home}}$

In Arabic, it seems that the cognitive order is rather different from that in English when expressing identical objective reality. Where English sentences with verbs of movement would reflect the cognitional order:

Somebody did an action,

in Arabic it would reflect

An action is done by somebody.

The notion of cognitive order has been discussed by Admoni (1970) who states that the cognitive content of a sentence may be represented in different ways according to the 'Einstellung' ('Point of view') taken by the speaker (1920: 240). Across languages we might carry the notion of 'point of view' further and suggest that different languages prefer a certain 'point of view' in expressing certain objective reality. Consider the following examples from Arabic:

(235) hādjarah r-rasūlu ilā yathriba

[Migrated the prophet to Yathrib]

(The Prophet migrated to Yathrib)

(236) nazaha S-sāmiyūna mina l-djazirati l-ʿarabiyati

[Emigrated the Semites from the Arab peninsula]

(The Semites emigrated from the Arab Peninsula)

(237) sāfar r-ra'īsu ilā R-rīyādi
 (The President left for Al-Riyād)

(238) ṭārat ila Pārisa
 (She flew to Paris)

(239) mashā l-abṭālu ilā l-abṭāli
 (The heroes met other heroes)

In an unexpanded form of sentences with verbs of movement the two orders with regard to the subject and the verb are possible. Thus besides the grammatical order SV, e.g.

(240) ar-rasūlu hādjara
 (The Prophet migrated)

(241) ar-ra'īsu ghādara
 (The President left)

(242) aṭ-ṭullabu sāfarū
 (The students travelled)

is found the grammatical order VS, e.g.

(243) a) hādjara r-rasūlu
 (The Prophet migrated)

b) ghādara r-ra'īsu (The President left)

c) sāfara t-ṭullābu (The students travelled)

From the cognitional point of view verbs such as hādjara ('to migrate'), ghādara ('to leave'), waṣala ('to arrive') imply the notion of appearance or its antithesis, viz. disappearance. Thus

(244) waṣala l-maliku (The king arrived)

expresses the idea of appearance in a place. If the notion of 'place' is not overtly expressed, then it is conventionally accepted to be where the speaker is at the time of uttering the sentence

(245) ghādara l-maliku

(The king left)

expresses an antithesis to the idea of appearance. The King once was present in a certain place; after leaving it, he is no more in that place. The idea of 'place' for (244) applies to (245).

The proper verbal context in which (240) may occur is in answer to an implicit or explicit question mādha fa9ala-S- - ? ('What did - S - do?') Whereas the context for (243) varies, it could be an answer to

what happened? what is the news? Who ?

In the context of who.....? e.g. man hādjarah? (Who migrated?) the verb is overtly expressed in the question. It is the agent which is questioned about. Hence it will be communicatively more important than the verb. In the context of what is the news? or what happened? both the verb and its subject are not overtly expressed. They represent NEW information. But due to their weak semantic content, a verb of movement such as hādjarah, ghādara will carry lower degree of communicative dynamism than the subject. Hence the structural order will reflect, on the thematic level, the rising scale of communicative dynamism.

We have seen that with verbs of appearance/existence the subject, quite often, is preceded by an indefinite article. With verbs of movement the subject is often preceded by the definite article al (=the). Here the definite article in e.g. (241) - (242) represent a communicative marker for common knowledge shared by the speaker/writer and the listener/reader. Yet, the notion conveyed by the noun, in regard to the narrow ad hoc scene, appears to be contextually independent. In (243) precedence in arranging linguistic elements is given to the verb. Since the verb is semantically weak, it then assumes a thematic position, viz. the initial position in the sentence. However, the latent semantic characteristics of the definite article will operate when other 'functional' actants are present, e.g. direction of movement. In this case the subject will move into the thematic part of the sentence, namely, towards the beginning of the sentence. Consider:

(246) hādjarah r-rasulu ilā yathriba

[Migrated the prophet to Yathriba]

(The Prophet migrated to Yathrib)

(247) ghādara r-ra'īsu Baghdāda

[Left the president Baghdad]

(The president left Baghdad)

(248) sāfara l-wazīru ilā Landana

[Left the Minister to London]

(The minister left for London)

In (246) and (248) the prepositional phrases ilā yathriba ('to Yathrib') ilā Landana (for London) express the goal or the direction of the movement. Baghdada in (247) expresses the source from which the movement started. Under the circumstances, the direction, i.e. the goal or source of the movement, will be the most dynamic element in the sentence and will become rheme proper.

From the communicative point of view adverbials expressing direction, time or cause of movement add to the semantics of the verb. Communicatively, as well as semantically, they are essential to the meaning of the verb. Unlike objects with transitive verbs, these 'functional' actants are not obligatory as far as the grammaticality of the sentence is concerned. Yet like objects, they amplify the meaning of the verb. Hence our term 'FUNCTIONAL' actants. Where more than one 'functional' actant is present in the sentence the proper order would be:

SOURCE - GOAL - TIME - CAUSE

e.g.

(249) ghādara r-ra'īsu Baghdāda ilā 9ammaṇa amsi liḥuḍūri mu'tamari l-qimmatī

(The president left Baghdad for Amman yesterday to attend the summit conference)

4.7 Bivalent verbs

On account of their syntactic valency, bivalent verbs determine the syntactic structure: $N^1 + Vf + N^2$ (where N^1 and N^2 are the two obligatory actants governed by the verb and occupy the syntactic position subject and object respectively). As we shall see presently the grammatical structure:

SUBJECT - VERB - OBJECT

can accommodate various types of semantic relations.

Perhaps the most common semantic pattern expressed by the syntactic sequence $N^1 + Vf + N^2$ is the actor-action-goal pattern.

Investigating the range of semantic function N^1 (i.e. the grammatical subject) in English and Czech, Fronek (1978) observes that the role of agent (or actor) is most natural for the subject in most natural languages. The congruence between the grammatical, semantic and thematic structures has been observed by Mathesius (cf. Mathesius : 1975), Firbas (cf. Firbas, 1959; 1964 and elsewhere), and Pala (1974). Firbas further observes that the means of signalling CD work in line with or against the requirement of the basic distribution of communicative dynamism over the sentence elements. Full analysis of these means cannot be carried out without constant regard to the possibilities and requirements offered by the grammatical structure in the language under observation. For instance a non-thematic subject is possible in English, e.g.

(250) A girl entered the room

but not possible in Arabic, cf. the ungrammatical

(251) *fatātun dakhalat l-ghurfata

(A girl entered the room)

In English it is possible to reconcile the grammatical structure with the basic requirement of communicative dynamism by means of INTONATION. An accentuated reading for (250) would assign the nuclear tone to the rhematic element, i.e. that which carries the highest degree of communicative dynamism in the sentence, cf:

(252) // A girl entered the room //

Here a deviation from the ordinary intonation contour for declarative sentences would occur, namely the shift in the tonic from end position to initial position. Leech (1981) suggests that degrees of 'informativeness' are relevant to the choice of tone of the nucleus. "We tend to use a falling tone to give emphasis to the main information in a sentence, and a rising tone (or, with more emphasis a fall rise tone) to give subsidiary or less important information, i.e. information which are more predictable from the context" (Leech, 1981: 173-174). He holds the view that "Because of the principles of end-focus and end-weight, the final position in a sentence or clause is, in neutral circumstances, the most important" (pp. 175-6). If the statement has only one tone unit, the topic does not receive focus.

But sometimes topic and information focus coincide, and in this case, the topic is doubly prominent:

(253) [Who gave you that magazine?] Bill gave it to me

Halliday writes: "The focus of information falls, in the unmarked instance, on the last non-amorphic element in the information unit; it tends, therefore, to be associated with an element that is final in the clause" (1968 :212-13).

In Arabic, intonation often has not such a great bearing on the thematic structure of the sentence. Instead, word order will be of significant importance for the communicative act. To reconcile a non-thematic subject and a thematic position, in initial position Arabic would resort to a shift in word order, cf.

(254) dakhalat l-ghurfata fatatun

[Entered the room a girl]

(A girl entered into the room)

with VS sequence instead of a SV order.*

Thus where English assigns positions in the sentence to elements according to their syntactic function, Arabic assigns positions in the sentence of linguistic elements according to the amount of their communicative weight.

Another observation made by Firbas (1959) is that the semantic-contextual means do not operate in what Bolinger (1952) has termed 'second instance sentences'. Such sentences contain one heavily contrasted element. Viewed from the FSP perspective, the heavily contrasted word represents that element with the highest degree of communicative dynamism, i.e. the rheme proper; all other elements constitute an extended theme. In second instance sentences any linguistic element may function as rheme proper. For instance, any word in

(255) T T R T
 Every evening he used to come and see her

might become the heavily contrasted word, if the sentence passes into

*To the best of our knowledge there is not a full treatment of intonation in classical Arabic apart from some treatises on reciting the Holy Qur'an.

the second instance, e.g.

(256) T R T T
 Every evening he used to come and see her

(256) would presuppose a context in which there is some kind of a dispute over the gender of the actor, hence he is contrastive. It has a similar deep structure to, e.g. It was a man who used to come and see her every evening. It is interesting to note here that contrastiveness in Arabic is not normally marked by intonation. Instead a direct negation of the other part of the dispute would be used.

Compare:

(259) // John saw the play //

(260) // John saw the play //

with their counterparts in Arabic:

(261) al-ladhī shāhada l-masraḥīyata ʿalīyun

(It was Ali who saw the play, not Ahmed)

(262) mā shāhada-hu ʿalīyun kāna l-masraḥīyata walaysa l-filma

(What Ali saw was the play, not the film)

The contrast may be implicit as in, eg.

(264) lā ilāha illā L-Lāh

(There is no other god but Allah)

where the direct negation has the semantic function of a contrast with idols which one might think of. On the other hand it allows what follows to carry very high degrees of communicative dynamism even when that element is by its syntactic nature predisposed for lower degrees of communicative dynamism, cf.

(265) T R
 Al-Lāhu lā ilāha illā-hu
 (Allah - there is no other god save him)

With regard to the semantic pattern actor-action-goal, expressed by the grammatical structure SUBJECT - VERB - OBJECT Firbas puts forth: "Initiating an action, the actor necessary exists before it. Only after it has started, can the action reach or affect its goal or produce some altogether new object (A potter made a vessel). The communication develops along the same line. The degree of CD rises accordingly and the intonation centre falls on the object, expressing the goal of the action. The sequence displays the basic distribution of CD" (Firbas 1964: 35).

Firbas observes the congruence of the three levels of the sentence in English "The way the grammaticalised core of modern English word order has become established is certainly not at variance with the nature and requirements of FSP " (ibid: 35). Sentences of the type:

(266) The potter made a vessel

would be most naturally interpreted as actor-action-goal, subject

verb-object, theme-transition-rheme sequences on the semantic, the grammatical and the FSP levels, respectively.

Many linguists of Prague school tradition arrived at conclusions which confirm Firbas's view.

L. Uhlířová in her article (1974), arrives at the conclusion that "the subject and object in the majority of cases differ from each other as to the degree of sentence dynamism, in the sense that words syntactically functioning as objects possess a higher degree of sentence dynamism as opposed to words syntactically functioning as subjects." (41) Here Uhlířová uses the term 'sentence dynamism' in a sense similar to Firbas's communicative dynamism. Thus according to her analysis subjects are often identified with theme and objects with rheme.

Beneš (1968) holds the view that for the speaker of the language, usual sequences of words would reflect essential relations in objective reality. In relatively context-free situations a neutral sequence of elements will be chosen in which the grammatical subject will express the psychological subject (which Beneš quotes with the theme and with the 'given') which is determined or characterized by the 'psychological predicate' (which he equates with rheme and with the 'new'),

Beneš's view might be interpreted that in the actor-action-goal pattern, the actor expressed by the grammatical subject will be characterised by the action plus its complement, i.e. the object. It then follows that the subject (actor) will be communicatively less dynamic than the verb (action) and the object (goal).

Investigating the apparatus of the predicate and its arguments (actants), Pala (1974) proposes that with verbs with two arguments (i.e. bivalent verbs) the 'nominal' order would be:

arg - T, pred - T // arg - R.

This means that, in a context-free sentence, he identifies the first argument (actant), i.e. the grammatical subject with theme and the second argument, i.e. the grammatical object with rheme. This way of ordering linguistic elements in the sentence is closely related to Firbas's 'basic distribution of CD'.

Daneš (1964) demonstrates the harmony between all three levels of the sentence. His example:

| | | | | |
|------------|--|--------------------|---|---|
| | | John bought a book | | |
| synt level | | S | V | O |
| sem. level | | agent action goal | | |
| FSP | | T | R | |

shows a perfect 'equilibrium' between the three levels of the sentence. Theme is expressed by the most THEMEWORTHY syntactic and semantic actant-subject and agent respectively and rheme by the most RHEMEWORTHY syntactic and semantic actant-object and goal respectively.

Firbas's view has been confirmed by non-Prague linguists as well. Chafe (1970) arrived independently at similar conclusions to Firbas's. He proposes that "if the verb of the sentences in an action-process, its patient noun root will convey new information and its agent noun root old information" (Chafe, 1970)*. This means in

*Further conclusions which support Firbas's view can be found in Fronek (1978) mentioned above, Horová (1976), Dvořáková (1964) and Bogusławski (1977).

terms of communicative dynamism that Chafe identifies the semantic function agent with old information, with lower degree of CD, and goal with new information, viz. with higher degree of Cd. Chafe is aware of the impact of context on the distribution of old and new information: "It is not surprising that situations sometimes arise in which the patient noun root of an action - process verb conveys new information. One way in which situations like those are accommodated in English, is through the specification of the verb is passive" (Chafe, 1970: 219).

A view similar to Firbas's and Chafe's is also held by Leech and Svartvik (1981). With regard to arranging information units in the sentence they argue that : "Because of the principles of end-focus and end-weight, the final position in a sentence or clause is, in neutral circumstances, the most important. But the first position is also important for communication, because it is the starting point for what the speaker wants to say: it is (so to speak) the part of the sentence which is familiar territory in which the hearer gets his bearings" (Svartvik, 1981: 176-176). They identify first position with topic (our Theme).

S. Anderson (1977: 365) proposes some kind of association between the grammatical and the thematic structure. Thus the syntactic structure in:

(a) NP1 hit NP2

could be mapped into the functional structure

(b) NP1 HIT NP2

Agent Theme/Patient

However, Anderson uses the term 'theme' in a sense similar to Firbas's rheme. Yet if we undo the bond between the semantic and thematic levels of the sentence. We find that S. Anderson throughout his work uses the semantic patient or theme in the sense of thematic function rheme.

Halliday (cf. 1968) associates the thematic sequence theme-rheme with the information sequence given - new. He further associates initial position in the sentence, in unmarked instance, with 'given' (theme) and end position with 'new' (rheme) and relates this sequence of elements to the grammaticalized order:

Subject - Verb.- Object*

4.8 Verbs with other deep cases than Agentive

Fronek (1978) has shown that subject in English is capable of expressing a variety of case relations and that subjectivization of these categories is related to the requirement of Functional Sentence Perspective.

In Chapter three we showed how the use of HAVE verbs instead of BE verbs in English allow the locative to be subject and theme and the 'quasi-object' to be rheme.

*Further similar analyses are provided by Sandmann (1954: 94 ff) and Elise Richter (1920: 20 ff). Sandmann describes the thematic relations (natural order of elements) in the sentence in terms of 'determination': "if we look at thought we shall talk of the S as DETERMINANS, or call S the IDENTIFICANDUM and P the IDENTIFICANS" (94). For E. Richter S is the term which takes up something previously mentioned ("Anknüpfung" function), while P is "der Gegenstand der Aussage" (that which is predicated). This means that S corresponds to old information, viz. theme, and P to new information, viz. rheme.

Locative circonstants are highly topicworthy since they characterise the 'geographical' situation in which the action or state identified by the verb takes place. In English they appear with considerable frequency as surface structure subjects. In the previous chapter we showed that one of the most common apparatus which allow a locative to become subject is the interchange between the HAVE verb and the BE verb, e.g.

(265) There is a book on the table

(266) The table has a book on it

The 'have' construction allows for the thematic locative to be the grammatical subject. Arabic has a remarkable tolerance for prepositional phrases expressing locative in initial position. The Arabic equivalent translation for (a) is

(267) 9alā l-miḥadati kitābun

In English, the congruence of the semantic function locative and the grammatical position subject is aligned where verbs indicating inclusion (e.g. include, contain, etc.) are present in the sentence, e.g.

(268) The room contained a bed and chair

(269) The building was crawling with police

(270) The garden swarmed with bees

There is a number of verbs in English like seat, sleep, which can develop an extended meaning of capacity when combined with a locative subject in the thematic section of the sentence, e.g.

(271) The bus seats forty five passengers

(272) The tent sleeps four people

(273) The table dines six

For expressing capacity Arabic would use a general verb yattasi9u ('to hold') and nominalise the verb, cf.

(274) alhāfilatu tattasi9u lidjulūsi khamsatan wa arba9īna rakiban

(The bus seats forty-five passengers)

(275) al-khaymatu tattasi9u limanāmi arba9at ashkhās

(The tent sleeps four)

(276) al-ma'idatu tattasi9u li'it9āmi sitat ashkhās

(The table seats six people)

A verb like review in English may have as subject an agent or a locative, e.g.

(277) The author reviews two books

(278) The article reviews two books

whereas Arabic equivalent ista9raḍa ('to review') allows only an agentive subject; where locative is to occupy initial position a prepositional locative phrase will be used. Thus the highly equivalent Arabic translation for (272) and (273) will be

(279) al-mu'allifu ista9raḍa kitābayn

(The author reviewed two books)

(280) fī l-maqālati itsi9rāḍun li-kitābayn

(In the article there is a review of two books)

When experience and locative occur together, e.g. in sentences describing physical or mental states, English often uses the HAVE construction which shows the semantic role Experiences on the thematic subject, cf.

(281) Mother has a headache/a toothache/a sore throat

Arabic separates the two roles. It is quite common in Arabic to start with the idea of locative, e.g.

(282) ra'sī yu'limu-nī

[My head aches-me-DAT]

However a construction similar to the English 'have construction' might be used especially when referring to a fairly permanent state, e.g.

(283) alwālidatu 9indahā l-kabid

[Mother with-her liver] (Mother has the liver)

(284) 9indī qurḥatun fī l-am9ā'

[With me ulcer in the intestines] (I have ulcer in the intestines)

(285) 9inda ibnī ḥaṣba

[With my son the measles] (My son has measles)

(286) akh-ī 9indahu sh-shaqīqa

[Brother-my he has migraine] (My brother has migraine)

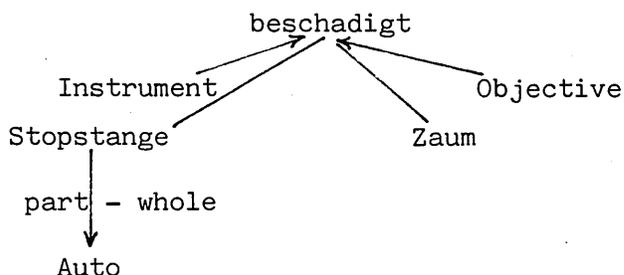
The deep case Instrument is discussed by Pleines (1975). He argues that both

(287) Das Auto hat den Zaun mit seiner Stopstange beschädigt.

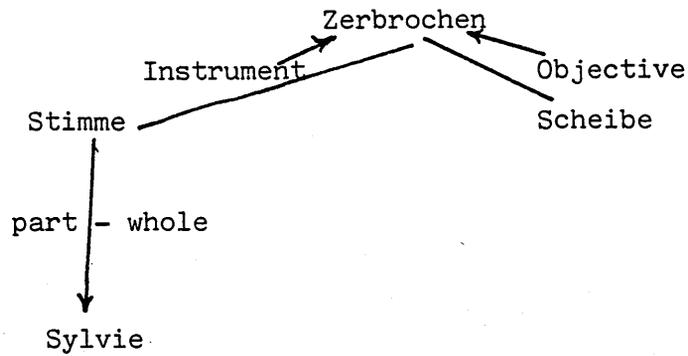
(288) Sylvie hat die Scheibe mit ihrer Stimme zerbrochen.

have only one Instrument case expressed by the propositional phrase mit ('with') + NP. These prepositional phrases stand in a part to whole relationship to the NP das Auto and Sylvie. Structurally, they would appear as in Scheme (1) and (2):

Scheme 1:



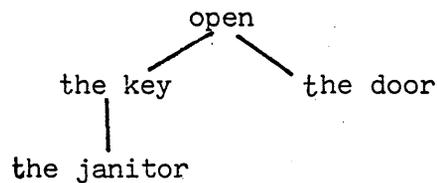
(Scheme 1)



(Scheme 2)

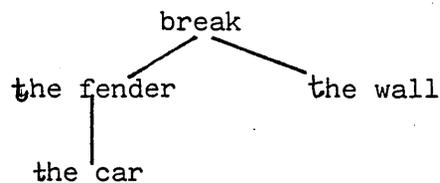
This means that only one actant stands in Instrumental relationship to the verb, while the other actant stands in a structural dependency relation as WHOLE to a PART. This way of argument will lead to the treatment of The janitor opened the door with a key and The car broke the fence with its fender as homogeneous with respect to the Instrumental case, cf. (3) and (4).

Scheme 3:



(Scheme 3)

Scheme 4:

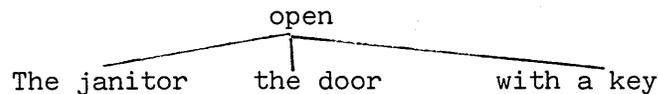


(Scheme 4)

Such an analysis strangely downgrades the Agentive to be subservient to Instrument. In this respect we are inclined to agree with Fillmore's analysis (cf. Fillmore, 1968) in which he shows that Agentive case stands on higher hierarchial level than Instrument. When both Agentive

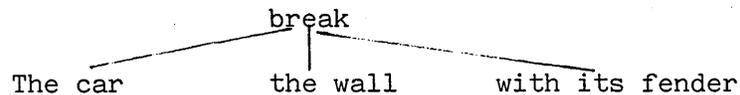
and Instrumental occur in the same sentence, the former is structurally related to the verb via a preposition. This might be shown by Schemes (5 and 6).

Scheme 5:



(Scheme 5)

Scheme 6:



(Scheme 6)

On the other hand, the relation between the Agentive and the Instrumental is different. In scheme 5 the instrument is an external tool put in the service of the Agent, whereas in scheme 6 it stands in a part to whole relation (which is shown by the broken line). The difference in case relationship becomes more apparent on the surface structure when different prepositions are used. Compare:

- (289) The door was opened by (*with) the janitor
- (290) The door was opened by (*With) the dog
- (291) The door was opened (*by) with the key
- (292) The door was opened by (*with) the baby
- (293) The door was opened by (*with) an automatic machine
- (294) The door was opened (*by) with the card
- (295) The door was opened (*by) the wind

In these sentences two prepositions are used, namely by and with. The former has the semantic function of a marker for the Agential case, the latter for the Instrumental. The difference in case relationship may be accounted for by the fact that the Agent (typically an animated noun) carries out the action identified by the verb, whereas the Instrument stands in a means relationship with the Agent.

Under neutral circumstances, Instrument would carry higher degree of communicative dynamism than Agent. Hence it is rhematic:

| | | | |
|-------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | <u>T</u> | <u>Tr</u> | <u>R</u> |
| (296) | The janitor | opened the door | with the key |

Initial position of such a rhematic instrumental phrase would be marked for emphasis in English, e.g.

(297) With the key the janitor opened the door

or

(298) It was a key the janitor used to open the door with.

Even in the context of an answer to questions such as With what did the janitor open the door? The janitor opened the door with the key would be more normal than With the key the janitor opened the door, since the former is more in line with the grammaticalized order of elements. It allows the sentence to open with the grammatical subject.

In Arabic initial position of rhematic Instrumental prepositional phrases is normal in such circumstances, i.e. in an answer to a question like (299).

(299) bi-aīyi shay'in fataḥa al-bawwābu l-bāba?

(With which did the janitor open the door?)

(300) bi-miftahin fataha l-bawwābu l-bāba

(The janitor opened the door with a key)

Here the information sought by the question (the rheme of the answer) is being foregrounded. Yet the unmarked structure will be al-bawwābu fataḥa l-bāba bi-miftāḥin in which the rheme occupies its normal end position in the sentence.

CHAPTER V

THE THEMATIC STRUCTURE IN
EQUATIONAL SENTENCES

5.0. Preliminary

In the previous chapters we gave some indication of the importance of the syntactic structure of a sentence in determining its thematic structure. We observed, for instance, that English and Arabic would use the introductory elements there, thammata respectively when expressing existence of a person or a thing in a place; compare the structures:

There + indef + N¹ + Adv (Loc)

thammata + N¹_{indef} + Adv (Loc)

The introductory there in English and thammata in Arabic would then allow for a rhematic subject to occupy a position in the sentence other than initial position.

In the present chapter we intend to examine in greater detail the thematic structure of sentences which exhibit a specific type of syntactic structure, referred to by the term 'EQUATIONAL SENTENCES'*.

5.1 Copulative verbs

In English equational sentences exhibit the syntactic structure

N¹ + V_{cop} + Complement

Examples:

- (1) Keats is a romantic poet
- (2) Mary looks happy
- (3) Mrs Thatcher is Britain's Prime Minister
- (4) My sister became a teacher
- (5) Father is at home

*The term equational sentences is used here in the sense of Halliday's 'relational clauses' (Halliday 1977): 154).

On the syntactic level sentences (1 - 5) show that N¹ has the grammatical function of subject and is related to the complement by means of a copulative verb. From the point of view of verb valency a copulative verb has the syntactic function of "relating the substantive as first actant with the predicative nominal" (Tesnière, 1980, Ch. 5, sec. 67).

In a verb valency model of grammar copulas are best treated as a special group of verbs. On the one hand a copula does not fall within the class of univalent verbs, because the 'complement' (Tesnière's nominal predicate) is an obligatory nominal, cf. the ungrammatical

(6) *Keats is *

(7) *Mary looks

*Here we are not referring to verb TO BE in its meaning 'exist'.

Sentences such as

(a) God is

(b) Ghosts are

(c) U.F.O's are

are rejected by native speakers of English. The only example of this kind which has kept the original meaning of be is

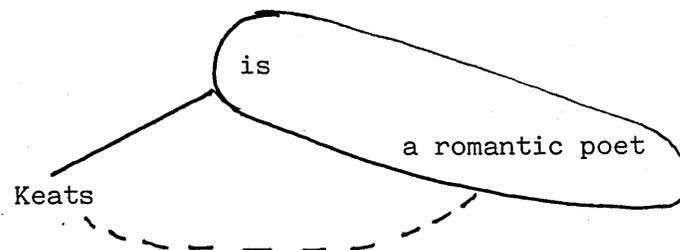
(8) Troy was (Simpson, personal communication)

Even this example has the Latin origin

(8a) Troia fuit

to back it up.

On the other hand a copulative verb cannot fall within the group of bivalent verbs. This is mainly due to the form of the 'complement' which, by definition, is excluded from the class of actants. In his verb valency model, Tesnière treats a copulative verb together with the complement as one syntactic nucleus. It would have two main functions: a syntactic and a semantic function. The syntactic function of the nucleus (i.e. relating the complement to the first actant) is carried out by the copulative verb. Whereas the semantic function (i.e. the type of 'logical' relation which exists between the two constituents) is carried out by the complement. Thus the structural relations in e.g. Keats is a romantic poet could be demonstrated by the following diagram



(The circle shows that both the copula and the complement are regarded as one syntactic nucleus. The solid line indicates a relation of dependence. The broken line points to the semantic relation between the first actant and the complement).

It is interesting to note that a similar view of copulative verbs is held by Arabic grammarians. They call them afʿālun nāqiṣa ('uncompleted verbs') (Sībawayhi, 1889: 17).

In their view, a verb should meet two requirements, namely expressing action and time. In the case of copulative verbs, e.g. kāna ('was'), aṣbaḥa ('became'), amsā ('became'), only the notion of time is expressed, but the notion of action is left unexpressed.

In his classification of verbs in Arabic, Sībawayhi groups copulative verbs in the class of verbs "which govern an active participle (‘ismu l-fā9ili’) and a passive participle (‘ismu l-maf9ūli’). Both the active and the passive participles have the same referent" (Sībawayhi, 1889: 17). Sībawayhi is aware that the terms ‘fā9il’ (‘Agent’) and ‘maf9ūl’ (‘Objective’) for the first and the second participants cannot be applied with copulative verbs. ‘fā9il’ and ‘maf9ūl’ apply only where the verb expresses the notion of action.

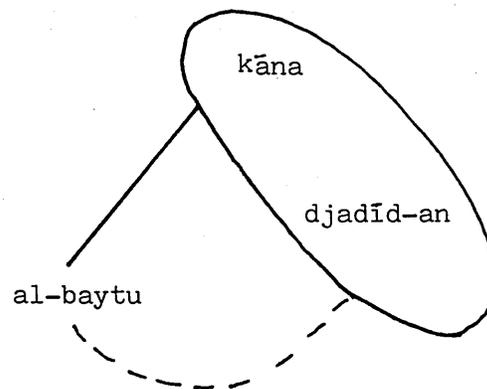
Hence Sībawayhi's terms ‘ismu l-fā9ili’ (‘active participle’) and ‘ismu l-maf9ūli’ (‘passive participle’) for the subject and the predicative nominal respectively. On interpreting Sībawayhi's view within the framework of verb valency, a sentence as, e.g.

(9) kāna l-baytu djadīdan

[was DEF- house-NOM new-ACC]

(The house was new)

could be represented by the following dependency diagram



5.2 Equational Sentences in Arabic

In Arabic, it is characteristic to have equational sentences without a copulative verb. This is quite common where reference is made to the present state of affairs.

Consider:

- (10) al-bayt-u djadīd-un
(The house is new)
- (11) Zayd-un ḥalīm-un
(Zayd is patient)
- (12) aṭ-ṭaqs-u bārid-un hādḥā l-yawma
(The weather is cold today)
- (13) ʿalīy-un shāʿir-un mudjīdun
(Ali is an excellent poet)
- (14) al-aṭfāl-u fī l-madrasati
(The children are at school)

On the surface structure sentences (10 - 14) consist of two parts related to each other directly. This type of sentences made many linguists (for example Snow 1965, Anshen and Schreiber 1968 and Bach 1968) describe them as consisting of a subject and an immediately juxtaposed noun phrase, adjective, or locational phrase. Snow (1965: 13) and Anshen and Schreiber (1968 : 792) classified sentences as 'non-equational' or 'equational' sentences on account whether a sentence contains a verb or not.

In his paper "HAVE and BE in English syntax", E. Bach questions Chomsky's rule:

Whereas EQN₂ is rewritten as a nominal subject plus a series of adverbials

(TIME, LOCATIVE, MANNER, RELATION) e.g.

(17) al-qitāl-u l-djum9at-a

[DEF - fighting-NOM DEF-FRIDAY-ACC]

(Fighting will be on Friday)

(18) al-wālid-u fī l-bayti

[DEF - father - NOM at DEF-house-PREP]

(Father is at home)

(19) ahl-ī bikhayr

(My family are well)

(20) umm-u-hā ma9a-hā

[Mother-NOM-her with-her]

(Her mother is with her)

By PREP we mean the prepositional case (halatu l-djarri) which is assigned to nominals occurring after one of the following prepositions: fī ('in'), bi ('by' or 'at'), min ('from'), 9an ('about'), 9alā ('over') and ma9a ('with'), i.e. object of a preposition.

The difference between Snow's EQN₁ and EQN₂ is that in the former both participants in the sentence have the nominative case marker. In the latter where the comment part is expressed by an adverbial, it (i.e. the comment) appears in the accusative case. But we should note that where the comment is an adverbial, it always would have the form of a prepositional phrase. Examples such as (21-22) are very rare.

(21) al-9īd-u ghad-an
[Feast-NOM tomorrow-ACC]
(The feast will be tomorrow)

(22) al-9īd-u l-yawm-a
[Feast-NOM today-ACC]
(The feast is today)

5.2.1 Juxtaposition

Neither Snow's nor Bach's views of the structure of equational sentences makes the distinction between an equational sentence and a juxtapositional construction. Clearly, in a juxtapositional construction the second nominal or adjectival has the syntactic function of a modifier. This is in line with the Arabic modification structure: that a modifier follows its head, e.g.

(23) ar-radjul-u ṭ-ṭawīl-u
[DEF-man-NOM tall-NOM]
(The tall man)

(24) al-malik-u l-9ādīl-u
[DEF-king-NOM DEF-righteous-NOM]
(The righteous king)

(25) akh-ī l-ustādh-a*
[Brother DEF-teacher-ACC]
(My brother, the teacher ---)

Note that in an attributive construction there is an obligatory concord relationship between the head and its modifier. The modifier

*Here the accusative case is interpreted against the background of a VOCATIVE ('munādā') occurring at the beginning of a sentence.

would agree with its head in number, gender and case. Consider:

- (26) a) ra'ayt-u r-radjul-a ṭ-ṭawīl-a
[Saw-1st p.s. DEF-man-ACC DEF-tall-ACC]
(I saw the tall man)
- b) dakhala-a r-radjul-u ṭ-ṭawīl-u
[Came 3rd p.s.m. DEF-man-NOM DEF-tall-NOM]
(The tall man came in)
- c) dakhala-t l-bint-u ṭ-ṭawīlat-u
[Came 3rd p.s.f. DEF-girl-NOM DEF-tall NOM]
(The tall girl came in)

In a nominal construction adjectives when in attributive juxtaposition take the case of their governing noun, e.g.

- (27) Sulaymān-u l-9aẓīmu
(Solomon, The Great)
- (28) al-lughat-u l-9arabīyat-u (The Arabic language)
- (29) a) ar-radjul-u ṭ-ṭawīl-u
[DEF-man-NOM - DEF-tall-NOM]
- b)
radjul-un ṭawīl-un
[Man-NOM-INDEF tall-NOM-INDEF]

By 'construction' we refer here to a head substantive together with its attributive modifier. The whole construction will make one syntactic nucleus which can occupy any syntactic position in a sentence.

Anshen and Schreiber (1968) would prefer the analysis which posits a copulative pronoun in the nominative case as a linking element. They suggest that equational sentences be derived from sentences with the structure

$$N^1 + N^1 + \text{complement}$$

which by a nominalization transformation would yield the structure

$$N^1 + \text{pron.}^1 + \text{complement}$$

Thus the derivation of, e.g.

(30) ar-radjulu ṭawīlun

(The man is tall)

would be

(31) *ar-radjulu ar-radjulu ṭawīlun

which by such a prominalization transformation rule would yield

(32) ar-radjulu huwa ṭawīlun

(Anshen and Schreiber 1968: 797).

In our view the structure

$$N^1 + \text{pron.} + N^2$$

would be in harmony with the structure

$$N^1 + N^2$$

with regard to case assignment. Since ar-radjul-u huwa ṭawīl-un could be broken down into

inception
ar-radjul-u

enunciation
huwa ṭawīl-un

The enunciation part in turn might be further broken down into another inception-enunciation structure, ef.

inception
huwa

enunciation
ṭawīlun

where both constituents are in the nominative. But in a sentence such as

inception
ar-radjul-u

enunciation
yakunu ṭawīl-an

the enunciation part cannot be broken down into a further inception-enunciation structure. Hence the complement is in the accusative case.

Juxtapositioning may occur where both parts of the construction are nominals and have the same extra-linguistic referent.

Consider:

(33) A neighbour of yours, Fred Long,

(34) Mr. Smith, the Electrician

(35) The Tory Leader, Mrs. Thatcher

(36) ustādh-u-nā Aḥmad-un ...

(Our teacher Ahmed)

(37) akh-ū-ka Zaydun ..

[Brother-NOM-your Zayd-NOM]

(Your brother Zayd)

(38) al-qā'id-u Khālid-un ...

[DEF..commander- NOM Khalid- NOM]

(The Commander Khalid)

Arabic grammarians refer to this syntactic phenomenon by 'badal' ('apposition', literally 'substitution'). By 'badal' they refer to the syntactic possibility of substituting one nominal for the other, since both nominals refer to the same person or thing. But the two nominals qualify each other in that the juxtaposed nominal delimits the specific person or thing referred to by the head substantive. In alqā'idu Khālidun, we specify one person Khālid from the class of leaders. The same holds true for the English examples. In this case the direction of qualification is important. But the semantic relation between the two nominals remains the same. Consider:

(39) Khālidun al-qā'idu (Khalid, the leader)

(40) Fred Long, a neighbour of yours

Here we specify the person by a quality for which that person is well known. Thus in Khālidun al-qā'idu, we name the person Khālid and further qualify him in order to specify the exact extra-linguistic referent.

On the syntactic level both nominals are treated as one single nucleus. The whole construction occupies the syntactic position for its head. In Arabic the two nominals agree in case, cf.

(41) akh-ū-ka Zayd-un zāra-nī
[Brother-NOM-your Zayd-NOM visited-me]
(Your brother Zayd visited me)

(42) qābal-tu akh-ā-ka Zayd-an
[Met-I brother-ACC-your Zayd-ACC]
(I met your brother Zayd)

(43) hādhā l-kitāb-u sh-shtaray-tu-hu
[This DEF book-Nom bought-I-it
min akhī-ka Zayd-in
from brother - your Zayd-PREP]
(I bought this book from your brother Zayd)

Another type of juxtapositional construction in Arabic is where the first nominal is a first person plural pronoun nahnu ('we'). In such a construction the case for both the head and its juxtaposed nominal is fixed. Our data show that their occurrence is almost always confined to subject position. The juxtaposed nominal always has the accusative case, i.e. it does not agree with its head in case. Neither is there an agreement in number between the pronoun and its juxtaposed nominal. Examples:

(44) nahnu malik-a l-Urdun
[We King-ACC DEF-Jordan]
(We, King of Jordan)

(45) nahnu l-mudjtami9-īna
[We, DEF-assembled-ACC]
(We, the assembled)

(46) nahnu l-muwaqī9-īna adnā-h

[We DEF-signed-ACC down-it]

(We, the undersigned)

Arabic grammarians refer to this syntactic phenomenon by the term 'ikhtiṣās' ('prerogative', literally (specification')). By 'ikhtiṣās', Arabic grammarians refer to the regent (9āmil) which governs the accusative case for the juxtaposed nominal. Here Arabic grammarians would imply a general verb with the meaning akhussu ('I specify') or a9nī ('I mean') before the juxtaposed nominal. Thus a periphrastic equivalent to (44) would be something like

(47) nahnu, [akhussu] malika l-Urdun

[We, [I mean] King of Jordan]

(We, King of Jordan)

In our view a distinction should be made between a juxtapositional construction and an equational sentence. However, a juxtapositional construction may be derived from an equational sentence. For example

(48) A friend of yours, Fred Long

may be derived from

(48a) Fred Long is a friend of yours

A derivational sentence for

(49) alqā'idu Khālidun

may be

(50) alqā'idu huwa Khālidun

(The Commander is Khalid)

In the case of 'badal', a juxtapositional construction and an equational sentence may look alike on their surface structure. Thus

(51) akhūka Zaydun

could be interpreted either as an appositional construction or as an equational sentence depending on the phonological marker used either for a sentence or a construction

(52) akhūka Zaydun (Your brother is Zayd)

(53) akhūka Zaydun (Your brother Zayd

(52) when read, is marked with a falling tone which is one of the markers for a complete predication; (53) is pronounced with a suspended tone, an indication that there is something to follow and that the meaning has not been completed yet.

In the case of 'ikhtiṣāṣ' the difference in case together with the intonational contour would account for disambiguating the statement, cf.

(54) naḥnu malik-a l-Urdun (accusative case)

(We, the King of Jordan)

(55) naḥnu malik-u l-Urdun (nominative case)

(We are King of Jordan)

5.2.2 Nominal Sentences in Arabic

Arabic grammarians group equational sentences as a sub-type of the 'nominal sentences' ('djumalun ismīyatun') (cf. the traditional definition of a nominal sentence). An equational sentence however

differs from a nominal non-equational sentence in that the former is a verbless sentence, i.e. there is no overt verb in its surface structure, cf.

(56) ar-radjul-u fī l-bayt-i (equational)

[DEF-man-NOM INDEF-house-PREP]

(The man is at home)

(57) ar-radjul-u yadjlisu fī l-bayti (non-equational)

[DEF-man-NOM is sitting INDEF-house-PREP]

(The man is sitting in the house)

Both (56) and (57) are considered nominal sentences by Arabic grammarians.

On the syntactic level both types of nominal sentences are analysed as consisting of an inception-enunciation structure.

In a non-equational sentence the 'khabar' part is a verbal clause. Thus in

(58) al-ustādh-u zāra Lubnāna

the khabar part, zara Lubnāna would be analysed into a verb + object + object.

This is done on assuming a 'pronominal subject' ('ḍamīrun mustatitur') whose referent is the inception implied in the form of the verb. We mentioned earlier in this study that this kind of analysis was the result of the grammarians' belief that a governing element should not follow its governed constituent (cf. 'al9āmilu lā yatba9u ma9mulahu' ('no régissant should precede its regent'))).

Thus analysing the inception in a non-equational nominal sentence as a preposed subject ('fā9ilun mutaqaddimun') would mean that the regent ('9āmil'), here the verb, is following its regissant ('ma9mūl'). This would contradict the rule of government mentioned above.

In an equational sentence the enunciation part could have the form of a nominal, an adjective or a participle,

- (59) Faṭimat-u ṭabībat-un (nominal)
(Fatima is a doctor)
- (60) hādhā l-bayt-u djadīd-un (adjective)
(This house is new)
- (61) a) al-kidhb-u makrūh-un (passive participle)
(Lying is disliked)
b) al-amīr-u 9ālim-un (active participle)
(The prince is learned)
- (62) al-9īd-u ghad-an (adverbial)
(The feast will be tomorrow)

Yet in specific syntactic environments, particularly where the notion of past or future is to be expressed, a copulative verb may appear on the surface structure of an equational sentence, cf.

- (63) kāna l-djaw-u ḥasanan ams-i
[Was DEF. weather-NOM nice-ACC yesterday]
(The weather was nice yesterday)
- (64) aṣbaḥa n-nās-u fī haradjin
[Became DEF.people-NOM in chaos-PREP]
(The people were plunged into chaos)

(65) ṣāra l-māl-u 9ib'an 9alay-hi

(Wealth became a burden to him)

(66) ṣa-yakūnu l-djaw-u ghā'im-an ghadan

(The weather will be cloudy tomorrow)

On the syntactic level an equational sentence may be broken down into two syntactic positions: subject and complement. It is interesting to note that, as a rule, in both English and Arabic the subject in an equational sentence is identified. Sentences such as A man is tall and radjulun ṭawīlun ('A man is tall') with unidentified subject, are rejected by native speakers. The reason why they are rejected is because of their communicative rather than their grammatical structure. It is generally accepted that for a successful communicative act between two interlocutors to be maintained, a theme should be cited for which the rest of the sentence acts as an enunciation. Hence, some sentences with indefinite subjects, under neutral circumstances, (cf. unemphatic, non-contrastive), are rejected as 'communicatively pointless', i.e. for their violation of the requirements of a successful communicative act. In *A boy is tall or *radjulun ṭawīlun the subject, a boy, radjulun cannot be the themes of the sentence because they are neither anaphoric nor generic. It is difficult for the hearer/reader to pinpoint the exact referent for the subject in the extra-linguistic world. But in

(67) A boy in my class is tall

(68) aḥadu aṣḍiqā'ī ṭawīlun

(One of my friends is tall)

(69) wa la-9abd-un mu'min-un khayr-un min mushrik-in (Qur. II/221)

[For-verily-servant-NOM-indef believer-NOM-INDEF better-NOM-INDEF
from idolator-prep-INDEF?]

(For verily a servant who is a true believer, is better
than an idolator) (Sale, p. 23)

the referent could be identified, since in my class, aṣḍiqā'ī, mu'minun
narrow down the choice to a certain group of people. The referent for
the subject may be a general concept, e.g.

- (70) Music is good for nerves
- (71) Man is mortal
- (72) A boy is more aggressive than a girl
- (73) Cats are mammals

(70) is about music in general (71) about human beings, (72) is
about boys in general and (73) is about the class of cats.

In Arabic even general ideas are preceded by the definite
article, cf.

(74) al-qitāṭ-u mina l-labā'in

[DEF-cats-NOM from DEF-mammals-PREP]

(Cats are mammals)

(75) al-insān-u fānin

[DEF -man-NOM-mortal]

(Man is mortal)

(76) as-sukūtu khayr-un mina l-kalāmi

[DEF-silence-NOM best-NOM from DEF-talking]

(Silence is better than talking)

From the point of view of Functional Sentence Perspective equational sentences in both English and Arabic show a remarkable 'harmony' between the syntactic and the thematic structures of the sentence. The thematic structure 'Theme-Rheme' reflects the structure 'Subject-Comment'. In this respect, Arabic grammarians' analysis of equational sentences into 'mubtada' - 'khabar' ('inception-enunciation') is interesting. It equates the 'inception' with what is talked about and the 'enunciation' with what is said about the inception (Ibn Ya'ish 1882: 25, Sībawayhi 1889: s 17). In terms of communicative dynamism we note a 'sharp division line' between the inception and the enunciation. Thus a gradual increase in the degrees of communicative dynamism is lacking. consider:

(77) akhī dābiṭun (My brother is an officer)

(78) Zaydun karīmun
(Zayd is generous)

(79) Baghdādu 9āṣimatu l-9irāqi
(Baghdad is the capital of Iraq)

5.3 Logical relations

On the semantic level, the two participants in an equational sentence may establish various types of 'logical relations'. The difference in logical relations has a bearing on the thematic structure of the resulting sentence and may affect the sequence of elements in the sentence (Kirkwood, 1973: 473). In sentences expressing the logical relation 'Particular-General' a quality is assigned to a person or thing, e.g.

- (80) He is tall
- (81) She looks happy
- (82) The road is wide
- (83) The problem seems difficult
- (84) He fell sick
- (85) ar-radjul-u 9ālimun
(The man is learned)
- (86) al-amru badā ṣa9ban
(The case seemed difficult)
- (87) aṣ-ṣu9udu aṣbaḥa 9asīran
(Climbing became difficult)

We will use Mathesius's terms 'QUALIFICANS' and 'QUALIFICANDUM' to refer to the quality and its bearer respectively (Mathesius, 1975: 114). In sentences (80 - 87) both the qualificandum and the qualificans are of "the same order of abstraction but differing in generality" (Halliday, 1971: 154). The qualificandum, expressed by a definite nominal, refers to a specific referent in the extra-linguistic world. As a class of people or things it is on a par in abstraction with its qualificans which is an attribute, e.g. tall, ill, happy, etc. In terms of generality, the qualificandum is rather specific, i.e. it is locatable. In the situation of 'syntactic tranquillity' a term with a conceptive referent would establish the natural point of departure from which the communicative act evolves. The thematic structure 'theme-rheme' would be reflected by the logical relation 'particular-general'.

Consider:

| | | |
|-------|--------------|---------------------------|
| | <u>theme</u> | <u>rheme</u> |
| (88) | He | is a poet |
| | <u>theme</u> | <u>rheme</u> |
| (89) | Baghdad | is a big city |
| | <u>theme</u> | <u>rheme</u> |
| (88a) | huwa | shā9irun |
| | | (He is a poet) |
| | <u>theme</u> | <u>rheme</u> |
| (89a) | Baghdādu | madīnatun kabīratun |
| | | (Baghdad is a large city) |

The sequence 'particular-general' is not normally reversible in English as well as in Arabic, cf. the ungrammatical (90-95).

- (90) *Tall is the man
- (91) *Happy looks the girl
- (92) *A poet is he
- (93) *ṭawīlun ar-radjulu
(*Tall is the man)
- (94) *shā9irun huwa
(*A poet is he)
- (95) *madīnatu djamīlatun Baghdād
(*A beautiful town is Baghdad)

It is only in specific stylistic environments (e.g. poetic writings) that the general term may be foregrounded by means of a special construction,

e.g.

(96) ṣāfiyatun hiya s-samā'

(Clear it is the sky)

(97) ṭawīlun huwa r-radjul

(Tall it is the man)

(98) mal'ūnatun hīya l-aydī l-latī

(Cursed be the hands which)

(99) madīnatun djamīlatun hiya Baghdād

(A beautiful town it is Baghdad)

Observe the anticipatory pronoun, referred to by Arabic grammarians, which precedes the backgrounded theme. Where the thematic part is expressed by a pronominal, the structure is not acceptable, e.g.

(100) *shā'irun huwa huwa

[* poet he he]

(101) * djamīlatun hiya hiya

[* beautiful she she]

Here the pronominal has the cataphoric function, i.e. referring forward in the sentence. It is naturally expected that a referent for this pronoun should be mentioned. In questions beginning with the 'hamza' (i.e. questions with a yes/no answer) both sequences are possible, cf.

(102) ashā'ir-un hū

(Is he a poet?)

(103) ahuwa shā9urun?

(Is he a poet?)

In Arabic it is possible to foreground a thematic specific term, especially in exclamatory sentences. This structure, however, has some syntactic restriction, e.g.

(104) kam hiya djamīlatun Baghdādu!

(How beautiful it is Baghdad!)

(105) kam huwa ṭawīlun r-radjulu

(How tall it is the man!)

(106) kam hum abṭālun djundu l-9irāqi (Thawra 6/1/84)

(What heroes Iraqi soldiers are!)

In these examples an anticipatory pronoun referring to the backgrounded theme occupies front position. It agrees with its referent in number and gender. Another means of rhematic foregrounding is available in Arabic, e.g.

(107) inna-hu la-sharafun 9aẓīmun lī an uqābilakum

[Verily-it emph-honour great to-me to meet you]

(It is a great honour for me to meet you)

(108) inna-hu yu'sifu-nā an nukhbirakum

(We regret to inform you

(109) ṣaḥīḥun anna-hu nasha'a bayna-nā shu9arā'un (Mus.Adab.: 7)

(It is true that poets have arisen among us)

(110) wa-lākinna-hu l-ḥubbu yamla'u l-qalba (Man.Mag: 34)

[And-but-it DEF-love-NOM fills DEF-heart-ACC]

(But it is love that fills the heart)

In the examples above, the general pronoun huwa has the syntactic form of an attached pronoun - hu (it). 'Attached' Pronouns, normally do not carry rhematic stress. For signalling an increase in communicative dynamism, i.e. in expressing either a contrastive theme or a rheme, a full 'detached' pronoun form is needed, e.g. (detached pronouns are underlined):

(111) kāna Ismā'īl-u huwa l-ibn-u l-waḥīdu li-Ibrāhima

(Isma'il was the only son to Abraham)

(112) hā'ulā'i hum l-ḡulamā'u.

(These were the scientists)

(113) anā huwa l-mudjrimu

(It is I who am the culprit)

(114) anā huwa dhālika sh-shirīru

(It is I who am that wicked man)

Quite often the 'pronoun of separation' ('ḍamīru l-faṣli') has the form of the third person even in cases in which the subject is not in the third person, cf. the last two examples above.

When the second term, i.e. the 'khabar' ('enunciation'), is expressed by a nominal, a separation pronoun is needed in order to disambiguate the sentence from an appositional structure.

Thus

(115) as-sayid Ṣaddām Ḥusayn ra'īsu l-djumhurīyat l-9irāqīyati

(Mr. Saddam Hussain is the President of the republic of
Iraq)

could mean either Mr. Saddam Husain is the president of the republic of Iraq, or Mr. Saddam Hussain, president of the republic of Iraq

Hence the use of a separation pronoun (often called copulative pronoun, cf. Anshen and Schreiber, 1968) to indicate that it is the former interpretation which is expressed, cf.

(116) as-sayid Ṣaddām Ḥusayn huwa ra'īsu l-djumhurīyati l-9irāqiyati

(Mr. Saddam Husain is the President of the Republic of Iraq.)

In sentences introduced by the emphatic particle inna (verily, lo) both types of pronouns may appear,

e.g.

(117) inna-nī anā L-Lahu (Qur. XX/14)

(Verily I am God) (Sale, p. 234)

(118) inna-nī anā rabbu-ka (Qur. XX/12)

(Verily I am thy Lord) (Sale: 234)

(119) inna-ka anta l-ḥakīmu l-ʿalīmu (Qur. II/32)

(Verily thou art knowing and wise) (Sale, p. 4)

5.4 Thematic Particle 'inna'

We should note here that the particle inna quite often has the communicative function as a theme marker. It always introduces the substantive following, or the pronominal attached to it as the theme I.e. topic) of the sentence. What follows inna and its 'subject' ('ismuha') will be the rheme, i.e. what is said about the theme. Thus inna fulfils two functions: a syntactic and a communicative function. On the one hand inna would mark an emphasis on the truthfulness of the whole statement, e.g.

(120) inna l-ummat-a l-ʿarabīyata tamurru fī marḥalatin ṣaʿbatin
min ḥayātihā

(Verily the Arab nation is experiencing a very hard stage
of its life)

- (121) inna n-nāsa qad djama9ū lakum (Qur. II/173)
 (Verily the men (of Mecca) have already gathered (forces)
 against you) Sale: 50)
- (122) inna l-inqilāba l-ladhī ḥadatha fī Banglādish
 (Verily the coup d'etat which took place in Bangladesh)
- (123) inna siyāsata d-duwali l-kubrā ...
 (Verily the strategies of big countries)
- (124) inna l-muqāranata bayna l-9arabīyati wa-l-indjilīzīyati
 mumti9atun
 (Verily, comparison between English and Arabic is interesting)

On the other hand inna is used in order to direct the attention of the listener towards a specific noun in the accusative case (Cantorino, 1975, II, 227). In sentences introduced by inna, it is possible to separate the 'logical subject' from the 'grammatical subject', i.e. 'mubtada', e.g.

- T S
- (125) inna L-Lāha huwa s-samī9u l-baṣīr (Qur. XL/10)
 (God is he who heareth and seeth (Sale: 351)

- T S
- (126) inna-hu huwa s-samī9u l-baṣīr (Qur. XVII/1)
 (It is He who heareth and seeth (Sale: 206)

We should note here that both the grammatical and the logical subjects have the same referent in the above examples.

In a 'verbal sentence', the personal pronoun referring to the theme in the sense of logical subject is often omitted, since the verb itself establishes a sufficiently unambiguous relationship to the grammatical subject, e.g.

(127) ann-ī lam a-khun-hu (Qur. XII/52)

[That-I not 1st p.s. -betray-him]

(That I was not unfaithful unto him) (Sale: 175)

(128) inna n-nizāma l-Irānīya yatabadjaḥu kathīr-an (Thawra 4/2/84)

[Verily DEF-regime-ACC DEF-Iranian-Acc 3rd p.s.m. boast very much]

(The Iranian regime boasts too much)

(129) inna dh-dharā'i9-a d-dinīyata ta-ṣṭadimu biḥādjizi l-dadjal

[Verily DEF-excuses-ACC DEF-religious-ACC ... 3rd p.s.f. run
against-obstacle-PREP DEF-duplicity]

(The religious excuses ... run into the obstacle of duplicity)*

In this respect the function of the particle inna in Arabic resembles the function of the theme marker wa in Japanese. "Wa marks either the theme or the contrasted element of the sentence" (Kuno 1972: 270). Compare the following examples from Japanese and Arabic (the Japanese examples are Kuno's).

*Verbs in Arabic are inflected for person, number and gender. Thus 3rd p.s.m. should read as third person singular masculine, 3rd p.s.f. as third person singular feminine, 1st p.s. as first person singular and 1st p.p. as first person plural.

(130) kuzira wa honyuu-doobutu desu

Whale (theme) mammal is

(A whale is a mammal)

(131) John wa watakushi no tomadati desu

John (theme) friend is

(John is my friend)

(132) inna l-hūta mina l-labā'ini

Whale (theme) from mammals

(A whale is a mammal)

(133) inna ʿalīyan ṣadīq-i

Ali (theme) friend -DAT

(Ali is my friend)

Both inna in Arabic and wa in Japanese do not normally appear with indefinite nominals, cf.

(134) *00zei no hito wa party ni kimasita (Kuno 1972)

Many people to come

(Many people came to the party)

(135) *inna radjulan ṭawīlun

Man-INDEF tall *

(?A man is tall)

*We should note here that the definite article in Arabic could precede generic substantives. Unless further specified by an attributive relative clause the substantive following the definite article refers to generic nominals.

Yet the Japanese example above is ungrammatical because the theme was not anaphoric. In Arabic, sentences with non-anaphoric subjects are grammatical when the subject is qualified, e.g.

(136) wa-inna kathīran mina n-nāsi la-fāsiqūn (Qur.V/52)

[For great number of men verily transgressors]

(For a great number of men are transgressors) (Sale: 80)

(137) inna radjul-an min Baghdāda zāra-ni

[Man-INDEF from Baghdad visited-me]

(A man from Baghdad visited me)

Here the subject is non-anaphoric, i.e. its reference in the real world is not clear. Hence it might not be in the permanent registry of the addressee. But it is qualified by the prepositional phrase min Baghdāda (from Baghdad) which delimits the exact reference to a specific group of people, i.e. man living in a certain place Baghdad. In Arabic this would be identification enough for the sentence to be grammatical.

5.5 Other Logical Relations between Subject and Predicate

Another type of 'logical relation' that may be established is that between two terms which are "alike in generality but differ in abstraction" (Halliday, 1970: 155), e.g.

(138)^a Mrs. Thatcher is Britain's Prime Minister

b Baghdad is the capital of Iraq

c Whales are mammals

(139) Hassān-u bnu Thābitin shā'iru r-rasūl-i

[Hassan bin Thabit poet-NOM

DEF-prophet-poet]

(Hassam bin Thabit is the prophet's poet)

(140) Baghdād-u 9āṣimat-u l-9irāq

[Baghdad-NOM capital-NOM DEF - Iraq-POSS]

(Baghdad is the capital of Iraq)

(141) al-ḥītān-u mina l-labā'in

[DEF-whales-NOM from DEF-mammals-PREP]

(Whales are mammals).

In Baghdad is the capital of Iraq both Baghdad and the capital of Iraq are definite descriptions. They are alike in generality. Baghdad is of a lower order of abstraction than the property capital of Iraq. They are involved in a relation which may be interpreted as 'A is to be identified as B'. (cf. Kirkwood, 1973: 473 ff). The identifying element may be of a lower order of abstraction, as in

(142) The capital of Iraq is Baghdad

(143) 9āṣimatu l-9irāqi hiya Baghdādu

In Baghdad is the capital of Iraq, capital of Iraq expresses the function fulfilled by Baghdad: 'A realises the function or role B'. In The Capital of Iraq is Baghdad, Baghdad expresses the realisation of the function or role of the capital of Iraq: 'The function or role B is realised by A'. In the former Baghdad is theme: in the latter Baghdad is rheme. These relations may be formulated as follows:

(144) Baghdad is the capital of Iraq

| | |
|------------|----------|
| individual | property |
| T | R |

(145) The capital of Iraq is Baghdad

| | |
|----------|------------|
| property | individual |
| T | R |

Kirkwood observes that "In English and German, the sequence of elements may be arranged in accordance with the desired communicative perspective, i.e. whether the intention is to assign to an individual or property or assign to a property an individual realising it" (Kirkwood, 1973: 474). Cf.

(146) Bonn ist die Hauptstadt der Bundesrepublik. Die Hauptstadt
der Bundesrepublik ist Bonn (Kirkwood, 1973: 473)

It is interesting to note that this holds true for Arabic, cf.

(147) Baghdādu hiya 9āṣimatu l-9irāq

(148) 9āṣimatu l-9irāqi hiya Baghdād

In, e.g. Cats are mammals the relation is one of inclusion, i.e. $A \subset B$ (A is included in B). Although both terms are generic, yet there is a difference in the degree of generality between them: the class is considered more generic than an individual which is a member of that class. In a neutral situation the more specific

general term will be theme and the less specific term will be the rheme. In both English and Arabic a reversal of the sequence more specific - less specific in this kind of sentence is not possible, c.f. the ungrammatical

(149) *mammals are cats

(150) *al-labā'inu hiya l-qīṭaṭu

Yet in a specific context, the reverse is permitted on the assumption that the type of relation between the two terms is syntactically made clear. Consider

(151) mammals include cats also

(152) al-labā'inu tashmilu kadhālika l-qīṭaṭa

The meaning remains A is included in B, though put in a different way, namely B includes A.

CHAPTER VI

STRUCTURING FOR THE PURPOSES OF

FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE

6.0 Preliminary

Firbas (1959, 1966) has convincingly shown that Functional Sentence perspective is achieved by simultaneous use of various means, such as the order of linguistic elements in the sentence, the context (both verbal and situational) and the semantic structure of the sentence. These means co-operate in creating what we call after Firbas the 'Basic Distribution of Communicative Dynamism' (Firbas, 1971). These means would allow linguistic elements to be arranged according to the degrees of communicative dynamism which they carry, starting with the least dynamic elements, the THEME proper and ending with the most dynamic elements, the RHEME proper. For instance the English sentence

(1) A girl came into the room (Firbas, 1959)

reveals some kind of a conflict between the grammatical structure and the basic distribution of CD. Sometimes the syntactic structure works counter to the basic distribution of CD as in the example above. This relationship becomes more apparent when the sentence is translated into a language which has a relatively free word order. In Arabic this conflict between grammatical structure and thematic structure can be resolved by the way linguistic elements are arranged in the sentence.

(1a) dakhalat l-ghurfata fatātun

[Came into the room_{ACC} a girl_{NOM}]

(1a) is quite in line with the requirement of the basic distribution

of communicative dynamism. The grammatical functions of linguistic elements may be marked by case markers, as it is in Arabic or by the sequence in which they enter into the sentence as is the case in English.

In our opinion, some understanding of the interplay of these means can be reached by examining the possibilities offered by the grammatical structure in the language under observation. It is expected that languages will vary in the way in which they reconcile the arrangement of linguistic elements in the sentence with the distribution of communicative dynamism over these elements. The conflict and hence the reconciliation between the two will be relative to the syntactic possibilities available in the language in question, on the one hand, and to the requirements of functional sentence perspective on the other.

In the present chapter we intend to demonstrate some of the syntactic structures in English and Arabic, which are used for the fulfilment of the requirements of FSP.

6.1 Word Order

The order of linguistic elements would make it possible to unfold communicative elements along the linear axis of the sentence. Natural languages may vary in the way they use word order for discharging a basic distribution of communicative dynamism. In Modern English, for instance, it has been observed by most researchers in the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective, (e.g. Firbas 1962, 1964a) that the order of sentence constituents is primarily governed by what Mathesius has called the GRAMMATICAL PRINCIPLE (Mathesius, 1964).

According to this principle a constituent which has the grammatical function 'subject' would be put before that which has the function of a 'finite verb'. The finite verb, in its turn, precedes constituents which have the grammatical function 'object'. This might be shown by the following illustrative example:

(2) Jim kissed Carol
 S **Vf** 0

but not

(3) *Carol kissed Jim
 0 **Vf** **S**

(S = subject, f = finite verb and 0 = object)

Restriction on word order in Modern English might be due to the loss of case markers which can mark the grammatical function of the constituent they are attached to. This hypothesis might be supported by some linguistic facts from another language. For instance, Arabic possesses an inventory of morphological endings and case markers which can make Arabic word order, to a great extent, free.

Thus it is possible to say (1) and (2):

(4) 9aliyun qabbala Fāṭimata
 S **Vf** 0

(5) Fāṭimata qabbala 9aliyun
 0 **Vf** **S**

Both mean Ali kissed Fatima .

But when the function of case markers, for phonological reasons, is neutralised, the danger of ambiguity arises. In this case Arabic refers to sentence position as a marker for the grammatical function of the element occupying it. Thus a sentence like

- (6) wa qatala Dāwūd-a Djālūt-a (Qur. II/251)
[And killed David Goliath]
(And David slew Goliath) (Sale: 27)

will be interpreted as having the syntactic structure

verb - subject - object

despite that both actants have identical surface case marker.

Where there are two objects the indirect object will precede the direct object, e.g.

- (7) wa-wahab-nā li-Dāwūd-a Sulaymān-a (Qur. XXXVIII/30)
[And - we gave to David_{IO} Solomon_{DO}]
(And we gave unto David Solomon) (Sale: 341)

Sometimes verb inflection marks out the subject, since the verb agrees with the subject in number as well as in gender. Thus it is possible to say:

- (8) Salmā qābala Muṣṭafā
[Selma met 3rd p.s.m. Mustafa]
(Mustafa met Selma)

with the interpretation Object - Verb - Subject, since in (8) the verb qābala agrees in gender with Muṣṭafā rather than with Salmā. Hence the former is interpreted as subject despite its final position in the sentence. But this may also be neutralised as it is in example (6) above; (6) wa qatala Dāwūd-a Djālūt-a both nominals have similar endings. They do not carry case markers

in order to determine the grammatical function of each of them. In such instances, Arabic grammarians, e.g. Ibn Ya9ish state the grammatical rule: 'The first nominal will be considered as subject, the second as object'.

The criteria relevant to the actual sequence of sentence elements in Arabic may be discussed with particular reference to certain sentence types. We shall assume that, in syntactic tranquility, there are basic, neutral or unmarked sequences of elements which reflect the basic distribution of communicative dynamism. We may then use these basic word orders as parameters which help us distinguish marked sequences. In the unmarked form it will be the relations between elements on the level of semantic structure that determine the scale of communicative dynamism. The basic clause word order in Arabic may be either verb-subject-object (or subject-verb-object) (in non-equational sentences) or subject-predicate (in equational sentences).

When applying the word order principles laid down by Mathesius, we shall find that in Arabic, it is the principle of FSP which determines the sequence of elements in the sentence. This means that thematic elements which carry low degrees of communicative dynamism would, in the unmarked order, precede rhematic ones which carry high degrees of communicative dynamism. Usually, thematic elements in Arabic sentences occupy positions preceding or next to the finite verb. Thus thematic elements would provide for the hearer/reader, in advance, points of reference to which he/she may relate

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the new information carried by the rhematic element(s). This syntactic order prevails in both classical and modern written Arabic, since the former is the basis for the latter.

It should be noted that neither Arabic word order is free all the time nor is English word order fixed all the time. On the one hand, there is some freedom in manipulating word order in English for FSP requirements. On the other hand in Arabic there are some grammatical constraints which render specific orders FIXED. For instance, the following construct phrases (SYNTAGMS) have fixed order of linguistic elements. Note that in all of these syntagms the 'regent' precedes its 'regissant':

- (i) N^1 + attribute;
- (ii) Genitive construct phrases;
- (iii) Dative construct phrases;
- (iv) Apposition;
- (v) Substitution;
- (vi) Comitative expression

The most notable of these constructions are 'N + attribute', 'N + attributive genitive' and 'Preposition + N'.

6.1.1 N^1 + attribute

e.g.

(9) ṣawṭun ghalīḏun

[voice harsh] (a harsh voice)

(10) al-mar'atu l-muslimatu

[DEF - woman DEF -Muslim] (the Muslim woman)

- (11) ad-durru l-kathīru
 [DEF - pearls DEF- numerous] (the numerous pearls)
- (12) nazarātun gharībatun
 [Glances strange] (strange glances)
- (13) al-9ādātu l-9arabīyatu
 [DEF-customs DEF-Arabic] (Arabic customs)

It is to be noted that attributes in apposition to substantives take the case of their 'regent'. Examples above show that there is a marked agreement between the substantive and its attribute (adjective) in gender, number, case and definiteness.

6.1.2 Genitive construct phrases*

e.g.

- (14) kitābu l-ustādhi
 [Book DEF - teacher] (The book of the teacher; the teacher's book)
- (15) shadīd s-si9ati
 [Very wide] (very wide)
- (16) mukhtalafu d-dalā'ili
 [various arguments] (various arguments)
- (17) fī muntaṣafi l-qarni l-khāmisi
 [In middle century fifth]
 (In the middle of the fifth century)

*European grammarians call the 'regent' the governing noun - STATUS CONSTRUCTUS (construct state) and the following noun in the genitive case - the governed noun - the "genitive" (Cantarino II, 71, p. 91). Arabic Grammarians call the construct (idafatan) the regent noun (muḍāfun ilayhi) and the governed noun (muḍāf).

(18) azhāru l-ḥadīqati

[flowers DEF-garden] (the garden flowers)

6.1.3 Dative construct phrases: 'Prep + N'

e.g.

(19) fī l-djazīrati l-ʿarabīyati

(in the Arabic Peninsula)

(20) ʿalā l-minḍadati

(on the table)

(21) fawqa r-raffi

(on the shelf)

6.1.4 Apposition

e.g.

(22) al-Yaṣābātu th-thānīyatu malikatu

bariṭāniya l-ʿuzmā

(Elizabeth II, Queen of Great Britain)

(23) al-waṭānu l-ummu

(the mother country)

(24) al-kātibu l-ʿadlu

(the true writer)

6.1.5 Substitution

e.g.

(25) wafī-hi l-madjallātu l-9arabīyatu aktharuhā wa aḥsanuhā
(And there you can find most of the Arabic magazines and
the best of them as well)

(26) tubā9u fī-hā l-kutubu, djadīdu-hā wa qadīmu-hā
(It sells new and old books)

6.1.6 Comitative expressions

$N^1 + \text{and} + N^2$

Arabic wa = and

may express either simple coordination, e.g.

(27) djā'a Aḥmad-un wa Sālim-un (co-ordination)

[Came Ahmed NOM and Salim NOM]

(Ahmed and Salim came)

or a comitative marker, e.g.

(28) djā'a Aḥmad-un wa Sālim-an (comitative)

[Came Ahmed-NOM with Salim-ACC]

(Ahmed came with Salim)

In the former sense the following N^2 would have the same case marker as the preceding N^1 . In the comitative sense N^2 is called 'al-maf9ul ma9ahu' (the 'Comitative Object'). The Comitative Object always takes the accusative case no matter what case N^1 may take.

When an actual coordination in the subject function is intended the verb often agrees with the nearest N to it, e.g.

(29) ba9athat l-malikatu wazawjuhā risālatan

lil-maliki Ḥusayn, maliki l-Urddun

[sent 3 p.s.f. the Queen and her husband a letter to King Husain, King of Jordan]

(The Queen and her husband sent a letter to King Husain, King of Jordan)

Whereas adjectives agree with the last nominal, e.g.

(30) yuqātilūna l-9aduwa bi-l-īmāni wa l-mabādi'i r-rāsikhati

(They fight the enemy with faith and strong principles)

versus

(31) yuqātiluna l-9aduwa bil-mabādi'i wa l-īmāni r-rāsikhi

(They fight the enemy with principles and deep-rooted faith)

6.2 Thematization by Isolation of Theme

Both English and Arabic have various ways of defining the 'theme' with various degrees of explicitness being involved. The most obvious one is syntactic 'dislocation' of THEME from the rest of the sentence and inserting a pronominal copy in its position, whose referent is the isolated them, e.g. *

*In the Arabic examples we will underline the pronominal copy and its referent for the sake of clarity

(32) Thy brother, where is he now? (Shakespeare, q. Visser 1963)

(33) Zayd-un māta abū-hu

[zayd-NOM died father-NOM- his]

(Zayd, his father died)

We should note that sentences similar to the type exemplified by (32) are rendered by modern English grammarians as colloquial. Our materials from modern written English do not show counter-examples. English examples with introductory verb 'see' are not rare in spoken Scottish English of a certain social register. Similar constructions are common in colloquial Iraqi especially in collocation with verbs expressing personal views, e.g.

āni hādhi l-waḡīfa mā rāyd-ha

(see me, this job I don't want it)

(34) See Gordon Strachan, he is an amazingly good player

(35) See my man, he doesn't like fish *

Here the isolated theme is introduced by a verb which prepares the attention of the listener to the topic of discussion or conversation. Sometimes the isolated theme may come at the end of the sentence, so that it almost appears as an after-thought, e.g.

(36) She is lovely, that girl

*Some post-graduate informants of a Scottish accent did not accept such sentences either in spoken or in written English.

To verify this point in English we prepared a simple questionnaire of about fifty constructed examples, some were taken from writers who speak English with an American accent. Twenty-six native speakers who speak standard English with a Scottish, English or American accent were approached. We took into consideration that a number of native speakers might accept a sentence as part of his/her written form of English but would reject it as part of his/her spoken form of English. This is based on the belief that the spoken form of English tends to be different from the written form. Thus we asked each subject to state whether he/she would accept or reject as 'incorrect' a sentence in its written/spoken or in both forms.*

Answers to this questionnaire indicate that where simple permutation of constituents occurs, the sentence would be rejected in written English. Some native speakers would even reject examples like (37) in both forms of English, namely spoken and written.

(37) *The apple I already ate it

(38) *Harry I don't like

(39) *That man, I hate

(40) *That man, I hate him

(41) *That trunk, put it in the car #

(42) That he's lived here all his life, my father, is well known
to the cops

(43) If you see him again, that man, call me right away

*For a specimen of the questionnaire, see appendix at the end of this thesis.

#It should be noted that all these examples are quoted from Gundel's (1974) "well formed" sentences. But when shown to informants speaking standard English with a Scottish accent and even to those with an American accent, they turned out to be ill-formed sentences. Their acceptability is dubious.

Examples with right dislocated NP's are accepted only with reluctance/hesitation, otherwise they are rejected by native speakers. The only examples which are well received by native speakers are those in which the displaced nominal is introduced by some introductory elements, such as as for, with regard to e.g.

(44) As for that man, I hate him

(45) As for Paris, the Eiffel Tower is spectacular

or cleft sentences and pseudo-cleft sentences, e.g.

(46) It is that man whom I hate

(47) What Harry saw was a mountain goat.

These structures will be taken up in the subsequent sections. At present we will concentrate on Arabic structures with isolated themes.

6.3 Isolated Theme in Arabic

We will start our investigation with some illustrative examples from Arabic.*

(48) al-walad-u ab-ū-hu fī d-dāri

[DEF- boy-NOM rather NOM-his in DEF-house-DAT]

(The boy - his father is in the house)

*We are inclined to believe that a statistical contrastive study on a diachronic basis would show that the occurrence of this phenomenon in Modern English is less frequent than in Old or Middle English. In Arabic it is the other way round.

(49) al-walad-u māta ab-ū-hu
[DEF - boy -NOM died father-NOM-his]
(The boy - his father died)

(50) Zayd-un huwa marīḍ-un
[Zayd-NOM he ill-NOM]
(Zayd - he is ill)

(51) al-kitāb-u sh-shtarāhu Zayd-un
[DEF - book-NOM, bought-it Zayd-NOM]
(The book - Zayd bought it)

Arabic grammarians refer to a sentence with an isolated theme by the term 'djumlatun kubrā' ('a primary sentence'); the isolated theme by 'mubtada'un awal' ('first inception'); the remaining part by 'khabar' to the 'mubtada' awal' ('enunciation on the first inception'), and the pronominal copy by 'ḍamīru l-9ā'idi' ('the resumptive pronoun'). The phenomenon is called 'ishtighāl' ('preoccupation'; German 'Beschäftigung'). By 'ishtighāl' it is meant that the governing influence of the verb in e.g.

(52) al-kitābu Zaydun ishtarā-hu
(The book - Zaid bought it)

is neutralised in regard to the preposed nominal case. Instead its governing function is confined to the pronominal copy - hu referring to that preposed noun al-kitābu.

A sentence like (53) would be broken down into:

al-waladu as first inception and the rest as enunciation, which in its turn would be broken down into:

abū as second inception and the prepositional phrase as second enunciation. This could be illustrated as

| | | |
|------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| | <u>1st Inception</u> | <u>1st Enunciation</u> |
| (53) | <u>al-waladu</u> | abū- <u>hu</u> fī d-dāri |
| | | 2nd inception 2nd enunciation |

| | | |
|------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| | <u>1st Inception</u> | <u>Enunciation</u> |
| (54) | <u>al-waladu</u> | abū- <u>hu</u> fī d-dāri |
| | | 2nd Inc. 2nd Enun |

Reckendorf (1895) refers to this phenomenon in Arabic by ISOLATION OF NATURAL SUBJECT. "What is well known to the speaker is said first This sentence constituent, which forms the starting point of the sentence, will make its 'natural subject' whatever grammatical function it might have assumed That which follows the natural subject, in the sentence will make its natural predicate " (1895: 782; our translation). Reckendorf is using the term 'natural subject' in the sense of the so-called 'psychological sub_ject' with reference to 'ISOLATED THEME', i.e. "das an der Spitze des Satzes isoliert ist" (1895: 783).*

*Some Arabists, e.g. Cantarino (1975) use the term 'anacoluthon' to refer to this phenomenon in Arabic. Cantarino (1975, Vol. 2; 12) uses this term in the sense of what is called by European grammarians, e.g. Curme 'dangling subject' (for the Latin nominativum pendens) e.g. he in

(55) He, the chieftain of them all, his sword hangs resting on the wall
(Curme, 1963: 76)

(56) He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death (Bible, Mt.xv,4)

Recent studies in Arabic, e.g. Snow (1965), Lewkowicz (1967-1971), Anshen and Schreiber (1968) and Baker (1979) all transformationally orientated, give a wide circulation to this phenomenon in Arabic. The dichotomy 'topic-comment' is used in all those studies to refer to sentences of the type exemplified above. In fact they confine the dichotomy topic-comment only to sentences with isolated themes.

Generally speaking, studies carried out within the framework of transformational grammar known to us have developed two different lines of arguments with regard to the specific rules generating 'topic-comment' sentences:

- (i) Snow (1965) and Anshen-Schreiber (1968) view a topic comment sentence as a re-ordered simple sentence. They adopt what is called the TOPIC-EXTRACTION method in generating sentences of topic-comment structure;
- (ii) Lewkowicz (1967) and Baker (1979) handle a sentence with the structure topic-comment as a subject plus a predicate which, in its turn, is a clause, i.e.

(57) $S \rightarrow NP + S'$

Anshen-Schreiber (1968) offer a concise rule for topic extraction from a basic non-equational sentence: "A noun in a sentence, other than the first member of a construct phrase, may optionally be reproduced at the beginning of the sentence." (795). Where the extraposed topic has the function other than subject, then a pronominalisation transformation should be applied. Compare:

(58) wadjadtu kitāba l-ustādhi

[I found book-ACC DEF-teacher-GEN]

(I found the teacher's book)

and

(59) al-ustādhu wadjadtu kitābahu

(The teacher- I found his book)

But Anshen-Schreiber do not state clearly what they mean by a 'construct phrase' nor do they explain why the first noun in a construct cannot be topicalised (extraposed). From studies which discussed possible derivations of the CONSTRUCT, e.g. Lewkowicz 1967, we understand that the term is used in equivalence to what Arabic grammarians call 'idāfa' ('adposition'), which is similar to the possessive construction in English, e.g. *

(60) kitābu l-ustādh-i

[book DEF teacher-GEN] (teacher's book)

(61) sā'iqu l-ḥāfilat-i

[driver DEF-bus-GEN] (bus driver)

(62) mas'ūliyātu l-wazīri

[responsibilities DEF minister-GEN] (minister's responsibilities)

Lewkowicz (1971) proposes that the surface structure for the construct phrases NP could be N + NP (where N stands for an indefinite noun and NP for a definite nominal) (p. 811, ft. 4). To this we might add that, as a rule, the last nominal is always assigned

*For the terminology see Howell (1888: 54).

the genitive case. The syntactic relation which holds between nominals of a genitival construct could be stated in terms of determination as

| | | |
|------|--------------------|----------------------|
| | <u>determinans</u> | <u>determinandum</u> |
| (63) | kitābu | l-ustādhi |

It is worth noting here the possibility in Arabic of having more than one determinant and determinandum in a genitival construct. Consider the following structures which are theoretically acceptable:

(64) mudīru l-madrasati
(school headmaster)

(65) baytu mudīr-i l-madrasati
(the house of the school headmaster)

(66) ḥadīqatu bayti mudīri l-madrasati
(the garden of the house of the school headmaster)

(67) ashdjāru ḥadīqati bayti mudīri l-madrasati
(the flowers of the garden of the house of the school headmaster)

The addition of further determinants which can be identified by the given 'determinanda' may continue.

On the syntactic level, a genitival construct would allow for as many isolated themes as the number of determinanda in the construct. Theoretically all the following structures are possible:

| | <u>Theme</u> | <u>Rheme</u> | |
|------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|
| (68) | al-madrasatu | <u>mudīruhā</u> | <u>ṣadiqī</u> |
| | | T ₁ | R ₁ |

[The school - its headmaster is my friend]

| | <u>Theme</u> | <u>Rheme</u> | | |
|------|---------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| (69) | al-madrasat-u | mudīru-hā | baytu-hu | djadīdun |
| | | T ₁ | $\frac{-R_1}{T_2}$ | $\frac{-R_2}{-R_2}$ |

[The school - its headmaster - his house is new]

| | <u>Theme</u> | <u>Rheme</u> | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| (70) | al-madrasatu | <u>mudīruhā</u> | <u>baytu-hu</u> | <u>ḥadiqatuhu wāsiḡatun</u> | |
| | | T ₁ | $\frac{R_1}{R_1}$ | $\frac{T_2}{T_2}$ | $\frac{R_2}{R_2}$ |
| | | | | $\frac{T_3}{T_3}$ | $\frac{R_3}{R_3}$ |

[The school- its master - his house - its garden is large]

But in actual situations a long string of determination would obscure the meaning of the utterance and block the communicative channel to the listener. The building up of communicative dynamism by extending the string of themes in the utterance would need strong motivation. The rheme would then carry a very high degree of CD as against the initial theme which carries a very low degree of CD. Thus the gap in CD between theme and rheme will be very wide. Beeston (1974)

rules out the possibility of having more than two themes within an Arabic clause: "two themes in succession are the maximum admissible" (p. 474). We should note here that as far as the system of the Arabic language is concerned, there is no restriction on the number of isolated themes in a sentence. This also applies to the number of nominal phrases (qualificanda) in a genitival construct. Beeston is quite right in his view that one does NOT encounter structures of the type

Fāṭimatu ustādhu-hā ṭullābu-hu fī l-idjāzati

(Fatima - her teacher - his pupils are on vacation)

in actual writing.

But there is no syntactic rule which renders such a sentence ungrammatical.

In our view what prevents the occurrence of such sentences in Arabic is the lack of communicational motivation rather than the system of the language. Sentences with three isolated topics, though very rare, are not excluded from the system. Consider:

(71) [wa ḍuriba baynahum bi] - ^{T₁}sūrin la-hu ^{T₂}bābun ^{T₃}bāṭinu-hu fī-hi r-raḥmatu

^{T₄}wa zāhiru-hu ^{T₅}min qibali-hi l-9adhāb (Qur. LVII/13)

(And a high wall shall be set betwixt them, wherein shall be a gate, within which shall be mercy; and without it, over against the same, the torment of hell) (Sale, 400)

(72) ^{T₁}in-nā kulla ^{T₂}shay'in ^{T₃}khalāqnā-hu biqadar (Qur. LIV/49)

(All things have we created bound by a fixed decree) (Sale: 393)

(73) ^{T₁}in-nā la-tuṣbiḥu ^{T₂}asyāfu-nā ^{T₃}manābiru-hunna buṭūnu l-akuff (Ḥamāsa 137, qu.Reckendorf 1888: 785)

[See us, our swords - their oratory altars will be the hand palms]

(The altars of our swords will be the palms of our hands)

In both examples above the chain linking the isolated themes is broken, i.e. the themes do not occur in succession. In (37) sūrin is presented as the primary theme T with two secondary themes in the first sentence and another two themes in the co-ordinated sentence after wa (and). The communication message which the sentence carries indicates that the (so to speak) 'result' of the judgement is long awaited. The two rhemes (R's) ar-raḥmatu and al-ḡadhābu would, in the circumstances, carry very high communicative dynamism. Hence the R's will be suitable to relieve the tension created in the utterance.

As for the pronominal copy, Anshen and Schreiber rightly exclude it from the pronominalisation rule, when the preposed N is the grammatical subject in a non-equational sentence. In Arabic the finite verb can stand alone. This is because its inflection consists of sufficient markers for a pronominal subject. Anshen and Schreiber, in line with Arabic grammarians, treat verbal inflections as 'attached' pronominals in the nominative case, i.e. subject-pronoun clitics, e.g.

(74) al-bint-u zā ra-hā r-radjul-u

(The girl the man visited her)

(75) ar-radjul-u zārat-hu l-bint-u

(The man - the girl visited him)

In the former sentence the form zāra ('visited') shows that

the subject is a third person singular masculine, which agrees with the subject ar-radjulu ('the man'); in the latter zārat indicates that the subject is a third person, singular feminine which agrees with the subject al-fatātu ('the girl').*

we quote here one of the traditional views presented by Ibn Ya9īsh. He writes:

"ma9nā l-ikhbāri an tanzi9a l-mukhbara
9anhu mina l-kalāmi wata'tīya mawḍi9ahu
bi-ḍamīrihi; in kāna mubtada'an kāna ḍamīran
munfaṣīlan, wa in kāna maf9ūlan aw muḍāfan
ilayhi kāna l-muḍmaru muttaṣīlan"

(Ibn Ya9īsh, I. sec. 179, p. 473).

*A.al-Djīwārī, a modern Arabic grammarian in his ("Naḥwu l-fi9l") suggests that verb inflections be treated as number agreement rather than as attached pronominals in the nominative case. We did not encounter any other grammarian whether modern or traditional who agrees with al-Djīwārī's view. An exception is Bakir (1978) who writes: "We shall assume that these suffixes that appear on verbs are simply number agreement markers and not subject-pronoun clitics". (p. 189). However, Bakir did not show in his reference list that he had been familiar with al-Djīwārī's "Naḥwu l-fi9li" ('Verb Grammar').

In our view this treatment of verb inflections would yield subjectless sentences, e.g.

(76) ḍarab-tu-hu fa-māt

(I hit him, and he died)

According to this treatment a process of isolating thematic elements would be 'blocked' when the isolated theme is the grammatical subject. Accordingly the initial NP zānī in az-zānī lā yankiḥu illā zānīyatan ('The whoremonger shall not marry any other than a harlot') (Qur. XXIV/3) (Sale: 263) would be considered as a preposed subject; whereas, az-zānīyatu, which occurs in a quite similar structure, az-zānīyatu lā yankiḥu-hā illā zānin (Qur. XXIV/3) (A harlot shall no man take in marriage, except a whoremonger) (Sale: 263) would be treated as topic (our isolated theme).

('The objective of information proper is to transpose (an tanzi9a) the topic (l-mukhbāra 9anhu) from its position and put in its place a pronominal copy. The pronominal copy will have the form of a detached ('munfaṣil') pronoun, if the preposed constituent is the subject and an attached ('muttaṣil') pronoun, if the preposed constituent is second in a construct ('muḍāfan ilayhi) or an object').

Compare the following examples:

- (77) al-kitāb-u sh-shtara-hu Muḥammadun
(The book, Muhammad bought it)
- (78) *al-kitābu-u sh-shtarā Muḥammadun
*(The book, Muhammad bought)
- (79) al-Maliku fī qaṣri-hi l-djawāhiru
(The King, the jewels are in his palace)
- (80) *al-maliku fī l-qaṣri l-djawāhiru
*(The King, the jewels are in the Palace)
- (81) ar-radjulu zārathu l-bintu
(The man, the girl visited him)
- (82) *ar-radjulu zārat l-bintu
*(The man, the girl visited)

Examples without a resumptive pronoun that can link the isolated theme to the rest of the sentence are rendered ungrammatical.*

*We should not here that sentences with zero resumptive pronoun are possible under specific conditions, e.g. wa ammā l-yatīma falā taqhar-∅

Sometimes a paronomastic expression or repetition of the isolated theme may occur, e.g.

- (83) lā arā l-mawta yasbiqu l-mawta shay'un (Sib.I, 1889: 24)
(I do not see that anything precedes death)
- (84) arā l-mawta lā yandju mina l-mawti hāribu-hu (Hamasa 157,
qu. Reck. 1909, 174)
(I see death no one can escape it)
- (85) ammā anā fa-anā uṣallī (Bukh. III 411, qu. Reck. 1909, 1747)
(As for me, I pray)

This also applies to relative clauses in regard to the pronominal copy of the antecedent, cf.

- (86) antum l-ladhīna yaḥtarimu-hum sh-sha9b
[You who respect-them people]
(You are the ones whom people respect)
- (87) ra'ytu l-walada l-ladhī ra'a l-liṣṣa
[Saw-I the boy who saw the thief]
(I saw the boy who saw the thief)
- (88) ra'ytu l-walada l-ladhī māta abū-hu
(I saw the boy whose father died)
- (89) qābaltu l-malika l-ladhī fī qasrihi l-djawāhiru
(I met the King in whose palace the jewels are)

Note that only when the antecedent of the relative clause is the grammatical subject, the resumptive pronoun does not appear on the surface structure. Under neutral circumstances, if an independent subject pronoun is inserted after the verb, the sentence would look awkward to native Arabic speakers, cf.

(90) * ra'aytu l-walada l-ladhī ra'ā huwa l-liṣṣa

[Saw-I the boy who saw he the thief]

(*I saw the boy who he saw the thief)

But when some emphasis on the thematic subject is intended, a pronominal copy would be inserted in the surface structure. Our materials from Qur'ān show that in such cases the pronominal copy would rather precede the verb, cf. the structure

(91) relative pronoun + pronominal copy + VF

Examples (the independent subject pronoun is underlined)

(92) al-ladhīna hum yurā'ūn (Qur. CVII/6)

(who play the hypocrites) (Sale: 457)

(93) wa-l-ladhīna hum 9an ṣalātihim sāhun (Qur. CVII/5)

(... and who are negligent at their prayer) (Sale: 457)

(94) wa- l-ladhīna hum li-amānātihim wa 9ahdihim rā9ūn Qur. XXIII/8)

(... and who acquit themselves faithfully of their trust

and [justly perform] their covenant) (Sale: 257) *

*Lewkowicz (1971) erroneously excludes this structure from Arabic grammar, cf. (Lewkowicz, 1971: ft. c.p. 821).

In early Arabic the connector between the thematic and the rhematic parts of the sentence may be omitted, provided that there are other syntactic markers in the rhematic part which show 'coreferentiality' to the isolated them, e.g.

(95) wa l-ladhīna yutawaffawna minkum
wayadharūna azwādjān, yatarabbaṣna
bianfusihinna arbaʿata ashhurin wa ʿashran (Qur. II/234)

(And those of you who die, and leave wives, they (feminine)
must wait four months and ten days)

In this example the form of the verb yatarabbaṣna clearly indicates that the subject is a feminine plural. Thus they would refer to wives rather than to the antecedent of the relative pronoun, cf. a proper English translation to the above example would reveal this point:

(96) Such of you as die, and leave wives, their wives must
wait concerning themselves four months and ten days (Sale: 25)

The rhematic part expresses a kind of 'obligation' to do something, here waiting. The antecedent of the relative pronoun yutawaffawna will be in a state of extra-linguistic reality where it cannot be able to fulfil any kind of obligation. Hence it is the qualificans azwadjan which will be the theme proper in the sense of 'what the sentence is about'.

Some linguists, e.g. Dik (1978) would discriminate between an isolated theme and a preposed constituent: "A left-dislocated theme ... will necessarily have a sort of 'absolute form',

characterised by the most unmarked case (typically, the nominative)" (Dik 1978: 135). Bakir (1979) carries this hypothesis into Arabic and states: "Sentence-initial NP's that have been preposed from a position to the right of the verb retain their case marking: topic NP's are invariably in the nominative case, regardless of the cases they might have had, had they appeared to the right of the verb" (214). But this hypothesis runs against the unanimous view among Arabic grammarians, namely that both the nominative and the accusative cases are possible. (cf. Sībawayhi's view, for example, 'an-nasbu 9arabiyun djayidun war-raf9u adjwad'). Consider the two possible readings of Thamūd in (97) and (98):

(97) wa-ammā Thamūd-u fa-haday-nā-hum (Qur. XLI/17)

[And - as for Thamud-NOM enlightened-we-them]

(And as to Thamud, we directed them) (Sale: 356)

(98) wa-ammā Thamūd-a fa-haday-nā-hum (Qur. XLI/17)

[And - as for Thamud-ACC enlightened-we-them]

(And as to Thamud, we directed them) (Sale: 356)

Under certain syntactic circumstances, the accusative case seems to be preferable to the nominative, cf.

(99) yawm-u l-djum9ati alqāka fī-hi

versus

(100) yawm-a l-djum9ati alqāka fī-hi

Both mean I meet you on Friday.

Sībawayhi prefers (100) with the accusative case to (99) on the ground that the isolated theme has the grammatical function of an adverbial

of TIME which always assumes the accusative case. Hence, in his view, there is no strong motivation for the nominative case in (99). Sibawayhi (1889: 58) would prefer an isolated theme with accusative when the rhematic part is expressing an imperative expression, cf.

(101) Zayd-an murra bi-hi (Sib. I, 32)

[Zayd meet him]

Further examples with accusative case are:

(102) wa l-qamar-a qaddar-nā-hu manāzila (Qur. XXXVI/39)

(And for the moon have we appointed certain mansions) (Sale: 332).

(103) qawārīra min fiḍḍatin qaddar-ū-hā taqdirā (Qur. LXXVI/16)

[Vessels-ACC of silver determine-they-them measures]

(Vessels of silver, shining like glass; they shall determine the measures thereof) (Sale: 433)

(104) fa-ammā l-yatīm-a falā taqhar (Qur. XCIL/9)

(As for the orphan, do not oppress him)

(105) wa-ammā s-sā'ila falā tanhar (Qur. XCIII/9)

(As for the beggar, do not scorn him)

(106) in-nā kull-a shay'in khalq-nā-hu biqadar (Qur. LIV/19)*

(All things we have created bound by a fixed decree) (Sale: 393)

(107) Hurayrat-a waddi9-hā (Kāmil 374)

(As for Hurayra , bid her farewell)

*Here double isolation occurs, namely the subject -nā ('we') and the object kulla shay'in ('everything'). The verb inflection shows both resumptive pronouns, namely -nā (referring to Subject) and -hu (referring to object).

In Arabic, a distinction should be made between two types of FOREGROUNDING. The one is related to THEMATIC and the other is related to RHEMATIC foregrounding, e.g.

(108) a) al-kitāb-u sh-shtarā-hu Muḥammad-un (thematic foregrounding)

[DEF-book-NOM bought-it Muhammad-NOM]

(As to the book, Muhammad bought it)

b) kitāb-an sh-shtarā Muḥammad-un (rhematic foregrounding)

[Book-ACC-INDEF bought Muhammad-NOM]

(Muhammad bought a book)

The latter example on rhematic foregrounding is marked for special emphasis. When uttered, an irregular heavy high fall will be laid on the isolated rheme kitāban. It occurs in response to an explicit question like

(109) a-shtarā Muḥammad-un qalam-an am kitāb-an ?

[Did-buy Muhammad-NOM pen-ACC-INDEF or book-ACC-INDEF]

(Did Muhammad buy a pen or a book?)

The most notable structure which shows rhematic foregrounding is the structure of 'cleft' and 'pseudo-cleft' sentences. We will investigate these structures in detail in the following sections. It suffices here to give some examples of rhematic foregrounding in Arabic.

(110) inna-hu l-māl-u l-ladhī afsada n-nāsa

(It is money which corrupted people)

(111) al-ladhī khalaqakum huwa L-Lāhu

(It is God who created thee)

(112) inna-hā l-maqādīru tadjrī fī a9innatihā

(It is fate which does as it pleases)

In order to express contrast, Arabic would resort to periphrastic structures where the contrast is explicitly stated. Thus a proper answer to (10) would be

(113) lam yashtarī Muḥammadun qalaman bal kitāban

[Did not buy Muhammad a pen, but a book]

(Muhammad bought a book and not a pen)

or

(114) Muḥammadun lam yashtarī qalaman lā bal kitāban

(Muhammad did not buy a pen, nay a book)

In the context of a question about the one who bought a book whether it was Muhammad or Ali, Arabic would use one of the following periphrastic answers:

(115) al-ladhī sh-shtarā l-kitāba Muḥammadun wa-laysa ʿalīyan

(The one who bought the book was Muhammad and not Ali)

(The one who bought the book was Muhammad and not Ali)

or

(116) Muḥammadun sh-shtarā l-kitāba wa laysa ʿalīyan

(It was Muhammad who bought the book, and not Ali)

In Arabic there are various syntactic means for expressing emphasis. It is not our intention to go over all of these means, since it is outside the scope of the present thesis. Instead, we will content ourselves with some illustrative examples. Our comment on them will follow:

(117) inna L-Lāha ʿalīm-un ḥakīm (Qur. II/29)

(Verily Lord is the most knowing the wise)

(118) inna L-Lāha la-qawiyun 9azīz (Qur. XXII/40)

(Verily Lord is emph-strong and mighty)

(119) inna L-Lāha bi-n-nāsi la-ra'ūfun raḥīmun (Qur. XXII/65)

(Verily Lord is merciful and ready to forgive people)

(120) huwa l-ladhī khalaqakum min ṭīn. (Qur. VI/2)

(It is he who have created thee of clay)

In the first example the particle inna ('verily') gives emphasis to the truthfulness of what follows it. In the second example another emphasising particle la- ('certainly') gives more added emphasis. In the third example a combination of emphasising strategies are present, namely inna ('verily'), la- ('certainly') and an inversion of the order of constituents. The unmarked order would be

(121) inna L-Lāha la-ra'ūfun raḥīmun bin-nās

(Verily God is most merciful and most kind to mankind)

In the last example a personal pronoun plus a relative pronoun would imply emphasis on the antecedent of the relative pronoun, which provides the referent for the personal pronoun.

The most frequent strategy for emphasis which is associated with the isolated themes is the use of the particles amma fa .. (as for); the former precedes the isolated thematic and the latter precedes the rhematic parts of the sentence, e.g.

(122) ammā l-9illatu ... fa-qad aṣḥaḥat hiya l-ukhrā bāliyatun (Sad. fal.17)

(As for cause, it has also become decrepit) (Rus. 1959: 8)

(123) wa-ammā Thamūda fa-haday-nā hum (Qur. XLI/17)

(And as for Thamud, we enlightened them)

(124) fa-ammā l-yatīma falā taqhar (Qur. XCIII/9)

(And - as for the orphan do not depress (him))

(125) wa-ammā s-sā'ila fa-lā tanhar (Qur. XCIII/10)

(And - as for the beggar do not scorn (him))

In the last two examples the resumptive pronoun is missing, cf.

fa-ammā l-yatīma fa-lā taqhar-∅

wa-ammā s-sā'ila fa-lā tanhar-∅

where ∅ represents a zero pronominal copy of the dislocated theme.

These were the only two examples with a zero resumptive pronoun which we encountered in our materials, where the isolated theme, originally has the grammatical function of direct object. It seems to us that there is no danger of ambiguity as to the referent of the resumptive pronoun, the resumptive pronoun may be deleted. In the above two examples the particle ammā preceding the isolated theme together with the syntactic form of the verb (inflected for the second person singular) would eliminate the ambiguity. The other examples with deleted resumptive pronouns are

(126) wa-ammā bi-niḡmati rabbi-ka fa-ḥaddith (Qur. XCIII/11)

[As to the goodness of thy Lord, declare it]

(But declare the goodness of thy Lord) (Sale: 449)

(127) fa-ammā man ṭaghā wa āthara l-ḥayāta d-duniyā fa-inna l-djaḥīma
hiya l-ma'wā (Qur. LXXIX/39-40)

(And whoso shall have transgressed, and shall have chosen

this present life, verily hell shall be his abode) (Sale: 437)

In the unmarked sentences, where there is a prepositional phrase, only the object of the preposition can be moved (isolated), leaving a pronominal copy attached to the preposition, which, in turn, is left in its position, e.g.

- (128) yawm-u l-djum9ati alqāka fī-hi
(I meet you on Friday)
- (129) nahr-u R-rā'i ṣīdat fī-hi samakat-un
(A fish was caught in the river Ra')
- (130) al-mindadat-u 9alay-hā kitāb-un
(As for the table it has a book on it)
- (131) Baghdād-u sāfartu ilay-hā marratayni
(As for Baghdad, I visited it twice)

In order to get at the original structure for the above examples, we simply omit the pronominal copy and put in its place its referent, cf.

- (132) alqāka fī yawm-i l-djum9ati
(I shall meet you on Friday)
- (133) ṣīdat fī nahr-i R-rā'i samakatun
(A fish was angled in the river Ra')
- (134) 9alā l-mindatat-i kitābun
(There is a book on the table)

It is to be noted here that the case marker for both the nominative and the accusative for Baghdad is neutralised ('mamnū9un mina ṣ-ṣarf').

We saw that in Arabic it was possible to move the whole prepositional phrase into initial position. But where such a procedure occurs, the displaced prepositional phrase would be the unmarked theme of the sentence. Hence it is not possible to flank the sentence with ammā fa. Yet where the whole prepositional phrase is isolated from the rest of the sentence, a repetition of the preposition would occur, so as to make it possible to attach a resumptive pronoun to it, e.g. (prepositions underlined for clarity)

- (135) bi-l-ablaqi l-fardi baytī bi-hi (Nöldecke Poesie 63 verse 3,
quo. Reckendorf 1921: 370)

[In the unique Ablaq, my house is in it]

(As for the unique Ablaq, my house is in it)

- (136) mina l-layli fatahadjdjad bihi (Qur . XVII/8)

[Part of the night, be vigilant in it]

(And watch some part of the night in (prayer) (Sale: 213)

- (137) li-dhikratihā iyāya ṣarrat la-hā udhunī (Omar bin abi Rabi9a)

[For her mentioning my name, my ears sharpened]

(My ears sharpened when she mentioned my name)

In modern written Arabic, where isolation of the thematic part occurs, the rhematic part may exhibit the structure of a 'nominal', a 'verbal' or an interrogative clause, e.g.

- (138) al-walad-u marīdat-un umm-u-hu (nominal clause)
 (The boy - his mother is ill)
- (139) al-walad-u māta abu-hu (verbal clause)
 (The boy his father died)
- (140) Muḥammad-un man zāra-hu amsi? (interrogative clause)
 (As for Muhammad, who did visit him yesterday?)
- (141) ar-risālat-u matā taktubu-ha? (interrogative clause)
 (As for the letter, when will you write it?)

However, we should note that examples such as (140 - 141) are very rare in written Arabic. Even when encountered, we believe, they will express some kind or other of spoken variety of Arabic. Consider the following examples from Tawfīq l-Ḥakīm, which, though they are found in written materials, are from Egyptian variety of spoken Arabic.

- (142) l-binti Rīm-ti9djibak? (Ḥak. Yawm. 107)
 (The girl, Rim, do you fancy her?)
- (143) l-qaḍāyā 9amalte fī-hā eeh? (ditto)
 (As for the cases, what did you do with them?)
- (144) mashrū9 l-masdjid ballaghto li-sa9ādati l-ma'mūr? (ditto: 111)
 (As for the project of the mosque, did you inform his grace, the commissioner about it?)

In Arabic, the isolated theme could be any of the following actants:

(i) Subject:

- (145) anā lī ahlun yantaziruna-nī (Ḥak. Ahl. 72)
(I have a family who are expecting me)
- (146) aṣṣabru la-hu ḥudūdun
(Patience has its limits)
- (147) assāḥīru, mādhā yaṣna9u? (Ḥus. ayy. I, 98)
(The sorcerer, what is he doing?)
- (148) wa anta, mā ra'yuka? (Maḥ. Qāh. 8)
(And you, what is your opinion?)
- (149) inna l-hidjrata sha'nu-hā shadīdun (Bukhāri II, 145, qu.
Reckendorf 1895: 790)
(Verily the impact of the migration is very severe)
- (150) az-zānī lā yankiḥu illā zāniyatan (Qur. XXIV/3)
(The whoremonger shall not marry any other than a harlot) (Sale:263)
- (151) ammā n-nāqatu fa-asmā'uhā 255 isman
(As for the female camel, it has 255 names) (Djir. Tār. 54)
- (ii) Object:
- (152) az-zānīyatu lā yankiḥuhā illā zānin (Qur. XXIV/4)
(And a harlot shall no man take her in marriage
except a whoremonger) (Sale: 263)
- (153) wal-qamara qaddarnā-hu manāzila (Qur. XXXVI/39)
(And for the moon have we appointed certain mansions (Sale: 332)

- (154) inna imāmakum Muṣṣabān qad qatala-hu ʿabdu l-Maliki
(As for your Imam Musṣab, Abdul Malik killed him)
- (155) fa-ammā l-yatīma falā taqhar (Qur. XCIII/10)
(Oppress not the orphan) (Sale: 449)
- (156) wa ammā Thamūda fa-haday-nā-hum (Qur. XLI/16)
(And as to Thamud, we directed them) (Sale: 356)
- (157) wa-amā s-sā'ila fa-lā tanhar (Qur. XCII/11)
(As for the beggar, do not repulse him)

(iii) Diactic particle:

- (158) dhālika huwa l-khusrānu l-mubīnu (Qur. XXII/11)
- (159) tilka l-amthālu nadribu-hā li-n-nāsi (Qur. XXIX/43)

(iv) Adverbial of Time

- (160) yawma l-djumʿati alqāka fī-hi
(I shall meet you on Friday)
- (161) ghadan li-nāẓiri-hi qarīb
(Verily tomorrow is very close to anyone who is waiting for it)

(v) Adverbial of Place

- (162) al-minḍadatu ʿalay-hā kitābun
(As to the table, there is a book on it)

(163) djannātu 9adnin tadjrī min taḥti-hā l-anhāru (Qur'an XX/76)

(- gardens of perpetual abode, which shall be watered by rivers

(Sale: 237)

(vi) Relative Pronoun:

(164) al-ladhīna hum yurā'ūna (Qur. CVII/7)

(It is they who play the hypocrites)

(165) man djā'a bil-ḥasanati fa-la-hu 9ashru amthāliha (Qur. VI/160)

(Whoso bringeth a good deed will receive tenfold the like thereof)

(vii) Relative Clause:

(166) al-ladhīna yunfiqūna amwāla-hum bil-layli wan-nahāri, sirran wa9alānīyatan fa-la-hum adjru-hum. (Qur. II/275)

(They who distribute (alms of) their substance night and day,
in private and in public shall have their reward) (Sale: 30)

(167) al-ladhī tafūtu-hu ṣalātu l-9aṣri faka'annamā wutira ahlu-hu

(The one who misses the afternoon prayer, it is as if his
family got killed)

(viii) Possessive:

(168) Zaydun māta abū-hu

(Zayd, his father died)

(169) Zaydun ra'aytu abā-hu

(Zayd, I saw his father)

(170) Zaydun hādha kitābu-hu

(Zayd, this is his book)

- (171) al-baghyu marta9u-hu wakhīmun (Aghānī XVI/32)
(Offence, its pasture is very unhealthy)
- (172) wa-r-rā9i khtafat āthāru-hu (Nu9. Liq. 60)
(And the shepherd disappeared without any trace)
- (173) lam tazal l-mulūku umūru-hum muntazamatun (Mas.I.298, qu.
(Reckendorf, 789 1895)
(The Kings' affairs are still uninterrupted)
- (174) inna l-hidjrata sha'nu-hā shadīdun (Bukh.II.145, qu.
Reckendorf, 1895,p.790)
(Verily the impact of the migration is very severe)

(ix) Prepositional object:

- (175) hādhihi l-ḥayātu l-djadīdatu lā makāna lanā fī-hā (Ḥak.Ahl.72)
(There is no place for us in this modern life)
- (176) al-qawsu fī-hā watarun (Kamil 216)
(There is a string on the bow)
- (177) ḥāratunā laysa fī-hā man yatakullamu kalimatan adjnabīyatan
(Amīn. (Zy). 26)
(There is no one who can speak a foreign language in our own district)

(x) Prepositional phrase

- (Prepositions doubly underlined for clarity)
- (178) wamina l-layli fa-tahadjud bi-hi (Qur. XVII/79)
(pass part of the night in prayer)
- (179) wa-ammā bi -ni9mati rabbika fa-ḥaddith (Qur. XCIII/1) (Sale 449)
(but declare the goodness of thy Lord)

6.4 Periphrastic Thematizing Constructions

Sometimes Arabic would use a variety of periphrastic constructions such as

'hādhā (dhālika) mā ' ('this/that + be + relative pronoun')

in order to bring the theme into the focus of attention.

hādhā (dhālika) mā (alladhī) + clause + resumptive pronoun.

Examples:

(180) hadhā mā kuntu atawqqa9u-hu

(This was what I expected)

(181) dhālika mā kuntu akhshā-hu

(That was what I was afraid of)

(182) hādhā l-ladhī ta9rifu l-baḥā'u waḥ'ata-hu (Farazdaq)

(This is the man whose footsteps are well known to the desert)

(183) dhālika mā kun-nā nabghī (Qur. XVIII/65)

(This is what we sought after) (Sale: 223)

(184) dhālika mā kunta min-hu taḥīd (Qur. I/119)

(This is what thou soughtest to avoid) (Sale 384)

(185) ammā l-9illatu ... faqad aṣbaḥat hīya l-ukhrā bālīyatun

(Sad.Fal.17)

(As for cause ... it also has become decrepit)

(186) wa-ammā Thamūda fa-hadaynā-hum (Qur. XLI/16)

(And as to Thamud, we directed them)

Other constructions are introduced by focusing words like binnisbati ilā ('as regards'), bikhuṣūṣi ('regarding'). Introductory words would focus on the thematic element in the sentence and at the same time throw the rhematic elements into distinct relief, e.g.

(187) bin-nisbati lil-9irāqi fa-inna-hu qādirun 9alā dahri l-mu9tadī

(As regards Iraq, she can defeat the aggressor)

In English thematic elements may be foregrounded and brought into focus by using a variety of periphrastic constructions. For this purpose the most notable construction is

(188) This (that) + be + (antecedent) + WH - clause, e.g

(189) This is what we sought after

(190) This is what I expected

(191) That is the place where I met her

The left-hand constituent often has the form of a demonstrative pronoun, which draws the attention of the listener/reader to the theme of the sentence. The listener/reader will then expect the rhematic part to follow. Thus a tension will be created at the beginning of the sentence. The element of suspense and expectancy will be maintained to the end of the sentence where the rhematic part is mentioned. In e.g., That is what we sought

the sentence is about the antecedent of the relative pronoun which has been mentioned earlier in the text. The WH-clause is introduced as

relatively new information, in relation to the theme, namely the antecedent or the topic of conversation. It is possible to introduce the antecedent actant as relatively known information, e.g.

This is the theatre where I met her

The WH-clause where I met her is related to the antecedent actant theatre in a sense that it is introduced into the text only in relation to the focus of attention, namely, theatre.

6.5 CLEFT sentences in English

One of the important means for aligning the sentence with the requirements of Functional Sentence Perspective is the use of 'Cleft Constructions'. Cleft constructions exhibit the syntactic structure:

IT + BE + ANTECEDENT + QUASI - RELATIVE CLAUSE

Let us start our investigation into cleft constructions with an illustrative example:

(192) It was by train that we reached Istanbul (Leech 1975: 181)

Most analysis of cleft sentences, e.g. Jespersen 1927, Quirk et al. 1972 and Bolinger 1972, assume that the grammatical subject 'it' in cleft-sentences is semantically empty and hence is called 'dummy subject' (Jespersen, 1927: 144; Bolinger, 1972: 101).

In chapter three of this thesis we mentioned that there are two types of pronominal 'it', namely referential and non-referential. In the former type, pronominal it behaves like personal pronouns in terms of referentiality. It can have an anaphoric, i.e.

referring back in the text, or a cataphoric reference, i.e. referring forward in the sentence, (eg. the antecedent is underlined for clarity).*

(193) Baghdad is the capital of Iraq It is a beautiful city
(anaphoric reference)

(194) I bought a car. It is a Ford (anaphoric reference).

(195) It is a country of vast extent, is China. (cataphoric reference)
quo. Visser, 1963: 54)

(196) It is interesting to have such fun. (cataphoric reference)

The cataphoric sub-type of referentiality of pronominal it is uncommon in Modern Written English. Sentences like the one exemplified in (196) when introduced to native speakers of English, are only acceptable to speakers of South Yorkshire English. In Scottish and American English these sentences are accepted mostly in their spoken form. The reason for disliking sentences with cataphoric reference in general may be attributed to their low communicative efficiency. Normally the theme of an utterance would be mentioned so that the addressee would know what the speaker is intending to talk about. In specific communicational situations, the speaker tells something and then realises that he/she did not mention the theme which he/she is speaking about. Realizing this, the speaker may mention the theme later, which would come as an after-thought. Such communicational situations do not happen in writing, since the writer would have

*The definite pronoun it is sometimes used as a substitute for a clause, e.g. (antecedent underlined)

If you don't take the examination, you'll regret it (Qu. Leech 1975:167)
It may have a general idea as its referent when expressing meteorological phenomena, e.g. It is raining.

enough time to adjust his/her utterances so as to keep the communicational channel between him/her and the reader open all the time.*

From the grammatical point of view, referring proper subjects back in the sentence needs strong motivation, that is poetic, rhetoric or communicational or formal motivations. Formal motivations for referring proper subjects back in the sentence may arise if the subject is of a fairly long structure. "When for some reasons or another", writes Jespersen (1927: 25) "it is convenient to put a content-clause in the ordinary place of the subject, object, etc., the clause is replaced at the end in extraposition and is represented in the body of the sentence itself by IT". Consider the following examples (the referent clause or its replacement phrase and the pronominal It are underlined for clarification):

(199) It seems certain that he is dead (Jespersen 1927: 25)

(200) They have promised to increase pensions by 20 per cent. If they do so, it will make a big difference to old people
(Leech 1975: 166)

(201) If you don't make the examination, you'll regret it (ditto: 167)

(202) It's best for Sarah to be patient (ditto)

(203) It's a pity that you should have to leave (ditto)

*Some native speakers of Scottish English reject examples with theme at the end of the sentence in both written and spoken English. Examples like (197)*That he's lived here all his life, my father, is well known to the cops (198)*If you see him again, that man, call me right away which are accepted as well-formed in spoken American English are rejected in spoken Scottish English.

- (204) It has been common among philosophers to begin with how we know and then move to work on subjects we know (Russ, 1959: 16)
- (205) It is obvious to theoretical physics that we have to seek to understand great experiments in the universe (ditto: 17)
- (206) It is not always realized how exceedingly abstract is the information that theoretical physics has to give (ditto: 17)

In these examples pronominal it is substituting a subject clause. Since the subject clause is of a fairly long structure, it is denied the normal initial position. Hence initial position of the subject is filled by the general pronominal it with a cataphoric reference to the subject clause which is postponed to the end of the sentence. Pronominal it may have an anaphoric reference, i.e. where the referent is identified in the preceding text.

- (207) The view to which I have been gradually led is one which has been almost universally misunderstood. It is a view which results from a synthesis of four different sciences

(Russ. 1959: 16)

Here, the writer has already mentioned the referent of the pronoun it in the first sentence. The second sentence is a further elaboration on the first one. Hence the pronominalization of the rheme of the first sentence and the introduction of it as the thematic basis for the second sentence. Thus the pronominal it establishes a kind of cohesion of text. In this respect it like personal pronouns, has the communicative function of thematizing rhematic elements which are mentioned earlier in the text and hence provide a means for linking utterances throughout the text. Other text connectors are introductory words like thus, hence,

because etc. which are not of our prime concern. Perhaps a study of text connectors would reveal more about the thematic structure of utterances along the text, since Functional Sentence Perspective is a phenomenon not only of sentences and utterances but of complete texts (Daneš, 1974).

Introductory it may single out an element in the sentence for special attention, e.g.

- (208) It was John who wrote the play
 (209) It is a book that Mary is reading
 (210) It was my brother who saw the thief
 (contrasted element underlined)

The boundary between a cleft construction and normal pronominalization of an already mentioned rhematic element is not always a clear-cut one. A decision between the two processes often depends on the context in which the sentence occurs. For instance, in the context of e.g.

- (211) What is that thing which is lying on the table?

an answer like

- (212) It is a book that Mary is reading

would not be considered as having the structure of a cleft-construction, though similar to it on the surface constituent sequence. The reason for excluding such sentence from cleft-construction is that it does not show a 'specificational' or a 'contrastive' reference for the pronominal it. Instead pronominal it has a genuine anaphoric reference as the grammatical subject, namely that thing which is lying on the table. But the same sentence, when occurring in a context which implies

specification or listing, would be considered as having the structure of a cleft-construction, e.g.

(213) What is Mary reading?

(214) Is it a book or a magazine that Mary is reading?

The former context shows 'specification', the latter 'enumeration' or 'listing'.

Cleft constructions can give prominence to rhematic elements of various grammatical functions and of various length of individual words, phrases, clauses and even large stretches of text.

(215) It was the Ambassador that met us (Subject)

(216) It was my wife I murdered (Direct Object)

(217) It was to Mary I gave the book (Indirect Object)

(218) It was in 1950 that he first achieved fame as a writer (Adverb of Time)

(219) It was on this very spot that I first met my wife (Adverb of Place)

6.6 Pseudo-Cleft Constructions

Pseudo-cleft constructions have the syntactic pattern

WH-Clause + be + antecedent

e.g.

(220) What Mary saw was a man and a woman

(221) What Mary wants is too fattening for her

(antecedent of the WH-clause underlined)

The communicational function of pseudo-cleft sentences is, in many respects, similar to the function of cleft-sentences. Cleft structure would allow for rhematic elements carrying high degrees of

Communicative dynamism to be singled out and to occupy initial position in the sentence without 'dedynamizing' that element. Pseudo-cleft structure would allow for rhematic elements to stay in the focus of attention despite their final position. This is carried out by increasing the 'element of suspense' in the sentence and holding the tension throughout the sentence. Consider the following examples:

(222) The person who met us was the ambassador

(223) What he's done is to spoil the whole thing

(224) What we need is more time

A functional view of cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences is held by Quirk et al (1972) and by Leech-Svartvik (1975). For the importance of their views to the present investigation we quote them here.

"The cleft sentence construction with introductory IT ... is useful for fronting an element as topic, and also for putting focus (usually for contrast) on the topic element. It does this by splitting the sentence into two halves, 'highlighting' the topic by making it the complement of IT + BE."

(Leech and Svartvik, 1975: 180)

"The usefulness of the cleft sentences partly resides in its unambiguous marking of focus information, where the clue of intonation is absent. The highlighted element has the full implication of contrastive focus: the rest of the clause is taken as given." (Quirk et al, 1978, 951).

Some linguists, i.e. Higgins 1973 would extend the structure of pseudo-cleft sentences as to include sentences like, e.g.

(225) The animal I am pointing at is a kangaroo

Note the predicational nature of the sentence. The WH-clause I am pointing at with a zero (\emptyset) relative pronoun stands in appositional relationship to the grammatical subject. The equational structure of the sentence is quite obvious. A proper context we could think of for such example would be like

(226) I am pointing at an animal. It is a kangaroo at which I am pointing.

Where it has an anaphoric reference in the text. (Jespersen, 1937) would analyse the WH-clause in e.g.

(227) It is the wife who decides
as a modifier to the pronominal it.

A similar structure to pseudo-cleft sentences with respect to its communicational function is

THIS (THAT) + BE + (antecedent + WH-Clause)

Like Cleft-construction, this construction can give communicative prominence to rhematic elements of various grammatical functions, e.g.

(228) This is the man who saw the thief (Subject)

(229) This is the job I always wanted (Indirect Object)

(230) This is where I first met my wife (Adverb of Place)

(231) This is how you start the engine (Adverb of Manner)

(232) This is the reason why I didn't tell you (Adverb of Cause)

(233) This is the train by which we reached Istanbul (Prepositional Phrase)

In our view cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences in English are means

that the language has evolved for foregrounding rhematic elements either in keeping with the basic distribution of communicative dynamism or for signalling a conspicuous departure from it. The communicational motivation behind foregrounding an element may be twofold: either the element is thematic by contextual dependence, or it may be to single it out for special attention, thus giving additional prominence to a rhematic element by creating a rheme-theme sequence. If both elements are inferable from the preceding context, this particular construction (i.e. foregrounding) serves to give particular prominence and rhematizes one of them (Firbas 1967). Consider the following triples of sentences which are cognitively synonymous but differ in their thematic structure.

| | | |
|-------|------------------------|---------------------|
| | Theme | Rheme |
| | ----- | ----- |
| (234) | Research ability | counts most |
| | Theme | Rheme |
| | ----- | ----- |
| | What counts most | is research ability |
| | Rheme | Theme |
| | ----- | ----- |
| | It is research ability | that counts most |
| (235) | Theme | Rheme |
| | ----- | ----- |
| | the ambassador | met us |
| | Theme | Rheme |
| | ----- | ----- |
| | The person who met us | was the ambassador |
| | Rheme | Theme |
| | ----- | ----- |
| | It was the ambassador | that met us |

In Arabic the use of such special construction is far less common, since communicative units are permutable to a relatively high

degree. The corresponding Arabic structure to the English cleft sentence is

(236) inna + general pronoun + (antecedent) + Relative Clause

(237) inna-hā l-ma9āriku l-latī taṣna9u l-abṭāla

(It is the battles that make heroes)

(238) inna-hu s-safīru l-ladhī qābalanā

(It was the ambassador that met us)

(239) inna-hu huwa l-ladhī ra'ānā

(It is he who saw us)

A possible reading for (238) would be

(It is the ambassador who met us)

which has the structure of an equational predicative clause. The relative clause would then express qualification rather than contrastiveness. The structure is used only when strong emphasis or contrast is implied.

(240) inn-hu l-mawtu l-ladhī lā mafarra min-hu

(It is death from which no one can escape)

(241) inna-hā mashākilu l-iskāni tilka l-latī tushghilu bāla l-ḥukūmati

(It is the problems of housing which concern the government)

In both English and Arabic, indefinite pronouns are excluded from this construction, cf. the ungrammatical

(242) *It was no one who saw us

(243) *It was somebody who believed us

(244) *inna-hu lā aḥada l-ladhī ra'ānā

(It was no one who saw us)

(245) *inna-hu aḥadun l-ladhī ṣaddaqaṇā

(It was somebody who believed us)

Highlighting adverbial elements of time or place is excluded from this structure in Arabic, cf. the ungrammatical

(246)* inna-hu l-masraḥu ḥaythu l-taqaynā

[It was in the theatre where we met]

(It was the theatre that we met)

(247)* inna-hu l-masā'u ḥīna l-taqaynā

[It was in the evening when we met]

(It was the evening that we met)

As we mentioned earlier in this chapter, contrastiveness in Arabic is marked out by direct negation to the other element(s) in the contrastive pattern, cf.

(248) iltaqaynā fī l-masraḥi wa lam naltiqī fī ghayrihi

(We met in the theatre and in nowhere else)

6.7 Passive voice constructions

Another mechanism by which English aligns actants in accordance with their communicative dynamism is the use of passive voice constructions BE + past participle. Jespersen (1924 : 164) draws attention to the formal relation between the active and the passive voice of the verb and the possibility of manouevering with actants by changing the voice of the verb, i.e.

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|------|--------|----------|---|----------|------------|---------|
| (249) | S | Va | O | | S | Vp | C |
| | John | opened | the door | = | The door | was opened | by John |

(S = subject, Va and Vp = active and passive verb respectively

O = object, C = complement).

The passive construction thus makes it possible for English to overcome the rigidity in its word order for the purposes of Functional Sentence Perspective. Chafe (1970) explains this relationship between active and passive sentences in the following way: "There are sometimes situations in which the patient noun root of an action-process verb conveys old information and in which the agent noun root new information. One way in which situations like these are accommodated in English is through the specification of the verb as passive" (Chafe, 1970 : 219).

In Arabic when such situations arise, sentence constituents could be manipulated so as to start with constituents expressing 'old' information and end with constituents expressing 'new' information without the need for changing the voice of the verb, i.e. by simple reshuffling of actants. Compare for instance the following pairs of sentences:

(250) The judge punished the offender

(250a) 9āqaba l-ḥākim-u l-mudhnib-a

[punished the judge-NOM the offender-ACC]

(251) The offender was punished by the judge

(251a) al-mudhniba 9āqaba l-ḥākim-u

[The offender ACC punished the judge NOM]

However, Arabic would resort to passive voice in communicational situations where there is no desire on the part of the speaker to mention the agent of an act, cf.

(254) u9tiya 9aliyun nūqudan

[was given Ali-NOM money-ACC]

(Ali was given the money)

(255) u9tiyat n-nuqud-u 9aliy-an

[Was given money-NOM Ali-ACC]

(the money was given to Ali)

CONCLUSION

The present thesis is an attempt at describing aspects of the structure of English and Arabic within the framework of the Prague School Theory of Functional Sentence Perspective using the method of contrastive analysis.

The theory is well defined and consistently worked out. There exist instances of different standpoints on some questions. But these differences are in the shape of divergencies of opinion as is the case with other areas of linguistic research. The method adopted in this thesis is that of analytical comparison through translation and counter-translation of literary texts. The basic framework of description consists of three levels, i.e. (a) syntax (b) semantics and (c) FSP.

The two languages under observation are of different typological origins.

The basic assumption of contrastive analysis is that while languages are different, there is always a certain degree of similarity between them. If there were no similarity there would be no contrastive analysis in the same way as there would be no contrastive analysis if there were no differences.

Contrastive analysis is very closely connected with translation. Translation shows that the similarity between the two languages under investigation is always only partial. Communicational need is common to all mankind. A contrastive analysis would show

how different languages express identical extralinguistic phenomena as well as how identical structures in different languages may express different extralinguistic reality.

Let us conclude our thesis with some remarks on the most salient differences and similarities between the two languages observed.

Arabic is a predominantly synthetic language. Its inflectional system serves both lexical derivation and grammatical function. For example the three consonants k, t, and b could be combined in a number of ways with various inflections, which will result in a wealth of onomatological formations, e.g.

| | | |
|---------------|---|----------|
| <u>kataba</u> | = | he wrote |
| <u>kitāb</u> | = | a book |
| <u>kitāba</u> | = | writing |
| <u>kātib</u> | = | a writer |

In grammar inflections ('ḥarakāt l-i9rāb') (or 'case markers') indicate the grammatical function of the element they are attached to, e.g.

(1) 9aliy-un qābala Aḥmad-an

[Ali-NOM met Ahmed-ACC]

(Ali met Ahmed)

(2) 9alīy-an qābala Aḥmad-un

[Ali-ACC met Ahmed-NOM]

(Ahmed met Ali)

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Due to its morphological system, Arabic can use various orders of linguistic elements in the sentence without affecting the grammaticality or the content of the sentence. Where communicative situations press for a deviation from the grammaticalised word order, English resorts to different syntactic structures, e.g. cleft, pseudo-cleft sentences or by passivization of the verb.

In connection with existential sentences, both English and Arabic have introductory enclitics, there and thammata respectively. Yet while English prefers existential constructions to inverted sequence, Arabic favours inversion over 'thammata sentences'. Consider the following pairs of English sentences with their highly equivalent Arabic translation.

(3) There is a man in the house

(3a) fī d-dāri radjul-un

[In the house a man]

(4) Peter met John

(4a) 9alīyun qābala Aḥmadan

(4a¹) It was John whom Peter met

(5) Aḥmadan qābala-hu 9alīyun

[Ahmed met - him Ali]

(Ahmed, Ali met him)

(6) John hit Peter

(6a) 9alīyun ɗaraba Aḥmadan

(Ali hit Ahmed)

(7) Aḥmadan daraba 9alīyun

[Ahmed-ACC hit Ali-NOM]

Despite the loss of a part of its inflectional system, Arabic is still in many instances more synthetic in expressing extralinguistic reality than English. This typological difference becomes apparent when we examine the verb system in the two languages observed. In English, the grammatical inflection of the verb depends very much on the use of ancilliary verbs, i.e. semantically empty verbs which discharge various grammatical functions. In Arabic the verb, owing to its inflection can express both the semantic content and the grammatical function of the respective element. It can incorporate both first and second actants, e.g. verb roots are underlined

a9ta-ytu-kya-ha = I gave it to you

sa'al-tum-u-niya-ha = You asked me about it

(All parts other than the root are pronominal inflections incorporating first and second actants). English often tends to nominalise the action or state, e.g. to give something a try, to have a swim instead of to try, to swim.

In Arabic, often the form of the verb would indicate semantic relations, e.g.

infataḥa = (to open + Objective)

fataḥa = (to open + Agentive)

mashā = (to walk + Agentive)

mashshā = (to walk + Agentive + Initiator)

māshā = (to walk + comitative)

However, we observed that the writing-system in modern Arabic drops the second type of the inflectional system which serves the grammatical function. This means that modern written Arabic has a defective script, the short vowels (representing most of the case inflection system) not being normally marked. This phenomenon in Arabic deprived the language of one of its methods of assigning grammatical functions to sentence elements. We agree with Jespersen that the loss of case inflections in a language entails the grammaticalization of its word order (Jespersen, 1922: 357). Modern written Arabic compensates for this loss of its inflectional system by putting some restrictions on its word order in the sentence or by the use of analytical ordering. In many instances, where ambiguity arises, a tendency towards VSO is quite apparent.

We may say that Modern Written Arabic is more analytical than old classical Arabic. Perhaps a diachronic study of Arabic syntax would reveal the nature of evolution which Arabic undergoes. Such a study will be interesting and of great importance to general linguistics.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

A language system is too vast an area to be investigated wholly in a single thesis. In a study such as the present one, we could not do much more than concentrate on a selection of topics. There remain many questions unanswered and many problems unresolved. We hope that in this study we managed to draw attention to such questions and problems.

We believe that a diachronic study for the system of Arabic will be fruitful and of great importance to the nature and development of language. Such a study will take into consideration the impact of the writing system on the order of linguistic elements in the sentence.

Another important problem is concerned with intonation. The role played by intonation in determining the thematic structure of a sentence in English and Arabic needs to be fully investigated.

To the best of our knowledge, the area of intonation in Arabic is virtually 'untrodden'. A study of this nature will offer a great deal to the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective in particular, and to theories of translation in general.

LIST OF BOOKS FROM WHICH EXEMPLIFICATORY MATERIAL WAS DRAWN

- Ami. Zy. = Aḥmad Amin, Zuhr L-Islam, 1955, Cairo
- 9aw.sūr. = Lewis 9awad, Ṣurat Doriyan Gray (a translation of Wilde 1968), Cairo.
- Bal. 9ab = Munir Ba9labbakki, 9abra n-nahri wa naḥwa l-ashjāri, 1959, Cairo (A translation of Hemingway 1950).
- Dav.Sea. = Denys Johnson-Davies, Season of Migration to the North, 1970 Heinemann, (A translation of Salih 1969).
- Djir. tar. = Djirdji Zaydān, Tārīkh ādāb l-lughah l-9arabiyah, 1957, Cairo.
- Gal. Man. = John Galsworthy, The Man of Property, Penguin Books, 1951.
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- Maḥ. Qāh. = Nadjīb Maḥfūz, al-Qāhirah l-djadidah, 1958, Cairo.
- Nu9, Liq. = Mikhā'il Nu9aymah, Liqā', 1952, Beirut.
- Man. Madj = Mustafā Luṭfī Al-Manfalūṭi, Mādjūlīn, 1954, Cairo.
- Musa. Adab = Salāma Mūsā, Adab lish-sha9b, 1961, Baghdad.
- Qur. = The Holy Qur'ān.
- Rus. 1959 = Bertrand Russell, My philosophical development, George Allen & Unwin, 1959.
- Ṣād.fal. = Abdul Rashīd Ṣādīq, Falsafatī, Kayfa taṭawarat, 1960, Cairo (A translation of Russell, 1959).
- Ṣāl.Maw. = At-Tayib Salih, Mawsim l-hidjrah ila sh-shimal, (1959)
- Sale = George Sale, The Koran, London, undated (a translation of the Holy Qur'ān).
- Wil.Pic. = Oscar Wilde, The Picture of Dorian Gray. Granada, 1968, London.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF JOURNALS AND PERIODICALS

- BSE = Brno studies in English. Prague.
- BSL = Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
- FL = Foundations of Language.
- IRAL = International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language
teaching. Heidelberg.
- JL = Journal of Linguistics.
- Lg = Language. Baltimore.
- M.L.N. = Modern Language Notes. Baltimore.
- PBML = The Prague Bulletin of Mathematical Linguistics. Prague.
- PP = Philologica Pragensia. Praha.
- PSE = Prague Studies in English.
- SaS = Slovo a Slovesnost. Prague.
- SPFFBU = Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University. Prague.
- TCLP = Travaux Circle Linguistique de Prague
- TLP = Travaux Linguistique de Prague.
- ZP = Zeitschrift für Phonetik.
- ZPSK = Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikations-
forschung.
- ZRP = Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie. Halle.
- ZVS = Zeitschrift Vergleichende Sprachforschung.

A P P E N D I X

Please indicate whether the following sentences are accepted by you as correct English in both written and spoken English by inserting a tick if acceptable, or a cross if unacceptable, or a question mark if you have any doubt about it, in each of the boxes supplied.

Accent: Scottish
 English
 American
 R.P.

Occupation Research Student

| | Spoken | Written |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <u>That play</u> we saw yesterday | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <u>Those old records</u> , the radio station donated them to the auction | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <u>That the evidence was seized illegally</u> , had been demonstrated conclusively by the defence counsel | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <u>What we saw there</u> was a strange, green object. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| That he's lived here all his life, my father, is well known to the cops | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| If you see him again, that man, call me right away | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| After we had finally gotten to our seats, Jackie and me, it started to rain. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| The girl who ate it, the potato salad, was rushed to the hospital | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| That Sam didn't look <u>the article</u> up which you told him about is possible | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

That it is obvious that the ice cream man
sold pot to those kids is not true

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

I suddenly realised how much she meant to
me last Tuesday, that girl I had been
dating.

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

They announced that he would be hired
yesterday, that young professor from Yale.

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

The pidgeon that John shot was on the roof.

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

What Harry saw, it was a mountain goat

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

That was Bill, the one who said that

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

It was Bill, the one who said that

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

He was Bill, the one who said that

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

Who was that that just called? It was my wife

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

Who was that that just called? That was my wife

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

Who was that that just called? She was my wife

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

John he called

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

The cheese I already ate

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

Of himself Heraclitus no doubt had quite a good
opinion

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|

A kangaroo Jim claims he has never seen

Cigarettes I don't think I'll ever be able to give up

Him I can't stand

In Alaska Alice said she hardly ever drove with the top down

Tomorrow I think she said she had an essay

She called him, John

Olga ate the duck but the cabbage she didn't eat

I'm going to invite Jim anyway

Jim, I'M going to invite him anyway

The apple I already ate

The apple I already ate it

Fish, my husband doesn't like

See fish, my husband doesn't like

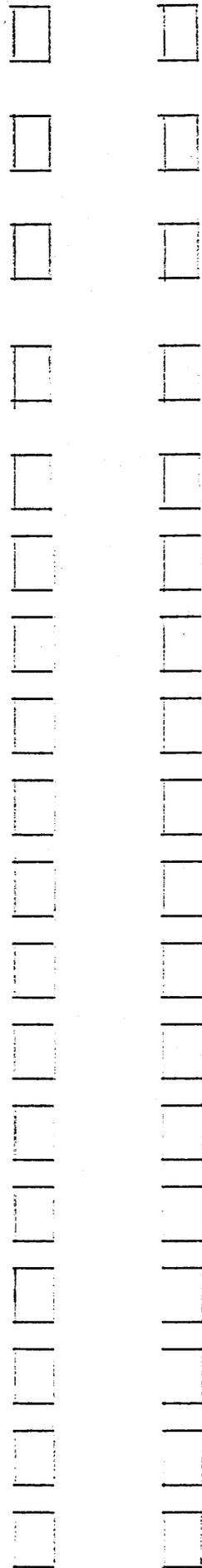
See fish , my husband doesn't like them

See fish, my husband doesn't like it

I don't like him, Harry

Harry, I don't like him

Harry, I don't like



| | Spoken | Written |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| That guy, is he a friend of yours? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| That trunk, put it in the car! | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| My brother? I haven't see him for years. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| That man I hate | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| That man, I hate. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| That man, I hate him. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| He is a nice chap, your brother | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| As for Paris, the Eiffel Tower is really spectacular. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| As for the students, adolescents almost never have any sense. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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