

The Department of Modern Languages

THE UNIVERSITY OF SALFORD

ON THE COMMUNICATIVE ROLE OF WORD ORDER
IN WRITTEN MODERN STANDARD ARABIC

A CONTRIBUTION TO FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

by

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DEDICATION

To my ever-beloved deceased parents ... who encouraged and supported me throughout their lives until they ceased.

To my compassionate sister ... great brothers ... brother-in-law ... and their lovely sons ... and daughters.

To my faithful friends wherever they are.

May I dedicate any success that I may enjoy!

ABSTRACT

The majority of the available studies which have been done on word order in Arabic are derived from improvised and restricted data taken from the classical variety of Arabic. ALL these studies are generatively-oriented, and consequently their main concern was to find out which word order is the basic one and which orders derive from it. In brief, all these studies are basically structural and have very little, if anything, to do with the situations in which the language was used or with the factors that motivated it's use.

We think that such treatments are inadequate, because: (1) the modern standard variety has been totally neglected, and (2) the basic functions of Language as a tool of human communication is not accounted for by these studies.

To make up for these inadequacies we are going to approach the issue of word order from a functional vantage point which seeks to relate the structure and it's function. Secondly, we will choose 'Modern Standard Arabic' to be our field of inquiry. Thirdly, all the examples which we are going to discuss will be taken from concrete linguistic situations.

We intend to test the following hypotheses:

1. The traditional dichotomy of word order in marked/unmarked terms at the sentence level is unsatisfactory.
2. It is useful to differentiate between basicness and unmarkedness of word order.

3. The frequency with which each word order type occurs may depend on the type of text, and the attitude of the writer towards his/her addressees.
4. A switch from a certain word order-type to another within the same text can sometimes be determined by a shift in the text-typological-focus.
5. Permutations of sentence constituents in Arabic sometimes change the grammatical status of the constituents permuted and sometimes do not.
6. The Principle of Functional Sentence Perspective has great influence in Arabic Language.
7. Passivization as a syntactic device influences the order of words in Arabic.
8. Reasons for having different word orders in Arabic can be elucidated by appealing to other communicative considerations.
9. Different word orders in Arabic serve semantic, syntactic and pragmatic functions.

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ARABIC TRANSLITERATION

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Description</u>
/ b/	voiced bilabial stop
/ t/	voiceless unaspirated dental stop
/ T/	velarized voiceless unaspirated dental stop
/ d/	voiced dental stop
/ D/	velarized voiced dental stop
/ K/	voiceless velar stop
/ q/	voiceless uvular stop
/ ʔ/	Glottal stop
/ f/	voiceless Labio-dental fricative
/ s/	voiceless alveolar fricative
/ S/	velarized voiceless alveolar fricative
/ z/	voiced alveolar fricative
/ Z/	velarized voiced alveolar fricative
/ J/	voiced palatal groove fricative
/ x/	voiceless uvular fricative
/ h/	voiced glottal fricative
/ H/	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
/ ʕ/	voiced pharyngeal fricative
/ θ/	voiceless denti-alveolar fricative
/ 5/	voiced denti-alveolar fricative
/ 8/	voiced uvular fricative
/ m/	voiced bilabial nasal

/ʃ/	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
/n/	voiced alveolar nasal
/l/	voiced alveolar lateral
/r/	voiced alveolar roll
/w/	voiced bilabial continuant
/y/	voiced palatal continuant
/aa/	long open front vowel
/a/	short open front vowel
/u:/	long close rounded back vowel
/u/	short close rounded back vowel
/i:/	long close front vowel
/i/	short close front vowel

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Importance of Word Order

Word order, as a syntactic device occupies a very significant place in linguistic theory, and one does not need to exert great effort to prove this. This is because if we, simply, observe the ways in which speakers encode their messages, we will realize that linguistic units which go to make up utterances, emerge in a certain order. In writing, on the other hand, the message must unfold bit by bit to form a text.

Moreover, the overwhelming majority of human languages acknowledge the dimension of word order in achieving complete mapping between meaning and physically realized utterances. The ordering of words in sentences is, in fact, one of the most important components of the grammar of every language. The words: the, students and study (in English) can not just be put in any order despite their being collocationally appropriate.

Beside intelligibility and grammatical acceptability, a change in word order can provoke a change in the meaning of a sentence e.g. compare the English pair of sentences: "The hunter killed the lion". and "The lion killed the hunter".

Languages differ as to the weight they put on word order as a mark of syntactic construction. They also vary in the relative word order used to mark specific syntactic relations. For example, English puts adjectives before nouns to which they are subordinated, and in consequence of this it is the final noun in 'noun + noun' groups, e.g. 'school boy', that is considered the head of the construction by virtue

of occupying the position of the head in 'adjective + noun' constructions. Arabic and French adopt the opposite order.

Chinese and several languages of south-east Asia rely on word order and word class membership as the markers of syntactic relationships and sentence structures. These Asian languages are in contrast with languages like Latin and Ancient Greek where word order is relatively free grammatically, and syntactic relationships and sentence structures are mostly marked by the morphological categories of 'ConCord' and 'government' exhibited by word forms of different word classes.

Word order, once more, expresses movements of ideas. Weil, H. (1844) argues that men think and express themselves in the same order whether they speak a modern language or use one of the ancient languages. He believes that the movement from the point of departure to the goal of discourse reveals the movement of the mind itself.

Different word orders are used by most human languages to convey different discoursal targets. Among the very rare languages which do not use word order to convey discoursal targets is the Eskimo language, where any ordering is appropriate for any situation (cf. Givon 1979). On the other hand we notice that in the Tagalog language a topic NP is marked with 'ang' and it always occurs in sentence final position.

Other languages e.g. Arabic and English make use of word order to signal basic grammatical relations like subject of, object of, etc. Russian and Czech are similar to Arabic and English in that they make positional specialization in general (in unmarked cases). That is, initial position is, generally, reserved for topic whereas final position for 'focus'.

Sapir, in his typology, mentions word order as one of five formal processes of language, the other four are composition, affixation, internal modification and accentual differences (cf Anderson, 1983).

Bloomfield (1933) considers word order to be one of four ways of arranging linguistic forms, the other three are modulation, phonetic modification and selection.

Jespersen mentions word order as one of various means used to give an idea of the grammatical structure of English.

Fillmore (1968) considers word order to be one of the means for converting deep structures, of the type which he proposed, into surface representation of sentences.

Seiler (1962) has pointed out that word order in German has some connections with intonation in that a change in word order is always accompanied by a change in intonation (cf Anderson, 1983).

Moreover, word order plays a central role in language typology (cf Greenberg, 1963, Lehmann 1971, 2,3 & 4, Vennemann, 1973 and Tomlin, 1986) as we shall see in Chapter Two.

Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG) has also shown it's concern with word order in two ways: order in base structures and stylistic reordering; both of which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

The most considerable attention to the study of word order was, probably, given by the Prague School linguists. e.g. Mathesius, Firbas and Daneš, just to name a few, whose work on word order came to be known as Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP). The principle of FSP and it's relation with word order will be discussed in Chapter Three.

The most important function of word order, from a communicative point of view, is probably, that of conveying thematic meaning, i.e.

what is communicated through a message when organized in terms of order and emphasis.

Contreras (1976) claims that the primary function of word order in Spanish is to signal 'new' and 'old' information, or thematic and rhematic material. New information will be post-verbal and old information preverbal. He argues that this holds true at least in unmarked cases.

We have seen, so far, that word order is an indispensable linguistic device which is involved in most linguistic analyses at all levels of analysis. We have also seen that word order attracted the attention of different schools of linguistic thought. If this is the case, there should be no wonder, then, if the study of word order in different languages has figured very prominently among the concerns of linguists in recent years, and occupied a central position in Linguistic literature.

1.2 Concern Given to Arabic Word Order

Unfortunately, the concern given to the study of word order in Arabic is unsatisfactory to say the least. This is because we have noticed that most of the few available studies which have been done on Arabic word order, are derived from outdated and restricted data taken from the classical variety of Arabic. The majority of the examples discussed in these studies, therefore, had no relation with actual communicative situations and were only engineered to suit some purely grammatical statements made about them.

Let us adduce some examples, given in some of these studies, in support of our claim.

Ex (1)

- a) *Jalastu fi lbustaani wa lʔaTfaalu tazunnu ʔaSwaatuhum kazani:ni 55ubaab.*

(= I sat in the garden while children - their voices buzzed like the buzzing of flies). (from Lewkowicz 1971, 555)

- b) *ʔarraJulu huwa Tawi:lun.*

(the man - he is tall. i.e. The man is tall)

(from Anshen & Schreiber 1968, 523)

- c) *ʔaliyyan qaabala rriJaalu.*

(Ali met the men. = (The men met Ali)

(from Bakir 1979, 16)

- d) *ʔarraJulu ummuhu lʔaru:su tuHibbuha.*

the man his mother the bride love her

(= The man's mother, the bride likes her)

(from Elrakhawi 1982, 9)

We have neither been told about the source of any of these examples nor about the situations in which they occurred or the functions they performed. All that we have been told consists of some statements about their morphology and syntax.

Such treatments, I believe, are inadequate for two main reasons (1) one can hardly come across any one of these examples in Concrete Communicative Situations and (2) nothing has been said about these examples in relation to language as a process of human communication.

These reasons, among others, have inspired me to pursue research on word order in Arabic from a different perspective.

To avoid archaism, we have chosen Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to be the source of our data. There has been a long and heated debate among sociolinguists as to what is meant by the term MSA, and many names such

as Classical Arabic, Literary Arabic, Standard Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic have been given to the same variety of Arabic. This dispute, however, falls outside the scope of this research and should not delay us much. Until sociolinguists arrive at an agreement as to what name to give to the variety of Arabic which is practically used today in all sorts of formal writings, e.g. books, magazines, newspapers, etc. and in all forms of formal spoken discourse such as newsbroadcasts, formal speeches and sermons, etc., we will use the term MSA for this variety of the Language. Another reason which determined our choice of MSA as a source of our data is that MSA is "a modernized form of expression of contemporary ideas, concepts, science and technology. Everyday, Arabic is gaining ground as a medium and a vehicle of modern culture. Many books and articles in various languages have been wholly or partially translated into Arabic and brought to the attention of Arab readers. Foreign films have also been dubbed or given Arabic sub-titles for the sake of Arab viewers. This means that Modern Standard Arabic has come nearer to the everyday language of the Arabs". (quoted in Bakalla, 1983, p. xxx).

Moreover, we have been motivated to do this research on MSA by the rarity of works done on this variety of Arabic as has been quoted in Bakalla (ibid, p. xxxvi). "Although there are many Arabic grammatical works available, we still need a Comprehensive book on Modern Standard Arabic grammar which can suit the needs of the modern age, and meet the requirements of Arabic as a living language and as a unified form for all its users. This area is still waiting for serious linguistic research based on field work and various statistical investigations of frequent words, word patterns, sentences and sentence patterns and so on".

Instead of testing artificial examples, all the examples which will be discussed in this study will be selected from concrete linguistic situations. Strictly speaking, they will be taken from texts which have been randomly selected from books, magazines and newspapers. We have done our best to ensure that the data is as representative as possible both typologically and quantitatively.

The procedure which we are going to follow in analysing the data is described in Chapter Three. The intended users of the research are mentioned in the conclusions under the subtitle 'implications'.

1.3. Hypotheses To Be Tested

We intend to test the following hypotheses:-

1. The traditional treatment of word order in marked/unmarked terms at the sentence-level is inadequate.
2. It is useful to differentiate between basicness and unmarkedness of word order.
3. The frequency with which each word order type occurs (in MSA), solely depends on the type of text and the attitude of the writer towards his/her addressees.
4. A switch from a certain word order type to another within the same text can sometimes be determined by a shift in the text-typological focus.
5. Permutations of sentence constituents sometimes change the grammatical status of the constituents permuted, and sometimes they do not.
6. Word order in Arabic is influenced by the principle of Functional Sentence Perspective.

7. Sentences in a text convey facts in the perspective of the surrounding sentences and in conformity with information so far presented in the text or inferrable from the context.
8. Passivization is a syntactic device which alters the order of words in Arabic.
9. Different word orders are not just 'arbitrary facts' about the language but can indeed be elucidated by appealing to other communicative considerations.
10. Different word orders serve different functions which can be summarized as :-
 - a) Semantic functions: they specify the roles played by the referents of the participants involved within the state of affairs defined by the predication in which they occur.
 - b) Syntactic functions: they specify the perspective from which that state of affairs is linguistically presented.
 - c) Pragmatic functions: they specify the informational status of the constituents in relation to the wider communicative context in which they occur.

1.4 Lay-out of Thesis

Apart from the Introduction, the rest of the Chapters will be organized in the following fashion:

Chapter Two

This Chapter will be subdivided into two sections: A) will be concerned with the theoretical approaches to word order in general, and B) will discuss some of the previous work done on word order in Arabic.

Chapter Three

In this Chapter the survey of the literature will be presented under two subtitles:-

- A) The Theory of Functional Sentence Perspective.
- B) The Passive as a syntactic device influencing word order.

Chapter Four

This Chapter will be assigned for data-selection and methodology of research.

Chapter Five

It will be allocated for the analysis of the first 8 texts in relation to word order in MSA, e.g. unmarked vs. marked word order, factors operative on word order, word order in relation to text-type and text-typological-focus, and the like.

Chapter Six

It will be dedicated to the analysis of the rest of the data under 'word order and passivization'. Particular attention will be paid to the impact on word order of the different types of passive in MSA, and the reasons for using the passive in relation to word order.

Chapter Seven

This is going to be the last chapter in this study and will be devoted to conclusions, implications and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

Word Order

2.1. General Background

The study of word order was not given much attention by Indian, Greek and Roman grammarians, and the situation continued like this through the middle ages and the Renaissance. In the seventeenth Century word order was not only neglected but also considered as not being part of grammar (cf. Contreras 1976). This resulted from the widespread belief that word order reflects the natural order of thought processes.

A pioneer work in word order study is the monograph 'De l'ordre des mots dans Les Langues anciennes Comparées aux Langues modernes', by Henri Weil, a French scholar. In 1878 an English translation entitled 'The order of words in the ancient languages compared with that of the modern languages', appeared in Boston. In his monograph, Weil distinguishes the movements of ideas and the syntactical movement. The former is expressed by the order of words, and the latter by terminations. Weil claims that a sentence contains a point of departure and a goal of discourse. He maintains that the movement from the point of departure to the goal of discourse, reveals the movement of the mind itself. He refers to the reverse order (from goal to point of departure) as 'pathetic' and looks upon it as a vehicle of emotion.

It was evidently the ideas of Weil that inspired Mathesius, V., and were further developed by him. But before Mathesius advanced his conception of Czech word order, three other Czech scholars had proved their awareness of the relevance of word order to the theory of FSP. These scholars are Zubaty, J., Ertl, V., and Travniček, F.

Mathesius points out that despite Zubaty's awareness of the importance of FSP, he did not offer any complete theory of word order. As for Ertl, Mathesius continues, he did not discover the leading role of FSP despite his keen analysis of Czech word order.

Travnicek, on the other hand, establishes two basic word order principles: the semantic and the rhythmical principles.

Mathesius acknowledges the importance of the semantic principle as an FSP factor, though it is put on the same level as the rhythmical principle.

Mathesius has devoted his research into word order into two papers: (1) Czech Word Order (Mathesius, 1941) and (2) Comparison Between Czech Word Order and English Word Order (1942). His major contribution to the study of word order consists in viewing word order as constituting a system that is determined by the mutual relations of word order principles. He suggests that these principles (will be discussed in Chapter Three) are valid for all Indo-European languages and possibly for language in general but may differ as to their mutual relations from language to language.

Mathesius suggests that the speaker uses the lexical and grammatical means of language in order to convey specific functions or purposes. Thus, the lexical items acquire specific meanings depending on the context of use, and the sentence splits into a 'theme' and a 'rheme'. The 'theme' is defined as the starting point of the utterance that is known in the given situation and from which the speaker proceeds. The 'rheme' refers to what the speaker states about the 'theme' (the principle of FSP will be discussed in Chapter Three).

Jellinek, H.M. as well as the ancient grammarian Dionysius of Halicarnassus, maintained that the natural order consisted in the

sequence subject, pred-verb and items of verbal complementation. They maintained that this order reflected the natural order of the phenomena in nature itself.

Le Labourer held that in order to fulfil its purpose satisfactorily, communication should follow the natural order of thought, (cf Firbas, 1979).

Among Czech linguists who, recently, devoted considerable attention to problems of word order, mention should be made of Firbas, J., Svaboda and Danes, among others. They contributed to the theory of FSP in relation to word order, and their contribution came to be known as Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP).

The study of word order in modern linguistics is based on two sources: language typology viz. Greenberg's work (1963, 1966) and the theory of TGG: both of them will be discussed below.

2.2.1 Language Typology : Greenberg's Work

The milestone in the investigation of language typology, is Greenberg's contribution to the Dobbs Ferry Conference on language universals 1961 (published in 1963). He argues that word order is an important tool in the search for language universals when he says "The usefulness of typology may be illustrated from my own paper on which a typology based on the order of elements in certain major constructions appears as a virtually indispensable tool in the search for cross-linguistic regularities in this aspect of language". (Greenberg, 1966, xii).

His prime concern was to provide data for a future theory of linguistic universals by classifying languages of different syntactic

and morphological types. His data was taken from 30 languages and was utilized to test two hypotheses: First, any statement which applied to any of these 30 languages had a fair chance of applying to all the languages of the world. Second, if a language has a feature X, then it will have Y. His main idea, here, was to give some notion of the relative frequency of some grammatical traits.

He found that the most common types of word order for languages are subject + verb + object (SVO), subject + object + verb (SOV) and verb + subject + object (VSO). He suggested that each of these orders seems to determine a preference for further types of rule or construction e.g. with the overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with SOV order are postpositional, e.g. in Japanese language 'by bus' would translate into 'bus by'

Greenberg's statements gave little support to the idea of absolute, unconstrained linguistic universals which would be obeyed without exceptions. In other words, his statements are probability statements saying what one may expect of a language of a given type, and meantime leaving room for the likelihood that these expectations will not always be borne out.

His investigations provide detailed evidence about the nature of language variations which are useful for any claims to be made about the nature of language itself.

Moreover, his work is considered a foundation upon which all subsequent work on word order universals has been built. His universals have been used in historical theories attempting to explain the causes of word order change, and as a help to the reconstruction of protolanguages.

Despite the obvious differences between Greenberg's work and the generative theory of syntax, we notice that Greenberg's basic generalizations were readily accepted in the majority of the literature written on syntax. More typological studies followed on his pioneering work, leading to the modifications of some of his conclusions, and to further investigation of the importance of the relationships between ordering constraints on the level of the phrase and the level of the clause. In fact Greenberg himself pointed out that several factors may be involved at different levels of syntactic organization.

2.2.2 W. Lehmann's Work

Lehmann developed a modified version of Greenberg's typology. He found the verb to be most significant for typology. He argues:

"The verb is distinguished as a central element in language - the element fundamental in the ordering of the grammatical elements and markers. How these elements and markers are arranged with reference to the verb determines the typological structure of a language. (quoted in Andersen, 1983, 14).

He then reduced Greenberg's 3 types (VSO, SVO, SOV) to two types, viz VO and OV, and in 1971 he proposed a movement rule to show the connection between the verb-object order and other orders. He contends:

"By this rule syntactic elements which are modifiers are placed on the converse side of the elements O and V. For example, in consistent VO languages, relative constructions, descriptive adjectives and possessives follow O. In OV languages they precede O". (quoted in Andersen, 1983, 15).

Lehmann later formulated his principle as the following phrase structure rule:

	#QV (N ^{obj}) (N ^{Mod}) #	for VO Languages
QV (N ^{obj}) (N ^{Mod}) # →	# (N ^{Mod}) (N ^{obj}) VQ#	for OV Languages

This rule indicates that verbal modifiers (i.e. qualifier (Q) are placed before verbs in VO languages and after verbs in OV languages. Similarly, nominal modifiers (N^{mod}) are placed after nouns (N^{obj}) in VO languages, and before them in OV languages.

He then accounts for exceptions to his typology by means of either (1) the process of marking which can be realized through a change in word order, special intonation or through the use of particles, or (2) typological change, e.g. when languages show patterns other than those expected, we may assume that they are undergoing change either due to borrowing or internal modification.

2.2.3 T. Vennemann's Work

He was one of the first scholars to appreciate the relevance of Greenberg's findings to the study of syntactic change. His work is an explicit attempt to reformulate and explain Greenberg's universals and to incorporate them into a historical theory of word order change. He followed Lehmann (1971, 72a, 72b, and 73) in reducing Greenberg's three-way typology (VSO, SVO, and SOV) to two basic verb positions: VO & OV). This means that 'VSO' and 'SVO' are collapsed into one type on the basis of their common 'V' before 'O'.

Vennemann main concern was to provide a principle which organizes Greenberg's universals in a more powerful way than Greenberg's descriptive statements. His principle came to be known as "The Natural Serialization Principles", in which he divides all Greenberg's meaningful elements, e.g. direct object, verb, adjective, noun, ... etc. into two categories: 'operator' and 'operand'. He contends that the criteria for allocating some category to operator or operand status are

that "semantically the application of an operator results in a specification of the operand predicate, and syntactically, that the application of an operator to an operand results in a constituent of the same general category as that of the operand" (quoted in Hawkins, J. 1985, 33).

Vennemann explains these categories by giving this example: 'red house' (quoted in Hawkins, 1983, 33). He argues that this construction should be seen as function - argument where the adjective 'red' is 'function' and the noun 'house' is 'argument'. He suggests that the application of 'red' to 'house' maps the meaning of 'house' on the meaning of 'red house'; in other words, it maps the set of 'all houses' on the set of 'all red houses'. Instead of function - argument, Vennemann used the terms 'operator' and 'operand'. Then he continues to formulate his 'Natural Serialization Principle' as follows:

"Languages serialize all their operator-operand pairs either operator before operand or operand before operator as follows:

	[operator(operand)]	in OV languages
operator {operand}	→	[(operand)operator]
		in VO languages

(quoted in Hawkins, J. 1983, 33).

Vennemann himself notes that this may not be valid for all languages and hypothesizes that this is for historical reasons. He goes on to stress that his 'Natural Serialization Principle' is a theory of basic word order.

Some Linguists e.g. Hawkins (1983), Mallison, G. & Blake (1981), Dryer (1984, 1985) and others continue to pursue the original themes raised by Greenberg.

2.2.4 Evaluation

The word order typologies and word order universals, discussed so far, are based on superficial observations about structural regularities of human languages and in most cases they do not take into account any abstract level of representation. Such superficial observations are expected to fail to provide insight into marked patterns and to provide any sort of motivation for the structural regularities observed. More importantly, these typologies ignore completely the basic function of human language as a means of communication. In fact different orders are mentioned as arbitrary facts about language but we have not been told about the reasons for word order variations within a language.

However, it should not be understood that these typologies are void of content or functionless. On the contrary, Greenberg's pioneering work on language typology has served as a trigger for most of the work done in the area of synchronic universals, and his continuing work has also inspired diachronic universal studies. The works of descriptivists and generativists have been influenced by Greenberg's work, as well.

Hawkins (1983, 51) suggests that "Greenberg is to be credited with the collection of an impressive body of data, and with the formulation of a large number of word order universals. Vennemann, following Lehmann, has proposed a general organizing principle for these word order universals which has some explanatory value. However, this principle has more exceptions than does the original body of universals proposed by Greenberg".

We now turn our attention to another word order typology which has been done recently by Tomlin, R. (1986) and which differs in many ways from the typologies which we have discussed so far.

2.2.5 Tomlin's Work (1986)

He approaches the problem of word order typology from a functional perspective because he believes that "... grammars of human languages are organized functionally. Syntactic alternations serve to signal specific semantic or pragmatic functions which, in turn, reflect the language specific instantiation of general constraints on the representation, storage and retrieval of information in the human mind. Neither the syntax of natural languages, nor typological facts related to syntax, can be properly understood when divorced from the psychological and, ultimately biological, constraints on the mind imposed both by its internal organization and structure and by the psycho-social context of human communication. Typological explanation, on the surface seemingly distant from the individual speaker, ultimately derives directly from the efforts of differing individuals engaged in communication activity". (Tomlin, R. 1986, 3).

Tomlin's prime concern was to find out the relative frequencies of the six basic order types which occur in the languages of the world, and explain the reasons for these frequencies.

He determined the frequency of each order type in 1063 of the world languages. He then explained the reasons for the relative frequencies of the various order types in terms of three independently motivated functional principles which we discuss below.

2.2.5.1 Theme First Principle (TFP)

It is an attempt to make explicit that old information precedes new information. Old information is shown to involve two components: shared information which is defined by Chafe(1986) as one that "concerns the retrieval of referential information during discourse processing,

ultimately requiring one consider its connection to memory", and thematic information which is defined by Tomlin (1986) as: "concerns the focusing on important or salient information, ultimately requiring one consider its connection to attention" (both definitions are quoted in Tomlin, 1986, 4).

It is the thematic information that is connected with word order in natural languages, and it correlates with subject in unmarked sentences.

2.2.5.2 The Principle of Verb-Object Bonding (VOB)

The main idea embodied in this principle is that the object of a transitive verb, forms a more cohesive syntactic and semantic whole than does a transitive verb and its subject.

2.2.5.3 The Animated First Principle (AFP)

It states that the NP which is most animated will precede other NPs. It is shown, here, that the most animated NP will tend to correlate with subject.

Tomlin, then, suggests that the interaction of these three principles explains the distribution of unmarked word orders.

The results show that word orders which permit more of the principles will be more frequent, e.g. SVO and SOV are the most frequent types because they permit the maximal realization of the three principles. Since in unmarked sentences, the most thematic information and the most animated NP correlate with subject, both the TFP and AFP are realized for these orders because the subject comes first. Furthermore, VOB is realized because the verb and the object are

juxtaposed in an SOV or SVO unmarked word order. Conversely, OSV orders are extremely rare, because none of these three principles is realized.

Verb initial languages cannot have all three principles realized in unmarked sentences because in VOS languages, the object precedes the subject, blocking the TFP and AFP. In VSO languages, the position of the subject precludes the juxtaposition of verb and object, thus blocking VOB. Tomlin (op.cit) suggests that these languages (i.e. VSO), resolve this problem by marked SVO order, to have all three principles realized.

Tomlin summarizes the relative frequencies of the six mathematically possible word orders as follows:-

* SVO = SOV > VSO > VOS = OVS > OSV

(Tomlin (ibid p.3)

* The symbol > means greater than.

2.2.5.4 Evaluation

Tomlin's work differs from Greenberg's in that it is functionally orientated. He systematically categorized 1063 of the world's languages within an established structural framework, identifying with a satisfactory degree of accuracy the relative frequencies of the six theoretically possible orderings of subject, verb and object.

He then, offered an explanation for those frequencies based on three functional principles: TFP, AFP and VOB. The first principle has been discussed by the Prague School linguists and Halliday among others and the second one by Hyman and Hawkinson (1974). But Tomlin differs from all of them in two respects. First, he suggests that each of these principles derives from cognitive restrictions on information processing

during discourse production and comprehension. And, second, his data is taken from a wider range of languages (1063) than traditionally has been the case (Greenberg's data was drawn from 30 languages).

However, the three principles have been used only to categorize the languages of the world, but they have not been tested in one specific language.

Our data shows that Arabic does not seem to agree with Tomlin's relative frequencies, though. (cf Chapter 5).

The relative frequencies of the six mathematically possible orderings of subject, verb and object, exhibited by our data can be summarized as follows:

VSO > SVO > VOS > OVS > SOV = OSV.

The differences between the two relative frequencies can be summarized as follows:

<u>Word Order Type</u>	<u>Tomlin's Ranking</u>	<u>Our Ranking</u>
SVO	First (shared)	Second
SOV	First (shared)	Last (shared)
VSO	Third	First
VOS	Fourth	Third
OVS	Fourth	Fourth
OSV	Last	Last (shared)

Fig (1) Differences between Tomlin's and Arabic relative frequencies

Figure (1) above indicates that Tomlin's ranking and our ranking agree on two word order types only, viz. OVS and OSV. This leads to the conclusion that Tomlin's relative frequencies do not fully apply to Arabic Language, anyway.

2.3 TGG and Word Order

TGG's main concern with word order can be summarized in two main points: a) the matter of constituents order in deep structure, and b) the question of stylistic orderings.

Concerning point a) above, Chomsky (1965) contends that deep structure is linearly ordered. He argues that "The rules of the categorial components carry out two quite separate functions: they determine the system of grammatical relations, and they determine the orderings of elements in deep structure". (ibid P.123).

Though Bach's (1975) findings support Chomsky's claim that deep structure is linearly ordered, he concludes that "the question must remain open until a whole lot more work has been done" (quoted in Contreras. 1976,17).

Other linguists e.g. Curry (1961), Shaumjan and Soboleva (1963) suggest that the idea of order in base structures should be eliminated completely (c.f. Contreras 1976). They suggest that such rules as:

$$S \rightarrow \{ NP, VP \}$$

$$VP \rightarrow \{ V, NP \}$$

should replace the ordering rules

$$S \rightarrow NP \quad VP$$

$$VP \rightarrow V \quad NP$$

(Chomsky 1965, 124)

In the first set of rules no order is assigned to the elements on the right hand side of the rule. In other words, {NP, VP} is the same as {VP, NP}, whereas in the second set of rules, NP VP is different from VP NP.

According to Chomsky (1965) the latter set of rules convey more information than the previous corresponding ones, because they define an

abstract system of grammatical relations on the one hand, and assign an abstract underlying order to the elements on the other. He argues that no proponent of a set-system such as the first set of rules has explained the way in which underlying unordered structures can be converted into actual strings with surface structures. Therefore, the problem of supporting such a theory, i.e. the first set of rules (= set-system theory), has not yet been faced.

Chomsky continues to argue that such a set-system must be supplemented by two sets of rules. The first set of rules will reorder the underlying unordered elements. The second set of rules will be transformations to generate surface structures from underlying ones. He asserts that neither of these rules can be omitted in the case of natural languages, consequently, the set-system can not be considered as a theory of grammatical structure.

We now turn to the second concern of TGG, viz. that of stylistic reordering. Chomsky (1965) suggests that the line should be drawn between competence "the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language", and performance "the actual use of language in concrete situations". (ibid p.3). He uses the term "acceptable" to differentiate between them as in the following two examples:

EX(2)

- a) I called up the man who wrote the book that you told me about.
- b) I called the man who wrote the book that you told me about up..

(ibid. p.11)

He argues that sentence a) above, is more acceptable than b) because it is more natural, immediately comprehensible and less clumsy. By using the term acceptable he concludes that acceptability belongs to performance and in this sense it is different from grammaticalness which

belongs to competence. Then Chomsky goes on to stress that grammatical transformations are not appropriate candidates for carrying out the full range of stylistic reorderings. He then asserts that variation in word order is a matter of stylistic inversion and, thus, should be considered as part of performance and not of competence. He goes on to assert that despite the fact that 'stylistic reordering' is an interesting phenomenon, yet it has no overt bearing on the theory of grammatical structure.

2.3.1 Evaluation

TGG has in fact contributed to the study of word order in many ways. Chief among these contributions is the idea of phrase structure rules that is codified into X-bar theory later on. The study of transformation rules e.g. the passive, cleft ... etc. is also another contribution of TGG to the study of word order. The most important movement rules, as far as word order is concerned, are passive transformations and topicalization of constituent rules.

It is obvious from the above discussion that TGG's contribution to the study of word order is a sort of formal description of language structure with no reference whatsoever to the way in which this structure is put to use. The fact that the relationship which holds between linguistic units and extralinguistic settings is important for understanding utterances, is totally neglected. That the function of words is to achieve something other than dealing with other words, is not accounted for by TGG.

However, this is not to be interpreted as another way of saying that syntactic properties of language are to be entirely neglected, but rather that they should be presented in a more realistic context from

the vantage point of language communication. One has to bear in mind that real utterances are intrinsically meant to be structured for the sake of human communication.

We now proceed to discuss some studies which deal with word order in English and Arabic.

2.4 Previous Work Done on English Word Order

Among the studies which dealt with word order in English and which we would like to consider are: two studies on old English by Bacquet (1962) and Reszkiewicz (1966), and one study on word order in modern English by McCawley (1970).

2.4.1 Bacquet, P. (1962)

He sets his basic order in terms of traditional grammatical functions e.g. subject, verb, and object (direct and indirect). He attempts to explain the preverbal position of pronominal objects as opposed to the post-verbal position of nominal objects from their phonological weight and givenness. Bacquet suggests that there must be something about temporal sequence that makes earlier position most congruent with the nature of the nominative than with the nature of other cases. He seeks to motivate this fact psychologically when he suggests that the hearer is most ignorant and maximally dependent on the speaker at the beginning of utterances, since his ignorance will compel him to rely on the speaker's words.

He, then, goes on to conclude, accordingly, that the nominative is the first candidate for initial position because (1) the initial position marks the item the speaker views as an important topic and wishes the hearer to pay attention to it, and (2) being the item the

speaker views as important, the nominative is likely to be repeated more than once throughout the discourse, and consequently to be familiar.

2.4.2 Reszkiewicz, A. (1966)

This study concerns itself with word order in old English. In his study Reszkiewicz deals with a formula based on grammatical categories e.g. 'subject and predicate' on the one hand, and on ordering classes according to their weight (to be measured in terms of a combination of phonological, morphological and syntactic criteria) on the other.

According to this study, the two grammatical categories (subject + predicate) occur mainly in the order 'subject + predicate'. The reason for this order is that it is semantically more neutral than other orders. That is, it conveys straightforward, unemphatic statements. However, it is not clearly shown why this semantic neutrality should be evidence of syntactic basicness.

Moreover, Reszkiewicz suggests that heavier items should follow lighter ones. And on this occasion Givon (1979) suggests that one has to postulate an arbitrary norm describable in terms of formal weight categories independent of communication. This should not be understood as another way of ruling out the importance of the basic norm and its linguistic significance as establishing the base-point from which deviations can be defined.

2.4.3 McCawley, J. (1970)

The third study we intend to have a look at is McCawley's (1970). This study is concerned with establishing the basic word order for English. McCawley suggests that English has an underlying word order VSO with the surface SVO pattern being produced by a rule of subject

formation. The VSO hypothesis, he argues, simplifies the statement of a large number of syntactic transformations either by involving fewer elementary transformations or by applying without the use of more notational devices. He continued to argue that no languages can be verb medial and that languages are either VSO or SOV in deep structure. He suggests that all languages which are SVO on the surface have an underlying VSO order from which SVO can be derived.

According to Berman (1974) the VSO hypothesis is unable to capture essential generalizations about English and similar surface SVO languages. Moreover, the VSO hypothesis makes wrong predictions about the class of possible languages. Berman gives six arguments against the VSO hypothesis. The first deals with difficulties in deriving certain types of passive sentences taking VSO as an underlying word order. The second argument concerns an inversion process in French relative clauses. The third, fourth and fifth involve particle movement, dative movement, and heavy NP shift respectively. He argues that a VSO system would complicate and not simplify these rules.

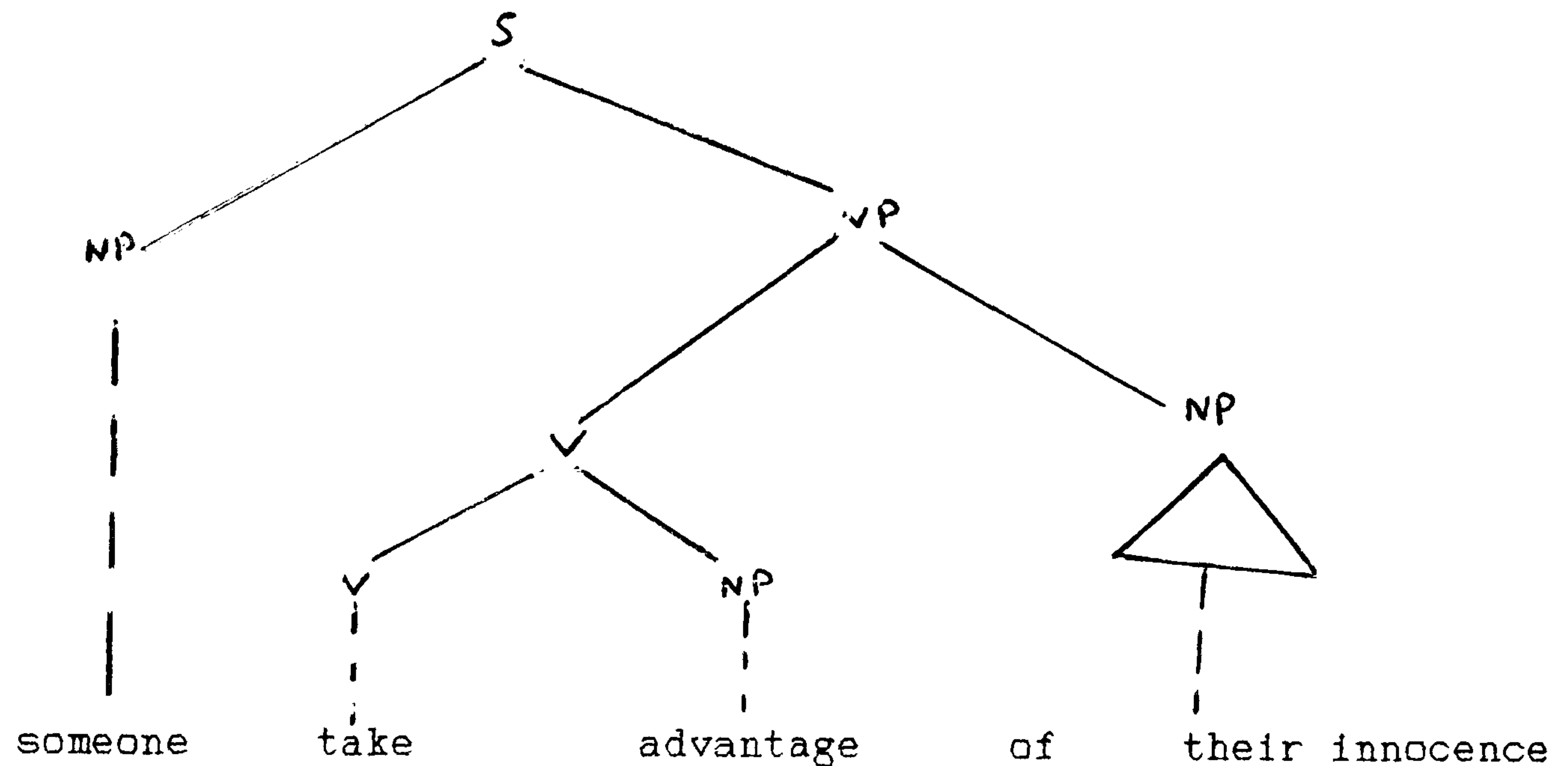
We present here, one example given by Berman (1974: 4 & 5) in favour of his first argument. We reproduce it here as EX(3).

EX(3)

- a) Someone took advantage of their innocence.
- b) Advantage was taken of their innocence.
- c) Their innocence was taken advantage of.

Under a SVO order both (3b) and (3c) can be derived from the same underlying structure as follows:

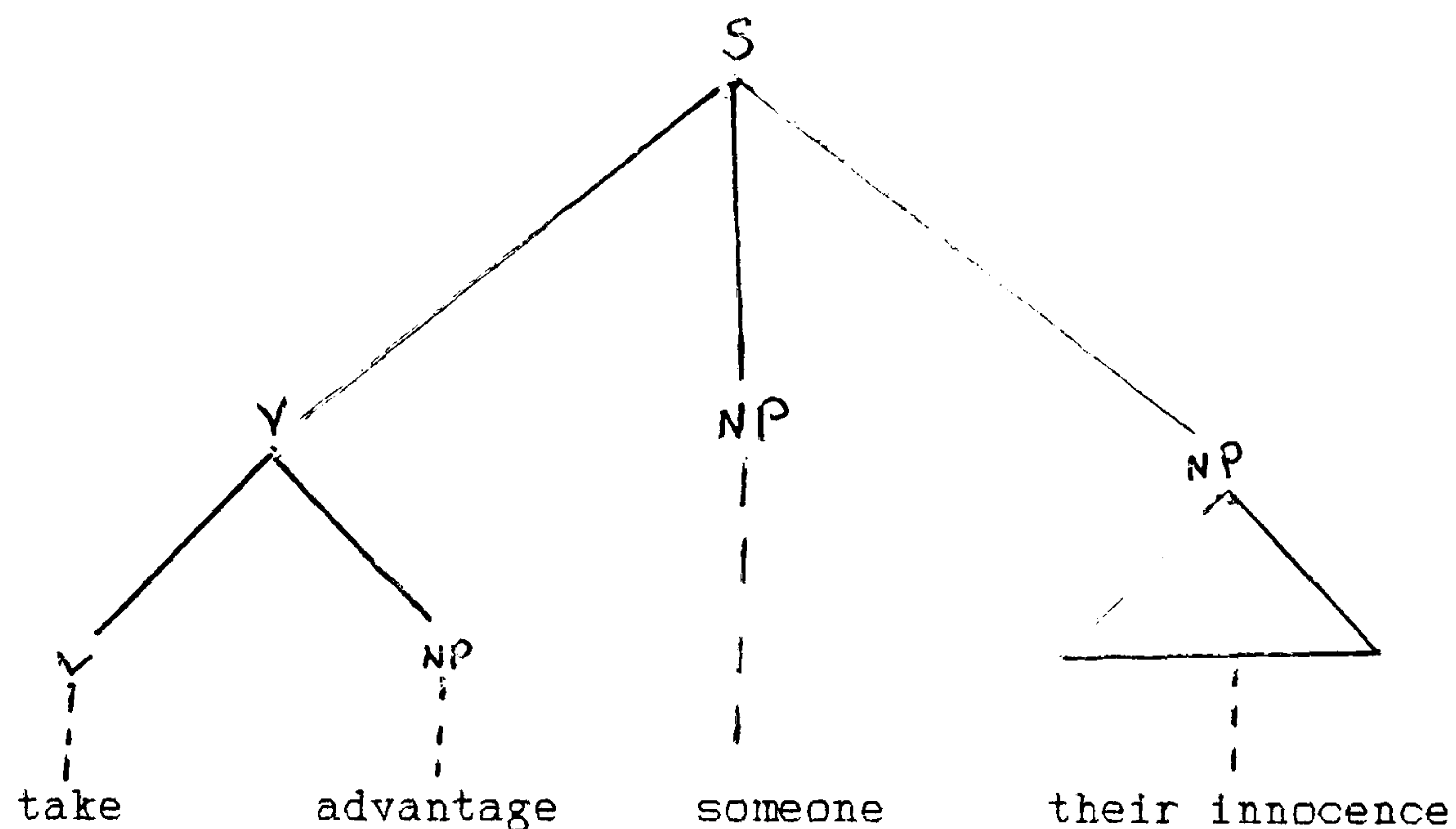
The deep structure of (3a) is something like:-



Assuming that 'take advantage' is a complex verb 'their innocence' is its object, then passive transformation will produce (3c) above. Secondly, if we take the verb 'take' as satisfying the 'V' node, and 'advantage' as satisfying the 'NP' node, then 'of their innocence' will be subsumed by the end variable in the structural description of the passive. The passive transformation will then produce (3b). According to Berman this analysis makes three claims (1) That the three sentences of one, have the same deep structure. (2) That 'take advantage' is a constituent in the deep structure and (3) that 'advantage' does not fill the NP slot freely.

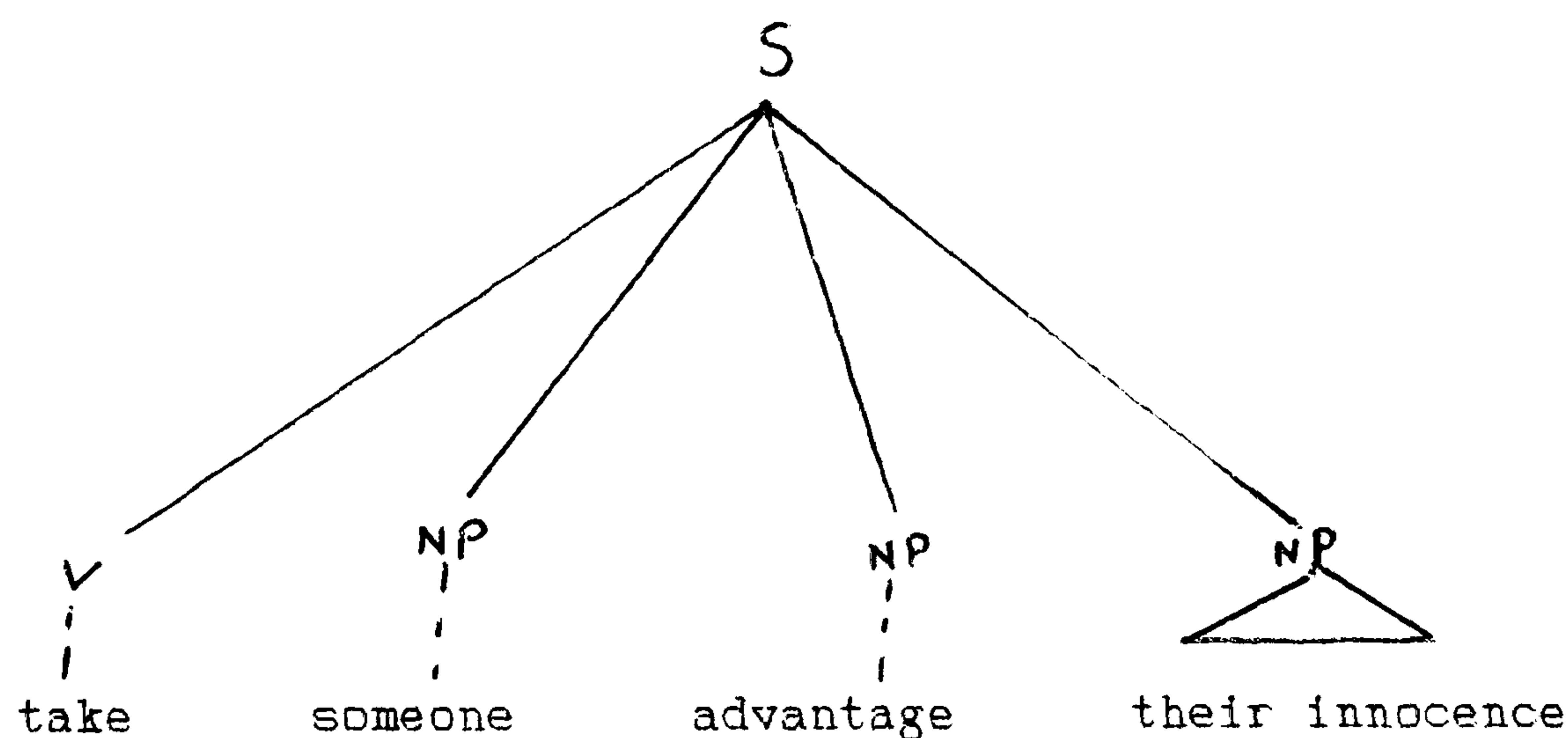
Under a VSO hypothesis, however, 'take advantage' must be one verb in order to obtain (3c). e.g.:

Deep structure:-



Passive transformation will produce sentence (3c) above. "Their innocence was taken advantage of".

On the other hand to obtain sentence (3b) above, 'take advantage' must be treated as a discontinuous constituent in the deep structure as shown in the tree diagram below:



Passive transformation will then leaving 'advantage' in subject position producing sentence (3b): "Advantage was taken of their innocence".

Thus by taking VSO as the basic word order, sentences (3b) and (3c) can no longer be derived from the same deep structure, and it is thus a

complication rather a simplification of the rules (For more discussion refer to Berman, 1974, 1-38).

2.4.4 Evaluation

It is clear, then, that the first two studies (Bacquet's and Reszkiewicz's) are dealing with nominative vs second case (i.e. predicate) only, that is, subject + verb. Nothing is said about the order when there are two nominal items in the sentence. In other words, the order of subject and object in relation to verb is completely absent from the discussion. Secondly, we have been asked to take for granted the facts stated about the order of subject and predicate. Nothing is said about the communicative intent of the writers, and there was a total disregard of the context in which the sentences occurred.

McCawley's hypothesis about modern English suffers from the same defects mentioned above on the one hand and from the weakness of the syntactic evidence (stated in Berman 1974 as summarized above) on the other.

2.5 Previous Work Done on Arabic Word Order

We now turn to discuss some studies which have been done on word order in Arabic viz. Snow, J. (1965), Anshen & Schreiber (1968), Russel, R. (1977), Bakir, M. (1979) and El-Rakhawi, T. (1982).

2.5.1 Snow, J. (1965)

Snow treats Arabic as a SVO order language. He supports his claim by maintaining that an order of 'subject + predicate' will make the statement of concord simpler on the one hand and the overall grammatical statement simpler on the other.

In order to verify Snow's claims, we need to compare the word order which he suggested with other orders and then draw a conclusion (or conclusions) in support of or against his hypothesis.

Before we move on to discuss his first claim, we would like to mention some facts about verbs in Arabic which, we think, are helpful for this discussion.

In Arabic verbs, generally, agree with their subjects in gender, number and person if their subjects are to the left of the verb, that is, if the order is SVO, whereas no agreement is necessary within a VSO order.

It becomes clear, then, that the statement of concord is more complicated within a SVO order, contrary to Snow's first claim.

As for the second claim that the overall grammatical statement is simpler within a SVO order, we take Bakir's (1979) hypothesis and compare it with Snow's one and attempt to find out which of the two is simpler than the other. According to Bakir (1979) the phrase structure rule is:

$$S \rightarrow V - NP - (NP) - (PP)$$

Snow's rule is:

$$S \rightarrow NP - VP - (PP)$$

We notice that the VP constituent is available in Snow's rule and absent from Bakir's rule. In such case one of these two rules must suffer some weakness, anyway. If Arabic proves to have a VP constituent, the rule which lacks it (Bakir's) will suffer. If it proves not to have a VP constituent, the rule which has it (Snow's) will, then, suffer.

The constituency of a constituent can be tested by its deletability i.e. if the verb and its complement can delete, then, they constitute one constituent, if not, they will not be considered a constituent. A second test for the constituency of a constituent is its movement as a whole. Thirdly, whether a constituent can be replaced by a proform or not. If it can be replaced by a proform, then, it is a constituent, if not, then it is not a constituent. The last test for constituency is interruptability. If a form resists interruptability, then it is a constituent, if it does not, then it is not a constituent. These features about the verb and its complement provide evidence that the VP in English constitutes one constituent. That is, the verb and its complement in English can be moved to the beginning of the sentence, they can be substituted by a pro-form, they can delete and resist interruptability (cf. Bakir 1979).

When applying these tests to Arabic, Saib (1971) asserts that the verb and its complement, in Arabic, do not form a constituent. He states that whereas English allows the deletion of a VP or a verb, Arabic deletes a verb only. He also shows that while English allows the movement of a verb and its complement to the beginning of the sentence, Arabic allows the movement of the object or the complement only. (cf Bakir, 1979). Concerning the interruptability test we notice that Arabic has VSO as a very common word order in which the subject intervenes between the verb and the object. If the verb and its object were one constituent, they would resist interruptability.

From the above discussion, we arrive at the conclusion that it is more difficult to observe the existence of a VP in an underlying structure in Arabic than to observe its non-existence. This, undoubtedly, leads to the upshot that if there is inadequacy, then, it

lies within Snow's rule; that is, the claim that Arabic has a SVO as a basic order suffers from inadequacy.

2.5.2 Anshen & Schreiber (1968)

In their paper, Anshen and Schreiber claim that Arabic is basically a VOS language. They suggest that a VSO surface word order can be obtained by moving the subject to the left of the object and into a position between the verb and the object.

Nominal sentences, they claim, can be derived by applying what they call focus transformational rule (T-Focus) which they state as follows:

T-Focus:

$$X - NP - Y \rightarrow NP' - X - NP - Y$$

where $NP' = NP$, $NP\#$ (is not) first member of a construct phrase.

This rule can reproduce any noun phrase at the beginning of the sentence if it is not the first member of the construct phrase. Once the T-Focus is put into effect a pronominalization transformational rule becomes obligatory if the reproduced noun phrase is not the subject of the sentence. If the moved NP is the subject, then, the pronominalization transformational rule will cease to operate. They give the following example which we reproduce as example No. (4).

EX(4) *zaara rrajulu lbinta*
 visited the man the girl
 (The man visited the girl)

T-Focus \rightarrow *?albintu zaara lbinta rrajulu*

T-Pro \rightarrow *?albintu zaaraha rrjulu*

(the focused NP (*lbintu*) is object.)

If on the other hand the focused NP is the subject of the sentence as

in: *rrajulu zaara lbinta*
 The man visited the girl
 (The man visited the girl)

then no pronominalization transformation will take place. But as El-Rakhawi (1982) notices, Anshen & Schreiber in this example allow the T-Focus to apply to the subject of the sentence (*zaara rrajulu lbinta*) in order to get the sentence (*rrajulu zaara lbinta*) in which the 'subject pronoun' is cliticized to the verb '*zaara*' as a form of agreement. El-Rakhawi goes on to suggest that the difference between the two NPs reproduced at the beginning of the sentences above is that the NP *?albintu* in "*?albintu zaaraha arrajulu*" has non-subject role whereas the noun phrase *rrajulu* in the sentence '*rrajulu zaara lbinta*' has subject role.

It is clear from the above discussion that Anshen & Schreiber (1968) do not put any constraint on the type of NP to be reproduced at the initial position of the sentence whereas Arabic does not allow indefinite nouns at the beginning of sentences.

Another rule of Arabic which is not accounted for by Anshen & Schreiber is the one concerning verb inflection, when discussing permutation of subject NPs to sentence initial position they claimed that the agreement between the permuted NP and the verb is the result of the pronoun created by the pronoun transformational rule (T-Pro rule) and cliticized to the verb. However, it is known that verbs in Arabic inflect for number, person and gender agreement whenever the subject is either unexpressed or expressed as a theme (topic).

Moreover, the order chosen by Anshen & Schreiber (1968) as the basic one in Arabic is very rare and it places some restrictions on its context of use. We take the following example for convenience:

EX(5):

Answer:- ?*istaraa* *kitaaban* *muHammadun*

bought book Muhammad

(Muhammad bought at book)

Question:- ?a?*istaraa* *MuHammadun* *saa9atan?*

bought Muhammad a watch?

(Did Muhammad buy a watch?)

If we cast a look at both the question and the answer we will realize that the word "*Kitaaban*" (= book) in the answer, is the new element supplied by the addressee when asked whether Muhammad bought a watch or, implicitly, something else. Thus "*Kitaaban*" is the focused (new) element and it carries the contrastive message in the sentence.

We now move on to discuss Russel's treatment of Arabic word order.

2.5.3 Russel, R (1977)

Russel treats Arabic as a VSO order language. He claims that SVO order occurs alongside it, and that OVS, VOS, OSV and SOV orders may be found to occur.

However, the study concentrates on the first two orders (VSO & SVO) and does not go further with the rest of the theoretically possible orders. He suggests that both thematic and contrastive subject NPs are mainly signalled by the use of SVO-order. Thematic objects (i.e. those occupying sentence-initial position) on the other hand differ from thematic subjects (those that take sentence-initial position) in that a

thematized object leaves behind a pronominal copy of itself cliticized to the verb on the surface structure of the predicate from which it was extracted, whereas a thematized subject does not.

Russel suggests that by taking VSO to be the basic order in Arabic, both sentences, SVO & OVS, in which subject and object occupy initial positions (i.e. thematized), can be derived by the same rule.

He gives the following example, in support of his claim, which we reproduce as Ex. No. (6).

EX(6)

Daraba lwaladu Ikalba. (deep structure)

hit the boy the dog

(The boy hit the dog)

→ ?al waladu; *Daraba lwaladu Ikalba.* (thematization)

→ ?al waladu; *Daraba huwa Ikalba* (pronominalization)

→ ?al waladu; *Daraba Ø l kalba* (pronoun drop)

= ?al waladu *Daraba Ikalba* (surface structure)

If we want to thematize the object of the same example, we follow these steps according to Russel:-

Daraba lwaladu Ikalba. (deep structure)

→ ?alkalbu *Daraba lwaladu Ikalba* (thematization)

→ ?alkalbu *Daraba lwaladu huwa* (pronominalization)

→ ?alkalbu *Darabahu lwaladu Ø* (cliticization)

= ?alkalbu *Darabahu lwaladu* (surface structure)

To account for the same facts under SVO hypothesis, Russel claims, we need the following more rules:-

a) A rule which moves the subject NPS into post verbal position.

- b) A rule which inserts (optionally) after the verb a pronominal copy of the subject NP.
- c) A rule which moves (obligatorily) the second person subject pronoun of an imperative into post-verbal position when emphatic.

By adopting VOS as an underlying order as attempted by Anshen & Schreiber (1968), Russel claims, we would treat subject NPS and object NPS as a single rule in Arabic, whereas the above example shows that they are not. Russel goes on to suggest that this hypothesis (VOS) needs an extra rule to move the subject NP leftward around the object into the immediately post-verbal position of normal surface order unless the selected NP is an afterthought or a heavy NP. or unless the object is pronominalized.

Russel then concludes by positing VSO as an underlying word order for Arabic. He suggests that by positing VSO as the basic order it is possible to account for the facts of Arabic on the one hand and for the facts concerning thematic and contrastive NPS in Arabic on the other, without resorting to rules outside the grammar of Arabic.

2.5.4 Bakir, M. (1979)

As we mentioned earlier in this chapter, Bakir's study (1979) deals with classical Arabic and treats it as a VSO-order language. His analysis goes as follows: Since both orders VSO and SVO are shown on the surface, a reordering transformation may be devised to account for this variation in order. A VSO-hypothesis would need a rule to move both subject and object from post-verbal position to pre-verbal position (left of the verb) so that we obtain an SVO order on the surface. On the other hand the SVO-hypothesis will need a transformation that moves the subject to the right of the verb so that we can get a VSO-order on

the surface. Thus if both hypotheses need a reordering transformation then there is no reason, as he claims, for preferring the SVO-order to the VSO-order. Then he goes on to suggest that the rule of reordering within a VSO-hypothesis, accounts for the movement of both subject and object to a pre-verbal position as part of the process of pre-verbal preposing of focused constituents.

Another argument mentioned by Bakir in favour of the VSO-hypothesis, is the accounts each order provides for other possible orders. He takes the OVS-order as an example to explain his argument as follows:-

Within the hypothesis of a SVO-order, OVS can be derived by means of two transformations. One to move the subject to the right of the verb and the other one to move the object to the initial position of the sentence. Within a VSO-hypothesis only one rule that preposes both subject and object to the beginning of the sentence is needed.

Other extralinguistic evidences given by Bakir in the VSO hypothesis are the following:

1. "VSO is the only order that appears in discourse initial sentences. A look at the beginning of any textbook written in Arabic would verify this." (Bakir, 1979:8)
2. VSO-order is the one with greatest syntactic distribution.
3. In ambiguous cases, VSO is the only admissible order, e.g. when subject NPs and object NPs do not show case marking, the order of the subject and the object is always SO (= subject + object) and not OS (object + subject). He gives the following example which we reproduce as EX(7)

EX(7)

raʔaa muSTafa 9i:sa (p.9)

saw muSTafa Isa

(MuSTafa saw Isa)

In this example /*muSTafa* & *9i:sa*/ do not exhibit case marking, so that the first noun after the verb i.e. /*muSTafa*/ will be taken as the subject of the sentence whereas /*9i:sa*/ will always be the object.

As there are no statistics given in Bakir's study, evidence (1) and (2) above, remain to be verified later in our study. The most important point to be raised against Bakir's is that of topics recursion. Bakir (1979:169) states that "..... there is no restriction on the number of topics that a sentence has." It seems to me that in real communicative situations it would be very hard to find even one example similar to the one given by Bakir on page 169, viz.

muHammadun assayyaaratu ʔuxtuhu baa9aha laha

Muhammad (noun) the car(noun) sister(noun) his sold it to her

(Muhammad sold the car to his sister).

Straightforward alternative examples, I believe, would be as follows:-

EX(8)

a) *baa9a muHammadun assayyaarata Liʔuxtihi*

sold muhammad the car to sister-his

(Muhammad sold the car to his sister).

b) *muHammadun baa9a assayyaarata Liʔuxtihi*

Muhammad sold the car to sister his

(Muhammad sold the car to his sister).

- c) *as sayyaaratu baa9aha muHammadun li?uxtihi*
 the car sold it muhammad to sister-his
 (Muhammad sold the car to his sister).

2.5.5 El Rakhawi, T. (1982)

The last study which we would like to comment on is El-Rakhawi (1982). Although her/his study (Aspects of Sentential Negation in Arabic) is not directly addressed to the problems of word order, there is still a considerable discussion of word order in it - particularly the issue of basicness of word order in Arabic.

She/he attempts to arrive at a decision as to which of the two sentence-types is basic, the verbal sentence or the nominal one. She/he intends to use the outcome of this discussion in order to establish the phrase structure rules of Arabic sentences.

El-Rakhawi attempts to determine the basic word order in Arabic by invoking Li & Thompson (1976) classification of languages into four categories: subject-prominent (SP) languages, topic-prominent (TP) languages, neither subject nor topic prominent languages and languages which are both subject-prominent and topic-prominent.

Li & Thompson mention eight criteria according to which languages can be classified as belonging to one of the four categories mentioned above. These are:-

1. Surface Coding

This refers to overt syntactic or morphological marking. Li & Thompson (ibid) suggest that surface coding is mainly a characteristic of topic-prominent languages, e.g. in Mandarin the topic is coded by initial syntactic position, and in Lisu and Lahu languages, it is coded by morphological markers. In Japanese and Korean languages which are

both TP & SP languages as Li & Thompson suggest, there are distinct markers for subject and topic.

El-Rakhawi then, applies this criterion (surface coding) to Arabic and concludes that there is surface coding for both subject and topic; the topic is coded by initial position and the subject by verb-subject agreement.

2. Passive Construction

Li & Thompson suggest that the passive construction is a common feature of subject prominent languages, whereas it may not appear in topic-prominent languages.

El-Rakhawi argues that when passivization takes place in Arabic, the subject is deleted, the direct object takes the subject's place, and the morphology of the verb takes a distinctive passive shape (the Arabic Passive will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6).

El Rakhawi gives the following example which we reproduce as EX(9)
EX(9)

- a) *?akala 9aliyyun attuffaaHata* (Active)
 ate Ali the apple
 (Ali ate the apple)
- b) *?ukilati ttuffaaHatu* (Passive)
 eaten the apple
 (The apple was eaten)

El-Rakhawi then suggests that passivization of topic prominent sentences in Arabic results in anomalous sentences. We reproduce his examples as EX (10).

EX(10)

- a) ?albintu daxala ?axu:ha lmatHafa. (Active)
 the girl entered brother-her the museum
 (The girl, her brother entered the museum)
- b) *duxila lmatHafu ?axu:ha (Passive)
 *(The museum was entered her brother)
- c) *?albintu duxila lmatHafu
 the girl was entered the museum
 (The girl, the museum was entered)

(EX(9) & (10) are quoted in El-Rakhawi 1982, pp 58-9)

El-Rakhawi, then, concludes by suggesting that both verbal and nominal sentences in Arabic comply with Li & Thompson's criterion for TP & SP languages viz, that topics can not be involved in the passivization process in Arabic, whereas verb-initial sentences allow passivization. Arabic can thus, he argues, be categorized as both TP & SP language.

3. Dummy Subjects

The presence of dummy subjects is also a feature of Sp-languages. Subjects in these languages are required whether or not they have a semantic role in the sentence. In TP-languages, dummy subjects do not exist, because the position of subjects in such languages is not so important to be occupied by a lexical item. (cf. Li & Thompson, 1976).

El-Rakhawi suggests that this criterion applies to Arabic. He gives the following example, which we reproduce as Ex(11), in support of his suggestion.

EX(11)

hunaaka turaabun 9ala lmaktabi.
 there (is) dust on the desk

(There is dust on the desk)

(El-Rakhawi, 1982, 60)

He argues that the word /*hunaaka*/ (= there) has no semantic role in the sentence but its presence is important. In topic-initial sentences, on the other hand, there is no occurrence of dummy subject in Arabic. The corresponding Arabic sentence for the English example 'It is cold' is /*?al Jawwu baaridun*/ (= The weather is cold).

El-Rakhawi, then, suggests, according to this criterion, that Arabic can be classified as both SP-language and TP-language.

4) Double Subject Construction

Li & Thompson (ibid) suggest that 'double subject construction' is a characteristic of TP-languages, whereas SP-languages do not allow it at all.

El-Rakhawi (1976) applies this criterion to Arabic and concludes that Arabic is a typical example of TP language. He supports his argument by giving the following example which we reproduce as Ex.no. (12)

EX(12)

a) *?aTabi:bu zawJatuhu Saniyyatun*

the doctor wife his rich

(The doctor, his wife is rich)

b) *?aHmadu waaliduhu tuwiffiya*

Ahmed father his died

(Ahmed, his father died)

(El-Rakhawi 1982, 61)

5) Controlling Co-reference

Li & Thompson (op.cit) argue that this criterion is a characteristic of TP languages. They support their claim by the following example from Mandarin

Neike su yezi da, suoyi wo bu xihuan.

that tree leaves big, so I not like

(That tree (topic), the leaves are big, so I don't like it)

(quoted in El-Rakhawi 1982, 61).

We notice from the translation, that the deleted pronoun 'it' refers to the topic, that tree, and not to the subject 'the leaves'.

El-Rakhawi contends that when a coreferential pronoun is used in Arabic, it can refer to either the subject or the topic depending on the context of use. He adduces the following example in support of his argument.

EX(13)

haa5a rraJulu 8ulaamuhu mari:Dun wa?ana ?arθi: lahu.

this man boy - his ill and I pity to him

(This man, his boy is ill, and I feel sorry for him)

(El-Rakhawi 1982, 62)

6. Li & Thompson argue that in TP languages, the verb tend to be final whereas in SP-languages it is not necessarily the case. When applying this criterion to Arabic, El-Rakhawi finds out that in topic-initial sentences, the verb cannot be final; it must always precede any object, direct or indirect. On the other hand, in verbal sentences the verb must, always, occupy initial position. He supports his argument by the following examples which we reproduce as Ex. no. (14).

EX(14)

a) *yal9abu lwaladu nnarda.*

play(masc sg) the boy the backgammon

(The boy is playing backgammon)

- b) ʔalbintu taJri: fi lHadi:qati.
 the girl runs in the garden
 (The girl is running in the garden)

(ibid p.62)

The verb /yal9abu/ (= is playing) is sentence-initial in a) whereas /taJri:/ (= is running) is second in sentence b). This leads El-Rakhawi not to consider Arabic as a pure TP-language.

7. Constraints on the Topic

Li & Thompson suggest that this criterion is a feature of SP-languages which permit topicalization. They verify this constraint by adducing the following examples from Indonesian:

EX(15)

- a) ibu anak itu membeli sepatu.
 mother child that buy shoe
 (That child's mother bought shoes).
- b) ibu anak itu, dia membeli sepatu
 mother child that she buy shoe
 (That child's mother, she bought shoes)
- c) anak itu, ibu - nia membeli sepatu.
 child that mother - his buy shoe
 (That child, his mother bought shoes)

(quoted in El-Rakhawi, 1982, 63)

In sentence a) the subject is underlined, in b) the whole subject (underlined) is thematized (topicalized), whereas in c) it is only the genitive of the subject /anak itu/ which is fronted to function as the topic of the sentence.

Li & Thompson then suggest that any attempt to topicalize the object will result in an ungrammatical sentence, e.g.

EX(16)

*sepatu itu, ibu anak itu membeli
shoe that mother child that buy

(quoted in El-Rakhawi, 1982, 64)

In TP-languages topics are not constrained in any way.

El-Rakhawi, then, suggests that topic in Arabic can be one of the following three kinds:

- a) Topic with subject role in the remainder of the sentence, e.g.
/?alwaladu yašrabu l~~x~~amra/ (= The boy drinks alcohol)
- b) Topic with non-subject role with a possessive relation to a second topic e.g. /?alwaladu ?abu:hu maata/ (= The boy's father died).
- c) Topic with non-subject role without a possessive relation to a second topic e.g. /?alwaladu lbintu tuHibbuhu/ (= The boy, the girl loves him. = The girl loves the boy). (ibid. p.64)

From the above examples, El-Rakhawi deduces that Arabic does not put any constraints on the constituent which may act as topic, and consequently Arabic cannot be classified as a pure SP-language.

8. Topic-Comment Sentences

This is the last test used by Li & Thompson (1976) for categorizing languages. They contend that if topic-comment type of sentence is more basic in a language, then this implies that it is a TP-language. If, on the other hand, topic-comment type of sentence is non-basic in a language, then it is a SP-language.

Li & Thompson borrowed the term 'basic' from Keenan (1976, 307) who defines it as:

- a) "a syntactic structure X is semantically more basic than a syntactic structure Y if, and only if, the meaning of Y depends on that of X . That is, to understand the meaning of Y , it is necessary to understand the meaning of X .
- b) a sentence in L is a basic sentence (in L) if, and only if, no (other) complete sentence in L is more basic than it".

(quoted in El-Rakhawi 1982, 65).

El-Rakhawi disagrees with this definition and argues that: "if the basic sentence in a language is the simplest, then topic-comment sentences in TP-languages cannot be considered basic, since they are syntactically more complex in their sentence structure". (ibid. p.65)

He then takes frequency of occurrence (following Pullum, 1977) to be the criterion for determining the basic sentence in a language. He contends that this approach would justify the claim that topic-comment type of sentence in any TP-language, is the most basic sentence structure as it is clearly the most frequently used.

Then El-Rakhawi attempts to apply the frequency criterion to Arabic and finally concludes that both types of sentence in Arabic (verbal and nominal), "can occur freely and neither of them should be considered more basic as they are both used in Arabic with apparently equal frequency".¹² (ibid, p.66)

Footnote 12 reads "Although we have not made any test counts in support of this assertion, it seems intuitively correct". (ibid, p.70).

He concludes by classifying Arabic as both a TP & SP-language. We disagree with El-Rakhawi on his claim that verbal and nominal sentences in Arabic are used with equal frequency, for two reasons. First, frequency should be related to linguistic performance rather than linguistic competence, and can only be determined statistically. To

depend on intuition in determining the frequency of two competing word orders (as El-Rakhawi has done) is inadequate, to say the least. Second, it has been confirmed that the overwhelming majority of the world's languages have several word orders but a single dominant one. (cf Greenberg, 1963, 1966). Thus, to claim that two word order types within the same language are used with equal frequencies, without giving any statistical evidence, simply does not make sense.

2.4.6 Evaluation

McCawley (1970), Snow (1965), Anshen & Schreiber (1968), Russel (1977), Bakir (1979, and El-Rakhawi (1982), were mainly concerned with the issue of basicness of word order in English in case of the first one, and in Arabic in the rest.

All the examples which have been discussed in these studies were particularly improvised in order to be used in explaining some grammatical rules. We have neither been told about the contexts in which these examples were used, nor about the sources from which they were taken.

In fact what we have been exposed to in these studies were some rules of syntax, stylistic transformations and the like without any mention of the reasons for their use or the functions they convey.

Despite the important role which these purely syntactic descriptions play, and the well appreciated efforts which have been exerted to explain them, we still think that the total neglect, by the authors of these studies, of the role of human language as a tool of communication, renders them inadequate.

CHAPTER THREE

Survey of the Literature

3.1 FSP

We have mentioned in the previous chapter that Weil, H. (1884, 1887) has detected the impact of the interrelations of thoughts on the arrangement of constituents within sentences. His investigations were then taken up by some Czech linguists of the Prague School (e.g. Mathesius, V., Firbas, J., Daneš, F. ... etc) under the principle of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP). According to this principle it is suggested that sentence constituents can function to arrange the knowledge they activate into a perspective of importance or newness. That in many languages constituents conveying new or unexpected material are normally placed towards the end of the sentence.

FSP is expressed by word order as follows: the speaker/writer decides the content of what he/she wants to talk about, how it is to be organized and how much he/she thinks his/her hearer/reader can take in at one time. He/she makes his/her decision in the light of what he/she thinks the hearer/reader already knows. Then finally he/she arranges his/her message starting with the element that carries the known information and proceeding towards the ones that carry the unknown (=new) information. This suggests that the term FSP is derived from the assumption that sentences-in-text not only need to convey information but have to convey it in the perspective of the surrounding sentences, and in conformity with the information which has, previously, been presented in the text or is inferrable from the context.

The following notions have always been discussed in connection with FSP.

- 1) Known (given) information vs New information.
- 2) Theme (T) vs Rheme (R).
- 3) Communicative Dynamism (CD).

The first two notions were introduced by Mathesius, V. (1939) as follows: He defines "the starting point of the utterance (vychodiško)" as "that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation and from which the speaker proceeds". Whereas the core of the utterance (jádro) is "what the speaker states about, or in regard to, the starting point of the utterance". Again he (Mathesius, V. 1942) defines "the foundations (or the theme) of the utterance (Základ, téma)" as something "that is being spoken about in the sentence", and the core (jádro) as "what the speaker says about the theme". (quoted in Danes, 1974, 106).

The first aspect of FSP i.e. "given vs new" is contextual whereas the second one (theme-rheme) is thematic. We take the three aspects mentioned above one by one.

3.1.1 Given vs New

Given, or Known, information is that piece of information which is derivable from the context, situation, and the shared knowledge between the speaker/writer and the hearer/reader. The addressor believes that it is known to the addressee because it is either physically present in the context or because it has already been mentioned in the discourse. Clark & Clark (1977) define given information as presupposed information, (Chafe (1976) suggests that it should be in the foreground of the interlocutors' consciousness. Prince (1981) contends that it has

to be previously evoked or retrievable from the context of utterance or inferentially related to some evoked entity.

Halliday (1967) argues that the first two aspects of FSP i.e. "given-new" and "theme-rheme" must be explained by reference to text. He suggests that any discourse is organized as a linear succession of information units each of them may be more or less than a clause. Distribution of information units represents the speaker's arrangement of the discourse into message blocks. Each information unit has one or two points of prominence which reflect the speaker's choice of information focus. The information focus is normally realized by tonic value (=primary stress) given to a certain syllable. Each information unit has its own internal structure and it is this structure that imposes on the discourse a recurrent pattern in terms of 'given' and 'new' information. These two aspects (i.e. given & new) reflect the speaker's conception of the relation of what is being said to the preceding discourse.

Halliday (ibid) maintains that given information tends to be realized by elements with anaphoric reference: substitution, ellipsis, proforms, etc.

EX(17) a) i) Is John going to see the play?

ii) I think he's already done so.

b) i) Does John rent this house?

ii) No he's bought it.

c) i) Has anyone seen the play?

ii) I think John has done.

(Halliday 1967, 206)

In Ex a) (ii) the pronoun 'he' refers anaphorically to 'John' which has been previously mentioned in a) (i). The same statement holds true for 'he' and 'John' in Ex. b) and therefore 'he' conveys 'given'

information in both cases. 'It' in Ex. b) (ii) also refers anaphorically to the word 'house' in Ex. b) (ii) and hence it is given. In Ex. b) i) the use of the demonstrative 'this' for situational reference represents recoverable and consequently given information. In Ex. c) (ii) 'do' is used as a substitute for 'seen the play' which has been previously mentioned in Ex. c) (i) and it is, therefore, 'given'.

Ellipsis as a conveyer of given information can be explained by the following example taken from Dickens (1947, 55) and quoted in Halliday (1976, 67).

EX(18)

"He's always asleep. Goes on errands fast asleep ...I'm proud of that boy - wouldn't part with him on any account".

In this example the subject 'he' is deleted from the second sentence "he goes ... etc" and similarly the subject 'I' is deleted from the last sentence "I wouldn't ... etc". In both cases ellipsis is anaphoric i.e. the complete structure precedes the elliptical one. In this example and indeed in all types of elliptical sentences, the omitted element(s) is/are taken for granted and is/are, thus, 'given'. (cf Halliday, 1976).

Halliday (1967, 204) defines 'new' information as new "not in the sense that it cannot have been previously mentioned, although it is often the case that it has not been, but in the sense that the speaker presents it as not being recoverable from the preceding discourse" so, the property of being new has two characteristics: (1) brand new information and (2) known information but presented in a way that makes it look irrecoverable from the preceding discourse.

The first characteristic is straightforward and will be exemplified shortly. The second one is explained in Daneš (1974, 111) by the following example:

EX(19)

(1) Most of the historical geology has to do with sedimentary rocks and their contained organic remains. (2) This is accounted for by the fact that events in earth history are recorded mainly in terms of differing kinds of sedimentation".

In this example the word 'sedimentation' in sentence No. 2. is fully recoverable (=known) from the previous sentence (sedimentary rocks) but it still constitutes part of the new information of the sentence. What is new according to Danes is both the new collocation, i.e. the connection of 'sediment' with 'ation', and the function of the element sedimentation as part of the new information in the communicative structure of the sentence.

Clark (1973) has pointed out that whenever speakers and listeners get involved in talk they abide by what he calls "given-new contract". That is to say, the speaker has to mark syntactically as "given" what he thinks the listener already knows and as "new" what he thinks the listener does not know. The syntactic devices for marking given information are: definite articles, pseudo-cleft constructions and anaphoric pronouns. Those devices which mark 'new' information are cleft constructions and indefinite articles.

Chafe (1974) contends that given knowledge is assumed by the speaker to be present in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance. He argues (ibid and quoted in Charles Li 1976, 30) "a speaker who says: "I saw your father yesterday" is unlikely to assume that the addressee had no previous knowledge of his father, even though by the usual criteria "your father" would be considered new information. The point to be made here is that the addressee was not thinking of his father at the time of the utterance.

Given information, in the majority of languages, seems to be pronounced with low pitch and weak stress whereas 'new' information tends to be conveyed with high pitch and strong stress. Some languages, however, use special particles to convey their given-new distinction. Strictly speaking the Japanese language uses *wa* and *ga* to convey given and new information respectively (cf Charles Li, 1976).

Chafe (1974) argues that 'givenness' can be established on the basis of either linguistic or extralinguistic context. The most common linguistic basis for establishing givenness, he contends, is the prior mention of a referent. Extralinguistically, the speaker may believe that he and the addressee share the perception of an object in the environment (e.g. a car). If the speaker sees the addressee looking at the car he might say to him "My neighbour bought it yesterday" where the 'car' is treated as given and hence pronominalized as 'it' and pronounced with low pitch and weak stress.

Chafe (ibid) argues that the capacity of consciousness is limited; as new information comes into it, old information leaves. The speaker should stop treating an item as 'given' when he thinks that it has left the addressee's consciousness. This area is hypothetical and speakers are prone to make wrong estimations as to whether an item is still in the addressee's consciousness or not. Here, Halliday's (1967) notion of recoverability comes into play, i.e. though the addressee may have stopped thinking about the referent of an item, it may still be accessible in memory and retrievable in consciousness. The speaker/writer comes to believe that an item has left the addressee's consciousness if there are many intervening utterances/sentences between the first and the second mention of the item. Another variable which causes the speaker to believe that an item has left the addressee's

consciousness would be the effect of such discourse boundaries as a change of scene whereby a whole new set of items can be assumed to be entering the addressee's consciousness.

We believe that such a belief (i.e. that an item has left the addressee's consciousness) can also be caused by any shift in the text-typological focus, a term used by Hatim, B. (in Mongaham, edit. 1987, 104) for a different purpose, to mean "conflating pragmatic action and semiotic interaction within a communicative transaction". In simple terms, a shift of focus, say, from narrative to argumentative type within the same text may cause the writer to believe that the addressee's consciousness is receiving new set of incoming items and losing old (given) ones.

Kalmar and Agius (1980, 335) explain the notions 'given' & 'new' in the following fashion: "... every proposition in language consists of a link and an advance: the link anchoring the proposition to what has already been communicated (or is known anyway) and the advance representing new or least predictable information".

In the light of this explanation they discuss (ibid) the sentence "he was cross" taken from Firbas (1971, 136) as follows: he, the most contextually dependent element of the sentence and hence 'given', is the 'link' and 'was cross' is the advance with 'cross' being the focus of the advance.

It is to be remembered that "givenness" need not always be correlated with the grammatical subject, though. It will be shown later on that the subject can in fact carry 'new' information, (cf Ex 79, p.144).

Sanford and Garrod (1981) propose a view of 'givenness' which invokes the notion of 'scenario' which may be understood as a particular stereotypical configuration of past experience, e.g. a courtroom

scenario would be stored in memory with attendant typical characters and procedures. They suggest (ibid. p.114 and quoted in Brown & Yule 1983, 181) that "The scenario enables reference to individuals to be made in the first instance by a definite noun-phrase, because of prior mention, or because the speaker/writer decided so, but because of the status of the element referred to by the definite NP within the scenario. 'Teacher', 'students' and 'blackboard' would be part of a school scenario and consequently could be treated as given.

Let us consider the following example quoted in Brown & Yule (1983, 181):

EX(20)

- a) Mary got some picnic supplies out of the car.
- b) The beer was warm.

The noun-phrase 'the beer' in b) is treated as given because it is part of the scenario of "picnic supplies" which has been established in Ex.a).

We now move to discuss the second aspect of FSP.

3.1.2 Theme-Rheme

We have mentioned above that according to Mathesius (1942) the theme is what is spoken about in the sentence and the rheme is what the speaker has to mention in regard to the theme. In other words, in unmarked cases, the theme is the basis of communication i.e. the given information. The rheme, on the other hand, is the core of communication or the new information.

We have mentioned in the previous section that Halliday (1967) contends that the given-new distinction belongs to information structure. This means that when the speaker decides to assign these

values (i.e. given & new) to information units, he takes into account some textual factors e.g. preceding discourse. He distinguishes information structure from thematization whose point of origin is the clause, not the information unit. Thematization assigns to the clause a structure in terms of the functions 'theme' and 'rheme'. Halliday (ibid. p.212) defines theme as the first element in the clause when he says "Basically, the theme is what comes first in the clause". This may apply to English and perhaps other languages which have noun-initial (subject or object) basic word order. As for verb-initial order languages e.g. Arabic, they do not fit in with this definition as will be shown later in this study. It is enough for the moment to mention that unmarked theme in Arabic takes the second position after the verb. So, Halliday's definition of theme is by no means a language universal.

In unmarked cases 'theme' and 'given' associate with each other, i.e. they both convey known information, but the two are still independent of each other. Halliday (op.cit p.212) summarizes the difference between them as follows: "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'). The distinction between 'given' and 'theme' is invoked by the fact that the 'theme' does not always convey known information, as we are going to see later on. It is quite enough for the time being to stress that though these cases where the theme does not convey known information are in the minority, their very existence is still a good reason for the aforementioned "given-new" distinction.

So while information structure assigns given-new values to structural units with reference to the preceding discourse, Halliday (ibid, p.212) contends that thematization structures the clause. ... "in

a way that is independent of what has gone before". This means that the interpretation of theme-rheme, according to Halliday, is to be sought within the clause boundaries, only. It is our contention that this need not, always, be the case: let us consider the following example quoted in Siewierska (1984, 219).

EX(21)

a) Who hit Larry?

b) Sue hit him.

According to Halliday's (1967, 212) definition that "The theme is what is being talked about, the point of departure for the clause as a message". We notice that 'Larry' is what is being talked about, i.e. someone hit Larry and we would like to know who did that? In this sense him in Ex. (21) b) is 'theme', and this is in harmony with the first part of the definition. According to the second part of the definition however, Sue, [in Ex. (21) b)] is the 'theme', being the point of departure of the clause. The point to be made here is that what is being talked about and the point of departure of the clause need not necessarily coincide. And even when they coincide, i.e. when the theme comes first in the clause, this should not be taken as a language universal as we have mentioned above. Moreover, Halliday's claim that thematization has nothing to do with previous discourse or organization of text, is uncertain. In fact the reverse is true. As Daneš (1974) shows, the distribution of themes and the relation that holds among them in text reveals a well-defined patterning (this will be elaborated later on). He (ibid) argues that one would intuitively expect the progression of subject matter to be presented in regular and well-organized patterns.

What is to be concluded from this discussion is that: it is by no means evident which given element among the given entities represents what the clause is primarily about when it is taken in isolation.

Halliday (1967) argues that an unmarked theme differs from a marked theme in that the former is the clause initial element determined by the 'mood system' e.g. the subject in a declarative sentence, the modal verb, in a polar question and a WH-word in a non-polar interrogative. A marked theme, on the other hand, is a clause initial element which is not determined by the mood system, i.e. it is something other than a subject, a modal verb or WH-question words.

Another distinction, he goes on, is that an unmarked theme does not show any tendency to appear as a separate information unit, whereas a marked theme often does, e.g. "//These houses//my grandfather sold//" (Halliday 1967, 214). In this sentence the first information unit "these houses" consists of marked theme only.

While the Prague School linguists and some American linguists e.g. Li, F. (1971), Hinds (1974) and Hudson (1974) define 'theme' as the part of the sentence conveying 'old' information and 'rheme' as that part of the sentence conveying 'new' information. Another group of linguists e.g. Hockett (1958), Chomsky (1965), Chao (1968) & Halliday (1967,68), define 'theme' as the sentence initial element and the 'rheme' as the remainder of the sentence (though Halliday tries to define them both ways), (cf Siewierska, 1984). So, whereas 'given' and 'theme' are two distinct functions, as we have seen, 'new' and 'rheme' are identical. They ('i.e. new' or 'rheme') both mean the same thing viz, what the speaker says about or in regard to the theme.

It is noticeable that the terms theme and thematization are used in the literature more than the term 'rheme' though the latter represents

the core of the utterance/clause or the *raison d'être* for the message. This is because the 'theme' plays an important role from the point of view of text-organization. The theme being informatively insignificant will be employed as a relevant means of organizing the message.

3.1.2.1 Theme-Rheme and Text Organization

The connection of theme-rheme with the organization of text and text continuity was proposed by Daneš (1974) under the title "thematic progression". It briefly refers to the way in which utterance themes are chosen and ordered, their interrelations and hierarchy and the relationship that holds between them and the hyperthemes of the superior text-units (e.g. paragraph, chapter, ...etc), as well as the whole text and the situation. Daneš views thematic progression as the skeleton of the plot.

Daneš (ibid) argues that utterances can be divided into three:-

1) Simple utterance:

It consists of a simple sentence with a simple theme and rheme, e.g.
Wöhler (theme)/ heated some ammonium cyanate (rheme). Daneš (ibid p.114)

2) Composed utterances:

They result from the composition by which two or more simple utterances are combined in a single sentence frame. In case that the themes or the rhemes have the same meaning, they will be mentioned only once. In other words, they will form either a multiple theme or a multiple rheme, e.g.:

a) Utterance with a multiple theme:

The melting of solid ice and the formation from ice of liquid water exemplify physical changes.

b) Utterance with a multiple rheme:

It is further postulated that the activated amino acids are joined together ... and that the long chains are molded in a specific manner.

(Daneš, 1974, 117)

In both examples the conjunctive 'and' is used to join the two themes in a) and the two rhemes in b).

3) Condensed utterances:

These are based on fusion. If two utterances share a common FSP element, they may be fused into a single condensed utterance either by way of thematization or rhematization of one of the utterances. The two possibilities depend on the type of thematic interrelations obtaining between the two utterances.

a) If the theme of the second utterance is the same as the rheme of the first utterance both are possible:

i) The second theme will be deleted and the second rheme will be fused with the first rheme into a complex rheme. This process is known as rhematization of the second utterance.

Let us explain this process by the following diagram:

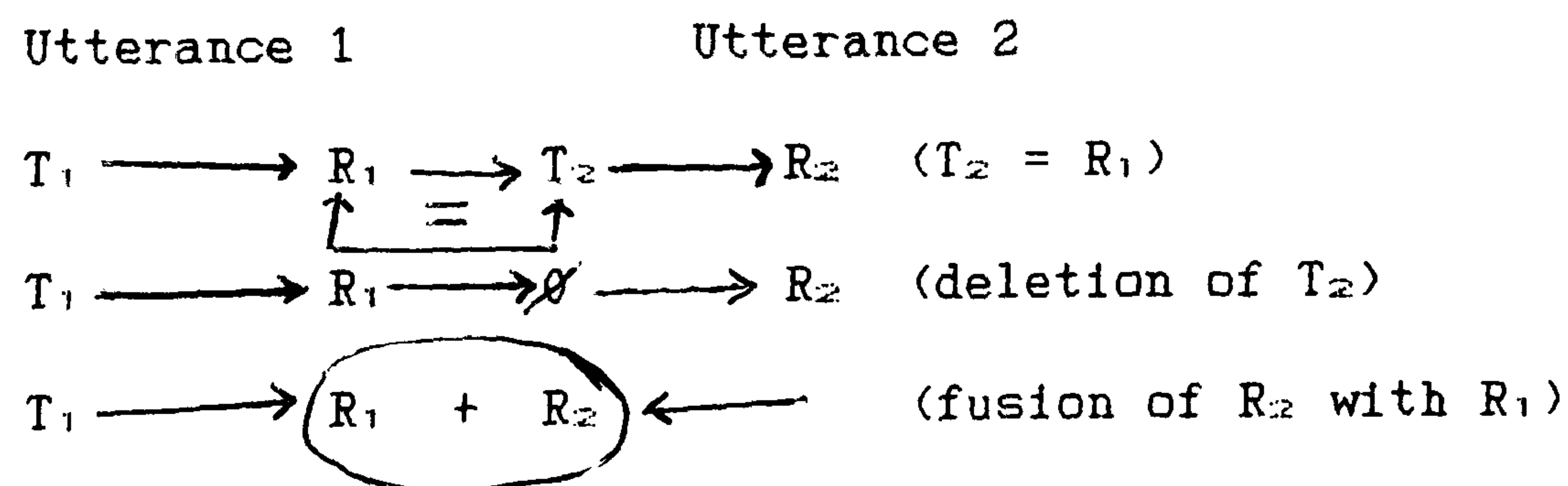


Fig (2).

We can now use the diagram to analyse the following example taken from Daneš (1974, 117)

EX(22)

"The amino acids are required for making proteins consisting of long chains of these units", as follows:

Utterance 1		Utterance 2	
T_1	R_1	T_2	R_2

The amino acids/are required These proteins/ consisting of
for making proteins. long chains of these units.

The next step is to delete T_2 and fuse R_2 into R_1 (as shown in Fig. 2.) to obtain the utterance quoted above (i.e. Ex 22).

ii) The theme and the rheme of the first utterance will be fused into a complex theme, the second theme will be deleted and the rheme of the second utterance will be linked with the Complex Theme (CT). This process is known as thematization of the first utterance and is shown by the following diagram:

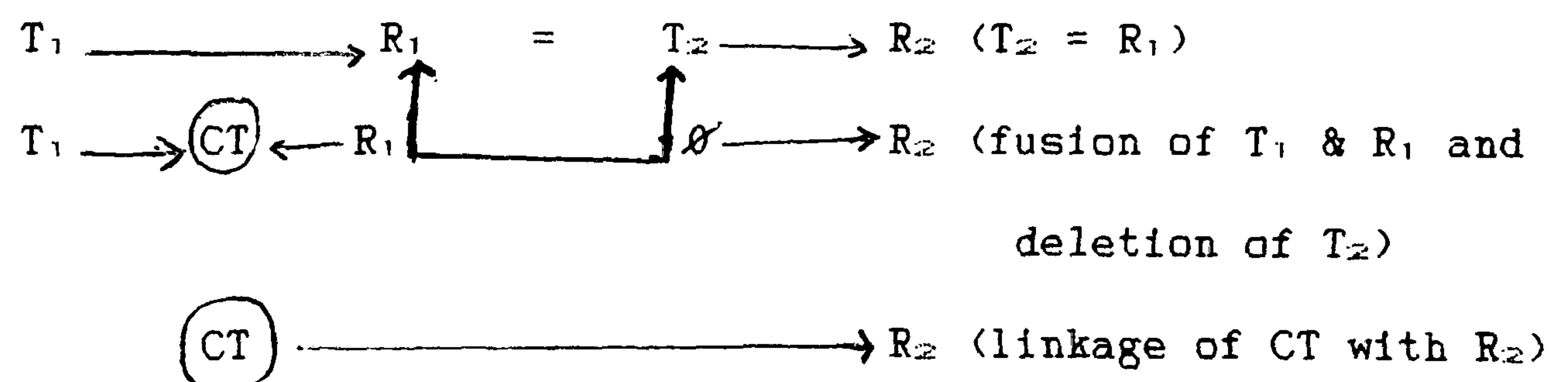


Fig. (3).

Now let us use this diagram to analyse the following example taken from Daneš (Op.cit. p.117)

EX(23)

"This dark coloured liquid known as crude petroleum or crude oil is obtained from wells of different depth", as follows:

Utterance 1



This dark coloured liquid/known
as crude petroleum or crude oil.

Utterance 2

T₂

Crude petroleum or crude oil/
R₂
is obtained from wells of
different depth.

The next step will be to fuse T₁ & R₁ into a complex theme and delete T₂ to obtain the utterance quoted above (i.e. Ex 23).

- b) If the theme of the second utterance is the same as the 'theme' of the first, then the second theme will be deleted and the 'rheme' of the first utterance will be fused with the 'theme' of the first utterance into a complex theme (i.e. the rheme of the first utterance will be thematized) and the rheme of the second utterance will function as it's 'rheme'.

This process can be shown diagrammatically as follows:-

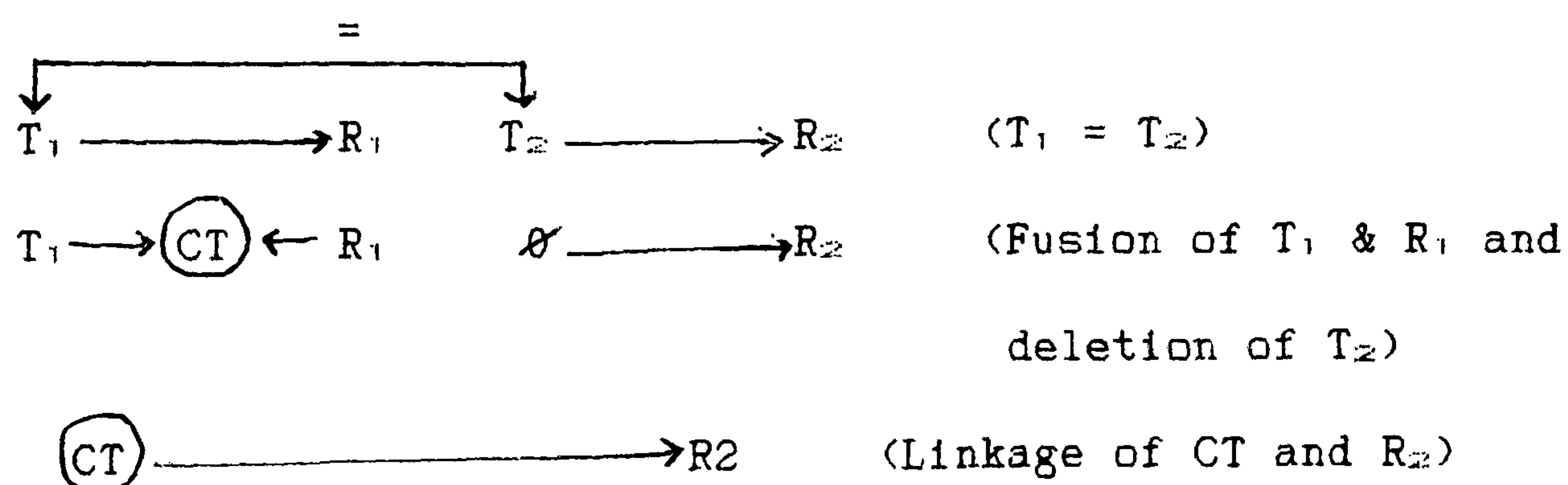


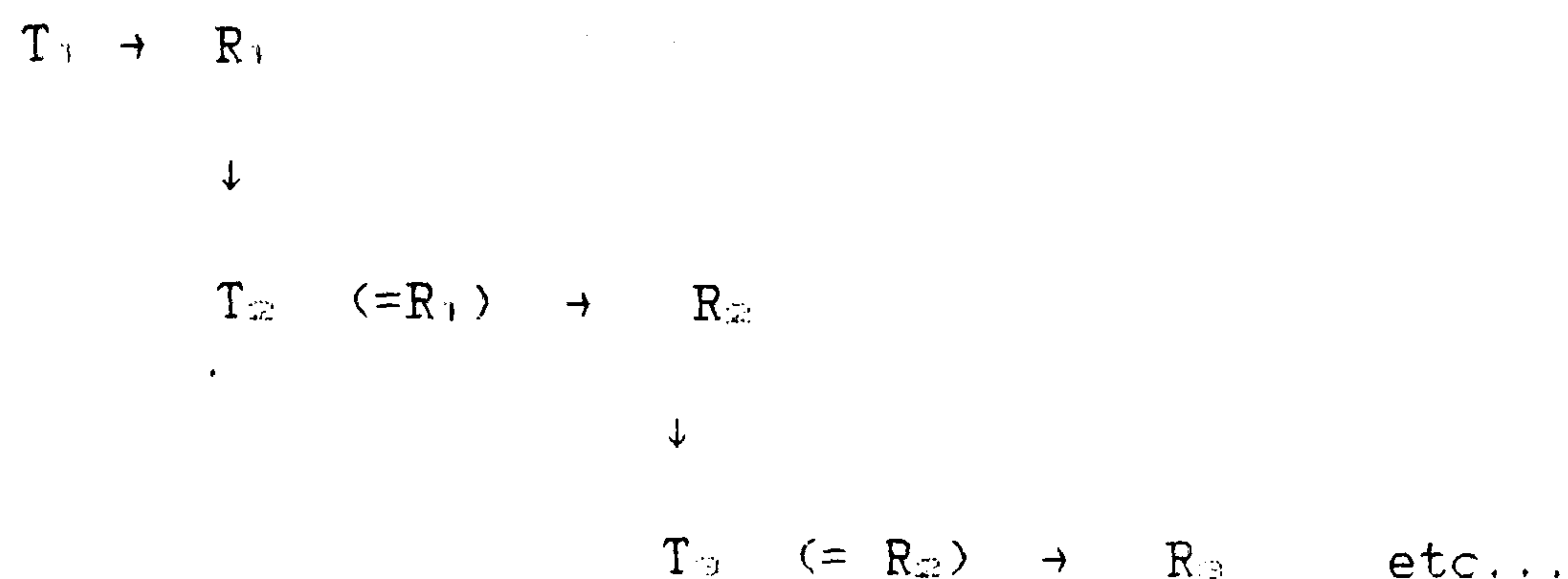
Fig. (4)

This diagram can be used to analyse the previous example (i.e. Ex.23) and yield the same result as long as the theme of the first utterance 'this dark coloured liquid' is the same as the theme of the second utterance 'crude petroleum or crude oil'.

3.1.2.2 Thematic Progression

Daneš (1974) argues that there are three main types of Thematic Progression, (TP).

1) Simple linear TP (or TP with linear thematization of rhemes)



In this TP each rheme becomes the theme of the following utterance,
e.g.

EX(24)

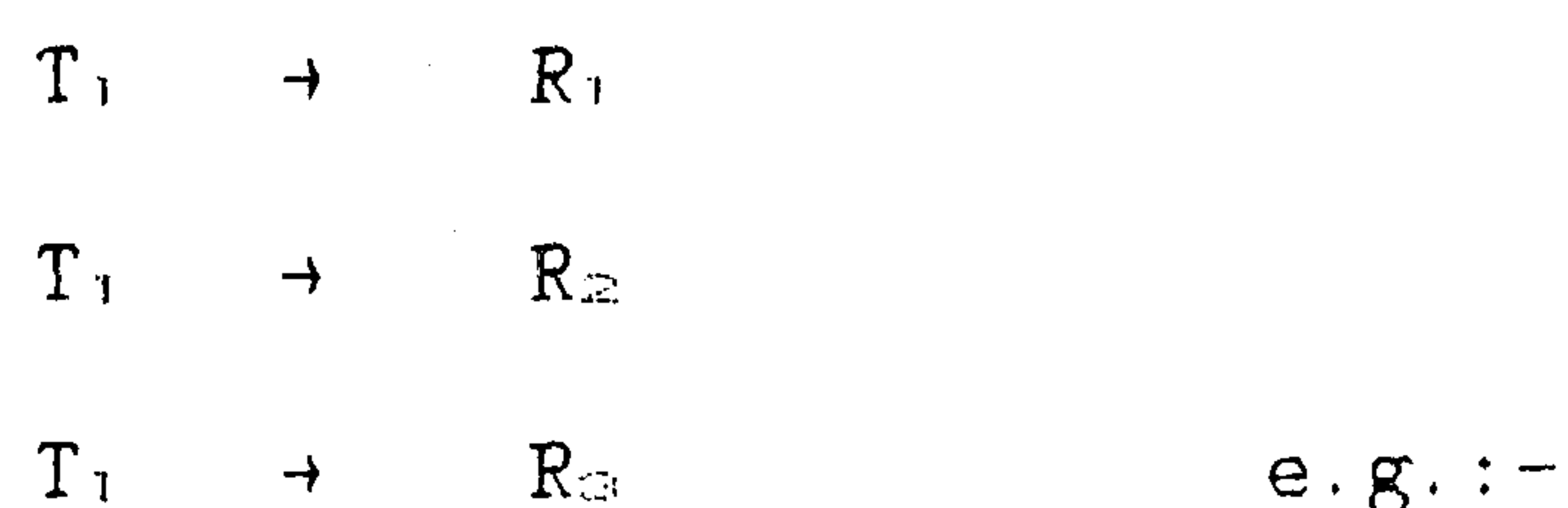
Cats eat rats

Rats live in holes

(From Newsham (1977) and quoted in Carl James (1980, 115)

The horizontal arrow \rightarrow indicates the T \rightarrow R nexus within an utterance whereas the vertical one \downarrow indicates the contextual connection of utterance.

2) TP with a continuous (constant) theme:



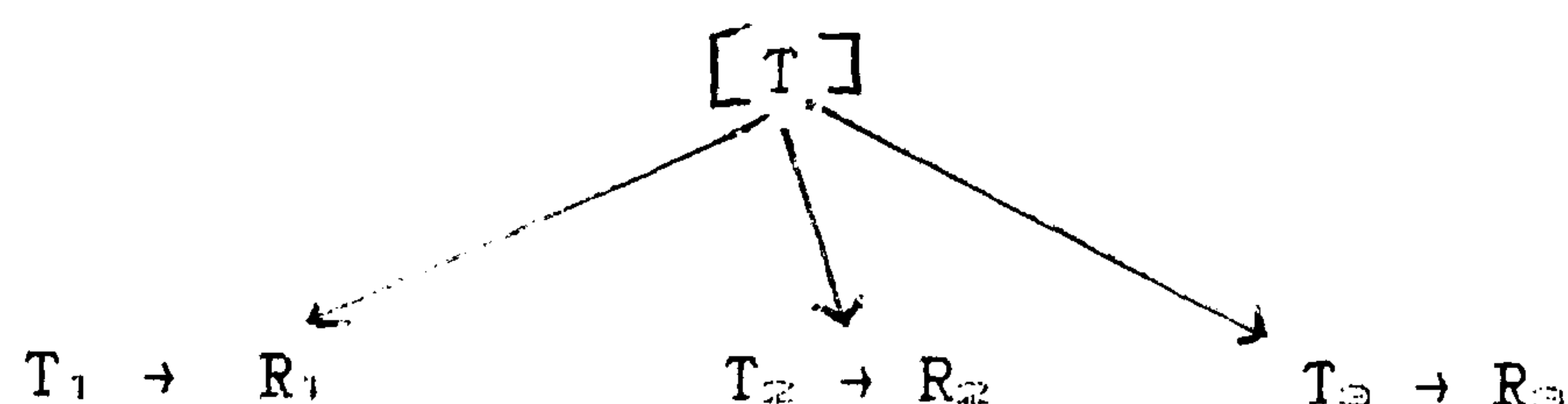
Ex(25)

"The Rousseauist especially feels an inner kinship with Prometheus and other Titans. He is fascinated by any form of insurgency. He must show an elementary energy in his explosion against the established order...."

(Daneš 1974, 119)

In this TP the same theme appears in a series of utterances (not necessary in fully identical wording) to which different rhemes are linked up.

3) TP with Derived Theme



In this TP the particular utterance themes are derived from "a hypertheme" (of a para. or other text section). The choice and sequence of the derived utterance themes will be controlled by various special "mostly extralinguistic" constraints on the presentation of subject matter, e.g.:-

EX(26)

New Jersey is flat along the coast and southern portion: the north western region is mountainous. The coastal climate is mild, but there is considerable cold in the mountain areas during the winter months. Summers are fairly hot. The leading industrial production includes chemicals, processed food, coal, petroleum, metal and electrical equipment. The most important cities are: Newark, Jersey City, Paterson, Trenton, Camden. Vacation districts include Asbury Park, Lakewood, Cape May and others. (Daneš, 1974, 120).

We notice that Daneš's types of thematic progression are purely semantic. However, we have not been told which linguistic environment or text-type is suitable for each thematic progression type. Neither have we been told about the extralinguistic factors that might have an influence on them.

3.1.2.3 Functions of Theme

The functions of theme can be summarized as:

a) Perspective function:

It consists in hierarchical gradation of thematic text components.

b) Prospective function:

In this function the theme serves as a point of departure for further development of the semantic progression and at the same time as a prospect or a plan of this development.

We now move to the third aspect of FSP:-

3.1.3. Communicative Dynamism (CD)

This aspect of FSP has been introduced by Firbas, J. (1971) who defines CD as:

"By CD I understand a quality displayed by communication in its development (unfolding) of the information to be conveyed and consisting in advancing this development. By the degree of CD carried by a sentence element, I understand the extent to which the sentence element contributes to the further development of the communication". (Firbas, J. 1979, 30).

From this definition we understand that:

a) CD is a quality of communication borne by the elements contributing to conveying a message.

b) Each element of the message carries certain degrees of CD according to the communicative function assigned to it by the speaker/writer.

In the light of what has been said in b) above, the theme, being less informative, will contribute least to the message. In other words, it will carry the lowest degrees of CD within the sentence in which it

occurs. The rheme, being the most informative part of the message, will carry the highest degree of CD within the sentence in which it occurs.

'Theme' can be further divided into: "theme proper" which refers to the element carrying the very lowest degree of CD within the thematic sphere in which it occurs, 'diatheme' refers to the element carrying the very highest degree of CD within the thematic sphere in which it occurs. 'Theme proper' and 'diatheme' can further be subdivided into 'theme proper oriented theme' and 'diatheme oriented theme' respectively. The former refers to an element which would be the 'theme proper' if there was not a stronger candidate for it and the latter refers to an element which would be 'diatheme' if there is no stronger candidate for it.

The rheme can be divided into 'rheme proper' that is, the element carrying the very highest degree of CD within the sentence in which it occurs, and the rest of the rhematic part of the sentence.

Another concept of the theory of FSP is 'transition'. In regard to the degree of CD carried "transition ranks above theme on the one hand, and below rheme on the other." Firbas (1965, 171). Transition can be divided into: "transition proper" which refers to the temporal and modal exponents of the verb, and "transition" which refers to the lexical part of the verb. In their function as 'transition proper', temporal and modal exponents of the verb (TME's) delimit the non-thematic sphere from the thematic one. Firbas (ibid) argues that TME's and verbs may not remain transitional in all situations. The verb may be part of the rheme or part of the theme as the following examples, respectively, show: "Mother protested, Maminka protestovala and Móther protested, Máminka protestovala" meaning "it was mother who protested". Firbas (ibid p.172). Thematized TME's, on the other hand, may be found when an answer repeats the information already known from the question, e.g. "At

what time was there a football match yesterday? There was a football match at half past three." Firbas (ibid p.174). In this example, the second 'was' is part of the repeated information and therefore thematic.

An example of a rhematized exponent is to be found in what Firbas (1979) calls "second instance sentences" where one element is singled out as a one-element rheme, and all the rest of the elements remain thematic, e.g. 'was' in "There was a football match yesterday". Firbas (1965, 175). In the same example, 'was' can appear thematic if the main stress lies on, say, 'football' i.e. if football occurs in heavy contrast.

Firbas (1959, 42) argues that "if not interfered with by other means, word order creates what we call the basic distribution of CD. This means that in distributing CD, the sentence positions as they follow each other from beginning to end, tend to run through the basic gamut, starting with theme proper, (i.e. the item with the least informational importance) and finishing with rheme proper, (i.e. the informationally most important item)".

What is to be understood from this is that unmarked word order (= not interfered with) provides the field within which the basic distribution of CD takes place, whereas marked word order deviates from the basic distribution of CD to produce what Firbas calls: "mirror image" which means "a sequence of elements showing a gradual fall in CD". e.g. "an accident happened to him". (Firbas 1979, 50). The functional order of this sentence, rheme-transition-theme, is said to be 'subjective' or emotional, which suggests that the speaker/writer is expressing his/her own emotion regardless of the addressee's feelings. The word order which is in harmony with the basic distribution of CD is,

on the other hand, said to be 'objective' i.e. it caters for the addressee's needs.

The relations which hold between sentence elements determine the distribution of CD over the sentence and in doing so put it in a particular kind of perspective. Each sentence element is referred to as a 'communicative unit' while the elements of sentence taken as a whole constitute what is known as a "communicative field" (cf Svoboda, 1968).

The communicative unit itself may form a communicative field normally known as a sub-field. A communicative unit can carry CD even if it is a morpheme, e.g. the "a" of "protestovala", of the first version of the Czech example discussed above, can be interpreted as thematic, the 'l' as transitional and the rest "protest" as rhematic (cf Firbas, 1965).

Chafe has pointed out that "it is not easy to fit the term 'transition' within our framework; either the speaker assumes an element to be present in the addressee's consciousness or (s)he does not; it makes no sense to talk about elements which are half present". (quoted in Contreras, H., 1976, 4).

He argues, again, (in Li, C.N. ed. 1976,33) that "it is interesting that CD is said to be a matter of degree and not a binary distinction. If we identify a low degree of CD with givenness and a high degree with newness the question arises as to whether there are intermediate degrees of given and new".

We do not think that this is necessarily the case, though. This is because initiating an action presupposes the presence of an actor before it, and that only after the action has started can it affect it's goal or bring about a new object. This is manifested grammatically as subject+verb+object (in English). Since these grammatical relations

provide the field for the basic distribution of CD and that every element of sentence contributes to the development of communication according to the degree of CD it carries, then one finds it hardly justifiable to neglect the function, transition, of an element or a group of elements altogether in all situations.

Up to now we have considered the means of FSP as a factor influencing the linearity of word order by distributing the degrees of CD over the elements of sentence. Mathesius mentions the grammatical principle, the principle of rhythm and the principle of emphasis as another three factors operative on word order (quoted in Williams, M.P., 1987, pp 67/8).

We now consider them in their respective order.

3.1.4 The Grammatical Principle

Inflected languages (e.g. Arabic, Greek, Czech, ... etc) have more flexible word order than uninflected ones like English. In case of inflected languages the principle of FSP plays an important role in determining word order as in Czech. Uninflected languages have a very rigid word order (e.g. English) and so it's the grammatical principle, rather than FSP, that determines word order. In other words, in English it is the deviation not from the basic distribution of CD but from the basic order required by the grammatical principle that renders the word order marked.

Let us consider the following sentences which are taken from Firbas (1979, 49).

EX(27)

a) "A boy came into the room".

In this sentence the subject (a boy) carries new information but it still occupies the first position to conform with the grammatical principle. The sentence, therefore, has an unmarked word order according to the grammatical principle and a marked word order from the communicative view point (cf Firbas, 1979).

- b) *chlapeč přišel do pokoje.*
 boy he came into room
 (a boy came into the room).

This Czech sentence agrees with the English one in the order of the grammatical elements, in their meanings and that both sentences exhibit the same distribution of CD, i.e. the same grammatical elements carry the same degree of CD. However, the Czech sentence is marked while its English counterpart is unmarked.

In the majority of cases, though, English word order (SVO) is in agreement with the basic distribution of CD (theme-transition-rheme). Arabic on the other hand, being a 'verb+subject+object'-order language, is not in harmony with the basic distribution of CD.

3.1.5 The Principle of Rhythm

Mathesius (1974) contends that a rhythmical factor appears to have an effect on word order e.g. In German short sentences inserted after direct speech have a fixed word order in which the first position is occupied by the finite verb and the second position by the subject, e.g. "Das wetter wird sich ändern, sagte der vater, or 'sagteer'" whether the subject of the inserted clause is expressed by a noun or a pronoun, it occupies the same position because in this case and similar ones German language applies the grammatical principle. In similar clauses, in

English, word order is determined by the rhythmical principle which means that the first position is occupied by the rhythmically lighter element.

This is tantamount to Firbas's (1964) contention that the rhythmical principle operates within the limits set by the grammatical and the FSP principles.

According to Beeston (1970) the rhythmical principle appears to have an effect on Arabic word order. He argues that the maximal break in Arabic sentence should not occur later than half-way through its total number of lexical items. In thematic structures (i.e. nominal sentences) the break occurs between theme and predicate while in verbal sentences the break is after the entity term which immediately comes after the verb (regardless of whether that term be agent or object). He contends (ibid. p.108) that a sentence like:

"*?anna ?axi yuHibbu maryama Zaahirun*" (= that my brother loves Mary is obvious) is avoided in Arabic because the predicate "*Zaahirun*" (= is obvious) is much shorter than the theme. Alternatively, the following options can be used: "*yazharu ?anna ?axi yuHibbu maryama*" (= is obvious that my brother loves Mary) or "*?innahu zaahirun ?anna ?axi yuHibbu maryama*" (= it is clear that my brother loves Mary) (ibid P.108).

So it seems that rhythmicality has some influence on word order in Arabic.

3.1.6 The Principle of Emphasis

It is the principle whereby an objective word order is changed into a subjective one for the sake of emphasizing a particular element or for the purpose of rendering an utterance emotive.

The following examples (i.e. Ex 28 a) and b) given by Mathesius 1975, 159) show an emotional colouring and a subjective word order.

EX(28)

a) Right you are

b) Sorry I am to speak of it in the presence of your son.

Rheme Theme Transition

Rheme Proper

There are some examples which show emotional colouring but still maintain an objective word order, e.g.:

EX(29)

a) This lesson time will teach to all alike.

diatheme Theme proper Transition Rheme

b) Therefore I have I we I linked ourselves I to the only party that promises us the boon we seek.

Diatheme - Transition Proper - Theme Proper - Transition - Rheme

(Selected by Firbas from Mathesius (1975) and quoted in Williams 1987, 69)

There are also some types of sentences which exhibit subjective (marked) word order but have no emotional colouring. e.g.:

EX(30)

"A boy I came I into the room". (ibid, p.69)

Rheme - Transition - Theme

This means that the principle of emphasis is at work not when there is deviation from the objective word order, i.e. the basic distribution of CD, but when there is deviation from the grammatical word order, as in Example (28) above. In Czech, however, it is by means of contrast with FSP that the principle of emphasis can be brought in full flow.

One may argue that in Arabic which has a relatively free word order (as in Czech) the principle of emphasis operates in relation to FSP rather than to the grammatical principle.

3.1.7.1 Other Factors Influencing FSP: Context

We have mentioned earlier on that the degrees of CD rise gradually towards the end of the sentence unless there are some interfering factors. One of these factors is Context.

Sentence elements can be divided into two types in relation to Context: Context-dependent elements and Context-independent elements. The former refers to those elements which are 'dedynamized' by Context and as a result will always carry the lowest degrees of CD in the sentence in which they occur. Pronouns and deictics are inherently Context-dependent elements, no matter which position in the sentence they occupy. Context-independent elements, on the other hand, being independent of Context, will carry the highest degrees of CD in the sentence in which they occur.

Context can be subdivided into three types:-

- i) Context of experience which is provided by the common knowledge shared by the speaker and listener.
- ii) Context of immediate experience or situational Context. This one is contributed by the situation at the moment of utterance.
- iii) Context of preceding verbal Context, i.e. prior mention of (an) element(s).

The three types agree on the fact that they render sentence elements Context-dependent despite their hierarchical differences which we explain by the following diagram:

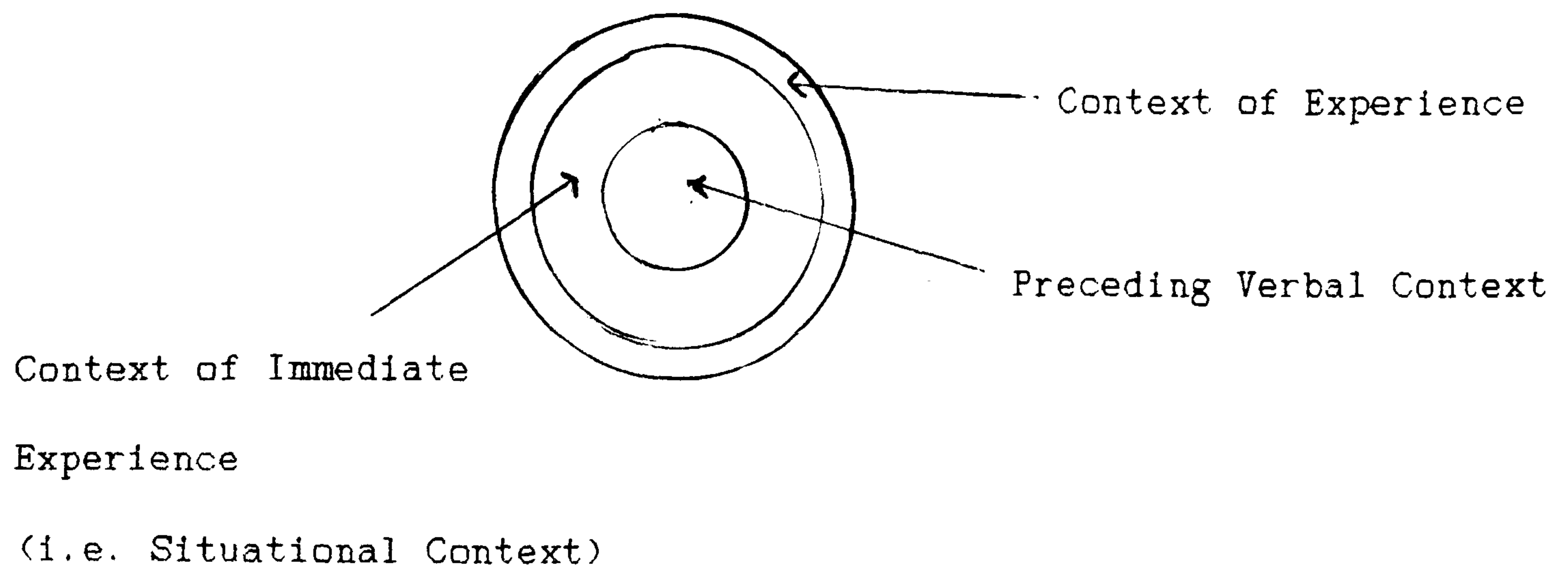


Fig. (5)

The diagram indicates that at the moment of utterance we find a sphere within the context of experience that is established by the context of immediate experience i.e. situational context, and within this sphere we find the preceding verbal context. In other words, the preceding verbal context is embedded in the situational context which in its turn is embedded in the context of experience taken in the general sense, as Fig. (5) above shows.

Context-dependence or independence is however, determined by what Firbas (1979) calls the "narrow scene" and he defines it as: "the contextual conditioning obtaining at the very moment of utterance", (ibid p.32). In the sentence "Bob went to the window", (op.cit. p.32), he argues that 'window' may be derivable from the preceding verbal context and, probably, even from the situational context as well. According to the speaker's immediate communicative purpose, i.e. "indication of the goal of Bob's motion", the 'window' can be 'new', whereas in regard to the 'narrow scene', it is 'context-dependent'.

Firbas (ibid, p.32) contends that in reply to "what did Bob do?". Bob in "Bob went to the window" is to be understood as context-dependent. This suggests that an item derivable from the preceding verbal context can be conceived of as context-dependent if it is in full harmony with the speaker's immediate communicative purpose.

Firbas goes on to argue that situational context co-operates in rendering elements context-dependent but in doing so is hierarchically inferior to the preceding verbal context. He supports his claim by the following example: "Have you seen that"? (ibid p.32) occurring as an immediate reaction to some conspicuous transient extralinguistic phenomenon, 'you' and 'that' will appear as context-dependent unless the immediate communicative concern of the speaker decides otherwise. If 'that', is used cataphorically (i.e. the speaker selects a phenomenon and points to it saying: have you seen 'that'?), it will be context-independent.

In the sentence "the word 'fisherman' came to his head" (ibid p.32), Firbas contends that the notion expressed by the word 'fisherman' falls within the experience shared by both the speaker and listener and it is therefore context-dependent. In regard to the narrow scene, however, it is context-independent.

So, it becomes clear from the above discussion, that all types of context render the elements of sentence context-dependent if, and only if, this is in harmony with the immediate communicative concern of the speaker/writer.

It is essential to mention, here, three types of sentences in relation to the influence of context on FSP.

(1) i) Basic instance sentences.

These are characterized by "contextual conditioning giving linearity and semantic structure full play" (ibid, p.32) e.g.:

EX(31)

* A hunter killed a lion.  (= entirely context-independent)

This sentence is maximally context-independent with word order as the only device that is determining the degrees of CD of the two

elements 'a hunter' and 'a lion'. Context, semantics, and grammatical endings have no share in assigning the degrees of CD to these elements.

ii) Ordinary instance sentences:

These are characterized by "contextual conditioning partly limiting the operation of linearity and/or semantic structure". (ibid. p.46)
e.g.

EX(32)

The hunter killed a lion.

He killed a lion.




(= partly context-dependent)

EX(33)

a) A hunter killed the Lion.,

b) A hunter killed it/him.  (= partly context-dependent)

c) The hunter killed the lion.

d) He killed it/him.  (= partly context-dependent)

iii) Second instance sentences:

In this type of sentences "contextual conditioning maximally limits the operation of linearity and semantic structure" (ibid. p.45)
e.g.:

*a) All the examples given under ordinary, basic and second instance sentences are taken from Firbas (1979, 46).

b) The unshaded part of each rectangle represents context-dependence, while the shaded part represents context-independence.

EX(34)

- a) A HUNTER killed a lion.
- b) The hunter killed the LION.
- c) The hunter DID KILL the lion.



These sentences show maximum context-dependence. Each sentence appears in sharp contrast because of one single element. The contrasted element, written in bold letters in each sentence, is context-independent.

3.1.7.2 The Semantic Factor

Firbas (1975, 1979) argues that a context-independent element expressing a phenomenon appearing or existing on the scene is communicatively more important and, thus, conveys a higher degree of CD than an element which merely expresses the appearance or existence on the scene or an element merely expressing the scene of appearance or existence, e.g.:

EX(35)

There / was / a little girl.

Scene - Existence - phenomenon existing

This semantic scale is attuned to the language user's experience of the extra-linguistic reality where the scene precedes the phenomenon appearing or existing on it, and the process of appearance precedes the appearing phenomenon. This semantic scale, all other things being equal, signals a gradual rise in CD.

Another semantic scale which is capable of signalling a gradual rise in CD may be explained by the following example:

EX(36)

She had a little curl .

Quality bearer - Quality - Specification

The quality (i.e. the verb) presupposes the existence of a quality bearer which is expressed by the subject (she) and is expected to carry a lower degree of CD than the element expressing the quality. An element which carries a higher degree of CD than one expressing a quality may be regarded as specification e.g. "a little curl" in Ex.(36). The two semantic scales can be fused into one semantic scale as follows:

Scene - Appearance/Existence - Phenomenon Appearing/Existing

Quality Bearer - Quality - Specification - Further Specification

These semantic contents can signal degrees of CD regardless of sentence position, provided they are context-independent, as the following examples indicate:

EX(37)

- a) In Bamborough Castle once / lived / a king who had a fair wife and two children.

scene - setting - existence - phenomenon

- b) In the reign of the favour King Edward III, / there / was / a little boy called Dick Whittington, whose father and mother died when he was very young.

setting - scene - existence - phenomenon

- c) A widow / had / two daughters

Quality Bearer - Quality - Specification

- d) Dame Goody / was / a nurse that looked after sick people and minded babies.

phenomenon // Quality Bearer - Quality - Specification

- e) "The nuts are quite ripe now" / said / chanticleer / to his wife Partlet.

specification - quality - phenomenon // quality bearing - setting.

- f) One winter's evening / the Sexton's wife / was sitting by the fireside.

setting - phenomenon // quality bearer - quality - specification.

(Exs. 35, 36 & 37 are given by Firbas (1975) and quoted in Williams 1987, 70-1).

In English a phenomenon existing or appearing on the scene is commonly expressed by existential there - sentences e.g. "There / was / a book/ on the table" which can be analysed, respectively, into : scene - appearance - phenomenon - setting.

Existential there - sentences most often employ a verb or verbal phrase explicitly expressing existence or appearance on the scene e.g. come, exist, arise, occur, be present, come on the scene, come in, come up, come into view, present oneself, take place, etc.

Other verbs express appearance/existence on the scene only implicitly, e.g.:

EX (38)

- a) A fly / settled / on his head.

phenomenon - existence - scene.

- b) A haze / hovered / over the prospect.

phenomenon - appearance - scene

There are some sentences in which the object of a transitive verb expresses the scene on which a phenomenon appears provided the subject is context-independent, e.g.:

EX(39)

A dusky orange / dyed / his cheeks.

phenomenon - appearance - scene

Passive constructions have similar analysis, e.g.:

EX(40)

A blind and dumb man / was brought / to him.

phenomenon - appearance - scene.

(Exs. 38, 39 & 40 are taken from Firbas 1979, 33).

3.1.8 FSP and Interrogatives

One of the differences between declarative and interrogative sentences is that in the former the speaker possesses some information that he wants to impart to the listener whereas in the latter the speaker asks the listener to supply him with some information. In order to satisfy the speaker's need for information, the listener takes over the role of the speaker to become the speaker himself and to reveal the information. To do this, the two types of question, viz, yes/no questions and WH-questions, are employed. Halliday (1967) refers to these questions as the 'polar' and 'non-polar' interrogatives, respectively.

Mathesius (1941/2) contends that the interrogative word (i.e. the finite verb or the WH-element) in both types, functions as 'rheme' because it stands for the unknown element while the rest of the question represents the theme because it repeats information that is known to the enquirer (i.e. speaker) e.g. when asking "what did you discuss with

Peter yesterday?", the speaker knows that the listener was discussing something with Peter yesterday and he wants to know what that something was. (cf. Firbas 1976).

Daneš (1949) argues that a question-word does not always carry new information, and that an element within the same sentence may carry new information if that element bears the intonation centre. He adduces the following examples in support of his claim:-

EX(41).

A: *Kdy tam pojedete?*

(when there are-you going)

B: *Chceme jet do Prahy*

(We want to go to Prague)

A: *Kdy pojedete do Brna?*

(When are you going to Brno)

B: *Zitra jedeme do Prahy.*

(Tomorrow we-are-going to Prague)

(Taken from Daneš (1949) and quoted in Firbas 1976, 12).

Daneš (ibid) contends that *Kdy* (= when) bears new information in the first set of Ex. (41) but not in the second set because in the latter it is overshadowed by '*do Brna*' which is contrasted with '*do Prahy*' (= to Prague). He goes on to argue that in case of yes/no questions the finite verb will carry new information only if it carries the intonation centre (cf Firbas, 1976).

Interrogatives have two functions: a) desire for knowledge and b) they inform the listener of what the enquirer is interested in and of the particular angle from which he wishes the listener to approach the question.

Mathesius emphasizes the first function while Daneš emphasizes the second one.

Halliday (1967) interprets the interrogatives as: "the theme of the message is that there is something the speaker does not know and that he wants to know; the rest of the message is explanatory comment about his demand". (quoted in Firbas, 1976, 15).

Firbas (1976) argues that since TMEs in polar interrogatives and the WH-element in non-polar interrogatives function as indicators of the desire for information and they participate in the explanatory function (i.e. how to set about the reply), one may suggest with a degree of satisfaction that question words contribute more to the development of communication than the TMEs of the declarative sentences. Moreover, as the declarative TMEs have been interpreted as non-thematic, the interrogative TMEs and WH-elements must be interpreted as non-thematic, as well.

Firbas (ibid) concludes by treating TME's and WH-elements as transitional or in the periphery of the rheme. These interrogative words lose their transitional status whenever they bear intonation centre.

This leads us to the final comment that the principles which govern the interplay of means of FSP operating within the declaratives are the same as those which are operating within the interrogatives. This holds true for English, German and Slavonic languages including Czech. The question of Arabic interrogatives will be dealt with in Chapter (5).

3.2 The Passive

Many languages use passivization as a strategy to convey certain communicative functions (which will be discussed in Chapter 6). Those

languages which have rigid word orders use passive constructions more than languages with relatively more flexible word orders where there are other alternatives than the passive for conveying those functions. The Arabic language is an example of the latter type, as our data analysis will, hopefully, indicate.

3.2.1 Definition of the Passive.

The passive construction is well known as a combination of a copula (BE) plus a Past Participle.

Poutsman says "The verb 'to be' is also joined to the past participle of a transitive verb to express a state which is the result of the action" (quoted in Stein, G. (1979, 73).

Quirk et.al. (1972, 801) define the passive as: "At the clause level, passivization involves rearrangement of two clause elements and one addition. a) the active subject becomes the passive agent. b) the active object becomes the passive subject. and c) the preposition by is introduced before the agent". Both definitions are based on transitivity.

Palmer, F. (1974, 81-82) also bases his definition of the passive on transitivity as follows: "the passive is par excellence the grammatical structure that exemplifies the concept of transformation ... it follows from this that the passive is possible only with transitive verbs (i.e. those that may have objects)".

While the majority of linguists (cf Svartvik, 1968, Stein, G. 1979 & Siewierska, 1980) consider transitivity as a syntactic precondition for a passive construction only a few of them have mentioned a semantic feature as a prerequisite for passivization. e.g.

Poutsma argues that passivization is common only when the object is felt to be a person or a thing that is:

1. subjected to an activity as in:

He was betrayed by his friend.

2. judged, declared or known to be in certain state as in:

He was declared (or known) to be innocent.

3. brought forth through an activity as in:

The house was built by his grandfather.

(quoted in Stein, C. p.86).

Tuyn, H. (1970) argues that syntax alone cannot account for the fact that some sentences can be convertible into the passive and others can not. He contends "The only factor that distinguishes sentences like "They sat on the bench", from sentences like: "They wrote on the page", is that the result can be observed on the 'page' but not on the bench. The criterion that can be applied to sentences of this pattern is the semantic one of the observable result. If the result can be observed, the noun in the adjunct of place can be the subject of the passive. If it can not be observed and we are not acting on previous knowledge, passive conversion is either impossible or very rare". (quoted in Stein, G. p.86).

Palmer, F. (1974) is another scholar who mentioned the semantic feature "activity" as a pre-requisite for passivization, though not as a general semantic characteristic of the same significance as the syntactic feature transitive. When trying to discuss some verbs that can not appear in passive constructions, he contends: "with some verbs the passive is possible with one meaning where there is activity but not in another where there is indication only of state, e.g. it is possible

to say: "The thief was held by the police", but not *"oil is held by the jar". (ibid p. 85).

3.2.2 Generative Approaches to Passive

The authors of the earliest approaches to Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG) (e.g. Harris and Chomsky) adduce the passive as one of the chief linguistic structures motivating them to postulate a transformational component within the grammar of a language and this then led to the TGG in linguistics.

In 1957 Chomsky adduces the passive transformation as one of the decisive language structures to show that TGG was more powerful than Phrase Structure Grammar. The inadequacy of the latter becomes obvious when the active-passive relation is brought into focus, as is shown below.

According to Phrase Structure Grammar (PSG) passives are formed by choosing the element "be + en" in the rule:-

Aux → (have + en) (be + ing) (be + en)

where → means rewritten and Aux means auxiliary.

However, there are some restrictions on the selection of "be + en" that make it unique among the other elements. These restrictions are:-

1. "be + en" must be followed by a transitive verb, so we can have "was eaten" but not "was occurred".
2. "be + en" can not be selected if the verb is immediately followed by a noun, even if the verb is transitive, so we cannot have "*Lunch is eaten John".
3. "be + en" must be selected if we have a transitive verb followed by a prepositional phrase 'by + NP'. e.g. "Lunch is eaten by John" but not "*John is eating by lunch".

4. In PSG we have the rule:

$$V \rightarrow \text{hit, took ... etc.}$$

The choice of verb in this rule needs to be restricted in terms of subject and object so that it can allow sentences like "John admires sincerity" and "John plays golf", and excludes such sentences as "*sincerity admires John", and "*Golf plays John". When "be + en" is chosen no restrictions are at work because for every sentence, we can have a corresponding sentence "NP₂ - is - V - en - by + NP₁".

So, by excluding the passives from the PSG and reintroducing them by a rule such as:

$$\text{NP}_1 - \text{Aux} - \text{V} - \text{NP}_2 \rightarrow \text{NP}_2 - \text{Aux} - \text{be} + \text{en} + \text{V} - \text{by} + \text{NP}_1,$$

we can avoid all the restrictions mentioned above, because this rule caters for all of them.

Let us consider the following example:

EX(42) John admires sincerity.

In order to generate the passive from this sentence we follow these two stages:

First: add "be + en" to the auxiliary and appropriately inflect the verb to get:

John is admired sincerity.

Second: invert the two NPs and insert by before the second NP to get:

Sincerity is admired by John.

As each of the four restrictions listed above is an automatic result of the passivization rule, this rule will, therefore, lead to the simplification of the grammar.

In the 1965 version of TGG known as the Revised Standard Theory, Chomsky introduced the concepts of Deep Structure (DS) which is produced by inserting words from the lexicon into trees created by the Phrase Structure rules, and Surface Structure (SS) which is the outcome of applying transformations to the DS trees, adding, deleting or moving material around. This can be shown diagrammatically as follows:

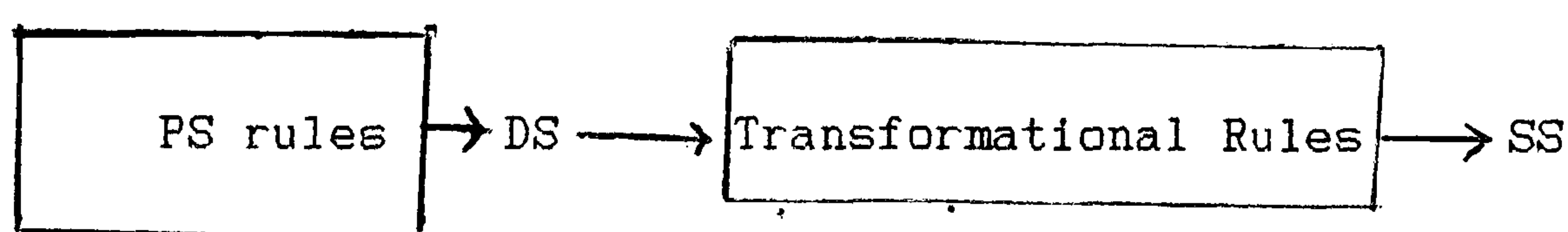


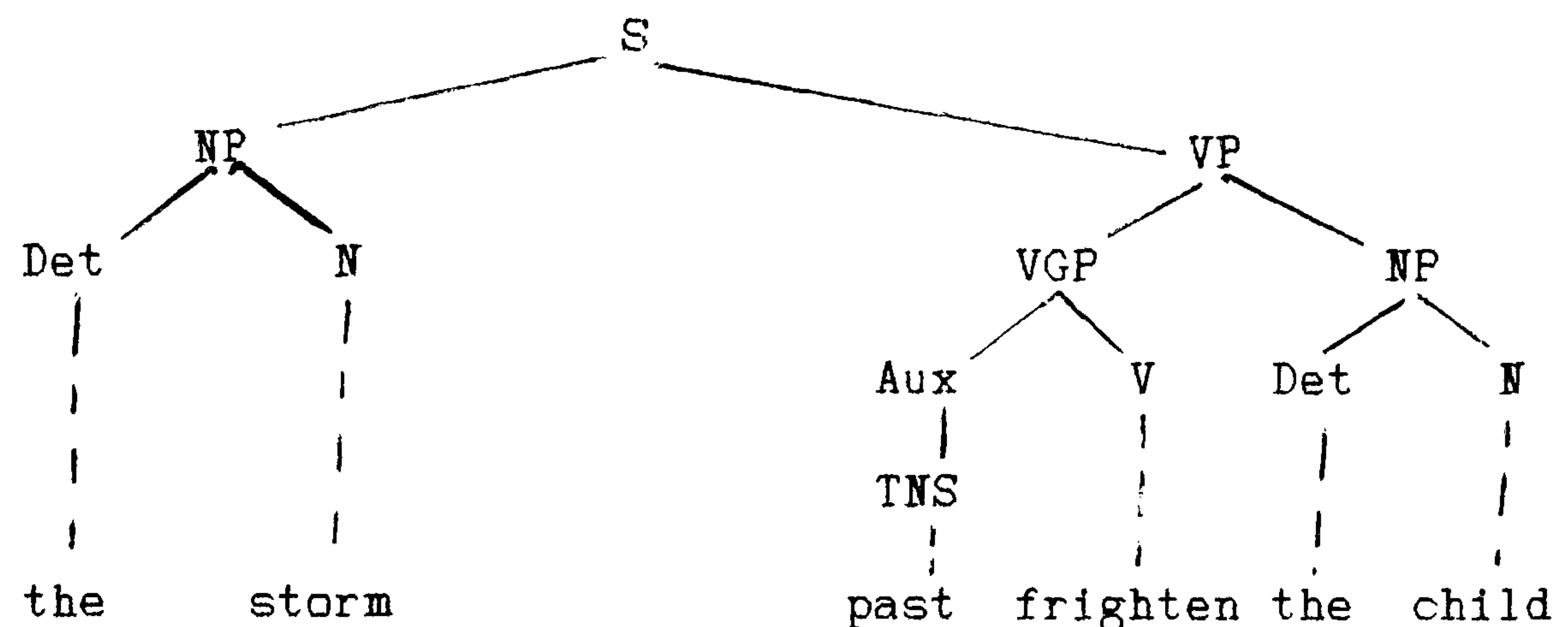
Fig. (6)

Chomsky (ibid) argues that passive sentences can be generated from active ones because they have the same words and that the DS is the same for both of them. So the passivization rule applies to the DS (i.e. to the phrase marker) to obtain the SS. So the following sentences:

EX(43)

- a. The storm frightened the child.
- b. The child was frightened by the storm.

have the same DS as follows:



(Huddleston 1976, 51)

The passivization rule moves the object (the child) into subject position, the original subject, 'the storm', into final position adding 'by' before it, and inserts 'be' and the past participle inflection 'en' into the auxiliary constituent, to get sentence (b) above. The difference between this transformational rule and the traditional account of the passive is that the latter generates passive sentences from active ones whereas the former operates on phrase markers not on sentences. Moreover, the subject-verb-object relationships are defined in the DS and not in the SS.

3.2.3 Evaluation

The TGG account of the passive is highly formal in that it describes rules which help the linguist to derive passive constructions from active ones and to account for the grammaticality and ungrammaticality of passive sentences. However, the passive rule is based on the traditional assumption that passivization presupposes that the verb in question is transitive and the assumption is taken over as such without

being closely investigated. The result of this assumption is that: where there is no transitive verb form of a verb, the rule can in fact derive such ill-formed sentences as:

EX(44)

- a. That book cost a lot of money.
- b. *A lot of money was cost by that book.
- c. John resembles your mother.
- d. *Your mother is resembled by John.

(these sentences are taken from Smith and Wilson 1979, 121).

Moreover, one of the characteristics of DS is that once a word is inserted into the tree (phrase marker), it can not be turned into another word, e.g. No DS containing 'give' will be transformed into a SS containing 'receive', though the two words are related in meaning. In other words, sentences a) and b) below should be derived from a common DS and be related by transformations to their SS.

EX(45)

- a. John gave a book to Bill.
- b. Bill received a book from John.

But these sentences can not be handled in the same way as EX(43) because they contain different words. Generative semanticists argue that the way DS is defined forces us to miss the obvious relationship that holds between sentences a) and b) above.

According to the 1965 model, a sentence with two interpretations must be assigned two DSs, but DS analysis will provide only one DS for such sentences as:

"Everyone in the room loves some pop-star", which has two interpretations: (1) there is some pop-star whom everyone in the room loves, and (2) everyone in the room loves a pop-star, but the pop-star

differs in each case. If these two different interpretations have two different meanings, we then need two different DSs instead of one.

TGG has, also been criticized as being more interested in the nature of the passive than in its functions and use. Moreover, another shortcoming of the TGG treatment of the passive and indeed of all other constructions, is that it based its analysis on isolated sentences regardless of the context in which they occurred. Once and for all, the rules used in deriving passive sentences from active ones are methodological devices and have nothing to do with the reasons for or the functions of the passive.

This criticism should under no circumstances be taken as proof that the TGG treatment of the passive or any other construction is a fiasco. On the contrary, TGG has in fact uncovered some facts and relationships and provided a theory to describe and explain them. DS has given us questions to ask about grammar that we could not previously frame and, most importantly, has given us a theoretical tool by reference to which we can make generalizations about sets of sentences in individual languages on the one hand and across languages on the other.

We now proceed to discuss what has been called the functional approach to the passive.

3.2.4. The Functional Approach

It is initiated by Mathesius and the Prague School as we have mentioned in Chapter One. Linguistic form and function are one of the characteristic aspects of the Prague School which regards meaning as the object of linguistic inquiry. The Prague School Linguists see the relation between units of form and units of meaning as an inherent part of the structure of language. What the sentence is about is, therefore,

very significant to them. This has led to the investigation of the communicative function of sentences because sentences not only convey factual information but also indicate our attitude towards the outside world.

Let us consider the following example and see how the Prague linguists handle the issue of the passive.

EX (46)

- a. They offered the butler a reward.
- b. The butler was offered a reward. (Stein, G. 1979, 112)

In sentence a) the word 'they' is 'theme' according to the two senses of 'theme' given by Mathesius viz. (1) the object that is spoken about or the basis of communication and (2) the 'given' or known information. The word 'they' is also 'theme' in the sense given to it by Firbas, i.e. the element(s) in an utterance which has/have the lowest degree of CD. The word reward, on the other hand, will be the rheme of the sentence, i.e. the comment on the object spoken about or the new information given. In Firbas's terms it is the element in the sentence which carries the highest degree of CD.

This analysis is attuned to the unmarked word order in English in which the theme is sentence-initial and the rheme, sentence final, carrying the intonation focus (cf Quirk, et.al. 1972).

In the passive sentence (b) 'the butler' has become the 'theme' whereas reward is still the 'rheme'. Stein, G. (1979) argues that "on comparing our active and passive versions of the same sentence, we have to conclude that an element, the butler, which in Firbas's theory of FSP belongs to the transition which includes the range of elements between the elements of the lowest and highest degree of CD, the theme and the

rheme, has become thematized. The two versions are thus different communications from the point of view of FSP". (ibid, p.112).

The two versions (active & passive), which are treated as synonymous by TGG, are two different communications from the point of view of the theory of FSP.

3.2.5 Halliday's Functional Approach

Halliday is mainly concerned with the roles performed by linguistic communication in its social context. His functional model represents the view of language as a phenomenon of society. His work on grammar and semantics has developed the view that communicative functions are inherent in the formal system of language. He contends that to understand the nature of the grammatical choices underlying the structure of the English clause, we need to take into consideration three macro-functions which determine the nature of language in general.

These 3 macro-functions are:

1. The Ideational Function:

This means using language to convey and interpret real/imaginary world experience. e.g. the choice of transitive/intransitive verb constructions. This function of expressing conceptual contents and conveying information is considered by Halliday the major language function, because utterances which have no ideational content, e.g. interjections like: yippee, ouch, tally hoo ... etc. have, functionally, more in common with animal communication than with human language.

2. The Interpersonal Function:

This means using the language to express one's attitudes or to

influence the attitudes and behaviour of the hearer, e.g. the choice between declarative and interrogative mood.

3. The Textual Function:

This means using language to construct a text. That is, to present one's message in linear form and make it relevant to the context. At this textual level grammar has many devices for varying the order of elements in a sentence. An example of such devices is the passivization rule which enables the speaker/writer to reserve the position of subject and object noun phrases in corresponding active sentences. This rule improves the chances of communication at the textual level by giving the speaker/writer the opportunity to observe such communication principles as end-weight and end-focus.

3.2.5.1. Halliday's Explanation of the Passive

According to Halliday the three language functions discussed above are represented at the clause level, as areas of syntactic choice. In the first area (ideational) we find participant roles, actor, goal and all logical relations. In the second area (interpersonal) we find the modal subject or the grammatical subject, as it is traditionally called. The third area (textual) is divided into two: thematic structure (theme and rheme) and information structure, i.e. the organization of text into 'given' and 'new' functions.

These notions are frequently in conflict in the passive whereas 'theme', 'actor' and 'grammatical subject' conflate in the active. The passive allows the actor to be included within the rheme and the goal within the theme, e.g. in the sentence: "These houses were built by my father", 'my father', the actor is rhematic and 'these houses', the goal, is thematic and the effect is to emphasize the actor as a point of

new information and the goal as what the sentence is about. This is why Halliday regards the passive as an option which dissociates the roles of actor and theme. The passive according to Halliday, therefore, allows the goal to be thematic and the actor either to be absent or if present to carry unmarked focus.

3.2.5.2. The Passive with Ditransitive Verbs

Halliday (1967, 56) explains the passive with ditransitive verb in terms of information focus when he says: "It has been pointed out that in 'he gave John a book' the phrase 'a book' is new, whereas in 'he gave a book to John', John is new. Now in this system it is the subject that is characteristically 'given', so that the normal receptive (passive) equivalent of 'he gave John a book', will be 'John was given a book' (whereas with 'a book' as subject the operative (= active) model is 'he gave a book to John', hence 'a book was given to John', is the predicted form). Thus the restricted occurrence of the type 'a book was given to John' is not due to it's superficial, but in fact irrelevant, resemblance to 'he gave a book to John', but is due to or rather correlates with, the rareness of the informationally equivalent //He gave John a book// (with tonic on John").

The sentence type 'He gave John a book', is traditionally said to have two passive transformations: 'John was given a book' and 'A book was given (to) John', the latter is considered fully acceptable but rare (cf Stein, 1979). By accounting for the information value Halliday has proved that the latter passive construction is not informationally equivalent to the active sentence, 'He gave John a book', and this is why

the passive construction which has the indirect object of the active sentence as it's subject is more common in English.

Stein (1979) proposes a passivization rule which accounts for the rareness of the passive 'A book was given John' and the preference for that passive version which has the indirect object of the active as it's subject, namely 'John was given a book'. He contends: "If sentences with two obligatory noun phrases after the verb which are unmarked as to the information focus are put into the passive in English, that nominal element which has the second lowest degree of CD in the active sentence has to become the subject of the passive sentence. The rule also holds for sentences where the indirect object can not precede the direct object". (ibid, p.115).

If we apply this rule to Halliday's example 'He gave John a book', John will be the subject of the passive because it is the element which has the second lowest degree of CD (i.e. more than 'he' and less than a book) and hence the preference for 'John was given a book' and the rareness of 'a book was given John'.

An example of the indirect object which can not precede the direct object is:

Ex(47)

a) The young man introduced the girl to Mrs X.

If we apply the above passivization rule we will have:

b) The girl was introduced to Mrs X by the young man.

but not c) *To Mrs X the girl was introduced by the young man.

[(a), (b) and (c) are quoted in Stein 1979, 115].

3.2.5.3 Halliday's Voice System

Before we start discussing Halliday's voice system we would like to introduce some of the terms which are used by him to explain this system:

- Token: a participant role which is equivalent to subject in the active and by-adjunct in the passive.
- Value: is equivalent to subject in passive clauses in relational processes and with complement in identifying clauses.
- Range: refers to scope or domain.

Halliday (1967, 1985) divides the English clause into middle and effective. The former has no feature of agency whereas the latter has a feature of agency. Effective clauses are then subdivided into active and passive. In the active clause the agent and the subject conflate whereas in the passive the functions of subject and goal conflate as diagram No. 7. below indicates.

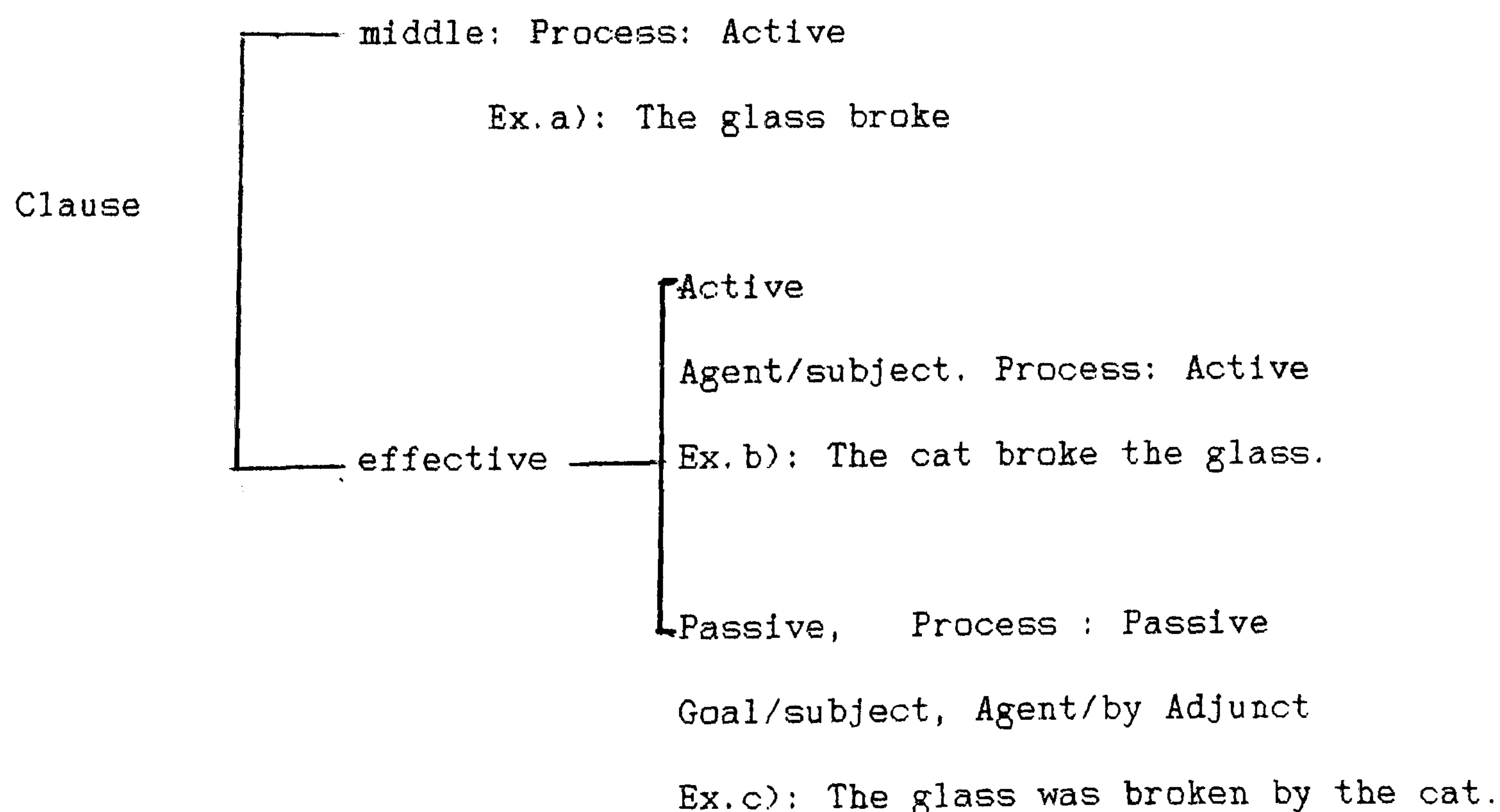


Fig. (7)

In the diagram above Ex. a) allows for one participant only (i.e. one noun phrase) whereas Exs. b) and c) exhibit the presence of an

agency feature in each of them viz. 'the cat' and 'by the cat' respectively.

Halliday contends that the reasons for choosing the passive option are (1) to get the goal as subject and consequently as unmarked theme and (2) to make the agent late news by putting it in final position or to make it implicit by leaving it out which is most common in English (for more passive functions see Kiby, D. 1984, 66).

Halliday (1985, 53) mentions the following types of passive clause: a. True Passive: e.g.

EX(48)

The glass	was broken	by the cat
Mary	was upset	by the news
Goal	process	Agent
Subject	Predicate	Adjunct

b. Beneficiary Passive:

EX(49)

My aunt	was given	this teapot	by the duke
beneficiary	process	goal	Agent
subject	predicate	complement	Adjunct

c. Range Passive (medio passive).

EX(50)

songs	were sung	by the choir
the music	was enjoyed	by the audience
range	process	Agent
subject	predicate	Adjunct

d. Circumstantial Passive

1. Manner

EX(51)

The bed	hadn't been slept in	by anyone
location	process	Agent
subject	predicate	Adjunct

2. True Passive:

EX(52)

It	's been done away with	by the government
Goal	process	Agent
subject	predicate	Adjunct

e. Passive with Secondary Agent:

EX(53)

Tom	was voted	captain	by the club
Token/Agent ₁	process	value/goal	Agent ₂
subject	predicate	complement	adjunct

Halliday contends that the semantic functions of the clause mentioned above explain how phenomena in the real world are represented linguistically.

3.2.6. Evaluation

Functionalists are concerned with language in use, i.e. They are interested in language as a process of human communication. The linguistic form and its function are both called upon in a functional model as we have seen. Because functionalists main target is the

communicative aspect of language, their field of inquiry extends beyond isolated and decontextualized sentences to include not only linguistic features but also the social context in which they are used.

An application of the theory of FSP, as we have noticed, requires that sentences be considered as inserted in discourse rather than in isolation. This is because it is not always possible to decide, with a satisfactory degree of safety, about the relative CD of the elements of decontextualized sentences for the surface structure may show different arrangements of FSP according to how a given sentence fits into its discourse content.

In the functional model, extralinguistic features, as well, are indeed taken into account to find out why, for example, a passive construction is used in a given text or utterance.

So, the linguistic units, their structural and semantic contents, the linguistic and non-linguistic situations in which they are used and the reasons that motivated their use constitute our main motive for adopting a functional approach in our present study.

CHAPTER FOUR

Data Selection and Methodology of Research

4.1 Data Selection

The data which we have selected for this research can be divided into two groups, A and B.

4.1.1 Group A

One of the objectives for this study is to find out the extent to which word order in Arabic can be influenced by different types of text. To attain this goal we have selected 8 different types of text which constitute Group A. These 8 texts were meant to cover the basic text-types which have been defined by de Beaugrande & Dressler (1972) as follows:

Descriptive texts, i.e. "those utilized to enrich knowledge spaces whose control centres are objects or situations. Often there will be a frequency of conceptual relations for attributes, states, instances and specifications. The surface text should reflect a corresponding density of modifiers".

Narrative texts: "those utilized to arrange actions and events in a particular sequential order. There will be a frequency of conceptual relations for cause, reason, purpose, enablement and time proximity. The surface text should reflect a corresponding density of subordination".

Argumentative texts: "those utilized to promote the acceptance or evaluation of certain beliefs or ideas as true vs false, or positive vs negative. Conceptual relations such as reason significance, volition,

value and opposition should be frequent. The surface text will often show cohesive devices for emphasis and insistence, e.g. recurrence, parallelism and paraphrase". (All three definitions are given by De Beaugrande & Dressler 1972, 184)

We have also included the instructive type of text, which has been mentioned in Longacre (1983), to ensure that the types are satisfactory. To ensure that our data is as representative as possible in order to enable us to obtain some generalizable results, we have chosen two texts to represent each of the four types mentioned above.

The problem with this text-typology and, indeed, with any other one, is that the notion of complete or exact characteristics of an ideal text-type is a myth. This is because the supposed prerequisites of a text-type may be overridden by the actual requirements of the contexts of situation. This is why in many texts we find a mixture of the descriptive, narrative, argumentative and (sometimes) instructive functions. As de Beaugrande & Dressler (1972, 186) put it:

"A text-type is a set of heuristics for producing, predicting and processing textual occurrences and hence act as a prominent determiner of efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness. But the type can hardly provide borderlines between its members and non-members, anymore than the notion of text can do. The conditions of communication are simply too diverse to allow such a rigorous categorization".

This means that our decision as to which text-type a certain text belongs to, will solely depend on our estimation of the theme (in its literary sense) and function of the text (plus some or all of the syntactic features, which have been mentioned by de Beaugrande & Dressler, that appear on the surface of each text).

This point brings us to the description of the 8 texts which constitute Group A.

4.1.2 Description of Texts

Text No. 1. is a narrative text entitled: /*ʔalmahdi min ʔaba ila IXurTu:m*/ (= Almahdi from Aba to Khartoum) and was taken, randomly, from a book called /*HiSaaru wa suqu:T ulxurTu:m*/ (=The siege and decline of Khartoum) January 1884-1885), written by a Sudanese woman writer named Maymoona Hamza in 1972. The text consists of four pages (pp 43-46) which contain 77 sentences; 61 of them are verbal and the rest (16) are nominal sentences. In other words, the verbal sentences constitute 79.2% whereas the nominal sentences form 20.8% of the text.

Text No. 2. is also a narrative text entitled /*ʔalhiJrah*/ (= The immigration) which was selected from a book called /*mu:Jaz^u taʔri:xi 19arabi wa lʔislaam*/ (= A summary of the history of Arabs and Islam) written by Gaasim Al Aziz in 1971. This text consists of 6 pages (124-128) which contain 71 sentences, 58 of them verbal and the remaining 13 nominal; in other words, 81.6% of the whole text are verbal sentences and 18.4% are nominal sentences.

Text No. 3. is descriptive in its orientation and is entitled /*8a3wat badr*/ (= The battle of Badr). This text was chosen from a book entitled /*taʔri:xu 19arabi lqadi:m*/ (= The ancient history of the Arabs) written by Nabeeh Aaqil in 1972. The text falls between pages 363-365 and consists of 45 sentences, 33 of them verbal and 12 nominal. That is 73.3% of the whole text are verbal sentences while the nominal sentences constitute only 26.7% of the text.

Text No. 4. is the other descriptive text in this group and it is entitled /*taʔri:xu sawaakin*/ (= The history of Sawaakin (an ancient

Sudanese City)). The text was randomly selected from a book entitled */taʔri:xu sawaakin wa lbaHri lʔaHmar/* (= The history of Sawaakin and the Red Sea), written by a Sudanese writer named Mohammad Salih Dirar in 1981. The text consists of 3 pages (24-26) which include 46 sentences, 30 of them verbal while the remaining 16 nominal; in other words the percentage of the verbal sentences in the whole text is 65.2% and that of the nominal sentences is 34.8%.

Text No. 5. is instructive in its orientation and it is entitled */Kalimatu lmaliki lHasan ila lʔummaali Judud/* (= King Hassan's speech to the new workers). The text was taken from a book called */min XuTab wa nadwaati lmaliki lHasani ʔʔaani/* (= From the orations and debates of King Hassan) pp. 42-43. The text consists of 26 sentences, 9 of them verbal and the remaining 17 nominal; in other words, the verbal sentences constitute 34.6% of the whole text whereas the nominal ones form 65.4%.

Text No. 6. which is the second instructive text, is entitled */Kitaabu lmahdi ila ʔahli sawaakin/* and was taken from the same source from which Text No. 4. was taken. We have taken two texts from the same source due to the scarcity of instructive non-procedural type of text, i.e. those texts which are instructive but not of the do-type, so to speak. The text consists of 3 pages (116-188) which contain 79 sentences: 48 of them are verbal and the remaining 31 sentences are nominal. That is, verbal sentences constitute 60.7% of the whole text while the nominal ones constitute 39.3%.

Text No. 7. which is an argumentative one, is entitled */fatratu maa qablu SSaHaafah/* (= The pre-press period). This text was chosen from a book entitled */taʔri:xu SSaHaafati ssu:riyyah/* (= The history of the Syrian press) pp. 13-20, written by Shams Addin Alrufaa9i in 1969. The

text consists of 131 sentences, 86 of them verbal and 45 nominal, in other words the verbal sentences form 65.6% of the whole text whereas the nominal sentences constitute 34.4%.

Text No. 8 which is the last text in Group A is also an argumentative text entitled */Kayfa wulidati ssarqu l?awsat wa limaa5aa?/* (= How was Alsharq Alawsat born and why?). The text was written by 9rfaan NiZaamuddin in Alsharq Alawsat Arab daily newspaper, issue No. 3514, Tuesday 12 July 1988, p.9. The text consists of 166 sentences, 96 of them verbal and the remaining 70 nominal; in other words, the verbal sentences constitute 57.8% of the whole text whereas the nominal sentences form 42.2%.

For convenience on the one hand and to ensure that they are situationally comparable on the other, all the texts which have been mentioned so far were selected from the field of history.

4.1.3 Group B

Passivization is a factor operative on word order in Arabic as well as in the majority of human languages. As the main target of this study is to find out the functional role of sentence constituents in MSA including the passive sentence, the data in Group B was selected for the analysis of the influence of the passive on word order in MSA.

Most of the data which we have selected in this group was taken from the field of science. This is because scientific writing, by and large, describes natural processes whose cause may be anonymous so that the human agent is involved solely as an observer. Even when the writer describes a procedure devised and carried out by himself, he often prefers to present his subject matter impersonally as long as attention is mostly focused on the findings described. Linguistically, it is the

passive that finds it's most appropriate field of application in this scientific writing. This is due to the fact that the choice of the passive in technical/scientific writing enables attention to be focused on the effect or result of an action which is most significant in this kind of writing and consequently of greater interest to the reader of scientific/technical text than knowing what or who performed the action itself.

Strictly speaking, passivization brings these effects and results into a position of thematic priminnence. Moreover, the passive gives a sense of objectivity and enables the writer of a scientific text to omit the author/doer as their mention would not give any information that could not be inferred anyway. In addition to this, where the writer is reporting a series of actions, to specify the doer for each would involve a degree of repetition that is generally considered inelegant stylistically (in English). So, instead of using the pattern agent - action, scientific writing tends to use the pattern: topic (used here in a neutral sense) -event relating to it. In other words, the passive facilitates the more or less universal tendency to organize utterances in theme-rheme sequences. This point brings us to the description of the data in Group B.

4.1.3.1 Description of Group B

This group consists of 10 texts which differ in length and number of passive constructions, as we are going to show straightaway.

Text No. 9. is represented by the first 200 pages of /*taʔri:xu sawaakin walbaHri lʔaHmar*/ (= The history of Sawaakin and the Red Sea) a book written by Mohammad Salih Dirar in 1981. The text consists of 4000 sentences, 209 of them being passive constructions.

Text No. 10. was extracted from an educational Arabic magazine called /ʔaaraaʔ/ (= views), volume X nos. 3 & 4. September-December 1980, pp 62-89. This magazine is issued quarterly by the regional centre for functional literacy in rural areas for the Arab states (ASFEC) in Sirs-el-Layyan, Menoufia, Arab Republic of Egypt. The text consists of 420 sentences, 92 of them passive constructions.

Text No. 11. is entitled /ʃiʃaaʔu lʔasmaak/ (= The food of fish) taken from Al-Arabi Magazine, issue no. 306 May 1984, Kuwait, pp. 97-99. The text consists of 60 sentences, 15 of them passive constructions.

Text No. 12. is entitled /ʔitqaanu lluṣaati lʔaJnabiyyah/ (= Mastering Foreign Languages) and was taken from the same source as Text No. 11., pp 72-74. The text comprises 50 sentences, 9 of them passive constructions.

Text No. 13 is entitled /taHDi:ru maHLu:li ttaHli:li lkahrubaaʔi/ (= The preparation of electrolysis solution) taken from the Arab Doctor Magazine, volume 2, No. 1. March-April, 1983, p.48. The text consists of 12 sentences, 7 of them passive constructions.

Text No. 14 is entitled /tasxi:Su JalTati lʔawridati lṣami:qah/ (= Diagnosis of deep vein thrombosis) and was taken from the same source as text No. 13, pp. 33-38. The text consists of 100 sentences, 25 of them being passive constructions.

Text No. 15 is entitled /Sanaaḡatu lJibn/ (= Cheese manufacture) and was chosen from a book entitled /ʔalḡulu:mu wattarbiyatu SSiHHiyyah LiSSufu:fi lxaamisati lʔibtidaaʔiyyati wa ṡṡaaliṡati lyaafiṡi:n/ (= Science and health education for third and fifth elementary forms), pp 96-97. The book was written by a committee in the ministry of

education, Iraq, 1981. The text consists of 20 sentences, 14 of them being passive constructions.

Text No. 16. is entitled */9amaliyatu zar9i qalbin li?awwali su9u:diyyin ?uJriyat fi: bri:Taaniya/* (= A heart transplant operation performed on a first Saudi citizen, in Britain), and was taken from Al sharq Alawsat Arab daily newspaper, Issue No. 2339, 24 April 1985, p.19. The text comprises 42 sentences, 15 of them being passive constructions.

Text No. 17. is entitled */mubaadaraatun ?istiθnaa?iyyatun līmu9aalaJati l?awDaa9i l?iqtiSaadiyyati walmaaliyyati wal?iJtima9iyyah/* (= Exceptional initiatives for treating the economical, financial and social situations) and was taken from the same source as Text No. 16, p.1. The text contains 18 sentences, 5 of them being passive constructions.

The last text in this group, i.e. text No. 18, is entitled */8asi:lun kilwiyyun liHaamili lqalbi SSanaa9i/* (= Dialysis for the Carrier of the artificial heart), and was taken from the same source as texts Nos. 16 & 17, p.19. This text consists of 4 sentences; 3 of them being passive constructions.

We now proceed to discuss the procedure used in our analysis; but before that let us pinpoint some of the difficulties which we have encountered during our data-analysis and the strategies we have taken for dealing with them.

4.2 Some Difficulties

The main difficulty which we have faced in our analysis was how to identify the sentence boundaries. This is because the tendency in Arabic is to use much more than one independent clause to express a complete thought. In addition to that the punctuation system in Arabic

does not assist the reader in the same way as, say, it's European counterpart does for it's readers. Holes, C. argues that "The tendency of many Arab writers, despite the introduction of the comma and full-stop (for both of which consistent patterns of use have yet to be established) is still to pile clause upon clause, separating them only by /wa/ or /fa/..... A recent commentary article of about 350 words by the veteran Egyptian writer Mustafa Amin consisted of one 'sentence' of about thirty clauses, all linked together by /wa/ and /fa/. Arabic writers often write in this way, relying on their readers' appreciation of text pragmatics to supply an appropriate interpretation to these all-purpose connectors". (quoted in Swales & Mustafa, 1984, 234).

Let us consider the following example taken from text No. 7. in our data, to verify Holes's contention as no example was given to support his argument.

EX.54.

(1) *θumma ?inna Haalata l9abaa?ili l9arabiyyati wa tiJwaaliha fi: manaaTiqi lbilaadi l9arabiyyati wa SSaHaara lmuttaSilatu biha wa ?aTraafi lquraa wa masaarifiha wal?ittiSaali binnaasi yawmiyyan, sahhalat naqla ?axbaarihim - ba9Dihim lilba9Di l?aaxari li?annaha ta9tamidu fi: raHi:liha wa tirHaaliha 9ala l?ittiSaali bilbaadiyati wa masaarifi lbilaadi lmasku:nah, (2) wa Kaanat fi: Haqi:qati ?amriha tu9tabaru bimaθaabati SaHaafatin Sayyaaratin min albilaadi wa ila lbilaad, wa min a SSaharaa?i ila lbilaadi l?aahila bissukkaan, (3) tanqulu ?axbaarahum fi: ?aθnaa?i raHi:liha wa tiJwaaliha biqaSdi ttiJaarati wa siraa?i maa taHtaaJu ilayhi, (4) wa yumKinuna ?an na9tabiruha bidaayatan lifikrati wakaalaati ?anbaa?in mutanaqqilatin 9abri SSaHraa?i walbilaad, (5) tanqulu l?aaxbaara ila ?aSHAabi ssa?ni lmuhtammi:na biha (6) wa kaanat haat5ihi l?anbaa?u tata8ayyaru Hasabi*

*fuSu:li ssanati binnisbati liTabi:9ati tanaqulaatiha fi l?amaakini
ttaabi9ati lima9i:satihim wa siyasatihimi ddaxiliyyah, (7) wa nati:Jatan
li5aalika ?aSbaHa maa ya9rifuhu ?aw yufakkiru fi:hi lfardu min assahli
?an yaku:na ma9rifatan 9aammah, (8) wala9alla Hurriyati l?ittiSaali
binnaasi ba9Dihim bilba9Di l?aaxari tasraHu lana sababa l?intifaaDaati
lqawiiyyati lJabbaarati wafi9liha lmu?a00iri l9aZi:mi fi tta?ri:xi
ssu:ri, ma9a ?anna l?afraada ?anfusahum Kaanu: 5awi: Tab9in haadi?in
musaalim.*

The example above indicates that only two punctuation features have been used viz. the comma and the full stop. The comma was sometimes used to delimit clauses within a sentence and sometimes to mark the end of that same sentence; as in sentences (1), (2), & (8) above. As a result of this one is likely to get confused as to how and where she/he can draw the line between a clause and a sentence.

In our analysis, we take the Arabic sentence to be a linguistic chunk which conveys a complete thought; hence the comma in Nos. (3), (4) (6) & (7) was used to mark the end of the sentences in which they occur. By the same token, we treat No. (5), which is left unpunctuated, as a full sentence.

We also notice that only one full stop has been used at the very end of the example. This and many similar cases have led some people to believe that, in Arabic, the full stop marks the end of the paragraph rather than the sentence. Nevertheless, by using the notion of 'complete thought' together with some grammatical clues one may be able to differentiate between clause, sentence, and paragraph.

Another analytical problem was posed by the so-called 'Kaana and it's sisters'. Some Arab grammarians e.g. /ibn Ya9i:s/ (Ibn Yai'sh) and Alazhari, claim that 'Kaana and it's sisters' are particles which are

devoid of lexical meaning and only signify time. Alanbari and others have gone so far as to deny these words verb-status altogether and to consider them mere particles. Kufans argue that these verbs differ in no respect from the rest of the verbs. Al Saamarraa'i adopted this approach and rejected any 'reference to time' in the semantic content of these verbs. (cf Kharma, N. 1983)

On following the behaviour of 'Kaana and it's sisters' in our data, we notice that sometimes they appear alone as in:

EX. (55)

a) ?amma SSuHufu l?uxraa miθlu 'l?anwaar' wa 'lmuHarrir' θumma 'ssafi:r' faqad Kaanat laha saaHaatun waasi9atun linnaJaaHi wa l?inTilaaqi fi:lubnaan walwaTani l9arabi. (from Text No. 8).

(= As for the other papers like 'Alanwaar', 'Almuharrir' and 'Alsafeer', they have had wide areas of success and spread in Lebanon and the Arab World).

Sometimes 'Kaana and it's sisters' appear with a complete verb either contiguously as in:

b)?amma lmuslimu:na fakaanu: yatamatta9u:na bima9nawiyyaatin 9aaliyyatin Jiddan. (taken from text No. 4).

(= A for the Muslims, they were in very high morale).

or discontiguously as in:

c) Kaanti lquwwatu lmiSriyyatu fi ssudaan taftaqiru ila lmaqdirati lHaqi:qiyyati littaSaddi lihaa5ihi θθawrati llati Zahart bawaadiruha. (from text No. 1).

(= The Egyptian forces in Sudan were lacking the real ability to confront this revolution whose signs have appeared).

In our analysis we are going to treat 'Kaana' as a fully-fledged verb when it appears alone, as an auxiliary when it immediately precedes

a complete verb and hence 'kaana + a complete verb' will be treated as a verbal group as in Ex. b), and as a modal verb when it appears discontinuously with a complete verb as in Ex. c) above.

There are other verbs which behave in a way similar to 'Kaana and it's sisters' and which we are going to analyse in the same way as 'Kaana and it's sisters. These verbs are referred to in Arabic as /ʔaf9aalu lmuqaaraba/ (= verbs of appropinquation as Kharma, N (1983) calls them. They are:-

Kaada and *ʔawsaka* = is/was about to ...

9asa = is hoped that

ʔaf9aalu ssuru:9 = (verbs of beginning)

e.g. *sara9a*, *ʔaxa5a*, *Ja9ala* ... etc.

'/ʔinna/ and it's sisters' are treated as modals as they do not appear with verbs. The particle /qad/ which is equivalent to the English 'have-en' form of the verb - present or past, will be analysed as part of the verbal group.

We now proceed to explain the procedure which we are going to follow in our analysis.

4.3. Procedure

The data will be analysed along the following headlines:

4.3.1 Types of sentence in MSA:

The structure and functions of the verbal, nominal or equational sentences will be discussed with the aid of examples to be taken from our data.

4.3.2 Unmarkedness vs markedness of word order in MSA

We will argue, here, that unmarked word order and basic word order should not be conflated. The former will be shown to be essentially a characteristic of the surface structure and that it has the most frequency of occurrence and the more relevance to the communicative function of language. The latter on the other hand will be shown to be a characteristic of the deep structure and consequently to have nothing to do with communication.

4.3.3. Word Orders in our Data

In this section a table with ten horizontal slots will be drawn. The first slot will be filled with 'order-type', the next 8 slots will be filled with the first 8 texts in an ascending order and the last slot will be devoted to the total number of occurrences of each order type on the horizontal level and of all word orders which figure in our data at the vertical level (cf Fig. 9). The table will be divided into two parts: the upper part will be assigned to verbal sentences and the lower part for nominal sentences.

The symbols V, S & C will be used for verb, subject and complement, respectively. For ease of exposition, the term complement will be used to subsume all the features of the predicate excluding the verb. Whenever there is need, the type of complement will be named on the spot.

4.3.4. Word Order and Adverbials

In this section we will be concerned with the behaviour of the four main adverbials, viz., time, place, reason and manner adverbials. We will, specifically, be concerned with the frequency with which each type

of adverbial has been used, it's most favourable position in the sentence as either initial, medial or final. We will also attempt to explain the reason(s) for it's presence in that position, and the function(s) it performs. Examples from our data will be cited in support of every argument we are going to make.

4.3.5. Word Order and Text-Type

In this section each two related texts (e.g. 2 argumentative texts, etc.) will be discussed together to find out the frequency with which each sentence type has been used and why. We will also attempt to find out the influence of the text-typological-focus shifts on the order of words in these texts. This will be done by drawing a table for each two similar texts and finding out the total number of verbal and nominal sentences and the types of word order within each sentence type. The same procedure will be repeated 4 times to cover the 8 texts. This time we will select the example (or examples) which we intend to discuss and the linguistic situation in which it (or they) occur(s) in order to be able to observe the changes from sentence type to another and use the context to find out the reason(s).

4.3.6 Word Order & Passivization

In Chapter 6 which is about word order and passivization in MSA we will be dealing with the morphological and syntactic aspects of the different types of passive in Arabic. We will also discuss the structural and functional differences between active and passive constructions in Arabic. We hope to pin down the differences in word order between English and Arabic passive constructions.

Some irregular passives, in other words, those which do not have transitive verbs on their surface structures, or to use Halliday's (1967, 1985) term, process-oriented receptives will also be discussed.

We will then proceed to discuss the passive of the ditransitive verb in relation to word order. Strictly speaking, we will be concerned with the direct and indirect objects, as to which one of them is more commonly used as the subject of the passive, and what are the criteria that determine the choice of the subject of the passive of a ditransitive verb in MSA.

Then we will proceed to discuss the functional role of the participants in each of the processes of the passive of the ditransitive verb in the light of Halliday's, functional categories, (1985). We will particularly be interested in the functional roles of the participants and the order in which they are presented.

The last section on this chapter will be on word order and agentful passives in MSA. Contrary to the widespread notion that the Arabic passive has no agent, our data shows a number of agentful passive constructions. We will attempt to find out the reasons that motivated their use and the impact that by-elements will have on word order.

As in the previous chapter the examples to be discussed will be selected from our data, and the situation(s) in which they occurred will be called upon either by paraphrasing it/them or by writing the actual linguistic situation(s) according to the analysis-needs.

Statistics, such as frequency counts, correlations between them and percentages will be used throughout our data analysis whenever convenient. Our aim here is to make a differentiation between and evaluation of what is really implemented during language performance and

what is potentially implementable; in other words, what is permissible but did not occur.

The last Chapter, (i.e. Chapter 7) will be devoted to conclusions, implications and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis + Results

Word Order in MSA

5.1 Introduction

In this Chapter we will discuss the different types of sentences in MSA as they figure in our data. The first section will discuss the syntax and the morphology of these sentences (formal description), whereas the functional aspect will be delayed to the end of the section.

Then we will move on to discuss the unmarkedness vs markedness of word order in a general sense and in relation to word order in MSA, and decide on how to determine our unmarked word order in MSA. We will then discuss the other orders which derive from the unmarked one, and decide their degree of markedness according to our frequency scale. (cf Fig.10)

Then we will discuss adverbials and word order in MSA. We will be particularly interested in knowing which adverbials occupy which positions and what functions they convey and the frequency with which they occur.

A brief discussion of all word order-types that occur in our data will follow. (cf Fig.2).

In the following section we will discuss the factors that influence word order in MSA as shown by our data.

At the end of the section we will be dealing with word order and different types of texts. We will, strictly speaking, explain which order-type dominates in what type of text and why.

The type of sentences which figure in our data can be shown in Fig. (8) below:-

5.2 Types of Sentence in MSA.

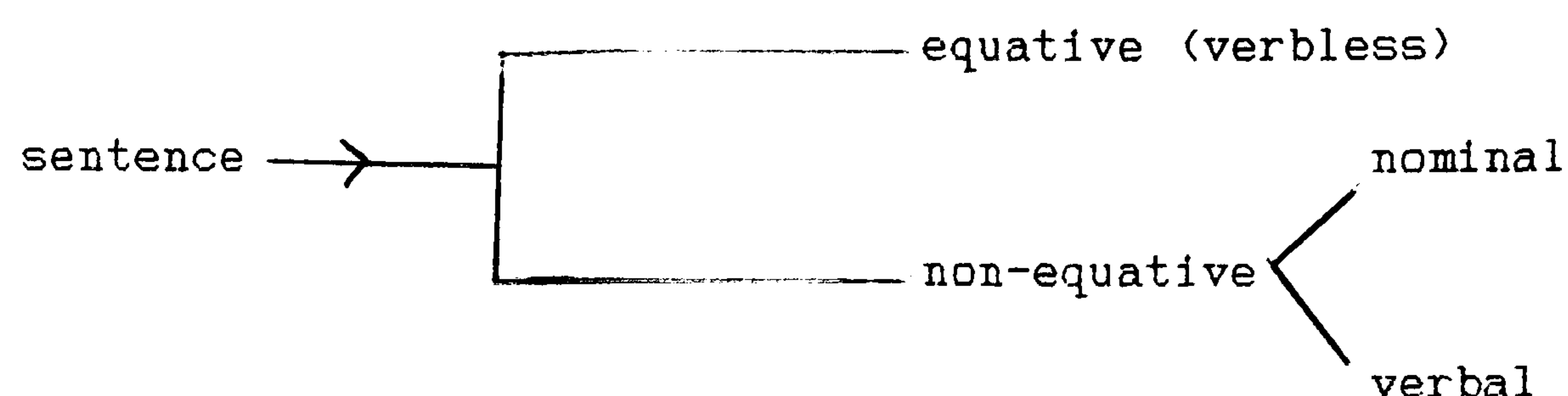


Fig. (8)

Fig. (8) above indicates that there are two main types of sentence in Arabic: equative and non-equative. These sentence types are divided according to whether the sentence contains a verb or not. If it does not contain a verb it is equative, if it contains a verb then it is non-equative. The latter type can be subdivided into nominal sentences which begin with a noun phrase (NP), and verbal sentences which are verb-initial.

Let us take some examples from our data to explain some of the properties of each sentence-type.

5.2.1 Verbal Sentences

The following examples are taken from our data as indicated next to each example.

EX (56) a)

<i>qarrara</i>	<i>lmahdi</i>	<i>ba9da</i>	<i>?an</i>	<i>hazama</i>
decided	Almahdi	after		defeated
<i>quwwaata</i>	<i>lhuku:mati</i>	<i>fi:</i>	<i>θalaaθi</i>	
armies	the government	in	three	
<i>ma9aaraka</i>	<i>ttaqaduma</i>	<i>naHwa</i>	<i>qalbi</i>	<i>kordufaan.</i>
battles	advancement	towards	heart	Kordufaan

(= After he defeated the Government's armies in three battles, Al Mahdi decided to proceed towards Kordufaan).

- b) *waaSala Hukkaamu lXurTu:mi Da8Tahum*
 continued rulers Khartoum pressure their
9ala lqaahirati litamuddahu bilJunu:di
 on Cairo so as supply him with soldiers
wal9ataadi liwaqfi tayyaari 00awrah.
 weapons so as stopping current revolution

(= The governors of Khatrtoum continued their pressure on Cairo to supply them with soldiers and weapons in order to stop the revolution)
 (taken from Text No. 1)

The two examples cited above show that in verbal sentences, in MSA, the verb remains inflected in the singular regardless of the number of the subject. The verb /*qarrara*/ (= decided) in sentence (a) agrees with the subject Al Mahdi on person, number and gender. In sentence (b) there is no number agreement between the verb /*waaSala*/ (= continued) and the subject /*Hukkamu lXurTu:mi*/ (= Khartoum governors); the verb is singular whereas the subject is plural. However, there is gender and person agreement. The reason becomes clear after we discuss example (57) below:

EX(57)

saa9adati ZZuru:fu ssiyaasiyyatu wal?aHdaa0u
 helped the circumstances the political and the events
l?iJtimaa9iyyatu fi: su:riyyah 9ala wuJu:di
 the social in Syria in presence

ittiSaalin daa?imin mustamirrin bayna nnaas.

communication permanent continuous between the people.

(= The political circumstances and social events in Syria helped in the presence of a continuous communication among the people)

(taken from Text No. 7)

In the example above we notice that there is no number agreement between the verb /*saa9adat*/ (= helped) which is inflected in the feminine singular and the subject /*?azzuru:fu*/ (= the circumstances) which is plural. We also notice that with non-human plural subjects e.g. /*?azzuru:fu*/ the verb always remains inflected in the feminine singular, regardless of the gender of the subject.

We now proceed to discuss the following example which tells us something about the subject of the verbal sentence (VSC) in MSA. (other order types will be discussed later in this section).

EX(58)

a) *Kamaa ?aZhara fari:qun 0aali0un*

and also made clear team third

maxaawifahum min Dayaa9i fanni nnasx

worries - their of loss art of handwriting.

(= and a third team expressed their worries about the loss of handwriting)

(Taken from Text No. 7)

b) *fantasarat mawJatun mina 55u9ri*

spread a wave of fear

fi l?awsaaTi rrasmiyyah.

in the centre the official

(= a wave of fear spread in the official centres)

(Taken from Text No. 1)

In these examples, the subjects are underlined. Both subjects */fari:qun/* (= a team) and */mawJatun/* (= a wave) are indefinite NPs. However, they are both modified: by the adjective */θaaliθun/* (= third) and the prepositional phrase */mina 55u9ri/* (= of fear) respectively. Both modifiers serve the goal of specifying (restricting) the possible identity of the referent by giving further details about the identity of the noun phrase they modify. In other words, both referents of the subjects */fari:qun/* (= team) and */mawJatun/* (= wave) achieve some restriction or specificity as a result of modification though they still remain non-retrievable. This situation enables these NPs and similar ones, I believe, to behave syntactically in a way similar to definite NPs (e.g. those having the definite article */ʔal/* (= the) for instance).

In this sense, all the NPs which are playing the role of subject of VSC sentences in our data, are either syntactically definite (with definite article) and have specific retrievable referents or syntactically indefinite (with no definite article) but have specific though, non-retrievable referents (i.e. indefinite modified NPs).

This finding is in disagreement with El Rakhawi (1982, 20) who contends that "subjects in Arabic can be definite or indefinite without restriction". He cites the following example in support of his argument.

EX(59)

yal9abu waladun fi lHadi:qah (ibid. p.20)
 play boy in the garden
 (= a boy plays in the garden)

ElRakhawi analyses this sentence as = verb + subject + complement. It is our contention that in this situation, a 'verb + complement +

subject' order is the most reasonable candidate because the subject /waladun/ (= the boy) is an indefinite NP with non-specific and non-retrievable referent and should, therefore, be put at the end of the sentence to make the order VCS. The reason for this is, probably, that the principle of FSP interferes and places the indefinite subject NP /waladun/ (= a boy) which carries new information, at the end of the sentence (FSP as one of the factors influencing word order in MSA will be discussed later in this section).

Another example which is relevant to the point under discussion is given by Agius (1988, 45) who argues that a sentence like:

EX(60)

"tas8alu rriyaaDa qiSSatun ?uxraa,

preoccupy Al-Riyad story another

(= Another story preoccupies Al-Riyad).

can not change to VSO because the subject is indefinite".

The subject of this sentence /qiSSatun ?uxra/ (= another story) is similar to the subject of Ex(58) a), /fari:qun 0aali0un/, in that it consists of a noun (/qiSSatun/) modified by an adjective (/?uxra/) which has a restrictive role. In other words, though /qiSSatun ?uxra/ is indefinite in the sense that it has no definite article, it can still be argued that it has specific though non-retrievable referent. If this is the case, then, there is no reason, in principle, why the subject /qiSSatun ?uxra/ should not precede the object as it did in EX(58) above. This leads us to seek for another reason for placing the subject of this sentence in final position which we explain as follows. The principle of end-weight comes into play, here, and places the longer (heavier) NP /qiSSatun ?uxra/ at the end of the sentence to be preceded by the shorter one /arriyaaDa/ as shown in Agius's example. Second, the

NP /*qiSSatun ?uxra*/ carries the new information in the sentence and is therefore placed in final position in order to convey the unmarked (given-new) functional order.

We can now conclude, in the light of the above discussion, that the subject of a VSC order sentence in MSA can be a definite NP, an indefinite NP with specific non retrievable referent or an indefinite NP with non-specific referent as in Ex(59) in which case it is most likely to be placed in sentence final position.

5.2.2. Nominal Sentences (SVC)

All the SVC sentences in our data show an agreement between verb and subject in person, number and gender.

EX(61)

Kaana ssu:riyyu:na yurJi9u:na ilayhi lfaDla

was the Syrians refer to him the favour

fi: taTwi:ri lbilaadi wannuhu:Di biha

in developing the country and rising with it.

(= The Syrians used to refer to him (a former leader) the favour of developing the country and lifting it.)

The underlined subject and verb agree in person, number and gender. In all the SVC examples we have in our data all the subjects are definite NPs. Though ElRakhawi (1982) claims that a restricted indefinite NP can function as the subject of a SVC sentence it is very rare, if not impossible, to find such an example in real discourse as has been shown by our data.

There are some examples in our data in which the verb does not agree with the initial NP. This is because the initial NP in such examples is not functioning as the subject of the sentence, e.g.:

EX(62)

- a) *laakinna lfatwa llati: yuSdiruha*
 but the fatwa which issue it
 sayxu l?islaami biSafatin xaaSatin fa5aatu
 religious Chief Islam in particular has
 ta?θi:rin muTlaq.
 influence absolute.
 (= The fatwa issued by the Religious Chief of the Moslems in
 particular has an absolute influence.) (Taken from Text No. 7)

In this example there is no agreement between the initial NP /*alfatwa*/ (= fatwa) and the verb /*yuSdiru*/ (= issue); the NP is feminine whereas the verb is inflected for the masculine singular. The agreement in this example (and similar ones) is between the verb and the subject /*Sayxu l?islaam*/ (= the Religious leader of the Moslems) on the one hand and between the initial NP and the pronominal /*ha*/ (= it) which is attached to the verb /*yuSdiru*/ in the VP /*yuSdiruha*/ (= issue it) on the other. The initial NP /*alfatwa*/ is the logical object of the matrix sentence which has undergone a relativization process as a result of which the logical object became the subject of the matrix sentence. The relativized object in this example (and similar ones) leaves behind a resumptive pronoun in its place on the surface structure of the predicate from which it was extracted. This presumptive pronoun is

obligatory in case the relativized NP is object as in the example under discussion, and dropping it will give an ungrammatical sentence, e.g.

- b) */*laakinna lfatwa llati yuSdiru šayxu lʔislaami fa5aatu taʔθi:rin muTlaq.*/

In fact any NP which is not a subject leaves behind a copy of itself on the surface of the predicate from which it was relativized or transferred to the initial position (i.e. thematized).

Let us take another example from our data to support this point.

EX(63) *haa5ihi lʔasʔilatu wa 8ayruha*

these questions and others

*mina lʔasʔilati lmaTru:Hat**i la ʔamliku*

of questions thrown don't possess

Haqqa lʔiJaabati 9alayha...

right the answer to it

(= I don't have the right to answer these questions or other ones)

(Taken from Text No. 7)

In this example the thematized NP */haa5ihi lʔasʔilatu wa 8ayruha mina lʔasʔilati lmaTru:Hat/* leaves behind a resumptive pronoun */ha/* (= their) attached to the genitive particle */9ala/*. In this example as well as in Example (62) we notice that the extraposed NP loses its grammatical status and is no longer dependent on syntactic relations internal to the clause in which the relativized or thematized NP originated. In other words, the relativized NP */alfatwa/* which was functioning as the object of the verb */yuSdiru/* is now in the nominative case and has no syntactic bond with the verb. Likewise, the underlined NP in Example (63) changes its case from genitive into nominative and leaves a copy of itself on the surface structure of the predicate when

thematized. The resumptive pronoun not only has to be present in the place of the extraposed NP, as we mentioned earlier, but also has to be coreferential with it or the sentence will be ungrammatical. In brief, the resumptive pronoun has an anaphoric reference.

If we go back to EX(62) a), we will observe that the subject of the embedded clause /sayxu lʔislaam/ is not coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence and as a result no gender agreement occurs as we have mentioned earlier. In fact even number agreement may not occur when the subject NP of the relative clause is not coreferential with the subject of the embedded clause as the following example, taken from our data demonstrates.

EX(64)

... wa min bayna lʔiSlaaHaati llati: qaama bihaa ʔinnahu

and from among the reforms which carried out it that-he

ʔassasa maktabatan 9aammatan fi: sanati 1719.

established library public in year 1719.

(= and among the reforms which he carried out was that he established a public library in 1719).

In this example the head noun /lʔiSlaaHaati (= the reforms) is feminine plural whereas the subject of the embedded clause is masculine singular estimated as /huwa/ (= he) as can be known from the verb /qaama/. Because these two NPs are not coreferential, no number agreement occurs between the subject of the main clause and the verb. Number, person and gender agreement take place when the subject of the embedded clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence, e.g.

EX(65)

raʔaa lʔaalaafu mina nnaasiXi:n alla5i:na kaanu:
 saw the thousands of handwriters who were
yaksabu:na qu:tahum 9an Tari:qi nasxi lkutubi
 earn food their through way handwriting books
ʔanna muhimmatahum qad intahat.
 that job their has finished.

(= The thousands of handwriters who used to earn their living by writing books, saw that their profession was in danger.)

(Taken from Text No. 7).

In this example (and similar ones) the subject of the embedded clause /*muhimmatahum*/ and the subject of the main clause /*lʔaalaafu min annasixi:n*/ are coreferential and thus there is gender, number and person agreement.

We now move to the other sub-type of nominal sentences.

5.2.3. Equative Sentences

These are verbless sentences that consist of two parts, often called 'topic' and 'comment', and which we are going to call subject and complement, respectively, for convenience. The complement part can be filled with an adjective, a prepositional phrase or a sentence as the following examples respectively indicate:

EX(66)

a) *ʔallaahu lmuwaffiq* (Taken from Text No. 8).

Allah helper (= God is the helper)

b) *lHamdu lillaahi lwaali lKari:m* (Taken from Text No. 6)

Gratitude to Allah protector generous

(= Gratitude is for God the protector and most generous)

c) ʔarrasu:lu huwa lHakamu fi lXuSu:maatī.

the messenger he is referee in quarrels

(= The prophet is the judge in disputes.)

(Taken from Text No.2).

We notice that when the complement (comment) is a sentence as in c) it must have a pronoun coreferential with the subject (topic). The function of this pronoun is to intervene between the two nouns as in example c) above to prove that they are not emphasized and emphasisizer, or permutative but they are a sentence. The functions of each sentence type will be discussed later on in this section.

Now let us proceed to discuss unmarkedness vs markedness of word order in general on the one hand and in MSA on the other.

5.3. **Unmarkedness vs Markedness of Word Order in Arabic**

It is noticeable from the work done on word order in Arabic that the main concern of the authors was to find out which word order type is the basic one and which other orders are derived from that basic order (cf Chapter 2). The basic word order is considered by most writers to be the unmarked order whereas the other orders that derive from it are treated as marked ones. Generally speaking an unmarked phenomenon is taken to reflect a norm, an expected or natural state of affairs. A marked phenomenon on the other hand is taken to be any departure from this norm.

In the literature an unmarked construction is assumed to be:-

- a) "the most semantically neutral of a number of possible alternatives in not requiring various linguistic or situational specifications for its occurrence.

- b) Comprised of fewer morphological elements than a corresponding marked construction.
- c) Prosodically neutral i.e. lacking additional suprasegmental features (as a consequence of a)" (quoted in Siewierska, 1984, 218).

It follows from these criteria that an unmarked phenomenon will be the most easily articulated one and, probably, the most frequently occurring one. The same argument holds true for word order, i.e. an unmarked word order is considered to be the most frequently occurring one in a language.

According to Li & Thompson (1975) the justification for choosing the basic word order rests on the claim that the choice of that word order will result in generating more sentences with fewer rules or at least less complicated ones than the choice of any other alternative word order.

Unmarkedness and frequency of occurrence of a certain word order type in a language, however, do not necessarily indicate that that word order should be treated as the underlying or basic word order and that all other word orders should be derived from it. This statement is supported by Comrie (1981), Mallinson & Blake (1981) and Siewierska (1988) who argue that a basic word order should not be equated with the dominant one in a language (cf Siewierska, 1988). Moreover, McCawley (1970) suggests that VSO should be considered the basic word order for English - an order which is barely used.

It seems to me, then, that basicness and unmarkedness do not necessarily go in the same direction. The criteria determining word order as basic or "underlying" are not necessarily congruent with those taken into consideration when determining the unmarked word order in a

language. That is to say, semantic neutrality, morphological incomplexity, lack of suprasegmental features and frequency of occurrence are not prerequisites for the 'basic' word order of a language. And indeed if this had not been the case, complex topical sentences in topic prominent languages would not have been considered basic. (cf Li & Thompson, 1976).

The notion underlying word order is defined by Li & Thompson (1975: 170) as "that word order which is most efficient in terms of generative machinery". This definition confirms that basic word order or "underlying" has nothing to do with frequency or semantic neutrality and, hence, has very little, if any, to do with the communicative function of language.

In practice, however, the statistically most dominant word order has often been chosen as the basic word order of a language.

The upshot of this discussion is to show that as long as our study will concentrate on the functional role of word order, then we are not going to deal with basic word order in the sense of "generative machinery". The question of how a given word order is generated by using fewer or less complicated rules is, as a matter of fact, irrelevant to our study.

We will, henceforth, be concerned with word orders that are actually produced, with the communicative functions they convey, with the frequency with which these word orders are used in different text-types and the reason(s) for that frequency.

5.4 Word Order in our Data

The word orders which actually figured in our data can be represented in the table below:

Order Type	T1(N)	T2(N)	T3(D)	T4(D)	T5(I)	T6(I)	T7(A)	T8(A)	TOTAL
VSC	28	24	10	4	-	1	18	27	112
VSC	7	7	5	8	1	3	7	-	38
VC	14	19	14	8	8	39	24	44	170
VS	10	6	4	5	-	1	31	18	75
VA	2	2	-	5	-	4	6	2	21
VCC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
TOTAL	61	58	33	30	9	48	86	96	421
SVC	13	3	7	11	6	7	18	39	104
SV	-	1	-	2	-	1	9	8	21
SC	2	8	4	2	8	20	16	22	82
SA	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
CVS	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
CVC	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
CV	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
CS	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	-	7
TOTAL	16	13	12	16	17	31	45	70	220
									641

Figure (9)

The table above shows the different word orders which are actually present in our data. T1(N) and T2(N) in the table refer to the first and second texts which are both narrative. T3(D) and T4(D) refer to the third and fourth texts which are both descriptive. T5(I) and T6(I) represent the fifth and sixth texts which are both instructive. Finally, T7(A) and T8(A) represent the seventh and eighth texts which

are both argumentative. V, S and C refer to verb, subject and complement respectively. The term complement is used, here, in a general sense, i.e. to subsume all the features of the predicate excluding the verb, e.g. objects, adverbials ... etc.

Theoretically speaking the symbols V, S and C can be permuted to make six different orders, viz. VSC, VCS, CVS, CSV, SVC and SCV. However, the orders SCV and CSV do not figure in any of the eight texts as shown in Fig. (9), neither do they occur in the data selected for discussing word order and passivization (cf Chapter 6). This finding shows that Arabic is not an absolutely free order language. Meantime, it is attuned to Siewierska's (1988) contention that though many languages exhibit a considerable freedom in the permutations of their sentence constituents, yet no genuine free order language exists.

We have excluded adverbials from Fig. (9) for convenience. This is because including them would need a number of tables to list all the orders in which adverbials occur. However, we will deal with them later in this section.

We have mentioned earlier that an unmarked word order is expected to be semantically and prosodically neutral and morphologically simple. We have also mentioned that a word order which exhibits these characteristics has often been expected to have the most frequency of occurrence among other permutations. This is partly because those structures which are articulatorily complex will be avoided by speakers and will, therefore, be more marked and, consequently, less frequent.

So, frequency should be considered an important ingredient not only in phonology but also in grammar as Greenbaum has pointed out:

"The restriction on the goal of Linguistics to an account of linguistic competence in this circumscribed sense has led many

linguists to disregard frequency of use. We can nevertheless argue that judgements of frequency - in particular judgements of the frequency of syntactic constructions - have a theoretical importance even within a narrowly-conceived competence theory, and this is so even though frequency of use is considered irrelevant".

He goes on to argue that:

"One factor that seems to influence acceptability judgements of syntactic constructions is an opinion on the frequency with which the structures are used. Empirical evidence for the relationship between the two types of judgement is important for any theory of grammar".

(quoted in Perry, T.A. (ed) 1980 pp 301 & 302 respectively)

If we go back to Fig. (9) and notice the frequency with which each word order type occurred in our data, we will have the results shown in our scale of frequency below:

	Order-type	No. of occurrences
very frequent	VSC	114
frequent	SVC	100
rare	VCS	37
very rare	CVS	2
non-existent	CSV & SCV	-

Figure (10)

Figure 10 above shows that VSC is the most frequent word order in our data taken as a whole, and hence the most favoured pattern of expression in MSA. Though, in theory, this fact should not be confused with the notion of basicness, as we have mentioned earlier on, we still notice that the two notions "basicness and unmarkedness" coincide in MSA

and indeed in the overwhelming majority of human languages. In other words, the basic word order in a language is often the most frequent one in that language.

SVC order comes in the second place as our frequency scale indicates. According to the general belief that every language has one unmarked word order from which other orders derive (cf Greenberg, 1966), SVC in MSA should be considered a marked word order, but in fact this need not always be so. Let us take the following example to clarify this point:

EX(67)

.... *wa haa5a l?iddi9aa?u yaJ9alu lmasaafata baynna*

and this claim makes the distance between us

wa baynahum 0ala0ata ?alaafi 9aam.

and between them three thousands year.

(= This claim makes the distance between us three thousand years).

(Taken from Text No. 1.)

This example has clearly a SVC order but there is no strong reason that makes it a marked order. Here, the subject is inverted to take the initial position instead of post-verbal position in the unmarked order. There is no resumptive pronoun or any other morphological marker left behind on the surface as a result of thematizing the subject NP. If we go back to the situation in which this sentence was used we will find that the notion of 'claiming' was mentioned two sentences back. So, it is used as an old information in our example above i.e. as the theme of the sentence. But this still raises the question : why was not an unmarked verbal sentence in which the subject would carry out the same function used instead? The reply to this question is that the initial

position in Arabic is, all other things being equal, by and large reserved for items which the speaker/writer has reason to emphasize. This leads us to the point that using the nominal sentence asserts that (emphasizes) the subject */haa5a l?iddi9aau/* (= this claim) and not anyone else is the one which the statement is about. It follows, then, that the variation in word order in this case, and I believe in any other case, is not there as an artifact about the language but it is there to convey a certain function. It seems to be then, that it is very hard to claim that a nominal sentence (in Arabic) which starts with a subject has an unmarked or a marked order without being biased to or against it. For this reason we are content with calling it less marked or "qua marked order", so to speak.

Next in the scale is VCS order. To say something about it's unmarkedness/markedness let us take the following example:

EX(68)

.... *waqad SaHiba rrasu:la fi: hiJratihl*

and had accompanied the prophet in emigration

?abu bakr aSSiddi:q

Abu Bakr el-Siddiq.

(= and the prophet has been accompanied in his emigration by

Abu Bakr el-Siddiq).

(Taken from Text No. 2)

This example is taken from Text No. 2, as indicated, which is about prophet Muhammad's immigration. The object */arrasu:la/* (= prophet) figured previously in the text. So, in our example above it is context dependent and thus carries low degree of CD. The subject */?abu bakr/* (= Abu Bakr) is newly introduced into the situation and hence it is context independent carrying the highest degree of CD. In this example,

therefore, the principle of FSP interfered with word order and placed the element which carries the highest degree of CD (the subject) at the end of the sentence. As a result of this interference by the FSP principle, the word order is rendered marked with the subject taking the final position and the object immediately following the verb and preceding the subject. So, in this example the clash between word order and FSP principle is settled for FSP and an unmarked given - new order of information is maintained.

There are some situations, however, where the VCS order is obligatory as in the following example taken from our data.

EX(69)

.... wa ?aJbarathu θaqi:fun 9ala mu8aadarti
 and forced him Thaqeef to departure
 TTaa?if xa?iban.

Al Taif disappointedly.

(= Thaqeef forced him to quit Al Taif disappointedly).

(Taken from Text No. 2)

In this example the objective pronoun /hu/ (= him) refers anaphorically to the NP (Muhammad) mentioned in the previous sentences. The objective pronoun is, being anaphoric, context-dependent and hence carries the lowest degree of CD in the sentence. The subject NP /θaqi:fun/ (= name of a tribe) is also textually recoverable where the mention of /?aTTaa?if/ (= name of a city) presupposes the presence of the tribesmen /θaqi:f/ and therefore informationally less salient i.e. it carries low degree of CD. The prepositional phrase (PP) /9ala mu8aadarati TTaaifi Xaa?iban/ (= to quit AlTaif city disappointedly), which occupies the sentence-final position, carries the highest degree of CD and consequently conveys the new information in the sentence. In

this example (and similar ones) where the objective pronoun is cliticized to the verb, the order verb + object + subject (VCS) is the only possible one in MSA.

We now move to discuss another set of VCS order sentences which figure in our data. This set of sentences can be represented by the following examples:

EX(70)

- a) *faʔabHarat bihinna sufunun suraa9iyyatun min*
 sailed with them ships sailing from
muSawwa9 Hattaa ʔalqat marsaaha fi: Sawaakin.
 Musawa till cast anchor in Sawakin.

(= They were carried by sailing ships which sailed from Musawwa till they cast their anchors at Sawakin).

- b) *wa ya9tarifu lahum kullun man lahu ma9rifatun*
 and acknowledge to them every who has knowledge
wa ilmaamun bi9aadaati ʔahli haa5a lʔiqli:m.
 and experience with habits people this region.

(= whoever has knowledge and experience of the habits of the people of this region, believes in them).

(Taken from Text No. 1.)

In these examples both verbs /ʔabHarat/ (= sailed) and /ya9tarifu/ (=acknowledge) need a preposition viz /bi/ and /Li/ respectively, to help them take their objects. So, the two objects /bihinna/ (= with them) and /Lahum/ (= for them) are indirect objects. Each of these objects refers to a noun phrase whose referent was mentioned in the previous sentence in the text. So, both of these objective pronouns are anaphoric carrying the lowest degree of CD in the sentences in which they occur. The subjects /sufunun sura9iyyatun/ (= sailboats) and

/kullun man lahu ma9rifatun wa ilmamun ... etc/ on the other hand carry the highest degree of CD in the sentences in which they occur. The order of constituents in these examples is influenced by the principle of FSP. Though such a VCS order with a PP acting as indirect object is in a majority it is by no means obligatory. The following example supports this claim:

EX(71)

.... *wa ra?at ?an tusaahima ?akθaru min qabi:latin*

and saw that contribute more than tribe

fi: qatlihi liyaDi:9a damuhu bayna lqabaa'il

in murder his to-be lose blood-his among the tribes

(= and it (Quraysh) saw that more than one tribe should participate in killing him (the prophet) so that his blood would be lost among the tribes.)

The preceding situation is that when Quraysh knew that Prophet Muhammad and his followers were preparing to migrate from Mecca to Yathrib they decided to interrupt his way and kill him. The plan of his murder is explained by our example above. The order of this example is VSC which can reverse to VCS without rendering the sentence ungrammatical. In this sentence what is to be communicated i.e. new information, is the reason behind the murder of the prophet by more than one tribe. In other words, it is the adverbial that is context independent and thus carries the highest degree of CD in the sentence. The indirect object */fi: qatlihi/* (= in his murder) was mentioned in the previous sentence, whereas the subject */?akθaru min qabi:latin/* (= more than one tribe) is recoverable from the textual context and therefore both of them carry less degree of CD than the adverbial at the end of the sentence.

VCS order may also be seen in relative clauses where an object pronoun is coreferential with the head NP of the relative as in Example (62) above, reproduced here as Example (72).

EX(72)

.... wa laakinna lfatwa llatti: yuSdiruha sayxu l?islaami
biSifatin xaaSatin fa5aatu ta?θi:rin muTlaq.

(= The fatwa issued by the Religious Chief of the Moslems has an absolute influence).

In such a construction the order VCS is obligatory. It is the relativization of the object /alfatwa/ which necessitated the presence of the clitic pronoun /ha/ at the end of the verb. The difference between this example and Examples (70) and (71), is that despite the presence of a clitic pronoun in each of the latter two examples the indirect object in each case can precede or follow the subject as we have made clear earlier on.

It is the absence of a relativized object in these last two examples (70 & 71) that made it possible for the indirect objects in these examples to precede or follow the subject according to the requirements of the situation and consequently to have an optional VCS order.

The last type of VCS order sentences in our data is the one in which an indirect object precedes the subject of the passive as in the following example.

EX(73)

wa lam taTul ilma9rikatu fi: 5aalika nnahaar wa
and did not prolong the battle in that day and

Hallati lhazi:matu fi: Sufu:fi qurays, wa qutila
happened the defeat in lines Quraysh, and was killed

min riJaalaatihim 9adadun 8ayru muttafaqin 9alayhi
 from their men number not agreed upon
bayna 45-70 raJulan.

between 45-70 man

(= The battle did not last long in that day and Quraysh was defeated, and an unagreed-upon number of their men, between 45-70 men were killed). (Taken from Text No. 3)

In this example the object */min riJaalaatihim/* (= of their men) precedes the subject of the passive */9adadun 8ayru muttafaqun 9alayhi bayna 45-70 raJulan/* (= an unagreed upon number between 45-70 men). This order is not in fact obligatory as will become clear from the following example where the subject of the passive precedes the object.

EX(74)

wa haaka5a ?uxti:rati lHabasatu malJa?an lilmuslimi:n
 and in this way chosen Ethiopia refuge for Moslems.

(and in this way, Ethiopia was chosen as a refuge for Moslems).

(Taken from Text No. 3).

The reason for reversing the order in Example (73) is attributed to the principle of end-weight whereby the larger syntactic unit i.e. the subject is pushed to the end of the sentence after the indirect object. The order subject + object is indeed the most frequent and hence the unmarked one in passive constructions with ditransitive verbs in MSA, as we will, hopefully, see in Chapter 6.

To round off this discussion about VCS order one may say that a word order in which the object precedes the subject is more marked than the one in which the subject comes sentence-initial. (Bearing in mind that the unmarked order is verb + subject + object).

We now move to discuss CVS order. We have got only two examples of this order-type as Fig (8) indicates. Both of them have the same structure, so we chose one of them for convenience.

EX75)

C

wa min ?ashari SSuHufi llubnaaniyyati ?ana5aak /

and of most famous the papers the Lebanese at that time

✓ *kaanati* / ^S *lHayaatu llati stushida SaaHibuha*

was AlHayaah which died as a martyr owner-her

l?ustaa5 kaamil murruwwa 9aam (1966).

Mr Kaamil Muruwwa year 1966.

(= And the most famous Lebanese paper at that time was 'Al Hayaah' whose owner died as a martyr in 1966).

In this example the subject takes the final position which is normally occupied by the object in unmarked situations. The subject, being longer (= heavier) than the object, occupies the final position and thus complies with the principle of end-weight as in the previous example. Here in this example the subject is textually recoverable and thus carries the lowest degree of CD (i.e. thematic) whereas the object carries the highest degree of CD (i.e. rhematic). In this type of word order (i.e. CVS) the object not only precedes the subject as in the previous case (i.e. VCS), but also precedes the verb and occupies the sentence initial position. Such an order in which the subject occupies final position and the object initial position is expected to be more marked and, hence, less frequent than the word orders which we have, previously, discussed (cf Fig. 10 above).

The two remaining theoretically possible word orders viz. CSV & SCV do not figure in our data and, as expected, our scale of frequency indicates that they are the most marked orders.

Let us consider the following two examples, which represent the two word orders under discussion (CSV & SCV), from Bakir (1979, p.6).

EX(76)

- a) *muHammadun Kitaaban ?ištaraa*
 Muhammad book bought
 (= Muhammad bought a book)
- b) *alkitaabu muHammadun ?ištaraa-hu*
 the book Muhammad bought-it
 (= As for the book, Muhammad bought it).

Sentence a) above is theoretically possible and grammatically quite acceptable. However, it is really questionable whether such a sentence can appear in a real communicative situation.

The second example is quite acceptable both grammatically and communicatively and in fact it is similar to example (63) which we have discussed in that the object of this sentence has undergone a thematization process as a result of which it was extraposed to the initial position leaving behind a resumptive pronoun on the surface of the predicate part from which it was moved. Bakir (1979, 7) assigns the sentence under discussion the order 'object + subject + verb' respectively. The resumptive pronoun /hu/ which is cliticized to the end of the verb is left undefined.

As we have mentioned earlier when discussing Ex(63) above, a thematized object in such an example as Bakir's, leaves behind a copy of itself attached to the end of the verb to function as a direct object. On the other hand, the extraposed object NP changes its grammatical status, as a result of thematization, from the accusative into the nominative case. So, /alkitaabu/ (= the book) which was the syntactic

as well as the logical object of the sentence is now the theme of the sentence (though it is still the logical object) and the resumptive pronoun plays the role of the object. This leads us to disagree with Bakir on assigning the sentence under discussion a CSV order (object + subject + verb), and instead we assign it the order theme + subject + verb + object (i.e. TSVC) in the light of our discussion above. The outcome of this discussion is that these orders CSV & SCV are highly marked and can hardly occur in concrete communicative situations.

We now proceed to discuss adverbials in terms of both order and function as our data indicates.

5.4.1. Word Order and Adverbials in MSA

Our data shows four types of adverbials viz. time adverbials, place adverbials, reason (= purpose) adverbials and manner adverbials. The frequency with which adverbials occur and the positions they occupy are shown in Fig. 11 below:

Type of Adverbials	Initial Position	Medial Position	Final Position	Total
At	34	22	81	137
Ap	16	33	56	105
Ar	5	8	25	38
Am	-	6	17	23
TOTAL	55	69	179	303

Fig. (11)

Fig. (11) above shows that there are 303 adverbials in our data. Time adverbials (At) constitute the majority (137), and they can appear

in all positions. Place adverbials (Ap) come in the second place (105) and they can also appear freely in all positions in verbal sentences. The adverbials of reason (purpose) occupy the third position (38) and they can as well appear in all positions in verbal sentences as shown in Fig. (11). The fourth position is occupied by manner adverbials (Am) which register 23 occurrences. Manner adverbials do not occur in initial positions (as Fig. (11) shows), neither before nominal sentences nor before verbal sentences. The reason for that is a matter of acceptability, i.e. the order of sentence constituents in which a manner adverbial comes in initial position is less acceptable than the one in which it occupies another position. e.g.

EX(77)

wa haaka5a ?uxti:ratu lHabaSatu malJa?an
 and in this way chosen Ethiopia refuge
lilmuslimi:n. fahaaJara ?ilayha lmuhaaJiru:na 9alaa duf9atayn.
 for Moslems. emigrated to it immigrants in two batches.

(Taken from Text No. 2)

(= And in this way Ethiopia was chosen as a refuge for Moslems.
 Then the emigrants emigrated to it in two batches).

In this example the manner adverbial /*9ala duf9atayn*/ (= in two batches) occupies the final position. If the adverbial had been placed in the initial position, the sentence would have been awkward. However, in this example both the action and the affected goal of action are both context-dependent which gives the manner adverbial greater CD and consequently it occupies the final position.

A significant observation shown by our data about the behaviour of adverbials in MSA is that though they appeared in medial and final

positions in nominal sentences, none of them (time, place, reason and manner adverbials) appeared at the beginning immediately before a nominal sentence. In fact, in almost all cases, when an adverbial appears at the beginning of a nominal sentence a particle or a modal verb must intervene between the adverbial and the initial NP to secure the acceptability of the sentence. Let us consider this example taken from our data:

EX(78)

yu9addu faJru SSaHaafati fi: Su:riyya Hadi:θan
 considered dawn the press in Syria recent
nisbiyyan. ?i5 yarJi9u ila bidaayati nniSfi θθaani
 relatively as goes back to beginning half second
mina lqarni ttaasi9 9asar. wa qablu haa5a tta?ri:xi
 of the century nineteenth. and before this date
kaanat mubaadaraatun wa muHaawalaatun nusammi:haa
 was initiative and attempts we call it
?a9maalan SaHafiyyatan fi: waqtina lHaaDir.
 works press in our-time present.

(Taken from Text No. 7)

(= The start of press in Syria is considered relatively recent, as it goes back to the beginning of the second half of the 19th Century. Before this date there were some initiatives and attempts which we could call press-works in our present time.)

The adverbial of time /*qablu haa5a tta?ri:x*/ (= before this date) in this example is followed by the modal verb /*kaana*/ (= was) whose

presence is - indeed - obligatory to secure the acceptability of the sentence.

Apart from the position immediately before nominal sentences, time, place and reason (purpose) adverbials can appear unconditionally at any other position in any type of sentence, according to our data.

Fig. (11) above indicates, also, that adverbials in MSA generally prefer final position as 179 out of 303 (i.e. 59%) appear in final positions. The second preferable position for time adverbials is the initial position whereas all other adverbials prefer medial positions as their second choice.

Although adverbials occur in initial and final positions their occurrence in initial position seems to be deliberate thematization. This is due to the fact that all the adverbials (55) which occurred in initial position in our data function as situational settings and thus carrying the least degree of CD. Even in final position most of the adverbials we have in our data are subordinate in CD to the actions and goals of actions which are mentioned within the same communicative field.

Fig. (12) below shows the distribution of CD among adverbials as they figure in our data:

Adverbials	No. of	No. of Adverbials	
	Rhematic	in	
	Adverbials	Final Position	Percentage
At	16	81	19.7%
Ap	13	56	23.2%
Ar	6	25	24%
Am	8	17	47%

Fig. (12). The distribution of CD among Adverbials.

Fig. (12) above indicates that not all adverbials in final position are rhematic. It also shows that 16 out of 81 (i.e. 19%) time adverbials, 8 out of 17 (i.e. 47%) manner adverbials, 6 out of 15 (i.e. 24%) reason adverbials and 13 out of 56 (i.e. 23.2%) place adverbials have the highest degree of CD in the sentences in which they occur. In other words the majority of adverbials have thematic value despite their position at the end of the sentences in which they occur. This means that word order alone would not reflect the degree of CD carried by these adverbials. This is tantamount to Firbas's (1971) argument that the element with the lowest degree of CD need not necessarily occupy sentence initial position.

Let us consider the following examples from our data to support these statements:

EX. (79)

- a) *faqad Jarat haa5ihi l8a3watu fi: sahri ramaDaan*
 and has ran this the incursion in month Ramadan
min assanati 00aniyati min alhiJrah.
 of year second of the Hegira.

(Taken from Text No. 3)

(= This incursion has taken place in Ramadan of the second year of The Hegira).

- b) *wa min 0amma tamma stid9aa?u ra?u:f baasa*
 and as a result completed call Rauf Pasha
wa 9uyyina makaanahu 9abdulqadir baasa Hilmi
 and nominated place - his Abdul Gadir Pasha Hilmi
fi: maTla9i 1882.

at beginning 1882.

(Taken from Text No. 1)

(= And as a result Rauf Pasha has been called and Abdul Gadir Hilmi Pasha has been nominated in his place at the beginning of 1882).

In Example (79, a) above the phenomenon spoken about i.e. */haa5ihi 18a3watu/* (= This incursion) has already been introduced onto the communicative scene (in fact it is the textual topic) and is therefore context dependent and, hence, carries a low degree of CD.

The communicative purpose in this example is to convey a temporal specification. In other words, the time adverbial (*/fi: Šahri ramaDaan min assanati θθaniyati min alhiJrah/*) is the focus of information in this example and consequently carries the highest degree of CD.

In Example, (79, b) above, the situation is that Rauf Pasha was the governor of Sudan when the Mahdi revolution broke out. Because of his failure to control the situation, he was sacked and replaced by Abdul Gadir Pasha Hilmi. So the phenomenon spoken about in this example i.e. */ra?u:f baša/* is recoverable from the preceding context and is therefore thematic. The action and the goal of action are communicatively more important than the other communicative units in the sentence. It is who replaced the Governor (Rauf) after he has been deposed, that is the communicative concern in this situation. The temporal indication, i.e. the adverbial (*/maTla9i 1882/* (= at the beginning of 1882) being communicatively least important is in consequence relegated to the background as a setting.

We now discuss this example in which two place adverbials occupy final position but convey different communicative functions.

EX(80)

fa ?abHarat bihinna sufunun sura9iyyatun min
 and sailed with them ships sail from
muSawwa9 Hattaa ?alqat marsaaha fi: sawaakin. 0umma
 Musawaa till cast anchor it at Sawaakin. Then
?aqla9at bihinna ssufunu ilaa mi:naa?i l9aqabah.
 sailed with them the ships to port Alaghabah.

(= and they have been taken by sailing ships from Mussawaa to Sawaakin. Then the sailboats took them to the port of Al Aghabah.

(Taken from Text No. 4)

The situation here is that one of the Ethiopian kings gave 70 maids as a present to the Prophet Solomon to be sent to him in Jerusalem. (This part has been mentioned before (cf Ex (70) above). This situation is then followed by our example. The first place adverbial */fi: sawaakin/* (= at Sawaakin) has been previously mentioned in the text and is, therefore, context-dependent and it carries lower degree of CD. The affected goal */bihinna/* (= with them) is also context dependent and hence the subject */sufunun sura9iyyatun/* (= sailing ships) is the communicative unit that carries the highest degree of CD.

In the following sentence both the action and the affected goal */bihinna/* are context-dependent and therefore communicatively less salient than the place adverbial */ila mi:naa?i l9aqabah/* (= to the port of Al Aqabah) which functions as local specification, and thus carries the highest degree of CD in the sentence in which it occurs.

We now move to another pair of reason (purpose) adverbials taken from our data.

EX(81).

- a) *fa karrara 9abdulqaadiri muTaalabatahu lilqaahirati*
 and repeated Abdul Gadir demand his to Cairo
litusaa9idahu bi?irsaali kataa?iba ?iDaafiyyah.
 to help him by sending troops additional.
 (= and Abdul Gadir repeated his demand to Cairo to send him
 additional troops). (Taken from Text No. 1)
- b) *θumma ?inna Haalata lqabaa?ila l9arabiyyati wa taJwaalaha*
 then that state tribe Arabian and roaming his
fi: manaaTiga lbilaadi l9arabiyyati wa SSaHraa?i
 in regions lands Arabian and the deserts
almuttaSilati biha wa ?aTraafi lquraa wa masaarifiha
 the connected to it and edges villages and projectings its
wa l?ittiSaala binnaasi yawmiyyan sahhalat naqla
 and the communication with the people daily eased transport
?axbaarihim li?annaha ta9tamidu fi: raHi:liha wa
 news - their because it depends on departure and
tarHaaliha 9ala l?ittiSaali bilbaadiyah.
 roaming on the communication with the desert.
 (= and the state of the Arabian tribes, their roaming in the
 regions of the Arabian lands and the deserts which are connected
 with it and with the edges of the villages, the daily
 communication among people eased the transfer of their news,
 because these tribes depend on their roaming on the
 communication with the desert people) (Taken from Text No. 7).

In example a) above the subject /9abdul qaadiri/ (= Abdul Gadir) and
 the object /muTaalabatahu lilqaahirati/ (= his demand to Cairo) are
 both context-dependent and therefore carry low degree of CD. The

reason adverbial */litusaa9idahu bi?irsaali Kataa?iba ?iDaafiyyah/* (= to help him by sending him additional troops) is the most salient communicative unit in the sentence and hence has the highest degree of CD.

In example b) the subject */Haalata lqabaa?ila l9arabiyyati wa taJwaalaha fi: manaaTiga lbilaadi l9arabiyyati waSSaHraa?a lmuttaSilati biha wa ?aTraafi lquraa wa masaarifiha wal?ittiSaalu binnaasi yawmiyyan/* (= the state of the Arabian tribes, their roaming in the Arabian regions and the deserts which are connected with them and in the edges of the villages and the daily communication with people) is textually recoverable and thus context-dependent and carries low degree of CD. The affected goal */naqla ?axbaarihim/* (= transfer of their news) is context-independent and thus it is the communicative unit which carries greater CD than the other communicative units. The reason adverbial */li?annaha ta9tamidu fi: raHi:liha wa tarHaaliha 9ala l?ittiSaali bilbaadiyyati/* (= because it depends on it's roaming on the communication with the desert), is relegated to the background to function in the act of communication as a setting. It is, therefore, the communicative unit with the lowest degree of CD.

The last pair of examples which we would like to discuss are both with manner adverbials occupying final position as shown below:

EX(82)

a) *fasaara9ati SSulTaatu fi: tasyi:d ttaHSi:naati*

then started the authorities in construction fortresses

fi lmuduni rra?i:siyyati 9ala 9aJal.

in the towns the main with speed.

(= The authorities then started to construct fortresses in the main towns quickly).

(Taken from Text No. 1)

b) *wa lam yakun lihaa?ula?i ra8batun fi lqitaal fa*
 and not to be to those desire in fight then
 qaawamu: ?i9aadati taJni:dihim. wa ruHHilu: ila
 they resisted repetition levy their and transferred to
 ssudaani Qunwatan.

Sudan forcibly.

(= and those did not have any desire in fighting, so they
 resisted their re-levy, but have been transferred to Sudan
 forcibly.)

(Taken from Text No. 1)

The situation for example a) above is that the revolutionaries started to defeat the colonial government and capture some towns and were on their way towards the centre of the Country. This situation is then, followed by our example a). The subject /*assulTaatu*/ (= the authorities) has been previously mentioned and it is therefore context-dependent and hence carries low degree of CD. The affected goal /*fi: tašyi:di ttaHSi:naati*/ (= in constructing fortresses) is contextually independent and thus carries the highest degree of CD. The manner adverbial /*9ala 9aJal*/ (= quickly) being communicatively less important is in consequence pushed to the end of the sentence to function as a setting.

The situation for example b) above is that the colonial governors at Khartoum persuaded the headquarters at Cairo to supply them with soldiers in order to face AlMahdi whose fame and power spread in the country. The government of Cairo was compelled to send some sacked and unwilling-to-fight soldiers. This situation was then followed by our example b) above.

The subject of the passive in our example, which is "the soldiers", is deleted to avoid repetition because it appeared in the two

immediately previous sentences. The deleted subject is textually recoverable and is therefore thematic and has the lowest CD. The place-adverbial /*ila ssu:daan*/ (= to Sudan) has been previously mentioned in the text and is therefore context-dependent and hence carries low CD. The remaining communicative unit /*gunwatan*/ (= forcibly) which is the manner adverbial, is placed at the end of the sentence to function as manner specification. It is, thus, the communicative unit with the highest degree of CD in the sentence.

What is to be deduced from this discussion is that adverbials in MSA are by and large thematic. Even when they occur in final position (and the majority of them do so), they are still subordinate in CD to the actions and the goals of actions with which they sometimes appear within the same communicative field. So much for word order and adverbials and we now proceed to discuss some of the other word orders that figured in our data and are shown in Fig. (9) above.

5.4.2 Other Word Orders

If we go back to Fig. (9) we will notice that there are verbal sentences which are subjectless i.e. VC, objectless, i.e. VS and others in which both subject and object are deleted i.e. VA. (cf the upper half of Fig. 9). We will also notice that there are nominal sentences which are subjectless i.e. CV, objectless, i.e. SV, and other in which both object and verb are deleted i.e. SA orders (cf the lower half of Fig. 9). The adverbial is included here in order to differentiate between V and VA order sentences on the one hand and S and SA order sentences on the other. We will now select some examples which we think may be interesting and discuss them.

Let us consider the following example:

EX(83)

- a) *Kamaa ttaXa5a l?amawiyyu:na Ja3i:rata diHlik manfaa*
 and also took Al Amawiyouna island Dihlik exile
liman taHduθ minhu ?aDraarun lilmuslimi:n
 for who happens from him harm to Muslims.

(= Al Amawiyoun also took Kihila island as an exile for him who hurts Muslims. (Taken from Text No. 4)

- b) *wa haa5a l?iddi9aa?u yaJ9alu lmasaafata baynana*
 and this claim makes the distance between us
wa baynahum θalaaθata ?aalaafi sanatin.
 and between them three thousand year.

(= And this claim makes the distance between us 3000 years).

(Taken from Text No. 4D)

The word order of sentence a) above is VSCC with */?ittaxa5a/* (= took) as a ditransitive verb, */Ja3i:rata dihlik/* (Dihlik Island) as a direct object, */manfaa liman taHduθ minhu ?aDraarun lilmuslimi:n/* (= an exile for him who hurts Moslems) as an indirect object and */al ?amawiyyu:n/* (= Al Amawiyoon/ (= tribe) as a subject.

Sentence b) has the order SVCC with */haa5al?iddi9a?u/* (= this claim) as a subject, */yaJ9alu/* (= makes) as a verb, */lmasaafata baynana wa baynahum/* (= the distance between them and us) as a direct object and */θalaaθata ?alaafi sanatin/* (= 3000 years) as an indirect object. In both of these examples the direct object comes before the indirect object. The order 'direct object + indirect object' is the favourite one when the relation between the two objects is not that of receiver (i.e. beneficiary) and received. In fact trying to reverse the order of the objects in Example (83) a) and b) above yields awkward and hardly acceptable sentences. When the relation between the two objects is that

of receiver (i.e. beneficiary) and received, the indirect object precedes the direct object as will be seen when we come to discuss word order and passivization in Chapter 6.

In example a) above the subject and the direct object are both textually recoverable and thus carry a low degree of CD. The indirect object /*manfaa ...*/ is context-independent and hence carries higher degree of CD than the other communicative units in the sentence. The same analysis applies to example b) where the subject and the direct object carry low degree of CD while the indirect object /*θalaaθata ?aalaafi sanatīn*/ (= three thousand years) carries the highest degree of CD in the communicative field. In these two examples, therefore, the order of the constituents are in harmony with the unmarked "given-new" distribution of information.

Let us now consider another example:

Ex (84)

- a) *fa llaaha subHaanahu wa ta9alaa ?as?alu ?an*
 and God praise be to God ask that
 yulhimaKumu ttawfi:q
 bestow you success.

(= I beg God, praise be to him, to bestow you with success).

(Taken from Text No. 5)

- b) *wa mina ?addunya SSaaHirati faH5aru:*
 and from world deceptive take care
 (= And take care from this deceptive life)

(Taken from Text No. 6)

In example a) above the direct object /*?allaaha subHaanahu wa ta9aalaa*/ (= God praise be to him) has been previously mentioned and it is therefore thematic. The subject (= the speaker) being known is

deleted and the direct object which carries low degree of CD is moved to the first position to function as theme. The indirect object /ʔan yulhimaKumu ttawfi:q/ (= bestow you with success) is context-independent and thus carries the highest degree of CD. The movement of the direct object to occupy the initial position rendered the word order marked (CVC).

In example b) the subject of the imperative (i.e. the deleted second person plural pronoun) is context-dependent and hence has the lowest degree of CD. The indirect object /wa mina ddunya ssaaHirati/ (= and from the deceptive life) is the most informationally important communicative unit in the sentence and it thus carries the highest degree of CD. It's presence at the beginning of the sentence brings about a marked word order viz. CV.

The last example which we would like to discuss is taken from Text No. 4.

EX(85)

wa lam yaKun Kullu ʔahliha raa8ibu:n. fafi:ha

and not was all inhabitants its interested. in it

lyahu:du wal musriku:na wal munaafiqu:n

The Jewish and the polytheists and the hypocrites.

(= And it's inhabitants were not interested. And in it were the Jews, the Polytheists and the hypocrites).

The pronoun /ha/ in the underlined clause refers to /Yaθrib/ , a town to which Prophet Muhammad emigrated. Some people of Yathrib were not interested in what the prophet came with. The reason for that is given by our underlined example, viz. because there were Jews, polytheists and hypocrites in it. The indirect object /fafi:ha/ (= in it (= Yathrib)) has been previously mentioned and it is, therefore,

informationally less important than the subject and hence it is thematic. The subject */alyahu:du walmusriku:na wal munaafiqu:n/* (= The Jews, the polytheists and the hypocrites) is put at the end of the sentence to convey new information. The word order in this example is marked (CS). The */fa/* which is prefixed to the prepositional phrase */fi:ha/* and the fact that the subject is heavier than the object rendered the word order of our example obligatory. Any attempt to reverse the order of the constituents of this sentence will result in an acceptable sentence.

A glance at Fig (9) will tell us that it is normal to have a verbal sentence which consists of a verb + an adverbial (21 instances). On the other hand it is very rare (only one example in our data) to find a nominal sentence which consists of a NP (subject or object) plus an adverbial in non colloquial text-types. In colloquial conversations, however, it is normal to find sentences which consist of even one word, e.g. a verb or a subject. This is because live discourse enables speakers to omit some parts of speech and still be comprehensible.

Let us consider this SA-order example which is shown in Fig. (9).

EX(86)

(1) *wa kaanat Sinnaaru fi: Haalati HiSaarin mun5u*

and was Sinnar in situation blockade since

bidaayati 1883. (2) Wa Kasala wa lqaDaarif fi: nu:fimbir

start 1883. And Kasala and Al Gadarif in November

min 5aati 19aam.

of same year

(= Sinnar was in a state of blockade inn the start of 1883. And Kasala and AlGadarif in November of the same year.)

In this example both verb */Kaanat/* (= was) and complement */fi: Haalati HiSaar/* (= in a state of blockade) are deleted in sentence No.2. to avoid repetition on the one hand and because they have been mentioned in the previous sentence and are thus, not expected to push the communication further on the other. So, we are left with the subject */KaSala walqaDaarif/* (= names of towns) and the adverb of time */fi: nu:fimbir min 5aati 19aam/* (in November of the same year). The former (i.e. the subject) is textually recoverable and it, therefore, carries low degree of CD. The latter, i.e. the temporal adverbial, is context-independent and it is, thus, the communicative unit with the highest degree of CD.

The message of this sentence and indeed of the previous ones is to tell the reader the time in which some towns surrendered to the revolutionaries.

There are some situations in which a sentence in MSA may consist of a verb only. Such an example is discussed in the next section under word order and passivization.

We now proceed to discuss word order in different types of texts. We will be concerned with which type of sentence occurs in different text-types and attempt to find out when they occur and why.

5.4.3 Word Order and Text-Type

We have shown in Fig.(9) above that our data consists of 8 texts and that each two of them, we believe, belong to one and the same type of

text, i.e. texts 1 and 2 are narrative, 3 and 4 descriptive, 5 and 6 instructive and 7 and 8 argumentative.

In this section we are going to take each two related texts and discuss the impact of text-type and text-typological-focus-shift(s) on the word order of these texts.

It has traditionally been claimed that in Arabic whenever a person or a thing is to be described a nominal sentence is used whereas relating an act or event triggers the use of a verbal sentence. This delimitation of the functions of verbal and nominal sentences may be useful to describe isolated sentences, their use and their functions. However, there are some other syntactic, rhetorical and textual functions which determine the use of either verbal or nominal sentences in Arabic according to the situation in which they are used.

We will attempt to highlight some of these functions in this section.

Let us now go back to texts 1 and 2 and discuss the word orders which occurred in them as shown in Fig. (13) below.

Sentence												
-Type	Verbal Sentences					Total	Nominal Sentences					Total
Order-type	VSC	VCS	VC	VS	VA		SVC	SV	SC	SA	CA	
Text No. 1	28	7	14	10	2	61	8	-	-	-	-	8
Text No. 2	24	7	19	6	2	58	4	-	3	-	1	8
Fig. (13)						119						16

Fig. (13) above indicates that Text No. 1 consists of 61 verbal sentences vs 8 nominal sentences. Text No. 2., on the other hand, consists of 58 verbal sentences vs 8 nominal sentences. In other words, the verbal sentences constitute 88% of Text No. 1 and 90% of Text No. 2. In the following discussion we will attempt to give some reasons which,

we think, favour the extensive use of verbal sentences over nominal ones in narratives.

In Text No. 1 the author narrates the movement of Al Mahdi (the leader of the revolutionaries) from Aba to Khartoum and his victories over the colonial government. The author of Text No. 2, on the other hand, narrates the emigration of prophet Muhammad from Mecca to El Medina.

The characters of the authors of both texts do not appear on the surface; instead they adopt an objective approach, in most cases, and tell the events as they happened in the real world, and by and large with the same iconic order. This objective manner of presentation, we believe, may be one of the reasons for favouring unmarked verbal sentences over marked nominal ones. Let us consider the following example taken from Text No. 1.

EX(87)

(1) *wa qad laaqat Hamlatu HaaKimi fasu:dah raasid ?ayman fi: di:sembir 1881 nafsa maSi:ri quwwati JJazi:rah ?aba.* (2) *wa kaana ?an ?a9qaba ha3i:mati lHuKu:mati fi: ma9rikatayni mutataaliyyatayni taSaa9udun Kabi:run fi: suhrati lmahdi.* (3) *wa lam yaJid ra?u:f basa buddan Hi:na?i5in min al?ittiSaali bilqaahirati Talaban lil9awn.* (4) *Kaanati lquwwatu lmiSriyyatu fi ssudaan taftaqiru ila lmaqdirati lHaqi:qiyyati littasaddi lihaa5ihi 00awrati llati Zaharat bawadiruha.* (5) *?anna 8aalibiyyata ?afraadi lquwwati Kaanu: min albasbuzug 8ayri nniZaamiyyi:n wa 8ayri lmu?ahali:na 9askariyyan.*

(= The campaign of the governor of Fashoda, Rashid Ayman has met in December 1881 the same fate of the Island of Aba's force. The defeat of the government in two consecutive battles was

followed by a big rise in Al Madhdi's fame. Ra?u:f could do anything at that time other than to ask Cairo for help. The Egyptian forces in Sudan were really unable to confront the revolution whose signs appeared. This is because the majority of the soldiers were irregular and unqualified.)

In this example (text) the first sentence has the order VSAC. The order of the second sentence is VCS. The third sentence has the order VSCA. Sentence No. 4. has the order SVC and the last sentence has the order SVC. The first three sentences in this text which are all verbal follow the main line of events of the narrative in that they tell us about the battle between Al Mahdi and what followed the government's defeat. Sentences 4 and 5 diverge from the main line of events in that the author evaluates the position of the government's forces in Khartoum as lacking the ability to confront the revolution and then justifies it by telling us that the majority of the government's soldiers are irregular and unqualified. In other words, sentences 4 and 5 represent a shift in the so-called "text-typological focus" (defined on page 53). This shift in the text-typological focus is followed by a change in the sentence structure from verbal into nominal to meet the requirements of the new situation. Having used sentences 4 and 5 as a comment on the events that preceded them, or to use Longacre's (1983) term, as "shunted events", the author returns to the mainline of events again using a verbal sentence to tell us about the preparations made by both sides (Al Mahdi and the government) for the next battle. In other words, the verbal sentence is activated by the shift in the text-typological focus. Then a sequence of verbal sentences follows until another shift of text-typological focus activates the use of anominal

sentence or sentences and so on. We take another example from Text, No. 2.

EX(88)

(1) *laqad Jaabahati rrasu:la fawra wuSu:lihi ma9Dilaatun 9uddah.*

(2) *faKaana 9alayhi ?an yunazzima su?u:na ddawlati.* (3) *wa*

yudi:ra daffata lhukmi fi:ha. (4) *wa lam yakun Kullu ?ahliha*

raa8ibu:n. (5) *fafi:ha lyahu:du walmusriKu:na walmunaafiqu:n.*

(= The Prophet has been faced on his arrival at it (Yathrib) with several problems. He had to arrange the state-affairs. And to direct the rule in it. Not all it's inhabitants were interested. There were Jews, Polytheists and hypocrites in it).

In this example (text) the first four sentences are verbal in which the author tells us about the problems which faced the prophet Muhammad on his arrival at Yathrib City. Sentence (5) on the other hand signals a shift of focus in that it does not tell us about a problem which faced the prophet as sentences 1 - 4 did, but it tells us, instead, about the reason behind the problems which faced him. This shift of focus is, again, expressed by a change of sentence type from verbal into nominal.

Our data shows that there are some situations specially in medial clauses, where the choice of nominal or verbal sentences in Arabic is sometimes determined by the particles that govern them.

Let us consider the following example taken from Text No. 1.

EX(89)

(1) *Wa yu9taqadu ?anna ssayxa muHammad sari:f qad sabaqa ?an*

lafata naZara lHikimdaar ila xuTu:rati nnasaaTi lla5i

yumaarisuhu lmahdi. (2) *?illa ?anna haa5a lam yu9irhu*

ltifaatan.

(= It has been thought that Muhammad Sharif, the clergyman, had already attracted the Commissioner's attention to the danger of the activity exercised by Al Mahdi. But he did not give him any attention).

In this example both sentences 1 and 2 express the notion that Muhammad Sharif warned the Commissioner of the danger of Al Mahdi's activity but he turned a deaf ear to the warning. In other words, there is no shift of focus on moving from sentence 1 to 2. The reason for using a nominal sentence (2) after a verbal one (1) is the use of the particle /?anna/ which demands to be followed by a nominal sentence. An example of particles that introduce verbal sentences will follow shortly.

We now move to texts 3 and 4. The word orders which occurred in texts 3 and 4 can be shown in Fig. (14) below.

Sentence Type	Verbal Sentences					Total	Nominal Sentences				Total
Order-Type	VSC	VCS	VC	VS	VA		SVC	SV	SC	CS	
Text No. 3.	10	5	14	4	-	33	7	-	4	1	12
Text No. 4.	4	8	8	5	5	30	11	2	2	1	16
						63					28

Fig. (14)

Fig. (14) shows the distribution of word order types in texts 3 and 4. Both texts, we believe, are essentially descriptive. Text No. 3. describes the battle of "Badr" between Muslims under the leadership of prophet Muhammad and Guraysh-tribe under the leadership of Abu Jahl and others. Text No. 4. on the other hand is a description of Sawakin - a historical Sudanese town.

In both texts as indicated by Fig. (14) above, verbal sentences are predominant. There are 33 verbal sentences vs 12 nominal ones in Text

No.3 and 30 verbal sentences vs 16 nominal ones in Text No. 4. In other words the verbal sentences comprise 73.3% of Text No. 3 and 65.2% of Text No. 4. On comparing the distribution of verbal vs nominal sentences in these texts with that in Texts Nos. 1 and 2 we observe that the percentage of verbal sentences in the narratives is higher than in the descriptive texts. This may be because in narratives most of the clauses refer to events which are dynamic and active more than in descriptive texts.

We have mentioned earlier that the choice of sentence type in Arabic can sometimes be decided by the use of some particle. We take another example in support of this statement.

EX (90)

(1) *wa lam taTuli lma9rikatu fi: 5aalika nnahaar.* (2) *wa Hallati lhazi:matu fi: Sufu:fi qurays.* (3) *wa qutila min riJaalaatihim 9adadun 8ayru muttafaqin 9alayhi bayna lxamsati wa 9arba9i:na walsab9i:na raJulan.* (4) *9amma qatla lmuslimi:na fakaanu: 9arba9ata 9asra sahi:dan.* (5) *wa lamma ntahati lma9raKatu 9amara rrasu:lu bidafni lqatla mina TTarafayn.* (6) *Kamaa 9amara biJam9i l8anaa9im.*

(= The battle did not last long that day. And Guraysh was defeated. An unagreed upon number of their men between 45 and 70 were killed. As for those who were killed from Muslims, they were 14 martyrs. And when the battle ended the prophet ordered that the dead from both sides should be buried. And also ordered that the loot should be carried off).

(Taken from Text No. 3)

In this example the first three sentences are verbal, sentence No. 4. is nominal and 5 and 6 are verbal sentences. All the sentences from

1 - 6 are mutually related in that they describe one and the same communicative purpose viz. "the battle and it's consequences". This suggests that switching from verbal sentence (i.e. No. 3) to nominal sentence (No. 4) in this situation, is not a consequence of a shift in the text-typological focus. The reason for using a nominal sentence, here, we believe, is that the author intends to bring the subject NP /*qatla lmuslimi:n*/ (= those who were killed from Muslims) into contrast with the subject NP of sentence No. 3) /*9adadun 8ayru muttafaqin 9alayh*/ (= an unagreed upon number). On such occasions, in Arabic, the conjunctions "*?ammafa...*" frequently occur. /*?amma*/ occurs in the position before the contrasted element and /*fa...*/ is attached to the beginning of the predicate describing the contrasted element as sentence No. 4. in the above example indicates. The particles /*lam*/ in sentence No 1, /*lamma*/ in sentence No. 5 and /*kama*/ in sentence No. 6 determine the choice of verbal rather than nominal sentences.

Let us consider another example taken from Text No. 4.

EX(91)

(1) *wa qtaDat ?abHaaθuna ?an nuDi:fa ila ta?ri:xi sawaakin ta?ri:xa muSawwa9 wa Jeddah.* (2) *?i5 Kaanat Jami:9uha murtabiTatun biba9Diha 9idata quru:nin taHta Hukmi waali lHiJaazi tturki.*

(3) *wa fi: sanati 1843 kaana muHaafiZu Jeddah yud9aa 9uθmaan baasa.* (4) *wa kaana lahu mamlu:Kaan.* (5) *yud9a ?aHaduhuma yu:suf ?a8a lHabasi mina lJaala.* (6) *9ayyanahu muHaafiZan 9ala sawaakin.* (7) *wa θθaani yud9a rustum ?a8a.* (8) *Kaana muHaafiZan 9ala muSawwa9.*

(= Our researches required that we add the history of Musawaa and Jeddah to the history of Sawaakin. Because all of them were

connected with each other for many Centuries under the rule of the Turkish governor of Al HiJaaz.

And in 1843 the Commissioner of Jeddah was called Uthman Pasha. He had two slaves. One of them was called Yusuf Agha Al Habashi from Al Jaala tribe. He nominated him a commissioner of Sawaakin. And the second one was called Rustum Pasha. He was a commissioner of Musawa).

In the first paragraph of Ex (91) the author describes the interrelationship of Sawaakin, Musawa and Jeddah. Then he switches to tell us about the commissioner of Jeddah in the second paragraph. This switch of text-typological focus is accompanied by a switch from verbal sentence (1 and 2) to nominal sentence (3). Then he switches again to a verbal sentence (No. 4) to be followed by two verbal sentences (5 and 6). Then he switches to a nominal sentence (No. 7). The author then rounds off the paragraph with a verbal sentence, (i.e. No. 8).

The second paragraph of Ex (91) can be analysed in terms of nominal and verbal sentences as follows.

Sentence No.	Sentence Type
Sentence No. 3.	Nominal
Sentence No. 4.	Verbal
Sentence No. 5.	Verbal
Sentence No. 6.	Verbal
Sentence No. 7.	Nominal
Sentence No. 8.	Verbal

Fig. (15)

The fluctuations from nominal to verbal sentences and vice versa, in this example, are not due to shifts in the text typological focus because all sentences from 3 - 8 form a relevant sequence and all

cooperate to convey one communicative purpose, viz. "to tell us about the commissioner of Jeddah".

The switch from sentence No. 3 to 4 i.e. from nominal to verbal could be thought of as brought by the temporal element /*kaana*/ (= was). In case of sentence No. 7. the switch from verbal to nominal sentence may be attributed to two factors, I believe. First, the presence of the subject /*?aθθaani*/ (= the second one) is presupposed by the mention of /*?aHadhuma*/ (= one of them) in sentence No. 5. which means that it is thematic i.e. it carries the lowest degree of CD in Sentence No. 7. However, the subject /*?aθθaani*/ could have been post-verbal and still keeps it's thematicity but by fronting it the author intends to emphasize that it is /*?aθθaani*/ that is called /*rustum ?a8a*/. It could also be suggested that by switching from verbal to nominal sentence in this situation, the author intends to avoid repeating the same pattern and meantime attain some sort of stylistic diversity. The last switch from nominal to verbal sentence (i.e. No. 8) is caused by the temporal element /*kaana*/ (= was).

We now proceed to discuss some examples from texts 5 and 6 which, we believe, are essentially instructive. Text (5) is a message directed by King Hassan of Morrocco to 13 newly appointed regional governors. He urges them to work hard and advises them to be fair to the citizens. Text No. (6) is another message sent by Al Mahdi of Sudan to the people of Eastern Sudan inviting them to join his revolution against the colonial government. He then, gives them some instructions as to what they should do after joining the revolution.

The word orders of Texts 5 and 6 can be shown in the following table:

Sentence-Type	Verbal Sentences					Total	Nominal Sentences				Total
Order Type	VSC	VS	VCS	VC	VCC		SVC	SC	CS	CV	
Text No. 5.	-		1	8	-	9	6	8	2	1	17
Text No. 6.	1	1	3	26	6	37	1	22	1	-	24
Fig. (16)	Verbal Sentences = 46						Nominal Sentences = 41				

Fig. (16) above indicates that Text No. 5 consists of 9 verbal vs 17 nominal sentences, i.e. the verbal sentences constitute about 34.6% whereas the nominal ones about 65.4% of the whole text. One of the reasons for using more nominal sentences in Text No. 5. is that the text is a kind of speech in which personal pronouns play an important role. King Hassan pretends to be modest with his addressees in order to serve his highly subjective and emotional goals. The writer/speaker and the audience are constantly referred to in the text by using personal pronouns like: /na/ (= first person plural clitic pronoun) as in /?innana/, /naHnu/ (= we), /?antum/ (= you, plural), /kum/ (= second person plural clitic pronoun) as in /?innaKum/ (= you are) etc., which mark the sentences in which they occur nominal.

There are other reasons for using more nominal sentences in this text which we will attempt to explain. Let us consider the following example which is taken from Text No. 5.

EX(92)

wa lana lyaqi:nu 9ala ?annakum sata?xu5u:na bi9ayni
 we have certainty that you will take with eye
l?i9tibaar haa5ihi l?azmati lmaaliyyati walxuluqiyyah.
 consideration this the crisis the financial and the moral.
 (= we are certain that you will take into consideration the
 financial and moral crises).

In this example King Hassan instructs his new nominees to take into consideration the financial and moral crises. He could have said something like: /xu5u bi9ayni l?iqtibaar haa5ihi l?a3mati lmaaliyyati walxuluqiyyah/ which is a straightforward imperative meaning "consider this financial and moral crisis". But he preferred to soften the command by resort to an expression which involves a first person plural inclusive, viz. /wa lana lyaqi:n ... etc/. These pronouns carry, to use Brown & Gilman's (1960) terms, 'power' and 'solidarity'. The King uses first person plural pronouns inclusive in order to give the new nominees a feeling of involvement and reinforce the relationship between them and himself despite it's inequalities of power and solidarity. This change of attitude demanded a switch from what would have been a verbal sentence to a nominal sentence (i.e. to Ex.93) which stirs up the feelings of the nominees about the nature of the job which awaits them.

Let us consider another example from Text No. (5).

EX(93)

a) 9alaykum ?an tašta8ilu:

upon you to work

(= You have to work)

b) 9alaykum ?an tu?akkidu: maa 9abbara 9anhu

upon you to assure what expressed about it

ssukkaanu miraran wa takararan.

the inhabitants repeatedly.

(= You must confirm what the inhabitants have repeatedly expressed).

Having raised them to what the King thinks is an equality of power he then addresses them in second person pronoun plural /kum/ (cf Exs. a) & b) above).

In example a) the King wants to order the new nominees to work and in b) he wants them to confirm what the inhabitants have expressed many times. But once again he avoids giving them direct command and obtains the same communicative goal by using equative sentences, (i.e. a) and b) above). Both sentences have a marked word order 'complement' plus 'subject' (C + S) which is obligatory in this situation. i.e. any attempt to reverse this order will render both sentences ungrammatical. Besides the softening effect, this marked C + S word order helps the writer to place new information at the end of the sentence, i.e. on the subjects /ʔan tasta8ilu/ and /ʔan tuʔakkidu:/ respectively.

Sentence b) above is followed by the following sentences in the text which we reproduce here as example (94).

EX(94)

a) fallaha subHaanahu wata9aalaa ʔasʔalu ʔan
and God praise him and magnitude ask to
yulhimaKumu ttawi:qa b) wa yusaddida XuTaakum
assist you success, and assist steps your
c) wa ssalaamu 9alaykum.
and peace upon you.

(= and I ask God, praise and magnitude be to him, to give you success, assist your steps and peace be upon you.)

This example comes at the end of King Hassan's speech immediately after a nominal sentence. Having finished instructing his new nominees the King then asks God to assist them carry out his instructions. Though there is a shift in the text-typological focus between this example and the immediately preceding sentence, the nominal sentence is still maintained. The reason for using a nominal sentence (Ex (94, a), I believe, is that the King wants to emphasize that it is only God who

can be asked to help the new nominees carry out the instructions. This desire to emphasize the object /*fallaha* (= had) rendered the work order marked with the direct object taking the first position, i.e. position of emphasis.

Sentence b) which is verbal is in conjunction with the embedded sentence /*yulhimaKumu ttawfi:q*/ (= assist you with success) which is also verbal. The final equative sentence, i.e. (c) above is a kind of prayer ("peace be upon you") which is often used as a conclusion regardless of whether it is preceded by verbal or nominal sentence.

We now proceed to discuss word order in Text No. 6. Fig. (16) above shows that verbal sentences comprise 60.7% of the whole text whereas nominal sentences comprise 39.3%. Here in Text No. 6. the matter is a bit different from Text No. 6. in that Al Mahdi believes that he received a message from prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, to expel the colonialists out of the country and spread justice on earth. This belief gave him the feeling that as a leader supported by God and his prophet (Muhammad) everyone should obey his orders. The result of this feeling, we believe, was that he gave all his instructions with the exception of one in straightforward imperative form such as:

EX(95)

- a) *?aTi:9u: ?amrahu wa nahyahu*
 obey order-his and prohibition -his
 (= obey his order and prohibition)
- b) *?aHkimu: fi:himi lHiSaara wa lma8aar*
 tighten in them the siege and the onslaughts.
 (= tighten the siege and the onslaught).

In both of these sentences the commands are given in a predictable unmarked order 'V + C' - The only command which is not given in a straightforward imperative form is shown below:

Ex (96)

wa 9an qari:b yu:riθuKumu llahu ?arDahum

and soon bequeath-you God land - their

wa diya rahum. fa9alaykum bil9adli wal?iHsaan

and house-their. upon-you with justice and beneficence.

(= And soon Good will give you their lands and houses. So, be just and beneficent).

The sentence in question is underlined in the above example. The command is given by means of an equative sentence having the word order 'C + S' which, as we have mentioned earlier on, is obligatory in this type of expression.

Now let us take some examples to find some of the reasons for using one sentence-type rather than another in text No.6.

EX(97)

a) fa sma9u: lahu wa?ati:9u: ?amrahu wa nahyahu

Listen to him and obey order-his and prohibition-his

b) wa bimujarradi wuSu:lihi ?ilaykum ?in Kuntum

and as soon as arrival-his to-you if were-you

tu?minu:na billaahi walyawmi l?aaxiri wa muSaddiqi:na

believe in God and the day the-last and believe

?anni lmahdi lmuntaZar fataHazzabu: ?ilayh.

I am Al Mahdi the expected then join to him.

(= Listen to him and obey his order and prohibition. And as soon as he reaches you, if you really believe in God, the day of judgement and that I'm the expected Mahdi, then join him).

In this example the pronouns /*hu*, *hi*/ (= him) refer to Al Mahdi's representative in Eastern Sudan 'Uthman Digna'. In sentence a) Al Mahdi orders the people of Eastern Sudan to obey his Emir Digna and in sentence b) he orders them to join him as soon as he reaches them. This means that both sentences belong to the same topic and thus no shift in the text-typological focus is involved, here. However, there is still a switch from verbal (i.e. a)) to nominal sentence (i.e. b)). This switch may probably be due to the tendency in Arabic to nominalise the particle and the verb in subordinate clauses more than to use particle plus verb combination. Our data shows seven examples of this type versus three of the type particle + verb subordinate clause, e.g.

EX(98)

wa lama ntabati lma9raKatu ?amara rrasu:lu

and when ended the battle ordered the prophet

bidafni lqatlaa mina TTarafayn.

with burial the killed from both sides.

(= And when the battle ended the prophet ordered that the killed from both sides be buried).

Let us take another example from Text No.6.

EX(99)

(1) *wa Jtami9u: 9ala Kalimatn waaHidatin bittifaaqi*

and meet on word one by agreement

JJami:9. (2) wa lKilmatu lwaaHidatu hiya ttaSmi:mu

all. and the word the-one is the determination

wa l9azmu 9ala qitaali tturki ?ahli lmudi:riyyati

and fortitude on fighting the Turks inhabitants

llati ?antum fi: ha.

the province which you are in it.

(= Unite on word by agreement of all. And the one word is the determination and fortitude to fight the Turks who inhabit the province you are in).

In the first of these two sentences Al Mahdi instructs the people of Eastern Sudan to unite on one word. He gives his order by using a verbal sentence starting with an imperative verb. /wa Jtami9u:/ (= gather) followed by an indirect object /9ala Kilmatin waaHidatin/ (= on one word). This indirect object appears in sentence No. 2 as a thematic subject. So, the need to emphasize the indirect object of sentence No. 1. led to the switch from verbal to nominal sentence (i.e. No. 2). Another example of a switch from verbal to nominal sentence caused by emphasis is this:

EX(100)

(1) wa qTa9u: 9anhumu lmawaarida bilKulliiyyati ila ?an
and cut from them the supplies completely until
yahliKahumu llahu ta9aala kama ?ahlaka ?aSHAabahum.
kill them God exalted as killed friends-their.

(2) fa?innahum qawmun kataba llahu 9alayhimu
and they are people wrote God on them
lbalaa?a wa l9a5aab.
the grief and the torment.

(= Cut the supplies from them completely. Until God the exalted kills them as he did to their friends. They are people who are doomed to grief and torment).

The pronouns /hum/ (= them) in /9anhum/ (= for them) and /hum/ in /yahliKahum/ (= kills them) in the first sentence both refer to the Turks who were colonizing Sudan at that time. Al Mahdi once more orders the people of Eastern Sudan to cut off the food supplies from the Turks

until God kills them as he did to their friends. The second sentence also describes the Turks as people who are doomed to grief and torment. This means that there is a shift in the text typological focus between sentences 1 and 2 as they both describe the Turks. However, there is a shift from verbal to nominal sentence. This switch is once again caused by placing the direct object of the first sentence, viz. /hum/ (= them) in /yahlikahum/ (= kill them) at the beginning of the second sentence for the purpose of emphasis, we believe.

We now proceed to discuss the last couple of texts (7 & 8) which, as we have mentioned earlier on, are both argumentative in orientation. Text No. 7 evaluates the Syrian press in the period before the second half of the nineteenth century. Text No. 8 is an evaluation of Al Sharq Alawsat daily newspaper of the Arabs on it's tenth anniversary.

The word orders which have been used in these two texts can be represented in the following diagram:

Sentence														
Type	Verbal Sentences							Total	Nominal Sentences					Total
Order Type	VSC	VCS	VC	VS	VA	VCC	V		SVC	SV	SC	CVS	CS	
Text No.7	18	7	24	31	6	-	-	86	18	9	16	1	1	45
Text No.8	24	-	29	13	2	4	1	73	39	8	32	1	-	80
Fig (17)	Verbal Sentences = 159								Nominal Sentences					125

Fig (17) above indicates that there are 86 verbal sentences vs. 45 nominal sentences in Text No. 7. i.e. the verbal sentences constitute about 65.9% of the whole text while the nominal sentences constitute only 34.4%. The reasons for using more verbal sentences in Text No. 7. will become clear as soon as we start discussing some examples.

Let us consider the following example:

EX(101)

- (1) *yu9addu faJru SSaHaafati fi: su:riyya Hadi:θan nisbiyyan*
 (2) *15 yarJi9u ila bidaayati nniSfiθθaani mina lqarni ttaasi9i*
9asar (3) *wa qablu haa5a Kaanat mubaadaraatun wa muHaawalaatun*
nusammī:ha ?a9maalan SaHafiyyatan fi: waqtina lHaaDir (4)
5aalika li?annaha taraKKazat wartabaTat fi: ?ususiha
bi?asaali:bi lHayaati l?iJtimaaghiyyati SSu:riyyah. (5) *faqad*
saa9adati ZZru:fu ssiyasiyatu wa l?Hdaaθu l?iJtimaaghiyyatu fi:
su:riya 9ala wuJu:di ttiSaalin daa?imin mustamirin bayna nnaas.
 (6) *haa5a bil?iDaafati ila ?anna ttaqaali:da l9arabiyyata*
ssu:riyyata min Karami DDiyaafati ila Husni lJiwaar xalaqati
lfurSata lmunaasibata likulli TTabaqaati lil?ixtilaaT.

(= The start of press in Syria is considered relatively recent. as it goes back to the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century. And before this (date) there were some initiatives and attempts which we would call press works at the present time. That is because they centralized and basically connected with the syrian social life-styles. The political circumstances and social events in Syria have helped in the presence of a continuous and permanent communication among people. In addition to this, the Syrian-Arabic traditions such as hospitality and good neighbourhood created the appropriate chance for all classes to mix).

In this example sentences 1, 2 and 5 are verbal, 3, 4 and 6 are nominal. All the sentences in this example contribute to one and the same discourse-topic viz, "the Syrian press before the second half of the nineteenth century". This means that shifts from verbal to nominal

sentences and vice versa in this example are caused by reasons other than (a) shift(s) in the text-typological focus.

The switch from sentence no. 2 which is verbal to sentence no. 3 which is nominal is a result of using the 'rheme' of the former, viz. */bidaayati nniSfi 00aani mina lqarni ttaasi9 9asar/* (= the start of the second half of the nineteenth century) as the 'theme' of the latter, viz. */wa qablu haa5a tta?ri:x/* (= and before this date).

The switch from sentence no. 5 which is nominal to sentence no. 6 which is verbal is caused by the use of */haa5a bil?iDaafati ila/* (= This in addition to ...), a phrase which is often used as an intersentential connector in Arabic, which demands to be followed by a nominal sentence. */haa5a/* (= this) is also used anaphorically to emphasize what has been previously mentioned and to connect it with what follows.

Let us consider another example from text no. 7.

EX(102)

(1) *Kaana nussaxu kulli Tabaqatin mina lkitaabati yuHtaramu:na lidaraJatin kabi:ratin.* (2) *wa 5aalika raaJi9un fi: ?i9tiqaadi: ila ?anna lkutuba lmuqaddasata kaanat ?awwala lkutubi min Hay0u ttadwi:ni walKitaabati xisyati Dayaa9iha.* (3) *wa qad 5aKara ?anJarbosbiK alhu:landi lla5i zaara lqusTanTi:niyyata sanati 1555 Karasu:lin limaliki hinqaariya ?anna Kulla fardin ya9tani: 9inaayatan biltiqaaTi ?ayyi qiT9ati waraqin min 9ala l?arDi Hatta laa yaTa?ha ?aHadun biqadamih.*

(= The transcribers of each class of writing were respected to a high degree. This is because, I think, the sacred books were the first books to be written and registered for fear of losing them.

Angerbosbik the Dutch who visited Constantinople in the year 1555 as a messenger from the King of Hungary said that every individual cares for picking up every piece of paper from the ground lest someone treads on it).

In this example the first two sentences are nominal whereas the third is verbal. In the first sentence the author argues that the transcribers of each class of writing were respected to a high degree. In the second sentence he suggests that the reason for respecting these transcribers is that the sacred books which they transcribed were the first ones to be written.

Then the author shifts the focus to a completely different matter in sentence no. 3. to tell us about what Angerbosbik had to say about the attitudes of people towards newspapers on his visit to Constantinople. This shift in the text typological focus from argumentative to descriptive led to the change from nominal (nos. 1 and 2) to verbal sentence (no. 3).

Finally in text no. 8. there are 80 nominal sentences vs 73 verbal ones, i.e. the nominal sentences constitute 52.2% of the whole text while the verbal sentences constitute 47.8%. One of the reasons for using more nominal sentences in this text is that there are seven interrogative constructions of the type:

a) *maa hiya ssalbiyyatu wal?i:Jaabiyyaat ?*

what are the cons and pros

(= what are the pros and cons?)

b) *hal Haqqaqati nnaJaaHa lmurtaJaa?*

did attained the success the-expected

(= did it attain the expected success?)

Example a) above is a WH-question whereas Ex b) is a yes-no question.

Example a) begs information about the cons and pros of Al Sharq Al Awsat daily newspaper of the Arabs. It begins with the question word /maa/ (= what) which indicates the purpose of the message, i.e. /maa/ enquires about the new information to be conveyed by the message and it is therefore the sentence constituent with the highest degree of CD and hence rhematic. The same analysis applies to another four similar examples in text no. 8. It can, then, be argued that in Arabic WH-questions with S+C word order, (such as our example and the four similar examples in text no. 8) have 'rheme + Theme' as their unmarked functional order.

Example b) on the other hand is a yes/no question which starts with the question word /hal/. The question begs information as to whether Al Sharq Al Awsat has attained the expected success or not. This polarity, which is expressed by the question word /hal/, is therefore the purpose of the message. The particle /hal/ is thus the sentence constituent with the highest degree of CD and consequently rhematic. /Haqqaqat/ (= attained) is transition and /nnaJaaH almurtaJaa/ (= the expected success) is theme. As in the case of a WH-question it is not unreasonable to argue that yes/no questions in Arabic have rheme + transition + theme as their unmarked functional order.

We have mentioned earlier on that in Arabic a nominal sentence can be used to bring a subject NP into contrast with another NP which has been mentioned previously in the same text. We have also mentioned that in such constructions the conjunctions / ?amma fa / frequently occur. Here in text no. 8. contrast, once again, is one of the reasons for using more nominal sentences. The text exhibits five

cases in which nominal sentences of the type '?amma ...fa" are used especially for the purpose of contrast. Let us consider the following example:

EX(103)

(1) *wa kaana l?ustaa5u sali:mu lluzi qad ?aSdara SaHi:fatan*

and was the master saleem Alluzi has issued a paper

billu8ati l?inKli:ziyyati bismi 'events' laaKinnaha

in language English by name events but it

tawaqqafat bidawriha. (2) ?amma SaaHibu ssabqi linnasri

stopped in turn. As for owner of precedence to publish

bil?inKli:ziyyati faKaana l?ustaa5u 9afi:fu bnu badri

in English he was the master Afeef bin Badr

nnasiru ttu:nisiyyi lma9ru:f alla5i ?aSdara maJallat

the publisher the Tunisian the known who issued magazine

(The Middle East).

The Middle East.

(= It was Mr Saleem Alluzi who has issued a newspaper in English Language by the name "Events" but it stopped in it's turn. As for the pioneer to publish in English, he was Mr Afeef the known Tunisian publisher who issued the Middle East Magazine).

In sentence no. 2. the subject */SaaHibu ssabqi linnasri bil?inKli:ziyyati/* (= the pioneer to publish in English) is brought into contrast with the subject NP */?al?ustaa5u sali:mu lluzi/* (= Mr Saleem Alluzi) by using the conjunctions */lamma/* (= as for) before the contrasted element whereas */fa/* is attached to the predicate describing the subject as shown in the example above.

Text no. 8. also shows four sentences in which the demonstrative */haa5ihi/* (= these or this) has an emphatic role, e.g.

EX(104)

haa5ihi hiya l?aJwaa?u llati Sadarat fi: Zilliha

These are circumstances which issued in shadow-it
ssarqu l?awsaT.

Al Sharq Al Awsat.

(= These are the circumstances in which Al Sharq Al Awsat was
 issued).

This example has been preceded by many sentences in the text which explain the circumstances in which Al Sharq Al Awsat was issued. Then comes our example starting with the demonstrative */haa5ihi/* (= these or this) which is used both anaphorically and emphatically, i.e. to refer to all the previously mentioned circumstances and to emphasize them at the same time. This sentence and the other similar ones in the text contribute to the large number of nominal sentences in text no. 8.

Moreover, there are three stereotyped nominal expressions in text no. 8. of the type */wallahu lmuwaffiq/* (= God is the assistant) which are usually mentioned towards the end of a text or speech as a sort of blessing. Such sentences, once again, add to the number of nominal sentences in text, no. 8.

We now proceed to the second part of our data-analysis (word order and passivization).

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS + RESULTS

Word Order and Passivization

6.1 Introduction

Many languages use passivization as a strategy to convey certain functions, e.g. a) topicalization which is manifested by the assignment of topic function to a non-agent. b) impersonalization function which is shown by the removal of an agent, and c) detransitivization function which is exhibited by agent-demotion and object promotion. Those languages with rigid word order (e.g. English) tend to use passive constructions more than those languages with relatively flexible word orders (e.g. Arabic) where there are other alternatives than the passive for conveying these functions.

Passive constructions have always been defined vis-a-vis active constructions in the following fashion:

- a) the subject of the passive clause is a direct object in the corresponding active.
- b) the subject of the active clause is expressed in the passive in the form of an agentive adjunct or is left unexpressed.
- c) the verb is marked passive.

(Siewierska 1984:2)

The above characteristics of the passive show that passives and actives may differ - syntactically - in case marking, verbal morphology, the appearance of some additional word or particle and most importantly (from our point of view) in word order. The difference in word order between the passive and the active constructions brings about a

difference in the pragmatic functions of the two constructions as will become clear from the analysis which we will proceed with shortly. Although the active-passive constructions, in the majority of cases, may convey the same propositional content, there are still good reasons for using both of them, as our analysis will, hopefully, demonstrate.

We also hope to show that the term passive is not only confined to the clauses which fulfil the aforementioned characteristics but can also be used for other clauses.

In our analysis we will be concerned with the morpho-syntactic structure of the passive in MSA and how it affects word order. We believe that it is important to know the elements that contribute toward the creation of a form in order to understand this form. We also believe that without an understanding of form it may be difficult for one to discuss its function(s).

After discussing the form and the function(s) of the passive construction in MSA and its influence on word order, we will then say how and when the different forms of the passive are used and their effect on word order.

6.2 The Structure of the Arabic Passive

At the beginning of our analysis let us start by showing how the passive in MSA is formed and the extent to which word order is influenced by passivization. Let us consider the following examples taken from our data as explained in each case:

EX(105)

<i>ʔawwalu</i>	<i>9amaliyyati</i>	<i>zar9i</i>	<i>qalbin</i>	<i>Li</i>	<i>muwaatinin</i>
first	operation	transplant	heart	to	citizen

sa9u:diyyin ?uJriyat Yawm al?aHadi lmaaDi fi:

Saudi operated day Sunday last in

mustasfa heirfi:ld bilandan 9ala yadi TTabi:b

hospital Harefield in London by the doctor

l9arabi MaJdi ya9aqu:b.

the Arab MaJdi Yacob.

(A first heart transplant operation on a Saudi citizen was operated last Sunday at Harefield Hospital in London by the Arab doctor MaJdi Yacob). (taken from Text No. 16)

EX(106)

wahaa5ihi lmiyaahu tujlabu min waadi hu:Keib wa haadi.

This the water is brought from valley Houkeib and Hadi.

(This water is brought from Houkeib and Hadi valleys)

(taken from Text No. 9)

EX(107)

yu:Da9u lHali:bu fi: qidrin 9ala nnaari Hatta ya8li:

is-put the-milk in a pot on the fire till boils.

(The milk is put in a pot on the fire till it boils).

(Taken from Text No. 15).

EX(108)

wa fi: sanati 1911 ?unsi?a XaTTun baHriyyun

and in the year 1911 was established line sea

min sawaakin ila burtsu:daan.

from Sawakin to Port Sudan.

(and in 1911 a sea-line from Sawakin to Port Sudan was established) (Taken from Text No. 9).

The four examples given above are all passive constructions. But before we start explaining the structure of the passive in MSA, we need

to take into account the other member of the opposition, the active, because the two terms (active/passive) are so closely intertwined that it seems almost impossible to discuss one and neglect the other.

The following active sentences are the counterparts of the above passive ones respectively:

EX(109)

?aJra TTabi:bu l9arabi maJdi ya9aqu:b ?awwala
 operated the doctor the Arab MaJdi Yacob the first
9amaliyyati zar9i qalbin limuwaaTinini sa9u:diyyin
 operation transplant heart to a citizen saudi
Yawma l?aHadi lmaaDi fi: mustasfa heirfi:ld bilandan.
 day Sunday the last at hospital Harefield in London.

(The Arab doctor MaJdi Yacob operated the first heart transplant operation on a Saudi citizen last Sunday at Harefield Hospital in London).

EX(110)

yaJlibu nnasu haa5ihi lmiyaah min waadi hu:keib wa haadi.
 bring the people this water from valley Houkeib and Hadi
 (The people bring this water from Houkeib and Hadi).

EX(111)

yaDa9u saxSun lHali:ba fi qidrin 9ala nnaari Hatta ya8li:
 puts someone the milk in a pot on the fire until boils
 (Someone pours the milk in a pot and puts it on the fire until it boils).

EX(112)

wa fi: sanati 1911 ?ansa?ati lHuku:matu xaTTan
 and in the year 1911 constructed the government a line

baHriyyan min sawaakin ila burtsu:dan.

sea from Sawakin to Port Sudaan.

(and in the year 1911 the Government constructed a sea-line from Sawakin to Port Sudan).

These active sentences are not the only counterparts to the four passive constructions mentioned above, but they are at least enough to illustrate the discussion we intend to pursue. Now let us see how each pair of active-passive sentences are structurally related. We start with sentences (105) and (109) reproduced here as (113) and (114) respectively:

EX(113)

*?awwalu 9amaliyyati zar9i qalbin limuwaaTinini sa9u:diyyin
?uJriyat yawma l?aHadi lmaaDi fi: mustasfa heirfi:ld bilandan
9ala yadi TTabi:bi l9arabi maJdi ya9aqu:b.*

(The first heart transplant operation to a Saudi citizen was operated last Sunday at Harefield Hospital in London by the Arab doctor MaJdi Yacob).

EX(114)

*?aJra TTabi:bu l 9arabi maJadi ya9aqu:b ?awala 9amaliyyati zar9i
qalbin limuwaaTinini su9u:diyyin yawm al?aHadi lmaaDi fi:
mustasfa heirfi:ld bilandan.*

(The Arab doctor MaJdi Yacob operated the first heart transplant operation to a Saudi citizen last Sunday at Harefield Hospital in London).

The distinction between the verbs /?uJriya/ in sentence (113) and /?aJra/ in sentence (114) is a morphological one which can be explained in the following manner:

a) The first vowel, in the active, is changed from /a/ to /u/ in the passive.

b) The second vowel is changed from /a/ to /i/

Now let us take examples (106) and (110) reproduced here as (115) and (116) respectively.

EX(115)

wa haa5ihi lmiyaahu tuJlabu min waadi hu:keib wa haadi

(This water is brought from Houkeib and Hadi valleys).

EX(116)

yaJlibu nnasu haa5ihi lmiyaaha min waadi hu:keib wa haadi.

(The people bring this water from Houkeib and Hadi valleys).

In these examples the active verb /yaJlibu/ (= bring) is changed into /tuJlabu/ (= is brought) when the sentence was changed into the passive. As a result the active verb has undergone the following changes.

a) the first vowel is changed from /a/ to /u/.

b) the second vowel changes from /i/ to /a/.

c) the third vowel remains unchanged (i.e. /u/).

Examples (107) and (111) on the one hand and (108) and (112) on the other exhibit the same changes. That is, in case of the imperfective (Examples 107 and 111) the second vowel changes from /i/ to /a/ while the first vowel changes to /u/ and the third vowel remains unchanged.

The distinction between active-passive verbs which is mentioned so far is based mainly on whether the verb carries the feature [+ passive] or [- passive]. It follows, then, that morphological changes take place whenever the Arabic verb is passivized. The above mentioned verbs fall within the basic active-passive forms /fa9ala/ → /fu9ila/ and /yaf9alu/

→ /yuf9alu/ respectively. Let us summarize the morphological changes discussed so far in the following table:

Feature	Formal Reflexes	Form	English Equivalent
-Passive	a-Ø-a-a (perfective)	?aJra	operated
	a-Ø-i-u (imperfective)	yaJlibu	bring
	a-Ø-a-u (imperfective)	yaDa9u	put
	a-Ø-a-a (perfective)	?ansa?a	constructed
+Passive	u-Ø-i-a	?uJriya	was operated
	u-Ø-a-u	yuJlabu	is brought
	u-Ø-a-u	yuDa9u	is put
	u-Ø-i-a	?unsi?a	was constructed

Fig (18)

The two forms mentioned above /fa9ala/, /fu9ila/ and /yaf9alu/, /yuf9alu/ are not the only passive forms in MSA. However, they represent the overwhelming majority in our data. Out of 400 passive forms, 382 are /fu9ila/ and /yuf9alu/ forms. (i.e. 95.5%).

Before we discuss the rest of the passive forms let us see how passivization affects word order in MSA. We consider each pair of active-passive sentences together starting with the active (this time) and moving towards the passive. We have chosen this order - this time - to comply with the normal unmarked mode of expression which is the active. In fact the overall percentage of the passives in our data shows that in 12 out of 13 instances the choice is in favour of the active (i.e. 1 in 13 in favour of the passive). In other words the passive constructions (400) represent 8.3% of our material (4800 constructions).

We now move straightaway to our examples and see how word order is affected by passivization. We start by considering examples (109) and (105) reproduced here as Ex (117) and Ex(118) respectively.

EX(117) Active

1	2	3
?aJra / TTabi;bu l9arabi maJdi Ya9aqu:b / ?awwala 9amaliyyati		
		4
3ar9i qalbin limuwaaTin Su9u:diyyin / yawma l?aHadi lmaaDi		
fi:mustasfa heirfi:ld bilandan./		

EX(118) Passive Counterpart

³
 ?awalu 9amaliyyati 3ar9i qalbin limuwaaTinnin su9u:diyyin /
¹ ⁴
 ?uJriyat / yawma l?aHadi lmaaDi fi: mustasfa heirfi:ld bilandan
²
 / 9ala yadi TTabi:bi l9arabi maJdi Ya9aqu:b.

The structural relationship between these sentences can be diagrammed as in Figure (19) below:

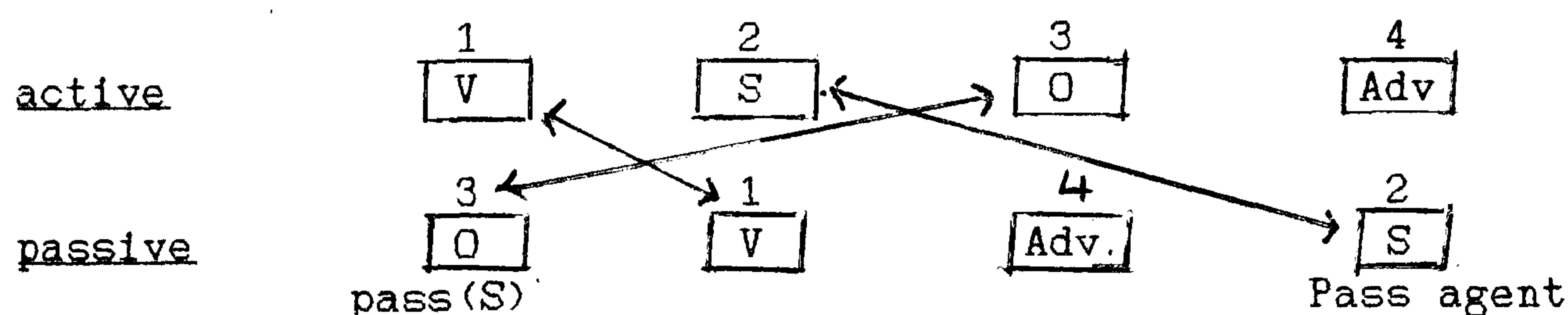


Fig (19)

There are three syntactic differences between EXS(117) and (118):

- (i) The NP which carries the number (3) i.e. the object of the verb in (3) becomes the grammatical subject of sentence (118) i.e. the passive sentence subject. {pass(S)}
- (ii) The subject of the active sentence which carries the number (2) has the preposition /*9ala yadi*/ (= by) adjoined to it to form the prepositional phrase (pass agent) "*9ala yadi TTabi:bi 19arabi maJdi Ya9aqu:b*" (by the Arab doctor Majdi Yacob), and this now goes to the sentence final position.

(iii) The morphology of the verb changed in the following manner:

- a) The first vowel changed from /a/ to /u/.
- b) The second vowel changed from /a/ to /i/.

Moreover, we notice in these examples as well as in all the coming ones that MSA does not have any form of the verb 'BE' i.e. 'passive auxiliary'.

Despite the change in the order of the words due to passivization, the semantic relation still holds between the two sentences. This semantic relationship lies primarily in the fact that both sentences share the same 'agent' (the NP carrying the No. 2. in the above sentences) responsible for the action described by the verb, and the same 'patient' (the NP carrying the No. 3), affected by the action described by the verb. The semantic relationship which we would like to point out at the moment is that in both sentences '/?aTTabi:b l99arabi maJdi ya9aqu:b/' is the actor (= the operator or performer of the action) whereas '/?awwalu 9amaliyyati zar9i qalbin limuwaaTinini sa9u:diyyin' is the 'acted upon' or the 'performed upon'. (The reasons for using the passive will be explained later in this section).

Now we move to the second pair of sentences i.e. sentence (110) and (106) reproduced here as (119) and (120) respectively:

EX(119)

	1	2	3	4	
<u>active</u>	yaJlibu	/ nnaasu	/ haa5ihi	/ lmiyaah	/ min waadi hu:keib wa haadi.

(The people bring this water from Houkeib and Hadi valleys).

EX(120)

	3	1	4	
<u>passive</u>	haa5ihi	lmiyaahu	/ tuJlabu	/ min waadi hu:keib wa haadi.

(This water is brought from Houkeib and Hadi valleys).

Here again the object of the active sentence (the NP carrying the No. 3) becomes the grammatical subject of the passive sentence and exchanges positions with the verb which undergoes the same morphological changes as before and takes the second position. This time the logical subject, i.e. 'agent' (= the performer of the act described by the verb) is suppressed for reasons which we are going to discuss later. The adverbial remains in its final position.

Let us proceed to sentences (111) and (107) reproduced here as EX(121) and EX(122) respectively:

EX(121)

	1	2	3	4	
<u>active</u>	yaDa9u	/ saxSunil	lHali:ba	/ fi: qidrin	9ala nnaari Hatta
					ya8li:.

(someone pours the milk in a pot and puts it on the fire until it boils).

EX(122)

	1	3	4	
<u>passive</u>	Yu:Da9u	/ lHali:bu	/ fi: qidrin	9ala nnaari Hatta ya8li:

(The milk will be poured in a pot and put on the fire until it boils).

Here the logical object 'lHali:ba' (= the milk) in the active sentence becomes the grammatical subject of the passive sentence, though it does not take the initial position. However, in the active sentence the subject intervenes between the verb and the object, whereas the object immediately follows the verb. That is, it moves from third to second position.

The verb /yaDa9u/ exhibits some morphological changes when passivized, viz. the first vowel changes from /a/ to /u/, the second vowel remains zero and the third vowel remains /a/ i.e. unchanged.

The subject of the active sentence 'SaxSun' (= someone) is again suppressed in the passive sentence, and the adverbial keeps its final position. The reasons for not mentioning the 'agent' will be postponed until later.

Now we consider the last pair of our examples, viz. sentences No. (112) and (108) reproduced here as EX(123) and EX(124) respectively.

EX(123)

	Adv.		✓		S		C
<u>active</u>	wa	fi:	sanati	1911	/	?ansa?ati	/ lHuku:matu / XaTTan
							baHriyyan / min sawaakin ila bourt sudaan.

(and in 1911, the government constructed a sea-line from Sawakin to Port Sudan).

EX(124)

	Adv		✓		S		Adv.
<u>passive</u>	wa	fi	sanati	1911	/	?unsi?a	/ XaTTun baHriyyun / min
							sawaakin ila bourt sudaan.

(and in 1911 a sea-line was constructed from Sawaakin to Port Sudan.

In these two examples we notice again that the verb has undergone some morphological changes viz. the first vowel changed from /a/ to /u/, the second one from /a/ to /i/ and the third one remains unchanged (i.e. /a/). The agent (the grammatical subject) of the active sentence is deleted in the passive counterpart (reasons for agent deletion will be dealt with later in this section). Again the change in the word order, here, is caused by the omission of the active-subject and the promotion of the object to an immediate post-verbal position to become the grammatical subject of the passive construction.

It is also possible to have nominal active equivalents of EXS (105), (106), (107) and (108).

We take one example and see how a passive construction can be derived from a nominal active one in MSA.

So, EX(107) may have the following active nominal sentence:

Active

1	2	3	4
ʔalbintu taDa9u lHali:ba fi: qidrin 9ala nnaari Hatta			
ya8li:			
(The girl pours the milk in a pot and put on the fire until			
it boils).			

Passive

3	2	4
lHali:bu yu:Da9u fi: qidrin 9ala nnaari Hatta ya8li		
(The milk will be poured in a pot and put on the fire until		
it boils).		

The structural relationship between these sentences is as follows:

$$1 + 2 + 3 + 4 \rightarrow$$

$$3 + 2 + 4 + \emptyset$$

The object of the active (No. 3) is promoted to the initial position, the verb (No. 2) remains in its place and the subject (No. 1) is deleted. In this respect Arabic and English are similar.

In all the examples discussed so far, we notice that the object of the active sentence undergoes a change in its case marking when it becomes the subject of the passive, i.e. the accusative /a/ changes to the nominative /u/ in the examples given so far. In fact it is always the case that whenever a NP serving as an object of an active sentence is changed into a grammatical subject in the passive counterpart it must undergo a change in its case marking.

Our data shows other forms of passive verbs in MSA viz. /infa9ala/ and /tafa99ala/ forms. These forms are not as frequent as /fu9ila/ and

/yuf9alu/ forms. In fact they comprise 4.5% of the passive forms in our data. Traditionally, the constructions in which /infa9ala/ and /tafa99ala/ were used, were not considered passive, probably because they do not exhibit any morphological changes on the verbs. Another reason for that may be because these verbs can appear in active constructions as well as passive ones. Let us consider the following example taken from our data.

EX(125)

wa lyawmu sanatu 1955 ta8ayyarat Kullu l?anZimati ssaabiqah.

and today the year 1955 changed all systems the previous

wa stu9i:Da 9anha l9amalu Jami:9uhu bil?alaati Hattaa

and was compensated for work altogether by machines till

kitaabatu lbarqiyyati ?aSbaHat ?aaliyyah. wa ta?ammamati

writing the cables became mechanized. and nationalized

ssarikatu ?axi:ran. wanDammāt limumtalakaati

the company at last and annexed to the properties

l?imbraaTu:riyyati lbriTaaniyyah.

the-empire the British.

(= And today 1955 all the previous systems have been changed and were replaced by machines even Cable, writing was mechanized. And at last the company has been nationalized and added to the British Empire properties). (Taken from Text No. 9)

In this example the underlined verbs (ta8ayyarat = changed), (ta?ammamati = nationalized) and (nDammāt = annexed) are all active in form. However, the meanings of the three clauses in which they are used are passive in that the passive subject in each case is 'goal' rather than 'actor'. In the first clause the subject /kullu l?anZimati = all the systems) is performed upon rather than being the performer of the

act described by the verb (*taṣayyarat*). The same argument holds true for the other two subjects viz. */assarikatu/* (= the Company) and the estimated pronoun */hiya/* (= it) which refers to */assariKatu/* in the previous clause.

Halliday (1966:47) refers to similar clauses in English as process-oriented receptives when he says: "... the clothes washed easily", "these books are not going to sell quickly". Underlying all these is a feature of characterization of the process as such, either a qualification of it or a generalization about it's feasibility; so that we may call the type 'process oriented' in contradistinction to the 'agent-oriented' type 'the clothes were washed'."

So in the light of this definition we can describe our examples */taṣayyarat kullu lʔanZimati ssaabiqati/* (all the previous systems have been changed), */taʔammati ssarikatu ʔaXi:ran/* (= at last the company has been nationalized) and */wanDmmat limumtalakaati lʔimbraaTu:riyyati lbriTaaniyyah/* (and has been added to the British Empire properties) as process-oriented. On the surface, all these clauses seem to have no agents and this makes the process look as if it is self-engendering, whereas in actual fact it is caused by an external factor. When we refer back to the context we find out that there is in actual fact some external agency involved in "the change", "the nationalization" and "the annexation" processes. And in all these cases the agent is */ʔalHuku:matu/* (= the government).

Now let us see how this type of passive (process-oriented receptive) influences word order in MSA.

6.3. Word Order and Process-oriented Receptives in MSA

We have mentioned earlier that this type of passive is less popular in MSA than /fu9ila & Yuf9alu/ forms, and that they comprise about 4.5% of the passive forms in our material. The 18 process-oriented clauses in our data can be tabulated according to word order used as follows:

Order type	number of clauses represented
V S Adv	6
Adv V S Adv	4
Adv V Adv	1
Adv V S	2
V Adv	1
V	1
S V Adv	2
S V	1

Fig (20)

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The orders (Adv + V + S), (V + S + Adv) and (V + Adv) have already been represented by the three clauses stated in Example (125) respectively. In the following example (126) we represent each of the remaining orders by one clause from our data. (All clauses are taken from Text No. 9).

EX(126)

a) Hatta nDammati sawaakin fi: sanati 1865 ila ssu:daan.

Until annexed Sawakin in the year 1865 to the Sudan

(=Until Sawakin has been annexed to the Sudan in 1865).

Order: Adv V S Adv.

b) ?amma l?ami:ru 9uθmaan faqad tanakkara illa 9an
?axiSSaa?ihi

as for the Prince Uthman he's disguised except from friend-his

Hatta waSala Humri. wa fi: yawmi θamaaniyati di:simbir
 until reached Humri. and in day eight December
sanati 1926 ntaqala ila Juwaari rabbihi ba9da ?an nayyafa 9ala
 year 1926 moved to vicinity his God after he exceeded
θθamaani:na 9aaman.
 eighty year.

(= As for the Prince Uthman, he disguised himself except from his close friends until he reached Humri and on the eighth of December 1926 he died after he lived for more than eighty years).

Order: Adv. V Adv.

- c) *falammaa danaa Hami:d min ?aaxiri Jazi:ratin qaada*
 whom came nearHameed from last island steered
safi:natahu ila Suxu:riha fartaTamat biha. wa taKassarat.
 ship - his to rocks-it collided with it and was broken.

(= When Hameed came nearer to the last island he steered his ship towards it's rocks and it collided with them and was broken).

Order: V.

- d) *Kaanat lahu θalaaθatu Sanaabi:k. ?amma l?u:la*
 was for him three boats as for the first
wa θθaaniyatu fataKassarataa 9ala ssu9baani fi: sanati
 and the second have been broken against sea-rocks in the year
1901 wa 1919 bittawaali.

1901 and 1919 respectively.

(= He used to have three boats. As for the first and the second ones they have been broken).

Order: S V Adv.

(20). However, in this type of material process there is always an agent in the real world, as we have mentioned earlier, which may or may not be recoverable from the linguistic situation.

It goes without saying that the use of the active in the passive sense is available in other languages (e.g. English) and that it has been given different terms. Huddleston (1971:70) calls it "pseudo-intransitive", and gives the example "This shirt washes easily", in support. In this example he claims that there must be an agent (the washer) who has no difficulty with the washing operation, and as long as this agent is not explicitly expressed it must therefore be implicit. Palmer, F. (1972) claims that the use of the active in the passive sense is adverbial in that the clauses usually occur in combination with adverbs. He gives the following example in support of his claim. "The shirts wash well". (ibid. p.93). According to Palmer (ibid) the use of the active in the passive sense seems to be limited to action verbs. He gives the example "These people like easily" (ibid p.93) as an impossible sentence in English. As we have mentioned earlier MSA is more flexible than English in that even stative verbs can be used in the passive sense. Though it is not available in our data, it is quite normal to come across such an example as: /*maɾiDa rraJulu*/ (= the man sickened), where the action of the verb '*maɾiDa*' is not carried out by the subject "*rraJulu*" (= the man). This fact renders the clause, as mentioned before, active in form but passive in meaning, in the sense that the subject receives the action performed by the verb instead of performing it.

Our data shows another group of passive clauses of ditransitive verbs which we would like to discuss in relation to word order under the heading:

6.4 Word Order and Passives of Ditransitive Verbs in MSA

The passive clauses with ditransitive verbs form a small group as our data shows. There are only 16 clauses which constitute 4% of the whole number (400) of the passive clauses we have in our material. The scarcity of this type of passive clauses may be attributed to the rarity of the ditransitive verbs themselves in particular, and to the rarity of the passive, in MSA, at large. The 16 passive clauses can be represented by the following orders:

Order Type	No of occurrences
S V O _i	8
V S O _i	5
V O _i S	1
V A O _i	1
V O _j	1
Total	= 16

Fig. (21)

A quick glance at the distribution of the orders shows that in this type of passive clauses the nominal sentences share frequency of occurrence with the verbal ones - each of them occurred eight times. The increase of the nominal sentences in this particular type of passive clauses is due to the promotion of the direct object of the active (in all of the eight instances) to take the first position of the subject of the passive counterpart. This, of course, does not necessarily mean that the subject of the passive must always be sentence-initial as can be seen from all the verbal passive clauses in Fig. (21) above and the examples mentioned earlier in this section.

Fig. (21) shows that in 14 instances out of 16 the subject of the passive clause is realized by a direct object. It also shows that the

direct object is available in all instances, whether it is the subject of the passive or not. In fact the direct object is not omissible at all in this kind of examples. Its omission renders the sentence ungrammatical as the following examples taken from our data show:

EX(128)

a) *wa ruziqa minha waladan*

and endowed from-her a boy.

(= he was endowed with a boy from her)

b) *muniHa sanbu:katan min alhiba*

given a boat full of presents.

(= he was given a boat full of presents).

(taken from Text 9)

In example a) the situation is that of someone call 'Goul' who got married to a girl then comes our example a) above. The subject of the passive is suppressed and estimated (*muqaddar*) as */huwa/* (= he) which refers to "Goul". The suppressed subject was an indirect object in the active counterpart. "*Waladan*" (= a boy) is the direct object, the deletion of which will cause the sentence to be grammatically ill-formed, even if the subject of the passive is expressed. Thus we can not find such a clause as: **/wa ruziqa minha Ø/* (= he was endowed from her). The presence of a direct object with the verb */ruziqa/* (= was granted) is obligatory.

The situation in example b) is that of a racing boat owned by someone called Sheikh Dafallah. The boat won the race and it's owner was given some presents. Again the subject of the passive clause is not expressed - estimated as */huwa/* (= he) which refers to Sheikh Dafallah. By the same token, if we delete the direct object */sanbu:katan min*

alhibaat/ (= a boat full of presents), the sentence will be ungrammatical, e.g. we do not find such a sentence as **/muniHa (huwa) ... Ø/* (= he was given) in MSA. The presence of a direct object with the verb */muniHa/* (= was given), is in fact compulsory.

A careful look at Fig. (21) will tell us that the only instances in our data in which the subject of the passive is suppressed are examples a) and b) above. In both examples the deleted subject is in fact the indirect object of the corresponding active. Though we do not have many verbs of the type */muniHa/* and */ruziqa/* in our data, one can still claim - with a considerable degree of satisfaction - that the indirect objects of this category of verbs which are associated with the notion of giving are the most favourite candidates for carrying out the function of the passive-subject.

If the direct objects were chosen to function as subject of the passive in Exs 124 a) and b) above, the outcome will be something like:

D) **ruziqa waladun minha.*

E) **muniHa sanbu:Katun mina lhibaat.*

Sentence (d) is unacceptable because if */waladun/* functions as subject, the verb */ruziqa/* - which is ditransitive - still requires another object.

Sentence (E) on the other hand is ungrammatical because it lacks agreement between the subject */sanbu:katun/* and the verb */muniHa/*; the former (the subject) is feminine singular whereas the latter (the verb) is inflected in the masculine singular.

The cases where the choice of direct object as subject of the passive brings about grammatically acceptable sentences are very rare indeed.

We have argued earlier on that in the passive of ditransitive verbal constructions, the nominal sentences share frequency with verbal ones because of the promotion of the direct object, in 8 out of 16 instances, (c.f. Fig. 21) to take the position of the subject of the passive at the beginning of the sentence. We would like to consider, now, the criteria that govern the choice of the subject of the passive, there being two objects in the corresponding active to choose from.

In 13 out of the 16 ditransitive clauses we have in our data, the expressions allow no choice at all. In other words, the direct object is the only NP available for selection to function as the subject of the passive. The choice of the indirect object as the subject of the passive, if it so happened, would render the sentence either ungrammatical or semantically ill-formed or both, e.g.

EX(129)

Kaana muHaafiZu Jeddah yud9aa 9uθmaan basa. wa Kaana lahu

was guardian Jeddah called Osman Pasha. and was had

mamlu:kaan yud9aa ?aHaduhumaa Yusuf ?a8a lHabasi. wa

two servants called one of them Yusuf Agha ElHabashi. And

θθaani yud9aa rustum ?a8a.

the second called Rustum Agha. (taken from Text No. 9)

(= The Guardian of Jeddah was called Osman Pasha. And he had two servants. One of them was called Yusuf Agha ElHabashi. And the second one was called Rustum Agha).

In this example, the subjects of the passive are /*muHaafiZu Jeddah*/, /*?aHaduhumaa*/ and /*θθaani*/ respectively. The other object NPs viz. /*9uθmaan basa*/, /*Yusuf ?a8a lHabasi*/ and /*rustum ?a8a*/ respectively are playing the role of subject's complement. If they were to function as subject of passive, the sentences would be semantically deviant. The

following example taken from our data shows how the sentence would be ungrammatical if the indirect object was chosen to be the subject of the passive:

EX(130)

9inda ntihaa?i nataa?iJi lfaHSi qaama muxtaSSun
 when end results examination stood specialist
fi lfaHSi bi?as'i99ati eKs bilmuraaJa9ati
 in examination with ray X with the revision
lmustaqillati liJami:9i SSuwari nnaatiJati bidu:ni
 the independent for all the pictures resulting without
9ilmin bibaaqi nataa?iJi ddiraasati lKulliyyah.
 knowledge with the rest results the study the whole.
wa9tubirat nataa?iJu haa5a lfaHSi marJi9an ?asaasiyyan.
 and considered results this examination reference main.
 (= At the end of the examination, a specialist in X-ray revised
 all the resulting pictures individually without knowing about
 the rest of the results of the whole study. The results of this
 examination were considered a main reference).

(Taken from Text No.14)

In this example the passive sentence (underlined) is the last one in the text. If, in this sentence, the NP /*marJi9an*/ (= reference) were chosen to be the subject of the passive sentence, the verb-subject agreement would be lost and as a result the sentence would be ungrammatical. This is because the verb /*u9tubirat*/ (= considered) needs a feminine NP and /*marJi9an*/ is masculine.

Despite the fact that the choice of each NP to function as the subject of the passive in the previous examples is obligatory, there is still room for claiming that FSP may be playing a role in the choice.

If we go back to Example (129) we will notice that the subject */muHaafiZu Jeddah/* is inferrable from the previously introduced entity */muHaafaZatu Jeddah/* (= the province of Jeddah). The other two subjects in the same example viz */?aHaduhumaa/* (= one of them) and */?aθθaani/* (= the second one) both refer to the formerly mentioned entity */mamlu:Kaan/* (= two servants). In all these three cases the subjects are thematic, and their thematic nature is indicated by the preceding context. In Ex.(130) the subject of the passive */nataa?iJu haa5a lfaHSi/* (= the results of this examination) has been formerly mentioned in the text and is therefore context-dependent and hence thematic. All the subjects discussed in Examples (129) and (130), therefore, carry the lowest degree of communicative dynamism. Each of these subjects is, thus, the theme of the sentence in which it occurs. The indirect object in each of the above-mentioned examples (129 and 130), carries the highest degree of CD and is, therefore, thematic.

So, it is not without logic to suggest that the passive can be used in MSA to convey the unmarked given-new order of information distribution. The examples under discussion and the rest of the nominal passive constructions we have in our data are pragmatically unmarked in that the subject in each case still conveys given information. But since the unmarked word order in MSA is VSC such constructions are considered syntactically marked, because, as we have mentioned earlier on, every language has one unmarked word order from which other (marked) word orders derive.

6.5 Word Order and Participant Functions in MSA

In this section we are going to discuss the functional roles played by the participants in each of the processes involved in the 13

ditransitive clauses under discussion. We will pay particular attention to the functional roles and the order of their presentation.

Generally, the processes involved in the 13 examples fit neatly in what Halliday (1985) calls relational processes in their broad sense, where the process represents a kind of relation either between two entities or between an entity and an attribute. They in fact, fit exactly in the sub-category of the relational processes which is known as identifying mode (discussed earlier) as will become clear very shortly. As we have in our data one and the same verb or another one with similar meaning involved in more than one process, we will be content with one example from each similar group of processes. Meantime, we will mention the number of processes which are represented by each example. Let us go straightaway to Fig. (22) below and discuss the functions represented by the participants involved in the processes.

				No. of CL
1	<i>tusammaa</i> is called His Kingdom	<i>mamlaKatuhu</i> kingdom-his was called	<i>dawlat blu:</i> empire blue empire of Blue)	2
2	<i>9uyyina</i> was nominated (Their leader	<i>3a9i:muhum</i> leader-theirs was nominated	<i>?ami:ran</i> prince prince	1
3	<i>?uxi5a</i> was taken (Prince Abdullah	<i>1?ami:ru 9abduallah</i> the prince Abdullah was taken	<i>?asi:ran</i> hostage hostage to Egypt in 1233)	1
	(process)	(identified/value) (subject	(identifier/) (token	(circumstantial)
4	<i>?a00aani</i> the second (The second	<i>yud9a</i> is called is called	<i>rustum ?a8a</i> Rustum Agha Rustum Agha)	4
	identified/ value subject	process	identifier/ token	circumstantial

5.	<div>1</div> <i>taHli:lu lKutubi l?aJnabiyyati</i> analysis the books the foreign	<div>2</div> <i>yu9addu</i> is considered	<div>3</div> <i>fi lHaqi:qati</i> in fact	5
	<div>4</div> <i>inJaazan 9aZi:ma l?ahamiyyah</i> achievement great importance. (= The analysis of foreign books is considered an achievement of great importance).			
	<div>1</div> identified/value subject	<div>2</div> process	<div>3</div> circumstantial	<div>4</div> identifier/token

FIG. (22).

The figures on the rightmost column indicate the number of the clauses represented by the process expressed by the verb in each case.

The elements in the second column in the first three examples and the ones in the first column in the fourth and fifth examples require identification which is provided by the elements in the third column in all cases. The latter or the provider of identification is the identifier in each case where the former one for which identification is made is the identified (cf. Fig. 23 below).

We notice that the order of the participant functions above is as follows:

the first 3 examples: process + identified/value + identifier/token

the last two examples: identified/value + process + identifier/token

Fig. (23)

Fig. (23) shows that the order 'identified-identifier' is constant throughout. This indicates that MSA is, in this respect, similar to English (cf. Halliday, 1985) in that the function 'value' conflates with subject in passive clauses whereas the function 'token' does the same in active ones. The reason for this is that what has been subject/value in the passive will move towards the end of the clause and leave the

subject position vacant to be occupied by the 'subject/token' in the active counterpart.

We have mentioned earlier on that in all these (13) clauses under discussion the direct object is selected as subject of the passive because it carries given information and thus helps in maintaining the unmarked 'given-new' order of information. As the order 'identified-identifier' is constant throughout the passive clauses discussed so far, it follows, then, that 'identified-identifier' is also the unmarked order in MSA.

As for the process, Fig. (23) shows that it can come either before identified-identifier (e.g. in verbal sentences) or between them (e.g. in nominal sentences).

So, it becomes clear that information focus plays an important role in determining the structure of the identifying mode in MSA as 'identified-identifier'. This conclusion is, clearly, attuned to the function of the 'identifier' as the entity which establishes the identity of the target element in the clause and consequently takes the final position in unmarked cases.

We now move to the last three examples in this set of clauses of ditransitive verbs. We first concentrate on the following example taken from Text No. 9.)

EX(131)

..... Wulliya / maKaanahu / ?aHadu l?irti:qa.

given charge of position-his one of the Irteega.

(= One of the Irteega was given his (the deposed) position).

The situation here, is as follows. The ruler of Sawaakin, was accused of corruption. When the general ruler of the Sudan (Sultan at

that time) heard of him he sent a military mission to capture him. When the ruler of Sawaakin heard of the mission, he fled to the desert. He was then deposed and his position was given to one of the Irteega (a Sudanese tribe) men.

The word order of Ex. (131) is VCS which is a marked order. Here in this example (</?aHadu l?irti:qa/>) the subject carries the focus of information whereas the object carries the old information. It can be inferred from the situation that the focus of information lies on the new ruler /?aHadu l?irti:qa/ rather than on the place (</maKaanahu/>) which is already there. Now that the subject carries the new information in the clause takes the unmarked focus position at the end of the clause and at the same time complying with the end-weight principle which demands that heavy NPs should follow lighter ones in the same clause. The clause is thus pragmatically unmarked and this is perhaps the reason for using the passive here to maintain the unmarked given-new information. On the other hand it is, indeed, syntactically marked for deviating from the basic VSC order.

We now move to the other two examples. In fact both of them were introduced earlier on (as Ex.128) for a different purpose. We reproduce them here as EXs 132 a) and b).

a) *ruziqa minha waladan*
 endowed from her boy
 (= he was endowed with a bag from her).

b) *muniHa sanbu:Katan min alhibaat*
 was given boat of presents
 (= he was given a boat full of presents)

In both of these examples, the subjects do not appear on the surface. In each case the subject, being the same as the one in the previous

sentence in the text, is ellided to avoid repetition. On the other hand, this 'ellipsis' helps to focus attention on the new information carried by the two direct objects /*waladan*/ and /*sanbu:katan mina lhiba**aat*/ respectively.

The three examples can be analysed in terms of their functional roles in the following fashion:

EX(131)	<i>wulli</i> <i>ya</i> ----- process	<i>maKa</i> <i>anahu</i> ----- Goal	<i>?aHa</i> <i>du l?irti:qa</i> ----- Beneficiary/subject
EX(132) a)	<i>ruzi</i> <i>qa</i> ----- process	<i>min</i> <i>ha</i> ----- circumstantial	<i>waladan</i> ----- Goal
b)	<i>muni</i> <i>Ha</i> ----- process	<i>sanbu:Katan min al hiba</i> <i>aat</i> ----- Goal	

FIG(24)

Fig(24) shows that the function of 'beneficiary' is mapped onto the subject of the passive clause which is the logical indirect object. The 'goal' carries out the function of the direct object. In examples (132 a) and b) the deleted subjects both function as recipients. i.e. /*waladan*/ and /*sanbu:Katan min al hiba**aat*/ go to them. That is to say, the orientation, here, is towards the goal. This is why the goal (i.e. the logical direct object) can not be suppressed in such clauses with recipient meaning.

In English the prepositions 'to' and 'for' are used to distinguish between the meanings 'recipient and beneficiary', respectively (cf Huddleston, 1971). Although there are equivalents for these words in MSA viz /*ila*/ (= to) and /*li:*/ (= for me) or /*min ?aJl*/ (= for the sake of),

they are not used as frequently as their English equivalents to distinguish between the meanings of recipient and beneficiary. It seems to me, then, that orientation, be it towards process or goal, should be taken as the main criterion for distinguishing between recipient and beneficiary in MSA.

We now turn to the last group of passive clauses in our data, namely, those with surface agents and discuss them in relation to both word order and the functional roles played by the participants involved.

6.6. Word Order and Agentive Passive in MSA

Each passive construction in this group has an expressed agent which can function as the subject of the active counterpart. This group of agentive passives is much smaller (10 instances) than the agentless group (390 instances) and comprises about 2.5% of the whole number of the passive constructions in our data (400 instances). This small percentage shows that agentive passives are in a minority in Arabic but still can not be overlooked. In fact the inquiry into the reasons for using it becomes more pressing since all the elements present in the active are also present in the agentive passive. Moreover, the advantage usually attached to the use of the passive, viz. that it avoids the necessity of specifying the agent is, thus, lost. In addition to the fact that agentive passives allow for variation in expression which may be desirable for aesthetic purposes, there are other reasons for their existence which will be uncovered shortly in this section.

The ten agentive passives can be represented by seven word order types as shown in Fig (25) below:

Serial No.	Order-Type	Agent Type	No. of Occurences
1	V S Ag	Instrumental	2
2	V Ag Ad	"	1
3	V Ad Ag S Ad	"	1
4	Ad V Ag	"	2
5	Ad V S Ag	Human	1
6	S V Ag	"	2
7	S V Ad Ag	"	1
Total			<u>10</u>

Fig (25)

A glance at Figure (25) above will tell us that out of the ten agentive passive sentences, three are nominal and seven are verbal. In three of the verbal sentences the subject is not explicitly expressed though the inflections on the verbs indicate that the subject immediately follows the verb in each case. In the verbal sentences the by-element (i.e. the agent) follows the subject in five instances and precedes it in one (No. 3). Let us see why the agent came before the subject in this sentence in particular:

EX(133)

wa turaHHalu ilayhi bissufuni l?iblu wal?a8naamu

are transported to him by the ships the camels and the sheep

limuddati ?arba9ati ?ashur.

for-period four months.

(= The camels and the sheep are transported to it (mountain) by ships for four months).

The situation here is that of a mountain with fertile pastures and water (Then comes our example). In this example the subject /l?iblu

walʔa8naam/ (= the camels and sheep) was not overtly expressed in the previous context but can be inferred from the use of the lexical items */maraa9i xaSbatun/* (= rich pastures) and */miyaahi ssurb/* (= drinking waters) which are used in the previous sentence in the text. In unmarked cases such a subject will be treated as thematic (old information) and will consequently be placed before the by-element */bi ssufuni/* (= by ships) which is the agent and the carrier of the new information. But in this situation, however, the subject */lʔiblu wa lʔa8naam/* is heavier (longer) than the agent and this is the main reason for putting it at the end of the sentence (after the agent) and as a result complying with the principle of end-weight at the expense of the end-focus principle. Placing the subject of the passive which is thematic at the end of the sentence renders it more marked than the other five sentences which are themselves marked in voice.

Fig. (25) also shows that the adverbials can occupy any position in verbal sentences. They can appear as sentence final elements as in number (2), between verb and subject as in number (3) or in initial position as in number (4) and (5). However, adverbials never appear alone in initial positions in nominal sentences (cf. Fig. 25). Adverbials in active sentences behave in the same way (cf Chapter 5).

The data shows that in these ten agentive passives there are five inanimate subjects and five animate ones. All the subjects of the nominal passives (three) fall within the inanimate category. In this respect Arabic has some similarity with SVC languages (e.g. English) in which the subject of the passive tends to be inanimate compared with that of the active (cf. Svartvik, 1966). Fig. (25) also shows that all the by-elements (agentives) in the nominal passives appear in final

positions (reasons will come later) in the three examples we have in our data.

The data shows that every by-element in the ten agentive passives under discussion represents the subject of the active counterpart. However, it is not always the case that the by-element can play the role of the subject of the active counterpart. Let us consider this example which is not available in our data.

EX(134) *Tuliya lbaabu biTilaa?in Jadi:din*

 painted the door with paint new

 (= The door was painted with a new paint).

In this example using the by-element as the subject of the corresponding active will render the sentence semantically deviant because it will, then, not abide by the selectional restrictions constraint viz. that the verb */Tala/* (= painted) demands a human agent. The agentive elements (by-elements) in Fig.(25) above can be divided into instrumental and animate agentials (six and four respectively). The fact that the two roles can occur together in one sentence is the main reason for distinguishing between instrumental and animate agentives. The active transform of example (133) can be something like

EX(135) *yuraHHilu ilayhi nnaasu l?ibla wal?a8naama bissufuni*

 (= The people transported to it camels and sheep by ships)

where both the human agent */nnaasu/* (= the people) and the instrumental */bissufuni/* (= by ships) appear in the same sentence. The human agent represents the indirect cause of the action whereas the instrumental represents the direct cause of it. (cf Huddleston, R, 1971). The by-element in the example under discussion has twofold potential functions in active transforms. The nominal part */assufun/* (= the ships) may

function as the subject of the active sentence or the entire propositional phrase */bi ssufuni/* (= by the ships) may function as adjunct (instrumental) with some other nominal element */annaasu/* (= the people) as active clause subject. Such adjuncts which admit the different active transforms fall within the category of agents known as "Janus agents" (cf Svartvik, 1966).

The agents in eight out of the ten agentive sentences shown in Fig (25) are longer than the subjects. This is attuned to the general tendency that agents tend to be longer than subjects and thus occupy final positions in agentive passive sentences. The by-elements used in our examples can be schematically shown in Fig (26) below.

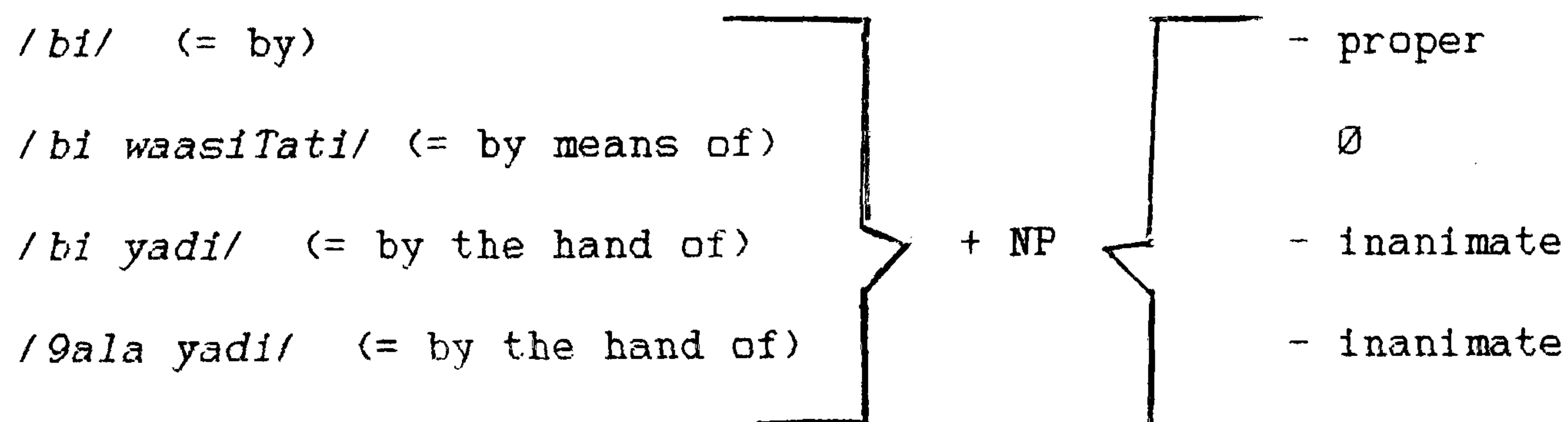


Fig. (26)

Fig (26) tells us that */bi/* can be attached to the beginning of any NP which is not a proper noun. */bi waasiTati/* can precede any NP indiscriminately whereas */9ala yadi/* and */bi yadi/* precede any NP which is not inanimate. This means that the last two can be used with animate agents whereas the first two can be used with the instrumental case and animate NPs in the genitive case.

We have mentioned earlier on that EX(133) is a marked case where the agentive precedes the subject. In theory, an agent (by-phrase) be it instrumental or animate, can intervene between the verb and the subject and can (though rarely) come at the beginning in case of verbal sentences. As with nominal sentences, by-elements are always placed in final positions. In fact inserting the agentive between the subject and

the verb or placing it at the beginning of a nominal sentence will violate the grammatical principles of word order in Arabic and the sentence will automatically be grammatically deviant.

We now discuss the reasons that motivated the use of the agentive passive in the ten examples under discussion and their impact on word order. Let us take some of the examples represented in Fig. (25).

EX (136)

?uSi:ba lqaaDi 9abdulqaadir biHummaa

struck the judge Abdel-Gadir fever

(= Abdel Gadir, the judge was struck by a fever).

In this example the subject was previously mentioned in the text and it is therefore given information whereas the agentive is new information. In this example the agentful passive is used to maintain an unmarked given-new distribution of information. In other words, a given patient and a new agent in the active exchange positions in the passive so that the given patient functions as the unmarked theme while the new agent plays the role of information focus. In fact this statement holds true for all the examples we have in Fig. (25). That is, all the subjects of the agentive passives in Fig. (25) carry old information and are therefore 'thematic' while the agents carry new information and are therefore 'rhematic'. In all our agentive passives (with the exception of EX (133), the element carrying 'old information' comes before the one carrying 'new information'. In this respect word order in Arabic complies with the requirements of FSP satisfied by the passive.

The various word order-types in Fig (25) appeared as a result of subject deletion, as in Nos. 2 and 4, sentence-types in Arabic, viz.

verbal and nominal passives, and the use of adverbials in both nominal and verbal sentences.

We notice that all the subjects of the agentive passives in Fig. (25) are also the topics of the sentences in which they occur. This means that Arabic is attuned to the universal word order tendencies which reveal that most languages prefer a merger of 'subject' and 'theme' functions (cf Siewierska, 1988).

The agentive passives under discussion indicate that agentive passive in Arabic does not show preference either for the higher topicality of the object compared with the subject nor for discrepancy in animacy between patient and agent as most languages (e.g. English) do (cf. Siewierska, 1984). The three nominal passives shown in Fig. (25) as a matter of fact, show the reverse, viz. that the patients in these sentences are lower in the topicality hierarchy than the agents. Although the patients in these three sentences are inanimate whereas the agents are animate, the passive is still used. The following example is taken from our data to support this point.

EX(137)

idaaratu haa5ihi lma?mu:riyyati tudaaru biriJaalin

administration this province is run by men

mina SSaffi l?awwali fi lHarmi wal?idaarah.

from the queue first in firmness and administration.

(= The administration of this province is run by men of the first class in firmness and administration).

In this example the patient */idaaratu haa5ihi lma?mu:riyyati/* is lower in the animacy hierarchy than the agent */biriJaalin mina SSaffi l?awwali/* because the former is inanimate and the latter is animate (human) and, hence, it is more likely to be the topic of the sentence.

The sentence represented by the order Ad V S Ag (i.e. No. 5. in Fig(25), behaves in the same fashion. The rest of the sentences comply with the general tendency of assigning the function of theme to the animate elements in the sentence rather than to the inanimate ones.

So, it seems to me, then, that in Arabic previous mention of the subject of the passive is more likely to be given precedence over higher topicality of the patient compared with the agent. It is noteworthy to mention, in this occasion, that in some languages (e.g. Japanese) inanimate patients cannot be subjectivized via passive or the sentence will be grammatically ill-formed (cf Howard, 1976 in Siewierska, 1984).

In some cases the presence of a by-element at the end of the sentence is a lexical need, e.g. : In EX(136) the presence of the verb /?uSi:ba/ (= was struck) requires a by-element and without it the sentence will be incomplete.

The ten agentive sentences we have in our data show that the permutations of the elements of the sentences under discussion which took place as a result of passivization may be attributed to the functional role of the subject. The role of the subject in each of these sentences represents the perspective for the interpretation of the sentence because all the patients in these examples are subjectivized-themes (topics). In case of unsubjectivized themes (topics) (though not available in our data) we do not expect the thematized patient to maintain the perspective of the subject because the theme in this case will not have closer semantic bond with the verb as subjectivized themes do.

So in Arabic - as well as in many other languages - it is the subject and not the theme that governs verbal agreement within the sentence boundaries. In all of the agentive passive examples we have in

our data, the thematic nature of the subject is indicated by previous context. On the other hand, the rhematic nature of the agent in all the examples discussed is shown by the fact that it is the sentence element carrying the highest degree of new information.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Word Order Revisited

In Chapter One we have mentioned that many linguists from different schools of linguistic thought (e.g. traditional grammarians, generativists and functionalists) have reinforced the importance of word order as a syntactic, semantic, phonological, pragmatic and functional device.

Word Order also expresses movement of ideas from the point of departure to the goal of discourse. Weil (1844) suggests that this movement reveals the movement of the mind.

We have also argued that word order plays a central role in language typology.

Despite the importance given to word order in most linguistic analyses in different languages, we have found that the concern given to the issue of word order in Arabic is unsatisfactory. This is because most of the examples discussed in the studies which dealt with Arabic word order, were archaic and engineered to match some statements made about them. The situations in which those examples were used and the functions they convey were totally ignored by the authors of those studies.

The scarcity of research done into word order in MSA, and the importance of this variety of Arabic (MSA) as a vehicle of modern culture on the one hand and to avoid archaism on the other, have motivated this research into word order in MSA.

As we have mentioned in Chapter Four, all our examples were taken from real linguistic situations.

In Chapter 2 we have mentioned that Mathesius developed Weil's ideas and ended up dividing the sentence into 'theme' i.e. the starting point that is known in a given situation and from which the speaker/writer proceeds; and 'rheme' which refers to what the speaker/writer says about the 'theme'.

Other Czech linguists followed the footsteps of Mathesius and contributed to the study of word order. Chief among them are Firbas, J., Danes, F. and Svaboda just to mention a few. Their work collectively developed into what is known as the theory of FSP, as we have shown in Chapters 2 and 3.

We have discussed Greenberg's, Vennemann's, Lehmann's and Tomlin's works on Language typology. We have seen that Greenberg's work has laid the foundation for the subsequent works on language typology and even TGG made use of his work. However, the first three typologies listed above, excluding Tomlin's, don't provide insight into the motivation for structural regularities, nor do they pay any attention to the communicative situation(s) in which the language is used.

We have argued that Tomlin's typology differs from the three predecessors in that it is functionally orientated. He offered an explanation of the frequency of the six mathematically possible orderings of subject, verb and object with the help of three functionally orientated principles, viz. TFP, AFP & VOB (cf. Chapter 2).

The problem with Tomlin's approach as we have indicated in Chapter 2 is that the three principles have been used to categorize the languages of the world but have not been tested in one particular language. On

testing Tomlin's relative frequencies against our data, we have found out that they do not fully apply to MSA. (cf. Fig.(1)).

Then we discussed the contribution of TGG to the study of word order and concluded that TGG contributed to it in many ways, e.g. passivization, cleft, pseudo cleft, topicalization of constituents, etc. However, we have contended that it's contribution was confined to some sort of limited formal description of language structures with no reference whatsoever to the way in which these structures were put into use.

We have, then, discussed some previous works done on English word order viz. Bacquet's, Reszkiewicz's and McCawley's and argued that the first two dealt with the order of "subject + predicate", without any mention of the communicative intent of the writers or the context of use. As for McCawley's arguments we have noticed that they suffer from lack of syntactic evidence. (cf. Chapter Two. 2.4.3)

We then proceeded to discuss some of the previous works done on Arabic Word Order. Strictly speaking, we have discussed Snow (1965), Anshen & Schreiber (1968), Russel (1977), Bakir (1979) & El-Rakhawi (1982). We have argued that all these studies were primarily concerned with the issue of basicness of word order. In other words, which word order is basic in Arabic and which orders derive from it. We have also noticed that the overwhelming majority of the examples discussed in these studies are decontextualized and that nothing has been mentioned about the reasons for their use or the functions they convey. Such deficiencies, we believe, render these studies inadequate.

We then discussed the theory of FSP and stressed it's relevance to word order. We have seen FSP derives from the assumption that

sentences-in-text not only need to convey information but have to convey it in the perspective of the surrounding sentences.

We have discussed some notions in relation to FSP viz. known (given) vs new information, 'theme vs rheme' and CD.

According to Halliday 'given-new' and 'theme-rheme' reflect the relationship of what is being said to the previous discourse. New information in his understanding can be either information mentioned for the first time or known information presented in a way that makes it seem as if it is 'new' or 'irrecoverable' from the previous discourse. (cf. Ex 19)

We have also discussed Chafe's (1974) contention that 'givenness' can be established linguistically by prior mention of an item and non-linguistically when the speaker believes that an item has left the addressee's consciousness; either because there are many intervening utterances/sentences between the first and the second mention of the item or when there is a change of scene whereby a whole new set of items can be assumed to be entering the addressee's consciousness.

We have added that the belief that an item has left the addressee's consciousness can also be caused by a shift in the text-typological focus which may cause the writer to believe that the addressee's consciousness is receiving a new set of incoming items and losing an old set of outgoing ones.

We have also seen that Kalmar & Agius (1980) use the notions of link and advance to be used in the sense of 'given' and 'new' respectively. Sanford and Garrod (1981) on the other hand proposed a view of givenness which invokes the notion of 'scenario', i.e. a particular stereotypical configuration of past experience (cf. Ex. 20).

'Theme' and 'rheme', according to Mathesius (1942) respectively refer to what is spoken about and what the speaker has to say about the 'theme'.

We have argued that Halliday's definition of 'theme' as 'what comes first' does not apply to Arabic and probably most of VSO languages and thus loses universality. We have also contended against Halliday's argument that the interpretation of 'theme-rheme' is to be sought within the clause boundaries and adduced EX(21) in support of our contention. We have added that even when 'theme' comes first it should not be taken as a language universal. We have concluded that the claim that thematization has nothing to do with previous mention is uncertain, and that it is by no means evident which given element among the given entities represents what the clause is primarily about when taken in isolation.

We have mentioned that despite the importance of the 'rheme' as the main reason for the existence of the message, the 'theme' has been mentioned more frequently in the literature because it plays an indispensable role in organizing the message.

The organization of text in relation to what Daneš (1974) calls 'thematic progression' has been discussed. The three types of thematic progression mentioned by Daneš (ibid) viz. simple linear thematic progression, thematic progression with a continuous theme and thematic progression with derived theme, have been discussed (cf Exs. 24, 25 & 26). We have also discussed the three types of utterances proposed by Daneš (ibid) viz. simple, composed and condensed utterances (cf. Exs. 21, 22 & 23).

We have contended that though the three types of thematic progression are semantic, we have neither been told in which linguistic

environment each of them finds it's most appropriate field of application nor about the pragmatic factors that might influence them.

Another aspect of FSP which we have discussed in relation to word order is CD which has been introduced by Firbas, J. (1971). It refers to a quality of communication borne by elements participating in conveying a message. The degree of CD carried on by an element solely depends on the communicative function assigned to it by the speaker/writer. This means that in unmarked word orders the 'theme' carries the lowest degree of CD and the 'rheme' the highest degree of CD.

'Transition' as a concept of FSP which ranks above 'theme' and below 'rheme', has also been discussed. We have noticed that in unmarked cases 'transition' can be divided into 'transition' and 'transition-proper' which refer to the lexical part of the verb and the temporal and modal exponents of the verb respectively. In second instance sentences, where only one element can function as 'rheme', the temporal and modal exponents of the verb can function as rheme. (cf. 3.1.3)

We have seen that whereas unmarked word order provides the unmarked distribution of CD, marked word order shows a gradual fall in CD and produces what Firbas calls 'mirror image'. The former word order is said to be objective while the latter subjective.

Chafe (1976) questions the validity of 'transition' and he thinks that it makes no sense to talk about elements that are half-present in the addressee's consciousness.

We have argued against Chafe because in reality initiating an action presupposes the prior existence of an initiator (actor) and that only after the action has started can it affect it's goal or bring about a new object. This is realized grammatically as 'subject+verb+object'.

Since these grammatical relations provide the basic distribution of CD and that every sentential element participates in pushing the communication forward according to the degree of CD it carries, we find it hardly acceptable to overlook the function -transition- of an element or a group of elements in all situations.

We have mentioned that inflected languages, e.g. Arabic & Czech have relatively more flexible word orders than uninflected languages, e.g. English. In case of inflected languages FSP plays a significant role in determining word order while in rigid order languages (e.g. English) it is the grammatical principle that has the final say in deciding word order. Deviation from the basic word order required by the grammatical principle in English, causes word order to be marked. In case of Czech and Arabic, I believe, it is the deviation from the basic distribution of CD that renders the word order marked (cf. Ex.27).

We have also seen how rhythmicality influences word order in German, English and Arabic (cf. 3.1.5).

The principle of emphasis also has an influence on Arabic as well as on English. This principle is in full swing in English when there is deviation from the grammatical principle (cf. Ex.28). In the light of this statement we have suggested that in Arabic (which has a relatively flexible word order), the principle of emphasis operates in relation to FSP rather than to the grammatical principle as in English.

We have also discussed two other factors operative on word order, viz. context and the semantic factor. Firbas (1979) divides context into: context of experience (i.e. common knowledge between speaker and hearer), situational context (i.e. contributed by the situation at the moment of the utterance), and preceding verbal context (i.e. previous mention of (an) element(s)). All these types of context render elements

context-dependent, if and only if, this is in tune with the immediate communicative concern of the speaker/writer (i.e. the 'narrow scene').

We have discussed three types of sentences in relation to context viz. basic instance, ordinary instance and second instance sentences. In the first type word order is the only device that is determining the degrees of CD. In the second type context is partially involved, whereas the third type shows maximal context-dependence (cf. Exc. 32, 33 & 34).

In the semantic factor we have seen that a phenomenon appearing on the scene carries more information and consequently higher degree of CD than the element expressing the appearance/existence or the element expressing the scene of appearance or existence itself. We have discussed two semantic scales that, all other things being equal, represent a gradual rise in CD (cf. Exs. 35 & 36).

We then discussed FSP and adverbials. We have shown different views expressed by different linguists as to the function of the question-word. Mathesius (1941/2) for instance, treats the question-word as rheme because it repeats information that is known to the enquirer/speaker. Daneš argues that a question-word does not always carry new information unless it carries the intonation. Halliday treats whatever element that comes clause-initial as thematic i.e. question-words are thematic in Halliday's terms (cf. Halliday 1967). Firbas (1976) suggests that question-words function as indicators of the desire, on the part of the enquirer, for information and they give the listener a hint as to how to satisfy that desire. So, he continues, they must be interpreted as non-thematic as they contribute to the development of communication more than TME's of the declarative sentence. He concludes by treating them as 'transitional' or in the periphery of the 'rheme'.

We have noticed that the majority of linguists consider transitivity as a precondition for passivization, e.g. Svartvik (1968), Stein, G. (1979) & Siewierska, A. (1980). Other linguists e.g. Tuyn, H. (1970) & Palmer, F. (1974) mention semantic features as prerequisites for passivization. Tuyn (ibid) argues that passivization is possible if there is an observable result, if the result can not be observed, passivization is either impossible or very rare.

We have discussed the TGG account of the passive and argued that it is inadequate because it takes for granted the traditional assumption that the verb in question is transitive. We have shown that the result of this is that the passivization rule can derive ill-formed sentences (cf. Ex.44). Another shortcoming of the TGG treatment of passivization is that deep structure can not account for different but related words like 'give' and 'receive' (cf. Ex.45). Moreover, deep structure can not cater for ambiguous sentences of the type: "everyone in the room loves some pop-star", as we have seen.

TGG has also been criticized as being more interested in the nature of the passive than in it's functions and use.

While TGG treats active/passive sentences as synonymous, functionalists see them as two different communications, i.e. the object which carries the highest degree of CD in the active (in unmarked cases) becomes thematized in the passive and in consequence carries the lowest degree of CD.

Halliday considers the passive as an option which dissociates the roles of 'actor' and 'theme' because the passive allows the 'goal' to be included in the 'theme' and the 'actor' (if not absent) within the 'rheme'. Halliday argues that the passive with indirect object as it's

subject is more common in English than the one with direct object, because it is very rare to have an active sentence with the tonic stress on the indirect object as a result of which the direct object gets 'thematized' and the indirect object stays in 'rhematic' position in the passive.

Stein, G. (1979) resolves the situation by proposing a passivization rule which moves the object NP which carries the lowest degree of CD in the active to act as subject of the passive (cf. EX.46).

Towards the end of Chapter Three we have contended that 'the linguistic units, their form, meaning, context of use and the reasons that motivated their use constitute our main motive for adopting a functional approach in our present study.

In Chapter Four we have mentioned how and why we have selected our data and explained our model of analysis. We have also predicted some analytical difficulties and suggested ways of tackling them.

Chapters 5 and 6 have been devoted to data analysis and results. In Chapter Five we have divided the types of sentence in Arabic according to whether they contain a verb or not into two main types: equative (verbless) and non-equative (with verb). The latter type is then subdivided into nominal (NP-initial) and verbal sentences (verb-initial) (cf. Fig. 8).

We have seen that in verbal sentences the verb remains inflected in the singular regardless of the 'number' of the subject. This means that when the subject is singular there is full agreement between subject and verb whereas no number agreement is expected when the subject is plural (cf. Ex.56). We have also found that the verb remains inflected in the feminine singular when the subject is non-human plural NP irrespective of it's gender (cf. Ex.57).

We have argued that a grammatically indefinite NP (in Arabic) can acquire some specific non-retrievable semantic status if it is syntactically modified. In this case it can be post-verbal in a VSO-order-sentence unless there is some reason for not doing so (cf. Ex.58).

We have also contended that an indefinite NP can function as subject in Arabic and in doing so it is most likely to appear in final position (i.e. in the order VCS) in order to abide by the requirements of the principle of FSP (cf. Ex.59).

In a SVO-order-sentence, it is extremely rare, if not non-existent, to find an indefinite NP, even if it is restricted i.e. modified, that functions as subject (= theme).

We have found that in relative clauses in Arabic, the relativized NP (i.e. the subject of the matrix sentence) leaves behind a copy of itself (i.e. a resumptive pronoun) attached to the predicate from which it was extracted if the relativized NP is in the objective or genitive case. In both cases the relativized NP loses its grammatical status and changes its case (from objective or genitive) into nominative. When the relativized NP is subject no resumptive pronoun is left on the surface of the predicate from which it was extracted. The same arguments apply to thematized NPs. The resumptive pronoun is coreferential with the extraposed NP whether this NP is relativized or thematized. This is tantamount to saying that the resumptive pronoun has an anaphoric reference.

If the subjects on the matrix sentence and the embedded clause are coreferential then there is person, gender and number agreement between the subject of the main clause and the verb. If the two subject NPs are not coreferential no such agreement is expected (cf Exs. 64 & 65).

We have found that in equative sentences (SC) in Arabic (i.e. topic-comment) the complement part (= comment) can be occupied by an adjective, a prepositional phrase or an embedded clause. In the latter case a subjective pronoun may intervene between the two nouns to indicate that the two parts constitute one sentence (cf. Ex.66).

We have argued that because basic or underlying word order is related to deep structure, it has nothing to do with communication and should not, therefore, be linked with unmarkedness.

We have suggested that markedness should not be treated as an all or nothing notion but rather as a matter of degrees. We have stressed frequency of occurrence as a syntactic device and suggested a scale of frequency along which we have listed all the word orders that figured in our data. We have suggested that the degree of markedness increases as we move down the scale. The result was that VSC proved to be the most frequent and thus the unmarked word order in Arabic, followed by SVC, VCS, CVS and SCV & CSV share the last position (cf. Fig.10).

When observing the order of adverbials in MSA, we found that all adverbials (generally speaking) prefer final position. As a second choice place, purpose and manner adverbials prefer medial position whereas time adverbials initial position (cf. Fig.11). We have also found that it is very rare, if not impossible, to come across an adverbial at the beginning of a nominal sentence without taking a particle to intervene between itself and the first NP.

On assessing the role of adverbials in communication, we have found out that the majority of them have thematic value despite their occurrence in final positions (i.e. rhematic positions). This means that word order, alone, cannot reflect the degree of CD carried by these

adverbials. This finding confirms Firbas's (1971) argument that the element with the lowest degree of CD need not be sentence-initial.

In sentences which have two objects we have found the 'IO + DO' is the favourite order when the relation that holds between the two objects is that of receiver (beneficiary) and received. If such relation does not hold between them then 'DO + IO' is the favourite order (cf. Exs. 83 a & b).

The relation between word order and different text-types has been investigated, and we have found out that verbal sentences were favoured over nominal sentences (9:1) in texts 1 & 2. (cf. Fig.13). We have attributed the majority of verbal sentences in this case to the fact that in these narrative texts the events were told objectively as they happened in the real world. This objectivity may be one of the reasons for favouring verbal sentences (i.e. an objective word order). Another reason was the so-called shift in the text-typological focus. e.g. a verbal sentence is activated by a shift in the text typological focus, then a sequence of verbal sentences follow until another shift in the text-typological focus activates the use of a nominal sentence and so on (cf. Exs. 87 & 88). Sometimes the choice of sentence type is determined by the particles that govern each type of sentence (cf. Exs. 89 & 91).

Verbal sentences are also predominant in texts 3 & 4 (which are descriptive) though to a lesser degree (7:3) than in texts 1 & 2. This may be because in texts 3 & 4 some more sentences refer to events that are less dynamic than in texts 1 & 2).

Though an instructive text is, generally, expected to exhibit more verbal than nominal sentences, we have noticed that in text 5 (instructive) the nominal sentences are predominant (7:3). We have argued that this is because King Hassan first uses the first pronouns

plural /naa/ & /naHnu/ (= us & we) - which carry both 'power' and 'solidarity' - in an attempt to reinforce the relationship between his addressee's and himself. Having raised them to what he thinks is a status of partnership in power and responsibility, he then addresses them in second person pronoun /Kum/ as in /9alayKum/ (= upon you). In both cases, however, nominal sentences were activated. We have also noticed that some stereotyped expressions are used and these add to the number of nominal sentences in the text as well (cf. Ex. 94).

We have found that in Text 6 (instructive) the commands are, in the majority of cases, given in straightforward imperative forms and this resulted in more verbal sentences. We have argued that in this text (6) AlMahdi's belief that he is a leader supported by God and prophet Muhammad, made him feel that he should be obeyed and as a result his instructions came out in straightforward command forms.

So, we gather from texts 5 & 6 that social and cultural factors can influence the choice of sentence-type (i.e. word order).

We have also argued that nominal sentences are used more than verbal sentences in text 8 than in text 7 (both argumentative_ due to the excessive use of interrogatives and stereotyped expressions of the type /wallaahu lmuwaffiq/ (= and God is the helper).

In Chapter 6 we have argued that it is important to understand the form in order to discover it's functions, and then discussed the structure of the Arabic passive in relation to it's active counterpart. We have found out that /fu9ila/ and /yuf9alu/ (= was done and to be done respectively) constitute the overwhelming majority in our data (91.5%).

We have found that Arabic, as a relatively flexible word order language, uses less passive constructions (1 in 13) than, say, English (1 in 10) which is a rigid word order language (cf. Svartvik, 1968).

We have also noticed that the object of the active sentence must change its case marking (into nominative) when it functions as the subject of the passive counterpart.

Our data has shown another two forms of passive verbs, viz. /*infa9ala*/ and /*tafa99ala*/ which constitute 4.5% of the passive constructions in our data. We have argued that these forms were not, traditionally, considered passive may be because they do not show any morphological changes on the verbs and secondly, because these verbs can appear in active as well as passive constructions. We have treated the constructions in which /*infa9ala*/ and /*tafa99ala*/ forms figured as process-oriented passives after Halliday's (1985) term (cf. Exs. 126 a,b,c & d).

We have argued that Arabic is more flexible than English in that even stative verbs (in Arabic) can be used in the passive sense, whereas in English Palmer, F. (1972) argues that the use of the active verb in the passive sense seems to be confined to action verbs.

Our data has shown 16 occurrences of passive clauses with ditransitive verbs (i.e. 4% of all the passive constructions in our data). We have interpreted the scarcity of such clauses, as a natural outcome of the rarity of the ditransitive verbs themselves on the one hand and of passive constructions on the other.

We have found that the indirect object of verbs that express the notion of giving is the most favourite candidate for carrying out the function of subject of the passive. The choice of the direct object in such cases will render the sentence unacceptable. However, in the majority of ditransitive clauses in our data (with verbs expressing notions other than giving) the direct object is chosen to function as subject of the passive counterpart. FSP has also been found to have

some influence in the choice of the subject of the passive (cf Exs. 129 & 130). So, we have concluded that the passive is used in MSA (as in English) to convey the unmarked 'given-new' order of information distribution.

We have demonstrated that the processes involved in the ditransitive examples in our data fit neatly in Halliday's (1985) relational processes where the process represents a kind of relation either between two entities or between an entity and an attribute (cf. Fig.23). We have seen that MSA is similar to English in that the function 'value' conflates with subject in passive clauses whereas the function 'token' does the same in active clauses. The reason for this is that the subject/value in the passive will move towards the end of the clause and leave the subject position vacant to be occupied by the subject/token in the active counterpart.

In beneficiary clauses, the function of 'beneficiary' is mapped onto the subject of the passive clause (i.e. the logical object).

We have shown that in clauses with recipient meaning the goal can not be suppressed (cf. Ex.132 a& b).

Our data has also shown that agentive passives constitute 2.5% of total number of the passive constructions, and that the by-element does not always play the role of the subject of the active counterpart (cf. Ex. 134). We have also found out that by-elements in MSA can intervene between verb and subject and can come at the beginning in case of verbal sentences. In nominal sentences, they are always placed in final positions (cf. Fig. 16).

We have found that the subject of the agentive is always the 'theme' of the sentence in which it occurs and argued accordingly that Arabic is attuned to the universal tendencies that most languages prefer a merger

a merger of subject and 'theme' functions (cf. Siewierska 1988). The general tendency in Arabic is to assign the function of 'theme' to the animate elements in the sentence rather than to the inanimate ones. However, if the patient is inanimate and the agent is animate, the passive can still be used (cf. Ex.137). There are some situations in which the presence of the by-element at the end of the sentence is a lexical need and its absence will cause the sentence to be ungrammatical (cf. Ex.136).

So, to conclude we have found word order, at the level of the sentence, to be contextually dependent and functionally motivated. Secondly, grammatical constraints and stylistic variations are there 'not without a reason', but to convey specific communicative functions.

At the textual level, we have found that word order in MSA is susceptible to FSP, the type of genre, shifts in text-typological focus, and to grammatical and sociocultural factors.

Once and for all, we have found word order to be a device employed by Arab writers to reflect their rhetorical intentions.

7.2. Implications

This research is expected to be of direct relation to and widely used by the following individuals:

The syllabus designer:

The scale of frequency which we have suggested (cf. Fig.10) and which shows the degree of markedness of different word order in MSA, represents a kind of hierarchy of difficulty which will, hopefully, provide the best solution concerning the arrangement of teaching materials. Special attention should be paid to:

- a) communicative usefulness.
- b) frequency of occurrence.

The Teacher:

This research will, hopefully, help the teacher of Arabic to non-Arabic speakers to explain the most essential structural difference between Arabic and learners' language in a clear and systematic fashion. It may prove useful to the teacher to contrastively present the structures which are conceptually difficult and whose usage is rather specific (i.e. marked structures) and may pose some difficulty to the learner.

The Learner:

Well selected and designed syllabus and effective teaching will, all other things being equal, help the learner and guide him so that his learning will be more efficient and economical than it would be if (s)he relied on her/his heuristic procedures and learning strategies.

The Translator:

He/she may find this research of great value and help in preparing his work and in solving some translation problems that are bound to emerge when translating from or into Arabic. For example, we have shown

that word order in Arabic may carry out the same function of passivization in English in certain situations, e.g. when thematizing an object NP.

So a sentence like:

- a) ?al9alaaqaatu l9arabiyyatu l?afri:qiyyatu yantaabuha lwahnu wal?inHilaal.

(Afro-Arab relations suffer from weakness)

will have the following English equivalent:

- b) Afro-Arab relations have been weakened.

There are in fact many problems that may face the translator due to word order differences between Arabic and English e.g. interrogatives, modification, stylistic variations, information structure ... etc. and which may find some answer in this research.

7.3. Suggestions for Further Research

1. Interaction of word order and intonation and the uses that speakers make of these devices in speech need to be investigated.
2. Passivization was tackled in this research only in relation to word order. The functions of the passive in MSA, which lie outside the scope of this research, remain to be investigated.
3. Word order and text-type in MSA demands a wider space than we could be able to allow.
4. Thematic progression in relation to textual cohesion, coherence and as an aesthetic device used by different writers of different languages needs to be investigated in Arabic.
5. Of course it is always possible to do a contrastive study of word order in Arabic and any other language with the intention of making use of the outcome in teaching and translation.

APPENDIX

1. TEXT No. 1.
Title: /ʔalmahdi min ʔaba ila lXutTu:m/ (= AlMahdi from Aba to Khartoum). pp. 43-46.
Source: /HiSaaru wa Suqu:Tu lXurTu:m/ (= The siege and decline of Khartoum).
Author: Maymoona Hamza
Date: 1972. Place: Sudan
2. TEXT No. 2.
Title: /ʔalhiJrah/ (= The immigration) pp 124-128.
Source: /mu:Jazu taʔri:xi l9arab/ (= A summary of the history of Arabs & Islam).
Author: Gaasim AlAziz
Date: 1971 Place: Beirut, Lebanon
3. TEXT No. 3.
Title: /8azwat badr/ (= The Battle of Badr) pp 363-365
Source: /taʔri:xu l9arabi lqadi:m/ (= The Ancient Arabs History)
Author: Nabeeh 9aaqil
Date: 1972. Place: Damascus, Syria
4. TEXT No. 4.
Title: /taʔri:xu sawaakin/ (= The history of Sawaakin) pp 24-26
Source: /taʔri:xu: sawaakin wa lbaHri lʔaHmar/ (= The history of Sawaakin and the Red Sea).
Author: Muhammad Salih Dirar
Date: 1981 Place: Sudan
5. TEXT No. 5.
Title: /Kalimatu lmaliki lHasan ila l9ummali JJudud/ (= King Hassan's speech to the new workers). pp. 42-43.
Source: /min XuTabi wa nadawaati lmaliki lHasani 00aani/ (= from the orations and symposiums of King Hassan).
Author: Ministry of Information
Date: March 1983/4 Place: Morocco
6. TEXT No. 6.
Title: /Kitaabu lmahdi ila ʔahli sawaakin/ (= AlMahdi's message to the people of Sawaakin).
Source: /taʔri:xu sawaakin wa lbaHri lʔaHmar/ (= The history of Sawaakin and the Red Sea).
Author: Muhammad Salih Dirar
Date: 1981 Place: Sudan

7. TEXT No. 7.
Title: /fatratu maa qablu SSaHaafah/ (=The pre-press period) pp. 13-20.
Source: /ta?ri: xu SSaHaafati ssu:riyyah/ (= The history of the Syrian Press).
Author: Shams Ad din Al-rufaa9i.
Date: 1969 Place: Syria
8. TEXT No. 8.
Title: /Kayfa wulidati SSarqu l?awsat wa limaa5a/ (= How was Al Sharq Alawsat born and why?) p.9.
Source: Al Sharq Alawsat Arab Daily Newspaper, Issue No. 3514.
Author: 9arfaan Ni5aamuddin
Date: Tuesday 12.7.1988. Place: London
9. TEXT No. 9
Title: /ta?ri: xu sawaakin walbaHri l?aHmar/ (= The history of Sawaakin and the Red Sea) pp. 1-200.
Source: as title
Author: Muhammad Salih Dirar
Date: 1981 Place: Sudan
10. TEXT No. 10.
Title: has no title. pp. 62-8
Source: /?aaraa?/ (= views) Vol. X Nos. 3 & 4.
Author: Centre for Functional Literacy in Rural Areas for the Arab States (ASFEC)
Date: Sept-Dec 1980. Place: Sirs-el-Layyan, Menoufia, Egypt.
11. TEXT No. 11.
Title: /8i5aa?u l?asmaak/ (= The food of fish) pp. 97-99.
Source: Al-Arabi, Issue No. 306.
Author: The Ministry of Information
Date: May 1984. Place: Kuwait.
12. TEXT No. 12.
Title: /?itqaanu llu8aati l?aJnabiyyah/ (= mastering foreign languages) pp/. 72-74.
Source: Author, date and place same as Text No. 11.
13. TEXT No. 13.
Title: /taHli: lu maHlu: li ttaHli: li lKahrubaa?i/ (= The preparation of electrolysis-solution) p. 48.
Source: Arab Doctor, Vol. 2. No. 1.
Author: Cromwell Hospital
Date: Mar-Apl. 1983. Place: London

14. TEXT No. 14.

Title: /taSX1:Su JalTati l?awridati l9ami:qah/ (= Diagnosis of deep vein thrombosis) pp. 33-38.

Source: Author, date & place: as Text No. 13.

15. TEXT No. 15.

Title: /Sanaa9atu lJibn/ (= Cheese manufacture) pp. 96-97.

Source: /?al9ulu:mu wattarbiyatu SSiHHiyyah: LiSSufu:fi lxaamiSati l?ibtidaa?iyyati wa 00aali0ati lyafi9i:n/ (= Science and education for third and fifth elementary forms)

Author: The Ministry of Education

Date: 1981

Place: Iraq.

16. TEXT No. 16.

Title: /9amaliyyatu zar9i qalbin li?awwali Su9u:diyyin ?uJriyat fi: bri:Taaniyah/ (= a heart transplant operation performed on the first Saudi (man) in Britain). p.19.

Source: Al-Sharq Alawsat Arab Daily Newspaper, Issue No. 2339.

Author: "Al-Sharq Alawsat"

Date: 24.4.1985.

Place: London

17. TEXT No. 17.

Title: /mubaadaraatun ?isti0naa?iyyatun limu9aalaJati l?awDaa9i l?iqtiSaadiyyati wa lmaaliyyati wal?iJtimaa9iyyah/ (= Exceptional initiatives for treating the economical, financial & social situations) p. 1.

Source: Author, date & place: same as Text No. 16.

18. TEXT No. 18.

Title: /8asi:lun Kilwiyyun liHaamili lqalbi SSanaa9i/ (= Dialysis for the carrier of the artificial heart). p.19.

Source: Author, date & place: same as Texts Nos. 16. & 17.

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