

GOVERNANCE IN TRADITIONAL ARABIC GRAMMAR

ALL the elements of a sentence, both primary and secondary are affected by the influence of different words that cause their inflection. Traditional Arabic grammar defines such an action as *'amal*.

1. Government and governors

The syntactic term *'amal* 'action, performance' denotes 'governance', i.e., the grammatical effect of one word of a sentence on another. All constituents of a sentence are either *'awāmil* (sg. *'āmil*) 'governors' or *ma'mūlāt* (sg. *ma'mūl*) 'governed'. The effect of this government is a case ending (*'i'rab* 'declension'). For the noun these endings are:

- u nominative (*raf'*): *rajul-un* 'a man';
- a accusative (*našb*): *rajul-an*;
- i genitive (*jarr* or *xafḍ*): *rajul-in*.

In the verb only the imperfect has declined forms:

- u indicative (*raf'*): *yadhhab-u* 'he goes';
- a subjunctive (*našb*): *yadhhab-a*;
- ∅ jussive (*jazm*): *yadhhab*.

Since no categorical distinction is made between verbal and nominal endings, *raf'* can mean either 'nominative' or 'indicative', depending on context (Owens 1988:39). All parts of speech, nouns, verbs and particles, can operate as governors, while only nouns and imperfect form of verbs can be governed. Particles are indeclinable.

An early classification of all types of governors is found in the *Kitāb al-jumal fi n-naḥw*, ascribed to al-Xalīl ibn 'Aḥmad (d. 791; cf. Owens 1990:189–193). A summary of the theory of governance is given by 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 1078) in *'Awāmil mi'a* (cf. Jirjāwī, *Šarḥ*; Rybalkin 2003:238) and *Jumal*.

Governors are divided into overt (*'awāmil lafziyya*, lit. 'verbal') and virtual (*'awāmil ma'nawiyya*, lit. 'notional') ('Abd al-Laṭīf n.d.:168; 'Amāyira 1987:56); the existence of the latter is assumed when there is no overt governor. Overt governors are divided into regular (*'awāmil qiyāsiyya*, lit. 'analogical') and those, that govern on the base on usage (*'awāmil samā'iyya*, lit. 'aural').

2. Regular governors

Regular governors are represented by the following categories of words ('Abd al-Laṭīf n.d.:168):

1) Verbs, which are either transitive (*muta'addin*) or intransitive (*gayr muta'addin*, or *lāzim*). Transitive verbs govern an agent (noun or personal pronoun), in the nominative, and all direct objects in the accusative, e.g. *ḍaraba zaydun 'amran* 'Zayd struck 'Amr'. They may accept up to three direct objects, e.g. *'arā l-lāhu zaydan 'amran xayra n-nāsi* 'God showed Zayd that 'Amr is the best of the people'.

Verbs accepting one direct object in Form I, become ditransitive in forms II and III, as in *'aḍrabtu zaydan 'amran* 'I forced Zayd to strike 'Amr'; verbs accepting two direct objects in Form I, become tritransitive in Forms II and IV, e.g. *'a'lama l-lāhu zaydan 'amran 'axā-ka* 'God revealed to Zayd that 'Amr is your brother'.

In the passive transitive verbs govern a direct object in the nominative; this object is said to replace an agent (*al-maf'ūl al-qā'im maqāma l-fā'il*), the other objects taking the accusative, e.g. *ḍuriba zaydun ḍarban šadīdan* 'Zayd was hit strongly'. Every object, except objects of reason and partnership, can replace an agent in the passive, e.g. *sīra farsaxāni* 'two parasangs were passed'.

The Basran grammarians claim that if there is an overt direct object, this must replace the agent in the passive, while the Kufan grammarians accept such replacement by all objects, even if there is a direct object. Therefore, they allow expressions like *ḍuriba ḍarbutun šadīdun zaydan* 'a strong blow struck Zayd', where the direct object *zaydan* remains in the accusative, while the absolute object *ḍarbutun šadīdun* replaces the agent (Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* II, 121).

Intransitive verbs govern their agent in the nominative, and all objects, except the direct object, in the accusative, e.g. *qāma zaydun 'ikrāman li-s-sultāni* 'Zayd rose to honor the sultan'. They become transitive in Forms II and IV or govern by means of particles. Thus, in the phrase *marra zaydun bi-'amrin* 'Zayd passed 'Amr', the action of the verb *marra* affects the object *'amrin* through the particle *bi-*. Verbs governing their object by means of particles, sometimes become transitive, when the particle is omitted, and govern a direct

object in the accusative. Thus, in the phrase *daxaltu l-bayta* 'I entered the house', the intransitive verb *daxala* has become transitive after deletion of the particle *'ilā* 'into'.

In the passive, an object with a particle replaces the agent of the intransitive verb, e.g. *murra bi-'amrin* 'Amr was passed', where *bi-'amrin* operates as the object replacing the agent of *murra*.

2) The verbal noun (*maṣdar*), when it is used independently with *tanwīn*, may operate as a verb, governing the agent in the nominative and the object in the accusative, e.g. *'a'jaba-nī ḍaribun zaydun 'amran* 'I was astonished that Zayd beat 'Amr'. More often, though, it governs its agent in the genitive and its object in the accusative, e.g. *'a'jaba-nī ḍarbu zaydin 'amran*. Alternatively, the object may be governed in the genitive and the agent in the nominative, as in *'a'jaba-nī ḍarbu 'amrin zaydun*.

In the example *'a'jaba-nī ḍarbu zaydin 'amran* the agent has a genitive case ending, but is considered to have a nominative position in the sentence. Attributes may agree with it either in the genitive, e.g. *'ajibtu min šurbi zaydin az-zarīfi* 'I was surprised by the drinking of lovely Zayd', or in the nominative, *az-zarīfu* (Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* III, 104).

Substantive verbal nouns (*'asmā' al-maṣdar*), such as *kalām* 'speech', *'atā* 'gift' etc. sometimes govern like nouns of action, e.g., *min qublati r-rajuli 'imra'ata-hu l-wuḍū'u* 'ablution [is made] owing to a kiss by the husband to the wife'. Here *qublatun*, being used in the meaning of 'kissing', governs the agent *ar-rajuli* in the genitive and the object *'imra'ata-hu* in the accusative.

3) Active participles (*'ism al-fā'il*), when indefinite and expressing present or future tense, govern similarly to a transitive verb, with the agent in the nominative, and the object in the accusative, e.g. *zaydun ḍāribun ḡulāmu-hu 'amran* 'the slave of Zayd is beating 'Amr'.

This is permitted only if the participle is a) predicate of a topic (*mubtada'*), as in the example; b) attribute of a preceding noun, e.g.: *jā'a-nī rajulun ḍāribun 'abdu-hu 'amran* 'a man came to me, whose slave beats 'Amr'; c) adverbial modifier (*ḥāl*) of a preceding noun, e.g. *jā'a zaydun rākiban farasan* 'Zayd arrived riding a horse'; or d) when it is preceded by interrogative or negative

particles, e.g. *'a-ḍāribun zaydun 'amran?* 'is Zayd beating 'Amr?' (Zamaxšarī, *Mufaṣṣal* 226–229; Jirjāwī, *Šarḥ* 294–295).

If these conditions are not met, or when a participle is used with a past reference, its object is governed in the genitive, as in *hādā ḍāribu zaydin 'amsi* 'this [is who was] beating Zayd yesterday'. However, if a participle is used with the definite article *al-*, it governs an object in the accusative, irrespective of time, e.g. *hādā ḍ-ḍāribu zaydan* 'this [is who was/is/will be] beating Zayd'.

Nouns coordinated with the object of a participle in the genitive can be coordinated with it either in the genitive, e.g. *hādā ḍāribu zaydin wa-'amrin* 'this [is who is] beating Zayd and 'Amr', or in the accusative, e.g. *hādā ḍ-ḍāribu zaydin wa-'amran*, since the participle may govern the object in the accusative (Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* III, 119).

According to the grammarians adjectives of the pattern *fa'āl*, *mif'al*, *fa'ūl*, *fā'il* and *fa'il*, called intensive (*'amtīlat al-mubālaḡa*), are regular governors, because their use resembles that of a participle, the intensive meaning expressing permanent occupation with something, e.g. *'ammā l-'asala fa-'ana šarrābun* 'as for honey, I am [permanently] drinking [it]'. Basran grammarians assume that intensive adjectives of the first three patterns govern like a participle, but they disagree about the governance of adjectives last two patterns. Kufans do not recognize governance of these adjectives. They assume that the noun functioning as object of these adjectives is governed in the accusative as the result of the action of a deleted verb.

4) Passive participles (*'ism al-maf'ūl*) govern under the same conditions as a passive verb, i.e., they put the object replacing the agent in the nominative, e.g. *zaydun maḍrūbun 'abdu-hu* 'Zayd, his slave [is] beaten', i.e. 'Zayd's slave is beaten' (Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* III, 122).

However, the relation between a passive participle and an object replacing an agent may be expressed by annexing the latter to the former, e.g. *jā'a-nī rajulun maḍrūbu 'abdin* 'a man came to me whose slave was beaten', or by placing the object in the accusative of specification, e.g. *maḍrūbuṅ 'abdan* (Zamaxšarī, *Mufaṣṣal* 229; Jirjāwī, *Šarḥ* 299).

5) Adjectives assimilated to the participles (*šifāt mušabbaha bi-'asmā' al-fā'il*) govern

as participles by putting the agent in the nominative and the object in the accusative. Thus, in *zaydun ḥasanun al-wajha* 'Zayd [is] lovely by [his] face' the adjective *ḥasanun* acts as if there is an implied personal pronoun *huwa* 'he' with its object *al-wajha*. The object of assimilated adjectives, which always comes after its governor, can also stand in the nominative or the genitive, e.g. *zaydun ḥasanun al-wajhu* and *ḥasanu l-wajhi* (Zamaxšarī, *Mufaṣṣal* 230–231; Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* III, 140–146; Jirjāwī, *Šarḥ* 300–302).

Among the regular governors are the adjectives expressing comparative and superlative degree ('*af'āl at-tafḍīl*). They govern their object in the genitive with the particle *min*, e.g. *zaydun 'afḍalu min 'amrin* 'Zayd is better than 'Amr'.

When these adjectives remain in the constant form, without the definite article, they govern their agent in the nominative only if they are preceded by an interrogative or negative particle, and when they can be replaced by a verb, e.g. *mā ra 'aytu rajulan 'aḥsana fī 'ayni-hi l-kuḥlu min-hu fī 'ayni zaydin* 'I did not see a man in whose eyes the antimony would be more perfect than in Zayd's eye'. Here, *al-kuḥlu* is put in the nominative by '*aḥsana*, which can be replaced by the verb *ḥasuna* 'was lovely'.

When they express the superlative degree, these adjectives govern their objects in the genitive. They remain either in the constant form, e.g. *az-zaydāni 'afḍalu l-qawmi* 'two Zayds [are] the best [man] from the entire tribe', or agree in gender and number, e.g. *az-zaydāni 'afḍalā l-qawmi*. When used attributively, they agree in gender and number with a definite noun, e.g. *Zaydun al-'afḍalu* 'the best Zayd', *hindun al-fuḍlā* 'the best Hind' (Zamaxšarī, *Mufaṣṣal* 232–237; Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* III, 181).

6) The annexed noun ('*ism muḍāf*) is treated by some grammarians as a regular governor, since it governs its object in the genitive, whereas others assume that the second noun is governed in the genitive by a deleted particle, *li-*, *min* or *fī* (Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* III, 43; cf. Owens 1988:153–154).

7) Complete nouns ('*asmā' tāmma*) are called thus because while governing they do not lose neither *tanwīn*, nor the final *nūn* of dual and plural. These are nouns indicating a measure or weight and the cardinal numerals

of tens, which govern their objects in the accusative of specification, e.g. *raṭlun zaytan* 'a pound of olive oil', '*išrūna dirhaman* 'twenty dirhams', etc. ('Abd al-Laṭīf n.d.:168; Carter 1972).

3. Abrogating governors

An initial word (*mubtada'*) or topic is used in the nominative by the initial place it occupies in the sentence, being independent from any preceding governor. But frequently topics are preceded by various grammatical governors affecting their declension. These are called *nawāsix al-'ibtidā'* 'abrogators of initiality', because they cancel the effect of the initial position (Junaydī 1981:992). They are overt governors that 1) govern an initial word in the accusative, and its predicate in the nominative; 2) govern a predicate in the accusative, and a topic in the nominative; or 3) govern both of them in the accusative.

1) Overt governors governing a topic in the accusative and its predicate in the nominative, are:

a) The particle '*inna* and its 'sisters' ('*inna wa-'axawātu-hā*): '*anna* 'that', *ka-'anna* 'as if; as though', *lākinna* 'but', *layta* 'if only' and *la'alla* 'perhaps'; these are referred to as particles resembling verbs (*al-ḥurūf al-mušabbaha bi-l-'af'āl*), because they have the same meaning as the verbs '*akkada* 'to assure', *tamannā* 'to wish' etc.; like them, they have a final vowel *-a* and require a noun after them (Ibn Mālik, '*Alfiyya* 13–14).

In a nominal sentence, these particles govern a topic in the accusative and its predicate in the nominative, e.g. '*inna zaydan 'axū-ka* 'verily Zayd is your brother'. The topic is referred to as the noun of '*inna* ('*ism 'inna*) and its predicate as the predicate of '*inna* (*ḫabar 'inna*). Basran grammarians compare the phrase '*inna zaydan axū-ka* with *ḍaraba zaydan axū-ka* 'your brother struck Zayd'. Kufan grammarians claim that these particles do not affect the declension of the predicate, since it remains in the nominative for the same reason as in the phrase *zaydun 'axū-ka* 'Zayd [is] your brother' ('Anbārī, '*Inšāf* 50, No 22; Zamaxšarī, *Mufaṣṣal* 27).

The noun of '*inna* should always precede its predicate, except when this is an adverbial modifier of place or time or a locative adverbial, as in '*inna fī d-dāri zaydan* 'truly Zayd [is] in the house'. Therefore, Basran grammarians stipulate that nouns coordinated to the noun

of *'inna*, when they are mentioned before the predicate, should be governed in the accusative, e.g. *'inna zaydan wa-'amran qā'imāni* 'verily, Zayd and 'Amr [are] standing'. If the coordinated noun is mentioned after the predicate, it can agree with the noun of *'inna* in the accusative, e.g. *'inna zaydan qā'imun wa-'amran*, or in the nominative *wa-'amrun*, since the noun of *'inna* has the same case in the underlying structure. The Kufans allow agreement of coordinated nouns in the nominative, before the predicate is mentioned, *'inna zaydan wa-'amrun qā'imāni* ('Anbārī, *'Inṣāf* 50–51, No 23).

The Basran grammarians believe that the particles *'inna* and *'anna* in the 'light' form (*muxaffafa*), i.e., with deletion of one *nūn*, in some cases keep their governance; according to the Kufans, they lose their governing force, and therefore do not place their noun in the accusative case ('Anbārī, *'Inṣāf* 51, No 24).

Kisā'ī and Farrā' allow the use of *layta* 'if only' with the sense of the verb *tamannā* 'to wish' with two accusatives, e.g. *layta zaydan qā'iman* 'if only Zayd [was] standing!' (Girgas 1873:113).

b) The negative particle *lā*, which is called *lā li-n-naḥy* 'the *lā* of negation', governs an indefinite noun in the accusative without *tanwīn*, and its predicate in the nominative case, e.g. *lā rajula fī d-dari* 'there is no man in the house'. The predicate is frequently omitted, e.g. *lā ba'sa* 'there is nothing bad'. The Basrans assume that such indefinite words are indeclinable, with a final vowel *-a*; the Kufans regard them as declinable, governed in the accusative ('Anbārī, *'Inṣāf* 55, No 52).

Attributes of the noun governed by *lā* agree with it either in the accusative without *tanwīn*, e.g. *lā rajula zarīfa fī d-dāri* 'there is no lovely man in the house', or with *tanwīn*, *lā rajula zarīfan*, or in the nominative, *lā rajula zarīfun*, since in the underlying structure the noun is governed in this case. Coordinated nouns, being indefinite, are governed in the accusative or in the nominative with *tanwīn*, e.g. *lā 'abā wa-'ibnan miṭla marwāna wa-bni-hi* 'there is no father and son like Marwān and his son'. But when the coordinated noun is definite, it is governed in the nominative, e.g. *lā ḡulāma la-ka wa-lā l-'abbāsu* 'you have neither slave, no 'Abbās'.

If the negative *lā* is repeated before a coordinated noun, as in *lā ḥawla wa-lā*

quwwata 'illā bi-l-lāhi 'there is no power and no strength, except with God', when the first noun is in the accusative without *tanwīn*, the coordinated noun can also be governed in the accusative without *tanwīn* or with *tanwīn*, *lā quwwatan*, or in the nominative, *lā quwwatun*. If the first noun is in the nominative with *tanwīn*, the coordinated noun either agrees with it in the same case, *lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwatun*, or in the accusative without *tanwīn*, *lā quwwata*.

2) Overt governors governing the topic in the nominative and the predicate in the accusative are:

a) verbs similar to *kāna* (*kāna wa-'axawātu-hā 'kāna* and its sisters'): *šāra* 'to become'; *'ašbaḥa* 'to be in the morning'; *'amsā* 'to be in the evening'; *'adhā* 'to be before noon'; *zalla* 'to be by day'; *bāta* 'to stay overnight'; *mā zāla*, *mā bariḥa*, *mā ḥakka* and *mā fati'a* 'to continue to be'; *mā dāma* 'as long as' and *laysa* 'not to be'. These are referred to as defective verbs (*'af'āl nāqiṣa*), because, unlike other verbs, which need a noun in the nominative to form a complete sentence, these verbs require for completeness of sense a topic in the nominative and a predicate in the accusative, e.g. *kāna zaydun qā'iman* 'Zayd was standing'. The noun governed by *kāna* is called *'ism kāna* 'the noun of *kāna*', and the predicate is referred to as *xabar kāna* 'predicate of *kāna*'.

Predicates of these verbs may be placed before their noun and even precede the verb, e.g. *qā'iman kāna zaydun*. However, the Basrans believe that verbs with the negative particle *mā* cannot be preceded by their predicate, while the Kufans allow this. Thus, in their opinion, one can say: *qā'iman mā zāla zaydun* 'Zayd did not cease to be standing'. They reject this possibility for the predicate of *laysa*, e.g., **qā'iman laysa zaydun* 'Zayd is not standing', which is accepted by the Basrans (Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* I, 278).

b) verbs similar to *kāda* 'to be almost' (*kāda wa-'axawātu-hā 'kāda* and its sisters'): *'asā* 'it could be that'; *kāda*, *'awšaka* and *karaba* 'to be on the point [of doing something]'; *'axada*, *ja'ala* and *tafiqa* 'to begin'. These are referred to as *'af'āl al-muqāraba* 'verbs of proximity', since some of them express the fact that the predicate is close to accomplishment. They govern the topic in the nominative, and the predicate in the accusative,

e.g. *fa-'ubtu 'ilā fahmin wa-mā kidtu 'ā'iban* 'and so I returned [to the tribe] Fahm, but I was very near not returning' (Wright 1986: II, 106). Examples of this are extremely rare; more often the predicate is expressed by an imperfect verb, e.g. *kāda zaydun yamūtu* 'Zayd almost died', or by the particle 'an 'that' with a subjunctive, e.g. 'asā zaydun 'an yaxruja 'perhaps, Zayd will leave'.

c) According to the Basrans, the negative particles *mā* and *lā* in the Hījāzī dialect govern a topic in the nominative and the predicate in the accusative, since they resemble the negative verb *laysa*, e.g. *mā hādā bašaran* 'this [is] not a man', *lā šay'un 'alā l-'arḍi bāqīyan* 'nothing is eternal on earth'. The Kufans assert that the particles *mā* and *lā* do not govern a predicate; they explain the accusative of the predicate by deletion of a particle ('Anbārī, 'Inšāf 50, No 19).

For this governance the predicate must follow the topic and cannot be separated from it by 'illā 'except for' or any other particle. Furthermore, for the governance of *lā* both topic and predicate must be indefinite. In the Tamīmī dialect the predicate is governed in the nominative, *mā hādā bašarun*, which according to Sībawayhi, is more correct, since these particles are not verbs.

The particle *lāta* 'not' governs in the accusative only nouns of time, e.g. *lāta hīna manāšin* '[there is] no moment of escape'. The Basrans assert that the particle 'in 'not' does not govern, while the Kufans admit its governance in some cases, e.g. 'in *huwa mustawliyan 'alā 'aḥadin* 'he is not dominating anybody' (Girgas 1873:116).

3) Overt governors governing both the topic and the predicate in the accusative, are the verbs similar to *zanna* 'to think' (*zanna wa-'axawātu-hā*), such as *ḥasiba* 'to consider'; *xāla* 'to imagine', *darā* and *'alima* 'to know'; *ra'ā* 'to see, to consider'; *za'ama* 'to assert' etc. (Rybalkin 2004). These are called judgment verbs ('af'āl al-qalb, lit.: 'verbs of the heart'), because they express intellectual actions. Thus, in the phrase *zanantu zaydan jāhīlan* 'I thought, that Zayd was ignorant' *zaydan* is the first object (*al-maf'ūl al-'awwal*) of the verb *zanna*, and *jāhīlan* acts as its second object (*al-maf'ūl at-tānī*).

4. Governors of the verb

According to the grammarians, only the imperfect verb can be declined. The Basrans

claim it is used in *raf'* (*marfū'*), because it replaces a noun, e.g. *zaydun yaktubu* 'Zayd writes', which is equivalent to *zaydun kātibun* 'Zayd [is] writing'. The Kufans believe that the verb is used in *raf'*, because it does not depend on overt governors requiring *našb* or *jazm*. This opinion was shared by later grammarians, such as Ibn Mālik, Ibn al-Ḥājjib et al.

A verb is governed in *našb* (*manšūb*) by *nawāšib*, i.e. overt governors requiring subjunctive mood. These are: 1) 'an and *kay* 'in order to', the negation *lan*, and 'idān 'in that case', which govern directly in *našb*, e.g. 'urīdu 'an taqūma 'I wish you to rise'; *lan yadriba* 'he will not strike', 'idān 'ukrima-ka 'then, I will respect you'; 2) *ḥattā*, *li-*, 'aw 'that; so that'; *fa-*, *wa-* 'and', e.g. 'aslamtu ḥattā 'adxula l-jannata 'I embraced Islam so as to enter paradise', *ji'tu-ka li-tukrima-nī* 'I have come to you, so that you respect me', *la-'alzamanna-ka 'aw tu'ḥiya-nī ḥaqqī* 'I will not leave you, until you give me my due' (Zamaxšarī, *Mufaššal* 246–252).

The particle 'an does not govern *našb* after verbs expressing certainty (*yaqīn*), e.g. 'alimtu 'an taqūmu 'I knew that you would rise', since here 'an is considered to be derived from 'anna-ka. After verbs expressing probability (*rujḥān*), it can operate both the subjunctive, e.g. *zanantu 'an taqūma* 'I thought that you would rise', and the indicative, 'an *taqūmu* (Girgas 1873:118).

According to the Kufans, the particles *kay* and *ḥattā* may be reinforced by 'an, without affecting the following verb, e.g. *ji'tu li-kay 'an 'ukrima-ka* 'I came so as to respect you'. The Basrans believe that *kay* is sometimes used as a particle and does not accept 'an ('Anbārī, 'Inšāf 58, No 76,78).

The particle *ḥattā* governs the subjunctive, when the following verb is used with the sense of a future tense, otherwise it loses its governance, e.g. *mariḍa ḥattā lā yarjūna-hu* 'he fell ill so that they do not hope for his [recovery]'. The Kufans assert that *ḥattā* governs the subjunctive directly. The Basrans, however, believe that *ḥattā* governs nouns in the genitive directly, but verbs in the subjunctive through an implied 'an. Likewise, the Kufans assert that *li-* 'in order to' directly governs the verb in the subjunctive, but that it may accept 'an for emphasis, e.g. *mā kāna zaydun li-'an yadxula dāra-ka* 'Zayd is unable to enter your house'. Furthermore, they

allow a direct object preceding the verb in the subjunctive, e.g. *mā kāna zaydun dāra-ka li-yadxula*. This is unacceptable to the Basrans ('Anbārī, 'Inṣāf' 59, No 80).

The subjunctive particles *fa-*, expressing a consequence, and *wa-*, expressing simultaneity of action, govern a following verb in the subjunctive only when the preceding verb expresses an order, prohibition, negation, question, desire or hope, e.g. *zur-nī fa-'ukrima-ka* 'visit me so that I respect you'; *lā tanhā 'an xuluqin wa-ta'tiya miṭla-hu* 'do not keep [someone else] from any act while you are doing the same'. The Basrans believe that these particles govern through an implied 'an, while the Kufans explain the subjunctive by the disagreement between the two verbs.

A verb is governed in *jazm* (*majzūm*) by *jawāzim*, i.e. overt governors implying an imperative. There are two categories: 1) those that govern one verb in *jazm*: *lam*, *lammā*, *li-* (*lām al-'amr*), and *lā*, e.g. *lam yaqum* 'he has not risen yet', *li-yaktub* 'let him write', *lā taḍbrib* 'don't hit!'; and 2) those that govern two verbs in *jazm*: 'in 'if'; *man* 'the one who'; *mā* 'what'; *mahmā* 'whatever'; 'ayyun 'whoever'; *matā*, 'ayyāna and *idmā* 'when-ever'; 'ayna, 'aynamā and *ḥaytumā* 'wherever'; *annā* 'in whatever way' (Wright 1986: II, 14). The first verb governed should express a condition (*ṣarṭ*), the second one the consequence of that condition (*jazā' aš-ṣarṭ* or *jawāb aš-ṣarṭ*), e.g. 'in *tukrim-ni 'ukrim-ka* 'if you respect me, I respect you'; *man ya 'mal sū'an yujzā bi-hi* 'whosoever commits evil, will be punished for it'; *mā taf'alū min xayrin ya 'lam-hu l-lāhu* 'whatever good you [pl.] do, God will know about it'.

The second verb also has *jazm*, when the first one expresses a prohibition, negation, question, desire or hope, e.g. *uṭlub tajid* 'search and you will find'; *lā takfur tadxul al-janna* 'don't be irreligious, and you will enter Paradise'. These verbs are governed in *jazm* by an implied 'in 'if', since the underlying sentence is *uṭlub fa-'in taṭlub tajid* 'search, and if you search, you will find'.

Yet, grammarians disagree about the governor causing *jazm* in the second verb of conditional clauses. Thus, some Basrans claim that these governors affect both verbs, others believe that the first verb governs the second one; still others assert that the governing word places the first verb in *jazm*, and

this verb, in its turn, governs the second one. According to the Kufans, the verb expressing the consequence is governed in *jazm* by its proximity (*majzūm bi-l-jiwār*) to the first verb expressing the condition (cf. Dévényi 1988). Hence, they believe that if the agent of a verb expressing consequence precedes its verb, the latter should be used in the indicative, e.g. 'in *ta'tī-nī zaydun yukrimu-ka* 'if you come to me, Zayd will respect you'. Unlike them, the Basrans believe that this does not interrupt governance, so that the verb should be used in *jazm* ('Anbārī, 'Inṣāf' 60, No 84).

The Kufans claim that *kayfa* 'how' governs a verb in *jazm* just as *ḥaytumā* and 'aynamā 'wherever', whereas the Basrans reject this ('Anbārī, 'Inṣāf' 60, No 89).

5. Governors based on usage

The second category of overt governors, based on *samā'* are the following:

1) Words called 'prepositions' in the Western tradition are called by the grammarians *ḥurūf al-jarr* or *ḥurūf al-xafd* 'particles [governing their objects] in the genitive'. Az-Zamaxšarī calls these *ḥurūf al-'idāfa* 'particles of connection', because they join verbs with the nouns to which the action passes, e.g. *min* 'from', 'ilā 'to', *fī* 'in', *ḥattā* 'up to', *bi-* 'in, with', *li-* expressing belonging (to), *rubba* 'many', *wa-* and *ta-* 'by!' (particles that introduce oath). Other 'prepositions' are regarded as nouns, e.g. 'alā 'on, above', 'an 'from', *ka-* 'like', *muḍ* and *mundu* 'since', or as verbs, e.g. *ḥāšā*, *xāla* and 'adā 'except' (Zamaxšarī, *Mufaṣṣal* 283).

According to the grammarians, some particles are pleonastic (*zā'ida*), like *bi-* in the phrase *kaḥā bi-l-lāhi šāhidan* (Q. 48/28) 'God suffices as a witness' (Arberry II, 229). The Basrans believe that the particle *min* 'from' is pleonastic in interrogative and negative sentences, when its object is an indefinite word, e.g.: *mā jā'a-nī min 'aḥadin* 'nobody came to me'; the Kufans allow the use of *min* in affirmative sentences, acknowledging phrases like *qad kāna min maṭarin* 'it has already rained' (Girgas 1873:122).

Sometimes, particles governing in the genitive are omitted; this frequently happens with *rubba* 'how many!' and *bi-* in oaths. The Basrans assert that the deleted particle should be replaced by another particle, the 'amal remaining with the deleted preposition, for instance, *wa-*, replacing *rubba*, does not govern

by itself the following word in the genitive. The Kufans disagree with this; they also assert that an oath can be used in the genitive governed by the implied particle, even when it is not replaced. In such cases, the Basrans insist that the deleted particle is replaced with an interrogative or another particle, e.g.: *hā-l-lāhi* 'by God!' ('Anbārī, 'Inṣāf 55, No 56).

The Kufans assert that if the object of *muḍ* and *munḍu* 'since' is used in the nominative, e.g. *mā ra'aytu-hu muḍ yawmu l-jum'ati* 'I haven't seen him since Friday', it is governed by an underlying verb. The Basrans regard *muḍ* and *munḍu* as topics, the noun following them being their attribute. When they are used as particles, their objects require the genitive ('Anbārī, 'Inṣāf 55, No 55).

2) Particles of exception (*hurūf al-istiṭnā*): 'illā 'except for'; *xalā*, 'adā, ḥāšā, laysa, lā yakūnu 'excluding'; *ḡayrun*, *siwā* and *sawā'un* 'except for'. The grammarians disagree about the government of the excluded noun (*al-mustatnā*) after 'illā. The Basrans assume that the noun is governed in the accusative by an underlying verb 'astatnī 'I exclude', governing through 'illā. Some Kufans assert that 'illā governs the noun by itself, while others, like al-Farrā', suppose that 'illā is formed from 'in (short form of 'inna 'verily') and lā 'not', hence the accusative of the excluded noun in affirmative sentences (in other sentences it agrees with *al-mustatnā min-hu* 'that from which the exception is made' as a conjunctive apposition) ('Anbārī, 'Inṣāf 52, No 33).

The verbs *xalā*, 'adā, ḥāšā, laysa and lā yakūnu 'excluding' govern an excluded noun in the accusative, e.g. *qāma l-qawmu xalā zaydan* 'all the tribe stood up, excluding Zayd'; the first three govern an excluded noun also in the genitive, *xalā zaydin*. The Basrans believe that ḥāšā, expressing exception, is a preposition, whereas the Kufans consider it an imperfect verb.

The other particles, being actually nouns, always govern an excluded noun in the genitive and have themselves the same case as an excluded noun after 'illā, e.g. *jā'a-nī l-qawmu ḡayra zaydin* 'the tribe came to me, except for Zayd'; *mā qāma ḡayru zaydin* 'nobody stood up, except for Zayd'.

3) Particles of appeal like *yā*, 'ayā, and ḥayā, according to az-Zamaxšarī, are used when the person is far from the speak-

er; whereas 'ay and 'a are used when the addressee is close to the speaker (*Mufaṣṣal* 309); the other grammarians, like Ibn Mālik, disagree with this.

The nominative – in the singular always without *tanwīn* – is used when the addressee (*al-munādā*) is addressed directly by the speaker, no explanatory term of any description being appended to it, e.g. *yā muḥammadu* 'o Muhammad', *yā sayyidu* 'o sir' etc. The accusative is used: 1) when the addressee is indefinite and not directly addressed by the speaker, e.g. when a blind man says *yā rajulan xud bi-yadī* 'some man, take my hand'; 2) when it is directly addressed by the speaker, but has an explanatory term appended to it, e.g. *yā 'abda l-lāhi* 'o 'Abdallah', *yā xayran min zaydin* 'o you that are better than Zayd' etc. (Wright II, 85–86).

The particle of appeal is frequently omitted, except in lamentations for the dead (*annudba*), e.g. *wa-zaydāh* 'alas Zayd!' and in calling for help (*al-istiḡāta*), e.g. *yā la-zaydin* 'o Zayd, help [me]!' (Girgas 1873:123).

4) Indefinite pronouns (*al-'asmā' al-mubhama*), i.e., quantitative numerals from 11 up to 99 (except for the tens, which are 'complete nouns'), interrogative and exclamatory particles *kam* and *ka'ayyin* 'how much?', *kaḏā* 'so-and-so much', expressing an uncertain number, govern the estimated subjects in the accusative of specification. When expressing a question *kam* governs the accusative, e.g. *kam dināran 'inda-ka* 'how many dinars do you have?' In other cases it governs its object in the genitive, either in the singular or in the plural, e.g. *lā na'rifu kam rajulin* (or: *rijālin*) 'inda-ka 'we do not know, how many men you have'. If *kam* is separated from its object by other words, this object is governed, in the Basrans' opinion, in the accusative, e.g. *kam fī d-dāri rajulan* 'how many men [are] in the house!' whereas the Kufans believe that the object should be governed in the genitive, e.g. *kam fī d-dāri rajulin*.

Ka'ayyin and *kaḏā* govern similarly to *kam*: they require their objects in the accusative; but *ka'ayyin* is more often used with the preposition *min*, e.g. *ka'ayyin min qaryatin 'ahlaknā-hā* (Q. 7/4) 'how many a city We have destroyed!' (Arberry I:171), and *kaḏā* is repeated, e.g. *malaktu kaḏā kaḏā* (or *kaḏā wa-kaḏā*) *dirhaman* 'I had so-and-so many dirhems'. The Kufans allow the government

of the object of single *kaḍā* in the genitive, singular or plural, e.g. *kaḍā tawbin* or *'aṭwābin* 'so-and-so many dresses' (Girgas 1873:124).

5) Interjections (*ism al-fi'l*) govern like verbs, e.g. *hayhāta Zaydun* 'Zayd is far', *zaydun* having nominative as the agent of *hayhāta*, which is equivalent to the verb *ba'uda* 'to be distant'. If a verb governs nominative and accusative, an interjection with its meaning also governs two cases. Thus, in *ḍarābi zaydan* 'beat Zayd!', the agent of *ḍarābi* is the implicit personal pronoun in the nominative, whereas *zaydan* is used in the accusative as the direct object of the interjection (Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* III, 305).

6) Verbs of praise and blame (*'af'āl al-madh wa-d-damm*) like *ni'ma* 'to be good', *bi'sa* 'to be bad' etc. govern both the first noun expressing the quality and the second one denoting the praised or blamed person in the nominative, e.g. *ni'ma r-rajulu zaydun*

'how excellent is Zayd, as a man!'. *Zaydun* may be analyzed as the topic placed at the end of the sentence, whereas its attribute is the preceding verbal sentence consisting of the verb and the agent; alternatively, *zaydun* may be the predicate of an underlying topic *huwa* 'he'. One may also say *ni'ma rajulan zaydun*, *zaydun* being the agent of the verb *ni'ma*, whereas *rajulan* is used in the accusative of specification (Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* III, 165).

Most grammarians consider *ni'ma* and *bi'sa* verbs, but some Kufans, like al-Farrā', treat them as nouns, since they are used with prepositions, e.g. *ni'ma s-sayru 'alā bi'sa l-'ayru* 'what a beautiful trip on such a miserable donkey!' The Basrans explain this use of the preposition by an underlying attribute after the verb: *ni'ma s-sayru 'alā 'ayrin maqūlin fī-hi bi'sa l-'ayru* 'what a beautiful trip on a donkey about which it is said: such a miserable donkey!' (Ibn 'Aqīl, *Šarḥ* III, 160–161).

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