

?al- haal and ?al-tamyiiz in the Light of Government and Binding Theory

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Abstract. This paper tries an alternative syntactic analysis of some of the structures that contain ?al-haal and ?al-tamyiiz in Arabic in the Government and Binding Theory (henceforth GB). The data is exclusively derived from Suurat ?al-Kahf (18) and Suurat Maryam (19) from the Glorious Qur'an. Some other examples are added from modern standard Arabic, at the end of this paper, in support of our argument. The meanings of the glorious verses of the Qur'an are taken from the Holy Qur'an , English translation of the meanings and commentary, issued by the Presidency of Islamic Researches, Ifta, Call and Guidance, A.H. 1410.

1. Theoretical framework

This paper assumes a fair knowledge of the general framework of the Government and Binding Theory (GB). The version of GB we are adopting is that of Chomsky, Bouchard and Lasnik and Uriagereka. Some crucial concepts to our argument are the following:

- (1) (i) Case assignment takes place at S-structure only. "We assume that case-assignment takes place at S-structure" [1, p. 94]. Also we find the same condition. In [2, p. 12] "to summarize, we have seen evidence for a case requirement that clearly cannot be a D-Structure requirement, ... The requirement must therefore constrain some later lever of representation. S-structure is plausible, but so is PF, especially if we are dealing with a basically morphological requirement".
(ii) Adjacency is a condition for case assignment at the syntactic level only. "we assume that case-marking takes place at S-structure... Therefore, the notion of adjacency is that of S-structure [1, p. 94]; and we find in [2, p. 11] the following: "in sum, the conditions for case assignment are as follows: α assigns case for β if
 - a. α is a case assigner;
 - b. α governs β ;
 - c. α is adjacent to β .

(iii) INFL is not a syntactic node but is attached to V in the lexicon: "Another possibility is to assume that INFL is not a syntactic node but it is attached to the V in the lexicon, following an axiom of lexical phonology that all affixation is done in the lexicon [3, p.143]

2. Structure containing ?al-haal and ?al-tamyiiz is Suurat ?al-Kahf and Suurat Maryam

2.1 Structures from Suurat ?al-Kahf

(٢) فَلْيَنْظُرْ أَيُّهَا أَزْكَى طَعَامًا (تميز)

fal yanḍ ur ?ayyuha ?azkaa ṭa? aaman
let him find out which is the best food.

(٣) هُنَالِكَ الْوَلِيَّةُ لِلَّهِ الْحَقُّ هُوَ خَيْرٌ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ عُقْبًا (تميز)

hunaalika -?al-wilaayatu li-l-laahi ?al-ḥaqq huwa khayrun thawaaban wa khayrun
?uqban

There the (only) protection comes from Allah, the true One. He is the Best reward, and the Best to give success.

(٤) وَالْبَقِيَّةُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ أَمَلًا (تميز)

wa ?al- baaqiyaatu ?al -ṣaalihaatu khayrun ṣinda rabbika thawaaban wa khaiyrun
?amalan

But the things that endure, good deeds, are best in the sight of the Lord, as rewards, and best as (the foundation for) hopes.

(٥) وَكَانَ وَرَاءَهُمْ مَلِكٌ يَأْخُذُ كُلَّ سَفِينَةٍ غَصْبًا (حال)

wa kaana waraa?ahum malikun ya?khu ḍ u kulla safinatin yaṣḥban

After them a certain king who seized on every boat by force.

(٦) يُرْهِقُهُمَا طُغْيَانًا وَكُفْرًا (حال)

yurhiqahumaa ṭuyyaanan wa kufran

We feared that he would grieve them by obstinate rebellion and ingratitude (to Allah).

(٧) فَإِذَا جَاءَ وَعْدُ رَبِّي جَعَلَهُ دُكَّاءً (مفعول به)

fai?iḍ aa jaa?a wa?du rabbii ja?alahu dakkaa?a.

But when the promise of my Lord comes to pass, He will make it into dust.

2.2 Structures containing ?al-haal and ?al-tamyiiz from Suurat Maryam

(٨) وَأَجْعَلُهُ رَبِّ رَضِيًّا (مفعول به، تميز)

waj?alhu rabbi raḍiyan

And make him, O my Lord ! One with whom thou art well-pleased.

(٩) خَرُّوا سُجَّدًا وَسَبَّحُوا بِحَمْدِ رَبِّهِمْ وَهُمْ لَا يَسْمَعُونَ (حال)

kharruu sujadan wa bukiyyan

They would fall down in prostrate adoration and in tears.

(١٠) ثُمَّ نُخْرِجُهُمْ حَوْلَ جَهَنَّمَ جِثِيًّا (حال)

thumma lanuḥḍiranahum ḥawla jahannama jithiyyan
Then shall we bring them forth on their knees round about the hell.

(١١) مَنْ هُوَ شَرٌّ مَكَانًا وَأَضْعَفُ جُودًا (تمييز)

man huwa sharrun makaanan wa ?aḍ?afu jundan

(١٢) وَالْبَقِيَّتُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ مَرَدًّا (تمييز)

wal baaqiyaatu ?al-ṣaalihaatu khayrun ?inda rabbika thawaaban wa khayrun maraddan
And the things that endure, good deeds, are best in the sight of the Lord, as rewards,
and best in respect of (their) eventual returns.

(١٣) يَوْمَ نَحْشُرُ الْمُتَّقِينَ إِلَى الرَّحْمَنِ وَفْدًا (حال)

yawma naḥshuru ?al-muttaqiina ?ila ?ar-raḥmaani wafdan)

The day we shall gather the righteous to (Allah) Most Gracious, like a band.
However we still have more structures with the same properties in Suurat Maryam. It
will be sufficient to mention just a few:

(١٤) (أ) وَنَسُوقُ الْمُجْرِمِينَ إِلَىٰ جَهَنَّمَ وَرِدًّا (حال)

And we shall drive the sinners to Hell, (like thirsty cattle driven down to water

(ب) إِنْ كُلُّ مَنْ فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ إِلَّا آتِي الرَّحْمَنِ عَبْدًا (حال)

not one of the beings in heavens and the earth but must come to the Most Gracious as a
servant.

(ت) وَكُلُّهُمْ آتِيهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ فَرْدًا (حال)

And every one of them will come to Him singly on the day of Judgement

3. Analysing the data

The structure in (2.1) and (2.2) could be divided into two groups: The first one includes structures that have an explicit main verb in their S-structure and the second is the one which does not have any explicit verb.

3.1 Structures with explicit main verb in (2.1) and (2.2)

These would include the following verses from Suurat ?al-Kahf

(١٥) فَلْيَنْظُرْ أَيُّهَا أَزْكَىٰ طَعَامًا (تمييز)

(١٦) وَكَانَ وِرَاءَهُمْ مَلِكٌ يَأْخُذُ كُلَّ سَفِينَةٍ غَصْبًا (حال)

(١٧) أَنْ يَرْهَقَهُمَا طُغْيَانًا وَكُفْرًا (تمييز)

(١٨) جَعَلَهُ دَكَّاءَ (مفعول به، تمييز)

and the following verses are from Suurat Maryam:

(١٩) وَأَجْعَلَهُ رَبِّ رَضِيًّا (مفعول به)

(٢٠) خَرُّوا سُجَّدًا وَبُكِيًّا (حال)

(٢١) ثُمَّ لِنُحْضِرَنَّ لَهُمْ حَوْلَ جَهَنَّمَ جِثِيًّا (حال)

(٢٢) يَوْمَ نَخْتَلُفُ الْمُتَّقِينَ إِلَى الرَّحْمَنِ وَقَدًّا (حال)

(٢٣) وَسَوْقُ الْمُجْرِمِينَ إِلَى جَهَنَّمَ وَرِدًّا (حال)

(٢٤) إِنْ كُنَّ مِنْ فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ إِلَّا آتَى الرَّحْمَنِ عَبْدًا (حال)

(٢٥) وَكُلُّهُمْ آتِيهِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ فَرْدًا (حال)

Traditionally, all the underlined words are considered haal because they are governed by the verb. The position is found in [4, p. 262]

«والعامل الأصلي في الحال هو الفعل»

“The original case assigner in ?al-ḥaal is the verb” and [5, P: 237.]

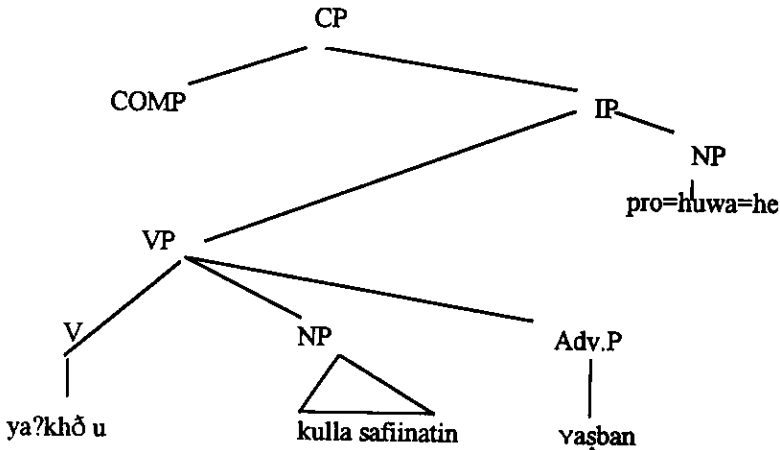
«والعامل في الحال فعل أو معناه»

“The case assigner element in ?al-ḥaal is a verb or its meaning”.

In fact their position is quite justified in the Government and Binding Theory. Let us draw the S-structure of some sentences. The D-S and LF structure of (16), (17) and (18) would be (26), (27) and (28) respectively:

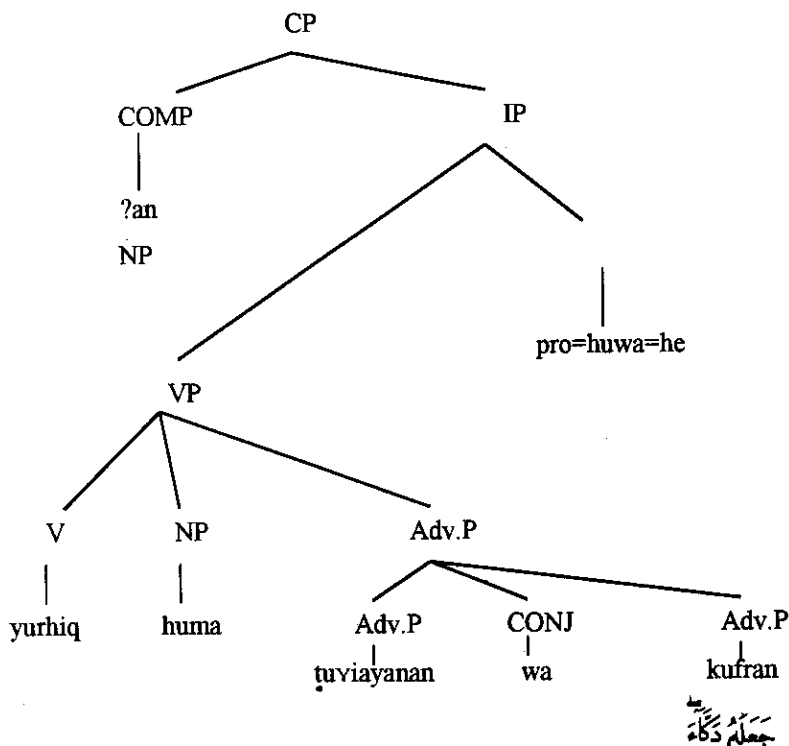
يَأْخُذُ كُلُّ سَفِينَةٍ غَصْبًا

(26) Ya?khõu kulla safiinatin vaşban

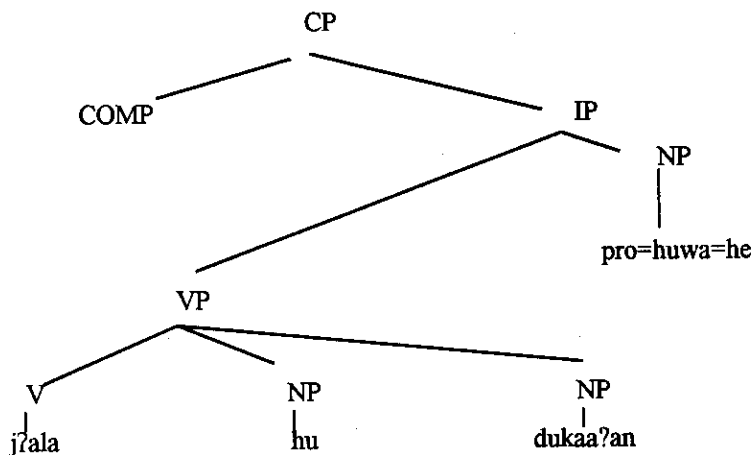


أَنْ يُرْهِقَهُمَا طُغْيَانًا وَكُفْرًا

(27)



(28)

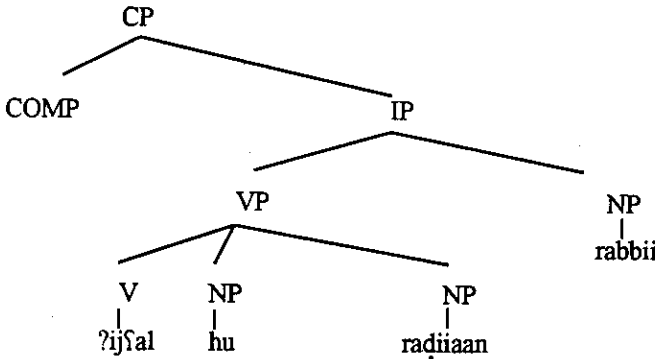


Notice the unmarked word-order in Arabic is considered to be VP NP i.e., S → VP NP; for a lengthy detailed analysis about this suggestion see [6, pp.9-27,7, pp 123-139]

The same analysis applies to sentences (19-25) from Suurat Maryam. I'll draw the S-structures of just two of them namely (19) and (21). Their D-s and LF structures would be (29) and (30) respectively.

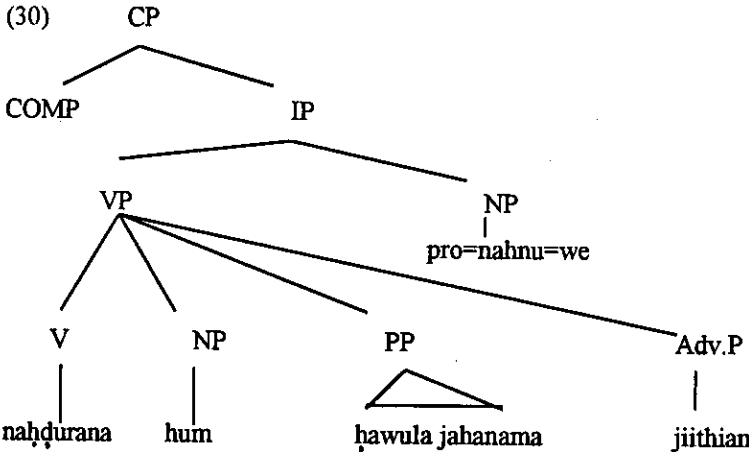
وَأَجْعَلُهُ رَبِّ رَضِيًّا

(29)



ثُمَّ لَنْخَضِرَنَّهُمْ حَوْلَ جَهَنَّمَ جِثِيًّا

(30)



In fact, the analysis is straightforward. All the words that are considered haal or tamiyiz are inside a VP structure and governed by a transitive verb and they are adjacent to the verb at D-structure. The PP structure in some sentences that intervenes between the haal and the verb at surface structure can be accounted for easily and freely by a movement at PF level.

With these structures the traditional argument coincides with the Government and Binding approach without any difficulties or the need for ad hoc rules. But what about the structures that contain ?al-haal or ?al-tamiyiz without any explicit verb in their structures?

3.2 Structures without any explicit verb

These would include the following verses form Suurat ʔalkahf:

(٣١) هُنَالِكَ الْوَلِيَّةُ لِلَّهِ الْحَقِّ هُوَ خَيْرٌ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ عُقْبًا (تمييز)

(٣٢) وَالْبَقِيَّةُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ أَمَلًا (تمييز)

And the following verses are from Suurat Maryam :

(٣٣) مَنْ هُوَ شَرٌّ مَكَانًا وَأَضْعَفُ جُنْدًا (تمييز)

(٣٤) وَالْبَقِيَّةُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ مَرَدًّا (تمييز)

The traditional Arab syntacticians have many different ideas for case-assigning elements for structures that don't have a verb. For example the case-assigning element in (31-33) is a ʔal-mubtadaʔ i.e. hwua in (31)?al-baaqiyyaatu in (32), man in (33) and it could be the prepositional phrase ʔinda rabbika in (34). Of course this analysis doesn't conform with the GB framework because the case-assigning element should be a transitive verb, a preposition or INFL i.e. [+V,-v], but the examples (31-34) don't have any of these case-assigning elements. The position of traditional linguists can hardly be defended or be acceptable within the GB framework. However, a plausible analysis can be suggested for such structures.

3.2.1 An alternative analysis

The suggestion is as follows: Suppose we have an implicit verb "to be" in these structures at D and S levels which is then deleted by a deletion rule. Accordingly, the D-structure and even S-structure of (31-34) would be (35-38) respectively:

(٣٥) هُنَالِكَ الْوَلِيَّةُ لِلَّهِ الْحَقِّ هُوَ خَيْرٌ يكون ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ يكون عُقْبًا

(٣٦) وَالْبَقِيَّةُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ تكون ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ تكون أَمَلًا

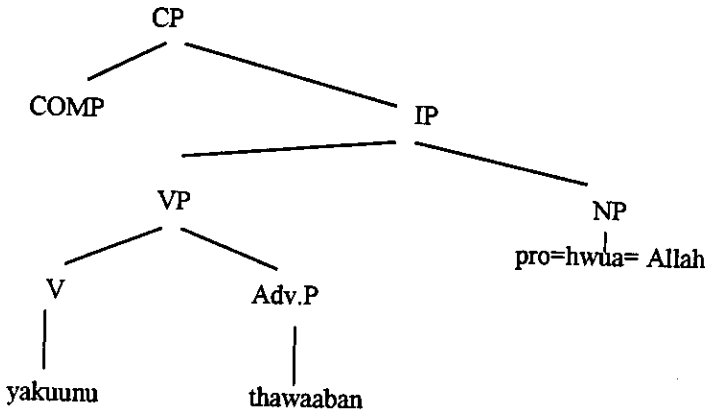
(٣٧) مَنْ هُوَ شَرٌّ يكون مَكَانًا وَأَضْعَفُ يكون جُنْدًا

(٣٨) وَالْبَقِيَّةُ الصَّالِحَاتُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ تكون ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ تكون مَرَدًّا

I'll draw the D-and S- structure of (35) and (38) to show how government and case-assignment might be carried. (35) would be (39) while (38) would be (40).

(٣٩) هُوَ خَيْرٌ يكون ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ يكون عُقْبًا

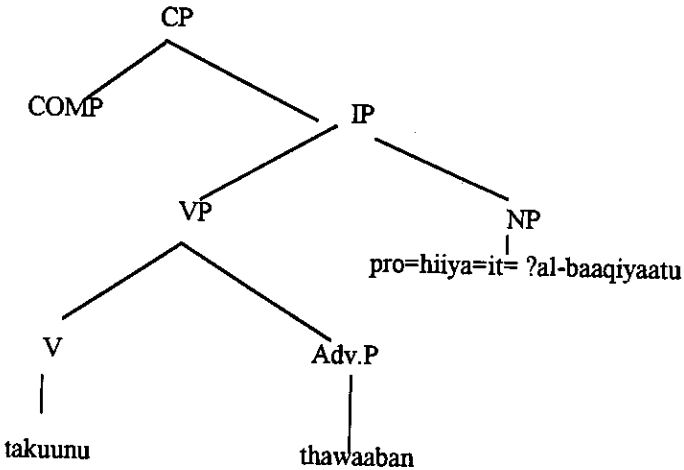
huwa khairun yakuunu thawaaban wa khairun yakuunu ʔuqban



Now thawaaban is governed by the verb so it will be assigned an accusative case.

(٤٠) وَالْبَيْتُ الصَّالِحُ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ تَكُونُ نَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ تَكُونُ مَرَدًّا

wa ?al-baaqiyaatu ?al-?aalihaatu khaiyrun tnda rabbika takuunu thawaaban wa khaiyrun maradan



In fact, this analysis finds more support from many other examples from the glorious Qura'an and modern Standard Arabic in general. Consider the following examples:

(٤١) قَالَتْ يَا وَيْلَتَى أَأَلِدُ وَأَنَا عَجُوزٌ وَهَذَا بَعْلِي شَيْخًا (سورة هود: ٧٢)

wa haḍaa ba?lii shaiykhan

She said " Alas for me! Shall I bear a child, seeing I am an old woman, and my husband here is an old man. [8]

How shaiykhan would receive an accusative case and would be considered haal if we don't assume an implicit "be" at D- and S-level and then is deleted.

And then what about sentences like the following:

- (٤٢) (أ) الحرُّ - شديدًا - ضارٌّ
 (ب) الشمسُ - شديدةٌ - مؤذيةٌ
 (ت) النزولُ من السيارة - متحركةٌ - خطرٌ
 (ث) ركوب القطار - ماشيًا - وخيمُ العاقبة

In fact, the translation of the sentences in (42) will reveal the existence of two verbs of "be"

- (43) (i) The heat being too strong is harmful.
 (ii) The sun being too hot is harmful
 (iii) Coming down from the car being still moving is dangerous
 (iv) Climbing the train being running is catastrophic.

I believe that Arabic including the glorious Qura'an tends to delete verb "to be" in the present as a language specific property. The result of this deletion is the nominal sentence in traditional Arabic grammars. Consider the following examples:

(٤٣) الفتاةُ جميلةٌ

ʔal-fataatu jamiilatun

The girl is beautiful

(43) is considered a nominal sentence because it starts with an original noun and doesn't have any verb, whereas its translation shows verb "to be" quite clearly. Notice if we negate (43); verb "to be" shows clearly:

(٤٤) لم تكن الفتاةُ جميلةً

lam taken ʔal-fataatu jamiilatan

The girl wasn't beautiful

Even if we question (43) verb "to be" is indispensable in the past:

هل كانت الفتاةُ جميلةً / هل تكون الفتاةُ جميلةً / هل الفتاةُ جميلةٌ؟

whereas the translation shows "to be" in the present and the past:

- (45) (I) Was the girl beautiful?
 (ii) Is the girl beautiful?

So, then the absence of verb "to be" in the present tense is not restricted to structures that contain ʔal-haal or ʔal-tamyiiz only, but it is a more general property of Arabic. Notice the syntactic equivalent in English of the Arabic phrases of ʔal-haal or ʔal-tamyiiz is an adverbial phrase; and probably of manner. So a contrastive study between the two languages may draw on this point especially in the teaching of translation.

Conclusion

We have tested our hypothesis that Arabic has an implicit copula that assigns case to *ʔal-ḥaal* and *ʔal tamiyiz* in structures from *Suurat al-Kahf* (The Cave) and *Suurat Maryam* (Mary) and some other structures from modern standard Arabic. Two types of structures were found to have *ʔal-ḥaal* and *ʔal tamiyiz*. The first is the one that has an explicit main verb which assigns an accusative case to *al-ḥaal* and *ʔal tamiyiz*. The analysis of traditional Arab syntacticians coincides with that of G.B. The other type of structures is the one that does not have an explicit main verb. It was detailed that the insertion of "to be" at the syntactic level and its deletion is an indispensable process to account for such structures in the examples discussed, and in MSA in general.

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الحال و التمييز في ضوء نظرية العمل (الحكم النحوي والربط)

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ملخص البحث . يحاول هذا البحث مناقشة طرح تركيبى (نحوي) بديل لبعض التراكيب المحتوية على الحال والتمييز في ضوء نظرية العمل التي طورها تشومسكي منذ عام ١٩٨١م وحتى الآن . وقد أخذت الأمثلة برمتها من سورتي الكهف ومريم من القرآن الكريم؛ وأضيفت بعض الأمثلة، في نهاية البحث ، من العربية الفصحى دعما لطحنا. أما ترجمة معاني الآيات المقتبسة من القرآن الكريم فقد أخذت من القرآن الكريم، وترجمة معانية وتفسيره إلى اللغة الإنجليزية - تنقيح وإعداد الرئاسة العامة لإدارات البحوث العلمية والإفتاء والدعوة والإرشاد.