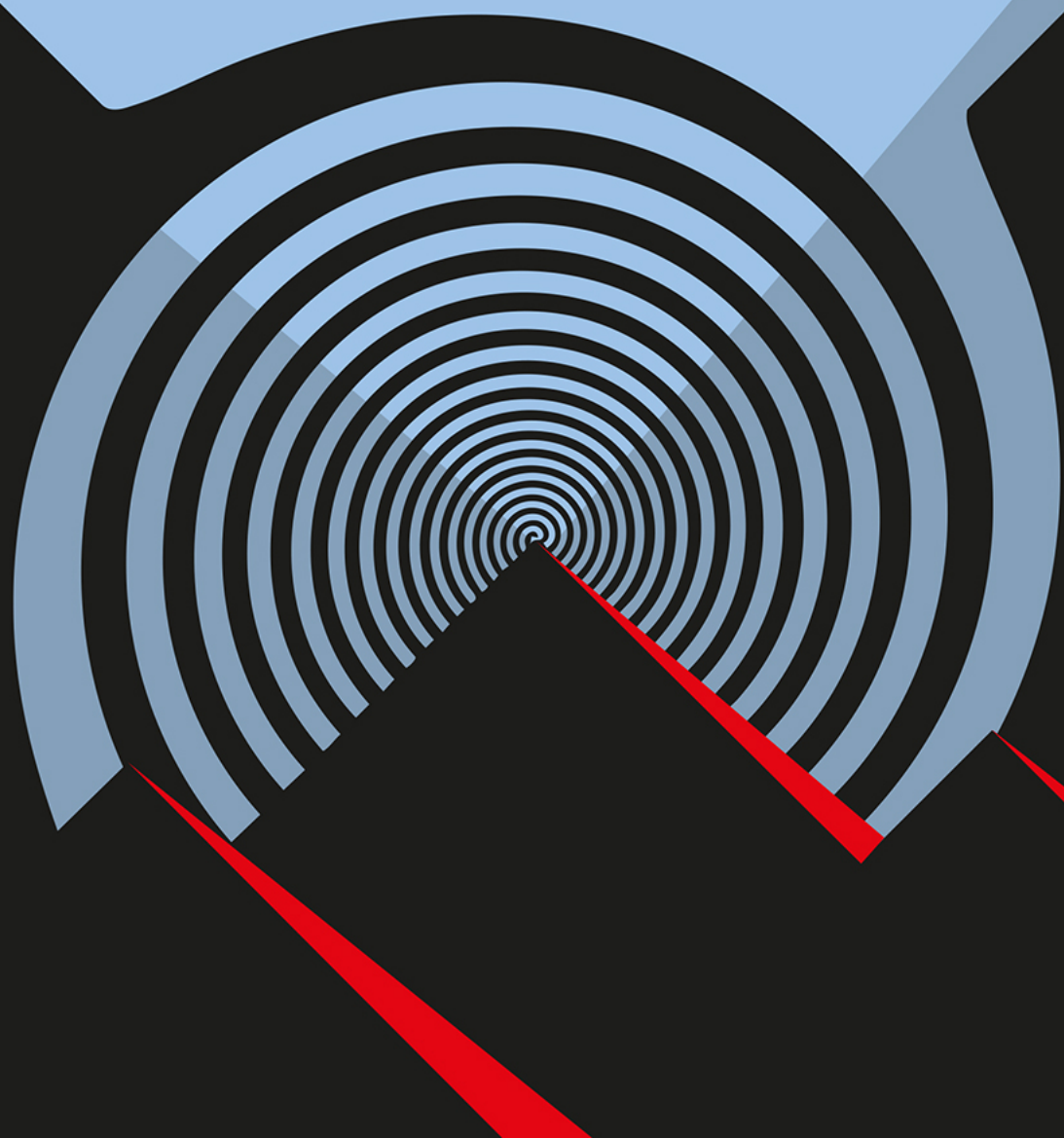


Media Arabic Grammar

Syntax and Semantics of the Hard News
Sentence, a Corpus Investigation

Emil Lundin



Media Arabic Grammar

Syntax and Semantics of the Hard News Sentence,
a Corpus Investigation

By
Emil Lundin



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

2025

This publication was funded by the Carlo Landberg Foundation.

© Emil Lundin 2025

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC-ND)

ISSN 0585-5535

ISBN 978-91-513-2511-8 (print)

ISBN 978-91-513-2666-5 (electronic)

<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-556628>

Distributor: Uppsala University Library,

Box 510, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden

www.uu.se/library, uup@uu.se

Printed in Sweden by By Wind, Ödeshög 2025

Transcription chart

Arabic, Buckwalter transliteration (= B.), and Academic transcription (A.); B. is primarily used in examples of computer output.

	B.	A.			
ا	A	ā (if vowel)	ط	T	t
ب	b	b	ظ	Z	z
ت	t	t	ع	E	‘
ث	v	t̤	غ	g	ḡ
ج	j	ḡ	ف	f	f
ح	H	ḥ	ق	q	q
خ	x	ḫ	ك	k	k
د	d	d	ل	l	l
ذ	*	ḏ	م	m	m
ر	r	r	ن	n	n
ز	z	z	ه	h	h
س	s	s	ة	p	at#
ش	\$	š	و	w	w, ū
ص	S	ṣ	ي	y	y, ī
ض	D	ḏ	ى	Y	y/ā, ī

Academic transcription of *hamza*: ’ (invariable).

Buckwalter transliteration of *hamza*:

ء	’	آ	
أ	>	ؤ	&
إ	<	ئ	}

Geographical and personal names are transcribed with the help of Western newspapers, Wikipedia (e.g. lists of governments), Google, and Google Maps. Unidentified *nomina loci* are left unvocalized. Vowels *e*, *ē*, *o*, and *ō* are allowed in transcriptions of names, and *el-* is preferred for the definite article in names as a marker of word class and for the title *el-duktūr*. Sandhi is only transcribed for 3fs Vsuff (*fa’alat*), *fī*, *min*, *‘an*, *al-*, and word-initial *waṣla* of stem forms VII–X. Short vowels in foreign names represented as long in the Arabic are transcribed long in accordance with the Arabic text (regardless of the source language or actual Arabic pronunciation; for more on transcription, see 1.5.1). The interpunctuation of the Arabic is retained in the transcriptions. For interpunctuation, see 3.3. For the treatment of typos, see 3.2

List of abbreviations

#	used for uncertain and/or unspecified vowels and morphology, e.g. <i>kalimat#</i> , for <i>kalimatu(n)</i> , <i>-i(n)</i> , and/or <i>-a(n)</i> , see also 2.2.3
&	‘and’, for its use in names of polysemous linkings, see 4.2
>	greater than
≥	greater than or equal to
<	less than
≤	less than or equal to
Σ	total number of attestations (a symbol used in tables)
3fs	third person feminine singular
3ms	third person masculine singular
A	Article; article numbers are used as an academic construct for reference to newspaper articles in the corpus (see 3.1)
ACC	accusative
ACT	Active
adj	Adjective
ADV	adverb (peripheral constituent)
bi	bi-, used of semantics; additional nuance, tint, or shade (bi- tri-, or poly-colouration); for its use in names of polysemous linkings, see 4.2
Cop	Copula
<i>dā‘eš</i>	<i>al-dawlat# al-‘islāmiyyat# fī el-‘irāq wa-l-ša’m</i> (or <i>el-šām</i>), ‘The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria/the Levant’, ‘Daesh’, also ISIS or ISIL, sometimes (<i>tanẓīm#</i>) <i>al-dawlat# al-‘islāmiyyat#</i> , ‘the Islamic State (organization)’.
Daesh	see <i>dā‘eš</i>
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DO	direct object
EALL	<i>Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics</i>
Eng.	English
Ex	Example
f.	feminine
freq.	frequency
GEN	genitive
Gr.	Greek
gram	grammatical morpheme (Vsuff, Vpref-, <i>tamma maṣdar</i> , etc.)

-h	grammatically unspecified pronominal suffix in transcriptions; in the corpus typically a third person masculine singular, plural, or third person feminine singular suffix.
<i>hapax</i>	<i>ἄπαξ λεγόμενον</i> , -α (<i>hapax legómenon</i> , -a) (Gr.), ‘read or attested only once’; used about lexical items, types, and grammatical constructions
<i>hw</i>	pronoun of the <i>huwa</i> paradigm (typically third person).
ICT	Information and communications technology
incl.	including
INDEF	indefinite
IO	indirect object
[<i>ita</i>]	‘thus’, used in quotations when there is a typo (see 3.2) or error in the original text that I have corrected
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literally
m.	masculine
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NCI	nominal clause
NEG	negation
No.	number
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
O	object
OR	‘or’, for its use in names of ambiguous linkings, see 4.2
PASS	Passive
PL	plural
pl.	plural
PN	proper name
PP	prepositional phrase
PTC	participle (<i>fā ilun</i> , <i>mufa ilun</i> , etc.)
<i>q.v.</i>	<i>quod/quae vide</i> (Lat.), ‘see which’, ‘for which, see [...]’
(Ref.)	Reference. Used in headings containing only a cross-reference (see 6.1)
REL	relative (clause)
S	grammatical subject
sg.	singular
SUBJ	grammatical subject
<i>s.v.</i> , <i>s.vv.</i>	<i>sub voce</i> , <i>verbo</i> , <i>vocibus</i> , <i>verbis</i> (Lat.), ‘under (the) entry’
TAM	tense, aspect, mood (see e.g. Bybee <i>et al.</i> 1994)
TEMP	Temporal
TTR	type-token ratio (see 3.4.1)
V	Verb
VoA	verb(s) of attribution (for attribution, see 1.4.6; VoA see 1.4.12.1)
VprefA	verb, prefix form -a (<i>yaf ala</i>), subjunctive

VprefL	verb, prefix form long (<i>yaf^ˈalu</i>), imperfect indicative
VprefS	verb, prefix form short (<i>yaf^ˈal</i>), jussive
Vsuff	verb, suffix form (<i>fa^ˈala</i>), perfect
x	used post-positioned in combination with numbers to distinguish them as results, e.g. in the phrase “3x attestations”, and especially in results and in result sections (3.2ff.) with reduced or compressed syntax to distinguish counts and attestations, where e.g. “1,144x” means ‘1,144 attestations’, and “2x deviating spellings” means ‘two attestations of deviating spellings’; the phrase “attested 1,144x”, similarly, means ‘attested 1,144 times’. Prepositioned, x means ‘times’, e.g. “Inconcomitance x2” means ‘Inconcomitance, two times’.
X	used to denote a constituent, typically a peripheral element preceding the core structure, e.g. a PP, an adverb, or a front dislocation such as a noun or phrase, but X is also used in the construction “ <i>wa-ḍālika</i> X NCI” to denote a variety of predicates, for which, see under 6.1.

Index

Transcription chart.....	5
List of abbreviations	6
1. Aim and background.....	25
1.1. Content and disposition	26
1.2. Background: Media Arabic?	29
1.2.1. Coursebooks on Media Arabic	29
1.2.2. Previous research	32
1.2.2.1. Summary: Previous research	33
1.3. Rationale for a study of print news, and of Al-Ahram.....	33
1.3.1. Media consumption patterns in Egypt	34
1.3.1.1. Statistical sources	34
1.3.1.2. Consumption patterns: TV, radio, print, and internet	36
1.3.1.3. News and internet in Egypt.....	38
1.3.2. Why a study of Al-Ahram?.....	40
1.3.2.1. Print media: Why Al-Ahram?.....	41
1.3.3. Historical notes on the press in Egypt.....	42
1.3.3.1. Early development of the language	44
1.4. Journalism and story design.....	45
1.4.1. The parts of the hard news article	46
1.4.2. Journalists and journalese	47
1.4.3. Newsworthiness and news values	48
1.4.4. The inverted pyramid structure.....	50
1.4.5. Background and context	51
1.4.6. Attribution	52
1.4.7. Authorial distance	53
1.4.8. The lead	54
1.4.8.1. Limited space, limited attention.....	54
1.4.8.2. The first paragraph: The lead.....	55
1.4.8.3. Types of stories, types of lead	56
1.4.8.4. Content and structural dictates of the lead	57
1.4.9. On a language level: Rhetoric goals	58
1.4.10. Appropriate length (brevity)	59
1.4.11. Paragraphs, white space, and textual coherence	60
1.4.12. Attribution design	61
1.4.12.1. Verbs of attribution.....	61
1.4.12.2. Attribution in story design: West and East	62
1.4.12.3. Arabic vernaculars and attribution.....	64
1.5. Arabic and media: Theoretical preliminaries.....	64

1.5.1. Diglossia, <i>i'rāb</i> , transcription, and broadcast pronunciation.....	64
1.5.1.1. Diglossia continuum	64
1.5.1.2. Transcribing texts in the Arabic alphabet?	66
1.5.1.3. Considerations for transcribing.....	69
1.5.1.4. Two models of transcription: Internet vs. academic	70
1.5.1.5. The news community: Reading out loud	72
1.5.1.6. Arabic media: Case and mood	73
1.5.1.7. Pausa and pausal forms.....	75
1.5.1.8. Reading the news out loud.....	75
1.5.1.9. Summary: <i>i'rāb</i> , transcription, and broadcast pronunciation	77
1.5.1.10. On translations in the present book.....	77
2. Theoretical introduction: Method, corpus, and scope	79
2.1. Methodological backdrop	79
2.1.1. Introduction: Instantiations of register, genre and style.....	79
2.1.2. Register, genre, and style.....	81
2.1.2.1. Definitions: Register, genre, and style	81
2.1.2.2. General vs. specific registers	84
2.2. Corpus.....	85
2.2.1. Methodology for the selection of corpus data.....	86
2.2.1.1. Corpus size	89
2.2.2. Limitations of the corpus	90
2.2.3. Treatment of texts from the corpus	90
2.2.4. Differences between Al-Ahram online and print.....	91
2.3. Linguistic preliminaries: Defining scope.....	92
2.3.1. Terminology	93
2.3.2. The noun phrase.....	95
2.3.2.1. Post-deictics.....	95
2.3.2.2. Numeratives.....	97
2.3.2.3. Nominal addition	98
2.3.2.4. Postmodifiers, appositions, and annexations	99
2.3.2.5. More on excluded relations: Inter-relational postmodifiers <i>bayna</i> and <i>ma'a</i> , some uses of <i>min</i> , the allative, the ablative, and the <i>'ā'id</i>	103
2.3.3. Nominalization: Terminology explained.....	105
2.3.3.1. Nominalized NPs or nominalized clauses vs. the finite clause prototype	105
2.3.3.2. Finiteness	106
2.3.4. What relations will be investigated?	108
2.3.4.1. Embedding vs. hypotaxis	109
2.3.4.2. Complementation according to Dixon	110
2.3.4.3. Complement clauses with complementizers	111
2.3.5. Relative clause nominalization	112
2.3.5.1. Theory: Relative clause nominalization.....	112
2.3.5.2. Nominalization of relative clauses in Media Arabic.....	117
2.3.5.3. <i>na't sababī</i>	120
2.3.6. Epithets and classifiers.....	121
2.3.6.1. Epithets	121
2.3.6.2. Classifiers	123
2.3.6.3. Case study: <i>-muḥtall-</i>	125

2.3.7. Head as numerative, epithet, or classifier	125
2.4. Summary of scope: What will be investigated?	129
2.5. Method of gathering linguistic data: WebAnno	130
2.5.1. Computer-assisted analysis	131
2.5.2. Annotation of constituent types and relations	131
2.5.2.1. WebAnno	131
2.5.2.2. Consistency and systematization of the nomenclature	131
2.5.2.3. Annotation of Entities	132
2.5.2.4. Relations	136
2.5.2.5. WebAnno output and script	137
2.5.2.6. The scripts	137
3. Miscellaneous preliminary corpus investigations	143
3.1. Corpus data (numerical)	143
3.1.1. More on corpus article length	148
3.1.2. More on corpus lead length	149
3.2. Typos (77x)	155
3.2.1. Typos in the corpus	156
3.2.1.1. Erroneous space (38x)	157
3.2.1.2. Missing letter (10x)	158
3.2.1.3. Added letter(s) (8x)	159
3.2.1.4. Erroneous diacritics (7x)	159
3.2.1.5. Wrong letter (6x)	159
3.2.1.6. Doubling of word (3x)	160
3.2.1.7. Metathesis (3x)	160
3.2.1.8. Missing word (2x)	160
3.2.2. Summary: Typos	160
3.3. Interpunctuation	161
3.3.1. Interpunctuation according to the <i>Al-Ahram Stylebook</i>	161
3.3.2. Interpunctuation in the corpus	165
3.3.2.1. Quotation marks and parentheses	165
3.3.2.2. Commas	170
3.3.2.3. Dashes, double and single (including hyphens)	171
3.3.2.4. Full stops	175
3.3.2.5. Double dots	176
3.3.2.6. Arabic question marks	178
3.3.2.7. Colons	179
3.3.2.8. Infrequent signs: Pluses { + } and semicolons { ; }	180
3.3.2.9. Unused signs in the corpus	181
3.3.3. Summary: Interpunctuation	181
3.4. Lexicographical description of the corpus	182
3.4.1. Type-token ratio	182
3.4.1.1. Methodology: Type-token ratio	182
3.4.1.2. Results: Type-token ratio	183
3.4.2. The most frequent graphical units (types) in the corpus	187
3.4.3. Analysis of the 333x most frequent graphical units (types)	191
3.4.3.1. Closed class types, including numbers (7,434x)	193
3.4.3.2. Open class types (6,729x)	196
3.4.4. Media Arabic types in comparison to fictional narrative prose	204
3.4.4.1. Types in the text	205

3.5. The by-line.....	209
3.5.1. By-line according to the <i>Al-Ahram Stylebook</i>	209
3.5.2. By-line in the corpus.....	211
3.5.3. Summary: By-lines	216
3.6. On explicit diacritics (<i>taškīl</i>).....	217
3.6.1. On the use of and significance of <i>ḍamma</i>	221
3.6.2. Tendencies with diacritics	231
3.7. <i>Trajectio</i>	233
3.8. The polyheaded genitive annexation (<i>iḍāfa</i> , <i>ʾiqhām</i>).....	236
3.8.1. Background.....	236
3.8.2. Definition.....	236
3.8.3. Results: Polyheaded genitive annexation.....	238
3.9. The grammar of <i>ʾāḥar#</i> in the context of numbers	241
3.9.1. <i>ʾāḥarayni</i>	241
3.9.2. (<i>al-</i>) <i>ʾuḥrā</i>	241
3.9.2.1. Numbers ending in 3–10 (+ genitive plural).....	244
3.9.2.2. Numbers ending in 11–19 (+ accusative singular).....	245
3.9.2.3. Numbers ending in 20, 30, 40, ..., 90 (+ accusative singular)...	245
3.9.2.4. Numbers ending in 100, 200, 300, ..., 900, or 1000, 2000, 3000, ... (+ genitive singular).....	245
3.9.2.5. Millions and billions (+ genitive singular).....	246
3.9.2.6. Summary: (<i>al-</i>) <i>ʾuḥrā</i>	246
3.9.3. <i>ʾāḥar#</i>	246
3.9.4. <i>ʾāḥarūna</i> and <i>ʾāḥarīna</i>	247
3.9.4.1. <i>ʾāḥarīna</i> : 9x indefinite, 1x definite	247
3.9.4.2. <i>ʾāḥarūna</i> , 9x indefinite, 0x definite	252
3.9.5. Summary: <i>ʾāḥar#</i>	254
3.10. Futures, <i>sa-</i> and <i>sawfa</i>	255
3.10.1. Previous research: Futures	255
3.10.2. Futures in the 2014 corpus (162x, incl. 8x <i>sawfa</i>)	256
3.10.2.1. Summary: <i>sa-</i> vs. <i>sawfa</i> futures	258
3.11. <i>qad</i> and <i>laqad</i>	258
3.11.1. Context of use: <i>qad</i> and <i>laqad</i> in Media Arabic	260
3.11.1.1. <i>qad</i> in the 2014 corpus (75x)	260
3.11.1.2. <i>laqad</i> in the 2014 corpus (3x).....	260
3.12. Space after <i>wa-</i> (30x).....	261
3.13. Verbs of attribution and speech verbs	262
3.14. Spelling of <i>hamza</i>	266
3.15. What Media Arabic typically is not	267
3.15.1. Metaphor in media language.....	267
3.15.1.1. Summary: Metaphor	278
3.15.2. Alliteration.....	279
3.16. Observations on temporal relations.....	280
3.16.1. Temporal anchoring	280
3.16.1.1. The fallacy of cotemporality (on newspaper frame time)	285
3.16.1.2. Information hierarchies and Unordered Addition	291
3.16.1.3. Why are temporal conjunctions bleached?	293
3.16.1.4. Narrative sequence: The inverted pyramid structure	295

4. Relations (semantics of linking)	301
4.1. Additional lexical and grammatical relations, and construction types (annotations)	304
4.2. Discrete, polysemous, and ambiguous linkings	306
4.3. Temporal relations	308
4.3.1. Relative Time	308
4.3.1.1. Temporal Succession	308
4.3.1.2. Counter-sequential	312
4.3.1.3. Simultaneous	315
4.3.2. Since	317
4.3.3. Until	318
4.3.4. Conditional	318
4.4. Cause and Consequence	321
4.4.1. Cause	321
4.4.2. Consecutive	323
4.4.3. Degree Consecutive	324
4.4.4. Purpose	326
4.4.5. Nominal Purpose	327
4.4.6. Motion Purpose	332
4.4.7. Possible Consequence	333
4.5. Concomitance	334
4.5.1. Manner	335
4.5.2. Instrument	335
4.5.3. Instrumental Manner	336
4.5.4. Manner Instrument	341
4.5.5. Associative	342
4.5.6. Presidency	343
4.5.7. Mediation	344
4.6. Context	345
4.7. Additions	347
4.7.1. Exemplification	348
4.7.1.1. Graded Exemplification	349
4.7.2. Paraphrase	352
4.7.2.1. Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information	352
4.7.2.2. Expanding Paraphrase	354
4.7.2.3. Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner	359
4.7.2.4. Summarizing Paraphrase	361
4.7.2.5. Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	361
4.7.3. Parenthetical Comment	363
4.7.4. Unordered Addition	364
4.7.4.1. Same Level Addition	365
4.7.4.2. Different Level Addition	369
4.8. Comment (including Relative to Clause, resumptive constructions)	372
4.9. Antiprödicative linking	374
4.9.1. Contrast	374
4.9.1.1. Paired Contrast	374
4.9.1.2. Exception Contrast	376
4.9.1.3. Numerical Comparative Contrast	377

4.9.2. Polarized Pair (Polarized Addition)	378
4.9.2.1. <i>not x, but y</i>	379
4.9.2.2. <i>x, not y</i>	381
4.9.2.3. <i>instead of x, y</i>	381
4.9.2.4. <i>x instead of y</i>	382
4.9.2.5. <i>not only x, but also y</i>	383
4.9.2.6. <i>x, and not only y</i>	384
4.9.3. Frustration	384
4.9.3.1. Frustration involving temporal notions	385
4.9.3.2. Frustrated implication	386
4.9.3.3. Frustrated modality	387
4.9.4. Concession	387
4.9.5. Inconsequential	390
4.9.6. Inconcomitance	392
4.9.7. Adversative	396
4.10. Alternatives	401
4.10.1. Disjunction	401
4.10.1.1. Open Disjunction	402
4.10.1.2. Exclusive Closed Disjunction	402
4.10.1.3. Inclusive Closed Disjunction	402
4.10.1.4. Negated Disjunction	404
4.11. Other	404
4.11.1. Meta-linguistic Comment	404
4.11.2. Equative	406
4.11.3. Ethicus	408
4.11.4. Limitationis	409
4.11.5. Concerning	409
4.11.6. Location	410
5. Quantitative results: The Media Arabic clause and sentence	413
5.1. Clausal negation (173x)	413
5.1.1. A note on <i>mā</i> Vsuff and <i>lam</i> VprefS	414
5.2. Internal and periphrastic passives	415
5.2.1. Periphrastic passives (<i>tamma/yatimm# + mašdar</i>) (75x)	415
5.2.2. Internal passives (<i>fu'ila</i> type) (164x)	418
5.2.3. <i>min al-</i> passives (16x)	422
5.2.4. Summary and conclusion: Periphrastic and internal passives	422
5.3. Main and complement main clause structures	423
5.3.1. Main clauses (1,144x)	423
5.3.1.1. Journalistic <i>wa-</i> in main clauses	428
5.3.1.2. Negation in main clauses	428
5.3.1.3. Passives in main clauses	428
5.3.1.4. NCl in main clauses	429
5.3.1.5. Future grams in main clauses	429
5.3.1.6. VprefL in main clauses	430
5.3.1.7. Pre-clausal closed class elements (not transition phrases) in main clauses	430
5.3.2. Complementizers (828x) and complement main clauses (891x)	434
5.3.2.1. <i>n-(h)</i> -complementizers (828x)	434
5.3.2.2. Complement main clauses (891x)	441

5.3.3. Article-initial subordinate clauses and elements (27x)	448
5.3.4. Text-internal preposed finite subordinate clauses and elements (300x)	451
5.3.4.1. Text-internal preposed finite subordinate clauses with a sentence main clause as matrix (1x)	451
5.3.4.2. Transition phrases (219x)	451
5.3.4.3. Preposed elements in complement main and non-main clauses (42x)	456
5.3.4.4. Preposed subordination to non-main matrices (38x)	460
5.4. Questions in Media Arabic (15x)	463
5.4.1. Direct questions (3x)	464
5.4.2. Indirect questions (12x)	465
5.4.3. Summary: Questions in Media Arabic	467
5.5. Summary: Sentence structure	467
6. Quantitative results: Peripheral clauses and elements and their semantics	469
6.1. Non-deverbalized non-main clauses: Finite and nominal clauses (869x or 872x)	469
6.1.1. Asyndetic linkings (without conjunctions) (43x)	473
6.1.1.1. Vsuff (9x)	473
6.1.1.2. VprefL (25x)	476
6.1.1.3. <i>lā</i> VprefL (0x)	480
6.1.1.4. VprefA (0x)	480
6.1.1.5. Future-VprefL (1x)	480
6.1.1.6. <i>lam</i> VprefS (0x)	480
6.1.1.7. <i>kāna</i> VprefL (1x)	480
6.1.1.8. NCl (7x)	480
6.1.2. <i>wa-</i> as only conjunction (188x or 191x)	482
6.1.2.1. <i>wa</i> -Vsuff (90x)	483
6.1.2.2. <i>wa-sabaqa</i> 'an Vsuff (1x)	491
6.1.2.3. <i>wa</i> -VprefL (58x)	491
6.1.2.4. <i>wa-lā</i> VprefL (7x)	498
6.1.2.5. <i>wa</i> -VprefA (6x)	500
6.1.2.6. <i>wa-lan</i> VprefA (1x)	501
6.1.2.7. <i>wa</i> -future-VprefL (11x)	501
6.1.2.8. <i>wa-lam</i> VprefS (6x)	503
6.1.2.9. <i>wa</i> -NCl (11x or 14x)	505
6.1.2.10. <i>wa-lā</i> NCl (1x)	508
6.1.2.11. <i>wa-laysa</i> NCl (1x)	509
6.1.3. <i>wa</i> -S + finite verb (7x)	509
6.1.3.1. <i>wa</i> -Subject Vsuff (0x)	509
6.1.3.2. <i>wa</i> -Subject VprefL (1x)	509
6.1.3.3. <i>wa</i> -Subject <i>lā</i> VprefL (1x)	509
6.1.4. Asyndetic anaphoric nouns (peripheral nominatives) (5x)	510
6.1.5. Non-main clauses with conjunctions and/or frozen initial peripheral constituents (631x)	512

(6.1.5 in Arabic alphabetical order)

' (ʿalif) ʿ.....	512
ʿid lā VprefL (1x)	512
ʿid NCl (1x)	512
ʿidā, constructions including (18x)	512
ʿidā Vsuff (8x)	512
ʿida lam VprefS (5x)	513
ʿidā kāna lā VprefL (1x)	513
ʿidā mā Vsuff (3x)	514
fa-ʿidā bihi VprefL (discussion)	514
mā ʿidā kāna future VprefL (1x)	514
wa-ʿillā future-VprefL (1x)	514
al-ʿamru llaḏī [...] (Ref.)	514
ʿillā ʿanna, constructions including (13x)	515
ʿillā ʿanna Subject Vsuff (5x)	515
ʿillā ʿanna Subject VprefL (4x)	516
ʿillā ʿanna Subject lā VprefL (2x)	518
ʿillā ʿanna NCl (2x)	518
al-fazāʿatu mim mā Vsuff [...] (Ref.)	519
ʿilā ʿan VprefA (2x)	519
ʿammā [...] fa-, constructions including (2x)	519
ʿin, constructions including (3x)	519
wa-ʿinnamā, constructions including (4x)	520
ʿaw and ʿaw mā, constructions including (7x)	521
ʿaw Vsuff (4x)	521
ʿaw VprefA (1x)	521
ʿaw VprefS (1x)	521
ʿaw mā VprefL (1x)	521
b (bā) ب	522
bi-ḥasabi mā Vsuff (1x)	522
wa-bi-dawri-h Vsuff (1x)	522
bi-ḥayṭu (Ref.)	522
bal Vsuff (2x)	522
bal NCl (1x)	523
bi-l-raġmi min ʿanna- (Ref.)	523
wa-badalan ʿan ʿan VprefA (1x)	523
baʿda ʿan Vsuff (10x)	523
wa-baʿda ʿan Vsuff (1x)	524
baʿda ʿan yakūna qad Vsuff (1x)	525
wa-baʿda ḏālika Vsuff (1x)	525
baʿdamā Vsuff (7x)	525
wa-baʿdu-h NCl (1x)	526
bi-mā Vsuff (1x)	527
bi-mā VprefL (14x)	527
bi-mā fī ḏālika NCl (6x)	529
bi-mā fī-h NCl (1x)	530
bi-man VprefL (1x)	530
bi-man fī-h NCl (1x)	530
wa-bi-hāḏā VprefL (1x)	530

<i>baynamā</i> Vsuff (10x)	531
<i>baynamā</i> VprefL (5x)	533
<i>bayna-h</i> NCl (8x)	534
t (<i>tā</i> ') ت	535
ṭ (<i>tā</i> ') ط	535
<i>tumma</i> , constructions including (4x)	535
<i>tumma</i> VprefL (1x)	535
<i>wa-min tumma</i> VprefL (3x)	535
ğ (<i>gīm</i>) ج	535
ḥ (<i>hā</i> ') ح	536
<i>hattā</i> , constructions including (7x)	536
<i>hattā</i> VprefA (3x)	536
<i>wa-hattā</i> VprefA (1x)	537
<i>hattā lā</i> VprefA (2x)	537
<i>hattā wa-'in</i> Vsuff (1x)	537
<i>haytu</i> , constructions including (52x)	538
<i>bi-haytu</i> VprefL (5x)	538
<i>haytu</i> Vsuff (31x)	539
<i>haytu</i> VprefL (12x)	545
<i>haytu lā</i> VprefL (1x)	548
<i>haytu</i> future-VprefL (1x)	548
<i>haytu</i> NCl (1x)	548
<i>haytu 'inna-h</i> VprefL (1x)	548
<i>hasbamā</i> Vsuff (3x)	549
<i>hawla mā</i> Vsuff (1x)	549
<i>hawla mā</i> VprefL (1x)	549
<i>hīn</i> #, constructions including (9x)	549
<i>hīna</i> VprefL (<i>yatimmu maṣdar</i>) (1x)	549
<i>hīnamā</i> Vsuff (1x)	550
<i>fī hīni</i> + finite verb (7x)	550
<i>hīnamā</i> (Ref.)	551
ḫ (<i>hā</i> ') خ	551
(<i>wa-)</i> <i>hāṣṣatan</i> , Constructions preceded by (15x)	551
<i>huṣūṣan</i> , Constructions preceded by (8x)	554
d (<i>dāl</i>) د	555
<i>dūna 'an</i> VprefA (2x)	555
ḍ (<i>dāl</i>) ذ	556
<i>ḍālika</i> PP NCl (1x)	556
<i>wa-ḍālika</i> X NCl (42x)	556
r (<i>rā</i> ') ر	561
<i>wa-rubbamā</i> VprefL (1x)	561
<i>raḡm-</i> , constructions including (5x)	561
<i>raḡma 'anna</i> (Ref.)	562
z (<i>zāy</i>) ز	563
s (<i>sīn</i>) س	563
<i>wa-sabaqa 'an</i> Vsuff (Ref.)	563
š (<i>šīn</i>) ش	563
ṣ (<i>ṣād</i>) ص	563
ḍ (<i>dād</i>) ض	563

t (ṭā) ط.....	563
z (zā) ظ.....	563
' (ʿayn) ع.....	564
wa-ʿalā PP + maṣdar NCl (1x).....	564
wa-ʿalā ʿiṭri-h future-VprefL (1x).....	564
wa-ʿalā l-ʿaḥaṣṣi NCl (1x).....	564
ʿalā l-raġmi min ʿanna(-h) (Ref.).....	565
wa-ʿalā raʿsi-h NCl (3x).....	565
ʿalā mā, constructions including (3x).....	565
ʿalā mā VprefL (1x).....	565
ʿalā mā (huwa) NCl (1x).....	565
ʿalā nahwi, constructions including (2x).....	566
ʿalay-h NCl (1x).....	566
ʿalā ʿan VprefA (5x).....	567
ʿalā ʿanna-h NCl (0x).....	570
ʿindamā Vsuff (6x).....	570
ġ (ġayn) ġ.....	571
ġayra ʿanna Subject Vsuff (2x).....	571
f (fā) ف.....	571
fa-, linkings with + (Subject) predication (11x).....	571
fa-Vsuff (2x).....	571
fa-future VprefL (1x).....	572
fa-NCl (4x).....	572
fa-Subject VprefL (2x).....	574
fa-Subject lā VprefL (1x).....	575
fa-hw lan VprefA (1x).....	575
fa-ʿinna ḍālika future VprefL (1x).....	575
fī ḥāli Vsuff (2x).....	576
fī ḥīni + finite verb (Ref.).....	577
faḍlan ʿan ʿanna Subject VprefL (1x).....	577
fa-l-VprefS (1x).....	577
fīmā, constructions including (26x).....	577
fīmā Vsuff (13x).....	577
(wa-)fīmā VprefL (9x).....	579
fīmā lā VprefL (1x).....	580
fīmā NCl (2x).....	580
fīmā ʿidā Vsuff (1x).....	581
fīmā baʿdu (Ref.).....	581
(wa-)fī muqaddimati-h NCl (4x).....	581
q (qāf) ق.....	582
qabla ʿan VprefA (6x).....	582
wa-qad Vsuff (2x).....	582
wa-qad VprefL (2x).....	582
k (kāf) ك.....	583
wa-ka-ʿanna-h NCl (1x).....	583
ka-ḍālika VprefL (2x).....	583
kamā, constructions including (15x).....	583
kamā Vsuff (6x).....	584
kamā VprefL (5x).....	585

<i>kamā lam</i> VprefS (2x)	586
<i>kamā (huwa)</i> NCl (2x)	587
<i>kamā 'annā</i> , constructions including (7x)	587
<i>kamā 'anna</i> Subject Vsuff (2x)	587
<i>kamā 'anna</i> X VprefL (2x)	588
<i>kamā 'anna</i> NCl (1x)	589
<i>kamā 'anna-h lā</i> VprefL (1x)	589
<i>kamā 'anna-h lan</i> VprefA (1x)	590
l (<i>lām</i>) ُ	590
<i>li</i> -VprefA (19x)	590
<i>wa-lā</i> NCl (Ref.)	594
<i>li-'anna(-h)</i> , constructions with (10x)	594
<i>li-daraḡati 'anna</i> S VprefL (1x)	595
<i>wa-laday-h</i> NCl (1x)	595
<i>li-ḡā</i> NCl (1x)	595
<i>wa-li-ḡālika</i> VprefL (1x)	596
<i>wa-li-ḡālika lan</i> VprefA (<i>yatimma maṣḡdar</i>) (1x)	596
<i>lākin(na)</i> , constructions including (35x)	596
<i>lākin(na)(-h/Subject)</i> Vsuff (11x)	597
<i>wa-lākin(na)(-h/Subject)</i> Vsuff (3x)	600
<i>lākinna-h/Subject</i> VprefL (3x)	602
<i>lākinnaḡa</i> future VprefL (1x)	603
<i>wa-lākin(na)</i> future VprefL (1x)	603
<i>wa-lākin(na-h)</i> VprefL (2x)	603
<i>lākinna</i> Subject <i>lan</i> VprefA (1x)	604
<i>wa-lākinna-h/Subject lan</i> VprefA (2x)	604
<i>lākin(na)(-h/Subject) lam</i> VprefS (4x)	605
<i>lākin(-na)(-h/Subject)</i> NCl (5x)	606
<i>wa-lākinna-h/Subject</i> NCl (2x)	607
<i>wa-li-kawni</i> Subject Vsuff (1x)	608
<i>likay</i> , constructions including (2x)	608
<i>wa-li-māḡā</i> VprefL (<i>yatimma maṣḡdar</i>) (1x)	609
<i>li-man</i> Vsuff (1x)	609
<i>law</i> Vsuff (2x)	609
<i>laysa</i> NCl (0x)	609
<i>wa-laysa</i> NCl (Ref.)	609
m (<i>mīm</i>) م	609
(<i>wa-</i>) <i>mā</i> , constructions including	609
<i>mā</i> Vsuff (16x)	609
<i>wa-mā</i> Vsuff (2x)	610
<i>mā</i> VprefL (18x)	610
<i>wa-mā</i> VprefL (4x)	611
<i>mā lā</i> VprefL (4x)	611
<i>mā lam</i> VprefS (3x)	612
<i>mā</i> NCl (1x)	612
<i>miḡlamā</i> VprefL (1x)	612
<i>māḡā</i> VprefL (1x)	612
<i>wa-mā 'adā ḡālika fa</i> -NCl (1x)	612

<i>mimmā</i> , constructions including (28x).....	613
<i>mimmā</i> Vsuff (17x).....	613
<i>mimmā</i> VprefL (10x).....	614
<i>mimmā</i> future VprefL (1x).....	616
<i>wa-ma</i> 'a-h NCl (1x)	616
<i>man</i> Vsuff (6x).....	616
<i>man</i> VprefL (3x).....	617
<i>man</i> future VprefL (4x)	617
<i>man lā</i> VprefL (1x).....	617
<i>wa-man</i> NCl (1x).....	617
<i>wa-min</i> <i>tumma</i> (Ref.)	618
<i>min bayni-h</i> NCl (7x).....	618
<i>wa-min bayni-h</i> NCl (2x).....	618
<i>mundu</i> 'an Vsuff (1x)	618
<i>min</i> <i>ḍimn-h</i> NCl (1x).....	618
<i>wa-min</i> <i>ḍimni-h</i> NCl (1x).....	619
<i>min-h</i> NCl (1x).....	619
<i>mu</i> 'aḥḥaran qabla 'an VprefA (Ref.).....	619
<i>mubāšaratan qabla</i> 'an VprefA (Ref.)	619
n (<i>nūn</i>) ن	620
h (<i>hā</i>) ه	620
<i>hāḍā</i> VprefL (1x).....	620
<i>wa-hāḍā</i> VprefL (1x).....	620
<i>hāḍā</i> NCl (1x).....	620
<i>wa-hāḍā</i> NCl (3x).....	620
<i>hāḍā fīmā</i> Vsuff (1x)	621
<i>hal</i> , constructions including (3x)	621
<i>wa-hw</i> VprefL (7x)	621
<i>wa-hw</i> linkings with nominal clauses (44x).....	623
<i>wa-hw</i> NCl (33x)	623
<i>wa-huwa mā</i> VprefL (NCl) (8x).....	624
<i>wa-huwa mā</i> future VprefL (NCl) (1x).....	626
<i>wa-huwa mā</i> Vsuff (NCl) (2x).....	626
<i>hw</i> NCl (1x)	627
<i>wa-hw mā</i> + finite verb (Ref.).....	627
w (<i>wāw</i>) و	627
<i>wafqan li-mā</i> + Verb (3x)	627
y (<i>yā</i>) ي	627
6.2. Nominalized subordination via a peripheral accusative verbal noun (40x) 628	
6.2.1. <i>mašḍaran</i> (35x).....	628
6.2.2. <i>wa-mašḍaran</i> (5x).....	635
6.3. Non-deverbalized relative clauses (642x).....	637
6.3.1. The structure and frequency of non-deverbalized relative clauses	638
6.3.1.1. The proleptic relative construction	639
6.3.1.2. Relative to Clause and asymmetric relatives	640
6.3.2. Syndetic relative clauses (366x)	643
6.3.2.1. Heads of syndetic relative clauses (including <i>wa-</i>).....	643
6.3.2.2. The semantics of syndetic relative clauses	644

6.3.3. Asyndetic relative clauses (276x)	647
6.3.3.1. Heads of asyndetic relative clauses.....	647
6.3.3.2. The semantics of asyndetic relative clauses.....	647
6.4. The participle (461x)	653
6.4.1. Headless nominalized relative clauses (18x)	653
6.4.2. Head + passive participle (m.sg.) + preposition (6x)	655
6.4.3. Participle head + genitive noun (false <i>'idāfa</i> , <i>'idāfatun gayru</i> <i>ḥaqīqiyyatin</i>) (6x)	656
6.4.4. Head + participle + different nominative subject (<i>na 't sababī</i>) (18x)	657
6.4.5. Clausal participles (412x)	658
6.4.5.1. Clausal participles with <i>wa-</i> (12x)	658
6.4.5.2. Attestations of participles with uncertain case (5x)	662
6.4.5.3. Peripheral indefinite accusative participles (186x)	663
6.4.5.4. Nominalized relative clauses (209x; 219x if adjectives included)...	666
6.4.6. Semantics of clauses with participles	668
6.4.6.1. Semantics of the indefinite accusative participle: participle of attribution	669
6.4.6.2. The semantics of <i>ḥāl</i> participles (not participles of attribution)	672
6.4.6.3. Summary: The indefinite accusative participles	673
6.4.6.4. The semantics of the nominalized relative clause	673
6.5. Attribution formulae (40x).....	675
<i>bi-ḥasabi</i> (11x) 676 <i>wa-bi-ḥasabi</i> (4x) 676 <i>ḥasaba</i> (9x) 676 <i>wa-</i> <i>ḥasaba</i> (1x) 676 <i>ḥasbamā</i> + Vsuff (verb of attribution) (3x) 676 <i>'alā</i> <i>ḥaddi</i> + <i>maṣḍar</i> (4x) 677 <i>wa-dālika 'alā ḥaddi</i> + <i>maṣḍar</i> (1x) 677 <i>naqlan 'an</i> + source (3x) 677 <i>wafqan li-</i> (2x) 677 <i>wa-wafqan li-</i> (1x) 677 <i>wafqa</i> + source (1x) 677	
6.6. Non-disclosure formulae (6x)	678
6.7. Conjunctions with nouns, noun phrases, and prepositional phrases (76x)	679
<i>'illā ba 'da</i> (PP) (1x) 679 <i>wa- 'innamā</i> + nominals (Ref.) 680 <i>'aw</i> (32x) 680 <i>'ay</i> (2x) 680 <i>bal</i> (8x) 681 <i>ṭummā</i> (2x) 681 <i>sawā 'an</i> (3x) 682 <i>fa-</i> (3x) 682 <i>kayfiyyat#</i> (1x) 682 <i>lā</i> (5x) 683 <i>wa-lā</i> (5x) 683 <i>lā-</i> <i>siyyamā</i> (2x) 683 <i>wa-lā(-)siyyamā</i> (2x) 683 <i>lākin(na) dūna</i> + <i>maṣḍar</i> (prepositional phrase) (1x) 683 <i>laysa</i> (3x) 684 <i>wa-laysa</i> (6x) 684	
6.8. Adverbs, peripheral accusatives, and adverbial accusative nouns (473x)	684
6.8.1. Adverbs, e.g. <i>'amsi</i> (232x)	685
6.8.2. <i>wa</i> -adverbs, e.g. <i>wa- 'amsi</i> (2x)	687
6.8.3. Peripheral accusative nomina (214x)	687
6.8.3.1. Noun accusatives (6x)	687
6.8.3.2. <i>wa</i> -noun accusatives (2x)	688
6.8.3.3. Adverbs originating from accusative nominals (144x)	688
6.8.3.4. <i>wa</i> -adverbs originating from accusative nouns (0x)	691
6.8.3.5. <i>nisba</i> -accusatives (30x)	692
6.8.3.6. <i>wa-nisba</i> -accusatives (5x)	694
6.8.3.7. <i>maṣḍar</i> accusatives as adverbs (24x)	694
6.8.3.8. <i>wa-maṣḍar</i> accusatives as adverbs (3x)	695
6.8.4. Participles as adverbs (22x)	695
6.8.5. <i>wa</i> -participles as adverbs (1x)	696
6.8.6. <i>fīmā ba 'du</i> (2x)	696

6.9. Propositional phrases (6,391x).....	697
6.9.1. Single, dual, and complex compound prepositions.....	697
6.9.2. The semantics of prepositional syntagms	702
6.9.2.1. Cardinal directions.....	703

(6.9 in Arabic alphabetical order)

ʾ (ʾalif) ا.....	716
ʾibbāna 716 ʾitra 716 ʾaṭnāʾa 716 ʾizāʾa 717 ʾidāfatan ʾilā 718 ʾidāfatan li- 718 ʾilā 718 wa-ʾilā 719 ʾamāma 719	
b (bā) ب.....	720
bi- 720 wa-bi- 726 bi-ʾitri-h 727 wa-bi-l-raḡmi min 727 bi-l-ʾidāfati ʾilā 727 wa-bi-ḡasabi 728 badalan min 728 bi-dūni 729 bi-ḡasabi 729 baʾda 729 wa-baʾda 731 buḡyata 731 bi-lā 731 bināʾan ʾalā 731 wa-bināʾan ʾalā 732 bayna 732 wa-bayna 732	
t (tā) ت.....	732
tuḡāha 732 taḡta 733	
ṭ (ṭā) ط.....	734
ḡ (ḡim) ج.....	734
ḡarrāʾa 734 ḡanūb#, ḡanūbiyy# (Ref.) 735	
ḥ (ḥā) ح.....	735
ḡattā 735 wa-ḡattā 736 ḡasaba 736 wa-ḡasaba 736 ḡawālay 736 ḡawla 736 wa-ḡawla 737 ḡina 737 ḡiyāla 737 ḡayza 737	
ḫ (ḫā) خ.....	738
ḡārīḡa 738 ḡilāla 738 wa-ḡilāla 739 ḡalfā 739	
d (dāl) د.....	739
dāḡila 739 wa-dāḡila 740 dūna 740 wa-dūna 741	
ḡ (ḡāl) ذ.....	741
r (rā) ر.....	741
raḡma 741	
z (zayn) ز.....	742
s (sīn) س.....	742
sīwā 742	
š (šīn) ش.....	742
šarq#, šarqiyy# (Ref.) 742 šamāl#, šamāliyy# (Ref.) 742	
š (šād) ص.....	742
ḡ (ḡād) ض.....	742
ḡidda 742 ḡimna 743	
ṭ (ṭā) ط.....	743
ṭibqan li- 743 ṭiwāla 743 ṭayya 743	
ẓ (ẓā) ظ.....	743
ʿ (ʿayn) ع.....	744
ʾibāratan ʾan 744 ʾabra 744 ʾadā 744 ʾaqība 744 wa-ʾaqība 745 ʾinda 745 ʾalā 746 wa-ʾalā 749 ʾalā l-raḡmi min 749 ʾan 751 wa- ʾan 751	
ḡ (ḡayn) غ.....	751
ḡarb#, ḡarbiyy# (Ref.) 751	

f (fā') ف.....	752
<i>faḍlan 'an</i> 752 <i>fawra</i> 752 <i>fawran ba'da</i> 752 <i>fawqa</i> 752 <i>fī</i> 753 <i>wa-</i> <i>fī</i> 758	
q (qāf) ق.....	760
<i>qibālata</i> 760 <i>qabla</i> 760 <i>wa-qabla</i> 761 <i>qubayla</i> 761 <i>qurba</i> 761 <i>qayda</i> 761	
k (kāf) ك.....	761
<i>ka-</i> 761 <i>wa-ka-</i>	762
l (lām) ل	762
<i>li-</i> 762 <i>wa-li-</i> 769 <i>ladā</i> 770 <i>wa-ladā</i> 771	
m (mīm) م	771
<i>mā bayna</i> 771 <i>miḡla</i> 771 <i>ma'a</i> 772 <i>wa-ma'a</i> 773 <i>muqābila</i> 773 <i>min</i> 774 <i>wa-min</i> 778 <i>min bayni</i> 779 <i>wa-min bayni</i> 779 <i>min dāḡili</i> 779 <i>munḡu</i> 779 <i>wa-munḡu</i> 781 <i>min ḡāriḡi</i> 781 <i>min ḡilāli</i> 781 <i>wa-</i> <i>min ḡilāli</i> 782 <i>min 'alā</i> 782	
n (nūn) ن	782
<i>naṡḡata</i> 782 <i>naṡḡatan li-</i> 783 <i>naḡwa</i> 783 <i>naḡaran li-</i> 783	
h (hā') ه.....	784
w (wāw) و.....	784
<i>warā'a</i> 784 <i>waṡṡa</i> 784 <i>wa-waṡṡa</i> 785 <i>wafqa</i> 786 <i>wa-wafqa</i> 786 <i>wafqan li-</i> 786 <i>wa-wafqan li-</i> 786 <i>waqta</i> 786	
y (yā') ي.....	787
6.10. Summary: The Media Arabic sentence	788
6.11. Summary: List of semantics and their respective expressions, arranged by frequencies	791
6.12. Conclusions.....	812
6.12.1. <i>Desiderata</i> for future research	816
Literature	819

1. Aim and background

Coursebooks with “Media Arabic” in their title make the *a priori* assumption about the existence of an Arabic journalese, but leave the students in *aporia* about its linguistics. The aim of this investigation is to present academia with quantitative linguistic data on Media Arabic, to serve as reference, e.g. for the writing of linguistically oriented coursebooks, articles on certain grammatical structures, or a more general book on Arabic grammar, to be used in translation studies or media studies, or simply to be read by those who want to learn more about Media Arabic, or Arabic in general.

The corpus in this study is international and regional news, as dictated by the content of coursebooks. The scope is 35,000 words, making 1,144 sentences; the texts are taken from Al-Ahram, September 2014.

The focus is on the sentence: the syntax and semantic relations of clauses and peripheral elements within the sentence, including investigations of verbal morphology, negations, futures, passives, adverbs, prepositional phrases, subordinate clauses, and non-deverbalized embedded elements. The by-line, sentence, paragraph, and article length are also investigated.

It is my experience from teaching Media Arabic that students in their second and third year of Middle Eastern and Arabic studies struggle the most at the sentence level when trying to form a comprehensive whole of what they read: although they grasp the morphology, find their way through a lexicon, manage to analyse adjectival attributes and the *’iḍāfa*, know the grammar of relative clauses, and can explain and comprehend shorter clauses or even simple sentences with ease, students still struggle with solving the grammatical equation that is the Media Arabic sentence.¹

Media Arabic has linguistic peculiarities beyond the lexicon. In the conclusion (6.12), a number of defining characteristics of Media Arabic as presented throughout the book will be briefly summarized and contextualized as a news media product (cf. 1.4). The data here provided, however, is more than can be summarized in a conclusion.

¹ I will not investigate nominalization of the finite clause prototype quantitatively, but it will be hypothesized that it is accounted *passim* in Media Arabic. Its theory is explained and exemplified in 2.3.

1.1. Content and disposition

The overarching aim of this book is to develop a linguistic picture of Media Arabic. This corpus study will provide a snapshot of the Media Arabic, with a focus on the sentence *qua* register feature.

This book is divided into six parts. The current Part 1 acts as a backdrop to the study and sets the academic context for the investigation by describing its relevance, and pointing out the relative absence of previous research (1.2). The chapter also puts the news texts under investigation in a context of contemporary media consumption patterns in Egypt (1.3), as well as in the context of a more general contemporary journalistic news media production (1.4). The aim of Part 1 is to describe the present need for an investigation of this kind, as well as to give reasons for choosing an Egyptian print hard news corpus for a study of Media Arabic in a more globalized and digitalized world.

Part 2 provides the theoretical background by introducing the perspectives of register, genre, and style (2.1), basic ideas behind corpus construction (2.2), as well as the linguistic preliminaries regarding e.g. clausal core constituents, peripheral elements, nominalization, and subordination (2.3). In the subsequent chapter 2.4, the scope of the investigation is delineated, and 2.5 explains the technicalities and *modus operandi* of WebAnno, the program used to keep track of the individual analyses, the numerical data from which is presented in parts 3–6.

Parts 3–6 provide the results proper, with Part 4 functioning as both a qualitative result, and a manual for the semantic analysis of Media Arabic clause linking.

The main body of the book presents quantitative data on the semantics and frequencies of clause types in different grammatical slots (main clauses, complement clauses, non-main clauses, and relative clauses), including their respective verbal forms, passives, futures, and negations. The book also describes other peripheral elements, including nominalized clauses (with participles, prepositional phrases, and peripheral verbal nouns), and adverbials (peripheral accusatives, adverbs, and prepositional phrases). Also featured is a description of the most frequent lexicon.

By “peripheral element” is meant anything outside the non-nominalized or nominalized core constituent structure of subject, copula, and predicate, or subject, predicate, direct object, and indirect object (see 2.3). The frequency study is limited to sentence-level grammar to the exclusion of text linguistics.

The book aims to begin bridging a gap in Arabic linguistic research (see 1.2.2), and provide valuable background research for a more scientific course-book (1.2.1) by describing the language of Media Arabic, defined as the written hard news register (see 1.2). For these aims, numerical data on linguistic structures and their respective semantics is invaluable.

In the book, not only the syntax and semantics of the attested constructions are given, but also their respective frequencies in absolute numbers or percentages. If there are linguistic peculiarities to Media Arabic, as the titles of many coursebooks seem to suggest, this book aims to map these peculiarities for the investigated features.

The features chosen for investigation are open to criticism, but the aim is to develop a picture of Media Arabic from a linguistic perspective. This involves corpus metadata such as article length, headline length, sentence length, first sentence (lead) length, and paragraph length (3.1), as well as typos (3.2). Chapter 3.3 describes qualitatively the use of interpunctuation; 3.4 gives the most frequent vocabulary; 3.5 the obligatory (>99%) news article by-line and its structure; 3.6 the use of *taškīl*; 3.7 gives the terms and examples for the use of *trajectio*; 3.8 includes a study of the poly-headed *'idāfa*; 3.9 formulates the hitherto undocumented grammar of *'āḥar#*; 3.10–3.14 discuss the frequencies of *sa-* vs. *sawfa* (3.10), *qad* and *laqad* (3.11), the insertion of space after *wa-* (3.12), verbs of attribution (3.13), and the spelling of *hamza* (3.14); 3.15 discusses what Media Arabic is not with regard to metaphor (3.15.1) and alliteration (3.15.2). In 3.16, temporal relations and the semantic bleaching of temporal expressions in the context of Media Arabic are discussed.

Part 4 includes a qualitative investigation into the semantics of clause linking in Media Arabic. This part forms the backbone and manual for much of the subsequent analysis, and for the annotation of the corpus texts, and hence is vital for the understanding of subsequent parts.

Part 5 describes the Media Arabic clause and sentence, discussing clausal negation (5.1), passives (5.2), and sentence structure, considering data for the structure of the main clause (5.3.1), as well as complementizers (5.3.2.1) and the complement main clause (5.3.2.2). The chapter is concluded with data for preposed elements (preceding the core structure of a syntagm's matrix) both article-initially (5.3.3) and text-internally (5.3.4), in main clauses (5.3.4.1), including transition phrases (5.3.4.2), preposed non-clausal elements to complement clauses, and non-main clauses (5.3.4.3), as well as preposed subordinate clauses to non-main matrices (5.3.4.4). Chapter 5.4 deals with questions, both direct (5.4.1) and indirect (5.4.2).

Part 6 gives frequencies and semantics for all the investigated peripheral elements in the corpus, beginning in 6.1 with non-deverbalized subordinate non-main clauses, starting with asyndetic and syndetic linkings with *wa-*, followed by the attested constructions in Arabic alphabetical order. The subsequent chapters deal with embedded, nominal, and nominalized syntagms: accusative verbal nouns (6.2), both asyndetic (6.2.1) and syndetic with *wa-* (6.2.2); non-deverbalized relative clauses (6.3); and predicative uses of the participle (6.4). Chapter 6.5 describes attribution formulae and 6.6 non-disclosure formulae; 6.7 deals with conjunctions without full clauses, 6.8 with adverbs, and 6.9 concludes the investigation with data on peripheral

prepositional phrases, beginning with cardinal directions (6.9.2.1), followed by a list in Arabic alphabetical order. Part 6 concludes with a summary of the Media Arabic sentence (6.10), along with sentence semantics (6.11), and conclusions (6.12), including a list of *desiderata* for future research (6.12.1).

The texts focused on consist of approximately 35,000 words (1,144 sentences) compiled from one of the largest and oldest Arabic newspapers presently in circulation—the Egyptian Al-Ahram (September 2014). The majority of the texts, however, come from global news agencies (as witnessed by the by-lines, see 3.5), and could therefore speak also of other newspapers, as well as of news bulletins read aloud on broadcast news. All analyses of the corpus are the product of a human mind, i.e. those of the writer. Rather than using pen and paper, however, a computer program (WebAnno) was used first to organize the tens of thousands of analyses made, and ultimately for the extraction of the numerical data presented in Parts 3–6.

Rather than providing statistically significant numbers, the study aims to provide an early sketch and a first numerical and factual insight into contemporary written news media language which is not based on preconceived subjective assessment, intuition, nor authority, neither biased by beliefs, passions, or aversion. By providing absolute numbers of what is actually attested in the texts of the corpus, both syntactically and semantically, the author's take is a means to instigate academic insight and interest into a much-neglected field of research,² rather than to present the reader with the last of its kind. It is my sincere hope that the figures presented will be countered by more focused studies using larger corpora in the near future.

It is my subjective impression that secondary literature on Media Arabic abounds in personal opinion. Subjective, impressionistic, unrelatable, and unscientific vocabulary is deliberately avoided throughout this book unless backed by quantitative research and numerical data, without which lexical items such as “very”, “frequent”, “rare”, and “often” provide the reader with zero to little factual insight into the object described. However, the aim of the present work is not to question the subjective opinion of individual researchers: *pax et bonum*.

² Cf. the syntax of Cantarino (1974–1975) who deliberately left out journalistic sources for his grammar, “considering them unworthy of study”, to quote Belnap (1986: 47).

1.2. Background: Media Arabic?

1.2.1. Coursebooks on Media Arabic

In the wake of the events of September 11, 2001, the US National Middle East Language and Resource Center (NMELRC) administered online surveys to students of Arabic between “April 2003 and August 2004” (for details, see Belnap 2008) with 641 responses from 27 US colleges and universities. Here, “[m]ost students reported that they are serious about learning Arabic well” (Belnap 2008: 57).

Following the most frequent reasons of wanting “to interact with those who speak Arabic (87.4 percent agreed, 6.7 percent disagreed, 6.0 neutral)”, to “travel to the Arab world (78.6 percent agreed, 15 percent disagreed, 19 percent neutral)”, and “to achieve a level of proficiency in Arabic that would allow me to function in it comfortably in my professional activities” (73.2 percent agreed, 9.9 percent disagreed, 16.8 percent neutral), the aim of understanding the Arabic of the modern Arabic press is among the most frequently cited reasons for studying Arabic:

Most want to read the modern Arabic press (67.5 percent agreed, 15 percent disagreed, 17.4 neutral) and understand radio and TV broadcasts (66 percent agreed, 15 percent disagreed, 19 percent neutral). (Belnap 2008: 57)

Media Arabic, as it has been called, is discussed frequently in the literature. Effat’s article “Media Arabic” in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* (EALL) deals almost exclusively with “newspaper Arabic”. Holes (2004: 314–332) begins his chapter on “The Language of the Media”, with the phrase “Newspaper Arabic”, and continues throughout with examples in that same realm. Likewise, or to an even greater extent, the many coursebooks in “Media Arabic” present a picture of Media Arabic as consisting primarily of news media: dry, informative news texts. Here, we find no caricatures, no Qur’anic quotes, and very little sport. Media Arabic seems to mean newspaper Arabic, and more specifically the language of printed hard news.

Among the older books covering Media Arabic we find Newman (1866), Kapliwatzky 1946 (in three parts), McCarus and Yacoub (1962), and Nahmad (1970). Regardless of their qualities, these books are today outdated and can no longer be used to teach contemporary media language.

The term “Media Arabic” was cemented as a description of—primarily—printed hard news material by Edinburgh University Press (EUP), first with

the publication of Ashtiany's coursebook (1993),³ *Media Arabic*,⁴ and later with the short glossary of Kendall (2005a), *Media Arabic: An Essential Vocabulary*, a book also published by Georgetown University Press: Kendall (2005b), *The top 1,000 words for understanding Media Arabic*.⁵ Then the American University in Cairo Press published Elgibali and Korica (2007; revised and updated in 2014), *Media Arabic: A Coursebook for Reading Arabic News*, shortly followed by another EUP publication, Lahlali's (2008) *Advanced Media Arabic*. By now, the term "Media Arabic" for many students had come to be synonymous with news, and primarily with printed hard news.⁶ The media topics covered in these books are limited:

Ashtiany 1993	Kendall 2005	Elgibali & Korica 2007	Lahlali 2008
Reports and statements	General	Meetings and conferences	Diplomacy
Visits	Politics	Demonstrations	Elections
Titles	Elections	Elections	Violence and anarchy
Messages, receptions and meetings	Military	Conflicts and terrorism	War and military action
Politics	Economics	Trials	Economy
War	Trade and industry	Business and finance	Law and order
Law and order	Law and order		Trade and industry
Economic affairs	Disaster and aid		Natural disasters
Disaster and aid			"War on terrorism"
			Arabic TV extracts

With but a minimal amount of linguistic theory and a majority of the text material being of a type familiar from written media outlets of a primarily

³ Delayed more than half a decade, the second edition of *Media Arabic* (published in 2009 (*non vidi*), with the original author's name as Julia Bray, and a co-author Nadia Jamil) is marketed online with a description saying that the book is to "meet today's ever-increasing demand for access to the Arabic media", providing "the basic skills required for comprehension and news-gathering from Arabic media including the **web**, TV, radio and newspapers" (emphasis added).

⁴ In the introduction to *Media Arabic*, we read: "'Media Arabic' is here taken to mean the language of ordinary news items, printed or broadcast." What is meant by "ordinary" is not explained in more detail, but we learn that "[s]uch items have a limited stylistic and syntactic range, which arguably makes *Media Arabic* unsuitable for use as a general introduction to contemporary Arabic. This same limitation, however, makes *Media Arabic* an excellent medium for all forms of aural/oral work. The course is aimed at students who have mastered basic grammar, acquired a small vocabulary, and will be able to some degree to appreciate the stylistic [register, in our terminology] and other differences between *Media Arabic* and Modern Standard Arabic. It is intended as a supplement to language teaching based on Modern Standard Arabic" (Ashtiany 1993: viii).

⁵ Kendall (2005a and 2005b) were updated in 2012 (Kendall 2012a and 2012b), 2012b under the title *The Top 1,300 Words for Understanding Media Arabic*, Georgetown University Press no doubt pitching its sale by magnifying the words "Media Arabic" to fill about two-thirds of the front cover.

⁶ To the list we may add Lahlali and Abu Hatab (2014), "Chapter 5: Media Texts" (lessons 25–28), pp. 125–159 in *Advanced English/Arabic Translation: A Practical Guide*. Here, the content is also hard news.

newspaper hard news content (authentic or made up), the focus of the above-mentioned coursebooks is on comprehension and vocabulary building.⁷ The brief excursions of a more linguistic orientation are not substantiated, and given the meagre research into the Arabic news register, it is easily assumed that the linguistic content of said works are, at best, products of extensive media consumption and introspective analyses of intuition, not the outcome of systematic investigations into characterizing linguistic features.

As noted by Van Mol (2010), the term Media Arabic is a wide term, including all types of mass media communication.⁸ Nowhere in these books do we learn what it is that makes the included texts deserve the tag of Media Arabic with regard to their linguistic characteristics nor how these characteristics are coded in this language variety. None of the coursebooks describe conditions under which media texts are produced. We need research, because

[m]any descriptions of a register—based on your experience or others' experience, or sometimes even published work—represent beliefs or perceptions, rather than the results of an empirical investigation. Such descriptions are not necessarily accurate. (Biber & Conrad 2009: 39)

Judging by the available coursebooks, a more systematic investigation into Media Arabic hard news is very much needed. When the linguistics of Media Arabic in EALL (Effat, "Media Arabic") is described on the basis of *inter alia* the authority of Ashtiany (1993), a coursebook, we have a circular argumentation where an introductory coursebook is elevated to the status of a research publication.

The present investigation is based on a belief in the principle that academic teaching must be based on academic research. For academic linguistic teaching to be legitimate, research must be conducted.

The term "Media Arabic" is used throughout this book, not for elevated causes, but by adherence to a problematic misnomer in the tradition of the field, and for an admittedly weak tribute to the commercialized aspects of the term. This study is about written hard news.

⁷ Ashtiany (1993) strikes a theoretical note in Unit 2 on Titles (pp. 19ff.), and in Unit 3, explaining what she calls "Synonyms and Padding", "Frames", and "Frames and Fillings", concluded by Lesson 3.4 named "Cutting through the Padding". And in the chapter on vocabulary (Unit 4, pp. 54ff.), she takes up word formation and new coinages. The observations, however, could have been more stringent.

⁸ Van Mol (2010: 63) criticises Versteegh (2003: 183) and Holes (1995) for referring with "Media Arabic" mainly to "contemporary journalistic MSA".

1.2.2. Previous research

Despite the high number of potential news consumers in the Arab world, the number of grammatical studies on the body of hard news texts is bafflingly low. Register studies, although needed for coursebooks, are absent.

Apart from the unpublished PhD theses of Abdelfattah (1990), Girod (2000), and Baize-Robache (2009), it is apt to speak of an absence of linguistic studies of hard news.⁹ The exceptions to this are the computerized frequency studies by Parkinson (1990, 2003, and 2010), which will be referred to and discussed in 3.10–3.14, the publications of Baize-Robache (later Baize-Varin) (2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016, and others), and the studies of headlines by Watson (1999), Taha,¹⁰ and Jansson (2007). The research that ideally should have formed linguistic comments on, and coursebooks about, Media Arabic is not published or publicly available, if it has ever been conducted at all.

Abdelfattah (1990) is a comparative diachronic study of the language of Al-Ahram between 1935 and 1989, including discussions of word order (67ff.), sentence complexity (78ff.), “passivization” with *tamma* (88ff.), cognate accusative and *nisba* adverbials (95ff.), *’idāfa*, including polyheaded annexation (99ff.), the use of the participle (106ff.), the lexicon including “lexical borrowing”, spelling, and various other topics (111ff.), and concludes with a summary discussing the sociolinguistic and educational implications of the findings (132ff.). Abdelfattah (1990) is able to show frequency differences in the syntax between his two corpora, effectively demonstrating a linguistic development under the period of study, from more of a classic narrative in 1935 towards a more specific news register in 1989.

Girod (2000) presents a number of different studies on Al-Ahram (corpora from 1999 and 2000), including interpunctuation (42ff.), the particle *’ayy* (71ff.), the periphrastic passive with both *tamma* and *ġarā* (93ff.), the agent (183ff.), *ḍamīr al-ša’n* (203ff.), *li-’anna* and expressions of “cause” (233ff.), constructions with *li-* (264ff.), direct interrogatives (277ff.), conditional clauses (297ff.), and (*wa-*)*lākin(na)* (322ff.). Girod demonstrated that at the time of his research, Media Arabic was a language in a state of linguistic change, indirectly justifying the present study.¹¹

⁹ This excludes a number of bachelor’s and MA theses. The list of works at the end of this book also includes references to other works on other registers used in newspapers.

¹⁰ Zeinab Taha wrote an MA thesis about headlines, which I have not seen.

¹¹ “Il y a des phénomènes d’évolution nombreux, mais aucun d’entre eux n’a échappé à une «solution arabe» [...] calque → tâtonnements → hybridation → solution «arabisée»; la seule hypothèse véritablement diachronique que j’aie faite, concernant l’interrogative indirecte, me paraît un bon exemple de ce processus : *hal / ’a* → *’idā* → *mā ’idā*. Je crois que l’on peut considérer que tout phénomène syntactique qui, à tel moment, paraît hors des normes de la tradition grammaticale arabe est un fait d’évolution en cours de «digestion», en cours de «arabisation». Alors, simplification ? Non ! En dehors du fait que l’arabe, comme toute langue, abandonne régulièrement nombre d’archaïsmes, sa syntaxe demeure, sinon *huwa huwa*, du moins

Baize-Robache (2009) investigates verbal stem forms. Moreover, in her 2014 study (now writing as Baize-Varin), she discusses the words *tanẓīm* and *munaẓẓama*, and in 2019 the words *muğāhid* and *ġihādī*. Her studies, though detailed, have little bearing on the present study.

This present study is a synchronic register study of the sentence, and it is not a meta-analysis, but it will investigate features described by both Abdelfattah (1990) and Girod (2000), albeit without a diachronic perspective. This book will provide a more comprehensive snapshot of the Media Arabic sentence as a register feature in 2014.

1.2.2.1. Summary: Previous research

Research conducted on Arabic print hard news is scarce. Register studies are altogether absent. This study will take a broad approach; it is to be hoped that this will be replaced in the future by more focused studies, and perhaps also diachronic studies. The present corpus will consist of hard news, as dictated by the coursebooks: as indicated by the coursebooks in the field, hard news is aptly described as the “core product” of news, to use the words of Bell:

Journalists and media researchers both recognize hard news as the core news product, the typical against which other copy will be measured. Hard news is also the place where a distinctive news style will be found if anywhere. In features, [on the other hand] journalists are allowed more liberty of style, and many features are written by non-journalists. (Bell 1991: 14)

1.3. Rationale for a study of print news, and of Al-Ahram

The present study focuses on hard news, and its texts are taken from the printed Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram (*al-’ahrām*). The focus of the present chapter is to motivate this choice quantitatively.

More than one in every two people in the Arab region is 25 years old or younger. Against the backdrop of recent events and the surge of new information technologies, it would easily be assumed that media consumption has changed dramatically, especially with respect to print media, and particularly with respect to the now venerable daily Al-Ahram. Of longstanding legacy definitely, but is a linguistic study of Arabic print media in general, and of Al-Ahram in particular, of scholarly interest? Is Al-Ahram even read today, or is its supposedly high circulation but a consequence of government subscriptions? And in modern times, why not conduct research on digital media?

fondamentalement arabe, avec des ressources et des facultés d’adaption aussi riches que pendant son «âge d’or» (Girod 2000: 336).

In 2013, the 22 countries of the Arab world counted a population of 370 million¹²—Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) being the official language in each of these 22 nations (McCarus, “Modern Standard Arabic” in EALL). With literacy rates of 78% in the Arab region (2012 figure; AMO 2011–2015: 137 and *passim*) and the rural habit of reading news aloud, we face a number of 200 million potential consumers of written news, at a minimum.

In this context, the relative absence of systematic linguistic investigations into the language register of written media outlets should strike the linguist with surprise. In a young population, the language of news is in part formative for the appreciation of what contemporary MSA is and ought to be, and of the prescriptive norm. The linguistic habits of news practitioners are continuously defining the lay notion of the contemporary linguistic target ideal, of written Arabic. By time, this perceived ideal may become prescriptive, as the standards of secular¹³ MSA continue to change.

1.3.1. Media consumption patterns in Egypt

1.3.1.1. Statistical sources

As pointed out by Abdulla (2013: 21), statistics for Egyptian media consumption patterns are often biased, and often not indicative of the population as a whole.¹⁴ One of the more regular surveys available in 2014 is the Arab Media Outlook (AMO), which, according to its executive director Maryam bin Fahad, is “the most comprehensive publication on the Arab Media Industry” (AMO 2011–2015: 2). Its fourth edition, AMO 2011–2015, provides statistics and forecasts for the Arab region, with detailed surveys over media consumption habits in 17 select markets, including Egypt. Together with the preceding AMO 2009–2013, these two publications provide ample statistics over media trends in the region before and after the 2011 uprisings. However, the figures are only representative of a select group of news consumers. AMO is a tool made for industry stakeholders, aimed at forecasting trends and developments with respect to monetary interests such as commercials and ads. Its purpose is to assess “the status and prospects of the media industry in the region” (AMO 2009–2013). As such, it surveys consumers, excluding classes with less spending power.

The respondents in the AMO research consist of a group of 500 urban Egyptians from Alexandria and Cairo, of socio-economic classes A, B, and

¹² For 2013, the World Bank gave a figure of 369.8 million (<http://data.worldbank.org/region/ARB>).

¹³ For a qualitative study into modern Egyptians’ relation to higher registers of Arabic in religious and secular contexts, see Haeri (2003).

¹⁴ “Credible, regular, independent market research and statistical information are lacking, as are accurate audience measurements and ratings systems” (Abdulla 2013: 21).

C,¹⁵ aged 15 and over and reporting to have “watched TV”, “read a newspaper”, or “surfed the internet at least once in the past week” (AMO 2011–2015: 13; identical for AMO 2009–2013: 192).¹⁶ Market research of this kind naturally excludes a great majority of the populace.

Egypt is the most populous country in the Arab region. During the second decade of the 21st century, its population exceeded 80 million,¹⁷ distributed over about 18.6 million households (World Bank;¹⁸ United Nations 2013: 92; Abdulla 2013: 10). In 2011, Egypt’s two largest cities, Cairo and Alexandria, had a population of 7,772,000 and 2,056,000 million respectively (UN data¹⁹).²⁰ In 2013, the population of Egypt was 56% rural, with an annual urbanization rate of about 2.0% projected for 2010–2015 (Abdulla 2013: 10; CIA World Factbook 2014). Unemployment in the country amounted to an estimated 13.4% (2013), youth unemployment (ages 15–24) being 24.8%: 14.7% for male youth and 54.1% for female youth in 2010 (CIA World Factbook 2014); in 2008, 22% of the country’s population lived below the poverty line, and a further 24.2 million lived on less than US\$2.50 a day, while 63.9 million lived on less than US\$5 a day in 2008 (CIA World Factbook 2014; World Bank²¹).

Summa summarum, it is easy to see that, even if the results of the AMO research are representative of the more fortunate of the urban Cairene and Alexandrian, the statistics are not representative of the general Egyptian or the population as a whole (and are not meant to be). However, despite its drawbacks for our purposes, the statistics provided are unsurpassed in their breadth of coverage, and will serve as an indicator, albeit to be taken with caution.

¹⁵ That is, including the upper middle class (A), middle class (B), lower middle class (C1) and the skilled working class (C2), but excluding the working class proper (D), and those at the lowest level of subsistence (E), according to the demographic classifications of the National Readership Survey (NRS), for which see <http://www.abc1demographic.co.uk> (accessed June 11, 2015).

¹⁶ For AMO 2011–2015, “[t]he research was conducted among respondents aged 15+ who qualified as socio-economic classes A, B & C and have watched TV, read a newspaper and surfed the internet at least once in the past week. Responses relating to media usage are reported as mentioned by the respondents and are not representative of the incidence rates, penetration rates or audience measurement studies, and, therefore, may not be consistent with any published data on viewership, listenership, readership and any such related measure” (AMO 2011–2015: 13).

¹⁷ Reaching 86,895,099 in July 2014 (CIA World Factbook 2014), it is the most populous country in the Arab world and the 16th in the world.

¹⁸ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL> (accessed May 11, 2015).

¹⁹ <http://data.un.org/Data.aspx?d=POP&f=tableCode%3A240> (accessed May 11, 2015).

²⁰ Egypt’s population in 2012 consisted of 90% Muslims (predominantly Sunni), 9% Coptic Christians, with the remaining 1% represented by Christians from other denominations (Abdulla 2013: 10; CIA World Factbook 2014).

²¹ <http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/country/EGY> (accessed May 12, 2015).

Aside from AMO, there are official reports from the Egyptian Ministry of Communications and Information Technology (MCIT),²² such as the *Information and Communications Technology Indicators Bulletin*, published quarterly. The December 2014 issue covers the period of the present research, and provides official statistics about information technology, including mobile and internet penetration, estimates of the number of internet users, and so on.

Together with AMO and the MCIT reports, there are statistics on demography and literacy provided by the UN and the CIA (CIA World Factbook 2014; UNESCO Literacy eAtlas²³). In what follows, the post-2011 state of Egyptian print news media versus the more recent forms of media will be illustrated.

1.3.1.2. Consumption patterns: TV, radio, print, and internet

Similar to many countries in the Arab world, Egypt has a young population. In 2014, Egyptians had a median age of 25.1 years,²⁴ with a life expectancy at birth of 73.5 years in 2014 (female: 76.2, male: 70.8; CIA World Factbook 2014).²⁵ In 2012 (the most recent statistics relevant for our study), literacy was reported at 73.9% in the adult population aged 15 and over, to be compared to the higher rate of 89.3% in the younger segments aged 15–24 years (86.1% female, 92.4% male), and a mere 35% among people aged 65 and older (28.5% female, 41.1% male).²⁶ This is to be compared to an illiteracy rate of 86% in 1935, a figure reported by Abdelfattah (1990: 77).

²² Many of the MCIT surveys were conducted in cooperation with the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS; see <http://www.capmas.gov.eg/>).

²³ UNESCO Literacy eAtlas, <http://tellmaps.com/uis/literacy/> (accessed April 22, 2014).

²⁴ Compare this to e.g. 41.2 years for Sweden, 43.2 for Finland, 18.2 for the Gaza Strip, 18.1 for Afghanistan, 31.6 for Bahrain, 28.3 for Iran, 29.9 for Israel, 36.7 for China, and 29.7 years for the world (2014 estimates from <https://www.cia.gov/Library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2177.html>, accessed May 12, 2015).

²⁵ Compare this figure to a life expectancy of 71 years in 2011 (UNESCO, Country profiles, <http://www.uis.unesco.org/DataCentre/Pages/country-profile.aspx?code=EGY&regioncode=40525> (accessed April 22, 2014)).

²⁶ UNESCO, Country profiles, <http://www.uis.unesco.org/DataCentre/Pages/country-profile.aspx?code=EGY&regioncode=40525> (accessed April 22, 2014).

Television is the most potent means of mass communication in Egypt, with 94% of households owning at least one television set in 2010 (Abdulla 2013: 15).²⁷ Radio set ownership decreased,²⁸ whereas mobile penetration increased rapidly in the decade before the data of the present study,²⁹ from 19.1% with a mobile subscription in 2005 (Abdulla 2013: 18, quoting figures from MCIT) to a 110.9% mobile penetration in 2014 (MCIT 2014a: 2, 6; MCIT 2014b: 25).³⁰ Likewise, “the percentage of PC ownership has seen steady annual increases in recent years (27 percent in 2008, 31 percent in 2009, and 34 percent in 2010)” (Abdulla 2013: 15). In October–December 2014, 55% of the households had a computer. The main body of computer users is concentrated in cities, 52.1% of the urban male and 44% of the urban female population using computers, compared with 35.8% of the males and 28.6% of the females in rural areas (MCIT 2014a: 7).

According to AMO 2011–2015, 40% of urban media consumers in Egypt spend up to four hours a day watching TV (AMO 2011–2015: 142–143); a mere 0.5% in their survey claim to watch no TV at all. According to the same survey (AMO 2011–2015: 141), the most viewed genre of TV programme following the 2011 uprising was news (23.2%), followed by movies (18.8%):

A key positive outcome of the regional events for satellite news channels has been a dramatic increase in news viewership in the region, with the number of daily news viewers more than doubling before and during the uprisings. (AMO 2011–2015: 10)

A study of the syntax of broadcast news is a *desideratum* of future research. Given the focus of the coursebooks on written news, the need for an investigation into written news is, from an academic perspective, arguably more urgent.

²⁷ “A 2008 survey conducted by the Arab Advisors Group revealed widespread use of illegal, yet quite entrepreneurial, practice of neighborhood operations reselling pay-TV signals to households. It shows how the low cost of such a practice has resulted in quite a high level of pay-TV service in urban areas, with 43.2 percent of households having pay-TV access. 75.5 percent of pay-TV viewers in Egypt use black-market connections for the service” (Abdulla 2013: 16).

²⁸ In 2010, 68.5% of total households owned at least one radio (cf. 86.5% in 2006, 88.2% in 2007, 79.4% in 2008, and 77.2% in 2009; Abdulla 2013: 17).

²⁹ “The rates of internet use and mobile penetration have increased remarkably in the past decade, and particularly since the start of the 25 January revolution.” (Abdulla 2013: 17).

³⁰ MCIT (2014b: 25) gives the number of mobile phone lines in Egypt as 94.59 million subscriptions for October 2014, an increase of 214.37% compared to December 2007 (30.09).

1.3.1.3. News and internet in Egypt

In 2014, of the total number of Egyptian households, 41.4% had internet access, of which 36.3% had internet access from home; 20% of Egyptians used internet on a daily basis (at least once a day), 9.5% weekly, and 2.6% irregularly in October–December 2014 (MCIT 2014a: 8).³¹

AMO 2011–2015 states that in 2012 the urban Egyptian weekly media consumers in their survey spent three hours a day online, “with internet usage particularly high among the younger generations” (AMO 2011–2015: 143).

The use of social media platforms rose dramatically in the years following the uprisings, and “[t]here is evidence to suggest that the events of January 2011 were a cause—at least as much as an effect—of internet expansion” (Abdulla 2013: 6).

MCIT (2014a: 7) estimated that there were a total of 48.34 million internet users in the country for the period October–December 2014 (including internet access through mobile and USB modem).³² This figure amounts to 56.24% or a weak majority of the population. Of these internet users, 20.34 million have internet access through their mobile (MCIT 2014a: 2–3);³³ in 2012, smartphones constituted a mere 8.4% of the total “cellular handsets in Egypt” (Arab Advisors Group, news release, November 14, 2012). Taken together, these figures leave significant room for growth. With the rise of social networking and digital news sources such as social network sites and applications, traditional media publishers in the region face the challenge of no longer being “the gate keepers of information either print or online” (AMO 2011–2015: 10).

Between January and September 2011, Egypt’s Facebook subscribers increased from 4.1 to 8.55 million (Abdulla 2013: 6). Although the figures might have changed since 2012 when the days of the 2011 uprisings were more recent, social networking sites played an important role in conveying news in the wake of the events. According to AMO 2011–2015, 83% of their urban Cairene and Alexandrian respondents used Facebook, suggesting a predominantly urban subscription among the Egyptians on the whole.³⁴

³¹ Based on a survey by CAPMAS in 2014 which included 10,000 Egyptian households.

³² Compare Abdulla’s (2013: 17) estimate of 32.62 million users, or 38% of the population, by December 31, 2012. In the MCIT survey, 27.9% of the 10,000 households used the internet from home and 23.6% used neighbours’ and friends’ internet, whereas 16.7% “use internet via educational institutions”. Only 2.80% used the internet at work, and 0.20% at libraries, internet cafés, and IT clubs, accounting for 1.40% and 0.30% of the household internet use respectively (MCIT 2014a: 7).

³³ Compare this to the lower 32.36 million internet users (or 38%) in December 2012 (Abdulla 2013: 17, quoting MCIT “indicators”, which he accessed on March 11, 2013).

³⁴ Among the weekly media consumers of Egypt in the AMO research, 85.9% claimed to use Facebook Arabic as their top visited social networking site, a figure to be compared to 22.2% for Facebook English (in second place), 17.6% for Google+, and 10.6% for Twitter Arabic (AMO 2011–2015: 143–144). Of these, 21.7% visit Facebook more than four or five times a week; another 18.1% visit Facebook on a daily basis.

When using mobile phones, the great majority (79.5%) used their phone for making and receiving calls, and 28.3% for text messages. “The percentage of the individuals who use 3G services reached 2.4%”, the same figure given for those who used their mobiles to access the internet (2.4%; MCIT 2014a: 8).

According to MCIT (2014a: 8), news consumption constituted a negligible portion of the total time spent online: of the internet using households, 20% use the internet for education, 19% for entertainment, and 4% for work; a further 22.5% used the internet for sending information and messages via e-mail, 15% for downloading and streaming movies and programmes, to show TV, and/or to listen to radio content; 9.9% made voice calls over the internet, 10% used it to obtain information on health and health services, 4.7% to obtain information about government agencies, and 4% to obtain information on goods and services (MCIT 2014a: 8).³⁵ Watching and/or reading news did not constitute a category of its own.

In the AMO 2011–2015 research, however, getting information and social networking online constituted separate categories, and together they made up 80% of “the most common activities” online. “Social networking” accounted for 30.1%, and “getting information” made up 51.5% of these most common online activities (not a multiple-choice question). In particular, “Facebook, both Arabic and English, is reported as the most visited site” (AMO 2011–2015: 143). Given our definition of register (2.1.2.1), the linguistic register of social media, produced by activists and laypeople for friends and likes, is contextually and functionally different, and arguably less narrow, than what is expected from news professionals. Though interesting in its own right, it is not the topic of the present research.

According to the AMO 2011–2015 surveys, 41.7% of the urban Egyptian weekly news consumers asserted to read their written news in print only, whereas 33.7% claimed to use print media more than internet, while 15.7% asserted that they use print and internet equally. With 7.9% claiming to use internet more, and a mere 1.1% of the population using the internet as their sole source for news and article reading, it is safe to conclude that traditional print media remains strong in Egypt (AMO 2011–2015: 140), especially since computer use and internet penetration is higher in urban areas, i.e. among the respondents in the AMO surveys. Nonetheless, with a high proportion of digital news consumers in the younger demographic segments, digital media has a serious growth potential in the country (AMO 2011–2015: 143). Looking at 2014, however, a study of hard news has to be conducted on print media.

³⁵ The figures were based on a “[p]eriodical survey for ‘Egyptian households and individuals ICT usage’ conducted by the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology (MCIT) in cooperation with the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) in 2014 which included 10000 households” (MCIT 2014a: 8).

With a high mobile penetration of 110.4% in October 2014 (MCIT 2014b: 25),³⁶ it is easy to predict a boom in internet media consumption, as older models are likely to become replaced by smartphones while the younger, more literate population, grows older. From the statistics, it does nonetheless seem clear that this has yet to take place. In 2014, Egyptians had not yet migrated online to the extent that the current state of research would motivate a study of digital media to the detriment of our knowledge of the print media language.

The pace of migration to online on the whole [in Egypt] has been relatively slower than other parts of the world [...] Most newspapers already have an online presence; however, the industry is relatively immature in terms of differentiating its online content and building a convincing value proposition in order to charge for premium online content. [...] (AMO 2011–2015: 9)

1.3.2. Why a study of Al-Ahram?

Following the Egyptian uprisings, al-Masry al-Youm became the most read newspaper, displacing Al-Ahram from a leading position (AMO 2011–2015: 29). Al-Masry al-Youm is “widely regarded as Egypt’s leading ‘independent’ Arabic Daily” (AMO 2011–2015: 29).

According to the AMO 2011–2015 research, eight of the 10 most visited news websites are “affiliated to newspapers” (AMO 2011–2015: 141). Not only was al-Masry al-Youm the most read print newspaper in Egypt in 2012, it was also the most visited news website (36.4%), followed by El Youm El 7 (32.8%); Al Jazeera came third with 8.7%. With the then-recently launched Al-Ahram online being the eighth most visited newspaper in 2012 with a mere 1.1% of the viewership, it is evident that their online readership was by far smaller than that of their print daily.³⁷ On the whole, “traditional media has done well in Egypt in capturing audience migration to digital” (AMO 2011–2015: 141). It is nonetheless clear that Al-Ahram failed at this point in attracting internet readership. A study of its language from a reader perspective has to be of its printed daily:

The print industry [in the Arab world at large] is currently at an inflection point with newspaper circulation recording its lowest growth in 2011. The digital platform has the highest potential for growth given the favourable demographics of the region (i.e. more than 50% of the population is below the age of 25) and the strong uptake of smartphones and tablets. (AMO 2011–2015: 9)

³⁶ “Mobile subscribers reached 95.32 million in October–December 2014 [...] 110.90%” (MCIT 2014a:10).

³⁷ “Ahram Online was launched 26 November 2010” (Ahram Online, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/UI/Front/Aboutus.aspx>, accessed August 15, 2015).

1.3.2.1. Print media: Why Al-Ahram?

In 2014, traditional print media is challenged by digitalization worldwide. Following the economic crisis of 2007–2008, mature markets such as the US faced an unabated decline in printed newspaper circulation (AMO 2011–2015: 26). Egyptian print media, however, made out relatively well: 2011 did see the lowest growth rates in newspaper circulation in five years, but the political uprisings awoke an acute interest in news and even induced new launches to the market, with newly formed independent news outlets and “citizen journalists” being a consequence (AMO 2011–2015: 25). Compared to the year preceding the 2011 “January 25th revolution”—when its epicentre, Tahrir Square became well-known in the Western media—the majority of Egyptian news consumers no longer turned to the news for sports, but for political hard news.

In the AMO 2009–2013 surveys conducted in 2010, Al-Ahram was cited as the most frequently read newspaper by urban Egyptians in Cairo and Alexandria, attracting 50% of the total readership. The top reasons for reading a newspaper were “Its news coverage is the best” (63%), “Always read this newspaper” (37%), “Opinion/analysis closest to my opinion” (32%), and “I read this for specific journalists” (30%).

According to the AMO 2009–2013 survey, the top topic was sports (57%), above politics and current affairs, which were read by 49% and 48% of the readership respectively (AMO 2009–2013: 83, 85).

In the wake of the Arab Spring of 2011, Egypt had a stable literacy rate of 71% in a population of 79.9 million, with 45% of the weekly urban media consumers “reading a newspaper every day” (AMO 2011–2015: 139). In 2010, the independent al-Masry al-Youm (established in 2004) was the third most read newspaper with 34% of the urban readership (AMO 2009–2013). In 2012, Al-Ahram remained popular, and even increased its readership by 1% compared to the 2010 survey, but the oppositional al-Masry al-Youm had now become the most read newspaper attracting 61% of the written news consumers in the Cairo and Alexandria. Al-Ahram, though still popular, ranked third, with a readership of 51% (AMO 2011–2015: 139).³⁸

Among the topics of interest in 2012, 79.1% marked politics and 70.7% current affairs. Sports now attracted less interest, 36.3%, a 14.7% loss compared to the previous year. This suggests that the increased interest in newspaper reading of political news and current affairs following the 2011 uprisings overall benefited written news media outlets:

³⁸ Al Akhbar scored second (53%), and different to the mixed age readership of al-Masry al-Youm, their favour fell “amongst Egyptians above 45 years old, suggesting a possible dichotomy in the editorial tone of newspapers preferred by younger and older generations” (AMO 2011–2015: 139).

Newspaper circulation continues to remain strong, with Egypt being one of the few markets where newspaper circulation has continued to grow in the last few years. (AMO 2011–2015: 138)

In 2012, the Egyptians' top ranked reasons for reading newspapers were "News coverage" (53.5%) and "I have always read this ..." (33.1%). Other reasons were specific journalists (30.9%), or "its opinions" (6.0%). The immediate context of political turmoil having given rise to acute incentives, only 1.5% gave "My office subscribes to this" as their reason for reading newspapers, a figure to be compared to 1.2% for "My family subscribes to this". With 98% of the population *not* subscribing to a newspaper, private subscription or subscriptions by government institutions can be ruled out as only marginal incentives for the Egyptians to read any newspaper content (AMO 2009–2013: 83–85; AMO 2011–2015: 137–139).³⁹

Unsurprisingly the coverage of the news (followed by habitual factors and a preference for specific journalists) was the main reason for choosing to read specific newspapers in Egypt in 2012, as it was in 2009. The main topic of interest was politics, with people keen to stay abreast of developments against the backdrop of political instability in the country. (AMO 2011–2015: 139)

Although al-Masry al-Youm was the most read newspaper in the period of this study, Al-Ahram has held a diachronically stable top position.

1.3.3. Historical notes on the press in Egypt

The history of writing in Egypt is possibly the longest in the world, competing only with Sumerians and Akkadians in the regions of modern Iraq.

Disregarding the writings associated with the pyramids and old hieroglyphic monuments of the ancient Egyptians, it is the epic reports in the war chronicles of *Ayyām al-‘arab*, the 'days of the Arabs' (accounts of tribal wars), and the pre-Islamic poetic collection *Mu‘allaqāt* with its "accounts of battles, criticism of rulers, defense of the tribe and comments on current events" that could first be considered journalistic, in a wide sense of the term. Disregarding minting, stamps, and the medieval blockprints (*tarš*), it is in ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ġabartī's (1753–1825) account of Napoleon's invasion and subsequent occupation of Egypt that we read the first words printed on Arabic soil, in his reproduction and criticism of Napoleon's colonialist proclamation (Abdelfattah 1990: 20–21; Kronholm 1995: 60, 87; Shaefer 2014). Along with pamphlets, news sheets were also printed with types during the French campaign, and beginning in 1798, the Arabic press that Napoleon had acquired from the

³⁹ Naomi Sakr argued that the high circulation of Al-Ahram was because of government subscription (personal communication, spring 2014).

Vatican⁴⁰ three centuries after its invention served the first journalistic print media in the Arab world, the French *Courier de l'Égypte* and *La Décade Égyptienne* (Effat, "Media" in EALL; Rugh 1979: 6).

In 1828, Muḥammad 'Alī founded what became the first official and indigenous Egyptian newspaper, *al-Waqā'i' al-miṣriyya*, 'the Egyptian proceedings/events' (or "official gazette", in the description of Allen 1998: 71). Originally published in Turkish, it was not until 1832 when Imam Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849–1905) became the editor that it was printed exclusively in Arabic. Its readership was limited to the upper class of rulers, officials, and the religious elite, including the students of the al-Azhar mosque (Abdelfattah 1990: 22).

Under the rule of Muḥammad 'Alī and his military reforms and ambitions, Egypt had experienced advances in the fields of education and industry. With the treaty of 1840, these projects came to a halt (Abdelfattah 1990: 23). Under 'Ismā'īl in the second half of the same century, Egypt was no longer aspiring to become an imperium, but the institutions already established by Muḥammad 'Alī would serve as "a ready vehicle for an increasingly rapid introduction of Western ideas into Egyptian intellectual life" (Allen 1998: 72); several private newspapers were established. The first was *Wādī al-Nīl*, 'the Nile Valley', published in 1867 and similar in "design and scope to *al-Waqā'i' al-miṣriyya* and mainly contained proceeding of the Parliament, local events, announcements of the new arrivals to the country and advertisements for other newspapers" (Abdelfattah 1990: 24). Two others were *Nuzhat al-'Afkār*, 'a journey/pleasure ride of thoughts', and *Rawḍat al-'Afkār*, 'a garden of thoughts'. By the end of the century, *al-Waqā'i' al-miṣriyya* was the only official newspaper that remained, the others having been replaced by "privately owned and funded newspapers and magazines" (Abdelfattah 1990: 24). Governmental influence over the printed word remained strong however, as the government provided financial support by purchasing copies by the hundreds from government-friendly papers.

In 1875, *Al-Ahram* (الأهرام, *al-'ahrām*), 'the pyramids', was first published by the Syrian-Lebanese immigrant brothers Salīm and Buṣārā (or Biṣārā) Taqlā, and during the period up until the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, several other newspapers and magazines saw the light: *al-Waṭan*, 'the homeland' (1877); *Miṣr*, 'Egypt' (1877); 'Abū Nazzāra, 'a man with glasses' (1877); *al-Tiḡāra*, 'trade' (1877); *Miṣr al-Fatāh*, 'the young Egypt' (1879); *al-Tā'if*, 'the wanderer' (1881); and *al-Tankīt wa-l-Tabkīt*, 'joking and rebuking' (1882) (Abdelfattah 1990: 24; Effat, "Media" in EALL). Among these, *Al-*

⁴⁰ The printing press with Arabic and Hebrew came into the possession of the Holy See already in 1580 in order "to supply the Maronite Church in Syria and Lebanon with Catholic Books" (Abdelfattah 1990: 21).

Ahram enjoys a prominent position and is considered among the greater newspapers, if not in the world, at least in the Arab world and Egypt.⁴¹

Since the first issue in 1875, Al-Ahram has been influenced by, as well as cherishing, an aspiration to emulate European journalism. As the first of the Arabic news outlets, it was a pioneer in obtaining world news by contracting with a foreign news organization, the Daily Telegraph of London. It was the first “to establish advertisements and subscriptions as a source of income”, and it was the first to print political interviews among its news stories (Abdelfattah 1990: 25).

It could be argued that a study of the present kind ideally should include among its texts a representative selection from the whole Middle East. Not only do temporal limitations hinder this, the benefits are not necessarily vast, as Bell argues:

One criterion which is rarely worth trying to apply is that of gathering only news which is written by the particular outlets under study. Most news outlets carry far more news originated by other organizations than by their own journalists. Almost all international news derives from the “Big Four” news agencies: Reuters, Associated Press, United Press International and Agence France Presse. Domestic news from beyond an outlet’s immediate geographical area comes mainly from internal news agencies such as the Press Association of the United Kingdom or New Zealand, and the Associated Press in the United States. Even if it is not explicitly credited to an outside agency, any out-of-town news is unlikely to have been produced by an outlet’s own staff. More complicated still, many stories ostensibly written by local journalists, and even bylined to them, consist largely of material they have rewritten (often only lightly) from press releases issued by news making organizations. A large proportion of news which appears to be produced by local reporters is primarily the work of press officers working for companies, government departments or other organizations. It is in practice virtually impossible to identify accurately which copy has been originated by a local newspaper or broadcast station. The only way to gather an assured sample of local journalists’ production would be to undertake continuous detailed participant observation in the newsroom. (Bell 1991: 16–17)

1.3.3.1. Early development of the language

In the early stages of journalism in the West, such as the news books of the 17th century in England, the first daily newspaper the Daily Courant (beginning in 1702), and The Times (1785–), the language consisted of a “dense mass of prose, written in a pompous style” (Aitchison 2010: 13–14). Likewise in the early stages of journalism in Egypt, where the language of the news practitioners was heavily burdened by literary stylistic conventions. Written

⁴¹ “[al-Ahrām] has been Egypt’s leading newspaper ever since [1875] and is considered one of the great dailies of the world” (Abdelfattah 1990: 25, with a reference to Merrill and Fisher 1980); “it has been Egypt’s leading newspaper ever since [1875]” (Effat, “Media” in EALL).

by graduates from the al-Azhar mosque, the style of the earliest journealese in Egypt was greatly influenced by the authors' religious education and "their writing [...] was consequently saturated with repetition, rhyming and other elements of Arabic prosody and full of quotations from the Qur'ān and the classical Arabic poetry". According to Abdelfattah (1990: 22, quoting 'Abduh's pupil Riḍā 1931: 154), Imam Muḥammad 'Abduh was first to point out the need for a change towards a less stylistically burdened, more to the point, comprehensible, and intelligible style. At least from the 1950s and on, the Western influence is unmistakeable. It is my tacit argument with this book that we now face a mature Arabic hard news register.

1.4. Journalism and story design

This chapter aims to shed light on news journalism. It is very similar to the chapter with the same name in Lundin (2013: 66ff.), which in turn is largely based on Cotter (2010).⁴² The theoretical approach in this chapter has an outlook from an idealistic Western, English-speaking perspective: the present work is not a contrastive study. The *Al-Ahram Stylebook* (Nāfi' 1997) however provides no substantial reason to doubt that the prescriptive target ideal, goal, and terminology of Al-Ahram since at least the 1990s differ at large in terms of what Cotter elaborately describes. In fact, many news articles investigated here come from the same international news agencies (*wikālātu l-'anbā'i*) as used by Western media (see 3.4.4 on by-lines). The present investigation is not a study into culture, politics, finance, corporate structure, or freedom of speech.

⁴² Colleen Cotter is a journalist and linguist who has been working with—among other things—the language of the British and the American press. In the introduction to *News Talk: Investigating the Language of Journalism* (2010), she writes that the goal of her book is "to characterize and highlight the **role of the practitioner in the production of news language**, an approach largely absent from existing linguistic research": "The main objective of the book is to develop an ethnographic view of the language of everyday journalism and an interactional sensibility in analyzing it, through which we come to understand how and what language is produced by the news community, and its relation to an intended audience" (Cotter 2010: 1). Cotter "looks at media language through an examination of the news media as a community of practitioners, whose actions reinforce its professional identity, as well as result in the news stories we as the public read, hear, click to, digest, consume, ignore, appreciate, vilify or rail against" (2010: 15). And she considers "how the process of newsgathering and daily journalistic routines work together to produce the language we see as unique to daily news and define as being journalistic".

1.4.2. Journalists and journealese

A reporter is not inventing the form every time he or she has a story to write; innovation in that regard is not encouraged. Readers and listeners learn the conventions, as well, but from the recipient end. From this, they construct a plausible and even logical “story” or account about what goes into news practice based on the output they read, which does not necessarily match the thought and action processes that the reporter has followed in writing the story. [...] Nonetheless, the conventionalized patterns that are observable in news discourse across time help to maintain what can be identified as a news story for both readers and reporters. (Cotter 2010: 138)

A writer of a news item intends to answer the five journalistic questions, the five Ws: who, what, when, where, and why (Cotter 2010: 124).⁴⁴ The reader has an expectation of there being somewhat fixed frames or conventions in terms of a journalist’s writing. For the writer, conventionalized patterns and information structures facilitate work flow and rapidity in composing news articles, since, as Cotter writes, “[i]t is easier to write a story that follows, to some degree, a pre-existing form” (2010: 138). For the reader to read, the text will also need to have a flow, a flow that equals an effortless read. To produce a good news text is a mark of the writer’s communicative competence, a sign that the writer has mastered the highly valued journalistic craft.

As one of the goals in story design, the writer must orientate towards grabbing the reader’s attention and apprehension—and not lose it too early. But there are also text goals that go into the structure and which the writer must seek to live up to when composing a journalistic text. These include a good lead, an appropriate length, sentence structure, and story organization (giving the five Ws), correct attribution of information, and an appropriate style and understanding of the writing conventions. On top of this, we have the content goals of actually being informative (the five Ws) and objective (authorial voice, see 1.4.7) and providing a balance of sources and accurate information, but we also have the rhetorical goals of brevity, precision in words and language, balance of content, and accuracy of language and facts (Cotter 2010).

The following will enter more deeply into what goes into constructing a story that reads as “journealese”, the components in shaping a story that together characterize and distinguish journealese as very different from other types of prose.

⁴⁴ Aitchison (2010: 18) considers there are “6 WHs”, including how. Mellor (2005: 107) speaks of “the five Ws and the H: Where, Who, When, Why, What and How”.

1.4.3. Newsworthiness and news values

According to Cotter (2010: 67–75), news values in journalistic practice guide the reporter in selecting what to report as a list of abstract motivations or “qualities that make a news item ‘newsworthy’” (2010: 67). Their competent application is a mark of an acquired journalistic skill. In practice, the reporter might for example choose to write about what some prominent figure (**prominence**) in the community (**proximity**) has done recently (**timeliness**), or write on something for its **novelty** or **unusualness**, because it has **significance**, or because the topic is thought to be of **interest** to the readers. Consequent writing decisions will include determining the news angle, how to begin the story (see the discussion of the lead in 1.4.8), and what information and detail to include.

In conceptualizing and constructing a story, “the journalist must make [...] choices about what readers want or need to know” (Lanson & Stephens 1994: 10, quoted in Cotter 2010: 73). News values are what underlie this learnt intuition.

News values are used to determine what and who gets covered, and how (Cotter 2010: 74). They are also invoked for story design, how to write, what to front, but also for the physical placement of a written piece within the paper itself, such as within the local news section (Cotter 2010: 75). The news values are integrated with the community of coverage, resulting in a local priority emphasis. Cotter is working with British-American media,⁴⁵ but of relevance to our study also comes governmental infringement on the uttered word and on the freedom of press that becomes integral to a reporter’s coverage calculation, playing a role in providing the newsroom and the reporter with decision-making parameters, justifications of these decisions, and with hierarchies of what counts as important. Here, either directly or indirectly, the government interferes and manipulates with the news values in the reader–writer relationship, exerting force to establish, interpret and reinforce these news selection criteria, aiming at an effect in the community as a whole: a control of what is news, and what is not, and a decision of news angle, directly or indirectly.

News values are more than a list of qualities that explain what counts as news. Knowing about news values means one can look at how a story is interpreted from the journalist’s perspective. News values govern **practice** by affording decision-making parameters, and are thus embedded in **text**. As such, they shape text by reinforcing an “ideology” about what counts as news and, consequently, by organizing story design: story form and news values go hand in hand. (Cotter 2010: 67, emphasis in original)

⁴⁵ She mentions that news values “are agreed to in the abstract [...], interpreted differently across publications and editors and through time” (2010: 67).

We assume that cultural differences together with governmental influence on news values account for global cross-regional variations in both the reporter's coverage calculations and the reader's expectations. Furthermore, it ought to be mentioned, though we will not discuss it in depth, that differences of this sort may result in initial impressions of unfamiliarity with foreign newspapers, their coverage, and story design (fronting of newsworthy elements, etc.).

News values determine news coverage and are thus problematic. In the Western world, the media is sometimes criticized for its writing decisions: why the tragic deaths of multiple people in a faraway land occupy less physical space than a minor event in the local community, why the celebrity's baby "should be more important than my child".

The journalistic understanding of newsworthiness that underlies these coverage decisions often goes back to the reporter's internalized intuition of news values, about what counts as news. It is something that is taught and learnt. In the case of local affairs, proximity and relevance to the community are what make minor events relevant for print; with celebrities, we are dealing with prominence, and—at least for some readers—interest. In fact, many people do actually read about minor events in the community and about babies of many celebrities. Many of us even log on to Facebook for our precious share in the most local of "news": "[T]he news value of **proximity** often trumps the news value of **importance**" (Cotter 2010: 120).

How much to emphasize a story by length, layout, headline style, photos and graphics ("art"), by its physical placement within the paper or whether to cover it at all is decided upon, Cotter says (2010: 80), by the editors according to availability of space, amount of news coming in that particular day, current day of the week, time to deadline, topical scope of the news outlet, the paper's coverage field, and so on, the interpretation of each of which may be different within the profession and outside it. What the out-group reader sees are merely the effects of news decisions, the outcomes of newsworthiness rationales, but for the reporter, the importance is to get the story into print. According to Cotter (2010: 84) his or her objective is more **textual**, "to get the most out of a **story**", whereas the out-group assessment by the lay reader is **ideological**, the Western reader being often under the impression that news stories are shaped "to sell papers".

The reporter works on the run, and news values that govern journalistic practice are best learnt and understood through practice, employed as they are in everyday work. To raise a voice against this routinized practice is to call for conscious deliberation on the part of the news practitioners. In the Arab world, we expect a similar situation, that the reading community is not indifferent to written news coverage, that bias charges do occur, and that laypeople read texts while rightly and wrongly identifying underlying ideological frame-

works. The question falls outside the scope of the present book, but in the Arab world, censorship often interferes with both sides, affecting both the coverage calculations and the subsequent reactions to news coverage (e.g. Rugh 2004: 121ff.). Regardless of the external situation, the journalistic stories that we read have nonetheless all been deemed newsworthy by professionals active in the news community. They are printed.

1.4.4. The inverted pyramid structure

Daily, a reporter is charged with grasping the significant particulars about a complex situation, synthesizing those particulars, and writing accessibly about them—with a minimum number of words, often in a minimum amount of time, and for readers with a minimum amount of time and attention. (Cotter 2010: 173)

What counts as important as news and within the news item is assessed through the reporter's sense of newsworthiness based on an internalized perception of news values (Cotter 2010: 135–170). The informational elements that carry these notions are not haphazardly written out in the order in which they were discovered, nor are they ordered by letter as in a lexicon, nor according to chronology as is typical in historical narratives or novels, nor listed as ingredients would be in a recipe.

The “news story is composed according to a **hierarchy of importance**: the most important detail or element comes first; the others follow in descending order” (Cotter 2010: 139; also in e.g. Aitchison 2010: 17ff.; Mellor 2005: 127ff.; Nāfi' 1997: 81). This type of structure is commonly referred to as the “inverted pyramid” structure, a conventionalized narratological frame for the sequence of information elements that typical news items today often share, in the Arab world as elsewhere. The hero dies first.

Mellor expounds on the history of the structure and refers to the inverted pyramid structure (*haram maqlūb*) as “one main characteristic of objective reporting” in the Arab world (2005: 127).⁴⁶ The *haram maqlūb* structure was first introduced in the Egyptian press in the 1950s through the daily *Akhbar al-Yawm*, whose founders were much influenced by American journalistic tradition, within which the structure had emerged in the 18th century. Prior to the 1950s, Egyptian journalists engaged in chronological reporting (Abdelfattah 1990: 17);⁴⁷ prior to the 18th century, Western news was written using the rules of pompous prose (Aitchison 2010: 14).

⁴⁶ The theory of the inverted pyramid structure (“nazariyyat al-haram al-maqlūb”) is also discussed in the *Al-Ahram Stylebook* (Nāfi' 1997: 81, where the five journalistic Ws and the H are also mentioned).

⁴⁷ Mellor repeatedly refers to the unpublished dissertation of Abdelfattah (1990; see Mellor 2005: 129 *passim*), wherein he presents studies on the language of *Al-Ahram* from 1935 to

When determining what is to be fronted and in calculating newsworthiness, the inverted pyramid structure reminds the reporter of the pre-eminence of news values. The inverted pyramid structure begins by presenting the most important information. Following a headline, the most important elements are presented in the carefully composed lead. For the subsequent hierarchical disposition of information, the “newsworthiness” of each separate structural and informational element is assessed. The writer’s assessment of what counts as newsworthy thus influences the structure of the entire news report.

1.4.5. Background and context

In designing a text, the journalist must make sure that the reader can share in the information presented. The composition rules involve providing **attribution**, sufficient **context**, and enough **background** information. Attribution of information is a question of identifying sources of information, such as “X said: ...”, “this piece of information *x* comes from *y*”, “this *x* according to *y*”, and so on (for more on this, see 1.4.8 and 1.4.12). Context helps the reader “understand why the story is important as news”, whereas background helps the reader “to understand the story’s relevance and news position over time” (Cotter 2010: 139). For the technical terminology we refer to Cotter (2010: 140–141), who says that “[j]ournalistically, in the day-to-day story-production sense ‘background’ is differentiated from ‘context’: **background** can be deleted; **context** is considered essential” (*italics in original*).

Background and context work differently in regard to story design. Context is usually sprinkled in throughout, e.g. through appositions and relative clauses, whereas background is less attention-grabbing and is usually inserted at the end; a consequent structural advantage in the case of the inverted pyramid is that editors have the ability to cut superfluous and less newsworthy background information at the end of the article without losing too much of the newsworthiness. This facilitates page layout in cases when cutting is needed to make the text physically fit within the newspaper column. Contrarily, an article to which the writer has not managed to give sufficient length may be extended by additional background at the end. Context though, since it is “information necessary to understand the story, particularly with respect to its newsworthiness” (Cotter 2010: 141), puts the journalistic interpretation to work in ensuring that the story reads clearly with the primary news element retained in focus.

1989. He demonstrates how the story structure during this period changed radically from “complex to more simple and universal” (Mellor 2005: 129).

1.4.6. Attribution

Commonly known information naturally does not need attribution. Cotter argues that mastering when an attribution should be used and should not be used forms part of journalistic craftsmanship. Quotes are used either as a summary or as an illustration: either to present information or to allow an individual's reaction to the content of a reported news event to come to the fore. Quotes can be direct, indirect, partial, or in paraphrase; the length in each case is of considerable importance, as it is expected to be short and to the point.

Attributions have consequences for story design. An attribution, according to Western standards, should come early in the text and “if a quote or attributed information does not appear within the first several paragraphs, the copy will be rearranged to accommodate this expectation” (Cotter 2010: 146). A good direct quote is considered essential to a well-formed news story, adding immediacy, freshness, and colour, Cotter writes (2010: 149–150).

Journalists are taught in which elements of an utterance to use. According to Cotter, they need not be either verbatim depositions or transcripts, but in US practice, “quotes **cannot be fabricated**” (Cotter 2010: 148, italics and boldface in original).

Attribution of information is a key value in US practice. The journalistic role is a neutral one, in which personal opinion is suppressed in favour of a distanced authorial voice (see 1.4.7). Cotter writes that this practice is “particular to US journalism and not necessarily similar in other cultures, English-speaking or not” (2010: 145).

Working with Arab media, Mellor (2005: 134) says that politicians and officials often serve as news sources in the Arab world, and that the reason for this is an abundance of political news (cf. 1.4.12 and 1.4.12.2);⁴⁸ our corpus certainly reflects such an abundance. Mellor continues much in the same way as Cotter, portraying journalistic practice as ideally impartial. According to Mellor (2005: 134), direct speech is as common in Arab news media as in Western news; and in our corpus, quotations serve as the typical means of attribution (see 5.3.2), though it is not always clear whether they are direct or indirect (Lagerqvist 2012: 3ff.). According to Mellor, the importance of quotations in Arab media “lies in the reporter's wishes to add authenticity to their news reports” (2005: 134, with a reference to al-Shabbab & Swales 1986). Citations serve to display the news institution's objectivity by presenting the opinion of one or several parties on any given topic as well as to add authenticity to the news report. Hard news, Mellor writes, usually includes citations from more than one source.

⁴⁸ “The abundance of political news in the Arab media means that politicians and officials serve as news sources” (Mellor 2005: 134).

1.4.7. Authorial distance

According to Cotter, one discursive or interactional goal of news writing is the reporter's maintenance of a distanced authorial voice. The profession's code of ethics in the West has it that the journalist suppresses the individual self in an attempt to appear neutral or balanced in any story. Adherence to the prescriptive rules and style of the standard language is one aspect of this. But the reporter is also expected to speak from a distanced institutional or professional position, an attitude which—if upheld—has consequences on lexical choices such as the avoidance of evaluative, value-laden words, and on correct attribution (Cotter 2010: 174, 181).

Provided with content in neutral words, the reader has the impression of being freer to form an independent opinion;⁴⁹ by use of attribution, reporters position themselves as neutral authorities and reporters of facts, distancing themselves from what is reported on, even if the source has an evaluative stance. By observing a balance of attribution in a story, the author conveys a range of views.

Working with the Arab media, Mellor too writes that “news reporting is supposed to reflect the impartiality and credibility of the news media”. The importance of attribution in Arab journalistic practice lies in a wish to add authenticity to news reports and as a means to display “the news institution's objectivity” (Mellor 2005: 134). As mentioned above, Arab media abounds in political news where politicians serve as news sources. Reported speech here often becomes a means of attribution, supporting and communicating credibility, objectivity, and authenticity in the news report, Mellor writes.

⁴⁹ The actual content of news reporting falling outside the scope of research here; we only briefly touch upon the consequences of editorial censorship, dictatorial mandates on news coverage, etc.

1.4.8. The lead

According to Western news journalism, the lead is intended to be short and to the point, highlighting the most newsworthy aspects of the article as a whole in accordance with the inverted pyramid structure (for which, see 1.4.4).

1.4.8.1. Limited space, limited attention

Unlike the title and typical storyline of a film or a novel, the main character is dead already in the headline. After the carefully crafted opening paragraph (the lead), surrounding events are fitted in to progressively explain the situation. Moving downwards towards the elements of least importance, the inverted pyramid structure differs greatly from that of a film or a novel, where the climax usually comes at the end of the narrative. In a news text, each subsequent information element is typically less newsworthy. To round an article off, a quote or “an evaluation (sometimes optional) is often added, which says something such as ‘The investigation continues’”, Aitchison notes (2010: 18). Hard news leaves no cliffhangers, but has as a goal to give the spoiler immediately by fronting who and how many have died. For the narrative, the how is necessarily not the most important element.

The writer’s design objectives involve grabbing the reader’s attention by getting him or her to quickly comprehend the story, something that has great impact on the composition of the lead. For the journalist, “it is incumbent [...] to make it easy to get the news” (Cotter 2010: 139). The consequences that this communicative goal have on the structure of information may vary, but for writing an account of a car accident, the journalist will go straight to the climax, revealing that the driver and two passengers died. If an account started at the point when the driver left the house, Cotter argues, the reader would likely never read about potential casualties, seeing that most readers only read a few paragraphs.

At the writer’s disposal are information-driven tools, beginning with the lead, which guide the reader through a comprehension-friendly reading, facilitating ease of comprehension. The journalist must maintain the reader’s attention but at the same time “[t]he writing can’t be so brilliant that the listener stops listening in mid-report to mull over a cleverly crafted bit of writing” (Dvorkin 2001, quoted in Cotter 2010: 139).

The limited attention span of the general reader also has consequences on the length of sentences, paragraphs, and white space and, as Cotter writes, on the length of the story itself. Cotter (2010: 140) mentions “accents of interest”⁵⁰ within “news-typical contours” as further means on the part of the writer to maintain the reader’s attention.

⁵⁰ Aitchison (2010: 20) mentions that journalists may present figures, preferably “mind boggling” ones.

1.4.8.2. The first paragraph: The lead

To fulfil the rhetorical and discursive goals related to form and the communicative goals of making a connection with the reader, and incorporating the dictates around the ordering of successive elements, following the headline comes the highly important opening paragraph, the lead.

A distinctive discourse unit of limited physical space, the primary function of the lead in the reader–writer relationship is to attract the attention of readers and “draw them in” by presenting new information: maximal relevance plus a hook. Unlike with a joke, the punch line typically comes first.

On a textual level, the purpose is to set a structural framework for the whole article: “all composite story elements follow from the lead” (Cotter 2010: 151). Its function is much like an abstract in an academic article, only that here, the articulation of a scholarly argument is not enough: cut what is superfluous, it needs be “tight”.

The journalist shapes a well-formed article beginning from the lead. Herein, he or she encapsulates the essence of the story, highlighting or fronting what is newsworthy, be it interesting, relevant, or new (see the news values in 1.4.3). From a skimming of the lead, the importance of the story must become instantly apparent to readers, since with the limited space allotted, it must provide readers with all the essential information during the limited time that it has their attention. Every word counts.

With the oft-used inverted pyramid structure, the most important information always comes first. Successive information following from the lead must support the importance of the lead, “[t]hus the lead’s setup, and the information element selected, dictates the order and focus of the rest of the elements of the story” (Cotter 2010: 151). In the formation of the lead, the journalist relies heavily on his or her skill as a craftsperson, not only in terms of deciding what to cover in the lead and, consequently, what to cover in the article as a whole, but also with regard to his or her linguistic skills as a reporter. All stylistic manifestations of language are taken into consideration: vocabulary, morphology, and syntax. Given its complex composition, the lead is the hardest thing to write and the hardest part of a journalistic text to learn how to write, Cotter says.

The lead is either reader- or story-centred. A story-centred lead focuses on the information that the story is about to convey, whereas the reader-centred lead takes aim at the reader. The type of lead is greatly dependent on which type of article is being written: news, feature, or news-feature story, hard or soft.

No matter the type of article, the primary function of the lead is to make

the reader read what the writer has decided to write. The interactional skill, the knowledge of the community and the culture, and the professional acumen of his or her rhetoric, all encapsulated in the craft of the journalist, are the means of achieving a well-formed lead, which on an ideal abstract level will display the abilities of the journalist, framing the most reader-relevant and interesting elements of the article. Functional and craft values coincide; as such, the skill of writing the lead comes with an acquaintance of conventions and expectations. An element of surprise, typically, comes with content, not with form.

1.4.8.3. Types of stories, types of lead

In composing the lead, the journalist is dependent upon interactional demands dictated by the content and the genre. The basic and traditional dichotomy is that between hard news articles and soft news features, namely news and feature leads, or, following another dichotomy, between that of direct and delayed leads. News-feature leads and stories may embody aspects of both (Cotter 2010: 152–169).

The traditional hard news lead, providing direct information, is the most conventionalized, and normally in the West is no longer than 25 to 35 words in length as a maximum. A recounting in one or occasionally two comprehensive sentences that gives the most compelling hard facts of the full article is the norm. Stylistically, conciseness and readability are key.

As for the lead of soft news, feature articles also use concise language, but rather than presenting core facts, they aim to set the tone or key of the story. This type of lead not only allows for a greater freedom of language and style, but may even demand it to serve to provoke or excite the reader.

Following another dichotomy, the delayed lead, as opposed to the direct or hard facts lead, is usually longer, characterized by the journalist's confidence in his or her abilities to set a scene or entice the reader over a space of three to four paragraphs. Rather than giving the newsworthy elements of the story right away, the journalist here makes a postponement, relying on language in detaining the information. Rhetorically, this is the most elaborate type of lead.

The decision of how to formulate the lead, be it hard/direct, setting a tone, or delaying the information, is ultimately one made by the writer. And given the demands of the craft, the journalist is free to write as creatively as his or her professionalism allows. Rather than delving deeper into abstract taxonomies to categorize various other types of lead, let us here but in passing mention that despite the neatness of the above-cited dichotomy, the lead may be of yet other kinds. Types that need to be mentioned in the wider context of media are the narrative or the anecdote lead and the zinger or bright (or brite) lead. The latter is characterized by fronting the unlikely and seemingly absurd,

whether that resonates culturally, morally, or otherwise, whereas the former relies on minor points of information to illustrate the larger issue while setting a tone or feel of a situation or event. No matter what creative opportunities the lead may present the writer with, the usually unaware reader will find him- or herself in the stylistic and informational expectations of the given news genre, expectations to which a good lead preferably relates, though it may be in a relationship of contrast to the expected.

1.4.8.4. Content and structural dictates of the lead

The importance or dictates of the lead cannot be overestimated in terms of its impact on story design overall. (Cotter 2010: 170)

If the exceptional novelty of a reported event is not in focus, the main component in a lead may have been selected from among the five Ws.⁵¹ As with the story of for example a presidential speech, Cotter writes (2010: 161), the who is what makes the speech newsworthy for publication, simply because it is the president who has spoken (the news values of prominence and relevance; see 1.4.3).

In constructing a good story, rather than relying on the iconic sequentiality employed in constructing typical past historical narratives, the journalist has to forsake a chronological structure. Given the dictates of the lead, it is rather the degree of newsworthiness (1.4.3) that instantiates and predicates the distribution of the following information elements. For a journalist, it is thus of paramount importance to master the discernment of what counts as newsworthy in order to write a well-formed, preferably inventive and punchy lead, being, as it is, essential to a good news story. The reporter's degree of craftsmanship is on display; simultaneously on levels both journalistically functional (for register, see 2.1.1ff.) and stylistically rhetorical, the usually unaware reader will assess this quality, and either continue reading or rolling over to some other, more compelling story.

⁵¹ Cf. the *Al-Ahram Stylebook* (Näfi ' 1997: 81):

كتابة الأخبار والقصاص الإخبارية
ونأتي لكتابة الأخبار، فنذكر ابتداءً أنها ليست كتابة أدبية وإنما هي من طراز خاص يتميز بالبساطة والوضوح الكامل، فضلاً عن أن الخبر لا بد أن يجيب على أسئلة محددة هي التي عرفت في الصحافة باسم (5W,S & H)، وهي: ما الذي حدث، ومن المتأثر بالحدث، ولماذا حدث ذلك أي سبب الحدث، وكيف أي شرح الحدث وظروفه، وأين حيث يذكر مكان الحدث، ثم متى وقع الحدث حيث يذكر الوقت بكل دقة. وهناك استثناء في الالتزام حالات نادرة فلا تنطبق لماذا وكيف على بعض الأخبار مثل العروض السينمائية والمسرحية والمحاضرات.

'The writing of news and news stories

We now come to the writing of the news, and ought to mention first that it is not the writing of belles-lettres ('*adab*'), but writing of a special kind characterized by simplicity and complete clarity, in addition, the news item must answer certain questions, those known in journalism as "The five Ws and H", namely: what happened, who is affected by the incident, why did it happen, i.e. the cause of the incident, and how, i.e. an explanation of the incident and its circumstances, and where (here the location of the event is mentioned), then when did the incident happen, (here the exact time is mentioned).'

The good lead

A good lead, Cotter writes, should both entice the reader and enable the entire story to have a flow. A bad lead, on the other hand, is often characterized by inappropriate length and a lack of clarity, appropriate detail, ordering, relevance, and/or style. To avoid information overload, the reporter “who is communicatively competent” will evaluate the relative hierarchy of information elements from among the five Ws and include the answers only to one or two in the lead. Through answering the others shortly after, the writer ideally avoids obscuring clarity by cramming too much information in the lead. Contrarily, insufficient detail as a result of faulty assumptions about what the reader needs to know is a failure of the reporter on the other side of the continuum.

Writing information that is important is not the same as writing an interesting lead. Even the cliché must be avoided: “you ...”, “imagine ...!”, and question leads or leads of the type “Christmas came early for X when Y happened last night ...” are examples of clichés on which reporters over-rely to obtain the communicative objective of engaging readers (Cotter 2010: 167–168).

According to the *Al-Ahram Stylebook*, the lead (الفقرة الاستهلالية), ‘the opening paragraph’) should be no longer than 2.5 lines (‘ay ḥawālay 25 kalimatan, ‘i.e. around 25 words’; Nāfi‘ 1997: 84 and *passim*). Typically, as this study will demonstrate, the lead is on the longer side (see 3.1).

1.4.9. On a language level: Rhetoric goals

On a language level, the rhetoric (text and content) and journalistic goals include discourse **brevity**, lexical **precision**, factual **accuracy** and the **balance** of content; in other words, the writer should ideally minimize word use (brevity), use words that best convey the intended meaning (precision), double check facts (accuracy equals credibility), and balance the sides and positions in covering a story (“get both sides”, authorial distance).

Journalists are also taught, Cotter writes (2010: 136–138), that their texts should be written in short, “straightforward” sentences using “strong” or active verbs. Moreover, the texts should be arranged in short paragraphs. Cotter points out that in reality, in actual newspapers, the case is often different, revealing more complex structures. Paragraph length in Al-Ahram is covered in 3.1.

Mellor mentions that for Arabic, the avoidance of the passive voice is a characteristic of “objective news reporting” (Mellor 2005: 132). Passive voice is dealt with quantitatively in 5.2.

1.4.10. Appropriate length (brevity)

In Cotter's experience, "it takes a half-semester's worth of newswriting practice for students to begin to see how appropriate length becomes part of the defining rhythm and shape of a news story" (Cotter 2010: 167).⁵² Article length in Al-Ahram is discussed in 3.1 and 3.1.1.

The length of the article is singularly relevant to news discourse. Words are as precious as the reader's attention span is limited. The textual goal is summed up as "brevity". Stories should be short.

The Scylla and Charybdis of lead writing are the extremes of writing something too short, offering too little information, and of cramming too much in, with the possible result of too long a lead. The appropriate execution and length of the lead, Cotter argues (2010: 166), is a marker of competence. We noted that a hard news lead ideally is about 25–35 words maximum (1.4.8.4): "Leads written by beginners are often simply too long", Cotter says (2010: 166). Lead length in Media Arabic is discussed in 3.1.2.

Sentences, too, should ideally be short. Readability and ease of comprehension suggest short sentences, whereas the demands of information conveyance call for longer sentences. Sentences that run too long tire and deter readership. Too short sentences may be uninformative, obscure, and misleading (Mencher 1997: 147; Cotter 2010: 167).

Cotter writes from a Western perspective with the grammar, sentence structure, and sentence length of English in mind. "An appropriate length" cannot be taken to mean an absolute mathematical figure; rather, length must be assessed and measured relative to the average sentence of the language variety under investigation. Hence, what possibly appears to be a long sentence in translation may not be **too** long a sentence in the source code. Acceptable length may vary, too, we argue, from style to style within a single language. Journalistic professionalism and teaching of the current age and era are the guidelines. We cannot always allow for absolute numbers to guide and auspice our judgment. Modern Arabic journalese displays a tolerance for subordination and nominalization, something which may render "long sentences" in an English translation. On dealing with Arabic journalese, Abdelfattah (1990: 58ff.) writes that the "old journalistic language" in his 1935 samples displays less complicated sentence structures than his 1989 samples, where the sentences "tend to be much longer and more complicated, through relativization and embedding". He concludes that "modern journalistic language, in an attempt to emulate western language, fell short of the essential journalistic principles of clarity and simplicity" (1990: 59). Sentence length in Al-Ahram is briefly discussed in 3.1 and 5.3.1.

⁵² And she continues: "Even though they have read news stories, and may have latent discourse analyst tendencies, they cannot consistently replicate well-formed leads without training or mentoring in the classroom or in the news-room" (Cotter 2010: 167).

1.4.11. Paragraphs, white space, and textual coherence

“White space increases readership”, Cotter echoes (2010: 219).⁵³ For this reason, paragraph division by topic, with a new idea, or for the elaboration of a proposition (as in academia) is to be avoided. A single idea can easily spread over several paragraphs, whose boundaries may seem arbitrary. And textual coherence could easily be lost in the quest of white space. However, in order to maintain text coherence, Cotter writes (2010: 220), several transition words are employed in English, such as *meanwhile*, or the connectives *and* and *but*. Paragraph length in Media Arabic is discussed in 3.1, journalistic *wa-* in 5.3.1.1, transition phrases in 5.3.4.2.

In our Arabic corpus, together with the sentence-initial connectives we find several transitional words and phrases, too, some of which Ashtiany deals with lavishly under the topic “pure padding” (1993: 32; e.g. *wa-* as “redundant coordination”). Related to this topic, but contrary to the hypothesis of “pure padding”, is something that goes unmentioned by Ashtiany (1993), namely the observation by Cotter that since brevity is sought and unnecessary words are not needed, “news stories just as frequently are elliptical with respect to the absence of the ‘obvious’ transition words” (2010: 220). Transition phrases or “single sentence paragraphs” may serve purposes of textual coherence in the absence of “obvious” transition words.⁵⁴ Narrative conventions, too, may serve for the purposes of textual coherence, bringing the story structure closer to the narratology of prose. Journalists are taught, Cotter writes (2010: 220), to rely heavily on the “logic” of story design, which, it is said, “brings with it an internally consistent coherence [...] such that unnecessary words are not needed”. Temporal anchoring and textual coherence in Media Arabic is discussed briefly in 3.16, especially in 3.16.1.1ff..

We argued for the possibility of a relativity of appropriate length above. Cotter’s words perhaps hold true for British and American newspapers, but in the case of paragraph and sentence length in Arabic journalese, her ideal, although not quantified, may seem to fall short. In our Al-Ahram corpus, we encounter “rather”—to use a relative term—long and syntactically complex sentences. It may be that it is not only relative appropriateness of length that explains all these sentences. The communicative goal of clarity is somewhat countered by adherence to the prestigious language of the profession and correct writing according to the current prescriptive grammar of MSA, the writer upholding a role as language custodian, but at the same time displaying the linguistic skill of a craftsman on behalf of a newspaper brand. It would

⁵³ “The phrase, ‘White space increases readership,’ was a common refrain from the mid-twentieth-century, a reminder of the need to allow for visual ease when both writing and laying out stories, which influenced paragraph length” (Cotter 2010: 219).

⁵⁴ An example of this would be “By midnight, the storm had created widespread problems”, used as a single sentence paragraph (Cotter 2010: 220, referring to a news article by Sue Anne Pressley in the Washington Post on September 19, 2003).

seem that on this point, Media Arabic has a different set of ideals from English journalism. That sentences are comprehension-friendly, flowing straight forward, however, can be accounted for by the limited number of preposed subordinate constructions in Media Arabic (covered in 5.3.4ff.).

1.4.12. Attribution design

1.4.12.1. Verbs of attribution

For attribution in the form of quotations, verbs other than *said* are disfavoured, Cotter writes (2010: 149), and “suggest a deviation from the norm”. If used in mainstream journalism and in hard news stories, they are either indicative of “a lack of experience or a confident application of experience”; verbs other than *said* may only on exception be “used for stylistic or legitimate meaning-related reasons”, she argues.

According to Mellor, by use of the verb *qāla*, ‘said’, the reporter merely reiterates what the source has said. Other verbs of utterance in Arabic journalistic “normally carry an interpretative meaning”, she adds, such as *ʿawḍaḥa*, ‘explained’, or *šaddada ʿalā*, ‘stressed’. The verb *ʿaḍāfa*, ‘added’, she writes, can be used stylistically to “ease the flow of discourse” (Mellor 2005: 135). According to Cotter (2010: 149), quotation verbs and markers such as *added* or *according to* are used for stylistic reasons, “to help avoid over-repetition of ‘said’ within a single paragraph”. In a Western context, the journalist is not supposed to interpret the source through verbs such as *hope*, *feel*, or *think*.

In the unpublished Al-Ahram study of Abdelfattah (1990) it appeared that the (syntactically subordinate) active participle *qāʾilan*, ‘saying’, was attested more frequently in the 1935 corpus than in that of 1989, where its usage had been suppressed by the suffix conjugation, *qāla*, ‘said’. Abdelfattah attributes this difference to the influences of literary styles on the 1930s journalistic genres (cf. the pre-18th-century situation in US media). For a brief discussion on a select number of verbs of attribution, see 3.13; for participles of attribution in Media Arabic, see under 6.4.5.3.

Mellor says that “verbs such as say, add, state or declare” (e.g. *qāla*, *ʿaḍāfa*, *šarraḥa*, *ʿalāna*), typically occur in political news, their subject often being a high-ranking official such as the president. Her observation is that the choice of verb for direct or indirect speech is not an arbitrary one. The verbs *šaddada* or *ʿakkada ʿalā*, ‘stressed that’, occurs in more emphatic contexts than *zāda* or *ʿaḍāfa*, ‘add’, which are used as variants of *qāla* to ease the flow of the text: “It is highly unlikely that the quoted party explicitly said ‘now I highlight’ or ‘now I stress’”, she considers (2005: 136). And in line with the intuition of Khalil (2000), she adds that Arabic short news items rarely use adverbs, these verbs “carry the meaning of adverbs” (e.g. ‘said assuredly’). Throughout the Media Arabic corpus of the present study, we find verbs such as *iʿtabara* and

'amala, lit. 'considered' and 'hoped', as mutually exclusive to less interpretative verbs of utterance, as well the other more straightforward synonyms to the perhaps more dialectal *qāla*, e.g. *'akkada*. Adverbs in Media Arabic are treated in 6.8.

I assume that the comparatively large number of acceptable synonyms for the word 'said' in Arabic journalese can be attributed to an intended *variatio*, meant to stylistically alleviate the great number of direct and indirect quotes in Arab media (treated in 5.3.2).⁵⁵ It is my impression that in terms of the Media Arabic register (for the definition of register, see 2.1.2), the function of attribution has bleached the relevance of lexical semantics in this domain.

1.4.12.2. Attribution in story design: West and East

Cotter goes further in discussing attribution. In line with what we will observe for the Arabic news items in our corpus concerning the frequency of verbs of attribution (see 3.13, 5.3.2, and 6.4.5.3) she says that the placement of quotes influences the shape of the news narrative. Whenever it occurs, it has relevance for the news story's design and final shape.

Attribution should be used to support the news angle and to support the lead. Cotter touches upon the language-specific observation of the oft-seen initial attribution in Arabic news stories, saying that the placement of quotes within the story is to some degree conventionalized. Attributed information or quotes are arranged so as to come among the first several paragraphs and we expect a sufficient number of them to appear in the full article, Cotter writes (2010: 146–147). As said, the degree of attribution of information may vary from country to country (1.4.6). Depending on story type, a minimum of two to three is a sufficient number of attributed quotes according to Cotter (2010: 147).

In the West, attributions support objectivity, whereas quotes position the journalist at a professional distance (1.4.7).

Cotter (2010) states that well-written stories should not begin with a quote,

⁵⁵ By reason of their physical placement in her coursebook, Ashtiany (1993) gives verbs of utterance a prominent position. Following an introduction, she begins by talking about "synonyms or near-synonyms of the verb *qāla*, 'to say'". Some of "the most common of these verbs", according to her, include *ḡakara*, 'to mention', *'akkada*, 'to assure, confirm', *ṣarraḡa*, 'to declare, state', *'a'bara 'an*, 'to express', and *'a'laṇa*, 'to announce'. If we were to follow Ashtiany, these verbs should not be translated "strictly according to the dictionary", but rather "in accordance with English journalistic style" (1993: 4). Thus, even if there happened to be a difference between Arab and English "journalistic style", the student is advised to disregard and ignore any such difference in his or her translation. In this chapter of her book, Ashtiany further writes that it is "advisable always to learn items of vocabulary together with the phrases in which they most often occur, that is, as small structural units rather than as isolated items". Statements "made by or about public figures", she says, are contained within many news reports (1993: 3–4).

“except in rare circumstances when the source’s words are newsworthy in and of themselves or when they encapsulate the news angle better than anything a reporter could write” (2010: 147). Opening an article by using a statement is, as she puts it, “often a beginner’s mistake”.

In my 2013 investigation into short local hard news articles (briefs; Lundin 2013), I observed how articles in Arabic began with an attribution as the first verb already in the lead (such as *'akkada*, ‘(he) asserted, said’). Though not necessarily direct speech (quotation), it is not the case that Arabic Media must be taken by the absolute criterion of Cotter as an example of bad journalistic craftsmanship, nor is it a matter of a paradoxical majority of “rare circumstances”. On this point, the ideal frequency of this phenomenon is simply in regional variation.

For the frequent use of initial attribution in Arabic journalese, the clip in Figure 1 from the local news section of Al-Ahram on January 19, 2013, is an illustrative example. The lack of variation in the frequent use of *'akkada* (marked by circles) apparently does not bother the editors.

الوزارة ووسائل الإعلام

وزير المرافق:
١٢٠ مليار جنيه لدعم المياه والصرف

كتب: سعد طنطاوي

أكد الدكتور عبد القوي خليفة وزير المرافق أن طرح مبادرة مشاركة المجتمع المدني ومساهمة رجال الأعمال في تنفيذ مشروعات الصرف الصحي للقرى المحيطة لفي إقبالاً شديداً حيث تم تبني التمويل اللازم لاندخال الصرف الصحي ١٢ قرية بـ محافظات من الجمعيات الأهلية والمواطنين ورجال الأعمال. كما أكد أنه تم إعادة هيكلة قطاع المرافق من مياه شرب وصرف صحي حيث بلغت الاستثمارات الآن ١٢٠ مليار جنيه مقابل ٢٠ مليار الأعمار الماضية وقال الوزير خلال اجتماعه مع لجنة ديوان النظام برئاسة الجمهورية إننا لا نلهم سياسة ولكن نلهم في مياه الشرب والصرف الصحي ونعالج المشكلة على الطبيعة ونحاول إيجاد حلول مؤقتة لها لحين إيجاد حل نهائي وأضاف خليفة أن عملية الإحلال والتجديد تحتاج إلى ٦ مليارات جنيه في حين تحصل الوزارة على مليار واحد وتدرس مع وزارة الإسكان تفعيل القانون ١١٩ بعدم توصيل المرافق إلى المباني المخالفة.

إبراهيم:
معرض للآثار المصرية بدبي لجذب العرب

كتب: محمد عبد المعطى ورنأ جوهري

أكد الدكتور محمد إبراهيم وزير الآثار أن العلاقات بين مصر والإمارات تشهد تسخياً صيف ولا توجد مشكلة حقيقية جاء ذلك في معرض دبي وتشن حملة توشان مصر لتتسبب السياحة. وأوضح الوزير أن تشييد السياحة بمصر يحتاج مزيد من الجهد خلال الفترة الحالية ويشيرا إلى أن الجمعية الزائرة المختصة بتشجيع السياحة اتفقت على زيادة رحلات الطيران من مختلف الدول والمشاركة في جميع المعارض السياحية خلال الفترة المقبلة وأضاف أن هناك دراسة جارية لإقامة معرض للآثار المصرية في دبي خلال العام الحالي من أجل جذب السائح العربي والمقيم بالإمارات لزيارة مصر.

الرجعي لعلامة ٢٠٠٨ التي لم يشتملها مشروع القانون

مطالباً برفع الحد الأدنى للمعاشات لأنه أصبح يقل عن معاشي الشئون الاجتماعية وبطلب بالكشف عن الوضع الحالي لأموال التأمينات خاصة في ظل حالة التضخم في الأرقام والأجرات التي تعلن عنها الحكومة بشأن استرجاعها ويحث موضوع استرداد الفوائد عنها. وأكد ضرورة إعادة هيكلة وزارة التأمينات بما يضمن قيامها بتقديم خدمة تشاركية بين جميع أصحاب المعاشات ورفع رصاية وزارة المالية عنها مطالبا بأن تكون هناك قواعد ثابتة ومعلمة للمعاشات الاستثنائية نظرا لعدم وجود ضوابط محددة بشأن صرفها.

٣٢ مليون جنيه لرصف الطرق بالجيزة

كتب: محمد جمال أبو زيد ومنى السيد

أكد الدكتور علي عبد الرحمن - محافظ الجيزة البدء في تنفيذ مشروعات رصف الطرق بكل من الجيزة والحدائق الناعمة وكرداسة وأوسيم، وفقا لخطة الاستثمارية المولدة من بنك الاستثمار القومي، بتكلفة تبلغ ٣١.٩ مليون جنيه تشمل ازدواج وإعادة رصف طريق بركة المنصورة.

١٥ قسما جديدا بمستشفى الدمرداش

كتب: هبة علي حافظ

افتتح الدكتور حسين عيسى رئيس جامعة عين شمس أمس الأول ١٥ قسما جديدا بمستشفى الدمرداش الجامعي بعد تطويره لتقديم خدمة أفضل للمواطنين. حيث افتتح رئيس الجامعة قسم النساء والتوليد وقسم العيادات وقسم الأطفال المبتسرين بالإضافة إلى ١٢ قسما آخرين.

٣٠ سائح من من برشلونة

Figure 1: Clip from the local news section of Al-Ahram, January 19, 2013; article-initial attribution with the verb *'akkada* marked by circles

1.4.12.3. Arabic vernaculars and attribution

Noteworthy with regard to quotations and citations in Arab media is the use of MSA in news media, following the code of journalistic ethics approved by the Council of Arab Information Ministries.⁵⁶ The use of MSA comes with “an overt attempt on the part of editors and professional ‘correctors’ to suppress usages they consider to be ‘local’ or simply ‘wrong’” (Parkinson 2010: 47).

Politicians who have delivered a speech in the vernacular are often “translated” into a language in conformity with the rules of the standard language (Mellor 2005: 124). Dialectal elements do however nonetheless occur, for example in interviews, depending on the kind of newspaper (or magazine; see Van Mol 2010: 66–67). Colloquial features will not be investigated in this book, but it is apparent that MSA is the linguistic target ideal. The colloquial varieties may function as substrate, but outright dialectal clauses never surface.⁵⁷

1.5. Arabic and media: Theoretical preliminaries

1.5.1. Diglossia, *iʿrāb*, transcription, and broadcast pronunciation

1.5.1.1. Diglossia continuum

[...] لا يوجد الآن في مصر (ولا في أى بلد عربى آخر) من يستطيع مهما بلغت درجة إتقانه للفصحى – أن ينطق بها دون أن يكشف عن البلد العربى الذى نشأ فيه . ومعنى ذلك بدون حاجة إلى الدخول في مناقشات لغوية – أن نطقنا جميعاً للفصحى مشوب بصفات محلية – يمكن لنا أن نسميها صفات عامية – لم تكن هذه اللغة في عصورها الأولى . أى أن «فصحى النحو العربى» قد أصبحت الآن «مثالاً» في التجريد لا يمكن أن تتحقق في الواقع بكامل صفاتها .

There is no one in Egypt today (nor in any other Arab country) who—regardless of how far-reaching his degree of proficiency in *fushḥā*—can pronounce it without revealing the Arabic country in which he was raised. This means, without the need to enter linguistic discussions, that our pronunciation altogether is mixed with local characteristics—we may call it characteristics of

⁵⁶ In the Arab world, journalists’ adherence to the rules of MSA ensures their role as “language custodians, using MSA rather than vernaculars in reporting serious news” (Mellor 2005: 124): “Arab media officials stress the correct use of the classical language and wish to see it replace the vernaculars and take its place as the main tool of daily communication among Arabs. The code of journalistic ethics approved by the Council of Arab Information Ministries addressed this matter, calling for Arab journalists to act as guardians of the classical language and the literary heritage of the Arab Nation” (Mellor 2005: 124).

⁵⁷ What an “outright dialectal clause” is, of course, is open to much debate. The corpus would at any rate be well understood with no understanding of any colloquial Arabic. The dialectal influence, again, is detectable only as a substrate.

'āmmiyya—that was not this language in its early (st)ages. **This means that «the *fuṣḥā* of the Arabic grammar» today has become an «ideal» in the abstract that cannot be realized in the real world in the fullness of its characteristics.** (Badawi 1973: 119, emphasis in original)⁵⁸

Native linguistic competence in and intuitions about Arabic typically correspond to being a fluent speaker in any of the more than 70 colloquial Arabic languages, or Arabic dialects.⁵⁹ Throughout their school years, native speakers of Arabic are constantly discouraged from writing in their mother tongue (Haeri 2003). The written word in any formal context is territory exclusively monopolized by the prescriptivism of the written language, *al-luġatu l-'arabiyyatu l-fuṣḥā*, or *fuṣḥā* for short.⁶⁰ A deviation from this is deliberate.

Not only are the colloquials mutually different in their vocabulary, phonology, morphology, and syntax to the extent that e.g. a Moroccan with a Maghrebi variety not necessarily will be understood by an Iraqi interlocutor and *vice versa*, *fuṣḥā*, too, or MSA, differs from the spoken colloquials in both phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary to the extent that a lack of education in, and exposure to this language will leave the native Arabic speaker at loss, trying to comprehend. The opposite is true when western students of MSA encounter colloquial Arabic.

For the roughly 370 million inhabitants⁶¹ of the 22 countries in the Arab world at the time of data collection, MSA is the official language, while none of the actively spoken colloquial varieties are. MSA is what is taught in schools. However, the teaching is formalized and prescriptive, with little or no teaching of how to speak (Abdelfattah 1990: 142; Hallberg 2016: 67ff.). The linguistic reality of the Arab world, hence, is a diglossic continuum,⁶² where different contexts such as addressing a family member in the privacy of the family home or writing a scholarly essay call for not only different functions of the language (for definition of register, see 2.1.2ff.), but also of different languages. The first uses a more informal and colloquial variety, the other is a more formal context and surrounded with an ideologically motivated

⁵⁸ Badawi (1973) writes about the highest level of Arabic on a five-level continuum, the level known as *fuṣḥā l-turāī* or 'Classical Arabic', but it goes without saying that his observation holds true for the entire spectrum.

⁵⁹ Naturally, what is termed a language and what is deemed a dialect can form part of a political construct. Linguistically, however, many of the so-called Arabic dialects are languages in their own right.

⁶⁰ For a discussion on what to call Arabic, see Parkinson (1991); for language ideologies, see Suleiman (1996, 2003); Stadlbauer's (2010) "Language Ideologies in the Arabic Diglossia of Egypt"; Haeri (2003); Van Mol (2003a: 11ff.); Mejdell (2008).

⁶¹ <http://data.worldbank.org/region/ARB> gives 369.8 million for 2013, accessed August 2015.

⁶² The term diglossia "was first used about Arabic by William Marçais in 1930" (Skogseth 2000: 5n), but the subsequent scholarly debate from the second half of the 21st century till today was mainly initiated by Ferguson in his 1959 article "Diglossia".

prescriptivism: one nation, one religion, one language, the Arabic language of the Qur'an, thought to be the ultimate miracle of perfect Arabic, "the language of the Arabs" (Versteegh 1997: 37).

Regardless of the origin of the colloquial varieties, whether unstructured and deranged deviations from *fuṣḥā* (as is the popular belief, especially among laypeople in the Middle East),⁶³ or—as evidence from comparative Semitics would suggest—separate languages with histories (diachronies) of their own, the regional spoken varieties today feed *fuṣḥā* in ways similar to those in which *fuṣḥā* feeds the various colloquial varieties in all regions of the Arab world.⁶⁴ This interplay has many consequences, not least for the lexicon, but of relevance for the present chapter is the audial re-presentation of a written text, of reading aloud. To this should be added influences from foreign and local languages.

1.5.1.2. Transcribing texts in the Arabic alphabet?

The Semitic consonantal scripts⁶⁵ have the disadvantage of several ambiguities (of great stimulus and frustration for historical linguists). For the present-day Arabic script, the ambiguities concern doubled consonants and the quality of short vowels,⁶⁶ with resulting homographic lexemes and morphology: large portions of the verbal mood and nominal case systems are unexpressed by the consonantal script alone. Except for religious texts such as the Bible and the Qur'an, certain poetry, and many books for children, where a set of signs (*ṣakl* or *taškīl*) are employed to resolve ambiguities and ensure a correct reading, the majority of texts printed in the Arabic script entrust the reader to infer the correct lexemes and morphology from consonants and context alone. Although a modern text in Arabic may not present the casual reader with unsurpassable difficulties that would result in an unintelligible text, there is nevertheless significant room for dialectal bleed-through and idiosyncratic expression whenever a native Arabic speaker is asked to read a text out loud or to speak extemporaneously (Hallberg 2016; compare the quote from Badawi (1973: 119) above).

MSA, in theory and in its most formal instantiation, is an inflecting language with nominative, genitive, and accusative nominal cases, and three verbal moods in the prefix conjugation (Vpref, *al-muḍāri* ') traditionally labelled indicative (VprefI, *al-marfū* '), subjunctive (VprefA, *al-manṣūb*), and jussive

⁶³ See e.g. Skogseth (2000: 5).

⁶⁴ For a short discussion of regional variability in the standard language of Media Arabic, see 3.10, 3.11, 3.12, 3.13, and 3.14.

⁶⁵ From the Semitic consonantal scripts are excluded the cuneiform syllabic writing of east Semitic origin and the consonant-vowel abugida of Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez).

⁶⁶ E.g. the type كتاب (graphically ktāb) may be read as either *kitāb*, 'book', or *kuttāb*, plural of *kātib*, 'writers, authors'.

(VprefS, *al-mağzūm*). The verbal morphology also includes different verbal stems, distinguished by prefixes, infixes, internal vowel patterns, and/or the gemination of root consonants.

Both case and mood are coded by the addition of a vocalic element to the end of the lexical item.⁶⁷ In the great majority of declensions and conjugations, however, the merely consonantal alphabet presents the writer with little means for graphical representation of case and mood, let alone to differentiate many of the stem forms. The colloquial varieties, on the other hand, lack case marking; their verbal modal systems differ both mutually, and in relation to *fushā*, and since case in written Arabic is by and large understood from word order, if not from context,⁶⁸ the everyday reader normally would not need to supply endings for case and mood to a text in his or her private reading:⁶⁹ if asked to do so, it is quite unlikely that the non-specialist would be able to do so correctly and in accordance with the prescriptive ideal (Parkinson 1991, 1994, 1996; Ryding 2005).⁷⁰ At any rate, a prescriptively correct pronunciation,

⁶⁷ The final case vowels e.g. in the triptote nomina are nominative *-u-*, genitive *-i-*, and accusative *-a-*. A nomen in *status absolutus* will also end in an *-n* (*tanwīn*), only the *-an* (accusative, absolute) of which are spelled out in consonantal script. For the function of *tanwīn* as marker of state, see Retsö 2010.

⁶⁸ "As a means of syntactic disambiguation in modern written Arabic, case plays almost no role (inevitably so, because in most cases it is carried by short vowel distinctions that are unmarked), and, despite the importance that the indigenous tradition of grammatical description and language pedagogy attaches to it [see Hallberg 2016], it is clear, when one examines ancient textual material, that the functional load of the case endings was no higher in the Classical period than it is now" (Holes 2004: 173). And Khaldieh (2001): "*i'raab* is not an integral part of the shape of most words and, hence, of no importance to their meaning."

⁶⁹ Khaldieh (2001): "[C]omprehension of the text depends heavily on discourse and context which help disambiguate the meanings of structurally similar words"; "In fact, L1 readers [native speakers of Arabic colloquial varieties] do not pay attention to *i'raab*; only specialists in the language value such a skill."

⁷⁰ "The case-marking rules are used and understood primarily by scholars and specialists in Arabic grammar, linguistics, scripture, and literature" (Ryding 2005: 167). Compare Parkinson (1994: 204): "Not just in older materials, but even in many of the recent proficiency material, I am afraid that we have imagined up unto ourselves a 'perfect' native speaker who performs grammatical wonders with ease, who always does pause form in the perfect place, who speaks with full vowels and perfect phonology, who uses words carefully chosen from language academy lists without regard to their actual usage in the community, and who manages to avoid many of the neo-logisms and westernizations common in modern Arabic usage. Even if this native speaker in fact exists in some dark corner somewhere, it doesn't change my argument at all. Our students want and need to deal with the great mass of real native speakers, the ones who use imperfect grammar, who often do numbers in colloquial or simply incorrectly, who use either no case markers at all, or who use them bizarrely wrong and with pause form in all the wrong places, who use imperfect phonology, and who have adopted the new expressions wholesale. The message of my testing data on native speakers, to me, is that we have not known the real average native speaker, or we have simply chosen to ignore him. My intuition is that this is because we are afraid of him, afraid that he is going to contaminate our students, introduce errors, and confuse them. I do not believe we can afford this kind of reasoning any longer."

together with the addition of all the correct case and mood markers, would no doubt impede the pace of reading.⁷¹

Literature concerning L1 [native speakers of Arabic colloquial varieties] reading in Arabic presents the view that native readers focus on the skeleton of words with no attention to *i'raab* when reading. (Khaldieh 2001)

Given the necessary shortcomings of the rapid Arabic cursive, the reader is left to interpret graphic representations of MSA by means of context and linguistic skill. Context is king, and knowledge of the language is needed to properly read a consonantal text out loud. Though the casual reader understands content by skimming a newspaper article, skimming is not reciting, nor is it analysis. And although subject to continual news broadcasts, the typical Arabic news consumer is unlikely to actively master the grammar rules of Classical Arabic perfectly. In short: a prescriptively (hyper-)correct reading/transcription like the one employed in this work and many other academic works is not illustrative of how the text would normally be voiced by the typical readership. Studies on the reception of written news media in this regard, however, are still lacking.⁷² What we do have are a few studies on how problems of this nature are tackled in news broadcasts, and by educated speakers of MSA.

In academic writing of today, it could be argued that “[t]here is no intrinsic necessity of transcribing Arabic for scientific purposes, as typesetting Arabic itself has been perfectly possible for centuries and the readership usually reads Arabic”. And moreover, if a transcription is opted for, it could be argued that “[w]hen transcribing passages of Modern Standard Arabic prose, the *i'raab* may be largely omitted, just as a speaker would do; proper names, isolated words, and references are usually quoted in the pausal form as well” (Reichmuth, “Transcription” in EALL).

Against this, two main arguments can be raised. First, that a transcription in a syntactic investigation like the present one gives the reader ease of access to the researcher’s interpretation of the Arabic parts of speech, and secondly,

⁷¹ Khaldieh (2001): “The very nature of *i'raab* conveys a limited or zero amount of meaning. Emphasis on *i'raab* [when reading] may be cumbersome and places an added cognitive demand that may cause a distraction from focus on meaning to a lower-level subprocess, the proper identification of case endings. That is, such an emphasis may force readers to make a shift that preoccupies them and makes them read locally rather than globally.”

⁷² But note Khaldieh (2001), who investigates second language reading comprehension with regard to knowledge of *i'raab* vis-à-vis “vocabulary knowledge”. A group of 46 American learners of Arabic as a foreign language participated, and unsurprisingly, “the analysis of the data revealed that vocabulary knowledge had a significant main effect [for reading comprehension], *i'raab* [here: case and mood knowledge] was found not to have a significant role in reading comprehension. Although the issue of *i'raab* needs further investigation, the results suggest that reading comprehension is independent of knowledge of *i'raab* and depends mainly on vocabulary knowledge” (Khaldieh 2001: 416).

that the transcription together with a translation (for the principles of which, see 1.5.1.10) aid the comparative Semitist whose modern Arabic vocabulary acquisition may not be on a par with his or her grammatical knowledge and acquaintance with Semitic roots. For these two reasons, with the exception of 3.3 (on punctuation between words), names, references, and isolated words, all Arabic will be translated and transcribed with full 'i'rāb.

But a “Latin script transliteration may suggest a normative choice for lexical items where several readings are possible, with lexemes containing phonemes and/or vowel patterns (*šakl*) realized differently in different varieties of Arabic” (Skogseth 2000: 20). In the present book, the transcription is at best an approximation and an aid, never a goal in itself. The problematization in this chapter will make this clear.

1.5.1.3. Considerations for transcribing

In the present work, a somewhat rigid transcription model has been adopted, adding vocalic quality and quantity, consonantal gemination, mood, and case markings by means of the Latin alphabet. Care has been taken to do so with adherence to the grammar rules of Classical Arabic, where applicable, supplying morphological data where mostly absent in the Arabic consonantal script (for *taškīl* in the present corpus, see 3.6). The transcription model used is ultimately based on the system of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, a system that should be well-known to Semitists today.

However, in dealing with Arabic of any period, the decision to transcribe should not come without preconsideration. A transcription does not come without a certain amount of superficiality. In older periods, we must ask ourselves of the intention of the writer, and what Arabic we are transcribing, from the perspective of the author. In the case of MSA, most native Arabic speakers would not transcribe according to the Western academic tradition, nor is it likely that they would supply the mood and case endings in their reading. If they did, very little suggests that they would do so “correctly”. But what about the producer end? Do journalists, reporters, and editors-in-chief ever write their texts with case and mood in mind? The latter question will not be dealt with exclusively, but is not easily answered from texts, and the answer is by no means warranted by the consonantal script for all case endings.⁷³ An investigation is a *desideratum* of future research.

The problem also relates to names, exemplified in the following (and *passim*):

⁷³ On multiple occasions in Cairo during the summers of 2016, 2017, and 2018, I had scheduled interviews with editors at Al-Ahram. The objective was to discuss topics of language related not least to this chapter. Unfortunately, and due to reasons beyond my volition and control, the interviewees consistently dropped out and these interviews were never conducted.

1. Article 118 (second sentence in first paragraph), names

وقالت مصادر محلية إن المواطنين بدأوا أمس في العودة إلى منازلهم التي غادروها خلال المواجهات المسلحة التي حدثت في عدد من المناطق الشمالية في العاصمة صنعاء ومداخلها خاصة شارع الثلاثين، والجراف، وشملان وحى ذهبان.	wa-qālat maṣādiru maḥalliyyatun 'inna l-muwāṭi'nīna bada'ū 'amsi fi-l-'awdati 'ilā manāzilihim al-latī ḡādarūhā ḥilāla l-muwāḡahāti l-musallaḥati llatī ḥadaṭat fī 'adadin mina l-manāṭiqi l-šamāliyyati fi-l-'āsimati ṣan'ā' wa-madāḥilihā ḥāṣṣatan šārī' el-talātīn, wa-l-ḡerāf, wa-šamlān wa-ḥayy dāhbān.	And local sources said that the citizens began yesterday to return to their homes, which they had left during the armed confrontations which happened in a number of the northern regions in the capital Sanaa and its entrances, especially The Talātīn Street, Geraf, Shamlan, and the Dhahban neighbourhood.

1.5.1.4. Two models of transcription: Internet vs. academic

With the rise of internet chat, cell phones, and social media in the last part of the second millennium, the cross-linguistic gap between spoken and written registers narrowed. Thoughts came to be quickly typed, and more or less instantaneously received, much like casual oral communication where observance to “correct” language may be of only secondary importance vis-à-vis linguistic economy, wit, and other social and communicational purposes. The new communication services, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), were originally not intended for the Arabic alphabet and so Arabic speakers had to develop a semi-systematized transcription model for communication via these new media.

Centuries earlier, a reverse situation was observed in the West when difficulties with typesetting spurred the academic community to develop transcription models for the representation of Oriental languages in their printed output.

These two ways of transcription, the native *ad hoc* internet usage and the academic,⁷⁴ have their respective benefits: the former in that Arabic speakers of today generally understand it, at least in the given language community, and the second in that it is a more systematic representation of the Arabic text. Both models do however superimpose a degree of information and/or interpretation, e.g. by adding vowels not present in the Arabic consonantal scripts, and the latter by also fixing a syntactic interpretation by addition of *'i rāb*.

Native ad hoc transcription

With the increased adaptation of social media platforms to Arabic script and with the increased penetration of smartphones in the Arab world, the acute

⁷⁴ Both terms taken from Reichmuth (“Transcription” in EALL).

need for transcription is decreasing. Statistics suggest that the vast majority of Arabic social media consumers in Egypt now turn to the Arabic versions of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.⁷⁵ Still, many users chat, or at least know how to chat, in a transcribed variety of their colloquial language, as in the earlier days, with a mixture of Arabic letters or using alphabet switching. From my own experience, these transcriptions share common traits but are inconsistent, not only regionally, but also text-internally, and carry idiosyncratic traits to a degree that it is more in place to speak of a model with a high degree of contextual plasticity and idiosyncrasy, rather than a system.

The *ad hoc* transcription model is typically used to realize thoughts in the Arabic colloquial varieties by rapid writing via the Latin alphabet and is hence primarily not used to transcribe pre-existing Arabic texts.⁷⁶ With its expressiveness, its ephemeral nature makes it ideal for quick communication in a language variety (i.e. dialect, colloquial Arabic) that lacks a fixed orthography, but the transcription model is less precise in communication without context and across contexts in time and space, and although it may add information lacking in the corresponding Arabic writing system such as the occasional short vowels, it may also obscure information, such as differences between emphatic and non-emphatic consonants. In its current state(s), it is not a consistent system suited for the present work.⁷⁷

Academic transcription

Although for the most part not a difficult task grammatically, a method of transcribing where morphological data is added does not come without theoretical considerations. By transcribing Arabic without a discussion, we would overlook difficult aspects inherent in this practice. For even if it may be “correct” in theory it ought to be left open whether the texts on the one hand were ever written with all of this grammatical information in mind from the perspective of the news professionals, and on the other hand, to ask if these news items are ever read this way by the news consumers outside academia. Unfortunately, this book cannot answer these questions, only contextualize them.

⁷⁵ In the research of AMO 2011–2015, 85.9% of Egyptian weekly media consumers claimed to use Facebook Arabic as their top visited social networking site, a figure to be compared to 22.2% for Facebook English (in second place), 17.6% for Google+, and 10.6% for Twitter Arabic (AMO 2011–2015: 143–144). Of these informants, 21.7% visit Facebook more than 4–5 times a week, another 18.1% visit Facebook on a daily basis.

⁷⁶ Although Arabic academic works sometimes uses a systematized transcription based on this model.

⁷⁷ What could be argued for is the importation of the more stable features from the *ad hoc* transcription model(s) into the academic system(s), e.g. the use of 3 to represent 'ayin, and 7 for ḥā'. In a Semitic context, this would however be unfortunate, as it would create a separate transcription system for Arabic, unlikely to be imitated by scholars of other Semitic languages.

1.5.1.5. The news community: Reading out loud

Whereas we lack literature on how laypeople read their news in Standard Arabic,⁷⁸ this chapter will focus on the news community and the educated and the way they voice their formal Arabic, with a focus on phonology and the use of *'i'rāb*. In this regard, the state of research has not progressed far. To date, there are four theses to be mentioned: Harrell (1964), Skogseth (2000), Van Mol (2003a), and Hallberg (2016).

Hallberg's (2016) doctoral thesis is the most recent of these and deals with case marking in extemporaneous spoken Arabic. His corpus of 38,000 words⁷⁹ consists of oral interviews with educated and prominent persons in Arab society and are taken from Al Jazeera's political programme *Liqā' al-yawm*, which was broadcast in 2010 and 2011. These interviews are conducted in a high register of standardized Arabic. Hallberg demonstrates that the use of *'i'rāb* is sporadic, varies between speakers, and that none of them used full *'i'rāb*. Only one speaker made efforts to more consistently decline nouns, something that proved to be a "statistical extreme".⁸⁰ The interviewees may have undergone professional media training, but they are not news professionals on the producer end, and since the focus of Hallberg is extemporaneous speech, the interviewers' questions were not investigated.

With a focus on in-group media professionals, Harrell (1964) published the first linguistic investigation of broadcast Arabic, "A Linguistic Analysis of Egyptian Radio Arabic". Already 50 years old at the time of the publication of the present corpus, Harrell can only present a historical background to the present-day situation. It will not be taken into consideration here.

Van Mol (2003a) investigates complementary particles in a corpus of transcribed news broadcasts. It has limited relevance to the present chapter.

Skogseth's (2000) MA thesis offers a phonological analysis of radio and TV news broadcasts. His conclusion is that "[f]oreign personal names are almost exclusively pausal, as are geographical names. If followed by *hamzat al-waṣl*, they may receive an epenthetic vowel, but more commonly *hamzat al-waṣl* is realized as *hamzat al-qat'*" (Skogseth 2000: 49).

⁷⁸ The following studies without direct relevance have been excluded: Doss (2010, 1987) and Morsly (1990). Also, comments like those in BCG (§2.3.7), that the "neither the *tanwīn* nor the case endings are used in ordinary reading of MWA [Modern Written Arabic]", even if in accord with my personal observations, are not the result of systematic research.

⁷⁹ Spanning over 5 hours and 22 minutes.

⁸⁰ "[R]ates of case marking for speakers vary between 0% and 42%, with an average of 7%. Eleven of the seventeen speakers fall within a range of 1.5% and 10%. The speaker in the corpus with the most case marking in his speech, 42%, stands out as a statistical extreme. Still, he produces less than half of all potential case endings. At the other end of the scale, there are speakers who produce only a few case markers in each entire half hour interview" (Hallberg 2016: 250–251). Though indicative of the infrequency of full *'i'rāb* among speakers of extemporaneous Arabic, a full comprehension of Hallberg's methodology (2016: 91ff.) is needed to interpret these figures correctly.

1.5.1.6. Arabic media: Case and mood

The idea that Arabic grammar, as well as other aspects of the language needs to be simplified is recent. If we keep in mind, however, that in its early stages the modernization of the language was above all a pragmatic movement, with little theoretical groundwork, we shall find it natural that there should not have been any serious early considerations about grammar. Besides, the belief in classical Arabic philology was until quite recently one of the firmest and most uncompromising of dogmas. In a sense, it was easier to be an outright rebel, to disclaim the very validity of classical Arabic and to champion the cause of the colloquial language, than to try to compromise with classical philology on a theoretical basis. Only after World War I, or rather during the remarkable decade of the twenties, were more voices raised in concern over the rigidity of classical philological canons and the often absurd ways of their presentation. (Stetkevych 1970: 79)

Though mostly absent in our written news items (see 3.6), mode and case markers ('i'rāb) have been added to the transcriptions. The purpose and benefit of this model, vis-à-vis a transcription without final short vowels for case and mood, is no doubt to clarify the syntactic interpretation of how the texts have been understood. It must be borne in mind that the purpose behind these transcriptions is not to illustrate how most readers would read the text aloud, if ever asked to, nor of how the writer(s) or the news community intended the text to be read. Studies on written news professionals are a *desideratum* of future research.

In radio news broadcasts, “newsreaders are not usually trained journalists (whereas editors are)”, but most of them “are university graduates (often from the Faculty of Media (*Kulliy[y]at al 'i'lām*), but not necessarily)”, and they must all master at least one foreign language, typically English or French (Skogseth 2000: 21, 23–24). They are expected to be able to vocalize their texts with full 'i'rāb (*ṣakl* or *taṣkīl al-naṣṣ*). This implies that they, if reading with full 'i'rāb, impose a morphological and syntactic interpretation on the news items that they will read from during the broadcast, and possibly also that the news items that they read were in fact written with this possibility in mind. According to Skogseth (2000: 21), although possible, it is “rare” that a newsreader makes changes in the text, and “[e]ven though the proofreading is generally very thorough, it is still fairly common with typos in the manuscripts handed over to the newsreaders”⁸¹ (Skogseth 2000: 21; for typos in Media Arabic, see 3.2). The newsreaders are supposed to receive their copy 30 minutes before going on air, but “it is not common that they receive the text only a few minutes before the broadcast” (Skogseth 2000: 25). Different to Al-Ahram (Nāfi' 1997), there is no written “house style manual” for the Egyptian Broadcasting Authority (EBA).

⁸¹ “[...] many of which reflect a general lack of knowledge of the rules of orthography of *fuṣḥā*” (Skogseth 2000: 25).

The newsreaders get special training before going on air. This training gradually comes to include reading the Qur'an, which, according to Skogseth, is "not read according to principles of Qur'anic recital (*taġwīd*)—rather as a text which has all the phonetic information given in order to learn the phonetic principles of *fuṣḥā* in what is generally considered by Muslims to be its most supreme version" (Skogseth 2000: 23). In the final stages of the education *in situ*, the newsreaders rehearse in the studio where they read texts that they themselves have vocalized. A coach will revisit the recordings and point out any deviations from the norms. According to Skogseth, the focus of this training are the "phonological features", conceivably a "direct result of the Egyptian school system hardly teaching the pupils these features any more" (Skogseth 2000: 23).

The phonological training aims at levelling out phonological habits typical of Egyptian colloquial varieties: the realization of *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭā*', and *ẓā*', and the realization of *ġīm*, *qāf*, *tā*', *dāl*, and *ẓā*', whose colloquial realizations are "not allowed in EBA news broadcasts" (Skogseth 2000: 24), but also includes the realization of "*hamzat al-qaṭ*' , *hamzat al-waṣl* and *hamzat al-madd*". According to Skogseth,

Foreign proper names and recent loans are supposed to be pronounced as close to the original language as possible. In practice, this often means an approximation of the English pronunciation of the proper name/loan (i.e. /viyénna/ for Vienna, not */vīn/ reflecting German *Wien*). [...]

Arabic personal names are in principle pronounced in pausal form—i.e. without case endings, but should not be pronounced according to colloquial Arabic phonetics—whether in the Egyptian or in the dialect of the person mentioned. (Skogseth 2000: 24)

In the EBA manuscripts, names of non-Arabic origin appear in the standard Arabic alphabet (the letters پ, چ, and ف are not used there; neither are they found in the present corpus). As a consequence, the above-mentioned Vienna would be written with an initial *fā*'. According to Skogseth (2000: 26), the orthography may be inconsistent. To further complicate matters, the news agency bulletins are often written in English or French, to the effect that the Arabic lettering may reflect practices in these languages. Skogseth adduces the example of Milošević (Милошевић), "generally transcribed ميلوسيفيتش in Arabic", which has the -š- rendered by *sīn*, with "great variation" in the pronunciation of both vowels and the *fā*' of the final syllable (both /v/ and /f/ are used). Moreover, foreign names and non-Semitic loans may be written with emphatics, even if not always pronounced as such, the rationale often being a backed vowel in the language of origin (Skogseth 2000: 26–27).

Numbers should be pronounced in accordance with *fuṣḥā* norms, phonologically and syntactically, and some newsreaders write these out with letters in the margin when preparing their text for broadcast (compare the grammar of 'āḥar# in Media Arabic, discussed in 3.9).

Although stress is typically not written out in academic transcriptions, it is worth mentioning that the training of newsreaders does not include a discussion of stress. According to Skogseth (2000: 24), this goes back to the Arab grammarians, who did not discuss the matter. Neither is the palatalization of the dental stops discussed, nor the spread of emphasis caused by the consonants *wāw*, *lām*, *qāf*, *ḡayn*, 'ayin, *rā'*, and *ḥā'*.

Regardless of the training given to these newsreaders, the short time to prepare before going on air, typos in the manuscripts, foreign names with obscure pronunciations, and the lack of *šadda* all give rise to “deviations from the norm” (Skogseth 2000: 25). The lack of vowel signs and *šadda* to mark geminated consonants in the manuscripts may give rise to different analyses of imperfect forms, i.e. whether to vocalize a verb according to the *yaf'al*#, *yufa'il*#, or *yuf'il*# pattern. Other differences in pronunciation mentioned by Skogseth (2000) include verbal nouns (*maṣḍars*) of form I as well as active or passive participles.

1.5.1.7. Pausa and pausal forms

A pausal form is a phonologically different pronunciation of a word at the end of a clause or phrase. The phenomenon is found in other Semitic languages, such as Biblical Hebrew, the Egyptian Arabic of Kafr el-Sheikh, and certain Lebanese Arabic dialects, where clause final words are realized differently, e.g. with a lengthened syllable or a different vowel quality (for Lebanese Arabic see e.g. Ağbaht 2023).

In Arabic, the rules of how to pronounce the pausal forms have not been diachronically stable (for Classical Arabic, see Wright 2005: II, 368ff.), but the practice in MSA today is essentially to drop the case ending—an investigation into when is a *desideratum* of future research, as there has to date been no study of when (e.g. syntactically or text-linguistically) a pause is to be inserted (Hallberg 2016: 74–75).⁸²

1.5.1.8. Reading the news out loud

Are news items written with case and mood in mind?

Formally mastered, but not actively voiced? The background among news professionals with regard to 'i' rāb in written news is not easily deducible from texts and no attempt will be made to do so. Example (2) is presented to problematize.

⁸² Skogseth (2000) discusses prosodic pauses on page 15 saying that “[t]ypically, a short pause will occur in breaks within a sentence, a longer one between sentences and a long break at a new paragraph. There are numerous exceptions, however.”

2. Article 76, Ø *al-dāhiliyyat*# (genitive?) as direct object

ويضم الوفد وزير العمل اللبناني سجعان قزي، وزير الأشغال غازي زعير، وزير الثقافة روني عرجي، والداخلية نهاد المشنوق والمدير العام للأمن العام اللواء عباس إبراهيم، الذي	wa-yaḍummu l-wafdu wazīra l-‘amali l-lub-nāniyya seǧ‘ān qazzī, wazīra l-‘ašǧālī ḡāzī za‘īter, wazīra l-ṭaqāfati rūnī ‘arayǧī, wa-l-dāhiliyyat# nuḥād mash-nūq wa-l-mudīra l-‘āmma li-l-‘amni l-‘āmmi l-liwā’a ‘abbās ‘ibrāhīm, allaḏī [...]	And the delegation includes the Lebanese labour minister Sejaan Kazzi, the minister of [public] works [and transportation] Ghazi Zaiter, the minister of culture [Raymond] Rony ⁸³ Arajji, and [the minister] of the interior Nouhad Machnouk, and the general director of General Security, Major General Abbas Ibrahim, who [...]

The *Al-Ahram Stylebook* (Nāfi‘ 1997) is written without *taškīl* and ‘i‘rāb, but partial vocalization is given in the tables and examples for the case grammar of numbers (Nāfi‘ 1997: 19–26). The *Stylebook* gives the impression that the writers are supposed to know this grammar, but with the presupposition that they may not.

Moreover, in the description of *tā’ marbūṭa* (1997: 38), it is explained that it needs to have two dots to separate it from the *hā’*, that it is pronounced *tā’* when connected to what follows (i.e. as head in an ‘iḏāfa), but as *hā’* in pausa, e.g. “*tilmīḏatun muǧtahidah*”, ‘studious pupil’, with the ‘i‘rāb written out on *tilmīḏatun*.⁸⁴

Ryding is more elaborate on the topic of pause:

In reading written Arabic aloud, some narrators read most of the words in pause form, omitting desinential inflections. News broadcasters, for example, vary in their formality and in the degree to which they use case-marking in narrating news items. Some seldom use it; others use it partially, and some use it more consistently. Officials giving formal speeches also vary in the degree to which they pronounce case marking. Only in formal academic and religious contexts is pronunciation of full desinential inflection considered necessary or appropriate. (Ryding 2005: 167n)

⁸³ Rony is his nickname.

⁸⁴ The *Stylebook* goes on:

التاء المربوطة هي التي تنطق تاء عند وصل الكلمة بما بعدها، وتنطق هاء عند السكوت عليها وتسكينها. أي أنها تاء إذا وقف النطق عندها بالسكون نطقت هاء. فمثلاً نقول:

تلميذة مجتهدة

طريقة جيدة

فكلمة ((تلميذة)) وكلمة ((طريقة)) لا يوقف على آخرهما عند نطق الجملة متصلة، وتبدو على آخرهما الحركة، فتتطوّر تاء.

وكلمة ((مجتهدة)) وكلمة ((جيدة)) يوقف على آخرهما عند السكوت، ويكون آخرهما ساكنًا، وينطق كما تنطق الهاء.

هذه هي التاء المربوطة في حالتَي الحركة والسكون.

ويجب في كلتا حالتَيها حركة أو سكونا أن يوضع فوقها نقطتان، لتمييزها عن الهاء المطلقة التي تكون في مثل: سألته. كتبه. وفي مثل لفظ الجلالة: الله.

Whereas Arab news consumers are unlikely to recite newspapers as they would recite the Qur'an, some linguistic decisions on the part of the news community raise questions whether every construction on the producer end was composed with mood and case markings in mind, let alone many other prescriptive rules of written Arabic. No doubt, present-day written media has a substrate of a more analytical syntax.

1.5.1.9. Summary: 'I'rāb, transcription, and broadcast pronunciation

How to transcribe a written Media Arabic text into Latin letters is at present not substantiated by research. Therefore, a transcription cannot claim to reflect accurately other than the understanding from the point of view of the academic recipient.

An investigation into the print news community and of the written news professionals understanding and internalization of the Arabic case and mood system is a *desideratum* of future research.

1.5.1.10. On translations in the present book

With the majority of examples, translations are inserted, both to support readers with weak Media Arabic vocabularies and to increase the book's usefulness for its potential readership. The translations are neither literally nor stylistically commendable. Detrimental to the comprehensiveness of English, they are distinctly and deliberately Hieronymian; too often *verbatim* reflections of the Arabic, they may on occasion be incomprehensible without insight into Arabic syntax. With a focus on grammar throughout this work, care has been taken to clarify possibly difficult readings of certain relations also in the translations. This is an occasional albeit deliberate over-exemplification of the analysis already existing in the abstract name of the relation under discussion, however this practice is not consistently carried through. Criticism is expected. The English is not idiomatic.

Inserted to shed light on the Arabic, the translations do not aim to correct factual errors. Misnomers are thus retained in the translations, e.g. the apposition *ra'isu l-ittihādi l-ūrūbbiyyi*, 'president of the European Union', rather than the expected 'of the European Council', *ra'isu l-mağlisi l-ūrūbbiyyi*, is used 2x: 1x about Herman Van Rompuy (president 2009–2014, mentioned e.g. in Article 62), and 1x about Donald Tusk (president 2014–2019, mentioned in Article 7).

Geographical references expressed as prepositional cardinal directions are another difficulty; a translation is not possible here without an over-analysis (see cardinal directions 6.9.2.1). Except when obvious by context, 'south [in/of?]', 'south [of?]', and so on has been used in the translations.

Arabic has no capital letters. In the West, news outlets differ in the rules of their application. In the translations, they have been kept to a minimum.

2. Theoretical introduction: Method, corpus, and scope

This part provides the theoretical background by introducing the concepts of register, genre, and style (2.1), basic ideas behind corpus construction (2.2), and the linguistic preliminaries relating to clausal core constituents, nominalization, and subordination (2.3). In 2.4, the scope of the investigation is delineated, and in 2.5 the technicalities and *modus operandi* of WebAnno, the program used to keep track of the individual analyses.

2.1. Methodological backdrop

2.1.1. Introduction: Instantiations of register, genre and style

The tradition of Arabic linguistics dates back to the first millennium. Language will be language and change, but throughout the centuries, Arabic has been affected by standardization processes and become entailed with prescriptive imperatives. It has come to be a language of study, venerated and explored by a religious elite and grammarians, and it has been the language of pan-Arab nationalist ideologists. Its sociolinguistic setting is one of diglossia, reflecting a linguistic continuum spanning from “low” to “high”,⁸⁵ from the language on the streets and the mosque alike, from prostitutes and drug dealers, to the exact wordings of the Qur’an via the lips of mothers, students, imams, and bin Ladin. But it is also the language of media. Naturally, the same type of language is not functional in all these settings: different **registers** serve different purposes in different contexts and the language variety differs in different geographical areas, we observe different **sociolects**, as well as **dialects**. For any context we may ask: which Arabic?

The Arabic grammatical terminology is much debated, but possibly derived from that of law, labelling deviant language use with moralistic terminology from courts (Carter 2007; Noy 2012; Peled 1999). Incorrect language is in touch with vice (Suleiman 2012). Yet on the streets, the linguistic prescriptivism differs greatly from that of the classical grammarians and

⁸⁵ For a more detailed discussion, see Van Mol (2003a: 41ff.).

theologians. “For the [Western] layperson, there is only one language called ‘Arabic’” (Bassiouny 2009: 1). Not so for the more than 300 million people using its varieties daily.

A communication situation that recurs regularly in a society (in terms of participants, setting, communicative functions and so forth) will tend over time to develop identifying markers of language structure and language use, different from the language of other communication situations. (Ferguson 1994: 20, emphasis in original)

Instantiated adult language is the clash of theoretical systems on the one hand, mentally internalized and with the potential to produce an infinite number of texts, and on the other hand of a concrete, finite world of a limited number of instantiations.

If the system of language is a virtual theoretic entity, the potential for linguistic expression, and if structured thought is a textual instantiation without realization (in either sound or writing), a newspaper media text is a printed instantiation of a contextually defined, virtual register, typically realized in written form. Therefore, a concrete Arabic news article is a realization of a theoretical subsystem, or linguistic register, midway between the overarching language of Arabic—*qua* system—and instantiation (text).

Media Arabic *ergo—qua* linguistic register—is not the sum of all printed media texts, but an internalized theoretical entity, changing over time: it is the potential of written realizations within this subsystem of the Arabic language.⁸⁶ Media Arabic, thus, is not a fixed entity, but has developed and continues to develop diachronically among news professionals, under defined situational characteristics and in different geographical areas, to serve certain communicative purposes (described in 1.4).

Media Arabic as we encounter it physically, is a concrete text in the form of a printed news article: a multimodal realization of one or two (possibly three) semiotic systems, namely the written and the visual, the latter consisting of layout decisions, plus the occasional depictive imagery, be it a photograph, drawings, or the occasional diagram or map.

Whereas layout (font types and sizes, physical placement and arrangement of texts, newspaper size, type and colour of paper, page layout, etc.) and imagery will only be discussed briefly, if at all, the focus of this study is the empirical investigation of the instantiation of a presupposed linguistic register of written Media Arabic. Linguistically speaking, what is it that makes us perceive a text as a text in “Media Arabic”? The focus here will not be so much on the lexicon. A side-focus will also be on the Media Arabic genre: the disposition of the news article, with the genre-defining headline and by-line, article length, and its paragraph divisions.

⁸⁶ For terminology pertaining to the cline from system to realization, see Halliday (2014: 3–51).

And what about style? Is there a news media style in Arabic, motivated by reasons of aesthetics, but more independent of context and communicative purposes? We will hypothesize the existence of a group style: aesthetic decisions on the part of the news practitioners as a group, an authorial distance, and the suppression of the personal voice.

To attain⁸⁷ to a description of this register, a corpus of written articles has been compiled, accepting a number of contemporary articles to be instantiations of this abstract theoretical entity, named Media Arabic by previous Arabists, and consequently representative realizations of said register: a snapshot.

2.1.2. Register, genre, and style

2.1.2.1. Definitions: Register, genre, and style

There are many definitions of the terms “register”, “genre”, and “style”. For the present investigation, these terms describe different perspectives; instruments to approach text⁸⁸ rather than watertight categories of their own. A division has been adopted between what is written on the one hand (content, realization), and situational characteristics and communicative purposes on the other (context, reality). Both content and context are thought typically to come with associated features of expression within a language community; the form of realization, moreover, to come with an associated—expected—form of content presentation. The linguistic variation between different contexts, moreover, is believed to be systematic.

Register/Genre variation is universal because all cultures use language in different situations for different communicative purposes. (Biber & Conrad 2009: 24)

As in Biber and Conrad (2009: 6 and *passim*), “register” is here defined as an association between linguistic features (lexical and grammatical) and the defining situation of use, including an analysis of communicative purposes.

A linguistic description of register thus includes a description of the situational context, an investigation into linguistic features associated with this context and “the functional relationships between the first two components” (Biber & Conrad 2009: 6). Linguistic features analysed from a register perspective are thought always to have a functional basis in the given context in

⁸⁷ “Attain” in the etymological sense of the word, ‘coming in physical contact with’ (OED; OLD).

⁸⁸ “Text” is henceforth taken to mean any instantiation of language, regardless of the semiotic mode of its realization, be it visual or audial.

such a way that observed linguistic features are frequent in a register just because they are required by the situational characteristics of the given context. Examples include the use of the first person pronoun in expressing one's thoughts and opinions in a family kitchen conversation (Biber & Conrad 2009: 7–8).

On the other hand, when analysing a text from the genre perspective, the communicative purpose and situational characteristics are equally important, but here, focus lies on conventional structures which are taken for important components in the organization of a complete text in the given text variety: opening, formatting, ending, and so on, such as the opening of a letter, *Dear reader*. A characteristic genre feature may be culture specific, where it serves to set a text apart from other message types.⁸⁹

Style, the third perspective, is the result of linguistic preferences on grounds of aesthetics, not “functionally motivated by the situational context”, but reflecting the attitude of the text producer(s) towards language or the language attitude during a certain historical period (Biber & Conrad 2009: 2).

Broadly conceived, a register is a language variety viewed with respect to its context of use. (Biber & Finegan, 1994: 4)

The most fundamental register division is that between spoken and written realization (Biber & Conrad 2009: 25).

In the case of Media Arabic, register is defined by the conditions under which the texts are produced, be it spatio-temporal limitations such as the time allowed for writing before the deadline when the news item must go to print, and the limited space allotted for each text.

Genre is defined by associated convention: specialized expressions in certain contexts, the rhetorical organization of a text and its format. In the case of hard news, the parts of the article (see 1.4.1) could be one genre feature, the inverted pyramid structure another, and the lead a third (for which see 1.4.4 and 1.4.8 respectively).

Style, too, is here largely determined by the collective: the authors writing under an authorial distance suppressing his or her individual turns of expression in favour of a collective news media style which theoretically allows only for minor individual discrepancies between different writers. The basis of news media style is prescriptively correct written Arabic. This Arabic is not the mother tongue of any of its writers (i.e. its use is a deliberate decision), but does not necessarily rest on the functional basis of the potential of pan-Arab reach. Rather, the near exclusive use of MSA reflects an attitude of the news

⁸⁹ E.g. when an 18th-century male naturalist ends a letter to another male colleague with *Vale & me amare perge*, ‘Be well (bye!), and continue to love me’, there is nothing to suggest erotic love between the two (see the letter from Johann Reinhold Forster (1729–1794) to Carl von Linné (1707–1778), in Lundin 2007: 35).

community towards language, a somewhat arbitrary notion of “good” aesthetics. But as has been demonstrated by Abdelfattah (1990), Media Arabic is not diachronically stable.

Users of language tend, over time, to change patterns of language structure, language use, and attitudes toward language in patterned, though not always well understood, ways, largely unconsciously. (Ferguson 1994: 26, emphasis in original)

On the virtual plane, register can also be described as an abstract notion and a target ideal of the text producing news practitioners on the one hand, and of its readership on the other; both, it may be assumed, receiving and reshaping their impression of what linguistic features that constitute this register by an ongoing consumption of concrete contemporary news.

A message type that recurs regularly in a community (in terms of semantic content, participants, occasions of use, and so on) will tend over time to develop an identifying internal structure, differentiated from other message types in the repertoire of the community. (Ferguson 1994: 21, emphasis in original)

Approaches to text

Although the terms “register”, “genre”, and “style”, will substitute an underlying theoretical framework of approaching the actual texts, and consequently be used in this work, the focus is to describe the texts.

Register analysis may opt for “any lexico-grammatical feature”, whereas genre descriptions will describe linguistic characteristics such as “specialized expressions, rhetorical organization, [and] formatting” (Biber & Conrad 2009: 16).

While excerpts of a text may suffice to detect pervasive features of a register (e.g. the exclusive use of third person verbs in main clauses), genre analysis takes whole texts into consideration. In the case of a Media Arabic article, the presence of a headline is a genre marker, but cannot be said to be a pervasive feature of the language register. Likewise, attribution, by which the writer accounts for his or her sources of information, is a salient feature of the news text, simultaneously allowing for an authorial distance (cf. style). Attribution, thus, is not arbitrary, but serves a function and can be described as a register feature.

There is a substantial overlap between the register, genre, and style perspectives. As an example, let us take a feature such as transition phrases (for which, see 5.3.4.2). If paragraph division is a feature of the conventionalized text formatting (genre) where it relates to somewhat arbitrary assessments of pleasing page layout (aesthetics, style), it may also be said to serve a communicative purpose, if paragraph division facilitates skimming and ease of comprehension (thought characteristics of the register). A transition phrase occurs at the opening of a new paragraph (a specialized phrase, a genre marker), but

may also appear paragraph-internally as a pervasive feature of the register; the over-representation of a small number of transition phrases, moreover, can be described to mirror a collective news style. Likewise with headlines, occasionally written by the hand of a calligrapher, they are not only aesthetically pleasing (style), they are also typical for the genre, no doubt serving purposes of communication.

The **perspectives** of register, genre, and style, hence, serve not as watertight bulkheads by dividing the analysis into artificial compartments as goals in themselves; rather they are utilized as optical lenses in the approach of text. Abstract categorization of one feature as pertaining primarily to either register, genre, or style, assists us little in the description of text. The interpretation of linguistic features, however, will differ theoretically between register and genre analysis.

2.1.2.2. General vs. specific registers

A register may be very general, as that of “Media”, or more specific, such as “written Media Arabic hard news” (typically called Media Arabic, see 1.2). The more specific the register, the easier the identification of its situational and linguistic characteristics.

There is no one correct level on which to identify a register. Rather, it depends on the goals of your study. (Biber & Conrad 2009: 10)

The prototypical context of written Media Arabic is the printed media outlet, produced in-group by a community of professional media practitioners for a larger contemporary out-group readership. Many relatively general print media registers are assumed to exist: one for fashion magazines, another for student awareness flyers, a third for newspapers, and so on.

In a single media outlet, any media outlet, a variety of more specific registers are assumed to coexist. In the newspaper, we expect one for the editorial, another for the sports section, and yet another for the more humoristic “short news” column (the *’aḥbār qaṣīra*),⁹⁰ the various register features of which largely depend on differences in communicative purposes.

Of all the more specific registers under the umbrella of Arab media, the present investigation focuses on that of hard news. Within the hard news variety of news reports (a message type, in the sense of Ferguson (1994: 21–22, 27)), there are further assumed to coexist minor register variations that depend on **topic of coverage**, be it politics, law, economics, or war. A systematic investigation of divergencies based on topic will not be systematically conducted here.

⁹⁰ The column of “short news” can be found in the same section as the international news (*’aḥbār ’ālamīyya*) in Al-Ahram, no doubt to cheer up and attract readership to this section’s otherwise dry and information-burdened prose.

2.2. Corpus

In the language sciences a corpus is a body of written text or transcribed speech which can serve as a basis for linguistic analysis and description. (Kennedy 1998: 1)

The present study is a corpus investigation (see 1.1ff.). Any conclusions drawn from the corpus about MSA can only be inclusive in the larger picture. Furthermore, any conclusions about Media Arabic in general will have to be counted as deductions, not as facts.

The corpus has been designed to represent realizations of the language register of written Media Arabic in the Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram. The sub-register under investigation is that of hard news articles (1.2–1.3). The typical hard news article is a type of news story that covers “just the facts” (Cotter 2010: 145), whereas the feature story and the mixed news-feature story put more emphasis on points of broader interest, such as the impact of the newsworthy event on an individual or on the community as a whole (1.4).

Register is a language variety where communicative purposes and situational characteristics of the extra-linguistic context are associated with, and reflected by, pervasive functional linguistic features in text (2.1). The situational characteristics are basic to the linguistic realization, such that the associated linguistic features of a certain register serve functions in the given context. Because register variation has a functional basis, its features are more pervasive than geographic or social variation (dialects; Biber & Conrad 2009: 11–15). Differences in the degree of formality in standard Arabic, such as the relative frequency of *sa-* vs. *sawfa-* as the marker for future (see 3.10), or the degree of phonological or morphosyntactic substratum interference in the standard language, are arbitrary variations that are more independent of the situation where they serve no function considered from a register perspective (see Hallberg 2016, where different speakers in the same situational setting are shown to speak with different degrees of formality). In other words, since register variation is greater than dialect variation, a single newspaper has been chosen for investigation. Because it is hypothesized that the impact of regional variation is minor compared to the shared linguistic features of the hard news register vis-à-vis other registers of written communication in Arabic, it will be the task of future research to counter this assumption.

Whereas the choice between, for example, the synonymous phrases *al-'usbū* ‘*al-māḍī*’ and *al-'usbū* ‘*al-munṣarim*’, ‘the past week’, is arbitrary, the presence of a temporal adverbial phrase is functional, and thus hypothesized to be a pervasive feature of the hard news register.

And although the choice of either *al-māḍī* or *al-munṣarim* may be explained in terms of a dialect substrate, it is here treated as an arbitrary stylistic variant, reflecting a decision on the part of the author, but not associated with a meaning difference. The collective style of journalists, realized e.g. by a correct use of the standard language, together with the conventions of the genre in terms of headline, paragraphs, and so on, and communicative and situational characteristics of the news medium form a news media article.

It is of course possible to compose or translate a news item into the dialect while still keeping all the genre markers, and with pervasive register features intact. Likewise, it is by no means impossible to switch register to that of news in a section of a literary work of fiction. It is also possible to adopt the format conventions of the news genre for the writing of a vulgar joke. These, however, are all atypical representations of Media Arabic style, register, and genre, borrowed into other text varieties.

The “general relationship between speech and writing” is “probably the most influential register distinction of them all” (Biber & Conrad 2009: 25). In the case of broadcast news, this distinction is not 100 percent, as newsreaders voice texts of news bulletins. It is a *desideratum* of future research to compare broadcast and printed news.

2.2.1. Methodology for the selection of corpus data

Why build a corpus? (Nelson 2010: 53)

Having decided to make use of a computer to organize language data, the first questions to ask concerning the collection of texts are: Is there a need for a new corpus, or is there a corpus already? “Do I have to do this?” (Nelson 2010: 53, emphasis added).

The type of semantic analysis in this investigation has not been done on corpus material before, therefore, the answer is yes.

A corpus of contemporary print hard news, or Media Arabic, is by definition limited in a number respects: first and the most obvious, it investigates print media to the exclusion of internet, TV, and radio outlets; secondly, it needs to be contemporary, excluding sources from the past.

An overview of Arabic corpora up until 2006 is presented by al-Sulaiti and Atwell (2006). Corpora from 2006 to 2014 are discussed by al-Thubaity *et al.* (2013) and al-Thubaity (2015).

Contemporary, for the present Arab world, certainly means after the Arab spring uprisings of 2011.⁹¹ This date is also after the introduction of radio broadcasting, television, cell phones in the late 1980s and 1990s, the launching of Al Jazeera (November 1996), the internet, and lately, smartphones. The aftermath of these events are thought to have linguistic reverberations today and in the future. Moreover, following the uprisings, the dates of the introduction of social media such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter (later known as X), and Instagram as viable tools for message propagation are now long since past. New platforms will come and go.

Investigating semantics of clause combining in Semitic by means of gram switch is a new field of research (see e.g. Isaksson 2009, 2011, 2014; Isaksson *et al.* 2009; Isaksson & Persson 2015). At this point, we cannot expect computers to do seminal research, nor can we expect a program to parse and analyse semantics inferred from context.⁹² This type of analysis in any corpus has to be made manually, by a human mind. The cost in time and effort to collect a new, specialized corpus, hence, is outweighed by the benefits of cotemporality.

When investigating written data, methodological questions of collecting and presenting spoken language need not be posed. In terms of size, a corpus that covers all uses, genres, styles, and so on of a language has to be large, and is methodologically more difficult to compile than a specialized corpus in terms of representativeness of a specifically defined register to be investigated. A specialized corpus is already limited at the onset. Questions of the representativeness of the corpus and the balance of the language under investigation will be significantly dependent on the research question.

Claims of corpus representativeness and balance, however, should be interpreted in relative terms and considered as a statement of faith rather than as fact, as presently, there is no objective way to balance a corpus or to measure its representativeness. Furthermore, it is only by considering the research question one has to address that one is able to determine what is an acceptable balance for the corpus one should use and whether it is suitably representative. (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 21)

In the case of written Media Arabic, and more specifically the hard news register of print newspapers, a corpus confined to the register of written hard news is needed. All written texts of the entire sub-register cannot be investigated,

⁹¹ “One aspect of representativeness that is sometimes overlooked is the diachronic aspect. Any corpus that is not regularly updated rapidly becomes unrepresentative, in the sense that it no longer represents the language as currently written or spoken” (Hunston 2002: 30).

⁹² Cf. Habash (2010: 113): “Semantics is the study of the meaning of linguistic expressions. The amount of research in computational models of semantics is much smaller than other areas of NLP [natural language processing]. This is perhaps due to its higher complexity and subtlety. Research on semantics in Arabic NLP is no different.”

let alone compiled. The corpus has to be a representative sample of the whole. Thus, “[w]e have to define the whole of which the corpus is to be a sample” (Nelson 2010: 57, quoting Renouf 1987).

In terms of genre analysis, the benefit of a news article is its length. Because entire texts can be investigated, no balanced excerption in this respect is needed; in other words, a sample unit (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 19–20) equals an entire news article, a full text. But what articles are representative of the register under investigation? The question boils down to the number of media outlets to investigate, from what region, how many issues to include, and what section(s) of the newspaper to choose texts from. And finally, how many texts to choose from, from what dates or days of the week, months, or years.

The investigation of the present study is limited in scope to register characteristics of Media Arabic hard news. Investigating this, we let the part speak for the whole. Regional variation within this register is thus excluded as a research parameter.

Ob temporis penuriam, however, and due to the limited resources at disposal for the present research project, further limitations have needed to be accepted. Focus will be on a single news outlet; the historically most prestigious, in the most populous Arab country, the daily Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram. In other words, lexical and syntactic variation between newspapers, be it lexical or grammatical (morphosyntactic), is not investigated as a research parameter. An investigation of any such differences is a *desideratum* of future research.

Moreover, the hard news story has been presumed to be the prototypical newspaper article, a thesis supported, if not given, by most coursebooks over the past century (discussed in 1.2.1).

International and regional news, two loci of informative news, have been favoured as habitats of the most typical hard news articles. In Al-Ahram, articles of this type are found in the two sections *’aḥbār ’ālamīyya*, ‘international news’, and *’aḥbār ’arabīyya*, ‘Arab news’. Contemporary hard news in focus, all articles of these two sections have in their entirety been taken for the corpus, the number of texts being limited by the number of newspaper issues included. Linguistic differences caused by topics of coverage (politics, law, economics, etc.) are not accounted for in the analysis, except via reference to each article. Since the relative distribution of content reflects news flow and ephemeral decisions in the newsroom, the corpus is not balanced in this regard. However, the texts investigated are representative of news coverage in the newspaper issues examined. Whether the relative distribution of news stories covered are representative of a larger time span in terms of content is not a question for the present investigation.

Rather than being based on assumptions and expectations regarding what might be found in a certain text material, a corpus for linguistic investigation should ideally be chosen on text-external criteria (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 14).

Having decided on the type of news coverage (hard news, as covered by the coursebooks), a corpus based on country (most populous), newspaper (historically the most prestigious, historical, temporally stable), and upon the physical location of the actual texts (international and regional news sections), the *desiderata* of external criteria are duly met.

Concerning the limitation of scope, however, external criteria for delimiting the corpus prove more demanding to apply. The question at stake is not so much a matter of the broader time frame of when to choose texts: the texts need to be as recent as possible.

2.2.1.1. Corpus size

How large a corpus do you need? There is no easy answer to this question. (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 71)

Corpus size is crucial for reliable systematization of a linguistic register. It cannot be so small that the analysis says nothing about the greater abstract, but at the other extreme, the corpus must not grow to be unmanageable. The present investigation has a limited time frame and funding.

With no computer program capable of automatically parsing the semantics of, for example, clause linking, the number of articles had to be limited based on two parameters: 1) the time taken to manually annotate the corpus, and 2) the time frame allowed for the present research project.⁹³

According to Biber (1993: 252), frequent linguistic features are quite stable in their distributions and hence short text chunks (e.g. 2,000 running words)⁹⁴ are usually sufficient for the study of such features while rare features are more varied in their distribution and thus require larger samples. (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 20)

There is no ideal size. A corpus needs to be small enough to be thoroughly analysed, and yet large enough for the analysis to speak for the greater whole. To detect style and pervasive register features the corpus could be text excerpts.⁹⁵ To represent a genre, however, full texts are needed since genre

⁹³ “[C]orpora that need extensive manual annotation (e.g. semantic annotation [...]) are necessarily small” (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 72).

⁹⁴ In the present corpus, 2,000 words represents 7.3 articles, including headlines (for corpus article length, see 3.1).

⁹⁵ “First, the size of the corpus needed to explore a research question is dependent on the frequency and distribution of the linguistic features under consideration in that corpus (see McEnery and Wilson 2001: 80). As Leech (1991: 8–29) observes, size is not all-important. Small corpora may contain sufficient examples of frequent linguistic features. To study features like the number of present- and past-tense verbs in English, for example, a sample of 1,000 words may prove sufficient (Biber 1993)” (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 72).

markers in contrast to pervasive register and style features may appear only once in a text. The number of articles here has more bearing than the number of words (cf. Biber & Conrad 2009: 16).

The present corpus was collected over one month, three days a week (Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday) for four weeks in September 2014 and consists of about 35,500 words distributed over 131 articles. For numerical data on the present corpus, see 3.1.

Ideally, size should approach infinity, and criticism as to the limited size of the present corpus is valid. Being a pilot study with a broad approach, it will be the task of future research to counter the results of this study in more focused studies.

The corpus of roughly 35,500 words could be compared to the longest sura in the Qur'an, al-Baqara, which has 6,144 words; the whole Qur'an consists of 78,245 words (Hallberg 2018). This book, by comparison, consists of about 307,000 words (based on Microsoft's Word Count).

2.2.2. Limitations of the corpus

Designed for the purpose of covering the language register of hard news articles in Al-Ahram in 2014, the corpus is naturally ill-equipped for deductions about the language of other types of news stories in the same paper. The investigation of Abdelfattah (1990) gives us good reason to assume that our corpus is also diachronically too narrow to speak about the Arabic of yesterday and tomorrow, the past and the future, in Al-Ahram or other Arabic newspapers. Moreover, as indicated by the work of Parkinson (on which, see 3.10–3.14), the regional variation of Media Arabic as a whole makes even deductions from the corpus about Arabic media language on a global scale a somewhat hazardous undertaking, at least on a detailed level. A thorough investigation of the corpus, however, does reveal a great deal about the synchronous state of MSA as represented by our selected newspaper, and in effect, about the Media Arabic of the larger news agencies.

2.2.3. Treatment of texts from the corpus

All Arabic text examples come with a fully vocalized transcription (including *i' rāb*, see 1.5.1) and a translation (1.5.1.10). The sign ⟨ # ⟩ is added where the ending is either dubious or irrelevant for a particular discussion. In order to facilitate a discussion of Arabic grammar, the translation is closer to literal than to idiomatic English; this has consequences on, for example, the treatment of the Arabic verbal noun (the *maṣḍar*). In the transcription, no distinction is made between words in context and in pausa. Aside from vocalic interpretation, the Arabic text is reproduced as it is to be found in the newspapers. Typos (3.2), interpunctuation (3.3), and spaces (3.12) on the part of the news practitioners (writers and editors) are left uncorrected in the Arabic texts,

whereas errors are emended in the transcriptions so as to convey the intended meaning; e.g. in Example (3), which is not from the corpus, *tā' marbūṭa* is given in بنتائج in the Arabic instead of an intended *hā'*, but the transcription is *bi-natā' iḡihi*. For typos in the corpus, see 3.2.

3. “*ḥarīṭatun iqtisādiyyatun*”, local news section, Al-Ahram, April 14, 2014, p. 18

والبدء في المضي بخطوات راسخة على طريق التنمية لتحقيق تطور اقتصادي يشعر بنتائج كل مواطن في مصر خلال أقرب فترة ممكنة	wa-l-bad'u fi-l-muḍiyyi bi- ḥaṭawātin rāsiḥatin 'alā ṭarīqi l-tanmiyati li-taḥqīqi taṭawwurin iqtisādiyyin yaš'uru bi-natā' iḡihi kullu muwāṭinin fi miṣr ḥilāla 'aqraba fatratin mumkinatin.	And the start of progress by firm steps on the path of devel- opment to achieve economic development, every citizen in Egypt will perceive its results within the shortest period pos- sible.

2.2.4. Differences between Al-Ahram online and print

The corpus was decided based on print newspapers (physical copies), but the texts from the majority of the included articles were extracted from Al-Ahram online (<http://gate.ahram.org.eg/>), and proofread against the print versions to match the print texts. Occasionally, an article could not be located online, in which case it was digitalized manually (e.g. Article 3). No systematic investigation of the differences between the two was made, but some observations are worthy of being mentioned.

Linguistically, the by-line and body of texts (including the lead) are identical in print and online, with the exception of the occasional missing full stop in the online publication. Only preheading, headline, subheading, and image captions may differ. Not only the interpunctuation and line formatting may differ (the online version depending on browser settings), but the subheading may be altogether missing online, and the headline could also be altered textually, either in terms of word order or occasionally even lexically (e.g. the headline of Article 16 features *yunāqiṣuhu* in print, but *yabḥaṭuhu* online).

The following headline, exemplified in (4) and (5), is taken from Article 21 (line breaks not representative, and font sizes not to scale).

4. Article 21, headline in print (black and grey)

معصوم: تشكيل الحكومة العراقية قريبا .. وغارات
أمريكية على مواقع «داعش»
الأمم المتحدة: ٢٧٩٠ قتيلًا ومصابًا خلال الشهر الماضي.. ومليون و ٢٠٠
ألف نازح

5. Article 21, headline online (in red)

معصوم يعلن قرب تشكيل الحكومة العراقية ..
وغارات أمريكية على مواقع «داعش»

The image captions may also differ: not only in that they may be missing altogether online, but also in that they can have other differences, e.g. the image caption to Article 5.

6. Article 5, image caption in print

اطفال عراقيون يلهون باحد المخيمات فى أربيل [أ. ب.]

7. Article 5, image caption online

اطفال عراقيون يلهون فى احد المخيمات بار بيل

The online publication is, therefore, textually rather similar to the print output, but it differs visually: images, if similar, may be cropped differently, and textually, the online output may feature an additional paragraph division. Text formatting also differs, not only as the online version also has colour (e.g. red headlines), but also with regard to font and font sizes, and consequently in the handling of ligatures. Preheading, headline, and by-line font sizes may even differ relative to each other in the two outlets, with the effect of different visual fronting. The format, moreover, of the by-line and lead differ such that online, the by-line and part of the leads are separated from the remainder of the body by a bold font, whereas in print the lead is never in bold. Online, the lead can occasionally be separated from the remainder of the body in the middle of a sentence, suggesting that this is a layout decision more for visual impact than for ease of comprehension with respect to the text (“white space”, see 1.4.11).

In addition to the above, the internet publication also has metadata with each article: reader comments, a visitor counter, and a permalink (*rābiṭ dā'im* + address) at the bottom of the article.

2.3. Linguistic preliminaries: Defining scope

Roughly stated, the present investigation focuses on analytic semantic relations to the exclusion of synthetic, more grammatical relations (e.g. the genitive). In light of this, the definite article, for example, is excluded from investigation.

This chapter discusses linguistic preliminaries and aims at delimiting the scope of the present investigation, partly by method of exclusion. It deals with the noun phrase, nominalization, embedding, and hypotaxis. First, a few terms need clarification, which will be done in a list format.

2.3.1. Terminology

Many of the following concepts will be discussed further, but as a basis for both writing and reading the present study, the following terminology and theoretical assumptions are instrumental:

Bi, or bi-nuance: a secondary, tertiary, or nth semantic (side nuance, shade, or tint), typically inferred between a subordinate syntagm and its matrix in a *clause complex* as a consequence of *subordination*. The short form **bi** will be used to denote additional bi-nuances in the names of polysemous relations (see further in 4.2).

Clause: “[i]n the application of the term *clause linkage*, we will assume a broad concept of the clause which comprises any syntagm containing one predication [...] this includes nominalized clauses” (Lehmann 1988: 182).

Clause complex: the combination of two or more (non-embedded) clauses that together form a *sentence*.⁹⁶

Clause embedding: a situation where a clause occupies a grammatical slot in another clause, e.g. a complement clause as the direct object to a verb of attribution, or a nominalized clause occupying a *core constituent* slot within another clause.

Complement clause: an embedded clause introduced by a complementizer, or an embedded non-deverbalized clause without a complementizer (a structure only attested for utterances). A complement clause may be part of an embedded clause complex and itself include clause embedding.

Complement main clause: the most superordinate matrix clause in each embedded complement, non-nominalized complement clause or complement clause complex is called complement main clause. In the sentence structure “[...] *qāla* [...] (‘*inna*) [...] ‘*akkada* [...] ‘*anna* [...] **V**₁ [...] *wa*-**V**₂ [...]” the clauses with ‘*akkada* and **V**₁ are both complement main clauses; *qāla* is part of the main clause (or sentence matrix; see, e.g., Example 466 from Article 102 under 5.3.2.2).

Coordination: the junction of two or more *clauses* of equal morphosyntactic status into one syntagm or sentence, typically, but not necessarily, linked with a coordinating conjunction.

Core constituent(s): the clausal core structure of V, S, O (= DO), and IO in the prototypical finite clause, or, in the case of a nominal clause (NCI), subject (S), optional copula (Cop), and predicate.

Core structure: see *Core constituent(s)* above.

Gram switch: the switch of a *subordinate clause* predicate (grammatical morpheme, gram⁹⁷) vis-à-vis the *matrix* predicate.

⁹⁶ Also “complex sentence” (Dixon 2010: 133).

⁹⁷ The term “gram”, short for grammatical morpheme, was coined by Bill Pagliuca, but first used by Joan Bybee in 1986 (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 2n).

IO: grammatical indirect object.

Main clause (or sentence matrix): in the case of a clause complex, the main clause is the clause to which optional coordinate and/or subordinate clauses relate semantically, itself subordinate to none (also called sentence main clause, as opposed to *complement main clause*). The concept of main clause, thus, is one of both grammar and context semantics: “[I]n order to characterize what it is that distinguishes a ‘subordinate’ from a ‘main clause’, one must appeal to the discourse context in which the clause in question appears” (Matthiessen & Thompson 1988: 275). In a sentence with one clause only, a simple sentence (Dixon 2010: 132), this clause is necessarily the main clause.

Main line: the sequence of text formed by segmentally subsequent main clauses, with or without subordinate clauses and other peripheral elements and modifiers.

Matrix: any superordinate clause to which at least one subordinate clause or peripheral syntagm relates is referred to as the subordinate clause’s matrix. The matrix of one clause, thus, can be the subordinate clause of another matrix (cf. main clause).

NCI: nominal clause.

Nominalization: a grammatical derivational process whereby a finite verbal clause loses grammatical features typically associated with the finite clause prototype, at the same time acquiring features associated with nominal morphology and the syntax of the noun phrase. Nominalization typically involves a graded loss of grammatical information encoded in the clause predicate as compared to finite verb morphology. In modern written Media Arabic, nominalization by means of the participle implies a loss of person and tense/aspect marking; nominalization by means of the verbal noun (the Arabic *maṣḍar*) implies the loss of inflection for person, number, gender, tense/aspect, and diathesis as compared to finite verb morphology. In the case of relative clauses, Arabic, and indeed Semitic languages in general, may resort to the annexation of the relative clause via a head noun in the construct state morphology as one of the processes of nominalization.

Non-main clause: not a main clause and, in contrast to complement main clauses, not a complement main clause. For prototypical non-deverbalized non-main clauses, see 6.1.

O: grammatical direct object (also DO).

Paragraph: the somewhat arbitrary graphic grouping of one or more sentences, separated from other paragraphs by a line break (with or without indentation).⁹⁸

Peripheral syntagm, element, or constituent: a non-core constituent, it can be a noun, adverb, particle, phrase, or clause but is syntactically cohesive.

⁹⁸ A graphic definition of the paragraph, as is common in media studies, is different from the text-linguistic definition of a paragraph.

PP: a prepositional phrase, that is, a word group beginning with a case-governing preposition and an obligatory complement in the form of a genitive nominal or in the form of a pronominal suffix.

S: grammatical subject.

Sentence: a segment of text containing one or more clauses, in modern written Media Arabic somewhat arbitrarily marked off by means of interpunctuation, typically a full stop (for which, see 3.3.2.4; for sentence length, see 3.1). A Sentence can be a clause complex and has only one main clause (sentence matrix). In a sentence with one clause only, a simple sentence (Dixon 2010: 132), this clause is necessarily the main clause of that sentence (for main clauses in the corpus, see 5.3.1).⁹⁹

Subordination (hypotaxis): the combination of two or more *clauses* with unequal morphosyntactic properties (morphology, syntax) into a *clause complex* with explicit or inferred semantic relations holding between the clauses. A subordinate clause may be syndetic or asyndetic. A subordinate clause syndetically linked to its superordinate clause, or *matrix* (which need not be a sentence matrix), is introduced by a subordinating conjunction that typically makes the semantic nuance of the subordination explicit (purpose, cause, etc.), whereas an asyndetically linked subordinate clause lacks a conjunction and relies on the linguistic competence of the reader or listener to infer the correct semantic nuance from context, be that linguistic or extra-textual.

TAM: tense, aspect, and mood, the terminology for which has been taken from Bybee *et al.* (1994).

VprefL, VprefA, VprefS, Vsuff: are descriptive of finite grammatical verbal morphology, where the indicator **pref** refers to the prefix conjugations of finite verbs, with **L** for long forms of the *yaf'alu* paradigms (indicative), **A** for *yaf'ala* (subjunctive), and **S** for short forms, *yaf'al* (jussive). **Future-VprefL** designates futures, *sawfa yaf'alu* and *sa-yaf'alu*. **Vsuff**, correspondingly, is descriptive of finite verbal morphology of the suffix conjugation, *fa'ala* (perfect). Inspiration for the use of these designations was taken from comparative Semitics, e.g. Isaksson *et al.* (2009).

2.3.2. The noun phrase

This section delineates uninvestigated albeit salient features of the Media Arabic noun phrase (NP).

2.3.2.1. Post-deictics

Deictic elements such as articles and pronouns typically indicate which specific subset of the “thing” in time, space, or context is meant by the speaker.

⁹⁹ Cf. Dixon (2010: 342): “SENTENCE: no simple definition is feasible”.

Post-deictics (also deictics₂)¹⁰⁰ are lexical items functioning as second or subsidiary deictic elements in the NP.¹⁰¹ Halliday (2014: 373–374) lists post-deictics as either expressing the speaker’s attitude to a thing or phenomenon or referring to the head’s “fame or familiarity, its status in the text, or its similarity/dissimilarity”. Table 2 (Halliday 2014: 374, table 6–8) gives a list of English adjectives that frequently occur as post-deictics; in Arabic, adjectives, nouns, and participles may fill these functions (Examples 8–9).

Table 2: Frequent adjectival post-deictics in English according to Halliday (Halliday 2014: 374, table 6–8)

Type	Subtype		Examples
Expansion	elaborating	identity	<i>identical, same; different</i> (“non-identical”), <i>other</i> [note <i>a</i> + <i>other, another</i>]; <i>respective</i>
		exemplification	<i>certain, particular, given; various, different</i> (“various”), <i>odd; famous, well-known, infamous, notorious; special</i>
	extending		<i>complete, entire, whole</i>
	enhancing	space-time	<i>above, aforementioned, earlier, preceding; subsequent, future</i>
		comparison	<i>similar, different</i> (“non-similar”), <i>comparable</i>
Projection	modality: modalization	probability	<i>certain, possible, probable</i>
		usuality	<i>customary, habitual, normal, ordinary, typical, usual, regular</i>
	modality: modulation	obligation	<i>necessary, required</i>
		readiness	<i>intended, desired</i>
	evidentiality (report)	locution	<i>alleged, so-called, self-styled</i>
		idea	<i>hypothetical, purported, expected, evident, obvious</i>
	attitude	positive	<i>lovely, splendid, magnificent</i>
		negative	<i>miserable, wretched, lousy</i>

¹⁰⁰ Halliday (2014: 373) refers to “post-deictics”, a term which admittedly is not ideal for a language like Arabic, but is followed here. For Semitic, “ad-deictics” would be a better term.

¹⁰¹ Different to epithets (for which, see 2.3.6), post-deictics further identify a subset in the NP.

8. Article 54, post-deictic, head, **identity noun**

وقال بن احمد خلال المؤتمر نفسه «لقد انتهينا تقريبا من تحديد مسارات الجسر».	wa-qāla bin 'aḥmad ḥilāla l-mu'tamarī nafsihi «laqad intahaynā taqrīban min taḥdīdī masārātī l-ḡisri».	And during the same conference , bin Ahmed said «we have almost finished defining the routes of the bridge».

9. Article 88 (lead), post-deictic, head, **adjective**

قبل بدء الاستفتاء على الاستقلال في أسكتلندا المقرر له بعد غد الخميس ، توجه رئيس الوزراء البريطانى ديفيد كاميرون إلى مدينة أدنبرة عاصمة الإقليم ، في محاولة أخيرة لإثناء المواطنين الأسكتلنديين عن التصويت بالانفصال.	qabla bad'i l-istiftā'i 'alā l- istiqlālī fī 'iskutlandā l- muqarrari lahu ba'da ḡadin al-ḥamīsa , tawaḡḡaha ra'īsu l-wuzarā'i l-brītāniyyu dayfid kāmīrūn 'ilā madīnati 'idinbura 'āṣimati l-'iqlīmi , fī muḥāwalatin 'aḥīratin li- 'itnā'i l-muwāṭinīna l-'iskut- landiyyīna 'ani l-taṣwīti bi-l- infiṣālī.	Before the start of the refer- endum on the independence in Scotland scheduled for [the day] after tomorrow, Thursday, the British prime minister, David Cameron, headed for the city of Edin- burgh, the capital of the prov- ince, in a last attempt to dis- suade the Scottish citizens from voting for the separa- tion.

As pointed out by Halliday (2014: 374), space-time post-deictics such as *'aḥīratin in fī muḥāwalatin 'aḥīratin*, 'in a last attempt' (Article 88, Example 9) may be interpreted as a numerative expressing place and order.

In the present investigation, deictics and post-deictics will not be investigated. An analysis of their function in Media Arabic is a *desideratum* of future research.

2.3.2.2. Numeratives

Numerative elements in the NP can be quantitative or ordering, both of which can be exact or inexact. Quantifying numeratives include the exact cardinal numbers (Example 10) and the inexact lexical quantitatives such as the English *some*, *many*, and *lots of* (Halliday 2014: 374–375). Ordering numeratives specify the place in order; either exact, such as 'the third' (Example 11), or inexact, as 'the subsequent'. Both exact and inexact numeratives may by context or submodification be modified such that an exact expression is rendered inexact, and *vice versa*.

10. Article 21, exact quantifying numeratives rendered inexact by sub-modification

ومن جانب آخر، أعلنت بعثة الأمم المتحدة بالعراق أمس أن حصيلة أعمال العنف والإرهاب التي ضربت البلاد في أغسطس الماضي بلغت ١٤٢٠ على الأقل، بينما أصيب نحو ١٣٧٠.	wa-min ḡānibin 'āḥara, 'a'lanat ba'tatu l-'umami l- muttaḥidati bi-l-'irāq 'amsi 'anna ḥaṣīlata 'a'māli l-'unfi wa-l-'irḥābi llatī ḍarabati l- bilāda fī 'aḡuṣṭus al-māḍī balaḡat 1420 'alā l-'aḡalli, baynamā 'uṣība naḥwa 1370 .	On the other hand, the United Nations Mission in Iraq announced yesterday that the outcome of the vio- lence and terrorism that struck the country last Au- gust reached at least 1420 , whereas about 1370 were wounded.

11. Article 58, exact ordering numeratives

والجدير بالذكر أن تركيا تسجل أعلى عدد وفيات في أماكن العمل في أوروبا وثالث أعلى عدد في العالم، وفقاً لمنظمة العمل الدولية.	wa-l-ḡadīru bi-l-ḍikri 'anna turkiyā tusaḡḡilu 'a'lā 'adadi wafayātin fī 'amākini l- 'amali fī 'ūrubbā wa-tālīṭa 'a'lā 'adadin fī-l-'ālamī, wafqan li-munazzamati l- 'amali l-duwaliyyi.	And it is worth mentioning that Turkey records the highest number of deaths at workplaces in Europe, and third highest in the world , according to the In- ternational Labour Organiza- tion.

Except for the relation 'at least' (Example 10; definition in 4.1) and the use of 'āḥar# in the context of quantifying numbers (see 3.9), numeratives will not be investigated in the present study. Nor will the relations of prepositions within a prepositional phrase which render exact numbers inexact be annotated and investigated quantitatively.¹⁰²

2.3.2.3. Nominal addition

Nominal addition, also called syndetic and asyndetic coordination, involves the addition of nouns and adjectival attributes to a nominal head, typically at the same level. It is exemplified in the following.

12. Nominal addition, noun (+ noun) + and noun

- John and Mary*
- John, Jack, and Mary*

13. Nominal addition, adjective + adjective

- John is nice and friendly*
- a big black van*

¹⁰² The relation 'at least' is most frequently expressed with the phrase 'alā l-'aḡalli (as in Example 10; see 'alā in 6.9 and 6.11); for the treatment of other expressions, see e.g. ḥawālay and naḥwa (in 6.9);

In the present investigation, nominal addition will not be investigated.

The words *a*, *big*, and *black* in Example (13b) are modifiers to a head noun *van* in an NP. Modifiers will be discussed in the following.

2.3.2.4. Postmodifiers, appositions, and annexations

Modifiers are articles, pronouns, adjectives, participles, nouns, adverbs, prepositional phrases (PPs), and clauses that modify a head in the NP; the head may also be referred to as the matrix. One such example is attributive adjectives as exemplified in (13b), *a big black van*. The present section deals with postmodification of nouns and adjectives (for clausal postmodifiers, see 2.3.5).

Terminology:

- Postmodification involves post-positioned modifiers to a nominal head which is typically a noun.
- Annexation involves the post-positioned addition of a nominal to a head, prototypically via a construct state head noun + a genitive noun. Annexation involves a number of relations, e.g. genitive subject, genitive object, quantity, material, etc.
- A “genitive type relation” refers to a paraphrase of the prototypical genitive annexation by means of a preposition, e.g. *li-*, ‘of’.
- Appositions involve the same level ad-position of one or more nouns to a head noun, e.g. a title + a proper name. No order constraints apply to the elements in an apposition. The two elements have the same case.

Excluding examples from the colloquial substrates, Arabic syntax displays a number of possible constructions to nominally modify a head,¹⁰³ some of which from a synchronic perspective are more prototypical (expected, frequent) and prescriptively “correct” than others. Lexicon, register, and style are assumed to influence their respective frequency distribution.

The following are examples of various types of nominal postmodification strategies to a head. The examples include adjectival postmodification in Example (14), annexation and genitive type postmodification in Examples (15)–(19); attributive (‘adjectival’) relations in Examples (20)–(22); appositional relations in Examples (23)–(25); and compounds, both of the annexing type (26)–(27) and appositional compounds (28).

14. Adjectival attributive¹⁰⁴

al-baytu l-’abyaḏu, ‘the white house’ (e.g. Article 15)

¹⁰³ See Edzard (2006, 2014, “Annexation” in EALL); Retsö (1984–1986, 2006, 2009, 2010); Ryding (“Idāfa” in EALL); Benmamoun (“Construct State” in EALL).

¹⁰⁴ In this section, only more complex examples will be given also in the original script.

15. Genitive annexation
li-sukkāni hāḍihi l-miṭṭaqati, ‘of the inhabitants of this region’ (Article 14)
16. Pronominal suffix
sukkānuhā, ‘its inhabitants’ (Article 4, headline)
17. Prepositional possession
 - a. INDEF.noun + **la-h**
wa-qālati l-ḥukūmatu - fī bayānin lahā ‘amsi - ‘inna [...] ‘And the government said - in its statement yesterday - that [...]’ (Article 19, paragraph-initial)
 - b. INDEF.noun + **la-h**
wa-qāla el-meḥlāfi - fī tasrīhātini lahu ‘amsi - ‘inna [...], ‘And [Abdulmalik] al-Mekhlafi said - in his statements yesterday - that [...]’ (Article 30, paragraph-initial)
18. Epexegetic genitive annexation (head is classifier)
madīnatu bengāzī, ‘the city Benghazi’ (Article 70)
19. Prepositional annexation (genitive type), DEF.noun + **li-PP**
al-‘amīnu l-‘ammu li-l-‘umami l-muttaḥidati, ‘the secretary general of the United Nations’ (Article 31)
20. Adjectival attribution
 - a. INDEF.noun + **INDEF.adj**
[...] *imtana ‘a ‘adadun kabīrun mina l-sukkāni* [...], ‘a great number of the citizens refused [to send their children to school]’ (Article 56)
 - b. INDEF.noun + **INDEF.adj** + **INDEF.adj**
‘akkada maṣḍarun ‘askariyyun lībiyyun ‘anna [...], ‘A Libyan military source confirmed that [...]’ (Article 4, lead)
21. Adjectival attribution, DEF.noun + **DEF.adj**
wa-‘alā l-ḡānibi l-‘āhari, ‘and on the other side’ (Article 131)
22. Annexed adjectival attribution, INDEF.noun + **DEF.adj**
 - a. *wa-mā kunta bi-ḡānibi l-ḡarbiyyi*, ‘you were not at the [w]estern side’ (Q28: 44, example and translation in Edzard 2014: 50, emphasis added)
 - b. *baytu l-muqaddasi*, ‘the holy house’ (= Jerusalem, Retsö 2004: 269, emphasis added)
 - c. *bābu l-ṣaḡīri*, ‘the small gate’ (Retsö 2004: 269, emphasis added)

23. Nominal apposition, noun + noun
 a. Title.NOM + proper name.NOM
al-ra'isu l-'amrīkiyyu bārāk 'ūbāmā, 'the American president, Barack Obama' (Article 117)
 b. Title.GEN + proper name.GEN
ḍidda l-ra'isi l-'sābiqi 'alī 'abdullāh ṣāleḥ, 'against the former president Ali Abdullah Saleh' (Article 63)
24. Annexed apposition, with the head in the construct state as a classifier, e.g. several *sūra* titles in the Qur'an¹⁰⁵
 a. sūratu l-mu'minūna, 'the *al-mu'minūna sūra*' (Edzard 2014: 57, emphasis added)
 b. *kitābu 'alfu laylatin wa-laylatun*, 'the book *One Thousand and One Nights*' (Edzard 2014: 57, emphasis added)
25. Annexed appositions with titles from the corpus
 a. noun + noun
 وأظهر التقرير ، الذى يحمل عنوان "عوامل النجاح لصحة المرأة والطفل" ، أن
wa-'aḏhara l-taqrīru , llaḍī yaḥmilu 'unwāna "«*awāmil# al-naḡāḥi li-ṣiḥḥati l-mar'ati wa-l-ṭifli*” , 'anna [...]
 'And the report, which carries the title “**Factors of success for the health of woman and child**”, showed that [...]' (Article 84)
 b. noun + title (= imperative); and apposition, *fi noun* + noun
 استضافت تونس أمس مؤتمرا بعنوان «استثمر فى تونس: الديمقراطية الناشئة»
istaḍāfat tūnis 'amsi mu'tamaran bi-'unwāni «istaṭmir fi tūnis: al-dīmūqrāṭiyyati l-nāši'ati [...], 'Tunisia hosted yesterday a conference with the title «**Invest in Tunisia: the emerging democracy**» [...]' (Article 53, lead)
26. Annexation compound
ḥabbqarr 'hail' (from *ḥabb* 'grains' + *qarr* 'cold'; Edzard 2006: 134)
27. Annexation compound, definite
al-ra'smāl, 'wealth' (*ra's*, 'head', *māl*, 'capital'; Edzard 2006: 139)
28. Appositional compound, definite
 a. *al-sikkatu l-ḥadīdu*, 'the railway' (Edzard 2014: 49)
 b. *al-duwalu l-'a'ḍā'u*, 'the member states' (Article 52; see also Edzard 2006: 142)

¹⁰⁵ For more examples, and a list and discussion of the *sūra* titles with this construction, see Edzard (2014: 51ff.).

Of Examples (15)–(28), only the relation exemplified in Examples (17a) and (17b)—Lam Auctoris—was investigated. For the use of Lam Auctoris, see under “*li-*” in 6.9.

Nominal apposition, though believed to be a salient feature of Media Arabic register, has not been investigated, nor were different types of annexation and genitive strategies, adjectival attributes, or compounds included in the investigation.

As exemplified in Example (29, for context, see 117), appositions may be coordinated with a *wa-*. This type of syndetic apposition, was also excluded from investigation.

29. Coordinated apposition: Name + title + *wa*-title

ويقول فريديكو فارسي - بروفيسور علم الجريمة من جامعة "أكسفورد" والخبير في الجريمة المنظمة - إن [...]

wa-yaqūlu frīdīkū fārisī [sic] - brūfīsūr ‘ilmi l-ḡarīmati min ḡāmi‘ati “’uksfūrd” wa-l-ḡabīru fi-l-ḡarīmati l-munazzamati - ‘inna [...]

‘And Federico Varese - **professor of criminology** from the University of Oxford, **and [the] expert** in organized crime – says that [...]

(Article 86)

An investigation into the Media Arabic NP is a *desideratum* of future research. The exclusion of the above relations in the present investigation has as a consequence that rather complex NPs like in Example (30) from Article 103 are left altogether uninvestigated as to its internal relations:

30. Complex NP: Noun compound + *li*-annexation and 2x attributive postmodifiers + apposition + proper name + **coordinated apposition with noun as head to + genitive noun annexation and an attributive postmodifier + coordinated *wa*-genitive noun annexation and an attributive postmodifier**

فضلا عن الأمين العام لجامعة الدول العربية الدكتور نبيل العربي وممثل الأمم المتحدة والاتحاد الأوروبي.

[...] *faḍlan ‘ani l-‘amīni l-‘āmmi li-ḡamā‘ati l-duwali l-‘arabiyyati el-duktūr nabīl el-‘arabī wa-mumattīli l-‘umami l-muttaḥidati wa-l-itthādi l-‘ūrūbbiyyi.*

‘[...] as well as the **secretary general** of the Arab states, Doctor Nabil el-Araby [and] [Egypt’s] **representative** to the United Nations and the European Union.’ (Article 103)

2.3.2.5. More on excluded relations: Inter-relational postmodifiers *bayna* and *ma'a*, some uses of *min*, the allative, the ablative, and the *'ā'id*

All PPs are annotated and investigated as to their frequency, but not all the relations they express are accounted for.

In addition to what was mentioned in the previous section, all types of inter-relational (interpersonal, inter-group, and between-group) postmodifiers have been excluded from investigation, e.g. reciprocal relations, typically expressed with *bayna* (Examples 31a and 31b), and *ma'a* (Examples 32a and 32b). These are different from the relations called Associative, Presidency, and Location which are investigated (for their definition, see Part 4).

31. Prepositional postmodifier (type of reciprocal)
 - a. *al-'alaqāt# al-tunā'iyat# bayna l-baladayni*, 'the bilateral relations between the two countries' (Article 39)
 - b. *al-ištibākāt# bayna l-milšiyāti l-musallaḥati*, 'the clashes between armed militias' (Article 50)
32. Prepositional postmodifier (type of reciprocal)
 - a. *al-hilāf# ma'a qaṭar*, 'the dispute with Qatar' (Article 1, lead)
 - b. *al-ištibākāt# ma'a l-ḡamā'ati*, 'the clash with the group' (Article 1, lead)

Relations expressive of allative motion (motion towards), coded e.g. with *'ilā* or *li-* (Example 33), are excluded from investigation. This also includes figurative, or metaphorical uses of the allative (Example 34).

33. Allative, motion towards

[...] *'alā matni l-ṭā'irati llatī ādat bihi 'ilā rūmā* [...], '[...] on board the plane which returned him **to Rome** [...]' (Article 116)
34. Allative, metaphoric motion towards

[...] *li-tasīla fatratu l-'uqūbati 'ilā 10 sanawātīn* [...], '[...] the penalty period reaching **10 years** [...]' (see Example 633, Article 115)

Expressions of monosemantic origin (ablative, 'from'), as well as partitive and genitive-like relations with the preposition *min* have been excluded (Examples 35a–35c).

35. *min* of origin, genitive, and partitive type relations with *min*
- [...] *bi-ḥaqqi l-taṣwīti li-41 nā'iban min kutlatihim bi-l-barlamāni l-brīṭāniyyi* [...], '[...] the right to vote for 41 representatives from their bloc in the British parliament [...]' (Article 111)
 - [...] *bi-manḥi l-mazīdi mina l-ṣalāḥiyyāti li-'iskutlandā* [...], '[...] to give more powers to Scotland [...]' (Article 111)
 - [...] *sab'atan min qiyādāti l-ḡamā'ati* [...], '[...] seven [of the] leaders of the group [...]' (see Example 436, Article 113)

Also, excluded are relations of *min* following other prepositions such as in a tmesis prepositional collocation (Example 36).

36. Tmesis collocation with *min* following another prepositional phrase
- [...] *ba'da 'ayyāmin mina l-mufāwadhāti* [...], lit. '[...] after days of negotiations [...]' (Article 112)

The 'ā'id (resumptive pronoun) of relative clauses has also been left uninvestigated, regardless of its syntax (Examples 37a–37b) and semantics.

37. 'ā'id, pronominal suffix, and prepositional phrase
- [...] *li-l-ittifāqi lladī waqqa 'ahu murašṣaḥ l-dawrati l-tāniyati li-l-intiḥābāti l-ri'āsiyyati* [...], '[...] of the agreement which the two candidates for the second round of the presidential elections signed Ø [...]' (Article 112)
 - [...] *fi-l-ittifāqi lladī waqqa 'at [sic]¹⁰⁶ 'alayhi ḡamā'u l-'aṭrāfi l-siyāsiyyati*, '[...] in the agreement which all political parties signed Ø' (Article 118)

Expressions with the meaning 'generally', e.g. *bi-ṣaklin 'āmin*, *'alā waḡhin 'āmin*, and so on, have also been excluded.

With the exception of what has been mentioned in this section (2.3.2), all other nominally coded postmodifying and peripheral semantic relations were investigated, including PPs and relative clauses. But the investigation was not limited to the NP and postmodifiers. To clearly define and illustrate what was investigated, and how it can be coded linguistically, a discussion on nominalization is first needed.

¹⁰⁶ The construction here, with feminine agreement to a grammatical plural subject, is a *constructio ad sensum*, i.e. a 'construction according to the meaning [rather than according to rules of grammar and morphology]'. This type of agreement, manifest e.g. in plural to a singular, or *vice versa*, was not systematically investigated, but is attested throughout the corpus. On occasion, agreement to an elliptical noun is observed, e.g. in Article 60: *ḍidda [ḡamā'ati] «būkū ḥarām» al-'irḥābiyyati*, 'against the terrorist [group] «Boko Haram»' (Example 227); this, too, is a form of construction according to meaning, but is better described as a simple ellipsis of the head noun.

2.3.3. Nominalization: Terminology explained

2.3.3.1. Nominalized NPs or nominalized clauses vs. the finite clause prototype

This section discusses nominalization and will further delineate the scope of the study.

According to the definition given by Givón (2001: II, 24), nominalization¹⁰⁷ “is the process via which a **finite verbal clause**—either a complete clause or a subject-less verb phrase—is converted¹⁰⁸ into a noun phrase.”¹⁰⁹

Instantiated nominalization is scalar, resulting in a graded continuum between the prototypical clause with a finite verb at one end, and a nominalized NP at the other. Givón (2001: II, 25) gives two examples to illustrate this:

- 38. *She **knew** mathematics well.*
- 39. *Her good **knowledge** of mathematics.*

The properties of the NP in (39) vis-à-vis the prototype finite verbal clause in (38) is exemplified by Givón (2001: II, 25), Example (40):¹¹⁰

40. Nominalization as the adjustment from the prototype finite verbal clause to the prototype noun phrase
-
- a. verb becoming **head noun**
 - b. verb acquiring **nominalizing** morphology
 - c. loss of **tense-aspect-modal** morphology
 - d. loss of **pronominal agreement** morphology
 - e. subject and/or object acquiring **genitive** case marking
 - f. addition of **determiners**
 - g. conversion of adverbs into **adjectives**

¹⁰⁷ See also “Desententialization of subordinate clause” (Lehmann 1988: 193ff.).

¹⁰⁸ In the following, terms such as “convert”, “nominalize”, etc. will be used. This terminology does not assume a transformational thought process on the part of the author.

¹⁰⁹ Syntagms including a nominalizing strategy with either a complementizer, e.g. *ba ‘da ‘an*, or *mā*, e.g. *ba ‘damā*, are not treated as nominalizations in the present synchronic investigation.

¹¹⁰ This schema gives the universal principles of nominalization, but it is “subject to enormous cross-language variation” (Givón 2001: II, 26).

The verbal noun characteristics of the Arabic *maṣḍar* allows for the nominalization of the erstwhile finite verb (BCG: §1.11.1).¹¹¹ In addition to the formation of derived nouns, it may occupy a core constituent slot within a clause, and be used as a complement.¹¹²

We will return to Arabic and define the topic of interest shortly, but related to the question of nominalization and the finite clause prototype is also the question of finiteness.

2.3.3.2. Finiteness

Traditionally, finiteness is considered binary, described as a property of verbs and a feature at the non-nominalized clause level. Non-finiteness, consequently, becomes a grammatical feature of nominals and NPs. “But since the finite prototype (or its converse) is patently an aggregate of multiple features,” Givón writes (2001: II, 25–26), “finiteness must be at least in principle a matter of **degree**.” The **unmarked** prototype verbal clause exemplified in (38) above, *she knew mathematics well*, occupies a top position in this scale: “main, declarative, affirmative, active”. Many clauses such as clauses with a participial predicate, occupy an intermediate stage between the finite prototype and the NP, as exemplified in (41).

41. From finite prototype to noun phrase (Givón 2001: II, 26)

a.	<i>Her good knowledge of math helped</i>	(least finite)
b.	<i>Her knowing math well helped</i>	
c.	<i>For her to know math so well surely ...</i>	
d.	<i>She wanted to know math well</i>	
e.	<i>Having known math well since high school, she ...</i>	
f.	<i>She should have known math well</i>	(most finite)

As can be deduced from (40) and (41), finiteness and nominalization not only bear on the definition of a clause as a “syntagm containing one predication” (Lehmann 1988: 182), but also on questions of embedding (e.g. 41d) in a discussion of subordination in a clause complex.

¹¹¹ The term *maṣḍar* dates back to Sībawayhi, who saw in it the “‘noun of the event’ from which the verb originates” (Ditters, “Maṣḍar” in EALL). *Maṣḍar* translates as ‘origin, source’, but from a synchronic perspective it cannot be deduced whether the nominal form of the verb predates the finite verb or not in Arabic. Solà-Solé (1961) counts 122 different forms for the Arabic *maṣḍar*. From a comparative Semitic perspective, the morphologically diverse verbal noun of Arabic stands out and certainly not all of them predate the finite forms. (Cf. the *qatālu(m)* of Akkadian, and the “infinitivus absolutus” and “constructus” of the Canaanite languages; e.g. Biblical Hebrew *qātōl* and *qəṭōl* (Joüon & Muraoka 2009: § 49a–b, pp. 133ff.); Phoenician (Friedrich & Röllig 1970: §267, pp. 135ff.); Syriac Aramaic *meqlaf*, etc. (Aydin 2013: 160ff.); Classical Ethiopic *qətlāt*, *qətl*, *qəṭāl*, *qətal*, *qātāl*, *qātal*, *qātl* (Lambdin 1978: 164ff.); Sabaic (Stein 2013: I, 120)).

¹¹² For non-finite complements in MSA, see Persson (2002: 59–66).

On the whole, the more a verb gets nominalized, the more it starts behaving like an ordinary noun. It is in this sense that we may speak of the increasing **nominality** (or ‘nouniness’) of subordinate clauses, when they are reduced by sententialization [nominalization]. (Lehmann 1988: 197)

An extreme instance on the nominal scale would be the following nominal phrase in Example (42) as an instance of complete deverbalization.

42. *knowledge of mathematics*

In Arabic, this type of construction can be a nominalized (deverbalized) predicate + object. In Arabic the preposition which governs the object in the finite prototype may be retained also when the verbal noun or nominal morphology is used. Example (43) from Article 7 exemplifies the finite verb *ittafaqa* + ‘*alā*, ‘agree on [something]’ with an interposed nominative subject:

- 43.** Article 7, finite verb: *ittafaqa* + ‘*alā* (PP)
wa-‘alā l-ša ‘īdi dātīhi, ittafaqa l-ittihādu ‘alā ‘aqdi qimmatin
ṭāri’atīn fī 7 ‘uktūbir al-muqbilī [...]
 ‘And on the same topic, the Union leaders agreed to hold an **emergency summit** [...]

In Article 112 (headline), the phrase is nominalized as *ittifāq#* + ‘*alā* (PP), with an interposed bipartite genitive subject (Example 44).

- 44.** Article 112 (headline), verbal noun (*maṣdar*): *ittifāq#* + genitive subject + ‘*alā*
ittifāqu ‘abdu llāh wa-ḡānī ‘alā ḥukūmati waḥdatīn ‘afḡāniyyatīn
 ‘agreement by Abdullah and Ghani **on an Afghan unity government**’

Later in the same Article 112, the verbal noun occurs with ‘*alā* for the erst-while object, the verbal noun occupying a subject slot in a periphrastic passive construction with *tamma* (Example 45).

- 45.** Article 112, periphrastic passive, *tamma* + *maṣdar*: *tamma l-ittifāq#* + ‘*alā* (PP)
yudkaru ‘anna l-ittifāqa ‘alā taškīlī ḥukūmati l-waḥdatī l-waṭaniyyatī tamma bayna l-muraššahayni l-‘afḡāniyyayni [...]
 ‘it is mentioned that it was agreed [an agreement has been reached] **to form a national unity government** between the two Afghan candidates’ [...]

The following example, also from Article 112 (lead), has a genitive object in place of the preposition ‘*alā*.

46. Article 112 (lead), verbal noun (*maṣḍar*): *ittifāq#* + genitive object [...] *waqqa* 'a 'amsi *l-muraššahāni l-ri 'āsiyyāni fī 'afgānistān* 'abdullāh 'abdullāh wa- 'ašraf gānī *ttifāqa taškili hukūmati waḥdatin waṭaniyyatin* 'afgāniyyatin., '[...] the two presidential candidates in Afghanistan Abdullah Abdullah and Ashraf Ghani signed yesterday an agreement to form an Afghan national unity government.'

The Arabic examples (43)–(46) illustrate degrees of nominalization of the prototypical finite clause with *ittafaqa* 'alā from closer to the finite clause prototype (43), to closer to the nominal prototype (46). In all of these examples, a subject, verb, and an object can be inferred as part of the core constituents in the verbal/nominal phrase with *ittafaqa/ittifāq#*. For the present investigation, this core constituent structure is of limited interest, as will be discussed in the following section.

2.3.4. What relations will be investigated?

This section will further define the scope of study based on what has been discussed earlier in 2.3, and in particular in 2.3.3.

Considering the finite clause prototype as having the core constituents of subject, verb, direct object and—for certain lexical items—indirect object, and in the case of the nominal clause, subject, copula, and predicate, nominalization allows for these constituents, i.e. the finite clause prototype, to function as a constituent (or argument) in another clause, e.g. to fill nominal core constituent slots of a more finite and verbal clause via embedding. Examples (47)–(49) are invented, but based on Givón's (2001: II, 25) Examples (38)–(39).

47. S-V-DO
John acknowledged [her good knowledge of mathematics]
48. S-V-IO-DO
But [her "good" knowledge of mathematics] gave him no help
49. S-Cop-P
[Her good knowledge of mathematics] is [the fruit of her having studied a lot]

The present investigation will largely disregard the relations between core constituents of the finite clause prototype, regardless of the degree of its nominalization. The investigation on peripheral elements will focus on clauses, and peripheral, i.e. non-core, constituents and core constituents forming a clause, and their relations. The process of nominalization however does not limit itself to core constituent slots of main clauses.

2.3.4.1. Embedding vs. hypotaxis

The questions of embedding and hypotaxis, adverbial clauses and adverbials have been dealt with as a binary dichotomy (see Isaksson 2015a, with references). With the definition of the embedded clause as a clause functioning as a constituent in another clause, e.g. in a subject or object slot, or as a defining relative clause (postmodifier), and the concept of adverbials being embedded constituents in a clause, the concept of embedding vs. hypotaxis must be treated not as a dichotomy, but as a continuum, much like nominalization (2.3.3.1) and finiteness (2.3.3.2) can be treated as continua.

Compare Examples (50)–(52), originally from Matthiessen and Thompson (1988: 280), but also in Isaksson (2015a: 411); the latter added the first example. In the corpus, as in English (51–52), the *maşdar* is typically explicit.

Hypotaxis (finite verbal prototype)

-
50. *[Before he left Krishnapur] the Collector took a strange decision.*
 51. *[Before leaving Krishnapur] the Collector took a strange decision.*
 52. *[Before his departure from Krishnapur] the Collector took a strange decision.*

Embedding (nominalized)

With each of these expressing the same basic semantic relation in relation to the finite main clause matrix, Example (50) features a typical finite subordinate clause and is thus representative of the one extreme on the finite-to-nominalization continuum of subordination. The verbal noun predicate *leaving* of the nominalized clause in Example (51) lacks TAM marking vis-à-vis the finite subordinate prototype (50) as an effect of nominalization (deverbalization). The discussion of whether to treat the non-main or peripheral phrase in Example (52) as an embedded phrase or clause, or as a subordinate nominalized clause, is of limited importance for the practical purposes of the present investigation (for a discussion, see Isaksson (2015a), who refers to Haiman and Thompson (1988) and Matthiessen and Thompson (1988)). The prepositional phrase in (52) is a nominal expression with the noun *departure* having verbal interpretation (confirmed e.g. via comparison with Examples (50) and (51)). In context, the ellipsis of the movement verb in a prepositional phrase of the following type is not implausible in English (*ad hoc* example):

53. *[Before Krishnapur] the Collector took a strange decision.*

In the present investigation, all the relations in Examples (50–53) will be investigated. For pragmatic reasons, they will be discussed as subordinate and linked to a matrix, rather than as being embedded in it. Occasionally, and for the same reasons, a head may be referred to as a matrix. Important

for the present investigation is that in all of the examples with Krishnapur, (50–53), the expressions within brackets are peripheral to the main clause core constituent structure, and have the same semantic relation to it, namely Countersequential, here schematized as *before x, y* (for which, see 4.3.1.2).¹¹³ Naturally, their different syntactic structures will be annotated differently, and be investigated as different structures (for annotation, see 2.5, in particular 2.5.2). In this respect, adverbs as exemplified in (54) are different from what is seen in Examples (50)–(53):

54. *The Collector took/had taken a strange decision [earlier].*

For our purposes, it is not fruitful to speak of a nominalized subordinate clause for the temporal adverb *earlier*. The adverb is embedded as a peripheral, non-core constituent within the main clause. Expressive of non-obligatory information within the clause, adverbs and their relations will be investigated. (The relation expressed by the adverb here is called TEMP ‘earlier’, for examples of which, see 6.8.)

Clearly, the interpretation of the degree of nominalization is a matter of judgment from case to case. For how this was handled in the present investigation, see 2.5 about annotation.

In the following, nominalization of a largely intact finite clause prototype will be discussed as part of optional complementation strategies.

2.3.4.2. Complementation according to Dixon

Dixon (2010: 128–129) discusses complement clauses. He defines the complement clause using three main criteria for its recognition vis-à-vis an NP argument: 1) a complement clause has “the internal structure of a clause, at least as far as core arguments are concerned”; 2) it “functions as a core argument of another clause”; and 3) it describes “a proposition; this can be a fact, an activity or a state (it may not be a place or time)”. Using Examples (55) and (56), he illustrates the importance of the first criterion (note that CoCl = complement clause, A = transitive subject, O = transitive object, and NP = noun phrase):

55. *[John’s playing the national anthem]_{CoCl:A} pleased Mary_O*
 56. *[John’s playing of the national anthem]_{NP:A} pleased Mary_O*

According to Dixon, (55) contains a complement clause, because it “has similar structure to a main clause”, whereas (56) is an NP, since English does not take objects with *of*. This distinction is not fruitful for the present investigation. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, core constituents are of limited interest for the present investigation.

¹¹³ However, ellipsis and preposed subordination are atypical in Media Arabic (see 5.3.3ff.).

2.3.4.3. Complement clauses with complementizers

Here, a complement clause is defined as a clause occupying a subject, object, or predicate slot within another clause's core structure. A complement clause is therefore by definition a nominalized clause. In the present investigation, deverbalized complements will not be investigated.

In addition to a deverbalization of the finite verbal prototype via the conversion (nominalization, deverbalization) of the predicate to a verbal noun and a loss of finite and verbal properties of the constituents (see 2.3.3ff.), Arabic also displays other means of embedding an erstwhile finite clause prototype into the core constituent structure of the matrix. These complementation strategies typically involve the use of an *n-(h)*-complementizer, *'an*, *'anna*, or *'inna*, or the asyndetic addition of a non-deverbalized complement clause. This, too, is a type of nominalization, but of the non-deverbalized type. Examples (57) and (58) illustrate these strategies. Example (57) has an omission of the complementizer.

57. Non-deverbalized complementation, without complementizer

وقال نبيل أبو ردينة الناطق باسم الرئاسة في بيان أمس: «ننفي [...]»

wa-qāla nabīl 'abū rudaḡna al-nāṭiqū bi-smi l-ri 'āsati fī bayānin 'amsi : «nanfī [...]»

'and Nabil Abu Rudeineh [...] said: «**we deny** [...]» (Article 51)

58. Non-deverbalized complementation, with complementizer

وقال مسئول بقطاع النفط اليمني طلب عدم نشر اسمه، إنه يمكن إصلاح الخط في غضون يوم أو يومين [...]

wa-qāla mas 'ūlun bi-qīṭā 'i l-naṭṭi l-yamaniyyi [...] 'innahu yumkinu 'iṣlāḡu l-ḡaṭṭi fī ḡudūni yawmin 'aw yawmayni [...]

'And an official in the Yemeni oil sector said [...] **that the pipeline could be repaired within a day or two** [...]» (Article 56)

Example (58) also includes *yumkinu 'iṣlāḡu l-ḡaṭṭi* as an example of deverbalized complementation via the verbal noun. This embedding strategy, because deverbalized, will not be investigated.

In the present investigation, only non-deverbalized clauses in this position will be investigated. It is one of few grammatical relations investigated in the core constituent structure of clauses. Example (59) is a typical example. The nominalized subject complement, *al-ziyādata l-sarī'ata fī-l-ḡuyūni l-ḡāriḡiyyati qaṣīrati l-'aḡali ba 'da l-'azmati l-iqtiṣāḡiyyati l-'ālamiiyyati*, will not be investigated as such.

59. Article 87, complement clause with a complementizer to a verb of attribution

واعتبرت فيتش، في بيان لها، أن الزيادة السريعة في الديون الخارجية قصيرة الأجل بعد الأزمة الاقتصادية العالمية، أحدثت تدهورا سريعا في وضع ديونها، واعتبرتها نقطة ضعف للاقتصاد التركي ضد الصدمات الخارجية المحتملة رغم أنها سبق وحذرت منه أكثر من مرة، مشيرة إلى أن أنقرة قد تواجه مشكلة في سداد ديونها في حالة حدوث أزمة مالية محتملة من الخارج بسبب هذا الارتفاع في الديون قصيرة الأجل على وجه الخصوص.

wa-‘tarabat fitš, fi bayānin lahā , ‘anna l-ziyādata l-sarī‘ata fi-l-duyūni l-ḥāriḡiyyati qašīrati l-‘aḡali ba‘da l-‘azmati l-iqtisādiyyati l-‘ālamiiyyati, ‘aḥḍaṭat tadahwuran sarī‘an fi waḍ‘i duyūnihā , wa-‘tabarathā nuḡtata ḍu‘fin li-l-iqtisādi l-turkiyyi ḍidda l-ṣadamāti l-ḥāriḡiyyati l-muḥtamalati raḡma ‘annahā sabaqa wa-ḥaḍḍarat minhu ‘aḡtara min marratin , mušīratan ‘ilā ‘anna ‘anqara qad tuwāḡihu muški-latan fi sadādi duyūnihā fi ḥālāti ḥudūṭi ‘azmatin māliyyatin muḥtamalatin mina l-ḥāriḡi bi-sababi ḥaḍā l-irtifā‘i fi-l-duyūni qašīrati l-‘aḡali ‘alā waḡhi l-ḥuṣūši.

And Fitch expressed in a report it has made that the rapid increase in foreign short-term debt after the global economic crisis had caused a rapid deterioration in the development of its debt situation, and considered it a weak point of the Turkish economy against possible external shocks even though it [Fitch] had previously warned about it more than once, pointing to that Ankara may face a problem in paying its debts in the event of a possible financial crisis from abroad due to this increase in its short-term debts in particular.

2.3.5. Relative clause nominalization

Relative clauses will be investigated. Relative clauses in Arabic are typically clausal postmodifiers to a head noun. The present section will define the relative clause further. Example (60) features a typical relative clause to a definite head.

60. Article 75, relative clause as postmodifier: syndetic relative clause to definite head noun

في غضون ذلك، تزايدت حملات التعبئة في الشارع الأسكتلندي التي يجريها الفريقان.

fī guḍūni ḍālīka, tazāyadat ḥamalātu l-ta‘bi‘ati fī-l-šāri‘i l-‘is-kutlandiyyi llatī yuḡrīhā l-farīqāni.

lit. ‘And in the meantime, intensified the mobilization campaigns.SUBJ in the Scottish street which the two parties conduct.’

2.3.5.1. Theory: Relative clause nominalization

Not only core constituents (2.3.3.1) and subordinate clauses (2.3.4.1) can be nominalized. Relative clauses may also exhibit nominalizing properties.

Nominalization occurs when the structure of a clause gives some evidence of at least a partial conversion to nominal type. (Andrews 2007: 232)

One integration strategy in Arabic is via *mā* and *man* attached to a head in the construct state (annexed), or as complements to prepositions, e.g. *mā* in Example (61). These constructions will be investigated, but not be discussed further here.

61. Syndetic relative clauses with *mā*

- a. With the indefinite head in the construct state

ما ترى رأي ما نرى

mā tarā ra 'ya mā narā

lit. 'you do not think **the thought of what** we think', 'you do not think what we think' (Zuhayr 15.17, see Retsö 2004: 269, emphasis added)

- b. With the indefinite head in the construct state (Q 113: 1–2, emphasis added)

قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ الْفَلَقِ مِنْ شَرِّ مَا خَلَقَ

qul 'a 'ūdū bi-rabbi l-falaqi min šarri mā ḥalaqa

'Say: I take my refuge in the lord of the daybreak, from the evil **that he has measured/created**'

- c. Headless, governed by preposition *bi-*

بكل ما هو سطحي

bi-kulli mā huwa saṭḥiyyun

'with **all that** was superficial', lit. 'with all of what was superficial' (example and translation from BCG: §5.5.3, emphasis in original)

- d. Functioning as the direct object, annexed to *gayra*

يقول غير ما يقصد

yaqūlu ḡayra mā yaqšidu

'he says **other than what** he intends' (example and translation from BCG: 516, emphasis in original)

- e. Article 11, syndetic relative clause with *mā* and the indefinite head (in the construct state?)¹¹⁴

وذكرت قناة «إن. تي. في» أن السلطات أصدرت أوامر اعتقال ما يصل إلى ٣٣ ضابطا يزعم
أردوغان أنهم يسعون للإطاحة بالحكومة.

wa-ḍakarat qanātu «'in. tī. fī» 'anna l-suluṭāti 'aṣḍarat 'awāmira 'tiqāli mā yaşilu 'ilā 33 ḍābiṭan yaz'amu 'erdüğān 'annahum yas'awna li-l- 'iṭāḥati bi-l-ḥukūmati.

'And the channel "NTV" mentioned that the authorities have issued detention orders of what reaches [up] to 33 officers, whom Erdoğan alleges [that they] are trying to overthrow the government.'

¹¹⁴ Ryding (2005: 324ff.) lists no examples of *mā* with an immediately preceding head in the construct, but one example with *man*: *kāna 'awwala man ra 'ā l-qamara*, 'He was the first [person] who saw the moon' (translation from Ryding).

In his typology of relative clauses, Andrews (2007: 232) deals with the nominalization of relative clauses. As mentioned above (2.3.3.1ff.) nominalization of the finite clause prototype involves an increased number of nominal features of the clause, either by nominalization of the predicate with a loss of encoded grammatical information (such as TAM), or by an increased nominal integration in relation to its syntactic environment.¹¹⁵ Andrews (2007: 232ff.) makes a distinction between nominalized relative clauses and what he calls reduced relative clauses, both of which deviate from the finite clause prototype. They are both nominalized in the present terminology.

Typical indicators [of the nominalization of a relative clause] would be marking the subject like a possessor, attaching possessor morphology to the verb as cross-referencing with the subject, or attaching other typical nominal morphology such as determiners or case marking to the verb. (Andrews 2007: 232)

In Classical Greek, this type of nominalization may occur via the attraction of the relative pronoun¹¹⁶ to the case of the antecedent in the matrix, usually from an accusative to a genitive, as in (62a), or a dative plural, as in (62b) (Smyth 1956: §2522ff.; Blomqvist & Jastrup 2006: 259):

- 62.** Nominalization via attraction of the relative pronoun in Greek
- a. to the genitive (Xen. *Anab.* 1. 7. 3)
 ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐστέ, ἧς κέκτησθε
 ‘you are worthy of.the.freedom.GEN, that/which.GEN you have acquired’
 - b. to the dative (Xen. *Anab.* 3. 1. 45)
 ἐπὶ παντὶ σε ἐφ’ οἷς λέγεις
 ‘I praise you for that/which.DAT you say’

The reduced clauses of Andrews, on the other hand, use more nominal verbal morphology, with the concomitant loss of TAM marking, “and may furthermore have some participant obligatorily missing” (Andrews 2007: 232). English reduced relative clauses (nominalized, or deverbalized, in the following) use the nominal *-ing* and *-ed* forms.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Moreover, Andrews (2007: 233) points out that “reduced RCs sometimes appear in different positions from those in which full ones do, and, when this is the case, they always seem to occupy a position also occupied by adjectives.”

¹¹⁶ The Greek relative pronoun is diachronically a pronominal deictic.

¹¹⁷ “The *-ing* form requires the subject to be omitted and rejects progressive and modal auxiliaries, only allowing, somewhat marginally, *have*-forms”; “The passive reduced form in *-ed* requires its subject to [be] omitted, and allows no tense-aspect-mood inflection of any kind, but is able to be interpreted as either time-simultaneous with or prior to the main clause (*people suspected of swapping songs* vs *people accused of swapping songs*)” (Andrews 2007: 232).

63. Reduced relative clauses in English (Andrews 2007: 232, emphasis added)
- People **eating peanuts** will be prosecuted.*
 - People **reported to be absent** will be fined.*

In Arabic—and indeed Semitic—the first type of nominalization process mentioned by Andrews is realized via the antecedent head occurring in the construct state, otherwise associated with nominal annexation (e.g. the genitive), as in Example (64):¹¹⁸

64. Relative clause linked via nominalizing morphology: the antecedent head in the construct state
- Biblical Hebrew (Gen. 1: 1–2)
בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ: וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ וְרוּחַ עֹלָמָה עַל-פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְיְרֵחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל-פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם:
bə-rē(ʿ)šīt bārā ʿlōhīm ʿet haš-šāmayim wə-ʿet hā-ʾārəṣ, wə-hā-ʾārəṣ hāyətā tōhū wā-bōhū wə-ḥōšəḱ ʿal-pənē təhōm wə-rūḥ ʿlōhīm mərəḥəpəṭ ʿal-pənē ham-māyim
‘The Earth was empty and void in the beginning **when God created the heavens and the earth**, with darkness upon the face of the deep and the spirit of God hovering over the waters.’
 - Biblical Hebrew (Isa. 29: 1b; example also in Retsö 2009: 9, emphasis added)

קִרְיַת הַנָּה דָּוִד

qiryat ḥānā dāwīd

‘the town **where David camped**’

- Sabaic¹¹⁹

b-dʔt /hwfy-hmw /ʾlmqh / ʾsrb / šft-hmw

‘dafür, daß ʾLMQH ihnen die Ernte wohlgeraten ließ, **welche er ihnen versprochen hatte**’ (C73/5–7, in Stein: 2013: 1, 128 with translation, emphasis added)

- Arabic

خيفة يحميها بنو أم أجرد

ḥīfata yaḥmīthā (yaḥmiyahā?) banū ʾummi ʾağrada

‘from fear **that the ʾUmm ʾAğrad tribe would protect them**’ (ʾAḥṭal, Reckendorf 1921: 389; in Retsö 2009: 16 with translation, emphasis added)

¹¹⁸ These examples assume that the *status constructus* (for which, see Benmamoun, “Construct State” in EALL) is a common feature of Semitic nominal morphology, in Arabic indicated by the absence of nunation (e.g. *tanwīn*; Retsö 1984–1986, 2004, 2009, 2010).

¹¹⁹ In Sabaic asyndetic relative clauses “steht das Bezugswort im Status constructus” (Stein 2013: 1, 128).

e. Arabic

مضت مائة لعام ولدت فيه

maḍat mi'atun li- 'āmi wulidtu fīhi

‘one hundred years have passed since I was born’ (Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ši'r wa-l-šu'arā* 162.5; in Retsö 2004: 268 with translation, emphasis added), lit. ‘one hundred have passed to the year I was born in’

f. Arabic

ذاك أو أن أبصرت الطريق

dāka 'awānu 'abṣarta l-ṭarīqa

‘this [was] the time when you saw the road’ (Ḥamāsa 57: 25; in Retsö 2004: 268 with translation, emphasis added)

Arabic displays a wide variety of nominalizing strategies whereby the finite relative clause prototype is nominalized and embedded in the matrix. However, none of the constructions in Example (65) are productive in written Media Arabic today.¹²⁰

65. Raising of the finite relative clause via nominalizing determiners to the predicate in Arabic¹²¹

- a. Finite verb (Wright 2005: I, 269–270 with translation, emphasis added)

مَا أَنْتَ بِالْحَكَمِ التُّرْضَى حُكُومَتُهُ

mā 'anta bi-l-hakami l-turḍā ḥukūmatuhu

‘thou art not the judge whose sentence is approved’

¹²⁰ A similar feature is observed in the “internet orthography” of Egyptian Arabic. The following example is taken from a Facebook status update by a Cairene woman in her mid-20s on a picture showing her jumping (early 2019).

و انا الكنت فكراني خرجت من عنق الزجاجة

wa-na lli-kuttī fakrā-ni ḥaragtī min 'unuq il-zugāga

‘And I who thought myself to have gotten out of the bottleneck’

The relativiser here is written proclitically to the following verb. For another example, see footnote 121 below.

¹²¹ Wright (2005: I, 269–270) interprets both these examples as cases where the definite article functions as a relative pronoun (*al-turḍā* for *allaḍī turḍā*, *al-ma'ahu* for *llaḍī ma'ahu*); diachronically the Arabic definite article and the relative pronouns share the same deictic element (*a*)/-; for a survey of nominal attribution in Semitic, see Retsö (2009, with references). And cf. e.g. the optional Egyptian Arabic orthography with a proclitic relative pronoun, exemplified in a status update by a Cairene woman in her mid-30s (early 2021):

شكرا لكل أصحابي الفرحوني في عيد ميلادي

šukran li-kull-eṣṣābi lli-farraḥūni f- 'īd milādi

‘thanks to all my friends who made me happy on my birthday’

Another example of the same phenomenon is given in footnote 120.

- b. Raising of nominal clause predicate (example in Wright 2005: I, 269–270, with translation, emphasis added)

مَنْ لَا يَزَالُ شَاكِرًا عَلَى الْمَعَّةِ

man lā yazālu šākiran ‘*alā l-ma*’ *ahu*

‘he who does not cease to be grateful for what is with him (or for what he has)’

Instead, the predicate may be raised from being the finite verb in the relative clause to become a predicative attribute of the head in the matrix clause via nominalization (comparable to Andrews’ reduced relative clauses). In the present investigation, only relative clauses with a nominalization of the finite predicate will be referred to as nominalized relatives. This is typically done via participles as a deverbalization strategy.

2.3.5.2. Nominalization of relative clauses in Media Arabic

The *Al-Ahram Stylebook* advises to take care not to use *allaḡī wa-llatī* and *wa-huwa wa-hiya* frequently (*bi-kaṭṭratin*), which must be understood as the use of non-deverbalized syndetic relative clauses and anaphorically resumptive clauses. Syndetic relative clauses are to be omitted, or replaced by attributive participles in accordance with the example given by the *Stylebook* (Nāfi’ 1997: 86):

فلا يقال: مبنى التلفزيون الذى يقع على كورنيش النيل، وإنما مبنى التلفزيون المطل على النيل، أو مبنى التلفزيون على الكرنيش.

‘So it should not be said: the television building which is located on the Nile Corniche, but rather the television building overlooking the Nile, or the television building on the Corniche.’

In the present investigation, all types of clausal postmodifiers, or relative clauses, will be investigated for frequency and morphology, including nominalized relative clauses. The discussion has a synchronic approach. Diachronically, certain conjunctions can be analysed as nominalized relative clauses via integration, e.g. *hīna*, a temporal accusative noun in the construct state ‘at the/a time in which’, ‘when’. In the following synchronic investigation, such subordinating conjunctions are not analysed as relative clauses.

Nominalization of the finite relative clause prototype may occur via the raising of the predicate to a participle (Andrews’ reduced relative clauses with *-ing* and *-ed*). Fully raised, the verbal participle may behave like a prototypical noun (Example 66) or an attributive adjective (with no core arguments; Example 67). Occupying the extreme ends of nominalization, similar constructions, as well as adverbs, e.g. *sābiqan*, ‘earlier’, are not counted as relative clauses in the present investigation (for participles as adverbs, see 6.8.4). The function as subject of *al-mutaḡaddiṭu l-rasmiyyu* in Example (66) is excluded

from investigation on the grounds explained in 2.3.4 (core constituent; but cf. 6.4.1).

66. Article 30 (lead), fully nominalized participle used as a noun in apposition, participial morphology

أعلن عبدالمالك المخلافى المتحدث الرسمى باسم اللجنة الرئاسية المكلفة بالتفاوض مع جماعة أنصار الله الحوثية أمس عن التوصل إلى مبادرة وطنية لحل الأزمة الراهنة	'a' lana 'abdulmalik el- mehlāfī al-mutaḥaddiṭu l- rasmiyyu bi-smi l-lağnati l- ri'āsiyyati l-mukallafati bi-l- tafāwuḍi ma'a ġamā'ati 'anṣār allāh al-ḥūṭiyyati 'amsi 'ani l-tawaṣṣuli 'ilā mubādaratin waṭaniyyatin li- ḥalli l-'azmati l-rāhinati[.] ¹²²	Abdulmalik al-Mekhlafī, the official spokesman on behalf of the Presidential Committee tasked to negotiate with the Houthi Ansar Allah group an- nounced yesterday to having reached a national initiative to solve the present crisis.

Likewise with the participle functioning as an attributive adjective in Example (67). This function of participial morphology will not be investigated.

67. Article 1, participial morphology as an attributive adjective

وقالت «رويترز»، إن زيارة للدوحة قام بها أكبر ثلاثة أمراء فى السعودية بينهم وزير الخارجية سعود الفصل يوم الأربعاء الماضى أثارت تكهنات على نطاق واسع فى وسائل إعلام دول الخليج بأن اجتماع جدة سيتمخض عن حل أو تصعيد للخلاف.	wa-qālat «Rūytirz» 'inna ziyāratān li-l-dūḥā qāma bihā 'akbaru talāṭati 'umarā'a fī el-sa'ūdiyya baynahum wazīru l-ḥārīġiyy- yati sa'ūd el-fayṣal yawma l- 'arbi'ā'i l-māḍiya 'atārat takahhunātin 'alā nitāqin wāsi'in fī wasā'ili 'i'lāmi duwali el-ḥalīġ bi'anna ġtimā'a ġedda sa- yatamahḥaḍu 'an ḥallin 'aw taṣ'īdin li-l-ḥilāfī.	And «Reuters» said that a visit to Doha that the three most prominent princes in Saudi, among whom [were] the for- eign minister Saud al-Faisal, undertook last Wednesday stirred speculations in a far- reaching [lit. wide] manner in the Gulf media that the Jeddah meeting would yield [either] a solution or an escalation of the dispute.

Examples (68)–(72), however, illustrate a number of different nominalizing strategies of the prototypical relative clauses in Media Arabic. These examples illustrate nominalization via a predicative participle, with both a definite head (68) and an indefinite head (69), passive nominative participle + a resumptive preposition (70), and false *'idāfa* types, both with participle predicate (71) and adjective (72). The examples will not be graded for nouniness.

Example (66) above, repeated as (68) below, features the basic nominalization strategy whereby the predicate is a predicative participle that agrees fully with the nominative head. This construction in Media Arabic is discussed in 6.4.5.4.

¹²² The article has a paragraph division here, following the lead, but no full stop.

68. Article 30 (lead), nominalized relative clause: predicative attributive, participle (repeated from Example 66 above)

'a 'lana 'abdulmalik el-meḥlāfi al-mutaḥaddiṭu l-rasmiyyu bi-smi l-lağnati l-ri'āsiyyati l-mukallafati bi-l-tafāwuḍi ma'a ḡamā'ati anṣār allāh al-ḥūṭiyyati 'amsi 'ani l-tawaṣṣuli 'ilā mubādaratin waṭaniyyatin li-ḥallī l-'azmati l-rāhinati
'Abdulmalik al-Mekhlafi, the official spokesman on behalf of the Presidential Committee **tasked to negotiate with the Houthi Ansar Allah** [...]

69. Article 126 (lead), nominalized relative clause: raised predicate, predicative attribution via the indefinite participle

كشفت تقرير صادر عن منظمة العفو الدولية التي يوجد مقرها في لندن، إن صادرات المنتجات الصينية تزيد من عمليات التعذيب وغيرها من انتهاكات حقوق الإنسان في الكثير من الدول الآسيوية والإفريقية.	kašafa taqrīrun ṣādirun 'an munazzamati l-'afwi l-du- waliyyati llatī yūḡadu maqarruhā fī landan, 'inna ṣādirāti l-muntaḡāti l-ṣīniyyati tuzīdu min 'amaliyyāti l- ta'dībi wa-ḡayrihā mina nti- hākāti ḥuqūqi l-insāni fī-l- kaṭīri mina l-duwali l- 'āsiyawīyyati wa-l-'afrīqiy- yati.	A report originating from [issued by] the interna- tional organization Am- nesty whose headquarters is in London, revealed that the exports of Chinese products increase torture practices and other human rights violations in lots of the Asian and Afri- can countries.

The examples in (70) are taken from BCG (§2.1.3.3), and illustrate a loss of morphological agreement of the predication vis-à-vis the head. BCG refer to the construction as an expanded adjectival phrase with a passive participle of an indirectly transitive verb, “i.e. one that requires a preposition” (BCG: §2.1.3.3). The participle is invariable for number and gender (being masculine singular). This construction in Media Arabic is discussed in 6.4.2.

70. Nominalized relative clause with passive participle (m.sg.) + 'ā'id
a. أمر متنازع عليه

'amrun mutanāza 'un 'alayhi

'a **disputed** matter', lit. 'a matter, there having been disputed over it' (example and translation from BCG: §2.1.3.3, emphasis in original)

- b. الجهة المنوط بها اختيار المسافرين

al-ḡihatu l-manūṭu bihā ḥtiyāru l-musāfirīna

'the agency **with which** the choice of travellers **has been entrusted**', lit. 'the agency, been entrusted with the choice of travellers' (example and translation from BCG: §2.1.3.3, emphasis in original)

Examples (71) and (72) feature a false annexation type nominalization, in (71) with a passive participle as predicate, and in (72) with an adjective as predicate. In both examples, the predicate agrees fully with the head. The genitive annexed to the predicate is a marker typically associated with nominals, rather than the finite verbal prototype clause (2.3.3.1 ff.). This construction in Media Arabic is discussed in 6.4.3.

71. Article 45, false 'iḍāfa, with participle as predicate

من جانب آخر، قامت مجموعة مجهولة الهوية بتدمير تمثال مؤسس الجمهورية التركية مصطفى كمال أتاتورك وإنزال العلم التركي من على ساريته [...]	min ḡānibin 'āhara, qāmat <u>maḡmū'atun maḡhūlatu l-</u> <u>huwīyyati</u> bi-tadmīri timtālī mu'assisi l-ḡumhūriyyati l- turkiyyati muṣṭafā kemāl 'atātürk wa-'inzālī l-'alami l-turkiyyi min 'alā sāriyatihi wa-[...]	On another topic, <u>a group un-</u> <u>known as to the identity</u> [= an unidentified group] destroyed the statue of the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and took down the Turkish flag from its flag- pole and [...]

72. Article 87 (lead), false 'iḍāfa, with adjective as predicate

في نظرة متشائمة لمستقبل الاقتصاد التركي ، أعلنت مؤسسة «فيتش» للتصنيفات الائتمانية أن الديون الخارجية قصيرة الأجل لتركيا وصلت إلى ١٢٤,٧ مليار دولار.	fī naẓratin mutašā'imatin li-l- mustaqbali l-iqtisādi l-turkiyyi , 'a'lanat mu'assasatu «fiṭš» li- l-tašnīfāti l-i'timāniyyati 'anna l-duyūna l-hāriḡiyyata <u>qaṣīrata l-'aḡali</u> li-turkiyā waṣalat 'ilā 124,7 milyār# dūlārin.	In a pessimistic outlook on the future of the Turkish economy, the «Fitch» foundation for credit rat- ings announced that <u>the</u> <u>foreign short-term debts</u> of Turkey have reached 124.7 billion dollars.

2.3.5.3. na 't sababī

Comparable to the constructions with genitives annexed to the predicate of the nominal predicate in (71) and (72) is the *na 't sababī*. In the *na 't sababī*, or the “semantically linked qualifier” (BCG: §2.1.3.4, 114ff.), the postmodifying participle agrees in definiteness and case with the preceding head, but in number and gender with the following independent noun, which is always in the nominative (cf. Examples 62a and 58b from Greek).¹²³ As BCG (§2.1.3.4) point out, “[b]oth the presence of an obligatory linking pronoun and the agreement of the part[iciple] with the number and gender of its following noun, as if it were a verb, make this construction very similar to rel[ative] clauses”. BCG adduce an example to illustrate the similarity with the finite relative clause prototype.

¹²³ The criterion of agreement in definiteness between the head and the postmodifier may however be ruled out when a pronominal suffix is added to the postmodifier (*iltibās*, ‘involvement’, in the terminology of Sībawayhi; see Carter, “Sabab” in EALL). *Marartu bi-raḡulin muḡālīḥi dā'un*, lit. ‘I passed by a man, a sickness infecting him’ (translation and example from Carter), or even *marartu bi-raḡulin muḡālīḥin 'abāhu dā'un*, lit. ‘I passed by a man, a sickness affecting his father’ (*iltabasa bi-ṣay'in min sababihi*, in the terminology of Sībawayhi, see Carter, from which the example and translation is taken).

73. The *na 't sababī* vs. the finite relative prototype (BCG: §2.1.3.4)a. *na 't sababī*

المرأة الجالس زوجها

*al-mar'atu l-ğālisu zawğuhā*lit. 'the woman **the-sitting-down** [m.sg.] **her husband**' (example and translation from BCG: §2.1.3.4, emphasis added; read 'a woman whose husband is sitting down')

b. Corresponding relative construction

المرأة التي يجلس زوجها

*al-mar'atu llatī yağlisu zawğuhā*lit. 'the woman, **that one is sitting down** [m.sg.] **her husband**'. (example and translation from BCG: §2.1.3.4, emphasis added; read 'a woman whose husband is sitting down')

Example (74) features a *na 't sababī* from the corpus with the predicate *al-muntahiyatu*, which agrees in definiteness and case with the preceding head, *al-ra'īsu*, but in number and gender with the following noun, *wilāyatuhu*.

74. Article 131 (lead), improper annexation, *na 't sababī*

اعتبر الرئيس الافغانى المنتهية ولايته حامد كرزاي أمس، أن الولايات المتحدة أخفقت فى إحلال السلام والأمن فى الدولة التي اجتاحتها عسكريا عام ٢٠٠١.	i'tabara l-ra'īsu l- 'afgāniyyu l-muntahiyatu wilāyatuhu, ḥāmid karzāy 'amsi, 'anna l-wilāyāti l- muttaḥidata 'aḥfaqt fi 'ihlālī l-salāmi wa-l-'amni fi-l-dawlati llatī ḡtāḥathā 'askariyyan 'āma 2001.	The Afghan president ending [is] his rule [outgoing presi- dent], Hamid Karzai ex- pressed yesterday that the United States failed in bring- ing peace and security in the country which it raided mili- tarily in the year 2001.

The *na 't sababī* in Media Arabic is discussed in 6.4.4.

2.3.6. Epithets and classifiers

Nominal modifiers, e.g. adjectives, can be grouped into the extremes of classifiers and epithets. This section aims at describing these terms, as well as to complicate the theoretical dichotomy they seem to imply.

2.3.6.1. Epithets

Epithets are qualifiers of a subset, classified either as experiential epithets, indicating objective qualities that may be defining, or attitudinal epithets, expressing subjective and interpersonal attitudes of the speaker (Halliday 2014: 376–377).

- 75.** Experiential epithets (examples from Halliday 2014: 376)
- Naval authorities believe the boat may have capsized because it was carrying a **heavy** load of construction materials in **choppy** waters.*
 - Then he saw it—a **large red** feather barely sticking out of the straw mat.*
 - New** numbers also will be inserted between the **new** area code and the **old** phone number.*
 - It is spring, moonless night in the small town, starless and bible-black, the cobblestreets silent and the hunched couters'-and-rabbits' wood limping invisible down to the **slowblack, slow, black, crowblack, fishingboat-bobbing** sea.*
- 76.** Attitudinal, or interpersonal, epithets (examples from Halliday 2014: 376)
- Oh God Maitland was a **really cute little** town.*
 - I knocked on the door and an **awfully sweet** lady came.*
 - He lives in what Alec Guinness has called a “stately pleasure dome”, a 17th-century “pavilion” with **splendid** gardens in the depths of Buckinghamshire.*

Morphologically, epithets are typically either adjectives or adjectival participles in Arabic, and may in the case of comparative constructions come with an additional verbal noun (*tamyīz*, Example 77) or prepositional phrase (78).

77. Article 102, epithets, susceptible to comparison

وأكد الزعماء الثلاثة أن التصويت بـ«لا» سيضمن تغييرا أسرع وأكثر أمانا وأفضل لشعب أسكتلندا مقارنة بـ«الانفصال».	wa-'akkada l-zu'amā'u l- talāṭatu 'anna l-taṣwīta bi- «lā» sa-yaḍmanu taḡvīran 'asra'a wa-'akṭara 'amānan wa 'afḍala li-ša'bi 'iskutlandā muqāranatan bi- «al-infiṣāl#».	And the three leaders [Miliband, Cameron, Clegg] said that voting «no» would guarantee a faster, more se- cure , and better change for the people of Scotland, compared to [voting for] «the secession».

78. Prepositional phrase:

الرجل الأكبر في السن

al-raḡulu l-'akbaru fi-l-sinn[ī]

‘**the oldest man**’, lit. ‘**the-man the-bigger in-the-age**’ (example from Holes 2004: 210, emphasis added)

2.3.6.2. Classifiers

Classifiers, on the other hand, are more technical, differentiating—hence contrasting—the specified subset against other subclasses in the same lexical domain. Unlike epithets, classifiers are binary attributes (on/off) and cannot be intensified (‘very’) or graded by degrees of comparison.¹²⁴

79. Classifiers (examples from Halliday 2014: 377)

- a. *Prison guards restrain the inmates with **electric shock** stun guns, **leg irons**, **pepper spray** and **restraint** chairs.*
- b. *Macquarie laid the **foundation** stone of the Cathedral the following year.*

Morphologically, classifiers may be adjectives, participles, or nouns in Arabic, but more grammatically complex structures are also employed. Constructions as exemplified for postmodifiers, appositions, and annexations (see 2.3.2) are thought to be typical.

In Example (80), from the headline of Article 62, the two adjectives are both classificatory: the first, *al-’ūrūbbiyyu*, ‘the European’, classifies the European Union in relation to other unions, and the second, *al-iqtisādiyyata*, ‘the economic’ classifies ‘the sanctions’ (*al-’uqūbāti*) to the subclass of economic sanctions as opposed to e.g. diplomatic or military sanctions. Both adjectives are of the binary type. The example has no epithets.

80. Article 62 (headline), classifier, attributive adjectives

الاتحاد الأوروبي يعلق العقوبات الاقتصادية المرتبقة على روسيا	al-ittihādu l-’ūrūbbiyyu yu’al- liq l-’uqūbāti l-iqtisādiyyata l-murtaqabata ‘alā rūsiyā	The European Union sus- pends the expected eco- nomic sanctions on Russia

In Example (81) from Article 56, the classifiers are of three syntactic patterns. There are 4x genitive annexations of a noun to a head: 1x in *quwwātu l-’amni*, ‘the **security** forces’ (lit. ‘forces **of the security**’), 1x in *wa-ḥarāṭima l-miyāhi*, ‘**water** cannons’, 1x *wizārati l-dāḥiliyyati*, ‘**foreign** ministry’, and 1x in *tarīqi l-maṭāri*, ‘the **airport** road’; 1x as an attributive adjective: *al-iḥtiḡāḡāti l-ḥūṭiyyati*, ‘the **Houthi** protests’; and 1x as a more complex syntax consisting of a participle + an annexed direct object introduced by *li-*: *al-ḡāza l-musīla li-l-dumū’i*, ‘**tear gas**’ (lit. ‘**the gas** causing.to.flow the tears’). The passage has no epithets.

¹²⁴ Strictly speaking, *nisba* surnames, e.g. *el-baḡdādī* and similar, may also be treated as classifiers.

81. Article 56, classifiers

وتدخلت قوات الأمن للمرة الأولى أمس الأول منذ بدء الاحتجاجات الحوثية في 18 أغسطس ، واستخدمت الغاز المسيل للدموع وخراطيم المياه لتفريق المتظاهرين الذين كانوا يقربون من وزارة الداخلية وإجبارهم على فتح طريق المطار.	wa-tadaḥḥalat quwwātu l- 'amni li-l-marrati l-'ulā 'amsi l-'awwala munḍu bad'i l-iḥtiḡāḡāti l- ḥūṭiyyati fī 18 'aḡuṣṭus , wa-staḥdamati l-ḡāza l- muṣila li-l-dumū'ī wa- ḥarāṭīma l-miyāhi li- tafrīqi l-mutaḏāhirīna llaḍīna kānū yaqṭaribūna min wizāratī l-dāḥi- liyyati wa-li-'iḡbārihim 'alā fathī ṭarīqi l-maṭāri.	And the security forces inter- fered the day before yesterday for the first time since the begin- ning of the Houthi protests in August 18th, and used tear gas [lit. the gas causing tears to flow] and water cannons in or- der to disperse the demonstrators who were approaching the min- istry of the interior , and in order to force them to open the airport <u>road</u> .

As can be seen in Example (81), the classificatory function of the different constructions is constant, but the semantic relations holding between the classifier and the head may vary considerably.¹²⁵ Participles in Media Arabic may function as both nouns, post-deictics, epithets, and classifiers, and as clausal postmodifiers. Their categorization depends on a semantic analysis in context, and on methodological decisions.¹²⁶

As suggested by Example (81), classifiers—rather than epithets—appear to be a highly salient feature of Media Arabic. Classifiers help the reader orientate between different real-world actants in the news narrative, classifying different parties, groups, persons, occupations, and so on; epithets would violate authorial distance (see 1.4.7).

Though discrete categories at surface level, the binary dichotomy of epithets and classifiers poses a number of questions. A quantitative investigation of classifiers vs. epithets is a *desideratum* of future research, and is not part of the present investigation. In the following, a lemma, root *ḥll*, in stem VIII will be discussed and problematized to illustrate the difficulties.

¹²⁵ “The range of semantic relations that may be embodied in a set of items functioning as Classifier is very broad; it includes material, scale and scope, purpose and function, status and rank, origin, mode of operation—more or less any feature that may serve to classify a set of things into a system of smaller sets.” (Halliday 2014: 377).

¹²⁶ For a discussion of English participles in this context, see Halliday (2014: 379–380).

2.3.6.3. Case study: *-muḥtall-*

The consonantal series *-mḥtl-* is attested 17x times in the corpus. On the fringes of its etymologically predictable lexical domain, the passive participle *muḥtall#*, ‘occupied’, occurs in contexts outside its immediately objective scope: examples in the extended corpus include *el-quds al-muḥtallat#*, *el-ḡulān al-muḥtallat#*, *al-’arādī (al-filasṭīniyyat#) l-muḥtallat#*, *šeb’ā l-muḥtallat#*, *el-diffa el-ḡarbiyya l-muḥtallat#*; in addition to this, the Israeli forces are sometimes labelled *quwwāt# al-iḥtilālī (al-’isrā’īliyyat#)*, ‘the (Israeli) occupation forces’, lit. ‘(the) forces of the occupation’.

When binarily classifying modifiers into either epithets or classifiers, the analyst here runs into a methodological problem. Clearly, the ‘occupation’ in ‘the occupation forces’ distinguishes these particular forces from other types and classes of forces. On the other hand, the modifier is attitudinal in that it imposes an exterior interpretation on the function of these forces vis-à-vis other forces, much different to the word *defense* in the official name of the Israeli Defense Forces.

As for *muḥtall#* in phrases like *el-quds al-muḥtallat#*, ‘the occupied Jerusalem’, its function is further from a typical classifier; it is indeed highly unlikely that the intended function of the postmodifier is to classify this particular *el-quds* in relation to other non-occupied Jerusalems. On the other hand is the participial form an experiential epithet or an attitudinal epithet, if excluding the possibility of a predicative interpretation (nominalized relative clause)? It may be argued that it is describing an objective quality of the city, where the modifier is also defining, i.e. an experiential epithet, but it may also be said to express the subjective and interpersonal attitude, an interpretation of the writer concerning the city, much like an attitudinal epithet would. The rhetorical force of writing ‘the occupied so and so’ is naturally less distanced than ‘the allegedly occupied so and so’, if not leaving out the participle altogether. Through its use, without further specification, Media Arabic news reporting sometimes veers—albeit quite deliberately—from the position of authorial distance, imposing an interpretation of the reported events, rather than reporting objectively and without bias. This is arguably the case when it comes to “the Palestinian issue” (see 3.15.1 on metaphors). Strictly speaking, the primary function of the participle in this context is that of an experiential epithet, where said territories are presented as objectively occupied. A methodological investigation into epithets and classifiers of Media Arabic is a *desideratum* of future research.

2.3.7. Head as numerative, epithet, or classifier

The head in a nominal group may function as a numerative, epithet, or classifier. Non-specific deictics may function as head in an NP, as illustrated in Example (82):

82. Head as numerative (examples from Halliday 2014: 392; emphasis altered from original)
- I think we're seeing another one of those periodic eruptions[.]*
 - Well, I get rather fed up of some of these youngsters and the clap-trap they talk sometimes.*
 - I can't offer you any of Malcolm's sherry because he hasn't got much.*

In Arabic, the quantitative numerals may also be head:

83. Article 9 (headline), quantitative numeral as head
- مقتل ٩ عسكريين في انفجار بدمشق
- maqṭalu 9 'askariyyīna fī infiḡārin bi-dimašq*
 'The killing of nine soldiers in an explosion in Damascus'¹²⁷ (i.e. 'Nine soldiers killed ...').

When the head of a nominal group functions as an epithet, it is an attitudinal noun "embodying some positive or more usually negative appraisal" (Halliday 2014: 393):

84. Head as epithet (examples from Halliday 2014: 393; emphasis altered from original)
- I met this feisty, wonderful, paradoxical genius of a woman that I'm nuts about[.]*
 - He's a hell of a pitcher, probably the best in the game right now, and as long as he knows he can go to another level, the sky's the limit for that kid.*
 - He has apparently been an absolute nightmare of a client[.]*
85. Head as classifier (examples from Halliday 2014: 393; emphasis altered from original)
- The concept of an intercolonial exhibition was a new one[.]*
 - The RBC model includes concepts of Leadership, Teamwork, Professional Practice, Care Delivery, Resources and Outcomes[.]*
 - Over the next fortnight, the Brisbane Olympic Games delegation will filter into the small Swiss city of Lausanne, on the shores of Lake Geneva.*
 - He's likely to point to the capture over the weekend of the cities of Brega and Ras Lanuf by anti-Qaddafi forces.*

¹²⁷ The *maṣḍar* fills the function of Vsuff in headlines.

This category also includes appositions of the kind *my brother the lawyer*, where the apposition is elaborating (Halliday 2014: 393).

86. Classifier, noun in apposition (Article 65)

وأوضحوا أن بروكسل انتابها التوتر إزاء تفتت أحد أكبر الدول الأعضاء بالاتحاد.
wa-’awḍahū ’anna brüksel intābahā l-tawatturu ’izā’a tafattuti
’ahadi ’akbari l-duwalī l-’a’ḍā’i bi-l-ittihādi.

‘And they explained that nervousness about the disintegration of one of the largest **member states** of the union has grasped Brussels.’

According to Halliday, Examples (85a) and (85b) are identical to (85c) and (85d) in that the head is a classifier, “where the head word specifies the class to which the Thing is being said to belong” (Halliday 2014: 393).

Examples (85c) and (85d), however, include cases of epexegetical genitives:¹²⁸ ontologically speaking, the genitive component explicitly **is** what is specified more generally by the head: Lausanne is a city outside the text as well. The genitive constructions in (85a) and (85b) are different semantically, since the appositional meaning of the genitive component is established by the text, rather than extra-textually: an intercolonial exhibition is not necessarily a concept, but is here classified as such via the genitive.

We are clearly dealing with a continuum: in Example (81), *quwwāt# al-’amni*, lit. ‘forces.of DEF.security.GEN’, ‘security forces’, and *ṭarīq# al-maṭārī* ‘road.of DEF.airport.GEN’, ‘airport road’, are comparable examples. Here, there is no shared ontology: ‘forces’ and ‘the security’ are not one and the same, neither are ‘a road’ and ‘the airport’ one and the same: the genitive components specify the head as classifiers by stating which forces and which road are meant, as opposed to other forces and roads. These examples are comparable to the English compounds rendered in the translations and comparable to the classifying adjectives in *al-iḥtiğāğāti l-ḥūṭiyyati*, ‘the Houthi protests’ in (81) and *al-’uqūbāt# l-iqtisādiyyat#*, ‘the economic sanctions’ in (80).

Given that genitive annexations may be used to code classifiers, a discussion is in place of what a classifier is not. Constructions with objective genitive where the construction refers to a singular event, e.g. *da’at ra’īsatu ḥizbi [...]* ‘ilā našri *tafāṣṣili* l-ittifāqi [...], ‘the head of the [...] party called [...] for the publishing of **details of** [...]’ (Article 31), are not counted as a classifiers;

¹²⁸ The term “epexegetic” comes from Greek grammar (cf. Blomquist & Jastrup 2006: 182 §232.8; from Greek ἐπεξεγήομαι, ‘explain besides’, see LSJ), where the terms “genitive of explanation” and “appositive genitive” are also used (Smyth 1956: §1322): “The genitive of an explicit word” explains “the meaning of a more general word”. The term is also used for Semitic languages (for the construction in Semitic, see Edzard 2014, with references).

although it could be argued that a special type of publishing is called for, we are not dealing with a different subtype of publishing, at least this is not overtly coded via the postmodifier *tafāṣīl*#. ¹²⁹ Subjective genitives, e.g. *qarār*# *'isrā'īl muṣādarata 'arāḍin* [...], '**Israel's** decision to confiscate lands [...]' (Article 31), ¹³⁰ or possessive genitives, e.g. *marākib*# *al-ṣayyādīna l-filasṭīniyyīna*, lit. 'the Palestinian **fishermen's** boats' (Article 31), are not classifiers, but possessives, on the same grounds as the pronominal suffix is not a classifier, e.g. *'a raba* [...] *'an 'amalihi*, '[he] expressed **his** hope' (Article 31): a classifier distinguishes one subclass from other subclasses, rather than one item from another within the same subclass. Israel's decision, the Palestinians' boats, and any one particular person's hope are not classified here as a specific subclass of decisions, boats, or hopes by virtue of these postmodifiers, at least not by default through the grammatical construction. Moreover, *qarār*# *'isrā'īl* is semantically identical to *qarār*#*n 'isrā'īliyy#n*, 'an Israeli decision', but on a different level of nominalization. With the possessive noun, the agentive semantic role of Israel is still overt, whereas it has to be inferred with the *nisba* ending.

Moreover, prepositional postmodifiers—e.g. *al-'amīn*# *al-'āmm*# *li-l-'umami l-muttaḥidati*, lit. 'the secretary general **of the United Nations**' (Article 31) or *'arāḍin fī el-ḍiffa el-ḡarbiyya*, 'lands **in the West Bank**' (Article 31)—are classifying. On the grounds that the nouns are individualized, the function of the postmodifier is not to identify **what** subclass, but rather **which** items within a subclass of secretary generals and territories are intended.

Likewise with adverbial postmodifiers, such as *ṣabāḥ*# *'amsi*, lit. 'morning **of yesterday**': *'amsi* is not a classifier since it does not distinguish a type of morning from other types of mornings, but rather states which morning is meant from among a subgroup of mornings.

To summarize, an investigation of classifiers vs. epithets in Media Arabic would need a more rigid methodology than can be used in the present investigation. The ratios for epithets vs. classifiers have not been investigated and will remain a *desideratum* of future research.

¹²⁹ Cf. constructions like *amor Dei*, 'the love of God', where—depending on context—a specific subtype of love may be intended, where God is either the object or subject of love. In this construction, *Dei*, 'of God', functions as a classifier, the phrase being similar to a compound.

¹³⁰ Cf. *al-qarārātu l-duwaliyyatu*, 'international resolutions' (Article 37).

2.4. Summary of scope: What will be investigated?

“Noun phrases arising through nominalization are often complex.” (Givón 1990: II, 498; also in Givón 1993: II, 287)

As discussed in 2.3, the focus of the quantitative study of semantic relations is on peripheral constituents of the clause, and the semantics of clause linking within the sentence (for terminology and the definition of sentence, see 2.3.1); adjectival, appositional, and annexed postmodifiers will not be investigated quantitatively (defined and discussed in 2.3.2, see also 2.3.6–2.3.7). The question of what a clause is in Arabic poses a number of questions, especially in a survey of the present kind. If certain semantics of clause linking frequently appear nominalized in the corpus, it would be misleading not to include nominalized constructions in a description of the register.

According to Givón (2001: II, 24), nominalization is most likely to occur when the erstwhile verbal clause comes to occupy “a prototypical nominal position/function—subject, direct object, indirect object or nominal predicate—**within another clause**” (emphasis added).

The core constituents of a clause include subject, verb, direct object, and indirect object, or subject, optional copula, and predicate. In the present investigation, the relative position of an explicit subject vis-à-vis the finite verb in a finite clause, and the morphology of the predicate in the non-nominalized clauses will be taken into account together with the complementizers, coordinators, and conjunctions. A nominalized clause (see 2.3.3–2.3.5) in any of the core constituent slots of a clause will be disregarded unless it happens to be an explicit subject in a finite clause, in which case it will be annotated as subject. Exceptions to this are complement clauses with a non-deverbalized internal structure, e.g. clauses introduced by an *n*-(*h*)-complementizer: *'inna*, *'an*, *'anna* (investigated in 5.3.2).

Subordinate clauses, non-deverbalized complement clauses, and peripheral constituents of the clausal prototype, as well as clausal postmodifiers with the exceptions discussed in 2.3 will be investigated. This includes finite subordinate clauses, relative clauses (finite and nominalized), peripheral PPs, peripheral nominatives and accusatives, adverbs, non-deverbalized complement clauses, and nominalized subordinate clauses. Obligatory arguments, accusative or prepositional, of the prototypical verb will not be investigated, e.g. the argument introduced by *'alā* in *ittafaqa 'alā* or *al-ittifāqu 'alā* will not be investigated, regardless of the position in the clause, or its relation to other core arguments.

The constructions mentioned are investigated quantitatively for each construction, as well as their relations to their respective matrix/head.

As mentioned, a few nominal relations were left uninvestigated. These are:

- Reciprocal relations, believed to be typically expressed with *bayna* and/or *ma ‘a*.
- Partitive, genitive-like, and *tnesis* expressions expressed through *min*.
- Genitive type annexation via *li-*.
- Expressions with the meaning ‘generally’, e.g. *bi-šaklin ‘āmmīn*.
- Expressions with the meaning ‘on behalf’ and about delegation.
- Expressions that render exact numerals inexact (described in 2.3.2.2).

With these few exceptions, all relations in the corpus have been annotated and investigated quantitatively for type and semantics of linking vis-à-vis a matrix/head; the attested relation types are described in Part 4, the quantitative results are given in Parts 5 and 6.

2.5. Method of gathering linguistic data: WebAnno

This chapter will delineate the method for gathering and organizing linguistic data with the help of a computer.

All analyses were done manually, but stored as annotations in the program WebAnno. The *modus operandi* of WebAnno is similar to manual annotation with pen and paper, where every linguistic analysis is based on human input for every arbitrary segment of corpus text, and where the analyst marks off syntactic units and relates them to each other in some way or another. The benefit and difference of computer assistance, however, is that all data is stored digitally, with statistics easily extractable without the need to gather the data on a separate piece of paper.¹³¹ The computer computes.

¹³¹ In the annotation of Entities, the program brat was used. The “brat rapid annotation tool” is a “web-based tool for text annotation” (<http://brat.nlpab.org/introduction.html>) and runs in a Linux environment. The brat home page (brat.nlpab.org/index.html) offers an “online environment for collaborative text annotation”. Although designed to offer synchronous annotation by multiple parties simultaneously working from spatially remote places with the same text, I ran brat (v.1.3 crunchy frog) on a local server, allowing for offline work, but at the price of synchronous annotation by multiple users. As a PC user, I ran a version of Linux (Ubuntu, 32-bit) via the Oracle VM virtualBox manager (v. 4.3.24), with a local server accessible via a standard web browser (Google Chrome) in Windows 7. Once this was set up, it was possible to annotate, store, edit, and make configurations directly in Windows via user-defined shortcut keys, without the initial learning curve of Linux code. The shortcut keys facilitated consistency, but the reasoning behind the decision to abandon brat in the later stages of annotation was twofold: 1) with an increased number of annotations, the program gradually slowed down, and 2) brat does not allow for the creation of relations across lines. The latter was a deal-breaker. The above methodology chapter only explains annotation in WebAnno. In the end, nothing I kept from the brat annotations cannot be annotated in WebAnno. Moreover, WebAnno is by far a more user-friendly program, since it does not require the user to write code.

2.5.1. Computer-assisted analysis

Working with corpora, researchers will eventually find themselves immersed in data. In days of yore, the lack of processing tools outside the cognitive capacity of the individual researcher relegated extraction of statistics from texts to manual annotation, paperwork, and endless calculation.

This section details the method used for this investigation.

2.5.2. Annotation of constituent types and relations

2.5.2.1. WebAnno

The present investigation is centred around WebAnno, a computer program for the annotation of texts or an entire corpus. WebAnno enables exports of data in one file, allowing for computerized searches and the avoidance of human error in calculating the attestations of annotated linguistic phenomena.

In WebAnno, “Relations” are made between “Entities” (also called “Components”).

An Entity is an annotated string of text of arbitrary segmental length ≥ 1 character, e.g. an interpunctuation sign, a main clause, a subordinate clause, a prepositional phrase, or larger. For a syntactic investigation, Entities can be given arbitrary names by the user, e.g. relating to their function within the text, such as `<subject>`¹³² or `<predicate>`, or include larger segments of text and be named e.g. `<main-clause>`, `<subordinate-clause>`, or `<3alaa_prep-phrase>`. A given segment of text can be inclusive of many annotated Entities, and is not exclusive to any limited number of Entities. A `<main-clause>`, hence, may thus also include a segment named `<3alaa_prep-phrase>`.

A Relation is a user-created unidirectional link with an arbitrary name which holds between two Entities, e.g. from an Entity named `<subordinate-clause>` to an Entity named `<main-clause>`. The Relation is given an arbitrary user-defined name, e.g. `<cause>`. Relations can be drawn between any Entities within the same text, and also between lines. One Entity can function as the source and/or destination of a theoretically unlimited number of Relations.

WebAnno can handle multiple files and large corpora. The length of the names is theoretically infinite.

2.5.2.2. Consistency and systematization of the nomenclature

The benefit of annotating in a computer program is to let scripts allow for the handling of large amounts of data that would have been more time-consuming and cumbersome, if not unmanageable, to systematize and search manually with a human cognition.

¹³² In the following, the less than and greater than signs `< >` and `> <` will be used to mark off parts of script in the body of the text.

In all types of data extraction with computer scripts, but particularly in partial searches when full names of Entities are not used, consistency and exclusivity in the naming of Entities and Relations are key to a correct output. Searches can be partial, but for a partial search to give all variations of a category—e.g. relative clauses—the entire type of that linguistic structure needs to have at least some segment in their annotated Entity name which is unique to the category, first to the group as a whole (relative clauses), second to the different subtypes within that group (e.g. syndetic or asyndetic), and perhaps third to the type of predicate (Vsuff, VprefL, etc.). Needless to say, any given name needs to be absolutely consistently applied for all annotations of that Entity type, as well as there being a well-thought-through and systematic nomenclature.¹³³

The present investigation involved a total of about 28,000 manually created annotations,¹³⁴ and a total of around 1,300 unique names¹³⁵ of Entities and Relations. The present chapter will explain how the texts of the corpus were organized as Entities and Relations within WebAnno, and how the results were obtained. Given the large number of combinations in the naming of Entities and Relations, only a schematic overview of the system behind the nomenclature can be discussed.

2.5.2.3. Annotation of Entities

A tree annotation annotates the subject, verb, object, indirect object, and so on of every phrase and clause as separate Entities and creates Relations with names of their respective part of speech between them to investigate, among other things, core constituent structures, parts of speech, word order, and so on.

Since the present investigation focuses on semantic relations between clauses and between clauses and peripheral constituents at any level of nominalization (see 2.3–2.4), a typical tree annotation was deemed too time-consuming. Furthermore, it would yield much information beyond the scope of the present investigation. Briefly, it would be a waste of time.

¹³³ A search, for example, via the partial input “synd” will not yield the set of syndetic relative clauses if asyndetic relatives have the affix <asynd_> in their Entity names. To output only syndetic clauses, the partial search must be exclusive to the names of syndetic relative clause, e.g. “_synd”, or even longer, “REL_synd”. This goes for all names of Entities. A misspelling, e.g. <REL-synd>, in either annotation or input, will yield erroneous results. A poor nomenclature will cause certain partial searches to include unwanted Entities.

¹³⁴ This figure excludes about 35,000 complex lexical-level Entity annotations as generated by the MADAMIRA pipeline (on MADAMIRA “a fast, comprehensive tool for morphological analysis and disambiguation of Arabic”, see Pasha *et al.* 2014). Due to its inaccuracy, the output of MADAMIRA was never used for the writing of this book.

¹³⁵ This figure involves a number of Entities which are not discussed in the present investigation. One tentative study I did, for example, involved the annotation of appositions.

Instead, all phrases were annotated on a more structural level, with only limited information in the Entity name about core constituents. This method of annotation can be called inclusive, since this way, all core constituents of a clause were typically included under the umbrella of a single Entity name. A detriment to this type of annotation, however, is an increased number of Entity names. The following illustrates the strategies used. In principle, the nomenclature relies on the presence or absence of categorization within certain slots of the name. The slots are separated by { _ }, or { - }.

Non-nominalized clauses and participles

Non-nominalized clauses and participles were annotated with a prefix or infix. These include:

<MAIN_>	for main clauses
<COMP_MAIN_>	for complement main clauses
<REL_>	for relative clauses, with the obligatory suffix <synd> or <asynd>
<PTC_>	for participles, with the additional morphological information of definiteness (<DEF_>, <INDEF_>), diathesis (<ACT_>, <PASS_>), and case (<NOM_>, <GEN_>, <ACC_>)

The gram of the predication in these phrases was annotated as a suffix for morphology, e.g. <MAIN_Vsuff>, <MAIN_kaana_qad_fa3ala>, <REL_asynd_future_yatimmu_masdar>, or <MAIN_N-Cl>. Gender and number of the predicate was not annotated.

In addition, the presence of the lemmas *kāna* or a periphrastic passive (*tamma* + *maṣdar*), was annotated in place of the verbal morphology slot for all finite Entities, e.g. <COMP_MAIN_yatimmaA_masdar>.¹³⁶

All finite predicates were marked for the presence of a verb of attribution with a suffix <_verb_of_attribution>, e.g. <MAIN_Vsuff_verb_of_attribution>.

With the exception of the participle, <PTC_>, which always follows the head, and Entities with *tamma*, the above clauses were marked for the presence of a preposed overt subject via an infix <S->, e.g. <COMP_MAIN_S-Vsuff>.

All non-nominalized clauses, and non-relative clauses were marked for the presence, or—in the case of asyndetic subordination and certain main clauses—the absence of an initial conjunction via a prefix, e.g. <bayna-maa_Vsuff>, <wa-MAIN_kaana_S_qad_fa3ala_verb_of_attribution>, or simply <Vsuff> for an asyndetic, non-relative, non-main Vsuff clause whose verb is not *kāna*, a periphrastic passive, or a verb of attribution.

¹³⁶ In retrospect, I regret not including separate categories for *qāma* and *ḡarā*.

Nominal clauses were annotated with a suffix <_N-Cl>, and certain nominal clause structures assumed to be frequent were given separate Entity names based on their linguistic structure, e.g. <wa-dhalika_ba3da_prep-phrase_N-Cl>, <wa-MAIN_min_bayna_prep-phrase_N-Cl>, and so on.

Transition phrases, typically preceding a main clause, were given a separate Entity name and were not included in the annotation of the main clause; their relations vis-à-vis the clause were accounted for via the Relation's name.

In the case of non-nominalized relative clauses (prefixed by <REL_> or <wa-REL_>), the presence or absence of a relative pronoun in the *allaḍī* paradigm was marked with the infix <synd_> or <asynd_>, e.g. <wa-REL_synd_Vsuff> for syntagms of the type *wa-llaḍī fa'ala*. Gender and number of the relative pronoun was not annotated, nor its function in the clause.

Front dislocations

An additional affix was created for front dislocations, one for the front-dislocated Entity, <front-dislocation_>, and one for the Entity to which the front dislocation belonged, e.g. <COMP_MAIN_front-dislocation_future-VprefL>, <wa-laakin-na_front-dislocation_VprefL>. The relation to the clause of the front-dislocated element was annotated via the Relation.

n-(h)-complementizers

n-(h)-complementizers, i.e. *'an*, and *'anna* and *'inna* with optional pronominal suffixes, were annotated as <n-Complement> and were marked for the presence of a pronominal suffix via an affix <h_>, e.g. <n-h_Complement>, and/or for the presence of a coordinative *wa-*, e.g. <wa-n-h_Complement>. Neither the gender and number of the pronominal suffix, nor the type of complementizer (*'an*, *'anna* or *'inna*) was taken into account.¹³⁷ Prepositions preceding an *n-(h)-complementizer* were included as part of the annotated segment but given no separate annotation (and are hence searchable in the output).

Conjunctions such as *ba'da 'an* were not annotated as a preposition + a nominalized clause with a complementizer, but with a compound conjunction-prefix, <ba3da_an_> + verbal morphology, e.g. <ba3da_an_Vsuff>.

Prepositional phrases

PPs were annotated with a prefix for the preposition—e.g. <li->, <fi->—and a suffix <prep-phrase>. Both double prepositions, such as

¹³⁷ It is nonetheless theoretically possible to distinguish *'an* from *'anna*/*'inna* via a combinational search, e.g. via the presence or absence of an overt subject in the complement main clause (affix <S_>) or via a complement main clause with a <_VprefA> affix following a complementizer, which then must be *'an*. Subtraction of this figure from the total number of complementizers without <-h> affix would yield the total attestations of *'an*.

<min_3alaa_prep-phrase>, and complex PPs, e.g. <binaa2an_3alaa_prep-phrase>, were given discrete Entity names, to the exclusion of Entity annotations representing the formative types they include. The simple prepositional phrase introduced only with e.g. <3alaa_> was thus not annotated as a simple prepositional phrase with 'alā when included in a construction that has a separate Entity name. The same is true for conjunctions such as *ba'da 'an*, which were not counted as a preposition + a nominalized clause with a complementizer, but as a conjunction-prefix according to the scheme for naming Entities of non-nominalized clauses. Certain PPs were only accounted for as part of other Entities, e.g. in nominal clauses such as <wa-dhalika_ba3da_prep-phrase_N-Cl> (for a complete list, see Table 119).

PPs were annotated for preposition only, not for predicate type (e.g. *maṣḍar*, adjective, etc.). The function of a prepositional phrase in relation to a clause was accounted for via the Relation between them.

In the case of a preposed conjunction, adverb, or the like, a prefix was introduced, e.g. <xuSuuSan_fii_prep-phrase>.

Adverbs

Adverbs are marked for type, e.g. accusatives, <ACC_ADVERBIAL>, *nisba*-accusatives, <nisba_adverbial_ACCUSATIVE>, or in the presence of a conjunction <aw_nisba_adverbial_ACCUSATIVE>, and synchronically primary adverbs, <ADVERBIAL_eg_amsi>. Participles functioning as adverbs, e.g. *sābiqan*, 'earlier', were annotated according to the scheme of participle annotation, i.e. <PTC_INDEF_ACT_ACC>, their function as adverbs annotated via the Relation annotation.

Additional Entities

In addition to the above categories, a number of categories were created. These include e.g. <TYPO>, <poly_headed_Idafa>, <passive_finite_verb>, <transition-phrase_>, and a number of other features investigated in the study. These additional, often exclusive and non-syntactic, Entities were superimposed on to the Entity annotations described above.

Summary: Entities

The annotation of Entities generally involved the systematization of larger linguistic structures (larger than single parts of speech) via the analysis of supposedly recurring morphosyntactic patterns. The superimposed layer of a large number of Entities involved the segmentation of the texts and the discretization of these segments under unique Entity names. The nomenclature of these Entities was largely based on their linguistic code and/or lemmas.

An inclusive system of affixes was used in the annotation of a structure, such that e.g. a prepositional phrase with *‘alā* could only be annotated once, e.g. either as <3alaa_prep-phrase> or as <binaa2an_3alaa_prep-phrase>, but not as both. For all relevant non-verbal and deverbalized syntagms, the segmentally larger Entity was annotated.

The annotation of morphosyntactic structures and its nomenclature was based on a close reading of the corpus. It is thus possible at this stage in the analysis of the corpus that the presence of certain unrecognized structures in the texts was ignored. However, it is my belief that all of the most frequent patterns are given unique Entity names, so that they have consequently been analysed and their frequencies accounted for in this study.

All clauses and peripheral constituents such as adverbs, PPs, and so on have been annotated and are discussed in Parts 5–6. Additional features that were investigated are covered in Part 3.

2.5.2.4. Relations

The annotation of the layer called Relations in WebAnno involves the creation of links between two different Entities. Annotated relations are covered in Part 4. The symbols <_bi_>, <_&_>, and <_OR_>, used to combine names of discrete relation types in polysemous and ambiguous linkings, are explained in 4.2.

Throughout the process of annotating Relations, a suffix named <_discuss> was appended to Relations that justified either exemplification or a discussion. These suffixes were gradually eliminated from the WebAnno annotation.

Other Relations

A number of “dummy” Relations were annotated to create a searchable data-link between Entities that would otherwise have been relatable in the computerized output only via string numbers (inclusive segmental positioning in the text). One such Relation is <passive_dummy>, which was created between every passive finite verb Entity and the clausal Entity of which they formed a part, e.g. a <MAIN_Vsuff>. This dummy link allowed for easy access to the larger morphosyntactic structure (Entity) of which the passive finite verbs form a constituent part.

Summary: Relations

All linguistic features and grammatic and semantic relations of interest for the present study have been annotated. For scope, see 2.4. A number of Entities whose function/Relation in the linguistic context fell outside the scope of the present investigation were left without a Relation.

2.5.2.5. WebAnno output and script

WebAnno output

WebAnno can export the annotation data in a number of formats. This investigation was conducted on a UIMA XMI-export, a type of XML which orders the data in descending lines organized according to the following scheme:

- Lines of metadata, including file-name (i.e. news article number).
- Component (Entity) lines, each Entity having a unique xmi:-number, an Entity name, reference to the text, etc.
- Relation lines, each Relation having a unique xmi:-number, a Relation name, xmi:-numbers for the two Entities between which the Relation holds, etc.
- Lines of metadata to the annotated text and the annotated text including segmental numbering to access the string (text) of each annotated Entity and Relation.

The XML-documents are not meant to be read by humans and excerpts from them will not be reproduced here.

2.5.2.6. The scripts

A number of scripts were created to search in the vast amount of data generated from the annotations via the WebAnno export. The scripts were created and used via the Ruby programming language XPath,¹³⁸ and Nokogiri.¹³⁹

Scripts to check, proofread, and correct the annotation process

The first two scripts created were one that extracted all Entity names and one that extracted all Relation names. The output of these scripts were subsequently ordered according to types in alphabetical order, and checked for spelling errors and inconsistencies. Errors were then corrected in WebAnno before a new export was made. This process proved to be cyclic and had to be repeated throughout the compilation of the results.

The second stage involved the creation of a script that gave the text string including each Entity name. This output was then proofread (both manually and digitally) for the presence of erroneous Entity annotations, e.g. in case of an erroneous annotation with the Entity name <fii_prep-phrase> for a string beginning with the preposition *bi-*. This process proved to be both cyclic and time-consuming. It was iterated throughout the compilation of more complex data whenever an annotation error was found.

¹³⁸ XPath stands for XML Path Language, and is used to navigate (selecting nodes) in an XML document.

¹³⁹ Nokogiri is a Ruby gem (software package): “Nokogiri (鋸) is an HTML, XML, SAX, and Reader parser. Among Nokogiri’s many features is the ability to search documents via XPath or CSS3 selectors” (<http://www.nokogiri.org>, accessed November 17, 2020).

Scripts to output linguistic data

In a nutshell, the scripts used to extract chosen parameters from the annotated data identify one to two unknowns in the tripartite annotation cluster made up of two Entities and one Relation. This was done via the input of either any one or two Entity names and/or the Relation name. Each script was written to generate frequencies in numbers for the input and/or output data, i.e. for Entities and/or Relations.

Regardless of the search criteria, each script outputs the full Relation-source Entity name (called Governor in the WebAnno export file), the full Relation-end Entity name (matrix or head, called Dependent), and the full name of the Relation (Relation value). The script also gives document name and text strings (tokens) for each hit.

The scripts were written to allow for partial searches among both Entities and Relations. Here is where a well-thought-out, consistently applied, systematic nomenclature of Entities was crucial. The partial search for “asynd” for unknown Governors, for example, based on the above nomenclature will output all asyndetic non-deverbalized relative clauses in the corpus; the output will then be searchable for negated clauses, morphology, and so on. The nomenclature of Entities allowed for the partial search “asynd” to be unique to this type of morphosyntactic structure, as was the partial input “REL_” for both all asyndetic and all syndetic non-deverbalized relative clauses, both with and without a preposed *wa-* (see 2.5.2.3 for a schematic overview of the constituent parts in the nomenclature of Entities).

Script output

The output of potential attestations for each search is listed in a single text file for the entire corpus. The scripts were written to organize the output text files in descending order according to their occurrence in the corpus, from Article 1 through to 131, according to a given scheme.

The following excerpt is taken from the output of a script that identifies all Governors with the full Entity name of “wa-Vsuff” (not a partial search) and its Relations. If a Relation has been annotated with this Governor, the output will print (output) Governor, Relation, and the Dependent, both with names (values) and the annotated text strings (tokens, in Buckwalter transcription; see footnote¹⁴⁰ for Arabic). The excerpt chosen illustrates the output for the presence of one Relation in Article 5 named <Same_level_same_subject_addition> to a Dependent with the name <COMP_MAIN_S-Vsuff>:¹⁴¹

```
***Document name: 005-out.ann
full value gov: wa-Vsuff
no of rel: 1
Gov_full_Value: wa-Vsuff
token gov: w>sqTt msAEAt AnsAnyp EIY Almdnyyn
rval: Same_level_same_subject_addition
dval: COMP_MAIN_S-Vsuff
token dep: qwAthA $nt gArAt jwyp EIY mqAtlY Aldwlp Al<slAmyp
***
```

Simply put, via scripts of this kind, any one or two Entities and/or Relations in the tripartite Relation complex can be found, and its frequency can be given.

The script is easily modified, e.g. to output (“print”) only one of these three constituent parts. For example all Relations of a certain user-defined Governor and user-defined Dependent can be found by outputting only the line here named <rval: [...]>, for “relation value”, i.e. Relation name. This output text file can then be run e.g. in KWIC (a program discussed in 3.4.1.1) to give the number of occurrences for each Relation name as a type of Type/Token output for an overview of the results. This result can of course be achieved in a number of ways.

وكانت وزارة الدفاع الأمريكية(البننتاجون) قد أعلنت أن قواتها شنت غارات جوية على مقاتلي الدولة الإسلامية قرب بلدة أمرلي الشيعية المحاصرة بشمال العراق وأسقطت مساعدات إنسانية على المدنيين المحاصرين هناك.

¹⁴¹ This particular script was written to only output data if an identified Governor had a Relation.

Example of script

The following script is called #5a. It finds Dependent and Relation based on a user-defined Governor (here <val3 = "wa-Vsuff">). By marking the first, instead of the second, of the two lines for nodeset3 as <#> (= comment), the search can be made partial. Below, the lines for nodeset3 have been under-scored, and **bold** added for **if**, **do**, and **end**.

```
require 'nokogiri'
require 'open-uri'
# 5a
no = 0
Dir.glob('*.*xml') do |file|

  @doc = Nokogiri::XML(open(file))

  nodeset1 = @doc.xpath("//@documentTitle")

  #puts "***File: #{Dir.pwd}/#{file}"
  #puts "***Document name: #{nodeset1.first}"

  val3 = "wa-Vsuff"

  nodeset3 = @doc.xpath("//custom:Component[@value='#{val3}']")
  #nodeset3 = @doc.xpath("//custom:Component[contains(@value,'#{val3}')]")
  #puts "Comp '#{val3}': #{nodeset3.size}"
  sofa = @doc.xpath("//@sofaString").first.to_s

if nodeset3.size!=0
  nodeset3.each do |u|
    puts "***Document name: #{nodeset1.first}"
    id = u.attribute('id').value.to_s
    gov_nytt = u.attribute('value').value.to_s
    puts "full value gov #{gov_nytt}"
    nodeset4 = @doc.xpath("//custom:Relation[@Governor='#{id}']")
    puts "no of rel: #{nodeset4.size}"

    nodeset6 = @doc.xpath("//custom:Component[@xmi:id='#{id}']")
    puts "Gov_full_Value_ny: #{nodeset6.attribute('value')}"
    begin6 = nodeset6.attribute('begin').value.to_i
    end6 = nodeset6.attribute('end').value.to_i
    token6 = sofa[begin6-1,end6-begin6+1]
    puts "token gov: #{token6}"
  end
end
```

```

if nodeset4.size > 0
  nodeset4.each do |v|
    rval = v.attribute('value').value.to_s
    cid = v.attribute('Dependent').value.to_s
    #puts "rval, cid: #{rval}, #{cid}"
    puts "rval: #{rval}"
    nodeset5 = @doc.xpath("//custom:Component[@xmi:id=#{cid}]").first
    begin5 = nodeset5.attribute('begin').value.to_i
    end5 = nodeset5.attribute('end').value.to_i
    token5 = sofa[begin5-1,end5-begin5+1]
    dval = nodeset5.attribute('value').value.to_s

    puts "dval: #{dval}"
    puts "token dep: #{token5}"

    puts "****"
    puts "  "
    no +=1
  end
end
end
end
end
puts "total no found: #{no}"

```


3. Miscellaneous preliminary corpus investigations

This part includes investigations I believe to be of relevance for linguistically painting a picture of Media Arabic *qua* register and genre, investigations of defining linguistic features. The features chosen are open to criticism, but are chosen either because they have been investigated previously, because I believe them to be of particular relevance (see Part 1), or because they describe the corpus. They include features of the corpus metadata such as article length, headline length, sentence length, first sentence length (lead), and paragraph length (3.1), as well as typos (3.2), the latter also to establish what text has been investigated, i.e. where my readings deviate from what was found in print; chapter 3.3 describes qualitatively the use of interpunctuation, and 3.4 deals with the most frequent vocabulary; 3.5 the obligatory (> 99%) news article by-line and its structure; 3.6 the use of *taškīl* in the corpus; 3.7 gives the terms and examples for the use of *trajectio*; 3.9 formulates the hitherto undocumented grammar of *'āḥar#*; 3.10–3.14 discuss the frequencies of *sa-* vs. *sawfa* (3.11), *qad* and *laqad* (3.11), the insertion of space after *wa-* (3.12), select verbs of attribution (3.13), and the spelling of *hamza* (3.14); 3.15 discusses what Media Arabic is not with regard to metaphor (3.15.1) and alliteration (3.15.2). In 3.16 temporal relations and the semantic bleaching of temporal expressions in the context of Media Arabic are discussed.

3.1. Corpus data (numerical)

Table 3 gives data for each article: which weekday and date it was published, the number of words in each article and in the body (according to Microsoft's Word Count; a total of 34,198 words in the body of all articles),¹⁴² the length of the headline in words, the number of paragraphs, and the length of the first sentence in words, as well as data on whether the second sentence begins a new paragraph or not.

¹⁴² The results differ slightly from the calculation by KWIC in 3.4 (35,354 tokens).

3.1. Corpus data (numerical)

The column “1st sentence length (words)” is an indicator of lead length; the average for the 131 articles is 34.59 words, which is in the upper range of the 25–35 words recommended by the *Al-Ahram Stylebook* (Nāfi‘ 1997). The average sentence is 29.9 words (with a total of 1,144 sentences, see 5.3.1). Lead length is further discussed in 3.1.2.

Article 78 only consists of one sentence and one paragraph. A total of 77 articles begin the second sentence (following the lead) with a new paragraph (59.23% of 130 articles, excluding Article 78). The average number of paragraphs per article is 4.91, with an average length per paragraph of 53.19 words. Twelve articles consist of a single paragraph; the average length of the body in these articles is 138.75 words.¹⁴³

The average length for headlines (including subheadings) is 12.29 words.

The total number of words per day in the corpus is given in Figure 3, where date indicates calendar day in September 2014. Article number per weekday is arbitrary, but needed as an academic construct for reference.

Table 3: Corpus data: dates, words, paragraphs

Article number	Week	Date (2014)	Weekday	Number of words	Number of words in body	Length of headlines (words)	Number of paragraphs	1st sentence length (words)	2nd sentence starts a new paragraph (1 = true)
1	1	Sept 1	M	486	468	18	5	38	0
2			O	120	111	9	3	31	1
3			N	325	309	16	3	61	1
4			D	385	366	19	5	32	1
5			A	258	250	8	4	28	1
6			Y	75	66	9	2	25	1
7				328	322	6	5	45	0
8				321	304	17	1	37	0
9				312	297	15	2	29	0
10				393	371	22	3	52	1
11		Sept 2	T	344	336	8	5	52	1
12			U	556	542	14	5	33	0
13			E	308	294	14	4	35	0
14			S	171	164	7	3	24	0
15			D	553	525	28	8	30	1
16			A	191	182	9	4	32	1
17			Y	92	84	8	2	36	1
18				196	179	17	4	15	1
19				375	357	18	8	17	1
20				222	214	8	3	55	1

¹⁴³ This can be put in perspective with the verses in the Qur’an, which according to Hallberg’s calculations (2018) have an average length of 21.5 words/verse in the *sūra* with the lengthiest verses (“The Cow”) and 4.0 words/verse in the *sūra* with the shortest (“Men”).

Article number	Week	Date (2014)	Weekday	Number of words	Number of words in body	Length of headlines (words)	Number of paragraphs	1st sentence length (words)	2nd sentence starts a new paragraph (1 = true)
21	2	2		533	512	21	12	18	1
22		2		127	115	12	2	15	0
23		2		290	269	21	5	31	1
24		3	W	406	395	11	6	41	1
25		3	E	495	479	16	10	27	1
26		3	D	292	273	19	7	52	0
27		3	N	375	358	17	4	38	0
28		3	E	136	130	6	1	35	0
29		3	S	224	216	8	1	28	0
30		3	D	99	90	9	3	24	1
31		3	A	309	288	21	6	44	1
32		3	Y	245	239	6	6	32	1
33		3		127	119	8	1	21	0
34		3		179	171	8	4	36	1
35		3		297	274	23	3	38	0
36		3		80	72	8	1	36	0
37	2	8	M	556	537	19	6	28	0
38		8	O	245	226	19	5	19	0
39		8	N	321	286	35	3	74	0
40		8	D	412	396	16	12	37	1
41		8	A	235	227	8	9	36	1
42		8	Y	374	357	17	10	39	1
43		8		93	85	8	3	22	1
44		9	T	310	294	16	6	49	1
45		9	U	361	346	15	7	20	0
46		9	E	126	120	6	3	30	1
47		9	S	181	172	9	1	27	0
48		9	D	202	194	8	4	39	1
49		9	A	506	483	23	17	29	1
50		9	Y	319	298	21	6	22	1
51		9		615	587	28	11	80	0
52		9		606	589	17	8	84	0
53		9		187	175	12	3	28	0
54		9		194	185	9	4	27	1
55		9		148	139	9	3	26	0
56		9		291	283	8	2	19	0
57		10	W	272	263	9	4	36	0
58		10	E	235	225	10	2	33	0
59		10	D	100	94	6	1	15	0
60		10	N	247	239	8	4	18	0
61		10	E	552	533	19	11	49	1
62		10	S	376	361	15	5	51	0

3.1. Corpus data (numerical)

Article number	Week	Date (2014)	Weekday	Number of words	Number of words in body	Length of headlines (words)	Number of paragraphs	1st sentence length (words)	2nd sentence starts a new paragraph (1 = true)
63		10	D	497	478	19	9	19	0
64		10	A	234	226	8	2	44	0
65		10	Y	115	106	9	2	31	1
66		10		126	114	12	4	22	1
67		10		162	151	11	2	29	0
68		10		235	225	10	4	45	1
69		10		464	446	18	6	21	1
70	3	Sept 15	M	487	466	21	3	42	0
71		15	O	380	373	7	6	63	1
72		15	N	187	169	18	4	25	0
73		15	D	135	129	6	3	20	1
74		15	A	269	263	6	2	38	0
75		15	Y	310	302	8	9	25	1
76		15		75	68	7	2	24	1
77		15		156	151	5	6	19	1
78		15		46	42	4	1	42	n/a
79		15		173	166	7	4	33	1
80		15		172	166	6	6	37	1
81		15		130	119	11	2	18	0
82		Sept 16	T	132	125	7	2	68	1
83		16	U	231	214	17	5	36	1
84		16	E	147	135	12	4	29	1
85		16	S	288	278	10	8	36	1
86		16	D	434	420	14	8	50	1
87		16	A	200	192	8	4	23	0
88		16	Y	332	310	22	11	34	1
89		16		401	392	9	8	36	0
90		16		560	538	22	9	20	0
91		16		187	177	10	6	35	1
92		16		158	148	10	5	29	1
93		16		110	101	9	3	24	1
94		Sept 17	W	216	204	12	6	29	1
95		17	E	279	258	21	9	32	1
96		17	D	128	122	6	4	28	1
97		17	N	76	70	6	1	13	0
98		17	E	493	475	18	6	45	1
99		17	S	136	128	8	4	48	1
100		17	D	88	82	6	1	30	1
101		17	A	89	82	7	1	34	0
102		17	Y	414	400	14	15	23	1
103		17		588	568	20	11	28	0
104		17		134	125	9	2	40	0

Article number	Week	Date (2014)	Weekday	Number of words	Number of words in body	Length of headlines (words)	Number of paragraphs	1st sentence length (words)	2nd sentence starts a new paragraph (1 = true)
105	4	17		145	135	10	3	40	0
106		Sept 22	M	751	738	13	15	39	1
107		22	O	207	200	7	1	94	0
108		22	N	307	292	15	6	77	1
109		22	D	198	185	13	2	30	1
110		22	A	259	245	14	3	38	1
111		22	Y	244	236	8	2	28	0
112		22		245	231	14	6	27	1
113		Sept 23	T	114	107	7	3	16	1
114		23	U	201	193	8	4	39	1
115		23	E	174	165	9	4	26	1
116		23	S	168	160	8	5	36	1
117		23	D	268	260	8	7	38	1
118		23	A	931	911	20	12	27	0
119		23	Y	92	85	7	3	28	1
120		23		262	253	9	5	21	0
121		23		347	334	13	4	40	0
122		23		399	390	9	7	41	0
123		Sept 24	W	549	530	19	9	39	1
124		24	E	195	187	8	4	18	0
125		24	D	115	108	7	2	19	1
126		24	N	225	214	11	4	31	1
127		24	E	140	131	9	2	28	1
128		24	S	165	153	12	1	91	0
129		24	D	146	136	10	4	33	1
130		24	A	223	215	8	4	37	1
131		24	Y	275	265	10	10	23	1
				35,808	34,198	1,610	643	4,531	77

3.1.1. More on corpus article length

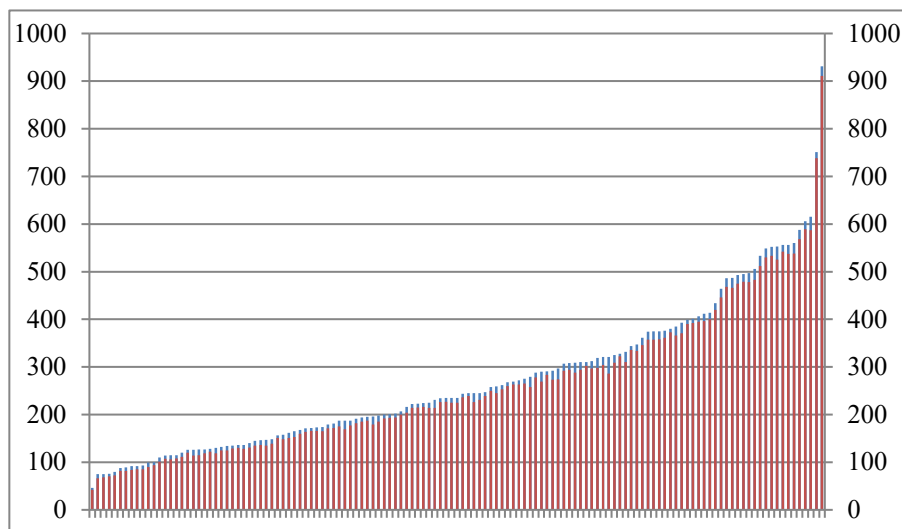


Figure 2: Articles 1–131 arranged along the x-axis by number of words (y-axis); each article is represented by two bars: blue bar includes headlines, byline, and body; red includes byline and body; the span ranges from 46 words (blue), 42 words (red) to 931 words (blue), 911 (red) for Article 42 and 118 respectively.

Figure 2 arranges the 131 Articles in the corpus by number of words. The articles range from 46 words (42 excluding headlines, Article 78), to 931 words (911 excluding headlines, Article 118), but these two are extremes, differing greatly in the number of words compared to the second shortest (75 words, 66 excluding headlines, Article 6), and the second longest (751 words, 738 excluding headlines, Article 106); for comparison, the third longest, Article 51, has 615 words (587 excluding headlines).

The number of words per day are distributed as seen in Figure 3. The average article length including headlines is 273.3 words with a standard deviation within the population of all 131 articles of 155.8 words (calculated using STDEV.P in Microsoft Excel); excluding headlines, the average is 261.05 words, and the standard deviation is 152.1 words. The coefficients of variation (relative standard deviation) for the respective word counts are 57.0% and 58.3%.

What this effectively means is that for the body of text in the corpus, an article with a length outside the span of 109–413 words is atypical.

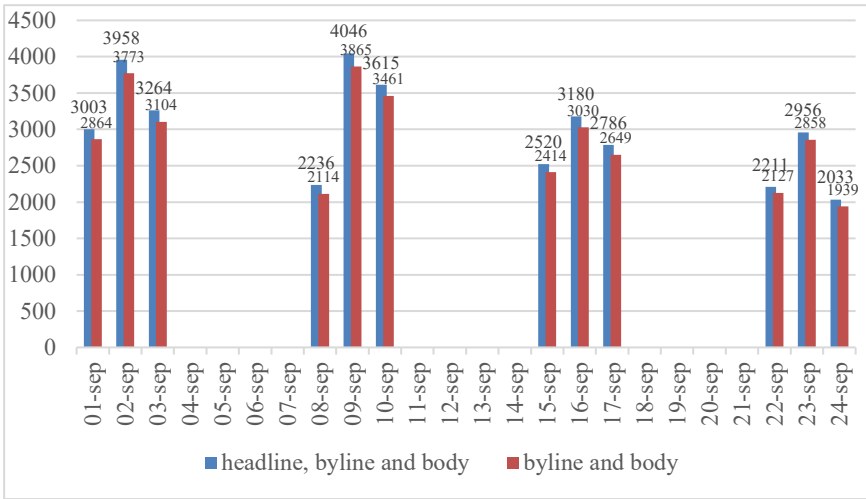


Figure 3: Number of words (y-axis) per day (x-axis); blue bar includes headlines, byline, and body, red includes byline and body.

3.1.2. More on corpus lead length

The question of what is a lead (for lead, see 1.4.8) and where it ends becomes a methodological issue in Media Arabic thanks to the difficulties associated with sentence division, an issue related to general inconsistencies of interpunctuation, the occasional missing interpunctuation mark, and the occasional use of comma for a full stop (for interpunctuation, see 3.3). In cases where the end of the opening sentence coincides with the ending of the opening paragraph, but ends without a full stop, and the following paragraph begins with a coordinative *wa-* and a verb of attribution, the end of the lead has been associated with the end of the first sentence and paragraph (Article 30 after 24 words, Example 87); likewise when there is a comma in the same place (Article 32 after 32 words, Example 539). Examples in this chapter are presented without transcription and translation.

87. Article 30, lead identified via paragraph division

صنعاء - د. ب. أ: أعلن عبدالملك المخلافي المتحدث الرسمي باسم اللجنة الرئاسية المكلفة بالتفاوض مع جماعة أنصار الله الحوثية أمس عن التوصل إلى مبادرة وطنية لحل الأزمة الراهنة

وقال المخلافي - في تصريحات له أمس - إن اللجنة

More difficult is the analysis of instances such as Example (88) from Article 34, where, after 25 words, there is a comma, a coordinating *wa-*, and a speech type of verb in the suffix conjugation, later to be followed by a paragraph division after 36 words.

88. Article 34, difficulty to identify end of lead

طرابلس - سعيد الغريب - وكالات الأنباء: أصدر تنظيم أنصار الشريعة الليبي التابع لتنظيم القاعدة بياناً هاجم فيه ميليشيات «فجر ليبيا» الذراع العسكرية لـ«مجلس شورى ثوار بنغازي» بعد أن كان متحالفاً معها، وانتقد التنظيم المتشدد الديمقراطية واعتبرها بدعة غربية تتعارض مع مبادئ الإسلام.
واستنكر التنظيم - في بيان له أمس - بيان مجلس شورى ثوار طرابلس، الذي

Likewise in Article 39, Example (89), where after 24 words there is a comma, a coordinating *wa-* and a verb of attribution, but where the first paragraph has a total of 163 words.

89. Article 39, difficulty to identify end of lead

كتب - محمد فؤاد :
استقبل الرئيس عبد الفتاح السيسي، أمس الأمير سعود الفيصل، وزير الخارجية السعودي، والأمير خالد بن بندر بن عبد العزيز آل سعود، رئيس الاستخبارات العامة السعودية، وصرح السفير إيهاب بدوي، المتحدث الرسمي باسم رئاسة الجمهورية، بأن اللقاء تناول مجمل القضايا والأوضاع الراهنة في منطقة الشرق الأوسط، بدءاً بالعلاقات العربية – العربية، ومروراً بالأوضاع في ليبيا، ارتباطاً بضرورة دعم البرلمان الليبي المنتخب والمُعبر عن الإرادة الشعبية، ووصولاً إلى التهديد الذي تمثله التنظيمات الإرهابية المتطرفة المنتشرة في العراق وسوريا. من جانبه، أكد الرئيس حرص مصر على تحقيق الاستقرار السياسي والاستتباب الأمني في ليبيا، والحيلولة دون سقوطها في براثن الإرهاب، مستعرضاً الجهود المصرية المبذولة في هذا الشأن، وحذر الرئيس من مغبة التدخل الخارجي في ليبيا، مؤكداً أن مصر لن تتهاون في الحفاظ على أمنها القومي. وشدد الرئيس على أهمية تعزيز العمل العربي المشترك، في كافة المجالات، ومن بينها مكافحة الإرهاب، وذلك تحقيقاً لاستقرار المنطقة بوجه عام، وإسهاماً في إعادة الاستقرار إلى كل من العراق وسوريا والحفاظ على سلامتهما الإقليمية وسيادتهما، وصون مقدراتهما، بما يحقق صالح الشعبين الشقيقين العراقي والسوري.
كما استقبل الرئيس عبد الفتاح السيسي

Article 78 is the shortest article in the entire corpus (for statistics of length, see 3.1). It has only 46 words including the headline, and the body of 42 words consists of one sentence in a single paragraph, here given in full as Example (90).

90. Article 78 (full article)

مسنول أوروبي يزور مصر

كتبت - دينا كمال: وصل إلى القاهرة أمس كريستيان بيرجر مدير إدارة الشرق الأوسط وشمال أفريقيا بالاتحاد الأوروبي في زيارة تستغرق يومين يلتقى خلالها مع عدد من المسؤولين المصريين لبحث الوضع في منطقة الشرق الأوسط ومستقبل العلاقات بين الجانبين المصري والأوروبي.

These examples are atypical, but pose the question of where the lead ends, and, ultimately, if a discussion of a lead structure is at all relevant for Media Arabic. The approach taken here is the following.

Since Article 78 only has one sentence and is so short, it is not fruitful to discuss a lead structure: this article is excluded from this particular analysis.

With the exception of Article 78, the opening sentence of every article is counted as the lead. The lead, as defined here, is thus ended either by a full stop or a paragraph division, with the effect that the interpunctuation has been accepted as is, except when there is a paragraph division between two matrices.¹⁴⁴ This means that for articles such as Article 30 and Article 34 above (Examples 87 and 88), because of the subsequent paragraph division, the entire first paragraph is counted as their lead (24 and 36 words respectively), but for the beginning of Article 39 above (Example 89), the first sentence was counted as the lead (for the definition of sentence, see 2.3.1).¹⁴⁵ The lead of Article 39 according to this methodology runs at 74 words.

Is it fruitful to make an analysis of a lead structure? Given the Western definition of a lead (for which, see 1.4.8), it may not always be easy to discern the beginning and end of the lead, as seen in Article 39. This poses the question of whether there is any practical basis on the part of the news practitioners that would substantiate an analysis of this type of structure in their output. Article 39, with a first sentence of 74 words with two coordinated main clauses (separated by a comma), and even the more statistically extreme lead of Article 107 in Example (91) with a first sentence of 94 words in a single sentence, would suggest that there are examples where the structure is not applied, at least not as Western practice would suggest.

¹⁴⁴ No statistical investigation has been carried out, but in the printed Al-Ahram the paragraph division is consistent to the extent that it does not occur in the middle of a clause or a sentence. The case is different in the online version (for which, see 2.2.4); online a lead-like graphical unit is marked off with boldface, followed by a paragraph division, not infrequently in the middle of a sentence.

¹⁴⁵ This also applies for Articles 3, 26, 32, 34, 37, 40, 81, 98, 104, 108, 119, and 121, all twelve of which have two or more syntactically coherent sentence-type structures before the first full stop, e.g. *istaqbala [...]* *wa-baḥaṭa* in the lead of Article 26 (see Example 233).

91. Article 107, the longest first sentence (= lead?), 94 words (first paragraph of 207 words, including a headline of 7 words); iterated with translation in Example (535)

كيرنز (أستراليا)- وكالات الأنباء: وسط أجواء متقائلة يشوبها الحذر من مطالبات بنمو أقوى واحتجاجات لمواجهة التغيرات المناخية ، إلى جانب الدعوات المطالبة بحضور الرئيس الروسي فلاديمير بوتين قمة مجموعة العشرين المقبلة في بريسبان الأسترالية لمواجهة الغضب الدولي بشأن أوكرانيا ، اتفق وزراء مالية دول مجموعة العشرين - في ختام اجتماعهم بأستراليا أمس - على خطة لتحقيق هدف المجموعة بزيادة إجمالي الناتج المحلي بنسبة ٨،١٪ إضافية بحلول العام ٢٠١٨ ، وذلك عبر اتخاذ عدد من الإجراءات الملموسة التي من شأنها أن تضاعف الاستثمارات في البنى التحتية ، وتوفر ملايين الوظائف وتسهل النمو وتزيد من وتيرة الإصلاح المالي وتدعم التجارة والمنافسة. وأكد وزراء المالية ومحافظو البنوك المركزية - في البيان الختامي للاجتماع الذي انعقد

Figure 4 illustrates the lead lengths arranged by number of words.

Having defined the scope of the investigation, and having excluded Article 78 from this analysis, we may ask how many leads there are that have two or more main clauses before a full stop and compare this with the length of each article.

There are 118 articles (90.8% of the total of 130) which have a single main clause complex preceding the full stop; 9 articles (6.9%) have two syntactically coordinated main clause complexes preceding the full stop;¹⁴⁶ and 3 articles (2.3%) have 3 main clause complexes (Articles 32, 34, 98). The average word count (counting graphical words, according to Microsoft's Word Count) before the first full stop is 34.55 words. The recommended lead length in both English and Arabic journalistic literature is 25–35 words (see 1.4.8). Only a bit more than a third of the 130 leads fall within this span (46 articles, or 35.3%); 31 leads (23.9%) have fewer than 25 words, and 53 articles (40.8%) have more than 35 words. The three shortest leads have 13, 15, and 15 words (Articles 98, 18, and 22, respectively), whereas the three longest leads have 84, 91, and 94 words each (Articles 52, 128, and 107, respectively, all with a single sentence main clause complex, and none of which have paragraph divisions following the lead).

¹⁴⁶ Articles 3, 26, 37, 40, 81, 104, 108, 119, and 121.

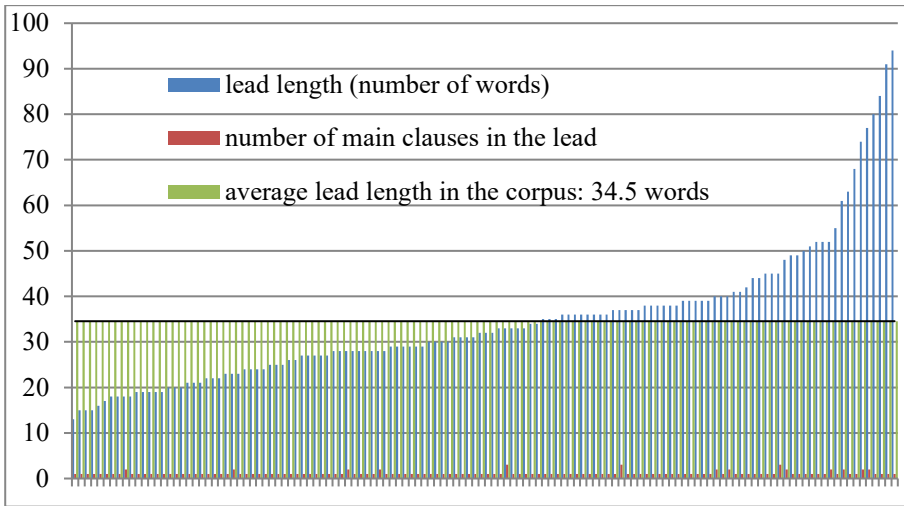


Figure 4: The 130 leads (x-axis) arranged by number of words (y-axis); green (with line) is average lead length of 34.5 words in the corpus.

Out of the 130 leads counted, only a slight majority, or 59.2% (77 leads), are separated from the rest of the text by a paragraph division (new line and indentation). At first glance, this would not suggest that there is a tendency to separate the lead from the rest of the text. But given that the average paragraph length in the corpus of 131 articles is 53.2 words,¹⁴⁷ and that there are only 10 articles (7.7% of the 130) whose lead is longer than 53 words, there does seem to be a tendency to more often make the lead into a paragraph than would be the case for the same number of words in other parts of the article.¹⁴⁸ To verify this, however, all the words in the corpus would have to be counted on a paragraph basis to see whether there are statistically odd paragraphs that somehow increase or decrease the average word count per paragraph. This has not been done, since ideally, this type of study would be done on a much larger number of articles. A focused study into lead structure and length is a *desideratum* of future research.

In the present corpus and with respect to paragraphs and leads, it would seem that there are two categories of articles: the average paragraph length among the 77 articles that present the leads as a separate paragraph is 47.2 words, whereas those which do not separate their leads have an average paragraph length of 89.1 words. In other words, those articles whose leads form a separate paragraph also seem to live up to the device that “white space

¹⁴⁷ This figure is based on the total number of words in the body of the texts in the extended corpus (34,198 words including by-lines but excluding headlines), divided by the total number of paragraphs in the same text (643).

¹⁴⁸ Articles 20, 3, 71, 82, 39, 108, 51, 52, 128, and 107, given in order of increasing lead length.

increases readership” (see 1.4.11). Suffice it to say that, judging by these articles, there is little to support a general and adhered to consensus concerning lead length and paragraph division, and that it is to be expected that the lead is presented as an incorporated part of a larger opening paragraph.¹⁴⁹

Of the 77 leads that are separated into a separate paragraph, 55 or 71.4% are found in articles whose average paragraph length runs lower than the average 53.2 words. The articles having paragraph lengths above the average make up 18,139 words in total (excluding headlines), that is to say 53.1% of the total number of words in the corpus.¹⁵⁰ This would suggest that there is no tendency to write longer paragraphs in longer articles.

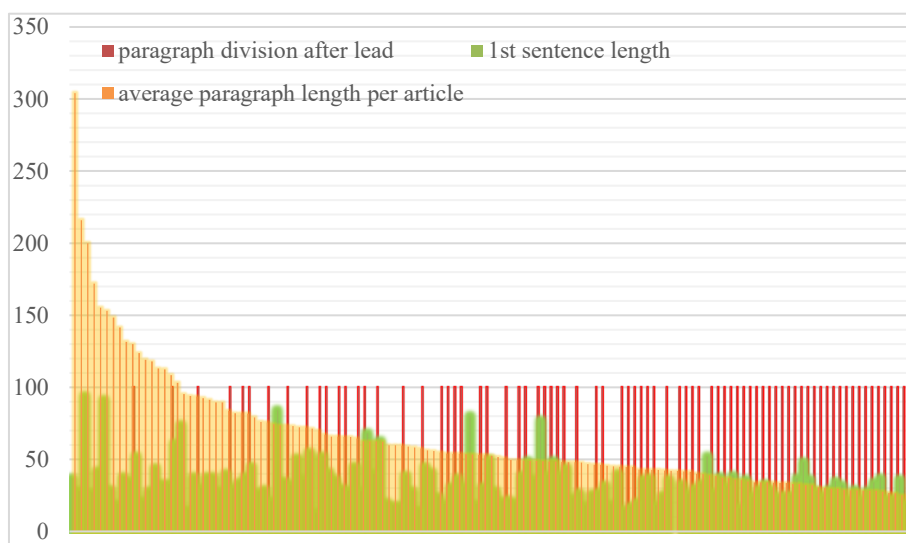


Figure 5: The 130 articles with leads arranged along the x-axis by average paragraph length in words (in orange), compared with the length of their lead (in green); those articles which have a paragraph division immediately following the lead are marked with a red bar at an arbitrary value of 100.

¹⁴⁹ Article 8 has the longest average paragraph length, consisting of a single paragraph of 304 words (including the body and the by-line), whereas the shortest average paragraph length is represented by Article 77, with its 151 words spread over 6 paragraphs and an average paragraph length of 25.17 words. Unsurprisingly, Article 77 also separates the lead into a paragraph. Article 70 has the fifth longest paragraph length (155.33 words) among all the articles in the corpus, but this article has the longest average paragraph length if the only articles that are counted are those that actually have divisions at all. Judging by the vast difference in average paragraph length displayed by the articles, it would seem that the divisions into paragraphs is not done by the subeditor, but is decided already in the writing process, and hence related to personal style.

¹⁵⁰ I.e. $18139 \div (34198 - 42) \times 100\%$, where 42 words is the length of Article 78, for which no lead structure is applicable.

In summary, in a text with an average paragraph length shorter than the average paragraph length in the corpus as a whole, there is an 84.6% chance of a paragraph separation after the lead (55 out of 65); in the other texts, there is only a 33.9% chance of it. In short: journalists who have a tendency to “increase their white space” unsurprisingly also do this when it comes to their lead structure. Figure 5 illustrates the correlation between average paragraph length per article, and paragraph division following the first sentence.

The present analysis gives support for the existence of a lead structure. An investigation into its features in terms of the number of “Ws and H” each lead answers, and similar content-based questions, is a *desideratum* of future research.

3.2. Typos (77x)

This chapter will investigate typos in the corpus. This investigation is needed to establish the precise text that has been analysed, and will also shed light on the frequency of typos in Media Arabic. Starting with this chapter, the frequencies of counted features will be followed by an x, e.g. 77x means 77 times, or 77 attestations, as described in the List of abbreviations in the beginning of this book (unpaginated page 6).

As typographical errors are counted any irregular orthographic instantiations, regardless of whether these can be thought to be intentional or not. Exceptions are spaces after *wa-*, and spaces in relation to interpunctuation signs, for which, see 3.12 and 3.3 respectively. Also excluded from the investigation are proper names;¹⁵¹ ellipsis, e.g. in Article 60, *ḍidda* [ḡamā‘atī] «būkū ḥarām» *al-irhābiyyati* (Example 227); absence of the definite article, e.g. in Article 2, ويذكر أن علاقات بين البلدين شهدت توترا كبيرا (for the arguably more idiomatic *al-‘alāqātī*); the word for ‘television’;¹⁵² and the 2x deviating spellings found in headlines: Article 123 (Example 92) and *maqṭal#* for *maqṭal#* in the headline of Article 105. Excluded also are spellings with interposed interpunctuation (e.g. *li-«* in Example 92). Morphological errors of case, mood, and gender agreement are not included,¹⁵³ nor are issues with interpunctuation, e.g. a comma for an expected full stop (for interpunctuation, see 3.3).

¹⁵¹ This includes the spelling of Peshmerga (Kurdish بيشمركة) attested 1x as البشمركة in Article 5; 1x as البشمركة and 3x as البيشمركة in Article 21; and 2x as البيشمركة in Article 35 (incl. 1x in headline).

¹⁵² The word ‘television’ is in free variation: 6x تليفزيون < tlyfzywn > vs. 3x تلفزيون < tlfzywn >.

¹⁵³ E.g. Article 71, *baṭṭa* [...] *ṣuwaran tuḡhiru muqāṭilā* l-ḡayṣi, for *muqāṭilī*; and Article 91, *kaṃā ‘anna ‘alāqatahu bi-l-‘amīri l-qaṭariyyi l-ṣayḥi tamīm bin ḥamad ‘āl ṭānī yasūduḥā ‘aḡwā‘u l-tafāḥumi wa-l-iḥtirāmi l-mutabādali* (Example 627).

92. Article 123 (subheading, excluded from investigation)

: السفير عثمان لـ «الأهرام»:	al-safīru 'uṭmān li- «al- 'ahrām» : [...]	The ambassador Uthman to «Al-Ahram»: [...]

A hypercorrect accusative 'alif at the end of a word ending in *hamza* without a chair, e.g. ضواء (Article 37), is considered an orthographic variation rather than a spelling error. The same goes for the absence or occasional presence of two diacritic dots in word-final *yā*'. *Hamza* can be missing, added, or placed below or above an 'alif, such as e.g. أقاليم for إقاليم, 'aqālīm#, in Article 75; this, too, is reflective of an inconsistency in the placement of *hamza* with 'alif (and indeed other chairs) in Media Arabic, rather than “rare” cases of deviation from praxis (discussed in 3.6). The unique spelling in Article 106 where the *hamza* is misplaced through metathesis should however be mentioned: بالإطاحة for bi-l- 'iṭāḥati. Metathesis of *hamza* is not investigated (for the spelling of *hamza*, see 3.14).

93. Article 106, metathesis of *hamza*

وسنقوم بالإطاحة بها	wa-sa-naqūmu bi-'ilāṭāḥati [sic] bihā	and we will overthrow them [= bi-l- 'iṭāḥati bihā]

Another word which needs to be mentioned here is the rendition of the Russian name Калашников, *Kalāšnikov*, English Kalashnikov. Appearing 2x in reference to the automatic rifle, but only in Article 8 (headline and body), it is consistently spelled الكلاشينكوف, *al-kalāšīnkūf*. As the sole attestations of this word in the corpus, these 2x are not counted as typos.¹⁵⁴ Spellings of the word attested outside the corpus include *klšnkwf* and *klšnykwf*.

3.2.1. Typos in the corpus

Most irregularities are easily discernible, such as the metathesis of two consonants which render an unattested root, but others are more a matter of reader discernment. The categories TYPO and PROB_TYPO (*probabiliter*, ‘probably’) were created to cover this.

There are 77x typos and 3x probable typos in the corpus.

One of the disputable typos is the *hapax* apposition in *al-suluṭāt# al- 'iḥtilāl#* in Article 129 (with *hamza*, not counted as a typo) in place of the expected annexation *suluṭāt# al-iḥtilāl* (*hapax* in Article 69; cf. the more frequent *quwwāt# al-iḥtilāl*, attested 7x, whereas the apposition, *al-quwwāt# al-iḥtilāl#* is otherwise unattested).

¹⁵⁴ The pronunciation *kalāšīnkūf* can be heard e.g. from the Saudi (Jedda) rap artist Muhammad al-Ghamdi (1986–), whose stage name is colloquial slang for the very same weapon, Klash; e.g. in the song داعس *dā 'is*, there is the line *kalāšīnkūf muḡarrad ismo ysabbib rēba*, ‘Kalashnikov, his/its very name causes suspicion’. Klash is part of the rap group West Coast G'z.

The remaining 2x disputable typos concern the word *al-ḥawāğir#*, attested 2x in Article 3 (for which, see Example 337). The orthographic consistency speaks in favour of a reading as is, but it is included here as a disputable spelling; cf. *al-ḥawāğiz#*, i.e. with a diacritic above the -r#.

The remaining 77x clear typos are distributed over 9x categories, listed in order of frequency in Table 4.

Table 4: The 77x typos in the corpus by category

erroneous space	38
missing letter	10
added letter(s)	8
erroneous diacritics	7
wrong letter	6
doubling of word	3
metathesis	3
missing word	2

3.2.1.1. Erroneous space (38x)

38x attestations: 37x missing, 1x added (Article 98).

The misplacement of space is the most frequent orthographical deviation in the corpus, but also the most elusive, not least in light of the space in connection to *wa-* and interpunctuation (for which, see 3.12 and 3.3).

The legibility of a number of missing spaces is alleviated by word-final letter forms or letters that will not bind (e.g. *dāl*, *rā*’, and *’alif*), e.g. 8x in Article 122: *miṣr-sayu* ‘*qadu*, *lā-taḍummu*, *’aktar#-min*, *qarrara-mu* ‘*taqilūna*, *’adadu-l-mu* ‘*taqalūna*, *lā-min*, *ba* ‘*da-yūniyū*, *al-safir#-yāser*.

Perhaps related to letter forms, there seem to be orthographic tendencies of writing negations together in certain compounds. One such tendency is the negation *mā* + *zāla(t)*, attested 2x as a single orthographic unit, i.e. without space between the negation and the verb (Articles 54 and 103) and 1x as two orthographic units (Article 1). In addition, the prefix conjugation of the verb appears 2x as feminine *lā-tazāl#* and 8x as two graphical units; this against *lā yazāl(ūna)*, attested 4x but only separated. This puts *lā-budda* in perspective, as it appears 2x, but only as one graphical unit (Articles 14 and 121); likewise with *(wa-)lā-siyyamā*, which appears 3x (Articles 31, 51, 54), against 1x as two words, *wa-lā siyyamā* (Article 27). Other negators of the prefix conjugation include 2x *lā-yastaṭi#* (Article 118), 1x *wa-lā-yumkin#* (Article 12), and 1x *lā-taḍummu* (Article 122, also mentioned above). Other passages that need to be mentioned are 1x the headless relative subject *mā-taqaddamahu el-ku-wayt* (Article 65), 1x the headless annexated relative in Article 4, *maqtal#mā-lā yaqillu* ‘*an*, and 1x the prepositional phrase *lā-min* in Article 122.

In addition to this, *li al- 'ahrām* in the body of Article 123 should be mentioned. Here, no interpunctuation signs have been used to separate the name from the preposition,¹⁵⁵ but it is separated from the preposition with a space only, seemingly because Al-Ahram is a name. The space is thought to increase legibility and exposure.

Beside these examples, there are instances where the space is clearly not indicative of orthographic tendencies, the most problematic being in Article 105: [...] *ba 'da 'nkšf muḥāmī 'usrati* [...] *'annahu* [...], to be read as *ba 'da 'an kašafa* (rather than *ba 'da nkišāfi* + genitive subject, which would be syntactically plausible).

To this is 1x exception: *battat hu* in Article 98, with a space added (only attestation). These typos are all to be compared to the space in connection to *wa-* and interpunctuation (3.12 and 3.3).

3.2.1.2. Missing letter (10x)

10x attestations. The three most frequently missing letters are *yā'*, *'alif*, and *wāw*.

3x attestations of missing *yā'*:

Article 52	الأطراف السياسية	for	<i>siyāsiyyat#</i>
Article 70	بمدينة بنغازى	for	<i>bi-madīnati</i>
Article 47	من المفاجآت	for	المفاجآت, <i>al-mufāḡi 'āti</i>

2x attestations of a missing *'alif*:

Article 106	الايام العشرة الخيرة	for	<i>al- 'ahīrat#</i>
Article 51	كل طلبت الأهالى من الفلسطينيين	for	<i>ṭalabāt#</i>

2x attestation of missing *wāw*:

Article 89	حزب التنظيم الوطنى الشعبى الناصرى	for	<i>el-waḥdawī</i> ¹⁵⁶
Article 4	الاوربى	for	الأوروبى

3x other missing letters: *rā'* in *al-dustū*, for *al-dustūr#* (Article 52); *tā'* in *li-s'nāf*, for *li-sti'nāfi* (Article 3); and *hamza* in صنعاء (Article 1), for *ṣan 'ā'*.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Attested 4x with interpunctuation between the preposition and the name, e.g. in the subheading of the same Article 123:

السفير عثمان لـ «الأهرام»: ندعم تثبيت وقف إطلاق النار وتفعيل المصالحة الوطنية

¹⁵⁶ التنظيم الوطنى الشعبى الناصرى

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *ṣan 'a* in e.g. Egyptian dialect.

3.2.1.3. Added letter(s) (8x)

8x attestations. 1x in the number 19967, for 1967 (Article 51); 1x the doubling of the second *nūn* in *bnynnā*, the city name *benīnā* (Article 70); 1x 'alif in *āzādāt* for *izdādat* (Article 52).

The most frequently added letter is *yā'* (5x):

Article 1	الأميركية	<i>al- 'amīrīkiyyat#</i>	for	الأمريكية ¹⁵⁸	<i>al- 'amrīkiyyat#</i>
Article 52	من تردى خطير	<i>taraddī</i>	for	ترد ¹⁵⁹	<i>taraddīn</i>
Article 70	الليبي (2x)	<i>al-lībiyyīy</i>	for	الليبي	<i>al-lībiyy#</i>
Article 103	المبادىء	<i>al-mabādī' #</i>	for	المبادئ	<i>al-mabādī' #</i>

See also *wa wa-ḥī* (doubling of words, below).

3.2.1.4. Erroneous diacritics (7x)

7x attestations:

Article 2	فى واقعه	for	فى واقعة	<i>fī wāqī 'atin</i>
Article 50	ولايتة	for	ولايته	<i>wilāyatuhu</i>
Article 52	المناطق	for	المناطق	<i>al-manāṭiq#</i>
Article 87	الخارجية	for	الخارجية	<i>al-ḥāriḡiyyat#</i>
Article 106	بدوره	for	بدوره	<i>bi-dawrihi</i>
Article 106	فبراير	for	فبراير	<i>fabrāyir</i>
Article 108	فيما بعد	for	فيما بعد	<i>fīmā ba 'du</i>

As can be seen, the erroneous diacritics occasionally give a different letter. These are not counted as wrong letters.

3.2.1.5. Wrong letter (6x)

6x attestations:

Article 3	إسلام آباد	for	إسلام آباد	<i>'islām 'ābād</i>
Article 95	تل ابيب	for	تل ابيب	<i>tell 'abīb</i>
Article 106	متمردى	for	متمردى ¹⁶⁰	<i>mutamarridī</i>
Article 106	بمنطقة التحرير	for	بمنطقة	<i>bi-minṭaqati</i>
Article 70	للذين	for	الذين	<i>allaḡdīna</i>
Article 139	أى	for	أى	<i>'ayyi</i>

The first two examples in this list are best explained via the modern keyboard layout as presses on adjacent keys; both of them happen to be foreign place

¹⁵⁸ The alternative spelling with *yā'* after *mīm*, e.g. *'amīrkā*, is not attested in the corpus.

¹⁵⁹ The spelling with *yā'* is arguably reflective of a colloquial pronunciation without nunation.

¹⁶⁰ *mutamarridī ḡamā 'ati 'anṣār allāh*

names. The typo in Article 129 has a Latin character added which is also attributable to the modern keyboard layout: ¹⁶¹ a capital *D* following an *'alif* (counted as one typo), for Arabic أى:

أجندات D دول إقليمية بعينها

The typo from Article 70 is perhaps explained in light of the prescriptively correct dual relative pronoun, اللذان, *alladāni*, ¹⁶² and the graphic similarity of ال and ل.

3.2.1.6. Doubling of word (3x)

في 8 أكتوبر المقبل (Article 71); جوبر بالعاصمة دمشق و وفى الغوطة الشرقية (Article 94); إن أن (Article 45).

3.2.1.7. Metathesis (3x)

for 'awradathā (Article 21); الأسكتنديين for *al-'iskutlandiyyīna* (Article 88); لدارسة for *li-dirāsāt* (Article 89).

3.2.1.8. Missing word (2x)

1x in Article 49, *al-ta'āwun# [fī] maḡālī l-'amni l-duwaliyyi*, and 1x in Article 94, Example (94), with a missing *'anna* after *mušīran 'ilā*. The construction *mušīran 'ilā 'an(n-) + complement* main clause occurs 23x in the corpus. If *'anna* is not missing here, it would be the sole instance of *mušīran 'ilā + a non-verbalized clause*. A missing *'anna* is the most reasonable explanation to this deviation. The missing type, however, is not counted among complementizers in 5.3.2.1.

94. Article 94, missing word: *'anna*

مشيرا إلى وكالات التصنيف لم تأخذ فى الحسبان تحسين الاستقرار السياسى بعد الانتخابات الرئاسية.	[...] mušīran 'ilā [anna] wikālāti l-taṣnīfi lam ta'ḥud fi-l-ḥisbāni taḥassuna l-istiqrāri l-siyāsiyyi ba'da l-intihābāti l-ri'āsiyyati.	[...] referring to [that] the rating agencies did not take into account the improved political stability after the presidential elections.

3.2.2. Summary: Typos

There are a total of 77x typos in the corpus. Excluding inconsistencies with spaces, 39x typos can be counted in the body. These 39x errors are distributed over 12x days and 131x articles: a reader can expect 3.3 typos daily, and 1x typographical error every 3.0 articles.

¹⁶¹ The key *d* on an QWERTY-keyboard corresponds to *yā'* on a typical Arabic keyboard.

¹⁶² The passage in Article 70 is the following:

كما استقبل مجلس النواب الليبي المبعوث الخاص لوزارة الخارجية الألمانية إلى ليبيا كليمانز جوتسه، والسفير الألماني لدى ليبيا كريستيان موخ للذين، سيقومان بزيارة لمدينة طبرق خلال يومى ١٤ و ١٦ سبتمبر. يأتي ذلك فى إطار دعم العلاقات الثنائية،

3.3. Interpunctuation

This chapter treats interpunctuation in the corpus, i.e. punctuation between words (not diacritics or *taškīl*, for the latter, see 3.6; for the spelling of *hamza*, see 3.14). In the discussion, headlines have been included as part of the corpus. For reasons of brevity, examples from the newspaper are given without transcriptions or translations in this chapter.

3.3.1. Interpunctuation according to the *Al-Ahram Stylebook*

The *Al-Ahram Stylebook* deals with interpunctuation in the chapter *al-Tarqīmu wa-l-fawāšilu* (Nāfi' 1997: 41–47). This is the fourth major section of the book, following a descriptive introduction (pp. 3–4) and a preface (pp. 5–7): there is a chapter named “our language is capable of everything great” (*luġatunā tattasi 'u li-kullin 'aẓīmin*), putting the use of language in the context of human activity and as an instrument of the media (pp. 9–16); another goes on to specify the grammar of numbers (pp. 17–26); and one details the spelling of *hamza* and *tā' marbūṭa* (pp. 27–39).

The section on interpunctuation is the last major section on a single linguistic feature in the *Stylebook*. It is followed by less focused observations and more general descriptions such as lists of widespread linguistic errors (*'aḥṭā'un luġawīyyatun šā'i'atun*, pp. 49–75), a description of how to write journalese (*al-kitābatu l-ṣuḥufīyyatu*, pp. 77–87), a section about the art of obtaining information (*fannu l-ḥuṣūli 'alā l-ma'lūmāti*, pp. 89–96), and a guide on how to travel safely in dangerous areas (*dalīlu l-salāmati li-l-ṣuḥufīyyīna*, pp. 97–108). The concluding chapter contains grouped vocabulary lists of foreign names, bodies, organizations, agencies, capitals, and so on (*ma'lūmātun 'ammātun*, pp. 109–136).

Judging by its position in the book, interpunctuation is on a par with the correct grammar of numbers and the spelling of *hamza* and *tā' marbūṭa*. Page 43 of the *Stylebook* begins the chapter with a brief introduction to the use of the different signs under the heading “the importance of punctuation and commas” (*'ahammīyyatu l-tarqīmi wa-l-fawāšili*). Here it is explicitly stated that their correct application will facilitate ease of comprehension:

لتوضيح المعانى وبيانها بيانا لا لبس فيه يجب مراعاة تفصيلها بعلامات ترقيم وفواصل، وكل من هذه الفواصل لها دلالتها الخاصة. وذلك متبع فى جميع اللغات المنتشرة فى العالم . وهذه الفواصل والعلامات هي:

‘In order to clarify meanings statement for statement so that there is no ambiguity, care must be taken to separate them with punctuation marks and commas; all of these signs have their respective meaning. This is followed in all the languages spread across the world . These separators and signs are the following:’

What follows is a list of 13 signs including the *šarṭatun 'ufuqiyyatun*, ‘the horizontal line’, (en)dash, or hyphen (–), full stop (.), comma (‘), semicolon (‘), colon (:), question mark (‘), exclamation mark (!), two hyphens (– ... –), guillemets (« ... »), parentheses ((...)), brackets ([...]),¹⁶³ the sign (كذا), ‘[sic]’, ‘and the slash (/). The introduction closes with the following:

عند بدء الكلام تترك مسافة بيضاء في أول السطر الأول. وكذلك تترك هذه المسافة عند بدء كل فقرة جديدة في الموضوع.

‘At the beginning of the text you leave a white space at the beginning of the first line [i.e. indentation], and you likewise leave this space at the beginning of each new paragraph in the body.’

The descriptions of their uses in the following three and a half pages are vague, and the *Stylebook*, in short, has little precise guidance for their use in practice. Furthermore, as will become apparent from the attested interpunctuation marks in the corpus, these guidelines, however imprecise, are not followed in the newspaper, at least at the time when the corpus was published.

Given the emphasis on the importance of the different signs and the mentioning of paragraph-initial indentation,¹⁶⁴ it is interesting that the *Stylebook* itself is not consistent in the use of white spaces in conjunction with these signs. After the words *al-fawāṣil*# and *al-ḥāṣṣat*#, in the first introductory sentence to the chapter, there follows a comma and a full stop with no white space preceding them, whereas the word *al-‘ālam*# in the penultimate clause of the same paragraph is followed by a white space in this position. The same arbitrariness in this matter is observed throughout the *Stylebook*, as well as in the corpus. It must be concluded that this white space is not necessarily a huge issue for these prescriptivists of Media Arabic, and although the absence of a white space preceding both the comma and the full stop is more frequent, its insertion seems spontaneous or arbitrary, if not unintentional or possibly unnoticed. (Compare the discussion of the space in connection to *wa-*, 3.12.)

Below follows a brief treatment on the hyphen, the full stop, the comma, the quotation mark, and colon, as described by the *Stylebook*.

¹⁶³ In the *Stylebook*, both here (on p. 43), and in its explanation on p. 46, the brackets are equally sized, but the right one is above the line.

¹⁶⁴ Notably, the author of the article is supposed to add indentations, not an editor.

Hyphen (or (en)dash)

The single hyphen, or (en)dash,¹⁶⁵ is the sign first treated in the *Stylebook*, where *al-ṣarṭatu l-ʿufuqiyyatu*, ‘the horizontal line’, is said to have two uses: the first is in a list distributed over multiple lines when each line begins with a number:

- 1 - [...]
- 2 - [...]
- 3- [...]
- 4 - [...] ¹⁶⁶

The second is in dialogue, where each speaker is to be introduced with a hyphen, *wa-dālika baʿda tarki misāfatīn baydāʾa fī ʿawwālī l-saṭri*, ‘and this after leaving a white space at the beginning of the line’ (Nāfiʿ 1997: 44).

In the corpus, there is no dialogue. Moreover, there is but one example of a list divided by line breaks, in Article 86 (Example 172). This list is unnumbered. The guidance of the *Stylebook*, thus, does not apply.

The full stop

The full stop, *al-nuqṭatu* (‘the dot’), is treated next. The terminology to describe its use is imprecise:

توضع بعد تمام الكلام التام المعنى ثم تجئ بعدها الجمل الأخرى.
وتوضع فى نهاية كل فقرة أو الكلام. ويمكن الاستغناء عنها فى نهاية الكلام، لأن نهاية الكلام ظاهرة.

‘[the full stop] is put after the completion of a *kalām* [1] complete of meaning, after which will come other *ḡumal*.

And it is put at the end of each paragraph or the end of the *kalām* [2]. It is possible to leave it out at the end of the *kalām* [3], because the end of the *kalām* [4] is obvious.’

Now *kalām#* is used frequently in this chapter of the *Stylebook*, and so is *ḡumlat#*. The plural *ḡumalun* means ‘clauses’, ‘clause complexes’, or ‘sentences’. In the above quote, the meaning of *kalām#*, generally ‘speech’, must be understood to cover several meanings: ‘sentence’ or possibly ‘clause(s)’ (at the point marked as 1), ‘text’ or ‘sentence’ (at point 2), and ‘text’, ‘paragraph’, or ‘article’ (at points 3 and 4), i.e.:

¹⁶⁵ In the introductory list, as well as in the heading, the *Stylebook* uses the en-dash (–), whereas in the body, a hyphen is used (-) (Nāfiʿ 1997: 42-44).

¹⁶⁶ The *Stylebook* has no space following number 3, and two (or more) spaces following number 4 (Nāfiʿ 1997: 44).

‘The full stop is put after the completion of a text segment whose meaning has been completed, after which there will come other clause complexes.

And it is put at the end of each paragraph or at the end of all text in the article, although it is possible to dispense with it at the end of the article, since the end of the text here nevertheless is obvious.’

The comma

The comma, *al-fāṣilatu* (‘the separator’ or ‘the interrupter’), is treated third. Given less space (two lines), a fourth of the description is dedicated to the visual shape of the graphical sign:

وهي على شكل واو صغيرة مقلوبة: توضع بين الجمل المترابطة. والمعطوف بعضها على بعض، وتوضع بين الكلمات المفردة إذا أريد تفصيلها.

‘It [the comma] is in the shape of a reversed *wāw* [و]: it is put between interconnected clauses, and [when] they are coordinated with each other. It is also put between individual words if a distinction between them is wanted.’

Quotation mark and colon

In the *Al-Ahram Stylebook*, the only quotation marks treated are the guillemets (‘French’ quotation marks), implicitly to suggest that other signs are discouraged. The guillemets are treated after the colon, *nuqṭatāni ra ‘siyyatāni*, which according to the *Stylebook* has two uses. The first is after the word *qāla*, ‘he said’, and *yaqūl#*, ‘he says’, ‘if what follows is a quote’;¹⁶⁷ in this case, the *Stylebook* explicitly says that the colon should not be used if the speech is quoted freely (*bi-l-ma ‘nā*).¹⁶⁸ The second instance where a colon is used is at the end of a sentence (*ḡumlat#*) if it refers to what follows.

No other use of the colon is mentioned, and an example of its use with quotes is found in the following description of guillemets, the *qawsāni muz-dawīḡāni ṣaḡīrāni bāṭīnuhumā ‘ilā l-yaṣārī wa-qawsāni ‘aḥārāni miṭlahumā bāṭīnuhumā ‘ilā l-yamīni*, ‘two small double bows two of whose insides face left and two other similar bows whose insides face right’. They are said to be added around quoted words in order to distinguish them from the surrounding text.¹⁶⁹ The two examples given are not taken from Media Arabic, but are sayings of the prophet, the second of which is:¹⁷⁰

وقال صلى الله عليه وسلم : «إن الله لا ينظر إلى صوركم ولكن ينظر إلى قلوبكم» .

¹⁶⁷ (Nāfi‘ 1997: 45). إذا كان مابعدا هو نص القول

¹⁶⁸ (Nāfi‘ 1997: 45). أما إذا كان الكلام بالمعنى فلا توضعان

¹⁶⁹ (Nāfi‘ 1997: 46). يوضفان حول النص الذي يراد ذكره لتمييزه عن الكلام من حوله

¹⁷⁰ ‘He [...] said: «Allah does not look at your appearances, he looks at your hearts.»’

3.3.2. Interpunctuation in the corpus

This section will discuss the use of interpunctuation in the corpus. Only in the case of the absent brackets in Example (112) from Article 1 will a comparison to the *Stylebook* be made. The use of interpunctuation signs in the corpus differs so considerably from the instruction of the *Stylebook* that a more systematic comparison study is not fruitful.

3.3.2.1. Quotation marks and parentheses

Quotation marks

As quotation marks are treated both single and double signs above the line: { ‘ } and { ’ }, { “ } and { ” }, { ‘ } and { ’ }, { “ } and { ” }, and guillemets { « } and { » } or { « } and { » }.

In the corpus, single quotation marks are not used, but both double quotation marks above the line and guillemets are attested. Double quotation marks, regardless of their shape, will subsequently be treated as a single sign.¹⁷¹

With about 663x attestations of { « } and { » } (325x + 338x), versus 247x double quotation marks in the corpus as a whole (including headlines), guillemets are about 2.68 times as frequent as double quotation marks.

The use of double quotation marks above the line seems generally to be mutually exclusive with guillemets, and the choice between the two seems to vary as a stylistic choice (for the definition of style, see 2.1.2.1). This is suggested by the fact that e.g. Articles 24–37 do not have any examples of double quotation marks above the line at all, whereas Article 38 has 12x (with no author name in the by-line); on the other hand, Articles 24–37 have 52x attestations of the sign { » } and 47x of { « }, whereas Article 38 has neither { « } nor { » }.

However, quotation marks are, like interpunctuation marks in general, applied inconsistently. In the same article, we may find a name without quotation marks, with double quotation marks above the line and/or with guillemets in the same function, e.g. *dā‘eš*, “*dā‘eš*” and «*dā‘eš*» (all three variants attested in Article 1). As an abbreviation, *dā‘eš* may even stand in parentheses as an explicatory apposition: *tanẓīm# al-dawlati l-‘islāmiyyati (dā‘eš)* (Article 9, similarly in Article 25; on parentheses, see below). Although one of two quotation marks may be omitted at times (forgotten? edited out?), e.g. around quotes, combinations of the two types of quotations marks such as «*dā‘eš*” or “*dā‘eš*» are unattested.

Double quotation marks above the line and guillemets are used, although inconsistently, to mark names of e.g. militant groups, organizations, parties,

¹⁷¹ In all the quoted examples in this book, the signs { ‘ } and { ’ }, and { “ }, and { ” } are normalized to { ‘ } and { ’ }, and { “ } and { ” }.

news channels or agencies, titles of reports, names of geographic locations, villages, cities, provinces, harbours, airports, and so on, and even occasionally for Arabic personal names, e.g. "عبد الله مطلق بلالونة" (Article 81). These names may stand in apposition, or be free standing (for nominal addition, see 2.3.2.3). Typically, there is no space between the word(s) and the quotation marks, although it does occur.

95. Article 6 (lead), double quotation marks to distinguish a name

أُفِرِجَت "جبهة النصرة"، الفرع السوري لتنظيم القاعدة، عن ٤ جنود لبنانيين وعنصر في قوى الأمن الداخلي كانوا محتجزين لديها منذ نحو شهر في شرق لبنان

96. Article 84, double quotation marks to quote a title

وأظهر التقرير ، الذي يحمل عنوان "عوامل النجاح لصحة المرأة والطفل" ، أن ١٠ بلدان منخفضة ومتوسطة الدخل وهي: مصر وبنجلاديش وكمبوديا والصين وإثيوبيا ولاوس الديمقراطية ونيبال وبيرو ورواندا وفيتنام، تمكنت من تحقيق نجاح كبير في خفض وفيات الأمهات والأطفال.

Double quotation marks are also used for partial quotes, e.g. in Article 40:

97. Article 40, double quotation marks in partial quote

واتهمت روسيا بتغذية "جرائم الانفصاليين" في أوكرانيا، حسب وصفها ، وحمل التقرير موسكو مسؤولية اشعال "صراع دولي مسلح" سواء بالتدخل المباشر أو عن طريق دعم الانفصاليين.

And for quoting direct speech:

98. Article 5, direct speech bracketed by double quotation marks

وأضاف "نخوض حاليا معارك عنيفة في قرية ينكجة، فيما تمكنت قواتنا من تطهير ثلاث قرى شمال امرلي."

Double quotation marks are also used for quoting what may be direct speech, where the noun following *'anna* stands in the accusative:

99. Article 9 (final sentence), double quotation marks following a complementizer

وأكد التنظيم في بيان الليلة قبل الماضية أن "المحتجزين في مكان آمن، وفي حالة صحية جيدة، ويقدم لهم ما يحتاجونه من طعام وعلاج".

However, the quotation marks are inconsistently applied, as attested e.g. in Article 18 (Example 100) and Article 1 (Example 101).

100. Article 18 (final sentence), double quotation marks inconsistently applied

وفي الوقت نفسه، أكد المرصد السوري أن ٤٢ طفلا قتلوا جراء غارات جوية للجيش على عدة محافظات خلال اليومين الماضيين، وأضاف المرصد أن غالبية الأطفال قتلوا في محافظتي حلب وإدلب في قصف للطيران السوري بالبراميل المتفجرة".

101. Article 1, double quotation marks inconsistently applied

وقال المحلل السياسي الكويتي عايد المناع أصبح لدينا هاجس أكبر من مسألة التباين في السياسات الخارجية، فداعش تسيطر على ثلث العراق وثلث سوريا. واعتبر أن "داعش كفكرة ليست فكرة موجودة فقط في (العراق وسوريا)، بل هي موجودة حتى في دولنا وهي تنتظر الوقت لتتقوض"، إذ لدى التنظيم "امتدادات عقائدية" في المنطقة على حد قوله، نحن في خطر من شمال شرق سوريا إلى شمال غرب العراق، وهذا جرس إنذار حقيقي لدول المجلس لتصفى خلافاتها". كما أشار المناع إلى "خطر الحوثيين" الشيعة الذين باتوا ينتشرون بالآلاف في صنعاء.

Generally, guillemets are put with the concave side inwards, < «...» >, but in view of the general inconsistency, their occasional inversion, as seen in Article 44 (Example 102), comes as no surprise.

102. Article 44 (final sentence), inverted guillemets

والدراسة التي نشرتها دورية نيتشر ميديسين هي أول دراسة تنشر تقريراً عن إنتاج لقاح يوفر «مناعة قوية» ضد إيبولا، حيث منح الحماية لأربعة قروء لمدة عشرة أشهر.

Parentheses

There are 50x attestations of () and 50x of () in the corpus, and their distributions are equal and consistent such that () is always followed by (). All 50x examples of () are preceded by a space, and 48x of the examples of () are followed by a space, with only 2x exceptions; the use of spacing with these interpunctuation marks is surprisingly consistent. The use of parentheses somewhat overlaps with quotation marks, e.g. with names (as mentioned above), but also with dashes, although the information within parentheses is always syntactically on one and the same morphosyntactic level, and is never cataphoric (cf. dashes, 3.3.2.3).

Parentheses are used to give additional peripheral information (e.g. Article 81, Example 103), to separate appositional information (e.g. Article 77, Example 104), to separate names and foreign words, to separate abbreviations as appositions from their head noun(s), and to make a news outlet addition, e.g. to the words of Mahmoud Abbas in Article 37 (Example 108). The information within parentheses may be on a different morphosyntactic level than what precedes, and the structure within parentheses may be e.g. a phrase, a clause, or a list of nouns, but is typically no longer than one clause. It is never two or more phrases of mutually different morphosyntactic patterns. Examples (103)–(112) illustrate the uses of parentheses.

103. Article 81, parentheses for parenthetical information, stating age

وأوضحت مصادر أمنية فلسطينية أمس أن وحدة خاصة إسرائيلية مستعربة اعتقلت الشاب "عيد الله مطلق بالونة" (35 عاماً) من مدينة «طولكرم» أثناء تواجده بمحطة محروقات على شارع جنين - نابلس بالقرب من «جبع» جنوب مدينة جنين واعتدت بالضرب ونكلت بالشاب مؤمن حمامرة من بلدة «جبع» والذي يعمل في المحطة.

104. Article 77 (final sentence), parentheses separating an appositional nominal list

كما أعلنت الوزيرة الفرنسية عن مساعدة لمستشفى دونكا عبارة عن طنين من المساعدات الطبية (أقنعة وقفازات وملابس عازلة ومحاليل لتطهير اليدين).

Parentheses are also used, like quotation marks, to distinguish names but apparently less frequently, based on the relative frequencies in the corpus.

105. Article 89, news source distinguished by parentheses

وفى هذا الصدد ، ذكرت صحيفة (أخبار اليوم) ، لسان حال اللواء على محسن الأحمر المستشار الخاص لرئيس الجمهورية لشئون الدفاع والأمن ، أن جماعة الحوثيين تسعى إلى اتفاق جديد مع الرئيس عبد ربه منصور هادى بعيدا عن شرعية المبادرة الخليجية وقرارات مجلس الأمن وهو ما ترفضه هذه الجهات.

Article 89 (Example 106) features a paragraph with 4x sets of parentheses (8.0% of all parentheses in the corpus).

106. Article 89 (second paragraph), multiple parentheses

تجدر الإشارة الى أن الحكومة الحالية المشكلة بعد الاحتجاجات التي أدت إلى إقصاء الرئيس السابق على عبد الله صالح عن الرئاسة عام 2011 تتكون من حزب المؤتمر الشعبى العام (برأسه صالح)، وأحزاب اللقاء المشترك التي تضم بالإضافة إلى الحزب الناصرى - أحزاب التجمع اليمنى للإصلاح (التابع للإخوان المسلمين)، والحزب الاشتراكى اليمنى وحزب البعث العربى الاشتراكى (جناح سوريا)، وحزب اتحاد القوى الشعبية (مقرب من الحوثيين)، وحزب الحق التابع للحوثيين.

107. Article 9, parentheses to give foreign word

و على صعيد متصل، تبني تنظيم «جبهة النصر» ذراع تنظيم القاعدة فى سوريا، خطف أكثر من ٤٠ جنديا فيجيا فى قوة الأمم المتحدة لمراقبة فض الاشتباك فى الجولان التى جرت منذ أربعة أيام، بحسب المركز الأمريكى لمراقبة المواقع الإسلامية الالكترونية (سايته).

In Article 37, the writer steps in to anaphorically clarify a statement by Mahmoud Abbas.

108. Article 37, parentheses, author addition

وقال .. لقد تأثرنا اقتصاديا بشكل كبير (من جراء العدوان) ، حيث نحتاج إلى ٧ مليارات دولار لبنى خلال ١٥ عاما ما تم تدميره. ومن جانبه أعلن ،موسى أبو مرزوق نائب رئيس المكتب السياسى لحركة حماس أن الوسيط المصرى أجرى مباحثات فى رام الله مع السلطة الفلسطينية وإسرائيل بشأن بحث استئناف المباحثات بالقاهرة وفتح المعابر.

In Article 53 (Example 109) parentheses are used to state additional geographical information.

109. Article 53, additional geographical information

ومن بين هذه المشاريع بناء سد شمال غرب البلاد، وميناء فى المياه العميقة بمنطقة النفیضة (شرق) إضافة الى مشاريع اخرى فى قطاعات مختلفة مثل الصناعة والطاقة والنقل والسياحة.

In Article 67, parentheses are used first to appositionally give the name of the Ethiopian capital; to judge by the second name within parentheses, *el- 'iṣlāḥ al- 'āna*, which stands annexed, it is likely that the fact that both *'addīs 'abābā* and *el- 'iṣlāḥ al- 'āna* are used in the context of names, rather than the first being used to give additional information, but *variatio* in this respect is plausible.

110. Article 67, parentheses

ونفى أن تكون زيارة رئيس الآلية الأفريقية رفيعة المستوى ثامبو أمبيكي للخطوط اليوم بهدف نقل الحوار الوطنى لخارج البلاد، مشيراً إلى أن الهدف من الزيارة هو إطلاع الرئيس عمر البشير على الاتفاق الأخير فى العاصمة الإثيوبية (أديس أبابا) بين الوساطة الأفريقية ووفد آلية الحوار الوطنى برئاسة رئيس حركة (الإصلاح الآن) غازى صلاح الدين، ومجموعة إعلان باريس.

In Article 116, parentheses are used to specify a majority more exactly by means of numbers, a parenthetical addition of exact information, the exactness of which is less important to the overarching proposition:

111. Article 116, parentheses

وأكد البابا - الأرمنيتينى الأصل - أنه حتى وإن كانت ألبانيا دولة ذات أكثرية مسلمة (٥٦٪) فهي "ليست بلداً مسلماً بل بلد أوروبى."

Sometimes however, the rationale behind their use is not immediately transparent, as in the case in Example (112) from Article 1.

112. Article 1, parentheses

واعتر أن "داعش كفكرة ليست فكرة موجودة فقط فى (العراق وسوريا)، بل هى موجودة حتى فى دولنا وهى تنتظر الوقت لتتقضى"، إذ لدى التنظيم "امتدادات عقائدية" فى المنطقة على حد قوله، نحن فى خطر من شمال شرق سوريا إلى شمال غرب العراق، وهذا جرس إنذار حقيقى لدول المجلس لتصفى خلافاتها".

In Example (112), it may be that the parentheses are used to mark *el- 'irāq* and *sūriyā* as names, but it is more likely that they here serve the purpose of a writer's or an editor's clarification within the direct speech. According to the *Al-Ahram Stylebook*, square brackets *[]* and *[]*—*qawsāni bi-zawāyā qā'imatin*, 'bows with right angles'—should be used around speech that the writer adds with himself as the source, *ḥawla kalāmin yuḍīfuhu l-kātibu min 'indihi* (Nāfi' 1997: 43).¹⁷² The speaker in the quote of Article 1 is the Kuwaiti political analyst Ayed al-Manna; it is probable that in his speech he only used

¹⁷² Square brackets, the prescribed sign in this position, are fully discussed in the *Stylebook* (Nāfi' 1997: 46). Brackets are said to be put around words (*kalām#*) that the writer adds by himself in the text (himself being the source), in order to complement it (*'ikmālan lahu*) or object to it (*i 'tirāḍan 'alayhi*), "if you feel that in it there is a shortage or an utterance that slipped inadvertently for example".

توضعان حول الكلام الذى تضيفه من عندك بين نص من النصوص إكمالاً له أو اعتراضاً عليه، إذا أحسست أن به نقصاً أو كلام سقط سهواً مثلاً

fī(h) as an anaphoric reference, never mentioning Iraq or Syria by name at this point in his utterance, but we cannot know with certainty.¹⁷³ If this is the case, the addition of these two names is marked off by parentheses in order to keep Ayed's utterance intact. In the corpus, brackets are not used at all, the function of news outlet additions being filled by parentheses instead (and possibly by other signs, if any at all).

3.3.2.2. Commas

There are two types of comma on the Arabic keyboard: the Western { , } and the Arabic { ، }.¹⁷⁴ In the corpus, these two are used interchangeably in mutually exclusive contexts and will in the following be treated as one sign.¹⁷⁵ There are 1,255x commas in the corpus, making this the most frequent interpunctuation mark in the corpus followed by the single full stop (1,085x attestations).

Speaking very generally, there is only one use for the comma, namely to clarify the relation between different syntactic groups and/or semantic units by separating them. In addition, it is used in decimal numbers,¹⁷⁶ together with the full stop.¹⁷⁷

Some syntactic uses are more consistent than others. For example, the type *mušīran* occurs 31x in the corpus (always with *'ilā* immediately following, 23x with an additional complementizer immediately following; for complementizers, see 5.3.2.1); in 27x of these occurrences, there is a comma and a space preceding, i.e. { ،_ مشيرا إلى } (underscore here used to illustrate space), and there is 1x attestation without a space between the comma and *mušīran* (Article 90). In addition, there are 2x instances with a full stop and a space + *mušīran* (Articles 5 and 49), and 1x without a space between the full stop and *mušīran* (Article 45). This not only suggests a degree of consistency with regard to an interpunctuation mark preceding the clause beginning with *mušīran* *'ilā*—in fact all 31x attestations of the type do come with an interpunctuation mark before them—but also that there is a certain overlap between the comma and the full stop in this position (for the participle in this use, see 6.4.5.3). Not only can the full stop replace an expected comma, the comma may also replace

¹⁷³ Quotes in the corpus appear in MSA, and are thus possible translations, either from foreign languages or from the colloquial varieties. It is not unlikely to think of *fī(h)* in the quote as anaphoric. For the translation of quotes, see 1.4.12.3.

¹⁷⁴ In addition, the letter *rā'*, { ر }, may be used for a comma, too, but this use is unattested in the corpus.

¹⁷⁵ Double commas of either kind are unattested in the corpus.

¹⁷⁶ E.g. in the lead of Article 71, 4,3 *milūn# ġālibin sūriyyin*, '4.3 million Syrian students' (Example 224).

¹⁷⁷ E.g. Article 112, 8,1 *milyūn# šawtin*, '8.1 million votes' (Example 309).

a full stop, in the Western sense of these interpunctuation marks (end of sentence vs. not end of sentence).¹⁷⁸

To give another example to show that interpunctuation enjoys a certain degree of consistency: the transition phrase (*wa-*)*min ġānibi-h* is attested 30x times in the corpus (for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2). This phrase is always followed by a verb in the sphere of utterance, and of the 30x attestations of the phrase, 6x do not have a comma to separate the transition phrase and the verb (this includes the *hapax* post-positioned transition phrase *wa-miṣr min ġānibihā* in Article 12, Example 472). In 80.0% of the cases, *ergo*, the comma separates this transition phrase from the following verb. Other similar contexts of use where the comma is expected can surely be identified. A more comprehensive investigation into the function and syntactic distribution of the comma in Media Arabic is a *desideratum* of future research.

3.3.2.3. Dashes, double and single (including hyphens)

Dashes¹⁷⁹ may be either long or short (4x long), and are used in a multitude of ways. A lone *linea dilatans* may be used interchangeably with a short dash, the *linea dilatans* { - } being very similar in appearance to the short dash { - }. In print, a dash may look very similar to a full stop. The term “double dashes” will be used to refer to two dashes that - embrace - a text segment.

There are about 390x dashes in the corpus: 130x regular dashes and about 260x *lineae dilatantes*, 180x of which come with a space before and after. A considerable proportion of the *lineae dilatantes* are found inside words for stylistic reasons as a type of line filler, e.g. in the last word of the headline in Article 14 بإقامة; outside of this context, the two signs are used interchangeably (as illustrated by Example 113), and will in the following be treated as one sign.

In Example (113) from Article 50, a regular dash is followed by a superficially identical *linea dilatans* suggesting mutual exclusivity of the two. The dashes are here used to separate the Location of Utterance.

113. Article 50, dashes to separate Location of Utterance

وقال ز عميط - في تصريحات صحفية له أمس - إن عدداً من الصواريخ سقطت بالقرب من مخازن شركة الزاوية لتكرير النفط، مؤكداً أن صاروخاً آخر سقط على أحد المنازل الخالية من السكان.

¹⁷⁸ For comparison: *mu'akkidan* occurs 24x types in the corpus (18x with a complementizer immediately following): 20x of these times with a comma and a space, (, مُوكداً) (underscore here used to illustrate space), 1x time without a space following the comma (Article 123); but there are 3x instances with no comma preceding it (Articles 37, 52, and 71). It is never attested with a preceding full stop. This once again suggests a high degree of consistency with regard to interpunctuation in connection with this type.

¹⁷⁹ The term “dash” here includes any horizontal stroke above the line, i.e. hyphens, en-dashes, em-dashes, etc.

The dash is found in by-lines (for by-lines, see 3.5); it is also used in the context of verbs of attribution to separate Location of Utterance (as in Example 113), to separate non-disclosure formulae (e.g. Articles 32 and 42; for non-disclosure formulae, see 6.6), occasionally to put the source in a type of parenthetical position to soften an otherwise strong expression, e.g. via an attribution formula: *ḥasbamā dakarat* [...] (Article 102, Example 115; for attribution formulae, see 6.5). As illustrated by Example (114), it may also fill a function shared with parentheses, by separating additional information.

114. Article 47, dashes to mark additional information

ويشرح كتاب السيرة الذاتية للأمير هاري حجم التوترات التي عانى منها في طفولته على الرغم من أنه كان أغلب الوقت في مدرسة داخلية وكان القصر حريصا على عدم وصول منشئيات الصحف - التي تتناول فضائح والديه - إلى يديه، إلا أنه من المستحيل أن يمنع القصر وصول تلك الفضائح لبقاى التلاميذ في المدرسة.

115. Article 102, dash to separate an attribution formula, here used to relax a statement under an attribution

وبعد أن اقتربت عيناه من البكاء - حسبما ذكرت وسائل الإعلام البريطانية - حاول كاميرون استرضاء من لا يحبونه في أسكتلندا، قائلا : «

In Example (116) from Article 67, there are two instances of double dashes: The first instance is a Location of Utterance, - *fī taṣrīḥin lahu 'amsi* -, the second around a contextualizing phrase (Concerning) - *fī ḥādā-l-ṣadadi* -.

116. Article 67, two sets of dashes

وكشف أحمد سعد عمر عضو الآلية - في تصريح له أمس - عن خطوات تتخذها حكومة الخرطوم حاليا لتعزيز الثقة بينها وبين الجهات الرافضة للحوار، وتوقع - في هذا الصدد - أن تكون أولى هذه الخطوات صدور عفو رئاسي خلال الأيام القادمة عن جميع المعتقلين السياسيين.

In the unique list of Article 86 (Example 117), each paragraph begins with the name of a criminal organization to be described. Here, each name is put within dashes, and they are also to separate an apposition to the name *fīrīdīkū*.

117. Article 86, dashes in a list

، ومن ضمن أقوى العصابات المنظمة في العالم وفقا لتقديرات أرباحهم المالية هي :
- ياماجوتشي جورى - عائدات الجريمة ٨٠ مليار دولار : وتعرف بأكبر عصابة في العالم، وهي إحدى العصابات التي يشار إليها في اليابان باسم "ياكوزا" ، وهو اسم ياباني يشبه اسم "المافيا" في أمريكا، وجمعت أموالها من تهريب المخدرات بشكل أساسي ، بالإضافة إلى الابتزاز والقمار.

- سولنيسيفسكايا براتفا - عائدات الجريمة ٨,٥ مليار دولار : وهي جماعات مافيا روسية، اعتبرت مجلة "فورتن" نسخة من عصابة ياكوزا ، لكن الاختلاف الوحيد يرجع إلى أن تنظيمها غير متمركز في مكان واحد في العالم.

ويقول فريديكو فارسي - بروفيسور علم الجريمة من جامعة "أكسفورد" والخبير في الجريمة المنظمة - إن تلك العصابة تتألف من ١٠ فصائل منفصلين يعملون بدرجة استقلالية تلو أحيانا

وتقل أحيانا أخرى، ويشرف على أموالهم ١٢ شخصا فقط يتقابلون بانتظام في مناطق مختلفة من العالم، ويخفون لقاءاتهم تحت غطاء مناسبات احتفالية. وأضاف فارسي أن عدد أعضائها يقدر فوق ٩ آلاف شخص، وتتوسع نشاطهم ما بين تجارة المخدرات، وتهريب البشر.

- كامورا - عائدات الجريمة ٤,٩ مليار دولار : وبالرغم من بعض الشائعات التي تشير إلى ضعف المافيا الإيطالية الأمريكية في العقود الأخيرة، إلا أن تقرير مجلة "فورتن" أكد أن المافيا في إيطاليا لا تزال قوية، حيث كشفت الإحصائيات عن أن نشاطات المافيا تجلب عوائد بقيمة ٣٣ مليار دولار و ذلك لعام ٢٠١٣، توزع بين أكبر أربع عصابات في إيطاليا.

Dashes do not always come in pairs separating a textual segment from the rest of the text, but may be used alone. The single dash is optionally used between adjectives in compounds, e.g. 'geo-political tensions', *al-tawatturāt# al-ġiū-siyāsiyyat#*, التوترات الجيو-سياسية (Article 107) or in compounds with *nisba* adjectives of countries (Example 119, Article 10), and between two nouns in compounds, e.g. 'the Jenin – Nablus road', *šāri # ġenīn – nāblus*, شارع جنين – نابلس (Article 81). In Article 92, a single dash is used to separate speech after a verb of attribution (Example 118).

118. Article 92, dash used to separate speech

وفي الوقت نفسه أكد وزير خارجية فرنسا لوران فابيوس أن طائرة فرنسية نفذت أول مهمة استطلاع لها أمس في العراق، وقال فابيوس - إن الرئيس الفرنسي فرانسوا أولاند قد طلب خلال زيارته لبغداد يوم الجمعة الماضي بالسماح له بالتحليق فوق الأراضي العراقية وقد وافقت السلطات العراقية على ذلك.

When double dashes separate textual segments as additional information or context, their use differs from that of parentheses in the corpus, in that dashes may separate segments of more than one linguistic structure or more than one morphosyntactic level (Example 119, Article 10).

119. Article 10, dashes separating two contextual clauses, and used in a bi-nominal adjective

وقال منصور - في مقابلة مع صحيفة (نيويورك تايمز) الأمريكية نشرت أمس على موقعها الإلكتروني - إن "عباس يريد أن يتفق المجتمع الدولي على تاريخ بعينه"، واصفا هذا الطلب بأنه جزء من استراتيجية جديدة يتبناها الرئيس عباس تقضي بأن يدفع من جانب واحد هدف الاستقلال الفلسطيني وحل الدولتين للصراع الفلسطيني - الإسرائيلي بعد سلسلة من الإحباطات أبرزها انهيار المحادثات التي جرت مع إسرائيل هذا العام بواسطة أمريكية.

Dashes may however be used to give parenthetical information in a clause whose use is hard to separate from the use of parentheses. A number of uses are given in Examples (120)–(122).

120. Article 12 (final sentence), dashes used to give context

وشملت مباحثات الوزير سامح شكرى فى ألمانيا - المحطة الأولى من جولته الأوروبية - لقاءات مع كل من وزير التعاون الدولي والتنمية الألماني جيرد مولر ورئيس لجنة العلاقات الخارجية بالبرلمان الألماني نوربرت روتجن.

121. Article 23, dashes separating two clauses

وقال العربي - في تصريحات صحفية لدى مغادرته القاهرة مساء أمس الأول، متوجها إلى الأردن - إنه سيلتقى ناصر جودة وزير خارجية الأردن لبحث القضية الفلسطينية والتوجهات الجديدة سواء بالنسبة للهدنة التي تمت بنجاح بناء على المبادرة المصرية أو ما يمكن اتخاذه من خطوات أخرى لإنهاء النزاع العربي الإسرائيلي.

122. Article 115, dashes used to state age (parenthetical comment)

ومن المتوقع أن يمثل عمر جونزاليس - ٤٢ عاما - أمام المحكمة في واشنطن لمواجهة تهمة دخول مبنى محظور بشكل غير قانوني وهو يحمل سلاحا قاتلا، لتصل فترة العقوبة إلى ١٠ سنوات في حالة الإدانة.

Dashes are also used to state the national origin of the subject, as a type of author's addition, e.g. in Article 116: *wa-'akkada l-bābā - al-'arḡanīniyyu l-'ašli - 'annahu [...]* (Example 111). Dashes may also be used to separate a speech which functions as a somewhat parenthetical content; either in direct speech, possibly to mark it as coming under a different intonation contour (Example 123), or as an explanatory comment (Example 124).

123. Article 83, dashes used to mark different intonation curve in direct speech

وقال ميدفيديف في خطاب نقله التلفزيون "إذا حاول عدد من شركائنا - إذا كان من الممكن تسميتهم كذلك - اختبار قوة روسيا من خلال العقوبات وكل أشكال التهديد، فمن المهم ألا نذعن لإغراء ما يسمى بالحلول السهلة، وأن نحافظ ونستمر في تطوير العمليات الديمقراطية في مجتمعنا.. في دولتنا".

In Example (124), the dashes are used to add the day of the week following a temporal expression.

124. Article 123, dashes used to separate the day of the week

وحول استئناف حوار المصالحة بين فتح وحماس أوضح الأحمـد انها ستبدأ اليوم -الاربعاء - جلسات ثنائية ولمدة يومين وجدول أعمالها متفق عليه قبل المجيء للقاهرة، وهو الذي قدمته حركة فتح لحماس، ويتضمن معالجة العراقيل والعقبات التي وقفت أمام إتمام اتفاق المصالحة بعد تشكيل حكومة التوافق الوطني، مشيرا الى أن أول نقطة في تلك العراقيل هو قرار الحرب والسلام

A single dash may also be used before a Complement of Utterance (cf. complementizers, 5.3.2.1).

125. Article 92, single dash used before a Complement of Utterance

وقال فابريوس - إن الرئيس الفرنسي فرانسوا أولاند قد طلب خلال زيارته لبغداد يوم الجمعة الماضي بالسماح له بالتحليق فوق الاراضي العراقية وقد وافقت السلطات العراقية على ذلك.

In one case, a single dash is used before a paragraph-internal transition phrase, ' - and for his part', - *wa-min ḡānibihi* (Article 3). In by-lines, it is used to separate sources (for by-lines, see 3.5).

3.3.2.4. Full stops

There are 1,085x full stops in the corpus (excluding 47x instances of double dots, treated in 3.3.2.5). Compare this to the number of sentences or main clauses in the corpus, 1,144x (see 5.3.1).

The full stop has one primary function, namely to separate sentences (for the definition of sentence, see 2.3.1), but it is also used in decimal numbers, a position it shares with the comma. The full stop, *ergo*, is typically not used at random, although it may sometimes be supplanted with a comma or, at the end of paragraphs, be omitted altogether.

The core of the most characteristic Media Arabic sentence structure can safely be described as a verb of attribution followed by a complement clause (for main clauses, see 5.3.1; for verbs of attribution, see 3.13; for complementizers, see 5.3.2.1; and for complement clauses, see 5.3.2.2). To this core structure, a number of subordinate and embedded syntagms of various syntactic patterns are typically added. Preceding it all we may find a transition phrase (for which, see 5.3.4.2). Although the sentence may be “long” (cf. the discussion in 3.1), and may be continued with a second complement structure introduced via a participle of attribution (see 6.4.5.3) or even another Unordered Addition continuing the sentence with a separate syntactic structure, the whole structure of the last finite clause is typically concluded with a full stop when the structures are closed syntactically. A new sentence typically begins with *wa-* (for journalistic *wa-*, see 5.3.1.1).

Due to the typical main clause VSO word order, we may say that the full stop is typically encountered before transition phrases and/or the finite verb of a main clause, which may be syndetically or asyndetically linked, when the preceding clause complex is concluded syntactically.

The order of interpunctuation marks in relation to the full stop { . }

Combinations of guillemet followed by full stop—namely (giving the signs reading left to right, obviously reversed for Arabic) { » . } and { « . }—are attested in the corpus 45x and 22x times, respectively; whereas { . » } and { . « } are unattested, suggesting that Media Arabic is consistent in this regard. In addition, there is no attestation of { . " }, but 30x attestations for { " . }, again suggesting consistency. There are also attestations for all three with an interposed space, i.e. { » _ . }, { « _ . }, and { " _ . } (with an underscore to represent space here), but no attestation with a space where the dot precedes the quotation mark, such as { . _ " }, again suggesting a high degree of consistency. Neither { . - } nor { - . } are attested, nor { - _ . } or { _ . - }, suggesting that dashes are not used sentence-finally. There are 5x attestations of { } . }, but none where the dot precedes the parenthesis, again suggesting consistency.

There is 1x attestation of { «. } (Article 47)¹⁸⁰ and 1x of { . } (Article 24),¹⁸¹ but no attestation of the opposite order, again suggesting consistency in final positioning of the full stop.¹⁸²

Two dots may follow each other, as seen in the following section, but three dots in series are unattested in the corpus (cf. Morén 2015).

3.3.2.5. Double dots

Double dots are attested 47x times in the corpus (triple dots are never used). The most frequent use is in headlines and subheadings (34x, or 72.3%), where the two dots are typically followed by syndetic *wa-* (31x times: 14x instances of { .wa- }, i.e. without space after the two dots, and 17x instances with a space following the dots). Exceptions are the headlines of Articles 7, 72, and 108.

Double dots are used 13x times outside of headlines: at the end of a paragraph in Article 22 (Example 126); and similarly in Article 31 (Example 127), where the last sentence in the last paragraph ends in two dots. In Article 37, we find two dots beginning a speech following a verb of attribution (for which, see Example 108). In Article 47 (Example 129), double dots are used 2x in quoted direct speech, arguably to illustrate that the quote is partial.

126. Article 22, double dots at the end of the penultimate paragraph

ومن ناحية أخرى واصل أهالي العسكريين اللبنانيين المختطفين لدى جبهة النصرة وداعش في عرسال قطع الطرق في مناطق مختلفة في أنحاء البلاد للمطالبة بإطلاق سراح أبنائهم..

127. Article 31 (final sentence), double dots at the end of the final paragraph

وميدانيا، فتحت الزوارق الحربية الإسرائيلية صباح أمس نيران أسلحتها الرشاشة تجاه مراكب الصيادين الفلسطينيين قبالة سواحل مدينة رفح جنوب قطاع غزة في أول خرق للتهدة الموقعة بين الفصائل الفلسطينية وإسرائيل برعاية مصرية، وأفادت مصادر محلية أن زوارق الاحتلال أطلقت النار بكثافة على الصيادين الذين كانوا يعملون في مساحة 6 أميال المسموح لهم بالصيد فيها في بحر رفح دون الإبلاغ عن وقوع إصابات، واعتقلت قوات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي فجر أمس 17 شابا من قرية عزرا جنوب جنين..

128. Article 63, double dots used paragraph-internally

وكان الرئيس اليمني عبد ربه منصور هادي قد اجتمع مساء أمس الأول للمرة الثانية خلال 3 أيام مع اللجنة الأمنية العليا، وأكد أنه لا يمكن لجماعة الحوثي الاستمرار في التصعيد والاعتصامات وزعزعة الأمن والاستقرار.. فجاء رد زعيم الحوثيين عبد الملك الحوثي - في كلمة بثتها قناة (المسيرة) الناطقة باسم الجماعة - أن التصعيد سيستمر حتى تسقط الحكومة، محذرا الرئيس اليمني من فض اعتصامات الحوثيين بالقوة، ومهددا بأن هناك خيارات إستراتيجية كبرى تتعدى صنعاء وحدودها ونأمل ألا نحتاج لذلك»، على حد قوله.

¹⁸⁰ تستطيعين رؤيتهم؟».

¹⁸¹ ولماذا لم يتم التطرق لهذه البنية الموازية قبل أعوام في ظل استمرار حكم أردوغان كرئيس حكومة منذ 12 عاما؟.

¹⁸² Similarly with the comma, e.g., 14x { „,“ } vs. zero { „,“ }; 5x { „«“ } vs. zero { „«“ }; 5x { „«“ } vs. zero { „«“ }, and 2x { „,“ }, but zero { „,“ }, { „,“ }, and { „,“ }.

129. Article 47, double dots used twice in direct speech

فقد تناول كاتب متخصص في السير الذاتية الملكية حياة الأمير هاري بعد بلوغه سن الثلاثين، وأسرده فيه العديد من المفاجآت والفضائح، من بينها مكالمة سرية بين ديانا وكاميللا عشيقة تشارلز وقتها تقول فيها ديانا «أرسلت لك من سيققتك.. هم الآن في الفناء الخارجي .. هل تستطيعين رؤيتهم؟».

In Article 83 (Example 130), the two dots separate an appositional expression in direct speech. The two dots seem to indicate a correction on the part of the speaker (*badalun*), rather than a mere elaborated apposition with the repetition of the preposition (prepositions are typically not repeated).

130. Article 83, double dots used to separate an appositional expression in direct speech

وقال ميديفيد في خطاب نقله التلفزيون "إذا حاول عدد من شركائنا - إذا كان من الممكن تسميتهم كذلك - اختبار قوة روسيا من خلال العقوبات وكل أشكال التهديد ، فمن المهم ألا نذعن لإغراء ما يسمى بالحلول السهلة ، وأن نحافظ ونستمر في تطوير العمليات الديمقراطية في مجتمعنا.. في دولتنا".

A similar correctional and explicatory use of two dots is found in direct speech in Article 116, but with the verbal noun repeated.

131. Article 116, double dots used correctionally

وفي مؤتمر صحفي عقده على متن الطائرة التي عادت به إلى روما، قال الحبر الأعظم ردا على سؤال عن سبب اختياره دولة صغيرة غير عضو في الاتحاد الأوروبي لتكون وجهته الأولى في القارة العجوز إن السبب "هو أنني أردت إرسال رسالة.. إرسال إشارة إلى أوروبا".

In Article 85 double dots are used in what arguably is a partial quote to mark that something from the original is missing; the example is comparable to Article 47 (Example 129).

132. Article 85, double dots inside direct speech

وقال : "لن يكون هناك تعاون معهم .. فلنتذكر دوما أن ٨٧٪ من السويديين لم يصوتوا لهم".

Likewise in Article 90.

133. Article 90, double dots inside direct speech

وأضاف في تصريحات على محطة سكاي نيوز إذا استمر التدخل في الشأن الداخلي الليبي سنضطر إلى رفع السقف وقطع العلاقات نهائيا.. كل دولة ستتدخل في الشأن الليبي لسنا في حاجة إليها.

In Article 114, we find two dots separating two sentences, the second of which begins with *kamā*. A similar use (without sentence-initial *kamā*) is attested 2x in Article 118 (not exemplified here).

134. Article 114, double dots between sentences

وجاء في الدعوة للمظاهرات أنه يتم إلحاق العلويين وشعوب الأقلية والطلاب المنتسبين لديانات أخرى قسراً إلى مدارس الأنظمة والخطباء دون النظر إلى هوياتهم ودياناتهم، وبهذا تمارس ضدهم عملية دمج إجباري.. كما أن حزب العدالة والتنمية الحاكم يسعى لجعل اللغة التركية هي لغة التعليم الوحيدة ويقوم بغلاق المدارس المخالفة تحت شعار أمة واحدة، كذلك يصير أيضاً على تدريس المواد الدينية الإجبارية استناداً إلى شعاره المتمثل في دين واحد ومذهب واحد.

3.3.2.6. Arabic question marks

The Arabic or reversed question mark { ؟ } is used 4x times, only in questions (for questions, see 5.4): 2x in Article 24, 1x in Article 47, and 1x in Article 49. Each time, the context is speech. As illustrated by Article 34, the question mark is not obligatory: *mutasā'ilan bi-stinkārin : hal sa-tahmūna man 'ahānakum wa-'aḍallakum wa-ttāhamakum bal qātalakum wa-stabāha dimā'akum.*, 'asking disapprovingly: Are you going to protect those who humiliated you and insulted and accused you, nay, who fought you and shed your blood.' (Example 461).

Article 24 has 2x, the first in an embedded indirect question as part of a speech act by Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu (Example 135 below, with translation in Example 489).

135. Article 24, question mark

وأوضح كليجدار أوغلو أنه لا يمكن أن تكون هناك بنية موازية داخل الدولة التي تمتلك بنيتها المرسومة وفق إطار الدستور، متسائلاً من سمح بدخول هذه البنية الموازية إلى مفاصل الدولة؟ ولماذا لم يتم التطرق لهذه البنية الموازية قبل أعوام في ظل استمرار حكم أردوغان كرئيس حكومة منذ 12 عاماً؟ وأكاد أنه في كل الأحوال سيحاسب أردوغان على إغلاق قضايا الفساد والرشاوي.

In Article 47, in a quote from the biographical book of Prince Harry, where Diana speaks, the question mark is used to mark a direct question: *hal tastaḥī'īna ru'yatahum?* «.., 'Can you see them?«.' (Example 487).

In Article 49 where Medvedev speaks concerning the sanctions on Russia, the question mark is used following a direct rhetorical question (Example 136 below, with translation in Example 486).

136. Article 49, question mark

وذكر ميديفيد بالعقوبات التي فرضتها الدول الغربية على الصين في أعقاب فض احتجاج الطلبة في ميدان «تيانانمن» عام 1989.
وتساءل : هل أصبح الاقتصاد الصيني أسوأ بسبب هذه العقوبات؟ مضيفاً إن العقوبات الغربية أفادت بشكل ما للصين، حيث دفعتها لتعبئة مواردها الداخلية.

3.3.2.7. Colons

There are 197x colons used in the corpus, found in by-lines, headlines, sub-headings, and the body. The colon has four main uses: as a substitute for a verb of attribution in headlines and by-lines (Example 138), to separate the by-line from the body (again in Example 138; see 3.4.4 on by-lines), in the body to separate direct speech, and before lists. To this, there is 1x *hapax*, in the lead of Article 53 (Example 137 below, with translation in Example 229), where the colon is used in the name of a Tunisian conference—a name which also contains the only imperative in the corpus (for postmodifiers, appositions, and annexations, see 2.3.2.4).

137. Article 53 (lead), colon used in the name of a conference

استضافت تونس أمس مؤتمرا بعنوان «استثمر في تونس: الديمقراطية الناشئة» تطمح من خلاله إلى استرجاع ثقة المستثمرين الأجانب في البلاد التي يعاني اقتصادها من التأثيرات السلبية لثورة 2011.

In headlines, the colon is used in place of a verb of attribution following a subject but before the following speech, which is typically direct speech or a report of the most newsworthy point in what someone has said or what has been written (e.g. Examples 138–140); and in by-lines it is used as a separator before the body (e.g. the second use in Example 138).

138. Article 1 (subheading, by-line, and first words of lead), two uses of the colon

اجتماع جدة يؤجل حسم الخلاف مع قطر.. ولا عودة للسفراء
خبراء: خطر «داعش» يجبر الخليجيين على تحية خلافاتهم
جدة - وكالات الأنباء: رغم التصريحات الإيجابية التي

139. Article 83 (headlines, by-line, and first words of lead), colon in headline before direct speech

بوتين يبحث مع مستشاريه الأمنيين عواقب توجه كيف نحو أوروبا
ميدفيديف: العقوبات الغربية اختبار لقوة روسيا
موسكو - وكالات الأنباء: ناقش الرئيس الروسي فلاديمير

In Article 84 (Example 140), a written report is the subject of the elliptical verb of attribution.

140. Article 84 (headline, by-line, and first words of lead), colon used to state content of report

تقرير دولي: معدلات مصرية عالية في مستوى الخدمات الصحية للمرأة والطفل
نيويورك - أ.ش.أ: أكد تقرير دولي أن

In the body, a colon may be used before a direct speech, either alone (Article 58, Example 141) or together with other interpunctuation marks such as guillemets (e.g. Article 51, Example 142).

141. Article 58, colon to separate direct speech

وصرح بولنت أرينج نائب رئيس الوزراء التركي عقب اجتماع الحكومة الأسبوعي أمس بأن السلامة في مكان العمل أصبحت مسألة مهمة. وسيتم وضع خطة عمل والكشف عنها، وقال: من الآن فصاعدا سيتم تطبيق قوانين وآليات الضبط بشكل أكثر دقة.

142. Article 51, colon and quotation marks to separate direct speech

وقال نبيل أبو ردينة الناطق باسم الرئاسة في بيان أمس: «ننفي نفيا قاطعا ما أوردته وسائل إعلام إسرائيلية وتناقلته وسائل إعلام فلسطينية وعربية حول عرض قدمه الرئيس السيسى للرئيس محمود عباس يقضى بتوسيع قطاع غزة من أراضي سيناء مقابل التنازل عن حدود عام 1967».

In Article 75, the colon is used 2x preceding a list (Examples 143 and 144).

143. Article 75, colon used preceding a list

وشارك في إجراء هذه الاستطلاعات الثلاثة : حملة "برو يونيون كامبين" المؤيدة للوحدة، وصحيفة "الأوبزرفر".

144. Article 75 (final paragraph), colon used preceding a list

وأضافوا أن المخاوف تسود الاتحاد الأوروبي من تقشى النزعة الانفصالية بين أقاليم الدول الأعضاء، وعلى الأخص : إقاليم كتالونيا والباسك في أسبانيا والفلاندر في بلجيكا.

Likewise in Article 85, a colon precedes a list: *wa- 'aḏhara l-taqrīru* , [...] *'anna 10 buldānin munḥafīdati wa-mutawassīṭati l-daḥli wa-hiya: miṣr wa-baṅglādīš, wa-kambūdiyā wa-l-ṣīn wa- 'itīyūbiyā, wa-[...]* (Example 96). And in the unique list of criminal organizations in Article 86, the colon precedes the list for each new organization described, the “sub-body” of the description of each organization is introduced by a colon, similar to, and in analogy with the typical structure of by-lines (for which, see 3.4.4): *wa-min ḏimni 'aqwā l- 'iṣābāti l-munazzamati fi-l- 'ālamī [...] hiya : [line break] - yāmāḡūtīl ḡūrī - 'ā'idātu l-ḡarīmati 80 milyāra dūlārin : [...]* (Example 117).

3.3.2.8. Infrequent signs: Pluses (+) and semicolons (;)

The plus sign (+) is used 3x times, only in names, e.g. “the five and the one states” (Example 145, Article 12).

145. Article 12, the use of the plus sign

كما تطرقت المباحثات للمفاوضات الجارية بين الدول «خمس + واحد» وإيران حول برنامجها النووي.

The Latin semicolon (;) is used 1x, in Article 51, preceding an asyndetic anaphoric noun (peripheral nominative, see 6.1.4); *al- 'amru llaḏī* (Example 550).

3.3.2.9. Unused signs in the corpus

A complete list of unattested Unicode characters will not be made, but at least the following signs may be mentioned as unattested in the corpus: { } / & = # \ @ ~ | * ÷ \$ ^ . Also unattested are the Latin question mark (?) and the exclamation mark (!).

3.3.3. Summary: Interpunctuation

Each interpunctuation sign in the corpus covers more than one function, and partly as a consequence of this, there are overlapping contexts of use between different signs. Mainly for these two reasons, a functional classification of each individual instance of an interpunctuation sign in the corpus is arduous and was for reasons of temporal limitations left as a *desideratum* of future research.

The inconsistent application of spaces before and after e.g. the full stop or the comma (the two most frequent signs) may however lead the reader to an impression of exaggerated anarchy in the system of interpunctuation signs. What has been demonstrated above, however, is not a complete chaos of inadvertently added signs seemingly for no reason, but an overarching system of signs, whose functions are not discrete, but whose use adds clarity to the text by separating sentences, syntactic units, speech acts, additions, comments, names, numbers, and other units within the text. With the lack of capital letters, italics, underscoring, and bold sections of a text within the body of a print news item, and although similar functions may be covered by two or sometimes three punctuation signs (in the case of quotation marks and parentheses around names), the mere marking off of the text or a section within a text via different font sizes and thicknesses (headline and lead), paragraph divisions of the body, appositions and epexegetical genitives within a paragraph, the marking of direct speech, additions, loan words e.g. in the form of geographical locations, people, tribes, and other names of non-Semitic origin, the signs and means by which the texts are thereby organized within the larger whole, do indeed add clarity. Considering the different applications of capital letters and punctuation within European languages alone, the different specialized letters within each language, and the “more than thirty documented variants of the name *مُعمر القذافي*” —i.e. the different ways in which the name *mu‘ammar al-qaddāfi* was presented in Western media (Reichmuth, “Transcription” in EALL)—the *prima vista* chaos of the application of interpunctuation signs in the vastness that is Arabic should come as no surprise.

It is clear that the standardization efforts seen in the *Al-Ahram Stylebook* (Nāfi‘ 1997; see 3.3.1) are not in effect, in that for example square brackets are apparently not used in hard news texts. But my impression is that the signs

do add a level of clarity to the texts, and typically pose no difficulty to readers; possibly because they are largely left unanalyzed by the casual reader (cf. the situation with vocalization in 1.5.1). A systematic analysis no doubt would have demanded a more systematic methodology than the one used here. Among the various signs, however, there are discernible trends and core uses, such that the single full stop ends sentences, quotation marks (of all types) are used for speech, parentheses are used for parenthetical context information, and dashes are used for double compound adjectives.

3.4. Lexicographical description of the corpus

This chapter sheds light on lexical variation and core vocabulary by dealing with the type-token ratio of the Media Arabic corpus and its most frequent types.

3.4.1. Type-token ratio

As a measure of lexical variation in a corpus, the total number of graphical units (tokens) can be calculated against the number of unique graphical units (types) in the whole corpus.¹⁸³ Dividing the number of types by the number of tokens gives the type-token ratio (TTR).

3.4.1.1. Methodology: Type-token ratio

For this investigation, the corpus was transliterated mechanically, using the Buckwalter transcription (punctuation and linea dilatans normalized, and no vowels (*taškīl*) included). A type-token wordlist was compiled using KWIC Concordance for Windows (version 5.2.0).¹⁸⁴ In the “word definition window”, the signs < !#()"+,-./:;=?@[\\]^_`~“” > > and space were set as separators between tokens, and since Buckwalter transcription uses capitalization as a distinguishing feature, KWIC was also set to not ignore case. In the results section of this chapter, the types have been reverted to the Arabic alphabet.

The focus in this section on types rather than on lexical items or lemmas is a shortcut, but it has relevant results. Not only is the compilation of a list of types more time-saving than a manual lemmatization, it is also more accurate than any presently available digital pipeline (e.g. MADAMIRA).¹⁸⁵ In the corpus, graphical units may mean different things and be used in different

¹⁸³ The concept of “graphical unit” is comparable to the “graphic word” used by e.g. Francis and Kučera (1982) and Hussein (2015).

¹⁸⁴ Developed by Satoru Tsukamoto in 2015.

¹⁸⁵ “MADAMIRA: A Fast, Comprehensive Tool for Morphological Analysis and Disambiguation of Arabic” (Pasha *et al.*, 2014).

syntactic environments based on them having a prefix such as e.g. the definite article. For example the type *wdE*, وضع, *wd*‘, is attested 14x times in the corpus but only 1x as a finite verb, *waḍa* ‘a in the meaning ‘put down, make up’, with the direct object *quyūdan*, ‘restrictions’ (in direct speech, Article 49). The remaining 13x attestations are to be vocalized as *waḍ*‘#, morphologically a verbal noun, with a following genitive object in the meaning ‘lay down, compose, write’ (e.g. a strategy or study) or ‘end, pause’, such as in the phrase *waḍ*‘# *ḥilāfātihim ḡāniban*, ‘put their differences (of opinion) aside’ (Article 1), or it may simply mean ‘position, status’, e.g. *sa-yastahdimu waḍ*‘a *filasṭīn ka-dawlatin murāqibin* [sic] *fī-l-’umami l-muttaḥidati* [...], ‘he [Mahmoud Abbas] will use the position of Palestine as an observer state in the UN [...]’ (Article 10); the indefinite noun only means ‘situation’ or ‘position’ in a more metaphorical sense, exemplified in Article 10: «*qāṭalna 50 yawman wa-kāna bi-’imkāninā ’an nuqātila 500 yawman ’illā ’annanā fī wad’in yabdu fīhi tanzīmu l-dawlati l-’islāmiyyati ’alā ’abwāb el-’urdun wa-l-qā’ida fī el-ḡulān wa-ḥizbu llāh ’alā l-ḥudūdi ma’a lubnān*», ‘[...] we’re in a position/situation where [...]’ (Example 408).

Unlike that type, the type الوضع, i.e. *wd*‘ with the proclitic definite article, can only be vocalized as *al-waḍ*‘#. This type is attested 21x times, and is only used as a noun, ‘(political or humanitarian) situation’, as in e.g. the phrase *al-waḍ*‘# *fī ḡazza*, ‘the situation in Gaza’ (Article 12).

3.4.1.2. Results: Type-token ratio

With the stated methodological criteria and configuration in KWIC, a total of 35,354x tokens and 10,248x types were found in the transcribed corpus, giving a TTR of 28.99%. What this means is that having read the entire corpus, the reader would hypothetically encounter a new graphical word every 3.5 tokens in the reading of an additional hard news article (3.5 tokens/type at token number 35,354). But it should still be borne in mind, that if it were not for a number of orthographic practices such as the typical proclitic writing of *al-*, *fa-*, *bi-*, *li-*, *ka-*, and so on,¹⁸⁶ and if there were no typos (for which, see 3.2) nor competing orthographic practices e.g. for *hamza* (see 3.14),¹⁸⁷ these figures would look different, and the TTR would probably be even lower.

¹⁸⁶ If these proclitics were written as separate words, the number of unique graphical units (types) would decrease, while the total number of words (tokens) in the corpus would increase, leaving a lower TTR. E.g. rather than the four types *bi-maḡlis*, *bi-l-maḡlisi*, *al-maḡlis*, and *maḡlis*, we would only have three, namely *bi*, *al*, and *maḡlis*, whereas the number of tokens would increase from four to eight (i.e. *bi maḡlis*, *bi al maḡlis*, *al maḡlis*, and *maḡlis*).

¹⁸⁷ A single unified spelling of *hamza* would decrease the total number of unique graphical units (types), whereas the total number of words (tokens) in the corpus would remain the same.

On the other hand, it could be argued that the possibility of homographs caused by the lack of diacritic signs to mark vowels and consonant geminations in the consonantal text has already lead to a lower TTR (less types, same number of tokens).¹⁸⁸

In order to contextualize the TTR of 28.99% in the present corpus from Al-Ahram, let us consider the TTR for the repetitive chorus from the 1966 Beatles song “Yellow Submarine”:

We all live in a yellow submarine
Yellow submarine, yellow submarine
 We all live in a yellow submarine
 Yellow submarine, yellow submarine

This chorus has 8x types (first instance of each in bold) distributed over 22x tokens, giving a TTR of 36.36% or, inversely 2.75 tokens/type.¹⁸⁹ In short, based on TTR, the Beatles chorus is lexically more varied than the present Media Arabic corpus.

As pointed out by Youmans (1990: 586), on a word-for-word basis, a TTR curve will begin as a straight vertical line indicating maximal lexical variation with a TTR of 100% for the first graphical unit (being maximally lexically varied); with more data, the steep curve typically declines, as the likelihood of a recurring graphical unit increases. For this reason, the TTR measure is highly sensitive to corpus size. If a corpus of an entire language or register were to be compiled, the hypothetical curve would eventually stabilize with the addition of more text as the number of tokens reached infinity and the number of unique types came close to being exhausted (supposing that the lexicon is limited at a given synchronic stratum).

¹⁸⁸ A true random generator was used (<http://www.random.org>) to produce three numbers between 1 and 131 and so select three articles from the corpus, which were then close-read for homographs: in Articles 120, 17, and 114, no homographs were found. On the other hand, there was an inconsistency in the spelling of *hamza*: ائلب *'idlib*: 1x with *hamza* in the headline and 1x without *hamza* in the body of Article 120. It should also be noted that the preference for third person reporting in hard news articles rules out the influence of a multitude of verbal morphemes under the same type on the TTR: the graphic base *f'lt*, for example, will in the overwhelming majority of cases be a third person verb (if not in all cases). Other investigations, e.g. the examination of internal passives (see 5.2.2), also seem to suggest a strong relationship between consonantal type and its vocalization. As this is not the topic of the present investigation, this issue will remain a *desideratum* for future research.

¹⁸⁹ If we normalize the Beatles chorus by ignoring case (comparable to normalization of e.g. *hamza* in Arabic), the second *Yellow* with a capital would not be counted as a new type, giving 7 types over 22 tokens and a TTR of 31.2% or 3.14 tokens/type. That TTR is still higher than the TTR for the present corpus of 28.99%.

Figure 6 illustrates the decrease of TTR with an increased corpus size (token numbers 1–35,354 from Articles 1–131).

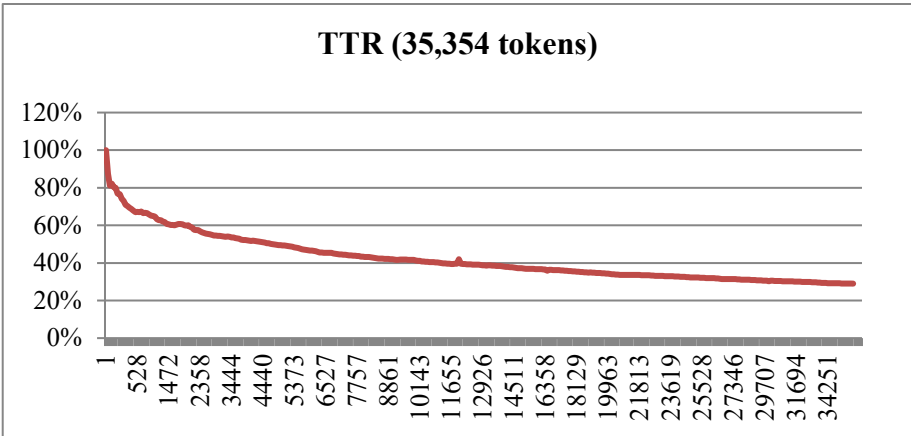


Figure 6: TTR calculated progressively through the corpus, beginning with the TTR calculated just on the first word of Article 1, and progressing through the tokens of the articles in order

As illustrated by Figure 6, although new types come at a rate of 3.5 tokens/type at token number 35,354, the curve appears to stabilize into more of a straight line (linear function) at around 8,000–10,000 tokens (TTR of 43.25% at 8,023 tokens, or 2.3121 tokens/type; 41.99% at 8,995 tokens, 2.3815 tokens/type; 41.11% at 10,064 tokens, 2.4327 tokens/type).

The stabilization in the present corpus occurs earlier than in Salhi and Yahya’s (2014: 154) study, which has a less specialized corpus covering all the text from four years (2009–2012) of the Palestinian newspaper al-Quds, in which “[s]tabilization seems to take place” at about 25,000 tokens. This not only suggests a more limited vocabulary in the present narrower hard news corpus, but also that the vocabulary learning curve for Media Arabic hard news is shorter, and starts to flatten out at token number 8,023 (or 3,470x types),¹⁹⁰ suggesting this as the minimum size for a course compendium in Media Arabic.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ It is probable, however, that in a bigger hard news corpus, covering a longer period and, consequently, an increased breadth of events and news topics, the vocabulary learning curve would start to flatten out at a higher token number.

¹⁹¹ 8,000 words equals 29.27 articles at an average length of 273.34 graphical words/article. The average graphical words/day in the corpus is 2,984, making the regional and international hard news articles from three days’ newspapers a decently sized corpus for an introductory Media Arabic course. In any case, a student who first encounters Media Arabic will no doubt have the hardest time with the first 8,000–10,000 tokens.

The average TTR per article in the corpus is 74.9%, with Article 73 and Article 125 having the highest and lowest TTR, respectively, at 95.5% (134x tokens) and 62.8% (121x tokens). Article length corresponds to TTR per article, as illustrated in Figure 7, where the *x*-axis is number of words in the article.

The relatively low TTR measure in the present hard news corpus, suggestive of a limited vocabulary, can be explained not only by a limited content and recurring topics of coverage, but also by group style and the functional needs of the register (recurring lexico-syntactic patterns to fill recurring communicative needs), e.g. the practice of introducing every new entity (person, organization, etc.) in every new text in every new issue with contextualizing information such as an apposition like ‘the minister’, ‘the president’, or ‘the city of’; another reason is that types from the headline are likely to recur also in the lead and the remainder of the body.

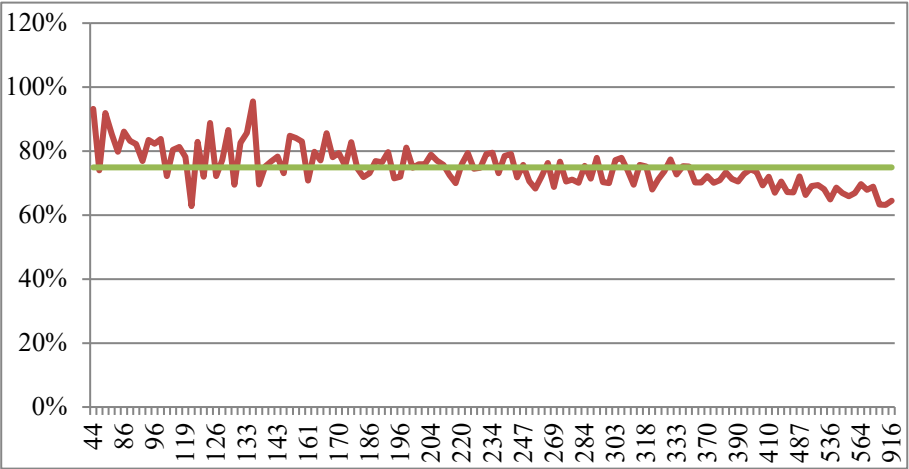


Figure 7: TTR per article (*x*-axis gives the articles, here arranged and labelled by the number of words in each); red is TTR per article; green line is average TTR per article.

3.4.2. The most frequent graphical units (types) in the corpus

A byproduct of the way the TTR analysis was done is a list of unique types and their number of occurrences in descending order of frequency. The 10,248x types in the corpus are illustrated in Figure 9: the x-axis is type ordered by frequency; the y-axis is number of tokens per type.

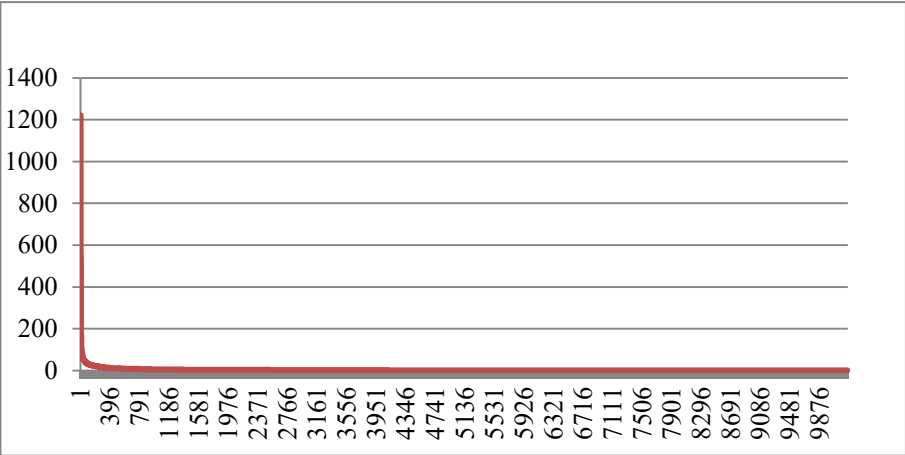
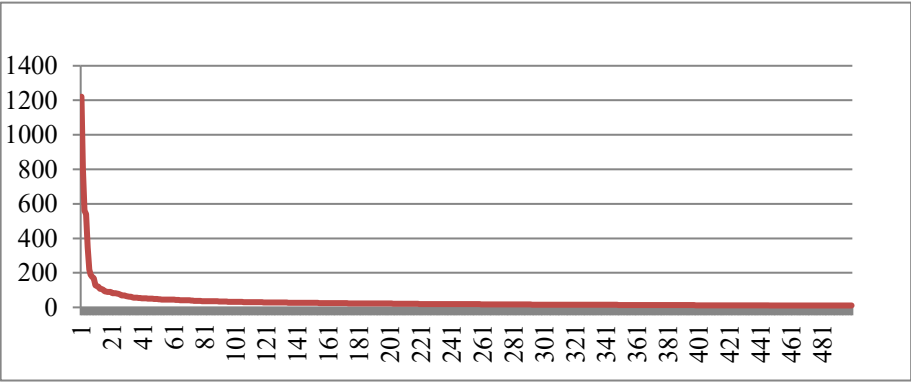


Figure 9: Number of tokens per type (type 1–10,248); x-axis is type ordered by frequency; the y-axis is number of tokens per type



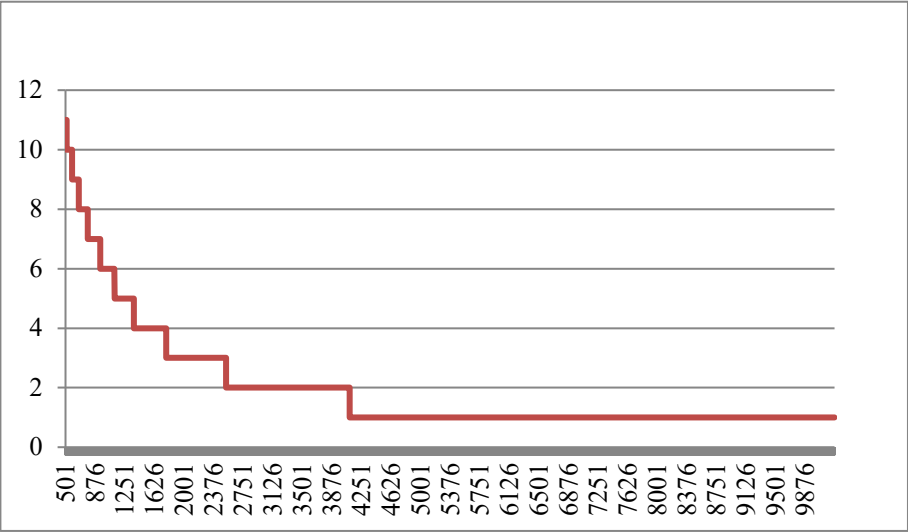


Figure 10: Number of tokens per type (type 501–10,248); x-axis is type ordered by frequency; the y-axis is number of tokens per type.

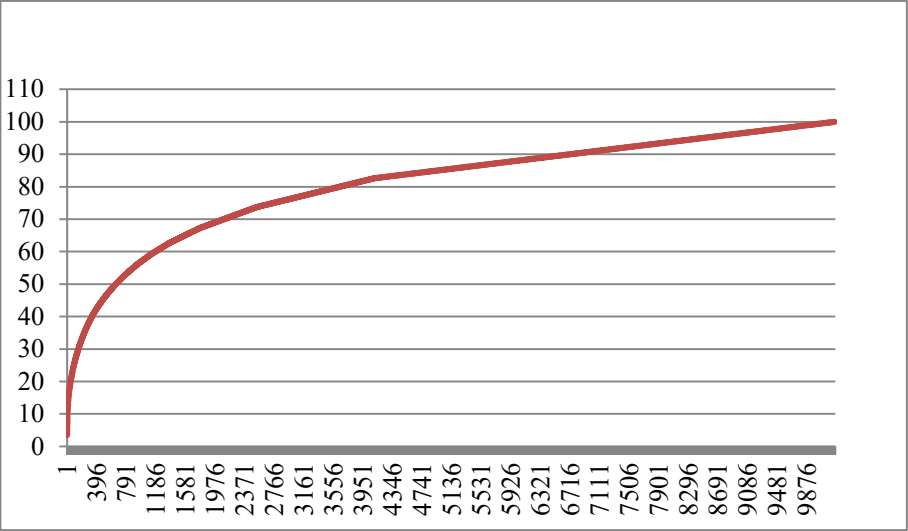


Figure 11: Running total percentage of tokens for type 1–n; x-axis is type ordered by frequency (type 1–10,248); y-axis is percentage of total number of tokens (35,354).

For Figure 11, the count for each type was divided by the total number of tokens (35,354x) yielding the frequency in percent for each type relative to the total number of tokens in the corpus (y-axis); the percentages from type number 1 to n (x-axis) were then calculated, and their sum added for each type number 1 to n.

The frequency of occurrence of the types seen in Figure 9, Figure 8, and Figure 10 displays an exponential decrease such that a small number of types occur relatively often, covering a high percentage of the total number of tokens in the corpus, whereas the great majority of types occurs only once (*hapax* types). In fact, types with the numbers 4,102 to 10,248 are *hapax legomena*: as the calculation displayed in Figure 11 illustrates, these 6,147x types make up 60.0% of the total number of types in the corpus (10,248x), but only 17.4% of the total number of tokens (35,354x). The reverse picture is seen with the 30 most common types, which make up 17.3% of the tokens in the corpus, although representing a mere 0.3% of the total number of types (Figure 11). In terms of reading experience, this means that although a student of Arabic may have read a number of hard news articles and consequently mastered a majority of the recurring core vocabulary, they will nonetheless encounter a great number of new and previously unseen *hapax* types.

What the graph in Figure 11 above displays is that a small number of the most frequent types (accounting for a small percentage of the total number of types) makes up a high percentage of the total number of tokens. Table 5 illustrates this in numbers, giving a selection of the analysis points to show what percentage of the tokens of the total corpus is accounted for by a certain number of the most frequent types; for example, the third row shows that the 48 most frequent types (which together make up only 0.4684% of the types in the corpus) account for 20.1222% of the tokens in the corpus.

Table 5: The percentage of tokens in the total corpus that is accounted for by the most frequent types (types 1–8,481); listed in increments of 5.0%

The _ most frequent types (or _% of all types) make up			_% of the total no. of tokens	
2	“	(0.01952%)	“	5.7334%
6	“	(0.05855%)	“	10.4486%
48	“	(0.4684%)	“	20.1222%
150	“	(1.464%)	“	29.9796%
229	“	(2.235%)	“	35.0031%
333	“	(3.249%)	“	40.0181%
472	“	(4.606%)	“	45.0217%
651	“	(6.352%)	“	50.0085%
883	“	(8.616%)	“	55.0178%
1177	“	(11.4852%)	“	60.0017%
1572	“	(15.3396%)	“	65.0054%
2093	“	(20.4235%)	“	70.0006%
3640	“	(35.5191%)	“	80.0051%
4945	“	(48.2533%)	“	85.0003%
8481	“	(82.7576%)	“	90.0020%

Again, a small number of the most frequent types occur very frequently, whereas many of the most infrequent types are attested only once. The 30 most frequent types are given in Table 6.

Table 6: The 30 most frequent types in the corpus, including the graphical representation of type n , the number of tokens per type, and the percentages of tokens in the total corpus that is accounted for by type n and by the running total of type $1-n$

Type number (n)	Graphical type	Number of tokens (type n)	Percentage of tokens (type n)	Running total percentage of tokens (type $1-n$)
1	فى	1221	3.453640324	3.453640324
2	من	806	2.279798608	5.733438932
3	على	560	1.583979182	7.317418114
4	أن	540	1.527408497	8.844826611
5	إلى	348	0.98432992	9.829156531
6	عن	219	0.619449002	10.44860553
7	مع	189	0.534592974	10.98319851
8	التي	177	0.500650563	11.48384907
9	أمس	169	0.478022289	11.96187136
10	بين	128	0.362052384	12.32392374
11	إن	123	0.347909713	12.67183346
12	الذى	120	0.33942411	13.01125757
13	وقال	109	0.308310234	13.3195678
14	خلال	106	0.299824631	13.61939243
15	بعد	103	0.291339028	13.91073146
16	الرئيس	94	0.26588222	14.17661368
17	هذه	92	0.260225151	14.43683883
18	وفى	90	0.254568083	14.69140691
19	الأنباء	89	0.251739549	14.94314646
20	رئيس	89	0.251739549	15.19488601
21	الحكومة	83	0.234768343	15.42965435
22	المتحدة	83	0.234768343	15.6644227
23	أنه	82	0.231939809	15.8963625
24	ذلك	80	0.22628274	16.12264525
25	وكالات	79	0.223454206	16.34609945
26	ما	75	0.212140069	16.55823952
27	هذا	70	0.197997398	16.75623692
28	ومن	70	0.197997398	16.95423432
29	مجلس	69	0.195168863	17.14940318
30	عبد	65	0.183854726	17.33325791

What Table 5 effectively shows is that in order to understand 40.0% of the words (tokens) in the corpus, a student would have to learn a mere 333x graphical units (types). The least frequent of these types occurs 15x.¹⁹² To increase the percentage of understandable tokens by 10%, twice the number of “words” (651x types) would have to be learnt (the least frequent of which occurs 9x in the corpus). In the following section, the 333x most frequent types will be categorized as a way of gaining an overview of them, and consequently achieving a glimpse of the Media Arabic register at a lexical level.

3.4.3. Analysis of the 333x most frequent graphical units (types)

As demonstrated in the previous section (3.4.2), the 333x most frequent graphical units (types) make up 40.0% (14,163x) of the total number of words (tokens) in the corpus (35,354x). This section features an analysis of these types.

The analysis is done through a schematization of the most frequent types in order to: 1) illustrate in part the semantic domains of the most frequent types in the corpus, in turn giving an indirect answer to how the Media Arabic TTR can be so low; 2) provide a picture of the most frequent types in Media Arabic for the purpose of more of a schematic overview of the most frequent lexical items in Media Arabic; and 3) open doors to possible future research into the Media Arabic lexicon from a register perspective. A *desideratum* of future research are investigations into the frequency of homographs, the stability of syntactic contexts for the most frequent types, and a list of the most frequent Media Arabic collocations.

The categorization of the types is based on a deliberate simplification, e.g. the type قبل in the corpus can be read as *qabla* (= the preposition), *qabla* (‘an), (min) *qibalin*, and (min) *qablu*, and من as both *man* and *min*. Alternative readings will not be discussed at length, but until research proves otherwise it will be hypothesized that typically the relation between type and reading (vocalization) is strong with a limited set of homographs (for one investigation related to this topic, see internal passives, 5.2.2).

In order to facilitate analysis and systematization, the types were first ordered into two groups, namely closed class types, including numbers, and open class types. The first of these groups was then subdivided into closed class types of prepositions, numbers, negators, relative pronouns, adverbs,

¹⁹² The ordering of the most frequent types in the corpus is based primarily on the number of occurrences, but where there are multiple types with the same number of occurrences, these are arranged in Latin alphabetic order (based on their Buckwalter transcription). The last item in the list of the 333 most frequent types, *bngAzy*, has 15x attestations in the corpus. There are another 15x types that also have 15x attestations but are excluded from the list of the “333 most frequent types”, because of the arbitrary alphabetical ordering of the list: *bwtyyn*, *EAmA*, *EbAs*, *Edp*, *hY*, *jA'*, *jdYd*, *jhp*, *jnwD*, *kAnt*, *mnSwr*, *qtl*, *w>wDHt*, *wsA}l*, and *ykwN* (which make up 225x tokens in total, or 0.64% of the total number of tokens in the corpus).

complementizers, conjunctions, cardinal directions, pronouns, and a group that was not classifiable as any of these categories. The open class types were classified into nomina in the semantic sphere of countries, cities, and regions, proper names, types with multiple readings (unclassifiable), prepositional phrases, verbs, postmodifiers with participial morphology, adjectives, nouns relating to time, political nouns, nouns relating to the press, nouns of authority and people, and one category that included types not easily classified under any of the other open class categories.

Even if this raw categorization is based on a moderately problematic methodology that includes a somewhat intuitive—hence debatable—assessment of each type’s representation (as to vocalization, class, and lexical item),¹⁹³ it provides an overview that ought to be largely correct.

Some of these categories contain types that are likely to have a more stable grammatical or even semantic and dispositional context, e.g. verbs, whereas others, such as proper names, could possibly exhibit a greater variety of grammatical contexts, or at least a set of multiple optional grammatical slots.

It is believed that a high degree of shared grammatical context holds between types of the same category.¹⁹⁴ A tentative rationale behind the categorization is that the function of certain subcategories—e.g. proper names, the most frequent of which is عبد, ‘*abd*, ‘*abdu*, ‘*abda*—presumably has a stability in terms of diachronic persistence; the same can be said about e.g. the types here classified as adverbs (the most frequent being أمس, ‘*amsi*). Moreover, not only the categories themselves but also the frequencies of the categories provide important statistics for shaping an image of the register as a whole. For example, the relatively high number of both tokens and types related to place (regardless of the lexical items behind individual types) could be said to be a register feature of Media Arabic hard news. For a newspaper, the frequency of a specific toponym type (the most frequent of which in the corpus is ليبيا, *lībiyā*, with 62x tokens) is somewhat arbitrary and conditioned by news values and the current state of regional and world affairs in a given synchronic stratum, but the grammatical slot where a toponym occurs, and its very high frequency as a category, could be expected to be more time-stable and functional as a register-specific feature. In world news, in short, toponyms would be expected to be found at a high frequency, and they are.

¹⁹³ For example, whether the type *mn* (806x attestations) is to be taken as a preposition (*min*) or a relative (*man*).

¹⁹⁴ Approaching the corpus texts, and indeed Media Arabic at large, as instantiations of a register, this hypothesis raises the thought that some types would be better learnt by students on a group level in context, supposing each semantic sphere or category to come with a set of more or less invariable functions within the register. To determine these functions and contexts on a lexical level is a *desideratum* of future research.

3.4.3.1. Closed class types, including numbers (7,434x)

94x types (28.23% of the 333x most frequent types); 7,434x tokens, which is 21.03% of the total number of tokens in the corpus (35,354x).

The closed class tokens constitute 52.49% of the total number of tokens investigated here (14,163x). The open class, consequently, contains a larger number of types (239x), but the closed classes yield a roughly equal number of tokens as the open class items (6,729x, or 47.51%).

Prepositions

35x types, or 4,535x tokens, 61.00% of the closed class tokens, 12.83% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 32.02% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
1	فى	1221	94	فيه	34
2	من	806	110	له	31
3	على	560	113	وعلى	31
5	إلى	348	183	فيها	23
6	عن	219	185	لها	23
7	مع	189	186	تحت	23
10	بين	128	188	أمام	22
14	خلال	106	192	دون	22
15	بعد	103	201	وسط	22
18	وفى	90	211	داخل	21
28	ومن	70	212	عليها	21
39	قبل	54	234	لدى	20
40	الى	53	284	عليه	17
56	حول	46	289	نحو	17
60	منذ	45	303	عقب	16
62	ضد	44	331	به	15
63	في	44	332	بها	15
83	ب	36	Total 4,535		

The first three types, فى, من, and على, are also the three most frequent types in the corpus, accounting for 2,935x tokens, 64.72% of the above list, or 8.30% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

Numbers

6x types, or 118x tokens, 0.33% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 0.83% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

3.4. Lexicographical description of the corpus

Number	Type	Count			
80	الأول	36	315	ألف	15
240	أحد	19	320	الأولى	15
306	مليار	16	291	ثلاثة	17
			Total 118		

There are 4x cardinal numbers—‘one’, ‘billion’, ‘thousand’, and ‘three’—and one ordinal number, ‘the first’, in both the definite masculine singular and the definite feminine singular.

Negators

6x types, or 219x tokens, 0.62% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 1.55% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
31	لا	63	195	لن	22
38	لم	54	255	عدم	19
59	غير	45	310	ولا	16
			Total 219		

31x of the attestations of غير, *ḡayr*#, negate an adjectival attribute.

Relative pronouns

5x types, or 414x tokens, 1.17% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 2.92% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
8	التي	177	168	الذين	24
12	الذي	120	272	والتي	18
26	ما	75	Total 414		

Adverbs and qad

5x types, or 288x tokens, 0.81% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 2.03% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
9	أمس	169	221	أيضا	20
43	قد	52	311	وقد	16
109	هناك	31	Total 288		

Complementizers

7x types, or 828x tokens, 2.34% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 5.85% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

For the type لا (*illā* < *in* + *lā*), see the group labelled “unclassifiable (closed class)”.

3.4.3. Analysis of the 333x most frequent graphical units (types)

Number	Type	Count			
4	أن	540	204	إنه	21
11	إن	123	241	أنها	19
23	أنه	82	271	وأن	18
156	بأن	25	Total 828		

Considered as a group, these types appear on average 6.3 times per article across the 131 articles; and أن ('anna or 'an spelled with *hamza*) alone occurs 4.1 times per article (remembering that the typical Article is 273 words long; see 3.1). For an analysis of *n*-(*h*)-complementizers, see 5.3.2.1.

Conjunctions

10x types, or 328x tokens, 0.93% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 2.32% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
37	كما	56	132	مما	28
46	و	51	180	بما	23
52	حيث	47	269	لكن	18
73	أو	39	273	إذا	17
101	فيما	33	302	بينما	16
			Total 328		

Cardinal directions

4x types, or 112x tokens, 0.32% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 0.79% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
76	شمال	37	140	جنوب	27
135	شرق	27	213	غرب	21
			Total 112		

All the cardinal directions are represented here. Note that combinations occur. For a discussion of cardinal directions in Media Arabic, see 6.9.2.1.

Pronouns

7x types, or 358x tokens, 1.01% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 2.53% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
17	هذه	92	102	وهو	33
24	ذلك	80	214	هو	21
27	هذا	70	218	تلك	21
70	وذلك	41	Total 358		

Unclassifiable (closed class)

9x types, or 234x tokens, 0.66% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 1.65% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
68	كل	42	197	نفسه	22
90	أى	34	220	%	20
103	أخرى	32	265	بعض	18
151	حتى	26	293	إلا	16
162	آخر	24	Total 234		

3.4.3.2. Open class types (6,729x)

239x types (71.77% of the 333x most frequent types); 6,729x tokens, which is 19.03% of the total number of tokens in the corpus (35,354x).

This equals 47.51% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types, 14,163x tokens).

Nomina in the semantic sphere of countries, cities, and regions

62x types (18.62% of 333x), 1,737x tokens, 4.91% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 12.26% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
32	ليبيا	62	115	الأوروبي	30
33	الدولة	61	120	الولايات	29
41	غزة	53	122	منطقة	29
42	صنعاء	53	124	أوكرانيا	28
53	العاصمة	46	125	الإسرائيلي	28
54	العربية	46	126	الليبي	28
57	الفلسطينية	45	136	الأمريكي	27
58	الوطني	45	143	الدولية	26
61	مصر	45	144	العربي	26
64	مدينة	43	147	اليمن	26
72	البلاد	40	149	دول	26
79	الأمريكية	36	150	دولة	26
81	الدول	36	152	روسيا	26
82	المنطقة	36	153	سوريا	26
86	الدولى	35	154	واشنطن	26
89	طرابلس	35	175	الليبية	23
97	الفلسطيني	33	177	التركية	23
104	العراق	32	179	بلدة	23
105	اليمنى	32	189	العالم	22
			191	بلاده	22

3.4.3. Analysis of the 333x most frequent graphical units (types)

199	تركيا	22	287	لندن	17
206	أوروبا	21	294	الألمانية	16
217	قطر	21	299	المطار	16
244	العراقية	19	301	السودان	16
246	المصرية	19	313	أفغانستان	15
247	القاهرة	19	316	أنقرة	15
248	الروسي	19	322	البريطانية	15
250	التركي	19	324	الفرنسية	15
252	بريطانيا	19	330	الوطنية	15
260	الإسرائيلية	18	333	بنغازي	15
264	اليمنية	18	Total 1,737		
279	السوري	17			
282	باريس	17			

The types in this subclass can be further divided into three groups: 22x toponyms, 26x *nisba* adjectives, and 14x nouns of places.

22x toponyms, 609x tokens, 1.72% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

Number	Type	Count	199	تركيا	22
32	ليبيا	62	206	أوروبا	21
41	غزة	53	217	قطر	21
42	صنعاء	53	247	القاهرة	19
61	مصر	45	252	بريطانيا	19
89	طرابلس	35	282	باريس	17
104	العراق	32	287	لندن	17
124	أوكرانيا	28	301	السودان	16
147	اليمن	26	313	أفغانستان	15
152	روسيا	26	316	أنقرة	15
153	سوريا	26	333	بنغازي	15
154	واشنطن	26	Total 609		

26x *nisba* adjectives, 673x tokens, 1.90% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

Number	Type	Count	125	الإسرائيلية	28
54	العربية	46	126	الليبي	28
57	الفلسطينية	45	136	الأمريكي	27
58	الوطني	45	143	الدولية	26
79	الأمريكية	36	144	العربي	26
86	الدولي	35	175	الليبية	23
97	الفلسطيني	33	177	التركية	23
105	اليمني	32	244	العراقية	19
115	الأوروبي	30	246	المصرية	19

3.4. Lexicographical description of the corpus

248	الروسي	19
250	التركي	19
260	الإسرائيلية	18
264	اليمنية	18
279	السوري	17
294	الألمانية	16

322	البريطانية	15
324	الفرنسية	15
330	الوطنية	15
Total		673

14x nouns of place, 455x tokens, 1.29% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

Number	Type	Count			
33	الدولة	61	122	منطقة	29
53	العاصمة	46	149	دول	26
64	مدينة	43	150	دولة	26
72	البلاد	40	179	بلدة	23
81	الدول	36	189	العالم	22
82	المنطقة	36	191	بلاد	22
120	الولايات	29	299	المطار	16
			Total		455

Proper names (nouns, adjectives)

16x types, 468x tokens, 1.32% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 3.30% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

The type *Allh* (الله, *allāh*) is only attested in proper names of humans, organizations, and parties. It is not written with vowels in print.¹⁹⁵

Number	Type	Count			
30	عبد	65	193	حماس	22
44	الله	51	194	كاميرون	22
51	الحوثيين	47	203	شكري	21
78	داعش	37	205	أحمد	21
100	بن	33	231	عمر	20
131	محمد	28	261	الإيولا	18
166	أردوغان	24	262	الحوثي	18
167	أوباما	24	277	القاعدة	17
			Total		468

Unclassifiable (open class)

10x types, 288x tokens, 0.81% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 2.03% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types). See also the group of “nouns that do not fit any of the above categories” at the end of this subsection.

This category includes types with multiple readings: عام can be the noun ‘ām#, ‘year’, or adjectival ‘āmm#, ‘general’; *al-ḥārīḡiyyat*# is an adjective

¹⁹⁵ The reason it is written with a *šadda* and a vowel here is due to a macro in Word.

‘foreign’ and a noun ‘foreign affairs’ (with the ellipsis of *‘umūr*), and similarly *al-dāḥiliyyat#* is both ‘domestic’ and ‘internal affairs’; المنظمة والمنظمة and *(al-)munazzamat#* is both a noun ‘organization’ and used as a passive participle ‘organized’, likewise المعارضة is an active participle *al-mu ‘āridat#*, ‘opposing, opposition’, and a noun *al-mu ‘āraḍat#*, ‘the opposition’.

The type فجر is both a noun ‘dawn’ and part of the name of the organization *fağr lībiyā*, ‘Libya Dawn’.

The type أ, ’, is attested e.g. in the abbreviation for the newspaper *al-šarq al-‘awsaṭ*, ’š’ or ’.š.’ (see by-lines, 3.4.4).

Number	Type	Count			
34	الخارجية	59	232	فجر	20
35	العالم	57	275	المعارضة	17
87	عام	35	288	منظمة	17
106	أ	31	296	الداخلية	16
230	المنظمة	20	312	خاصة	16
			Total 288		

Prepositional phrases (semi-open class)

6x types,¹⁹⁶ 143x tokens, 0.40% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 1.01% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
99	بشكل	33	253	بسبب	19
117	باسم	30	256	لمواجهة	19
148	بشأن	26	305	للأهم	16
			Total 143		

Verbs (including mušīran and mu’akkidan)

20x types, 637x tokens, 1.80% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 4.50% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types). Of these types, 13x are verbs of attribution; the others are *kāna*, *tamma*, *wa-kāna*, *yatimm#*, *ya ’tī*, *yumkin#*, and *takūn#*.

Number	Type	Count			
13	وقال	109	163	أعلنت	24
50	وأضاف	49	172	مؤكدا	24
66	أكد	42	173	يتم	24
71	وأكد	41	200	وأوضح	22
75	كان	38	219	وقالت	21
88	تم	35	258	وأشار	19
111	مشيرا	31	259	يأتى	19
123	أعلن	28	292	يمكن	17
134	وذكرت	28	307	تكون	16
158	قال	25	Total 637		
160	وكان	25			

¹⁹⁶ The type باسم is only attested as *bi-smi*, never as *bāsem* (a proper name).

3.4. Lexicographical description of the corpus

Postmodifiers with participial morphology

9x types, 247x tokens, 0.70% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 1.74% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types). The category excludes nouns with participial morphology, e.g. *al-muṭaḥaddiṭ#* and *al-munazzamat#*, and the verbs *mušīran* and *mu'akkidan*.

For *al-‘āmmat#*, see under “adjectives” below.

Number	Type	Count			
22	المتحدة	83	278	السابق	17
127	المقبل	28	281	التابعة	17
145	الماضى	26	326	المحتلة	15
146	المسلحة	26	327	المقرر	15
229	الماضية	20	Total 247		

Adjectives

16x types, 362x tokens, 1.02% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 2.56% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
85	أكثر	35	225	العامة	20
95	جديدة	34	227	الحكومية	20
108	السياسية	31	228	الجديدة	20
119	الإسلامية	29	267	عنيفة	18
129	عسكرية	28	314	أكبر	15
155	الغربية	25	318	الأبيض	15
207	العسكرية	21	321	الأخيرة	15
208	السياسى	21	328	الرئاسية	15
			Total 362		

Nouns relating to time

5x types, 124x tokens, 0.35% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 0.88% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
69	الوقت	41	268	غضون	18
161	وقت	25	274	أيام	17
178	اليوم	23	Total 124		

Political nouns

45x types, 1,334x tokens, 3.78% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 9.42% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

3.4.3. Analysis of the 333x most frequent graphical units (types)

Number	Type	Count			
16	الرئيس	94	209	التنظيم	21
20	رئيس	89	216	مقر	21
21	الحكومة	83	224	الأطراف	20
29	مجلس	69	226	العلاقات	20
47	وزير	50	233	حل	20
49	الوزراء	49	237	ثوار	20
67	حكومة	42	238	زعيم	20
77	المفاوضات	37	242	الاشتباهات	19
91	الاتحاد	34	245	الحوار	19
92	البرلمان	34	249	التقرير	19
98	اتفاق	33	263	المخابرات	18
107	النواب	31	270	محاولة	18
116	الأزمة	30	286	لجنة	17
118	تنظيم	30	290	قرار	17
121	حزب	29	295	الانتخابات	16
128	التعاون	28	298	اللواء	16
139	جماعة	27	300	المتحدث	16
142	وزارة	27	308	تقرير	16
157	حركة	25	319	الأمين	15
170	الاتفاق	24	325	الفساد	15
171	السلطات	24	329	السفير	15
176	المؤتمر	23	Total 1,334		
196	مؤتمر	22			
202	وزراء	22			

Nouns related to the press

9x types, 335x tokens, 0.95% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 2.37% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

Number	Type	Count			
19	الأنباء	89	159	صحفية	25
25	وكالات	79	187	وكالة	23
112	مصادر	31	257	مصدر	19
138	بيان	27	317	الإعلام	15
141	تصريحات	27	Total 335		

Nouns related to authority and the people

6x types,¹⁹⁷ 205x tokens, 0.58% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 1.45% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

For عناصر, 'anāšir#, '(military) units', see "nouns that do not fit any of the above categories" below.

Number	Type	Count			
			174	الأمم	23
36	الجيش	57	222	الشعب	20
45	قوات	51	223	الشرطة	20
93	القوات	34	Total 205		

Nouns that do not fit any of the above open class categories

35x types, 849x tokens, 2.40% of the total number of tokens in the corpus.

This equals 5.99% of the total number of tokens here investigated (the 333x types).

This category includes types difficult to classify, including types classifiable into two or more categories, e.g. البيت, *al-bayt*#, lit. 'the house' (as a place), in the corpus only used about the US White House, and قطاع, *qitā* #, attested both in the toponym *qitā* # *ḡazza*, the Gaza Strip, and with the lexical meaning 'sector' (e.g. in Article 124, *min dāḥili kulli qitā* 'in). Moreover, الاحتلال, *al-iḥtilāl*#, lit. 'the occupation', is typically associated with Israel, and may even mean Israel (e.g. in Article 37, [...] *al-ḥadīṭa 'an 'adami niyyati l-iḥtilālī 'irsāla waḥdīn 'ilā el-qāhira*, '[...] concerning the lack of intention of the Occupation to send a delegation to Cairo', Example 603), but the verbal noun may also be used in military contexts (e.g. 2x in Article 69 in the phrase *li-'inhā'i l-iḥtilālī l-'isrā'īliyyi*, 'to end the Israeli occupation', Example 613). For a discussion of *mḥtl*, see 2.3.6.3.

Arguably, certain uncategorized types display adjacency to a shared lexical domain, e.g. the 244x tokens represented by the 7x types *al-'amn*# (49x), *waḡf*# (36x), *'iṭlāq*# (42x), *al-nār*# (46x), *al-difā* # (33x), *al-salām*# (22x), and *al-'unf*# (16x).

Number	Type	Count			
			130	جميع	28
48	الأمن	49	133	قطاع	28
55	النار	46	137	العمل	27
65	إطلاق	42	164	أعمال	24
74	عدد	38	165	أجل	24
84	وقف	36	169	الاحتلال	24
96	الدفاع	33	181	دولار	23
114	أنصار	30	182	فتح	23
			184	جانب	23

¹⁹⁷ The type *al-'umam*# (*al-muttaḥidat*#), 'the (United) Nations', was categorized here; an alternative would have been to place it with "political nouns".

3.4.3. Analysis of the 333x most frequent graphical units (types)

190	السلام	22
198	تشكيل	22
210	الوضع	21
215	جانيه	21
235	مقتل	20
236	صعيد	20
239	إطار	19
243	العقوبات	19
251	التوصل	19
254	دعم	19
266	عناصر	18
276	المزيد	17
280	السيطرة	17
283	ضرورة	17
285	عملية	17
297	العنف	16
304	حالة	16
309	وجود	16
323	البيت	15
Total		849

3.4.4. Media Arabic types in comparison to fictional narrative prose

The types from a narrative prose section taken from Zakariyyā Tāmir's (born 1931) short story "Imra'atun waḥīdatun" are compared to the types of the Media Arabic corpus (3.4.2–3.4.3). The text was chosen as it represents an iconic narrative sequence, where the succession of situations and events in the text reflect the unidirectionality of an imaginary linear time axis.

146. The conclusion to the short story "Imra'atun waḥīdatun" by Zakariyyā Tāmir (text and translation from Newman & Husni, 2008: 50ff.)

وابتدع الشيخ سعيد بعد قليل عن جسد عزيزة العاري، واتجه نحو النافذتين وأزاح عنهما الستائر، فتدفقت في الحال شمس النهار إلى الغرفة، وتألّق لحم عزيزة الأبيض مغمورا بالضوء الساطع.

وتلملمت عزيزة، وفتحت عينيها بتؤدة وحذر، ففوجئت بضياء الشمس، ونهضت مذعورة، فقال لها الشيخ سعيد «لا تخافي، إختوي الجان رحلوا».

وانحنّت عزيزة بإعياء، وكانت متعبة، وخجلة، والتقطت أول قطعة من ثيابها، وتمنت لو ظلت أمدا طويلا مستلقية دون حراك مغمضة العينين.

ومسح الشيخ سعيد فمه بظهر يده، وقال لها ثانية «لا تخافي. رحلوا».

فترقرقت الدموع في عينيها بينما تعالى في تلك اللحظة في الزقاق صياح بانع متجول، وتناهى إلى

wa-btada'a l-šayḥu sa'id ba'da qalīlin 'an ḡasadi 'azīza l-'ārī, wa-ttaḡaha naḥwa l-nāfiḡatayni wa-'azāḡa 'anhimā l-satā'ira, fa-tadaffaḡat fi-l-ḡālī šamsu l-nahāri 'ilā l-ḡurfati, wa-ta'allāqa laḡmu 'azīza l-'abyaḡu maḡmūran bi-l-daw'i l-sāṡi'i.

wa-talamlat 'azīza, wa-fataḡat 'aynayḡa bi-tu'adin wa-ḡaḡarin, fa-fūḡi'at bi-ḡiyā'i l-šamsi, wa-nahaḡat maḡ'ūra-tan, fa-qāla laḡa l-šayḥu sa'id «lā taḡāfi, 'iḡwatī l-ḡānnu raḡalū».

wa-nḡanat 'azīza bi-'i'yā'in, wa-kānat mut'abatan wa-ḡaḡilatan, wa-ltaḡaṡat 'awwala qit'atin min ṡiyābihā, wa-tamannat law ḡallat 'amadan ṡawīlan mustalqiyatan dūna ḡarākin muḡammiḡatan al-'aynayni.

wa-masaḡa l-šayḥu sa'id fumahu bi-zahri yadihi, wa-qāla laḡa ṡāniyatan «lā taḡāfi. raḡalū».

fa-taraḡraqati l-dumū'u fi 'aynayḡa baynamā ta'ālā fi tilka l-laḡzati fi-l-zuqāqi ṡiyāḡu ba'i'in mutaḡawwilin, wa-

After a short while, Sheikh Said moved away from Aziza's naked body and headed towards the window. He drew back the curtains. Daylight flooded the room, setting Aziza's white flesh aglow.

Aziza was restless, and opened her eyes slowly and carefully, surprised at the brightness of the sunlight. She got up, feeling frightened. Sheikh Said said: "Don't worry. My brothers, the *jinn*, have left."

Aziza bent down, weary and ashamed. She picked up a piece of her clothing. She wished she could have lain there for a long time, motionless, eyes closed.

Sheikh Said wiped his mouth with the back of his hand, and said to her: "Don't be afraid ... They've left."

Tears ran down her cheeks. At that moment, she heard the cry of a hawker in the alley. It sounded to her like the

سمعها بكاء رجل يائس لن يموت. وبعد دقائق كانت عزيزة تمشي وحيدة في الزقاق الضيق الطويل المتعرج. وحين رفعت وجهها إلى أعلى متطلعة بلهفة، لم تعثر على أي طائر عابر إنما كانت السماء زرقاء خاوية.	tanāhā 'ilā sam'ihā bukā'a raḡulin yā'isin lan yamūta. wa-ba'da daqā'iqā kānat 'azīza tamšī waḥīdatan fi-l- zuqāqī l-ḡayyiqi l-ṭawīli l- muta'arriḡi. wa-ḥīna rafa'at waḡhahā 'ilā 'a'lā mutaṭalli'atan bi-lahfatin, lam ta'tur 'alā 'ayyi ṭā'irin 'ābirin 'innamā kānati l-samā'u zarqā'a ḡāliyyatan.	weeping of a desperate man who would not die. A few minutes later, Az- iza was walking alone in the narrow twisting alley. She raised her head expect- antly, but there was no passing bird. The sky was blue and empty.

3.4.4.1. Types in the text

The types in the passage by Tāmir that are also attested in the corpus are found in Table 7; the corpus data here includes headlines, subheadings, and by-lines.

Table 7: Types attested in both Tāmir's short story excerpt (Example 146) and the corpus; y in column "Open class" means that the type represents an open class lexical item; y in column "333x" means that the type is included in the list of the most common types in the corpus (discussed in 3.4.3); a separate column gives the number of attestations for each type in the corpus (with additional notes)

Type	Open class	333x	Number of attestations in the corpus (and notes)
الشيخ	y		8
سعيد	y		9
بعد		y	108
عن		y	223
نحو		y	16
(dots under yā')		y	48 (+ 1221 <i>fī</i> without dots, see 3.4)
الحال	y		3
إلى		y	437
لحم	y		3
الأبيض	y		12
وحذر	y		6 (as the homograph <i>wa-ḡaddara</i>)
لها		y	71
لا		y	77 (never prohibitive!)
وكانت	y		11
أول			10
من		y	806 (predominantly as <i>min</i>)
لو			3
دون		y	22
يده	y		1
وقال	y	y	106
بينما		y	16

Type	Open class	333x	Number of attestations in the corpus (and notes)
تلك		y	21
إلى		y	348
رجل	y		4
لن		y	23
وبعد			4
كانت	y	y	15 ¹⁹⁸
الطويل	y		1 (metaphorical, Article 37)
وجهها	y		1 (homograph, <i>wağğahahā</i> , Article 127)
أعلى	y		3
لم		y	54
على		y	560
أي			3

Out of the 33x types that occur in the excerpt and the corpus, 17x are included in the list of the most common types in the corpus (discussed in 3.4.3). Excluding the frequent types *وكانت*, *كانت*, and *وقال* (*wa-kānat*, *kānat*, *wa-qāla*) from the open class items, we are left with 11x, or a third, of the overlapping types from open class items. Out of these, only two concrete nouns are used in the same way in Tāmir and the corpus, namely the title *al-šayḥ*, and the personal name *sa'īd* (see by-lines 3.4.4); *rağul*#, ‘man’, used differently in the corpus, will be discussed below. Also the type *al-ḥāl*# is found in the corpus (but not among the 333x): 2x as in Tāmir, *fī-l-ḥālī*, ‘right at the moment’ (Articles 36 and 119), and 1x in the collocation *kamā kāna 'alayhi l-ḥālu qabla dālika*, ‘as before’ (Article 86).

The remainder of the types referring to concrete nouns in the short story excerpt either have different readings in the corpus or are used figuratively or in names in the Media Arabic corpus. The type *laḥm*#, ‘meat’, is attested 3x in the corpus, but only in the place name *bayt laḥm*, Bethlehem, and *al-'abyaḍ*#, ‘white’, is attested 12x times, but only in the name *al-bayt# al-'abyaḍ*#, ‘the White House’. The form *yad-V-hu*, ‘his hand’ is never used about a concrete hand in the corpus, but only figuratively, 1x in Article 85: *wa-'akkada [...] 'annahu yamuddu yadahu 'ilā [...]*, ‘reaches out a hand to the other democratic parties’ (Example 646). The type *al-tawīl*#, a descriptive adjective, is attested 1x in the corpus with the meaning ‘long’, but only as an anomaly in the unique extended metaphor of Article 37 (for which see 3.15.1 and Example 201), where it is used figuratively about time, and not of the spatial extent of a concrete physical object. Likewise with *'a'lā*, ‘high’

¹⁹⁸ For a discussion of types with 15x attestations included among the 333x in 3.4.3, see footnote 192.

(relative), which in the corpus only is used about degree (e.g. *'a lā 'adadin*, 'highest number', 2x in Article 58, about mortality rates), never of physical height. Moreover, the types *w-hḍr*, 'care' (*ḥaḍar#*), and *wğh-hā*, 'her face' (*wağh#*), which in Tāmīr are used as nouns, are never used as nouns in the corpus, but only as verbs: *wa-ḥaḍḍara*, 'and he warned' (6x), and *wağğahahā*, 'he directed (an invitation)' (1x, Article 127).

The personal male name *sa 'īd* was discussed above. Hence, of the overlapping concrete words in the open class lexicon, we are left with *rağul#*, 'man', and *al-šayḥ*, 'the sheikh', the latter an honorary title (discussed above), and the former a generic term with the meaning of a male human. Noteworthy in the case *rağul#* is that in Media Arabic it is never used figuratively, but only of real, concrete human beings; very different to Tāmīr, who uses the type generically in the realm of imagination. In other words, the tendency is that where Tāmīr uses words for something concrete in the passage, Media Arabic uses those words figuratively, and when Tāmīr uses words in figures of speech, Media Arabic has a concrete use for them.¹⁹⁹

Looking at the closed class items, the type *lā* is attested throughout the corpus (for clausal negation, see 5.1), but it is never used as in Tāmīr, in the prohibitive, *lā* + VprefS. This construction is altogether absent from all clause types in all contexts in Media Arabic.

The negation *lan* is also used in the corpus, but never in an asyndetic relative clause (for clausal negation, see 5.1; for relative clauses, see 6.3), and consequently never as in Tāmīr with the modal meaning of 'that would not (hypothetically)'.

Likewise *ba 'da* is abundantly attested in the corpus (see under 6.9); but in the corpus, it is never used in the collocation *ba 'da qalīlin*, here translated as 'after a short while'. In the corpus, the preposition *dūna* is typically antiprothetic (for which, see "*dūna*" under 6.9; for the definition of Antiprothetic, see 4.9); in Tāmīr, its function is more of a negated addition, *mustalqiyatan dūna ḥarākin*, 'lying **and not** moving', lit. 'without motion'; the semantics of Inconcomitance are absent in Tāmīr's use (for the definition of Inconcomitance, see 4.9.6).

From a human perspective, the text of Tāmīr is filled with emotions: fears and tears. In Media Arabic, the "fears" manifest as speculation, calculation, sanction, and political deliberation, and whereas we do indeed attest the plural 'tears' 4x times in the corpus, it is only attested as the object in a classificatory postmodifier *al-ğāz# al-musīl# li-l-dumū 'i*, and only as a physical reaction in the context of police and protest, 'tear gas', or literally 'the gas that makes the tears flow': 'tears' are not used in the context of an emotional response, but in

¹⁹⁹ This can also be said in some senses about *al-šayḥ* and the name *sa 'īd*, which in the case of Tāmīr are fictive characters, but in the case of Media Arabic are describing real persons.

the technical term for a lachrymatory weapon used to stimulate a physio-anatomical response to a chemical.²⁰⁰

Although the excerpt from Tāmīr is short, the language is descriptive, with lengthy visual descriptions of scenes (sun, flesh, radiance); even given through the eyes of the protagonists, with the sound of the hawker coming across as “the weeping of a desperate man who would not die”. In Media Arabic, descriptions are about a concrete reality, and we cannot expect to find many metaphors (for which, see 3.15.1).

Looking at the adjectives in the excerpt, we learn that Aziza’s body is ‘naked’, her flesh ‘white’, glowing ‘as in a manner of being submerged with the glowing light’. We do indeed find the word ‘naked’ in the corpus 2x times, but the use is less romantic: 1x in the figurative sense ‘completely devoid of truth’²⁰¹ in a biased context related to former president Mursi in Article 51, and 1x concretely in the unusually graphic description of the contents of a tape leaked by Syrian activists in Article 130: ‘the naked corpse of a child covered in grey dust stretched out on a pile of rubble’ (Example 177).²⁰²

The descriptions in Tāmīr go on with a clear predominance of epithets over classifiers (for the definition of which, see 2.3.6): perceivable features, not classificatory technical terminology. There are plenty of manner constructions with accusative participles and adverbs in Tāmīr. I count a handful of nominalized Simultaneous or Manner clauses expressed by peripheral accusative participles, a semantic virtually unexpressed by the same construction in Media Arabic (see 6.4.5, and in particular the peripheral accusative participle in 6.4.5.3). In Media Arabic, although attested on average more than once per article, the construction is highly limited in scope and semantics, and arguably promoted in frequency for reasons of brevity and authorial distance, the participle being a continuation of a main clause with a verb of attribution (see 6.4.6).

The conversation, or rather, the dialogue in Tāmīr takes place between the two actants, and is an ongoing theme throughout the excerpts: Aziza expressive without words, but with careful glances, and Said, attentive to her, speaking words of comfort. In Media Arabic, classifiers are arguably the norm (2.3.6), visual descriptions of a person’s attributes unimportant. In hard news,

²⁰⁰ Articles 3, 13, 56, and 58.

²⁰¹ Article 51: *wa-’akkada l-maṣḍaru ’anna hāḍihi l-’ahbāra ’āriyatun tamāman ’ani l-ṣiḥḥati, wa-’anna hāḍā l-’amra kāna qad tamma tarḥuhu ’ibbāna ḥukmi l-ra’isi l-ma’zūli muḥammad mursī* (Example 590).

²⁰² Article 120: [...] *ḡuttatan ’āriyatan yuḡaṭṭihā l-ḡubāru l-ramādiyyu li-ṭiflin mumaddidadin ’alā kūmatin minā l-’anqāḍi* (Example 177). A study about how children are depicted in Media Arabic is a *desideratum* of future research; it would seem that they are described more elaborately than others; cf. Article 8 and the descriptions of video content (Examples 248 and 354).

we are never immersed in dialogues; although the vast majority of sentences include statements (see 5.3.2), these are unidirectional communication from the top down or from the centre out. And although in Media Arabic there are statements with complement clauses containing verbs in the first person, both singular and plural, we typically would not expect a second person singular, nor would we expect a direct question (for which, see 5.4). Imperatives are altogether absent, with a singular exception, the name of a conference in Article 53: “Invest in Tunisia!”²⁰³ In brief, there is not much in Media Arabic that would resemble a mutual dialogue comparable to what propels the narrative of Tāmir.

Structurally, or text-linguistically, the excerpt from Tāmir runs prototypically for a fictive historical narrative: an iconic sequence from *a* to *b* along an imaginary linear time axis with main-line situations occurring in temporal sequence. Here again, Media Arabic is very different. In fact, Temporal Succession is one of the least represented interpropositional relations between juxtaposed finite clauses in Media Arabic, and when attested as a logico-semantic relation, it typically is not expressed by a verb of the suffix conjugation (see *wa-Vsuff* in 6.1.2.1; also Table 122 and Table 123).

But at the same time, there are similarities in the excerpt from Tāmir and Media Arabic. Tāmir’s text is a third person narrative about what is described as events that took place in the past, reported or authored, presumably, for a larger readership. The functional characteristics, however, probably could not be more different. The above analysis illustrates a few of the differences between the two registers. A comparative study between Media Arabic and other types of prose is a *desideratum* of future research.

3.5. The by-line

The by-line is a short statement of origin of the text, following the headline but preceding the main body of text, stating a city, news agency or agencies, and/or a named author or authors. As such, the by-line functions as a type of mid-level attribution, somewhere in between the origin of the newsworthy event, and the final news item issued at Al-Ahram. This chapter investigates the syntax of the by-lines in the corpus.

3.5.1. By-line according to the *Al-Ahram Stylebook*

In the chapter on journalistic writing in the *Al-Ahram Stylebook*, the by-line, or ‘the date line’ as it is called, *saṭru l-tārīḥi*, is dedicated a considerable space of three pages (Nāfi 1997: 82–84). The passage begins by stating that “[m]ost

²⁰³ Article 53: *istaḍāfat tūnis ‘amsi mu’tamaran bi-‘unwāni «istaḡmir fī tūnis: al-dīmuqrāṭiyyat# al-nāši ‘at#»* (Example 229).

of the news stories begin with a date line, i.e. the name of the place in which the event takes place, whether a small village, a village, or a city, from which the journalist writes his news story” (Nāfi‘ 1997: 82). Following an etymology of the name, ‘date line’, the passage does however get more obscure. Here the first paragraph is quoted in full:

تبدأ معظم القصص الإخبارية بسطر التاريخ.. وهو اسم المكان الذي يقع فيه الحدث سواء أكان نجعا أم قرية أم مدينة، والذي يكتب منه الصحفي قصته الإخبارية. وكان المتبع في الماضي أن يذكر سطر التاريخ ومعه تاريخ اليوم الذي وقع فيه الحدث، كأن يقال: القاهرة في ٥ يناير، ولكن هذه الطريقة اختفت وأصبح سطر التاريخ يقتصر على ذكر موقع الحدث، كأن يقال: طنطا - قتل شخصان هنا أمس عندما سقطت طائرة رش تابعة لشركة كذا، وهي تقوم برش المنطقة الزراعية غربى المدينة بالمبيدات، وهكذا.

‘Most of the news stories begin with a date line, i.e. the name of the place in which the event takes place, whether a small village, a village, or a city, from which the journalist writes his news story. It was practice in the past that the date of the day in which the event happened was mentioned together with the date line, as if to say: Cairo on January 5, but this practice vanished and the date line became shortened to mention the site of the event only, as if to say: Tanta - two people were killed here yesterday when a spray plane belonging to the company so and so crashed, when it undertook a spraying with pesticides west of the agricultural area west of the city, and so on.’ (Nāfi‘ 1997: 82)

What needs to be known to interpret the above quote is that in the 1990s, the by-line and the body of the text was (perhaps not consistently) separated by a dash { - }, such that what follows after the dash is the lead, *muqaddimatin*. In other words, what the *Stylebook* tries to explain is that the dating of the by-line came to be transferred from the by-line to the lead, although the name of the by-line in Arabic remained the same, ‘date line’.

The *Stylebook* goes on to mention how a by-line should be written:

وبالنسبة لسطر التاريخ فإن الطريقة التى تقول: واشنطن باريس - غزة من مراسلى الأهرام - مع كتابة اسمائهم أحيانا، تبدو غير مستحسنة، وإنما الأفضل أن يذكر في القصص المركبة التى تنقل وقائع قصة إخبارية حدثت فى ٣ عواصم فى وقت واحد:
واشنطن من عاطف الغمرى
باريس من شريف الشوبانى
غزة من طارق حسن

‘As for the date line, the way that says: Washington Paris - Gaza by Al-Ahram correspondents - sometimes together with their names written out, seems undesirable, for it is better in the complex stories, that transmit facts of a news story that happened in three capitals at the same time, to say:

Washington by Atef el-Ghumry
Paris by Sharif el-Shoubany
Gaza by Tareq Hassan’ (Nāfi‘ 1997: 82)

The *Stylebook* explains that the by-line “acquires a special importance in journalistic writing, because it emphasizes the newspaper’s interest in covering

the ‘events’ from the sites where they occur, rather than merely translating/copying (*al-naql*#) by relying on sources other than their own” (Nāfi‘ 1997: 83).²⁰⁴ But the *Stylebook* continues on to say that “the newspaper may be forced (*wa-qad taḍṭarru*) in special circumstances to rely (*al-i‘timād*#) on news agencies or political listening departments (*‘aqsām# al-istimā‘i al-siyāsiyyi*), especially in disaster conditions” (Nāfi‘ 1997: 83), but that the newspaper may send out its own correspondents as soon as they can.²⁰⁵

3.5.2. By-line in the corpus

In the corpus, the typical practice is 1x by-line per article. This by-line is in **bold**. The only exception to this is Article 37, where midway through the article a second by-line occurs paragraph-initially, also in **bold**.

147. Article 37, second by-line

ومن الجامعة العربية - كتب العزب الطيب الطاهر وسارة فتح الله :

In the following, only by-lines following headings, preceding the lead, will be discussed, excluding the deviant second by-line in Article 37.

In the corpus of 131 articles, all but 1x article (Article 43) have a by-line (99.24%). In no by-line is a vowel or *šadda* encountered (for vocalization and diacritics, see 3.6). Article 1 is typical in this respect.

148. Article 1, by-line + four words of lead

جدة - وكالات الأنباء: رغم التصريحات الإيجابية التي

Jedda - news agencies: Despite the positive statements which [...]

Of the 130x bylines, 90x contain two components, whereas 40x bylines are more complex. The constituents of the by-line are typically separated by a short dash (-), as in Article 1, but in 4x by-lines the dash has the form of a doubled *linea dilatans* (–),²⁰⁶ rather than a single dash.²⁰⁷ This is but one minor format inconsistency of many in regard to by-lines, and indeed in regard to interpunctuation as a whole in Media Arabic (for which, see 3.3).

The by-line is separated from the main body of text with a colon and a line break in 5x articles (39, 52, 55, 93, and 128), the by-line thus forming a separate line of its own, with the lead beginning on a new line. In another 2x articles (67 and 68), the by-line is separated from the body by a dash (-) instead

²⁰⁴ من مواقع «الأحداث» ويكتسب سطر التاريخ أهمية خاصة في الكتابة الصحفية، لأنه يؤكد مدى اهتمام الصحيفة بتغطية حدوثها، وليس مجرد النقل عن طريق الاستناد إلى مصادر أخرى غير مصادرها هي.

²⁰⁵ وقد تضطر الصحيفة في ظروف خاصة، إلى الاعتماد على وكالات الأنباء أو أقسام الاستماع السياسي، خاصة في ظروف الكوارث، ولكنها سرعان ما تبتعد بمندوبيها إلى موقع الحدث عند توافر الإمكانيات لديها.

²⁰⁶ Articles 11, 80, 87, and 114. All of these have Sayyid Abdel-Magid mentioned in the by-line, suggesting that the by-line is written by the author of the article.

²⁰⁷ Depending on the word processing program and the keyboard layout used, the extension of the short dash (-) to a longer (–) may be an automated process. Both may occur in the same by-line, eg. in Article 87; the number of instances for each length has not been counted.

of a colon { : }. Excluding these 7x (5x with line break and 2x with a dash), in the remaining 123x articles with a by-line (94.62% of 130x), the by-line shares the same line as the beginning of the body, from which it is separated simply by a comma { , }, and potentially by space(s) (for spacing, see 3.3 and 3.12). The by-line of Article 1 given above is again typical in this regard.

In terms of content, the by-line typically begins with a city name (116x, or 89.23%),²⁰⁸ providing the origin of the news; once again, the by-line of Article 1 is typical. There are 14x exceptions to this: in 9x by-lines (Articles 39, 52, 64, 78, 93, 110, 117, 123, and 128) we instead find the verb *kataba(t)*, ‘he/she wrote’;²⁰⁹ in 4x others we instead have ‘*awāṣim*# ‘*ālamīyyat*#, ‘world capitals’ (Articles 25, 27, 61, and 95); and in 1x we find an author’s name (Article 51).

As noted above, the first component, e.g. *ḡedda* in the case of Article 1, is typically separated from subsequent information by a dash { - } (and optional spaces), and this occurs in all but 1x by-line, that of Article 55, where the dash is missing. This article also has a line break following the by-line:

149. Article 55, by-line, missing dash between 1st and 2nd component

أسوان ياسر أبو النيل:
أشاد السفير عبد الرحمن

We encounter personal names (authors) in 48x by-lines (36.92%) in the format of first name + surname, e.g. ‘*alī muḥammad* ‘*alī* (Article 128).²¹⁰ Of these, 15x by-lines (11.54% of 130x) are bipartite, stating only a city (1st component) and the name of the author as the second component.²¹¹

150. Article 24, by-line (city + author) + three words of lead

أنقرة - سيد عبدالمجيد: حذر كمال كيتلش

In 8x of the 9x by-lines with *kataba(t)* as the first component, we find only the name(s) of the author(s) as additional information, i.e. there is no mention of a news agency (the exception is Article 117, see Example 155). Article 78 is typical for this type of by-line:

151. Article 78, by-line (*kataba* and author) + four words of lead

كتبت - دينا كمال: وصل إلى القاهرة أمس

In the 2x by-lines with multiple authors introduced by *kataba(t)* (Articles 52 and 64), the names are separated by the conjunction *wa-*:

²⁰⁸ In the case of the by-lines for Articles 65 and 97, the by-lines *el-kuwayt* and *dubay* most likely refer to the cities rather than the respective emirates. The same goes for the graphically ambiguous ‘*mān* in Articles 18 and 91, which is to be read as ‘*ammān* (not ‘*umān*).

²⁰⁹ In Article 78 and Article 117, we have the third person feminine singular *katabat*.

²¹⁰ Articles 4, 8, 11, 12, 17, 19, 24, 26, 28, 31, 32, 34, 39, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 55, 57, 58, 64, 65, 68, 70, 71, 78, 80, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 103, 109, 110, 114, 117, 121, 122, 123, 124, 127, and 128.

²¹¹ Articles 24, 32, 45, 46, 55, 65, 80, 87, 91, 94, 97, 109, 114, 122, and 127.

152. Article 52, by-line, *kataba* and 2x authors

كتب - العزب الطيب الطاهر وسارة فتح الله:

153. Article 64, by-line, *kataba* and 3x authors

كتب-أيمن خاطر وشادية يوسف وأحمد عيسى:

In 120x by-lines, the initial component of the by-line is followed by information of origin: author or news agency/agencies; 44x by-lines²¹² contain the minimal information of a city name as first component + the generic *wikālātu l-'anbā'i*, 'news agencies', as the second (33.85% of the total 130x by-lines).²¹³

We now turn to the second element in by-lines. In 4x by-lines with a place name as the first component (Articles 12, 52, 64, and 68), the place name is followed by the names of multiple authors, and we will return to this below.

In 21x by-lines (16.15%), names of individual news agencies are given: 3x "د. ب. أ." (Articles 30, 59, and 126), 6x أ. ف. ب (Articles 33, 41, 101, 116, 119, and 125), 1x أ ف ب (Article 54), 5x أ. ش. أ (Article 36, 66, 84, 103, and 113), 5x أ ش أ (Article 67, 70, 76, 79, and 81), and 1x رويترز (Article 96). Of these, 19x (14.62% of 130x) have the bipartite structure of the name of a city as the first component and the name of the news agency as the second and final component, suggesting that the individual news agency is only given by name when no other news agencies have been used, e.g. in the by-line of Article 76:

154. Article 76, by-line + first three words of lead

بيروت - أ ش أ: توجه رئيس الحكومة

The table below gives the component types and frequencies of all 90x (69.23% of 130x) bipartite by-lines in the corpus:

Table 8: Syntax of bipartite by-lines in the corpus, arranged by frequency (inter-punctuation normalized). The total number of by-lines in the corpus is 130. Note that abbreviation = abbreviation of news agency name, author = personal name

Structure	Number of by-lines	Percent of total 130x
city - <i>wikālātu l-'anbā'i</i> :	44 ²¹⁴	33.85%
city - author:	18 ²¹⁵	13.85%
city - news agency name/abbreviation:	18	13.85%
<i>kataba(t)</i> - author:	6	4.62%
<i>'awāṣimu 'ālamiyyatun - wikālātu l-'anbā'i</i> :	4	3.08%
	90	69.23%

²¹² Articles 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 29, 35, 38, 40, 42, 47, 48, 53, 56, 60, 63, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 82, 83, 85, 86, 88, 92, 99, 105, 106, 108, 112, 115, 118, 120, 129, and 131.

²¹³ In addition to this is the by-line of Article 107, *كيرنز (أستراليا) - وكالات الأنباء*, where information in parentheses is added after the city name, presumably on the basis that the reader may not know that this lesser-known city of Cairns is in Australia. This is the only use of parentheses in a by-line.

²¹⁴ This figure includes the by-line of Article 107, with an additional parenthesis:

كيرنز (أستراليا) - وكالات الأنباء:

²¹⁵ This figure includes the by-line of Article 32, where the name is preceded by *min*:

الخرطوم - من عبدالواحد لبيني:

If we exclude the bylines of Table 8, we are left with 40x complex by-lines (30.77% of 130x). The great majority of these are constructed according to a similar and recurring schematic, but may name multiple cities, sources, or authors, or have the entire structure of “city - author/source” duplicated. Table 9 gives the recurring structures (>2x).

Table 9: Syntax of multipartite by-lines in the corpus, arranged by frequency (inter-punctuation normalized). The total number of by-lines in the corpus is 130. Note that city = name of city, author = personal name

Structure	Number of by-lines	Percent of 130x
city - city - <i>wikālātu l- 'anbā' i:</i>	10 ²¹⁶	7.69%
city - author - city - <i>wikālātu l- 'anbā' i:</i>	5 ²¹⁷	3.85%
city - author - <i>wikālātu l- 'anbā' i:</i>	4 ²¹⁸	3.08%
city - author <i>wa-wikālātu l- 'anbā' i:</i>	3 ²¹⁹	2.31%
city - city - city - <i>wikālātu l- 'anbā' i:</i>	3 ²²⁰	2.31%
city - <i>wikālātu l- 'anbā' i</i> - city - author:	2 ²²¹	1.54%
<i>kataba</i> - author <i>wa-author:</i>	2 ²²²	1.54%
city - author - <i>wa-wikālātu l- 'anbā' i:</i>	2 ²²³	1.54%
	31	23.86%

Of the remaining 9x of the complex by-lines, 5x (3.85% of 130x) are simple variations of the expected patterns: 2x have additional cities (Articles 49 and 31), 1x has a specified source (Article 103), 1x has an added title, ‘doctor’ (Article 117), and 1x has a doubled “city - author” by-line (Article 12):

155. Complex by-lines, various patterns

Article 49, by-line: city - author - city - city - *wikālātu l- 'anbā' i:*

موسكو - سامي عمارة - كييف - بروكسل - وكالات الأنباء:

Article 31, by-line: city - author - city - city - city - *wikālātu l- 'anbā' i:*

القاهرة - محمد مبروك - رام الله - غزة - واشنطن - وكالات الأنباء:

Article 103, by-line: city- author – city, city - 'a. š. 'a:

القاهرة-غادة الشرقاوي- طرابلس، باريس - أ. ش. أ:

Article 12, by-line: city - author - city - author:

برلين - مازن حسان - باريس - نجاة عبدالنعم:

Article 117, by-line: *katabat* - title name - city - city - *wikālātu l- 'anbā' i:*

كتبت - د. هالة أحمد زكي - واشنطن - كابول - وكالات الأنباء:

²¹⁶ Articles 5, 20, 23, 37, 44, 69, 102, 104, 111, and 130.

²¹⁷ Articles 4, 8, 17, 28, and 71.

²¹⁸ Articles 26, 34, 50, and 124.

²¹⁹ Articles 19, 58, and 121.

²²⁰ Articles 10, 18, and 62.

²²¹ Articles 57 and 90.

²²² Articles 52 and 64.

²²³ Articles 89 and 98 (identical):

صنعاء - عبد الفتاح أنور البطة - ووكالات الأنباء:

Among these examples, we note that in no multipartite by-line are two news agencies given by name, suggesting that *wikālātu l-'anbā'i* (or simply *wikālātun*, used 1x, in Article 70) is used whenever more than one news agency has been used. No by-line has the dual of *wikālāt*#.

The remaining 4x by-lines (3.08% out of the total 130 articles with by-lines) display inconsistencies in format and interpunctuation: Article 68 introduces the body of the text with a dash, instead of the expected colon; Article 70, as mentioned, only states *wikālātun* as the source, for the expected *wikālātu l-'anbā'i*, and introduces the second element of the by-line with a comma, instead of the expected dash; Article 51 has the author's name in the first slot rather than the expected city; Article 90 introduces both the author and the coordinated (*wa-*)*wikālāti l-'anbā'i* via the preposition *min* (which is otherwise used in other contexts, see “*min*” in 6.9). To this list of inconsistencies may be added another feature of the by-line of Article 55 (discussed and cited above), namely the lack of separation between city and author.²²⁴

156. Inconsistency of format in by-lines

Article 68, by-line: city - author - city - author- *wikālātu l-'anbā'i* -
طرابلس - سعيد الغريب - باريس - نجاة عبد النعيم - وكالات الأنباء -

Article 70, by-line: city- author *wa-wikālātun*, city - 'a š 'a:
طرابلس- سعيد الغريب ووكالات، الجزائر - أ ش أ:

Article 51, by-line: author - city - *wikālātu l-'anbā'i*:
غادة الشرقاوي - رام الله - وكالات الأنباء:

Article 90, by-line: city - *min* author *wa-wikālāti l-'anbā'i*:
طرابلس- من سعيد الغريب ووكالات الأنباء:

Article 55, by-line: city author:
أسوان ياسر أبو النيل:

Considering these 9x complex by-lines together with the 1x article that does not use any by-line at all (Article 43), the cases of alternation between separating *wikālātu l-'anbā'i* off with a dash or with the less common conjunction *wa-* (3x *wa-*: Articles 19, 58, and 121; and 2x with both dash and *wa-*, in Articles 89 and 98 by the same author), and the 5x by-lines separated from the main body of text with a line break (Articles 39, 52, 55, 93, and 128), we end up with 20x cases which are inconsistent with the Media Arabic by-line format²²⁵ (15.27% of the 131 possible by-lines). To this may be added the seemingly arbitrary addition of the country in Article 107 (discussed in note 213 above), and the inconsistent abbreviations for the three-lettered news agencies in the by-lines (14x with dots and 6x without).

²²⁴ According to Nāfi' (1997: 83), there are also less common by-lines, where it is not possible to mention the place, such as in the event of counterterrorist attacks, or as was the case “in the recent Gulf war”, when the by-line simply said '*alā l-ḥudūdi l-sa'ūdiyyati - al-kuwaytīyyati* 'on the Saudi-Kuwaiti borders'. This type of by-line is unattested in the corpus.

²²⁵ Counting only one of the two inconsistencies in the by-line of Article 70.

Table 10: Abbreviations for news agencies in by-lines, by frequency

Abbreviation	No. of attestations	Articles
أ.ف.ب	6	Articles 33, 41, 101, 116, 119, 125
أ.ش.أ	5	Articles 36, 66, 84, 103, 113
أش أ	5	Articles 67, 70, 76, 79, 81
د.ب.أ	3	Articles 30, 59, 126
أ ف ب	1	Article 54

If the 6x attestations of abbreviations without dots in Table 10 are considered as anomalies (6x out of 20x, or 30.00%), we end up with 26x by-lines containing inconsistencies, or 19.85% of 131x possibly consistent article-initial by-lines.²²⁶ To this may be added the 4x instances where the dash is a *linea dilatans* (see under “dashes” in 3.3), and Article 37, the only article with more than one by-line. Based on these figures, it seems reasonable to conclude that consistency in the above-mentioned respects is not important to the editors of Al-Ahram.

3.5.3. Summary: By-lines

A news article typically has a by-line, with more than 99% of the articles in the corpus containing one. The by-line states a city and/or author and/or news source. The by-line typically shares the same line as the beginning of the body of text, from which it is separated by a colon and space(s). It shares the same type as the main body of the text, is in **bold**, but is not vocalized. Personal names in the by-line are given in full, with the format “name + surname”.

There are two major types of by-line: those with a verb, *kataba(t)* (6.9%, or 9x/130x) and those without. The far more common format, without *kataba(t)* gives “city - and/or author - and/or source”, where either source or author is obligatory; this is attested for about 90% of the by-lines.

157. By-lines, main patterns

- by-line pattern *a* (ca 90%), either author or source is obligatory:
city - author- source
- by-line pattern *b* (<10%):
kataba(t) - author (*wa*-author)

In the more common format, the city name may be replaced by ‘*awāṣimu ‘ālamīyyatun*, and the obligatory author and/or source may consist of one or more items, separated by a dash. The whole sequence may be repeated, but only occasionally more than once. In cases where multiple news agencies are used, the summarizing phrase *wikālātu l-‘anbā’i*, ‘news agencies’, is stated.

²²⁶ This figure disregards the recurring inconsistencies of spacing, even in names; e.g. Article 109, سيد عبد المجيد, as opposed to Article 114, سيد عبدالمجيد.

With the less frequent pattern with *kataba(t)*, multiple authors may be given. If so, they are mentioned by name, and where the authors do not share a geographical location, their respective cities can be given by repeating the pattern of “city - author”. Inconsistencies and divergences from these main patterns, however, are observed in about 15–20% of cases in the corpus. That is, on average, one could expect to see an unusual format in a by-line once or twice daily in the corpus.

3.6. On explicit diacritics (*taškīl*)

This chapter investigates the frequency of *taškīl*, explicit diacritics, and their import on the legibility of hard news articles.

Diacritics are typically not used in Media Arabic.²²⁷ The signs *tanwīn* with *ḍamma* ُ, dagger *ʿalif* ِ, and *sukūn* ْ are not attested at all in the corpus;²²⁸ *šadda* ّ occurs 6x times, *fatha* is attested 3x, *kasra* ِ 2x, and *tanwīn* with *kasra* ٍ 2x. The *tanwīn* with *fatha* is by far the most frequent diacritic, attested 69x times, *ḍamma* being the second most frequent with 18x attestations.²²⁹ We will return to *ḍamma* in more detail, after first discussing the others.

Tanwīn with *fatha* is only attested over *ʿalif* when *ʿalif* is used to mark the accusative *status absolutus*—itself a more or less consistent orthographic practice with only three observed deviations:²³⁰ *yabḍulūna ḡahd kabīr* (Article 86, Example 664), and *yaḥmilu ḡawāz safar ʿamrīkiyy* (Article 15, Example 516), and [...] *allatī rafāʿa* [sic] *ʿadada quwwātihā ʿilā 22 ʿalf* (Article 33, Example 251)—a practice which no doubt must have actuated this diacritic’s high frequency, although strictly speaking this is the position where this diacritic clarifies the least.²³¹

²²⁷ In the following, “diacritics” does not refer to the single, double, and tripple dots that distinguish consonants, e.g. the dot above *ḍāl* to distinguish it from *dāl*. These signs are more or less obligatory in modern Arabic writing. Three dots to distinguish /v/ or a /ğ/ are never used in the corpus.

²²⁸ The spelling of *allāh* with a *šadda* and a dagger *ʿalif* in this book is due to a macro in Word.

²²⁹ *Hamza* and *madda* are excluded from the present investigation (for a brief discussion of the spelling of *hamza*, see 3.14).

²³⁰ A thorough investigation of morphological deviations was not made. It is likely that a systematic investigation of the corpus would yield an additional number.

²³¹ The more or less fixed word order rules out the possibility of misreading a dual of either a finite verb or a noun in the nominative *status constructus* as an accusative, whereas words ending in *tāʾ marbūʿa* in the corpus never have any case marking at all. On occasion, the accusative marker is added superfluously, e.g. in Article 117: *baʿdamā ʿašbaḥa li-ʿafḡānistān raʿṭsan ḡadīdan* (Example 560).

Tanwīn with *fatha* will not be dealt with in detail, example by example, but to initiate the discussion on the other diacritics it may be said that this sign never alone adds clarity, nor facilitates reading comprehension, since it is only placed above the *ʿalif*, which by itself is obligatory and which already by itself marks the accusative *status absolutus*. *Tanwīn* with *fatha* is never used elsewhere, e.g. over *tāʾ marbūʿa*. Of the 20x attestations of words that end in a long *-ā-* followed by a *hamza* on the line in the accusative *status absolutus*, e.g. *بناء*, *bināʿan*, only 3x (1.5%) have this combination spelled with the hypercorrect *ʿalif*; 2x of those occurrences have the addition of *tanwīn* with *fatha*.²³² Here, the clarifying function of the *ʿalif* is debatable, since this is the only graphical marking for the accusative *status absolutus* with these declinations. Its use in this morphology, unsurprisingly, is rare.

It could be argued that all diacritics add to a more rigid transmission of text between sender and recipient by removing the possibilities of morphological misreadings, but at the cost of a less fluent reading experience (cf. 1.5.1.2). In Media Arabic however, as illustrated in the chapter on TTR and the most frequent types (3.4.1) and the chapter on internal passives (5.2.2), homographs, at least of the most common types, are probably uncommon. For a diacritic to make the text substantially clearer there ought to be a contextual reason for a misinterpretation of the passage, should the passage have been presented without it. Leading clues as to word order for morphological inference (e.g. finite verb vs. *maṣḍar* for the pattern *tfʿl*) would make the diacritic—in the etymological sense of the word—superfluous.²³³ Hence, a *šadda* on the word *تحدثت* does not facilitate understanding or add clarity, since with the *t-* prefix and the *-t* suffix, a suffix form in stem V of the root *ḥḍḥ* is the only possible reading in the Arabic language. Moreover, the presence of a *kasra* in the word *باسم* can be considered superfluous on the basis that the combination of letters *b-ā-s-m* in the corpus is the 117th most frequent type, the majority of its 30x instances occur in a fixed grammatical context, and the context of the perhaps most probable homograph of this type—the male name *bāsem*—would typically be introduced in an article together with a contextualizing apposition, and subsequently not used again.²³⁴ The verb *نزه* with the diacritic *šadda* (Article 39), on

²³² It is added to the *status absolutus* accusative noun *ḍawʿan* in Article 37b (concerning Article 37a and 37b, see footnote 247), *ضوءاً*, the *maṣḍar* accusative *badʿan* in Article 39, *بدءاً*; and the *maṣḍar* accusative *hudūʿan* spelled *هذوءاً* in Article 118. Compare the following 17x occurrences without final *ʿalif*: *bināʿan* 5x (Articles 7, 11 (x2), 23, 69), *liqāʿan* 1x (Article 12), *sawāʿan* 3x (Articles 12, 23, 40), *ʿaḍāʿan* 2x (Articles 16, 41), *qaḍāʿan* 1x (Article 24), *ḡuzʿan* 1x (Article 51), *ʿiḡrāʿan* 1x (Article 68), *istirḍāʿan* 1x (Article 102), *nidāʿan* 1x (Article 118), and *asmāʿan* 1x (Article 126). As a sidenote, it can be mentioned that there only are two instances of diptote accusatives in the *status absolutus* of the *fuʿalāʿ*-pattern in the corpus, and neither is spelled with final *ʿalif*.

²³³ Greek *diakrínō* (verb) ‘separate one from the other’ and *diakritikós* (adj) ‘separative’ (LSJ).

²³⁴ In subsequent mentions he would be referred to by his surname or title.

the other hand, has a diacritic that is either superfluous or is at least of debatable import in terms of added clarity. Its context of use must be considered. It occurs following a coordinating *kamā* and before a government official is mentioned, so we would expect a verb, typically a verb of attribution (for typical main clause structures, see Part 5, especially 5.3), and no verb or reading can be understood from the explicit consonants *n-w-h* other than *nawwaha*, ‘to mention, speak, refer to’. Similar arguments can be made for all other attestations in the corpus of the diacritic signs *šadda*, *kasra*, *fatha*, and *tanwīn* with *kasra*.

All attestations of diacritics except *tanwīn* with *fatha* and *ḍamma* are given in Table 11; we will return to *ḍamma* with a more detailed account in the following section.

Table 11: Diacritics in the corpus, excluding *tanwīn* with *fatha*, and *ḍamma*

Sign	Text	Morphology	Article	Clarifying function	Name(s) in by-line
◌ْ	—	—	—	—	—
◌ِ	—	—	—	—	—
◌ُ	—	—	—	—	—
◌ِ	من أجل الوصول لحلٍ دائم وشامل	Noun/ <i>maṣḍar</i> , genitive <i>status absolutus</i>	52	No (only reading)	العزب الطيب الطاهر وسارة فتح الله
	بعد فتحه ليوم واحد	Noun, <i>status absolutus</i>	90	No (only reading)	سعيد الغريب
◌َ	مقر شركة محلية غرب المدينة التي تُعدّ المعقل الرئيس للجماعات المتطرفة	Passive verb	4	Debatable (homograph <i>tu‘idd</i> ; see discussion on <i>ḍamma</i>)	سعيد الغريب

3.6. On explicit diacritics (taškīl)

Sign	Text	Morphology	Article	Clarifying function	Name(s) in by-line
	كما نَوّه الوزير الغُماني	Active verb, II Vsuff	39	No (discussed above)	محمد فؤاد
	حَدَّرَ	Active verb, II Vsuff	50 ²³⁵	No (frequent verb)	سعيد الغريب
	والمنظّمات	noun	50	No (frequent noun ²³⁶)	سعيد الغريب
	تحدّثت	Active verb, V Vsuff	71	No (only one reading)	العزب الطيب الطاهر
	وثيقة وطنية تدفع بمسيرة التغيير السلمي، وترسخ مبدأ الشراكة الوطنية والأمن والاستقرار في البلاد.	Active Verb, II VprefL	106	Debatable (homograph <i>tarassuḥ</i> -)	-
◌ِ	المتحدّث الرسمي باسم رئاسة الجمهورية	Proclitic preposition + noun	39	No (see discussion above)	محمد فؤاد
	من قِبل مبعوث الأمم المتحدة	Compound preposition	118	Debatable (homograph <i>qabl</i> -)	-

²³⁵ This attestation is also mentioned under *fatha*.

²³⁶ The types المنظمة and منظمة are among the 333x most frequent types, place 230 (20x attestations) and 288 (17x), respectively (for which, see 3.4).

Sign	Text	Morphology	Article	Clarifying function	Name(s) in by-line
◌َ	ان العام الماضي شهد تصاعد الآمال	<i>maṣḍar, status constructus</i>	37b ²³⁷	Debatable (homograph <i>taṣā‘ada</i> , verb, V Vsuff)	العزب الطيب الطاهر وسارة فتح الله
	حذّر	Active verb, II Vsuff	50	No (frequent verb)	سعيد الغريب
	رخصة البدء في تشديد المفاعلين	Noun, dual ge- nitive	97	Debatable (homograph <i>mufa‘ilīna</i>)	شريف أحمد شفيق

3.6.1. On the use of and significance of ḍamma

We can now return to the diacritic *ḍamma* ◌َ. As a prelude to the study of internal passives (see 5.2.2), it is relevant to consider the use of vowel signs, and in particular *ḍamma*; the sign is used to indicate a *u*-vowel following the consonant on top of which it is placed and can be used to differentiate internal passives from active finite verbs both in the suffix and the prefix conjugations, thus distinguishing consonantal homographs. As seen above, no other diacritics are used in this function (although a medial *kasra* could theoretically fill a similar function in the suffix conjugation, and a *fatha* in the prefix conjugation). Consequently, in addition to being the most frequent vowel sign in the corpus after the consistently superfluous *tanwīn* with *fatha*, the *ḍamma* demands a separate discussion. All 18x attestations of *ḍamma* from the corpus will be given in their grammatical context below, to be summarized later in Table 12 at the end of this section.

²³⁷ Article 37 has two by-lines (see 3.5): the first (labelled 37a in this section) does not list a name, whereas the second (37b) lists two names. The two parts are equal in length (281x vs. 242x words, excluding headline and by-lines), but the second part has 10x attestations of *tanwīn* with *fatha*, whereas it is altogether missing in the first part. Together with the by-line, this is suggestive of different authorship for the two parts.

158. Article 4, *ḍamma*, *tu'addu*

مقر شركة محلية غرب المدينة التي تُعدّ المعقل الرئيس للجماعات المتطرفة في شرق البلاد	[...] maqarr# šarikatin maḥallīyyatin ġarba l- maḍīnati llatī tu'addu l- ma'qila l-ra'īsa li-l- ġamā'āti l-mutaṭarrafati fī šarqi l-bilādi.	[...] the headquarters of a lo- cal company west [in/of?] ²³⁸ the city which is [counted as] the main stronghold of extremist groups in the east of the country.

In Example (158), *ḍamma* is added to the internal passive *tu'addu*. Even with the diacritics (including *šadda*), there is a homograph *tu'idd#*, 'prepare', but this makes no sense in the context. The type *t'd* is attested 8x times in the corpus, is always read as *tu'add#*²³⁹ (Articles 3, 4, 26, 45 (x3), and 86 (x2)), and cannot be said to be rare; moreover, the high inter-correlation between a limited set of roots in a limited number of stems and aspect morphologies and their use as internal passives (see 5.2.2) further speaks against a clarifying function of *ḍamma* in the passive in the context of Media Arabic. The clarifying function of the *ḍamma* here, in short, is debatable.

159. Article 19, *ḍamma* (paragraph-initial), *wa-'u'lina*

وأعلن بالعاصمة طرابلس عن تشكيل جديد يمثل ثوار العاصمة طرابلس تحت مسمى مجلس شورى ثوار طرابلس الكبرى.	wa-'u'lina bi-l-āši- mati ṭarābulus 'an taškīlin ġadīdin yumattīlu tuwwāra l- āšimati ṭarābulus taḥta musammā maġlisi šūrā tuwwāri ṭarābulus al- kubrā.	And in the capital Tripoli was announced a new formation representing the revolutionar- ies of the capital Tripoli under the name of the Shura Council of the Greater Tripoli Revolu- tionaries.

In Example (159), *ḍamma* is added to the internal passive *'u'lina*, and differentiates it from the far more common active form of the verb; the form with the *ḍamma* has the homograph of the first person singular Vpref *'u'lin#*, but this is excluded by context (no paragraph in the corpus begins with a verb in the first person). This is one of two attestations of the internal passive of Vsuff *'a'landa* (see 5.2.2). The *ḍamma* is mildly clarifying.

160. Article 36 (first words of lead), *ḍamma*, *qutila*

قُتِلَ مواطن مصري يدعى أبوزيد شحاتة السيد.	qutila muwāṭinun miṣriyyun yud'ā 'abū-zēd šahḥāta el-sayyid, [...]	An Egyptian citizen who was called Abu Zeid Shahata el- Sayid [...] was killed [...]

In Example (160), *ḍamma* is added to the internal passive *qutila*. The verb is the first word of the lead, a context where perhaps the newsworthiness of a semantically highly transitive clause with a past verb in the semantic sphere of 'kill' would be expected to be high; in Media Arabic, however, someone is

²³⁸ For the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

²³⁹ It is consistently *tu'addu*, except 1x, in Article 86: *lam tu'adda*.

typically not reported to have actively and wilfully killed someone else via this verb, and in the corpus, Article 36 is not a unique instance of the passive *qutila* to stand as the first word in the lead: the lead of Article 120 begins with the exact same verb and morphology (albeit unvocalized); in Article 9, *qutila* is the 19th word of the lead; and in both Articles 63 and 96, the same verb in the passive appears in the second paragraph. Together with the fact that the passive of the verb is by far more frequent (see internal passives, 5.2.2), with only a single instance of the active morphology *qatala* in the corpus,²⁴⁰ it can be argued that in the context of Media Arabic, the *ḍamma* in *qutila* in Article 36 is superfluous. It does, however, mark the passive, and does thus differentiate a possible homograph. Its clarifying function, though, is debatable.

161. Article 37a,²⁴¹ *ḍamma*, *ʿubliḡat*

وأن حماس أبلغت بقاء الوسيط مع إسرائيل للحديث عن استئناف المفاوضات	[...] wa-ʿanna ḥamās ʿubliḡat bi-liqāʾi l-wasīṭi maʿa ʾisrāʾīl li-l-ḥadīṭi ʿani stiʾnāfi l-mufaʿwaḍāti [...]	[...] and that Hamas has been informed about the mediator's meeting with Israel to talk about the re- sumption of negotiations.

In Example (161), *ḍamma* is added to the internal passive *ʿubliḡat* and differentiates this reading from the more frequent active suffix conjugation (1x passive against 5x active in the corpus). Syntactically, however, the clarifying function of *ḍamma* is debatable.

162. Article 37b,²⁴² *ḍamma*, *muqaddarāti*

مؤكداً ان مصر سعت منذ بداية اندلاع أزمة غزة الأخيرة إلى العمل على وقف إطلاق النار ووقف نزيف الدم وإهدار مقدرات الشعب الفلسطيني وهي تعمل اليوم على ضمان تحقيق المطالب الفلسطينية .	[...] muʾakkidan ʿanna miṣr saʿat munḍu bidāyati ndilāʾi ʾazmati ǧazza l- ʾaḥīrati ʾilā l-ʾamali ʾalā waqfi ʾiṭlāqi l-nāri wa- waqfi nazīfi l-dami wa- ʾihdāri muqaddarāti l- šaʿbi l-filasṭīniyyi wa-hiya taʿmalu l-yawma ʾalā ḍamāni taḥqīqi l-maṭālibi l-filasṭīniyyati.	Stressing that Egypt has sought since the beginning of the outbreak of the last Gaza crisis to work for ceasefire and a stop to the bloodshed and the waste of the abilities of the Pales- tinian people and she [Egypt] is currently work- ing to ensure that the Pales- tinian demands are met.

²⁴⁰ Article 105, on the fatal shooting of Darrien Hunt: «ديزرت ومن جانبها، أكدت والدته هانت لصحيفة «ديزرت نيوز» أن الشرطة قتلتها لأنه أسود.

²⁴¹ Concerning Article 37a and 37b, see footnote 237.

²⁴² Concerning Article 37a and 37b, see footnote 237.

In Example (162), *ḍamma* is added to the noun *muqaddarāti*, which is formed from the internal passive participle. Without the diacritic, the noun *maqdaratun/maqduratun/maqdiratun*²⁴³ is a homograph. The *ḍamma* is mildly clarifying.

163. Article 39, *ḍamma*, *wa-l-mu‘abbiri*²⁴⁴

ارتباطا بضرورة دعم البرلمان الليبي المنتخب والمُعبر عن الإرادة الشعبية،	[...] irtibāṭan bi-ḍarūratī da‘mi l-barlamāni l- lībiyyi l-muntaḥabi wa-l- mu‘abbiri ‘ani l-’irādati l-ša‘biyyati, [...]	[...] connecting [it] with the need to support the Libyan parliament [because it is] elected and expressive of the popular will, [...]

In Example (163), *ḍamma* is added to the active participle *mu‘abbir#*, seemingly without reason. The homograph *ma‘bar*, ‘crossing’, exists in the corpus, but this reading is excluded here by context. The *ḍamma* is not clarifying.

164. Article 39, *ḍamma*, *al-‘umāniyyu*

كما نوه الوزير العماني إلى تطلع بلاده للمشاركة في مؤتمر أصدقاء مصر الذي	kamā nawwaha l-wazīru l-‘umāniyyu ‘ilā taṭallu‘i bilādihi li-l-mušāarakati fī mu‘tamari ‘aṣḍiqā‘i miṣr allaḍī [...]	And the Omani minster also alluded to his country’s aspi- ration to participate in the Friends of Egypt conference which [...]

In Example (164), *ḍamma* is added to the adjective *al-‘umāniyyi*, and does thus differentiate it from the consonantal homograph *al-‘ammāniyyi*. Despite the fact that سلطنة عمان has been mentioned earlier in the article, the vowel must be said to have a clarifying function.

165. Article 50, *ḍamma*, *al-muntahiyati*

وعلى صعيد آخر، حذر مجلس النواب الليبي أفراد ومؤسسات وأجهزة الدولة القائمة وكذلك الدول والمنظمات الدولية، من الاعتراف بالمؤتمر الوطني المنتهية ولايته، وحكومته غير الشرعية أو التعامل معه بأى حال من الأحوال.	wa-‘alā ṣa‘īdin ‘āḥara, ḥaḍḍara maḡlisu l-nuwwābi l- lībiyyu ‘afrāda wa- mu‘assasāti wa-‘aḡhizata l- dawlati l-qā‘imati wa-ka- ḍālika l-duwala wa-l- munazzamāti l-duwaliyyata, mina l-i‘tirāfi bi-l-mu‘tamari l-waṭaniyyi l-muntahiyati wilāyatuhu, wa-ḥukūmatihi ḡayri l-šar‘iyyati ‘aw al- ta‘āmuli ma‘ahā bi-’ayyi ḥālin mina l-‘aḥwāli.	And on another level, the Libyan House of Repre- sentatives warned indi- viduals, institutions, and bodies of the present state as well as [other] states and international organi- zations against recogniz- ing the outgoing national conference and its illegit- imate government and [against] dealing with them in any way or an- other.

²⁴³ In the semantic sphere of “ability”, a synonym of *qudra* (Lane 1863).

²⁴⁴ The example occurs in a long line of peripheral *maṣḍar* accusatives, for which see 6.2.

In Example (165), *ḍamma* is added to the active participle *al-muntahiyati*. This *ḍamma* is surprising in view of the frequency of the two-word construction (the combination of exactly these types *المنتھية ولايتھ* occurs 6x times in the corpus (Articles 19, 49, 50, 90, 112, and 131) and *المنتھية ولايتها* occurs 1x (Article 100), and the phrase is a Media Arabic collocation; for the construction, see 6.4.4). Its use here is better explained as relating to the frequency of added diacritics in this passage rather than as adding clarity: there are 4x diacritics in this passage alone (of the 31x in the entire corpus, excluding *tanwīn* with *fatha*): *fatha* and *šadda* on *ḥaḍḍara*, and *šadda* on *al-munazzamāti*; a personal name, Said El Gharib,²⁴⁵ is mentioned in the by-line and individual stylistic choices are a likely cause for the high number of diacritics here (for the relative frequency of names in by-lines, see 3.5).

166. Article 68, *ḍamma*, *al-mutaqā'idu*

التي يقودها اللواء المتقاعد خليفة حفاتر	[...] allatī yaqūduhā l- liwā'u l-mutaqā'idu ḥalīfa ḥaftar [...]	[...] which the retired Major General Khalifa Haftar is lead- ing [...]

In Example (166), *ḍamma* is added to the active participle *mutaqā'id#*, 'retired'; the name Said El Gharib is mentioned in the by-line. Although this is the sole attestation of the participle *mutaqā'id#* in any gender or number in the corpus, the vowel is not clarifying.

167. Article 91, *ḍamma*, *lam yuṭlab*

وقال القيادي في حماس أحمد يوسف في تصريحات نشرت بعمان أمس، إنه لم يُطلب من الحركة تخفيض تمثيلها في الدوحة ، ولم يصل إليها أي مطلب	wa-qāla l-qiyādiyyu fī ḥamās 'aḥmad yūsuf fī taṣrīḥātīn nuṣīrat bi- 'ammān 'amsi, 'innahu lam yuṭlab mina l-ḥara- kati taḥfiḍu tamṭīlihā fī el-dūḥa , wa-lam yaṣīl 'ilayhi 'ayyu maṭlabin [...]	And the Hamas leader Ahmed Yousef said in statements published in Amman yesterday that it has not been demanded from the movement to re- duce its representation in Doha, and no demand has reached him [...]

In Example (167), *ḍamma* is added to the internal passive verb in the phrase *'innahu lam yuṭlab* and differentiates the passive from the active; otherwise Ahmed Yousef could erroneously have been understood to be the subject in the complement clause. The *ḍamma* is clarifying.

²⁴⁵ Arabic: سعيد الغريب, *sa'īd el-ḡarīb*.

168. Article 106, *ḍamma*, *wa-samu 'a* [sic], read: *wa-sumi 'a*

وأكد المتحدث باسم الحوثيين
محمد عبد السلام أن الجهات
العسكرية والأمنية التي أيدت
الثورة الشعبية وانحازت إلى
خيار الشعب هي: القيادة
العامة للقوات المسلحة ،
معسكر الإذاعة، المؤسسات
الرسمية المتواجدة بمنقطة
التحرير ورئاسة الوزراء.
وسمّع دوى انفجارات عنيفة
صباح أمس في محيط مقر
عسكري تابع للقائد العسكري
اللواء على محسن الأحمر ،
وفي محيط جامعة الإيمان
التابعة للزعيم السلفي
عبدالمجيد الزنداني، وكلاهما
من ألد أعداء الحوثيين.

wa-'akkada l-mutaḥaddiṭu
bi-smi l-ḥuṭiyyīna
muḥammad 'abd el-salām
'anna l-ḡihāti l-'aska-
riyyata wa-l-'amniyyata
llatī 'ayyadati l-tawrata l-
ša'biyyata wa-nḥāzat 'ilā
ḥiyāri l-ša'bi hiya: al-
qiyādatu l-'āmmatu li-l-
quwwāti l-musallaḥati ,
mu'askaru l-'idā'ati, al-
mu'assasātu l-rasmiyyatu
l-mutawāḡidatu bi-
mintaqati [ita] el-taḥrīr
wa-ri'āsatu l-wuzarā'i.
wa-sumi 'a [ita] dawīyyu
nfīḡārātīn 'anīfatin ṣabāḥa
'amsi fī muḥīti maqarrin
'askariyyin tābi'in li-l-
qā'idi l-'askariyyi l-liwā'i
'alī muḥsen el-'aḥmar ,
wa-fī muḥīti ḡāmi'ati el-
'īmān al-tābi'ati li-l-za'īmi
l-salafiyyi 'abd ul-maḡīd
el-zindānī, wa-kilāhumā
min 'aladdi 'a'dā'i l-ḥuṭi-
yīna.

And the Houthi spokesman
Muhammad Abdel-Salam
confirmed that the military
and security bodies which
supported the popular rev-
olution and sided with the
people's choice are [the
following]: The general
command of the armed
forces, the radio camp, the
official institutions located
in the Tahrir area, and the
Prime Ministry: And the
sound of violent explosions
was heard yesterday
morning in the vicinity of
the military headquarters
belonging to the military
commander, Major Gen-
eral Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar,
and in the vicinity of the
Iman University belonging
to the Salafist leader Abdul
Majeed al-Zindani, both
from among the Houthis
worst enemies.

In Example (168), *ḍamma* is added to the internal passive *sumi 'a* (erroneously placed over the *m*), and differentiates it from the active; otherwise, Muhammad Abdel-Salam would have been understood to be the subject. The *ḍamma* is clarifying.²⁴⁶

169. Article 118, *ḍamma*, *'uḡliqat*

كما عادت حركة السير بشكل
طبيعي في تلك المناطق أعقبها فتح
المحلات التجارية التي أغلقت
خلال الأيام الماضية.

kamā 'ādat ḥarakatu l-
sayri bi-šaklin ṭabī'iyyin
fī tilka l-manātiqi 'a'qa-
bahā fathu l-maḥallāti l-
tiḡāriyyati llatī **'uḡliqat**
ḥilāla l-'ayyāmi l-
māḍiyati.

And the traffic was re-
sumed in a normal man-
ner in these areas, fol-
lowed by the opening of
the shops that **had been**
closed during the past
days.

In Example (169), *ḍamma* is added to the internal passive *'uḡliqat* and differentiates it from the active conjugation, a reading which is in any case excluded

²⁴⁶ The type *w-sm'* (without diacritics) is attested once more in the corpus, in Article 50, also in the passive with the *status constructus* of *dawīyyun* as the subject. These are the only instances of the verb *sami 'a* in the corpus. The type *dwy* occurs once more (Article 22), also in the *status constructus*, as the genitive subject to the verbal noun (*tamma*) *samā'u*. The phrase is a collocation.

by the context. This is the sole instance of the suffix conjugation of the verb *'aḡlaqa*; the type is a *hapax legomenon*. The clarifying function of *ḍamma* is debatable.

170. Article 118, *ḍamma*, *'uḍīfa*

وعن رفض جماعة الحوثى توقيع الملحق الأمنى للاتفاق السياسى أوضح الشامى أن ذلك الملحق أضيف على الرغم من عدم مناقشته مسبقاً ولذلك لن يتم التوقيع عليه.	wa-ʿan rafḍi ḡamāʿati el- ḥūtī tawqīʿa l-mulḥaḡi l-ʾamniyyi li-l-ittifāqi l- siyāsiyyi ʾawḍaḥa el- šāmī ʾanna ḍālika l-mulḥaḡa ʾuḍīfa ʾalā l-raḡmi min ʾadami munāqašatihi mu- sabbaḡan wa-li-ḍālika lan yatimma l-tawqīʿu ʾalayhi.	And concerning the Houthi group's refusal to sign the security appendix to the po- litical agreement, al-Shami clarified that this appendix was added despite it not having been discussed pre- viously and therefore it will not be signed.

In Example (170), *ḍamma* is added to the passive finite verb *'uḍīfa*, even though the active *'adāfa* is not a homograph. The type *'uḍīfa* is a *hapax legomenon*, but the *ḍamma* is not clarifying.

171. Article 118, *lan yakūna-u-muraḥḥaban* [sic], read: *lan yakūna muraḥḥaban*

وحذر العناصر الإضافية التى قد ترغب بدخول صنعاء بهدف إشعال الوضع بأن وجودهم لن يكون مرحباً به إذ لا يمكن لليمن أن يتحمل المزيد من الصراعات .	[...] wa-ḥaḍḍara l-ʾanāšira l- 'iḍāfiyyata llatī qad targabu bi-duḥūli šanʾā bi-hadafi 'iṣʾālī l-waḍʿi bi-ʾanna wuḡu- dahum lan yakūna muraḥḥa- ban [ita] bihi ʾiḍ lā yumkinu li-l-yaman ʾan yataḥammala l- mazīda mina l-širāʾati.	[...] and he warned the additional elements that might want to enter Sa- naa with the goal of ig- niting the situation that their presence will not be welcome[d] as Yemen cannot bear more conflicts.

In Example (171), *ḍamma* has erroneously been added to the space between *ykwn* and *mrḥban*, before the *m*. The misplacement of diacritics in this manner is not uncommon in Arabic texts, and we can assume that it is supposed to go on the *m* of the internal passive participle *muraḥḥaban* (the misplacement of diacritics is not covered by the Entity TYPO, nor are they treated as typos, for which see 3.2). The active participle would not have made sense in the context. This instance of *مرحبا* is a *hapax legomenon* type in the corpus; in fact the participle of stem II *raḥḥaba* is not attested elsewhere in the corpus in any gender, case, or number (only in Vsuff). In the context, the clarifying function of the *ḍamma* is debatable.

172. Article 121, *ḍamma*, *mā yu 'rafu*

ووصفه بأنه الأكبر منذ اندلاع ما يُعرف بعمليات "فجر ليبيا".	wa-waṣafahu bi-'annahu l- 'akbara munḍu ndilā'i mā yu 'rafu bi-'amaliyyāti "fağr lībiyā".	And he described it as the largest since the outbreak of what is called "the Dawn of Libya" operations.

In Example (172), *ḍamma* is added to the passive verb *yu 'rafu*; the relative construction *mā yu 'rafu* is attested 5x times in the corpus and cannot be said to be rare (Articles 4 (2x), 50, 68, as well as the present example; also, locational *fīmā yu 'rafu* occurs 1x, Article 29); this is the only time it has a diacritic. The *ḍamma* is debatably clarifying.

173. Article 121, 2x *ḍamma*: *wa-ğulibū*, *'uṭliqa*

مشيراً إلى أنهم لم يتأكدوا بعد من أصول القتلى فيما إذا كانوا لیبیین أو من دول إفريقية وجلبوا كمترزقة للقتال إلى جانب الكتيبتين المذكورتين". وأضاف المصدر أن هذه العملية أطلق عليها اسم عملية الشهيد محمد الكيلاني	[...] mušīran 'ilā 'an- nahum lam yata'akkadū ba'du min 'uṣūli l-qatlā fīmā 'idā kānū lībiyyīna 'aw min duwalin 'afrīqiyyatin wa-ğulibū ka-murtazaqatin li-l- qitālī 'ilā ġānibi l- katībatayni l- maḍkūratayni". wa- 'aḍāfa l-maṣḍaru 'anna hāḍihi l-'amaliyyata 'uṭliqa 'alayhā 'ismu 'amaliyyati l-šahīdi muḥammad el-kīlānī	[...] pointing out that they have not yet confirmed the origins of the dead, whether they were Libyans or from [other] African countries and [were] brought as mercenaries to fight along- side the two battalions mentioned". And the source added that this oper- ation is called the operation of the martyr Muhammad al-Kilani.

In Example (173), the first *ḍamma* is added to the internal passive *wa-ğulibū*, a *hapax legomenon* type in the corpus and the sole instance of the suffix conjugation of the verb; the active reading of the verb is improbable in the context and the clarifying function of the *ḍamma* is debatable. The second *ḍamma* in the example is added to the internal passive *'uṭliqa*, a verb attested 17x times in the suffix conjugation but only 3x in the passive (for which, see 5.2.2). The *ḍamma* is clarifying; the name Said El Gharib is mentioned in the by-line.

174. Article 123, *ḍamma*, *yuḥaqqiqu*

وبدوره قال عزام الأحمد عضو
اللجنة المركزية لحركة فتح
ورئيس الوفد الفلسطيني الموحد
للمفاوضات غير المباشرة
برعاية مصرية - في تصريح له
أمس - إن الاتفاق الذي تم
التوصل إليه برعاية المخابرات
المصرية في ٢٦ أغسطس
الماضي نص على فتح المعابر
بين قطاع غزة وإسرائيل بما
يُحقق سرعة إدخال المساعدات
الإنسانية والإغاثية ومستلزمات
إعادة الإعمار والصيد البحري
انطلاقاً من ٦ ميل بحري،
واستمرار المفاوضات غير
المباشرة بين الطرفين بشأن
الموضوعات الأخرى خلال
شهر من بدء تثبيت وقف إطلاق
النار.

wa-bi-dawrihi qāla
'azzām el-'aḥmad 'uḍwu
l-lağnati l-markaziyyati
li-ḥarakati fataḥ wa-ra'īsu
l-wafdi l-filasṭīniyyi l-
muwaḥḥadi li-l-
mufāwaḍāti ġayri l-mu-
bāširati bi-ri'āyatin
mišriyyatin - fī tašrīḥātin
lahu 'amsi - 'inna l-
ittifāqa llaḍi tamma l-
tawaṣṣulu 'ilayhi bi-
ri'āyati l-muḥābarāti l-
mišriyyati fī 26 'ağusṭus
al-māḍi naṣṣa 'alā faṭḥi l-
ma'ābiri bayna qitā'i
ğazza wa-'isrā'īl bi-mā
yuḥaqqiqu sur'ata
'idhālī l-musā'adati l-
'insāniyyati wa-l-
'iğātiyyati wa-mu-
stalamāti 'i'ādati l-
'i'māri wa-l-ṣaydi l-
baḥriyyi 'intilāqan min 6
mīl# baḥriyy# [sic], wa-
stimrāri l-mufāwaḍāti
ġayri l-mubāširati bayna
l-ṭarafayni bi-ša'ni l-
mawḍū'āti l-'uḥrā ḥilāla
šahrin min bad'i taṭbīti
waqfi 'itlāqi l-nāri.

And on his part, Azzam al-Ahmad, member of the Central Committee of the Fatah movement and the head of the united Palestinian delegation for indirect negotiations under Egyptian auspices said—in statements of his yesterday—that the agreement which was reached yesterday with the auspices of the Egyptian intelligence last August stipulated the opening of the crossings between the Gaza Strip and Israel in order **to achieve** the rapid entering of humanitarian and relief aid and [stipulated] the requirements for rebuilding and [for] marine fishing starting from 6 nautical miles, and the continuation of the indirect negotiations between the two parties on the other topics within a month from the beginning of the stabilization of ceasefire.

In Example (174), *ḍamma* is used on the active verb *yuḥaqqiqu* seemingly without reason; the construction *bi-mā yuḥaqqiqu* is attested 4x times in the corpus and cannot be said to be rare (Articles 39, 118, 129 and here in Article 123; for the construction, see “*bi-mā Vsuff*” under 6.1.5). The *ḍamma* is not clarifying.

Table 12: Summary: the diacritic *ḍamma* in the corpus

Word	Morphology	Passive morphology	Article	Clarifying	Name in by-line
تُعَدّ	VprefL stem I	yes	4	no	سعيد الغريب
وأعلن	Vsuff, stem IV	yes	19	yes	سعيد الغريب
قُتِلَ	Vsuff stem I	yes	36	debatable	—
أُبلغت	Vsuff stem IV	yes	37a	debatable	? ²⁴⁷
مُقدّرات	noun, plural	yes	37b	yes	العزب الطيب الطاهر وسارة فتح الله
والمُعبر	participle	no	39	no	محمد فؤاد
الغمانى	adjective	no	39	yes	محمد فؤاد
المنتَهية	participle	no	50	no	سعيد الغريب
المُنقّاع	participle	no	68	no	سعيد الغريب, نجاة عبد النعيم
لم يُطلب	VprefS stem I	yes	91	yes	سليم المعانى
وسمّع [sic]	Vsuff stem I	yes	106	yes	—
أُغلقت	Vsuff stem IV	yes	118	debatable	—
أُضيف	Vsuff stem IV	yes	118	no	—
مُرحبا [sic]	participle	yes	118	debatable	—
ما يُعرف	VprefL stem I	yes	121	debatable	سعيد الغريب
وَجُلِبوا	Vsuff stem I	yes	121	debatable	سعيد الغريب
أُطلق	Vsuff stem IV	yes	121	yes	سعيد الغريب
يُحقق	Vsuff stem II	no	123	no	العزب الطيب الطاهر

²⁴⁷ Concerning Article 37a and 37b, see footnote 237.

3.6.2. Tendencies with diacritics

The 31x diacritics in the corpus (excluding *tanwīn* with *fathā*) are distributed over 16x different articles (counting Article 37 as one, see Table 13): 9x with single occurrences, and 7x articles having 2x–4x diacritics. Of the 31x diacritics, only 7x (or 8x²⁴⁸; roughly a fourth) occur in articles without a proper name in the by-line (Articles 36, 106, 118, and perhaps 37a); 4x of these diacritics occur in Article 118, one of the articles with the most diacritics, and 2x in Article 106. Together with the fact that all others, roughly three-quarters of the diacritics, occur in articles with proper names in the by-line (Table 13), we observe a tendency for the use of diacritics to be author-specific (style), perhaps in-house (that is, used by staff who work directly for Al-Ahram). This observation is corroborated by the fact that Said El Gharib alone is mentioned in the by-lines of articles that contain 12x of the diacritics, which is 39% of all diacritics in the corpus; incidentally, 2x of his diacritics are also misplaced.

Table 13: Summary of diacritics in the corpus (excluding *tanwīn* with *fathā*) with names of authors in by-lines, arranged by article number

No.	Count	Article	Name in by-line	Diacritics
1	2	4	سعيد الغريب	<i>šadda, ḍamma</i>
2	1	19	سعيد الغريب	<i>ḍamma</i>
3	1	36	—	<i>ḍamma</i>
4	3	37	العزب الطيب الطاهر وسارة فتح الله	<i>ḍamma x2, fathā</i>
5	4	39	محمد فؤاد	<i>ḍamma x2, šadda, kasra</i>
6	4	50	سعيد الغريب	<i>šadda x2, fathā, ḍamma</i>
7	1	52	العزب الطيب الطاهر وسارة فتح الله	<i>tanwīn with kasra</i>
8	1	68	سعيد الغريب, نجاه عبد النعيم	<i>ḍamma</i>
9	1	71	العزب الطيب الطاهر	<i>šadda</i>
10	1	90	سعيد الغريب	<i>tanwīn with kasra</i>
11	1	91	سليم المعانى	<i>ḍamma</i>
12	1	97	شريف أحمد شفيق	<i>fathā</i>
13	2	106	—	<i>šadda, ḍamma</i>
14	4	118	—	<i>kasra, ḍamma x3</i>
15	3	121	سعيد الغريب	<i>ḍamma x3</i>
16	1	123	العزب الطيب الطاهر	<i>ḍamma</i>
	31			

²⁴⁸ As noted above, one diacritic is found in Article 37a and two in 37b; the article has two by-lines, only the second of which includes proper names.

With 31x diacritics over 35,354 tokens (KWIC token count), frequent use of diacritics cannot be said to be a register feature. Except for *ḍamma*, the diacritics fill little to no purpose in the context of Media Arabic. *Ḍamma*, on the other hand, can be said to be clarifying in at least a third, or 6x, of its 18x attestations. It is added to passive morphology in 13x of the 18x cases where it occurs, and seems to then mark the word as passive, even if the diacritic alone theoretically leaves the word open for an active reading as well, as exemplified by *ʾuʾlīna*, a passive third person masculine singular stem IV (rather than *ʾuʾlinu*, an active first person singular form), and *tuʾaddu*, a passive third person feminine singular stem I (rather than *tuʾiddu*, an active third person feminine singular stem IV). When redundant passive marking via *ḍamma* is observed e.g. in *ʾudīfa*, where the medial *yāʾ* already encourages a passive reading, this suggests that *ḍamma* is an optional marker of an internal passive. The *u*-vowel in the first syllable of both the suffix and the prefix passive conjugations is probably the reason for its preference over the other vowel diacritics.

That *ḍamma* may be added redundantly and without clarificatory value is exemplified by recurrent active constructions such as *al-muntahiya wilāyatu-h* (for which construction, see 6.4.4) and *bi-mā yuḥaqqiqu* (for which, see under 6.1.5), and on recurrent syntactic structures with internal passive morphology such as *mā yuʾrafu* (see “*mā* VprefL” in 6.1.5, and internal passives in 5.2.2). The instance *wa-sumiʾa* (vocalized as *wa-sVmuʾ-V*) with *ḍamma*, however, is clarifying. But although occasionally the *ḍamma* does clarify, the use of diacritics is for the most part better attributed to author style, or the lack of a larger group style, rather than a serious intention from the producer to clarify; this is suggested also by the use of *tanwīn* with *fathā*, which is only attested on *ʾalif*, even though it would serve a better purpose on words ending in *tāʾ marbūʿa*, where it would be the sole marker of the accusative *status absolutus*. In this position, however, it is never attested.

3.7. Trajectio

Trajectio is not a feature to be investigated systematically, but it needs to be mentioned as a recurring feature on a variety of syntactic levels in Media Arabic discourse. The term will be used descriptively throughout the book. This chapter describes what it is, and gives examples.

The term *trajectio*,²⁴⁹ ‘the transposition of words’ (OLD, *traiectio*) is borrowed from Latin and Greek rhetoric and syntax (with the Greek equivalent being ὑπερβατον, *hypérbaton*). It is used here to denote the discontinuation of a grammatical structure, e.g. of a synthetic annexation (typically a genitive relation), and/or the discontinuation of an analytical compound or phrase (e.g. head + postmodifier, or a nominal apposition) via the interposition of words.

Trajectio occurs in nominal appositions, e.g. with name + title or title + name via an interposed prepositional phrase, between a head and a postmodifier such as an attributive adjective (e.g. Example 176 from Article 50; and Example 175 from Article 8 with an interposed nominalized relative clause) or a prepositional postmodifier (e.g. Example 177 from Article 120), and between a head and annexated genitive (e.g. Example 178 from Article 16). It is also to be found between a head and a relative clause, both nominalized and non-nominalized (e.g. Article 120, Example 689).

What is probably the most frequent *trajectio* in Media Arabic occurs between a preposition and its second (and/or *n*th) complement, e.g. when a purpose linking with *li-* + *maṣḍar* is expanded with additional nominal predicates—of great difficulty for students. But *trajectio* occurs also in other grammatical and semantic contexts with prepositions, such as in Article 7 (Example 391), with the *trajectio* between a preposition ‘*alā*’ and its second complement *qādatihi* via the interposition of *bal* ‘*ayḍan*’, ‘but also’: *muṣīratan* ‘*ilā*’ *‘annahā lā taqtaṣiru* ‘*alā muwāṭinī*’ *l-ittihādi bal* ‘*ayḍan qādatihi*’, ‘pointing to [the fact] that it is not limited only to the citizens of the union, but also [to] its leaders’.²⁵⁰ In a *trajectio* with *li-* + verbal nouns, multiple syntactic constructions including non-nominalized clauses seem to be the norm as the interposed elements. A systematic investigation into *trajectio* in Media Arabic, its frequency, and limitations, is a *desideratum* of future research.

The *trajectio* between the correlate and the relative clause is exemplified in e.g. Article 51 (see Example 720): ‘*amma l-’iḍrābu l-’āmmu ’amsi madārisa hayyi ḡabal* ‘*el-mukabbir*’ *ḡanūba šarqī# madīnati el-quḍs al-muḥtallati, al-latī taḍummu naḥwa sab’ati ālāfi ṭālibin wa-ṭālibatin, iḥtiḡāḡan* ‘*alā* [...]’, ‘a general strike broke out yesterday in the schools of the district of Jabal al-Mukaber south-eastern occupied Jerusalem, which includes about seven thousand male and female students, a protest against [...]’.

²⁴⁹ Etymology: prep./adv. *trans*, ‘across, over, through, on the other side’, and the verb *iacio*, ‘throw’ (OLD).

²⁵⁰ مشيرة إلى أنها لا تقتصر على مواطني الاتحاد بل أيضا قادته

Example (175) from Article 8 features a *trajectio* with an interposed nominalized relative clause.

175. Article 8, head + attributive adjective, *trajectio*

ونفى محمد أردوم محامى عائلات الشباب فى أوروبا المتطوعين فى صفوف تنظيم «داعش» التركي الأصل أن تكون المساجد فى أوروبا بمثابة أوكار لأعضاء داعش، مضيفاً أن جهاز المخابرات التركي يقوم بأعمال التنسيق والتخطيط لكل شىء لصالح تنظيم داعش.	wa-nafā muḥammad 'erdūm muḥāmī 'ā'ilāti l- šabābi fī 'ūrūbbā l-mu- taṭawwi'īna fī šufūfi tanẓīmi «dā'eš» al- turkiyyi l-'ašli 'an takūna l-masāğidu fī 'ūrūbbā bi- maṭābati 'awkārin li- 'a'dā'i dā'eš, muḍṭifan 'anna ġihāza l-muḥābarāti l-turkiyya yaqūmu bi- 'a'māli l-tansīqi wa-taḥṭṭi li-kulli šay'in li-šālihi tanẓīmi dā'eš.	And Mahmut Erdem, lawyer of the families of <u>the youth</u> in Europe who have volunteered in the ranks of «Daesh» [who are] of Turkish origin denied that the mosques in Europe serve as dens for members of Daesh, adding that the Turkish intelligence apparatus is [un- dertaking actions of] coordi- nating and planning of every- thing for the benefit of the Daesh organization.

Example (176) from Article 50 features a *trajectio* between two appositions at the nominal level, and between the head and a *nisba* adjective of nationality in the interposed syntagm.

176. Article 50, apposition with *trajectio*, and interposition with *trajectio*

وفى الوقت نفسه، أعلن الناطق الرسمي باسم ما يعرف بالمجلس الأعلى المؤقت لثوار الغريبة الليبي رمضان زعيم ، إن	wa-fi-l-waḡti nafsīhi, 'a'lana l-nāṭiqu l-rasmiyyu bi-smi mā yu'rafu bi-l-mağliṣi l-'alā l- mu'aqqati li-tuwwāri l-ğarbiy- yati l-lībiyyi ramaḍān za'mīṭ , 'inna [...]	Meanwhile, <u>the spokesman</u> on behalf of what is known as <u>the Libyan</u> Supreme In- terim <u>Council</u> of the Western Revolutionaries Ramadan Zaamit announced that [...]

In Example (177) from Article 120, the *trajectio* occurs at the nominal level between a head and an annexation with *li-*, the interposed element consisting of an asyndetic relative clause.

177. Article 120, *trajectio* in an annexation with *li-*

واظهر شريط اخر جثة عارية يغطيها الغبار الرمادى لطفل ممدد على كومة من الانقاض.	wa-'aḡhara šarīṭun 'āḡaru ğuttatan 'āriyatan yuğattīhā l- ğubāru l-ramādiyyu li-ṭiflin mumaddidin 'alā kawmatin mina l-'anqādi.	And another tape shows a <u>naked corpse</u> which grey dust covers of a child stretched out on a pile of rubble.

This type of *trajectio*, illustrated by Example (177), can also occur at the synthetic level between a head and its annexed genitive in an *'idāfa*, as witnessed in Example (178) from Article 16.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ This type of *trajectio* is not limited to Media Arabic. Wright (2005: II, 223–224 § 90) writes that from his examples “it appears that the word interposed is usually either an oath, an objective

178. Article 16 (lead), *trajectio* of a genitive annexation

وذكر روبين أباتي المتحدث الإعلامي باسم الرئيس النيجيري جودلاك جوناثان أنه تمت مناقشة - خلال المؤتمر - تقرير أعدته مفوضة الاتحاد الأفريقي لمكافحة الإرهاب، حول العنف والأعمال الإرهابية في القارة الأفريقية خلال الفترة الماضية.	wa-ḡakara rūbīn 'abātī al- mutaḥaddiṭu l-'i' lāmīyyu bi- smi l-ra'īsi l-nīḡīriyyu ḡūdlāk ḡūnātān 'annahu tammāt <u>munāqaṣatu</u> - ḥilāla l-mu'tamari - taqrīrin 'a'addathu mufawwādatu l- ittiḥādi l-'afriqiyyi li-muk- āfaḥati l-'irhābi, ḥawla l- 'unfi wa-l-'a māli l-'irhābiy- yati fi-l-qārrati l-'afriqiyyati ḥilāla l-fatratī l-māḍiyati.	And Reuben Abati the media spokesman on behalf of the Nigerian president Goodluck Jonathan mentioned that <u>the</u> <u>discussion</u> took place - during the conference - <u>of a report</u> which the Commission of the African Union for Combatting Terrorism had prepared, concern- ing the violence and ter- rorist acts in the African conti- nent during the past period.

To summarize, *trajectio* is a feature and term needed for the discussion of Media Arabic syntax. A systematic investigation into its frequency, scope, and limitations is a *desideratum* of future Media Arabic research.

complement to the مُصَنَّفٌ, an adverbial accusative of time, or a vocative". His examples include tarku yawman *naḥsika* wa-hawāhā sa 'yun lahā fī radāhā, 'to let your soul alone one day with its lust is an effort towards its destruction', and 'inna l-ṣāta tasma'u sawta wallāhi *rabbīhi*, 'the sheep hears the voice, by God, of its master' (examples and translations from Wright 2005: II, 223 § 90, emphasis added).

3.8. The polyheaded genitive annexation (*iḏāfa*, '*iqḥām*)

3.8.1. Background

[A] traditional restriction on the first term of the 'iḏāfa is that it may not be conjoined; if more than one noun is to be included in the first element of the phrase, then the surplus nouns follow the 'iḏāfa and refer back to it by means of a resumptive pronoun suffix, e.g. *bi-n-nisbat-i 'ilā 'asātiḏat-i l-luġat-i wa-tullāb-i-hā* 'in relation to professors and students of the language'. In the grammatical tradition, the insertion of a surplus noun was called 'iqḥām 'intrusion, invasion' (Ryding 1992: 272), and it was generally regarded as incorrect. This rule is still active in Modern Standard Arabic, but in current usage it is sometimes broken, **in Media Arabic especially**. (Ryding, "Iḏāfa" in EALL, emphasis added)

The polyheaded genitive annexation is what BCG (§2.3.7) refer to as "binomial/polynomial annexation", an infelicitous term, since any 'iḏāfa must contain two or more nominals.

BCG (§2.3.7) mention polyheaded genitive annexation and state that it is a construction that Modern Written Arabic "is increasingly making use" of.

Concerning the question of cases, BCG (§2.3.7) state that the "fact that the first member of the pair lacks def. markers [...], particularly *tanwīn*, has ceased to be of importance, probably because neither the *tanwīn* nor the case endings are used in ordinary reading of MWA".

The CA [Classical Arabic] system [...] is still fully active, but there seem to be few restrictions now on the use of the MWA [Modern Written Arabic] variant (though the meanings of the annexed nouns are always closely related), and qualified approval has been given by the Academies. (BCG: §2.3.7)

BCG put cases on the heads.

3.8.2. Definition

The present investigation only includes synthetic genitive annexations with more than one head (for the noun phrase and its terminology, see 2.3.2); the head must not be a single compound. The study, consequently, does not include cases when the first head is definite, as in e.g. Article 4: [...] *taqūmu bi-l-ḥašdi wa-ta-zīzi šufūfiḥā*, '[...] are mobilizing and reinforcing their ranks' (Example 429), nor does it include numbers followed by a quantified genitive noun (e.g. Example 179 from Article 10), analytical postmodifiers, e.g. with prepositions such as *li-*, *fī*, *bayna*, etc. (e.g. Example 180 from Article 11), or compound heads, e.g. of titles (Example 181 from Article 98).

179. Article 10, number (not included)

وسيصدق مجلس الوزراء خلال جلسته الأسبوعية أمس على خطة تنص على رصد حوالى مليار وخمسمائة مليون شيكل لتطوير التجمعات السكنية المحيطة بقطاع غزة على مدى خمس سنوات.

wa-sa-yuṣaddiqu mağlisu l-wuzarā' i ḥilāla ġalsatihi l-'usbū' iyyati 'amsi 'alā ḥuṭṭatin tanuṣṣu 'alā raṣḍi ḥawālay milyārin wa-hamsi-simi'ati milyūni šekel# li-taṭwīri l-tağammu'āti l-sakaniyyati l-muḥīṭati bi-qitā' i ġazza 'alā madā ḥamsi sanawātin.

And during its weekly session yesterday the House of Representatives will [*sic*] approve a plan which provides for the allocation of about one billion and five hundred million shekels to develop residential communities surrounding the Gaza Strip over a period of five years.

180. Article 11, prepositional postmodifier (not included)

وفى هذه الأثناء، أكدت صحيفة «أورطا دوغو» التركية أن أردوغان وجه تعليمات إلى جهاز المخابرات لإثارة الفتن والخلافات والفوضى بين صفوف حزب الحركة القومية بغرض إضعافه تماماً.

wa-fī ḥādīhi l-'atnā' i, 'akkadat ṣaḥīfatu «'ūrṭā dūġū» al-turkiyyatu 'anna 'erdūġān waġġaha ta'limātin 'ilā ġihāzi l-muḥābarāti li-'itārati l-fitani wa-l-hilāfāti wa-l-fawḍā bayna šufūfi ḥizbi l-ḥarakati l-qawmiyyati bi-ğaraḍi 'id'āfihi tamāman.

Meanwhile, the Turkish newspaper «Orta Doğu» confirmed that Erdoğan has directed instructions to the intelligence apparatus to stir up discord, disputes, and chaos among the ranks of the National Movement Party with the aim of weakening it completely.

181. Article 98, compound head (not included)

وعلى صعيد محاولات حل الأزمة دبلوماسياً، قال مساعد أمين عام الأمم المتحدة ومبعوثه الخاص لليمن جمال بن عمر إنه يواصل مشاوراته المكثفة مع الأطراف المعنية من أجل إيجاد حل سلمى للأزمة الراهنة في البلاد.

wa-'alā ṣa'īdi muḥāwalāti ḥalli l-'azmati dīblūmāsiyyan, qāla musā'idu 'amīn# ²⁵² 'āmm# al-'umami l-muttaḥidati ²⁵³ wa-mab'ūṭuhu l-ḥāṣṣu li-l-yaman ġamāl bin 'umar 'innahu yuwāṣilu mušāwarātihi l-mukattafata ma'a l-'aṭrāfi l-ma'niyyati min 'aġli 'iğādi ḥallin silmiyyin li-l-'azmati l-rāhinati fi-l-bilādi.

And concerning the attempts to solve the crisis diplomatically, the assistant [of the] secretary general of the United Nations and his special envoy to Yemen Jamal Benomar said that he is continuing his intense consultations with the concerned parties in order to find a peaceful solution to the current crisis in the country.

²⁵² In compound titles (noun + adj), BCG do indicate cases, e.g. “*mudīr# 'āmm# dā'irati l-ṣiḥḥati*, ‘the director general of the health department’” (BCG: §2.3.7). It should be noted however, that in the example from Article 98 above, only ‘*amīn#*’ would be subjected to questioning in a Cairene colloquial reading aloud, since the adjective would have an epenthetic vowel following the two consonants in ‘*āmm*’, i.e. ‘*amm*’ l-.

²⁵³ This construction is a *hapax*, the typical being *مساعد الأمين العام للأمم المتحدة* (attested 3x: Articles 49, 73, and 118).

182. Article 21, singleheaded genitive annexation (not included)

على الصعيد ذاته أعلنت قوات البيشمركة الكردية تحرير كامل أراضي مدينة زمار الواقعة شمال غرب الموصل.	[...] wa-ʿalā l-šaʿīdī dātihī 'aʿlanat quwwātu el-bišmerka l-kurdiyyatu taḥrīra <u>kāmili</u> 'arāḏī madīnati zammār l- wāqīʿati šamāla ġarbi el- mūṣūl.	And on the same topic the Kurdish Peshmerga forces announced the liberation of <u>all the land of the city</u> Zammar north-west [of?] ²⁵⁴ Mosul.

3.8.3. Results: Polyheaded genitive annexation

19x attestations,²⁵⁵ including 1x attestation in a headline (Article 63): Articles 63 and 52 have 2x attestations each, all others ≤1x.²⁵⁶ The first week of the corpus has no attestation; the following weeks have 8x, 7x and 3x attestations respectively.²⁵⁷

5x attestations have 3x heads; most typical is 2x (14x attestations). The heads are normally coordinated with *wa-*, the 1x exception being in Article 74 with *'aw* (Inclusive Closed Disjunction): *fī naqli 'aw 'iqālātī muntasibīna*, 'either in transferring or dismissing associates'. The heads typically consist of nouns, the 1x exception being in Article 84 where the two heads are of participial morphologies: *10 buldānin munḥafīḏati wa-mutawassiṭati l-daḥli*, '10 low- and middle-income countries' (for participles as heads in genitive annexations, see 6.4.3). 14x heads are in the genitive (8x postmodifiers of which are direct genitive objects), 4x in the accusative, and 1x nominative (Article 63, headline).

Excluding the attestation with participial heads in Article 84, the postmodifiers range between direct genitive objects, genitive subjects, and possessive genitives.

The complete list of polyheaded genitive annexations is given in Table 14 (h = headline).

²⁵⁴ For the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

²⁵⁵ For an older diachronic study, albeit with a different methodology, see Abdelfattah (1990: 99–106).

²⁵⁶ The articles with polyheaded *'iḏāfas* are 37, 38, 50, 51, 52 (x2), 63 (2x, incl. headline), 69, 70, 72, 74, 77, 84, 89, 93, 110, 111, and 128. 9x of the 19x attestations have named authors in the by-lines (Article 50, 51, 52, 70, 89, 93, 110, and 128). This is comparable to 34% of the total by-lines that have names (49x by-lines with names, see 3.5). Among these *sa'īd al-ġarīb* is mentioned in 2x (Articles 50 and 70) and *el-'azab el-ṭayyeb el-ṭāher* in 3x (Articles 37 (second by-line), 52, and 110), 2x of which (Articles 37 and 52) mention *sāra faṭḥ allāh* together with *el-'azab*: these are the only 2x by-lines where she is mentioned by name; on the other hand *el-'azab* is mentioned also in the by-lines of Articles 71, 122, and 123, meaning that half of the articles with his name in the by-line have an attestation of *'iqhām*. *Sa'īd* on the other hand is mentioned in 9x by-lines in total (also in Articles 4, 19, 34, 68, 90, 121, and 124), suggesting that the two attestations of *'iqhām* under his name are not necessarily representing a recurring stylistic feature of his.

²⁵⁷ The distribution (Mon/Tues/Wed) is 0/0/0, 2/4/3/, 4/3/0/, and 2/0/1. (in total, Mon 8x, Tues 7x, and Wed 4x).

Table 14: The 19x polyheaded genitive annexations in the corpus; note that A = Article, Case = grammatical case of head, Ex = Example, h = headline

Case	Arabic	Translation	A	Ex
GEN	[...] li- <u>taktīfī</u> wa- <u>mudā'afati</u> da'minā li-'ašiqqā'inā l-fi-lasṭīniyyīna	[...] to <u>intensify</u> and <u>double</u> our support for our Palestinian brothers	37	-
GEN	'asfarat [...] 'an <u>maqtali</u> wa-'isābatī l-' ašarāti	resulted [...] in <u>the killing and wounding of dozens</u>	38	-
ACC	ḥaḍḍara [...] 'afrāda wa-mu'assasāti wa-'aḡhizata l- dawlati	Warned [...] <u>individuals, institutions, and bodies of the state</u>	50	165
ACC	lā yulabbī <u>tumūhāti</u> wa-'ahḍafa ša'binā l-fi-lasṭīniyyi	does not meet <u>the aspirations and goals of our Palestinian people</u>	51	-
GEN	ḍarūrata l-iltizāmi bi-ḥtirāmi <u>wahdati</u> wa-siyādati libiyā	the need to commitment to the respect of <u>the unity and sovereignty of Libya</u>	52	-
GEN	ḡuhūdi [...] min 'aḡli tamkīni l-dawlati mina sti'ādati wa-basti sulṭatihā wa-siyādatihā	efforts [...] to enable the state to <u>regain and extend its authority and sovereignty</u>	52	-
NOM	[...] 'amnu wa-wahdatu el-yaman yumattīlāni [...]	[...] <u>the security and unity of Yemen</u> represent [...]	63h	-
ACC	wa-'akkada [...] 'anna 'amna wa-stiqrāra wa-wahdata el-yaman yumattīlu [sic] [...]	And he said [...] that <u>the security, stability, and unity of Yemen represents</u> [sic] [...]	63	-
ACC	wa-'awḍaḥa [...] 'anna 'alā l-muḡtama'i l-duwaliyyi da'ma wa-musānadata hāḍihi l-'amaliyyati	And he clarified [...] that the international community should <u>backup and support this operation</u>	69	-
GEN	[...] li-ḡtimā'āti baršelūna [...] min 'aḡli 'amni wa-stiqrāri wa-tanmiyati libiyā	[...] of the Barcelona meetings [...] for the <u>security, stability, and development of Libya</u>	70	280
GEN	[...] li-ḡawti wa-tašḡīli l-lāḡi'ina l-filasṭīniyyīna	[...] for <u>the relief and employment of the Palestinian refugees</u>	72	-
GEN	[...] li-ḡuḡūṭin ḡayri ṭabī'iyatin [...] fī naqli 'aw 'iqālati muntasibīna [...]	[...] to abnormal pressure [...] to <u>transfer or dismiss associates</u> [...]	74	490
GEN	'akkadat [...] ḡāḡata bilādiḥa l-māssata li-'iqāmati wa-tašḡīli markazin wāḥidin 'alā l-'aḡalli [...]	stressed [...] her country's urgent need to <u>establish and operate</u> at least one centre [...]	77	-

3.8. The polyheaded genitive annexation (iḍāfa, 'iqḥām)

Case	Arabic	Translation	A	Ex
GEN	10 buldānin <u>munhafidati wa-mutawassitati</u> l-daḥli	10 <u>low- and middle-income</u> countries	84	-
GEN	ša'ada [...] taḥarrukātihi l-muṭālibata <u>bi-stiqlāli wa-sti'ādati</u> dawlati l-ḡanūbi l-sābiqi	Escalated [...] its movements calling for <u>the independence and restoration of the former state of South [Yemen]</u>	89	-
GEN	[...] fi kāffati maḡālāti 'intāḡi wa-naqli wa-tawzī'i l-kahrabā'i [...]	[...] in all fields of <u>production, transmission, and distribution of electricity</u> [...]	93	194
GEN	[...] ḥawla 'uslūbi wa-'idārati ṣiyānati l-muḡamma'āti l-sakaniiyati l-muštarakati	[...] concerning the <u>method and management of the maintenance of common residential complexes</u>	110	322
GEN	[...] <u>li-barlamāni wa-hukūmati</u> 'iskutlandā	[...] to the <u>parliament and government of Scotland</u>	111	-
GEN	[...] 'indamā qāmat quwwātuhā <u>bi-nabši wa-tahtīmi</u> ba'ḍi l-qubūri	[...] as its forces <u>dug up and destroyed some of its graves</u>	128	-

3.9. The grammar of 'āḥar# in the context of numbers

The 162nd most frequent type in the corpus is |xr, آخر, 'āḥVr, attested 24x (see 3.4.3.1), and in the corpus vocalized as either 'āḥaru, 'āḥara, or 'āḥirVn. This chapter discusses the syntax of 'āḥar# in the context of Media Arabic and describes its syntax in the context of numbers.

As a lexical item, the masculine singular 'āḥar# is a diptote 'af'al nominal. In connection with numbers, it is attested in the feminine singular 'uḥrā, a probable dual 'āḥarayni, and the sound plural *status absolutus* and *determinatus* in the nominative and the oblique case, 'āḥarūna and 'āḥarīna.²⁵⁸

3.9.1. 'āḥarayni

The dual is attested 1x in the corpus, in connection with a number as an adjectival attribute to the number *itnayni*, 'two', used as a direct object to the verb *i'taqalat* in Article 51: [...] *wa-taqalat filasṭīniyyayni inayni, kamā taqalati inayni 'āḥarayni min 'arīḥā* [...], '[...] and it arrested **two others** from Jericho [...]' (Example 720). The expected dual²⁵⁹ 'āḥarayni agrees in number, gender, and case as an adjective with the number as its head, the masculine *itnayni*, 'two', here used in the meaning of 'two [male] persons'. The number *itnayni* is in the *status absolutus*, i.e. with a retained word-final nasal, as evident in the consonantal script.

3.9.2. (al-) 'uḥrā

The indeclinable feminine singular 'uḥrā is attested 4x with numbers: 3x indefinite and 1x definite.²⁶⁰

The definite feminine singular is found in Article 85: [...] *'illā 'anna l-'ahzāba l-sab 'ata l-'uḥrā l-mutamattilata fi-l-barlamāni* [...], '[...] the other seven parties [...]' . Here, the number *al-sab 'ata* is used as a postmodifier to

²⁵⁸ In the corpus, there are 35x 'uḥrā without dots under yā', and *al-'uḥrā* 8x times; 8x 'uḥrā spelled with dots under yā': 4x in the transition phrase *wa-min ḡihatīn 'uḥrā* (Articles 24, 25, 31, and 66); and 3x in the transition phrase *wa-min nāḥiyatīn 'uḥrā* (2x in Article 69, and 1x in Article 70), and 1x in *wa-buldān# 'uḥrā* (last words of Article 131). The diptote plural 'uḥar# is unattested in the corpus, as are the constructs 'āḥarū and 'āḥarī, and the feminine 'uḥrāyāt#. By comparison, the word 'āḥir# is attested, as is 'āḥīran (1x, Article 128, for which, see 6.8.3.3). 'āḥirat# is unattested.

²⁵⁹ I write "expected", since the dual is optional or even disfavoured for lexical nouns describing humans in e.g. Cairene Arabic: e.g. *itnēn dakātra* rather than *itnēn doktōrēn*, 'two doctors'.

²⁶⁰ The attestation from Article 21 could also be adduced: *ḥaytu naḥḥaḍat darbatan ḡawwiyyatan bi-l-qurbi min saddi el-mūṣul wa-'uḥrā bi-l-qurbi min baldati 'āmerlī šamāla el-'irāq*, '[...] **and another one** [...]' (Example 340).

the definite plural head *al- 'aḥzāba* to which it agrees in definiteness and case, 'the seven parties'. The rule of gender polarity to the singular of the counted noun is observed: *ḥizb#*, '(political) party' is masculine, and the number has the *tā' marbūṭa* as expected. The word *al- 'uḥrā* is used as an attributive adjective and agrees maximally with its inanimate head, comparable to an attestation of 'uḥrā outside the context of numbers later in the same Article 85: *wa- 'akkada [...] 'annahu yamuddu yadahu 'ilā " 'aḥzābin dīmuqrāṭiyyatin 'uḥrā "* [...], '[...] to **other democratic parties** [...]' (Example 646).

The indefinite feminine singular 'uḥrā is attested 3x in the context of numbers. All attestations will be cited and discussed.

Article 5: [...] *fīmā lā tazālu tataqaddamu min talātati maḥāwira 'uḥrā wa-lā tazālu l-iṣṭibākātu 'anīfatan* [...], '[...] from three other axes [...]' (Example 249). The cardinal number 'three' is the head of a nominal phrase. The counted noun *mīḥwarun* (pl. *maḥāwiru*) is masculine in the singular, and so the number 'three' has the *tā' marbūṭa*, and the counted noun is annexed in the genitive plural. The indefinite feminine singular 'uḥrā agrees as an attributive adjective to the counted noun, i.e. to the broken plural *maḥāwira*, rather than with the number, as in the case with the definite in Article 85: *l- 'aḥzāba l-sab'ata l- 'uḥrā*. This agreement is similar to e.g. the attributive adjective 'askariyyatin in the context of a cardinal number in Article 90, where the counted noun is feminine in the singular: [...] *qāla [...] 'inna qatar 'arsalat talāta ṭā'iratin 'askariyyatin* [...]; and with animate humans in the plural in Article 110: [...] 'a *lana mas 'ulū wizārati l-difā 'i l- 'amrīkiyyati* [...] 'annahu tamma l- 'uṭūru 'alā *talātati ḡunūdīn 'afḡānīn kānu yatadarrabūna fī-l-* [...], where the postmodifying relative clause also agrees with the plurality of the counted noun. A similar agreement of a relative clause is also seen e.g. in Article 21: *wa- 'awḍaḥati l-maṣādiru 'anna quwwāti el-bišmerka ṣṭabakat* [...] *ma 'a 'anāsiri l-dawlati l- 'islāmiyyati fī 'āḥiri talāti manāṭiqa taqa 'u fī-l-ḡihati l-ḡanūbiyyati* [...], '[...] in the last three areas located in [...]' . Typically, to sum up, the adjective agrees with the counted noun, not with the number. This is also the case with 'uḥrā in Article 5, *min talātati maḥāwira 'uḥrā*.

The second attestation of the indefinite 'uḥrā with numbers in the corpus is found in Article 61: *wa-tataqdammanu l-musā 'adātu mustalzamātīn ṭibbiyyatin bi-qīmati 100 'alfi ḡinēh li-sīrāliyyūn wa-150 'alfa ḡinēh li-ḡīniyā kūnākri wa-ka-dālika 150 'alfa ḡinēh li-lībīriyā, bi-l- 'idāfati 'ilā mu 'addātin ma 'maliyyatin bi-qīmati 150 'alfa ḡinēh 'uḥrā muqaddamat#²⁶¹ 'ilā lībīriyā*, '[...] in addition to laboratory equipment at a worth of **another 150 thousand [Egyptian] pounds** provided to Liberia'. I refrain from adding cases to *ḡinēh*. Its expected morphology after the cardinal number 'thousand' would be the genitive singular. In this example, 'uḥrā agrees with the counted currency,

²⁶¹ For a discussion of *muqaddamat#n*, see 6.4.5.2.

ḡinēh, not to the head number ’alfa, ‘thousand’, in which case it would have been masculine, ’āḥara.

The third and last attestation of the indefinite feminine ’uḥrā in combination with numbers is in Article 82: *wa-’ašārati l-ṣaḥīfatu ’ilā ’anna l-ḥuṭṭata sa-tataḍammanu ziyādata muṣāarakati l-ḡayši l-’amrīkiyyi fī mu’āḡalati ’aswa’a tafaššin li-fayrūs al-’ibūlā l-qātili, muḍṭifatan ’anna ’ūbāmā qad yaṭlubu mina l-kūnḡris#88 milyūna dūlārin ’idāfiyyat#li-tamwīli qtirāhihi. fī ḡudūni dālika, ’a’lanat wikālatu l-tanmiyyati l-duwaliyyati l-’amrīkiyyati ’an taqdīmi ḥamsati malāyīna dūlārin ’amrīkiyyin ’uḥrā li-musā’adati libīriyā fī «harbiḥā ḍidda» l-’ibūlā, ‘[...] **another five million American dollars** [...]’.* The numeral *ḥamsati* has the expected *tā’ marbūṭa* because *milyūn#* is masculine; *milyūn#*, in turn, stands in the expected genitive plural in combination with the cardinal number five: *ḥamsati malāyīna*. The indefinite ’uḥrā agrees fully to *malāyīna*, as if this were the counted noun (rather than part of the number). ’uḥrā does clearly not agree with the masculine noun *dūlārin*, nor is it best explained in relation to the first number *ḥamsati*. Compare this to the attestation in Article 72: *wa-ḍakarati l-wizārata ’anna 2200 ṭālibin fi-lasfīniyyin qutilū [...], ‘[...] 2200 Palestinian students were killed [...],* where the adjective Palestinian clearly agrees with the counted noun, as it is not in the dual; the verb, moreover, is in the plural. As observed in the discussion in relation to the attestation of ’uḥrā in Article 5 above, the typical agreement of a postmodifier is to the counted noun.

As a preamble to the discussion of ’āḥarūna and ’āḥarīna, all remaining examples from the corpus with adjectival postmodifiers to counted nouns will be adduced (3.9.2.1–3.9.2.5).

The headline of Article 96 reads *al-’i’dāmu li-12 ḡundiyyan mutamarri-dan fī nīḡīriyā*, ‘12 rebel soldiers executed in Nigeria’, where the participle *mutamarri-dan* is marked for the accusative in the Arabic text, and thus cannot agree with the genitive number which is governed by *li-*.²⁶² Agreement of postmodifiers with the counted noun is also the best explanation in all other attestations of adjectival postmodifiers to a counted noun in combination with an indefinite cardinal number (>2) in the corpus.²⁶³

²⁶² Headline, Article 96: الإعدام لـ12 جندياً متمرداً في نيجيريا.

²⁶³ Constructions with *min* are not included in the list, e.g. Article 113: [...] *istaqbalat sab ’atan min qiyādāti l-ḡamā’ati l-mustab’adīna min qaṭar*. Plural numbers are also not included, e.g. Article 21: [...] *wuqū’# ’ašārati l-qatlā wa-l-muṣābīna* [...]. The percentages in Article 107 are excluded: *n.n% ’idāfiyyat#(2x)* (where *n* = figure). Dates are also excluded, e.g. Article 114: *fī 12 ’uktūbir al-muḡbil#*. To the list should be adduced the *trajectio* of Article 24: [...] *ḍakarati [...] ’anna maḡmū’atan musallaḥatan min ’arba’i nisā’in tābi’atan li-munazzamati ḥizbi l-’ummālī l-kurdistanīyyi l-infiṣāliyyati ḥtaṭafat 4 qarawīyyīna* [...]. Here, the adjective *tābi’at#* is not to *nisā’in*, nor to the number *’arba’#*, but in *trajectio* to *maḡmū’at#*; the author uses a similar *trajectio* between *munazzamat#* and *infiṣāliyyat#*. Cf. also *li-muddati 24 šahrān muqas-samatan ’ilā ṭalāti marāḥila* [...] (Example 504; discussed in 6.4.5.3).

In sections 3.9.2.1–3.9.2.5, examples where the counted noun denotes masculine humans are marked with the symbol { ♂ }, and examples where the adjective agrees as a *constructio ad sensum* to the counted noun contrary to strict grammatical rules are marked with the symbol { ≡≡≡ }. Examples where the counted noun violates prescriptive grammar are marked with the imperative **NOTA!**. As illustrated by the examples, *constructio ad sensum* is optional with counted nouns denoting humans.

3.9.2.1. Numbers ending in 3–10 (+ genitive plural)

Three

Article 63: [...] *fī talāti haḡamātin munfaṣīlatin* [...]

Article 90: [...] *qaṭar 'arsalat talāta tū 'irātin 'askariyyatin* [...]

Article 110: [...] *miṣr 'araḡat [...] talātata maṣār'ta muḡatlifatin* [...]

Article 64: *al-munazzamat# talaqqat 3 da 'awātin min 3 duwalin 'arabiyyatin li-stiḡāfati l-mu'tamari* (Example 637).

Four

♂ Article 6 (lead): *'afraḡat [...] 'an 4 ḡunūdin lubnāniyyīna wa-'unṣurin fī quwā l-'amni l-dāḡiliyyi* [...]

♂ Article 62: [...] *naqalat [...] 'an mas'ūlin [...] qawlahu 'inna 'arba'ata ḡunūdin 'ūkrāniyyīna qutīlū* [...]

Five

Article 44: [...] *fī ḡamsi niḡāṭin mutafarriqatin* [...]

Article 80: [...] *'alā ḡamsi madārīsa btīdā'iyatin* [...]

Article 86: [...] *bi-'akbari ḡamsi iṣābātin 'iḡrāmiyyatin fī-l-'ālamī* [...]

♂ Article 76: *ittaḡaḡat sīrlīf qarāran bi-'iqālati 'aṣarati mas'ūlīna ḡukūmiyyīna bi-sababi* [...]

Article 80 (headline): *haḡamātun bi-l-mūlūtūf 'alā 5 madārīsa turkiyyatin*

Six

Article 40: [...] *bi-qaṣfi sittati mawāqi'a tābi'atin lahum* [...] (Example 562)

NOTA! Article 123: [...] *inṭilāqan min 6 mīl# baḡriyy#* [sic] (Example 174)

Ten

Article 84: [...] *’anna 10 buldānin munḥafidati wa-mutawassiḥati l-dahlī* [...]

≡≡≡ Article 86 (*constructio ad sensum* ⇒ ♂): [...] *yaqūlu [...] ’inna tilka l-’iṣābata tata’allaḥu min 10 faṣā’ila²⁶⁴ munfaṣilīna* ya’malūna bi-darağatin istiqlāliyyatin [...]

Article 123: [...] *wa-li-muddati ’aṣarati ’ayyāmin mutaqaṭṭi’atin* [...]

3.9.2.2. Numbers ending in 11–19 (+ accusative singular)

Article 59 (headline): *ḥayrūs nādir yağtāhu 12 wilāyatan ’amrīkiyyatan*

Article 21: [...] *wağğāhū 16 ḍarbatan ġawwiyyatan li-*[...]

3.9.2.3. Numbers ending in 20, 30, 40, ..., 90 (+ accusative singular)

Article 53: [...] *ḥawālay 30 dawlatan wa-20 mu’assasatan duwaliyyatan bi-l-’idāfati ilā ’aṣarāti l-mu’assasāti l-ḥāṣṣati*

Article 53 (case in consonantal text): *wa-sa-ta’riḍu tūnis ’alā l-mušārikīna fī ḥādā l-mu’tamati «22 maṣrū’an kabīran ġāhīzan li-l-’ingāzi»*

Article 21: *’a lanat [...] tawğṭha ṭayarāni l-ğayši 23 ḍarbatan ġawwiyyatan istahdafat* [...]

Article 15 (case in consonantal text): [...] *sa-tursilu 30 ṣārūḥan muḍāddan li-l-dabbābāti wa-qāḍifāti l-ṣawārīhi, ’idāfatan ilā [...]*

Article 126: [...] *’asmā’# ’aktara min 130 šarikatan šniyyatan* [...]

♂ Article 9: [...] *ḥaṭafa ’aktara min 40 ġundiyyan fiğṭiyyan fī [...]*

Article 72: *qālat wizāratu l-tarbiyyati wa-l-ta’līmi fī ġazza ’inna 150 madrasatan ḥukūmiyyatan taḍarrarat fī-l-ḥuğūmi l-’isrā’iliyyi llaḍī [...]*

(NOTA!?) Article 42 (final sentence): *wa-yu’akkidu l-taqrīru ’annahu munḍu ’āmi 2011, hunāka mā lā yaqillu ’an 64 ḥukūmatan ’ağnabiyyatan wa-munazzamātīn ḥukūmiyyatan* [?] *’ashamat fī 28 munazzamatan ’abḥāṭīn tābi’atan li-l-ḥukūmati l-’amrīkiyyati*

3.9.2.4. Numbers ending in 100, 200, 300, ..., 900, or 1000, 2000, 3000, ... (+ genitive singular)

♂ ≡≡≡ Article 3 (*constructio ad sensum*): [...] *hunāka mā bayna ’alfi wa-sittimi’atin wa-’alfay ’irḥābiyyin mudarrabīna wa-mi’atay imra’atin tamma tadrībuhunna ’alā stiḥdāmi l-’asliḥati l-nāriyyati* [...] (Example 686)

♂ Article 21: [...] *’ilā wuğūdi ’aktara min milyūni wa-200 ’alfa nāziḥin ’irāqiyyin* [...]

²⁶⁴ *faṣīlatun*, pl. *faṣā’ilu*, ‘squad, group, cell’. The passage, from Article 86 about criminal gangs, is cited without translation in Example (117).

3.9.2.5. Millions and billions (+ genitive singular)

♂ Article 71 (lead): *baynamā yabda'u 4,3 milyūn# ṭālibin sūriyyin 'āman dirāsiyyan ḡadīdan [...]*. (Example 224)²⁶⁵

NOTA! Article 82: [...] *muḏīfatan 'anna 'ūbāmā yaṭlubu mina l-kūnḡris# 88 milyūna dūlārin 'idāfiyyat# li-tamwīli qtirāḥihi*

Article 37: *ḥaytu naḥtāḡu 'ilā 7 miliyārāti dūlārin lubnāniyyin ḥilāla 15 'āman [...]*

The example from Article 82 is remarkable: *88 milyūna dūlārin 'idāfiyyat#*, 'an additional 88 million dollar'. Unlike adjectives in all other examples, the adjective *'idāfiyyat#* appears to agree with the number, if at all.²⁶⁶

As a reference for the masculine plural *constructio ad sensum*, compare the verb in Article 62: [...] *'anna 29 ḡundiyyan 'uṣṭbū 'aydan ḥilāla fatrati l-hudnati [...]*, and Article 50, with an inanimate subject: *wa-fi-l-waḡti naṣṣihi, 'a 'lana l-nāṭiqu l-rasmiyyu bi-smi mā yu 'rafu bi-l-[-...]* *'anna 12 ṣārūḡan 'uṭliqū min minṭaḡati warṣefāna 'alā maḏīnati el-zāwiya al-lībiyyati*. This last example is remarkable as the subject noun of the relative clause is inanimate.

3.9.2.6. Summary: (al-) 'uḥrā

In summary, *ergo*, the indefinite feminine *'uḥrā* mirrors the syntax of the definite *al-'uḥrā*. With the exception of *'idāfiyyat#* in Article 82, *'uḥrā* behaves like all other adjectival attributes by agreeing with the counted noun in connection with cardinal numbers in the corpus. The attestation of *'uḥrā* in Article 82 differs, in that it agrees with *malāyīna* in the phrase *ḡamsati malāyīna dūlārin 'amrīkiyyin 'uḥrā*. Nevertheless, this aberrant example no doubt is best explained by understanding *malāyīna* to be the counted noun of *ḡamsati*, by which the agreement of *'uḥrā* does not differ from the typical agreement of adjectival attributives to counted nouns in connection with cardinal numbers in the corpus. An investigation into *milyūn#* was not conducted; it is, together with *milyār#*, *'idāfiyyat#*, currencies, and numbers in general, left as *desiderata* for future research.

3.9.3. 'āḥar#

The masculine singular *'āḥar#* is unattested in connection with cardinal numbers. In the wider semantic sphere, it is attested together with *'adad#* as

²⁶⁵ This finite article-initial subordination is discussed in 5.3.3.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Article 107: [...] *bi-zīyādati 'iḡmāliyyi l-nāṭiḡi l-maḡalliyyi bi-nisbatī 1,8% 'idāfiyyatin [...]* (Example 535). The same ellipsis cannot be assumed with *88 milyūn#*.

the head in the meaning of 'another number', 2x in Article 20: [...] *mimmā 'addā 'ilā maqtalin naḥwa ḥamsati ḡunūdin wa-'adadin 'āḥara mina l-ḡarḥā* [...], and [...] *mubāšaratan qabla 'an tubāšira quwwātu l-ḡayši tabādula 'iṭlāqi l-nāri ma 'a 'adadin 'āḥara min 'a 'dā'i el-qā'ida* (both in Example 236).

In summary, the masculine singular 'āḥar# here is best explained as in agreement to its head in definiteness, gender, case, and number as a diptote attributive adjective.

3.9.4. 'āḥarūna and 'āḥarīna

The following two sections (3.9.4.1–3.9.4.2) are focused on all the 10x attestations in the declined plural 'āḥarīna: 9x indefinite and 1x definite (Article 48), and the 9x attestations of the nominative 'āḥarūna, always spelled اخرون, and never definite. The meaning is in all cases 'other(s)', whether used as an attributive adjective or substantivated as a noun.

With a caveat for the optional *constructio ad sensum*, the syntax of adjectives typically involves attributive agreement with the counted noun, as demonstrated in the discussion of 'uḥrā above, e.g. in Article 9: *tabannā* [...] *ḥatfa 'aktara min 40 ḡundiyyan fḡiyyan fī* [...], 'claimed responsibility [...] for kidnapping more than **40 Fijian soldiers** in [...]. In order to elucidate the diverging syntax of 'āḥarīna and 'āḥarūna in this context, all attestations of the sound plurals of 'āḥar# will need to be discussed, beginning with the oblique form.

3.9.4.1. 'āḥarīna: 9x indefinite, 1x definite

There are three constructions of 'āḥarīna: following numbers (7x times), used to separate the actants via the substantivated 'āḥarīna, 'others' (2x), and 1x in the definite as an attributive modifier to a definite head noun in the meaning 'other(s)'.

We will begin with the two less frequent constructions. In Article 13, Example (183), the indefinite 'āḥarīna separates two events by introducing a new genitive subject.

183. Article 13, 'āḥarīna, genitive subject

وجاءت عملية احتلال مبنى التلفزيون التي دامت لنصف ساعة عقب اشتباكات عنيفة دارت بين قوات مكافحة الشغب وأتباع قادة الاحتجاجات عمران خان لاعب الكريكت السابق ورجل الدين طاهر القادري حيث قام	wa-ḡā'at 'amaliyyatu ḥtīlālī mabnā l-tilīfīzyōn allatī dāmat li-niṣfi sā'atin 'aqība štībākātīn 'anīfatin dārat bayna quwwāti mukāfaḥati l-šaḡabi wa-'atbā'i qādati l- iḥtiḡāḡātī 'imrān ḥān lā'ibi l-krīkīt al-sābiqi wa-raḡuli l-dīni ṭāher el-qādirī ḥayṭu qāma l-mutaḏāḥirūna bi-rašqi	And the occupation of the TV building which lasted for half an hour came after violent clashes that took place be- tween anti-riot police and followers of the leaders of the protests Imran Khan the for- mer cricket player and the cleric Tahir-ul-Qadiri, as the

المتظاهرون برشق
رجال الشرطة بالحجارة
وتحطيم عدد من
الدراجات البخارية
بالبهراوات، فيما ردت
الشرطة بقنابل الغاز
المسيلة للدموع التي بدت
عديمة الفائدة وسط
الأمطار الغزيرة التي
شهدتها العاصمة إسلام
آباد. تزامن ذلك مع
محاولة آخرين اقتحام
عدد من المباني
الحكومية الموجودة في
المنطقة الحمراء، حيث
مقر اعتصام
المتظاهرين، لكن قوات
الأمن تمكنت من ردهم
وهم على أعقاب منزل
رئيس الوزراء نواز
شریف.

riğāli l-šurṭati bi-l-ḥiğārati
wa-taḥṭīmi 'adadin mina l-
darrāğāti l-buḥāriyyati bi-l-
hirāwāti, fīmā raddati
l-šurṭatu bi-qanābili l-ğāzi l-
musīlati li-l-dumū'i llatī ba-
dat 'adīmata l-fā'idati waṣṭa
l-'amṭāri l-ğazīrati llatī
šahidathā l-'āsimatu 'islām
'ābād. **tazāmana ḍālīka**
ma'a muḥāwalati 'aḥarīna
qtiḥāma 'adadin mina l-
mabādī l-ḥukūmiyyati
l-mawğūdati fi-l-mintaqati l-
ḥamrā'i ,ḥaytu maqarru
'tišāmi l-mutaḏāhirīna,
lākinna quwwāti l-'amni
tamakkanat min raddihim
wa-hum 'alā 'a'tābi manzili
ra'īsi l-wuzarā'i nawāz šarīf.

demonstrators took to throw-
ing stones at the policemen
and destroying a number of
motorbikes with batons, and
[as] the police responded
with tear gas bombs, which
[however] appeared useless
amid the torrential rains
which the capital Islamabad
experiences. **This coincided**
with attempts of others to
storm a number of govern-
mental buildings present in
the red zone, where the head-
quarters of the sit-in of the
demonstrators is, but the se-
curity forces managed to re-
spond to them as they were
on the doorstep of the prime
minister Nawaz Sharif's
house.

Moreover, in Example (594) from Article 15, the indefinite 'aḥarīna is used to widen the association of a word within a given context by introducing unnamed actants in connection with a more specific first noun: *wa qāla 'inna l-sa'ūdiyyīna wa-'aḥarīna mutašakkikūna [...]*, 'the Saudis **and others** are sceptical [...]'. This instance is best explained as a substantivization.

In the following Example Article 48, 'aḥarīna is used in a similar way as in Example (183), but attributively in the definite as an adjective: *ladā muharribī l-muḥaddarāti wa-l-muğrimīna l-'aḥarīna*.

184. Article 48, wa-l-muğrimīna l-'aḥarīna

وترجح المنظمة أن
تكون الخسائر أكبر من
ذلك لأن تقديراتها لا
تشتمل على تجارة
تهريب الأموال
الضخمة - وهي طريقة
مفضلة لدى مهربي
المخدرات والمجرمين
الأخرين - في هيئة
خدمات أو تحويلات
مالية بين أذرع
المؤسسات المتعددة
الجنسيات.

wa-turağğīhu l-munazzam-
atu 'an takūna l-ḥasā'iru
'akbara min ḍālīka li-'anna
taqdīrātihā lā taštamilu 'alā
tiğārati tahrībi l-'amwāli l-
ḍaḥmati - wa-hiya ṭarīqatun
mufaḍḍalatun **ladā muhar-**
ribī l-muḥaddarāti wa-l-
muğrimīna l-'aḥarīna - fi
hay'ati ḥidamātin 'aw
taḥwīlātīn māliyyatīn bayna
'adru'i l-mu'assasāti l-
muta'addidati l-ğinsiyyāti.

And the [International Finan-
cial Integrity] Organization
thinks it probable that the
losses will be greater than this,
because their estimations do
not take into account the huge
money smuggling trade - and
this is the preferred method **by**
drug smugglers and other
criminals - in the form of ser-
vices and transfers between
different branches of multina-
tional corporations.

With numbers, 'āḥarīna is attested 7x. Syntactically, all numbers in the context of 'āḥarīna are cardinal numbers in the genitive; genitive because of a preposition, or because the number stands as a genitive subject to a verbal noun. In the construction with a preposition, there is 1x odd Example (185), Article 131, *ma'a 200 'āḥarīna*. In all other examples with 'āḥarīna and numbers (186–191), 'āḥarīna appears in conjunction with the verb 'uṣība, 'was injured' (1x in the finite passive, 'uṣība 'akṭara min [...] (lead of Article 3), and 5x times as a genitive subject with the verbal noun).

185. Article 131 (final paragraph, background description), *ma'a 200 'āḥarīna*

وكان الجنود الثلاثة في الولايات المتحدة للتدريب في معسكر إدواردز مع ٢٠٠ آخرين من الجنود والمدنيين من الولايات المتحدة وبلدان أخرى.	wa-kāna l-ḡunūdu l-ṭalāṭatu fi-l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati li-l-tadribi fi mu'askari 'edwārdz ma'a 200 'āḥarīna mina l-ḡunūdi wa-l-madaniyyīna mina l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati wa-buldānin 'uḥrā.	And the three soldiers were in the United States in order to train at Camp Edwards together with 200 other[s of the] soldiers and civilians from the United States and other countries.

186. Article 3 (lead), 'akṭaru min 400 'āḥarīna

في تصعيد خطير للأوضاع السياسية المتأزمة في البلاد، لقي شخصان على الأقل مصرعها وأصيب أكثر من ٤٠٠ آخرين إثر اشتباكات بين الشرطة الباكستانية ومنتظاهرين في العاصمة إسلام آباد عقب تحول الاحتجاجات المطالبة باستقالة رئيس الحكومة نواز شريف إلى مواجهات تخليها إطلاق رصاص مطاطي وغاز مسيل للدموع، وهو ما دفع الحكومة الباكستانية إلى السعي لاستئناف المفاوضات مع الجماعات المعارضة لاحتواء الموقف المتفجر.	fī taṣ'īdin ḥaṭīrin li-l-'awḍā'i l-siyāsiyyati l-muta'azzimati fi-l-bilādi, laqiya šaḥṣāni 'alā l-'aḡalli maṣra'ahā wa-'uṣība 'akṭaru min 400 'āḥarīna 'itra štibākātin bayna l-šurṭati l-bākistāniyyati wa-mutazāhirīna fī l-'āṣimati 'islān [sic] 'ābād 'aqība taḥawwuli l-iḥtiḡāḡāti l-muṭālibati bi-stiḡālati ra'isi l-ḥukūmati nawāz šarīf 'ilā muwāḡahātin taḥallalahā 'iṭlāqu rašāšin maṭṭāṭiyyin wa-ḡāzin musīlin li-l-dumū'i, wa-huwa mā dafa'a l-ḥukūmata l-bākistāniyyata 'ilā l-sa'yi li-sti'nāfi l-mufāwaḡāti ma'a l-ḡamā'āti l-mu'āridāti li-'iḥtiwā'i l-mawqifi l-mutafaḡḡiri.	And in a dangerous escalation of the critical political situation in the country, two persons met their fate [died] and more than 400 others were wounded in clashes between the Pakistani police and demonstrators in the capital Islamabad after the turning of the protests demanding the resignation of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif into confrontations that the firing of rubber bullets and tear gas interspersed, something which prompted the Pakistani government to seek to resume the negotiations with the opposition groups to contain the volatile situation.

187. Article 21, wa- 'iṣābati sab 'ati# 'āḥarīna

ما أسفر عن مقتل أربعة أشخاص وإصابة سبعة آخرين.	[...] mā 'asfara 'an maqtali 'arba'ati 'aṣḥāšin wa- 'iṣābati sab 'ati 'āḥarīna.	[...] which resulted in the killing of four persons and the wounding of seven oth- ers.

188. Article 35, wa- 'iṣābati talāṭati# 'āḥarīna

مما أسفر عن مقتل 6 من قوات البشمركة بينهم ضابط برتبة مقدم وإصابة ثلاثة آخرين بجروح .	[...] mimmā 'asfara 'an maqtali 6 min quwwāti el- bišmerka baynahum dābiṭun bi-rutbati muqaddimin wa- 'iṣābati talāṭati# 'āḥarīna bi-ḡurūḥin .	[...] which resulted in the kill- ing of 6 from the Peshmerga forces among whom one of- ficer with the rank of lieutenant colonel and the wounding of three others with injuries.

189. Article 35 (excerpt from final paragraph, final clauses), wa- 'iṣābati 14 'āḥarīna

ما أدى إلى مقتل 32 شخصا وإصابة 14 آخرين وإحراق 10 سيارات.	[...] mā 'addā 'ilā maqtali 32 šaḥṣan wa- 'iṣābati 14 'āḥarīna wa- 'ihrāqi 10 sayyārātin.	[...] which led to the killing of 32 persons and the wounding of 14 others and the burning of 10 cars.

190. Article 40 (part of lead), wa- 'iṣābati 3 'āḥarīna

، مما أسفر عن سقوط قتيلة وإصابة ٣ آخرين،	[...], mimmā 'asfara 'an suqūṭi qatīlatin wa- 'iṣābati 3 'āḥarīna, [...]	[...], which resulted in the falling of one dead and the wounding of 3 others , [...]

191. Article 70, wa- 'iṣābati 'aḡtara min 18 'āḥarīna

وسط قصف مستمر أدى أمس إلى مقتل ٥ أشخاص وإصابة أكثر من ١٨ آخرين	[...] waṣṭa qaṣfīn mustamir- rin 'addā 'amsi 'ilā maqtali 5 'aṣḥāšin wa- 'iṣābati 'aḡtara min 18 'āḥarīna [...]	[...] amid continuous bombard- ment which yesterday led to the killing of 5 persons and the wounding of more than 18 oth- ers [...]

The contexts of use in the latter six, Examples (186)–(191), are narrow, stating numbers for killings and wounded. In all these cases except 1x (the lead of Article 3, Example 186), 'āḥarīna follows the verbal noun 'iṣābati and an exact cardinal number, a number which in 1x attestation (Article 70, Example 191) is rendered inexact via 'aḡtara min. The genitive 'iṣābati is the second in a list, following an expression of killing (4x maqtali, 1x suqūṭi); the list of genitives is governed by a resumptive expression with the verbal phrase 'asfara 'an, 'caused' (3x) or 'addā 'ilā, 'led to' (2x), to express the consequences of a previously mentioned violent event (clashes, bombardment, bus accident, etc). The violent event is picked up via mā (2x) or mimmā (2x)

or as an asyndetic relative clause (1x, Article 70); in the lead of Article 3, this event instead follows the construction, *'itra štibākātīn bayna [...]*, 'following clashes between [...]', where the finite passive verb *'uṣība* is used instead of the verbal noun (for leads, see 1.4.8). In Example (187) from Article 21, the syntax of *'āḥarīna* is paralleled in what precedes: *mā 'asfara 'an maqtali 'arba 'ati 'aṣḥāšin wa-'iṣābati sab 'ati# 'āḥarīna*.

The context of use for *'āḥarīna*, then, is typically narrow.

According to prescriptive grammar, only the counted noun for the numbers 3–10 should be in the genitive plural; for the numbers 11–99 it should be in the accusative singular, and for hundreds, thousands, millions, and billions it should be in the genitive singular (for details, see e.g. Ryding 2010: 335ff.). This syntax is typically observed in the corpus. In Articles 35 and 70 (Examples 188 and 191), the preceding phrases also contain numbers, and contrary to the instance with the word *'āḥarīna*, they follow the typical rules for the counted noun. In Article 70 (we will return to Article 35 under the discussion of *'āḥarūna* below²⁶⁷): the phrase *maqtali 5 'aṣḥāšin* precedes the phrase *'iṣābati 'aktara min 18 'āḥarīna*, where the lack of the accusative *'alif* in *'aṣḥāš#* suggests that we read the expected genitive; the other numbers in this article include *24 šahrān*, *ṭamāniyatu 'aṣḥur[in]*, and *8 'aṣḥāš[in]*. Example 186, *wa-'uṣība 'aktaru min 400 'āḥarīna 'itra [...]* should be compared to the headline of the same Article 3: *qatīlāni wa-'aktaru min 400 muṣābin fī štibākātīn bayna l-ṣurṭati wa-l-mutaḏāhirīna fī bākistān*.

In the corpus, *'āḥarīna* follows the numbers 400, 7, 3, 14, 3, and 18. That is to say that the oblique case plural can be explained by traditional grammar in a mere 50% of the cases, and in addition, one of these cases is not necessarily explained by traditional grammar on the basis that it is found in the same article where a divergence from this syntax also occurs, i.e. *wa-'iṣābati 14 'āḥarīna* (Article 35 above). The examples do not suggest that the authors of the articles lack traditional schooling—quite the contrary.

In the case of *'āḥarīna*, we are dealing with a consistent application of grammar specific to the word *'āḥarīna*. The use of the oblique case (genitive) plural is best explained as conditioned by the fact that the preceding cardinal number denotes more than two (>2) and stands in the genitive, conditioned by a preposition *'ilā*, *'an*, or *min*. What this means is that, if the number signifies more than two, the grammatical case and number of the counted noun *'āḥarīna* is not conditioned by the exact quantity of the cardinal number preceding it, nor by the counted noun, but by the case of the cardinal number preceding it.

²⁶⁷ Article 35 also contains *qutla 32 ṣaḥṣan wa-'uṣība 14 'āḥarūna [...]*, for a discussion of which, see below.

In summary, when 'āḥarīna follows a cardinal number ($n = \text{number} > 2$), it is the grammatical case of the preceding numeral that determines the number and grammatical case of 'āḥar#, not the quantity of the numeral (nor an elliptical noun). We will return to summarize the grammar of 'āḥarīna more comprehensively after a discussion of 'āḥarūna.

3.9.4.2. 'āḥarūna, 9x indefinite, 0x definite

Something similar to what was said about the oblique plural 'āḥarīna with numbers can be said of the nominative plural 'āḥarūna. Not only is its syntax and use narrow, in this case once again the grammatical case of the nominative 'āḥarūna is conditioned by the grammatical case of the preceding numeral, rather than by the quantity of the preceding cardinal number, as long as it signifies more than two. There is no need to assume an ellipsis of e.g. *šaḥṣ#*, *ašḥāṣ#*, as we shall see.

'āḥarūna is attested 9x times, always spelled *آخرون*, and never definite. In 8x of its 9x attestations, it is used with numbers: only in the lead of Article 119 is it used without a cardinal number as a typical substantivated noun (Example 192), similar to the substantivization in Example (594) from Article 15, *al-sa'ūdiyyīna wa-'āḥarīna*.

192. Article 119 (lead), *wa-'uṣība 'āḥarūna*

لقى شخصان مصرعهما
وأصيب آخرون بجروح
في سلسلة انفجارات
وقعت في مقاطعة
شينجيانج الواقعة شمال
غرب الصين والتي
تقطنها أغلبية من
الأويغور المسلمين
وشهدت العديد من
الاضطرابات العرقية.

laqiya šaḥṣāni maṣra'ahumā
wa-'uṣība 'āḥarūna bi-
ḡurūḥin fī silsilati
nfiḡārātīn waqa'at fī
muqāṭa'ati šingiyāng al-
wāqi'ati šamāla ḡarbi el-šin
wa-llatī taqtunuhā 'aḡlabiy-
yatun mina l-'uwīḡūr al-
muslimīna wa-šahidati l-
'adīda mina l-iḡṭirābātī l-
'irqiyyati.

Two people were killed **and others were wounded** with injuries in a series of explosions which happened in the province of Xinjiang which lies in north-western China and which a majority of the Muslim Uygurs inhabit and [which] has seen a number of instances of ethnic unrest.

Here, in one of the standardized variants of the *qutila* [...] *wa-'uṣība* phrase, the exact number of wounded is not given: the subject of the passive verb 'uṣība, 'have been injured', is in the expected nominative, 'āḥarūna.

In all other cases with 'āḥarūna, we find an interposed number (2x written with letters, only the number 'four', in Article 5 and Article 69). In all 9x attestations, 'āḥarūna occupies the subject slot of a passive finite verb, 8x together with a preceding number, similar to Example (192) from Article 119, *wa-'uṣība 'āḥarūna*. The nominative 'āḥarūna always occurs in the context of wounding, and in all cases but one also with killing: 7x times, the verb is 'uṣība (4x following either *qutila* or *qutilū*; and 3x times following the paraphrase *laqiya maṣra'a-h* with the same meaning, 'meet one's fate', 'be

killed'); there are two *hapax* verbs: 1x the verb is *ḡuriḥa* (following *qutīlū*), 'became wounded', and 1x it is the aberrant *u* *tuqila* (albeit following the verb *'uṣība*).

In short, the context of use of *'āḥarūna* is narrow. The phrases are the finite counterparts to the nominalized phrases with *'iṣābati n 'āḥarīna* above ($n = \text{number} > 2$). The syntax is consistent, but again unique for the plural of the lexical item *'āḥar#*.

The syntax and context of use is well explained by extending Example (189) from Article 35, in (193):

193. ' Article 35 (final paragraph), *āḥarīna* and *'āḥarūna*

وكان من المقرر أن
يتحدث أقارب الجنود
المخطوفين من تكريت
شمالي العاصمة العراقية
بغداد أمام البرلمان
للسؤال عن مصير
ذويهم. لكن شهودا قالوا
إن احتجاجاتهم أخذت
طابع العنف أمام
البرلمان وبعد ذلك
اقتحموا المبنى. ومن
ناحية أخرى، قتل 32
شخصا وأصيب 14
آخرون من النازحين
جاء قصف طائرات
عراقية مدرسة تأوي
لاجئين جنوبي محافظة
صلاح الدين شمال
بغداد. وقال شهود عيان
إن طائرات عراقية
قصفت مدرسة تأوي
لاجئين من منطقة
العوجة ما أدى إلى مقتل
32 شخصا وإصابة 14
آخرين وإحراق 10
سيارات.

wa-kāna mina l-muqarrari
'an yataḥaddaṭa 'aqrību li-
l-ḡunūdi l-maḥtūfīna min
tikrīt šamālī# l-'āšimati l-
'irāqīyyati baḡdād 'amāma
l-barlamāni li-l-su'ālī 'an
maṣīri ḡawīhim. lākinna
šuhūdan qālū 'inna
ḥtiḡāḡātīhim 'aḥaḍat ṭābi'a
l-'unfi 'amāma l-barlamāni
wa-ba'da ḡalika qtaḥamū l-
mabnā. wa-min nāḥiyatin
'uḥrā, qutīla 32 šaḥṣan wa-
'uṣība 14 'āḥarūna mina l-
nāziḥīna ḡarrā'a qaṣfi
ṭā'irātin 'irāqīyyatin mad-
rasatan ta'wī lāḡi'īna
ḡanūbī# muḥāfazati šalāḥ
el-dīn šamāla baḡdād. wa-
qāla šuhūdu 'iyānin 'inna
ṭā'irātin 'irāqīyyatan
qaṣafat madrasatan ta'wī
lāḡi'īna min minṭaqati el-
'awḡa mā 'addā 'ilā maqtali
32 šaḥṣan wa-'iṣābati 14
'āḥarīna wa-'iḥrāqi 10
sayyārātin.

And it was decided that relatives of the kidnapped soldiers from Tikrit north of the Iraqi capital Baghdad should talk before the parliament about the fate of their relatives. Witnesses, however, have said that their protests took a violent character in front of the parliament and after that they stormed the building. And on the other hand, 32 persons were killed **and 14 others** of the displaced **were wounded** in the bombing by an Iraqi plane of a school which shelters refugees south [in/of?] the Salah al-Din governorate north [of?]²⁶⁸ Baghdad. And eyewitnesses said that Iraqi planes bombed a school which shelters refugees from the al-Awja region which led to the killing of 32 persons **and the wounding of 14 others** and the burning of 10 cars.

The remaining attestations agree with the same rule: *'āḥarūna* is used with the finite verb if the subject is plural (>1 , or perhaps >2).

Article 5: [...] *fīmā qutīla 'unṣurun mina l-ḥaṣḍi l-ša'biyyi wa-'uṣība 'arba'atu# 'āḥarūna*

Article 69: [...] *'uṣība ṭīflun bi-l-raṣāši l-'isrā'īliyyi, wa-'tuqila 'arba'atu# 'āḥarūna [...]*

²⁶⁸ For the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

Article 72: *wa-ḍakarati l-wizāratu 'anna 2200 ṭālibin filasṭīniyyin qutilū [...]* **fīmā ḡuriḥa 1100 'āḥarūna**

Article 80: [...] *laqiya 13 šaḥṣan mašra 'ahum wa-'uṣṭba 28 'āḥarūna [...]*

Article 90: *kamā qutilu ṭalāṭatu ḡunūdin [...]* **wa-'uṣṭba 12 'āḥarūna [...]**

Article 92: *madaniyyan 'a 'lana mas 'ūlun ṭibbiyyun 'irāqiyyun 'anna sit-tata 'ašḥāšin qutilū wa-'uṣṭba 22 'āḥarūna [...]*

Article 104: *laqiya ṭalāṭatu ḡunūdin min quwwāti [...]* *mašra 'ahum wa-'uṣṭba 15 šaḥṣan 'āḥarūna [...]*

The syntax of 'āḥarūna is not conditioned by the fact that the number is the subject, as demonstrated by e.g. Example (224) from Article 71, *yabda 'u 4,3 milyūn# ṭālibin sūriyyin [...]*, nor by the diathesis of the verb (passive voice), as illustrated by the example from Article 62: [...] *naqalat [...]* 'an mas 'ūlin [...] *qawlahu 'inna 'arba 'ata ḡunūdin 'ūkrāniyyīna qutilū [...]*, '[...] four Ukrainian soldiers were killed [...]'.

3.9.5. Summary: 'āḥar#

Outside the context of numbers, the feminine singular 'uḥrā and the masculine singular 'āḥar# agree in number, case, and gender as a typical attributive adjectival postmodier in Arabic. In combination with numbers, the definiteness, gender, number, and case of the feminine singular 'uḥrā is best explained in relation to the counted noun, with which it agrees as an attributive adjective according to the typical rules of Arabic grammar. The *hapax* attestation of the dual 'āḥarayni is as an attributive adjective to the number 'two', *iṭnayni 'āḥarayni*, where the number means 'two persons'. The masculine singular 'āḥar# is unattested in the context of numbers in the corpus; with cardinal numbers denoting more than two humans, the mutually exclusive indefinite plural is used instead.

The syntax of the masculine plural 'āḥarūna and (al-) 'āḥarīna differs from 'uḥrā, but is consistent in the corpus. With no counterexamples, the indefinite plural 'āḥarūna and 'āḥarīna in combination with a cardinal number obligatorily and consistently displays attributive syntax to the number, not to the counted noun. With cardinal numbers signifying more than two humans, the plural is declined in case in agreement with the grammatical case of the preceding cardinal number, regardless of the presence or absence of a counted noun and its potential case and number. The number of the indefinite plural of 'āḥar# is conditioned by the preceding cardinal number via an obligatory *constructio ad sensum* and agrees with the cardinal number in case as a typical adjective or apposition. In the absence of a cardinal number, the plural of 'āḥar# is declined in accordance with the function of the grammatical slot it occupies according to the typical rules of grammar: as an attributive adjective, as a substantivated genitive subject with a verbal noun, or in the nominative

as the substantivated grammatical subject with a (passive) finite verb. These rules are exemplified in Article 119: *laqiya šaḥṣāni maṣra ‘ahumā wa- ‘uṣība ‘āḥarūna* (Example 192); Article 104: *wa- ‘uṣība 15 šaḥṣan ‘āḥarūna*, Article 13 *tazāmana dālika ma ‘a muḥāwalati ‘āḥarīna qtiḥāma ‘adadin mina l-mabādī* (Example 183); Article 48 *ladā muharribī l-muḥaddarāti wa-l-muḡrimīna l- ‘āḥarīna* (Example 184); and Article 35: *mā ‘addā ‘ilā maqtali 32 šaḥṣan wa- ‘iṣābati 14 ‘āḥarīna wa- ‘ihrāqi 10 sayyārātin* (Example 189).

With the exception of the indefinite plural of ‘āḥar#, *constructio ad sensum* is optional between a counted noun denoting humans and its postmodifier. With ‘āḥarūna and ‘āḥarīna, their grammatical case is never best explained in relation to the counted noun, nor by reference to agreement with an elliptical counted noun. Even in the presence of a counted noun, ‘āḥar# agrees in number with the preceding cardinal number, as exemplified in Article 104: *wa- ‘uṣība 15 šaḥṣan ‘āḥarūna*. This is different to typical syntax in the context of nouns with cardinal numbers, as demonstrated.

The status of the cardinal number, whether *status absolutus* with *tanwīn*, or *constructus* without *tanwīn*, cannot be determined from the text (cf. annexed apposition, see e.g. Example 24).

With no vocalized attestations, an investigation into the case of the diptote singular ‘āḥaru or ‘āḥara cannot be made using the present corpus. A more comprehensive investigation including the dual, plural, and the syntax of a multitude of counted nouns remains a *desideratum* of future research.

3.10. Futures, *sa-* and *sawfa*

This chapter investigates the distribution of the two future markers *sa-* and *sawfa* in the corpus.

3.10.1. Previous research: Futures

In two articles,²⁶⁹ Parkinson (2003, 2010) studied the distribution of the two Arabic future markers *sa-* and *sawfa* using a large corpus with a the size of about 36 million words (Parkinson 2003: 191) from four Arabic newspapers, “one year of the *Ahram* [Egypt], two separate years of *Al-Hayat* [Lebanon], and a half year of *Al-Tajdid* [Morocco] and *Al-Watan* [Kuwait]” (Parkinson 2010: 48).²⁷⁰ His conclusion was that “editorials, reports, and other non-news articles had a much higher percentage of *sawfa* than did straightforward news articles, and that content verbs were also more likely to take *sawfa* than verbs

²⁶⁹ For *sa-* and *sawfa* (and *lan*) in Arabic radio news broadcasts, see Van Mol (2003a: 273).

²⁷⁰ Parkinson (2010) compares news outlets. His tables are not consistently disclosing the year. In the present chapter, the different corpora are mostly referred to by name and year, Al-Ahram 2014 being the present corpus.

of less content like *kāna* and *tamma*". This, he explains, goes back to the assumption that *sawfa*, though more formal (2003: 194), is more thoughtful and expansive, and hence less straightforward and fact-oriented (2010: 49). In his Al-Ahram news corpus, 15.64% of the futures were of the *sawfa* type, compared to 31.53% for non-news (2010: 48).

3.10.2. Futures in the 2014 corpus (162x, incl. 8x *sawfa*)

In the present corpus, there are 162x attestations of morphological futures.²⁷¹ This includes 1x *hapax* attestation of *kāna* future-VprefL, *mā 'iḏā kāna sa-yatimmu + maṣḍar* (Article 62, Example 481). 8x of the futures are of the *sawfa* type (4.94%),²⁷² about a third of what Parkinson found in his Al-Ahram corpus, where 15.64% *sawfa* in news and 31.53% *sawfa* for non-news (but compare 0.87% *sawfa* for news and 6.59% for non-news in Al-Hayat; Parkinson 2010: 49).²⁷³

The grammatical context for the futures in the corpus is given in Table 15 (including the contexts for *sa-yatimmu maṣḍar* and *sa-yakūnu*); *relative clause* here means non-deverbalized relative clauses of the *ṣifa/ṣila* type (see 6.3), not including *mā* and *man* (for which, see under 6.1.5).

Table 15: Syntactic distribution of affirmative future grams, including figures for the 15x *sa-yatimmu maṣḍar* and 21x *sa-yakūnu* in the corpus; note that Σ = total number of attestations

Σ	Context	<i>sawfa</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>sa-yatimmu</i>	<i>sa-yakūnu</i>
107	Complement main clause	6	101	6	15
29	Non-main clause	1	28	5	5
21	Relative clause	1	20	3	1
5	Main clause		5	1	
162		8	154	(15)	(21)

Of the 8x forms with *sawfa*, 6x are attested in complement main clauses, 1x (the *hapax* construction *wa-sawfa*) has a complement main clause matrix. Only 1x attestation has no association with a complement clause, the relative *wa-llatī sawfa takūnu* [...], which is also a grammatical *hapax* attestation as a future-*yakūnu* in a relative clause (Article 70, Example 280).

Looking at the types for the *sa-* futures by disregarding internal vowelling and normalizing them through a removal of proclitics such as *wa-* and *fa-*, as

²⁷¹ 1x instance of *sa-* written contrary to praxis was found: *iḡtimā' [...] bi-ri'āyat miṣr-sayu' qadu* (Article 122). In addition, there are 3x attestations with proclitic interpunctuation marks: *:sa-takūnu* (Article 20), *,sa-tukallif* (Article 54), and *«sa-naruddu* (Article 125).

²⁷² The 8x attestations of *sawfa* include 1x *wa-sawfa* (Article 124) and are distributed evenly over the articles, with no article attesting >1x (Articles 17, 37, 64, 68, 70, 112, 124, 130).

²⁷³ Note that what is investigated is not the distribution of futures versus other verb forms. News content can thus be ruled out as a factor in the statistics.

well adjusting the prefix and ending to agree with the third person masculine singular (*s-y-root/stem*), 94x of the 154x *sa-* futures occur >2x (61.04% of 154x) (21x types).²⁷⁴ Out of the *sawfa* futures, only *wa-sawfa yatawallā* (Article 124, Example 712) is not attested at least once also among the *sa-* futures.

Parkinson's assumption "that higher use of *sawfa* marks a text as more thoughtful and expansive, and [that] lower use marks it as straightforward and fact-oriented" (2010: 49), and the relatively low use for *sawfa* in the present corpus, resonate with the fact that the articles here investigated are dry hard news, and suggest that the relatively low use of *sawfa* is to be regarded as a register feature, where the function of *sa-* is found in the representation of the authorial voice of hard news; only 1x of the 8x *sawfa*-forms in the present corpus is not part of direct or indirect attribution (speech), again echoing Parkinson's hypothesis.²⁷⁵ Futures with *sawfa* are unattested in main clauses.

²⁷⁴ In Buckwalter transliteration: 21x *sykwn*, 14x *sytm* (+1x *kAn sytm*), 6x *syEqd*, 5x *sybd*, 5x *syjrY*, 5x *sytwjh*, 4x *syrd*, 4x *syrsI*, 4x *systmr*, 3x *sybHv*, 3x *syqwm*, 3x *sywfr*, 2x *sy>Y*, 2x *syEdl*, 2x *syEml*, 2x *syltzm*, 2x *symkn*, 2x *sywASl*, 2x *syZl*.

²⁷⁵ Although the 8x forms is a small number compared to Parkinson's data (5767x attestations of *sawfa* in his entire Al-Ahram corpus), we may note that the non-attributed *sawfa* future example is *sawfa takūnu: kāna*, like *tamma*, is a verb "of less content", which according to Parkinson (2010: 48) is even less likely to take *sawfa* as the future marker. Being the only *sawfa* future that is not found in direct or indirect attribution, this phrase is unique in two ways in our corpus. The form is found in Article 70, where *sawfa* may be thought to stress the indicative future aspect, 'which will', in favour of a more irreal modality, 'which would':

وفي غضون ذلك، بحث وفد وزاري عربي من دول جوار ليبيا، برئاسة السفير محمد بدر الدين مساعد وزير الخارجية لشئون دول الجوار يرافقه مسؤولون من الجامعة العربية ومسؤولون من الجزائر وتونس وتشاد والسودان مع رئيس مجلس النواب ورئيس الحكومة الليبية ووزير الخارجية الليبي الاوضاع في ليبيا ونتائج اجتماعات دول الجوار التي عقدت بالقاهرة والتي من شأنها دعم الشرعية والاستقرار والأمن في كل ربوع ليبيا، والتي سوف تكون الركيزة الأساسية لاجتماعات برشلونة بعد غد من أجل أمن واستقرار وتنمية ليبيا.

'And in the meantime, an Arab ministerial delegation from the neighbouring states of Libya led by the ambassador Muhammad Badr el-Din, assistant foreign minister of the neighbouring countries which officials from the Arab League and officials from Algeria, Tunis, Chad, and Sudan together with the head of the House of Representatives and the Libyan prime minister and the Libyan foreign minister accompanied, discussed the situation in Libya and the results of the meetings of the neighbouring states which [the meetings] were held in Cairo and which among its concerns was the support of the legitimacy and the stability and security in all the four corners of Libya, and which [the meetings] will be the main pillar for the meetings in Barcelona [the day] after tomorrow for the sake of the security, stability and development of Libya.'

In favour of this interpretation, cf. Article 74:

و يؤكد المعهد الملكي للخدمات المتحدة المعنى بالبحوث العسكرية أن عملية نقل هذه الترسنة من الأسلحة ستتكلف عدة مليارات استرليني وقد تدوم حتى عام ٢٠٢٨.

'And the Royal United Services Institute concerned with military research affirms that the operation to transfer this arsenal of weapons will cost several billion sterling, and it might continue until 2028.'

Also Article 10: *wa-fī muqābalatin* [...] *qāla nītānyāhū* [...] *wa-'aḏāfa 'anna* [...] *wa-sayushaddiqu* [...] *amsi*, 'and in an interview [...] Netanyahu said [...] and he added that [...] and [that] he would ratify [...] yesterday'; a possible error:

وفي مقابلة مع الشبكة الثانية للتلفزيون الاسرائيلي قال نيتانياهو "ليس لدينا اى مشكلة فى سيطرة السلطة الفلسطينية على قطاع غزة، لكن لدينا مشكلة فى حال حاولت حماس السيطرة على الضفة الغربية. واضاف ان اسرائيل لا يمكنها ان تصنع

It could be that the mutual distribution of *sa-* and *sawfa* has changed for the synchronic stratum represented by the 2014 corpus compared with the date(s) of Parkinson's corpus. A larger corpus would be needed to confirm this.²⁷⁶

3.10.2.1. Summary: *sa-* vs. *sawfa* futures

If the assumption of Parkinson is correct, that the shortened form is more “straightforward” and less “thoughtful and expansive” (2010: 49), the low percentage of *sawfa* morphemes, 4.94%, compared to Parkinson's 15.64% for his news corpus, may reflect the writers' authorial distance as well as a potential diachronic development of the journalistic register of Al-Ahram over the past 15 years. 7x of the 8x instances of *sawfa* are part of direct or indirect speech (attribution), which—although statistically meagre—would again support Parkinson's claim that high use of *sawfa* is marked as less “straightforward and fact-oriented” (Parkinson 2010: 49).

3.11. *qad* and *laqad*

Parkinson (2010: 51) mentions the uses of *qad* and *laqad* in his newspaper corpus²⁷⁷ with the note that “novels use *qad* about one and a half times as often as newspapers do, but they use *la-qad* about six times more often” [Parkinson has an etymological hyphen in *laqad*]. There are differences between countries, however, with Al-Ahram 1999 using *qad* about three times more than Al-Hayat 1996 and 1997, and *laqad* “over twice as often”. He writes that the higher use of *qad* in Al-Ahram 1999 “gives it a feeling of direct connection to the ‘Heritage’, while al-Hayat's lower use might give it a more modernized, ‘break with tradition’ feel” (Parkinson 2010: 51–52). For comparison, he gives the following data for the use of the two particles in both the Qur'an and *1001 Nights*, with all data representing occurrences per 100,000 words (quoted from Parkinson 2010: 52):²⁷⁸

السلام مع محاور يامل في تدميرها. وسيصدق مجلس الوزراء خلال جلسته الأسبوعية أمس على خطة تنص على رصد حوالي مليار وخمسمائة مليون شيكل لتطوير التجمعات السكنية المحيطة بقطاع غزة على مدى خمس سنوات.

²⁷⁶ Judging from the tables on page 51 (Parkinson: 2010), it would appear that Parkinson's full corpus dates 1996–2002, with Al-Ahram dating 1999 and Al-Hayat 1996–1997. In 2003: 194, however, Parkinson only mentions 1997 for Al-Hayat in his corpus, not 1996.

²⁷⁷ Parkinson's corpus is described in 3.10.1.

²⁷⁸ The data for Al-Watan and Al-Tajdid is not represented in the table here. Parkinson (2010: 52) gives the figures per 100,000 words as:

	<i>qad</i>	<i>la-qad</i>	Total
Al-Watan	239	29	268
Al-Tajdid	266	46	312

	<i>qad</i>	<i>la-qad</i>	Total
Al-Ahram 1999	327	45	371
Al-Hayat 1996	120	20	140
Al-Hayat 1997	117	20	137
Qur'an	252	200	452
<i>1001 Nights</i>	507	27	535

Parkinson does not mention whether he includes headlines and by-lines, but there is no reason to question he does. The present hard news corpus of Al-Ahram 2014 used for the present investigation has 35,808 words (Word count) including headlines and by-lines. There are 75x attestations of *qad*²⁷⁹ and 3x attestations of *laqad* in the present corpus; converting this to a figure per 100,000 words, the corpus has:

	<i>qad</i>	<i>laqad</i>	Total
Al-Ahram 2014	209.5	8.38	217.8

According to these figures, the use of *qad* in Al-Ahram 2014 (210x) is somewhere between the relatively lower use of Al-Hayat 1996 (120x) and Al-Hayat 1997 (117x), and that of Al-Ahram 1999 (327x).²⁸⁰ Whether this is attributable to a diachronic pan-Arab levelling of the media register since Al Jazeera's launch in 1996 and the later development of ICTs, or attributable to the differences in registers of the corpora cannot be said for certain. A new study using greater and more specific corpora than the present is a *desideratum* of future research.

With 3x attestations in the present Al-Ahram 2014 corpus, or 8.4x per 100,000 words, the particle *laqad* is more than twice as frequent in Al-Hayat 1996 (20x) and Al-Hayat 1997 (20x), and it is 5.4 times more frequent in Al-Ahram 1999 (45x). This difference is thought to be due to the difference of registers, rather than to a diachronic development: Parkinson's corpus is not a strict hard news corpus, but covers all types of newspaper registers, including columnists, analyses, and more opinionated texts, where the force of *laqad* is believed to be more functional than in the distant voice of the hard news reporters. All the instances of *laqad* in the present corpus are attested in direct speech.

²⁷⁹ Including 16x *wa-qad* and 7x *fa-qad*.

²⁸⁰ The average use of *qad* in Al-Ahram 1999 and Al-Hayat 1996 and 1997 is 222.75 per 100,000 words, i.e. $(x + y + z)/3$.

3.11.1. Context of use: *qad* and *laqad* in Media Arabic

3.11.1.1. *qad* in the 2014 corpus (75x)

Parkinson (2010) gives frequency data, but he does not explain the uses of *qad* and *laqad* in Media Arabic. All 75x attestations of *qad* in the present corpus occur in the body of the news texts (never in headlines, by-lines, etc.).

Table 16 gives the contexts for the attestations of *qad* arranged by order of frequency for each context, with additional columns for verbal morphology. The categories for verbal morphology disregard the placement of the subject (*kāna qad Vsuff*, *kāna S qad Vsuff*, *S kāna qad Vsuff*, *kāna qad tamma maṣdar*) and/or additional elements, such as *wa-*, *fa-*, verbs of attribution, etc., for which see the section for each clause type.

Table 16: *qad*: contexts and verbal morphology in the corpus

Context	<i>kāna qad Vsuff</i>	<i>qad Vsuff</i>	<i>qad VprefL</i>	<i>yakūn# qad Vsuff</i>	Σ
Main clause	29	18			47
Complement main clause	2	7	7	1	17
Non-main clause	0	2	4	1	7
Relative clause			4		4
	31	27	15	2	75

3.11.1.2. *laqad* in the 2014 corpus (3x)

All 3x attestations of *laqad* in the present corpus occur in complement main clauses with *Vsuff*, as Complements of Utterances to the verb *qāla* (*Vsuff*, 3ms) but only without an *n-(h)*-complementizer; this construction, without a complementizer, is the least frequent of the two (see 5.3.2.2). All attestations are clearly marked off as direct speech via the interpunctuation: in the mouths of the president of the State of Palestine and the Palestinian National Authority, Mahmoud Abbas (Article 37);²⁸¹ the Libyan prime minister, Abdullah al-Thani (Article 54, Example 217); and the Bahraini minister of transportation (*wazīr# al-naqli*), Kamal bin Ahmed (Article 124, Example 546). The attestations go together 2x with a first person plural verb in the perfect (Abbas and el-Thani), and 1x with an inclusive first person reference where the newly reappointed prime minister, Abdullah el-Thani, speaks in the third person of “the Libyans” having achieved “a great success” (Article 124, Example 546).

A more expansive investigation into the contexts of use for *laqad* in Media Arabic is a *desideratum* of future research.

²⁸¹ Article 37: *wa-qāla .. laqad ta'attarnā qtiṣādiyyan bi-ṣaklin kabīrin (min ḡarrā'i l-'udwāni)* [...].

3.12. Space after *wa*- (30x)

Parkinson (2010) investigates the presence of a space after *wa*, a feature which according to him is very rare for Al-Hayat 1996 and 1997, more common for Al-Ahram 1999(?), and not very rare in Al-Tajdid 2002(?). He gives the following figures (2010: 54):

	Percentage of <i>wa</i> - followed by a space
Al-Hayat 1997	0.04%
Al-Hayat 1996	0.02%
Al-Ahram [1999?]	0.1%
Al-Tajdid [2002?]	2.4%

Parkinson states that he has investigated “whether or not writers put a space after the *wa*- that means ‘and’” (2010: 53). Given that “[t]he data show [...] the number of times *wa*- appears with a space after it”, I assume that the investigation included all instances of the lexical item *wa*-,²⁸² excluding *waw*-final words such as *‘uḍw#*, *naḥw#*, *yabḍū*, etc.

A reader reading through the whole newspaper [of Al-Hayat or Al-Ahram] every day would encounter an example once a month or less. However, the Moroccan data show that two and a half percent of all instances show *wa*- by itself, meaning that Moroccan readers are going to see this on a daily basis. Even though it is still not common, it is so much more common than in the other two regions that writers and editors clearly have a different level of acceptance for it. (Parkinson 2010: 54)

In the present Al-Ahram 2014 corpus, there are 30x attestations of space after *wa*, all but 1x appearing in the body of the texts (1x in the headline, Article 16).²⁸³ As a proportion, this means that there is a space after *wa*- every 1193.6 words. The average hard news article in the corpus is 273.3 words. This means that the reader of Al-Ahram in 2014 would encounter a space after *wa*- every 4.4 articles. The two sections of regional and international news covered for 12 days in the present 131-article corpus yield an average of 10.9 articles per day in these sections alone. In summary, this means that if the reader only reads the two sections of *‘aḥbār ‘ālamīyya* and *‘arabīyya* in Al-Ahram in 2014, he or she would encounter roughly 5x spaces after *wa*- in a two-day period. Comparing this with Parkinson’s data, the frequency in Al-Ahram of spaces after *wa*- appears to have dramatically increased over the past 15 years.

²⁸² Some grammarians and lexicographers consider the Semitic connective *w-* to bear different semantic meanings depending on syntactic context (e.g. HALOT, under *wā*).

²⁸³ 28x examples of *_wa_*, 1x instance of *_‘wa_* (Article 124), and 1x with paragraph-initial *wa_‘awḍaḥa* (Article 110). The space after *wa* in the headline of Article 16 is due to the inter-punctuation marks; the full headline is:

.. و «مجلس السلم والأمن» الإفريقي يناقشه في نيروبي

Here, *-hu* in *yunāqiṣu-hu* is an anaphoric reference to what precedes.

No investigation into the contexts of these attestations was made. On a calendar investigation, however, the 30x spaces after *wa-* appear unevenly distributed. They are attested throughout all weeks of the corpus, but are only found in 18x articles. Monday 18 September, Wednesday 10 September, and Tuesday 23 September have none. Article 15 (553 words, including headline), on the other hand, has 6x *wa* with spaces after, Article 74 (269 words) has 4x, and Article 6 (75 words) has 3x.²⁸⁴ None of these articles has a proper name in the by-line (cf. the correlation between vowels and proper names in 3.6). Moreover, on Wednesday 24 September, there are four different articles with 4x *wa* with space (Articles 123, 124, 128 and 131; all but Article 131 has a name in the by-line). And finally, 13x articles in the corpus have a single occurrence of *wa-* with a space after it.²⁸⁵

3.13. Verbs of attribution and speech verbs

The ontology of the hard news item is a report of what has happened; its *raison d'être* is to be the last stage in the mediation of this information to its readership. Related to the concept of authorial distance, what has happened—or rather, the allegedly newsworthy information—is ultimately presented as channelled via only one or two sources before reaching the readership: the writer(s) of the news item, and/or a source external to the newsroom. The external source may be referred to by an attribution formula (see 6.5) or a verb of attribution, which is typically a speech verb. If a verb of attribution is used, the information from the external source may be given as a direct quote, with full or partial sentences, or as indirect speech in the third person. Attribution increases credibility (see 1.4.6), but the content of neither direct speech nor indirect speech has to be attributed directly to the source of the utterance, as it may have come via a channel external to the original source: an official spokesperson, a source close to the spokesperson, or a news agency, a television channel, or an official document, for example.

Parkinson (2010) investigates the frequency of three speech verbs in the past tense (the suffix conjugation): *'afāda*, *ṣarraḥa* and *'awḍaḥa*. His corpus includes all registers of Media Arabic, and the corpora for the different newspapers are of different sizes, which means that only the figures per 100,000 words are comparable. The data tables are reproduced below from Parkinson (2010: 57, without headers for Newspaper, No. of occurrences, and No. of occurrences per 100,000 words).

²⁸⁴ The respective by-lines (Article 6 *bayrūt*, Article 15 *wāšīṭun*, and Article 74 *baḡdād*) do not appear to give any clues as to a geographical origin of the phenomenon.

²⁸⁵ Articles 12, 16, 55, 56, 71, 86, 102, 110, 111, 123, 124, 128, and 131.

Relative frequency of *'afāda* (past tense only)

Al-Ahram 1999	336	2.04 per 100,000 words
Al-Hayat 1996	3,790	17.58 per 100,000 words
Al-Hayat 1997	4,014	20.61 per 100,000 words
Al-Tajdid 2002	196	6.71 per 100,000 words
Al-Watan 2002	1,239	19.2 per 100,000 words

Relative frequency of *ṣarraḥa* (past tense only)

Al-Ahram 1999	6,240	37.87 per 100,000 words
Al-Hayat 1996	2,364	10.96 per 100,000 words
Al-Hayat 1997	2,100	10.78 per 100,000 words
Al-Tajdid 2002	591	20.24 per 100,000 words
Al-Watan 2002	1,151	17.83 per 100,000 words

Relative frequency of *'awḍaḥa* (past tense only)

Al-Ahram 1999	7,331	44.5 per 100,000 words
Al-Hayat 1996	9,154	42.45 per 100,000 words
Al-Hayat 1997	8,499	43.46 per 100,000 words
Al-Tajdid 2002	887	30.38 per 100,000 words
Al-Watan 2002	4,351	67.41 per 100,000 words

I assumed that in saying “past tense”, Parkinson is indicating that he has included only Vsuff forms, and in particular that he has excluded composite morphology with forms of *kāna* (e.g. *kāna qad* Vsuff, *yakūnu qad* Vsuff, etc.).²⁸⁶ As noted earlier, Parkinson does not mention whether he includes headlines and by-lines, but there is no reason to question that he does.

Parkinson’s figures can be contrasted with the relative frequency of the three verbs (Vsuff only) in the present Al-Ahram 2014 corpus:

Verb	Number of occurrences	Per 100,000 words
<i>'afāda</i>	9	25.13
<i>ṣarraḥa</i>	8	22.34
<i>'awḍaḥa</i>	49	136.84
Total	66	184.32

Parkinson’s purpose in producing his figures is to compare the relative distribution of these verbs across regions of use. Looking at Media Arabic as a register, however, the specific lexical items can be somewhat disregarded in favour of their semantical sphere and function: all of these verbs are verbs of attribution, typically used to introduce direct or indirect speech. If the data of Parkinson (2010: 57) for the three verbs is combined, and the data for the present Al-Ahram 2014 corpus is added, the following picture emerges of the relative frequency of these three verbs *'afāda*, *ṣarraḥa* and *'awḍaḥa* in the past tense:

²⁸⁶ In the present corpus, 1x composite verbal form with these three lemmata was attested, *kāna S qad ṣarraḥa* (Article 124).

Newspaper	No. of occurrences	Occurrences per 100,000 words
Al-Ahram 1999	13,907	84.41
Al-Hayat 1996	15,308	70.99
Al-Hayat 1997	14,613	75.03
Al-Tajdid 2002	1,674	57.33
Al-Watan 2002	6,741	104.44
Al-Ahram 2014	66	187.32

The higher count for these three verbs in the present corpus (2.2 times higher) is possibly accounted for by the hard news limitation of the Al-Ahram 2014 corpus, a shift in lexical preferences, and/or diachronic changes.²⁸⁷

In the corpus, it is atypical that information from the initial source was delivered directly to Al-Ahram—never is “to us” (i.e. to Al-Ahram) or “to me” (i.e. to the news professional) used: the newspaper never refers to itself in the first person. The newspaper’s name, *al-’ahrām*, is mentioned as the addressee in only three news items (2.30% of the 131 news articles), all sources of which are geographically related to Egypt.²⁸⁸

More frequently, the source has just “said”, the reader remaining uncertain as to how the news outlet received the utterance. The frequency of talk, or even talk about talk, or talk about talk about future talks, where the content of news is centred around what ministers say and what they say that they will discuss the possibilities of, is illustrated in Example (194) from Article 93 (given here in full). Verbs in the domain of talk are underscored and as illustrated by the first verb, *yabḥaṭu*, and the verb in the third paragraph, *sa-yabḥaṭūna*, not all verbs related to speech are verbs of attribution (cf. *wa-’awḍaḥa*, first verb of second paragraph, and *wa-qāla*, first verb of the third

²⁸⁷ What the combined table reveals is that if we count in Al-Ahram 1999 the same average length of an article as in the present Al-Ahram 2014 corpus (273.34 words including headlines), the reader would have read one of these three words 0.2 times per article (0.08441 times per 100 words). To put this number into perspective: assuming that an average English novel has 250–300 words per page (a number roughly identical to the number of words in a written hard news article), the reader of an English novel would encounter one of these three words 1x every 4.33 pages, throughout the entire novel. This is, of course, counting only these three verbs, and only in the past tense. It does not include other verbs of attribution, e.g. *’akkada*, *qāla*, *’aḍāfa*, *’asāra*, *šaddada*, *ḍakara*, *’abbara*, *’a’bara*, *rafaḍa*, *naṣiya*, *’a’lana*, *kašaḥa*, *ta’ahadda*, *had-dada*, *ḥaḍḍara*, *’alqā kalimatan*, etc. Inclusion of all morphologies from all of these verbs would naturally yield a much higher score: for the frequency of verbs of attribution in main clauses, see 5.3.1; for complementizers, see 5.3.2.1; and for complement main clauses, see 5.3.2.2.

²⁸⁸ In Article 12, the source is the Egyptian foreign minister, Sameh Shoukry: *wa-fī taṣrīḥātīn ḥāṣṣīn li-l-’ahrām*, *’akkada šukrī ’annahu [...]*; in Article 122, it is the Palestinian ambassador in Cairo, Jamal al-Shobaki: *wa-qāla [sc. ḡamāl] fī taṣrīḥīn li «mandūb# al-’ahrām» ’inna [...]*; and in Article 123 (2x: 1x in the subheading and 1x in the body), the source “the ambassador, Yasser Othman, deputy assistant foreign minister for Palestine affairs” is referred to as having addressed Al-Ahram directly.

paragraph, two verbs of attribution). Verbs of speech arguably play an intrinsic role in story design, an in-depth investigation of which at a text-linguistic level is a *desideratum* of future research.²⁸⁹

194. Article 93 (full article, including headlines, TTR: 70.80%), *yabḥaṭu* [...] *wa-ʿawḍaḥa* [...] *wa-qāla* [...] *sa-yabḥaṭūna*

وزراء الكهرباء العرب
يبحثون اليوم إنشاء هيئة
للطاقة المتجددة
كتب - محمد مبروك :

يبحث وزراء الكهرباء
العرب في اجتماع مكتبهم
التنفيذي اليوم بالجامعة
العربية إنشاء هيئة عربية
للطاقة المتجددة ومتابعة
تنفيذ الاستراتيجية العربية
لتطوير استخدامات
الطاقات المتجددة.

وأوضح مصدر
مسئول بالجامعة العربية
أن المكتب التنفيذي يبحث
وضع إطار عربي للطاقات
المتجددة ونماذج للخطط
الوطنية في هذا المجال،
ومتابعة تنفيذ خريطة
طريق لتنفيذ هذه
الاستراتيجية إلى جانب
دعم الاستفادة من الطاقة
الشمسية لأغراض تشغيل
أجهزة التكييف

وقال الدكتور محمد شاكر
وزير الكهرباء والطاقة
المتجددة إن الوزراء
سيبحثون الاستخدامات
السلمية للطاقة النووية في
الدول العربية وسبل دعم
صناعة المعدات الكهربائية
في كافة مجالات إنتاج
ونقل وتوزيع الكهرباء

wuzarāʿu l-kahrabāʾi l-
ʿarabu yabḥatūna l-
yawma ʾinšāʾa hayʾatin li-
l-tāqati l-mutaḡaddidati
kataba - muḥammad
mabrūk :

yabḥaṭu wuzarāʿu l-
ʿkahrabāʾi l-ʿarabu fī
ḡtimāʾi maktabihim al-tan-
fīdiyyi l-yawma bi-l-
ḡāmiʾati l-ʿarabiyyati
ʾinšāʾa hayʾatin ʿarabiyya-
tin li-l-tāqati l-mutaḡad-
didati wa-mutābaʾata tan-
fīdī l-istrāṭīḡiyyati l-ʿara-
biyyati li-taṭwīri stiḥdāmāti
l-tāqāti l-mutaḡaddidati.

wa-ʿawḍaḥa maṣḍarun
masʾūlun bi-l-ḡāmiʾati l-
ʿarabiyyati ʾanna l-maktaba
l-tanfīdiyya yabḥaṭu waḍʿa
ʾiṭārin ʿarabiyyin li-l-tāqāti
l-mutaḡaddidati wa-
namāḡidḡa li-l-ḥuṭaṭi l-waṭa-
niyyati fī ḥaḡḡa l-maḡāli,
wa-mutābaʾata tanfīdī
ḡarīṭati ṭarīqin li-tanfīdī
ḡaḡīhi l-istrāṭīḡiyyati ʾilā
ḡānibi daʾmi l-istifādati
mina l-tāqati l-šamsiyyati
li-ʾaḡrādi ʾaḡhizati l-takyīfi

wa-qāla el-duktūr
muḥammad šākīr wazīru l-
kahrabāʾi wa-l-tāqati
l-mutaḡaddidati ʾinna
l-wuzarāʾa sa-yabḥatūna l-
istiḥdāmāti l-silmiyyata li-
l-tāqati l-nawawiyyati fi-
l-duwali l-ʿarabiyyati wa-

The Arab electricity minis-
ters discuss today the estab-
lishment of an authority for
renewable energy
Muhammad Mabrouk -
wrote:

The Arab electricity minis-
ters discuss in the meeting of
their executive office today
at the Arab League the estab-
lishment of an Arab authority
for renewable energy and
[discuss] the follow-up on
the implementation of the
Arab strategy to develop the
uses of renewable energy.

And an official source at
the Arab League clarified
that the executive office dis-
cusses the laying down of an
Arab framework for renewa-
ble energy and models for na-
tional plans in this field, and
[discusses] the follow-up on
the implementation of a road
map for the implementation
of this strategy in addition to
support of the utilization of
solar energy for the purposes
of operating air-conditioning
apparatuses.

And Doctor Muhammad
Shaker minister of electricity
and renewable energy said
that the ministers will discuss
the peaceful uses of nuclear
energy in the Arab states and
ways of supporting the man-
ufacturing of electrical

²⁸⁹ And moreover, my subjective as-yet-uninvestigated impression is that there is a lack of clauses with a telic predicate and high semantic transitivity. A systematic investigation into the grammatical and semantic transitivity of hard news predicates and clauses at different levels of the clause complex is a *desideratum* of future research.

3.14. Spelling of hamza

على مستوى الدول العربية.	subula da'mi şinā'ati l- mu'addāti l-kahrabā'iyyati fī kāffati mağālāti 'intāği wa-naqli wa-tawzī'i l- kahrabā'i 'alā mustawā l- duwali l-'arabiyyati.	equipment in all the fields of production and transporta- tion and distribution of elec- tricity at the level of the Arab states.

3.14. Spelling of *hamza*

Parkinson (2010) investigates the spelling of *hamza* and demonstrates that “how you spell Hamza depends quite dramatically on where you come from” (2010: 55). Below, his figures for the spelling of *hamza* in the word *mas'ūl*# is reproduced (also discussed in BCG: 13), with additional data from the present Al-Ahram 2014 corpus:²⁹⁰

	مسؤول	مسنول
Al-Ahram 1999	29	18,880
Al-Hayat 1996	27,135	1
Al-Hayat 1997	25,020	2
Al-Tajdid 2002	4,096	177
Al-Watan 2002	9,026	3
Al-Ahram 2014	1 (<i>mas'ūlūna</i> , Article 5)	55

The ratio of *yā'* chairs to *wāw* chairs in Al-Ahram 1999 is 651.03 to 1, compared to 55 to 1 in the Al-Ahram 2014 corpus. Al-Ahram still shows a preference for *yā'*.

Globalization, the development of ICT, and the rapid spread of textual data in this present age no doubt must play a role in the change of these ratios in comparison with the earlier data. A study with a larger corpus is a *desideratum* of future research.

²⁹⁰ The Al-Ahram 2014 data includes all words beginning with *mas'ūl*-, e.g. *mas'ūlūn* and *mas'ūliyya*, etc., the latter which occurs 7x times in various forms: 1x in the headline (Article 23), 1x in the body of Article 23, 2x in Article 40, 1x in Article 52, and 2x in Article 118.

3.15. What Media Arabic typically is not

Media Arabic will not be explained in relation to a corpus from another register (but see 3.4.4). Naturally, the list of atypical features is theoretically infinite. This chapter focuses on metaphor and alliteration.

3.15.1. Metaphor in media language

In its broader meaning, and limiting ourselves to the semiotic mode of text, a *metaphor* involves the “‘non-literal’ use of words” (Halliday 1994: 340). Metaphor is usually described as a variation in the use of words: a word is said to be used “with transferred meaning” (Halliday 1994: 341).

Diachronically, the advent of something new—be it a perceptible phenomenon in the physical world or an abstract and theoretical idea—necessitates an expansion of the open class of the lexicon, either by the semantic extension of lexical items already present in the language, a ‘transfer of meaning’, or by the invention of new technical terminology (which itself may moulded on older semantic substance). To some extent, what is written about the flux of modern society today is an extension and recycling of a vocabulary that prior to recent developments was ill-equipped for their description. A study of metaphor needs to define the scope of study, and needs to take into account whether the understanding of the addressee no longer comes about by inference from context and a *reconcilable* approach to the new combination of old lexical items, or whether no metaphoric meaning was ever intended. Diachronic assessments must be made. The word *hātifun* for ‘telephone’, for example, once called for new interpretations of this lexical item, literally ‘a shouter, caller’ (present active participle). But it is plausible to assume that when this item in its transferred meaning was extended by a classifier, the original semantics of the active participle, ‘shouter, caller’, had long since faded, so that the addition of the second participle, *maḥmūlun*, ‘portable,’ rendered the new meaning open for the intended interpretation, ‘cell phone’, *hātifun maḥmūlun*. The formative semantic substance of *hātifun* had faded, and the lexical item already established in its new meaning, ‘phone’. Today, this head + classifier is a borderline compound, and in active use we would take it to be a part of the synchronic lexicon, freely disregarding the etymology of the phrase.

Metaphoric extension is not restricted to the open classes of the lexicon, nor is it always necessitated through the advent of something new. Metaphor also includes closed class items such as the use of body parts to serve as

prepositions, *fī*, ‘in’ (probably from *fū* ‘mouth’; Esseezy 2010: 167–9).²⁹¹ Today, it is safe to assume that no metaphoric use is inferred nor intended with the use of the preposition in this meaning.

Diachronic considerations must also be made in the field of morphology and grammatical meaning. We could speak of metaphoric extension when a lexical item shifts “from a concrete to a more abstract domain” (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 283, with references), such as when a generalized movement verb that signifies a movement towards a goal spatially, ‘go to’, gradually comes to code an abstract and grammatical meaning of movement towards a goal in the future, ‘be going to’. This development, from generalized movement verb to a marker for future, where the motion towards a goal is no longer lexical, concrete, and spatial, but grammatical, abstract, and temporal, is among the most common grammaticalization paths for the formation of futures in the languages of the world. In colloquial Arabic, this development is attested in, for example, the future markers in Egyptian and Levantine (Palestine, Syria, Lebanon), Iraqi, and Kuwaiti Arabic: *rāḥ-*, *raḥ-*, *laḥ-*, *ḡāḥ-*, *ḥa-/ha-*, etc.²⁹² For the current synchronic stratum, the literal meaning is grammatical, not spatial; the meaning having already been transferred to its new domain.

Similarly on a discourse level with finite verbs, verbal phrases that once were new and “non-literal” gradually come to lose their call for innovative interpretation by extension, giving rise to new meanings of the verb. The expression becomes unmarked, itself subsequently becoming open to new meanings by a similar extension. In this context, we border on idiomatic expressions. To avoid metaphor in a more substantial linguistic expression such as the Media Arabic news article, in short, is near impossible.

These previously discussed types of metaphors, however, are lower text-level analogies and extensions of primarily lexical uses which operate over shorter text segments, typically word, phrase, or core clausal levels.

For the present study, we introduce the term “extended metaphor” to describe a coherent extension of a transferred lexical meaning into the realm of pictorialization over a segmental textual length of more than one clause. Extended metaphor, then, is a term used for a more ekphrastic analogy than what may tentatively be called lexical and grammatical metaphors. This is to be differentiated from “thematic metaphor”, a higher-level metaphor raised to a thematic level, having bearing on the text in its entirety.

On a phrasal level, such phrases as ‘shed light on’, *sallaṭa l-ḍaw’a ‘alā*, in Article 61 are not extended metaphors:

²⁹¹ Another theory is that Arabic and North Arabic *fī* is derived from *pi*, a devoiced variant of the Semitic preposition *bi* (for a discussion, see Esseezy 2010: 167–9).

²⁹² “derived from the active participle, *rāyih* ‘gone, going’, of a verb ‘to go’ (*rwh* i), cf. e.g. Rubin (2005: 34–8) and Taine-Cheikh (2004: 219–20)” (Coghill 2012).

195. Article 61, *ṣallaṭa l-ḍaw'a 'alā*

ومن جانب آخر،
أوضحت مصر خلال
الاجتماع أن تفشى
فيروس الإيبولا فى عدد
من دول القارة الإفريقية
سلط الضوء على مدى
ضعف أنظمة الصحة
العامة وحاجة الشعوب
للنفاذ إلى المزيد من
الرعاية والعناية الصحية
العامة التى تضمن
سلامتهم.

wa-min ḡānibin 'āhara,
'awḍaḥa miṣr ḥilāla l-
iḡtimā'i 'anna tafaṣṣī fayrūs
al-'ibūlā fī 'adadin min du-
wali l-qārati l-'afriqiyyati
sallaṭa l-ḍaw'a 'alā madā
ḍu'fi 'anzimati l-sihḥati l-
'āmmati wa-ḥāḡati l-šu'ūbi
li-l-nafāḡi 'ilā l-mazīdi mina
l-ri'āyati wa-l-ināyati l-
ṣiḥḥiyyati l-'āmmati llatī
taḍmanu salāmatahum.

And on the other hand, Egypt clarified during the meeting, that the spread of the Ebola virus in a number of countries of the African continent **has shed light on** the extent of the weakness of the public health systems and the need of the people to access more of the public health care and nursing which guarantees [so that it can guarantee] their health.

In the case of the phrase 'shed light on', *sallaṭa l-ḍaw'a 'alā*, the metaphor of light is not carried through into a second clause, but is treated as a verbal phrase close to the semantic sphere of verbs such as *'awḍaḥa*, 'make clear', as used in the same paragraph.

The same can be said about e.g. the nominal phrase *sayyida l-lu'batī l-siyāsiyyati* in the lead of Article 85, Example (196), which is a phrase-level metaphor.

196. Article 85, «*sayyida l-lu'batī*» *l-siyāsiyyati*

أعلن جيمى أكسون
زعيم حزب
«ديمقراطى السويد»
أن حزبه اليميني
المتطرف أصبح «سيد
اللعبة» السياسية فى
البلاد بفضل نتيجة
الانتخابات التشريعية
التي جرت أمس الأول
- الأحد - وحقق فيها
تقدما تاريخيا بحلوله
فى المركز الثالث.

'a' lana ḡīmi 'akesūn za'īmu
ḥizbi «dīmuqrāṭiyyī el-
swīd» 'anna ḥizbahu l-
yamīniyya l-mutaṭarrifa
'aṣbaḥa «**sayyida l-lu'batī**»
l-siyāsiyyati fī-l-bilādi bi-
faḍli natīḡati l-intiḥābātī l-
taṣrī'iyati llatī ḡarat 'amsi
l-'awwala - al-'aḥada - wa-
ḥaqqāqa fihā taqadduman
tārīḥiyyan bi-ḥulūlihi fī-l-
markazi l-tālīti.

Jimmie Åkesson, leader of the «Sweden Democrats» party announced that his far-right party has become «**the master of the**» **political «game»** in the country thanks to the result of the legislative elections which took place the day before yesterday - Sunday - and in which he made a historic progress by it finishing on the third place.

Here, “the master” and “the political game” are both metaphoric expressions of the role of the Sweden Democrats following the 2014 elections, but neither the imagery of being master nor that of politics as a type of “game” is carried through to subsequent constructions. They are but condensed expressions on a lexical level of a much more complex reality. The analogous relationship as expressed by the metaphor is not extended beyond the clause.

The same can be said about the phrase *dāḥila arwiqati l-ḥukmi* from Article 57, Example (197).

197. Article 57 (lead), *dāhila arwiqati l-ḥukmi*

كشفت صحيفة التايمز البريطانية أمس عن وجود «صراع محتمل» داخل أروقة الحكم في إيران خلال الفترة القادمة بشأن من سيخلف المرشد الأعلى الإيراني آية الله على خامنه في حالة وفاته أو غيابه عن مهامه لفترة طويلة.	kašafat šaḥīfatu el-tāymz al- brīṭāniyyatu 'amsi 'an wuḡūdi «širā' # muḥtamaḥ#» dāhila 'arwiqati l-ḥukmi fī 'īrān ḥilāla l-fatratī l-qādimati bi-ša'ni man sa-yaḥlufu l- muršida l-'a'lā l-'īrāniyya 'āyatu llāh 'alī ḥāmene'ī fī ḥālātī wafātihi 'aw ḡiyābihi 'an mahāmmihi li-fatratīn ṭawīlatīn.	The British newspaper The Times revealed yesterday the presence of a “potential con- flict” in the corridors of government in Iran during the coming period regarding who will succeed the Su- preme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei in the event of his death or absence from his du- ties for a long time.

Although the verbal noun indicating ‘presence’ here, *wuḡūd#*, could have been taken to be included in the metaphor of “corridors of power”, it is better to take it as coincidence of expression. These types of coincidences are of course likely when a metaphor is semantically bleached.

A similar example is Article 7, also in an attributed utterance, where the newly elected Tusk is attributed with a comment on his language skills:

198. Article 7 (paragraph final)

ورفض أن تتفهم مهارته المحدودة في اللغات الأجنبية عائقاً أمام مهامه كرئيس للاتحاد الأوروبي.	wa-rafaḍa 'an taqifa mahārātuḥu l-maḥdūdātu fī-l-luḡāti l-'aḡnabiyyati 'ā'iqan 'amāma mahām- mihi ka-ra'īsīn li-l-ittihādi l- 'ūrūbbiyyi.	And [Tusk] denied that his limited skills in foreign lan- guages would stand as an ob- stacle in front of his duties as president of the European Un- ion.

Here, the clause *yaqīfu 'ā'iqan 'amāma* [...], literally ‘stand as an obstacle in front of’, is used. The metaphor, however, is not an invention of the author, and furthermore does not extend beyond the single clause. The verb ‘stand’, root *wqf* stem I, is here used for its imperfective aspects (for the use of *'amāma*, see prepositional syntagms under 6.9).

We find frequent lexical items in Media Arabic that are etymological and lexical metaphors, but used so regularly that the etymological meanings have faded. We find, for example, the word *ḥaṭwatun* (pl. *ḥaṭawātun*), literally ‘step’, that is used 13x times in the corpus (9x plural, 4x singular), but only in the metaphoric meaning of ‘(political) action or plan (towards a goal)’, ‘degrees’, or ‘event’. It never includes the spatial movement of an animate subject’s foot or paw, much like the movement verb *ya'īl*, ‘come’, is never used of an animate subject’s spatial movement.²⁹³ But these metaphors are not extended metaphors.

²⁹³ The type *ya'īl*, ‘comes, happens’, occurs 19x times in the corpus where it is exclusively used to frame a news event anaphorically in a broader context (method: keyword in context function of KWIC). The event is typically referred to via a demonstrative pronoun (13x times with *dālika*

When metaphoric words like *ḥaṭwatun* are used in the body of an article, the metaphor is arguably never intended to evoke analogic images, and may consequently be paired with adjectives that are naturally inapt to describe their etymological verbal activity, as in *ḥaṭawātin malmūsatin* in Article 1, literally ‘steps that can be touched’, i.e. ‘concrete steps’:

199. Article 1 (lead), *ḥaṭwa* in the meaning ‘(political) action or plan (towards a goal)’

رغم التصريحات الإيجابية التي أعقبت الاجتماع الوزاري الخليجي في جدة أمس الأول حول حل الخلاف مع قطر ، أكدت مصادر خليجية أن عودة السفراء ما زالت معلقة، وأن الاجتماع لم يعلن أى خطوات ملموسة لإنهاء الانقسام .	rağma l-taṣrīḥāti l-’iğābiyyati llatī ’a’qabat l-’iğtimā’a l- wizāriyya l-ḥalīgiyya fī ġedda ’amsi l-’awwali ḥawla halli l- ḥilāfi ma’a qatar , ’akkadat maṣādiru ḥalīgiyyatun ’anna ’awdata l-sufarā’i mā zālat mu’allaqatan, wa-’anna l- iğtimā’a lam yu’lin ’ayya ḥaṭawātin malmūsatin li- ’inhā’i l-inqisāmi.	Despite the positive statements which followed the Gulf [Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)] ministerial meeting in Jedda yesterday concerning a solution of the dispute with Qatar, Gulf [GCC] sources confirmed that the return of the ambassadors is still pending, and that the meeting did not announce any concrete steps to end the schism.

Similarly in Article 118, in an attributed utterance, *ḥaṭwatun* is used in the context of metaphoric movement, where the movement is not spatial. Instead, it must be argued that the semantic substance that went into the item, ‘movement of a foot or paw from point *a* to point *b*’, has faded to the degree that not even the context of the movement verb *ya’ṭi*, ‘come’, and the associative verb *yurāfiqū*, ‘go together with, accompany’, raises images of physical motion of the feet.

200. Article 118, *ya’ṭi*, *ḥaṭwa*, *yurāfiqū*, lexical metaphors.

وقال ضيف الله الشامي المسئول الاعلامي للمكتب السياسي لأنصار الله إنهم ملتزمون بما نص عليه الاتفاق، مشيراً إلى أن رفع مخيمات الاعتصام	wa-qāla ḍayf allāh el-šāmī al-mas’ūlu l-’i’lāmiyyu li-l- maktabi l-siyāsiyyi li-’anṣār allāh ’innahum multaz- imūna bi-mā naṣṣa ’alayhi l-ittifāqu, muṣīran ’ilā ’anna raf’a muḥayyamāti l-	And Dayfalla al-Shami media official of the Political Bureau of Ansar Allah said that they are committed to what the agreement has stipulated, referring to [the fact] that the removal of the sit-in camps will

alone and 1x with *hāḍā* alone, both referring to the previous clause, and 5x times by iterating the news event via an anaphoric definite noun as the subject of the verb). In 14x of the 19x attestations, the event is followed by a prepositional phrase that locates the event temporally: 10x with *fī* + (*al-*)*waqt*# as the complement followed by a relative clause (6x indefinite, 4x definite); 3x by the preposition *ba’dā* and a temporal expression (25 *’āman*, *sā’āt*#, *yawmayn*). In the remaining 6x instances, we find *raddan ’alā*, ‘as a response to the’, *binā’an ’alā*, ‘based on’ (2x), *’alā ḥalfiyyati*, ‘against the backdrop of’, and *fī ’iḡāri*, ‘in the context of’. In 15x of the 19x instances with *ya’ṭi*, the verb introduces a new sentence with the subject immediately following the verb (5x of which are paragraph-initial; 10x paragraph-internal); in the other 4x instances, the verb is the first verb in a complement clause to a verb of attribution. The verb is never about spatial movement.

سيأتي ضمن خطوات ترافق تنفيذ البنود التي أستند عليها الإتفاق. وقال الشامي: لن نرفع المخيمات إلا بعد التأكد من تنفيذ ما جاء في الإتفاق الذي وقعت عليه جميع الأطراف السياسية".	i'tiṣāmi sa-ya'tī qimna ḥaṭawātin turāfiqu tanfiḍa l-bunūdi llatī sta- nada 'alayhā l-ittifāqu. wa-qāla el-šāmī: lan narfa'a l-muḥayyamāti 'illa ba'da l- ta'akkudi min tanfiḍi mā ḡā'a fi-l-ittifāqi llaḍī waqqa'at [sic] 'alayhi ḡamī'u l-'aṭrāfi l-siyāsiy- yati".	come within the steps that ac- company the implementation of the items that the agree- ment is based on. And al- Shami said: We will not re- move the camps except after the confirmation of the imple- mentation of what comes in the agreement which all political parties signed".

In Example (200), it must be argued that the image of a “removal of camps” that “arrives within steps that walk together with an implementation” is not literally what the author has managed to depict. The metaphor is used on a word-to-word basis, *ya'tī*, *ḥaṭawātin*, *turāfiqu*, but none of these extends beyond the single item or phrase. The movement is metaphorical: the steps are not spatial, and the image of standing beside (i.e. helping) is stationary (imperfective), the movement of which is taking place in time, rather than in physical space, hence the kingdom is said not to walk, but to stand at the side of Hadi in his metaphoric movement towards the future.

We will return to *ḥaṭwatun* soon, but first discuss and further define a type of metaphor we rarely, or never, encounter in Media Arabic.

Distinct from all types of lexical or monoclausally limited metaphors like the ones exemplified, and unlike the incoherent poly-clausal imagery of Article 118 of *ḥaṭwatun*, *ya'tī*, and *yurāfiqu*, the definition given here of the extended metaphor calls for it to be coherent and span two or more clauses, where the metaphoric element ought to be the driving factor behind the choice of subsequent wording in the analogy. The theme of the extended metaphor does not need to be inventive, but cannot be just a fixed phrase (like *yaqifu* [...] *'ā'iqan* in Article 7, Example 198). An extended metaphor, consequently, is arguably a sought mode of expression, motivated by aestheticism, and driven by an elaborated imagery; it is related to style (for which, see 2.1.2).

In the present study, fixed phrases moulded on different types of lower-level metaphors are taken to be part and parcel of the Media Arabic lexicon, if not of all registers of Arabic, and indeed of language *per se*.²⁹⁴ They are not treated further here under the umbrella of metaphors. As for multi-word metaphors—e.g. Example (195) from Article 61 above, *sallaṭa l-ḡaw'a 'alā*, ‘throw light on’—the metaphor of light is bleached, if not dead in terms of associations to photons, electromagnetic radiation, and the physics of light, to

²⁹⁴ The phrase, *sallaṭa l-ḡaw'a 'alā* is attested 2x in the finite (e.g. Vsuff in Article 61, Example 195), and 1x nominalized, in Article 64: *wa-ḡālīka li-taṣlīḡi l-ḡaw'i 'alā 'ahammi* [...].

the extent that the meaning of the entire phrase is synonymous with a single lexical item, ‘highlight’ (in turn another metaphor). Like *yaqifu* [...] ‘*ā’iqan* ‘*amāma* (Example 198, Article 7), *sallaṭa l-ḍaw’a* ‘*alā* is a fixed phrase, and does not extend the image to what follows—it could even be argued that such an extension would be stylistically awkward, if not outright unstylistic. It will be argued that depending on the level of diachrony intended, all metaphors that are lower than clause-level are attested *passim* in Media Arabic.

For the higher-level thematic metaphor, however, we need to reach for texts from outside the corpus. One example is the likening of (erotic?) love to an addictive stimulant of the central nervous system, a not uncommon theme in lyrics of contemporary popular culture. For example in the lyrics of Celeste, “What’s your poison”, this metaphor is the main theme throughout:

[...]
 medicate ... me
 [...]
 What’s the point in being sober now?
 I don’t know how to refuse you at all

[chorus:]
 It’s like whoa, what’s your poison?
 Pick a bottle, come on
 All I’m sipping is you
 That’s my poison
 [...]

Antidote runnin’ dry
 Just a drop will save me
 [...]
 What’s the point in being sober now?
 [...]

A similar example is seen in Empire Cast’s “Love is a drug”:

I can get ridiculous
 When I don’t have you and I need my fix
 [...]
 You got me addicted and I’m a first timer
 You got me good

[Chorus:]
 Because love is a drug
 [...]
 I can’t get away, want you everyday
 When you medicate, all the pain goes away
 Because love is like a drug, yeah

In these two partial quotes, the metaphor of “love ≈ drug” is taken to the extreme, being the main theme and image throughout the texts. In Media Arabic, this type of thematic metaphor is typically avoided. We simply do not see it in the corpus. But extended metaphor is attested.

In the corpus, a mere single example can be said to be a true extended metaphor, in a unique description of the struggles of the Palestinian people and Palestine, in Article 37, where the metaphor is cohesively carried through over several phrases and clauses:

201. Article 37, extended metaphor

أكد سامح شكرى وزير الخارجية ان الماضى شهد تصاعداً فى إمكانية أن يرى الشعب الفلسطينى ضوءاً فى نهاية نفق المعاناة الطويل الذى يمشى فيه دون كلل لكن تلك الآمال التى ما لبثت أن تراجعت لن تخفت جذوتها أبداً ما دام الفلسطينيون والعرب ومن ورائهم عازمين على أن تقوم الدولة الفلسطينية المستقلة ذات السيادة، وعاصمتها القدس الشرقية، فى أقرب وقت ودون تلكؤ أو مساومة.	'akkada sāmeh šukrī wazīru l-ḥārīgīyyati 'anna l-'āma l-māḍiya šahida taṣā'uda l-'āmālī fī 'imkāniyyati[n?] 'an yarā l-ša'bu l-filasṭīniyyu ḍaw'an fī nihāyati nafaqi l-mu'ānāti l-ṭawīli llaḍī yamḍī fīhi dūna kalalīn lākinna tilka l-'āmāla llatī mā labīṭat 'an tarāḡa'at lan taḥfuta ḡaḍwatuḥā 'abadan mā dāma l-filasṭīniyyūna wa-l-'arabu wa-man warā'ahum 'āzimīna 'alā 'an taqūma l-dawlatu l-filasṭīniyyatu l-mustaḡillatu dāti l-siyādati, wa-'āṣimat#hā²⁹⁵ el-quḍs al-šarqīyyat# fī 'aqrabi waqtin wa-dūna talakku'in 'aw musāwamatin.	Sameh Shoukry, the [Egyptian] foreign minister, stressed that the past year saw a rise in the hopes of the possibility that the Palestinian people will see light at the end of the long tunnel of the suffering which it is walking through without weariness but these hopes, which recently diminished, their fire will never faint as long as the Palestinians and the Arabs and those behind them remain determined that there shall rise an independent and sovereign Palestinian state, and East Jerusalem its capital, as soon as possible and without delay or compromise.

This metaphor is the longest of the entire corpus. In addition, it is cohesive. It is multimodal and multiclausal and carries the themes of hardship being analogous to a dark tunnel, of walking being analogous to suffering and hope to fire and light, and the theme of a struggle between darkness and light. The metaphor, however, is not a theme that resonates through the entire article. It is not a thematic metaphor.

The metaphor from Article 37 is unique in its scope and complexity. It deals with Palestine and occurs in an attributed utterance. It is the only example of this extreme a metaphor in Media Arabic. But it is also the only example in the corpus of what could be called a real extended metaphor.

In addition to this single extended metaphor, we also have explicit metaphors, or parables, such as in Example (202) from Article 102. The article deals with the referendum decision about whether to separate Scotland from

²⁹⁵ For a discussion of the unique 'āṣimat#hā el-quḍs, see 6.1.2.9.

the rest of UK, an includes an explicit analogy in a statement attributed to Cameron via the verb *šabbaha*, ‘liken, compare’, a verb used 3x times in the corpus (Articles 102, 88, and 25). Here, the metaphor is not extended, but rather made explicit as a parable, where two situations are put side by side and compared for didactic purposes:

202. Article 102, explicit metaphor

وشبه كامرون قرار الانفصال بمن يبني بيتا بشق الأنفس، ثم يغادره ويتخلص من مفاتيحه» ، وقال إن أمتهم صارت بريطانيا العظمى بفضل اسكتلندا العظيمة.	wa-šabbaha kāmīrūn qarāra l-infišālī bi-man yabnī baytan bi-šiqqī l-’an- fusi, tumma yuḡādiruhu wa-yataḥallaṣu min miftāḥihi , wa-qāla ’inna ’ummatahum šarat brīṭāniyā l-’uẓmā bi-faḍli ’iskutlandā l- ’aẓīmatī.	And Cameron likened a decision of secession with someone who painstakingly builds a house, then leaves it and gets rid of the key. And he said that their nation had become the Great Britain thanks to the great Scotland.

In this example, the journalist makes the transitive verb *šabbaha*, ‘likened, compared’, an inseparable part of the imagery. The same can be said about two other explicit metaphors introduced by the same verb: in Article 88, also about the same referendum, and in 25, about Daesh. The use is parabolic²⁹⁶ rather than metaphoric.

203. Article 88, explicit metaphor

وأكد مكتب كامرون أنه سينشد مواطني أسكتلندا بالبقاء في الوحدة مع بريطانيا، حيث سيثبه أقاليم بريطانيا الأربعة بـ«العائلة».	wa-’akkada maktabu kāmīrūn ’annahu sa-yunāšidu muwāṭinī ’iskutlandā bi-l- baqā’i fī-l-waḥdati ma’a brīṭāniyā ḥayṭu sa- yušabbihu ’aqālīma brīṭāniyā l-’arba’ata bi-»l- ’ā’ilatī.	And Cameron’s office confirmed that he will appeal to the citizens of Scotland to stay in the union with Britain, as he will liken the four regions of Britain with »a family.

204. Article 25, explicit metaphor

وفي إطار تواصل حالة الاستنفار الدولي لمواجهة التنظيم، أكد رئيس الوزراء الأسترالي توني أبوت أن اللجوء لـ«القوة الشديدة» للتصدي للتكفيرى داعش، يعد عملا مبررا. وشبه عناصر التنظيم بالنازيين والشيوعيين.	wa-fī ’iṭāri tawāṣuli ḥālātī l- istinfāri l-duwaliyyi li- muwāḡahatī l-tanzīmi, ’akkada ra’īsu l-wuzarā’i l-’uṣṭrāliyyu tūnī ’abbūt ’anna l-luḡū’a li-«l-quwwatī l-šādīdatī» li-l-ṭašaddī li- takfīriyyī dā’eš, yu’addu ’amalan mubarraran. wa- šabbaha ’anāšira l-tanzīmi bi-l-nāziyyīna wa-l- šuyū’iyyīna.	And in the framework of the ongoing international state of alert to confront the organization, the Australian prime minister Tony Abbot stressed that resorting to «brute force» to deal with the terrorists of Daesh is considered a justified act. And he likened the elements of the organization with the Nazis and the communists.

²⁹⁶ Cf. the metaphoric etymology of parable, Greek παραβάλλω, *parabállō*, ‘throw, put beside’ (LSJ).

On the same note we have the verb *'ašbaha*, ‘be equal to’, which is used 2x in the corpus. But in this case, it is an expression of equation, not of likening, metaphor, comparison, or parable.

205. Article 112, equation

صحيفة ذكرت "كاما" الأفغانية أن الاتفاق الذي وقعه المرشحان جاء بعد أيام من المفاوضات للتوصل إلى اتفاق لاقتسام السلطة، وتحديد دور الرئيس التنفيذي، الذي يشبه منصب رئيس الوزراء المسئول عن مجلس الوزراء.	wa-dakarat šaḥīfatu “kāmā” al-’afgāniyyatu ’anna l- ittifāqa llaḍi waqqa’ahu l- muraššahāni ḡā’a ba’da ’ayyāmin mina l- mufāwaḍāti li-l-tawaṣṣuli ’ilā ttifāqin li-qtisāmi l- sulṭati, wa-taḥdīdi dawri l- ra’īsi l-tanfīḍiyyi, llaḍi yušbihu manšiba ra’īsi l- wuzarā’i l-mas’ūli ‘an maḡlisi l-wuzarā’i.	And the Afghan newspaper “Khaama” reported that the agreement which the two can- didates have signed came after days of negotiations to reach an agreement of splitting the power, and define the role of the chief executive, which is similar to the position of the prime minister responsible for the Council of Ministers.

But there are also a number of borderline extended metaphors that also need to be discussed.

Returning to *ḥaṭwatun*. In Article 63 we find a use of the plural similar to the one in Article 118 discussed above. Once again in an attributed utterance, the passage ‘stand at the side of Hadi [...] and his measures and steps towards bringing out Yemen towards the field of safety’ is metaphoric, but the metaphor is not carried through completely:

206. Article 63 (final sentence), interrupted metaphor

كما أكد الفصيل وقوف المملكة ومجلس التعاون الخليجي إلى جانب الرئيس هادي ودعم قراراته وإجراءاته وخطواته نحو إخراج اليمن إلى بر الأمان.	kamā ’akkada el-fayṣal wuqūfa l-mamlakati wa- maḡlisi l-ta’āwuni l- ḥaliḡiyyi ’ilā ḡānibi l-ra’īsi hādī wa-da’mi qarārātihi wa-’iḡrā’ātihi wa- ḥaṭawātihi naḥwa ’iḥrāḡi el-yaman ’ilā barri l- ’amāni.	Al-Faysal also asserted that the [Saudi] Kingdom and the Gulf Cooperation Council stand at the side of [the Yemeni] pres- ident Hadi, and support his decisions, and his measures and steps towards bringing Yemen out to the field of safety.

This construction is exceptional in the corpus, as the metaphor theme of movement is pervasive in the passage over multiple phrases, but the constructions do not together depict a cohesive image of physical movement. The spatially stationary image of ‘standing beside’ (i.e. ‘helping’, ‘ready to help’) is here metaphorically extended to imply movement, not concrete and in space, but abstract and in time. The image of stationary “standing beside”

(not walking or accompanying), does not go well with “steps towards” bringing Yemen out to a land of safety as an analogy. The analogy from Article 63, although unique, is unsuccessful and cannot as a whole be taken to be an extended metaphor.²⁹⁷ This is very different from the extended metaphor about Palestine in Article 37.

Similar examples of unsuccessful extended metaphors involving movement are found elsewhere, as well, such as in Article 123, Example (207).

207. Article 123, unsuccessful metaphor

معتبرا أن التوصل لوقف إطلاق النار في قطاع غزة في الفترة الماضية يعد إنجازا ضخما ويعكس استعادة الدور المصري الإقليمي، كما يؤكد حرص مصر حقن دماء الشعب الفلسطيني وحمايته، مشددا على أنها مستمرة في العمل في هذا الاتجاه لتثبيت وقف إطلاق وتوفير مقومات إدامته واستمراره والتغلب على أي معوقات قد تعرقل هذا الطريق.	[...] mu'tabiran 'anna l- tawaṣṣula li-waqfi 'iṭlāqi l- nāri fī qitā'i 'gazza fi-l-fatrati l-māḍiyati yu'addu 'ingāzan ḍaḥman wa-ya'kisu sti'ādata l-dawri l-miṣriyyi l- 'iqlīmiyyi ,kamā yu'akkidu ḥirṣa miṣr ḥaḡna dimā'i l- ša'bi l-filasṭīniyyi wa- ḥimāyatihi ,muṣaddidan 'alā 'annahā mustamirratur fi-l- 'amali fī ḥādā l-ittiḡāhi li- taṭbīti waqfi 'iṭlāqin wa- tawfīri muqawwimāti 'idāmatihi wa-stimrārihi wa- l-taḡallubi 'alā 'ayyi mu'awwiqātin qad tu'arqilu ḥādā l-tarīqa.	Considering that the reaching of a ceasefire in the Gaza Strip is counted a huge achievement and reflects the restoration of the Egyptian regional role, stressing the keenness of Egypt to spare the blood of the Palestinian people and to pro- tect them, stressing that it [Egypt] is continuing in the work in this direction to sta- bilize the ceasefire and pro- vide ingredients for its perpet- uation and its continuation and the overcoming of any obsta- cles which may hinder this path .

Here, metaphors in the sphere of horizontal physical movement is represented by four words: *al-ittiḡāhi*, ‘direction’, *mu'awwiqātin*, ‘obstacles’, that *qad tu'arqilu*, ‘may obstruct’, *al-tarīqa*, ‘the road’, but here the metaphor is not consistently carried through either. What could have been an extended metaphor is here broken via the choice of words that do not fit the imagery, words such as ‘gaining mastery over the obstacles’, *al-taḡallubi* ‘*alā mu'awwiqāti*, rather than e.g. a more graphic spatial movement verb that also involves some kind of vertical movement, such as ‘jump’, ‘climb’, or similar. Also the verbal nouns contradict the image of spatial movement, e.g. *taṭbīt*#, ‘make fast, corroborate, establish’, *tawfīr*#, ‘provide’, and *'idāmat*#, ‘continuance’. This is not a successful extended metaphor either. It is different from Article 37.

²⁹⁷ ‘Bringing Yemen out to a land of safety’ is, however, a successful metaphor, albeit of the shortest possible length: elliptical subject to a nominalized causative movement verb with a genitive object and a goal of movement. It is not extended.

A similar example from outside the sphere of motion is seen in Article 61:

208. Article 61 (lead), metaphor, not extended

في محاولة لمد يد العون لأشقائها الأفارقة لاحتواء فيروس الإيبولا القاتل، أعلنت مصر	fī muḥāwalatin li-maddi yadi l-ʿawni li-ʿašiqqāʾihā l- ʿafāriqati li-ḥtiwāʾi fayrūs al-ʾibūlā l-qātili, ʾaʿlana miṣr [...]	In an attempt to reach out a hand to her African brothers to contain the deadly Ebola virus, Egypt announced [...]

It could be argued that Example (208) is indeed an extended metaphor, but the verbal noun *iḥtiwāʾ*#, literally ‘embrace’, here ‘contain’, is not necessarily figurative and used to paint a picture. Synonyms include *ḥadd# min*, ‘limit’ (Article 44), or possibly *muʿālağat#*, ‘cure’ (Article 82), both attested together with *fayrūs*, ‘virus’. The use of *li-ḥtiwāʾi* in the meaning of ‘contain’ (e.g. a situation) goes together with *muḥāwalat#* 4x times in the corpus, including Articles 3, 29, and 58, in addition to the example above. The metaphor of reaching out a hand, *yamuddu yadahu*, also occurs in Article 85, but in the meaning of ‘seeking to cooperate’ with political parties. Example (208) from Article 61, *ergo*, is not expanding on a picture. It is different from Article 37.

Only once, in Article 37, can we speak of a consistently pictorial passage in the entirety of the corpus.

3.15.1.1. Summary: Metaphor

In this chapter, metaphor was introduced and discussed: metaphors on a morphemic, lexical, phrasal, and clausal level have been described as part of the lower-level textual analogies in Media Arabic. On the higher textual level, extending the clause, extended metaphor was described as a metaphor operating beyond the clause. The extended metaphor was contrasted against the highest-level metaphor described, the thematic metaphor, a type of analogy operating consistently at the level of an entire text as topic.

Lower-level metaphors are found *passim* in Media Arabic, occasionally giving rise to inconsistent imagery that if read as a coherent picture make no sense in what was tentatively named unsuccessful extended metaphors. A single extended metaphor is found in the corpus, about Palestine (Article 37, Example 201). Moreover, thematic metaphor is unattested in the corpus.

3.15.2. Alliteration

If by alliteration is meant the conspicuous repetition of lexically conditioned²⁹⁸ “sounds”, the most frequent alliteration *ittifāq# waqfi* ‘*iṭlāqi l-nāri*, ‘ceasefire agreement’ (3x /ā/, 3x /q/, and 2x /f/), with a total of 9x attestations would be included, alongside the *hapax* expression ‘*amaliyyāt# karrin wa-farrin*, ‘hit and run operations’ (Article 4), and possibly also the *hapax* paronomastic *nanfī nafyan qāfī* ‘*an*, ‘we deny strongly’ (Article 51). In addition, the two *hapax* expressions in Article 69: *bi-ṣūratin ḥāzimatīn wa-ḥāsimatīn*, ‘in a resolute and decisive manner’, and *tağribatun ġadīdatun wa-ğiddiyyatun*, ‘a new and serious test’ could be included, together with the final segments of the first clause in the lead of Article 89: *ṣahidati l-’azmatu l-yamaniyyatu mazīdan mina l-ta’ qādi wa-l-taṣ’īdi* [...].

If, however, by alliteration is meant the *rhetoric* repetition of “sounds” for stylistic purposes, it must be said that it is not a salient feature of Media Arabic group style, at least not beyond the extent of two or possibly three juxtaposed lexical items. Only the examples cited above would have to be taken into consideration.

In short, alliteration, the deliberate stylistic choice of grouping lexical items together for reasons of sonic repetition, is arguably not a feature of Media Arabic.

²⁹⁸ By “lexically conditioned” here, case repetition, predominantly a repetition of the genitive /i/, is excluded.

3.16. Observations on temporal relations

This chapter discusses temporal anchoring in the hard news article and the bleaching of temporal expressions in the context of news.

3.16.1. Temporal anchoring

Briefly put, bi-clausal propositions operate in relation to three temporal reference points, namely speech time (S), event time (E), and reference time (R) (Reichenbach 1947).

209. *She left.*

Speech time is the time of me writing the sentence in Example (209). Event time is morphologically coded in the past with reference to speech time, *left*, and if this clause were to be the matrix of a subordinate clause, it would act as the reference time to that situation (Example 210).

210. *She left, when she had eaten.*

A situation can be anchored temporally by means other than morphology, e.g. by a frame time (F), expressed via adverbs, context, or otherwise:

211. Frame time (example from Dahl 1985: 31)
I had a nice time in London. I went to Madame Tussaud's twice.
(i.e. during the time I was in London)

Temporal anchoring can be either unreal, generic,²⁹⁹ iterated, or with a periodic anchoring (imperfective verbal aspect), or the anchoring can be altogether irrelevant (not fixed). In the Hebrew Psalter, descriptions of the high Deity YHWH may be gnomic, or generic, referring to characteristics of YHWH's eternal being.

212. Generic, Ps. 99, 1a

יְהוָה מַלְאֵךְ	YHWH mālāk	The Lord reigneth

²⁹⁹ Or gnomic: “the situation described in the proposition is generic; the predicate has held, holds, and will hold for the class of entities named by the subject” (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 319).

An iterative anchoring may reference what happens every time, as in the case of the lyric to “Lukatar” by Lady Leshurr (Example 213).

213. Iterative, Lady Leshurr, chorus to the song “Lukatar”

Everywhere I go they be like “lukatar”³⁰⁰
 When I do a show they be like “lukatar”
 Checkin’ out my clothes they be like “lukatar”³⁰¹
 Lukatar, lukatar go

But the anchoring may be altogether irrelevant, as in the case of wordplays and rhymes (Example 214).

214. Irrelevant anchoring, opening bars (and hook) of the Beastie Boys’ song “Sure Shot”

Cause you can’t, you won’t, and you don’t stop
 Cause you can’t, you won’t, and you don’t stop
 Well, you can’t, you won’t, and you don’t stop
 Mike D, come and rock the sure shot

Or the anchoring may be with reference to a period, as in the lyric by Method Man when framing a description temporally as the time when “we dwell through this concrete hell” (Example 215).

215. Periodic anchoring, about the current situation vis-à-vis hopes of a better future, Method Man of the Wu-Tang Clan in “A Better Tomorrow”

As we dwell through this concrete hell, calling it home
 Mama say, take your time young man and build your own
 Don’t wind up like your old dad
 Still searching for them glory days he never had
 So many bad want to scheme for American dream, no more kings
 The cash rule everything now, we going down
 These babies looking up to us, it’s up to us
 The Million Man March MCs, get on the bus
 But envy, greed, lust, and hate, separate
 Though the devil mind state blood kin cannot relate
 No longer, brothers, we unstable
 Like Caine when he slew Abel, killing each other

³⁰⁰ A reference to a viral clip and subsequent memes from an excerpt of a two-part dialogue in the *Jeremy Kyle Show*:

Guest: *Lukatar*

Jeremy Kyle: *She what?*

Guest: *Lukatar*

Jeremy Kyle: *Lukatar?*

Guest: *Look at her*

Jeremy Kyle: *Okay*

³⁰¹ “Everywhere” and consequently, when = whenever, multiple occasions, and on all these occasions “[they be] checkin’ out my clothes”.

In Media Arabic, the picture is typically complex, with a news outlet writing (speech time 1) that a source said something (speech time 2) about something at an event time that may be anterior, cotemporal, or posterior to speech time 2. If there are multiple finite clauses, the embedded or non-embedded status of these can be difficult to discern, and consequently their reference time may be either speech time 1 or speech time 2.

216. Media Arabic temporality

x said $E1=S2=R2$ at the conference F , that y will do z $E2=R3$, when [...]

The frame time (F) in this example is “at the conference”.

S1 (speech time 1) = writer’s now, may act as reference time (R1)

S2 = subject x said, = R2, located in the past with reference to S1

E2 (event 2) = y will do z = R3, a situation in the future with reference to either R2 or both R1 and R2.

The subordinate temporal situation introduced by the conjunction ‘when’ (E3) has for reference time either R1, R2, or R3.

Speech time 1 is not explicitly defined temporally by linguistic means since its frame time always is that of today’s news vis-à-vis the news of previous days. Speech time 2, however, can be explicit, but is not necessarily defined absolutely with reference to the calendar, e.g. ‘yesterday’ (for *'amsi*, see 6.8.1), or ‘2 p.m., Friday last week’, but may be referenced more loosely for ongoing events.

Example (217) from Article 54 has no explicit reference time, and the lead begins with a suffix-verb of attribution without an explicit frame time. Speech time 2 is not specified other than in the second paragraph, but now with reference to a conference which we must assume is either ongoing or located in the recent past at speech time 1. A readership informed about the current events is likely to be able to infer a somewhat accurate speech time 2, but without prior knowledge, the contemporary readership can only assume that it is somewhat recent, probably a day old, although for this there are no guarantees.

217. Article 54 (headline, through to paragraph 2)

خمسة مليارات دولار
تكلفة الجسر الجديد بين
البحرين والسعودية

المنامة - أ ف ب:

أكد وزير النقل
البحريني كمال بن أحمد
أن جسرا ثانيا سيربط
البحرين

بالسعودية، ستكلف

حوالي خمسة مليارات
دولار، وسيكون الجسر
ممرًا لمشروع القطار
المشترك لدول مجلس
التعاون الخليجي.

وأكد الوزير الذي كان
يتكلم على هامش مؤتمر
اقتصادي ينظمه المعهد
الدولي للدراسات
الاستراتيجية في المنامة
أن تفاصيل المشروع
ستبحث في اجتماع
مشترك الشهر المقبل.
وقال بن أحمد خلال
المؤتمر نفسه «لقد
انتهينا تقريبا من تحديد
مسارات الجسر».

ḥamsatu milyārāti dūlārīn
taklifatu l-ḡisri l-ḡadīdi
bayna el-baḥrayn wa-l-
sa'ūdiyya

el-manāma - a f b: 'akkada
wazīru l-naqli l-baḥrayniyyu
kamāl bin 'aḥmad 'anna
ḡisran tāniyan sa-yarbuṭu el-
baḥrayn bi-l-sa'ūdiyya, sa-
tukallafu ḥawālay ḥamsati
milyārāti dūlārīn, wa-sa-
yakūnu l-ḡisru mamarran li-
mašrū' i l-qitāri l-muštarakī li-
duwali maḡlisi l-ta'āwuni l-
ḥaliḡiyyi.

wa-'akkada l-wazīru llaḏī
kāna yatakallamu 'alā ḥāmiši
mu'tamarin iqtisādiyyin
yunazzimuhu l-ma'hadu l-du-
waliyyu li-l-dirāsāti l-
istrātiḡiyyati fī el-manāma
'anna tafāṣīla l-mašrū' i sa-
tubḥaṭu fī ḡtimā'in
muštarakin al-šahra l-
muqbila. wa-qāla bin 'aḥmad
ḥilāla l-mu'tamari nafsihi
«laqad intahaynā taqrīban
min taḥdīdi masārāti l-ḡisri».

**Five billion dollars the cost
of the new bridge between
Bahrain and Saudi**

Manama - AFP: The Bah-
raini minister of transporta-
tion Kamal bin Ahmed said
that a second bridge that will
connect Bahrain with Saudi
Arabia, will cost about five
billion dollars, and [that] the
bridge will be a conduit of
the joint train project of the
countries of the Gulf Cooper-
ation Council.

And the minister, who
was speaking on the sidelines
of an economic conference
which the International Insti-
tute for Strategic Studies or-
ganized in Manama, said that
the details of the project will
be discussed at the joint
meeting the coming month.
And bin Ahmed said during
the same conference «we
have almost finished deline-
ating the route of the bridge».

In Media Arabic, the temporal anchoring of the main-line situation is important and it typically has a specific reference point, such as e.g. 'amsi, 'yesterday'. In **news**, not only what is written is important, but also the fact that it is recent.

The main line of the body is typically anchored in the past via the suffix-verb. Deviations from this main line are done e.g. in the anterior via *kāna qad fa'ala*, and in a periodic anchoring to the present via the prefix conjugation. References to the future in the main line are rare (see 5.3.1 for main clauses), but are coded either with modal expressions (not investigated) or in the prefix conjugation without the future prefix: there are no instances of *sawfa* in main clauses, and only 6x *sa-*. The future is the most frequent in complement main clauses, but can be used in relative clauses, and non-main clauses (for the distribution of futures, see 3.10.2).

In Example (218) from Article 88, one of the futures in a main clause is attested in a continuation of information that ultimately goes back to Cameron's office in a type of middle ground attribution, with a main clause and a verb of attribution in a future morphology, where the news outlet states what Cameron is going to say in a speech.

218. Article 88 (lead and second paragraph), future

وأكد مكتب كامرون أنه سيناشد مواطني أسكتلندا بالبقاء في الوحدة مع بريطانيا، حيث سيثبته أقلام بريطانيا الأربعة «بـالعائلة» وفي كلمته المتوقعة، سيحذر كامرون النخبين من أنه لن تكون هناك عودة عن الانفصال إذا ما اختاروه.	wa-'akkada maktabu kāmīrūn 'annahu sa-yunāšidu muwāṭinī 'iskutlandā bi-l-baqā'i fi-l- waḥdati ma'a briṭāniyā, ḥayṭu sa-yuṣbiḥu 'aḡālīma briṭāniyā l- 'arbā 'ata bi-»al-'ā' ilati.« wa-fi kalimatihī l- mutawaqqā'ati, sa-yuḥaddiru kāmīrūn al-nāḥibīna min 'an- nahu lan takūna hunāka 'aw- datun 'ani l-infiṣālī 'ida mā ḥtārūhu.	And Cameron's office confirmed that he is going to appeal to the citizens of Scotland to stay in unity with Britain, as he will liken the four regions of Britain with »a family«. And in his expected speech, Cameron will warn the voters that there will be no return from secession if they choose it.

A similar situation is found with *kamā* + future following a full stop in Example (219) from Article 15. The status of *kamā* is somewhat muddy, as it introduces both main clauses and non-main clauses, but given both the morpho-syntactic and semantic context of attributed futures in the preceding complement clauses, together with the general absence of futures in the main line, *kamā* must here be taken to introduce a continuation at the same semantic level as that of the complement clause following 'awḍaḥat, albeit coded as a main clause. The *kamā* clause, thus, which on the surface appears to be a main clause, is consequently to be attributed to Ursula von der Leyen as a type of semantic middle ground between attribution and main line, in effect to be counted as mutually exclusive of the semantically synonymous *wa-'anna* as a coordinated continuation of a complement clause (for which, see 5.3.2.1).

219. Article 15 (middle of article), *kamā* + future

واتهمت لابين الدولة الإسلامية بأنها تتسم «بـوحشية لا ترحم»، و أعلنت وزارة الدفاع أن المانيا سترسل ٣٠ صاروخا مضادا للدبابات وقاذفات الصواريخ، إضافة الى ١٦ ألف بندقية، و٨ آلاف مسدس. وأوضحت لابين أن الدفعة الأولى من السلح ستكفي لتجهيز	wa-ttāhamat lāyen al-dawlata l-'islāmiyyata bi-'annahā tat- tasimu bi-»waḥšiyyatin lā tarḥamu«, wa 'a'lanat wizāratu l-difā'i 'anna 'almāniyā sa- tursilu 30 ṣārūḥan muḍāddan li-l-dabbābāti wa-qāḍifāti l- ṣawārīḥi, 'idāfatan 'ilā 16 'alfa bunduqiyyatin, wa-8 'ālāfi mu- saddasin. <u>wa-'awḍaḥat lāyen</u> 'anna l-duf'ata l-'ūlā mina l- silāḥi sa-takfī li-taḡhīzi 4 'ālāfi ḡundiyyin bi-nihāyati šahri	And [Ursula von der] Leyen accused the Islamic State of being characterized by »merciless brutality«. And the Ministry of Defence an- nounced that Germany will send 30 anti-tank rockets and rocket launchers, in ad- dition to 16 thousand rifles and 8 thousand pistols. <u>And</u> <u>Leyen clarified that</u> the first batch of weapons will suf-

٤ آلاف جندي بنهاية شهر سبتمبر الجاري. كما سترسل برلين ٥٠ مليون يورو كمساعدات إنسانية إلى الإقليم.	sibtambir al-ğārī. kamā sa- tursilu berlin 50 milyūna yūrū ka-musā‘adātin ‘insāniyyatin ‘ilā l-‘iqlimi.	fice to equip 4 thousand sol- diers by the end of Septem- ber. Berlin will also send 50 million euros as hu- manitarian aid to the re- gion.

3.16.1.1. The fallacy of cotemporality (on newspaper frame time)

General theory

Text linguistics and the linking strategies of sentences are outside the scope of the present investigation.³⁰² However, the following section bears on both the main line and subordinate clauses, as well as on higher levels.

Thompson *et al.* (2007: 254) discuss “simultaneous clauses”, and Longacre (2007: 379) discusses “overlap” in cases when one event is coded to take place at the same time as, or during, another event. One or both events can be either punctiliar or telic, e.g. with high semantic transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980), or atelic, with static predicates or verbal aspects grammaticalized along the imperfective trajectory (Bybee *et al.* 1994). The overlap may or may not be coded with explicit conjunctions.

The antonymic term to overlap in Longacre’s terminology is succession (2007: 380), where one event succeeds another along an imaginary two-dimensional timeline (Givón 2001 I: 285ff.; for temporal succession, see 4.3.1.1). To this may be added Counter-sequential (for which, see 4.3.1.2).

220. Overlap, imperfective + punctual (Thompson *et al.* 2007: 254)

As I was cutting my hair, the scissors broke

221. Overlap, punctual + punctual (Longacre 2007: 380)

As I brought up my head, she tossed the knife

Typically, this is what is meant with overlapping or simultaneous clauses, and this is normally what is expressed by conjunctions with this notion. In Media Arabic, the situation is different.

The newspaper is “today’s bestseller” and bases its content and narratives against a backdrop of the content and narratives of yesterday’s bestseller. The iconic temporal sequence in Media Arabic is broken in favour of fronting the most newsworthy elements of the story (for which, see 1.4.4). In addition, the information is interwoven in, and with, attributions followed by complement clauses. In summary, the issue of cotemporality in Media Arabic is a complex one. In this section the problems related to the analysis of coordination, cotemporality, and coding will be discussed.

³⁰² For an earlier study, with a corpus from Al-Ahram in 1986, see Khalil (1999).

The time frame under which events and situations are cotermporal in a news item may be defined by extra-textual factors, forming a part of an ongoing narrative about the focus of the content, referred to intertextually by topic, and ideally by headline. So not only is the temporal sequence of events of inferior relevance and typically left unreproduced in text, but also the temporal relationships between events may be of secondary relevance. Moreover, time frames such as *'amsi*, 'yesterday', do not have as their only function to pinpoint an event temporally at a specific point in time, nor to give a date only, but also highlight the newsworthiness of a news item as "hot" and currently relevant. Its main import is not "at some unspecified and unimportant point in time yesterday", but that the news at hand is as recent and relevant as possible to report on in today's printed newspaper, that it is newsworthy.

It is not only *wa-*, 'and', that may imply a coordination of an event under the same time frame (see Unordered Additions, 4.7.4; and in 6.1): conjunctions that at a surface level imply cotermporality such as *baynamā*, 'meanwhile', may also be used as mere coordinating conjunctions with the meaning 'and', where the cotermporal time frame is that of the whole news report, rather than that of the matrix or the previous clause. Grammatically, this is reflected in two bounded events coded with the suffix conjugation in both clauses, where none of the clauses can be understood to take place during the extent of the other predicate's specific event time.

In addition, there are transition phrases that may lexically imply similar notions of cotermporality, like *fī ḡuḏūni dālīka*, 'meanwhile', literally 'in the course of this', which are used similarly to coordinating conjunctions, but which are functional cohesives with regard to larger segments on a higher textual level (for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2). All of this is interspersed with attributed information, introduced by a verb of attribution and typically with one or more complement clauses. The first complement clause is easily identifiable as a complement, or as part of an utterance (direct or indirect, see discussion in 1.4.6), but the second may be simply coordinated, in which case the continuation or discontinuation of the attribution is not easily identified (cf. Examples 218 and 219). The coordination of clauses with verbs of attribution is done either directly via a second (or *n*th) complementizer (*wa-'an*, *wa-'anna*, or *wa-'inna*, for which, see 5.3.2.1) followed by a complement clause (5.3.2.2), or via the resumption of the subject via a second verb of attribution, either in the suffix conjugation (5.3.1) or nominalized as an accusative participle (6.4.5.3). In the two latter cases, where the verb of attribution is repeated, we may also be dealing with unspecified temporal relations, regardless of whether the second verb is finite or nominalized via a participle and hence—grammatically speaking—of unequal morphosyntactic properties, i.e. subordinate.

As an example, let us discuss two consecutive paragraphs from Article 121 in Example (222) below, the translation of which is more reflective of the Arabic than the actual semantics of the linkings.

222. Article 121, time frame and cotemporality

وفي بنغازي، تواصلت
الاشتباكات والقصف
المتبادل بين قوات اللواء
خليفة حفتر وقوات
«مجلس شورى ثوار
بنغازي» الليلة قبل
الماضية. وذكرت
مصادر أمنية أن قوة
الانفجارات أدت إلى
زلزلة المنازل وتحطم
بعض النوافذ، مشيراً إلى
أن مناطق الليثي
والقوارشة والمساكن
الجاهزة بمدينة بنغازي
تشهد قصفاً عنيفاً
بواسطة المدفعية
وراجمات صواريخ
جراد.

وفي غضون ذلك،
قال مسعفون وسكان إن
أفراداً من الجيش
والشرطة خاضوا
معارك في الأيام القليلة
الماضية قرب حقل
الشرارة، أكبر حقل
نفتي في جنوب ليبيا،
بينما اندلع قتال منفصل
في الغرب على مقربة
من مصفاة حقل الزاوية.

wa-fi bengāzī, **tawāsalati l-iṣṭibākātu wa-l-qaṣfu** l-mu-
tabādalu bayna quwwāti
l-liwā'i ḥalīfa ḥaftar wa-
quwwāti «mağlisi šūrā
tuwwāri bengāzī» al-laylata
qabla l-māḍiyati. **wa-dakar-**
rat maṣādiru 'amniyyatun
'anna quwwata l-infiğārati
'addat 'ilā zalzalati l-
manāzili wa-taḥaṭṭumi ba'di
l-nawāfiḍi, **mušīran 'ilā**
'anna manāṭiqa el-layṭi wa-l-
qawāriša wa-l-masākina el-
ğāhiza bi-madīnati bengāzī
taṣḥadu qaṣfan 'anīfan bi-
wāsītati l-midfa'iyyati wa-
rāğimāti ṣawāriḥi ġrād.

wa-fi ġuḍūni ḍālika, qāla
mus'ifūna wa-sukkānun
'inna 'afrādan mina l-ğayši
wa-l-šurṭati ḥādū ma'ārika fi-
l-'ayyāmi l-qalīlati l-
māḍiyati qurba ḥaqli el-
šarāra, 'akbara ḥaqlin
naftiyyin fi ġanūbi lībiyā,
baynamā ndala'a qitālun
munfašilun fi-l-ğarbi 'alā
maqrabatin min miṣfāti ḥaqli
el-zāwiya.

And in Benghazi, **the clashes and mutual bombardment** between the forces of Major General Khalifa Haftar and the forces of «the Shura Council of the Benghazi Revolutionaries» **continued** the night before yesterday. **And security sources mentioned/have said** that the force of the explosions led to houses shaking and the destruction of some windows, **referring to** [the fact] that the areas of Laythi, Qawari-sha and al-Masakin al-Jahiza in the city of Benghazi witness violent shelling by artillery and Grad rockets.

Meanwhile, medics and residents [have] said that members of the army and the police [have] waged battles during the past few days near the Sharara field, the largest oilfield in southern Libya, **while** a separate fight broke out in the west close to the refinery of the field of al-Zawiya.

Via a discontinuing locational transition phrase, *wa-fi bengāzī*, the scene is now set to Benghazi and the conflict with which the expected readership is already acquainted via previous news reports on the topic. This is an ongoing narrative. The clashes continue. Personnel at the site are quoted (directly or indirectly) as they give further relevant details on the scene, adding information about the site. The first information is attributed to 'security sources', *maṣādiru 'amniyyatun*, via the verb *wa-dakarat*, 'said' (3fs). This subject is later taken up by the semi-frozen nominalized clause *mušīran 'ilā 'anna* [*sic* masculine], lit. 'referring to', which is here introducing causal background data as to the events of the previously given information.

The second paragraph is introduced by a temporal transition phrase, *wa-fi ġuḍūni ḍālika*, lit. 'and in the course of this', but *ḍālika* here is not anaphoric to a specific event or clause, but part of a frozen and semantically bleached transition phrase whose main function is to topically continue a narrative in a list-type structure, a structure more akin to the list of ingredients in a cooking

recipe than an iconic narrative with logical or temporal relations between events—‘And moreover on the same topic [...]’—but forced into prose under the guise of a historical narrative.

Following the transition phrase, further details are introduced via the speech verb *qāla*, attributed to medics *in situ*: ‘they said’. Lastly in this paragraph a clause is introduced by *baynamā*, lit. ‘during which’, ‘meanwhile’. Whether this last clause is part of what the medics have reported, or consists of a journalistic summary of the recent newsworthy developments in Libya is not clear, nor is the temporal relation between the two clauses introduced by *qāla* and *baynamā* easily inferred. Again, the meaning of the coordinator *baynamā* is not temporal, but works structurally on a textual level to introduce additional data on the same topic: ‘also’ or ‘whereas’ (for the Adversative, see 4.9.7). The clause marks topical continuity, not temporal coeventuality, a continuity that can be represented in the interpunctuation via a comma rather than a full stop. The parameters that inform and form the segmental sequence are not temporal, but informational (see 1.4).

Looking for semantic relationships between the clauses in Example (222) from Article 121, we can conclude that there are no explicit logico-semantic relationships such as causality, result, or the like. We are left with a narrative-like structure, arbitrarily built up by bits of information, some of which come with sources (identifiable or unidentifiable), but logically organized in a list-type arrangement, the order of which is not deciphered by intertextual criteria alone. In a temporal sense, it is not a logical narrative where *x* follows *y*, during which *z* took place. Information hierarchies rather than temporal relations dictate the segmental ordering of clauses (see 1.4.3ff.). This is a typical Media Arabic segmental disposition, where temporal succession between finite perfective clauses is an exception (for Temporal Succession of e.g. *wa*-Vsuff, see 6.1.2.1).

Another example of both sentence- and paragraph-initial *baynamā* can be adduced from Article 123, Example (223).

223. Article 123 (lead and second paragraph), paragraph-initial *baynamā*

استؤنفت ظهر أمس المفاوضات غير المباشرة بين الجانبين الفلسطيني والإسرائيلي في مقر جهاز المخابرات المصرية برئاسة الوزير محمد فريد التهامي رئيس جهاز المخابرات العامة المصرية، لوضع جدول أعمال للمفاوضات التي ستستكمل بشكل مكثف	ustu'nifat zuhra 'amsi l- mufāwāḍātu ḡayru l-mu- bāširati bayna l-ḡānibayni l-fi- lasṭīniyyi wa-l-'isrā'īliyyi fī maqarri ḡihāzi l-muḥābarāti l- mišriyyati bi-ri'āsati l-wazīri muḥammad farīd el-tuhāmī ra'īsī ḡihāzi l-muḥābarāti l- 'āmmati l-mišriyyati, li-waḍ' <i>i</i> ḡadwali 'a'mālin li-l- mufāwāḍāti llatī sa-tu- stakmalu bi-ṣaklin mukattāfin	The indirect negotiations between the Palestinian and Israeli sides were resumed yesterday at the headquarters of the Egyptian Intelligence Service under the leadership of the minister Muhammad Fareed al Tohami, head of the Egyptian General Intelligence Service, to lay an agenda for the negotiations which will be completed in an intensive manner after the

بعد عيد الأضحى
المبارك والأعياد
اليهودية.
بينما تنطلق اليوم
بالقاهرة اجتماعات
المصالحة الفلسطينية
بمشاركة وفود من كل
من فتح وحماس
والجهاد الإسلامي.

ba'da 'īdi l-'aḏḥā l-mubāraki
wa-l-'a'yādi l-yahūdiyyati.
baynamā tanṭaliqu l-
yawma bi-l-qāhira
ḡtimā'ātu l-muṣālaḥati l-fi-
lasṭīniyyati bi-muṣārakati
wufūdin min kullin min fataḥ
wa-ḥamās wa-l-ḡihād el-
'islāmī.

blessed el-Adha holiday and
the Jewish holidays.

Meanwhile, the Palestin-
ian reconciliation meetings
begin in Cairo today with the
participation of a delegation
from each of Fatah, Hamas,
and the Islamic Jihad.

There are cases of *baynamā* where the linking bears remnants of being cotemporal, as in the rare occurrence of the finite preposed topicalizing subordinate clause in Example (224) from the lead of Article 70 (for preposed elements in Media Arabic, see 5.3.3 and 5.3.4). This lead also has the *prima vista* cotemporal linkings of *fī ḥīn#*, lit. 'at a time when', 'and at the same time', and a nominalized participle in the accusative (gram switch), which in the example coordinates two attributions topically, rather than subordinates one to the other (for which, see Different Level Same Subject Addition 4.7.4.2; and also participles of attribution, 6.4.5.3).

224. Article 71 (lead), *baynamā* (topicalizing article-initial subordination), *fī ḥīni* + Vsuff verb of attribution, and *mušaddidan* 'alā 'anna

بينما يبدأ 4,3 مليون
طالب سورى عاما
دراسيا جديدا
اليوم، تواصلت
الاشتباكات بين القوات
الحكومية وعناصر
المعارضة المسلحة في
حي جوبر بالعاصمة
دمشق و وفي الغوطة
الشرقية على أطرافها،
في حين أكد «ستيفان
دى ميستورا» المبعوث
الأممي الخاص لسوريا
حرصه على الدفع قدما
بالعملية السياسية
والتوصل الى حل
سياسي للأزمة، مشددا
على أهمية التركيز
خلال الفترة الحالية
على تلبية الاحتياجات
الإنسانية للنازحين
السوريين.

baynamā yabda'u 4,3
milūn# ṭālibin sūriyyin
'āman dirāsiyyan ḡadīdan
al-yawma, tawāsalati l-
iṣtibākātu bayna l-quwwāti l-
ḥukūmatiyyati wa-'anāširi l-
mu'āraḡati l-musallaḡati fī
ḡayyi ḡūbar bi-l-'āsimati di-
mašq wa wa-fī el-ḡūṭa el-
šarqiyya 'alā 'aṭrāfiḡā, fī ḡīni
'akkada «stifān dī mīstūrā»
al-mab'ūṭu l-'umamiyyu l-
ḡāṣṣu li-sūriyā ḡirṣahu 'alā
l-daf'i quḡuman bi-l-'ama-
liyyati l-siyāsiyyati wa-l-ta-
waṣṣuli 'ilā ḡallin siyāsiyyin
li-l-'azmati , mušaddidan
'alā 'aḡammīyyati l-tarkīzi
ḡilāla l-fatratī l-ḡāliyyati 'alā
talbiyati l-iḡtiyāḡāti l-
'insāniyyati li-l-nāziḡīna l-
sūriyyīna.

While 4.3 million Syrian
students begin a new
school year today, the
clashes continued between
government forces and ele-
ments of the armed opposi-
tion in the district of Jubar in
the capital Damascus and in
Eastern Ghouta on its out-
skirts, **while [= and]** «Staf-
fan de Mistura» the special
UN envoy to Syria stressed
his keenness to push for-
ward with the political pro-
cess and reach a political so-
lution to the crisis, **stressing**
the importance of focusing
during the present period
on meeting the humanitar-
ian needs of the displaced
Syrians.

The preposed subordinate clause with *baynamā* VprefL sets the scene of the newsworthy event (for article-initial subordination, see 5.3.3), and contextualizes the matrix information (for background and context, see 1.4.5). The conjunction *fī hīni* is anaphoric topically, indicating that what Staffan de Mistura has to say concerns the ongoing conflict as reported on in the matrix. The attribution introduced with *'akkada* is subsequently continued via the nominalized clause introduced by a peripheral accusative participle, *mušaddidan*, 'and in this regard he stressed ...'.

As is demonstrated by the two examples above (223 and 224), temporal conjunctions may mark topical continuity under the guise of cotemporality. That this linking is imprecise temporally is further illustrated by Example (225) from Article 70 with the coordinator *fī hīni*.

225. Article 70 (lead), *fī hīni*

اندلعت اشتباكات عنيفة بين الجيش السوري وتتظيم الدولة الإسلامية (داعش) في محيط مطار دير الزور العسكري، في حين قتل 9 من عناصر الجيش في انفجار استهدفهم بحى جوبر بالعاصمة دمشق .	indala'ati štibākātun 'anīfatun bayna l-ğayši l- sūriyyi wa-tanzīmi l- dawlati l-'islāmiyyati (dā'eš) fī muhīti maṭāri deir el-zōr al-'askariyyi, fī hīni qutila 9 min 'anāširi l- ğayši fī nfiğārin stahdafahum bi-ḥayyi ğūbar bi-l-'āšimati dimašq.	Violent clashes broke out between the Syrian army and the organization of the Islamic State (Daesh) in the surroundings of Deir al-Zour military airport, during which [= and] 9 elements of the army were killed in an explosion that targeted them in the district of Jobar in the capital Damascus.

The distance between Deir el Zor and Damascus is roughly 450 km (280 miles). The function of *fī hīni* is not to mark the two events, namely the outbreak of clashes in Deir al-Zour and the deaths of soldiers in Jobar, as simultaneous, but is used to continue the topic: war in Syria.

A similar case is seen in Example (226) from Article 5, but here with the conjunction *fīmā*, lit. 'in that'. In total, the conjunction *fīmā* is used 3x in Article 5.

226. Article 5, *fīmā*

وأضاف "نخوض حالياً معارك عنيفة فى قرية ينكجة، فيما تمكنت قواتنا من تطهير ثلاث قرى شمال امرلي". مشيراً إلى سقوط ٦٠ قتيلًا من عناصر داعش، فيما قتل عنصر من الحشد الشعبى وأصيب أربعة آخرون.	wa-'aḏāfa "naḥūḏu hāliyyan ma'ārika 'anīfatan fī qaryati yankağa, fīmā tamakkanat quwwātunā min taṭhīri talāṭi quran šamāla 'amerli ". mušīran 'ilā suqūṭi 60 qatīlan min 'anāširi dā'eš, fīmā qutila 'unšurun mina el-ḥašd el- ša'bī wa-'uṣība 'arba'atu# 'āḥarūna.	And he added "we are currently fighting violent battles in the village of Yengejeh, in that [= and] our forces were able to clean three villages north [of?] " ³⁰³ Amerli ". And he referred to the fall of 60 dead of the Daesh elements, while one element of the Popular Mobilization [Forces] was killed, and four others were wounded.

³⁰³ For the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

The distance between Amerli and Yengejeh is about 15 km (9 miles). The *fīmā* clause is an Unordered Addition (for which, see 4.7.4; see also 3.16.1.2).

Analysing the semantics of clause linking, and definitely when reading a news article, it is tempting to try to infer a cotemporal relationship between clauses, especially if they are introduced by *prima vista* temporal conjunctions such as *baynamā* and *fī hīni*. But the relationship expressed in the linking is theoretically open to any type of semantic inference, as long as it is topically relatable. The function of the conjunctions in these cases seems to be to hold the textual narrative together logically and grammatically in a way that facilitates the readership to build and expand their knowledge of the topic, a topic such as war, whose internal structure is already by nature nebulous.

3.16.1.2. Information hierarchies and Unordered Addition

Unordered Addition, a category of Dixon's properly introduced later (see 4.7.4), will have to be mentioned here in relation to temporality. The linking of Unordered Addition differs from the other types of clause linking in that no semantics typically can be inferred other than, possibly, a kind of topical, spatial, or temporal link between the clauses. This relation is relevant when speaking of news, at sentence, paragraph and text level.

As in Example (349) from Dixon below, *Mary peeled the potatoes and John shelled the peas*, it is not difficult to conjure images of Mary and John as a couple preparing dinner in their kitchen, but this type of spatio-temporal proximity between the situations need not be true to speak of an Unordered Addition in Media Arabic (e.g. Examples 225 and 226). It is rather the lack of semantics between the clauses, and the same-topic inference that is the decisive classificatory element in the seemingly unordered linking: uninformative as to the relation between the elements, but intelligible within the broader context or topic as news. It is an absence of other logico-semantic inferences.

In the hard news article, the inverted pyramid structure and the organization of clauses based on a hierarchy of newsworthiness break up the iconic narrative sequence of temporally successive events as they are likely to have occurred in the real world. In fact, a sequence of non-subordinate finite clauses expressive of Temporal Succession is atypical for Media Arabic. What we have instead is a text where individual bits of information may relate to each other within the context of the individual news item and under the same headline(s), against the backdrop of recent event, yesterday's news, and a rough (see 6.9.2.1) mental geographical map and timeline of places and events. This is typically true at the sentence and paragraph level, as Examples (222)–(226) above have illustrated; it may also be true at a clausal or phrasal level. Meaning and logical structure are extracted via inference as to how graphically subsequent new elements relate to the overall concept of what is news in the article and newspaper issue at hand.

The events in the foreground of the news article typically revolve around the same topic, or a limited number of relatable topics, within the frame of what the news community has conceived as newsworthy. The typical organization of matrices and sentences is not necessarily transparent from a temporal interpretation other than “recently” or “from the last news on this topic”, and yet each matrix relates and somehow creates a logical cohesion within the same single news item. And although it may be possible to infer semantic nuances between sentences within the news item, the overall organization is that of a broader topic, typically expressed in the headlines and the lead.

[E]vents in the news story are neither in succession nor temporally or causally related, but one central event is paraphrased and made more specific again and again. (Togeby 1982: 238)

But even though the organization of a text within the genre, with a headline and a body, suggests a uniform whole, articles such as Article 60 in Example (227) surprise one with the seemingly haphazard grouping of the topics, in this case of an Air Force commander having been injected with a “mysterious substance” at an airport in Lagos (Nigeria) and the war against Boko Haram in neighbouring Cameroon, a topic which thenceforth continues throughout the rest of the article. Thus, topic continuity roughly consists in geographical proximity and “the military”. The present study focuses on inter-clausal relationships. Relations between sentences and paragraphs as illustrated by Example (227) are excluded (but cf. e.g. Adversative 4.9.7). An investigation into the text linguistics of Media Arabic is a *desideratum* of future research.

227. Article 60 (headline through to paragraph 2)

قائد عسكري أمريكي يحقن بمادة غامضة في لاجوس أبوجا - وكالات الأنباء: حقن مجهولون قائدا عسكريا بارزا بسلاح الجو الأمريكي في مطار لاجوس النيجيري بإستخدام «سرنجة» تحتوى على مادة غامضة. وأشارت وسائل الإعلام المحلية إلى أنه تم نقل القائد الأمريكي فورا إلى مدينة هيوستون بالولايات المتحدة، لإجراء فحوصات بمراكز أمريكية متخصصة لمكافحة الأمراض والوقاية منها. ونقلت	qā'idun 'askariyyun 'amrīkiyyun yuḥqanu bi- māddatin ḡāmiḍatin fī lāḡūs 'abūḡā - wikālātu l-'anbā' i: ḥaqana maḡhūlūna qā'idan 'askariyyan bārīzan bi-silāḥi l-ḡawwi l-'amrīkiyyi fī maṭārī lāḡūs al-nīḡīriyyi bi- stiḥdāmi «siringatin» taḥtawī 'alā māddatin ḡāmiḍatin. wa- 'aṣārat wasā'ilu l-'ilāmi l- maḥalliyyatu 'ilā 'annahu tamma naqlu l-qā'idi l- 'amrīkiyyi fawran 'ilā maḍīnati hyūstūn bi-l- wilāyati l-muttaḥidati, li- 'iḡrā'i fuḥūṣātin bi-marākiza 'amrīkiyyatin mutaḥaṣṣiṣatin li-mukāfaḥati l-'amrāḍi wa-l-	An American military commander is [= was] in- jected with a mysterious substance in Lagos Abuja - News Agencies: Unidentified persons in- jected a prominent military commander of the American Air Force at the Nigerian air- port of Lagos by using a «sy- ringe» which contained a mysterious substance. And the local media indicated that the American commander was immediately transported to the city of Houston in the United States to conduct tests at the American special- ized centers for fighting dis- eases and preventing

التقارير الصحفية عن
مكتب التحقيقات
الفيدرالية الأمريكية أن
الفحوصات الأولية تشير
إلى أن الإصابة ليست
خطيرة، ولم يظهر على
القائد الأمريكي أى
علامات ترجح إصابته
بأحد الأمراض الخطيرة
المنتشرة بنيجيريا.

وعلى صعيد الحرب
المشتعلة ضد «بوكو
حرام» الإرهابية، أكدت
حكومة الكاميرون أن
جيشها تمكن من قتل
أكثر من مائة مسلح
ينتمون إلى الجماعة
الإرهابية خلال محاولة
تسلل للمتمردين إلى
الأراضي الكاميرونية،
بينما فر الآلاف من
سكان نيجيريا هرباً من
إرهاب بوكو حرام.

wiḡāyati minhā. wa-naqalati
l-taḡārīru l-ṣuḥufiyyatu 'an
maktabi l-taḥqīqāti l-
fidirāliyyati l-'amrīkiyyati
'anna l-fuḥṣāti
l-'awwaliyyata tuṣīru 'ilā
'anna l-'iṣābata laysat ḥaṭīra-
tan, wa-lam yaẓhar 'alā l-
qā'idi l-'amrīkiyyi 'ayyu
'alāmātin turaḡḡiḥu 'iṣāba-
tahu bi-'aḥadi-l-'amrāḍi l-
ḥaṭīrati l-muntaṣirati bi-
nīḡīriyā.

wa-'alā ṣa'īdi l-ḥarbi l-
muṣta'alati ḍidda [ḡamā'ati]
'al-'ir-ḥābiyyati, 'akkadat ḥukūmatu
l-kāmīrūn 'anna ḡayṣahā
tamakkana min qatli 'aktara
min mi'ati musallaḥin yan-
tamūna 'ilā l-ḡamā'ati l-'ir-
ḥābiyyati ḥilāla muḥāwalati
tasallulin li-l-mutamarridīna
'ilā l-'arāḍi l-kāmīrūniyyati,
baynamā farra l-'ālāfu min
sukkāni nīḡīriyā harban min
'irḥābi būkū ḥarām.

them.³⁰⁴ And the press re-
ports quote the American
Federal Bureau of Investiga-
tion [as saying] that the pre-
liminary tests indicate that
the injury is not dangerous,
no signs are shown on the
American commander that
suggest his injury to be one
of the dangerous diseases
spread in Nigeria.

And concerning the war
raging against the terrorist
[group] «Boko Haram», the
government of Cameroon
confirmed that its army has
managed to kill more than
100 militants belonging to
the terrorist organization
during an attempt by the re-
bels to sneak into the Came-
roonian territories, mean-
while [= and] thousands of
the Nigerian population
[have] fled escaping the ter-
rorism of Boko Haram.

3.16.1.3. Why are temporal conjunctions bleached?

The bleached temporal import of coordinators with temporal formative semantic substance in the context of Media Arabic narratives is best explained as a register feature, tentatively understood to be a diachronic development as a response to a violation of, or disregard for, the iconic temporal sequence of real-life events in text (for the inverted pyramid structure, see 1.4.4).

But even if the sequentiality of reported events is not by obligation expressedly communicated via logico-semantic relationships, the news article somehow and nevertheless needs to run seamlessly, in an easy-to-follow linguistic structure, similar to other narratives, and understandable linguistically within the broader context of Arabic.

If, in a certain context, through the transfer to text via code (language), reality is repeatedly violated, the successive repercussion by the code is that reality no longer will match it in text, unless subsequently in part substituted

³⁰⁴ I.e. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).

with new more accurately reflective substance (supposing that the diachronically primary function of language was to code reality in text). This new function of the language, of not matching reality, spills over into other domains of the code, so that the context-specific language (register) is no longer an instrument to express aspects of reality, but now instead rather routinely reproduces aspects of the violation of reality (i.e. text), instrumental in the structure of the (now somewhat unrealistic) narrative.

In the case of the temporal coordinators in Media Arabic, the new function has expanded its domain, from reality-centred, via initial clausal relationships (logico-semantic), to secondary textual, or register-specific, relationships. This can be understood to be driven by function and use in the specific linguistic context. When on a textual level the iconic temporal sequence is overlooked, so too are other temporal relations.

In a news article, new data on given or new topics is introduced under a limited textual scope on a daily basis, but this data needs to be communicated in an easy-to-read narrative-like structure. With time this situation has increasingly promoted the use of more coordinating structures rather than a simple *wa-*.³⁰⁵ As the situation currently stands, it seems that one recurring feature of these new coordinators is an anaphorically anchored element.

This explanation is also corroborated by the discrepancy between the formative semantic substance of transition phrases and their coordinating function on a textual level in the news article. One example is *wa-ʔi ʕuḏūni ḏālīka*, a transition phrase (see 5.3.4.2) whose anaphoric component *ḏālīka* is highly imprecise, referring more vertically to the temporal context of the news article, or even to today's newspaper, than to a preceding segment of text in the same article. In short, semantics are bleached by rationales of use and function, propelled by frequency.

As a consequence of the need for certain functions in the context of news article production, phrases and coordinators such as temporal conjunctions have faded semantically to become less defined in terms of their temporal notions in reference to other clauses, in the process yielding to more abstract inferences of functions that they are employed to express structurally and textually (for informational coordination), rather than logically (reflective of a reality to structure news events in accordance with their actual temporal relationships as they occurred).

³⁰⁵ *wa-* does not necessarily imply topic continuity, as witnessed by the use of journalistic *wa-* in a number of transition phrases (for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2).

3.16.1.4. Narrative sequence: The inverted pyramid structure

This section gives examples of the inverted pyramid structure (discussed theoretically in 1.4.4). The inverted pyramid structure presents a means of creating a narrative from a real-world temporal succession of events other than the iconic *fa'ala wa-fa'ala fa-fa'ala tumma fa'ala*.

228. Article 71 (excerpt from the second paragraph), inverted pyramid

وأشار في تصريح
مقتضب للصحفيين
عقب محادثات
أجراها مع الدكتور
نبيل العربي الأمين
العام للجامعة العربية
بحضور نائبه السفير
رمزي عز الدين
رمزي إلى أن هذه
المحادثات تأتي في
إطار الاهتمام
المشترك بما يحدث
في الاقليم خاصة في
سوريا موضحا أنه
عاد للتو من مهمة في
سوريا استغرقت عدة
أيام وأعقبها بزيارة
بيروت، وقال:
سأواصل جولتي في
المنطقة للتباحث مع
المسؤولين فيها بشأن
الأوضاع في سوريا
ومتابعة الوضع
الإنساني في سوريا
بشكل عام وخاصة ما
يتعلق بأوضاع
اللاجئين والنازحين.

wa-'ašāra [«stīfān dī mastūrā»
al-mab'ūtu l-'umamiyyu l-
ḥāṣṣu li-sūriyā] fī taṣrīḥin
muqtaḍabin li-l-ṣuḥufiyyīna
'aqība muḥādaṭātin 'ağrāhā
ma'a el-duktūr nabīl el-'arabī
al-'amīni l-'āmmi li-l-
ğāmi'ati l-'arabiyyati bi-
ḥudūri nā'ibihi l-safiri ramzī
'ezz el-dīn ramzī 'ilā 'anna
ḥāḍiḥi l-muḥādaṭāti ta'tī fī
'iṭāri l-ihtimāmi l-muštarakī
bi-mā yaḥdūtu fi-l-'iqlīmi
ḥāṣṣatan fī sūriyā mūdīhan
'annahu 'āda li-l-tawwi min
mahammatin fī sūriyā
stağraqat 'iddata 'ayyāmin
wa-'a'qabahā bi-ziyārati
bayrūt, wa-qāla: sa-'uwāṣilu
ğawlatī fi-l-mintaqati li-l-
tabāḥuṭi ma'a l-mas'ūlīna fihā
bi-ša'ni l-'awḍā'i fī sūriyā
wa-mutāba'ati l-waḍ'i l-
'insāniyyi fī sūriyā bi-šaklin
'āmmīn wa-ḥāṣṣatan mā
yata'allāqu bi-'awḍā'i l-
lāğī'īna wa-l-nāziḥīna.

And [Staffan de Mistura, the UN special envoy for Syria] in a brief statement to the journalists after talks that he carried out with Doctor Nabil al-Arabi secretary general of the Arab League in the presence of his deputy the ambassador Ramzi Ezzeldin Ramzi pointed out that these talks come in the framework of the shared interest concerning what happens in the region especially in Syria pointing out that he just has returned from a mission in Syria which lasted several days and [which] he followed up with a visit to Beirut, and he said: I will continue my tour in the region to discuss with the officials in it the situations in Syria and the following up of the humanitarian situation in Syria in general and especially what regards the situations of the refugees and displaced persons.

What this sentence tells us is a series of event, that according to the text occurred in the following order:

Staffan de Mistura

1. carried out a mission in Syria
2. and then went to Beirut
3. whereafter he held talks somewhere with Nabil el-Araby *et al.*
4. and immediately thereafter [probably at the same unknown location] delivered a brief statement to the journalists about these talks
5. where he said that he will continue his “tour in the region”

All of this is reported in past tense in an intricate texture of direct and indirect speech (attributions), such that the reader is situated in the middle of the press conference (4), and told via the statement of de Mistura that he recently held talks (3), after having visited Beirut (2), immediately after a visit to Syria (1). At some point during this press conference, he [also] said that he will continue his trip (5).

To summarize, the natural temporal sequence of past events is narrated within a chain of attribution, mainly in the reverse order of the one in which they are said to have taken place. Another example is the lead of Article 53.

229. Article 53 (lead), inverted pyramid

استضافت تونس أمس مؤتمراً «استثمر في تونس: الديمقراطية الناشئة» تطمح من خلاله إلى استرجاع ثقة المستثمرين الأجانب في البلاد التي يعاني اقتصادها من التأثيرات السلبية لثورة 2011.	istaḍāfat tūnis 'amsi mu'ta- maran bi-'unwāni «istaṭmir fī tūnis: al-dīmuqrāṭiyyat# al-nāṣi'at#» taṭmaḥu min ḥilālīhi 'istirğā'a ṭiqati l-mu- staṭmirīna l-'ağānibi fī-l- bilādi llatī yu'ānī qtiṣāduḥa mina l-ta'ṭirāti l-salbiyyati li-tawrati 2011.	Tunisia hosted yesterday a conference with the title «In- vest in Tunisia: the emerging democracy» through which it [Tunisia] aspired to restore the confidence of foreign investors in the country whose economy suffers from the negative ef- fects of the 2011 revolution.

Historically speaking, the events must have taken place in the following order:

1. 2011 revolution
2. leads to a bad economy (due to lack of foreign investors)
3. Tunis wants a change (i.e. the return of foreign investors = future)
4. Tunis hosts a conference

In a past tense narrative, we are told that Tunis hosted a conference yesterday (4), in an attempt to regain the trust of foreign investors (3) in the country whose economy suffers (2) following the 2011 revolution (1).

The order of natural events is reversed. What is newsworthy is not the revolution, the poor economy, and the lack of investors, nor is it the will to change this situation. All of this is old information and is thus relegated to backgrounding and contextualizing relative clauses. In the main clause we find the hosting of a conference whose aim is to change the situation. This is newsworthy, and hence fronted in the lead.

No lead in the corpus is characterized by the stating of information according to the natural order of events in a successive chain of finite past tense verbs. What is more, in the main body of text, even shorter narrative chains of successive temporal events are very scarce. When they occur, as in Article 8 below, it is typically two, occasionally three, finite matrices in sequence, if there are any finite ones at all.

In short, the events in Media Arabic are not arranged in the order in which they occurred. The iconic narrative sequence of events is constantly broken. There are however contexts in which it is natural to include a sequence of

temporal events, as is the case with constructions including the particle *tumma*, 'thereafter'.

The type *tumma* occurs 6x times: 3x with a bare *tumma*; 2x *wa-min tumma qad* + VprefL; and 1x with *wa-min tumma* + VprefL, in Article 8, about fighters of the Islamic State who exercise in Turkey (Example 230).

230. Article 8, *wa-min tumma* + VprefL, Temporal Succession

وأوضح أن الشباب المنخرطين في «داعش» يتدربون في معسكر «غازي عنتاب» العسكري، ومن ثم ينتقلون إلى سوريا والعراق للقتال.	wa-ʿawḍaḥa ʿanna l-šabāba l- munḥariḫīna fī «dāʿeš» yatadarrabūna fī muʿaskari «ġāzī ʿanteb» al-ʿaskariyyi, wa-min tumma yantaliqūna ʿilā sūriyā wa-l-ʿirāq li-l- qitāli.	And he explained that the youth involved in «Daesh» train in the mili- tary camp of Gaziantep, and thereafter they move to Syria and Iraq to fight.

The two examples with *wa-min tumma qad* + VprefL are both hypothetical (irrealis).

231. Article 57, *wa-min tumma qad* + VprefL

ولفت التقرير إلى أنه على الرغم من السرية الدائمة التي كانت تحيط بالحالة الصحية للمرشد الإيراني، فقد سمح للمصورين هذه المرة بالتقاط صور لخامني على فراش المرض، لافتاً إلى أن تلك الاستراتيجية قد تخلق فراغاً في السلطة داخل إيران، ومن ثم قد يحدث صراع مرير بين رجال الدين البارزين.	wa-lafata l-taqrīru ʿilā ʿan- nahu ʿalā l-raġmi mina l- sirriyyati l-dāʿimati llati kānat tuḥīṭu bi-l-ḥālāti l-šihḥiyyati li-l-muršidi l-ʿirāniyyi, fa-qad samaḥa li-l-muṣawwirīna ḥāḍiḥi l-marrata bi-ltiqāti šu- warin li-ḥāmeneʿi ʿalā firāši l- maraḍi, lāfitan ʿilā ʿanna tilka l-ʾistrātiġiyyata qad taḥluqu farāġan fī-l-sultati dāḥila ʿIrān, wa-min tumma qad yaḥduṭu širāʿun marīrun bayna riġāli l-dīni l- bārizīna.	And the article pointed out that despite the constant se- crecy which has surrounded the health condition of the Iranian leader, this time he allowed the photographers to take pictures of Khome- nei on the sickbed, pointing to [the fact] that this strat- egy might create a vacuum in the power inside Iran, and then a bitter struggle may occur between the prominent clerics.

232. Article 61, *wa-min tumma qad* + yakūnu

وفي معرض حديثه عن انتشار إيبولا قال أوباما إذا لم نقم بذلك الجهد الآن وامتد هذا الفيروس ليس عبر إفريقيا فحسب بل إلى أجزاء أخرى من العالم فثمة احتمال أن يتحور ذلك الفيروس ويصبح انتقاله أكثر سهولة، ومن ثم قد يكون خطراً جسيماً على الولايات المتحدة.	wa-fi maʾriḍi ḥadīṭihi ʿani ntiṣāri ʾibulā qāla ʾubāmā ʾidā lam naqum bi-dālika l-ġaḥdi l- ʾāna wa-mtadda ḥādā l-fayrūs laysa ʾabra ʾafrīqiyyā fa-ḥasb bal ʾilā ʾaġzāʾin ʾuḥrā mina l- ʾālamī fa-ṭammata ḥtimālu[n?] ʾan yataḥawwala dālika l- fayrūs wa-yuṣbiḥu ntiqāluhu ʾaktara suhūlatan, wa-min tumma qad yakūnu ḥaṭaran ġasīman ʿalā l-wilāyāti l- muttaḥidati.	And during his talk about the spread of Ebola Obama said if we do not make this effort now and the virus spreads not only over Africa but to other parts of the world there is a possibility that this virus mutates and its transmis- sion becomes easier, and then it might become a serious threat to the United States.

The only example with *tumma* and two finite clauses is in a metaphoric comparison made by David Cameron in Article 102 about the potential independence of Scotland, *wa-šabbaha kāmīrūn qarāra l-infišāli bi-man yabnī baytan bi-šiqqi l-ʿanfusi, tumma yuḡādiruhu wa-yataḥallaṣu min miṣṭāhihi [...]*, ‘And Cameron likened a decision of secession with someone who painstakingly builds a house, then leaves it and gets rid of the key’ (Example 202).

Likewise, *mimmā* functions in a relationship of temporal sequence to its matrix, but with the added force of a cause-result relationship, ‘which is what’. It is not a mere temporal sequence, and shows contextual preferences (for constructions with *mimmā*, see under 6.1.5).

Another, more conventional way of narrating events, is to generally disregard the order of succession and just report what has happened or what has been discussed as if the newsworthy events all relate to a present reader-now through topic. Example (233) from the lead and first sentence of Article 26 illustrates this for a last time in this chapter.

233. Article 26 (first paragraph, including lead)

استقبل الرئيس الفرنسي
فرانسوا أولاند وزير
الخارجية سامح شكري،
الذى وصل إلى باريس
أمس في إطار جولته
الأوروبية، وبحث
الجانبان في الإليزيه
العديد من القضايا ذات
الاهتمام المشترك، في
مقدمتها الأزمة الليبية
وتطورات الأوضاع على
الساحة الفلسطينية
والملف السوري والأزمة
العراقية، فضلا عن ملف
الإرهاب وما يشكله من
تهديد للأمن والاستقرار
الدوليين. كما تطرق
أولاند وشكري إلى سبل
تعزيز أوجه التعاون القائم
بين الجانبين الفرنسي
والمصري في مجالات
الاقتصاد والتجارة
والاستثمار وتنشيط
السياحة الوافدة.

istaqbala l-raʿīsu l-
firansiyyu frānswā ʿulānd
wazīra l-ḥāriḡiyyati sāmeḥ
šukrī, allaḡi wašala ʿilā bārīs
ʿamsi fī ʿiṭāri ḡawlatihi
l-ʿūrūbbiyyati, wa-baḥaṭa
l-ḡānibāni fī el-ʿelīzēh al-
ʿadīda mina l-qaḡāyā ḡāti l-
ihtimāmi l-muštaraki, fī
muḡaddimatihā l-ʿazmatu l-
lībiyyatu, wa-taṭawwurātu
l-ʿawḡāʿi ʿalā l-sāḡati l-fi-
lastīniyyati wa-l-milaffu l-
sūriyyu wa-l-ʿazmatu
l-ʿirāḡiyyatu, faḡlan ʿan
milaffi l-ʿirḡabi wa-mā
yušakkiluhu min taḡdīdin li-
l-ʿamni wa-l-istiqrāri l-du-
waliyyayni. kamā taṭarraqa
ʿulānd wa-šukrī ʿilā subuli
taʿzīzi ʿawḡuhi l-taʿāwuni l-
qāʿimi bayna l-ḡānibayni l-
firansiyyi wa-l-miṣriyyi fī
maḡālāti l-iḡtišādi wa-l-
tiḡārati wa-l-istiṡmāri wa-
tanšīṭi l-siyāḡati l-wāfidati.

And the French president
François Hollande received
the [Egyptian] foreign minis-
ter Sameh Shoukry, who ar-
rived in Paris yesterday in the
framework of his European
tour, and the two sides dis-
cussed in the Elysée a num-
ber of the issues of common
concern, especially the Lib-
yan crisis, the developments
of the situation in the Pales-
tinian arena, the Syrian port-
folio, and the Iraqi crisis, in
addition to the terrorist port-
folio and what threat it poses
to international security and
stability. And Hollande and
Shoukry also touched on
ways to strengthen the exist-
ing aspects of cooperation
between the Egyptian and
French sides in the fields of
economy, trade, investment,
and the stimulation of in-
bound tourism.

Within the framework of Shoukry's European tour (arranged in historical order):

1. Shoukry arrived in Paris yesterday
2. and Hollande received him
3. and then the two discussed a number of topics

The contextual information is that Shoukry, the Egyptian foreign minister, is on a tour of Europe and yesterday reached Paris; this is reported in a nominalized prepositional phrase within a syndetic relative clause respectively. The important person here (recall that prominence is one of the news values; see 1.4.3), the French president François Hollande, receives him, and this opens the article in the lead as the matrix to the other two events. The historical chain of events is broken by the narrative such that the events are reported in the order of 2, 1, and 3.

Moreover, the topics "of joint concern" that they discussed are reported with one finite verb topicalizing clause, *baḥaṭa*, 'they discussed', followed by three groups of topics, of which the last is introduced by *kamā* + a finite verb, and the first two split up by organizing phrases, *fī muqaddimatihā* and *faḍlan* 'an.

The two sides discussed:

- a number of issues of joint concern
 - in the forefront of which was:
 - the Libyan crisis
 - the developments in the Palestinian arena
 - the Syrian portfolio
 - and the Iraqi crisis
 - in addition to
 - the terrorist portfolio
 - and what threat terrorism poses
 - to international security
 - and international stability.

And Hollande and Shoukry also touched upon
 ways to strengthen aspects
 of the present cooperation
 between the Egyptians
 and the French.

The finite clause *kamā taṭarraqa* is an Unordered Addition (for which, see 4.7.4) to the matrix introduced by *baḥaṭa*. It marks the topic of bilateral cooperation vis-à-vis the regionally and internationally based issues, but disregards the temporal relations between the events. Rhetorically neat, we nonetheless are given no data as to the actual order of the discussed topics, and cannot assume that the reported order of topics is the actual agenda of the meeting. Example (233) from Article 26 exemplifies the Media Arabic feature of lists or (typically noun phrase-level) Unordered Additions. That investigation reaches beyond the scope of linguistics.

4. Relations (semantics of linking)

This part is based on a qualitative investigation of the corpus and delimits discrete abstract semantics between clauses within the corpus. It forms the backbone and manual for the subsequent analyses, and consequently for the annotation of the corpus texts and the results presented in Parts 5 and 6. The semantic categorization has a Media Arabic bias, and so the examples are taken from the corpus. The multitude of Media Arabic examples are there to illustrate the differences between the various discrete categories and problems associated with their annotation. A firm understanding of these categories is instrumental for understanding subsequent parts of this book.

In “Semantics of Clause Linking in Typological Perspective” (Dixon 2009: 1–55), R. M. W. Dixon defines a set of semantic relations in the languages of the world. “The focus of this study is not on complement clause or relative clause constructions” (Dixon 2009: 9). For the present study, I will, however, not limit the scope of the study to the clause level, but also include highly deranked nominalized constructions, peripheral prepositional phrases, and adverbials (see 2.3–2.4). The investigation will also include relative clauses with additional logico-semantic relations to their head (for details of which, see 6.3ff.).

The present approach to the semantics of clause linking is greatly inspired by Dixon (2009), but draws also from Halliday (2014), Longacre (2007), and Lehmann (“Nexion”).³⁰⁶ A rigid application of Dixon’s terminology proved unfruitful as an instrument of analysis, as the categories were not adequately defined for annotation. The additions and modifications to his categories add nuances that are not accounted for in his summary (2009: 2), and/or calibrate his categories further to better suit the Media Arabic register; the modifications mainly concern his linking types of Addition, Contrast, and Manner.

Table 17 lists the discrete semantics of clause linking used in the present work. For additional, typically non-clausal relations, see 4.1 and Table 18. Note that in the analysis, polysemous and ambiguous linkings will also be accounted for, see 4.2.

³⁰⁶ https://www.christianlehmann.eu/ling/lg_system/grammar/nexion/nexion_index.php?open=Nexion (accessed January 14, 2019).

Table 17: List of discrete semantics of clause linking

SUPRA CATEGORY	Category	Subcategories	
TEMPORAL	RELATIVE TIME	Temporal Succession	
		Counter-sequential	
		Simultaneous	
		SINCE	
	UNTIL		
CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE	CONDITIONAL		
	CAUSE	(direct) Cause	
		Indirect Cause	
	CONSECUTIVE	Consecutive	
		Degree Consecutive	
	PURPOSE	Purpose	
		Nominal Purpose	
		Motion Purpose	
	POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCE	Negated Consequence	
		Negated Condition	
CONCOMITANCE	MANNER AND INSTRUMENT	Manner	
		Instrument	
		Instrumental Manner	
		Manner Instrument	
	ASSOCIATIVE		
	PRESIDENCY		
CONTEXT	MEDIATION		
ADDITIONS	EXEMPLIFICATION	Exemplification	
		Graded Exemplification	
	PARAPHRASE	Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information	
		Expanding Paraphrase	
		+ Instrumental Manner	
		Summarizing Paraphrase	
	PARENTHETICAL COMMENT	+ Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	
	UNORDERED ADDITION	Same Level Addition	Same Level Different Subject Addition
			Same Level Same Subject Addition

SUPRA CATEGORY	Category	Subcategories		
		Different Level	Different Level	
		Addition	Same Subject Addition	
			Different Level Different Subject Addition	
COMMENT (INCLUDING RELATIVE TO CLAUSE)				
ANTIPROIDETIC	CONTRAST	Paired Contrast		
		Exception Contrast		
		Numerical Comparative Contrast		
	POLARIZED PAIR (POLARIZED ADDITION)	<i>not x, but y</i>		
		<i>x, not y</i>		
		<i>instead of x, y</i>		
		<i>x instead of y</i>		
		<i>(not only x, but also y)</i>		
		<i>(x, and not only y)</i>		
	FRUSTRATION	<i>(involving temporal notions)</i>		
		<i>(frustrated implication)</i>		
		<i>(frustrated modality)</i>		
	CONCESSION			
	INCONSEQUENTIAL			
	INCONCOMITANCE			
ADVERSATIVE				
ALTERNATIVES	DISJUNCTION	Open Disjunction		
		Exclusive Closed Disjunction		
		Inclusive Closed Disjunction		
		Negated Disjunction		
OTHER	META-LINGUISTIC COMMENT			
	EQUATIVE			
	ETHICUS			
	LIMITATIONIS			
	CONCERNING			
	LOCATION			

4.1. Additional lexical and grammatical relations, and construction types (annotations)

In addition to the cognitively more complex clausal relations outlined and discussed in this Part 4, “Relations (semantics of linking)”, a number of lexical and grammatical relations, or (typically) nominal-level meanings and grammatical constructions, have also been annotated to cover all relations of the investigated constructions (as outlined in 2.4). Some of these relations fall outside the scope of the investigation proper, but are needed not only for a comprehensive coverage of the constructions in the corpus, but also to facilitate discussion in the subsequent chapters. These additional relations and construction types are summarized in Table 18. Their labels indicate their usually conventional and/or uncomplex meaning, be it grammatical or lexical. For transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2. For attribution formulae and non-disclosure formulae, see 6.5 and 6.6 respectively.

Table 18: List of additionally annotated (typically non-clausal) lexical and grammatical relations and linking types in the corpus, arranged alphabetically, with explanations

‘at least’ (with numerative)	e.g. ‘at least 100’, ‘no less than 100’
‘in exchange for’	‘do <i>x</i> in exchange for <i>y</i> ’
ADVERB ‘(n)ever’	‘never’
ADVERB ‘again’	‘again’
ADVERB ‘almost’	‘almost’
ADVERB ‘also’	‘also’, ‘as well’
ADVERB ‘always’	e.g. <i>dawman</i> , ‘always’
ADVERB ‘at all’	e.g. <i>muṭlaqan</i> , ‘at all’
ADVERB ‘barely’	‘barely’, ‘almost’
ADVERB ‘especially’	‘especially’ (cf. Graded Exemplification, 4.7.1.1)
ADVERB ‘even’	<i>hattā</i> , ‘even’
ADVERB ‘eventually’	‘eventually’, ‘in the end’
ADVERB ‘first’	e.g. <i>’awwalan</i> , ‘first’
ADVERB ‘from now on’	<i>mina l-’āna fa-ṣā’idan</i> , ‘from now on’
ADVERB ‘only’	e.g. <i>faqat</i> and <i>fā-ḥasb</i> , ‘only’
ADVERB ‘temporarily’	<i>mu’aqqatan</i> , ‘temporarily’
ADVERB ‘very’	e.g. <i>li-l-ḡāyati</i> , ‘very’
Agent	‘done by <i>x</i> ’
Annexation	Annexation, including “genitive type relations” (see 2.3.2.4)
Asyndetic anaphoric noun(s)	peripheral nominative noun (for which, see 6.1.4)
Benefactive	‘for’, ‘for the sake of’ (favourable, positive towards); ≠ Malefactive; cf. Indirect Object (not investigated)
Complement(s) of Utterance(s)	‘ <i>x</i> said (that) [...]’, ‘the utterance, that [...]’; i.e. complements to utterance verbs and phrases (see under 5.3.2.2; for Second and Third Complement

	of Utterance, see under 5.3.2.1; for attribution in journalism, see 1.4.6; for verbs of attribution, see 1.4.12.1; for a brief discussion on a select number of verbs of attribution in Media Arabic, see 3.13)
Conditional, ‘only’	<i>hapax</i> , see ‘ <i>illā ba ‘da</i> (PP) in 6.7.
Deictic existential	<i>hā</i>
‘<i>idāfa</i>	Genitive annexation (see 2.3.2.4)
Indirect Object	‘ <i>x</i> gave <i>y</i> to <i>z</i> ’
Lam Auctoris	when <i>li-</i> expresses authorship, ‘by’
Location	‘in location <i>x</i> ’ (see 4.11.6), for PPs also abstract location (see 6.9.2)
Location Broader	‘in city <i>x</i> in region <i>y</i> ’ (see 6.9.2)
Location dummy	existential ‘there is’ (without locative meaning)
Location of Utterance	‘said at a press conference’, ‘wrote in a newspaper’
Malefactive	‘against’ (hostile, negative towards) ≠ Malefactive
tive	
only <i>x</i> and not <i>y</i>	a combination of ADVERB ‘only’ and <i>x</i> , not <i>y</i> (for the latter, see 4.9.2.2)
Origin	‘from’
peripheral constituent(s)	non-core constituent(s)
Possession	‘ <i>x</i> has <i>y</i> ’
Predicate	‘ <i>x</i> does <i>y</i> ’ and ‘ <i>x</i> is <i>y</i> ’ all tenses and moods (cf. Equative 4.11.2)
Preposed Condition	e.g. ‘and depending on’ + noun (see 5.3.4.3); cf. Conditional clauses (4.3.4) and Possible Consequence, Negated Condition type (4.4.7)
proleptic relative	proleptic relative construction (see 6.3.1.1)
Reciprocal	‘between <i>x</i> and <i>y</i> ’
REL focal	Focal relative clause (see 6.3.2.1)
Relative	Relative clause, ‘which’ (cf. 4.8)
Relative (Location)	Relative clause, ‘in which’ (for Location, see 4.11.6)
Second Complement of Utterance	e.g. ‘ <i>x</i> said that [...] and that [...]’ (see 5.3.2.1)
Serial Verb	a verb is governed by a preceeding (typically verbal) construction, e.g. <i>mā zālat</i> + verb , ‘is still verbing ’
TEMP ‘again’	<i>marratan ‘uhrā</i> , ‘again’ (cf. TEMP ‘ <i>x</i> times’)
TEMP ‘ago’	e.g. <i>qabla yawmayni</i> , ‘two days ago’
TEMP ‘already’	‘ <i>x</i> is already <i>y</i> ’, ‘ <i>x</i> has already done <i>y</i> ’
TEMP ‘as soon as possible’	e.g. <i>fī ‘aqraba waqtin</i> and <i>bi-‘asra ‘a waqtin</i> , ‘as soon as possible’ see also TEMP ‘soon’
TEMP ‘before’	e.g. <i>qabla hāḏā l-maw ‘idi</i> , ‘prior to this date’
TEMP ‘between’	‘between year <i>x</i> and year <i>y</i> ’
TEMP ‘currently’	‘currently’, ‘now’
TEMP ‘during’	‘during the year 2013’ (for difficulties related to TEMP punctual and TEMP ‘during’, see 6.8.3.3)
TEMP ‘earlier’	e.g. <i>fī waqtin sābiqin</i> , <i>sābiqan</i> , ‘earlier’

TEMP ‘forever’	e.g. <i>’ilā l-’abadi</i> , ‘forever’
TEMP ‘immediately’	e.g. <i>fawran</i> and <i>’alā l-fawri</i> , ‘immediately’
TEMP ‘later’	e.g. <i>lāḥiqan</i> , ‘later’, <i>fi-l-mustqbal</i> , ‘in the future’
TEMP ‘recently’	‘recently’
TEMP ‘since’	see under Relative Time, in 4.3.2
TEMP ‘sometimes’	e.g. <i>’ahyānan</i> , ‘sometimes’
TEMP ‘soon’	e.g. <i>qarīban</i> , ‘soon’, also
TEMP ‘until’	see under Relative Time, in 4.3.2
TEMP ‘until now’	e.g. <i>hattā l-’āna</i> , ‘until now’
TEMP ‘whenever’	e.g. <i>fi ’ayyi waqtin</i> , ‘at any time’
TEMP ‘within’	e.g. <i>ḥilāla šahrin</i> , ‘within a month’
TEMP ‘x times’	‘n number of times’, ‘n th time’, and e.g. <i>’iddata marrātin</i> , ‘several times’
TEMP ‘yet’	typically under the scope of negation, ‘not yet’
TEMP date	e.g. <i>fi 6 sibtabir</i> , ‘on September 6’ (see also TEMP punctual, and TEMP punctual date)
TEMP distributive	e.g. <i>kulla yawmin</i> , ‘every day’
TEMP punctual	e.g. <i>al-yawma</i> , ‘today’ (for difficulties related to TEMP punctual and TEMP ‘during’, see 6.8.3.3)
TEMP punctual date	‘tomorrow, Thursday’ (frequently included in the annotation for TEMP punctual, see 6.8.3.3)
Third Complement of Utterance	e.g. ‘x said that [...] and that [...] and that [...]’ (see 5.3.2.1)
Topic	<i>hapax</i> relation, <i>fi naẓratin</i> [...] (Article 87, Example 376); for a discussion, see 5.3.3

4.2. Discrete, polysemous, and ambiguous linkings

On the receiver end of a linguistic message, inferences are made. What does it mean? What is meant? The receiver (listener, reader) asks. The inference made is sprung both from the complexities related to the linguistic system (language or languages, register, etc.) used to code the message and from the linguistic competence of the receiver. Both the complexities of the former and the fallibilities of the latter introduce a degree of subjectivity to the mutual agreement of the intended meaning to a message. The sender is fallible, too. In the analysis and understanding of human language, there will be a degree of subjectivity involved in both the coding and decoding of a text (message). Language is also in a state of change, and has an inherent functional plasticity with discrepancies of use not only between different situations and times, but also between different individuals and demographics in the same synchronic stratum (see 2.1 ff.).

A relation between two linguistic entities (words, text units, phrases, clauses, etc.) may express unambiguously the meaning of a discrete (monosemantic) category, or type. The relation can be more or less prototypical. A language user may also, deliberately (e.g. to create an intended inference, or effect, on the receiver end) or less deliberately (with an unintended inference and effect on the receiving end), convey a semantically more complex message. A relation between two entities in the text may be polysemous or even ambiguous. Sometimes, and for a variety of reasons, the message may even be unintelligible to the receiver.

In the pre-analysis of the corpus leading up to the annotation of relations between entities (see 2.5), discrete categories of relations holding between two entities could be observed and distilled. Discrete categories can be prototypical and be expressed as monosemantic relations. Discrete relations are described in this chapter.

In the analysis and annotation, also less prototypical (or non-monosemantic) instantiations are accounted for. A continuum was observed, starting from a point of monosemantic relations at the core, to include also more complex relations towards the theoretical periphery, with polysemy including a faint to strong side-nuance, or shade, of one or more prototypical relations besides a more central primary meaning, to expressions with combined meanings. In addition to this, ambiguous relations are also observed, where the exact nature of the inference cannot be tied to a combined set of meanings, but is better described as either/or.

Polysemous and ambiguous relations are annotated with the symbols **bi**, **&**, and **OR** as shown in Table 19. Combinations, e.g. “OR **bi**” and “**&** **bi**”, are not used; additional bi-nuances are written asyndetically: “**bi** x **bi** y”.

Table 19: List of symbols used to annotate polysemous and ambiguous linkings

bi	Denotes an additional nuance, tint, or shade (bi-, tri-, or poly-colouration) to a primary, core meaning. In theory, the strength of this shade goes from faint (almost imperceptible) to almost combined.
&	Denotes combinations (or amalgamations), where the inferred meaning of the relation can be explained with two or more discrete categories combined.
OR	Denotes ambiguous relations. Ambiguous relations are typically discussed.

4.3. Temporal relations

4.3.1. Relative Time

Relative time is the supra category of relations that anchor the event time of one syntagm relative to the reference time as specified by the matrix; explicit conjunctions include ‘and then’, ‘before’, ‘after’, ‘while’, etc. (Dahl 1985: 29ff.; Givón 2001 I: 285ff.; Dixon 2009: 10ff.). The different relations are Temporal Succession, Counter-sequential, and Simultaneous. Example (234) from Article 13 features a number of temporal relations.

234. Article 13, Relative Time

جاء ذلك في الوقت الذي
اقتحم فيه مئات
المتظاهرين المناهضين
للحكومة برئاسة نواز
شريف أمس مبنى
التليفزيون الوطني
للدولة «بى. تى. فى»،
مرددین هتافات مناهضة
للحكومة، على نحو أجبر
الحكومة لوقف البث
لحين تدخل قوات الأمن
فى وقت لاحق وإجلاء
المبنى.
وذكرت مصادر من
داخل المبنى، رفضت
ذكر اسمها، أن
المحتجين قاموا باختلال
حجرة التحكم الرئيسى
وغرفة الأخبار
المركزية وحطموا
بعض المعدات لحين
تدخل رجال الأمن.

ḡā'a dālīka **fi-l-waqti llaḡī**
qtaḡama fihi mi'ātu l-
mutazāhirīna l-munāhiḡīna
li-l-ḡukūmati bi-ri'āsati
nawāz šarīf 'amsi mabnā
l-tilīfiziōn al-waṭaniyyi li-l-
dawlati «bī .fī .fī», **murad-**
didīna hutāfātīn
munāhiḡatan li-l-ḡukūmati,
'**alā naḡwi 'aḡbara**
l-ḡukūmata li-waqfi l-baṭṭi
li-ḡīni tadahḡuli quwwāti
l-'amni fi waqtin lāḡiqin
wa-'iḡlā'i l-mabnā.
wa-ḡakarāt maṣādiru
min dāḡili l-mabnā, rafaḡat
ḡikra smihā, 'anna
l-muḡtaḡḡīna qāmu bi-
ḡtilālī ḡuḡrati l-taḡakkumi
l-ra'īsiyyi wa-ḡurfati l-
'aḡbāri l-markaziyyati **wa-**
ḡaṭṭamū ba'ḡa l-mu'addāti
li-ḡīni tadahḡuli riḡālī
l-'amni.

This came **at a time when** hun-
dreds of demonstrators oppos-
ing the government with the
leadership of the president Na-
waz Sharif stormed the na-
tional television building of the
state «PTV» yesterday, **while**
shouting anti-government slo-
gans, **in such a manner that it**
forced ³⁰⁷ the government to
stop the broadcasting **until the**
intervention of the security
forces later and [to] evacuate
the building.

And sources from inside the
building, who declined to be
named, mentioned that the pro-
testers took to occupying the
main control room and the cen-
tral newsroom **and [then] de-**
stroyed some equipment **until**
the intervention of the secu-
rity men.

4.3.1.1. Temporal Succession

x and (then) y. Temporal Succession is the clausal relation of iconic sequential reporting of events typically employed in constructing the main line of narratives with perfective situations in the past (see the analysis of the story by Tāmir in 3.4.4). In a prototypical narrative, the situations are perfective, with a high semantic transitivity (in the sense of Hopper and Thompson 1980).

³⁰⁷ 'alā naḡwi 'aḡbara, Degree Consecutive (with an inherent Temporal Succession), see under "alā naḡwi, constructions including" in 6.1.5.

Typical examples of this linking are rare in the corpus (for the inverted pyramid structure and the hierarchical ordering of events based on newsworthiness, see 1.4.4 and 3.16.1.4).

In this investigation, less prototypical linkings of Temporal Succession have also been included, such as non-main clauses and clauses with anterior grams (e.g. background and sequel), and stative matrixes (Example 238). Only coordinated verbal nouns are excluded from investigation (Example 240).

There are three types of Temporal Succession, the relation *x* and (then) *y* being prototypical, the other two being *x* before *y* and *after* *x*, *y*.

x and (then) *y*

‘*x* and then *y* and then *z* ...’ (Dixon 2009: 9ff.). The prototypical linking type of Temporal Succession. All clauses are focal.

x before *y*

Segmentally post-positioned situation *y* is subordinate to *x*. Rather than highlighting that situation *y* occurred posterior to *x*, the conjunction signals that *x* preceded *y*. Situation *x* is typically focal.

after *x*, *y*

Anterior situation *x* is subordinate to post-positioned situation *y*. Since both preposed subordinate clauses and clauses in Temporal Succession are relatively infrequent in Media Arabic, this linking is bound to be rare. Situation *y* is focal. Example (237) from Article 102 is one of 2x attestations in the corpus (for preposed subordination, see 5.3.3 and 5.3.4, in particular 5.3.4.4).

Example (235) from the lead in Article 5 includes two situations along a main line coded by Vsuff + *wa*-Vsuff; the second is in Temporal Succession to the first. They launched an attack and won. In the context of news, however, these events are coded under the topic of a single news item, making them roughly coterminous (for which, see 3.16.1.1).

235. Article 5 (lead), Temporal Succession

أعلن المتحدث باسم القوات المسلحة العراقية الفريق قاسم عطا أن القوات العراقية دخلت إلى مدينة أمرلي المحاصرة منذ أكثر من شهرين، وفكت الحصار الذي يفرضه عناصر الدولة الإسلامية.	‘a‘ lana l-mutaḥaddiṭu bi-smi l-quwwāti l-musallaḥati l-‘irāqīyyati al-farīqu qāsim ‘aṭā ‘anna l-quwwāti l-‘irāqīyyata daḥalat ‘ilā madīnati ‘amerlī l-muḥāṣarati munḍu ‘aktara min šahrayni, wa-fakkati l-ḥiṣāra llaḍī yafruḍuhu ‘anāširu l-dawlati l-islāmiyyati.	The spokesman for the Iraqi armed forces Lieutenant General Qassim Atta announced that <u>the Iraqi forces</u> [have] entered the city of <u>Amerli</u> [which has been] besieged since more than two months and [have] broken the siege which the elements of the Islamic State imposed.

Example (236) includes the second paragraph in Article 20, which contains a passage with sparse linkings of three situations in Temporal Succession in a

syndetic relative clause complex, *x and then y* (*wa-*) and *x before y* (*qabla* 'an VprefA).

236. Article 20, Temporal Succession, *x*, *and then y*, *before z*

وأكدت مصادر محلية
في شبوة في تصريحات
أمس أن مسلحي
"القاعدة" هاجموا عبر
سيارة مفخخة كتيبة
تابعة للواء الثاني مشاة
جبل، المتمركز في
جول الريدة، مما أدى
إلى مقتل نحو خمسة
جنود وعدد آخر من
الجرحي، بالإضافة إلى
الانتحاري الذي اقترب
من بوابة المعسكر الذي
ترابط فيه الكتيبة وفجر
نفسه مباشرة قبل أن
تباشر قوات الجيش
تبادل إطلاق النار مع
عدد آخر من أعضاء
القاعدة قدموا إلى
الموقع.

wa-'akkadat mašādiru
maḥalliyyatun fī šabwa fī
tašrīḥātīn 'amsi 'anna musallaḥī
"el-qā'ida" ḥāgamū 'abra
sayyāratin mufahḥaḥatin
kaṭībatan tābi'atan li-l-liwā'i l-
ṭānī mušāt#h(?) ḡabalī#, al-mu-
tamarkizi fī ḡūl el-rayda,
mimmā 'addā 'ilā maqtalī
naḥwa ḥamsati ḡunūdin, wa-
'adadin 'āḥara mina l-ḡarḥā, bi-
l-'idāfati 'ilā l-intihāriyyin llaḍī
qataraba min bawwābati l-mu'as-
kari llaḍī turābiṭu fihi l-kaṭībatu
wa-faḡḡara nafsahu mubāšara-
tan qabla 'an tubāšira quwwātu
l-ḡayši tabādula 'itlāqi l-nāri
ma'a 'adadin 'āḥara min 'a'dā'i
el-qā'ida qadimū 'ilā l-mawqi'i.

And local sources in
Shabwa confirmed yester-
day that "al-Qaeda" mili-
tants attacked via a car
bomb a battalion belonging
to the 2nd Infantry Bri-
gade, ḡabali, stationed in
Gul al-Raida, which re-
sulted in the killing of
about five soldiers and an-
other number of wounded,
in addition to a suicide
bomber who approached
the gate of the camp³⁰⁸ **and
blew himself up immedi-
ately** before the army
forces began to exchange
fire with another number of
members of al-Qaeda who
had came to the site.

Example (237) features the only example of the link *after x*, *y* with a main clause matrix in the corpus, a preposed subordination (for which, see 5.3.4.1).

237. Article 102 (second paragraph), *after x*, *y*

وبعد أن اقتربت عيناه
من البكاء - حسبما
ذكرت وسائل الإعلام
البريطانية - حاول
كاميرون استرضاء من
لا يحبونه في اسكتلندا،
قائلا : «إذا كنتم لا
تحبونني، فإني لن أكون
هنا إلى الأبد، وإن كنتم
لا تحبون هذه الحكومة
فهي لن تستمر إلى
الأبد، ولكنكم إذا
غادرت المملكة المتحدة
فإن ذلك سيكون أبديا».

wa-ba'da 'an iqtarabat
'aynāhu mina l-bukā'i - ḥas-
bamā ḍakarāt wasā'ilu l-'i'lāmi
l-brīṭāniyyatu - ḥāwala kāmīrūn
istirdā'a man lā yuhibbūnahu fī
'iskutlandā, qā'ilan : «'idā kun-
tum lā tuhibbūnanī, fa-'innī lan
'akūna huna 'ilā l-'abadi, wa-'in
kuntum lā tuhibbūna ḥāḍihi l-
ḥukūmata fa-hiya lan tastamirra
'ilā l-'abadi, wa-lākinnakum
'idā ḡadartumu l-mamlakata l-
muttaḥidata fa-'inna ḍālika sa-
yakūnu 'abadiyyan».

**After his eyes had drawn
close to crying** - according
to what the British media
mentioned - Cameron tried
to appease those who do
not like him in Scotland by
saying: «If you do not like
me, I am not going to be
here forever, and if you do
not like this government, it
is not going to remain for-
ever, but if you leave the
United Kingdom, that is
going to be eternal».

³⁰⁸ The construction with *bi-l-'idāfati 'ilā* [...] *allaḍī* is either an Unordered Addition + a proleptic relative clause, 'and in addition to this, a suicide bomber also approached [...] and blew himself up [...]', or a complement to 'abra via a *variatio*, 'attacked via a car bomb [...] and a suicide bomber [...]. For the proleptic relative construction, see 6.3.1.1.

Example (238) features a less prototypical linking of Temporal Succession with a stative situation in the relative clause matrix, terminated by the realization of the subordinate clause.

238. Article 106, Temporal Succession bi Until

وأكدت مصادر متطابقة أن اللواء على محسن الاحمر - الذي كان الذراع اليمنى للرئيس السابق على عبدالله صالح قبل أن ينفصل عنه في ٢٠١١ - موجود داخل مقر الفرقة الاولى مدرع سابقا، وهو محاصر تماما في حين يتعرض المقر للقصف من قبل المسلحين الحوثيين	wa-'akkadat maṣādiru mu- taṭābiqatun 'anna l-liwā'a 'alī muḥsen el-'aḥmar - al- ladī kāna l-dirā'a l-yama- niyya li-l-ra'īs l-sābiqi 'alī 'abdullāh sāleh qabla 'an yanfašila 'anhu fī 2011 - mawḡūdun dāhila maqarri l- firqati l-'ulā mudarra# sābiqan, wa-huwa muḥāṣarun tamāman fī ḥīni yata'arraḡu l-maqarru li-l- qaṣfi min qibali l-musal- lahīna l-ḥuṭiyyīna [...]	And congruous sources con- firm that the Major General Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar - who was the right arm of the former Yemeni president Ali Abdul- lah Saleh before he seceded from him in 2011 - is [cur- rently] inside the headquarters of the first division, <i>mudarraa</i> previously, ³⁰⁹ and [he] is com- pletely surrounded while the headquarters is being bombed by the Houthi militants [...]

Linkings of Temporal Succession include various types of verbal morphology. Example (239) from Article 92 has two clauses with *wa-qad* Vsuff, the second of which is in Temporal Succession.

239. Article 92 (penultimate paragraph), Temporal Succession

وفي الوقت نفسه أكد وزير خارجية فرنسا لوران فابيوس أن طائرة فرنسية نفذت أول مهمة استطلاع لها أمس في العراق، وقال فابيوس - إن الرئيس الفرنسي فرانسوا أولاند قد طلب خلال زيارته لبغداد يوم الجمعة الماضي بالسماح له بالتحليق فوق الاراضي العراقية وقد وافقت السلطات العراقية على ذلك.	wa-fi-l-waḡti nafsīhi 'akkada wazīru ḥāriḡiyyati firansā lūrān fābiyūs 'anna ṭā'iratan firansiyyatan naffaḡat 'aw- wala mahammati stiṭlā'in lahā 'amsi fī el-'irāq, wa-qāla fābiyūs - 'inna l-ra'īs l- firansiyya frānsuwā 'ulānd qad ṭalaba ḥilāla ziyāratīhi li- baḡdād yawma l-ḡum'ati l- mādiya bi-l-samāhi lahu bi-l- taḥlīqi fawqa l-'arādī l- 'irāqiyyati wa-qad wāfaḡati l-suluṭātu l-'irāqiyyatu 'alā ḡālīka.	And at the same time the minister of foreign affairs of France Laurent Fabius confirmed that a French plane carried out a first re- connaissance mission yes- terday in Iraq, and Fabius said - that the French pres- ident François Hollande had requested during his visit to Baghdad last Friday to be allowed to fly over Iraqi territory, and the Iraqi authorities had agreed to that.

³⁰⁹ *el-firqa el-'ulā mudarra'* or *al-firqatu l-mudarra'atu l-'ulā*, 'the first armoured division', was formed in January 1983 and disbanded in December 2012, its units incorporated into the army. The function of the adverb *sābiqan*, whether referring to the division, *el-firqa*, or to the position of Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar (via *trajectio*) in relation to this division is not clear from the example, but later in the same article it becomes evident that it is used in relation to the division. The translation is left as is. A lexical study of *sābiqan* in the context of Media Arabic is a *desideratum* of future research. For its semantics in the present corpus, see 6.8.4 and 6.8.5.

Article 57 features a Temporal Succession in a hypothetical future context with *qad* VprefL + *wa-min tumma qad* VprefL: *lāfitan 'ilā 'anna tilka l-istrāiḡiyyata qad tahlūqu farāḡan fi-l-sultati dāhila 'irān wa-min tumma qad yaḥduṭu širā'un marīrun bayna riḡāli l-dīni l-bāriḡina* (Example 231).

Example (240) from Article 25 below shows a feature that might be salient, but which is not investigated in the present work, namely the ordering of verbal nouns according to the iconic temporal sequence, here: “arrest”, followed by “interrogation”, and not the other way around (nominal addition). The pair of verbal nouns is followed by a finite clause of *x before y* via the conjunction *qabla 'an*.

240. Article 25, Temporal Succession in a nominal addition (not investigated)

ومن جهة أخرى، أشارت شبكة «بي بي سي» إلى أن لندن تسعى للتنسيق مع ألمانيا وتركيا والدول الأخرى التي يمر من خلالها المشتبه بهم إلى مناطق القتال، بحيث ترسل هذه الدول إشارة للندن لإعلامها في حالة وجود تكفيريين بريطانيين، بحيث يمكن اعتقالهم واستجوابهم قبل أن تطأ أقدامهم الأراضي البريطانية.	wa-min ḡihatin 'uḡrā, 'ašarat šabakatu »bī bī sī« 'ilā 'anna landan tas'ā li-l-tansīqi ma'a 'almāniyā wa-turkiyā wa-l- duwali l-'uḡrā llatī yamurru min ḡilālīhā l-muštabahu bi- him 'ilā manāṭiqi l-qitāli, bi- ḡayṭu tursilu ḡāḡihi l-duwalu 'išāratan li-landan li-'i'lāmiḡā fī ḡālātī wuḡuḡi takfīriyyīna brīṭāniyyīna, bi-ḡayṭu yum- kinu 'tiḡāluḡum wa- stiḡwābuhum qabla 'an tata'a 'aḡḡāmuhum al-'arāḡiya l- brīṭāniyyata.	And on the other hand, the network »BBC« indicated that London seeks to coordi- nate with Germany, Turkey, and the other countries through which those sus- pected pass towards the combat zones, in order that these countries can send a signal to London to inform it in case of presence of British extremists, in order that they can be <u>arrested and interro- gated</u> before their feet tread on British territory.

4.3.1.2. Counter-sequential

y and before that x, or *y, after x*. Countersequential is the reversed segmental ordering vis-à-vis the iconic sequence of Temporal Succession (for *x*, and (then) *y*, see 4.3.1.1).

Examples (241) and (242) are prototypical examples of Counter-sequential linking with past time anchoring.

241. Article 106, Counter-sequential, past anchoring

وأعلن بن عمر في وقت متأخر من مساء أمس الأول اتفاقاً لـ "حل الازمة" في اليمن بعد أن التقى زعيم المتطرفين الشيعة عبد الملك الحوثي في معقله في صعدة بشمال اليمن.	wa-'a'ḡana ben 'umar fī waḡṭin muta'aḡḡarin min masā'i l-'aḡwali ttifāḡan li "ḡalli l-'azmati" fī el-yaman ba'da 'an iltaḡā za'ima l- mutamarridīna l-šī'ati 'abd ul-malik el-ḡuṭī fī ma'ḡilihi fī ša'ada bi-šamāli el-yaman.	And Benomar announced at a late hour the evening of the day before yesterday an agreement for “a solution of the crisis” in Yemen, <u>after</u> <u>he [had] met the leader of</u> <u>the rebels Abdul-Malik al-</u> <u>Houthi at his stronghold in</u> <u>Saada in northern Yemen.</u>

242. Article 125, Counter-sequential, past anchoring

وحذر موشيه يعالون وزير الدفاع الاسرائيلي- في بيان أمس- من أن إسرائيل سترد بقوة على أى تهديد بعد أن أسقط الجيش الاسرائيلي طائرة حربية سورية في الجولان.	wa-haddara mōšēh ya'alōn wazīru l-difā'i l-'isrā'īliyyu- fī bayānin 'amsi- min 'anna 'isrā'īl sa-taruddu bi-quwwatin 'alā 'ayyi tahdīdin ba'da 'an 'asqaṭa l-ḡayšu l-'isrā'īliyyu ṭā'iratan ḥar-biyyatan sūriyyatan fī el-ḡulān.	And Moshe Ya'alōn the Israeli defence minister warned - in a statement yesterday - that Israel will respond with force on any threat after the Israeli army had shot down a Syrian warplane in the Golan.

Example (243) from Article 5 features a nominalized Countersequential linking of the type *situation x after n time units since the initiation of situation y*. The construction indicates that situation *y* is terminated by the realization of *x*.

243. Article 5, Countersequential

وأكد وزير الشباب العراقي جاسم حمد خضير، أن القوات العراقية تمكنت من تحرير بلدة امرلي ذات الغالبية التركمانية من سيطرة المسلحين، بعد أكثر من 75 يوما من السيطرة عليها.	wa-'akkada wazīru l-šabābi l-'irāqīyyu ḡāsim ḥamad ḥuḍayr, 'anna l-quwwāti l-'irāqīyyata tamakkanat min tahrīri baldati 'amerlī dāti l-ḡālibīyyati l-turkmāniyyati min sayṭarati l-musallahīna, ba'da 'aktara min 75 yawman mina l-sayṭarati 'alayhi.	And the Iraqi minister of the youth Jassem Hamad Khudair confirmed that the Iraqi forces have managed to liberate the Turkmen-dominated town of Amerli from the control of the militants, after more than 75 days of having had control over it.

Examples (244) and (245) feature Countersequential clauses with a future temporal anchoring. Example (315) features a finite verb, whereas (245) is nominalized.

244. Article 88 (final sentence), future time anchoring, future anterior, Countersequential

وأعلنت الكنيسة عن إقامة صلاة "مصالحة" بين الطرفين يوم الأحد المقبل بعد أن تكون نتيجة الاستفتاء قد ظهرت ، وذلك خوفا على السلام الاجتماعي بأسكتلندا.	wa-'a'lanati l-kanīṣatu 'an 'iqāmata ṣalāti "muṣālahat#n" bayna l-tarafayni yawma l-'ahadi l-muqbila ba'da 'an takūna natīḡatu l-istiftā'i qad ḡaharat , wa-dālika ḥawfan 'alā l-salāmi l-iḡtimā'iyyi bi-'iskutlandā.	And the church announced the having of a prayer of "reconciliation" between the two sides the coming Sunday after the results of the referendum will have appeared, and this out of fear for the social peace in Scotland.

245. Article 12, Countersequential, nominalized

وحول العلاقات الثنائية المصرية الألمانية، قال إن هناك رغبة ألمانية فى تنمية العلاقات مع مصر بعد تحقيق الاستقرار وإنجاز الإستحقاقين الأول والثانى من خريطة الطريق	wa-ḥawla l-'alāqāti l-tunā'īyyati l-miṣriyyati l-'almāniyyati, qāla 'inna hunāka raġbatan 'almāniyyatan fī tanmiyati l-'alāqāti ma'a miṣr ba'da taḥqīqi l-istiqrāri wa-inḡāzi l-'istiḥqāqayni l-'awwali wa-l-tānī min ḥarīṭati l-ṭarīqi	And concerning the bilateral Egyptian-German relations, he [Shoukry, the Egyptian foreign minister] said that there is a German wish to develop the relationships with Egypt after achieving stability and [after] achieving the first and the second claims of the road map

Example (246) from Article 34 features a Countersequential linking with a perfective stative predicate, whose interpretation is “state has ended”.³¹⁰

246. Article 34, Countersequential bi Context, state has ended

أصدر تنظيم أنصار الشريعة الليبية التابع لتنظيم القاعدة بياناً هاجم فيه ميليشيات «فجر ليبيا» الذراع العسكرية لـ«مجلس شورى ثوار بنغازي» بعد أن كان متحالفاً معها، وأنتقد التنظيم المتشدد الديمقراطي واعتبرها بدعة غريبة تتعارض مع مبادئ الإسلام.	'aṣḍara tanẓīmu 'anṣār el-ṣarī'a l-lībiyyu l-tābi'u li-tanẓīmi el-qā'ida <u>bayānan hāġama fīhi milīṣiyāti</u> »faġr lībiyā« al-dīrā'a l-'askariyyata li-»maġlisi šūrā tuwwāri bengāzī« ba'da 'an kāna mutaḥālīfan ma'ahā, wa-ntaqada l-tanẓīmu l-mutaṣaddidu l-dīmuqrāṭiyyata wa-'tabarahā bid'atan ġarbiyyatan tata'āraḍu ma'a mabādi'i l-'islāmi.	The Libyan Ansar al-Sharia belonging to the organization al-Qaeda issued a <u>statement in which it attacked the militias of »Libya Dawn«</u> the military arm of the »Shura Council of the Benghazi Revolutionaries« after having been allied with it, and the extremist organization criticized the democracy and considered it a Western innovation [= heresy] contradicting with the principles of Islam.

A Countersequential linking can also involve the anterior verbal aspect, with current relevance, or have a resultative reading, ‘current result’, with a situation that occurred prior to reference time, but whose result is relevant at reference time. This is the case in Example (247) from Article 49, where the construction also takes on a secondary reading of Cause.

247. Article 49, Countersequential bi Cause

على سعيد آخر، توقع تقرير اقتصادى بثته أمس وكالة أنباء «بلومبرج» الاقتصادية، تراجع اعتماد دول الاتحاد الأوروبي على واردات الغاز الروسى القادم عبر شبكة خطوط الأنابيب	'alā ṣa'īdin 'āḥara , <u>tawaqqa'a taqrīrun iqtisādiyyun</u> battathu 'amsi wikālātu 'anbā'i »blūmberg« al-iqtisādiyyatu, tarāġu'a 'timādi duwali l-itīhādi l-ūrūbbiyyi 'alā wāridāti l-ġāzi l-rūsiyyi l-	On another topic, <u>an economics report</u> which the economics news agency »Bloomberg« broadcasted yesterday <u>expected a decline in the dependence of the countries of the European Union on imports of Russian</u>

³¹⁰ Bybee et al. (1994: 318): “state ends: state existed in the past, but no longer exists. Also a possible meaning of ‘Perfects’ or ‘Perfectives’ in combination with stative verbs.” The stative predicate used here is ‘to be allied’, *mutaḥālīfan*.

التي تمر بأراضي
أوكرانيا بعد أن خزنت
دول الاتحاد كميات كبيرة
من المخزون في
مستودعات تحت الأرض
وهو ما يقلل مخاطر
تعرضها لأزمة في
إمدادات الغاز خلال فصل
الشتاء المقبل كما حدث
خلال السنوات الماضية.

qādimi 'abra šabakati ḥuṭūṭi
l-'anābībi llatī tamurru bi-
'arādī 'ūkrāniyā **ba'da 'an**
ḥazanat duwalu l-ittihādi
kamiyyātin kabīratan
mina l-maḥzūni fī mu-
stawda'ātin taḥta l-'arḍi
wa-huwa mā yuqallilu
maḥāṭira ta'arruḍihā li-
'azmatin fī 'imḍādāti l-ḡāzi
ḥilāla faṣli l-šitā'i l-muqbili
kamā ḥadaṭa ḥilāla l-
sanawāti l-māḍiyati.

gas coming via the pipeline
network which passes
through the territories of
Ukraine, **after the countries**
of the Union have stored a
large quantity of reserve in
underground reservoirs;
this reduces the risks of their
exposure to a crisis in gas
supplies during the coming
winter season as happened
during the past years.

4.3.1.3. Simultaneous

x while y, where situation *y* shares reference time with the event time of situation *x*. While there are a number of linkings that involve two cotemporal situations (see e.g. Concomitance 4.5), a prototypical monosemantic Simultaneous linking is devoid of other semantics.

In Example (248), a bipartite construction introduced by *wa-hum yaḡlisūna*, 'sitting', describes children as they appear in a video (= frame time); the second clause is stating a simultaneous activity, *wa-yaqra'ūna*, 'and reading'. The first verb *yaḡlisūna* is not only stating a physical posture, explaining that the children are sitting down, but also adduces a progressive verbal aspect to the following verb.³¹¹ The postural verb in its usage here, however, is not bleached semantically to only code an abstract grammatical meaning of the progressive, but the two clauses describe two simultaneous actions: sitting and reading;³¹² *wa-* in the second clause signals that we are not dealing with a Serial Verb.

248. Article 8, Simultaneous x2

وظهر الأطفال في
الفيديو الذي بثته
الجماعة الإرهابية وهم
يجلسون، ويقرأون
القرآن الكريم قبل أن
يبدأوا في إطلاق النار
من أسلحة أوتوماتيكية
يحاولون التحكم فيها
بصعوبة بسبب صغر
أجسادهم.

wa-zahara l-'atfālu fi-l-fīdiyū
lladī battathu l-ḡamā'atu l-'ir-
hābiyyatu **wa-hum**
yaḡlisūna, wa-yaqra'ūna l-
qur'āna l-karīma qabla 'an
yabda'ū fī 'iṭlāqi l-nāri min
'asliḥatin 'ūtūmātīkiyyatin
yuḥāwilūna l-taḥakkuma fihā
bi-ṣu'ūbati bi-sababi ṣiḡari
'aḡsādihim.

And the children appear in
the video, which the terrorist
group published, **as they are**
sitting and reading the noble
Qur'an before they begin to
open fire from automatic
weapons while trying to control
them with difficulty be-
cause of the smallness of
their bodies.

³¹¹ Cf. Egyptian Arabic 'a'ad, yu'ud + an asyndetic serial prefix-verb without b-.

³¹² For the grammaticalization of postural verbs into imperfective grammatical morphemes via semantic bleaching, see Bybee *et al.* (1994).

Example (249) from Article 5 describes the Simultaneous actions of the Iraqi army as they entered Amerli. The example features three simultaneous events: one matrix and two Simultaneous clauses.

249. Article 5, Simultaneous x2

وقال عطا إن "طلائع القوات العراقية دخلت إلى مدينة أمرلي من محور جنوب المدينة ، فيما لا تزال تتقدم من ثلاثة محاور أخرى ولا تزال الاشتباكات عنيفة" على حد قوله .	wa-qāla 'aṭā 'inna ṭalā'i'a l-quwwāti l-'irāqiyyati daḥalat 'ilā madīnati 'amerlī min mihwarin ḡanūba l-madīnati , fīmā lā tazālu ta-taqqaddamu min ṭalātati maḥāwira 'uḥrā wa-lā tazālu l-ištibākātu 'anīfatan' 'alā ḥaddi qawlihi .	And Atta said that the <u>van-</u> <u>guards of the Iraqi forces en-</u> <u>tered the city of Amerli from</u> <u>an axis south [in/of?]</u> ³¹³ <u>the</u> <u>city, while still progressing</u> <u>from three other axes and</u> <u>the clashes remained violent,</u> according to what he said.

Examples (250) and (251) illustrate Simultaneous linking with same subject and gram switch in a nominalized clause with a participle in the accusative case. In Example (250) from Article 106, the relation between the finite matrix and the clause with the participle is a Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Simultaneous. The grammatically subordinate *muttahiman* is stating the why, but the accusation is not a cause of handing in the resignation. The semantics are nebulous, the function of *muttahiman* comparable to a finite verb.

250. Article 106 (lead), Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Simultaneous

قدم رئيس الوزراء اليمني محمد سالم باسندوه استقالته أمس متهما رئيس الجمهورية عبد ربه منصور هادي بالتفرد بالسلطة،	qaddama ra'īsu l-wuzarā'i l-yamaniyyu muḥammad sālem bāsindawah istiḡālat-ahu 'amsi muttahiman ra'īsa l-ḡumhūriyyati 'abd rabbuḥ maṣṣūr ḥādī bi-l-tafarrudi bi-l-sulṭati, [...]	The Yemeni prime minister Muhammed Salim Basindawa handed in his resignation yesterday, accusing/and accused the president of the Republic Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi of autocracy,

Example (251) from Article 33 features a peripheral accusative participle with a less complex semantic vis-à-vis its matrix. The use of a clausal peripheral accusative participle is rare outside of attribution contexts (see 6.4.5.3). Here in Example (251) the construction is coupled with the deviant 22 'alf#, without the expected *-an*, and with the unexpected masculine *rafa* 'a.³¹⁴ Moreover, the instrumental/agentive *bi-* in *mad'ūmatan bi-quwwati l-ittiḥādī* is only attested 3x (annotated as Instrument & Agent, for which see under "bi-" in 6.9).

³¹³ For the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

³¹⁴ For the expected *rafa* 'at; the internal passive of this verb is otherwise unattested in the corpus, whereas the periphrastic passive is attested 1x, Article 71: [...] wa-sa-yatimmu raf'u taqrīrin ḥawla [...].

251. Article 33, Simultaneous

وأوضح أنهم كانوا
مجتمعين لمناقشة الهجوم
الذي شنته القوات
الصومالية صباح السبت
مدعومة بقوة الاتحاد
الافريقي في الصومال
(اميصوم) التي رفع عدد
قواتها إلى 22 ألف في
يناير.

wa-ʾawḍaḥa ʾannahum kānū
muḡtamaʾīna li-munāqashaṭi l-
huḡūmi llaḏī šannathu l-
quwwātu l-sūmāliyyatu
sabāḥa l-sabtī **madʾūmatan**
bi-quwwati l-ittihādi l-
ʾafrīqīyi fī el-šūmāl
(myswm) allatī rafaʾa [sic]
ʾadada quwwātihā ʾilā 22 ʾalf
[sic] fī yanāyir.

And he clarified that they
had gathered to discuss the
attack that the Somali
forces launched Saturday
morning, backed by the
African Union force in
Somalia (AMISOM ³¹⁵),
which increased the num-
ber of its forces to 22 thou-
sand in January.

Example (252) from Article 108 features a highly nominalized Simultaneous clause.

252. Article 108 (second paragraph), Simultaneous

وقد سبق تلك الواقعة
بساعات قليلة، حادث
تسلل آخر عندما نجح
جوزالس في القفز فوق
سور البيت الأبيض
ووصله إلى الجناح
الشمالي للبيت، الذي
اتضح فيما بعد انه كان
مسلحا بسكين وقت
الاقتحام.

wa-qad sabaqa tilka l-wāqīʾata
bi-sāʾatin qalīlatin, ḥādiṭu tas-
allulin ʾaḥaru ʾindamā naḡaḡa
ḡūnzālīs fī-l-qafzi fawqa sūri
l-bayti l-ʾabyaḍi wa-wuṣūlihi
ʾilā l-ḡanāḥi l-šamāliyyi li-l-
bayti, llaḏī ttaḍaḡa fimā baʾdu
[ita] ʾannahu kāna musallahan
bi-sikkīnin waqta l-iqtihāmi.

And another infiltration incident
preceded this incident
by hours when Gonzalez
succeeded in jumping over
the wall of the White House
and reaching the northern
wing of the house, who
turned out in what followed
that he was armed with a
knife at the time of the in-
trusion.

4.3.2. Since

x since y, where situation *x* is or was continuing since *y*.

253. Article 106, Temporal Since x2

واستمرت المواجهات
في صنعاء منذ اعلان
المبعوث الدولي جمال
بن عمر مساء أمس
الاول عن التوصل إلى
اتفاق بين الحوثيين
والرئاسة اليمنية لانتهاء
الازمة الحالية، ونشر
الحوثيون الالاف من
المسلحين وغير
المسلحين في صنعاء
وحولها منذ أن أعلن
زعيم التمرد عبدالملك
الحوثي في ١٨
أغسطس تحركا

wa-stamarrati l-
muwāḡahātu fī sanʾāʾ
munḏu ʾiʾlāni l-mabʾūti l-
duwaliyyi ḡamāl ben ʾumar
masāʾa ʾamsi l-ʾawwali ʾani
l-tawaṣṣuli ʾilā ttifāqin
bayna l-ḥūtiyyīna wa-l-
riʾāṣati l-yamaniyyati li-
ʾinhāʾi l-ʾazmati l-ḥāliyyati,
wa-našara l-ḥūtiyyūna l-
ʾālāfa mina l-musallaḥīna
wa-ḡayri l-musallaḥīna fī
šanʾāʾ wa-ḡawlahā munḏu
ʾan ʾaʾlana zaʾīmu l-ta-
marrudi ʾabd ul-malik el-

And the confrontations in Sa-
naa have continued since the
announcement by the inter-
national envoy Jamal Be-
nomar the evening the day be-
fore yesterday of having
reached an agreement between
the Houthis and the Yemeni
presidency to end the current
crisis. And the Houthis [have]
deployed thousands of armed
and unarmed [militants] in Sa-
naa and around it since the re-
bel leader Abdul-Malik al-
Houthi announced on August

³¹⁵ I.e. the African Union Mission in Somalia.

احتجاجيا تصاعديا للمطالبة باسقاط الحكومة، والتراجع عن قرار رفع أسعار الوقود ، اضافة الى تطبيق مقررات الحوار الوطني.	hūṭī fi 18 'ağusṭus taḥarru- kan iḥtiğāğiyyan taṣā'udiyyan li-l-muṭālabati bi-'isqāṭi l-ḥukūmati , wa-l- tarāğū'i 'an qarāri raf'i 'as'āri l-waqūdi , 'iḏāfatan 'ilā taṭbīqi muqarrarāti l- hiwāri l-waṭaniyyi.	18 an escalating protest action to demand the overthrow of the government, and a reversal of the decision to raise the fuel prices, in addition to imple- ment the decisions of the na- tional dialogue.

4.3.3. Until

x until y, or *until y, x*; situation *x* continues until *y*, as a result of which it typically terminates. Example (254) from Article 19 features two temporal Until clauses, *until y, x*, and *x until y*, the first of which is preposed and polysemous; for preposed subordinations, see 5.3.4.4.

254. Article 19, Until x2: Until bi Possible Consequence + Until

وأضاف البيان: "وحتى يتم تأمين الدولة ومقارها العامة فإن الحكومة ستعمل من أي مدينة ليبية مع استمرار تواصلها بجميع موظفي الدولة والمؤسسات العامة بالعاصمة طرابلس، وستقوم بتسيير الأعمال وما تكلف به إلى حين تكليف حكومة جديدة".	wa-'aḏāfa l-bayānu: "wa- ḥattā yatimma ta'mīnu l- dawlati wa-maqārrihā l- 'āmmati fa-'inna l-ḥukūmata sa-ta' malu min 'ayyi maḍīnatin lībiyyatin ma'a stimrāri tawāṣulihā bi-ğamī'i muwazzafī l-dawlati wa-l- mu'assasāti l-'āmmati bi-l- 'āsimati ṭarābulus, wa-sa- taqūmu bi-tasyīri l-'a'mālī wa-mā tukallafu bihi 'ilā ḥīni taklīfi ḥukūmatin ğadīdatin".	And the statement added: "Until the state and its public headquarters are secured, the government will work from any Libyan city continuing its communica- tion with all the employees of the state and public institu- tions in the capital Tripoli, and it will run its businesses and what it is tasked with un- til a new government is commissioned".

4.3.4. Conditional

p if q, or *if p, q*. In a Conditional relation, the subordinate clause states a condition, real, hypothetical, or unreal under which the matrix is true.³¹⁶ Conditional linking typically involves an *if* clause (protasis) and a *then* clause (apodosis). For "relevance conditionals", see 4.11.1.

Example (255) features a real Conditional linking with *law* Vsuff in the protasis and *fa-'inna* S future-VprefL in a post-positioned apodosis.

³¹⁶ Conditional is included under the supra-category of temporal relations on the basis that temporal conjunctions diachronically may develop into conjunctions expressive of the Conditional.

255. Article 49, Conditional

وأوضح أنه لو تبني الغرب عقوبات تتعلق بمجال الطاقة أو وضع قيودا إضافية تمس القطاع المالي الروسي، فإن روسيا سيكون عليها الرد بشكل قوي وغير متماثل.	wa-'awḍaḥa 'annahu law ta-bannā l-ġarbu 'uqūbātin tata'allāqu bi-maġāli l-ṭāqati 'aw waḍa'a quyūdan 'iḍāfiyyatan tamussu l-qitā'a l-māliyya l-rūsiyya, <u>fa-'inna rūsiyā sa-yakūnu 'alayhā l-raddu</u> bi-šaklin qawiiyyin wa-ġayri mutamāṭilin.	And he explained that if the West adopts sanctions related to the field of energy or puts additional restrictions that affect the Russian financial sector, <u>Russia will have to respond</u> in a strong an asymmetric manner.

Example (256) features a Conditional linking with a modal prefix-verb in the matrix and a post-positioned Conditional clause with 'iḍā Vsuff.

256. Article 56, Conditional

وقال مسئول بقطاع النفط اليمني طلب عدم نشر اسمه، إنه يمكن إصلاح الخط في غضون يوم أو يومين، إذا سمح رجال القبائل بذلك.	wa-qāla mas'ūlun bi-qitā'i l-nafti l-yamaniyyi ṭalaba 'adama našri smihi, 'innahu <u>yumkinu 'islāhu l-ḥatti fī ġudūni yawmin</u> aw yawmayni, 'iḍā samaḥa riġālu l-qabā'ili bi-dālika.	And an official in the Yemeni oil sector who asked not to be named said that <u>the line can be repaired within a day or two</u> , if the tribesmen allow this.

In Arabic, secondary Conditional semantics can be inferred also in constructions with other primary readings. One such construction mentioned by the grammars is headless relatives with *man* (e.g. “Relative conditionals” in BCG: §8.5.1). In the corpus, *man* is only attested twice in contexts where this reading is relevant to consider in the analysis. Throughout Examples (257)–(260) the difference between clauses with a Conditional secondary reading will be discussed.³¹⁷

Example (257) from Article 33 features an indirect object in the headless relative clause introduced by *li-man*; here, the relative clause is not a Conditional linking, since the *man* clause does not pose a condition on the truth value of the matrix proposition. In the matrix, Washington is said to have set a monetary reward to be given to anyone who helps in arresting Ghudan. The *li-man* clause is not posing a condition on the matrix because the reward is set regardless of whether they ever arrest Ghudan, and whether anyone assists in arresting him.

257. Article 33 (final sentence), headless relative, not Conditional

ورصدت واشنطن مكافأة قدرها سبعة ملايين دولار لمن يساعد في القبض على غودان (37 سنة).	wa-raṣadat wāšintun mukāfa'atan qadruhā sab'atu malāyīna dūlārin li-man yusā'idu fi-l-qabḍi 'alā ġūdān (37 sanatan).	<u>And Washington has set a reward of seven million dollars for the one who helps arrest Ghudan</u> (37 years).

³¹⁷ These examples are inserted to illustrate that the possibility of translating with 'if' does not warrant Conditional semantics.

Example (258) from Article 4 is interpreted similarly. The position and proposition of Erdoğan, that Libya must be ruled from Tripoli, is not conditioned by the reality of whether anyone in fact wants to rule the country or not. It can indeed be argued that the Conditional conjunction is more idiomatic in English, but ‘if anyone wants to rule the country’ is not a relevant reading of the Arabic, where the relative clause *man yurīdu ‘an yudīra l-bilāda*, is comparable to a front-dislocated noun such as *al-ra’īs* or similar (for front dislocation, see 5.3.4.3).

258. Article 4, relative *man*, front dislocation, not Conditional

وكان أردوغان قد وصف في مقابلة بثتها قناة «الجزيرة» القطرية انعقاد البرلمان الليبي في مدينة طبرق بأنه «خطأ»، وقال: من يريد أن يدير البلاد، فعليه أن يديرها من طرابلس وليس من أي مدينة أخرى.	wa-kāna ‘erdūgān qad waṣafa fī muqābalatin battathā qanātu «el-ğazīra» al-qatariyyatu n’iqāda l- barlamāni l-lībiyyi fī madīnati ṭubruq bi-’annahu «ḥaṭa’un», wa-qāla: man yurīdu ‘an yudīra l-bilāda, fa-‘alayhi ‘an yudīrahā min ṭarābulus wa-laysa min ‘ayyi madīnatin ‘uḥrā.	And Erdoğan had described in an interview broadcasted by the Qatari channel «Al Jazeera» the convening of the Libyan parliament in the city of Tobruk that it is «a mis- take», and he said: he [= any- one] who wants to run the country has to run it from Tripoli and not from any other city.

Example (259) from Article 3 features a temporal relation that might seem Conditional at first, but which is not. In the example, the clause introduced by ‘*indamā*, ‘when’, is factual, since the police in fact did use tear gas and rubber bullets, but only “when needed”.

259. Article 3, ‘*indamā*, Simultaneous bi Cause, not Conditional

مؤكدًا أن "الشرطة لم تستخدم سوى الغاز المسيل للدموع والرصاص المطاطي عندما دعت الحاجة إلى ذلك"	[...] mu’akkidan ‘anna ”al- ṣurtata lam tastahdim siwā l- ğāzi l-musīli li-l-dumū’i wa-l- rasāsi l-mattātiyyi ‘indamā da ‘ati l-ḥāḡatu ‘ilā dālīka”	[...] stressing that “the police only used tear gas and rubber bullets when the need called for it”

Moreover, Example (260) from Article 3 has, in addition to a primary Simultaneous and a secondary (bi) Cause reading, also a Conditional inference. The nominalized clause *ma‘a stimrāri l-muwāğahāti*, ‘with a continuation of the confrontations, as the confrontations continue’, is anchored in a future-projecting temporal context in the irrealis realm of expectations. A matter of eventuality, the factuality of the continuation of confrontations is likely, but not yet realized. The progressive reading of Cause also has a Conditional bi-nuance: i.e. the number of victims may rise not only ‘because the confrontations continue as expected’, but also ‘if they continue as expected’. Given the nominalization and the irrealis context, the example is a difficult one. The reference of the prepositional phrase is crucial, but nebulous.

260. Article 3, Simultaneous bi Cause bi Conditional

وأكدت مصادر طبية أنه تم نقل الجرحى إلى أكبر مستشفيات العاصمة، مشيرين إلى أنه من المتوقع أن ترتفع حصيلة الضحايا مع استمرار المواجهات.	wa-’akkadat maṣādiru ṭib- biyyatun ’annahu tamma naqlu l-ḡarḡā ’ilā ’akbara mustaṣṣayāti l-’āsimati, muṣṣīrīna ’ilā ’annahu <u>mina l- mutawaqqa’i ’an tartafi’a</u> <u>hasīlatu l-dahāyā</u> ma’a stimrāri l-muwāḡahāti.	And medical sources con- firmed that the wounded have been transferred to the biggest hospitals of the capital, refer- ring to [the fact] that <u>it is ex- pected that the number of</u> <u>wounded will increase with a</u> continuation of the confron- tations.

In the investigation, all Conditional and secondary Conditional clauses will be accounted for. For the *hapax* Conditional ‘only’ in Article 118, see *’illā ba’da* PP in 6.7 and Example (200).

4.4. Cause and Consequence

This category includes Cause, Consecutive, and Purpose relations.

4.4.1. Cause

because p, q, where *p* states “the reason for the state or activity” expressed by the matrix *q* (Dixon 2009: 17, and Lehmann, “Nexion”). Segmental ordering is theoretically arbitrary. Causative verbal morphology is not investigated.

Annotated under a single relation name Cause, in the present analysis, causality is considered to be of two kinds (the latter of which is not accounted for by Dixon 2009): Cause and what may be called Indirect Cause.

In a (direct) Causal relationship, the causality is unmediated. In Indirect (or perhaps better, reported) Cause, the writer expresses the semantic relationship between the clauses indirectly, letting the subject of the matrix and the readership bear responsibility for the causal interpretation between situations, typically in Media Arabic via a participle of attribution in the accusative such as *muṣṣīran ’ilā* (’*anna*), lit. ‘referring to (that)’ (for authorial distance, see 1.4.7).

Example (261) from Article 4 codes the causal relationship lexically via the nominalized prepositional phrase *bi-sababi*, lit. ‘because of’. Here, the writer take responsibility for the Cause reading, coding the causal relationship directly.

261. Article 4, Cause (nominalized)

ذكرت منظمات حقوقية محلية أن أكثر من ٥٠ ألف عائلة نزحت أو تم تهجيرها من طرابلس بسبب تفاقم أعمال العنف هناك	dakarāt munazzamātun ḥuqūqīyyatun maḥallīyyatun 'anna 'aktara min 50 alfa 'ā'ilatin nazaḥat 'aw tamma taḥğīruha min ṭarābulus bi- sababi tafāqumi 'a'māli l- 'unfi hunāka	Local [human] rights organi- zations mentioned that more than 50 thousand families have migrated or been dis- placed from Tripoli because of the aggravation of vio- lent actions there.

Example (262) from Article 1 (also cited in Example 678) features an Indirect Cause, where a subordinating participle, *qā'ilīna*, lit. 'saying', is used to introduce a cause on behalf of the matrix clause subject, 'because—as they say—[...]' . The readership has to infer the causal relationship.³¹⁸

262. Article 1, Indirect Cause

وكانت السعودية والإمارات والبحرين قد سحبت سفراءها من قطر في مارس الماضي، قائلين إنها نكثت بوعودها لهم بشأن أمن الخليج	wa-kānat el-sa'ūdiyya wa- l-'imārāt wa-l-baḥrayn qad saḥabat sufara'aha min qaṭar fī mārṣ al-mādī, qā'ilīna 'innahā nakaṭat bi-wu'ūdihā lahum bi- ša'ni 'amni el-ḥaliğ [...]	For Saudi, the Emirates [UAE] and Bahrain withdrew their am- bassadors from Qatar in March, because, as they said, Qatar had broken its promises to them with regard to the secu- rity of the Gulf [...]

Example (263) from Article 45 illustrates that modality in the clause expressive of an Indirect Cause may be coded lexically via a nominal head, in this case the noun *ḍarūrat*#, 'need'.

263. Article 45 (first sentence after the lead), Indirect Cause

وقال بيتر ستانو المتحدث باسم المفوض الأوروبي للشئون التوسعة وسياسة الجوار ستيفان فول إن مكافحة الفساد تعد عنصراً أساسياً للمعايير السياسية لدى الاتحاد الأوروبي. مشيراً إلى ضرورة إجراء الاعتقالات والتحقيقات وفق أسس قانونية تستند إلى أدلة مؤكدة وملموسة.	wa-qāla bītr stānū l-mu- taḥaddītu bi-smi l-mufaw- wiḍi l-'ūrūbiyyi li-šu'ūni l- tawassu'ati wa-siyāsati l- ğiwāri stīfān fūl 'inna muk- āfaḥata l-fasāda tu'addu 'unṣuran 'asāsiyyan li-l- ma'āyiri l-siyāsiyyatin ladā l-ittihādi l- 'ūrūbbiyyi. mušīran 'ilā ḍarūratī 'iğrā'i l-i'tiqālātī wa-l-taḥqīqātī wafqa 'ususin qānūniyyatin tastanidu 'ilā 'adillatin mu'akkadatin wa- malmūsatin.	<u>And Peter Stano</u> spokesperson for the European Commis- sioner for Expansion Affairs and the Neighbourhood Pol- icy ³¹⁹ Štefan Füle <u>said</u> that the fight against corruption is con- sidered an essential component of the political standards of the European Union, pointing to [—as he thinks—] [the fact] that arrests and investiga- tions need to be conducted ac- cording to legal grounds based on firm and concrete evidence.

³¹⁸ Similarly with *mušīrina 'ilā 'annahu mina l-mutatawaqqā'i 'an* [...] in Example (260) from Article 3 above, although here the subordinating lexical items used to express the Indirect Cause are *mušīran 'ilā 'anna*, 'because they expect', lit. 'referring to that'.

³¹⁹ The English title is Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy.

Example (264) from Article 130 features two causal constructions in *variatio*: the Indirect Cause *murġi'an dālika 'ilā*, lit. 'referencing this to', and the subsequent causal *li-kawni*, 'for the fact that', 'because'. The *variatio* suggests that participles of attribution (for which, see under 6.4.5.3) used to express an Indirect Cause could be exclusive to this type of inferred causality, probably on etymological grounds, or that the coding of the reported cause via the participle may not be obligatory in a secondary causal clause; its status as Direct or Indirect Cause is nebulous. Both constructions are *hapax* here in the corpus,³²⁰ the latter possibly to be interpreted as a proleptic relative clause (for the proleptic relative construction, see 6.3.1.1).

264. Article 130, Cause x2 (*variatio*): Indirect Cause + (Indirect?) Cause

وقال كريستوفر داي
رئيس استراتيجية
منظمة الصحة العالمية،
إن الوباء سيستمر في
التزايد بإطراد، مرجعا
ذلك جزئيا إلى سمات
السكان المتضررين
وحالة النظم الصحية،
ولكون جهود مكافحة
الوباء كانت غير كافية
لوقف انتشار المرض.

wa-qāla krīstōfer dāy ra'īsu
'istrātiġiyyati munazzamati
l-ṣiḥḥati l-'ālamīyyati,
'inna l-wabā'a sa-yasta-
mirru fi-l-tazāyudi bi-
tṭirādīn, murġi'an dālika
'ilā simāti l-sukkāni l-
mutaḍarrirīna wa-ḥālātī
l-nuẓumi l-ṣiḥḥiyyati, wa-
li-kawni ġuhūdi
mukāfahati l-wabā'i kānat
ġayra kāfiyatin li-waqfi
ntiṣāri l-maradi.

And Christopher Day, head of
the strategy of the World
Health Organization said that
the epidemic will continue to
increase steadily, partly be-
cause [—as he thinks—] of
the characteristics of the af-
fected population and the
state of the health systems,
and for the fact that [—as he
thinks(?)—] the efforts to coun-
ter the epidemic have not been
enough to stop the spread of
the disease.

4.4.2. Consecutive

p so that *q*, where main clause *p* states the cause and a (focal) clause *q* states the realized result³²¹ of situation *p*. Rather than a deliberate action for a purpose (see Purpose 4.4.4), the Consecutive expresses a natural or unintended result, but different to Degree Consecutive (Lehmann “Nexion”, and see 4.4.3), the result is not necessary given a graded causative situation.³²²

265. Consecutive

Linda was heavier than water so that she drowned.

³²⁰ Both *murġi'an* and *li-kawni* are *hapax* in the corpus as a whole; the type *wa-'arġa' #* occurs 2x elsewhere in the corpus (Articles 74 and 90), both times with the preposition *'ilā*. In the prefix conjugation, only *yarġi'* stem I is attested (2x in Article 86), and only with *'ilā*.

³²¹ Cf. L&S, “consecutio”: “In rhet. lang., the proper following of one thing after another, order, connection, sequence”.

³²² The differentiation between “Cause and necessary result” and “Natural result” in Dixon (2009: 45) will not be used.

Segmental constraints apply. As Lehmann points out, the Consecutive clause must follow the matrix. If the consequence is put first, the anterior causative situation must be coded as a Cause, which consequently is turned into a sub-ordinate clause (for Cause, see 4.4.1).

266. Order constraints in the consecutive, causal clause

Linda drowned because she was heavier than water.

Example (267) from Article 53 features an atypical but not unique Consecutive clause stating the realized result of the matrix, at the same time functioning as a Summarizing Paraphrase, and via the anaphoric *bi-dālika* adding an interpretation of Manner to the matrix. The example is atypical and polysemous. For a second example of *li-VprefA bi-dālika* in the corpus, see Example (346). For *li-VprefA*, see under 6.1.5.

267. Article 53, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Consecutive

وعلى صعيد آخر، قدم الهاشمي الحامدي زعيم تيار المحبة أمس أوراق ترشحه للانتخابات الرئاسية المقرر إجراؤها في نوفمبر تشرين الثاني المقبل ليصبح بذلك أول مرشح بصفة رسمية لهذه الانتخابات .	wa-‘alā ṣa‘īdin ‘āḥara, qad- dama el-hāšimī el-ḥāmidī za‘īmu tayyārī l-maḥabbati 'amsi 'awrāqi taraṣuḥḥihi li- ntiḥābātī l-ri'āsiyyati l- muqarrari 'iḡrā'uhā fī nūfimbir tišrīna l-tānī l- muqbili li-yuṣbiḥa bi-dālika 'awwala muraššaḥin bi- ṣifatin rasmiyyatin li-hādihi l-intiḥābātī.	And on another level, Hechmi Hamdi leader of the Current of Love movement presented his candidacy pa- pers for the presidential elec- tions scheduled to be held in the coming November (Tish- rin al-Thani) becoming thereby officially the first candidate for these elec- tions.

4.4.3. Degree Consecutive

p to the degree that q, where the cause *p* is graded in such a way that the stated consequence *q* is conditioned to happen. Lehmann gives an example:

268. Degree consecutive

*Linda was so heavy that she foundered.*³²³

Example (269) from Article 86 features a rare example of an explicitly marked Degree Consecutive in the corpus, coded via *li-daraḡati 'anna*, lit. ‘to the degree that’.

³²³ “In a degree consecutive, the crucial degree is coded in a cataphoric adverb which anticipates that it will lead to a certain consequence. The dependent clause may then be introduced by a simple subordinator like *that*” (Lehmann, “Nexion”).

269. Article 86 (lead), Degree Consecutive

رغم استحواذ الجرائم
التكنولوجية والمخابراتية
على عناوين الصحف
العالمية في الفترة الأخيرة
، فإن زعماء العصابات
الكبرى لا يزالون
يجمعون أموالهم من
مصادر تمويل الجرائم
التقليدية التي لم تعد تحظى
باهتمام إعلامي كما كان
عليه الحال قبل ذلك ،
لدرجة أن أموال هذه
العصابات يمكن وصفها
بأنها تشكل اقتصادا
مستقلا.

rağma stiḥwāḍi l-ğarā'imi l-
tiknūlūğiyiyati wa-l-
muḥābarātiyyati 'alā 'anāwīni l-
ṣuḥufi l-'ālamīyyati fi-l-fatratī
l-'aḥīratī , fa-'inna zu'amā'a l-
'iṣābātī l-kubrā lā yazālūna
yağmā'ūna 'amwālahum min
masādirī tamwīli l-ğarā'imi l-
taqlīdiyyati llatī lam ta'ud taḥzā
bi-htimāmin 'i'lāmiyyin kamā
kāna 'alayhi l-ḥālu qabla ḍālika
, li-darağati 'anna 'amwāla
hāḍihi l-'iṣābātī yumkinu
waṣfuhā bi-'annahā tuṣakkilu
qtiṣādan mustaqillan.

Despite technological
and intelligence crimes
taking up the interna-
tional newspaper head-
lines recently, the leaders
of the biggest gangs are
still collecting their
money from sources of
funding of traditional
crimes which [= alt-
hough] it no longer gets
media attention like was
the case earlier, **to the de-
gree that these gangs**
can be described as
forming an independent
economy.

Example (270) from Article (Article 4) is a rare example of a relative clause expressive of a Degree Consecutive. The Arabic literally reads 'we will have a position towards Turkey which there must be that it well understands the danger of interfering in our affairs', where the relative *allatī* is muddy, having either Turkey or the whole preceding clause as reference, and the 'position', 'attitude', or 'stance' will be such that Turkey's understanding is bound to be realized. The modal *yağibu* is evidential (for grammaticalizations of strong obligation into epistemic certainty, see Bybee *et al.* 1994: 177ff., in particular 195ff.). For feminine *allatī* taking a whole clause as correlate, see 6.3.1.2.

270. Article 4, Relative & Degree Consecutive

وقال بوهاشم " نأمل
أن لا تتكرر التدخلات
التركية، وهذه
التصريحات العنيفة،
إذا تكررت فسيكون
لنا موقف تجاه تركيا
التي يجب أن تفهم
جيذا خطورة التدخل
في شؤوننا.

wa-qāla "būhāšim" na'mulu
'an lā tatakarrara l-tadaḥḥulātu
l-turkiyyatu, wa-hāḍihi l-
taṣriḥātu l-'abaṭiyyatu, idā
takarrarat fa-sa-yakūnu lanā
mawqifun tuğāha turkiyā llatī
yağibu 'an tafhama ġayyidan
ḥuṭūrata l-tadaḥḥuli fi
šu'ūninā.

And Buhashem said we hope
that the Turkish interven-
tions, and these absurd state-
ments, are not repeated, [for]
if they are repeated, we will
have [such] an attitude to-
wards Turkey that they
must well understand the
danger of interfering in our
affairs.

324

³²⁴ Example (270) is similar to Halliday's (2014: 500) comparison and result, but with the intensifying premodifier inferred, rather than explicit.

4.4.4. Purpose

p in order that *q*, where subordinate focal clause *q* expresses the volitional purpose of the subject in the matrix *p* (Dixon 2009: 17, Lehmann, “Nexion”). Similar to Consecutive clauses (see 4.4.2), Purpose is “based semantically on the causal relation” with an agentive subject that acts because it wants something (Lehmann, “Nexion”).³²⁵ Situation *q* is wanted, but its realization is not necessarily entailed. Segmental ordering is theoretically arbitrary.

Post-positioned Purpose clauses may have the effect of anaphorically casting a secondary inference of Instrumental Manner on its preposed matrix (not annotated). This is the case with e.g. *bi-ḥaytu*, ‘in such a manner as to, so that’ (Example 272), and *bi-mā*, ‘such that’ (Example 273). A Purpose clause with *li-* typically does not have this inference.

Example (271) from Article 108 features a *verbum voluntatis* in the matrix, and a change of subject in *q*. Situation *q* is wanted by the subject in *p*, but never realized.

271. Article 108, Purpose

وقال جونزالس بعد توقيفه أنه كان قلقاً من انهيار الأمور واراد إبلاغ هذه المعلومة إلى رئيس الولايات المتحدة ليتحدث عنها إلى الناس، وقد وجهت إليه محكمة منطقة واشنطن تهمة الدخول غير الشرعي إلى البيت الابيض وحيازة سلاح خطر وقد يصدر في حقه حكم بالسجن عشر سنوات.	wa-qāla ḡūnzālīs ba‘da tawqīfihi ‘innahu kāna qa- liqan mina nhiyāri l-‘umūri wa-‘arāda ‘iblāga ḥādihi l- ma‘lūmati ‘ilā ra‘īsi l- wilāyāti l-muttahidati li- yataḥaddaṭa ‘anhā ‘ilā l- nāsi, wa-qad waḡḡahat ‘ilayhi maḥkamatu minṭaqati wāšintun tuhmata l-duḥūli ḡayri l-šar‘iyyi ‘ilā l-bayti l- ‘abyaḍi wa-hiyāzati silāḥin ḥaṭirin wa-qad-yašduru fī ḥaqqihi ḥukmun bi-l-siḡni ‘ašra sanawātin.	And Gonzalez said after his ar- rest that he had been worried about things collapsing <u>and</u> <u>wanted to report this infor-</u> <u>mation to the president of the</u> <u>United Nations in order that</u> <u>he would talk about it to the</u> <u>people</u> , and the Washington District Court presented the charges of illegally entering the White House and the pos- session of a dangerous weapon and a sentence of prison for ten years may be issued against him.

Example (272) from Article 7 illustrates the difference between Consecutive and Purpose. The Consecutive is excluded from irrealis contexts. Here, situation *q*, mastery of English, is the volitional purpose of Tusk’s intended language studies in *p*, but its realization is yet irreal. The clause introduced by *bi-ḥaytu* is a Purpose clause, not Consecutive.

Consecutive: *He studied and so he learnt.*

Purpose: *He studied in order to learn.*

³²⁵ Lehmann (“Nexion”): “In a purpose construction of the form ‘*p* in order that *q*’, subordinate proposition *q* is called a purpose clause, traditionally a final clause. Proposition *p* is agentive, that is, its internal structure is ‘A does P’. A purpose construction ‘A does P in order that *q*’ may be paraphrased by ‘A does P because A wants *q*’. This shows that the purpose relation is based semantically on the causal relation.”

272. Article 7, Purpose

ووعد تاسك، الذي يتحدث الإنجليزية الكاد ولا ينطق الفرنسية، أنه سيعمل على إجابة اللغة الانجليزية بحيث يكون على استعداد تام بحلول الأول من ديسمبر، موعد تسلمه المنصب.	wa-wa'ada tāsḵ, alladī yataḥaddaṭu l-'iṅḡlīziyyata bi-l- kādi wa-lā yaṇtuqu l- firansiyyata, 'annahu sa- ya'malu 'alā 'iḡādāta l-luḡati l- 'iṅḡlīziyyati bi-ḥayṭu yakūnu 'alā sti'dādi tāmmīn bi-ḥulūli l-'awwali min dīsembir, maw'idi tasallumihi l-manṣiba.	And Tusk who barely speaks English and does not speak French promised that <u>he will work on mas-</u> <u>tering the English language</u> in such a manner that he will be perfectly prepared by [the onset of] December the first, the date he takes office.

The same is true for Example (273) from Article 7.

273. Article 7, Purpose

ولوح بغصن زيتون لبريطانيا، متعهدا بإصلاح التكتل الموحد بما يلي مطالب لندن.	wa-lawwaḥa bi-ḡuṣni zaytūnin li-brīṭāniyā, muta'ahhidan bi-'islāhi l- takattuli l-muwahhadi bi-mā yulabbī maṭālība lāndan.	And he waved an olive branch to Britain, <u>and pledged to re-</u> <u>form the unified block in a</u> manner that meets the de- mands of London.

Example (274) from Article 47 includes a relative clause stating the Purpose of the matrix. Diana says to a second person that she has sent for someone “who is going to kill you”. The volitional purpose of Diana is the murder of her interlocutor by the hands of her missionary.³²⁶

274. Article 47, Purpose

ديانا «أرسلت لك من سيقئك..»	[taqūlu] diyānā »'arsaltu laki man sa-yaqtuluki..	Diana [said]: » <u>I have sent for [for</u> <u>you] someone to kill you..</u>

4.4.5. Nominal Purpose

Typically involves a nominalized Purpose clause in the form of a prepositional postmodifier to a head noun. The scope of the postmodifier, which might be a finite clause, does not extend to include a finite predicate. A nominal purpose can be found in names, but also as postmodifiers to nouns in the semantic sphere of talks, meetings, laws, clashes, etc.³²⁷

³²⁶ Example (274) of course brings to mind the ubiquitous Latin schoolbook example *Pyrrhus misit legatos qui pacem peterent*, where a relative clause with the subjunctive is said to be synonymous to a construction with *ut* + subjunctive; cf. e.g. *Legati missi sunt, qui pacem peterent* in Sjöstrand (1953: 397, §258.1).

³²⁷ While teaching Media Arabic, I have on multiple occasions found second- and third-year students of Arabic prone to translating e.g. *li-* + verbal noun as a finite Purpose clause, when in fact many constructions were postmodifiers to nouns and not nominalized Purpose clauses with a finite predicate in their matrix scope. An investigation into this feature in the present study aims to investigate the distribution of these two constructions for different constructions. The feature is named Nominal Purpose for the fact that the construction expresses the telicity of an event or an entity signified by a noun: *nominal*, hence, in the meaning ‘belonging to a nomen, with a nomen as head’.

With easily identifiable matrix and head, Example (275) from Article 19 illustrates the difference between Purpose and Nominal Purpose.

275. Article 19, *min 'ağli*, Purpose, and *min 'ağli*, Nominal Purpose

يذكر أن الميليشيات المسلحة تصارع من أجل السيطرة على العاصمة ومطاراتها، مما يقوض جهود الحكومة من أجل استعادة النظام للبلاد،	wa-yuḍkaru 'anna l-mīlīšiyāti l-musallahata tusāri'u min 'ağli l-sayṭarati 'alā l-'āšimati wa-maṭārihā, mimmā yaqūḍu ġuhūda l-hukūmati min 'ağli sti'ādati l-nižāmi li-l-bilādi, [...]	And it is mentioned that <u>the armed militias are fighting to gain control over the capital and its airport</u> , something which undermines <u>the efforts of the government to restore order to the country</u> .

Example (276) from Article 1 features a Nominal Purpose that once again illustrates the difference between Purpose and Nominal Purpose. Taken as a Purpose clause, the nominalized prepositional phrase *li-'inhā' i l-iqisāmi*, 'to the end the schism' would have been expressive of the volitional purpose of not announcing any tangible steps, but rather than including the negated finite verb in its scope, the phrase functions as a postmodifier expressive of the telicity of the measures which now remain unannounced.

276. Article 1, Nominal Purpose

أكدت مصادر خليجية أن عودة السفراء ما زالت معلقة، وأن الاجتماع لم يعلن أى خطوات ملموسة لإنهاء الانقسام	'akkadat mašādiru ḥalīġiyyatun 'anna 'awdata l-sufarā' i mā zālat mu'allaqatan, wa-'anna l-iğtimā'a lam yu'lin 'ayya hatawātin malmūsatin li-'inhā' i l-inqisāmi	And Gulf [Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)] sources confirmed that the return of the ambassadors is still pending, and that the meeting did not announce any <u>concrete steps to end the schism</u> .

Example (277) is a borderline case which illustrates the occasional difficulty with distinguishing between a Nominalized Purpose clause and a pure postmodifier to a noun. Here, only experience will have taught the reader the scope of the postmodifier. Taken as a Purpose clause, the underlying motif of continuing the consultations would have been a ceasefire. Now, in the context of news, the ceasefire is to be taken as the aim and topic of the talks, not necessarily the reason for their continuation. Counter-intuitive at first, the scope of the prepositional phrase is ambiguous without a close reading of many examples with nouns in the lexical sphere of talks, negotiations, and consultations. In Media Arabic, talks, like meetings, are not mere talks, but have participants, content, and/or purpose. Further examples will illustrate the use of prepositional phrases with *li-* in this context.

277. Article 4, Nominal Purpose

ومن ناحية أخرى يواصل مبعوث الأمم المتحدة الجديد لونياردو ليون ومعه سفيرة الاتحاد الأوربي وسفير إيطاليا مشاوراتهم مع كافة الاطراف الليبية من أجل وقف إطلاق النار.	wa-min nāḥiyatin 'uḥrā yuwāšilu mab'ūtu l-'umami l-muttaḥidati l-ḡadīdu liwunyārdū liyūn wa- ma'ahu safiratu l-ittiḥādī l- 'urubbiyyi wa-safirū 'iṭāliya <u>mušāwarātihim</u> ma'a kāffati l-'atrāfi l-lībiyyati min 'aḡli waqfi 'iṭlāqi l-nāri	And on the other hand, the new envoy of the United Na- tions Leonardo Leon, to- gether with the ambassador of the United Nations and with him the ambassador of Italy, continue their <u>consul- tations</u> with all the Libyan parties for a ceasefire.

Example (278) through to (285) include linkings of Nominal Purpose.

Example (278) from Article 54 states the Purpose and/or content of talks in a Nominal Purpose phrase (for Concerning, see 4.11.5).

278. Article 54, Nominal Purpose OR Concerning

وكانت البحرين قد بدأت محادثات مع قطر لإنشاء جسر يربط بين البلدين ويبلغ طوله 40 كيلومترا. وأقر مجلس التعاون الخليجي مشروع القطار المشترك في 2004، ويفترض أن ينفذ في حدود العام 2017	wa-kānat el-baḥrayn qad bada'at <u>muḥādātātin ma'a qatar li-'inšā' i ḡisrin</u> yarbuṭu bayna l-baladayni wa- yabluḡu ṭūluḥu 40kīlūmitran. wa-'aqarra maḡlisu l- ta'āwuni l-ḥalīḡiyyu mašrū'a l-qīṭāri l-muštāraka fi 2004, wa-yaftariḍu 'an yunaf- faḍa fi ḥudūdi l-'āmi 2017 [...]	And Bahrain has started <u>dis- cussions with Qatar to build a bridge</u> that would connect the two countries, the length of which will reach 40 kilome- tres. And the Gulf Cooperation Council approved the joint train project in 2004, and it is expected to be implemented within the limits of the year 2017 [...]

Examples (279) and (280) from Articles 23 and 70 are comparable to Example (278).

279. Article 23, Nominal Purpose

وصرحت مصادر فلسطينية مطلعة كانت في استقبال البرغوثي، بأن الوفد سيبحث أحدث تطورات الوضع في قطاع غزة والأراضي المحتلة على ضوء مبادرة التهدئة التي نجحت مصر في إقرارها في القطاع، والاستعدادات الخاصة لبداء جولة المفاوضات غير المباشرة للتوصل إلى حل بشأن النقاط الخلافية، والإعداد لعقد	wa-šarraḥat mašādiru fi- lasṭīniyyatun muṭṭala'atun kānat fi stiḡbālī el-barḡūṭī, bi-'anna l-wafda sa-yabḥaṭu 'aḥḍaṭa taṭawwūrātī l-waḍ'i fi qīṭā'i ḡazza wa-l-'arāḍī l- muḥtallati 'alā daw'i mu- bādarati l-tahdī'ati llatī naḡḥat mišr fi 'iqrāriḥā fi-l- qīṭā'i, wa-l-isti'dādātī l- ḥašṣati li-bad'i ḡawlatī l- <u>mufāwadātī ḡayri l-mubāši- rati li-l-tawašṣuli 'ilā ḥallin</u> <u>bi-ša'ni l-niqāṭi l- ḥilāfiyyati</u> , wa-l-'i'dād# ³²⁸	And informed Palestinian sources who were at the recep- tion of Barghouti said that the delegation will discuss the most recent developments of the situation in the Gaza Strip and the occupied territories in light of the truce initiative which Egypt managed to es- tablish in the Strip, and [dis- cuss] the special preparations to start a round of <u>indirect ne- gotiations to reach a solution concerning the contentious points</u> , and the preparation to

³²⁸ Accusative (to *yabḥaṭu*), or genitive as a second complement to *li-* (*li-l-tawašṣuli* [...] *wa-l-'i'dādī* [...]).

المؤتمر الدولي لدعم
قطاع غزة ومساعدته
في إزالة آثار العدوان
الإسرائيلي.

li-‘aqdi l-mu’tamari l-du-
waliyyi li-da‘mi qitā‘i ġazza
wa-musā‘adatihi fī ‘izālati
‘āṭāri l-‘udwāni l-
‘isrā’īliyyi.

hold an international confer-
ence to support the Gaza Strip
and help it in removing the ef-
fects of the Israeli aggression.

280. Article 70, Nominal Purpose

وفي غضون ذلك،
بحث وفد وزارى
عربى من دول جوار
ليبيا، برئاسة السفير
محمد بدر الدين مساعد
وزير الخارجية لشئون
دول الجوار يرافقه
مسؤولون من الجامعة
العربية ومسؤولون من
الجزائر وتونس وتشاد
والسودان مع رئيس
مجلس النواب ورئيس
الحكومة الليبية ووزير
الخارجية الليبي
الاضاح في ليبيا
ونائج اجتماعات دول
الجوار التي عقدت
بالقاهرة والتي من
شأنها دعم الشرعية
والاستقرار والأمن في
كل ربوع ليبيا، والتي
سوف تكون الركيزة
الأساسية لاجتماعات
برشلونة بعد غد من
أجل أمن واستقرار
وتنمية ليبيا.

wa-fī ġuḍūni ḍālika, baḥaṭa
wafḍun wizāriyyun ‘ara-
biyyun min duwali ġiwāri
lībiyā, bi-ri’āsati l-safīri
muḥammad badr el-dīn
musā‘idi wazīri l-ḥāriġiyyati
li-šu’ūni duwali l-ġiwāri
yurāfiqihu mas’ūlūna mina
l-ġamā‘ati l-‘arabiyyati wa-
mas’ūlūna mina el-ġazā’ir
wa-tūnis wa-tšād wa-l-sūdān
ma‘a ra’īsi maġlisi l-
nuwwābi wa-ra’īsi l-
ḥukūmati l-lībiyyati wa-
wazīri l-ḥāriġiyyati l-lībiyyi
l-‘awḍā‘a fī lībiyā wa-
natā’iġa ġtimā‘ati duwali l-
ġiwāri llatī ‘uqidat bi-l-
qāhira wa-llatī min ša’niḥā
da‘mu l-šar‘iyyati wa-l-
istiqrāri wa-l-‘amni fī kulli
rubū‘i lībiyā, wa-llatī sawfa
takūnu l-rakīzata l-
‘asāsiyyata li-ġtimā‘ati
baršilūna ba‘da ġadin min
‘aġli ‘amni wa-stiqrāri wa-
tanmiyyati lībiyā.

And in the meantime, an Arab
ministerial delegation from the
neighbouring countries of
Libya, with the presidency of
the ambassador Muhamed
Badr el-Din assistant foreign
minister for issues of the
neighbouring countries, whom
officials from the Arab League
accompanied and officials
from Algeria, Tunisia, Chad,
and Sudan discussed with the
speaker of the House of Repre-
sentatives and the Libyan
prime minister and the Libyan
foreign minister the situation
in Libya and the results of the
meetings with the neighbour-
ing countries which was held
in Cairo and which concerned
the support of the legitimacy,
stability, and the security in all
parts of Libya, and which will
be the main pillar for the Bar-
celona meetings for the secu-
rity, stability, and develop-
ment of Libya the day after to-
morrow.

In Example (280) from Article 70, the purpose of the meetings in Barcelona is the safety, stability, and development of Libya (for polyheaded genitive annexation or *‘iqḥām*, see 3.8).

On the same grounds, Example (281) from Article 14 is taken as a Nominal Purpose, where the aim of the talks is the protection of the legitimate interests of civilians.

281. Article 14 (second sentence, after the lead), Nominal Purpose

وقال بوتين يجب أن نبدأ فوراً محادثات جوهريّة، حول قضايا التنظيم السياسي للمجتمع ومنح وضع دولة لجنوب شرق أوكرانيا بهدف حماية المصالح المشروعة لسكان هذه المنطقة».	wa-qāla būtin yağibu 'an nabda'a fawran <u>muḥādātātīn</u> <u>ğawhariyyatan</u> , ḥawla qaḍāyā l-tanzīmi l-siyāsiyyi li-l-muğtama'i wa-manḥi waḍ'ī dawlatin li-ğanūbi šarqi 'ūkrāniyā bi-hadaḥi ḥimāyati l-mašālihi l- mašrū'ati li-sukkāni hādihi l-minṭaqati ».	And Putin said we must imme- diately start <u>substantive talks</u> concerning issues of the politi- cal organization of the society and [concerning] the granting of state status to south-east Ukraine with the goal of pro- tecting the legitimate inter- ests of the inhabitants of this region ».

A similar case has been seen in Article 112: [...] *wa-dakarāt* [...] *anna l-ittifāqa* [...] *ğā'a ba'da 'ayyāmin mina l-muḥāwadāti li-l-tawaşşuli 'ilā ttifāqin li-qtisāmi l-sulṭati, wa-taḥdīdi dawri l-ra'isi l-tanfīdiyyi* (Example 205); here, the signed agreement did not come in order to reach an agreement on the division of power, but the agreement came after days of negotiations aimed at reaching an agreement on the division of power. A similar situation is seen in Examples (282)–(284).

282. Article 11, Nominal Purpose

ويتركز البرنامج حول السياسة الخارجية والاقتصاد والتعليم والصحة وسيكون إطاره العام مكافحة أنصار «التنظيم الموازي» كذلك يتضمن معلومات تفصيلية بشأن المفاوضات الحالية بين الحكومة والأكراد للتوصل لحل القضية الكردية.	wa-yatarakkazu l-barnāmağū ḥawla l-siyāsati l-ḥāriğiyati wa-l-iqtisādi wa-l-ta'limi wa- l-şihḥati wa-sa-yakūnu 'itāruhu l-'āmmu mukāfaḥata 'anşāri «al-tanzīmi l-muwāzī» ka-dālika yataḍammanu ma'lūmātin tafşiliyyatan bi- şā'ni l-muḥāwadāti l-hāliyyati bayna l-ḥukūmati wa-l-'akrādi li-l-tawaşşuli li-ḥalli l- qaḍiyyati l-kurdiyyati .	And the programme focuses on the foreign policy, the economy, education, and health and its general frame- work will be to combat sup- porters of the «parallel or- ganization» and it will con- tain detailed information concerning <u>the current nego-</u> <u>tiations</u> between the govern- ment and the Kurds to reach a solution to the Kurdish issue .

283. Article 87 (final clause), Nominal Purpose

وذلك بعد أن صادق البرلمان في جلسته الأخيرة على مشروع قانون لإصلاح قطاعات الخدمات والمشتريات والسلع.	[...] wa-dālika ba'da 'an şādaqa l-barlamānu fī ḡal- satihi l-'aḥīrati 'alā <u>mašrū'i</u> <u>qānūnin li-'iṣlāhi qitā'ati l-</u> <u>ḥidamāti wa-muştarayāti</u> <u>wa-l-sila'i</u> .	[...] and this after the par- liament in its last session approved a <u>law project to</u> <u>reform the services, pur-</u> <u>chases, and goods sectors</u> .

In Example (284) from Article 50, the finite verb *tağaddada* is comparable to the adverb ‘again’.³²⁹ The distinction between Purpose and postmodifier is difficult; it could be argued that the clashes were renewed in order to gain control, or that the purpose of the clashes was a gaining of control. Nominal Purpose was annotated.

284. Article 50, Nominal Purpose

وفي طرابلس، تجددت الاشتباكات بين الميليشيات المسلحة للسيطرة على مواقع حكومية،	wa-fi tarābulus, tağaddadati l-ištibākātu bayna l- milišiyyāti l-musallaḥati li-l- sayṭarati ‘alā mawāqī’a ḥukūmiyyatin, [...]	And in Tripoli, <u>clashes</u> re- newed between the armed militias to [gain] control over governmental sites [...]

In journalistic terms, both Purpose and Nominal Purpose answer the question of why. In the corpus, ambiguous cases like Example (284) were annotated as Nominal Purpose clauses, taking it as a Media Arabic feature.

Example (285) from Article 10 expresses a similar telicity and content of negotiations by means of a genitive annexation. Genitive annexations are excluded from the investigation (see 2.3.2.4 above).

285. Article 10, Nominal Purpose (genitive, not investigated)

ودعا نيتانياهو الرئيس اللسطيني محمود عباس إلى الاختيار بين مفاوضات السلام مع إسرائيل وحركة حماس.	wa-da‘ā nītānyāhū l-ra‘īsa l-filastīniyya maḥmūd ‘abbās ‘ilā l-iḥtiyāri bayna <u>mufāwadāti l-salāmi</u> ma‘a ‘isrā’īl wa-ḥarakati ḥamās.	And Netanyahu called the Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas to choose between peace negotiations with Israel, and Hamas.

4.4.6. Motion Purpose

A subtype of Purpose, the volitional purpose of an agentive subject’s volitional spatial motion.

286. Article 23, Motion Purpose

يأتي ذلك في وقت، أعلن الدكتور نبيل العربي أمين عام جامعة الدول العربية أن وفدا فنيا سيوجه إلى قطاع غزة خلال اليومين القادمين ليبحث احتياجاتها من المساعدات، بينما يقوم وفد وزاري عربي بزيارة أخرى منتصف الشهر المقبل.	ya’tī dālīka fī waqtin, ‘a’lana el-duktūr nabīl el-‘arabi ‘amīn# ‘āmm# ḡāmi‘ati l-du- wali l-‘arabiyyati ‘anna <u>wafdan fanniyyan sa-yatawaḡḡahu ‘ilā qitā’i ḡazza ḥilāla l-yawmayni l-qādimayni li-baḥṭi ḥtiyāḡātiḥa mina l- musā‘adāti</u> , baynamā yaqūmu wafduṇ wizāriyyun ‘arabiyyun bi-ziyāratin ‘uḥrā muntaṣafa l- ṣahri l-muqbili.	This came at a time, [when] Doctor Nabil al-Arabi, sec- retary general of the Arab League announced that <u>a technical delegation will travel to the Gaza Strip within the next two days in order to discuss its needs of aid</u> , and [that] an Arab ministerial delegation will undertake another trip in the middle of next month.

³²⁹ The suffix conjugation of *tağaddada* is attested 4x times; 2x with the subject *al-qasfu* (Articles 4 and 40), 1x *al-ištibākātu* (Article 50), and 1x *‘azmatu* (Article 105).

The requirement that the motion is spatial excludes metaphorical motion (lexical futures), such as the unique Example (287) with *sa-yatawaḡḡahu* from Article 11, which here governs a prepositional phrase as the main semantic import of the construction. The passage is unusual; not only is a vague but problematic cause-result type of relationship implied in the relation between Erdoğan's actions and the convening of the Republican People's Party via the unique prepositional phrase (*wa-*) *'alā 'itri-h*, lit. 'and in its trace', but also the use of *sa-yatawaḡḡahu* is unique. The finite verb seems to imply volition and future, but does not render *li-'aqdi mu'tamarin* to a Motion Purpose; it is rather a compound expression similar to the English *is going to* future.³³⁰

287. Article 11 (final sentence), not Motion Purpose

وأكد مسئول بالحركة القومية طلب عدم الكشف عن اسمه للصحيفة أنه متوقع من رئيس الجمهورية أن يفعل كل شيء بغرض فرض هيمنته على البلاد، مشيراً إلى أن أردوغان أثار القلاقل بحزب الشعب الجمهوري، وعلى إثرها سيتوجه الحزب لעقد مؤتمر عام طارئ في ٦ سبتمبر الحالي لاختيار رئيس جديد له.	wa-'akkada mas'ūlun bi- ḥarakati l-qawmiyyati ṭalaba 'adama l-kašfi 'ani smihi li- l-ṣaḥīfati 'annahu muta- waqqa'un min ra'isi l-ḡum- hūriyyati 'an yaf'ala kulla šay'in bi-ḡaraḍi farḍi hay- manatihi 'alā l-bilādi, mušīran 'ilā 'anna 'erdūḡān 'atāra l-qalāqila bi-ḥizbi l- ša'bi l-ḡumhūriyyi, wa-'alā 'itrihā sa-yatawaḡḡahu l- hizbu li-'aqdi mu'tamarin 'āminin ṭārī'in fī 6 sibtambir al-ḥāliyyi li- ḥitiyāri ra'isin ḡadīdin lahu.	And an official at the National Movement who asked not be revealed by name confirmed to the newspaper that it is ex- pected from the president of the Republic that he does eve- rything to impose his hegemo- ny on the country, noting that Erdoğan has caused unrest in the Republican People's Party, <u>and following this the party</u> <u>will be going to hold a gen- eral emergency conference</u> on September 6 this month to chase a new president for it- self.

4.4.7. Possible Consequence

Of two kinds: comparable to a negated Consecutive but without the realization criterion of *q*: *lest*; and comparable to a negated Conditional, *unless*.³³¹ The former is called Negated Consequence, and the latter Negated Condition. Segmental ordering is theoretically arbitrary.

Negated Consequence type: *p*, *lest q*. Specifying something to be avoided, the subordinate clause *q* states what may or may not result if the situation of the matrix *p* is, or is not, realized (Dixon 2009: 23).

³³⁰ For generalized movement verbs grammaticalizing into future morphemes, see Bybee *et al.* 1994: 243ff., in particular 266ff.

³³¹ In Thompson *et al.* (2007: 253, 260–1), a similar semantic relation is divided between what they call “negative purpose clause”, English *lest*, and negative condition, English *unless*.

Negated Condition type: *p*, *unless q*. Specifying something to be avoided, the non-realization of the matrix situation *p* is conditioned by the potential realization of the subordinate situation *q*.

In Example (288) from Article 21, the subordinate clause specifies a possible, but unwanted, event, the matrix suggesting “what should be done to avoid it” (Dixon 2009: 23). This is a Possible Consequence, of the Negated Consequence type.

288. Article 21, Possible Consequence (Negated Consequence type)

ونقل «العراقية» الرسمي عن معصوم قوله إن هناك شعورا لدى الجميع بضرورة تشكيل الحكومة وإلا سندخل في دوامة، مؤكدا أن «الألوية بعد تشكيل الحكومة ستكون للتركيز على محااربة الدولة تنظيم (الدولة الاسلامية).	wa-naqalat tilifizyōn «el- ‘irāqīyya» al-rasmiyyu ‘an ma‘šūm qawlahu ‘inna hunāka šu‘ūran ladā l-ġamī‘i <u>bi-darūratī</u> <u>taškīlī l-hukūmatī wa-‘illā sa-</u> <u>nadħulu fī dawwāmatin</u> , mu‘akkidan ‘anna «al-‘aw- lawiyyata ba‘da taškīlī l- hukūmatī sa-takūnu li-tarkīzi ‘alā muḥārabati tanẓīmi (al- dawlati l-‘islāmiyyati).	And the official «al-Ira- qiya» television quoted Masoum’s speech, that among everyone there are feelings of <u>the necessity to</u> <u>form a [new] government,</u> lest we enter a downward spiral , asserting that «the priority after the formation of the government will be to focus on fighting (the Is- lamic State).

In Example (289) from Article 1, the matrix states what may ensue *unless* action is taken. This is a Possible Consequence, of the Negated Condition type.

289. Article 1, Possible Consequence (Negated Condition type)

وكان العاهل السعودي عبدالله بن عبدالعزيز حذر الجمعة الماضية الغرب من أن "داعش" قد يصل اليه في غضون شهر أو شهرين، ما لم يتم التحرك بسرعة لضربه.	wa-kāna l-‘āhīlu l-sa‘ūdīyyu ‘abdullāh bin ‘abdul-‘azīz ḥaḍḍara l-ġum‘ata l-māḍiyata l- ġarba min ‘anna “dā‘eš” qad <u>yašīlu ‘ilayhi fī ġudūni šahrin</u> <u>‘aw šahrayni, mā lam yatimma</u> <u>l-taḥarruku bi-sur‘atin li-</u> <u>darbihi.</u>	And the Saudi monarch Abdullah bin Abdulaziz warned the West last Fri- day that “Daesh” might reach it within a month or two, unless a move is made quickly to strike it.

4.5. Concomitance

This chapter is inspired by Lehmann and Shin (2005), but instead of the relations Partner, Companion, Vehicle, Tool, Material, Manner, and Circumstance, the category of concomitance will be adapted to the narrow register here investigated and will include the categories of Manner, Instrument, Instrumental Manner, Manner Instrument, Associative, Presidency, and Mediation. These are typically simultaneous or “concomitant” with the matrix.

Instrument involves a concrete means of realizing the matrix situation, Manner is the manner in which it is realized, Instrumental Manner involves the typically abstract manner as a means of realizing the matrix situation, and Manner Instrument involves an abstract instrument. Associative, Presidency, and Mediation involve concomitant actants and catalysts respectively.

4.5.1. Manner

Explains the manner of realization of the matrix situation at the reference time. Manner is typically abstract but may be concrete (Article 120, ‘buried *to his neck*’, Example 691).

Example (290) from BCG (§2.4.6.1; also in Isaksson 2009: 8–9; Persson, “Circumstantial Clause” in EALL) features Manner expressed via a peripheral accusative participle.

290. From BCG (§2.4.6.1), Manner

مشيت متمهلاً	<i>mašaytu mutamahhilan</i>	I walked slowly

In Example (291) from Article 85, Manner is expressed via a finite clause introduced by *kamā*. The example is atypical in that the matrix is negated. The Manner clause, albeit anterior, describes Manner at the reference time, ‘as they have always done before’.

291. Article 85, Manner

ولاحقاً أدلى أكسون بتصريح لتلفزيون «اس في تي» قال فيه إنه «لا يمكنهم تجاهلنا كما فعلوا في السنوات الأربع الماضية».	wa-lāḥiqan ‘adlā ‘akesūn bi- taṣrīḥin li-tilīfīzyōn «‘is fī tī» qāla fīhi «lā <u>yumkinuhum</u> <u>tağāhulunā</u> kamā fa‘alū fi-l- sanawāti l-‘arba‘i l- māḍiyati».	And later [Jimmie] Åkes- son made a statement to the «SVT» television in which he said « <u>They cannot ig- nore us like they have done in the past four years</u> ».

4.5.2. Instrument

Expresses a concrete instrument, a physical tool being the prototypical Instrument. Comparable to Manner, the Instrument is used simultaneously with the execution of the predicate event.

Verbs that take an instrument in an obligatory object slot as part of the clause’s core structure—e.g. *ista‘āna*, ‘take help from, use’, *istaḥdama*, ‘use’, etc.—are not included in the investigation of Instrument.³³² For nominalized expressions outside the core such as *bi-stiḥdāmi x*, ‘by using *x*’ (e.g. Example 337), see 4.5.3.

³³² These verbs are included among what Lehmann and Shin (2005: 18 *et passim*) refer to as concomitant predicates. For an example, see e.g. Example (259) from Article 3: [...] *mu‘akkidan ‘anna “al-šurṭa lam tastaḥdim siwā l-ğāzi l-musīli li-l-dumū ‘i* [...], ‘[...] stressing that “the police **only used tear gas** [...]’.

Prototypical examples of Instrument have a human individual agentive subject. Example (292) from Article 54 has a country in the subject slot.

292. Article 54, Instrument

وترتبط البحرين بالسعودية منذ العام 1986، من خلال جسر الملك فهد البالغ طوله 25 كيلومترا. يستخدم الملايين هذا الجسر سنويا للتنقل بين البحرين والسعودية.	wa-tartabiṭu el-baḥrayn bi-l- sa'ūdiyya munḍu l-'āmi 1986, min ḥilālī ḡisr el-ma- lik fahd al-bālīḡi ṭūluḥu 25- kīlūmitran. wa-yastaḥdimu l- malāyīnu ḥādā l-ḡisra sanawiyyan li-tanaqquli bayna el-baḥrayn wa-l- sa'ūdiyya.	And Bahrain is connected with Saudi since the year 1986 through the King Fahd causeway whose length reaches 25 kilometres. And millions use this cause- way yearly for transfer be- tween Bahrain and Saudi.

Example (293) from Article 126 has a gun in the subject slot.

293. Article 126 (excerpt of final paragraph), Instrument

، والبنادق التي تحدث صدمة بالصعق الكهربائي، والهراوات.	[...], wa-l-banādiqu llatī tuḥdiṭu ṣadmatan bi-l-ṣa'qī l- kahrabā'iyi , [...]	And guns that produce a shock with an electric strike [i.e. electroshock weapons, e.g. tasers and stun guns]

4.5.3. Instrumental Manner³³³

States the abstract means and manner of the realization of matrix situation. Instrumental Manner in the present framework is comparable to what Lehmann and Shin (2005: 15 *et passim*) refer to as circumstance. In their definition

[circumstance] is a secondary situation that occurs simultaneously with the primary situation. It could occur independently of the primary situation and, in this sense, does not conceptually depend on it. It bears an interpropositional relation to the primary situation which is like that of an instrument. This distinguishes a circumstance clause [...] from a (simultaneous) temporal clause [...]. (Lehmann & Shin 2005: 15)

They adduce two examples to illustrate the difference.

294. Instrumental Manner

Linda solved the problem by listening to the radio.

295. Simultaneous

Linda solved the problem while listening to the radio.

Furthermore, they adduce examples to illustrate the difference between manner and what they call circumstance, all three of which in the present study are examples of Instrumental Manner, although the first example is atypical as it has a separate animate subject in the Instrumental Manner clause over which

³³³ The term is borrowed from Michael (2009: 146ff.), and is described as “a relationship between two actions, in which one action plays a role in facilitating or enabling the other” (p. 163).

the subject of the matrix is in control. Unlike Instrument, where the tool is a noun, Instrumental Manner is typically abstract and clausal.

296. Instrumental Manner

*Erwin löste das Problem dadurch, daß/*indem Erna den Kommissionsvorsitzenden bestach.*

‘Irvin solved the problem by having Linda³³⁴ bribe the committee chairman.’

297. Instrumental Manner

Erwin löste das Problem dadurch, daß/indem er den Kommissionsvorsitzenden bestach.

‘Irvin solved the problem by bribing the committee chairman.’

298. Instrumental Manner

Erwin löste das Problem durch Bestechung des Kommissionsvorsitzenden.

‘Irvin solved the problem by bribing the committee chairman.’

Example (299) from Article 1 illustrates the difference between Instrument and Instrumental Manner. Qatar is accused of pursuing hostile policies by supporting the Muslim Brotherhood and fomenting dissidents via the media platform Al Jazeera. In contrast to the more concrete Al Jazeera which is here an Instrument for realizing the fomenting, the support is a verbal action, and hence not a mere Instrument, even if the support according to the accusation is instrumental in pursuing these hostile policies. This example illustrates the difference between the semantics of a more concrete Instrument and a typically abstract Instrumental Manner.

299. Article 1, Instrumental Manner and Instrument

وكانت الدول الثلاث وفي خطوة غير مسبوقة منذ تأسيس مجلس التعاون الخليجي في ١٩٨١، قد سحبت سفراءها من الدوحة في مارس الماضي، متهمه قطر بانتهاج سياسات معادية لها من خلال دعم الإخوان المسلمين وتجنيس معارضين خليجيين من خلال قناة الجزيرة.	wa-kānati l-duwalu l-ṭalātu wa-fī ḥaṭwatin ḡayri masbūqatin munḍu ta'sīsi maḡlisi l-ta'āwuni l- ḥalīḡiyyi fī 1981, qad saḥa- bat sufara' ahā mina el-dūḥa fī mārs al-māḍī, <u>muttahi-</u> <u>matan qatar bi-ntihāḡi</u> <u>siyāsātin mu'ādiyatin lahā</u> <u>min ḥilāli da' mi l-'iḥwāni</u> <u>l-muslimīna</u> wa-taḡnīsi mu'arīḍina ḥalīḡiyyīna min <u>ḥilāli qanāti el-ḡazīra</u>	And the three countries have and in an unprecedented move since the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council in 1981, withdrew their ambassadors from Doha last March, <u>accusing Qatar of</u> <u>pursuing hostile policies</u> <u>against it by supporting the</u> <u>Brotherhood</u> and fomenting Gulf dissidents <u>via the Al</u> <u>Jazeera channel.</u>

³³⁴ For reasons unknown, Lehmann and Shin translate the names.

In Example (300), the means and manner of arrival is stated by the subordinate nominalized clause. Instrumental Manner typically shares grammatical subject with the matrix, and in addition to Manner (for which, see 4.5.1), it also states the means of realizing the matrix predicate event.³³⁵

300. Instrumental Manner

جاء زيد راكبا	<i>ġā'a zaydun rākiban</i>	Zayd arrived, riding.

In Media Arabic, Instrumental Manner is expressed in contexts of wounding and premature death, where it states the circumstances of dying, or the how: 'in a clash between [...]', 'in a bombardment by', etc. Here, the circumstances are expressed as simultaneous with the dying, although simultaneity is not the important semantics. Examples of this kind illustrate a similarity of Instrumental Manner with Cause.

In Example (301) from Article 117, Instrumental Manner is expressed twice, the second instance of which is a polysemous anaphoric reference to operations mentioned earlier in the article in a highly elliptical nominal expression, *fī tilka l-'amaliyyāti*, 'in those operations', which is also expressive of the temporal notion "during". Even if the anaphoric reference is one of contemporality with the matrix (i.e., the when), the phrase also states the means and manner of militants getting wounded. The overarching structure of this passage is a variation of the *qutla wa-'uṣība* phrase (discussed in 4.7.4; *wa-Vsuff* is also discussed in 6.1.2.1), and due to the *trajectio* style of presentation with an interposed paragraph that attributively states the location, the means and manner of dying and wounding are iterated.³³⁶ What is important for the present study is that the same code is used in so doing, in this case *fī*. The matrix has no agentive subject. 'Operations' is not a mere Instrument.

301. Article 117, Instrumental Manner x2

والصعيد الميداني، لقي ١٧ مسلحا على الأقل من حركة طالبان حتفهم في عمليات عسكرية نفذها الجيش الوطني الأفغانى أمس. وزكرت وزارة الدفاع الأفغانية في بيان نقلته وكالة أنباء "كاما" الأفغانية أن العمليات نفذت في كل من إقليم	wa-'alā l-ša'īdi l- maydāniyyi, laqiya 17 mu- sallahan 'alā l-'aḡalli min ḥarakati tālibān ḥatfahum fī 'amaliyyātin 'askariyyatin naḡḡadahā l-ġayṣu l-waṭa- niyyu l-'aḡāniyyu 'amsi . wa-ḡakarāt wizāratu l- difā'i l-'aḡāniyyatu fī bayānin naḡalathu wikālatu 'anbā'i "kāma" l-	And on the field level, <u>at least 17 militants from the Taliban movement met their fate in/through military operations that the National Afghan Army carried out yesterday.</u> And the Afghan Ministry of Defence mentioned in a statement which the news agency "Khaama" quoted that the operations were carried out in

³³⁵ Since in the present paper the category of vehicle is not investigated, the example here is included as an example of Instrumental Manner. This precludes a discussion whether the verb *rakiba* at the time of Sībawayhi involved the ellipsis of an animal instrumental in the locomotion. For a discussion of vehicle, see Lehmann and Shin (2005: 12ff.).

³³⁶ The two are connected also with *'aḡāfa*, 'added', and *'ayḡan*, 'also', as if to fulfil an implicit promise of the full phrase.

أوروزغان بوسط البلاد واقليم هيلمند جنوبا واقليم باكتيا شرقا. وأضاف البيان أن العديد من المسلحين أصيبوا أيضا في تلك العمليات.	'afgāniyyatu 'anna l-'ama- liyyāti nuffīdat fī kulli min 'iqlīmi 'ūrūzgān bi-wasati l- bilādi wa-'iqlīmi hīlmand ḡanūban wa-'iqlīmi bāktiyyā šarqan. wa-'adāfa l-bayānu 'anna l-'adīda mina l-mu- sallahīna 'usībū 'aydan fī tilka l-'amaliyyāti.	both the province of Uruzgan in the middle of the country and the province of Helmand in the south and the province of Baktia in the east. And the statement added that a number of militants were also wounded in those operations.

That there is a thin line between Instrument and Instrumental Manner can be illustrated with the phrases 'with + instrument x', and 'using instrument x' where the answer to "how?" consists of an abstract action, Instrumental Manner, not an Instrument. This construction is seen in Article 60: *haqana maḡhūlūna qā'idan 'askariyyan [...] bi-stiḡdām «siringatin» taḡtawī 'alā mādḡatin ḡāmiḡatin*, '[...] by using a «syringe» containing a mysterious substance' (Example 227); and in Article 3, Example (302).

302. Article 3, Instrumental Manner

كما استعان عدد منهم برافعة لإزالة هذه الحواجز كانت تغلق الطريق المؤدية إلى منزل رئيس الحكومة، مما دفع الشرطة إلى الرد باستخدام الغاز.	kamā sta'āna 'adadun minhum bi-rāfi'atin li-'izālati hāḡiḡi l- ḡawāḡiri kānat tuḡliq l-tarīqa l-mu'addiyati 'ilā manzili ra'īsi l-ḡukūmati, mimmā dafa'a l-šurṡata 'ilā l-raddi bi- stiḡdāmi l-ḡāzi.	And a number of them used a crane to remove these barriers blocking the road leading to the house of the prime minister, which forced the police to re- spond by using gas.

Despite being concrete, an animate or a human is not the prototypical Instrument. In Example (303) from Article 75, a similar phrase as seen in Example (302) is used, but here 'by using businessmen'.

303. Article 75, Instrumental Manner

وتصاعدت حدة الانقسام في اسكتلندا، حيث اتهم ألكسندر سالموند زعيم الحركة الانفصالية، رئيس الوزراء البريطاني ديفيد كاميرون بتجنيد البنوك وشركات الأعمال البريطانية الكبرى العاملة في اسكتلندا، لتحذير الناخبين من التصويت بـ«لا». و أكد قادة انفصاليون أن كاميرون يقود حملة ترهيب وتخويف للناخبين باستخدام رجال الأعمال.	wa-tašā'adat ḡiddatu l-in- qisāmi fī 'iskutlandā, ḡayṡu ttahama 'aleksander sālmūnd za'īmu l-ḡarakati l-in- fišāliyyati, ra'īsa l-wuzarā'i l- brīṡāniyya dayfid kāmirūn bi- taḡnīdi l-bunūki wa-šarikāti l- 'a māli l-brīṡāniyyati l-kubrā l-'āmilati fī 'iskutlāndā, li- taḡḡiri l-nāḡibīna mina l- tašwīti bi-«lā». wa 'akkada qādatun infišāliyyūna 'anna kāmirūn yaḡūdu ḡamlata tarḡibin wa-taḡwīfin li-l- nāḡibīna bi-stiḡdāmi riḡāli l- 'a māli.	And the severity of the split intensified in Scotland, as Alexander Salmond leader of the separatist movement accused the British prime minister David Cameron of recruiting banks and major British business companies operating in Scotland to warn the voters from vot- ing «no». And the sepa- ratist leaders say that Cam- eron is leading a campaign of intimidating and scaring the voters by using busi- nessmen.

Example (304) from Article 40 features two constructions of Instrumental Manner in *variatio*: *bi-* and *‘an ʔarīqi*.

304. Article 40, Instrumental Manner x2

واتهمت روسيا بتغذية "جرائم الانفصاليين" في أوكرانيا، حسب وصفها، وحمل التقرير موسكو مسؤولية اشعال "صراع دولي مسلح" سواء بالتدخل المباشر أو عن طريق دعم الانفصاليين.	wa-ttāhamat rūsiyā bi- tağḏiyati "ğarā'imi l-in- fişāliyyīna" fī 'ūkrāniyā, ḥasaba waşfiḥā, wa-ḥam- mala l-taqrīru mūskuw mas'ūliyyata <u>'iṣ'ālī</u> "şirā'in duwaliyyin mu- sallāhin" siwā'a bi-l- tadaḥḥuli l-mubaşiri 'aw 'an ʔarīqi da'mi l-in- fişāliyyīna.	And [the organization Amnesty International] accused Russia of feeding "the crimes of the separatists" in Ukraine, according to its description, and the report burdened Moscow with responsibility of <u>igniting</u> "an international armed conflict", either by direct intervention or by supporting the separatists .

Example (305) from Article 26, and Example (306) from Article 118 illustrate the proximity of Instrumental Manner to Expanding Paraphrase; in the latter, the finite matrix verb functions as a topic and the Instrumental Manner clause carries the core of the information, expanding the matrix. The examples are polysemous and atypical for Instrumental Manner. For their proper categorization, see the discussion of Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner (4.7.2.3).

305. Article 26, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

واختتم شكرى زيارته لباريس بعقد مؤتمر صحفى مع نظيره الفرنسى فابىوس بمقر وزارة الخارجية الفرنسية، حيث أعلن الجانباں الخطوط العريضة التى تم استعراضها خلال المشاورات، وما خلصت إليه زيارة شكرى لباريس.	wa-ḥtatama šukrī ziyāratahu li-bārīs bi-‘aqdi mu’tama- rin şuḥufiyyin ma’a naḏirihi l-firansiyyi fābiyūs bi-maqarri wi- zārati l-ḥariğiyyati l- firansiyyati , ḥaytu ‘a’lana l- ğānibāni l-ḥuṭūṭa l-‘arīdata llatī tamma isti’rāduḥā ḥilāla l-muşāwarāti, wa-mā ḥalaşat 'ilayhi ziyaratu šukrī li- bārīs.	<u>And Shoukry concluded his visit to Paris by holding a press conference with his French counterpart Fabius in the headquarters of the French Foreign Ministry</u> , in which the two sides announced the broad lines reviewed during the consultations, and what Shoukry’s visit to Paris had resulted in.

306. Article 118, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

وعزز الحوثيون الشيعية مواقعهم بتوسيع رقعة انتشارهم العسكرى من جبالهم النائية فى شمال غربى اليمن باتجاه صنعاء حيث سيطروا على معظم المنشآت السياسية والعسكرية قبل توقيع	wa-‘azzaza l-ḥūtiyyūna l-şī’atu mawāqī’ahum bi-tawṣī’i ruq’ati ntişārihim l-‘aska- riyyi min ġibālihim l-nā’iyati fī şamālī ġarbī# el-yaman bi- ttiğāhi şan’ā’ ḥaytu sayṭarū ‘alā mu’zami l-munşā’āti l- siyāsiyyati wa-l-‘askariyyati qabla tawqī’i ttiḥāqin li-l-	<u>The Shiite Houthis reinforced their positions by expanding their area of military deployment from their remote mountains in north-western Yemen in the direction of Sanaa</u> , where they gained control over most of the political and military establishments before they signed a

اتفاق للسلام كمجموعة مسلحة قوية تمثل ظاهرة تتداخل فيها عوامل طائفية وقبلية وسياسية وتاريخية.	salāmi ka-mağmū‘atin musal- lahatin qawiyyatin tumattīlu zāhiratan tatadāḥalu fiha ‘awāmilu tā’ifiyyatun wa- qabaliyyatun wa-siyāsiyyatun wa-tārīḥiyyatun.	peace treaty [now] as a pow- erful armed group represent- ing a phenomenon in which sectarian, tribal, political, and historical factors overlap.

4.5.4. Manner Instrument

Abstract, non-predicative, and expressive of a manner of realizing the matrix situation, but not a typical concrete Instrument, nor a simple non-instrumental, abstract Manner, nor a clausal situation that is instrumental in realizing the matrix situation as is typically the case with Instrumental Manner.

Expressions such as *bi-l-quwwati*, ‘by force’—e.g. in the military context of Article 125 (2x), ‘[answer] **by/with force**’—express adverbial Manner via the instrument ‘force’. This usage is different from e.g. ‘moving **quickly**’ (*bi-sur‘atin*, in Article 1) or ‘controlling a weapon **with difficulty**’ (*bi-ṣu‘ūbatin*, in Article 8), where both the velocity and the difficulty describe the abstract manner without being instrumental in the verbal action. The same is true for Article 116, where the Pope **strongly** praises the youth of Albania, rather than **by force**; *ašāda bi-quwwatin*, a prepositional phrase expressive of Manner.

On the other hand, there are abstract nouns whose instrumentalization makes them apt to be expressed as instruments. One such example are the ‘sanctions’ and ‘threats’ in the phrase ‘testing the strength of Russia **through sanctions and all kinds of threats**’ (*min ḥilāli ‘uqūbātin wa-kulli ‘aškāli l-tahdīdi*, in Article 83), here, ‘sanctions’ represents the abstraction of a series of actions, and ‘threats’ involves words expressive of actions taken against Russia when testing its strength. The instruments here express Manner, and the relation of the phrase is called Manner Instrument.

In addition to this, there are phrases where the instrument is concrete, but expressive of Manner, such as the ‘directing of strikes **via booby-trapped cars**’ (*‘abra sayyārātin mufahḥaḥatin*, in Article 20). Expressions of these types involve a complex instrument whose resultative state of abstract preparation is crucial to its use as a concrete instrument (of the *ab urbe condita* type). This is different from a tool such as an ordinary physical hammer, or an Instrumental Manner, ‘by booby-trapping cars’. This too, albeit on the fringes of the definition, is called Manner Instrument.

Another example of Manner Instrument is in the description of criminal organizations in Article 86, where an organization is said to ‘hide their meetings **under the cover of festive events**’ (*taḥta ḡiṭā’i munāsabātin iḥtifāliyyatin*): again, the Manner Instrument via which the meetings are covered is an abstract temporal locality, whose function is to describe both the

manner and the means of escaping notice. It is not a typical Manner, Instrument, or clausal Instrumental Manner. It is considered a Manner Instrument.

Example (307) from Article 120 features one instance of Manner Instrument with two coordinated verbal nouns as prepositional complements. The prepositional phrase *bi-l-qawli wa-l-fi'li* is non-clausal, and could be compared to a similar example in Article 34 with *bi-qawlihi* and a direct speech complement, *wa-'aḏāfa [...] fī 'išāratin 'ilā [...] bi-qawlihi*: [+ direct speech] (Example 461).

307. Article 120 (final sentence), Manner Instrument

وتوجه الائتلاف الوطني بالشكر إلى جميع اللبنانيين الذين عبروا بالقول والفعل عن وقفهم إلى جانب اللاجئين السوريين.	wa-tawaḡḡaha l-i'tilāfu l- waṭaniyyu bi-l-šukri 'ilā ḡamī' i l-lubnāniyyīna llaḏīna 'abbarū bi-l-qawli wa-l-fi'li 'an wuqūfihim 'ilā ḡānibi l- lāḡi'īna l-sūriyyīna.	And the National Coalition thanked all Lebanese who had expressed with speech and action [by word and action] their support for the Syrian refugees.

Constructions of these types occupy intermediate positions in the continuum between abstract Manner, abstract yet factual Instrumental Manner, and concrete Instrument. Manner Instrument is admittedly a nebulous category, and perhaps best defined negatively in light of the other three discrete categories.

The categories are illustrated by the following *ad hoc* examples (proper English is not intended):

x killed y

Instrument:	<i>with a knife</i>
Instrumental Manner:	<i>(by) strangling/torturing/etc.</i>
Manner:	<i>fast/violently</i>
Manner Instrument:	<i>with force/violence/strangulation/torture</i>

The inclusion of Manner Instrument as a separate discrete category in the investigation is intended to shed light on potential differences in linguistic code for its expression vis-à-vis other more positively defined concomitant relations. Its annotation is bound to involve difficult decisions. Similar results could have been obtained with the annotation Manner & Instrument.

4.5.5. Associative

x together with y. Expresses the presence of *y* together with *x* in an event or situation, where *y* and *x* are typically humans, or groups of humans such as organizations, countries, etc. Multiple subjects coordinated with *wa-*, 'and' as part of a core structure are excluded from investigation (in accordance with 2.3–2.4).

For an example of Associative, see Example (308) from Article 110 immediately below, under Presidency.

4.5.6. Presidency

Involves presidency and/or supervision over an event or situation such as a talk, a meeting, a group of people, etc. Implicit in the relation may be a type of Graded Exemplification (see 4.7.1.1), conditioned by the prominence of the presidency. The category has a strong media bias.

Example (308) from Article 110 features a *variatio* construction under the scope of a single preposition *bi-*, expressive of both Presidency and Associative via two nominally coordinated complements to the preposition *bi-*. Due to the limitation of the scope of this investigation (see 2.4), only the first relation has been annotated (nominal additions are excluded from investigation, for which, see 2.3.2.3).

308. Article 110 (lead), *bi-ri'āsati* [...] *wa mušāarakati* [...], Presidency + Associative (*variatio*)

انطلقت أمس بمقر الامانة العامة للجامعة العربية اعمال الدورة الـ ٦٠ للجنة الفنية العلمية الاستشارية لمجلس وزراء الاسكان والتعمير العرب ، برئاسة المهندس حسين الجبالي مستشار وزير الاسكان المصري ، و مشاركة كبار المسؤولين عن وزارات الاسكان في الدول العربية.	intalaqat 'amsi bi-maqarri l- 'amānati l-'āmmati li-l- ḡamā'ati l-'arabiyyati 'a mālu l-dawrat al-60 li-l- laḡnati l-fanniyyati l- 'ilmiyyati l-istišāriyyati li- maḡlisi wuzarā'i l-'iskāni wa-l-ta'mīri l-'arabi , bi- ri'āsati l-muhandisi ḥusayn el-ḡabālī mustašārī wazīri l-'iskāni l-miṣriyyi , wa mušāarakati kibāri l- mas'ūlīna 'an wizārāti l- 'iskāni fi-l-duwali l- 'arabiyyati.	The works of the 60th session of the Scientific Technical Advisory Committee of the Council of Arab ministers of housing and construction at the General Secretariat of the Arab League kicked off yesterday, with the chairmanship of the engineer Hussein al-Jabali , advisor of the Egyptian minister of housing, and [with] the participation of senior officials of the Ministries of Housing in the Arab countries.

Examples (309)–(311) express Presidency via different constructions.

309. Article 112, *taḥta 'iṣrāfi* [...], Presidency

ويشار إلى أن عملية إعادة فرز الأصوات انتهت الأسبوع الماضي تحت إشراف الأمم المتحدة للتدقيق في 8.1 مليون صوت، وأرسلت النتائج إلى لجنة الانتخابات بعدما راجعت لجنة الشكاوى التظلمات من المرشحين.	wa-yušāru 'ilā 'anna 'ama- liyyata 'i'ādāti farzi l-'aṣwāti ntahati l-'usbū'a l-māḍiya taḥta 'iṣrāfi l-'umami l- muttaḥidati li-l-tadqīqi fī 8.1 milyūn# ṣawtin, wa-'ursilati l- natā'īḡu 'ilā laḡnati l- intiḥābāti ba'damā rāḡa'at laḡnatu l-šakāwā l-taẓallumāti mina l-muraššahīna.	And it is mentioned that the recount process of the votes was ended last week under the supervision of the United Nations for the scrutiny of 8.1 million votes, and the results were sent to the Election Committee after the Complaints Committee had reviewed the grievances of the candidates.

310. Article 117 (lead), *wa-‘alā ra’si-h* NCI, Presidency

هنا قادة العالم - وعلى الرئيس الأمريكي باراك أوباما - أمس أشرف عبد الغنى بفوزه بمنصب الرئيس والتوصل إلى اتفاق مع خصمه السابق عبد الله عبد الله إلى اتفاقية تقاسم السلطة الهادفة إلى تشكيل حكومة وحدة وطنية.	hanna’a qādatu l-‘ālamī - wa-‘alā ra’sihim al-ra’īsu l-‘amrikiyyu bārāk ‘ūbāmā - ‘amsi ‘ašraf ‘abd el-ġanī bi-fawzihi bi- manšibi l-ra’īsi wa-l-ta- waššuli ‘ilā ttifāqin ma’a ḥašmihi l-sābiqi ‘abdullāh ‘abdullāh ‘ilā ttifāqiyyati taqāsumi l-sultati l-hādifati ‘ilā taškīli ḥukūmati waḥdatin waṭaniyyatin.	World leaders - and at their head the American president Barack Obama - congratulated yesterday Ashraf Abdel Ghani for his winning of the position of president and [for] having reached an agreement with his former rival Abdullah Abdullah on a deal of splitting the power aimed to form a national unity government.

311. Article 118, Presidency

ورحب سفراء مجموعة الدول العشر الراعية لمبادرة السلام الخليجية بالتوقيع على الاتفاقية لحل الأزمة الحالية في اليمن،	wa-raḥḥaba sufarā’u maġmū’ati l-duwali l-‘ašri l- rā’iyati li-mubādarati l- salāmi l-ḥaliġiyyati bi-l- tawqī’i ‘alā l-ittifāqiyyati li- ḥalli l-‘azmati l-ḥaliyyati fi el-yaman, [...]	And the ambassadors of the group of the ten countries overseeing the Gulf peace in- itiative welcomed the signing of the agreement to resolve the current crisis in Yemen, [...]

4.5.7. Mediation

x by the mediation of y. Expresses the explicit mediation of a human or group of humans—e.g. an organization, country, etc.—in a meeting, talk, negotiation, or similar. The mediating party is not an instrument but a catalyst. The category has a strong media bias.

312. Article 10, Mediation

وقال منصور - في مقابلة مع صحيفة (نيويورك تايمز) الأمريكية نشرت أمس على موقعها الإلكتروني - إن "عباس يريد أن يتفق المجتمع الدولي على تاريخ بعينه"، واصفا هذا الطلب بأنه جزء من استراتيجية جديدة يتبناها الرئيس عباس تقضى بأن يدفع من جانب واحد هدف الاستقلال الفلسطيني وحل الدولتين للصراع الفلسطيني - الإسرائيلي	wa-qāla manšūr - fī muqābalatin ma’a ṣaḥīfati (nyū yūrk tāymz) al- ‘amrikiyyati našarat ‘amsi ‘alā mawqi’ihā al- ‘iliktrūniyyi-’inna “abbās yurīdu ‘an yattafīqa l- muġtama’u l-duwaliyyu ‘alā tārīḥin bi-‘aynihā”, wāšifan hādā l-ṭalaba bi-‘annahu ġuz’un min ‘istrātīġiyyatin ġadīdatin yatabannāha l-ra’īsu ‘abbās taqđī bi-‘an yadfa’a min ġānibin wāhidin hadafa l- istiqlālī l-filasṭīniyyi wa-ḥalla l-dawlatayni li-l-širā’i l-fi- lasṭīniyyi - al-‘isrā’īliyyi	And Mansour said - in an in- terview with the American newspaper (The New York Times) published yesterday on its website -that “Abbas wants the international com- munity to agree on a specific date”, describing this request as part of a new strategy, that president Abbas has adopted, that [the strategy] requires it to unilaterally advance the goal of Palestinian independ- ence and the two-state solu- tion to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict after a series of frus- trations, the most notable of

بعد سلسلة من الإحباطات أبرزها انهيار المحادثات التي جرت مع إسرائيل هذا العام بواسطة أمريكية.	ba'da silsilatin mina l- 'iḥbātātīn 'abrazuhā nḥiyāru l-muḥādātātī llatī ḡarat ma'a 'isrā'īl hādā l-'āma bi-wisāṭa- tin 'amrīkiyyatin.	which [is] the collapse of the talks that took place with Is- rael this year under Ameri- can mediation.

4.6. Context

Adds information outside the core structure of the matrix situation, the contextualizing construction being either simultaneous or with relevance at the reference time (e.g. anterior). The subject may be the same or different, but the construction is typically not of the same morphosyntactic properties as the matrix. Context is typically not pictorial in describing circumstances of the matrix scene, but rather provides context to matrix participants and their actions by anchoring them in the current news narrative. It is not a Manner-type relation. In the corpus, contextualization is intrinsic to nominal appositions and relative clauses and these constructions will therefore be excluded from the investigation of Context. The function of Context in news is to highlight newsworthy elements (for context vs. background in the news article, see 1.4.5). The category has a strong media bias.

Example (299) from Article 1 includes a prepositional phrase stating that an incident is the first of its kind, expressive of Context. The proclitic *wa-* separates the construction from the matrix core. The whole paragraph is providing background to the news item: *wa-kānati l-duwalu l-ṭalāṭu wa-fī ḥaṭwatīn ḡayri masbūqatin munḍu ta'sīsi maḡlisi l-ta'āwuni l-ḥalīḡiyyi fī 1981, qad saḥabat sufarā' ahā mina el-dūḥa fī mārs al-mādī [...]*.

Example (313) from the lead of Article 24 is similar, and features a paraphrase of the *mušīran* 'ilā 'anna phrase (for indefinite peripheral accusative participles, see 6.4.5.3). The paraphrase gives context to the preceding utterance.

313. Article 24 (lead), Context

حذر كمال كيتليش دار أوغلو زعيم حزب الشعب الجمهورية التركي المعارض من أن تركيا انتقلت من مرحلة مطاردة النيابة العامة للصوص إلى مرحلة مطاردة الصوص للنيابة العامة، في إشارة إلى إغلاق الحكومة الجديدة لملفات الفساد المتورط فيها الرئيس رجب طيب أردوغان.	ḥaḍḍara kemāl kītliş [sic] dār 'ūḡlū za'īmu ḥizbi l-ša'bi l- ḡumhūriyyi l-turkiyyi l- mu'arīḍi min 'anna turkiyā ntaqalat min marḥalati muṭāradati l-niyābati l- 'āmmati l-luṣūṣa 'ilā marḥalati muṭāradati l-luṣūṣi li-l-niyābati l-'āmmati, fī 'iṣāratin 'ilā 'iḡlāqi l- ḥukūmati l-ḡadīdati li- milaffāti l-fasādi l- mutawarriṭi fihā l-ra'isu reḡeb ṭayyib 'erdūḡān.	Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu leader of the Turkish opposition Republican People's Party warned that Turkey has moved from a stage of the Public Prosecution chasing thieves to a stage of the thieves chasing the Public Prosecution, in a reference to the government's clo- sure of the corruption port- folios in which the presi- dent Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is involved.

Example (314) from the lead of Article 2 begins with a preposed prepositional phrase that highlights the rarity of the reported event, *li-l-marrati l-'ulā* [...]. The same information is repeated in the second paragraph, but now via a post-positioned prepositional clause followed by a relative clause.

314. Article 2 (lead and second paragraph), Context x2

للمرة الأولى منذ ٦ أعوام، صافح الرئيس التركي رجب طيب أردوغان أمس القائم بالأعمال في السفارة الإسرائيلية بأنقرة، وذلك خلال حفل استقبال أقامه الرئيس للدبلوماسيين بمناسبة الاحتفال بيوم «النصر» التركي. وأكدت صحيفة «تايم أوف إسرائيل» الإسرائيلية أن الرئيس التركي صافح يوسف ليفي سفاري الدبلوماسي الإسرائيلي في واقعه تحدث لأول مرة منذ عام ٢٠٠٨ عقب العدوان الإسرائيلي على غزة.	li-l-marrati l-'ulā mundu 6 'a'wāmin , šāfaḥa l-ra'isu l-turkiyyu reğeb tayyib 'er-düğān 'amsi l-qā'ima bi-l-'a'māli fi-l-sifārati l-'isrā'iliyyati bi-'anqara, wa-ḍālika ḥilāla ḥaflī stiqbālīn 'aḡāmahu l-ra'isu li-l-diblūmāsiyyīna bi-munāsabati l-iḥtiḫālī bi-yawmi «el-naşr» al-turkiyyi. wa-'akkada şahīfatu «tāym 'ūf 'isrā'īl» al-'isrā'iliyyatu 'anna l-ra'īsa l-turkiyya şāfaḥa yūsef lēfī sfārī l-diblūmāsiyya l-'isrā'iliyya fi wāqi'atin [ita] taḥḍuṭu li-'awwali marra-tin mundu 'āmi 2008 'aḡiba l-'udwāni l-'isrā'iliyyi 'alā ḡazza.	For the first time in 6 years , the Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan shook hands yesterday with the chargé d'affairs at the Israeli Embassy in Ankara, this during a reception party which the president hosted for the diplomats on the occasion of the celebration of the Turkish day of «the victory». And the Israeli newspaper «Time of Israel» confirmed that the Turkish president shook hands with Yosef Levi-Sfari the Israeli diplomat [in] a thing that happens for the first time since 2008 following the Israeli aggression on Gaza.

Example (315) from the lead of Article 26 features a prepositional phrase providing context to the Egyptian foreign minister's arrival in Paris.

315. Article 26 (lead), Context

استقبل الرئيس الفرنسي فرانسوا أولاند وزير الخارجية سامح شكري، الذي وصل إلى باريس أمس في إطار جولته الأوروبية،	istaqbala l-ra'isu l-firansiyyu fransuwā 'ulānd wazīra l-ḥāriḡiyyati sāmeḥ šukrī, allaḍī waşala 'ilā bārīs 'amsi fi 'iṭāri ḡawlatihi l-'ūrūbbiyyati , [...]	The French president François Hollande met the foreign minister Sameh Shoukry who arrived in Paris yesterday within the framework of his European roundtrip , [...]

Example (316) from the lead of Article 11 has an instance of Context where the recent actions of the Turkish army are anchored in a narrative about the Turkish president introduced via an Expanding Paraphrase with *ḥaytu* VprefL. Primarily expressive of Expanding Paraphrase, the clause is polysemous and atypical.

316. Article 11 (lead), Expanding Paraphrase bi Context

أصدر الجيش التركي
بياناً يطالب فيه الرئيس
رجب طيب أردوغان
بإثبات مزاعمه بوجود
مؤامرات ضده
بالمستندات والوثائق
الرسمية، حيث يزعم
أردوغان أن أنصار
جماعة الداعية
الإسلامي فتح الله جولن
بما يسمى «التنظيم
الموازي» يخطط لتنفيذ
انقلاب على الحكومة
للتستر على فضيحة
الفساد التي تم الكشف
عنها في السابيع عشر
من ديسمبر الماضي.

'aṣḍara l-ḡayṣu l-turkiyyu
bayānan yuṭālību fīhi l-ra'īsa
reḡeb ṭayyib 'erdūḡān bi-
'itbāti mazā'imihi bi-wuḡūdi
mu'āmarātīn dīddahu bi-l-
mustanadāti wa-l-waṭā'iqi l-
rasmiyyati ,ḥayṭu yaz'amu
'erdūḡān 'anna 'anṣāra
ḡamā'ati l-dā'iyaṭi l-
'islāmiyyi faṭḥ allāh ḡūlan
bi-mā yusammā «al-
tanẓīma al-muwāziya»
yuḥaṭṭiṭu li-tanẓīdi nqilābin
'alā l-ḥukūmati li-l-tasat-
turi 'alā faḍīḥati l-fasādi
llatī tamma l-kaṣfu 'anhā fi-
l-sābi'a 'aṣara min disembir
al-maḍiyi.

The Turkish army issued a statement in which they demand [that] the president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan prove his allegations of the presence of conspiracies against him with documents and official records, as Erdoğan claims that the supporters of the group of the Islamic preacher Fethullah Gülen with/in what is called «the parallel organization» is planning to carry out a coup on the government for covering up the corruption scandal which was discovered last December 17.

4.7. Additions

p q. Additions involve relations between *p* and *q* where *q* is to some extent an addition or iteration, a specification, an expansion, a summary, or an exemplification to *p*, and where no other primary semantics hold between the two: *p* + *q*; *p* and *q*; *p* = *q*; *p* ≈ *q*; *p* ≥ *q*; *p* ≤ *q*; *p* i.e. *q*; *p* e.g. *q*; and *p* (*q*).

By “addition” is meant, to quote Dixon (2009: 26), “two pieces of information (one in each clause) which are not in a Temporal relation, or in a relation of Condition, Consequence, Possible Consequence, Alternatives, or Manner”. Initially defined only in negative terms, the linkings included under additions are some of the most elusive relations, many subcategories of which are either rhetorical or bearers of comparably complex semantics, yet coded with minimal explicitness, if they are coded explicitly at all.

Dixon (2009), Halliday (2014), and Longacre (2007) each present different approaches and subcategories to what they respectively name “additions”, “paratactic elaborations”, and “paraphrases”. The following is an adaptation of their input based on clause linking in Media Arabic.

The aim of the present chapter, and of the book as a whole, is not to delve deeply into the analysis of theory but to explain semantics, code, and the relations holding between the two. For this reason, the instrument of analysis needs to be well calibrated, and the analysis repeatable. This puts a demand on the categories used to be as discrete as possible.

4.7.1. Exemplification

Category *x*, e.g. 1, 2, 3, ..., *n*. Taken from Longacre (2007: 383); “[i]n this structure, a set is mentioned, and one or more members are taken as exemplary of the set”. His only example is on the nominal level:

317. Exemplification (example from Longacre 2007: 383)

Take any common garden vegetable, for example, spinach.

Spinach is here an example of “any common garden vegetable”, but is not a paraphrase since there are more garden vegetables that could be considered common. Spinach, thus, is but one in a set of different garden vegetables. The example explains well what can be meant with Exemplification.

In the corpus, there are examples of both nominal and clausal Exemplification. In Example (318) from Article 16, *miṭla*, ‘such as’, functions as an explicit preposition of nominal Exemplification.

318. Article 16, Exemplification

ودعا المشاركون في المؤتمر إلى ضرورة وضع إستراتيجية جديدة لمواجهة ما سموه الإرهاب داخل القارة، محذرين من جهات وصفوها بالإرهابية مثل جماعة «بوكو حرام» في نيجيريا، وميليشيات صومالية قالوا إنها تعمل بتواطؤ مع من وصفوهم بالإرهابيين في العراق.	wa-da‘ā l-mušārikūna fī-l-mu‘tamari ‘ilā ḍarūrati waḍ‘i ‘istrātīgiyyatin ḡadīdatin li-muwāḡahati# mā sammūhu l-‘irhāba dāḡila l-qārrati, muḥaddīrīna min ḡihātin wasafūhā bi-l-‘irhābiyyati <u>miṭla ḡamā‘ati «būkū ḥarām» fī nīḡiriya wa-milīšiyyatin šūmāliyyatin</u> qālū ‘innahā ta‘malu bi-tawāṭu‘in ma‘a man waṣafūhum bi-l-‘irhābiyyīna fī el-‘irāq.	And the participants in the conference called for the need to lay a new strategy to face what they called the terrorism inside the continent, warning against <u>entities they described as terroristic, such as the group «Boko Haram» in Nigeria, and the Somali militias</u> , which they said were working in collusion with whom they described as the terrorists in Iraq.

In Example (67) from Article 1, Exemplification is coded via a subordinate nominal clause introduced by *baynahum*, ‘among them (are), among which (are)’: *wa-qālat «rūytīrz», ‘inna ziyāratān li-l-dūḡa qāma bihā ‘akbaru ṭalāṭati ‘umarā’a fī el-sa‘ūdiyya baynahum wazīru l-ḡarīḡiyyati sa‘ūd el-fayṣal yawma l-‘arbi ‘ā’i l-māḡīya ‘atārat takahhunātin [...], ‘[...] the three most prominent princes in Saudi, among whom [were] the foreign minister Saud al-Faisal [...].*

In Article 95, Example (319), Exemplification is coded with *bi-mā fī ḡālika*, lit. ‘with what is in that’, ‘including’.

319. Article 95, Exemplification

وأشارت الصحيفة إلى أن وفداً أوكرانياً زار إسرائيل بهدف الحصول على معدات عسكرية، بما	wa-‘ašāra l-ṣaḡīfatu ‘ilā ‘anna wafdan ‘ūkrāniyyan zāra ‘isrā‘īl bi-hadafi l-ḡuṣūli ‘alā <u>mu‘addātin ‘askariyyatin</u> , bi-	And the newspaper pointed out that the Ukrainian delegation visited Israel with the goal of

في ذلك طائرات بدون طيار لاستخدامها ضد الانفصاليين الموالين لروسيا.	mā fī ḍālika ṭā'irātun bi-dūni ṭayyārīn li-stiḥdāmihā ḍidda l- infisāliyyīna l-muwalīna li- rūsiyā.	obtaining <u>military equip- ment</u> such as drones for use against the pro-Rus- sian separatists.

4.7.1.1. Graded Exemplification

Category x, especially 1, 2, 3, ..., n. Similar to Exemplification, but grades the exemplified components as more important by giving them a special status among the set, not only by being mentioned, but also by being singled out and underlined lexically: 'especially x'. The following examples illustrate that a Graded Exemplification can be either nominal (Examples 320, 321, and 322) or clausal (Examples 323 and 325).

Example (320) from Article 50 singles out a district of the Libyan capital, Ben Ghashir.

320. Article 50, Graded Exemplification

وفي طرابلس، تجددت الاشتباكات بين المليشيات المسلحة للسيطرة على مواقع حكومية، وسمع دوى لإطلاق النار بشدة في العاصمة وخاصة في منطقة بن غشير القريبة من مقر المؤتمر الوطني المنتهية ولايته والمقر السابق للرئيس الليبي الراحل معمر القذافي، إثر قيام إحدى المليشيات الإسلامية بالهجوم على أحد المقرات وتصدى لها الحراس من ثوار المنطقة.	wa-fī ṭarābulus, taḡaddadati l- ištibākātu bayna l-milīšiyyāti l- musallaḥati li-l-sayṭarati 'alā mawāqī'a ḥukūmiyyatin, wa- sumi'a dawīyyun li-'iṭlāqī l- nāri bi-šiddatin <u>fī-l-'āsimati</u> wa-ḥaṣṣatan fī minṭaqati ben ḡašīr al-qarībati min maqarri l-mu'tamari l-wata- niyyi l-muntahiyati wilāya- tuhu wa-l-maqarri l-sābiqī li-l- ra'īsi l-lībiyyi l-rāḥili mu'am- mar el-qaddāfī, 'itra qiyāmi 'iḥdā l-milīšiyyāti l- 'islāmiyyati bi-l-ḥuḡūmi 'alā 'aḥadi l-maqarrāti wa-taṣaddā lahā l-ḥurrāsu min tuwwāri l- minṭaqati	And in Tripoli, clashes be- tween the armed militias to gain control over govern- mental sites renewed and the sound of loud gunfire was heard <u>in the capital</u> and es- pecially in the area of Ben Ghashir which is close to the headquarters of the out- going National Conference and the headquarters of the former late Libyan president Muammar Gaddafi, after an Islamic militia had attacked one of the headquarters and the guards from the rebels of the region confronted them.

In Example (321) from Article 92, military intervention is singled out as particularly needed from a set of many possible logistic interventions.

321. Article 92, Graded Exemplification

وقال معصوم في مقابلة مع إذاعة أوروبا نحن بحاجة لتدخل جوي، موضعا نريد تدخل لوجستيا قبل كل شيء خصوصا تدخل بالسبل العسكرية.	wa-qāla ma'šūm fī muqābalatin ma'a 'idā'ati 'ūrūbbā naḥnu bi-ḥāḡatin li- tadaḥḥulin ḡawwiyyin, mūḍiḥan nurīdu <u>tadaḥḥulan</u> <u>lūḡistiyyan</u> qabla kulli šay'in <u>ḥuṣūṣan tadaḥḥulan</u> bi-l-subuli l-'askariyyati.	And Masoum said in an in- terview with Radio Europe we are in need of air in- tervention, clarifying we want <u>logistic intervention</u> above all especially intervention through military means.

Example (322) from Article 110 features a clausal Graded Exemplification introduced by *wa-ḥi muqaddimatihā*, ‘in the forefront of which is [...]’.

322. Article 110, Graded Exemplification

ولفت الجبالي - في تصريحات للصحفيين - الى أن اللجنة تناقش على مدى ثلاثة أيام عددا من قضايا العمل العربي المشترك في مجال الاسكان والتعمير ، وفي مقدمتها متابعة سير اعمال لجنة الكودات العربية الموحدة للبناء والتحضير لمؤتمر الاسكان العربي ، والاحتفال بيوم الاسكان العربي الذي يوافق الثاني من اكتوبر المقبل ، بالاضافة الى بحث بند حول أسلوب وإدارة صيانة المجمعات السكنية المشتركة ، ومتابعة موضوع جائزة مجلس وزراء الاسكان والتعمير العرب.	wa-lafata el-ğabālī - ḥi taṣrīḥātīn li-l-ṣuḥufiyyīna - 'ilā 'anna l-lağnata tunāqīṣu 'alā madā ṭalātati 'ayyāmin 'adadan min qadāyā l-'amali l-'arabiyyi l-muṣtarakati ḥi mağālī l-'iskāni wa-l-ta'miri , wa-ḥi muqaddimatihā mutāba'atu sayri 'a'māli lağnati l-kūdāti l-'ara- biyyati l-muwaḥḥadati li-l- binā'i wa-l-taḥḍīri li- mu'tamari l-'iskāni l-'ara- biyyi , wa-l-iḥtifālī bi- yawmi l-'iskāni l-'arabiyyi llaḍi yuwāfiqū l-ṭāniya min 'uktūbir al-muqbili , bi-l- 'idāfati 'ilā baḥṭi bandin ḥawla 'uslūbi wa-'idārati ṣiyanati l-muğamma'āti l- sakanīyyati l-muṣtarakati , wa-mutāba'ati mawḍū'i ğā'izati mağlisi wuzarā'i l- 'iskāni wa-l-ta'miri l-'arabi.	And al-Jabali pointed out - in statements to the reporters - that the committee discusses over a period of five days <u>a number of issues of joint Arab action in the field of housing and development, especially the follow-up of the progress of the work of the Commit- tee of the Unified Arab Code for Construction and the preparation for the Arab Housing Conference, and the celebration of the Arab Housing Day</u> , which falls on the second of next October, in addition to discussing an item concerning the method, man- agement, and maintenance of the joint housing complexes, and the follow-up on the topic of award of the Council of the Arab ministers of housing and construction.

Example (323) from Article 54 adds a Graded Exemplification to an unusual hendiadys construction consisting of a noun phrase, ‘other technical issues’, and a following clausal Exemplification introduced by *bi-mā ḥi ḍālika l-tam-wīlu*, ‘such as funding’, in an indirect question introduced by *lā-siyyamā*. The type *kayfiyyat#* here is a *hapax* and the construction with *lā-siyyamā* to introduce an indirect question is unique for this example (for indirect questions and indirect questions proper, see 5.4.2).

323. Article 54, Graded Exemplification

وبحسب الوزير، فإن فرقا من البلدين مازالت تدرس مسائل تقنية اخرى «بما في ذلك التمويل»، لاسيما كيفية إدخال القطاع الخاص في المشروع.	wa-bi-ḥasabi l-wazīri, fa-'inna fariqan mina l-baladayni mā- zālat tadrusu <u>masā'ila taqa- niyyatan 'uḥrā</u> «bi-mā ḥi ḍālika l-tamwīlu», <u>lā-siyyamā</u> <u>kayfiyyat# 'idḥālī l-qīṭā'i l- ḥāṣṣi fi-l-mašrū'i.</u>	And according to the minis- ter, teams from both coun- tries are still investigating <u>other technical issues</u> , such as funding, <u>especially how to introduce the private sector into the project.</u>

Example (324) from Article 1 features a backgrounding construction which illustrates that a Graded Exemplification can be elliptical and extract an element from a set that has only been implied but never explicitly mentioned.

Here, the ‘the Gulf dispute’ involves the Gulf countries, of which only the Emirates are mentioned explicitly in a Graded Exemplification introduced by *ḥuṣūṣan*.³³⁷

324. Article 1, Graded Exemplification

ومسألة الدعم القطري للإخوان المسلمين كانت في صلب الخلاف الخليجي، خصوصا مع الإمارات التي كانت «الأكثر تشددا» بحسب بن صقر.	wa-mas'alatu l-da'mi l- qatariyyi li-l-'iḥwāni l- muslimīna kānat fī ṣulbi l- <u>ḥilāfi l-halīḡiyyi</u> , ḥuṣūṣan ma'a el-'imārāt llatī kānat «al-'aktara tašaddudan» bi-ḥasabi ben saqr.	And the issue of the Qatari support of the Muslim Brother- hood was at the heart of <u>the</u> <u>Gulf dispute</u> , especially with the Emirates which was «the most extreme» according to bin Saqr.

Example (325) from Article 56 features a clausal Graded Exemplification that also functions as an Expanding Paraphrase (for which, see 4.7.2.2). The example is polysemous and atypical.

325. Article 56, Graded Exemplification bi Expanding Paraphrase

وقال مصدر قريب من الرئيس اليمني، إن «الحوثيين قدما مجموعة مطالب إلى الرئيس اليمني، حملوها للسيطر عبد القادر هلال، وهم يطالبون خصوصا باجتماعات الفساد وتمكينهم من النيابة العامة والجهاز المركزي للرقابة والمحاسبة وجهازي الأمن القومي و الأمن السياسي». وبحسب المصدر، فإن الحوثيين طالبوا أيضا «بأن يعتمد الرئيس مبدأ التشاور معهم، لاختيار رئيس الوزراء الجديد وتسمية وزراء الوزارات السيادية».	wa-qāla maṣḍarun qarībun mina l-ra'īsi l-yamaniyyi, 'inna «al-ḥūṭiyyīna qaddamū <u>maḡmū'ata matālība</u> 'ilā l- ra'īsi l-yamaniyyi, ḥamalūhā li-l-wasīṭi 'abd ul-qāder hilāl, wa-hum yuṭālibūna ḥuṣūṣan bi-ḡtiṭāṭi l-fasādi wa-tamkīnihim mina l-ni- yābati l-'āmmati wa-l- ḡihāzi l-markaziyyi li-l- riqābati wa-l-muḥāsabati wa-ḡihāzay al-'amni l- qawmiyyi wa-l-'amni l- siyāsiyyi». wa-bi-ḥasabi l- maṣḍari, fa-'inna l-ḥūṭiyyīna ṭālabū 'ayḍan «bi-'an ya'tamida l-ra'īsu mabda'a l- tašāwuri ma'ahum, li-ḥtiyāri ra'īsi l-wuzarā'i l-ḡadīdi wa- tasmiyati wuzarā'i l-wizārāti l-siyādiyyati».	And a source close to the Yemeni president said that «the Houthis <u>have presented a</u> <u>group of demands</u> to the Yemeni president, which they carried to the mediator Ab- dul-Qader Hilal, demanding in particular the eradica- tion of corruption and their empowerment of the Gen- eral Prosecution and the Central Agency for Control and Accounting, and the National Security and the Political Security Services». And according to the source, the Houthis also demanded «that the president adopts the principle of consulting with them for choosing the new prime minister and the nomi- nating of the ministers of the sovereign ministries».

³³⁷ In the example, the relative clause introduced by *allatī* has indirect Cause semantics. The partial quotation and the attribution formula mitigate the causative inference by attributing the statement to bin Saqr. See the discussions of authorial distance in 1.4.7 and attribution formulae in 6.5.

4.7.2. Paraphrase

x , y , where $y = x$, $y \approx x$, $y > x$, or $y < x$. Longacre defines what is meant by paraphrase from a pragmatic perspective:

Communication flow in most situations and information distribution in discourse requires that certain elements of discourse be repeated. Typically, this repetition is not exact and information is gained or lost in the repetition. It is in this sense that “paraphrase” is used here. (Longacre 2007: 382)

Longacre goes on to define four categories of paraphrase: One where there is no “noticeable gain or loss of information” in the second clause,³³⁸ a second where information is gained in the second clause, and two varieties where there is a “loss of information” in the second clause.³³⁹

In this work, by Paraphrase is meant a paraphrase of information, not necessarily an iteration of grammatical structure. And unlike Longacre (2007: 382), the definition of Paraphrase here is not founded on a requirement of the situation, but rather on a mere instantiation where bits of information are repeated, regardless of the reasons behind such a repetition. A Paraphrase can theoretically be polarized, but see Polarized Pair (*not x, but y; not only x, but also y; x, not y*; etc., in 4.9.2).³⁴⁰

4.7.2.1. Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information

$p = q$ (or $p \approx q$), where q is a paraphrase of p without noticeable³⁴¹ loss or gain in information. Dixon (2009: 27) has an example from Goemai which may serve as a prototypical example of Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information in the present framework.³⁴²

326. *You are together with me; (and) as for me, I am together with you.*³⁴³

³³⁸ Longacre uses the term “second base” throughout.

³³⁹ Longacre’s paraphrase involves a more quantitative approach than Dixon’s (2009) additions (e.g. Same-event addition and Elaboration).

³⁴⁰ Unlike Longacre (2007: 382–283), the examples he defines as paraphrases, i.e. *It’s not black; it’s white, He’s not rich; he’s poor, It’s not hot, but it’s warm*, and *It’s neither hot nor cold, just warm*, are categorized as Polarized Pairs in the present framework. Assuming an infinite number of possible qualities to an object and a limited set of actual qualities, it could be argued that a proposition stating what something is not is far less informative than a statement of what it actually is; and the negation of one quality does not necessarily imply the presence of its opposite.

³⁴¹ The term Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information is taken from Longacre (2007: 382); perhaps “substantial”, “considerable”, “significant”, “essential”, or similar words would have been preferable in place of “noticeable” in the present framework.

³⁴² In the terminology and categorization of Dixon, he describes this as a “canonical instance of Same-event addition”. The present framework differs from his.

³⁴³ This example brings to mind a frequently used, recycled, and paraphrased expression from American pop culture, perhaps most popularized by the artist Cordozar Calvin Broadus, Jr. on

From the corpus, Example (327) from Article 90 is highly prototypical, albeit polysemous (bi Instrumental Manner). A national union government is a coalition government where all (major) parties are represented. The second finite clause functions like a gloss, and gives no noticeable gain or loss of information. The second clause only paraphrases a technical term in different words. On a semantic plane, the second clause also states the Instrumental Manner in which the government functions as a national unity government, namely by representing different political currents.

327. Article 90, Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information bi Instrumental Manner

وأكد الثني أن الحكومة القادمة حكومة وحدة وطنية وتمثل كافة التيارات السياسية.	wa-'akkada el-ṭanī 'anna l- <u>hukūmata l-qādimata hukūmatu</u> <u>wahdatin waṭaniyyatin</u> wa- tumattīlu kāffata l-tayyārāti l- siyāsiyyati.	And al-Thani confirmed that <u>the next government is a na-</u> <u>tional unity government</u> and <u>[it] represents all the polit-</u> <u>ical currents.</u>

The paraphrase can be polarized, but is different to a Polarized Pair (see 4.9.2) in that the information in the second element is not different. Examples (328) and (329) are (polarized) Paraphrases without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information; these examples also have a secondary inference of Instrumental Manner in the second element.³⁴⁴

328. Article 111 (final sentence), Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information bi Instrumental Manner

وأضاف أن عيون العالم تراقب زعماء الأحزاب الرئيسية في المملكة المتحدة، مؤكدًا أنهم أناس يفون بوعودهم ولا ينكصون عنها.	wa-'aḏāfa 'anna 'uyūna l- 'ālamī turāqibu zu'amā'a l- 'ahzābi l-ra'īsiyyati fī-l- mamlakati l-muttaḥidati, mu'akkidan 'annahum 'anāsun <u>yafūna bi-wu'ūdihim</u> wa-lā yankiṣūna 'anhā.	And he added that the eyes of the world are watching the leaders of the main parties in the United Kingdom, stressing that <u>they are people who keep</u> <u>their promises</u> and <u>[they] do</u> <u>not withdraw from them.</u>

329. Article 118, Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information bi Instrumental Manner

.. وتشمل الآلية تمثيلاً لجميع المكونات ولا تستثنى من عملها أي أطراف أو جماعات أو أفراد وتتضمن خطة	.. wa-tašmalu l-'āliyatū <u>tamṭīlan li-ḡamī'i l-</u> <u>mukawwināti</u> wa-lā tastatnī min 'amaliḥā 'ayya 'aṭrāfin 'aw ḡamā'ātin 'aw 'afrādin wa-tataḍammanu ḥuṭṭatan	.. and <u>the mechanism includes</u> <u>representation of all compo-</u> <u>nents</u> and <u>it does not exclude</u> <u>from its work any parties,</u> <u>groups, or individuals,</u> and it includes a detailed plan and an

his 1994 single “Gin and Juice” under the artist name Snoop Dogg: “My mind on my money and my money on my mind.”

³⁴⁴ Example (328) is not a Polarized Addition, since it involves a paraphrase of roughly identical information in both clauses. It is not comparable semantically to Longacre’s examples “It’s not black; it’s white”, and “He’s not rich; he’s poor”, since *to fulfil a promise* strictly speaking equals *not to shrink* from said promise, at least more so than the extent to which “not black” in all contexts would unequivocally be the same as “white”, and “not rich” would commensurate the status of “being poor”.

مفصلة وجدولا زمنيا للتنفيذ ووفق نتائج الحوار مؤتمر الوطني .	mufaššalatan wa-ğadwalan zamaniyyan li-l-tanfīdi wa- wafqa natā'īgi mu'tamari l- ḥiwāri l-waṭaniyyi.	implementation schedule [and] according to the results of the National Dialogue Con- ference.

4.7.2.2. Expanding Paraphrase

The first element is typically topicalizing and may be anything from a word with a reference to an event, to a full finite clause, which the second element expands on in more detail. The first element of the Paraphrase may be the mere mentioning of a year, with the second element expanding with actual information, more detail, or a clause amplified by additional information in a second clause. No same-subject constraints apply.

Relative clauses can be expanding, e.g. Example (257) from Article 33: *wa-raṣadat wāšintūn mukāfa'atan qadruhā sab'atu malāyīna dūlārīn* [...], 'And Washington has set a reward **whose sum is seven million dollars** [...]'; but since expansion of a nominal via postmodification is an intrinsic function of relative clauses, these are not included in the analysis of Expanding Paraphrases. Expansion of nominals via non-relative clause structures are included however. Examples (330) and (331) feature Expanding Paraphrases of nominals via a full nominal clause introduced by an anaphoric pronoun.

In Example (330) from Article 10, the Expanding Paraphrase expands the lexical item 'our goal'.³⁴⁵

330. Article 10, Expanding Paraphrase

واضاف:قررنا عدم الغرق في غزة والاكفاء بتحقيق هدفنا وهو استعادة الهدوء للمواطنين الاسرائيليين.	wa-'aḏāfa:qarrarnā 'adama l- ğarqī fī ġazza wa-l-iktifā'a bi- taḥqīqi ḥadafinā, wa-huwa isti'ādatu l-hudū'i li-l- muwāṭinīna l-'isrā'īliyyīna.	And he added: We have de- cided not to drown in Gaza, but to be content with achiev- ing <u>our goal</u> , that is to re- store the calm to the Israeli citizens.

In Example (331) from Article 56, the Expanding Paraphrase adduces information on transportation infrastructure in Sanaa (it is not a Parenthetical Comment, for which see 4.7.3).

331. Article 56, Expanding Paraphrase

وقام أنصار الحوثيين بقطع طريق المطار في شمال صنعاء، وهذه الطريق هي المدخل الرئيسي لوسط العاصمة من مطار صنعاء.	wa-qāma 'anšāru l-ḥūṭiyyīna bi-qat'ī <u>ṭarīqi l-maṭāri</u> fī šamālī ṣan'a', wa-hāḏihi l- ṭarīqu hiya l-madḥalu l- ra'īsiyyu li-wasaṭi l- 'ašimati min maṭāri ṣan'a'.	And Houthi supporters cut off <u>the airport road</u> in north- ern Sanaa, [and] this road is the main entrance to the centre of the capital from Sanaa airport.

Example (332) from Article 11 illustrates the expansion of a noun phrase: the crackdown, *ḥamlati 'tiqālātīn*, lit. 'campaign of arrestations', is paraphrased in the following clause introduced by *ḥaytu* to mean the arresting of "dozens

³⁴⁵ The nominal addition expressive of *not x, but y* in *wa-l-iktifā'a* is excluded from investigation (see 2.3.2.3ff.).

of police officers”, a clause that gives fuller information. The clauses do not have the same subject.

332. Article 11, Expanding Paraphrase

وتسببت مزاعم أردوغان بتورط ضباط في مؤامرة ضد الحكومة في حملة اعتقالات جديدة حيث ألقت السلطات الأمنية التركية القبض على العشرات من ضباط الشرطة في ١٦ محافظة في مقدمتها إسطنبول بناء على تعليمات المدعى العام الجمهوري.	wa-tasabbaba mazā‘imu ‘er- dūgān bi-tawarruṭi ḍubbāṭin fī mu‘āmaratin ḍidda l-ḥukūmati fī ḥamlati ‘tiqālātin ḡadīdatin ḥayṭu ‘alqati l-suluṭātu l- ‘amniyyatu l-turkiyyatu l- qabḍa ‘alā l-‘aṣarāti min ḍubbāṭi l-ṣurṭati fī 16 muḥāfazatan fī muqaddama- tiḥā ‘iṣṭānbūl binā‘an ‘alā ta‘līmāti l-mudda ‘ī l-‘ammi l- ḡumhūriyyi.	And Erdoğan’s allegations of officers’ involvement in a plot against the govern- ment resulted in <u>an arresta- tion campaign</u> [<u>crack- down</u>] as the authorities arrested dozens of police officers in 16 provinces, especially Istanbul, based on the instructions of the attorney general of the Republic.

Example (227) from Article 60 illustrates that both clauses in an Expanding Paraphrase can be negated: [...] *tuṣīru ‘ilā ‘anna l-‘iṣābata laysat ḥaṭīratan, wa-lam yaẓhar ‘alā l-qā‘idi l-‘amrīkiyyi ‘ayyu ‘alāmātīn turaḡḡiḥu ‘iṣābat-ahu bi-‘aḥadi l-‘amrāḍi l-ḥaṭīrati l-muntaṣirati bi-nīḡīriyā*, ‘[...] the injury is not dangerous, no signs are shown on the American commander that suggest his injury to be one of the dangerous diseases spread in Nigeria’.

Example (314) from Article 2: [...] *fī wāqi‘atin [ita] taḥduṭu li‘awwali marratin mundu 2008, ‘aqiba l-‘udwāni l-‘isrā‘īliyyi ‘alā ḡazza*, illustrates the difficulty in identifying an Expanding Paraphrase when a temporal preposition, ‘since, after’, expands the mentioning of a topicalizing calendar year by giving information about what happened that year. This is a use of prepositional phrases with a primarily temporal formative semantic substance (see under 6.9). Examples (333) and (334) illustrate this further.

In Example (333) from Article 2, the bilateral relations are said to have gotten worse in the year 2010, a year whose implicitly mentioned event is paraphrased with fuller information beginning with ‘aqiba.

333. Article 2, ‘aqiba PP, Expanding Paraphrase

ويذكر أن علاقات بين البلدين شهدت توترا كبيرا خصوصا في عام ٢٠١٠ عقب حادث السفينة التركية مرمره والتي أسفرت عن مقتل ٩ أتراك،	wa-yuḍkaru ‘anna ‘alāqātin bayna l-baladayni šahidat tawatturan kabīran ḥuṣūṣan fī ‘āmi 2010 ‘aqiba ḥadīṭi l-safīnati l-turkiyyati marmara wa-llatī ‘as- farat ‘an maqtali 9 ‘atrākin, [...]	And it is mentioned that [the] re- lations between the two coun- tries have seen great tension, es- pecially <u>in the year 2010</u>, [i.e.] <u>after the incident with the</u> <u>Turkish ship Marmara</u>, some- <u>thing that caused the death of</u> <u>9 Turks</u>,³⁴⁶

³⁴⁶ For feminine *allatī* as relative to a clausal correlate rather than to a noun, see 6.3.1.2. The example is repeated with more context in Example (554).

A similar use is seen in Example (334) from Article 111.

334. Article 111, *ba'da* PP, Expanding Paraphrase

واقترح زعيم حزب العمال المعارض إد ميليبياند أن يتم طرح الخطط الرامية إلى إجراء تعديل دستوري على هذا الحجم ، على الجمهور من خلال مؤتمر يعقد في خريف عام 2015 بعد الانتخابات البرلمانية القادمة.	wa-qtarāḥa za'imu ḥizbi l- 'ummāli l-mu'arīḍi 'ed miliband 'an yatimma tarḥu l-ḥuṭaṭi l-rāmiyati 'ilā 'iḡrā'i ta'dīlin dustūriyyin bi-hādā l-ḥaḡmi , 'alā l- ḡumhūri min ḥilāli mu'tam- arin yu'qadu <u>fi ḥarfi 'āmi</u> <u>2015 ba'da l-intihābati l-</u> <u>barlamāniyyati l-qādi-</u> <u>mati.</u>	And the leader of the opposi- tion Labour Party Ed Miliband proposed that the plans aiming at making a constitutional amendment of this magnitude should be put forward through a conference which will be held <u>in the autumn</u> of 2015, [i.e.] <u>after the parliamentary</u> elections.

Example (335) illustrates a *prima vista* similarity between Expanding Paraphrase and Exemplification (4.7.1). Since the *wa-hiya* clause in the example lists all 10 countries, it is not an exemplification of certain entities within a set, but a paraphrase giving the information in full via an Expanding Paraphrase. The full nominal clause is comparable to a Parenthetical Comment (for which, see 4.7.3), but occupies no parenthetical place in the discourse.

335. Article 84, Expanding Paraphrase

وأظهر التقرير ، الذي يحمل عنوان "عوامل النجاح لصحة المرأة والطفل" ، أن ١٠ بلدان منخفضة ومتوسطة الدخل وهي: مصر وبنجلاديش وكمبوديا والصين وإثيوبيا ولاوس الديمقراطية ونيبال وبيرو ورواندا وفيتنام، تمكنت من تحقيق نجاح كبير في خفض وفيات الأمهات والأطفال.	wa-'aẓhara l-taqrīru , llaḍī yaḥmilu 'unwāna "'awāmil# al-naḡāḥi li-ṣiḥḥati l-mar'ati wa-l-ṭifli" , 'anna <u>10 buldānin</u> <u>munḥafidati wa-mutawassitati</u> <u>l-daḥli wa-hiya: miṣr, wa-</u> <u>baṅḡlādīṣ, wa-kambūdyā wa-</u> <u>l-ṣīn wa-'aṭyūbiyā wa-lāwus</u> <u>al-dīmuqrāṭiyyatu wa-nībāl,</u> <u>wa-bīrū wa-ruwāndā wa-</u> <u>fiyitnām,</u> tamakkanat min taḥqīqi naḡāḥin kabīrin fi ḥafḍi wafayāti l-'ummahāti wa-l- 'aṭfāli.	And the report, which carries the title "Success Fac- tors for the Health of the Woman and the Child" showed that <u>10 low and</u> <u>middle-income countries,</u> i.e. Egypt, Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Ethio- pia, the Democratic Laos, Nepal, Peru, Rwanda, and Vietnam, have man- aged to achieve great suc- cess in reducing maternal and child mortality.

Example (336) from Article 7 codes an Expanding Paraphrase via *li-VprefA*.

336. Article 7, Expanding Paraphrase

ورحبت المستشارة الألمانية أنجيلا ميركل بإسناد المهمة لتاسك - الذي ينتمي للتيار المحافظ - مشيرة إلى أن ذلك يأتي بعد ٢٥ عاما من سقوط حائط برلين، و نهاية الحرب الباردة. و اعتبرت أن انتخابه	wa-raḥḥabati l-mustašāratu l-'almāniyyatu 'aṅḡlā mērkil bi-'isnādi l-ma- hammati li-tāsk - allaḍī yan- tamī li-l-tayyāri l-muḥāfiẓi - mušīratan 'ilā 'anna ḍālīka ya'tī ba'da 25 'āman min suqūṭi ḥā'itī berlīn, wa nihāyati l-ḥarbi l-bāridati.	And the German chancellor Angela Merkel welcomed the assignment of the task to Tusk - who belongs to the conserva- tive current - indicating that this comes 25 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War. And she considered that <u>his election</u> is a

رمزاً للوحدة الأوروبية، لِيتَلاشى الحاجز بين دول منطقة اليورو وسائر أعضاء الاتحاد الذين لا يتبنون العملة الموحدة.	wa 'tabarat 'anna <u>ntihābahu</u> <u>ramzan li-l-wahdati l-</u> <u>'ūrūbiyyati, li-yatalāšā l-</u> <u>ḥāḡizu bayna duwali</u> <u>minṭaqati l-yūrū wa-sā'iri</u> <u>'a 'qā'i l-ittihādi llaḡīna lā</u> <u>yatabannawna l-'umlata</u> <u>l-muwaḥḥadata.</u>	symbol of the European unity, of [the fact] that the barrier between the countries of the Eurozone and the rest of the members of the Union who have not adopted the unified currency is fading.

Expanding Paraphrase can be said to also operate at a higher level than between juxtaposed clauses (cf. 1.4.4 and 3.16). Article 3 deals with casualties during demonstrations in Islamabad. In Example (337) from that article, the clause 'a *māl# al- 'unfi ndala 'at* functions as a topic to the following passage begun by 'indamā that functions as a long Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause. The 'indamā clause is atypical: its formative substance³⁴⁷ suggests a temporal reading, but here it introduces an inter-sententially Countersequential clause at the beginning of a passage spanning several clauses and sentences that form what resembles an iconic narrative segmentation of events expanding on how and why the violence broke out. The whole passage ends in a summary referring back to the topic of the story: deaths of demonstrators (not quoted below, for the lead of Article 3, see Example 186).

337. Article 3, Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause

وأشارت المصادر نفسها إلى أن أغلب الإصابات نجمت عن الرصاص المطاطي أو بتأثير الغاز المسيل للدموع. وأشارت مصادر أمنية إلى أن أعمال العنف اندلعت عندما قام حوالي ٢٥ ألف متظاهر بمسيرة من البرلمان إلى منزل رئيس الوزراء، حيث حاول بعضهم إزالة الحواجز التي تحيط به. كما استعان عدد منهم برافعة لإزالة هذه الحواجز كانت تغلق الطريق المؤدية إلى منزل رئيس الحكومة، مما دفع الشرطة إلى الرد باستخدام الغاز.	wa-'ašārati l-mašādiru nafsuhā 'ilā 'anna 'aḡlaba l- 'iṣābāti naḡamat 'ani l-raṣāṣi l- maṭṭāṭiyyi 'aw bi-ta' tiri l-ḡāzi l-musīli li-l-dumū'i. wa- 'ašārat mašādiru 'amniyyatun 'ilā 'anna 'a' <u>māla l-'unfi</u> <u>ndala 'at 'indamā qāma</u> <u>ḥawālay 25 'alfa mutaḡāhi-</u> <u>rin bi-maṣīratin mina l-</u> <u>barlamāni 'ilā manzili ra'isi,</u> <u>ḥaytu ḥawala ba'ḡuhum</u> <u>'izālata l-ḥawāḡira llati</u> <u>tuḡṭu bihi. kamā sta'āna</u> <u>'adadun minhum bi-</u> <u>rāfi 'atin li-'izālati ḥāḡihi l-</u> <u>ḥawāḡiri kānat tuḡliq l-</u> <u>ṭarīqa l-mu'addiyata 'ilā</u> <u>manzili ra'isi l-ḥukūmati,</u> <u>mimmā dafa'a l-ṣurṭata 'ilā</u> <u>l-raddi bi-stiḡdāmi l-ḡāzi.</u>	And the same sources indicated that most of the injuries were caused by rubber bullets or by the effect of tear gas. And security sources indicated that the acts of violence broke out when about 25 thousand demonstrators undertook a march from the parliament to the house of the president, where some of them tried to remove the barriers which surround it. And a number of them used a crane to remove these barriers blocking the road leading to the house of the prime minister, which forced the police to respond by using gas.

³⁴⁷ Here assuming a diachrony of spatial juxtaposition or vicinity, 'x at y', and temporal proximity.

Example (338) from Article 11 features an Expanding Paraphrase in a coordinated clause with *wa*-VprefL which also has a secondary Consecutive inference. The example is polysemous and atypical.³⁴⁸

338. Article 11, Expanding Paraphrase bi Consecutive

المسلحة التي تؤمن بمبدأ سيادة القانون وتتخذ الإجراءات اللازمة على هذا الأساس.	[...] fa-l-quwwātu l-musal- lahatu l-turkiyyatu tu'minu bi- mabda'i siyādati l-qānūni wa- tattaḥidu l-iğrā'āti l- lāzimata- 'alā hādā l-'asāsi.	[...] for the Turkish armed forces believe in the princi- ple of the rule of law and [thus] take all necessary measures on this basis.

As described in the passage about news structure (the inverted pyramid structure, see 1.4.4), the news article itself is comparable to an Expanding Paraphrase on a higher level of discourse, where a topic (headline and lead) is repeatedly expanded with new information. Example (339) from Article 11 features an Expanding Paraphrase across sentences. It could be hypothesized that this type of relation between clauses is not unlikely to be seen at an inter-sentential level in Media Arabic. Relations of this type, across sentence boundaries, are however not part of the scope of the present investigation. Their investigation is a *desideratum* of future research.

339. Article 11, Expanding Paraphrase (across sentences, not investigated)

على صعيد آخر ، يبدأ البرلمان مناقشة برنامج حكومة أحمد داود أوغلو بعد غد الخميس تمهيدا لنيل الثقة في جلسة السبت الموافق ٦ سبتمبر. ويتركز البرنامج حول السياسة الخارجية والاقتصاد والتعليم والصحة وسيكون إطاره العام مكافحة أنصار «التنظيم الموازي» كذلك يتضمن معلومات تفصيلية بشأن المفاوضات الحالية بين الحكومة والأكراد للتوصل لحل القضية الكردية.	'alā ṣa'īdin 'āḥara , yabda'u l-barlamānu munāqašata barnāmaḡi hukūmati 'ahmad dāwud 'uḡlū ba'da ḡadin al- ḥamīsa tamhīdan li-nayli l- iṭqāti fī ḡalsati l-sabti l- muwāfiqi 6 sibtabmir. wa- yatarakkazu l-barnāmaḡu ḥawla l-siyāsati l-ḥariḡiy- yati wa-l-iqtišadi wa-l- ta'limi wa-l-ṣiḥḥati wa-sa- yakūnu iṭāruhu l-'āmmu mukāfaḡata 'anṣāri «al- tanẓimi l-muwāzī» ka- ḡālīka yataḡammanu ma'lūmātin tafṣiliyyatan bi-ṣa'ni l-mufaẓāḡāti l- ḥāliyyati bayna l- ḥukūmati wa-l-'akrādi li-l-	And on another level, the arlia- ment begins the discussion of <u>the programme of the govern- ment of Ahmet Davutoğlu</u> the day after tomorrow, Thursday, a preparing for gaining confi- dence in the Saturday session, falling on September 6. And the programme will focus on the foreign policy and the econ- omy and education and health, and its general framework will be to combat supporters of the «parallel organization» and it will contain detailed infor- mation concerning the current negotiations between the gov- ernment and the Kurds to reach a solution to the Kurd- ish issue.

³⁴⁸ It could be argued that a belief in something by necessity does not imply an acting in accordance with belief, i.e. that the clause is a Same Level Same Subject Addition (for which, see 4.7.4.1), but the fact that it allegedly does in this case suggests that it is more similar to an Expanding Paraphrase than an Addition. The belief here, in short, is topicalizing, and expanded via examples of how this belief is practiced. The practice, hence, is coded as a habitual consequence of said belief.

tawaşşuli li-ħalli l-qaḍiy-
yati l-kurdiyyati.

4.7.2.3. Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

A subcategory of Expanding Paraphrase, where the second element in addition to expanding a topicalizing matrix with more information also expresses Instrumental Manner (see 4.5.3).

Example (273) from Article 7 deals with a speech by Tusk after his election to become the president of the European Council. The finite matrix functions as a topic to the Expanding Paraphrase which describes how Tusk tried to appease Britain: *wa-lawwaha bi-ğusni zaytūnin li-brītāniyā, muta‘ahhidan bi-‘işlāhi l-takattuli l-muwahħadi bi-mā yulabbī maṭāliba landan*, ‘And he waved an olive branch to Britain, and pledged to reform the unified block in a manner that meets the demands of London’.

Example (340) includes the expansion of a topic, “continuation of air strikes”, by the description of actual attacks and their geographical locations. Whereas the matrix topicalizes a situation by stating the who and the what, ‘American planes continued their air strikes against [...]’, the Expanding Paraphrase states the how to this “who did what” as an abstract Instrumental Manner: ‘they implemented an attack close to Mosul and another one close to Amerli’.

340. Article 21, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

وكانت القيادة المركزية الأمريكية قد أعلنت في وقت سابق عن أن الطائرات الأمريكية واصلت غاراتها الجوية ضد أهداف تابعة لتنظيم «داعش» في العراق، حيث نفذت ضربة جوية بالقرب من سد الموصل وأخرى بالقرب من بلدة آمرلي شمال العراق.	wa-kānati l-qiyādatu l-markaziyyatu l-‘amrikiyyatu, qad ‘a‘lanat fī waqtin sābiqin ‘an ‘anna l-tā‘irāti l-muqātilata l-‘amrikiyyata wāsalat ġārātiḥa l-ğawwiyyata didda ‘ahdāfin tābi‘atin li-tanzīmi «dā‘eš» fī el-‘irāq, ḥaytu naffaḍat ḍarbatan ġawwiyyatan bi-l-qurbi min saddi el-mušul wa-‘uḫrā bi-l-qurbi min baldati ‘amerli šamāla el-‘irāq.	And the US Central Command announced earlier that <u>an American combat aircraft has continued its air strikes against targets belonging to the «Daesh» organization</u> , as it carried out an air strike near the Mosul dam and another one close to the town of Amerli in northern Iraq.

Example (341) features a passage from the lead of Article 13, where the intervention of the Pakistani army is the topic of an Expanding Paraphrase that states specifics about this intervention, namely through a talk. In journalistic terms, the *ḥaytu* clause introduces the how to the who and the what of the matrix.

341. Article 13 (lead), Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

تدخل الجيش الباكستاني
في الأزمة السياسية الحادة
التي تعصف بالبلاد منذ
أسبوعين حيث التقى
الجنرال راحيل شريف
قائد الجيش مع نواز
شريف رئيس الوزراء
لبحث مخرج للأزمة، في
ظل إصرار المعارضة
على الإطاحة بشريف.

tadahhala l-ğayšu l-
bākistāniyyu fi-l-'azmati l-
siyāsiyyati l-hāddati llati
ta'sifu bi-l-bilādi mundu
'usbū'ayni ḥaytu ltaqā l-
ğenərāl rāḥil šarīf qā'idu
l-ğayši ma'a nawāz šarīf
ra'isi l-wuzarā'i li-baḥṭi
maḥrağin li-l-'azmati, fi
zilli 'iṣrāri l-mu'āraḍati
'alā l-iṭāḥati bi-šarīf.

The Pakistani army intervened
in the acute political crisis
which rages in the country
since two weeks, as General
Rahil Sharif the army com-
mander, met with Nawaz
Sharif the prime minister to
discuss a way out of the cri-
sis, under the insistence of
the opposition to overthrow
Sharif.

Example (342) illustrates that Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner can be a clause of unequal morphosyntactic properties vis-à-vis its matrix, here 'repeated his accusations': 'he said: [...]'. For the status of the participle in Media Arabic, and its mutual exclusivity with the finite verb of attribution, see 6.4.5, and especially 6.4.5.3.

342. Article 90, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

وكرر الثني إتهاماته
للسودان قائلا إن
الخرطوم حاولت إرسال
طائرة عسكرية محملة
بالذخيرة لمطار معيتقة
الذي يسيطر عليه
مسلحون. وقال الثني
الأخوة في السودان
يحاولون التدخل في
الشأن الليبي.

wa-karrara el-tanī ittiḥāmātihi
li-l-sūdān qā'ilan 'inna el-
ḥarṭūm ḥāwalat 'irsāla
ṭā'iratin 'askariyyatin
muḥammalat#n bi-l-ḍaḥīrati
li-maṭāri ma'itīqa alladī
yusayṭiru 'alayhi musal-
lahūna. wa-qāla el-tanī al-
'iḥwatu fi el-sūdān yuḥāwilūna
l-tadahḥula fi-l-ša'ni l-lībiyyi.

And al-Thani repeated his
accusations towards Sudan
saying that Khartoum has
tried to send a military
plane loaded with ammu-
nition to the Mitiga air-
port which gunmen are
controlling. And al-Thani
said the Brothers in Sudan
are trying to intervene in
the Libyan issue.

As illustrated in Example (343) from Article 117, the relationship of an Expanding Paraphrase can be elusive without previous knowledge of the news at hand. In the article, the US is said to continue the US-Afghanistan Strategic Partnership Agreement into the future, the continuation of which includes support for a legitimate Afghan government. It could be argued that the second clause is not an Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner, i.e. what it means to continue said strategic partnership, but an Exemplification, stating an example of what they will do as they continue the partnership. The relation is difficult in this respect, but at the core of the categorization as an Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner is the topic and comment type structure of the two clauses as seen in Examples (340)–(342). For the same reason, the example is not analysed as a Same Subject Same Level Addition (see Unordered Additions, 4.7.4).

In Example (343) from Article 117, the temporal anchoring is in the future vis-à-vis a Speech time 2 (for temporal anchoring, see 3.16.1).

343. Article 117, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

وأكد أوباما أن الولايات المتحدة ستواصل شراكتها الاستراتيجية مع أفغانستان وستدعم الحكومة الأفغانية الجديدة.	wa-'akkada 'ūbāmā 'anna l-wilāyāti l-muttahidata sa-tuwāsilu širākatahā l-'istrātīgiyyata ma'a 'afgānistān wa-satad'amu l-ḥukūmata l-'afgāniyyata l-ḡadīdata.	And Obama stressed that the United States will continue its strategic partnership with Afghanistan, and will support the new Afghan government.

4.7.2.4. Summarizing Paraphrase

A Summarizing Paraphrase is the opposite of an Expanding Paraphrase (for which, see 4.7.2.2) in terms of the balance of information between the two clauses. A Summarizing Paraphrase comes with a loss of information in comparison to the preceding element.

No examples of a monosemantic Summarizing Paraphrase are attested in the corpus.³⁴⁹ Longacre (2007: 383), from whom the category is taken, has the example *I'm going home to see Mama, I'm going to the house*.

4.7.2.5. Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner

Involves a second cotemporal clause that paraphrases the preceding matrix in a Summarizing Paraphrase, but at the same time makes the first clause appear like a focal clause expressive of Instrumental Manner.

Complementary to the case of the Expanding Paraphrase, where the second element may give the how as an Instrumental Manner to a what and a who in the preceding element (Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner), Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner inverts this relation by casting a secondary inference of Instrumental Manner over a preceding more elaborate description of a situation.

As will become apparent in the examples below, this relation in Media Arabic can be coded under morphology associated with Purpose linkings. One example is seen in Article 11: *wa-'alā ša 'īdin 'āḡara , yabda'u l-barlamānu munāqašata barnāmaḡi hukūmati 'ahmad dāwud 'ūḡlū ba'da ḡadin al-ḡamīsa tamhīdan li-nayli l-tīqati fī ḡalsati l-sabti l-muwāfiqi 6 sibbtambir*, 'And on another level, the parliament begins the discussion of the programme of the government of Ahmet Davutoğlu the day after tomorrow, Thursday, a preparing for gaining confidence in the Saturday session, falling on September 6' (Example 339).

It could be argued that in this example, the Turkish parliament begins to discuss, *yabda'u* [...] *tamhīdan*, 'in order to prepare'. Rather, the government will prepare to win confidence on Saturday September 6 by beginning to discuss the issue on Thursday 3. The nominalized clause *tamhīdan* is summarizing what is meant by the discussion, in effect giving the why (preparation) of

³⁴⁹ But see e.g. Article 87, Example 376, with the *hapax* relation of a preposed Topic, a topicalizing preposed summarizing paraphrase with *fī*, discussed in 5.3.3.

the what (discussion) in the matrix, and as a consequence turning the matrix into a how (preparing by discussing). The actual talk and preparation describe the same situation as set about by the parliament. The nominalized accusative verbal noun, in short, does not express Purpose.

In Example (344) from Article 118, we read about militants of the Ansar al-Sharia outside the house of Major General Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar, where they are said to have prepared to blow up the house, “like they do to all their opponents”, by setting up explosives. In the article, the summarizing “preparing to do what”, transforms the preceding “applying of explosives” to a how.

344. Article 118, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner

وقد اشتبك المسلحون مع حرس المنزل ويتردد أنهم قاموا بتفخيخ المنزل استعدادا لتفخيخه مثلما يفعلون مع خصومهم ، وسط أنباء عن إصابة عدد من الحراس.	wa-qad ištābaka l-musallaḥūna ma'a ḥarasi l-manzili wa-yata- raddadu 'annahum qāmū bi- tafḥīhi l-manzili sti'dādan li- tafḥīrihi miṭlamā yaf'alūna ma'a ḥuṣūmihim , waṣṭa 'anbā'i 'an 'iṣābati 'adadin mina l-ḥurrāsī.	And the militants clashed with the house guard and it is repeated that <u>they took to</u> <u>booby-trapping the house,</u> a preparing to blow it up, like they do with their op- ponents, amid reports of the wounding of a number of guards.

Example (344) is similar to Example (345), but rather than being a nominalization with an accusative verbal noun, the Summarizing Paraphrase nominalization takes on a *li-maṣḍar* morphology. The preceding clause is paraphrased via the nominalized clause *li-l-muṭālabati*, but it is not just a plain summary; it also states a reason for why the families cut off the roads: as a means and manner of ‘demanding the release of their sons’.

345. Article 22, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner

ومن ناحية أخرى واصل أهالي العسكريين اللبنانيين المختطفين لدى جبهة النصرة وداعش في عرسال قطع الطرق في مناطق مختلفة في أنحاء البلاد للمطالبة بإطلاق سراح أبنائهم..	wa-min nāhiyatin 'uḥrā wāsala 'ahālī l-'askariyyīna l- lubnāniyyīna l-muhtatafīna ladā ḡabhat el-nusra wa-dā'eṣ fī 'arsāl qat'a l-turuqi fī manātiqa muhtalifatin fī 'anhā'i l-bilādi li-l- muṭālabati bi-'iṭlāqi sarāḥi 'abnā'ihim..	And on another side, <u>the</u> <u>families of the Lebanese sol-</u> <u>diers being kidnapped by/at</u> <u>the al-Nusra Front and Daesh</u> <u>in Arsal continued to cut off</u> <u>the roads in different regions</u> <u>in parts of the country de-</u> <u>manding the release of</u> their sons..

If the peripheral accusative verbal noun and the verbal noun preceded by the preposition *li-* is a code associated with Purpose linkings, Example (346) from Article 7 codes the Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner in a morphology perhaps even more closely associated with Purpose linking, namely the *li-VprefA*, but the construction here comes in conjunction with the explicit anaphoric Instrumental Manner prepositional phrase, *bi-dālīka*, ‘thereby’. There are 3x attestations of this construction in the corpus (see “*li-*

VprefA” under 6.1.5). In Example (346), the preceding clauses which state the election of two new ministers are paraphrased briefly, at the same time stating a reason for why the leaders elected two persons: as a means and manner of forming a new team of management. Since there is no causal volitional relationship between electing and concluding, we are not dealing with Purpose. The bi-nuance is Consecutive.

346. Article 7 (lead), *li-VprefA bi-dālika*, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Consecutive

في سابقة تاريخية، انتخب قادة الاتحاد الأوروبي رئيس وزراء بولندا دونالد تاسك ليكون رئيسا للمجلس الأوروبي، في حين كلف القادة الأوروبيون وزيرة خارجية إيطاليا فيديريكا موجيريني بتولى منصب الممثلة العليا للسياسة الخارجية للاتحاد، ليختتم بذلك تشكيل طاقم الإدارة الجديد للاتحاد في دورته الحالية.	fī sābiqatin tārīḥiyyatin, intaḥaba qādatu l-ittihādi l-’ūrūbbiyyi ra’isa būlāndā dūnāld tāsk li-yakūna ra’isan li-l-maḡlisi l-’ūrūbbiyyi, fī ḥīni kallafa l-qādatu l-’ūrūbbiyyūna wazīrata ḥārīḡiyyati ’iṭāliyā fīdrīkā mūḡērīnī bi-tawallī maṣṣibi l-mumattīlati l-’ulyā li-l-siyāsati l-ḥārīḡiyyati li-l-ittihādi, li-yaḥtatima bi-dālika taškīla ṭāqimi l-’idārati l-ḡadīdi li-l-ittihādi fī dawratihī l-ḥāliyyati.	In a historic precedent, the leaders of the European Union elected the Polish prime minister Donald Tusk to become president of the European Council, while the European leaders assigned the Italian foreign minister Federica Mogherini to take the office of high representative for the foreign policy of the Union, thereby concluding the formation of the new team of management of the Union in its current round.

As illustrated by Example (632) from Article 109, this is not a not a unique instance of *li-VprefA bi-dālika* with the semantics of a Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Consecutive, but in Example (346), the congruence of the finite verbal morphology *li-yaḥtatima* with its subject is less transparent. The example is polysemous and atypical. It is a rare example of an abrupt clash between semantics and code.

4.7.3. Parenthetical Comment

An Addition consisting of a phrase or a clause with a comment on a nominal constituent in the matrix.³⁵⁰ It is not contextualizing (does not highlight newsworthiness).³⁵¹ The addition of the comment is not linked semantically, but is an addition of information by the news outlet. The Parenthetical Comment is prototypically unconnected grammatically to other parts and can be separated

³⁵⁰ Note that “parenthetical” is here used in the etymological sense of the word. No punctuation constraints apply. Gr. *paréntesis*, ‘putting in beside’ (LSJ).

³⁵¹ Cf. title appositions which add to the relevance of a newspaper article via the news value of prominence, e.g. “president N.N.” (*passim* in the corpus).

with interpunctuation, as seen in Article 33: *wa-raṣadat wāšintun muk-āfa'atan* [...] *li-man yusā'idu fi-l-qabḍi 'alā ġūdān* (37 *sanatan*) (Example 257). Example (347) from Article 7 is similar.

347. Article 7, Parenthetical Comment

وأكد تاسك - ٥٧ عاما - فور انتخابه أنه جاء من بلد يؤمن بأهمية أوروبا.	wa-'akkada <u>tāsk</u> - 57 'āman - fawra ntiḥābihi 'annahu ġā'a min baladin yu'minu bi-'ahammiyyati 'ūrūbbā.	And <u>Tusk</u> - 57 years - said im- mediately after his election that he comes from a country that be- lieves in the importance of Eu- rope.

Excluded from these categories are relative clauses, including nominalized relative clauses such as Example (348) from Article 105.

348. Article 105, Nominalized relative as parenthetical comment (not investigated)

وأضاف المحامي أن هانت البالغ من العمر 22 عاما لقي مصرعه بعد تلقى شرطيين بلاغا بوجود رجل يحمل سيفا على الطراز الذي يستخدمه الساموراي، مشيرا إلى أن	wa-'aḍāfa l-muḥāmī 'anna <u>hānt al-bāliġa mina l-'umri</u> 22 'āman laqiya maṣra'ahu ba'da talaqqī šurṭiyyīna balāġan bi-wuġūdi raġulin yaḥmilu sayfan 'alā l-ṭirāzi llaḍī yastaḥdimuhu l-sāmūrāy, muširan 'ilā 'anna [...]	And the lawyer added that <u>Hunt who reaches 22 years</u> of age met his fate after the policemen had received a re- port about the presence of a man who carried a sword of the type that the samurai use, noting that [...]

4.7.4. Unordered Addition

x and *y*. According to Dixon (2009: 26) “involves two distinct events which are semantically or pragmatically related but for which no temporal sequence is assumed”. His examples of this category include a mere two examples of which only one is in English:

349. Unordered Addition (Dixon 2009: 26)

Mary peeled the potatoes and John shelled the peas.

In (349), both actions “relate to the preparation of food”, according to Dixon (2009: 26), whereas there is no specification of temporal relationships:

the potatoes may have been dealt with first, or last, or the activities may have been simultaneous or overlapping. Temporal information is not considered relevant and is not stated. (If *then* were added after *and*, it would create a statement of sequentiality.) (Dixon 2009: 26)

An Unordered Addition is not a Paraphrase, but involves new and different information, not just gained, iterated, or summarized information (cf. 4.7.2).

A recurring Unordered Addition in Media Arabic is the comparable *qutla wa- 'uṣība* phrase with its many paraphrases, ‘*n*₁ number of people were killed,

and n_2 were wounded’. In this phrase the death toll always precedes the number of wounded, not only in the finite morphology (e.g. Example 351 below), but also when nominalized (e.g. Example 352). Material damage, if reported, is positioned last in the list. Dixon’s classificatory term “Unordered” is principally misleading in the context of Media Arabic linking where information hierarchies come into play (see 1.4.4 on the inverted pyramid structure). The name of the supra-category Unordered Addition will be kept, but will be discussed under the subcategories of Same Level Addition and Different Level Addition. These will further be divided into two categories respectively based on same or different subjects. Both syndetic and asyndetic coordination of nouns and adjectives are excluded from the investigation (as outlined in 2.3–2.4).

4.7.4.1. Same Level Addition

Of two types, same subject and different subject, but both clauses must have equal morphosyntactic properties (non-subordinate linking), and the second must not be a Paraphrase (for which, see 4.7.2).

Same Level Different Subject Addition

Many examples from this category are comparable to Dixon’s example presented as Example (349), *Mary peeled the potatoes and John shelled the peas*, albeit also including examples with additions of the frame ‘in the kitchen’, or similar. The events may be anchored temporally under the same umbrella via an explicit frame time, e.g. *natīgata* in Example (351) and *ğarrā’a* in Example (350), illustrating that the two situations coded are roughly cotemporal, but the exact temporal relations between the two situations are not specified (cf. the fallacy of cotemporality in 3.16.1.1).

Example (350) features a *qutla wa-’uṣība* phrase, and is an example of a Same Level Different Subject Addition.

350. Article 90, Same Level Different Subject Addition

كما قتل ثلاثة جنود من القوات الخاصة الصاعقة بينغازي وأصيب 12 آخرون جاء الاشتباكات الدائرة منذ الليلة قبل الماضية حول مطار بنينا بمدينة بنغازي ضد قوات مجلس شوري ثوار بنغازي.	<u>kamā qutla talātatu ġunūdin</u> <u>mina l-quwwāti l-hāssati el-</u> <u>sā’iqa bi-bengāzī wa-’uṣība</u> 12 ‘āḥarūna ġarrā’a l- ištibākāti l-dā’irati munḍu l- laylati qabla l-māḍiyati ḥawla maṭāri benīnā bi- maḍīnati bengāzī ḍidda quwwāti maġlisi šūrā tuwwāri bengāzī.	<u>And three soldiers from the</u> <u>Benghazi Thunderbolt [or</u> <u>Sa’ka, Saiqa] Special Forces</u> <u>were killed and 12 others</u> wounded in clashes that take place since the night before the last [night] around the Benina Airport in the city of Benghazi against the forces of the Shura Council of the Benghazi Rev- olutionaries.

Example (351) from Article 90 is also an example of the *qutla wa-’uṣība* phrase, and once again represents a Same Level Different Subject Addition.

351. Article 90 (lead), Same Level Different Subject Addition

لقيت طفلة مصرعها وأصيبت امرأة نتيجة سقوط عدد من القذائف الصاروخية على مدينة الزاوية بالعاصمة طرابلس جراء اشتباكات بمنطقة ورشفاة.	laqiyat tiflatun masra'ahā wa-'uṣibat imra'atun naṭīgata suqūṭi 'adadin mina l-qadā'ifi l-šārūḥiyyati 'alā madīnati el-zāwiya bi-l-'āsi- mati ṭarābulus ḡarrā'a štibākātin bi-mintāqati waršefāna.	A child met its fate and a woman was wounded as a result of the falling of a num- ber of rocket-propelled gre- nades on the city of al- Zawiya in the capital Tripoli in clashes in the region of Warshefana.

The segmental ordering of words in these semantic spheres is identical on the nominal level as well, as illustrated by Example (352).³⁵² Nominal additions of nouns and adjectives as exemplified here are excluded from the present investigation (described in 2.3ff.). An investigation into chains of verbal nouns in Media Arabic is a *desideratum* of future research.

352. Article 90, Same Level Different Subject (nominal) Addition (excluded from investigation)

وقال عضو المجلس الموقت لثوار المنطقة الغربية العقيد الطاهر الغرابلي في تصريحات أمس إن مجموعات مسلحة أطلقت عددا من القذائف الصاروخية على مدينة الزاوية أسفرت عن مقتل طفلة وإصابة سيدة، وتأثر عدد من المنازل، مشيرا إلى أن صاروخا آخر سقط على مستشفى الزاوية والمصفاة النفطية وتسبب في حدوث بعض الأضرار المادية فقط.	wa-qāla 'uḍwu l-maḡlisi l- mu'aqqati li-tuwwāri l- mintāqati l-ḡarbiyyati al- 'aqīdu el-ṭāher el-ḡarāblī fī taṣrīḥātin 'amsi 'inna maḡmū'ātin musallaḥatan 'aṭlaqat 'adadan mina l- qadā'ifi l-šārūḥiyyati 'alā madīnati el-zāwiya 'asfarat 'an maqtali tiflatin wa- 'iṣābati sayyidatin, wa- ta'atturi 'adadin mina l- manāzili, muṣṭiran 'ilā 'anna šārūḥan 'āḥara saqāṭa 'alā mustašfā el-zāwiya wa-l- miṣfāti l-niṭṭiyyati wa- tasabbaba fī ḥudūṭi ba'ḍi l- 'adrāri l-māddiyyati faqaṭ.	And a member of the Provi- sional Council of Western Region's Revolutionaries Colonel Taher al-Gharabli said yesterday that armed groups had fired a number of rocket-propelled grenades over the city of al-Zawiya which led to <u>the killing of a child and the wounding of a woman and the affecting of a number of houses</u> , noting that another rocket had landed on the al-Zawiya hos- pital and the oil refinery but caused the occurrence of some material damages only.

Same Level Same Subject Addition

Includes a second clause of equal morphosyntactic properties and shared subject, and typically shared grammatical reference time.

Same Level Same Subject Additions involve a second clause that typically adds to the previous one within a text-internally established frame time (e.g.

³⁵² Cf. also e.g. Article 20: [...] 'asfarat 'an 'adadin mina l-qatlā wa-l-ḡarḥā fī ṣufūfi l-ḡunūdi wa-l-musallaḥāna.; Article 63: [...] mimma 'addā 'ilā suqūṭi 'adadin mina l-qatlā wa-l-ḡarḥā [...]; Article 21: [...] wuqū 'i 'aṣarāti l-qatlā wa-l-muṣābīna fī ṣufūfihim [...]. It is also found with verbal nouns, e.g. Article 21: [...] mā 'asfara 'an maqtali 'arba'ati 'aṣḥāšin wa-'iṣābati sab'ati# 'āḥarīna; Article 35: [...] mā 'addā 'ilā maqtali 32 ṣaḥṣan wa-'iṣābati 14 'āḥarīna wa-'iḥrāqi 10 sayyārātīn; etc.

Examples 353 and 354), although there are counterexamples where the linking has a frame time established text-externally, making the Unordered Addition resemble a list (Example 356).

Example (353) includes a Same Subject Same Level Addition as part of bipartite finite asyndetic relative clause with a second Unordered Addition asyndetically added.

353. Article 36 (lead), Same Subject Same Level Addition

قُتل مواطن مصري يدعى أبو زيد شحاتة السيد، يعمل في محل مواد غذائية بمحطة التسين غرب مدينة سرت الليبية، جراء خلافات نشبت مع بعض الشباب المسلحين في محل عمله، ما أدى إلى إطلاق النار عليه وقُتل في الحال .	qutila muwāṭinun miṣriyyun yud'ā 'abūzēd šahhāta el-say- yid, ya'malu fī maḥalli mawāddin ḡidā'īyyatin bi- maḥaṭṭati el-tisīn ḡarba madīnati sirt al-lībiy- yati, ḡarrā'a ḥilāfātīn naṣabat ma'a ba'di l-šabābi l-musal- laḥīna fī maḥalli 'amalihi, mā 'adda 'ilā 'iṭlāqi l-nāri 'alayhi wa-qatlihi fī-l-ḥālī .	An Egyptian citizen <u>who was</u> <u>called Abu Zeid Shahata el-</u> <u>Sayid</u> [and] <u>who was work-</u> <u>ing in a foodstuff store in</u> <u>the Taseen station west of</u> <u>the Libyan city of Sirte</u> was killed in disputes that broke out with some armed youth in his workplace, which led to him being shot at and his killing on the spot.

Example (354) also features a bipartite asyndetic relative clause, but here the second element is syndetically linked. The example illustrates that it is difficult to analyse the absence of semantics. Clearly, a topic + comment type structure is observed between the two clauses, where shooting can be said to be part of military training. The structure is comparable to a Paraphrase, and is akin to an Exemplification. But since “shooting” is not a paraphrase of “(ji-hadi) military training”, which likely includes obstacle courses and religious training of a more theoretical nature, since an Unordered Addition is not necessarily haphazard (see introduction to Unordered Additions in 4.7.4), and since both clauses describe the content of a video without one clause being more focal than another, the lack of semantics must be taken to be the decisive criterion. The categorization of the example, however, is disputable. For a full discussion on syndetically coordinated clauses of equal morphosyntactic properties, see e.g. *wa-VprefL*, and *wa-Vsuff* in 6.1.2.

354. Article 8, Same Level Same Subject Addition

وفي هذه الأثناء، نشرت صحيفة «ديلي ميل» البريطانية فيديو يظهر أطفالا يتدربون في معسكرات تابعة لداesh، ويطلقون النار من أسلحة من بينها الكلاشنيكوف.	wa-fī hāḏihi l-'aṭnā'i, našarat ṣahīfatu «daylī mayl» al- brīṭāniyyatu fīdiyu yuḏhiru 'aṭfālān <u>yatadarabūna</u> fī <u>mu'askarātīn</u> tābi'atin li-dā'eš, <u>wa-yuṭliqūna</u> l-nāra min 'asliḥatin min baynihā el- kalāšīnkūf [sic].	And meanwhile, the Brit- ish newspaper «Daily Mail» published a video showing children <u>training</u> <u>in a camp</u> belonging to Daesh <u>and shooting with</u> <u>weapons</u> such as the Kal- ashnikov.

Example (355) contains a Same Level Same Subject Addition in an attributed direct speech. The second clause is an addition of different information on the

same topic. To “fortify it” is not a taken to be a paraphrase of “keeping it away from”.

355. Article 1, Same Level Same Subject Addition

وكتب وزير الدولة الإماراتي للشئون الخارجية أنور قرقاش في تغريدة إن من مصلحة الإمارات أن يكون الخليج العربي قويا، نحصنه ونبعده عن خلافات المنطقة وتجاذباتها.	wa-kataba wazīru l-dawlati l- 'imārātiyyu li-l-šu'ūni l-ḥārīgiy- yati 'anwar qarqāš fī taḡrīdatin ³⁵³ 'anna min maṣlahati el-'imārāt 'an yakūna el-ḥalīḡ al-'arabiyyu qawiyyan, nuḥṣinuhu/nuḥaṣṣinuhu nub'iduhu/nuba'iduhu ḥilāfāti l-mintaqati taḡāḍubātiḥā	And the Emirati minister of state for foreign affairs Anwar Gargash said in a tweet that [since] it is in the interest of the Emir- ates that the Arab Gulf is strong, <u>we should fortify it and keep it away from the differences and strives of the region.</u>

Example (356) from the lead of Article 81 is comparable to a list, where two events are grouped together more because of topic and subject than by rationales of logico-semantic relations holding between the clauses. The two clauses describe two different situations that took place on different occasions.

356. Article 81 (lead), Same Subject Same Level Addition

اختطف وحدات خاصة إسرائيلية شابة من محافظة "طولكرم" ونكلت بمواطن من بلدة "جبع" جنوب مدينة "جنين" بالضفة الغربية.	iḥṭatafat waḥadātun ḥāṣṣatun 'isrā'īliyyatun šābban min muḥāfazati "ṭūlkarm" wa- nakkalat bi-muwāṭinin min baldati "ḡaba" ḡanūba madīnati "ḡenīn" bi-l-ḡiffa el-ḡarbiyya.	And Israeli special units kid- napped a young man from the governorate of Tulkarm and abused a citizen from the town of "Jaba" south of the city of "Jenin" in the West Bank.

Example (272) from Article 7 above features a rare example where a Same Level Same Subject Addition is negated: *wa-wa'ada tāsk, alladī yatahaddatu l-'inglīziyyata bi-l-kādi wa-lā yanṭuqu l-firansiyyata, 'annahu [...], '[...] who barely speaks English and does not speak French'*. The example is atypical. It includes a statement on the linguistic (in)abilities of Tusk. This example could *prima vista* be taken as a Polarized Pair, *x but not y* (see 4.9.2), but with the manner adverb *bi-l-kādi*, 'with great difficulty, hardly, barely', in the first clause, it is not a typical polarization, but rather a matter of the degree of his inabilities: *x and y*. As in Examples (353) and (354) above, the matrix is a non-deverbalized relative clause.

³⁵³ In a tweet on August 30, 2014, @SH_Alshamsi wrote that:

تغريدات معالي د. أنور قرقاش: مصلحة #الإمارات خليج عربي قوي نحصنه ونبعده عن خلافات المنطقة وتجاذباتها
@AnwarGargash

On the same date, a similar tweet appeared on @rsddar's wall (emphasis added):

قرقاش: مصلحة الامارات خليج عربي قوي نحصنه ونبعده عن خلافات المنطقة وتجاذباتها، ومكاننا مع اشقاونا والجهود المشتركة تنجز اكثر من العمل الفردي

No tweets older than June 29, 2015 are available on @AnwarGargash's own twitter (accessed November 12, 2015).

4.7.4.2. Different Level Addition

Similar to Same Level Additions, split into categories of Same and Different Subject Additions. In cross-linguistic terms, a linking of two clauses with unequal morphosyntactic properties—e.g. with gram switch and/or change of word order in one clause—is subordination (see e.g. Isaksson *et al.* 2009, 2011, 2015, and Isaksson 2014 with references). In Media Arabic, a gram switch (change of predicate morphology) could be only formal and come without a necessary inference of a logico-semantic relation between the subordinate clause to the matrix.

Different Level Same Subject Addition

Comparable to Simultaneous temporal clauses (see 4.3.1.3), the difference being that here, rather than being simultaneous, the two constructions would be only vaguely related temporally.

Example (357) features a gram switch NCl + *wa*-VprefL in a Different Level Same Subject Addition.³⁵⁴

357. Article 65, Different Level Same Subject Addition

وأكد الشيخ نواف الأحمد نائب أمير الكويت وولي العهد أن التكريم حدث تاريخي غير مسبوق، ويمثل اعترافاً مشرفاً للكويت وأهلها وقائدها.	wa-’akkada l-šayḥu nawāf el-’aḥmad nā’ibu ’amīri el- kuwayt wa-waliyyu l-’ahdi 'anna l-takrīma ḥadatun tārīhiyyun ḡayru masbūqin, wa-yumattīlu ’tirāfan mušarrafan wa-li-l-ku- wayt wa-’ahlihā wa-qā’id- ihā.	And Sheikh Nawaf al-Ahmad deputy emir of Kuwait and crown prince said that <u>the hon- our is an unprecedented histor- ical event and represents an honourable recognition also of Kuwait, its people, and its leader.</u>

In Example (226) from Article 5, the participle of attribution follows a full stop: [...] ‘amerlī’. *Mušīran ’ilā suqūṭi* [...]. In Example (336) from Article 7, the participle was not preceded by a full stop. Example (358) also illustrates the function of the accusative participle, where a finite clause with a suffix-verb, *wa-’akkada*, is followed by an active accusative participle in a Different Level Same Subject Addition, *mušīran ’ilā ’anna* [...]. Both verbs are verbs of attribution. Rather than expressing an inexplicit logico-semantic relation, the subordination by gram switch is only formal and grammatical, motivated by factors such as topic continuity and linguistic economy. The occasional disagreement in gender and number between the matrix subject and the nominalized verb in favour of the masculine singular suggests that the linking is highly standardized, and borderline frozen (e.g. Article 121, Example 222).³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ In Media Arabic, the verb *yumattīlu*, lit. ‘represents’, together with *yu’addu*, lit. ‘is counted as’, and the passive *yu’tabaru*, lit. ‘is considered as’, may function as borderline copulas.

³⁵⁵ Article 121, Example 222: *wa-ḡakarāt mašādiru ’amniyyatun* [...] *mušīran ’ilā ’anna* [...].

358. Article 49, Different Level Same Subject Addition

وأكد توماس جريمينجر رئيس منظمة الأمن و التعاون في أوروبا، أن وقف إطلاق النار قد بدأ سريانه بشكل كبير، إلا أنه لا يزال هشاً. مشيراً إلى أن الأيام المقبلة ستكون حاسمة.	<u>wa-'akkada tūmās ġrīmingġir</u> <u>ra'īsu munazzamati l-'amni wa</u> <u>l-ta'āwuni fī 'ūrūbbā, 'anna</u> <u>waqfa 'iṭlāqi l-nāri qad bada'a</u> <u>sarayānuhu bi-šaklin kabīrin,</u> <u>'illā 'annahu lā yazālu haššan.</u> mušīran 'ilā 'anna l-'ayyāma l-muqbilata sa-takūnu ħāsimatan.	And Thomas Greminger head of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe confirmed that the ceasefire has largely come into effect, but it is still fragile. Noting [= And he noted] that the coming days will be deci- sive.

Examples (359), (360), and (361) illustrate that the accusative participle as seen in Examples (226), (336), and (358) may be mutually exclusive and functionally synonymous to a coordinated finite clause on the same level introduced by *wa*-Vsuff or *kamā* Vsuff as a new sentence. Due to the sentence boundaries holding between the finite clauses, Same Level Additions such as Examples (359)–(361) are excluded from investigation (for a summary of scope, see 2.4).

359. Article 20, finite *wa*-Vsuff, Different Level Same Subject Addition (across sentences, not investigated)

، وقال الحوثي في خطاب بثته قناة المسيرة التابعة لأنصار الله :ستكون هناك تحركات جديدة بخطوات متدرجة، محذراً من سياسة وصفها بـ «الحمقاء». وأشار إلى أن المرحلة الثالثة تتمثل بالعصيان المدني.	[...] , <u>wa-qāla el-hūṭī fī ḥiṭābin</u> <u>battathu qanātu el-masīra al-</u> <u>tābi'atu li-'anšār allāh :sa-</u> <u>takūnu hunāka taħarrukātun</u> <u>ġadīdatun bi-ħaṭawātin mu-</u> <u>tadarriġatin, muħaḍḍiran min</u> <u>siyāsatin wašafahā bi-</u> <u>«al-ħamqā'i». wa-'ašāra 'ilā</u> <u>'anna l-marħalata l-tāliṭata</u> <u>tatamattalu bi-l-'iṣyāni l-</u> <u>madaniyyi.</u>	And al-Houthi said in a speech which the channel al- Masirah belonging to Ansar Allah broadcasted: <u>there will</u> <u>be</u> new movements by grad- ual steps, warning against a policy he described as «fool- ish». And he noted that the third step is represented by civil disobedience.

360. Article 7, finite *wa*-Vsuff, Different Level Same Subject Addition (across sentences, not investigated)

وأكدت الوزيرة الإيطالية - التي تنتمي للتيار اليساري - أنها تعلم أن التحديات التي تواجه الاتحاد ضخمة، وأضافت أنه في كل أنحاء أوروبا هناك أزمات.	<u>wa-'akkadati l-wazīratu l-</u> <u>'iṭāliyyatu - llatī tantamī li-</u> <u>tayyāri l-yasāriyyi - 'annahā</u> <u>ta'lamu 'anna l-taħaddiyāti</u> <u>llatī tuwāġihu l-ittiḥāda</u> <u>ḍaħmatun, wa-'aḍāfat 'an-</u> <u>nahu fī kulli 'anhā i'ūrūbbā</u> <u>hunāka 'azamātun.</u>	And the Italian minister - who belongs to the left cur- rent - confirmed that she knows that the challenges that face the [European] Un- ion are huge. And she added that there are crises in all parts of Europe.

361. Article 15, finite *kamā* Vsuff, Different Level Same Subject Addition (across sentences, not investigated)

من جانبه، أوضح السيناتور الجمهوري جون ماكين أن التحرك الأمريكي ضد الدولة الإسلامية يتطلب إشراك المزيد من قوات العمليات الخاصة الأمريكية، والمزيد من المراقبين الجويين، والمستشارين لتدريب الجيش العراقي الذي يقارب الانهيار، حسب تعبيره. كما أشار إلى ضرورة التحالف مع دول أخرى في هذا التحرك.	min ḡānibihi, 'awdaha el-sīnātūr al-ḡumhūriyyu ḡūn mā kayn 'anna l-taḥarruka l-'amrīkiyya ḍidda l-dawlati l-'islāmiyyati yataṭallabu 'īsrāka l-mazīdi min quwwāti l-'amaliyyāti l-ḥaṣṣati l-'amrīkiyyati, wa-l-mazīdi mina l-murāqibīna l-ḡawwiyyīna, wa-l-mustaṣārīna li-tadrībi l-ḡayši l-'irāqiyyi llaḍī yuqāribu l-inhiyāra, ḥasaba ta'bīrihi. kamā 'ašāra 'ilā ḍarūratī l-taḥālufi ma'a duwalin 'uḫrā fī ḥādā l-taḥarruki.	On his part, <u>the Republican senator John McCain clarified that</u> the American move against the Islamic State requires the involvement of more of the American Special Operations Forces, and more air traffic observers and advisors to train the Iraqi army, which is close to collapse, as he put it. And he pointed to the need to ally with other states in this move.

Different Level Different Subject Addition

With unequal morphosyntactic properties and a different subject, this relation is likely to come with the inference of an attendant circumstance at the time of the matrix situation, which can be either nominalized (Examples 362 and 363), or finite (the polysemous Example 364).

Example (362) is polysemous, as the subordinate clause has a strong temporal link with the matrix. The example is atypical for the category of Unordered Addition.

362. Article 129, Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Simultaneous

وانتشر مئات الحوثيين المدججين بالسلاح في جميع أنحاء صنعاء ويستمررون بالسيطرة على مقار الحكومة والوزارات والمؤسسات الرسمية وسط غياب شبه تام لقوى الامن والجيش عن المشهد.	wa-ntašara mi'ātu l-ḥuṭiyyīna l-mudaḡḡaḡīna bi-l-silāḥi fī ḡamī 'i 'anḥā 'i ṣan'a' wa-yastamirrūna bi-l-saytarati 'alā maqārri l-ḥūkūmati wa-l-wizārati wa-l-mu'assasāti l-rasmiyyati waṣṭa ḡiyābin šibhi kāmilin li-quwā l-'amni wa-l-ḡayši 'ani l-mašhadi.	And hundreds of Houthis heavily armed with weapons have deployed in all parts of Sanaa <u>and they continue to control the government's headquarters, ministries and official institutions amid a near-total absence of the security forces and the army from the scene.</u>

Likewise with Example (363) from Article 49.

363. Article 49, Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Simultaneous

ميدانيا، ساد الهدوء في شرق أوكرانيا الى حد كبير أمس بعد يوم من خرق الهدنة و تبادل القصف، وسط آمال	maydāniyyan, sāda l-hudū'u fī šarqi 'ukrāniyā 'ilā ḥaddin kabīrin 'amsi ba'da yawmin min ḥarqi l-hudnati wa tabāduli l-qaṣfi,	On the field, calm prevailed in eastern Ukraine to a large extent yesterday a day after the breach of the armistice and exchange of

بإستئناف العمل ببند اتفاق وقف إطلاق النار.	waṣṭa 'āmālin bi-sti'nāfi l-'amali bi-bunūdi ttifāqi waqfi 'iṭlāqi l-nāri.	bombing, amid hopes of the re- sumption of the work on the terms of the ceasefire agree- ment.

Example (364) from Article 9 features a Different Level Different Subject Addition stating attendant circumstances surrounding the matrix situation with secondary Cause semantics. The example is polysemous and atypical for the theoretical prototype of Different Level Different Subject Addition.

364. Article 9, Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Cause

وأكد التنظيم في بيان الليلة قبل الماضية أن "المحتجزين في مكان آمن، وفي حالة صحية جيدة، ويقدم لهم ما يحتاجونه من طعام وعلاج".	wa-'akkada l-tanzīmu fī bayānin al-laylata qabla l-māḍiyati 'anna "al-muḥtağazīna fī makānin 'āminin, wa-fī ḥālatin ṣiḥhiy- yatin ḡayyidatin, wa-yuqad- damu lahum mā yaḥtağūnahu min ṭa'āmin wa-'ilāğin".	And the organization stressed in a statement the night before the last [night] "the hostages are in a safe place, and in a good health condition, and what they need of food and treat- ment is provided to them".

4.8. Comment (including Relative to Clause, resumptive constructions)

Comment is not so much a logico-semantic category, but more defined in terms of the constituent parts of the second clause and a lack of additionally inferred semantics aside from the syntagm's constituent open class lexical items (cf. Summarizing Paraphrase, 4.7.2.4). The secondary clause contains an anaphoric reference to the previous clause e.g. via a pronoun, as a type of Relative to Clause (a type of Comment, for which, see 6.3.1.2), and comments upon it in a proposition with new information. A Comment is different to a Parenthetical Comment, as it is not parenthetical, and typically consists of a fuller clause, e.g. the evaluating Comment of Article 12: [...] *wa-huwa ṣay'un ḡayyidun*, 'and this is a good thing' (Example 472).

An example from Halliday (2014: 463–4), *They used to work over there, that's how they met*, features what is here categorized as a Comment. Without other semantics involved, but with the clauses related within the boundaries of a sentence, the anaphoric reference *that*³⁵⁶ is also a resumptive construction having for correlate the proposition of the whole preceding clause, on which it comments.

³⁵⁶ 'That', the subject of the second clause, is in itself describable as a maximally summarized paraphrase, but the second clause as a whole, although expanding on the first, is not fruitfully described as a paraphrase.

Examples (365)–(367) are taken from the corpus and feature a number of different resumptive constructions: *mimmā* VprefL, *wa-huwa mā* VprefL (NCI), and *wa-hādā* NCI. This list is not exhaustive, nor are these constructions by necessity limited to use as Comment only. Relative clauses are not investigated for this function.

365. Article 90, resumptive construction, Comment

وأرجع الغرابلي سبب إغلاق الطريق الساحلي مجددا بعد فتحه ليوم واحد إلى سقوط بعض الصواريخ والقذائف العشوائية بالقرب من الطريق المذكور مما يشكل خطرا على حياة المواطنين.	wa-‘arġa‘a el-ġarāblī sababa ‘iġlāqi l-ṭarīqi l-sāhiliyyi muġaddadan ba‘da faṭḥihi li- yawmin wāḥidin ‘ilā suqūti ba‘di l-ṣawārīḥi wa-l- qaḍā‘ifi l-‘ašwā‘iyyati bi-l- qurbi mina l-ṭarīqi l- maḍkūrati mimmā yuṣak- kilu ḥaṭaran ‘alā ḥayāti l- muwāṭṭinina.	And al-Gharabli attributed the reason for the closing of the coastal road again after it had been opened for a single day to the landing of some indiscriminate rockets and missiles close to the afore- mentioned road something which forms a threat to the life of citizens.

366. Article 95 (second paragraph after the lead), resumptive construction, Comment

وأوضحت صحيفة «تايمز أوف إسرائيل» أن لجنة خاصة بوزارة الخارجية الإسرائيلية ألغت الصفقة التي أقرتها وزارة الدفاع في وقت سابق، وعلت ذلك بأن روسيا أوقفت من قبل بيع شحنة أسلحة لإيران وسوريا، وهو ما يخدم المصالح الإسرائيلية في المنطقة.	wa-‘awḍaḥa ṣaḥīfatu »tāymz ‘ūf ‘isrā’īl« ‘anna laġnatan ḥāṣṣatan bi-wizāratī l- ḥāriġiyyati l-‘isrā’īliyyati ‘alġati l-ṣaqfata llatī ‘aḡarrathā wizāratu l-difā‘i fī waqtin sābiqin, wa-‘allalat ḍālīka bi-‘anna rūsiyā ‘awqafat min qablu bay‘a ṣaḥnati ‘asliḥatin li-‘īrān wa- sūriyā , wa-huwa mā yaḥdimu l-maṣāliḥa l- ‘isrā’īliyyata fī-l-mintāqati.	And the newspaper »Times of Israel« said that a special committee at the Israeli For- eign Ministry had cancelled the deal which the Defence Ministry earlier had settled, and it explained this [saying] that Russia earlier had halted arms shipment sales to Iran and Syria, [and this is] something which serves the Israeli interests in the re- gion.

367. Article 1, resumptive construction, Comment

إذ لدى التنظيم "امتدادات عقائدية" في المنطقة على حد قوله، نحن في خطر من شمال شرق سوريا إلى شمال غرب العراق، وهذا جرس إنذار حقيقي لدول المجلس لتصفى خلافاتها".	[... “] ‘iḍ ladā l-tanzīmi “im- tidādātun ‘aqā’idiyyatun” fī- l-mintāqati ‘alā ḥaddi qaw- lihi, naḥnu fī ḥaṭarin min šamālī šarqi sūriyā ‘ilā šamālī ġarbi el-‘irāq, wa- hādā ġarasu ‘indārin ḥaḡṭiqiyyun li-duwali l- maġlisi li-taṣaffi ḥilāfātiḥa”.	[... “]Since the [Daesh] organ- ization has “doctrinal exten- sions in the region”, according to what he said, we are in dan- ger from north-eastern Syria to north-western Iraq, and this is a real wake-up call to the states of the council to sort out their differences”.

4.9. Antiproidetic linking

Dixon uses the term Contrast for a wide variety of relations. According to Dixon (2009: 28), a Contrast linking involves two clauses, one of which contrasts with the other “and may be suprising” in view of the information provided by the other. The Dixonian Contrast—a subcategory of Additions—consequently includes both all types of what loosely may be called “but clauses”, and what traditional grammar would call concessive clauses, ‘although’.

For a detailed analysis of Media Arabic, a broad Contrast category will not do. The supra-category of Contrast has accordingly been calibrated and expanded with Frustration from Longacre (2007: 385ff.), a more traditional subtype of Concession (Lehmann, “Nexion”), Polarized Pair, Adversative, Inconsequential, and Inconcomitance. Dixon’s supra-category Contrast has been renamed Antiproidetic linking, i.e. linking ‘related to that which is different to expectation’.³⁵⁷ Moreover, the subcategory of Dixon also named Contrast has been defined such that it must involve two pairs in contrast, and has consequently been renamed Paired Contrast (for which, see 4.9.1.1). The term Contrast is thus left to be used for a subcategory including Paired Contrast, Exception Contrast, and Numerical Comparative Contrast (4.9.1.1–4.9.1.3).

4.9.1. Contrast

4.9.1.1. Paired Contrast

p x, but q z. Different to Frustration, which counters an unexpressed expectation, Paired Contrast requires “paired lexical oppositions” (Longacre 2007: 378): different subjects and antithetical lexical items, or as affirmation vs. negation of a clause predicate where the negation suggests an alternative action (cf. Polarized Pair: *not x, but y* and *not only x, but also y*, 4.9.2). Compared to subordinate Concession clauses (4.9.4), the clause with the conjunction always contains core information (is focal) in a Paired Contrast. Contrary to Adversative, Paired Contrast operates at the surface level of text, typically between two juxtaposed syntagms, none of which is typically anterior to the other (cf. Inconsequential).

Longacre’s (2007: 378) examples include affirmation vs. negation, as in:

368. *I went downtown, but she didn’t [sc. go downtown].*

³⁵⁷ For the etymology of antiproidetic, cf. *anti*, “III. *instead, in place of*”, aor. *proeidon*, “*see beforehand*”, “2. *forsee, portend*”, and *eidētós*, “*knowable*”; and cf. *aproidēs*, “*unforseen*” (LSJ s.vv.).

And lexical antonyms:

369. *I went downtown, but she stayed home.*

The Contrast clauses in Examples (368) and (369) are mutually comparable in that they both express an action of the second subject which is different to that of the first subject (going downtown), but only Example (368) involves a polarity shift. The negation in this example is conditioned by the contrast, where it stands as a minimal expression of contrast and necessarily implies a different action on the part of “her” than of “I”. Accordingly, the action of the second clause is expressed, but minimally and through ellipsis, and only in terms of a contrast to the action of the agent in the first clause. A Paired Contrast, therefore, is different from a Polarized Pair, where only one component, be it an attribute or an action, is negated; so examples from Longacre (2007:382ff.) such as *It’s not hot, but it’s warm*, or *It’s not black; it’s white*, or *He’s not rich; he’s poor*, or *It’s neither hot nor cold, just warm* are all Polarized Pairs not Paired Contrasts in the present framework³⁵⁸ (*not x, but y*; see 4.9.2).

Being a category based on the surface level of text, Paired Contrasts in Media Arabic may be convoluted and polysemous (for an example of a monosemantic Paired Contrast, see Example 601 from Article 38).

Example (370) from Article 8 contains a statement from a news outlet about Turkey—that it has become a harbour for terrorists—which the Turkish AKP government denies in a nominalized clause: *p x, but q z*. For a Paired Contrast, the example is polysemous and atypical.

370. Article 8, Inconcomitance bi Paired Contrast

وقالت الصحيفة نقلا عن شبكة»إيه آر دي» الألمانية ان تركيا أصبحت أكبر سوق للتنظيم الإرهابي على الرغم من إنكار حكومة «العدالة والتنمية» ذلك.	wa-qālati l-ṣaḥīfatu naqlan ‘an ṣabakati «’īh ‘ār dī» al- ’almāniyyati ‘anna turkiyā ’aṣbaḥat ‘akbara sūqin li-l- tanẓīmi l-’irhābiyyi ‘alā l- rağmi min ‘inkāri ḥukūmati «al-’adālat# wa-l-tan- miyat#» dālika.	And the newspaper said quoting the German «ARD» network that Turkey has be- come the largest market for the terrorist organization, de- spite the denial by the «Justice and Develop- ment» government of this.

³⁵⁸ Longacre categorizes these as Paraphrases.

4.9.1.2. Exception Contrast

A special type of Paired Contrast dealt with by Longacre. Exception Contrast is the prototypical dual contrast between a totality of agents vs. one agent and an affirmative vs. negated clause predicate, exemplified by Longacre (2007: 379) with the example:

371. *Everybody went to sleep except grandfather*

Here everybody went to bed, except only grandfather, who did not go to bed.

An Arabic example of Exception Contrast is seen in Ryding (2005: 651 §3.2.1), given here as Example (372).

372. Exception Contrast (example from Ryding 2005: 651 §3.2.1)

جاء كل الطلاب إلا نجيبا	ǧā'a kullu l-ṭullābi 'illā naǧībān	All the students came except Najib

Here, the totality of students vs. the student Najib (lexical), and the coming and not coming (affirmation vs. negation) are the two contrasts expressed by the exception. A reverse case of an Exception Contrast can be seen in Example (610) from Article 19.

Example (373) from Article 120 illustrates that the exception can also apply to non-agents.

373. Article 120, Exception Contrast

وتقع غالبية منطقة ريف ادلب تحت سيطرة المعارضة المسلحة باستثناء مركزها مدينة ادلب.	wa-taqa' u ǧālibiyyatu mintaqati rīfi 'idlib taḥta sayṭarati l-mu'āraḍati l-mu- sallahāti bi-stiṭnā' i markazihā madīnati 'idlib.	And the majority of the countryside region of Idlib lies under the control of the armed opposition with the exception of its capital [<i>markaz</i>], the city of Idlib.

Example (374) further illustrates that the exception also can be applied to a group from within a larger group.

374. Article 72, Exception Contrast

وقالت «أونروا»، في بيان، إن العملية التعليمية ستبدأ في جميع مدارس القطاع عدا مدارس بلدة بيت حانون شمال قطاع غزة التي تؤوى آلاف النازحين الذين يرفضون مغادرة المدارس.	wa-qālat »ūnerwā«, fī bayānin, 'inna l-'amaliyyata l-ta'limiyyata sa-tabda' u fī ǧamī' i madārisi el-qitā' adā madārisi baldati bayt ḥānūn šamāla qiṭā' i ǧazza allatī tu'awwī 'ālāfa l-nāziḥīna llaḍīna yarfudūna muǧādarata l-madārisi.	And »UNRWA« said in a statement that the educational process will start in <u>all the schools of the Strip</u> except the schools of the town of Beit Hanoun in the northern Gaza Strip which shelter thousands of displaced who refuse to leave the schools.

4.9.1.3. Numerical Comparative Contrast

Involves contrast through a numerical comparison of results, casualties, financial developments, etc. Believed to be a relevant category for Media Arabic, the category was created as an investigation into the frequency of numerical comparisons and their coding. Given the explicit numerical component of this subcategory, Numerical Comparative Contrast overrides other categorizations such as Paired Contrast (e.g. in the case of casualties on two sides in a conflict). The category has a strong media bias.

375. Article 37, Numerical Comparative Contrast

وقال عباس إنه من بين ٢١٤٩ شخصا قتلوا في العدوان الأخير على غزة فإن عدد قتلى حركة حماس «بلغ ٥٠ شهيدا فقط ، بينما الذي استشهد من حركة فتح بلغ ٨٦١ شهيدا».	wa-qāla 'abbās 'innahu min bayni 2149 šaḥṣan qutilū fi-l-'udwāni l-'aḥīri 'alā ġazza fa-'inna 'adada qatlā harakati ḥamās «balaġa 50 šahīdan faqat , baynamā llaḍi stušhida min ḥarakati fataḥ balaġa 861 šahīdan».	And Abbas said that from among the 2149 persons killed in the last aggression on Gaza, the death toll of the Hamas movement «reached 50 martyrs only, whereas those who were martyred from the Fatah movement reached 861 martyrs».

376. Article 87 (lead), Numerical Comparative Contrast x2

في نظرة متشائمة لمستقبل الاقتصاد التركي ، أعلنت مؤسسة «فيتش» للتصنيفات الائتمانية أن الديون الخارجية قصيرة الأجل لتركيا وصلت إلى ١٢٤,٧ مليار دولار. ووفقا لبيانات فيتش ، فقد ارتفع إجمالي الديون الخارجية قصيرة الأجل بمعدل ١٨٩٪ منذ عام ٢٠٠٧ ، في حين بقيت زيادة الديون الخارجية طويلة الأجل عند ٢٦,٥٪ ، بينما قفز معدل إجمالي الديون الخارجية قصيرة الأجل إلى ٣٢,٢٪ في الربع الأول من هذا العام.	fī nazratin mutašā'imatin li-mustaqbali l-iqtisādi l-turkiyyi , 'a lanat mu'assasatu «fītš» li-l-tašnīfāti l-i'timāniyyati 'anna l-duyūna l-ḥāriġiyyata qašīrata l-'aġali li-turkiyā wašalat 'ilā 124,8 milyār# dūlārin. wa-wafqan li-bayānāti fītš , fa-qad irtafa'a 'iġmāliyyu l-duyūni l-ḥāriġiyyati qašīrati l-'aġali bi-mu'addali 189% mundu 'āmi 2007 , fī ḥīni baqiyat ziyādatu l-duyūni l-ḥāriġiyyati ṭawīlati l-'aġali 'inda 26,5% , baynamā qafaza mu'addalu 'iġmāliyyi l-duyūni l-ḥāriġiyyati qašīrati l-'aġali 'ilā 32,2% fi-l-rub'i l-'awwali min hādā l-'āmi.	In a pessimistic outlook on the future of the Turkish economy, the establishment «Fitch» for credit ratings announced that the short-term foreign debts of Turkey have reached 124.8 billion dollars. And according to the Fitch data, total short-term foreign debts increased by a rate of 189% since the year 2007, whereas the increase in the long-term foreign debts remained at 26.5%, and the rate of total short-term foreign debts jumped to 32.2% in the first quarter of this year.

Example (555) from Article 75 expresses the Numerical Comparative Contrast via a peripheral prepositional phrase: *'azhara stiṭlā'un [...] ta'yīda 49% min muwātini' iskutlandā li-l-infisālī fī muqābili rafḍi 42% [...]*.

The numerical contrast may be expressed on the nominal level as well, as in Example (377) with a nominal addition (not investigated, as delineated in 2.3ff., specifically in 2.3.2.3).

377. Article 98, Numerical Comparative Contrast (nominal addition type) (not investigated)

وقد دارت مواجهات عنيفة في محافظة الجوف بين الجيش اليمني والقبائل المساندة للجيش من جهة، ومسلحي الحوثي من جهة أخرى، وذلك بعد أن شن المسلحون هجوما عنيفا على مواقع الجيش، مما أدى لسقوط 4 قتلى في صفوف الجيش ورجال القبائل، و 11 قتيلا في صفوف الحوثيين، بينهم 3 من كبار قادة الحوثيين.	wa-qad dārat muwāḡahātun ‘anīfatun fī muḡāfazati el-ḡawf bayna l-ḡayši l-yama-niyyi wa-l-qabā’ili l-musāni-dati li-l-ḡayši min ḡihatin, wa-musallahī el-ḡūti min ḡihatin ‘uḡrā , wa-dālīka ba‘da ‘an šanna l-musallahūna huḡūman ‘anīfan ‘alā mawāqi‘i l-ḡayši , <u>mimmā ‘adda li-suqūti 4 qatlā fī suḡūfi l-ḡayši wa-riḡāli l-qabā’ili, wa-11 qatīlan fī suḡūfi l-ḡūtiyyīna</u> , baynahum 3 min kibāri qādati l-ḡūtiy-yīna.	And violent confrontations took place in the al-Jawf governorate between the Yemeni army and tribes who support the army on one side, and al-Houthi’s militants on the other side, and this after the militants had launched a violent attack on the army’s positions, which led to <u>the falling of 4 dead among the ranks of the army and the tribesmen, and 11 killed in the ranks of the Houthis</u> , among whom 3 senior leaders of the Houthis.

4.9.2. Polarized Pair (Polarized Addition)

Linkings with one affirmative and one negated element, includes linking of the type *not x, but y* and *x, not y* and *not only x, but also y*. The category is formal, and spans from Antiproidetic Contrasts to Polarized Additions.

Polarized Pair also includes what Dixon labels Rejection and Suggestion, two subcategories of his Alternatives. The Dixonian Rejection involves “two alternatives; one is rejected in favor of the other”, whereas in Suggestion “[o]ne of the alternatives is suggested as more suitable than the other”. He gives two examples (Dixon 2009: 30–31):

378. Rejection

John will dance [instead of Mary singing]

379. Suggestion

Perhaps John should dance [rather than Mary singing].

These categories of Dixon’s will be included here under the category of Polarized Pair (Polarized Additions). The category in the present framework, then, is based off of an amalgamation of Dixon’s Rejection and Suggestion, and Longacre’s “polarized paraphrases” of the type *It’s neither hot nor cold, just warm* (Longacre 2007: 382ff.).

In the present framework (4.9.2.1–4.9.2.6 below), segmental ordering constraints of Polarized pairs are evidenced by lexical and/or formal adaptations within each pair of descriptive labels, e.g. *not x, but y* (4.9.2.1), vs. ~~but~~ *x, not y* (4.9.2.2).

4.9.2.1. *not x, but y*

not x, but y has similarities to Frustration and Concession, but here *x* is expected but negated, and *y* fulfils the negated *x* by adding new information that may be corrective. The addition is focal.

not x, but y is similar to the Adversative (for which, see 4.9.7), but operates at surface level and typically between two juxtaposed syntagms. Prototypical, albeit simple, are Longacre's (2007: 382ff.) examples *It's not hot, but it's warm*, and *It's not black; it's white*, and *He's not rich; he's poor*, and *It's neither hot nor cold, just warm*, the last of which has a Negated Disjunction as the first element, *not x nor y* (see 4.10.1.4). None of these examples are Paraphrases in the present framework, since they contain different information about a single subject.

Examples (380)–(383) below are equivalent to Longacre's examples, and are here listed in order of complexity and transparency of the linking type.

Example (380) includes a partial quote about a subject, that *it is not x, but y*.

380. Article 116 (lead), Polarized Pair: *not x, but y*

أكد البابا فرانسيس أمس في ختام زيارة إلى ألبانيا أن هذا البلد "ليس مسلماً بل أوروبياً"،	'akkada l-bābā frānsīs 'amsi fī ḥitāmi ziyāratin 'ilā 'albāniyā 'anna hādā l-balada "laysa musliman bal 'ūrūbbiyyan", [...]	Pope Francis said yesterday at the end of a visit to Albania that <u>this country</u> "is not Muslim, but European", [...]

Example (381) includes a statement saying *we are not in need of x, but of y*.

381. Article 92, Polarized Pair: *not x, but y*

وتابع معصوم عسكرياً لسنا بحاجة الى جنود ليقاتلوا ميدانياً في العراق ونحن بحاجة لتدخل جوى وتغطية جوية .	wa-tāba'a ma'sūm 'askariyyan lasnā bi-hāgatin 'ilā ḡunūdin li- yuqātilū maydāniyyan fī el- 'irāq wa-naḥnu bi-hāgatin li- tadaḥḥulin ḡawwiyyin wa- taḡṭiyatin ḡawwiyyatin .	And Masoum continued concerning the military <u>we are not in need of soldiers to fight on the field in Iraq</u> but we are in need of air intervention and air cover.

Example (382), continuing Example (234), includes the construction in the context of what happened: *not like x, but y happened*.

382. Article 13, Polarized Pair: *not x, but y*

وذكرت مصادر من داخل المبنى ، رفضت ذكر اسمها، أن المحتجين قاموا باحتيال حجرة التحكم الرئيسي وغرفة الأخبار المركزية وحطموا بعض المعدات لحين تدخل رجال الأمن. لكن عملية	wa-ḡakarāt maṣādiru min dāḥili l-mabnā , rafaḡat ḡikra smihā, 'anna l-muḥtaḡḡīna qāmu bi-ḥtilālī ḥuḡrati l- taḥakkumi l-ra'īsiyyi wa- ḡurfati l-'aḥbāri l-markaziyy- yati wa-ḥaṭṭamū ba'ḡa l- mu'addāti li-hīni tadaḥḥuli riḡāli l-'amni. lākinna 'ama- liyyata 'iḡlā'i l-mabnā lam	And sources from inside the building, who declined to be named, mentioned that the protesters took to occupying the main control room and the central newsroom and [then] destroyed some equipment until the intervention of the security men. <u>But the evacuation operation of the building was</u>

إجلاء المبني لم تتم
بشكل عنيف بل خرج
المحتجون بهدوء وأثنوا
على أداء رجال الأمن.

tatimma bi-šaklin 'anīfin bal
harağa l-muhtağgūna bi-
hudū in wa-'atnū 'alā 'adā'i
riğāli l-'amni.

not completed with force, **but**
the protesters came out in
peace and praised the perfor-
mance of the security men.

Example (383) includes a statement about the future policy of a country, that *its policy will not do x_1 , nor x_2 by Instrumental Manner z , but it will only do y .*

383. Article 129, Polarized Pair: *not x, but y*

وقال محمد عبد السلام
المتحدث باسم جماعة
أنصار الله (الحوثيين)
أن سياسة بلاده في
الفترة المقبلة لن
ترتهن أو تتقيد بتنفيذ
أجندات دول
إقليمية بعينها في
المنطقة وإنما ستلتزم
فقط بما يحقق مصلحة
أهل اليمن أنفسهم.

wa-qāla muḥammad 'abd el-
salām al-mutaḥaddiṭu bi-smi
gamā'ati 'anšar allāh (al-
hūṭiyyīna) 'inna siyāsata
bilādihī fi-l-fatratī l-
muqbilati lan tartahina 'aw
tataqayyada bi-tanfidi
'ağandāti 'ayyi [ita] duwalin
'iqlimiyyatin bi-'ayniha fi-l-
mintaqati wa-'innamā sa-
taltazimu faqaṭ bi-mā
yuḥaqqiqu maṣlaḥati 'ahli
el-yaman 'anfusihi.

And Muhamed Abdel-Salam
spokesman on behalf of the
Ansar Allah group (the
Houthis) said that the policy of
his country in the upcoming
period will not depend on nor
be restricted by the implemen-
tation of certain agendas of any
regional countries in the re-
gion, but it will only adhere to
what achieves the interest of
the people of Yemen them-
selves.

Example (384) from Article 3 features a statement that the police did not x , but the demonstrators are y . The linking is not logically consistent in that the contrast between not starting a confrontation and being responsible for turning it into violence leaves out the answer to the question of who started. The linking is atypical as it also contains two contrasted pairs.

384. Article 3 (from the final paragraph), Polarized Pair: *not x, but y* bi
Paired Contrast

وفي محاولة لاحتواء
الموقف، أكد برفير
راشيد وزير الإعلام
الباكستاني أن الحكومة
ستظل مستعدة لاسئناف
المفاوضات في أي وقت
لإنهاء الموقف الحالي
بالطرق السلمية، مؤكداً
أن الشرطة لم تبدأ
بالاشتباك، ولكن
المتظاهرين هم
المسؤولون عن تحويلها
إلى أعمال عنف عقب
محاولتهم دخول مبان
حكومية حساسة تعد
رمزاً للدولة، وذلك على
حد تعبيره.

wa-fi muḥāwalatin li-ḥtiwā'i
l-mawqifi, 'akkada berfir
[sic] rāšīd wazīru l-'i'lāmi l-
bākistāniyyi 'anna l-
ḥukūmata sa-taẓallu
musta'iddatan li-sti'nāfi l-
mufaẓadāti fi 'ayyi waqtin li-
'inhā'i l-mawqifi l-ḥāliyyi bi-
l-ṭuruqi l-silmiyyati, mu'ak-
kidan 'anna l-ṣurtata lam
tabda' bi-l-ištibāki, wa-
lākinnā l-mutaẓāhirīna
hum al-mas'ūlūna 'an
taḥwīlihā ilā 'a māli 'unfin
'aqiba muḥāwalatihim duḥūla
mabānin ḥukūmiyyatin
ḥassāsatin tu'addu ramzan li-
l-dawlati, wa-dālika 'alā
ḥaddi ta'bīrihi.

And in an attempt to contain
the situation, Pervaiz Rashid
the Pakistani minister of in-
formation confirmed that the
government will remain
ready to resume the negotia-
tions at any time to end the
current situation by peaceful
means, stressing that the po-
lice did not start the confron-
tation, but the demonstra-
tors are those responsible
for turning it into acts of vi-
olence as they attempted to
enter sensitive governmental
buildings which are consid-
ered a symbol of the state, as
he put it.

4.9.2.2. *x, not y*

x, not y, states situation *x* as affirmative in place of an expected or more appropriate negated situation *y*.

Example (385) features an example from Article 4 in the corpus, where *x* is less appropriate than the unrealized *y*.

385. Article 4, Polarized Pair: *x, not y*

وفي الوقت نفسه، انتقد الناطق باسم البرلمان الليبي تصريحات الرئيس التركي طيب رجب أردوغان مؤخراً، حول رفضه إصرار البرلمان على الانعقاد في مقره المؤقت بمدينة طبرق وليس في العاصمة الليبية طرابلس.	wa-fi-l-waqtī nafsīhi, in- taqada l-nāṭiqu bi-smi l-bar- lamāni l-lībiyyi taṣrīḥāti l- ra'īsi l-turkiyyi ṭayyib Reğeb 'erdūğān mu'aḥḥaran, ḥawla rafḍihi 'iṣrāra l-barlamāni 'alā l- in'iqādi fī maqarrihi l- mu'aqqati bi-madīnati tub- ruq wa-laysa fi-l-'āṣimati l- lībiyyati ṭarābulus.	And meanwhile, a spokesman for the Libyan parliament crit- icized the statements of the Turkish president Tayyip Re- cep Erdoğan recently, con- cerning his rejection of the parliament's insistence of <u>con-</u> <u>vening in its temporary head-</u> <u>quarters in the city of Tobruk,</u> <u>and not in the Libyan capital</u> <u>Tripoli.</u>

Example (386) from Article 1 features a description of the present terrorist threats, where situation *x* now is at hand, in place of the previous situation *y*.

386. Article 1, Polarized Pair: *x, not y*

وقال المحلل السياسي السعودي ورئيس مركز الخليج للبحوث عبدالعزیز بن صقر أن الخطر الأكبر في الخليج أصبح من الجماعات الإرهابية، ولم يعد عنوان الإخوان هو العنوان الأكبر.	wa-qāla l-muḥallilu l- siyāsiyyu l-sa'ūdiyyu wa- ra'īsu markazi el-ḥalīğ li-l- buḥūṭi 'abdul-'azīz bin ṣaqr 'anna l-ḥaṭara l-'akbara fī el- ḥalīğ 'asbaha mina l-ğamā'ati l-'irḥābiyyati, wa-lam-ya'ud 'unwānu l-'iḥwāni huwa l- 'unwāna l-'akbara.	And the Saudi political anal- yst and the head of the Gulf Research Center Abdulaziz bin Saqr said that <u>the biggest</u> <u>danger in the Gulf has be-</u> <u>come of the terrorist groups,</u> <u>[and] the topic of the [Is-</u> <u>lamic] Brothers is no</u> <u>longer the biggest topic.</u>

4.9.2.3. *instead of x, y*

x is expected, or appropriate, but unrealized, *y* is an affirmative proposition.

Example (387) from Article 45 features a *hapax* conjunction in the corpus, the preposed *wa-badalan* 'an 'an + VprefA, which highlights that situation *x* was expected or appropriate, but did not in fact take place: *instead of x, y*. For preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.

387. Article 45, Polarized Pair: *instead of x, y*

وأضاف بهتلى في مؤتمر صحفي عقده بمقر الحزب في أنقرة أن حكومة العدالة والتنمية سارعت إلى ترديد خزعبلات حول وجود مخططات انقلابية للإطاحة بها،	wa-'aḍāfa baḥtšeli fī mu'ta- marin ṣuḥufiyyin 'aqadahu bi- maqarri l-ḥizbi fī 'anqara 'anna ḥukūmata l-'adālat# wa- l-tanmiyat# sāra'at 'ilā tardīdi ḥuza'balātin ḥawla wuğūdi muḥaṭṭatātīn inqilābiyyatin li- l-'iṭāḥati bihā, wa-ḍālika	And [Devlet] Bahçeli in a press conference which he held at the headquarters of the party in Ankara added that the Justice and Develop- ment government rushed to echo gossip concerning the presence of coup plots to

وذلك سعيًا منها للتغطية
على فضائح الفساد،
وبدلاً عن أن تعاقب
المتورطين سارعت
إلى حمايتهم وطمأنتهم،
مقابل التحقيق مع كل
القادة الأمنيين والقضاة
الذين لعبوا دورًا مهماً
في الكشف عن تلك
الفضائح.

sa‘yan minhā li-l-taḡṭiyati ‘alā
faḍā‘ihi l-fasādi, **wa-badalan**
‘an ‘an tu‘āqiba l-
mutawarriṭina sāra‘at ‘ilā
himāyatihim wa-tama‘na-
tihim, muqābila l-taḥqīqi ma‘a
kulli l-qādātī l-‘amniyyīna wa-
l-quḍātī llaḍīna la‘ibū dawran
muḥimman fi-l-kašfi ‘an tilka
l-faḍā‘ihi.

overthrow it, and this in an
attempt to cover the corrup-
tion scandals, [and] **instead**
of punishing those in-
involved, they rushed to pro-
tect them and reassure them,
in exchange for an investiga-
tion of all the security leaders
and judges who played an
important role in discovering
these scandals.

4.9.2.4. *x instead of y*

x is an affirmative proposition, *y* is expected, or appropriate, but unrealized. The compound preposition *badalan min*, ‘instead of’, is attested 2*x* in the corpus (Articles 89 and 122). Like the *hapax* conjunction *badalan ‘an ‘an + VprefA* in Example (387) above, *badalan min* highlights that something was expected or appropriate, but did in fact not take place. Examples (388) and (389) from Articles 122 and 89 are the only two attestations of this preposition and this relation in the corpus.

388. Article 122 (lead), Polarized Pair: *x instead of y*

أعلن جمال الشوبكى
سفير فلسطين بالقاهرة
ومندوبها الدائم لدى
الجامعة العربية أن
الاجتماع الخاص
بالمصالحة الفلسطينية
بين حركتي فتح
وحماس برعاية
مصر سي عقد اليوم بدلاً
من الأمس والذي كان
محددًا من قبل، وذلك
نظرًا لتأخر وصول
بعض الشخصيات
المشاركة فيه من
الجانبين.

‘a‘lana ḡamāl el-šūbakī safīru
filasṭīn bi-l-qāhira wa-man-
dūbuhā l-dā‘imu ladā l-
ḡamī‘ati l-‘arabiyyati ‘anna l-
iḡtimā‘a l-ḥāṣṣa bi-l-
maṣālaḥati l-filasṭīniyyati
bayna ḥarakatay fataḥ wa-
ḥamās bi-ri‘āyati miṣr sa-
yu‘qadu l-**yawma badalan**
mina l-‘amsi wa-l-laḍī kāna
muḥaddadan min qablu, wa-
ḍālika nazaran li-ta‘aḥḥuri
wuṣūli ba‘ḍi l-šaḥṣiyyāti l-
mušārikati fihi mina l-ḡāni-
bayni.

Jamal al-Shobaki, Pales-
tine’s ambassador in Cairo
and its permanent repre-
sentative at the Arab League
announced that the [special]
meeting on the Palestinian
reconciliation between the
two movements of Fatah and
Hamas under the auspices of
Egypt will be held **today in-**
stead of yesterday, which
was scheduled earlier, and
this due to the late arrival of
some of the persons partici-
pating in it from the two
sides.

389. Article 89, Polarized Pair: *x instead of y*

وفي سياق متصل نفى
مكتب جمال بن عمر،
المبعوث الدولي
للإشراف على العملية
الانتقالية في اليمن، أن
يكون بن عمر قد تدخل
لتسمية مفاوضين جدد
من قبل الرئاسة، بدلاً

wa-fī siyāqin muttaṣilin naḡa
maktabu ḡamāl ben ‘umar, al-
mab‘ūtu l-duwaliyyu li-l-
‘iṣrāfi ‘alā l-‘amaliyyati l-in-
tiqāliyyati fī el-yaman, ‘an
yakūna ben ‘umar qad
tadaḥḥala li-tasmiyati
mufāwidīna ḡududin min

And in a related context, the
office of Jamal Benomar, the
international envoy to over-
see the transitional process
in Yemen, denied that Be-
nomar will intervene to
name **new negotiators** on be-

من المفاوضين الحاليين عبد القادر هلال وعبد الكريم الإرياني في المفاوضات التي تجري مع الحوثيين للتوصل إلى حل للأزمة بين الدولة والجماعة.	qibali l-ri'āsati, badalan mina l-mufāwidaḡna l- ḡaliyyayna ³⁵⁹ 'abd ul-qāder hilāl wa-'abd ul-karīm el- 'iryānī fi-l-mufāwaḡāti llatī taḡrī ma'a l-ḡūṡiyyīna li-l-ta- waṡṡuli 'ilā ḡallin li-l-'azmati bayna l-dawlati wa-l- ḡamā'ati.	half of the presidency, in- stead of the current negoti- ators Abdul-Qader Hilal and Abdul Karim al-Iryani in the negotiations which are taking place with the Houthis to reach a solution to the crisis between the state and the group.

4.9.2.5. not only x, but also y

Additions of the type *not only x, but also y*. The polarization is only formal, the syntagm additive. Example (390) includes a proposition about the presence of a subject as 'an idea' *not only in x, but also in y*.

390. Article 1, Polarized Pair: *not only x, but also y*

واعتبر أن "داعش كفكرة ليست فكرة موجودة فقط في (العراق وسوريا)، بل هي موجودة حتى في دولنا وهي تنتظر الوقت لتتقوض"،	wa-'tabara 'anna "dā'eṡ ka- fikratin laysat fikratan mawḡūḡatan faqat fī (el-'irāq wa-sūriyā), bal hiya mawḡūḡatun ḡattā fī duwal- inā wa-hiya tantaziru l-waḡta li-tanḡuḡa", [...]	And he said [<i>sic</i>] that "Daesh as an idea is not an idea that is present only in (Iraq and Syria), but it is present also in our states waiting for a time to strike", [...]

Example (391) states the extended benefit of a subject *to not only x, but also (to) y*. The preposition 'alā stands in *trajectio* over the construction.

391. Article 7, Polarized Pair: *not only x, but also y*

ومن جهة أخرى، أعربت موجيريني - ٤١ عاما - عقب انتخابها لخلافة كاترين أشتون، عن سعادتها بالانضمام للجيل الجديد للاتحاد الأوروبي بما يتمتع به من طاقة جديدة، مشيرة إلى أنها لا تقتصر على مواطني الاتحاد بل أيضا قادته.	wa-min ḡihatin 'uḡrā, 'a'rabat mūḡērīnī - 41 'āman - 'aqiba ntiḡābihā li-ḡilāfati kāṡirīn 'āštūn, 'an sa'ādatihā bi-l- inḡimāmi li-l-ḡīli l-ḡadīdi li-l- ittiḡādi l-'ūrūbbiyyi bi-mā yatamatta'u bihi min ṡāqatin ḡadīdatin, muṡīratan 'ilā 'an- nahā lā taḡtasiru 'alā muwātīnī l-ittiḡādi bal 'ayḡan qādatihi.	And on the other hand, Mugherini - 41 years - after her election to succeed Cath- erine Ashton, expressed her happiness of joining the new generation of the European Union with what it enjoys of new energy, noting that it is not restricted to the citizens of the Union, but also its leaders.

³⁵⁹ Or plural, *mufāwidaḡna ḡaliyyīna*.

Example (392) states the purpose of a subject *not only in order to x, but also in order to y*.

392. Article 116, Polarized Pair: *not only x, but also y*

وأضاف البابا أنه سيوجه في نهاية نوفمبر المقبل إلى مدينة ستراسبورج الفرنسية ليس فقط لزيارة البرلمان الأوروبي، وإنما أيضا لزيارة مجلس أوروبا.	wa-ʿaḏāfa l-bābā ʾannahu sa- yatawaḡḡahu fī nihāyati nūfimbir al-muqbili ʾilā madīnati strāsbūrg al-firansiyyati <u>laysa fa- qat li-ziyāratī l-barlamāni l- ʾūrūbbiyyi, wa-ʾinnamā ʾayḏan li-ziyāratī maḡlisi ʾūrūbbā.</u>	And the Pope added that he will go at the end of the coming November to the French city of <u>Strasbourg</u> <u>not only to visit the Euro- pean parliament, but also</u> <u>to visit the Council of</u> <u>Europe.</u>

4.9.2.6. x, and not only y

Addition of the type *x, and not only y*. The polarity is only formal.

Example (711) from Article 61 is the only attestation of this relation in the corpus: [...] *taḥaddī# yuwāḡihu l-qārrata bi-ʾasrihā wa-laysa faqat al-du-walu l-ṭalātu l-mutaḏarriratu*, ‘a challenge facing the whole continent, **and not only the affected countries**’ (cf. Exception Contrast 4.9.1.2)

4.9.3. Frustration

p, but q. As Longacre writes, “[t]he key notion in frustration is expectancy reversal” (Longacre 2007: 385). If by the preceding clause a posterior action, event, or state is implied (expected) as a sequel, but a second clause counters this expectancy, the semantics of this linking is one of Frustration.³⁶⁰ An additional criterion for Frustration in the present framework is that the second element cannot be a mere polarity shift, e.g. *x, not y* (which would be a Polarized Pair; see 4.9.2).

In his category, Longacre includes Frustrations of concomitant situations. In the present framework, Frustration has been calibrated such that it only includes relations with a temporally anterior *p* vis-à-vis the situation *q* (cf. the discussion of Inconcomitance in 4.9.6 and Inconsequential in 4.9.5), and moreover, segmental constraints apply such that *p* must precede *q* (cf. Concession in 4.9.4), and cannot be simultaneous (cf. Inconcomitance in 4.9.6).

Example (393) describes a mortar attack on Israeli soil, where the possible outcome of injuries following the impact of a ballistic projectile is frustrated: *p, but q*.

393. Article 18, Frustration

وذكرت الإذاعة الإسرائيلية أمس أن قذيفة هاون سقطت داخل الأراضي الإسرائيلية في هضبة الجولان أطلقت من	wa-ḏakarati l-ʾidāʿatu l- ʾisrāʾīliyyatu ʾamsi ʾanna <u>qadīfata hāwunin saqatat</u> <u>dāhila l-ʾarādī l-ʾisrāʾīliyyati</u> <u>fī hadbati el-ḡulān ʾuṭliqat</u>	And the Israeli radio men- tioned yesterday that <u>a</u> <u>mortar shell landed inside</u> <u>the Israeli territory in the</u> <u>Golan Heights, launched</u>

³⁶⁰ For the etymology of the term, see footnote 369.

الحدود السورية دون أن يؤدي ذلك الى وقوع إصابات.	mina l-ḥudūdi l-sūriyyati dūna 'an yu'addiya ḍālika 'ilā wuqū' i 'iṣābātīn.	from the Syrian borders, but it did not lead to the causing of injuries.

Longacre divides Frustration into the subcategories of frustration involving temporal notions, frustrated implication, and frustrated modality; all of which are represented in the corpus, but unaccounted for in the analysis and annotation. These categories will be presented here, but in the investigation, no division between different types of frustrations will be made.

4.9.3.1. Frustration involving temporal notions

The matrix gives an action, event, or state whose expected sequel³⁶¹ a second clause counters by presenting information of its frustration.

Longacre's examples include (2007: 385):

394. *They started out for Paris, but someone slipped a time bomb into their car, and/so they never arrived.*

In (394), the expected subsequent arrival to Paris is frustrated by an unexpected counter event, in this case a time bomb.³⁶² In the example the Frustration involves the reversal of an expected temporally sequential event, the Frustration countering a notion of temporal sequentiality. It is not a Polarized Pair. Example (394) from Longacre is similar to Example (395) from the final paragraph of Article 80, where Frustration is introduced by *gayr 'anna* + S V_{suff}. Here, three buses are on their way to a destination but one of them has an accident.

395. Article 80 (final paragraph), Frustration (involving temporal notions)

وقالت شبكة ان تي في الإخبارية ان ثلاثة أوتوبيسات تقل أعضاء جمعية الحلاقين كانت في طريقها لمدينة انطاليا الساحلية جنوب البلاد للقيام بجولة سياحية ، غير أن إحداها انحرفت وانقلبت بالوادي وتتولى جهات التحقيق عملها لمعرفة أسباب الحادث.	wa-qālat šabakatun 'in tī fī al-'iḥbāriyyatu 'anna talātata 'ūtūbīsātīn taqillu 'a'dā'a ḡam'iyyati l-hallāqīna kānat fī tarīqihā li-madīnati 'antāliyā l-sāhiliyyati ḡanūba l-bilādi li-l-qiyāmi bi-ḡawlatin siyāhiyyatīn , ḡayra 'anna 'iḥdāhā nḥarafat wa-nqalabat bi-l- wādī wa-tatawallā ḡihātu l- taḥqīqi 'amalahā li-ma'rifati 'asbābi l-ḥādīṭi.	And the NTV news network said that <u>three buses carrying</u> <u>members of the Barbers Asso-</u> <u>ciation were on their way to</u> <u>the coastal city of Antalya [in</u> <u>the] south of the country to un-</u> <u>dertake a tourist tour, but one</u> <u>of them deviated and flipped</u> <u>in the valley</u> and the investiga- tion authority is assuming its work to find out the causes of the accident.

³⁶¹ Longacre's category also includes concomitant situations, in the present framework categorized as Inconcomitance (for which, see 4.9.6).

³⁶² The final clause introduced by *and/so* is a (negated) consequence of this time bomb, it is not the Frustration; for Consecutive, see 4.4.2.

4.9.3.2. Frustrated implication

Involves the frustration of a hypothetical, or improbable outcome, purpose, or result. Longacre's examples include (Longacre 2007: 385–6):³⁶³

396. *She was poisoned, but didn't die.*

397. *He came, but didn't get a meal.*

Longacre subdivides these examples with a number of epithets. In (396), the expected result ("efficient cause" in Longacre's words) is frustrated; so a frustrated result. In (397), the presupposed purpose, that "he came expecting to get a free meal", is frustrated (Longacre 2007: 386); so frustrated purpose.

Example (396), *She was poisoned but didn't die*, is similar to Example (398) from Article 4, where an expected consequence of a fire is frustrated.

398. Article 4, Frustration (frustrated implication)

وذكرت مصادر ليبية عسكرية أن طائرة حربية أطلقت ٣ صواريخ، أصابت أحد المستودعات، مما أدى لاشتعال النيران فيه، دون أي إصابات بشرية	wa-ḡakarāt mašādiru lībiyyatun 'askariyyatun 'anna tā'iratan ḥarbiyyatan 'aṭlaqat 3 šawārīḥa, 'ašābat 'aḥada l- mustawda 'āti, <u>mimmā 'adda</u> <u>li-šti'ālī l-nīrāni fīhi</u> , <u>dūna</u> <u>'ayyi 'iṣābātīn bašariyyatin</u> .	And Libyan military sources mentioned that a warplane had fired three rockets that hit one of the reservoirs, <u>something</u> <u>which caused a fire in it</u> , but no human injuries.

Likewise with Example (399) from Article 106, where the "reaching of an agreement" remains without the expected effect.

399. Article 106, Frustration (frustrated implication)

وخلال الأيام العشرة الخيرة، أعلنت السلطات اليمنية عن التوصل لاتفاقيين للخروج من الازمة لانهما ظاهرا على ورق، وغرق اليمن في أزمة منذ رحيل الرئيس السابق على عبد الله صالح في فبراير ٢٠١٢، بعد ١١ شهرا من الاحتجاجات ضد نظامه.	wa-ḥilāla l-'ayyāmi l- 'ašarati l-'aḥīrati [<i>ita</i>], 'a'la- nati l-suluṭātu l-ya- maniyyatu 'ani l-tawaṣṣuli li-ttiḡāqayni li-l-ḥurūḡi mina l-'azmati 'illā 'annahumā ḡallā ḥibran 'alā waraqin , wa-ḡariqa el-yaman fī 'azmatin munḡu raḥīli l- ra'īsi l-sābiqi 'alī 'abdullāh šāleḥ fī fabrāyir 2012, ba'da 11 šaḥran mina l-iḥtiḡāḡāti ḡidda niḡāmihi.	And during the last ten days, the Yemeni authorities an- nounced having reached two agreements to get out of the crisis, but they remained [mere] ink on paper , [and] Yemen has drowned in a cri- sis since the departure of the former president Ali Abdul- lah Saleh in February 2012, following 11 months of pro- tests against his regime.

³⁶³ Longacre also includes prepositioned contrasts: *Even if she comes, I'm not going to go with her* and *Even when I have the money, I'm not going to marry her*. These are Concessions in the present framework and not included above. For Concession, see 4.9.4.

4.9.3.3. Frustrated modality

The matrix expresses modalities such as intent, obligation, or facility that another clause frustrates. Longacre's examples (2007: 386) include frustrated intent:³⁶⁴

400. *I intended to go, but some friends dropped in, so I didn't.*

His example is similar to Example (401) from Article 101.

401. Article 101, Frustration (frustrated modality; intent)

وأوضحت الهيئة أنه كان من المخطط أن تنتهي أعمال البناء في المشروع هذا العام في الذكرى المئوية لافتتاح القناة ، إلا أن المشروع تعرض للتأجيل عدة مرات بسبب إضرابات العمال وخلاف حول 1.6 مليار دولار زيادة في التكاليف بين الشركات التي تتولى أعمال التوسعة والتطوير.	wa-ʾawḍaḥati l-hayʾatu [hayʾatu qanāti banamā] ʾan- nahu kāna mina l-muhattati ʾan tantahiya ʾa mālu l-bināʾi fi-l-mašrūʾi hādā l-ʾāma fi-l- dikrā l-miʾawīyyati li-ftitāhi l-qanāti , ʾillā ʾanna l- mašrūʾa taʾarraḍa li-l- taʾḡili ʾiddata marrātin bi- sababi ʾidrābāti l-ummāli wa-ḥilāfin ḥawla 1.6 milyār# dūlār# ziyādat# fi-l-takālīfi bayna l-šarikāti llatī tatawallā ʾa māla l-tawassuʾati wa-l- taṭwīri.	And the [Panama Canal] Au- thority explained that <u>it was</u> <u>planned that the construction</u> <u>work of the project would</u> <u>finish this year on the cen-</u> <u>tenary of the opening of the</u> <u>canal, but the project was</u> <u>subject to delay several</u> <u>times</u> because of workers' strikes and a dispute concern- ing 1.6 billion dollar extra in costs between the companies that undertook the expansion and development work.

4.9.4. Concession

although p, q. Provides information that speaks against the matrix, but in spite of which the matrix nevertheless is true. Unlike with Contrast and Frustration, the subordinate clause of a Concession provides contrasting information and is preposed, while the matrix contains the focal semantic import. A Concession linking does not need two opposed pairs (cf. Paired Contrast in 4.9.1.1).

A concessive linking (as Lehmann puts it, “Nexion”³⁶⁵) *although p, q*, rests on the consequence presupposition that *if p, not q*, where *p* is assumed or presupposed, and *q* nevertheless is asserted. In a Concession linking, *p* is prototypically anterior to *q*, but as illustrated by Example (402), the anteriority of *p*

³⁶⁴ Longacre's examples also include Frustrated Obligation: “I should have gone, but I didn't”, and “I shouldn't have gone, but I did.”, and Frustrated Facility: “I could have promoted him, but I didn't”; these are categorized as Polarized Pairs in the present framework, for Polarized Pair, see 4.9.2.

³⁶⁵ The present description of Concession is inspired by, but dissimilar to Christian Lehmann's definition of concession (Lehmann, “Nexion”). Lehmann has no category named frustration, and does not discuss similarities to consequence linkings, although he mentions the cause basis for concession. He does have a category similar to frustration that he names “unexpected circumstance” (German *und nun*). This category, however, is narrower than Longacre's frustration, and defined differently.

is not necessarily one of transitive events. In Example (402), the Pope's statement about Albania is temporally posterior to the rough estimation of the percentual distribution of religious demographics in the country. His statement, then, is an event temporally posterior to a stative situation. The Concession also functions as a Meta-linguistic Comment on why he says what he says. The example is not prototypical.³⁶⁶

402. Article 116, Concession bi Meta-linguistic Comment

وأكد البابا - الأرجنتيني الأصل - أنه حتى وإن كانت ألبانيا دولة ذات أكثرية مسلمة (٥٦%) فهي "ليست بلدا مسلما بل بلد أوروبي.	wa-'akkada l-bābā - al- arġantīnyu l-'ašli - 'annahu ḥattā wa-'in kānat 'albāniya dawlatan dati 'aktariyyatin muslimatin (56%) fa-hiya "lay- sat baladan musliman bal baladun 'ūrūbbiyyun.	And the Pope - of Argentinian origin - asserted that even though Albania is a state of Muslim majority (56%), it is not a Muslim country, but a European country.

Prototypical Concession with an anterior *p* can be said to bear a similar relation to Frustration as Consecutive or Purpose does to Cause, but whereas Frustration codes expectancy reversal (*p, but q*), a Concession linking anticipates the counter-expectancy actualization in *q* via a preposed clause, *although p*. Consequently, in a Concession, the marking is on the preceding presupposed or assumed clause rather than on the proposition with the unexpected result.

Example (403) is composed *ad hoc*, but illustrates the differences. For base we have a Temporal Succession along an imaginary time axis of *p* preceding *q*, with two telic events in Temporal Succession:

403. Temporal Succession

She was poisoned and died [= did not survive].

The natural inference of such a bi-clausal proposition is likely to be one of cause-result (even if the cause of death in reality may have been a much later car accident) and depending on whether the cause or the result is explicitly marked, we may decisively speak of a result (Consecutive) or a Cause linking:

404. Consecutive

She was poisoned, (and) so she died.

405. Cause

Because she was poisoned, she died.

The relationship between these two linkings is comparable to the similarities between Frustration (frustrated result) and Concession, where the former makes explicit the expectancy reversal by using a term such as *but*, and the latter makes explicit the anticipation of a counter-expectancy actualization, here via *although*:

³⁶⁶ The second linking, *laysat [...] bal* is a Polarized Pair, *not x, but y* (see 4.9.2); this bi-clausal complex stands in a Concession relationship to the clause beginning with *ḥattā wa-'in*: *even though p, not q, but y*.

406. Frustration

She was poisoned, but didn't die.

407. Concession

Although she was poisoned, she didn't die.

To not die here implies survival or living as an affirmative clause. Both the frustrated result and the Concession rest on the causal presupposition that *if p*, *not q*, where nevertheless *q* is true, or in short: *if poison, death*. The expectancy which Frustration marks the reversal of and Concession anticipates the non-actualization of, is death. The actual outcome expressed in both linkings is one counter to expectation (Antiproidetic).³⁶⁷

This counter-expectancy actualization in *q* via a preposed clause is highlighted in Example (408) from Article 10, where *p* features counterfactual morphology, 'could have'. The context of the utterance is that Netanyahu has agreed to a ceasefire "to face any possible regional threats".³⁶⁸

408. Article 10, Concession

وقال نيتانياهو في تصريح للتلفزيون الاسرائيلي العام «قاتلنا ٥٠ يوما وكان بإمكاننا أن نقاتل ٥٠٠ يوم إلا أننا في وضع يبدو فيه تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية على أبواب الأردن والقاعدة في الجولان وحزب الله على الحدود مع لبنان».	wa-qāla nītānyāhū fī taṣrīhin li-l-tilifizyōn al-'isrā'īliyyi l- 'āmmi «qātalna 50 yawman wa-kāna bi-'imkāninā 'an nuqātīla 500 yawmin 'illā 'annanā fī wad'in yabdū fīhi tanzīmu l-dawlati l- 'islāmiyyati 'alā 'abwābi el- 'urdunn wa-l-qā'ida fī el- ḡulān wa-hizbu llāh 'alā l- hudūdi ma'a lubnān».	And Netanyahu said in a state- ment to Israeli public televi- sion «We have fought for 50 days and [although] we could have fought for 500 days, we are in a situation where the or- ganization of the Islamic State appears on the gates of Jordan and al-Qaeda is in the Golan and Hezbollah on the border with Lebanon».

Example (409) from Article 103 features a prototypical nominalized Concession and illustrates in addition that the matrix in a Media Arabic Concession linking can be introduced by a non-obligatory 'illā 'annā.

³⁶⁷ The same reasoning can be applied to other consequence linkings, such as Purpose, e.g. the Motion Purpose of Dixon's example, *He went walking to kill animals* (named purpose by Dixon (2009: 23)), an example which is comparable to Longacre's frustrated purpose in Example (397), *He came, but didn't get a meal*, where according to Longacre the underlying rationale is that "he came expecting to get a free meal". In a Concession linking, again, the counter-expectancy actualization is anticipated by marking the anterior event: *Although he came (in order to get a free meal), he didn't get a free meal*.

³⁶⁸ The example is nested in that the 'illā 'annanā clause is a Frustration to the matrix beginning with *qātalnā*.

409. Article 103 (final sentence), Concession

وأشار ليون إلى أنه رغم الدعوات المتكررة إلى وقف فوري للأعمال العدائية بما في ذلك من مجلس الأمن الدولى إلا أن الوضع على الأرض مازال متقلبا للغاية وغير مستقر.	wa-ʾašāra liyūn ʾilā ʾannahu rağma l-daʾawāti l- mutakarrirati ʾilā waqfin fawriyyin li-l-ʾaʾmālī l- ʾidāʾiyyati bi-mā fi dālika min mağlisi l-ʾamni l-duwaliyyi ʾillā ʾannā l-wadʾa ʾalā l-ʾardi ma-zāla mutaqailliban li-l- ğāyati wa-ğayra mustaqillin.	And Leon noted that despite repeated calls for an imme- diat cessation of the hos- tile actions such as from the international [UN] Security Council, <u>the situation on the</u> <u>ground [nevertheless] re-</u> <u>mains extremely volatile and</u> <u>unstable.</u>

Example (231) from Article 57 has the matrix introduced by *fa-qad* Vsuff: *wa-lafata l-taqrīru ʾilā ʾannahu ʾalā l-rağmi mina l-sirriyyati l-dāʾimati llati kānat tuḥḥu bi-l-ḥālātī l-ṣiḥḥiyyati li-l-muršidi l-ʾirāniyyi, fa-qad samaha li-l-muṣawwirina ḥādihi l-marrata bi-l-tiqāti suwarin* [...], [...]. **despite the constant secrecy which has surrounded the health condition of the Iranian leader, this time he [nevertheless] allowed the photographers to take pictures of Khamenei on the sickbed [...]**.

In Example (410) from Article 65 the matrix is introduced by *fa-ʾinna-hā* Vsuff.

410. Article 65, Concession

ومن جانبه قال، مندوب الكويت الدائم لدى الأمم المتحدة السفير منصور العتيبي ، أنه على الرغم من صغر حجم الكويت مساحة وسكانا، فإنها تمكنت من خلال مساعيها الإنسانية أن تتبوأ مركزا متقدما بين الأمم .	wa-min ḡānibihi qāla, mandūbu el-kuwayt al-dāʾimu ladā l-ʾumami l-muttaḥidati l- safīru maṣṣūr el-ʾutaybī , ʾan- nahu ʾalā l-rağmi min ṣiğari ḥağmi el-kuwayt misāḥatan wa-sukkānan, fa-ʾinnahā tamakkanat min ḥilālī muṣaʾadātihā l-ʾinsāniyyati ʾan tatabawwaʾa markazan mutaqaddiman bayna l- ʾumami.	And for his part, the perma- nent representative of Ku- wait at the United Nations, ambassador Mansour al- Otaibi said that despite the small size of Kuwait with regard to area and inhabit- ants, it has [nevertheless] managed through its human- itarian aid to occupy an ad- vanced position among the nations.

4.9.5. Inconsequential

posterior q, although anterior p. Much like in the iconic narrative sequence, where Countersequential clauses (for definition, see 4.3.1.2) need to be explicitly marked to not be understood to be sequential in a chain of events—*x and (then) y and (then) z*—so too is the segmental ordering important in the clauses discussed above under “Concession” and “Frustration”.

In the schemes of both Frustration (*p, but q*) and Concession (*although p, q*) we are typically dealing with a segmental sequencing that is iconic, with *q* representing the posterior event. The anterior event *p*, which *q* counters, thus presents the theoretical basis for the presupposition of *if p, not q* in both Frustration (4.9.3) and Concession (4.9.4). In the case of Inconsequential, though,

the reversal of the iconic sequence and the condition in *posterior q*, although *anterior p*, consists in the presupposition of *if anterior p, then not posterior q*, but since posterior condition *q* is real and affirmative, the relation is segmentally inconsequential.³⁶⁹

As a side nuance of Countersequentiality, conjunctions of the type ‘after’ can be open to an inference of nonsequentiality in bridging contexts. An example of such a linking can be found in Example (411) from Article 108 where the etymologically temporal conjunction *ba ‘damā*, ‘after’, is used with an Inconsequential inference in addition to the Countersequential temporal notion it already explicitly expresses via its formative semantic substance.

411. Article 108 (first paragraph, including lead), Countersequential bi Inconsequential

فى فضيحة مدوية جديدة
لجهاز الأمن السرى
الرئاسى الأمريكى، نجح
شخص آخر فى اختراق
البيت الأبيض بعد أقل
من 24 ساعة من
اختراق عمر جونزالس
42- عاما - لسور البيت
الأبيض واقترابه من
المدخل الشمالى، وألقت
عناصر الأمن السرى
القبض على كئفين كير
من ولاية نيو جيرسى
بتهمة محاولة دخول
البيت الأبيض بشكل
غير قانونى، حيث وصل
كير بسيارته إلى بوابة
تفتيش السيارات، رافضا
التراجع والابتعاد عن
المدخل بعدما طلبت منه
عناصر الأمن أكثر من
مرة التراجع.

fī faḍīḥatin mudawwiyatin
ḡadīdatin li-ḡihāzi l-‘amni l-
sirriyyi l-ri‘āsiyyi l-‘am-
rikiyyi, naḡaḡa šaḡṣun ‘āḡaru
fī ḡtirāqi l-bayti l-‘abyaḡi
ba‘da ‘aḡalla min 24 sā‘atan
mina ḡtirāqi ‘umar
ḡūnzālis -42 ‘āman - li-sūri l-
bayti l-‘abyaḡi wa-qtirābihi
mina l-madḡali l-šamāliyyi,
wa-‘alqat ‘anāširu l-‘amni l-
sirriyyi l-qabḡa ‘alā kēfin kīr
min wilāyati nyū ḡīrsī bi-tuḡ-
mati muḡḡwalati duḡūli l-
bayti l-‘abyaḡi bi-šaklin
ḡayri qānūniyyin, ḡaytu
wasala kīr bi-sayyāratiḡi ‘ilā
bawwābati taftiṡi l-sayyārāti.
rāfidan al-tarāḡu‘a wa-l-
ibti‘āda ‘ani l-madḡali
ba‘damā ḡalabat minhu
‘anāširu l-‘amni ‘aktara
min marratin al-tarāḡu‘a.

In a resounding new scandal
for the American Presidential
Secret Security Service, an-
other person managed to
break into the White House
after less than 24 hours from
the break in of Omar Gonza-
lez - 42 years - of the fence of
the White House and his ap-
proaching the northern en-
trance, and the officers of the
Secret Security arrested
Kevin Carr from the state of
New Jersey on charges of en-
tering the White House ille-
gally: [as/where] Carr arrived
with his car to the vehicle in-
spection gate refusing to re-
treat and stay away from the
entrance, despite the fact
that the security personnel
had asked him more than
once to retreat.

³⁶⁹ L&S, “inconsequens”: “not logically consequent, inconsequent (post-class.)”; L&S, “incon-
sequentia”: “want of logical connection [...], (post-Aug.): rerum foedissima, *Quint.* 8, 6, 50”.
The usage in the present work, however, is obviously different from Quintilian’s speech about
metaphors that are inconsequential, i.e. are not followed through: “Id imprimis est custodi-
endum, ut quo genere coeperis translationis, hoc finias. Multi autem cum initium a tempestate
sumserunt, incendio aut ruina finiunt; quae est inconsequentia rerum foedissima.” The term
“inconsequential” is here used in reference to *frustratio*, “a deceiving, deception, disappoint-
ment [...], failure [...], keeping back” (L&S: s.v.), where the rationale behind this term would
be that the receiver end is “deceived” of the fulfilment of the presupposition of *if p, not q*, when
q is in fact actualized.

Example (412) illustrates that the Inconsequential can also be highly nominalized, where the temporal relationship between *p* and *q* is neutralized morphologically and only inferred from context.

412. Article 11, (indirect) Frustration + Inconsequential

وصرح الجنرال نجدت أوزال رئيس هيئة الأركان العامة في بيان الجيش بأنهم طلبوا وثائق من الحكومة حول هذه المزاعم ، مشيرا إلى أنهم لم يتلقوا أى وثائق حتى الآن بالرغم من طلبهم هذا.	wa-šarraḥa l-ḡenārāl neḡdet 'ūzāl ra'īsu hay'ati l-'arkāni l-'āmmati fī bayāni l-ḡayši bi-'annahum ṭalabū watā'īqa mina l-ḥukūmati ḥawla hāḏihi l-mazā'imi , <u>mušīran</u> <u>'ilā 'annahum lam</u> <u>yatalaqqaw 'ayya watā'īqa</u> <u>ḥattā l-'āna bi-l-raḡmi min</u> <u>ṭalabihim hāda.</u>	And the chief of the general staff, Necdet Özel, clarified in a statement of the army that they had demanded documents from the government concerning these claims, [but] <u>pointed to [the fact] that they have not received any documents until now, despite having demanded this.</u>

In this example, the general explains that they had demanded documents, and in an indirect Frustration (*mušīran 'ilā 'annahum*), this information remains unchallenged but its result, namely the receiving of those documents, is frustrated in a negated assertion. In a highly nominalized construction introduced with *bi-l-raḡmi*, the anterior event of “asking” is given, a question that is not followed up with a response, as stated in the matrix.

In Example (413) from Article 3, the Inconsequentiality consists in pre-armed demonstrators (current result) vs. the retained self-control of the police force (Paired Contrast). Like in Example (412), the anteriority of situation *q* here consists in the resultative verbal morphology; the example illustrates a bridging context with Inconcomitance.

413. Article 3, Inconsequential bi Paired Contrast

وقال خالد ختاك قائد الشرطة الباكستانية إن قوات الأمن التزمت ضبط النفس خلال المصادمات ، لكن المحتجين كانوا مسلحين بالعصى والسكاكين وأسلاك حديدية.	wa-qāla ḥālīd ḥatak qā'idu l- šurṭati l-bākistaniyyati 'inna quwwāti l-'amni ltazamat ḍabṭa l-nafsi ḥilāla l- <u>musādamāti</u> , <u>lākinna l-</u> <u>muḥtaḡḡina kānū musal-</u> <u>lahīna bi-l-'ašiyyi wa-l-</u> <u>sakākīni wa-'aslākin</u> <u>ḥadīdiyyatin.</u>	And Khalid Khattak the chief of the Pakistani police said that <u>the security forces exerted self-restraint during the clashes, but/despite the fact that the protesters were armed with sticks, knives, and iron chains.</u>

4.9.6. Inconcomitance

Both Frustration (*p*, but posterior *q*) and Concession (*although* anterior *p*, *q*) rest on the foundation of *if* anterior *p*, not *q*. Inconsequentiality (*p*, *although* anterior *q*) rests on the foundation of *not* posterior *p*, *if* anterior *q*. These linkings, in short, are of a cause-result type along a linear imaginary time axis.

Inconcomitance, *p* without concomitant *q*, is the cotemporal antiproidetic linking. Its relevance is based on the notion of *p* with concomitant *q* (*p* is not without *q*, or *no p* is without *q*), and in the case of an affirmative linking, *p* but

concomitant *q*, the basis is *if p*, *not concomitant q*, or *not p with concomitant q*. No order constraints apply (for preposed Inconcomitance, see Examples 422 and 423 below).

The coterminality of *p* and *q* can be autonomous of external temporal anchoring, meaning that the pair can be located in the future, past, or present or remain temporally unanchored. Since both *p* and *q* can be completely void of TAM categories, the pair can have a maximally nominalized morphology, as illustrated by Example (414).

414. Article 95, Inconcomitance

طائرات بدون طيار	tā'irātun bi-dūni ṭayyārīn	planes without a pilot [= drones]

p without *q*, is only relevant on the background of a notion of *p* with *q*. Planes, in short, typically has a pilot.

A similar situation holds for Example (415).

415. Article 62, Inconcomitance

معتبرة انه «استفزاز بدون جدوى».	[...] mu'tabiratan 'annahu «istifzāzun bi-dūni ḡadwā».	[...] considering that it is a «provocation without gain/benefit». [= in vain]

Example (416) illustrates a lesser degree of nominalization in 2x Inconcomitance linkings, first a ceasefire is reported, “despite the continuation of the proliferation of militants in the region”, and secondly the completive matrix event, “took control over a city”, is nominalized and expanded with a nominalized Inconcomitance of a progressive event, paraphrased as “while the authorities did not offer resistance”.

416. Article 118, Inconcomitance x2

وأكدت المصادر توقف إطلاق النار والقصف المدفعي، على الرغم من استمرار إنتشار المسلحين في تلك المناطق. وفي هذه الاثناء، هاجم مسلحون ينتمون لجماعة أنصار الله الحوثيين منزل اللواء على محسن الأحمر مستشار الرئيس اليمني لشئون الدفاع والأمن في منطقة حدة بعد سيطرتهم أمس الاول على صنعاء بدون مقاومة من السلطات.	wa-'akkadati l-maṣādiru tawaqqufa 'itlāqi l-nāri wa-l-qasfi l-midfā'iyyi, 'alā l-raḡmi mina stimrāri ntišāri l-musallaḥīna fī tilka l-manāṭiqi. wa-fī ḥāḍihi l-'aṭnā'i, ḥāḡama musallaḥūna yantamūna li-ḡamā'ati 'anšār allāh al-ḥūtiyyīna manzila l-liwā'i 'alī muḡsen el-'aḡmar muštašāri l-ra'īsi l-yamaniyyi li-šu'ūni l-difā'i wa-l-'amni fī minṭaqati ḥadda ba'da saytaratihim 'amsi l-'awwala 'alā san'ā bi-dūni muḡāwamatīn mina l-suluṭāti.	And the sources confirmed the cessation of shooting and artillery shelling, despite the continued proliferation of militants in this region. And meanwhile, militants belonging to the group of Ansar Allah the Houthis attacked the house of the major general Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar advisor to the Yemeni president for defence and security affairs in the Hadda region, after their gaining control the day before yesterday over Sanaa without resistance from the authorities.

A likely concomitance of external forces taking control over a city is local resistance, the basis of the Inconcomitance is *no p without concomitant q*.

Example (417) illustrates the possibility of future time anchoring of the bi-partite construction in reference to speech time 2 (for Temporal anchoring, see 3.16.1).

417. Article 79, Inconcomitance x2

لافتا إلى أن الأول من مايو القادم سيصبح الرئيس بلا سلطة ودون تفويض.	[...] lāfitan 'ilā 'anna l-'awwala min māyū l-qādimi sa-yuṣbiḥu l-ra'īsu bi-lā sulṭati wa-dūna tafwīḍin.	[...] pointing out that the first of the coming May <u>the president will become without authority and without authorization.</u>

Example (418) has an unspecified temporal anchoring.

418. Article 7, Inconcomitance

وقال إنه لا يمكن تخيل الاتحاد بدون بريطانيا.	wa-qāla 'innahu <u>lā yumkinu tahayyulu l-ittihādī bi-dūni brīṭāniyā.</u>	And he [Tusk] said that <u>it is impossible to imagine the [European] Union without Britain.</u>

Examples (419) and (420) illustrate that the cotemporality of *q* can be one of current result at the reference time of situation *p*. In this respect, the examples are not prototypical.

In Example (419), the “arrests without decisions”, lit. ‘without having received decisions’, is one of relevance at the reference time of an anterior event whose exact event time in the past is not of importance. In short, the documents should already have been received, have been in possession (resultative, or possibly anterior: current result or perhaps current relevance), when making arrests. The basis of the antiproidetic Inconcomitance is *no arrests without decisions*.

419. Article 24, Inconcomitance (nominalized)

وحذرalkan الحكومة لقيامها باعتقال رجال الشرطة دون الحصول على قرارات من الجهات القضائية، وهذا مخالف لمبدأ استقلال القضاء، مشيراً إلى أن محاكم الصلح والجزاء الخاصة، التي أسسها أردوغان مؤخراً قبل أن يصبح رئيساً، أعطت انطبعا لدى الرأي العام بأن الأجهزة القضائية باتت تحت سيطرة الحكومة.	wa-ḥaḍḍara 'alkān al-ḥukūmata <u>li-qiyāmihā bi-'tiqālī riğālī l-ṣurtatī dūna l-ḥuṣūlī 'alā qarārātīn mina l-ğihātī l-qaḍā' iyyatī,</u> wa-hāḍā muḥālīfun li-mabda' i stiqlālī l-qaḍā' i, muṣīran 'ilā 'anna maḥākima l-ṣulḥi wa-l-ğazā' i l-ḥāṣṣata, llatī 'assasahā 'erdūğān mu' aḥḥaran qabla 'an yuṣbiḥa ra'īsan, 'a'ṭatī nṭibā'an ladā l-ra'yī l-'āmmi bi-'anna l-'ağhizata l-qaḍā' iyyata bātat taḥta sayṭarati l-ḥukūmati.	And Alkan [president of the Supreme Court] warned the government <u>against undertaking the arrest of policemen without having received decisions from the judicial authorities</u> , for this is contrary to the principle of the independence of the judiciary, pointing to [the fact] that special reconciliation and penalty courts [magistrates' courts] which Erdoğan founded recently before he became president have given the impression that the judicial organs are under the control of the government.

In Example (420), the resultative aspect of the passive participle, *musabbaq#*, ‘preceded, prior’, highlights the current relevance of the consultation. The rational basis for the inconcomitance is “no military move without a parliamentary consultation”. The example is nominalized to the point of general temporal relevance.

420. Article 25, Inconcomitance

من جانبه، أكد نائب رئيس الوزراء البريطاني نيك كليج أن حكومته تحتفظ بحق القيام بتحريك عسكري في العراق دون التشاور المسبق مع البرلمان البريطاني.	min gānibihi, 'akkada nā'ibu ra'īsi l-wuzarā'i l-brīṭāniyyu nīk klīg 'anna ḥukūmatahu taḥtafizu bi-ḥaqqi l-qiyāmi bi- taḥarrukin 'askariyyin fī el- 'irāq dūna l-tašāwuri l-mu- sabbaqi ma'a l-barlamāni l- brīṭāniyyi.	For his part, the British deputy prime minister Nick Clegg stressed that his government reserves <u>the right to undertake military action in Iraq without prior consultation with the British parliament.</u>

An Inconcomitance linking, however, does not need to be negated. In the affirmative *p despite concomitant q*, the antiprödicative basis is *not p with concomitant q*, as in the lead of Article 84: here, the result *p* has been realized over the course of the past three years, despite concomitant adverse circumstances *q*.

421. Article 84 (lead), Inconcomitance

أكد تقرير دولي أن مصر حققت تحسنا كبيرا في مجال المحافظة على صحة النساء والأطفال ، على الرغم من الظروف السياسية المضطربة التي شهدتها البلاد في السنوات الثلاث الماضية.	'akkada taqrīrun duwaliyyun 'anna miṣr ḥaqqaqat taḥassu- nan kabīran fī mağāli l- muḥāfazati 'alā siḥḥati l- nisā'i wa-l-'atfālī , 'alā l- rağmi mina l-ḡurūfi l- siyāsiyyati l-muḡṭaribati llaṭī šahidathā l-bilādu fi-l- sanawāti l-ṭalāṭi l-māḍiyati.	An international report confirmed that Egypt <u>has achieved a great improvement in maintaining the health of women and children, despite the turbulent political conditions</u> that the country witnessed during the past three years.

The segmental ordering of the relation of the Inconcomitance *p without q* can be inverted: *without p, q*. This relation is based on *with q, not p*, where *q*, again, is concomitant with *p*. In both Examples (422) and (423), the matrix is future projecting (irreal), and the subordinate clause has a secondary Conditional inference. Without more direct American aid, her country will lose the war it wages in facing the deadly virus. The basis is “no defeat with/if more aid”.

422. Article 77, Inconcomitance bi Conditional

وحذرت من أنه بدون المزيد من المساعدات الأمريكية المباشرة فإن بلادها ستخسر المعركة التي تخوضها في مواجهة الفيروس القاتل.	wa-ḥaḍḍarat ['ellēn ġunsūn sīrlīf] min 'annahu bi-dūni l-mazīdi mina l-musā'adāti l- 'amrikiyyati l-mubāširati fa- 'inna bilādahā sa-tahsaru l-ma'ri- kata laṭī taḥūduhā fī muwāğahati l-fayrūs al-qātīli.	And she [Ellen Johnson Sirleaf] warned that without more direct American aid, her country will lose the war that it wages in facing the deadly virus.

423. Article 130 (final sentence), Inconcomitance bi Conditional

وأضافت في خطابها أنه «بدون مزيد من المساعدات المباشرة من حكومتكم ، سوف نخسر هذه المعركة ضد الإيبولا».	wa-ʿaḏāfat fī ḥiṭābihā ʿannahu «bi-dūni mazīdin mina l-musāʿadāti l-mubāširati min ḥukūmatikum , sawfa naḥsaru hādhihi l-maʿrikata didda l-ʿibūla».	And she added in her speech that « without more direct aid from your government, we will lose this battle against Ebola ».

4.9.7. Adversative

Unlike Concession, Frustration, Inconcomitance, and other types of Antiproidetic relations that operate at an inter-clausal level and below (e.g. between juxtaposed syntagms) and deal with expectations related to cause and time, Adversative linkings³⁷⁰ involve explicitly marked Frustration type semantics of arbitrarily contrasting data and operate at a “higher level information structure” (Lehmann, “Nexion”). For the arbitrary nature of both explicitness and semantics with regard to temporal conjunctions, see 3.16.1.1.

Example (424) from Article 33 illustrates that the arbitrary selection of contrasting data is the decisive criterion for the Adversative, and that on the surface the relation can be used between juxtaposed syntagms. In the example, the Adversative introduced by *lākin* relates two juxtaposed syntagms, but feeds off of a discourse level and genre convention in a context of news where sources are expected to state details. The linking is antiproidetic to the extent that it counters an expectation on Abdulkadir as a source to give further details on the losses of al-Qaeda, *but* he does not. As a reference to the propositional content text-internally, it is not a Meta-linguistic Comment (for the definition of which, see 4.11.1).

424. Article 33, Adversative

وقال عبدالقادر محمد نور حاكم منطقة شابيل السفلى التي طالتها الغارة الامريكية إن أنصار القاعدة تكبدوا خسائر لكن ليس لدينا تفاصيل في الوقت الحاضر».	wa-qāla ʿabd ul-qāder muḥammad nūr ḥākimu minṭaqati šābīl al-suflā llatī ṭālathā l-ġāratu l-ʿamrikiyyatu ʿinna ʿansār el-qāʿida takabbadū ḥasāʾira lākin laysa ladaynā tafāṣīlu fi-l-waḡti l-ḥādiri».	And Abdulkadir Muhamed Nur, governor of the lower Shabelle region which was hit by the American raid, said that <u>the supporters of al-Qaeda have suffered losses</u> , but we have no details at the present time «.

Example (425) from Article 116 is also an Adversative linking between two juxtaposed syntagms within the boundary of a single sentence, but the relation feeds off the context of news to mark a polarity shift between what is said and what is not, namely the Pope’s “non-explaining” and “explaining” of two arbitrary sets of informational data. The example is comparable to Example (424).

³⁷⁰ The category is inspired by Lehmann’s category with the same name (Lehmann, “Nexion”).

425. Article 116 (first paragraph, including lead, through to the third),
Adversative

أكد البابا فرانسيس أمس
في ختام زيارة إلى
ألبانيا أن هذا البلد "ليس
مسلمًا بل أوروبيًا"،
موضحًا أنه اختار هذه
الدولة الصغيرة لتكون
الأولى التي يزورها في
القارة الأوروبية لأنه
أراد «إرسال رسالة»
إلى أوروبا.

وفي مؤتمر صحفي
عقدته على متن الطائرة
التي عادت به إلى
روما، قال الحبر
الأعظم رداً على سؤال
عن سبب اختياره دولة
صغيرة غير عضو في
الاتحاد الأوروبي
لتكون وجهته الأولى
في القارة العجوز إن
السبب "هو أنني أردت
إرسال رسالة.. إرسال
إشارة إلى أوروبا."

ولم يوضح البابا ماذا
يقصد بهذا الكلام، إلا
أنه أشاد بقوة بـ
«الشبيبة» الألبان
و«بالقدرة الأخوية» في
تعاون مكونات المجتمع
الألباني الثلاثة، أي
المسلمون والكاثوليك
والأرثوذكس مع
بعضهم البعض.

'akkada l-bābā frānsīs 'amsi fī
ḥitāmi ziyāratin 'ilā 'albāniya
'anna hādā l-balada "laysa
musliman bal 'ūrūbbiyyan",
mūḍiḥan 'annahu ḥtāra hāḍihi
l-dawlata l-ṣaḡīrata li-takūna
l-'ūla llatī yazūruhā fī-l-qārrati
l-'ūrūbbiyyati li-'annahu
'arāda «'irsāla risālatin» 'ilā
'ūrūbbā.

wa-fī mu'tamarin
ṣuḥufiyyin 'aqadahu 'alā
matni l-tā'irati llatī 'adat bihi
'ilā rūmā, qāla l-ḥabru l-
'a'ẓamu raddan 'alā su'ālīn
'an sababi ḥtiyārihi dawlatan
ṣaḡīratan ḡayra 'uḍwin fī-l-
ittiḥādī l-'ūrūbbiyyi li-takūna
waḡhatahu l-'ūla fī-l-qārrati l-
'aḡūzi 'inna l-sababa "huwa
'innanī 'aradtu 'irsāla risāla-
tan.. 'irsāla 'išāratin 'ilā
'ūrūbbā."

wa-lam yūḍiḥ l-bāba māḍā
yaqṣudu bi-hādā l-kalāmi ,
'illa 'annahu 'ašāda bi-
quwwatin bi«al-ṣabībati» al-
'albāna wa-«bi-l-qudrati l-
'aḡawīyyati» fī ta'āmuli
mukawwināti l-muḡtama'i l-
'albāniyyi l-ṭalātati, 'ay al-
muslimūna wa-l-kāṭūlik# wa-l-
'ūrṭūduks# ma'a ba'ḍihim
al-ba'ḍu.

Pope Francis said yesterday
at the end of a visit to Alba-
nia that this country "is not
Muslim, but European", add-
ing that he chose this small
country to be the first which
he visits on the European
continent because he wanted
to «send a message» to Eu-
rope.

And in a press conference
on board the plane which re-
turned him to Rome, the
Pontiff said in response to a
question about the reason for
his choosing a small country
which is not a member in the
European Union to be his
first destination on the old
continent that the reason "is
that I wanted to send a mes-
sage.. send a signal to Eu-
rope."

But the Pope did not clar-
ify what he meant by these
words, **but he strongly
praised** the Albanian for the
«youth» and «the brotherly
capacity» in the dealing of
the three components of the
Albanian society, namely the
Muslims, the Catholics, and
the Orthodox, with each
other.

The arbitrariness of the linking, however, more typically leads to longer seg-
mental distances between the adversative sets of data. Example (426) from
Article 54 has an Adversative marking in the main clause-initial 'illā 'anna,
where the Adversative feeds off the opposition between "almost completion"
and "lack of completion" of a planned bridge connecting Bahrain and Saudi
Arabia, a project which is the topic of the article. 'illā 'anna is here used to
mark the opposition between—on the one hand—the minister's preceding
comment that the two countries have "almost" decided about the bridge's
route and the ongoing discussion between the two countries about technicali-
ties concerning the bridge project such as its financing and—on the other

hand—the minister's comment that no specific date for its completion has been set: "we need to begin the work soon"

426. Article 54, Adversative

وقال بن احمد خلال المؤتمر نفسه «لقد انتهينا تقريبا من تحديد مسارات الجسر.» وبحسب الوزير، فإن فرقا من البلدين مازالت تدرس مسائل تقنية اخرى «بما في ذلك التمويل»، لاسيما كيفية إدخال القطاع الخاص في المشروع. إلا أن بن أحمد أفاد بأنه لم يتم تحديد أى موعد للبدء بتنفيذ المشروع مكتفيا بالقول «علينا أن نبدأ بالعمل قريبا».	[...] .wa-qāla bin 'aḥmad ḥilāla l-mu'tamari nafsīhi «laqad intahaynā taqrīban min taḥdīdi masārāti l-ḡisri.» wa-bi-ḥasabi l-wazīri, fa- 'inna fariqan mina l-baladayni mā-zālat tadrusu masā'ila taqaniyyatan 'uḥrā «bi-mā fī ḍālīka l-tamwīlu», lā-siyyamā kayfiyyat# 'idhālī l-qīṭā'i l- ḥaṣṣi fi-l-maṣrū'i. 'illā 'anna bin 'aḥmad 'afāda bi-'an- nahu lam yatimma taḥdīdu 'ayyi maw'idin li-l-bad'i bi- tanfīdi l-maṣrū'i muktafiyan bi-l-qawli «alayna 'an nabda'a bi-l-'amali qarīban».	[...] And bin Ahmed said during the same conference «we have almost finished de- fining the routes of the bridge.» And according to the min- ister, teams from the two countries are still studying other technical issues «such as funding», especially how to include the private sector in the project. Bin Ahmed stated, however, that a date has not yet been set for the beginning of the implemen- tation of the project, content with saying «we must start to work soon».

Adversative sentence-initial 'illā 'anna is also used to express an Adversative linking in the main clause in Article 56 (Example 427, iterated and expanded from Example 256), about the cutting off of the airport road, and the fact that it is "still closed". This example is comparable to a Frustration but operates at a higher textual level.

427. Article 56 (first paragraph including lead, and second paragraph), Adversative

أعلن مسئولون يمنيون أن رجال قبائل هاجموا خط أنابيب تصدير النفط الرئيسي في اليمن أمس، مما أوقف تدفق الخام. وفجر المهاجمون خط الأنابيب قرب حقول وادي عبيدة في محافظة مأرب بوسط البلاد. وقال مسئول بقطاع النفط اليمني طلب عدم نشر اسمه، إنه يمكن إصلاح الخط في غضون يوم أو يومين، إذا سمح رجال القبائل بذلك. يأتي ذلك في وقت، صعدت جماعة الحوثيين من احتجاجاتها أمس، بعد مقتل متظاهر بالرصاص أمس الأول،	'a lana mas'ulūna ya- maniyyūna 'anna riḡāla qabā'ila ḥāgamū ḥaṭṭa 'anābībi taṣdīri l-nafti l- ra'īsiyya fī el-yaman 'amsi, mimmā 'awqafa tādaffuqa l- ḥāmi. wa-faḡḡara l- muhāḡimūna ḥaṭṭa l-'anābībi qurba ḥaqli wādī 'obayda fī muḥāfazati ma'rib bi-wasaṭi l- bilādi. wa-qāla mas'ulun bi- qīṭā'i l-nafti l-yamaniyyi ṭalaba 'adama našri smihi, 'in- nahu yumkinu 'iṣlāḥu l-ḥaṭṭi fī guḍūni yawmin 'aw yawmanyi, 'idā samaḥa riḡālu l-qabā'ili bi-ḍālīka. ya'tī ḍālīka fī waqtin, ṣa'adat ḡamā'atu l-ḥūṭiyyīna mina	Yemeni officials an- nounced that Yemeni tribesmen attacked the main oil export pipeline in Yemen yesterday, some- thing which stopped the flow of crude oil. And the attackers blew up the pipe- line near the Wadi Obeida field in the Marib province in the middle of the coun- try. And an official in the oil sector who asked [the newspaper] not to publish his name, said that the pipeline can be repaired within a day or two, if the tribesmen allow it. This comes at a time when the

عندما حاولت الشرطة
تفريق أنصار الجماعة،
الذين قطعوا طريق
المطار الرئيسية. وقام
أنصار الحوثيين بقطع
طريق المطار في شمال
صنعاء، وهذه الطريق
هي المدخل الرئيسي
لوسط العاصمة من مطار
صنعاء.

ويسود التوتر الشديد
في صنعاء، حيث امتنع
عدد كبير من السكان عن
إرسال أولادهم إلى
المدرسة في اليوم الأول
من العام الدراسي. وقد
أضاف الحوثيون خياما
جديدة في محيط وزارة
الداخلية ووزارتي
الكهرباء والاتصالات.
وتدخلت قوات الأمن
للمرة الأولى أمس الأول
منذ بدء الاحتجاجات
الحوثية في 18 أغسطس
، واستخدمت الغاز
المسيل للدموع وخراطيم
المياه لتفريق المتظاهرين
الذين كانوا يقتربون من
وزارة الداخلية
ولإجبارهم على فتح
طريق المطار. إلا أن
طريق المطار لا يزال
مغلقا.

ḥtiḡāḡātiḥā 'amsi, ba'da
maqṭali mutazāhiri bi-l-raṣāši
'amsi l-'awwala, 'indamā
ḥāwalati l-ṣurṭatu tafriqa
'anṣāri l-ḡamā'ati, allaḏīna
qaṭa'ū ṭarīqa l-maṭāri l-
ra'īsiyyata. wa-qāma 'anṣāru
l-ḥūṭiyyīna bi-qaṭ'i ṭarīqi l-
maṭāri fī šamāli ṣan'a', wa-
ḥāḏihi l-ṭarīqu hiya l-madḥalu
l-ra'īsiyyu li-wasaṭi l-'āṣimati
min maṭāri ṣan'a'.

wa-yasūdu l-tawatturu l-
šadiḏu fī ṣan'a', ḥayṭu mtana'a
'adadun kabīrun mina l-
sukkāni 'an 'irsāli 'awlādihim
'ilā l-madrasati fi-l-yawmi l-
'awwali mina l-'āmi l-
dirāsiyyi. wa-qad 'aḏāfa l-
ḥūṭiyyūna ḥiyāman ḡadīdatan
fī muḥiṭi wizāratī l-dāḥiliyyati
wa-wizāratay al-kahrabā'i wa-
l-ittiṣālāti. wa-tadaḥḥalat
quwwātu l-'amni li-l-marrati
l-'ulā 'amsi l-'awwala munḏu
bad'i l-iḥtiḡāḡāti l-ḥūṭiyyati fī
18 'aḡuṣṭus, wa-staḥdamati l-
ḡāza l-musīla li-l-dumū'i wa-
ḥarāṭīma l-miyāhi li-tafriqi l-
mutazāhirīna llaḏīna kānū
yaqṭaribūna min wizāratī l-
dāḥiliyyati wa-li-'iḡbārihim
'alā faṭḥi ṭarīqi l-maṭāri. 'illā
'anna ṭarīqa l-maṭāri lā ya-
zālu muḡlaqan.

Houthi group stepped up
its protests yesterday, after
the killing of a protester by
bullets the day before yes-
terday, [when] the police
tried to disperse supporters
of the group who had cut
off the main airport road.
And the Houthi supporters
had cut off the airport road
in northern Sanaa, and this
is the main entrance to cen-
tral Sanaa from Sanaa air-
port.

And high tension rules
in Sanaa, [as] a large num-
ber of residents have re-
fused to send their children
to school on the first day of
the school year. And the
Houthis have added new
tents around the Interior
Ministry and the two Min-
istries of Electricity and
Communications. And the
security forces intervened
for the first time yesterday
since the beginning of the
Houthi protest on August
18, and used tear gas and
water cannons to disperse
the demonstrators who
were approaching the Inter-
ior Ministry [and] to force
them to open the airport
road. **The airport road,
however, is still closed.**

Article 126 deals with an article published by Amnesty International about China's revenues "from producing torture instruments that violate human rights".³⁷¹ The final paragraph begins with the arbitrarily Adversative *gayra 'anna* in a concluding remark. The opposition, again, is based on what is and what is not stated.

428. Article 126 (penultimate and final paragraph), Adversative

وقال ويلكين : «هذه التجارة، التي تسبب معاناة هائلة، تزدهر لأن السلطات الصينية لم تفعل شيئاً لوقف الشركات التي تنتج هذه الأجهزة المقززة من أجل التصدير، كما لم تمنع الأجهزة التي يتم استخدامها من قبل الشرطة من الوقوع في أيدي منتهكي حقوق الإنسان المعروفين.»
غير أن التقرير لم يتحدث عن دول يعينها تستخدم هذه الأدوات. ومن بين المنتجات التي تسوقها الشركات الصينية - وفقاً لما ذكره التقرير - كراسي التقيد، وأصفاد الإبهام، والبنادق التي تحدث صدمة بالصق الكهربائي، والهرافات.

wa-qāla wīlkīn : «hāḏihi l-tiğāratu, llatī tusabbibu mu'ānātan hā'alatan, tazdahiru li-'anna l-suluṭāti l-šīniyyata lam taf'al šay'an li-waqfi l-šarikāti llatī tuntiḡu hāḏihi l-ağhizata l-muqazzazata min 'ağli l-tašdīri , kamā lam tamna' l-ağhizata llatī yatimmu stiḥdāmuhā min qibali l-šurṭati mina l-wuqū' i fi 'aydī muntahikī ḥuqūqi l-'insāni l-ma'rūfina.»

gayra 'anna l-taqrīra lam yataḥaddat 'an duwalin bi-'aynihā tastaḥdimu hāḏihi l-'adawāti. wa-min bayni l-muntağāti llatī tusawwiquhā l-šarikātu l-šīniyyatu - wafqan li-mā ḡakarahu l-taqrīru - karāsī l-taqyīdī, wa-'aṣfādu l-ibhāmi, wa-l-banādiqu llatī tuḡdiṭu ṣadmatan bi-l-ša'qi l-kahrabā'iyyi, wa-l-hirāwātu.

And Wilkin said: «this trade, which causes tremendous suffering, is booming because the Chinese authorities have not done anything to stop the companies that produce these disgusting devices for export, and they have not prevented the devices which have been used by the police from ending up in the hands of known human rights violators.

However, the report did not mention specific countries who use these tools. And among the products which the Chinese companies market - according to what the report mentioned - are restraint chairs, thumb cuffs, electric shock guns, and batons.

A weaker marker of the Adversative is found in *baynamā*; *baynamā* occurs 16x times in the corpus (including 1x main clause), and in no instance is it used without an underlying notion of cotemporality. When used as a marker of the Adversative, rather than expressing an opposition between deeper concepts and conventions and more complex notions of the genre as seen with *'illā 'anna* and *gayra 'anna* above, *baynamā* is used between arbitrary bits of data and explicit details on the informational surface of text, rather than what is stated by different sources and what is not (for *baynamā* as Numerical Comparative Contrast, see under 6.1.5). The function of *baynamā* vis-à-vis the mutually exclusive *wa-* or *kamā*, although coordinative, is in effect an aid for the

³⁷¹ Headline: *al-'afw# al-duwaliyyatu: el-šin tuḥaqqiqu 'arbāḥan bi-'intāgi 'adawāti ta'ḏibin tantahiku ḥuqūqa l-'insāni*. The feminine adjective represents an ellipsis of a head noun *munazzamatu*, hence the feminine rather than a masculine adjective.

reader to watch out for conflicting information (for the fallacy of cotemporality, see 3.16.1.1).

The function of *baynamā* in Example (429) from Article 4 is to state what different sources said about the same topic: ‘whereas’. The Adversative consists in the fact that the different attributed clauses contain different information. A simple *wa-* or *kamā* would not have separated and highlighted the different details, but since *baynamā* groups them together, they are also read as Adversative.

429. Article 4, *baynamā* x2, Adversative

وأفاد شهود عيان بأن قوات «فجر ليبيا» تقوم بالحشد وتعزيز صفوفها للاقحام ورشفانة، بينما تتحدث معلومات عن تحالف بين ورشفانة والزنتان في مواجهتها، بينما أكد شهود عيان أن المدينة تشهد حالة نزوح كبيرة خوفا من تعرضها للقصف من قبل قوات "فجر ليبيا".	wa-’afāda šuhūdu ‘iyānin bi- ’anna quwwāti «fağr lībiyā» taqūmu bi-l-ḥašdi wa-ta’zīzi ṣufūfiḥā li-qtihāmi waršefāna, baynamā ta- taḥaddatu ma’lūmātun ‘an taḥālufin bayna waršefāna wa-zintān fī muwāğahatiḥā, baynamā ‘akkada šuhūdu ‘iyānin ‘anna l-madīnata tašhadu ḥālata nuzūḥin kabīratan ḥawfan min ta’arruḍihā li-l-qaṣfi min qibali quwwāti “fağr lībiyā”.	And eyewitnesses reported that the forces of «Libya Dawn» are mobilizing and re- inforcing their ranks in order to storm Warshefana, whereas information speaks about an alliance between Warshefana and Zintan to confront it, whereas eyewitnesses as- serted that the city witnesses a large [situation of] migration for fear of it [the city] being exposed to bombardment by the forces of “Libya Dawn”.

The Adversative, as has been illustrated above, can operate between sentences. A comprehensive text-linguistic analysis of Media Arabic is a *desideratum* of future research.

4.10. Alternatives

Of the three types of alternatives in Dixon (2009: 30–35)—Disjunction, Rejection, and Suggestion—only Disjunction will be investigated under Alternatives in the present framework. For Rejection and Suggestion, see Polarized Pairs in 4.9.2.

4.10.1. Disjunction

x or y. Involves symmetrical alternatives, typically of the same morphosyntactic status. Dixon’s first two examples illustrate this (2009: 30):

430. *John will dance or Mary will sing.*

431. *Mary will sing or John will dance.*

A disjunction may be either closed or open, with a Closed Disjunction being either exclusive or inclusive. An Open Disjunction, *x or y*, also implies the

possibility of unstated alternatives, whereas a Closed Disjunction suggests no further alternatives than the ones explicitly presented.

4.10.1.1. Open Disjunction

Example (432) features an Open Disjunction, where the preposition *miṭla*, ‘such as’, via the exemplification opens the disjunction to the inclusion of similar—yet unstated—activities.

432. Article 86, Open Disjunction

وأشار التقرير إلى أن الجريمة المنظمة لا تزال مصطلحا فضفاضاً، يمكن أن يشمل أنشطة عديدة مثل تهريب المخدرات بكميات كبيرة، أو سرقة السيارات، والابتزاز، والإتجار بالبشر، ومن ضمن أقوى العصابات المنظمة في العالم وفقاً لتقديرات أربابهم المالية هي :	wa-’ašāra l-taqrīru ’ilā ’anna l- ḡarīmata l-munazzamata lā- tazālu muṣṭalaḥan faḍḍādan, yumkinu ’an yašmala ’anṣīṭatan ’adīdatan miṭla ta- hrībi l-muhaddarāti bi-ka- miyyātin kabīratin. ’aw sirqati l-sayyārāti, wa-l-ibtizāzi , wa-l-ittigāri bi-l-bašari , wa- min ḍimni ’aqwā l-’iṣābāti l- munazzamati fi-l-’ālamī wafqan li-taqdīrāti ’arbāḥihim al-māliyyati hiya : [...]	And the article pointed out that organized crime is still a loose term that may in- clude a number of activities such as for example <u>drug</u> <u>trafficking</u> in large quanti- <u>ties</u> or <u>car theft</u> and [or] <u>extortion</u> and [or] <u>human</u> <u>trafficking</u> ; and among the most powerful organized gangs in the world accord- ing to estimates of their fi- nancial profits are: [...]

4.10.1.2. Exclusive Closed Disjunction

A disjunction which presents mutually exclusive alternatives, as in (Dixon 2009: 31):

433. *They could carry on fighting or they could lay down their arms.*

Either of the alternatives may be true, but not both at the same time.

An attestation from Article 1 is comparable to Dixon’s example of Exclusive Closed Disjunction: [...] ’aṭārat takahhunātin ’alā niṭāqin wāsi’in [...] bi’anna iḡtimā’a ḡedda sa-yatamahḥaḍu ’an hallin ’aw taṣ’īdin li-l-ḥilāfi, ‘[...] that the Jedda meeting would yield [either] a solution or an escalation of the dispute’ (Example 67).

4.10.1.3. Inclusive Closed Disjunction

A disjunction where any of the disjunction alternatives may be true, or all of them (Dixon 2009: 31): ‘and/or’.

In Example (434), according to Dixon (2009: 31), “the inference would be that he might well indulge in both proclivities”.

434. *At Christmas, either John eats too much or he drinks too much.*

Example (435) from Article 4 is a comparable example from the corpus, where from among the totality of fled and displaced, some both fled and were displaced.

435. Article 4, Inclusive Closed Disjunction

، وأفادت مصادر عسكرية ليبية بوقوع ما لا يقل عن ٧٠ قتيلًا من جماعة "أنصار الشريعة" في الاشتباكات مع قوات حقت، هذا فيما ذكرت منظمات حقوقية محلية أن أكثر من ٥٠ ألف عائلة نزحت أو تم تهجيرها من طرابلس بسبب تفاقم أعمال العنف هناك .	[...], wa-'afādat maṣādiru 'askariyyatun lībiyyatun bi- wuqū'ī mā lā yaqillu 'an 70 qatīlan min ḡamā'ati "'anṣār el-ṣarī'a" fī-l-ištibākāti ma'a quwwāti ḥaftar, hāḍa fīmā ḍakarāt munazzamātun ḥuqūqiyyatun maḥalliyyatun 'anna 'aktara min 50 'alfa 'ā'ilatīn nazahāt 'aw tamma taḥḡiruhā min ṭarābulus bi- sababi tafāqumi 'a'māli l- 'unfi hunāka.	[...], and Libyan military sources reported about the fall of at least 70 dead of the "Ansar al-Sharia" group in the clashes with Haftar's forces, this while [= and] local [human] rights organ- izations mentioned that <u>more than 50 thousand fami-</u> <u>lies have migrated and/or</u> <u>been displaced</u> from Trip- oli due to the worsening vi- olence there.

Example (436) from Article 113 features a phrase where the coordinative *wa*-expresses a disjunction between three nominal elements (nominal addition, not investigated in accordance with 2.3.2.3). Since all of the explicit alternatives are under the scope of a single negation, the alternatives are not mutually exclusive (i.e. the disjunction is inclusive), and under the scope of the negation, the disjunction can also be described as closed. The coordinated *not x and y*, is synonymous to *not x, nor y* (Negated Disjunction, see 4.10.1.4).

436. Article 113, Inclusive Closed Disjunction OR Negated Disjunction (nominal addition type) (not investigated)

وأكد القيادي بالحزب الفاضل حاج سليمان في تصريحات له أمس عدم صحة التقارير التي أشارت إلى أن بلاده استقبلت سبعة من قيادات الجماعة المستبعدة من قطر، بعد ضغوط مورست عليها من السعودية ودول خليجية، وقال ليس هناك ما يشير إلى أن حكومة الخرطوم والدولة والحزب فعلت ذلك.	wa-'akkada l-qiyādiyyu bi-l- ḥizbi el-fādīl ḥāḡḡ suleymān fī taṣrīḥātīn lahu 'amsi 'adama ṣiḥḥati l-taqārīri llatī 'aṣārat 'ilā 'anna bilādahu staqbalat sab'atan min qiyādāti l-ḡamā'ati l- mustab'adīna min qatar, ba'da ḍuḡūṭīn mūrisat 'alayhā mina l-sa'ūdiyyati wa-duwalīn ḥalīḡiyyatin, wa- qāla laysa hunāka mā yuṣīru 'ilā 'anna <u>ḥukūmata el-</u> <u>ḥartūm wa-l-dawlata wa-l-</u> <u>ḥizba</u> fa'alat dālīka.	And the leader of the party al- Fadil Haj Suleiman con- firmed in statements of his yesterday the lack of truth of the reports that pointed out that his country has received seven of the leaders of the group who have been ex- pelled from Qatar, after pres- sure which was exerted on it by Saudi and the Gulf States, and he said that there is noth- ing that points to <u>the govern-</u> <u>ment of Khartoum nor the</u> <u>state nor the party having</u> <u>done this.</u>

4.10.1.4. Negated Disjunction

not x, nor y. No categorization or annotation will be made as to whether the Negated Disjunction is closed or open, although occasionally such distinctions can be made from context, e.g. in Example (437) from Article 122.

437. Article 122, Negated Disjunction (exclusive closed)

موضحاً أن ميزة هذه الحكومة تكمن في أنها لا تضم وزراء لامن حركة فتح أو حركة حماس	[...] mūdīhan 'anna mīzata hāḍīhi l-ḥukūmati takmunu fī 'annahā lā-taḍummu wuzarā'a lā-min harakati fatah 'aw ḥarakati ḥamās [...]	[...] explaining that the ad- vantage of this government lies in that it does [not] contain ministers <u>neither from the Fa- tah movement nor [from] the Hamās movement</u> [...]

4.11. Other

4.11.1. Meta-linguistic Comment

A syntagm that, rather than implying a semantico-logical link to propositional content text-internally, has for reference the speech act itself, the arbitrary word choice on the part of the speaker, or what the speaker says (e.g. in terms of relevance or accuracy).

The so-called relevance conditionals exemplified by Scheffler (2013: 94) are included as Meta-linguistic Comments.

438. *Wenn du Hunger hast, es ist noch Pizza in Kühlschranks.*

'If you are hungry, there's still some pizza in the fridge.' (Scheffler 2013: 94)

Relative constructions—such as 'which is known as' (e.g. *alladī yu 'rafu bi-*, 'which is known as', *al-maḍkūr(at)#*, 'the aforementioned', and *mā yusammā*, 'which is called', used in Example 440 from Article 83)—are excluded from investigation.

Example (439) from the quoted direct speech by Putin in Article 14 features two Meta-linguistic Comments in two "cause of speech" comments to the speech act itself.

439. Article 14, *wa-NCl* (with *wa-mā* VprefL as subject), Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (of utterance)

وأكد أن الغرب كان لا بد أن يتنبأ برد فعل روسيا تجاه الموقف قائلاً إن: «كان يجب أن يعلموا أن روسيا لا يمكن أن تقف مكتوفة الأيدي حين يتم إطلاق النار على الناس، وما	wa-'akkada [būtīn] 'anna l- garba kāna lā-budda 'an yata- nabba'a bi-raddi fī 'lī rūsiyā tuḡāha l-mawqifi qā'ilan 'inna: »kāna yaḡibu 'an ya'lamū 'anna rūsiya lā yum- kinu 'an taqifa maktūfata l- 'aydī ḥīna yatimmu 'iṭlāqu l-	And he [Putin] stressed that the West should have ex- pected a reaction from Rus- sia to the situation, [by] say- ing that: »they should have known that Russia cannot stand idle when the people are being shot at, [I say this

يفعله الانفصاليون رد
 فعل طبيعي من
 أشخاص يدافعون عن
 حقوقهم.»
 ودعا بوتين الغرب
 إلى «التحلي بالمنطق
 فيما يتعلق بإمكانية
 فرض عقوبات إضافية
 على بلاده حتى لا
 نتحمل نحن ولا
 شركاؤنا تكاليف هذه
 اللكمات المتبادلة».

nāri 'alā l-nāsi, wa-mā
 yaf'aluhu l-infiṣāliyyūna
 raddu fi'lin ṭabī'iyin min
 'aṣḥāšin yudāfi'ūna 'an
 huqūqihim.«
 wa-da'ā būtin al-ġarba 'ilā
 «l-taḥallī bi-l-mantiqi fīmā
 yata'allaqu bi-'imkāniyyati
 farḍi 'uqūbātin 'iḍāfiyyatin
 'alā bilādihi ḥattā lā na-
 taḥammalu naḥnu wa-lā
 šurakā'unā takālifa ḥādīhi l-
 lakamāti l-mutabādalata».

because] what the separatists do is a natural reaction from persons who defend themselves.«

And Putin called on the West to «use logic concerning what regards the imposing of additional sanctions on his country [I say this because] we cannot even bear, neither we nor our allies, the costs of these [already] exchanged blows».

Other examples, such as Example (440), testify to a meta-linguistic awareness, where word choice is commented upon by the speaker.³⁷²

440. Article 83, Meta-linguistic Comment

وقال ميديفيد في
 خطاب نقله التلفزيون
 "إذا حاول عدد من
 شركائنا - إذا كان من
 الممكن تسميتهم كذلك -
 اختبار قوة روسيا من
 خلال العقوبات وكل
 أشكال التهديد ، فمن
 المهم ألا ندعن لإغراء
 ما يسمى بالحلول
 السهلة ، وأن نحافظ
 ونستمر في تطوير
 العمليات الديمقراطية
 في مجتمعنا.. في
 دولتنا".

wa-qāla mīdfīdīf fī ḥiṭābin
 naqalahu l-tilīfīzyōn "idā
 ḥāwala 'adadun min šur-
 akā'inā - 'idā kāna mina l-
 mumkini tasmiyatuhum ka-
 ḍālika - iḥtibāra quwwati
 rūsiyā min ḥilālī l-'uqūbāti
 wa-kulli 'aṣkāli l-tahdīdi , fa-
 mina l-muhimmi 'allā nuḍ'ina
 li-'iġrā'i mā yusammā bi-l-
 ḥulūli l-sahlati , wa-'an
 nuḥāfiẓa wa-nastamirra fī
 taṭwīri l-'amaliyyāti l-
 dīmūqrāṭiyyati fī
 muġtama'inā.. fī dawlatinā".

And Medvedev said in a speech transmitted by the television "if a number of our partners - if it is possible to call them thus - try to test Russia's power through sanctions and all kinds of threat, it [will be] important that we do not sway to desire what is called easy solutions, and that we protect and continue to develop democratic processes in our society.. in our country".

Example (441) includes a Meta-linguistic Comment from the news outlet on a nickname.

³⁷² Note that also the direct object *mā yusammā*, 'what is called, so-called', could be seen as a Meta-linguistic Comment, too, but was annotated as a direct object and hence excluded from investigation; but the prepositional phrase with *fī* in the concluding apposition, 'in our society.. in our state', is a Meta-linguistic Comment. The latter is the unusual repetition of a preposition, a *hapax* expression in the corpus for a corrective Meta-linguistic Comment.

441. Article 33, Meta-linguistic Comment

وأضاف الحاكم أن شن الأمريكيين شنوا غارة جوية مساء أمس الأول استهدفت تجمعاً لقياديين كبار في حركة الشباب بينهم قائدها أبو زبير «كما يلقب به زعيم الحركة.	wa-ʿadāfa l-ḥākimu ʿanna šanna [ita] l-ʾamrīkiyyīna šannū gāratan ǧawwiyyatan masāʾa ʾamsī l-ʾawwali stahdafat taǧammuʿan li- qiyādiyyīna kibārin fī ḥara- kati el-šabāb baynahum qāʾiduhā ʾabū zubayr kamā yulaqqabu bihi zaʾīmu l-ḥarakati.	And the governor added that ~~launched~~ the Americans launched an air strike the even- ing the day before yesterday which targeted a gathering of senior leaders of the Shabab movement, among whom were <u>Abu Zubair as the leader of the</u> <u>movement is nicknamed.</u>

Example (442) includes a valuative comment on the situation described in the matrix.

442. Article 24, Meta-linguistic Comment

وقال زعيم المعارضة التركية إن رئيس الوزراء الجديد أحمد داود أوغلو تعهد في كلمته التي ألقاها في المؤتمر الاستثنائي الأول لحزبه العدالة والتنمية بأن «يقطع أيدي الفاسدين ولكن مع الأسف الشديد نرى اليوم إغلاق قضايا التحقيق في ملفات المتورطين بالفساد والرشاوى والمتعلقة بفضيحة 17 ديسمبر الماضي، وبدء موجة اعتقالات جديدة في صفوف رجال الشرطة الذين أمطوا اللثام عن فضيحة الفساد والرشاوي».	wa-qāla zaʾīmu l-muʿarāḍati l-turkiyyati ʾinna raʾīsa l- wuzarāʾi l-ǧadīda ʾahmad dāwud ʾūǧlū taʾahhada fī ka- limatihi llatī ʾalqāha fī l- muʿtamari l-istiṭnāʾiyyi l- ʾawwali li-ḥizbihi l-ʾadālat# wa-l-tanmiyat# biʾan «yaqtaʾa ʾaydī l-fāsidīna wa- lākin maʾa l-ʾasafi l-šadīdi narā l-yawma ʾiǧlāqa qadāyā l-tahqīqi fī milaffāti l- mutawarriṭīna bi-l-fasādi wa-l-rašāwī wa-l-mutaʾal- liqati bi-qadiyyati 17 dīsem- bir al-mādī, wa-badʾa mawǧati ʿtiqālāti ǧadīdatin fī sufufi riǧālī l-šurtati l-ladīna ʾamātū l-litāma ʾan faḍīḥati l-fasādi wa-l- rašāwī».	And the Turkish opposition leader said that the new prime minister Ahmet Davutoğlu pledged in his speech which he held at the first extraordinary conference of the Justice and Development Party to «cut the hands of the corrupt <u>but with</u> <u>great regret we [instead] see</u> <u>today the closure of the inves-</u> <u>tigation of the portfolios of</u> <u>those who were involved in the</u> <u>corruption and bribes [portfo-</u> <u>lios] which concern the case of</u> <u>the last December 17, and [in-</u> <u>stead we see] the start of a new</u> <u>wave of arrestations in the</u> <u>ranks of the policemen who</u> <u>unveiled the scandal of corrup-</u> <u>tion and bribes».</u>

4.11.2. Equative

x as y . Involves two constructions referring to the same signifié where y , the Equative element, is expressly stated **as** x . This capacity expressed by y is not necessarily essential to x and may be real or unreal. Moreover, the loss of TAM categories at the nominal level, and particularly the loss of temporal morphology, makes the nominalized Equative open to all aspectual and temporal interpretations such that x via the Equative is stated to either “having been”, “being”, “having become”, or “going to be/become” as (a) y , or “in the capacity of” y ; for an example, see Example (444) from Article 118.

Equative is different from Paraphrase (4.7.2) in that it gives different information. The Equative is different from Manner in that it is a representation of the whole event, situation, or entity *x* **as** (in the capacity, form, or manner of) the event, situation, or entity *y*.

Nominal clauses (also known as equational sentences; e.g. BCG: §3.1) prototypically do not explicitly state one component **as** the other, although they could come with that inference. In the present paper, core constituents are not investigated, and hence nominal clauses are not investigated as Equative, nor are core constituents to verbs and verbal nouns such as direct objects (for *ramzan* in Article 7, Example 336, see 6.2).

Constructions with *fī muḥāwalatin li-*, ‘in an attempt to’, are comparable to the Equative but are treated as Purpose constructions in the present study (see Purpose under “*fī*” in 6.9).³⁷³

Example (443) from Article 15 features an Equative where ‘50 million euros’ are sent ‘as humanitarian aid’.

443. Article 15, Equative

كما سترسل برلين ٥٠ مليون يورو كمساعدات إنسانية إلى الإقليم.	kamā sa-tursilu berlīn 50 milyūna yūrū ka-musā‘adatin ‘insāniyyatin ‘ilā l-‘iqḷīmi.	Berlin will also send 50 million euros as humanitarian aid to the region.

Example (444) from Article 118 features an Equative with a resultative (current result) type of aspectual inference, where an entity performs an act as, in the form of, or in the capacity of being something which they were not before. The example is iterated from Example (306) to which it is identical.

444. Article 118, Equative

وعزز الحوثيون الشيعة مواقعهم بتوسيع رقعة انتشارهم العسكري من جبالهم النائية في شمال غربي اليمن باتجاه صنعاء حيث سيطروا على معظم المنشآت السياسية والعسكرية قبل توقيع اتفاق للسلام كمجموعة مسلحة قوية تمثل ظاهرة تتداخل فيها عوامل طائفية وسياسية وتاريخية.	wa-‘azzaza l-ḥūṭiyyūna l-šī‘atu mawāqī‘ahum bi-tawsī‘i ruq‘ati ntišārihim l-‘askariyyi min ḡibālihim l-nā‘iyati fī šamālī ḡarbi# el-ya-man bi-ttiḡāhi šan‘ā’ ḥayṭu sayṭarū ‘alā mu‘ẓami l-munša‘āti l-siyāsiyyati wa-l-‘askariyyati qabla tawqī‘i ttifāqin li-l-salāmi ka-maḡmū‘atin musallaḥatin qawiyyatin tumattīlu zāhira-tan tatadāḥalu fīha ‘awāmilu tā‘ifiyyatun wa-qabaliyyatun wa-siyāsiyyatun wa-tārīḥiyyatun.	The Shiite Houthis reinforced their positions by expanding their area of military deployment from their remote mountains in north-western Yemen in the direction of Sanaa, where they gained control over most of the political and military establishments before they signed a peace treaty as [= now in the capacity of having become] a powerful armed group representing a phenomenon in which sectarian, tribal, political, and historical factors overlap.

³⁷³ A borderline case is observed in Article 122: *istikmālan*, Equative & Anaphoric Instrumental Manner (*hapax* relation) (Example 600, for the construction, see 6.2.1).

Example (445) from Article 88 features a resumptive construction, *wa-dālika*, which puts the preceding clause in a relation of Equative in a comment, *x* happened as *a y*.

445. Article 88, Equative

جاءت تصرّيات الملكة في أثناء خروجها من الصلاة الصباحية في إحدى الكنائس قرب مقر العائلة المالكة في بالمورال باسكتلندا ، وذلك رداً على ملحوظة من أحد المواطنين بأنها لم تذكر شيئاً عن الاستفتاء.	ğā'a tasrīhātu l-malikati fī 'aṭnā'i ḥurūğihā mina l-ṣalāti l-ṣabāḥiyyati fī 'iḥdā l- kanā'isi qurba maqarri l- 'ā'ilati l-mālikati fī bālmūrāl bi-'iskutlandā , wa-dālika raddan 'alā malḥūẓatin min 'aḥadi l-muwāṭinīna bi'an- nahā lam taḍkur šay'an 'ani l-istiftā'i.	And the remarks of the Queen came as she walked out from the morning prayers in one of the churches close to the royal family headquar- ters in Balmoral in Scotland, [and this] as a response to an observation by one of the citizens that she had not said anything about the referendum.

4.11.3. Ethicus

x in the eyes of y. Typically a nominal category. Expresses an interest, opinion, or assessment of a subject, situation, or event by a concerned party, typically a human or a group of humans. If the concerned party also is agentive, the relation is called Agent & Ethicus.

Example (446) from Article 69 features the relation Agent & Ethicus, 'by whom' *x* is considered "a main concern".

446. Article 69, *bi-l-nisbati li-*, Agent & Ethicus

وشدد الأحمدر خلال هذه اللقاءات، على ضرورة تثبيت وقف إطلاق النار وهو الأمر الذي يعتبر الهم الأساسي بالنسبة للقيادة الفلسطينية إلى جانب ضرورة البدء بتقديم المساعدات الإنسانية العاجلة لأبناء قطاع غزة ومعالجة المرضى وإيواء المشردين، الذين بلغ عددهم 450 ألفاً جراء تدمير بيوتهم من قبل الطيران الإسرائيلي.	wa-šaddada el-'aḥmad, ḥilāla hāḍihi l-liqā'āti, 'alā ḍarūrati taṭbīti waqfi 'iṭlāqi l-nāri <u>wa-</u> <u>huwa l-'amru lladī yu'tabaru</u> <u>l-hamma l-'asāsiyya bi-l-nis-</u> <u>bati li-l-qiyaḍati l-fi-</u> <u>lasṭiniyyati</u> 'ilā ḡānibi ḍarūrati l-bad'i bi-taqdīmi l- musā'adāti l-'insāniyyati l- 'ālīḡati li-'abnā'i qitā'i ḡazza wa-mu'ālaḡati l-marḍā wa- 'īwā'i l-mušarradīna, allaḡīna balāḡa 'adaduhum 450 'alfan ḡarrā'a tadmīri buyūtihim min qibali l-ṭayarāni l-ḥarbiyyi l- 'isrā'īliyyi.	And during these meetings al-Ahmad stressed the ne- cessity of establishing a ceasefire <u>and this is what is</u> <u>considered a main concern</u> for/by the Palestinian leadership in addition to the necessity to start providing urgent humani- tarian aid to the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip and treat- ing the sick and sheltering the displaced [lit. home- less] which reached 450 thousand because of the destruction of their homes by the Israeli war aviation.

4.11.4. Limitationis

The term Limitationis is taken from Indo-European grammar (Latin and Greek). It can be illustrated with an example from Tacitus, where he uses what in Latin grammar is called the Greek accusative, or *accusativus limitationis*. Limitationis, as suggested by the phrase, limits the scope of a proposition via a peripheral constituent. The function of the Limitationis in Example (447)—the peripheral accusatives *brachia et lacertos*, ‘forearms and upper arms’—is to delimit the area of nakedness.

447. Tacitus *Germaniae*, 17 (Halm 1901: 229)

[*Germanorum*] *feminae* [...] *nudae* [sunt] ***brachia ac lacertos***, *sed et proxima pars pectoris patet*.

‘[Their] women [...] are nude **as to their forearms and upper arms**, but also the part closest to the chest lies open.’

In Media Arabic, the Limitationis can also be expressed via the accusative case, e.g. the peripheral accusatives *ḥukūmatan wa-ša ‘ban* in Example (448) from Article 117. Limitationis is typically nominal.

448. Article 117, Limitationis

، مؤكداً في الوقت ذاته تضامناً لمنظمة التعاون الإسلامي مع أفغانستان حكومة وشعباً.	[...] , mu’akkidan fī-l-waqtī dātihi taḍāmuna munazzmati l-ta’āwuni l-’islāmiyyi ma’a ‘afgānistān ḥukūmatan wa-ša ‘ban .	[...] , emphasizing at the same time the solidarity of the Islamic Cooperation Organization with Afghanistan as to what regards [both] the government and the people .

4.11.5. Concerning

Expressing what something concerns—typically used about a meeting, text, talk, resolution, statement, etc.—by delimiting the scope of cognitive, intellectual, or communicative data.

In Example (412) from Article 11, the prepositional phrase with *ḥawla* expresses the content of certain documents: [...] *waṭā’iqa* [...] ***ḥawla ḥādīhi l-mazā’imi***, ‘documents [...] **concerning these claims**’.

In Example (449) from Article 12, there are two Concerning relations: the first is a transition phrase, *wa-fīmā yata ‘allaqu bi-* (for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2); and the second is a prepositional phrase with *ḥawla* stating what the Egyptian-German points of view are about.

449. Article 12, Concerning x2: 1x as a paragraph-initial transition phrase, 1x with *hawla* PP as postmodifier

وفيما يتعلق بالخطر الإرهابي لتنظيم «الدولة الإسلامية»، أكد شكرى أن هناك تقديرًا وتطابقًا تامًا في وجهات النظر المصرية الألمانية حول خطورة هذا الوضع، وأهمية تكثيف التعاون بين مصر والمانيا والمجتمع الدولي وخاصة الدول الإقليمية ذات التأثير في محيطها الإقليمي وأيضا الدول الأوروبية في وضع إستراتيجية متكاملة لمواجهة هذا الخطر والقضاء عليه.	wa-fimā yata‘allaqu bi-l-ḥaṭari l-‘irhābiyyi li-tanzīmi «al-dawlati al-‘islāmiyyati», ‘akkada šukrī ‘anna hunāka taqdīran tāmman fi waḡahāti l-naẓari l-miṣriyyati l-‘almāniyyati ḥawla ḥuṭurati hādīhi l-waḍ‘i, wa-‘ahammiyyati takṭīfi l-ta‘āwuni bayna miṣr wa-‘almāniyā wa-l-muḡtama‘i l-duwaliyyi, wa-ḥāṣṣatan al-duwali l-‘iqlīmiyyati dāti l-ta‘īri fi muḥīṭihā l-‘iqlīmiyyi wa-‘ayḍan al-duwali l-‘ūrūbbiyyati fi waḍ‘i ‘istrāṭiḡiyyatin mutakāmīlatin li-muwāḡahati hādā l-ḥaṭari wa-l-qaḍā‘i ‘alayhi.	And concerning the terrorist threat of the organization «the Islamic State», Shoukry stressed that there is a recognition (<i>taqdīr</i>) and convergence (<i>taṭābuq</i>) of the Egyptian-German points of view concerning the seriousness of this situation , and [concerning] the importance of intensifying the cooperation between Egypt and Germany, and the international community, and especially [between] the countries of the region with influence in its surroundings and also [between] the European countries in setting up an integrated strategy to confront this danger and eliminate it.

4.11.6. Location

States location. Article 13 features a locative prepositional phrase with *fī* followed by a nominal locative relative clause, called Relative (Location), introduced by *ḥayṭu*: [...] ‘*adadin mina l-mabānī l-ḥukūmiyyati l-mawḡūdati fī-l-mintaqati l-hamrā‘i*, *ḥayṭu maqarru ‘iṣāmi l-mutaḡāhirīna* [...], ‘a number of government buildings located in the red zone, **where the headquarters of the demonstrators’ sit-in is** [...]’ (Example 183).

In Example (450) from Article 4, *wa-fī derna*, ‘and in Derna’, is a sentence-initial locational transition phrase; *ḡarba l-madīnati* is a locative postmodifier to *maqarra šarikatin maḥalliyyatin*, ‘the headquarters of a local company west of the city’; and *fī šarqi l-bilādi* is a locative postmodifier to *al-ḡamā‘āti l-mutaṭarrifati*, ‘extremist groups in the east of the country’. For the semantic ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

450. Article 4, Location x3

وفي درنة، قصفت طائرة حربية مقر شركة محلية غرب المدينة التي تُعدّ المعقل الرئيس للجماعات المتطرفة في شرق البلاد.	wa-fī derna, qaṣafat ṭā‘iratuṇ ḥarbiyyatuṇ maqarra šarikatin maḥalliyyatin ḡarba l-madīnati llatī tu‘addu l-ma‘qila l-ra‘īsa li-l-ḡamā‘ati l-mutaṭarrifati fī šarqi l-bilādi.	And in Derna, an aircraft bombed <u>the headquarters of a local company west of the city</u> which is counted as the stronghold of the president of <u>the extremist groups in the east of the country</u> .

5. Quantitative results: The Media Arabic clause and sentence

This part gives quantitative data for the Media Arabic clause and sentence, first looking at clausal negation (5.1) and passives (5.2), and then moving on to consider sentence structure, presenting data about the structure of the main clause (5.3.1), complementizers (5.3.2.1), and the complement main clause (5.3.2.2). The chapter continues by giving data about preposed elements—those that precede the core structure of a syntagm’s matrix—both at the beginning of articles (5.3.3) and within the main text (5.3.4), looking at main clauses (5.3.4.1), including transition phrases (5.3.4.2), then considering preposed non-clausal elements to complement and non-main clauses (5.3.4.3), as well as subordinate clauses to non-main matrices (5.3.4.4). Finally, Chapter 5.4 deals with questions in Media Arabic, both direct (5.4.1) and indirect (5.4.2).

5.1. Clausal negation (173x)

This chapter considers the use of *lā*, *lam*, *lan*, *mā*, and *laysa* as negators of non-deverbalized finite clauses and of nominal clauses. That is, it excludes the use of nominal negators such as ‘*adam*# and ‘*gayr*# (not investigated), as well as the complementizer ‘*allā* (for which, see 5.3.2.1), the *hapax* complement main clause ‘*an lā VprefA* (Article 4, Example 270), and the phrases *lā + budda* and *lā + šakka* (for which, see 6.7).

There are 173x attestations of clausal negation in the data. As mentioned in 1.4.9, news language ideally employs short, “straightforward” sentences with “strong” or active verbs.

Newspaper readers are more receptive to assertive news. They want to be told what happened, rather than what did not happen. (Abdelfattah 1990: 61)

Of the non-deverbalized clauses, 4.88% are negated (173x out of 1,144x main clauses, 891x complement main clauses, around 870x non-main clauses,³⁷⁴ and 642 non-deverbalized relative clauses).

³⁷⁴ 869x or 872x, see *wa-NCl* (11x or 14x) in 6.1.2.9.

Table 20 gives the negations in the corpus and their distribution. The category of *lā* VprefL includes 2x attestations of *kāna lā* VprefL in non-main clauses as the only attestations of negated compound verbal forms with *kāna* (see “*wa-’in kāna lā* VprefL” and “*’idā kāna lā* VprefL” under 6.1.5).³⁷⁵

Table 20: Negators of non-deverbalized clauses: contexts of use, arranged by frequency of clause type³⁷⁶

Clause type	<i>lā</i> VprefL	<i>lam</i> VprefS	<i>lan</i> VprefA	<i>laysa</i> NCI	<i>mā</i> Vsuff	<i>lā</i> NCI	
Complement main	29	27	14	15	2	2	89
Non-main	25	24	7	2	1	1	63
Relative	8	7			1		16
Main	3	4			1		8
	65	62	21	17	5	3	173

5.1.1. A note on *mā* Vsuff and *lam* VprefS

In the Qur’an, the verbal negators are *lā*, *mā*, and *’in*, “as well as the negators derived from *lā*: *lam* and *lan*” (Sjörs 2015: 208). In the present Media Arabic corpus, finite verbs are never negated by *’in* and only in restricted contexts by *mā*: the absence of the former is understandable, due to its relative rarity in general, and since it is both homonymous and a homograph to the conditional *’in* (for *’in* as a negator in the Qur’an, see Sjörs 2015: 241–2 with references), as well as *’inna*, *’anna*, and *’an*. On the other hand, the relative absence of *mā* as a negator may seem surprising. Its correctness is guaranteed by Qur’anic language, but its use as a standard negator in colloquial varieties of Arabic, together with the almost complete absence of *lam* in colloquial varieties and the well-known and widely taught asymmetry of the MSA standard negator *lam yaf’al*, have probably led to the use of *lam* in the prestigious language rather than the stigmatized *mā*. In the corpus, *mā* is only attested as a verbal negator 5x times and always with an affirmative meaning: 3x together with a suffix form of the verb *zāla* in the affirmative meaning of ‘still’ (lit. ‘has not ceased’),³⁷⁷ and 2x with *(wa-)mā labīṭa*, ‘did not delay, hesitate, did not take

³⁷⁵ As illustrated by Table 20, none of the negated futures as exemplified by Sartori (2015) are attested, i.e. *sawfa lā/lan* Vpref# and *lan sawfa* Vpref#.

³⁷⁶ Add to the list the uncontracted *’allā* VprefA, Article 4: [...] “*na’mulu ’an lā tatakarrara l-tadaḥḥulātu l-turkiyyatu* [...]” (Example 270); see also 5.3.2.2.

³⁷⁷ Cf. Van Mol (2003b: 144) investigating negation in radio news bulletins; he found a “marked preference” in Egyptian and Saudi radio news bulletins for negating Vsuff of *zāla* with *mā*.

long, soon, etc.’.³⁷⁸ In contrast, the use of *lam* with these verbs—*lam yalbat*, *lam talbat*, *lam(-)yazal*, and *lam(-)tazal*—is not attested at all.

5.2. Internal and periphrastic passives

5.2.1. Periphrastic passives (*tamma/yatimm# + mašdar*) (75x)

The periphrastic passive is a construction with a finite form of *tamma + mašdar* (verbal noun), as exemplified in 451 from Article 70.³⁷⁹

451. Article 70, periphrastic passive in main clause

وميدانيا، شهدت مدينة بنغازي تصاعدا في وتير أعمال الاغتيالات التي لم تتوقف منذ أكثر من سنتين، وشملت حسيلة أمس عن مقتل ٨ أشخاص في الاشتباكات الدائرة بين الجيش الليبي وأنصار الشريعة في العديد من المناطق بمدينة بنغازي وحول مطار بنينا كما تم العثور على جثتين لمواطنين يتبعان كتية ٢٠٤ دبابات، عليهما آثار تعذيب.	wa-maydāniyyan šahidat madīnatu bengāzī tašā‘udan fī watīri ‘a ‘māli l-iḡtiyālāti llatī lam tatawaqqaf munḍu ‘aktara min sanatayni, wa- šamalāt ḥašīlatu ‘amsi ‘an maqtali 8 ‘ašḥāšin fī-l- ištibākāti l-dā‘irati bayna l- ḡayši l-lībiyyi wa-‘anṣār el- šarī‘a fī-l-‘adīdi mina l- manāṭiqi bi-mad[ī]nati [ita] bengāzī wa-ḥawla maṭāri benīnā [ita] kamā tamma l-‘uṭūru ‘alā ḡuṭṭatayni li- muwāṭinayni yatba ‘āni katībata 204 dabbābāt#, ‘alayhimā ‘atāru ta ‘dībin.	And on the field, the city of Benghazi has witnessed an es- calation in the pace of [acts of] assassinations which has not stopped since more than two years ago, and yesterday’s toll included the killing of 8 per- sons in the clashes taking place between the Libyan army and Ansar al-Sharia in many of the areas in the city of Benghazi and around the Benina Airport and two bodies were discov- ered of citizens who belong to the Battalion 204 tanks [204st Tank Battalion] on whom [there were] signs of torture.

The periphrastic passive construction, *tamma/yatimm# + mašdar*, is attested 75x times in the corpus. Gender agreement with the grammatical subject is observed in all cases except 1x (*yatimmu ‘idāratu l-waḍ‘i*, Article 19), but this

³⁷⁸ *ma zālat mu ‘allaqatan*, ‘is still pending’ (Article 1), *mā-zālat tadrusu*, ‘still studies’ (Article 54), and *mā-zāla mutaḡalliban li-l-ḡāyati wa-ḡayra mustaqirrin*, ‘is still very volatile and unstable’ (Article 103); *wa-mā labīṭa ‘an tarāḡa ‘a ḥinaḡāka l-ra ‘isu ‘ubāmā*, ‘and it did not take long before the president Obama pulled out’ (Article 15, Example 594), and *tilka l-‘āmāla llatī mā labīṭat ‘an tarāḡa‘at* (in the metaphor of Article 37, Example 201).

³⁷⁹ The construction was first observed by Krahel and Reuschel (1974), and has been discussed by many since, e.g. Larcher and Girod (1990), Abdelfattah (1990), Girod (2000), Baize-Robache (2009), as well as Lundin (2013).

does include only 3x attestations with the feminine (2x prefix-verbs, both in Article 15, and 1x with Vsuff, Article 16).³⁸⁰

Among the most frequent subjects are *al-tawaṣṣulu* (6x times) and *al-ittifāqu* (5x times + 3x *al-ittifāq#* [...] *allaḍī tamma* [...]), 3x *al-’i lānu*, and 3x *isti nāfu l-mufāwaḍāti* (a total of 20x instances, or 26.7%).

The four most frequent syntactic contexts account for 26x of the attestations (34.67% of 75x):

- 13x times: complement clauses (*’annahu*) *tamma maṣḍar*
- 5x times: syndetic relative clause with *tamma maṣḍar*
- 4x times: complement clauses (*’an*) *yatimma* (VprefA) *maṣḍar*
- 4x times: (*’annahu*) *sa-yatimmu maṣḍar*

Syndetically linked clauses (see 6.1.2ff.) of the types *wa-tamma* + *maṣḍar* and *wa-yatimmu* + *maṣḍar* are not attested.

Morphologically speaking, there are 35x Vsuff, 15x futures (only *sa-*), and an additional 25x in the prefix conjugations (17x VprefL and VprefA). It is only negated 8x: 7x with *lam*, and 1x with *lan* (Table 21).

Table 21: Periphrastic passive: verbal morphology, with separate categories for negated morphemes, arranged by frequency

Verbal morpheme	Σ
<i>tamma maṣḍar</i> (incl. <i>kāna qad tamma maṣḍar</i>)	35
<i>yatimm# maṣḍar</i> (VprefL and VprefA)	17
<i>sa-yatimmu maṣḍar</i>	15
<i>lam yatimma maṣḍar</i>	7
<i>lan yatimma maṣḍar</i>	1
<i>sawfa yatimmu maṣḍar</i>	
	75

The total number of attestations are distributed over complement clauses (33x times, or 44.00% of 75x), clauses with *mā* (7x, including relative clauses with *mā*; *mā* is never a negator here), non-nominalized relative clauses of the *ṣifa/šila* type (14x; 10x syndetic and 4x asyndetic), and 18x times in different non-main clauses (Table 22).

³⁸⁰ In addition, there are three instances where the verb is used in its lexical meaning: 1x in an Adversative *lākin* clause (feminine Vsuff; Article 13); 1x in a syndetic relative clause (feminine Vsuff; Article 23), and 1x in a complement main clause (VprefA; Article 99). These are not included in the count. Example (557) from Article 124, *’ilā ’an yatimma ḥurūḡu l-...* is here counted as a passive, although it arguably could be counted as a bridging context with a strong emphasis on the completive aspect of the syntagm. For *tamma maṣḍar* as a grammatical morpheme along the completive grammaticalization path, see Lundin (2013); for the grammaticalization path, see Bybee *et al.* (1994).

Table 22: Periphrastic passive: contexts of use, arranged by frequency of clause type

Clause type	Σ	As % of 75x
Complement main clause	33	44.00
Non-main clause	18	24.00
Relative clause	14	18.67
Clause with <i>mā</i>	7	9.33
Main clause	3	4.00
	75	100.0

The periphrastic passive only occurs 3x times in grammatical main clauses: 1x in a typically backgrounding structure (*wa-kāna qad tamma maṣḍar*, Article 131, Example 631; referring to news mentioned e.g. in Articles 112 and 117); 1x in a middle-ground attribution (*wa-sa-yatimmu maṣḍar*, Article 58, Example 452 below); and 1x as *kamā tamma maṣḍar* in Article 70 (as quoted in Example 451 above). The construction, in short, is likely to appear in all contexts but is rare in main clauses. Example (451) from Article 70 above is a *hapax* simple suffix form of the periphrastic passive in a main clause in the corpus: *kamā tamma maṣḍar*.

452. Article 58, *wa-sa-yatimmu maṣḍar*, syntactic main clause, middle-ground attribution

وصرح بولنت أرينج نائب رئيس الوزراء التركي عقب اجتماع الحكومة الأسبوعي أمس بأن السلامة في مكان العمل أصبحت مسألة مهمة. وسيتم وضع خطة عمل والكشف عنها، وقال: من الآن فصاعدا سيتم تطبيق قوانين واليات الضبط بشكل أكثر دقة. وأضاف أنه سيتم تشكيل لجنة مفتشين للتحقيق في الحادث بأمر من رئيس الوزراء أحمد داود أوغلو.	wa-ṣarraḥa būlant 'arīnġ nā'ibu ra'īsi l-wuzarā'i l- turkiyyu 'aqiba ġtimā'i l- ḥukūmati l-'usbū'yyi 'amsi bi-'anna l-salāmata fī makāni l-'amali 'aṣḥaḥat mas'alatan muḥimmatan. wa-sa- yatimmu waḍ'u ḥuṭṭati 'amalin wa-l-kašfu 'anhā, wa-qāla: mina l-'āna fa- ṣā'idan sa-yatimmu taṭbīqu qawānīna wa-'āliyāti l-ḍabṭi bi-ṣaklin 'aktara diqqatan. wa- 'aḍāfa 'annahu sa-yatimmu taškīlu laġnati mufattišīna li- taḥqīqi fi-l-ḥādīṭi bi-'amrin min ra'īsi l-wuzarā'i 'aḥmad dāwud 'uġlū.	And Turkish Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç said after the weekly cabinet meeting yesterday that the safety in the workplace has become an important issue. And an action plan will be developed and revealed, and he said: from now on laws and control mecha- nisms will be applied more accurately. And he added that a commission of inspec- tors will be formed for the in- vestigation into the accident on order from the prime min- ister Ahmet Davutoğlu.

5.2.2. Internal passives (*fu 'ila* type) (164x)

Internal passives are distinguished by internal vocalization patterns, typically not written out in Media Arabic (for *taškīl* in Media Arabic, see 3.6).³⁸¹

Example (219) from Article 15 features the phrase *waḥšiyyatin lā tvrḥam#*, ‘merciless brutality’ ($v = a$), or ‘a brutality that should be shown no mercy’ ($v = u$): *wa-ttāhamat lāyēn al-dawlata l-‘islāmiyyata bi-‘annahā tattasimu bi»waḥšiyyatin lā tarḥamu»* [...]. The former, active, is the contextual reading, but the passive reading is theoretically possible. This is the only case where the internal passive poses a difficulty. In all other cases, the passive was easily inferred from context; *tarḥamu* in Example (219) is not counted as a passive in the present investigation.

There are 164x attestations of finite passive verbs in the corpus (passive tokens), made up by 95x types. 19x, or 11.6% of these tokens are made up by the lexical word *qutīla* (the types corresponding to *qutīla* and *qutīlū*). This suggests that a small number of types, roots, and stem forms make up a large portion of the attestations of internal passive verbs in Media Arabic. In fact, only 56x roots, in a total of 57x stem forms, account for all the passives in the corpus (the root *‘qd* is found in both stem I, *fu 'ila*, and stem VIII, *uftu 'ila*), but as is the case with the type-token ratio (for which, see 3.4.1), a relatively large number, 34x or 60%, of these roots are only attested 1x in the passive morphology in the corpus.

Counting only the internal passives that occur ≥ 2 x, we are left with 22x roots in 22x stem forms. Together, these 22x morphologies (root in a given stem, counting both Vsuff and VprefL) account for 130x, or 79.3%, of all the occurrences of internal passives in the corpus.

In addition, *hapax* attestations of the passive are found within the semantic spheres of the more frequent roots used in the passive. For example the root *‘rf* is attested 10x times in passive morphology (accounting for 6.1% of all the internal passive verbs in the corpus). It is only found in various prefix-conjugational patterns in the meaning ‘(was) known (as)’, specifically to designate names of military units. Related to this lexeme among the *hapax* passives we find *ylqb* (*yulaqqabu*, ‘be called’, Article 33), *yd’y* (*yud’ā*, ‘be called’, Article 36), and among the more frequent types we find *ysmy*, attested 3x as *yusammā*, ‘is called’, which suggests that passive morphology is more likely to be found in certain semantic spheres than in others. Another example is the root *syb*, ‘be wounded’, with its *hapax* synonym *ḡuriḥa* in Article 72. The form *tuwuf-fiya* is also a *hapax* (Article 130); its more frequent synonym *qutīla* (19x) has been discussed above.

The roots with ≥ 2 x attestations of the internal passive in the corpus are given in Table 23 below. They are arranged in order of frequency, and the modus not vocalized for the singular.

³⁸¹ Stem form VII with a consonantal prefix is therefore not considered an internal passive under the definition used here.

Table 23: Internal passives attested $\geq 2x$, by frequency

Root	Type (in morphological context)	Number of tokens	Vocalization (excluding mode)	Meaning of root in the passive	Base morphology
1. قتل	قتل	11	<i>qutīla</i>	'killed'	Vsuff
	قتلوا	8	<i>qutīlū</i>		Vsuff
	وقتل	1	<i>wa-qutīla</i>		Vsuff
		20			20 Vsuff 0 Vpref
2. صيب	وأصيب	7	<i>wa-'uṣība</i>	'wounded'	Vsuff
	أصيب	3	<i>'uṣība</i>		Vsuff
	أصيبوا	2	<i>'uṣībū</i>		Vsuff
	وأصيبت	1	<i>wa-'uṣībat</i>		Vsuff
	سيصابون	1	<i>sa-yuṣābūna</i>		Vpref
		14			13 Vsuff 1 Vpref
3. عدد	تعد	7	<i>tu'add</i>	'be counted, considered (as)'	Vpref
	ويعد	3	<i>wa-yu'add</i>		Vpref
	يعد	2	<i>yu'add</i>		Vpref
	لا يعد	1	<i>lā yu'add</i>		Vpref
		13			13 Vpref 0 Vsuff
4. عقد	سيعقد	6	<i>sa-yu'qad</i>	'held (meeting, conference, etc.)'	Vpref
	عقد	2	<i>'uqida</i>		Vsuff
	عقدت	2	<i>'uqidat</i>		Vsuff
	تعقد	1	<i>tu'qad</i>		Vpref
	يعقد	1	<i>yu'qad</i>		Vpref
		12			8 Vpref 4 Vsuff
5. عرف	يعرف	6	<i>yu'raf</i>	'known (as)'	Vpref
	كان يعرف	2	<i>kāna yu'raf</i>		Vpref
	ولم يعرف	1	<i>wa-lam yu'raf</i>		Vpref
	وتعرف	1	<i>wa-tu'raf</i>		Vpref
		10			10 Vpref 0 Vsuff
6. ذكر	يذكر	5	<i>yuḏkar</i>	'mentioned'	Vpref
	ويذكر	4	<i>wa-yuḏkar</i>		Vpref
	ذكر	1	<i>ḏukira</i>		Vsuff
		10			9 Vpref 1 Vsuff
7. قدر	تقدر	1	<i>tuqaddar</i>	'estimated'	Vpref
	يقدر	2	<i>yuqaddar</i>		Vpref
	لم تقدر	1	<i>lam tuqaddar</i>		Vpref
	وتقدر	1	<i>wa-tuqaddar</i>		Vpref
	قدر	1	<i>quddira</i>		Vsuff
		6			5 Vpref 1 Vsuff
8. وجد	يوجد	2	<i>yūḡad</i>	'be, exist' (lit. 'found')	Vpref
	لا يوجد	2	<i>lā yūḡad</i>		Vpref
	توجد	1	<i>tūḡad</i>		Vpref
	ويوجد	1	<i>wa-yūḡad</i>		Vpref
		6			6 Vpref

5.2. Internal and periphrastic passives

Root	Type (in morphological context)	Number of tokens	Vocalization (excluding mode)	Meaning of root in the passive	Base morphology
					0 Vsuff
9. نشر	نشرت	<u>5</u> 5	<i>nuširat</i>	‘published’	Vsuff 5 Vsuff 0 Vpref
10. عبر	تعتبر يعتبر	<u>3</u> <u>2</u> 5	<i>tu ‘tabar</i> <i>yu ‘tabar</i>	‘considered’	Vpref Vpref 5Vpref 0Vsuff
11. مرس	مورست تمارس	<u>2</u> <u>2</u> 4	<i>mūrisat</i> <i>tumāras</i>	‘exerted (e.g. pressure upon)’	Vsuff Vpref 2 Vsuff 2 Vpref
12. طلق	أطلق أطلقت أطلقوا	<u>1</u> <u>1</u> <u>1</u> 3	<i>‘utliqa</i> <i>‘utliqat</i> <i>‘utliqū</i>	‘fired (projectile, gun)’	Vsuff Vsuff Vsuff 3 Vsuff 0 Vpref
13. سمى	بسمى	<u>3</u> 3	<i>yusammā</i>	‘called’	Vpref 3 Vpref 0 Vsuff
14. أعلن	أعلنت سوف تعلن وأعلن	<u>1</u> <u>1</u> <u>1</u> 3	<i>‘u ‘linat</i> <i>sawfa tu ‘lan</i> <i>wa- ‘u ‘lina</i>	‘announced’	Vsuff Vpref Vsuff 2 Vsuff 1 Vpref
15. وقع	ويتوقع يتوقع	<u>1</u> <u>1</u> 2	<i>wa-yuta-waqqa</i> <i>yutawaqqa</i>	‘expected’	Vpref Vpref 2 Vpref 0 Vsuff
16. طلب	لم يطلب	<u>2</u> 2	<i>lam yutlab</i>	‘demanded’	Vpref 2 Vpref 0 Vsuff
17. سمع	وسمع	<u>2</u> 2	<i>wa-sumi ‘a</i>	‘heard’	Vsuff 2 Vsuff 0 Vpref
18. نقل	نقلوا ونقل	<u>1</u> <u>1</u> 2	<i>nuqilū</i> <i>wa-nuqila</i>	‘transported’	Vsuff Vsuff 2 Vsuff 0 Vpref
19. نفذ	نفذت ينفذ	<u>1</u> <u>1</u> 2	<i>nuffidat</i> <i>yunaffad</i>	‘implemented’	Vsuff Vpref 1 Vsuff 1 Vpref
20. بحث	ستبحث وتبحث	<u>1</u> <u>1</u> 2	<i>sa-tubḥaṭ</i> <i>wa-tubḥaṭ</i>	‘discussed’	Vpref Vpref 2 Vpref 0 Vsuff
21. أنف	استأنفت تستأنف	<u>1</u> <u>1</u>	<i>ustu ‘nifat</i> <i>tusta ‘naf</i>	‘resumed (negotiations)’	Vsuff Vpref

Root	Type (in morphological context)	Number of to-kens	Vocalization (excluding mode)	Meaning of root in the passive	Base morphology
		2			1 Vsuff 1 Vpref
22. شير	ويشار يشار	1 1 2	<i>wa-yušār</i> <i>yušār</i>	‘referred’ ³⁸²	Vpref Vpref 2 Vpref 0 Vsuff

The frequencies of the basic morphology of these verbs seem skewed such that, with a caveat for *‘uqida* (8x Vpref vs. 4x Vsuff), they occur predominantly in one base morphology. Counting the most versus the least frequent base morphology of these verbs, the numbers are 118x against 12x, or 90.8% of these attestations occur in the more frequent morphology. Including the *hapax* readings would naturally skew the ratio even more.

Internal passives occur in all types of clauses: 43x times in non-nominalized relative clauses (*šifa/šila* type; 24x syndetic, 19x asyndetic), 41x in complement main clauses, 29x in main clauses, 13x in syndetically linked *wa*-Vsuff clauses (8x *wa-‘uṣīb#*), and 7x in *wa*-VprefL clauses. An additional 6x occur in *mā* VprefL clauses, 3x in *baynamā* Vsuff clauses, 3x in *fīmā* Vsuff clauses, and 3x in *ḥaytu* Vsuff clauses. Table 24 gives these most frequent contexts of use. Together, these clause types account for 145x, or 88.4%, of the total number of internal passives in the corpus (164x).

The remaining 16x are distributed over various non-main, embedded, and unorderedly-linked clauses.

Table 24: Internal passives: most frequent contexts of use (>2x); by frequency

Clause type / Construction	Σ	As % of 145x	Notes
Relative	43	29.67	incl. 19 syndetic relative clauses
Complement main	41	28.28	
Main	29	20.00	
<i>wa</i> -Vsuff	13	8.97	incl. 8 <i>wa-‘uṣīb#</i>
<i>wa</i> -VprefL	7	4.83	
<i>mā</i> VprefL	3	2.07	
<i>baynamā</i> Vsuff	3	2.07	
<i>fīmā</i> Vsuff	3	2.07	
<i>ḥaytu</i> Vsuff	3	2.07	
	145	100.0	

³⁸² The two instances of *yušār* have different uses: in Article 112 in the main clause, *wa-yušāru ‘ilā ‘anna* [...] is comparable to (*wa-*)*yudkaru*, ‘it is mentioned that’; in Article 86 it occurs in the semantic sphere of ‘be called’, *yušāru ‘ilayhā fī el-yābān bi-smi “yākūzā”*, ‘referred to in Japan by the name “Yakuza”’.

Looking at the figures in Table 24, two features of clauses with internal passives vis-à-vis clauses with periphrastic passives (Table 22) stand out: their occurrence in main clauses,³⁸³ and their uses in syndetically linked clauses with *wa-*.

5.2.3. *min al-* passives (16x)

A *min al-* passive is here defined as a definite passive participle in a prepositional phrase with *min* as the predicate of a nominal clause (with or without *kāna*), e.g. *mina l-mutawaqqa 'i*, 'it is expected', lit. 'of the expected'.

There are 16x attestations of *min al-* passives in the corpus (including 3x with *kāna*); the two most frequent clause types being main clauses introduced by *wa-* (7x times, incl. 1x with *kāna*) and complement main clauses without *kāna* (5x). In addition, it occurs 3x times in non-nominalized relative clauses (*šifa/šila* type; all syndetic, twice with *wa-*; incl. 1x with *kāna*). It only occurs 1x with a conjunction (*wa-lākin(na) mina l-mutawaqqa 'i*, Article 99). In total, it is the predicate of 7x main clauses and 5x complement main clauses.

min al- passives only occur with four different lexical items: 8x *mina l-muqarrari*, 5x *mutawaqqa 'i*, 2x *muntazari*, and 1x *'awḍaḥa [...]' annahu kāna mina l-muḥaṭṭaṭi* (Article 101). The limited number suggests lexical preferences, if not restrictions.

5.2.4. Summary and conclusion: Periphrastic and internal passives

There are 75x periphrastic and 164x internal passives in the corpus, adding up to a total of 239x. As mentioned in 1.4.9, the avoidance of the passive voice has been described as a characteristic of news (Mellor 2005: 132). Moreover, the internal passive is said to decrease legibility, an argument taken to explain the emergence and use of the periphrastic passive in the context of written news.

239x finite passives (excluding *min al-* passives for now) make up 6.7% of all non-deverbalized clauses in the corpus.³⁸⁴ With 239x passive constructions over 1,144x sentences (20.9%; 14.3% if only internal passives are counted), avoidance of the passive voice cannot be identified as a characteristic of Arabic news reporting.

Despite the limited number of frequent roots in the internal passive and their morphological bias, they nevertheless account for 164x or 68.6% of the

³⁸³ The internal passive may even be used to open the lead, e.g. Article 123: *'ustu 'nifat zuhra 'amsi l-muḥawwādū*, 'the negotiations were resumed yesterday noon [...]'.
³⁸⁴ 239x out of 1,144x main clauses, 891x complement main clauses, around 870x non-main clauses (see *wa-NCl* 11x or 14x, 6.1.2.9), and 642x non-deverbalized relative clauses.

total of 239x finite passive predicates in the corpus (excluding passive participles, for which, see 6.4). And seeing that a total of 34x *hapax* roots occur in the internal passive, compared to the total number of 75x attested periphrastic passive verbs, the legibility explanation is not satisfactory to account for a mere 1:2 ratio in favour of the periphrastic passive, not least since the periphrastic passive is also subject to a lexical and morphological bias, not to mention a syntactic one. A more extensive investigation seeking to explain the use of passives in the context of news would need to take journalistic rationales, grammaticalization, and grammatical context, as well as lexical and verbal aspect, into more serious account. It would also need to look into homonyms and homographs. High legibility can still be preserved if the great majority of internal passives are unattested in the active.

5.3. Main and complement main clause structures

Media Arabic text consists of a rigid set of building blocks. Headline, sub-heading, lead, and by-line have already been discussed (1.4.1); these apply to genre. In this section, the sentence will be dealt with as a register feature.

Leaving aside subordinate clauses, appositions, and relative clauses for now, the Media Arabic sentence consists of three fundamental building blocks, the first and third of which are optional.

Preposed element + main clause + complement main clause

The main clause has a certain structure, as does the complement clause. The preposed element differs in structure and function depending on whether it is a feature of the lead (first sentence of the article), or if it is found sentence-initially in the body of text (or if it is found in the complement main clause, see 5.3.4.3). In this chapter their respective form, function, and frequency will be discussed. The main clause (5.3.1) and complement main clause structures (5.3.2) are first to be discussed, in order to determine what is a preposed element (5.3.3–5.3.4), and what is not.

5.3.1. Main clauses (1,144x)

A main clause is defined as the matrix of a clause complex or of a complete sentence (see 2.3.1). For this reason, *wa-`uṣṭiba* in the *qutila wa-`uṣṭiba* phrase does not constitute the predicate of a main clause.

Typically, a main clause is preceded by a full stop and/or a paragraph division, but this is not always the case.

A methodological decision was taken with regard to verbs of attribution as accusative participles. These were designated the status of main clause only when preceded by a full stop and/or paragraph division (3x times), suggesting

that the Vsuff and the participle of verbs of attribution are mutually exchangeable when the syntagm is not preceded by a transition phrase—in which case a participle is never used. For the use of the peripheral indefinite accusative participle, see 6.4, in particular 6.4.5.3. For same level relations, e.g. how a non-main clause with *wa*-Vsuff is linked, see 6.1ff., especially 6.1.2.1.

There are 1,144x main clauses in the corpus. Looking at the verbal predicates of these, 737x, or 65%, come with a finite verb of attribution, and 984x, or 86.2%, have a simple Vsuff as their predicate (excluding clauses with *kāna* and *tamma* + *maṣdar*). All main clause verbs are in the third person. With 1,144x main clauses in the corpus and a corpus size which includes 34,198x words in the body of the text,³⁸⁵ the typical Media Arabic sentence is roughly 30 words long (a sentence only has one main clause, given the present framework).

Abdelfattah (1990: 78ff.) speaks of “sentence complexity”. He notices a “significant difference in sentence complexity” between his 1935 and 1989 Al-Ahram corpora. What he means by sentence complexity is not exactly clear, but according to Abdelfattah: “[s]entence length is an indicator of the complexity that the 1989 journalistic writing has achieved via embedding and subordination” (Abdelfattah 1990: 78).

A sentence, according to Abdelfattah, is defined in the following way: “Even though there was **no consistency** in punctuation marks for sentences in the journalistic samples, sentences were broken down [...] based on whether or not a sentence contained a verb and a predicate and could be separated from other parts of the sentence” (Abdelfattah 1990: 79; bold added). Judging from his examples (pp. 80–87), it would seem that a main clause is his defining characteristic of a sentence.

Although the method may not be transparent, his data in Table 25 nevertheless shows that the “sentences” in the 1989 corpus are longer relative to the 1935 corpus (second and third column give number of words per sentence for each corpus).

Table 25: The number of words per sentence in the different text categories in al-Ahram in 1935 and 1989 according to Abdelfattah (1990: 78)

Category ³⁸⁶	1935	1989
News	15.4	27.2
Editorials	20.6	36.6

³⁸⁵ This figure includes by-lines, approximately 3–4 words multiplied by 130 (390–520); assuming that $4 \times 130 = 520$ words are by-lines, then the typical sentence is 29.438 words long.

³⁸⁶ “The category ‘editorials’ [...] refers to feature articles and commentaries while the category ‘news’ refers to both straight news as well as society, sports and women’s news” (Abdelfattah 1990: 78).

Whether the differences between Abdelfattah's results and the sentence length of 30 words in the present corpus is dependent on the definition of what a word is, or if the sentence boundaries differ, I cannot tell.

According to Abdelfattah:

The lengthy sentences that the 1989 journalistic writing shows is a reflection of a tendency in modern journalistic language and indeed, in MSA, to use relative clauses, **among other things, to a great extent. Most sentences** in the 1989 sample were found to have some kind of embedding using the relative pronouns *'alladī* or *'allatī*.

In many instances, relative pronouns were used in a [*sic*] ungrammatical manner in that MSA rules state that a relative pronoun is used following a definite concrete noun or a proper noun and refers to an entity that is already established.

In modern journalistic writing there are **many instances** when the relative pronoun is used after an indefinite noun replacing the conjunction *fa* (then) when introducing a fact that is subsequent in time to that of the main clause (Aziz 1967, Abboud et al. 1968).

(Abdelfattah 1990: 79; bold added)

First, Abdelfattah does not explain what “many instances” actually means, or whether “most sentences” is closer to 50% or 100% or relative to a preconceived intuition. And while he does not exemplify the asyndetic relative clause with an indefinite correlate in his list of examples (pp. 79–87), the data can only with safety be taken to mean more than one example in his corpus.

The great majority of all main clauses are made up of a small number of syntactic constructions.

Table 26 includes nine constructions attested >8x times in the corpus. Together they make up 1,054x, or 92.13% of the total number of main clause structures. The four most frequent constructions—syntactically *wa*-Vsuff (586x, with or without a verb of attribution) and Vsuff (with or without a transition phrase, 344x)—make up 81.3% of all the main clauses in the corpus, the remaining constructions accounting for less than 18.6% (212x attestations). This excludes main clauses with *kāna* and *tamma maṣḍar*.

Table 27 gives a full list of constructions.

5.3. Main and complement main clause structures

Table 26: The nine most frequent main clause syntagms, as annotated (attested >8x)

Σ	Annotation	As percent of 1,144x	Sum percent (1-n)
486	<i>wa-Vsuff</i> (VoA)	42.48	42.48
204	<i>Vsuff</i> (VoA)	17.83	60.31
140	<i>Vsuff</i>	12.24	72.55
100	<i>wa-Vsuff</i>	8.74	81.29
43	<i>wa-VprefL</i>	3.76	85.05
31	<i>VprefL</i>	2.71	87.76
19	<i>wa-kāna S qad fa'ala</i>	1.66	89.42
18	<i>kamā Vsuff</i> (VoA)	1.57	91.00
13	<i>kamā Vsuff</i>	1.14	92.13
1,054			

Table 27: The 1,144x main clause syntagms in the corpus; Σ = total number of attestations, Σ_n = total number of attestations per syntagm, NEG = negation

Structure	Σ	As % of 1,144x	Distribution of syntax	Σ_n	As % of 1,144x
(wa-)Vsuff	930	81.29	<i>wa-Vsuff</i> (VoA)	486	42.48
			<i>Vsuff</i> (VoA)	204	17.83
			<i>Vsuff</i>	140	12.24
			<i>wa-Vsuff</i>	100	8.74
(wa-)VprefL	82	7.17	<i>wa-VprefL</i>	43	3.76
			<i>VprefL</i>	31	2.71
			<i>wa-VprefL</i> (VoA)	8	0.70
<i>kamā Vsuff</i>	31	2.71	<i>kamā Vsuff</i> (VoA)	18	1.57
			<i>kamā Vsuff</i>	13	1.14
(wa-)kāna S qad Vsuff	28	2.45	<i>wa-kāna S qad Vsuff</i>	19	1.66
			<i>wa-kāna S qad Vsuff</i> (VoA)	8	0.70
			<i>kāna S qad Vsuff</i>	1	0.09
<i>wa-qad Vsuff</i>	12	1.05	<i>wa-qad Vsuff</i>	9	0.79
			<i>wa-qad Vsuff</i> (VoA)	3	0.26
<i>wa-min al-</i> passive (NCl)	6	0.52	<i>wa-min al-</i> passive NCl	6	0.52
<i>fa-qad Vsuff</i>	6	0.52	<i>fa-qad Vsuff</i> (VoA)	4	0.35
			<i>fa-qad Vsuff</i>	2	0.17
<i>wa-NCl</i>	4	0.35	<i>wa-NCl</i>	4	0.35
<i>wa-min bayni</i> x (NCl)	4	0.35	<i>wa-min bayni</i> PP (NCl)	3	0.26
			<i>wa-min bayni-h</i> NCl	1	0.09
(wa-)future VprefL	3	0.26	<i>wa-future VprefL</i>	2	0.17
			<i>future VprefL</i> (VoA)	1	0.09

Structure	Σ	As % of 1,144x	Distribution of syntax	Σ _n	As % of 1,144x
'illā 'anna S Vsuff	3	0.26	'illā 'anna S Vsuff (VoA)	2	0.17
			'illā 'anna-h Vsuff	1	0.09
(wa-)lam VprefS	3	0.26	wa-lam VprefS	2	0.17
			lam VprefS	1	0.09
wa-S VprefL	3	0.26	wa-S VprefL	3	0.26
muf'ilan	3	0.26	Indefinite Accusative Participle	3	0.26
fa- 'inna S Vsuff	2	0.17	fa- 'inna S Vsuff	1	0.09
			fa- 'inna S Vsuff (VoA)	1	0.09
wa-kāna S Vsuff	2	0.17	wa-kāna S Vsuff	2	0.17
wa-lā VprefL	2	0.17	wa-lā VprefL	2	0.17
wa-S kāna	1	0.09	wa-S kāna	1	0.09
wa-li-ḡālika VprefL	1	0.09	wa-li-ḡālika VprefL	1	0.09
lākin(na) S VprefL	1	0.09	lākin(na) S VprefL (VoA)	1	0.09
kamā tamma maṣdar	1	0.09	kamā tamma maṣdar	1	0.09
kamā future VprefL	1	0.09	kamā future VprefL	1	0.09
kamā 'anna S VprefL	1	0.09	kamā 'anna S VprefL	1	0.09
wa-kāna qad tamma maṣdar	1	0.09	wa-kāna qad tamma maṣda	1	0.09
wa-kāna	1	0.09	wa-kāna	1	0.09
wa-kāna min al- passive	1	0.09	wa-kāna min al- passive	1	0.09
wa-min ḡimni PP (NCl)	1	0.09	wa-min ḡimni PP NCl	1	0.09
wa-huwa mā Vsuff (NCl)	1	0.09	wa-huwa mā Vsuff (NCl)	1	0.09
hāda mā Vsuff (NCl)	1	0.09	hādha mā NCl	1	0.09
ḡayr 'anna S lam VprefS	1	0.09	ḡayr 'anna S lam VprefS (VoA)	1	0.09
wa-future-yatimmu maṣdar	1	0.09	wa-future-yatimmu maṣdar	1	0.09
fa-Vsuff	1	0.09	fa-Vsuff	1	0.09
fa-VprefL	1	0.09	fa-VprefL	1	0.09
fa- 'inna S VprefL	1	0.09	fa- 'inna S VprefL	1	0.09
fa- 'inna S mā (NEG) Vsuff	1	0.09	fa- 'inna S mā (NEG) Vsuff	1	0.09
fa- 'inna S lā VprefL	1	0.09	fa- 'inna S lā VprefL	1	0.09
baynamā VprefL	1	0.09	baynamā VprefL	1	0.09
		1,144			1,144

5.3.1.1. Journalistic *wa-* in main clauses

709x of all main clause core structures come with a preposed *wa-*; together with preposed elements such as transition phrases (see 5.3.4.2), the total number of non-article-initial main clause complexes begun with *wa-* in the corpus is 890x,³⁸⁷ i.e. a total of 87.8% of all the main clause complexes apart from the first sentence in the corpus begin with a *wa-*.³⁸⁸ No article (lead) begins with a *wa-*.

5.3.1.2. Negation in main clauses

There are 8x main clauses with negation (0.7% of all main clauses): 1x negation of a Vsuff which is affirmative in meaning (*mā-zālat*, Article 54), 3x *lā* + VprefL, and 4x *lam* + VprefS, suggesting that what has not been said or done typically is not considered newsworthy if not attributed (for the distribution of clausal negation, see 5.1). The absence of *lan* VprefA suggests that what will not happen typically is not predicted by the news outlet itself (see the discussion of authorial distance in 1.4.7). Moreover, there are no instances of *lā* VprefS, suggesting that direct prohibitions typically are not part of the Media Arabic register.

5.3.1.3. Passives in main clauses

On passives in general, see 5.2.

Periphrastic passives in main clauses

There are 3x attestations of periphrastic passives in main clauses (0.26% of 1144x): *kamā tamma mašdar* (Article 70, Example 451), *wa-future-yatimma mašdar* (Article 58, Example 452), and *wa-kāna qad tamma mašdar* (Article 131, Example 631). The syntagm is unattested in the most typical main clause structures (*wa-*)Vsuff and (*wa-*)VprefL.

Internal passives in main clauses

There are 29x attestations of internal passives in main clauses (2.5% of 1144x); see Table 27. In 19x or 65.5% of the cases, the same lexical item is attested ≥ 2 x, suggesting lexical tendencies in main clause position.

Note that among the *hapax* attestations in Table 28, *ḡukira*, *qutila*, and *tu'addu* are attested among the recurring lexical items for other structures. Only 7x or 24.1% of the lexical items are genuine *hapax* in main clauses.

³⁸⁷ This number is found by adding the 180x transition phrases with *wa-* together with the one preposed finite subordinate clause (for which, see 5.3.4.1) to the total number of main clauses with *wa-* in the corpus (709x).

³⁸⁸ The total number of main clauses (1,144x) was subtracted by 131x which is the total number of articles, and hence the number of article-initial main clauses in the corpus, since none of the articles begins with a *wa-*.

Table 28: The 29x internal passives in main clauses in the corpus, arranged by frequency of structure

Structure	Σ	Syntax	Σ _n	Recurring lexical items (≥2x)	Hapax items
(wa-) VprefL	14	wa-VprefL	9	6x: <i>wa-yuḍkaru</i> (x4), <i>wa-yu‘addu</i> (2x)	3x: <i>yuḥaṣṣaṣu</i> , <i>wa-yutawaqqa‘u</i> , <i>wa-yuṣāru</i>
		VprefL	5	5x <i>yuḍkaru</i>	-
(wa-) Vsuff	11	wa-Vsuff	3	2x <i>wa-sumi‘a</i>	1x: <i>wa-‘u‘lina</i>
		Vsuff	8	6x <i>qutila</i>	2x: <i>‘uqida</i> , <i>‘ustu‘nifa</i>
<i>kamā</i> Vsuff	2	<i>kamā</i> Vsuff	2		2x: <i>ḍukira</i> , <i>qutila</i>
<i>fa-‘inna</i> S VprefL	1	<i>fa-‘inna</i> S VprefL	1	n/a	1x: <i>tu‘addu</i>
<i>wa-lam</i> VprefS	1	<i>wa-lam</i> VprefS	1	n/a	1x: <i>lam tu‘raf</i>
	29		29	19	10

min al- passives in main clauses

There are 7x attestations of *min al-* passives in main clauses (0.61% of 1144x): 6x *wa-min al-* passive NCl, and 1x *wa-kāna min al-* passive.

The syntagm *wa-mina l-muqarrari* is attested 5x, representing 71.4% of all *min al-* passives in main clauses; this includes 1x attestation with *kāna*, Article 35: *wa-kāna mina l-muqarrari ‘an yataḥaddaṭa* [...] (Example 193). The remaining 2x are *hapax*: *wa-mina l-muntaḏari* (Article 106, Example 505), and *wa-mina l-mutawaqqa‘i* (Article 115, Example 633).

5.3.1.4. NCl in main clauses

17x or 1.49% of all the main clauses are nominal main clauses (incl. 1x *wa-huwa mā* Vsuff (NCl), Article 7).

5.3.1.5. Future grams in main clauses

There are 5x instances of main clauses with future morphology (0.44% of 1144x), all with *sa-*, including 2x preceded by *wa-* (Article 10, and Article 53), 1x *kamā* (Article 15), 1x *sa-yatimmu maṣḏar* (Article 58, for periphrastic passives, see 5.2.1). There is only 1x without *wa-*, the only main clause future with a verb of attribution, Article 88: *wa-fī kalimatihi l-mutawaqqa‘ati, sa-yuḥaddīru kāmīrūn al-nāḥibīna min* [...] (Example 218).

For *lan*, see the discussion of clausal negations in 5.1; for futures in complement main clauses, see 5.3.2.2.

5.3.1.6. VprefL in main clauses

Of the 90x instances of VprefL in main clauses (7.9% of 1144x; excluding morphological futures), only 8x (8.89% of 90x) have verbs of attribution: 7x *wa-VprefL*, and 1x Adversative *lākin(na)* S VprefL in Article 41: *lākinna ṣaḥīḡata «fiḡā» l-mu'āriḡata tu'akkidu 'anna [...]*. Of the remaining 82x attestations, 32x or 39.02% consist of the contextualizing verbs *wa-ya'tī* (21x), feminine (*wa-ta'tī* (3x)), and (*wa-)**yudkaru* (8x times). These verbs only occur in clauses annotated as VprefL and *wa-VprefL*, suggesting syntactical restrictions.

wa-Subject VprefL in main clauses

The construction *wa-Subject VprefL* is attested 3x times as the main clause core structure (0.26% of 1144x): 1x of these attestations is in Example (472) from Article 12 with a unique post-positioned transition phrase: *wa-miṣr min ḡānibihā tuṭamminu [...]*. The other 2x are attested in the final paragraph of Article 106, where background about Yemen and the Houthis is given (Example 453). (For background and context, see 1.4.5.)

453. Article 106 (backgrounding final paragraph), *wa-Subject VprefL* in main clause x2

واليمن البلد الفقير في
شبه الجزيرة العربية
يواجه أيضا تمردا
انفصاليا في الجنوب
وأعمال عنف يقف
وراءها تنظيم القاعدة ،
والحوثيون ينتمون الى
الطائفة الزيدية الشيعية
التي تشكل أغلبية في
شمال اليمن ، لكنها
أقلية في البلاد ككل
حيث يعتنق غالبية
السكان المذهب السني.

wa-l-yaman al-baladu l-fa-
qīru fī šibhi l-ḡazīrati l-
'arabiyyati **yuwāḡihu 'ayḡan**
tamarrudan inḡiṣāliyyan fī-l-
ḡanūbi wa-'a'māla 'unfin ya-
qifu warā'ahā tanzīmu el-
qā'ida , **wa-l-ḡūṡiyyūna yan-**
tamūna 'ilā l-ṡā'ifati l-
zaydiyyati l-ṡi'yyati llatī
tuṣakkilu 'aḡlabiyyatan fī
šamāli el-yaman , lākinnahā
'aqaḡliyyatun fī-l-bilādi ka-
kullin ḡaytu ya'taniqu
ḡālibiyyatu l-sukkāni l-
maḡhaba l-sunniyya.

And Yemen, the [most] poor
country in the Arabian penin-
sula, **also faces** a separatist
insurgency in the south and
acts of violence that al-Qaeda
stands behind. **And the**
Houthis belong to the Zaidi
Shiite sect which forms a
majority in northern Yemen,
though being a minority in
the country as a whole where
the majority of the population
embraces the Sunni doctrine.

5.3.1.7. Pre-clausal closed class elements (not transition phrases) in main clauses

Excluding *wa-*, subjects, and negations, 73x main clauses are preceded by closed class items (6.38% of 1144x): *kamā* (34x, including 1x *kamā 'anna*), *wa-qad* (12x), *fa-qad* (6x), *fa-'inna* (5x), *wa-min bayhi(-h)* (4x), *'illā 'anna* (3x), *fa-* (2x), *lākin(na)* (1x), *wa-li-qālika* (1x), *ḡayr 'anna* (1x), *baynamā* (1x), *hāḡā* (NCl, 1x), *wa-huwa mā* VprefL (NCl, 1x), and *wa-min ḡimn#* (1x).

The inter-sentential relations of *wa-qad*, *fa-qad*, and *fa-'inna* fall outside the scope of the present investigation.³⁸⁹ However, it is worth noting the closed class lexical items that may also be used in non-main clauses: *lākin(na)*, *kamā*, *kamā 'anna*, *gayr 'anna*, *wa-li-ḡālīka*, *baynamā*, *hāḡḡā mā*, and *wa-huwa mā* (for which, see below, and in 6.1).

hāḡḡā mā Vsuff (NCl) and wa-huwa mā Vsuff (NCl) in main clauses

Anaphoric *hāḡḡā* in a nominal main clause is only attested 1x (0.087% of 1144x): *hāḡḡā mā* with Vsuff (verb of attribution) in Article 86 (paragraph-initially after the lead). This, moreover, is the only instance of *hāḡḡā mā* in the corpus.

454. Article 86, *hāḡḡā mā Vsuff (NCl) in main clause (hapax)*

هذا ما كشفت عنه أمس مجلة "فورتشن" الأمريكية ، حيث استعرضت في تقرير لها قائمة بأكبر خمس عصابات إجرامية في العالم ، مشيرة إلى أن تأثيرات الجريمة المنظمة أصبحت كبيرة في الاقتصاد العالمي ، والحياة اليومية لأي شخص.	hāḡḡā mā kašafat 'anhu 'amsi maḡallatu "fūrṡšan" al- 'amrīkiyyatu , ḡaytu sta'raḡat fī taqrīrin lahā qā'imatan bi- 'akbara ḡamsi 'iṡābātin 'iḡrāmiyyatin fī-l-'ālamī , muṡīratan 'ilā 'anna ta'tūrāti l- ḡarīmati l-munazzamati 'aṡbaḡat kabīratan fī-l-iqtisādi l-'ālamīyyi , wa-l-ḡayāti l- yawmiyyati li-'ayyi ṡaḡṡin.	This is what the American magazine "Fortune" re- vealed yesterday, as in a re- port of theirs they reviewed a list of the top five crimi- nal gangs in the world, not- ing that the effects of orga- nized crime have become significant in the world economy and the daily life of any person.

The function here in Article 86 is to resume the contents of the previous clauses in a new sentence, comparable to the one instance of the nominal clause *wa-huwa mā Vsuff (NCl)* in a main clause by the end of the first paragraph in Article 7.

455. Article 7, *wa-huwa mā Vsuff (NCl) in main clause (hapax)*

وقال إنه لا يمكن تخيل الاتحاد بدون بريطانيا. وهو ما لاقى ترحيب الوزراء رئيس البريطاني ديفيد كاميرون.	[...] wa-qāla 'innahu lā yumkinu taḡayyulu l- ittiḡādi bi-dūni brīṡāniyā. wa-huwa mā lāqā tarḡiba ra'īsi l-wuzarā'i l- brīṡāniyyi dayfid kāmīrūn.	[...] And he [Tusk] said that it is not possible to imagine the Union without Britain. [And] this [is what] met a welcome by the British prime minister David Cameron.

These are the single instances of main clauses with this type of resumption. For their respective uses in non-main clauses, see 6.1.

³⁸⁹ But all 4x instances of *fa-'inna* happen to follow transition phrases, as do 1x *fa-qad* Vsuff (verb of attribution), and 2x *fa-qad* Vsuff.

wa-li-dālika VprefL in main clauses

wa-li-dālika VprefL is attested 1x in a main clause (0.087% of 1144x), sentence-initially following a full stop in Article 32. It is comparable to *hādā* and *wa-huwa mā* in main clauses (treated immediately above) and should be put in context with the 3x other instances of *li-dālika* in the corpus, namely the Consecutive *wa-li-dālika* VprefL (sentence-finally following a comma in Article 79, Example 639); the negated Consecutive (not Possible Consequence) *wa-li-dālika lan yatimma mašdar*, also sentence-final, following a comma in a complement clause complex (Article 118, Example 170), and the Unordered Addition in a relative clause complex, *wa-VprefL li-dālika* in Article 41, where *li-dālika* refers anaphorically to the previous clause in *wa-yuwāḡihu li-dālika*, ‘and for which [crime] he is facing [sentence]’ (Example 523; for these constructions, see 6.1).

Example (456) from Article 32, with *wa-li-dālika* VprefL in a main clause, deals with Sudanese-Iranian relations and the recent news of Sudan closing Iranian cultural centres in Khartoum; *li-dālika* here functions like a contextualizer, as though recalling news mentioned outside this article, and thus functions on a much higher textual level than the other examples with *li-dālika*: ‘therefore, it is therefore that, because of all this’. Its full paragraph is given in Example (456). This is the only time Israel is mentioned at all in the article.

456. Article 32, *wa-li-dālika* VprefL in main clause

ويرتبط السودان بعلاقات عسكرية مع إيران حيث اعتادت السفن الحربية الإيرانية زيارة الموانئ السودانية وكان آخرها في يونيو الماضي عندما زارت مدمرة وسفينة امداد ميناء بورسودان على البحر الأحمر. ولذلك تتهم إسرائيل السودان بأنه يشكل قاعدة لعبور الأسلحة الإيرانية المخصصة لحركة حماس في قطاع غزة، الأمر الذي تنفيه الخرطوم.	wa-yartabiṭu el-sūdān bi- ‘alāqātin ‘askariyyatin ma’a ‘īrān ḥayṭu ‘tādātī l-sufunu l- ḥarbiyyatu l-‘īrāniyyatu ziyārata l-mawānī’i l- sūdāniyyati wa-kāna ‘āḥiruhā fī yūniyū l-mādī ‘indamā zārat mudammiratun wa-safīnatu ‘imdādin mīnā’a bursūdān ‘alā l-baḥri l-‘aḥmari. wa-li-dālika tattahimu ‘isrā’īl el-sūdān bi- ‘annahu yuṣakkilu qā’idatan li- ‘ubūri l-‘asliḥati l-‘īrāniyyati l- muḥaṣṣaṣati li-ḥarakati ḥamās fī qīṭā’i ḡazza, al-‘amru llaḏī tanfīhi el-ḥartūm.	And Sudan is tied by military ties to Iran: Iranian warships are accustomed to visit Sudanese ports, the last of which was in June when a destroyer and a supply ship visited the port of Port Sudan by the Red Sea. And therefore, Israel accuses Sudan of forming a base for the passage of Iranian weapons destined for the Hamas movement in the Gaza Strip, something which Khartoum denies.

baynamā and kamā in main clauses

There are 35x attestations of *baynamā* and *kamā* in main clauses (3.1% of 1144x). The attested constructions are given in Table 29.

Table 29: The 35x constructions with *kamā* and *baynamā* in main clauses in the corpus, arranged by frequency

Σ	Construction
18	<i>kamā</i> Vsuff (VoA)
13	<i>kamā</i> Vsuff
1	<i>kamā tamma maṣḍar</i>
1	<i>kamā</i> future VprefL
1	<i>kamā</i> 'anna S VprefL
1	<i>baynamā</i> VprefL
35	

baynamā + VprefL is used paragraph-initially in a main clause 1x (0.087% of 1144x), in Article 123, where it immediately follows the lead and has the function of an adverb, ‘meanwhile’ (or bi Adversative), or in the function of a sentence-initial *wa-*, ‘and’.

Sentence-initial *kamā* + verb (in main clauses) is attested 33x (2.88% of 1144x), and is mutually exclusive with *wa-*, with which it has a similar semantics in this context, ‘moreover, and’. (For the fallacy of cotemporality, see 3.16.1.1; for other functions of *baynamā* and *kamā*, see under 6.1.5.)

As for the *hapax* attestation of *kamā* 'anna in a main clause in Example (457) from Article 114, it is arguably a continuation of the first main clause with *ḡā'a fi-l-da'wati* [...] 'annahu yatimmu 'ilḥāqu l-'alawiyyīna, but the interpunctuation with two full stops, { .. }, and the new subject with the Same Level Different Subject linking makes it comparable to a main clause. (For a full coverage of second complements, see 5.3.2.1; for *kamā* 'anna, see “*kamā*, constructions including” in 6.1.5.)

457. Article 114, *kamā* 'anna in main clause

وجاء في الدعوة للمظاهرات أنه يتم إحقاق العلويين وشعوب الأقلية والطلاب المنتسبين لديانات أخرى قسراً إلى مدارس الأئمة والخطباء دون النظر إلى هوياتهم ودياناتهم، وبهذا تمارس ضدهم عملية دمج إجباري.. كما أن حزب العدالة والتنمية الحاكم يسعى لجعل اللغة التركية هي لغة التعليم الوحيدة ويقوم بغلق المدارس المخالفة تحت شعار	wa-ḡā'a fi-l-da'wati li-l- muṣāharāti 'annahu yatimmu 'ilḥāqu l-'alawiyyīna wa- ṣu'ūbi l-'aqaḥliyyati wa-l- ṭullābi l-muntasibīna li- dayānātīn 'uḥrā qasran 'ilā madārisi l-'a'immati wa-l- ḥuṭabā'i duna l-naẓari 'ilā huwiyyātihim wa- diyānātihim, wa-bi-hāḍā tumārasu dīddahum 'ama- liyyatu damḡin 'iḡbāriyyin.. kamā 'anna ḥizba l-'adālat# wa-l-tanmiyat# l-ḥākima yas'ā li-ḡā'li l-luḡati l-tur- kiyyati hiya luḡata l-ta'īmi l-waḥīdati wa-yaqūmu bi- ḡalqī l-madārisi l-muḥālīfati	And it was said in the call for demonstrations <u>that</u> Alawites, minority peoples, and students affiliated to other religions are being forcibly enrolled in the madrasas [schools] of the imams and preachers without regard for their identities and religions, and through this a process of compulsory integration is being practiced against them.. as well as that the ruling Justice and Development Party seeks to make the Turkish language the only language of education and it is closing down the schools that disagree [with

أمة واحدة، كذلك بصر أيضاً على تدريس المواد الدينية الإجبارية استناداً إلى شعاره المتمثل في دين واحد ومذهب واحد.	taḥta šī 'āri 'ummat# wāḥidat#, ka-dālika yaširru 'aydan 'alā tadrīsi l-mawāddi l-dīniyyati l- 'iḡbāriyyati stinādan 'ilā šī 'ārihi l-mutamattiḥi fī dīn# wāḥid# wa-maḡhab# wāḥid#.	this] under the slogan of <i>one nation</i> , as well as it also is insistent on teaching the obligatory religious subjects based on its slogan which is represented in <i>one religion and one doctrine</i> [school of thought].

lākin(na) and *ḡayr 'anna* in main clauses

Both main clauses *lākin(na)* S VprefL (Article 41) and *ḡayr 'anna* S VprefL (Article 126) have verbs of attribution and function as Adversatives in the context of the article (for a definition of Adversative, see 4.9.7).³⁹⁰

5.3.2. Complementizers (828x) and complement main clauses (891x)

5.3.2.1. *n-(h)*-complementizers (828x)

All non-deverbalized complement main clauses except Complements of Utterances (for the term, see Table 18 in 4.1) need a complementizer:³⁹¹ i.e. *'anna*, *'an*, or *'inna*. This complementizer may have proclitic pronominal suffixes and/or be preceded by a preposition, depending on the lexico-syntactic context. If *'an* is followed by *lā*, it may become *'al-lā* via assimilation (Example 458); this, too, is a complementizer (separate from *'illā*). For *kamā 'anna-* (not treated as a complementizer), see Example 457 (above) and 6.1.

In Example (458), *'atamannā* begins a Complement of Utterance governed by the utterance phrase *'aḏāfa qā 'ilan*, 'added by saying' the complement main clause beginning with *'atamannā* is introduced without complementizer (asyndetically); the complementizer *'an* introduces a first complement clause to *'atamannā* and the complementizer *wa-'allā* introduces a second complement clause governed by the same verb *'atamannā*.

458. Article 49, Complement clauses and Complementizers

وأضاف قائلاً: أتمنى أن يكون شركاؤنا الأوروبيون غير راغبين في ذلك، وألا يكون هناك أشخاص مجنونة بين متخذي القرار، حسب وصفه.	wa-'aḏāfa qā 'ilan: <i>'atamannā</i> 'an yakūna šurakā'una l- 'ūrūbbiyyūna ḡayra rāḡibīna fī dālika, <i>wa-'allā</i> yakūna hunāka 'ašḡāṣun maḡnūnatun bayna muttaḥiḍi l-qarāri, ḡasaba waṣfihi.	And he added saying: I <u>hope that</u> our European partners will not want this, and that there will not be insane people among the decision makers, according to his description.

³⁹⁰ *lākinna ṣaḡḡifata 'fiḡā* al-mu 'āriḏata tu 'akkidu 'anna [...] (Article 41); and *ḡayra 'anna l-taqrīra lam yataḡaddaḡ* (Article 126).

³⁹¹ This excludes titles, slogans, etc., such as *x* in *bi-'unwāni x* and *taḥta šī 'āri x*, where *x* is a postmodifier or complement in the form of a phrase or clause.

Excluded from the count as complementizers are the typically conditional conjunction *'in* (for which, see under 6.1.5) and all compound conjunctions including a complementizer, e.g. *ba 'da 'an* and *kamā 'anna(-h)* (for which, again, see 6.1.5).

Due to the inconsistent spelling of *hamza*—a possible influence of colloquial Arabic (*'inn-*), likely through both genuine ignorance and hypercorrection—there is no way to consistently distinguish between an intended *'inna* or *'anna* in Media Arabic. For this reason, only two major categories were created for the annotation of complements, namely *n-* and *n-h-*complementizers (with or without *wa-*). To these comes the addition of a category *n-lā-*complementizers. Any preposition that was present was included in the annotated segment (for annotation methodology, see 2.5.2).

There are a total of 828x complementizers in the corpus, the attested types are given in Table 30.

Table 30: The 828x complementizers in the corpus, arranged by frequency of complementizer type

Σ	Complementizer type
634	<i>n</i> -complementizers (<i>'an</i> , <i>'anna</i> , and <i>'inna</i>) ³⁹²
165	<i>n-h</i> -complementizers (<i>'anna-h</i>)
19	<i>wa-n</i> -complementizers (<i>wa-'an</i> , <i>wa-'anna</i> , and <i>wa-'inna</i>)
6	<i>wa-n-h</i> -complementizers
3	<i>n-lā</i> -complementizers
1	<i>wa-n-lā</i> -complementizers
828	

n-complementizers

There are 634x attestations of *n*-complementizers. 490x or 77.30% of these are Complements of Utterances. 505x are complements to finite verbs, 410x instances of which are accounted for by the following: 106x Vsuff *qāla*,³⁹³ 64x *'akkada*, 53x *ḍakara* (incl. 9x *yudkaru*), 41x *'adāfa*, 40x *'awḍaḥa*, 29x *'a 'lana*, 22x *'ašāra*, 14x *ḥaḍḍara*, 14x *kašafa*, 16x *yağib#*, and 11x (*lā*) *ymkn*. The complement of *n*-complementizers is used 30x times with open class nouns, 15x of which are: 5x *qawl-h*, 4x *'amal-h*, 2x (*bi-*) *'imkāniyyat#*, 2x (*al-*) *ittifāq#*, and 2x *iḥtimāl#*. Among the accusative participles there are e.g. 23x *mušīr-*, 15x *mu'akkid-*, 8x *muḍīf-*, 7x *mūḍiḥ-*, 5x *mu'tabir-*, 2x *qā'il-*, and 2x *mušaddid-*; in 14x instances the *n*-complementizer is governed by a *min al-*passive (for which, see 5.2.3). In one instance (Article 4), *'an* is followed by

³⁹² Included in this is the unique *faḍlan 'an 'anna* Subject VprefL (Article 8); for this, see under 5.3.2.1.

³⁹³ In the investigation of complementizers, the lexical form includes all persons and genders under the umbrella of a single verbal form, e.g. Vsuff *qāla* includes *qālat*, *qālū*, etc.

the standard negation *lā* without assimilation: *na'mulu 'an lā* VprefA (see Example 270). In Article 14, the construction *qā'ilan 'inna* is followed by a finite verb: *qā'ilan 'inna: »kāna yağibu 'an ya lamū 'anna rūsiya lā yumkinu 'an taqifa maktūfata l-'aydī [...]* (Example 439).

The *n*-complementizer is preceded by a preposition 124x times: 62x *'ilā*, 25x *bi-*, 13x *min*, 12x *'an*, 8x *'alā*, and 4x *fī*.

wa-n-complementizers

15x of the 19x instances of *wa-n-complementizers* are used as complements to finite verbs, 5x of which are Vsuff *'akkada*; there is also 1x time to *mu'akkidan* (Article 112), and 1x to *mušīran* (Article 55).

16x *wa-n-complementizers* are second Complements of Utterances (following a previous, or first complementizer, see below), and 1x it is used as a unique Third Complement of Utterance (Article 12, Example 462). The *wa-n-complementizer* is also used 1x as a primary complement to *lā-budda* (Article 121, Example 459 below). It is used 1x in a *not x, but y* clause (Article 83, Example 440). The *wa-n-complementizer* is never negated. It is also never preceded by prepositions, but is separated as *wa 'inna* once (with space, Article 131).

459. Article 121, *wa-n-complementizer* as the primary complementizer

"، مضيفا "أن هذا
النقص سبب احتقان لدى
النواب لأن أية حكومة
للأزمة لابد وأن تكون
على رأسها حقيبتا
الدفاع والداخلية.

[...], muḍīfan ”’anna hādā l-
naqsa sabbaba ḥtiqānan ladā
l-nuwwābi li-’anna ’ayyata
ḥukūmatin li-l-’azmati lā-
budda wa-’an takūna ’alā
ra’sihā ḥaqībatā l-difā’i wa-l-
dāḥiliyyati.

[...], and he added “that this
shortage caused congestion
among the deputies because
any government of the crisis,
it must be that it has [= must
have] at the top the two port-
folios of defence and the inter-
ior.

n-h-complementizers

There are 165x attestations of *n-h-complementizers*. 128x (77.6%) of these are Complements of Utterances. 131x (79.4%) are complements to finite verbs, 82x of which are accounted for by: 29x *qāla*, 24x *'akkada*, 8x *'awḍaḥa*, 7x *waṣafa* (note that this is not attested with *n-complementizers*), 7x *'a lana*, 7x *ḍakara* (*yudkaru* not attested). 7x are complements to open class nouns, including 2x *waṣf-h*, and 1x *qawla-hā* (Article 88) (cf. for *n-complementizers* above).

Among the accusative participles there are e.g. 7x *mušīr-*, 6x *mu'akkid-*, 3x *qā'il-*, and 2x *mūḍiḥ-*. It is never governed by a *min al-* passive (for passives, see 5.2).

The *n-h-complementizer* is followed by *lā* 14x times (2x of which are *'anna-hā*), 4x of which are *n-h lā yumkin*, 4x *n-h lā yūğad#* (incl. 2x feminine); and 4x with *lam*, 2x of which are periphrastic passives (*lam yatimma + mašdar*); 3x times *n-h lan* VprefA (incl. 1x feminine, Article 120).

The *n-h*-complementizer is preceded by prepositions 48x times: 25x *bi* (including partial quote *bi* «'annahā, Article 69), 16x 'ilā, 4x 'alā, 2x min, and 1x fī (Article 122, Example 437); it is unattested with 'an.

wa-n-h-complementizers

There are 6x attestations of *wa-n-h*-complementizers. It is only attested as a complementizer to finite verbs: 4x Vsuff *qāla*, 1x 'akkada (Article 83), and 1x *ḍakara* (Article 115). It is only used as a Second Complement of Utterance (for which, see below) and is never negated.

n-lā-complementizers

There are 3x attestations of *n-lā*-complementizers. It is only used in modal contexts (Article 34; Article 63, Example 529; and Article 83, Example 440). For the graphically separated 'an lā (1x), see under “*n*-complementizers” above.

wa-n-lā-complementizer

There is only 1x attestation of a *wa-n-lā*-complementizer, as a second complementizer, in Article 49: [...] 'atamannā 'an yakūna šurakā'una [...] wa-'allā yakūna hunāka 'ašḥāṣun maḡnūnatun bayna muttaḥiḍī l-qarāri (Example 458). For second complements, see below.

Complementizers and lexical restrictions

The *n-h*-complementizers typically do not go with an additional preposed subject in the complement main clause, a unique exception being Example (460) from Article 98, where the suffix in 'annahu is joined by a second subject in a *wa-S* VprefL complement main clause.

460. Article 98, *n-h* + *wa*-Subject (*hapax*); the example is iterated and expanded in Example (591)

وتدخل بن عمر في المفاوضات وأبلغ الحوثيين أنه وسفراء الدول العشر الـراعية للمبادرة الخليجية يرون أن	[...] wa-tadaḥḥala ben 'umar fi-l-mufāwaḍāti wa-'ablaḡa el-ḥūṭiyyīna 'annahu wa- sufarā'u l-duwali l-'ašri l- rā'iyati li-l-mubādarati l- ḥaliḡiyyati yarawna 'an [...]	And Benomar intervened in the negotiations and told the Houthis that he and the ambassadors of the ten countries that overlook the Gulf initiative think that [...]

The *n*-complementizers typically are not followed by a Vsuff verb. The 3x exceptions are 1x in Article 15 and 1x in Article 37, both in the phrase *mā labīṭa 'an tarāḡa'a(t)*, and 1x in the unique instance in Article 34, Example (461).

461. Article 34, *n*-complementizer + Vsuff (*hapax*)

وأضاف البيان أن «نصحنًا قواتكم ألا ينجروا وراء الخدع الغربية، في إشارة إلى ميليشيا فجر ليبيا منتقدا التنظيم بقوله: كنا نتوقع منهم ردا قويا ، فإذا بنا نرى بيانا يبدون فيه استعدادهم لحماية البرلمان إن رضوا بالديمقراطية والإعلان الدستوري، متسائلا باستنكار : هل ستحمون من أهانكم وأذلكم واتهمكم بل قاتلكم واستباح دماءكم .	wa-'aḍāfa l-bayānu 'an(na?) »naṣaḥnā quwwātikum 'al-lā yangīrrū warā'a l- ḥuda'i l-ġarbiyyati, fī 'išāra- tin 'ilā mīlīšiyā faġr libīyā muntaqidan al-tanzīma bi- qawlihi: kunnā natawaqqa'u minhum raddan qawīyyan , fa-'idā binā narā bayānan yubdūna fihi sti'dādahum li- ḥimāyati l-barlamāni 'in raqḍi bi-l-dīmūqrāṭiyyati wa- l-'i'lāni l-dustūriyyi, mutasā'īlan bi-stinkārin : hal sa-taḥmūna man 'ahānakum wa-'aḍallakum wa-ttahama- kum bal qātalakum wa- stabāḥa dimā'akum.	And the statement added that »we advised your forces not to be dragged behind the Western tricks, in a reference to the Libya Dawn militia, criticizing the group by saying: We had ex- pected from them a strong re- sponse, yet [instead] we now see a statement in which they show readiness to protect the parlia- ment if they are pleased with the democracy and the constitu- tional declaration, asking disap- provingly: Are you going to pro- tect those who humiliated you and insulted and accused you, nay, who fought you and shed your blood.

Second and third complementization

Although the number of complements and complementizers to a single head is theoretically infinite, there is typically no more than one.

The unique Example (462) from Article 12 features both a second and a third complementizer governed by the same verb, *'akkada*; it is the only attestation of a third complement clause in the corpus. The third complement clause is introduced by a *wa* + complementizer.

462. Article 12, first, second, and third complementizer to verb: Second Complement of Utterance and Third Complement of Utterance

وحول إمكانية إمداد ألمانيا لمصر بالعربات المصفحة من طراز جي تي كي بوكسر لإستخدامها في عمليات مكافحة الإرهاب وخطر الجهاديين في سيناء أكد الوزير أنه تطرق لمسألة إمداد مصر بالأسلحة وأن هناك إنفتاحا على تناولها بشكل موضوعي، وأن الحكومة الألمانية ستتخذ القرار التي تجده متوافقا مع رغبتها في	wa-ḥawla 'imkāniyyati 'im- dādi 'almāniyā li-miṣr bi-l- 'arabāti l-muṣaffaḥati min ṭirāzi ġtī tī kī bükser li- istiḥdāmihā fī 'amaliyyāti mukāfaḥati l-'irḥābi wa- ḥaṭari l-ġihādiyyīna fī sinā' 'akkada l-wazīru 'annahu taḥarraḡa li-mas'alati 'im- dādi miṣr bi-l-'asliḥati wa- 'anna hunāka 'infitaḥan 'alā tanāwuliḥa bi-ṣaklin mawḏū'iyyin, wa-'anna l- ḥukūmata l-'almāniyyata sa-tattaḥiḍu l-qarāra llatī taḡiduhu mutawāfiqan ma'a	And concerning the possibility of Germany supplying Egypt with armoured vehicles of the GTK Boxer model for use in counterterrorism operations and [concerning] the threat of the jihadists in Sinai, <u>the min- ister stressed that he had ad- dressed the issue of supplying Egypt with weapons and that there is an openness to deal with it [this issue] in an objec- tive manner, and that the German government will take the decision which it will find compatible with its desire</u>

تدعيم العلاقات مع مصر وفي نفس الوقت توفير إحتياجات ربما تكون ضرورية ومهمة لمصر في مجال مكافحة الإرهاب.	raġbatihā fi tad‘īmi l-‘alāqāti ma‘a miṣr wa-fi nafsi l-waḡti tawfiri ‘iḥtiyāġātīn rubbamā takūnu ḡarūriyyatan wa-mu- himmatan li-miṣr fi maġāli mukāfaḡati l-‘irhābi.	to strengthen its relations with Egypt simultaneously [= and] to provide needs that might be necessary and important for Egypt in the field of combating terrorism.

This study only includes non-deverbalized complement clauses with and without complementizers. Clauses such as *sa-yatimmu maṣḡar* in Example (482) and *wa*-Subject VprefL in Example (463) from Article 122 below are not understood to be second complement main clauses, but as a Temporal Succession and a Same Level Different Subject Addition respectively.

463. Article 122, *wa*-Subject VprefL, Same Level Different Subject Addition

، موضحاً أن ميزة هذه الحكومة تكمن في أنها لاتضم وزراء لامن حركة فتح أو حركة حماس ومهمتها الرئيسية تتمثل في إعادة إعمار غزة والتحضير للانتخابات الرئاسية والبرلمانية والتي كان من المقرر أن تنظم بعد ستة أشهر من تشكيل الحكومة ولكن نظراً لتداعيات العدوان الاسرائيلي على غزة والذي استمر أكثر من 50 يوماً سيتم النظر في تحديد موعد جديد لإجرائها.	[...], mūdīḡan ‘anna mīzata hāḡīhi l-ḡukūmati takmunu fi ‘annahā lā-taḡummu wuzarā‘a lā-min ḡarakati fataḡ ‘aw ḡara- kati ḡamās wa-maḡtam- matuhā l-ra‘īsiyyatu ta- tamattalu fi ‘i‘ādati ‘i‘māri ġazza wa-l-taḡḡiri li-l-in- tiḡābāti l-rī‘āsiyyati wa-l- barlamāniyyati wa-l-latī kāna minā l-muḡarrari ‘an tunazzama ba‘da sittati ‘aṣḡu- rin min taṣkīli l-ḡukūmati wa- l-lākin naḡaran li-tadā‘iyāti l- ‘udwāni l-‘isrā‘īliyyi ‘alā ġazza wa-l-latī stamarra ‘aktara min 50-yawman sa-yatimmu l- naḡaru fi taḡḡīdi maw‘idin ġaḡīdin li-‘iġrā‘ihā.	[...], and he explained that the advantage of this govern- ment lies in that it does not in- clude ministers neither from the Fatah movement, nor [from] the Hamas movement, and [that] its main task lies in the rebuilding of Gaza and the preparation for the presidential and parliamen- tary elections which were planned to be organized six months after the formation of the government but because of the repercussions of the Is- raeli aggression on Gaza which lasted more than 50- days the setting of a new date will be considered for them [the elections] to be held.

There are 28x second complements in the corpus. The second complements are introduced 16x times by *wa-n*, 6x by *wa-n-h* (including 1x feminine *n-hā*, Article 19), and 1x with *wa-n-lā* (Article 49). In addition to this, there are 4x instances with *kamā n-* (see e.g. Article 114, Example 457) and 1x with the unique *faḡḡlan ‘an ‘anna* in Article 8 (Example 464 below). (For the use of *kamā n-* in non-main clauses, see 6.1.5; for *faḡḡlan ‘an* as a compound preposition, see 6.9.)

464. Article 8, second complement, *faḍlan* 'an 'anna S VprefL

وعلى سعيد آخر، أشار على رضا شيشمك النائب بالحزب الديمقراطي الاجتماعي عن مدينة «هامبورج» إلى أنه تم نقل العديد من المقاتلين الجرحى من أعضاء الجماعات الإسلامية الإرهابية من سوريا إلى المستشفيات التركية لتلقى العلاج، فضلا عن أن تركيا تقوم بتوفير الدعم اللوجيستي لهذه الجماعات الإرهابية.	wa-ʿalā ṣaʿīdin ʾāḥara, ʾašāra ʿalī riḍā šīšmak al-nāʾibu bi-l- ḥizbi l-dīmuqrāṭiyyi l- iḡtimāʾiyyi ʿan madīnati «hāmbūrg» ʾilā ʾannahu tamma naqlu l-ʾadīdi mina l- muqātilīna l-ḡarḥā min ʾaʿdāʾi l-ḡamāʿati l-ʾislāmiyyati l-ʾir- hābiyyati min sūriyā ʾilā l- mustašfayāti l-turkiyyati li- talaqqī l-ʾilāḡi, faḍlan ʿan ʾanna turkiyā taqūmu bi- tawfīri l-daʿmi l-lūḡistiyyi li- hādihi l-ḡamāʿati l-ʾirhābiy- yati.	And on another level, Ali- reza Cheshmak [?], a mem- ber [of parliament] in the So- cial Democratic party from the city of «Hamburg» said that a number of the wounded fighters of the members of the Islamist ter- rorist groups have been transferred from Syria to Turkish hospitals to receive treatment, in addition to [the fact] that Turkey is providing logistic support for these terrorist groups.

As illustrated by these examples with second complements in this present section, a second complement has a contextual connection but no explicit semantico-logical link to the preceding clauses.

Example (465) from Article 131 illustrates a loosely connected utterance of the verb *ittahama*, ‘accused’, here linked via *wa ʾinna* [sic], without the insertion of a secondary predicate (e.g. *wa-qāla*, *mušṭran ʾilā*, etc.).

465. Article 131, second complementizer

واتهم كرزاي الأطراف الخارجية بأنها وراء زيادة هجمات المتمردين ، و إن السلام في أفغانستان يعتمد على الولايات المتحدة وباكستان.	<u>wa-ttahama karzāy</u> al-ʾaṭrāfa l-ḥāriḡiyyata bi-ʾannahā warāʾa ziyādati ḡamāṭi l- mutamarridīna, wa ʾinna l- salāma fī ʾafḡānistān yaʿtamidu ʿalā l-wilāyāti l- muttaḥidati wa-bākistān.	<u>And Karzai accused</u> the for- eign parties that they are be- hind the increase of attacks of insurgents and that the peace in Afghanistan de- pends on the United States and Pakistan.

Article 49 includes the only instance of *wa-ʾallā* as a second complementizer (see Example 458).

5.3.2.2. Complement main clauses (891x)

A complement clause is here defined as an embedded clause introduced by a complementizer, or an embedded non-deverbalized clause without a complementizer (a structure only attested for utterances). The most superordinate clause in each embedded complement is the complement main clause. In the case of coordinated clauses with *wa-* in a complement clause complex, only one clause following a complementizer or a verb of utterance is annotated as a complement main clause. Only primary complement clauses are included here (excluding second and third complementization, for which, see above under 5.3.2.1), and *faḍlan* 'an 'anna S VprefL (Example 464; also discussed under 6.1.5). Accusative nouns (deverbalized clauses) filling a complement slot are excluded from the investigation. Excluded from this investigation are also questions (see 5.4).³⁹⁴

There are 891x non-deverbalized complement main clauses in the corpus. Example (466) from Article 102 illustrates two complement main clauses: one is a Complement of Utterance following *wa-* 'aḍāfa, here without a complementizer; the second is introduced with a complementizer governed by *nurīdukum*.

466. Article 102, complement main clause x2

وَأَضَافَ: «بَعْقُولُنَا وَقُلُوبُنَا وَأَرْوَاحُنَا نُرِيدُكُمْ أَنْ تَبْقُوا مَعَنَا.»	wa-'aḍāfa: « bi-'uqūlinā wa-qulūbinā wa-'arwāḥinā nurīdukum 'an tabqaw ma'anā «.	And he added: « with our minds, and [with] our hearts, and [with] our souls, we want you to stay with us «.

Table 31 includes all constructions of complement main clauses. Each category is exclusive based on semi-conjunctions and verbal morphology, i.e. with separate categories for the verb *kāna*, periphrastic and *min al-* passives, as well as verbs of attribution, preposed subjects,³⁹⁵ preposed elements other than subjects, and the various negations. (For preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.)

Table 31 gives the constructions in order of frequency, with the number of attestations and percentage that this is of the total number of 891x complement main clauses, together with the sum and percentage sum of construction 1–n.

Table 32 arranges the constructions of Table 31 by predicate morphology, with a separate category for negated clauses. The categories are exclusive (e.g. the constructions counted for Vsuff are not included in the count for S Vsuff).

³⁹⁴ This is relevant for the indirect questions *mutasā'ilan* + *man* Vsuff [...] *wa-li-māḍā lam yatimma*, 'asking who [...] and why', in Article 24; and *wa-lam yūḍiḥ al-bābā māḍā* VprefL, 'And the Pope did not explain what' (Article 116); and the questions of more unclear status *mutasā'ilan* [...] *hal* future VprefL (Article 34) and *tasā'ala* [...] *hal* Vsuff (Article 49). For direct and indirect questions, see 5.4.2.

³⁹⁵ In the table, S indicates an overt subject outside of the *n-(h)*-complementizer.

Table 31: The 891x complement main clause structures in order of frequency; note that X = a peripheral element (e.g an adverb or a front dislocation)

Σ	Syntax	Percent of 891x	Sum (1-n)	Sum percent of 891x (1-n)
197	S Vsuff	22.11	197	22.11
123	NCI	13.80	320	35.91
104	S VprefL	11.67	424	47.59
81	VprefA	9.09	505	56.68
61	S future-VprefL	6.85	566	63.52
41	VprefL	4.60	607	68.13
33	Vsuff	3.70	640	71.83
20	<i>yakūna</i>	2.24	660	74.07
14	future-VprefL	1.57	674	75.65
14	<i>lā</i> VprefL	1.57	688	77.22
14	S <i>lam</i> VprefS	1.57	702	78.79
13	S future- <i>yakūnu</i>	1.46	715	80.25
13	S Vsuff (VoA)	1.46	728	81.71
13	<i>tamma maşdar</i>	1.46	741	83.16
12	S <i>lā</i> VprefL	1.35	753	84.51
7	<i>lam</i> VprefS	0.79	760	85.30
7	<i>lan</i> VprefA	0.79	767	86.08
7	S <i>laysa</i> NCI	0.79	774	86.87
7	S <i>qad</i> VprefL	0.79	781	87.65
5	X future-VprefL	0.56	786	88.22
5	X NCI	0.56	791	88.78
5	<i>kāna</i>	0.56	796	89.34
5	<i>laysa</i> NCI	0.56	801	89.90
5	S <i>kāna</i>	0.56	806	90.46
5	<i>yatimma maşdar</i>	0.56	811	91.02
4	future- <i>yatimmu maşdar</i>	0.45	815	91.47
4	<i>min al-</i> passive NCI	0.45	819	91.92
4	S <i>qad</i> Vsuff	0.45	823	92.37
3	X <i>lā</i> VprefL	0.34	826	92.70
3	<i>kāna</i> VprefL	0.34	829	93.04
3	<i>laqad</i> Vsuff	0.34	832	93.38
3	S <i>lan</i> VprefA	0.34	835	93.71
2	<i>fa-</i> 'inna S future-VprefL	0.22	837	93.94
2	<i>fa-</i> 'inna-h future-VprefL	0.22	839	94.16
2	X VprefL	0.22	841	94.39
2	X <i>lā</i> noun NCI (<i>budda</i> , <i>şakka</i>)	0.22	843	94.61
2	X <i>lam</i> VprefS	0.22	845	94.84
2	<i>lam yatimma maşdar</i>	0.22	847	95.06
2	<i>lan yakūna</i>	0.22	849	95.29
2	<i>yatimmu maşdar</i>	0.22	851	95.51
1	<i>fa-</i> 'idhā bi-h VprefL	0.11	852	95.62
1	<i>fa-</i> 'inna S future- <i>yakūnu</i>	0.11	853	95.74

Σ	Syntax	Percent of 891x	Sum (1-n)	Sum percent of 891x (1-n)
1	<i>fa- 'inna S laysa</i> NCl	0.11	854	95.85
1	<i>fa- 'inna-h</i> future- <i>yakūnu</i>	0.11	855	95.96
1	<i>fa- 'inna-h lan yakūna</i>	0.11	856	96.07
1	<i>fa</i> -NCl	0.11	857	96.18
1	<i>fa-qad</i> Vsuff	0.11	858	96.30
1	<i>fa-S laysa</i> NCl	0.11	859	96.41
1	<i>fa-tammata</i> NCl	0.11	860	96.52
1	X <i>yatimmu maṣdar-h</i>	0.11	861	96.63
1	X <i>fa- 'alay-h</i> NCl	0.11	862	96.75
1	X <i>fa</i> -future VprefL	0.11	863	96.86
1	X <i>fa- 'inna S</i> future-VprefL	0.11	864	96.97
1	X <i>fa- 'inna S</i> Vsuff	0.11	865	97.08
1	X <i>fa- 'inna-h</i> VprefL	0.11	866	97.19
1	X <i>fa- 'inna-h</i> Vsuff	0.11	867	97.31
1	X future- <i>yatimmu maṣdar</i>	0.11	868	97.42
1	X 'illā 'anna S mā (NEG) Vsuff	0.11	869	97.53
1	X <i>kāna</i>	0.11	870	97.64
1	X <i>kāna qad tamma maṣdar-h</i>	0.11	871	97.76
1	X <i>laysa</i> NCl	0.11	872	97.87
1	X <i>qad tamma maṣdar</i>	0.11	873	97.98
1	X <i>qad</i> Vsuff	0.11	874	98.09
1	X <i>tamma maṣdar</i>	0.11	875	98.20
1	X Vsuff	0.11	876	98.32
1	X Vsuff (VoA)	0.11	877	98.43
1	<i>kāna min al-</i> passive	0.11	878	98.54
1	<i>lā</i> VprefA ³⁹⁶	0.11	879	98.65
1	<i>maṣdar</i> (= S) future- <i>yatimmu</i>	0.11	880	98.77
1	<i>maṣdar tamma</i>	0.11	881	98.88
1	S <i>kāna</i> VprefL	0.11	882	98.99
1	S mā (NEG) Vsuff	0.11	883	99.10
1	S <i>rubbamā yakūnu</i>	0.11	884	99.21
1	S <i>kāna qad</i> Vsuff	0.11	885	99.33
1	S <i>lam yakun</i>	0.11	886	99.44
1	S <i>lam</i> VprefS (VoA)	0.11	887	99.55
1	S <i>lan yakūna</i>	0.11	888	99.66
1	Vsuff (VoA)	0.11	889	99.78
1	<i>yakūna S qad</i> Vsuff	0.11	890	99.89
1	<i>yatimma ḍālika</i>	0.11	891	100
891				

³⁹⁶ The 1x attestation of *lā* VprefA is due to an uncontracted 'allā, Article 4: [...] "na'mulu 'an lā tatakkarrara l-tadaḥḥulātu l-turkiyyatu [...] (Example 270).

Table 32: The 891x complement main clauses arranged by frequency of grammatical morpheme and predicate morphology (= Gram), and syntax

Gram	Σ	Syntax	Percent of 891x	Sum (1-n)	Sum % (1-n)
Vsuff	197	S Vsuff	22.11	197	22.11
	33	Vsuff	3.70	230	25.81
	13	S Vsuff (VoA)	1.46	243	27.27
	13	<i>tamma maşdar</i>	1.46	256	28.73
	5	<i>kāna</i>	0.56	261	29.29
	5	S <i>kāna</i>	0.56	266	29.85
	4	S <i>qad</i> Vsuff	0.45	270	30.30
	3	<i>laqad</i> Vsuff	0.34	273	30.64
	1	<i>fa-qad</i> Vsuff	0.11	274	31.75
	1	X <i>fa-`inna</i> S Vsuff	0.11	275	30.86
	1	X <i>fa-`inna-h</i> Vsuff	0.11	276	30.98
	1	X <i>kāna</i>	0.11	277	31.09
	1	X <i>qad tamma maşdar</i>	0.11	278	31.20
	1	X <i>qad</i> Vsuff	0.11	279	31.31
	1	X <i>tamma maşdar</i>	0.11	280	31.43
	1	X Vsuff	0.11	281	31.54
	1	X Vsuff (VoA)	0.11	282	31.65
	1	<i>kāna min al-</i> passive	0.11	283	31.76
	1	<i>maşdar</i> (= S) <i>tamma</i>	0.11	284	31.87
	1	Vsuff (VoA)	0.11	285	31.99
	285				
VprefL	104	S VprefL	11.67	104	11.67
	41	VprefL	4.60	145	16.27
	7	S <i>qad</i> VprefL	0.79	152	17.06
	2	X VprefL	0.22	154	17.28
	2	<i>yatimmu maşdar</i>	0.22	156	17.51
	1	<i>fa-`idhā bi-h</i> VprefL	0.11	157	17.62
	1	X <i>yatimmu maşdar-h</i>	0.11	158	17.73
	1	X <i>fa-`inna-h</i> VprefL	0.11	159	17.85
	1	S <i>rubbamā yakūnu</i>	0.11	160	17.96
	160				
NCI	123	NCI	13.80	123	13.80
	5	X NCI	0.56	128	14.37
	4	<i>min al-</i> passive NCI	0.45	132	14.81
	1	<i>fa</i> -NCI	0.11	133	14.93
	1	<i>fa-tammata</i> NCI	0.11	134	15.04
	1	X <i>fa-`alay-h</i> NCI	0.11	135	15.15
	135				
VprefA	81	VprefA	9.09	81	9.09
	20	<i>yakūna</i>	2.24	101	11.34
	5	<i>yatimma maşdar</i>	0.56	106	11.90
	1	<i>yatimma ḡālika</i>	0.11	107	12.01
	107				

Gram	Σ	Syntax	Percent of 891x	Sum (1-n)	Sum % (1-n)
future - VprefL	61	S future-VprefL	6.85	61	6.85
	14	future-VprefL	1.57	75	8.42
	13	S future-yakūnu	1.46	88	9.88
	5	X future-VprefL	0.56	93	10.44
	4	future-yatimmu maṣḍar	0.45	97	10.89
	2	fa-'inna S future-VprefL	0.22	99	11.11
	2	fa-'inna-h future-VprefL	0.22	101	11.34
	1	fa-'inna S-future-yakūnu	0.11	102	11.45
	1	fa-'inna-h future-yakūnu	0.11	103	11.67
	1	X fa-future-VprefL	0.11	104	11.78
	1	X fa-'inna S future-VprefL	0.11	105	11.78
	1	X future-yatimmu maṣḍar	0.11	106	11.90
	1	maṣḍar (= S) future-yatimmu	0.11	107	12.01
	107				
lā VprefL and VprefA	14	lā VprefL	1.57	14	1.57
	12	S lā VprefL	1.35	26	2.92
	3	X lā VprefL	0.34	29	3.25
	1	lā VprefA ³⁹⁷	0.11	30	3.37
	30				
lam VprefS	14	S lam VprefS	1.57	14	1.57
	6	lam VprefS	0.67	20	2.24
	2	X lam VprefS	0.22	22	2.47
	2	lam yatimma maṣḍar	0.22	24	2.69
	1	lam yakun	0.11	25	2.81
	1	S lam yakun	0.11	26	2.92
	1	S lam VprefS (VoA)	0.11	27	3.03
	27				
NCI (NEG)	7	S laysa NCI	0.79	7	0.79
	5	laysa NCI	0.56	12	1.35
	2	X lā noun NCI (budda, šakka)	0.22	14	1.57
	1	fa-'inna S laysa NCI	0.11	15	1.68
	1	fa-S laysa NCI	0.11	16	1.80
	1	X laysa NCI	0.11	17	1.91
	17				
lan VprefA	7	lan VprefA	0.79	7	0.79
	3	S lan VprefA	0.34	10	1.12
	2	lan yakūna	0.22	12	1.35
	1	S lan yakūna	0.11	13	1.46
	1	fa-'inna-h lan yakūna	0.11	14	1.57
	14				
mā Vsuff	1	S mā (NEG) Vsuff	0.11	1	0.11
	1	X 'illā 'anna S mā (NEG) Vsuff	0.11	2	0.22

³⁹⁷ See footnote **Fel! Bokmärket är inte definierat..**

Gram	Σ	Syntax	Percent of 891x	Sum (1–n)	Sum % (1–n)
	2				
Compound verbal forms	3	<i>kāna</i> VprefL	0.34	3	0.34
	1	X <i>kāna qad tamma maşdar-h</i>	0.11	4	0.45
	1	S <i>kāna</i> VprefL	0.11	5	0.56
	1	S <i>kāna qad</i> Vsuff	0.11	6	0.67
	1	<i>yakūna</i> S <i>qad</i> Vsuff	0.11	7	0.67
	7				

Overt subject in finite constructions

447x finite constructions (excluding *laysa*), or 50.17%, have an overt lexical subject which is preposed to the verb (i.e. not a suffix of the complementizer) in the complement main clause.

Negated complement main clauses

90x complement main clauses, or 10.1%, are negated: 30x *lā* VprefL, 27x *lam* VprefS (incl. 1x *S lam yakun*; 1x *lam yakun* Article 41, Example 509; and 2x periphrastic passives), 14x *lan* VprefA (incl. 1x *lan yakūna hunāka*, Article 85), 15x *laysa* NCl, 2x *lā* noun NCl, and 2x *mā* Vsuff negations (both affirmative in meaning, *mā(-)zāla*, Article 1, Example 199; and Article 103, Example 409). For clausal negation in general, see 5.1.

Grammatical morphemes, affirmative clauses

The grammatical morphemes in affirmative complement main clauses are:

285x Vsuff (incl. 16x *tamma* and 11x *kāna*), or 32.0% of all complement clauses.

160x VprefL (incl. 3x periphrastic passives and 1x *yakūnu*), or 18.0%.

135x Nominal clauses (incl. 4x *min al-* passives), or 15.2%.

107x VprefA (incl. 20x *yakūna*, and 5x periphrastic passives), or 12.0%.

105x futures (incl. 15x *yakūnu* and 6x periphrastic passives), or 11.8%.

Composite verbal morphologies

There are 7x compound verbal morphologies in complement main clauses: 3x *kāna* VprefL, all other instances being *hapax*: 1x Subject *kāna qad* Vsuff (Article 41), 1x X *kāna qad tamma maşdar-h* (Article 51), 1x Subject *kāna* Vsuff (Article 41), and 1x *yakūna* Subject *qad* Vsuff (Article 89).

Verbs of attribution

There are 16x attestations of verbs of attribution in complement main clauses, all except 1x (S *lam* VprefS in Article 1) having a Vsuff predicate. 13x of the constructions are Subject Vsuff.

Complement main clauses with semi-conjunctions

33x complement main clauses are introduced by *fa*:- 11x *fa*-inna-(h) (5x of which are with overt subject). These 33x clauses make up 3.7% of all complement main clauses, and all occupy a secondary position to some preposed element, for which, see the discussions of front dislocations (5.3.4.3) and preposed subordination (5.3.4.4).

Complement of Utterance, and complement clauses without n-(h)-complementizers

Of the total number of complement main clauses, 672x, or 75.42%, are complements to utterance verbs and phrases (called Complement of Utterance³⁹⁸); of these, 490x or 72.92% take *n*-complementizers, 128x or 19.05% take *n-h*-complementizers (including the dummy pronominal suffix in 'anna-hu), and 1x takes an *n-lā*-complementizer (Article 34); but 53x, or 7.89%, do not take a complementizer at all (see e.g. Example 466 from Article 102).

In terms of their syntax, the most frequent complement main clauses without a complementizer are 18x clauses with VprefL (incl. 2x negated with *lā*), 13x nominal clauses (incl. 2x with *laysa* and 1x with *lā* + noun), 10x with Vsuff (incl. 3x with a periphrastic passive), and 6x morphological futures (including 1x with a periphrastic passive). 10x of the clauses are negated: of these, only 1x instance negates the past, *lam* VprefS (Example 467 from Article 94 below), while the others are 4x *lan* VprefA, 2x *laysa*, 2x *lā* VprefL, and 1x *lā* + noun.

467. Article 94, negated complement main clause without a complementizer, *lam* VprefS

وذكرت صحيفة حريت أن أردوغان أشار إلى أنه تم وقف التعاون مع ستاندرد آند بورز ، وفى تهديد لموديز وفيتش ، أضاف قائلا أنه سيطلب من رئيس الوزراء وقف التعاون مع هاتين الائتلتين أيضا لكنه استطرد «لم نصل إلى تلك النقطة بعد».	wa-ḡakarat ṣaḥīfatu ḥurriyyet 'anna 'erdūḡān 'ašāra 'ilā 'an- nahu tamma waqfu l-ta'āwuni ma'a stāndard 'ānd bürz , wa- fī tahdīdin li-mūdīz wa-fitš , 'aḡāfa qā'ilan 'annahu sa- yaṭlubu min ra'īsi l-wuzarā'i waqfa l-ta'āwuni ma'a hātayni l-iṭnatayni 'ayḡan lākinnahu staṭrada » lam naṣīl 'ilā tilka l-nuḡṭati ba'du «.	And the newspaper Hürriyet mentioned that Erdoğan said that the cooperation with Standard and Poor's has been suspended, and in a threat to Moody's and Fitch, he added saying that he will ask the prime minister to stop the cooperation with these two as well but he added » we have not reached this point yet «.

³⁹⁸ The genitive in the term Complement of Utterance is epexegetical.

5.3.3. Article-initial subordinate clauses and elements (27x)

An article-initial element is here defined as a peripheral constituent or a subordinate clause preceding the core constituents of the lead's main clause, immediately following the by-line, as exemplified in Example 468 from Article 49.

468. Article 49 (lead), article-initial element, Equative

في تصعيد جديد للأزمة الأوكرانية، هدد رئيس الوزراء الروسي ديمتري ميدفيدف الدول الغربية أمس بأن بلاده سترد بشكل أقوى وغير متماثل على أي عقوبات جديدة تسعى لفرضها على موسكو.	fī taṣ'īdin ġadīdin li-l-'az- mati l-'ūkrāniyyati , had- dada ra'tsu l-wuzarā'i l- rūsiyyu dīmītrī mīdfīdīf al- duwala l-ġarbiyyata 'amsi bi- 'anna bilādahu sa-taruddu bi- šaklin 'aqwā wa-ġayri mu- tamāṭilin 'alā 'ayyi 'uqūbātin ġadīdatin tas'ā li-farḍihā 'alā mūskuw.	In a new escalation of the Ukrainian crisis , the Rus- sian prime minister Dimitri Medvedev threatened the Western states that his coun- try would/will respond in a stronger and asymmetrical way to any new sanctions that it seeks to impose on Moscow.

27x of the articles have a preposed article-initial subordinate clause or peripheral constituent, none of them starting with a *wa-*: Media Arabic articles never start with a *wa-*. Table 33 gives the attestations.

Table 33: The 27x Article-initial peripheral constituents and subordinate clauses by frequency of relation type; the abbreviation MAIN in the matrix column indicates that the structure in question constitutes a main clause; note that Link = Relation (for relation types and the semantics of clause linking, see Part 4)

Σ	Link	Preposed element	Matrix	A	Ex
9	Context	2x li-l-marrati l-'ulā munḍu [...]	7x MAIN Vsuff	2, 14	314 -
		3x fī [...]		3, 7, 14	186, 346, 469
		1x ma'a bad'i l-'addi l- tanāzuliyyi [...]		75	-
		1x fī-l-waḡti llaḡī yaḡtami'u fīhi [...]	2x MAIN Vsuff (VoA)	92	-
		1x fī ḡitābin tāriḡiyyin [...]		102	-
		1x waṣṭa 'aḡwā'in mu- tafā'ilatin [...] 'ilā ḡānibi [...]	1x Vsuff	107	535
7	Equative	4x fī [...]	4x MAIN Vsuff (VoA)	27, 49	616, 186, 468
		1x fī ḡaṭwatin ḡayri mutawaqqa'atin,	2x MAIN Vsuff	95	-

Σ	Link	Preposed element	Matrix	A	Ex
		1x fī faḍīḥatin mudawwiyyatin ḡadīdatin li-ḡihāzi l-ʾamni l-sirriyyi		108	411
		1x fīmā yabdū ʾannahu raddun sarīʿun ʾalā [...]	1x MAIN fa- qad Vsuff	82	-
4	Purpose	4x fī muḥāwalatin li- [...]	2x MAIN Vsuff	112	470
			2x MAIN Vsuff (VoA)	61	208
2	Concession	raḡma l-taṣrīḥāti l- ʾiḡābiyyati [...]	1x MAIN Vsuff (VoA)	1	199
		raḡma stiḥwāḍi l-ḡarāʾimi l-tiknūlūḡiyyati wa-l- muḥābarātiyyati [...]	1x MAIN fa- ʾinna S lā VprefL	86	269
1	Location	fī muʾtamarin ḥāṣṣin bi-l- ḥizbi l-iṣtirākiyyi fī būlūniyā [...]	MAIN Vsuff (VoA)	46	-
1	Context bi Counter- sequential	qabla badʾi l-istiftāʾi ʾalā l- istiqlālī fī ʾiskutlandā [...]	MAIN Vsuff	88	9
1	Context bi Paired Contrast	baynamā yabdaʾu 4,3 mi- lyūn# ṭālibin sūriyyin [...]	MAIN Vsuff	71	224
1	Temporal Suc- cession bi Context	baʾda 36 sāʾatan min ʾiʾlāni waqfi ʾiṭlāqi l-nāri fī [...]	MAIN Vsuff	40	-
1	Topic (preposed summarizing paraphrase)	fī naẓratin mutaṣāʾimatin li-mustaqbali l-iqtisādi l- turkiyyi,	MAIN Vsuff (VoA)	87	376
27					

Semantically, the preposed element is always topical/contextual with a vaguer reference and semantics in relation to its matrix compared to post-positioned subordinate syntagms (Givón 2001 II: 343ff.). Typically, this preposed element is a highly nominalized prepositional phrase (25x), with only 2x attestations of a conjunction and a finite verb (*baynamā* VprefL in Article 71, Context bi Paired Contrast, and *fīmā* VprefL in Article 82, Equative). The most frequent preposition is *fī* (17x), followed by *li-* (2x), and *raḡma* (2x). The other prepositions are simple prepositions and occur only 1x: *baʾda*, *maʾa*, *qabla*, and *waṣṭa*. The construction with *waṣṭa* in Article 107 is noteworthy because of its complexity and length (35 words, see Example 535).

Article-initial *fī* (17x) has a limited set of meanings, Equative being the most frequent (6x). The Equative here is a summarizing comment, the following main clause stating the Instrumental Manner of its realization; see Example (468) from Article 49 above for a typical example, where the Equative explains what the main clause proposition can be considered as equivalent to. Related to Equative is the *hapax* relation in Article 87 named Topic (preposed summarizing paraphrase), where the preposed element features an introductory news outlet interpretation that summarizes the following main clause through a topicalizing comment: *fī naẓratin mutašā'imatin li-mustaqbali l-iqtisādi l-turkiyyi*, 'a'lanat mu'assasatu «fītš» li-l-tašnīfāti l-i'timāniyyati 'anna l-duyūna l-ḥāriḡiyyata qaṣīrata l-'aḡali li-turkiyā waṣalat 'ilā 124,8 milyār# dūlārīn. **'In a pessimistic outlook on the future of the Turkish economy**, the establishment «Fitch» for credit ratings announced that the short-term foreign debts of Turkey have reached 124.8 billion dollars.' (Example 376).

The second and third most frequent meanings for *fī* are Context (5x times) as in Example (469) from Article 41, and Purpose (4x times).

469. Article 41 (lead), article-initial element, Context

فى أوج الحملة الانتخابية فى البرازيل، أثار مسئول كبير سابق فى شركة بتروبراس البترولية العملاقة التابعة للدولة عاصفة فى البرازيل بتوجيه اتهامات بالفساد إلى نحو خمسين مسئولا فى الائتلاف الحاكم بالاستفادة من نظام دفع رشاوى.	<i>fī 'awḡi l-ḥamlati l-in- tiḥābiyyati fī el-brāzīl</i>, 'aṭāra mas'ūlun kabīrun sābiqun fī šarikati bitrūbrās al-bitrōliyyati l-'amlāqati l- tābi'ati li-l-dawlati 'āšifatan fī el-brāzīl bi-tawḡīhi tti- hāmāti bi-l-fasādi 'ilā naḥwi ḥamsīna mas'ūlan fi-l-i'tilāfi l-ḥākimi bi-l-istifādati min nizāmi daf'i rašāwī.	At the height of the election campaign in Brazil, a former senior official in Petrobras the giant oil company belonging to the state sparked a storm by directing accusations of corruption to about fifty officials in the ruling coalition of having benefited from a system of paying bribes.

When *fī* codes Purpose (4x), it is only expressed lexically with the phrase *fī muḥāwalatin li- + maṣdar*, 'in an attempt to [...]', as in Article 112, Example (470).

470. Article 112 (lead), article-initial element, Purpose

فى محاولة لوضع حد للأزمة السياسية الخطيرة التى تمر بها كابول، وقع أمس المرشحان الرئاسيان فى أفغانستان عبدالله عبدالله وأشرف غانى اتفاق تشكيل حكومة وحدة وطنية أفغانية.	<i>fī muḥāwalatin li-waḍ'i ḥaddin li-l-'azmati l-siyāsiyyati l-ḥaṭīratī llatī tamurru bihā kābūl</i>, waqqa'a 'amsi muraššahāni l-ri'āsiyyāni fī 'afḡānistān 'abdullāh 'abdullāh wa-'ašraf ḡānī ittifāqa taškīli ḥukūmati waḥdatin waṭaniyyatin 'afḡāniyyatin.	In an attempt to put an end to the serious political crisis which Kabul is going through, the two presidential candidates in Afghanistan Abdullah Abdullah and Ashraf Ghani signed yesterday an agreement to form an Afghan national unity government.

5.3.4. Text-internal preposed finite subordinate clauses and elements (300x)

5.3.4.1. Text-internal preposed finite subordinate clauses with a sentence main clause as matrix (1x)

Following the lead, Media Arabic narrative structure consists of coordinated sentence main clauses,³⁹⁹ typically introduced by *wa-*, *kamā*, or a transition phrase (for which, see 5.3.4.2ff.).

In a single rare occurrence, this structure is broken by a preposed finite subordinate clause preceding the core structure of a main clause. In Article 102, *wa-ba'da 'an* Vsuff expresses a sequence in Temporal Succession vis-à-vis the post-positioned main clause matrix, *after x, y* (for which, see 4.3.1.1). The preposed finite subordinate clause in Article 102 is a *hapax* in the corpus: *wa-ba'da 'an iqtarabat 'aynāhu minā l-bukā'i - ḥasbamā dakarat wasā'ilu l-'i lāmi l-brīṭāniyyatu - ḥāwala kāmīrūn istirdā'a man lā yuhībūnahu fī 'is-kutlandā, qā'ilan : «. [...] (Example 237).*

In Media Arabic, in short, subordinate clauses, and in particular finite subordinate clauses, typically follow their matrix. For nominalized preposed elements, including transition phrases, see the following 5.3.4.2–5.3.4.4.

5.3.4.2. Transition phrases (219x)

A transition phrase is a pre-clausal element outside the core structure of the main clause at the beginning of a text-internal sentence. A transition phrase may appear paragraph-initially or paragraph-internally and is mutually exclusive to a pre-verbal *wa-* or *kamā* in the main clause. The first sentence in an article (the lead) never has a transition phrase. A special set of lexically conditioned semantic relations apply to most transition phrases.

The semantic reference of a transition phrase is typically different from that of a subordinate clause (cf. Part 4). A subordinate clause relates to the proposition of a matrix, whereas a transition phrase functions as glue for the narrative structure and typically has for reference sentence-external news content.⁴⁰⁰ The transition phrase in Example (471) from Article 1 is atypical.

471. Article 1, transition phrase, Temporal Succession bi Cause

واستشعارا
لخطورة
المرحلة، قررت الدول
الخليجية خلال اجتماعها
فى جدة وضع خلافاتها
جانبا بحسب المراقبين.

wa-stiṣ'āran li-ḥuṭūrati l-marḥalati, qarrarati l-du-walu l-ḥalīḡiyyatu ḥilāla ḡtimā'ihā fī ḡedda waḍ'a ḥilāfātihā ḡāniban bi-ḥasabi l-murāqibīna.

And having reviewed the seriousness of the stage, the Gulf States decided during its meeting in Jedda to put their differences aside according to the observers.

³⁹⁹ Sentence main clause is only used here in contrast to complement main clause, for the preposed subordination to which, see 5.3.4.3.

⁴⁰⁰ Semantic bleaching is also observed for temporal expressions (for which, see 3.16.1.1).

There are a total of 219x transition phrases in the corpus; 180x of these with *wa-*. With a single exception (*wa-ba 'da 'an* Vsuff, see 5.3.4.1), these are the only elements that are preposed to the main clause core structure of any Media Arabic sentence. However, a transition phrase never precedes a nominal clause, nor a clause with a periphrastic passive. In 201x, or 92% of the cases, the transition phrase immediately precedes an affirmative clause introduced by a Vsuff (134x of which are a verb of attribution). There are only 6x attestations with an immediately following VprefL, which is never a verb of attribution. As mentioned, the transition phrase is mutually exclusive to sentence-initial *wa-* and *kamā*, but is followed by a main clause introduced by *fā-* 8x times: 4x *fā-'inna* + Subject + finite verb, 3x *fā-qad* Vsuff, and 1x *fā-VprefL* (Article 1). In 1x unique instance, the transition phrase comes second to the subject in the clause, in Article 12, *wa-miṣr min ḡānibihā* (Example 472 below). Here, the personal transition phrase refers to a country, rather than a person in a S VprefL main clause.

Transition phrases, like article-initial elements and preposed syntagms in general, come with nebulous semantics and reference to the matrix. Broadly categorized, transitions of topic (57x times), of temporality (53x), person (33x), location (23x), and concerning (13x) are the most frequent.⁴⁰¹ Together these relations account for 179x or 82.0% of the total number of transition phrases. In addition to these, transition phrases can give the Location of Utterance (8x), or consist of a nominalized attribution formula (6x; for which, see 6.5), and come with an adversative (5x), topical/concerning (5x), temporal (4x), and/or topical/location (4x) relation to the main clause matrix (adding up to 211x, or 96.3%). Equative, a relation frequent in article-initial elements (7x out of 27x, for which see 5.3.3), is only attested 2x in transition phrases (2x out of 219x). Example (471) from Article 1 above, *wa-stiṣ 'āran li-ḥuṭūrati l-marḥalati*, is unique in its complexity and semantics (Temporal Succession bi Cause), and is atypical in its syntax (for *wa-maṣḍaran* in the corpus, see 6.2.2).

A transition phrase is typically a frozen prepositional phrase. The prepositions *fī* 89x times (*wa-fī* 78x, and *fī* 11x), *min* 61x (*wa-min* 45x, and *min* 16x), *'alā* 28x (*wa-'alā* 22x, and *'alā* 6x), *wa-ḥawla* (6x), *wa-ḥilāla* (4x), *wa-bi-ḥasabi* (4x), and *wa-bi-* (4x) are the prepositional phrases that occur $\geq 4x$, and together they make up a total of 196x, or 90.8%, of the total number of transition phrases in the corpus. Of the attested prepositional phrases with a preposed *wa-* in the corpus, the vast majority of them are attested in transition phrases.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰¹ The present study being limited to sentence-level investigation, this analysis was based on lexical items, not a close reading of the two linked sentences.

⁴⁰² The prepositional phrase *fī* with a preposed *wa-*, *wa-fī*, occurs 93x times in the corpus; 78x of these instances, or 83.9%, are in transition phrases. Moreover, *wa-min* is attested 46x times, 45x of which are in transition phrases; *wa-'alā* occurs 24x times, 22x of which are in transition phrases.

There are only 4x transition phrases including finite verbs: only with VprefL, and only in the semi-frozen phrase *wa-fīmā yata‘allaqu bi-* (3x), in addition to the similar but unique *‘ammā fīmā yata‘allaqu bi-turkiyā* (1x in Article 42), all with atypical Concerning type semantics (for a definition of Concerning proper, see 4.11.5). The latter example with *‘ammā* is also worth mentioning since it is one of the only 2x attestations of *‘ammā* in the corpus, the other being the personal transition phrase *‘ammā* + human subject in Article 1, *‘ammā al-muḥallilu l-sa‘ūdiyyu* [...PN...] *fa-yarā ‘anna* [...], ‘**As for the Saudi analyst** [...] he believes that [...]’, noteworthy in and of itself for being a transition phrase completely without a preposition. Both cases with *‘ammā* are followed by a main clause matrix introduced by *fa-*.

As less common transition phrases we also find *nisba*-accusatives, but only in the seemingly frozen locational transition phrase of *(wa-)maydāniyyan*, ‘(and) on the ground’ (5x times, 2x of which with *wa-*) and verbal nouns in the accusative 2x times, only with *wa-*: 1x *wa-stiš‘āran* (Example 471 from Article 1 above), and 1x in the non-frozen temporal *wa-tazāmunan ma‘a hādā l-taṭawwuri*, ‘and simultaneously with this development’ (Article 122, Example 561). In addition, there is 1x unique instance of an adverbial participle as a short and unique temporal transition phrase in Article 85, *wa-lāḥiqan*, ‘and later’ (Example 291).

Roughly schematized, there are three types of transition phrases in the corpus, frozen, semi-frozen, and nominalized clauses. The transition phrases in Table 34 occur $\geq 5x$ times and are arguably frozen, with bleached semantics as a consequence. Their respective semantics and number of occurrences are given in Table 34. Together, these 106x make up 48% of all transition phrases in the corpus (219x). 77.4% of them are preceded by *wa-*.

Table 34: Frozen transition phrases (attested $\geq 5x$), by frequency

Occurrences (count without <i>wa-</i> is given in parentheses)	Transition phrase	Transition type
30 (8) ومن جانله/ها	<i>(wa-)min ḡānibi-hi/hā</i>	personal ⁴⁰³
14 (5) وفي غضون ذلك	<i>(wa-)fī ḡuḏūni ḏālika</i>	temporal
13 (1) ومن ناحية أخرى	<i>(wa-)min nāḥiyatin ‘uḥrā</i>	topical
12 (3) وفي الوقت نفسه	<i>(wa-)fī-l-waḡti naḡsihi</i>	temporal
10 (0) وفي هذه الأثناء	<i>wa-fī hādīhi l-‘aṭnā‘i</i>	temporal
8 (3) وعلى صعيد آخر	<i>(wa-)‘alā ṣa‘īdin ‘āḡara</i>	topical
8 (2) ومن جهة أخرى	<i>(wa-)min ḡihatīn ‘uḥrā</i>	topical
6 (1) وعلى صعيد متصل	<i>(wa-)‘alā ṣa‘īdin muttaṣilīn</i>	topical
5 (1) وفي المقابل	<i>(wa-)fī-l-muḡābili</i>	adversative
Total 106 (incl. 24 without <i>wa-</i>)		

⁴⁰³ The pronominal suffix of *ḡānibi-* is always cataphoric, except 1x, in Article 12: *wa-miṣr min ḡānibihā tuṭamminu* [...] (Example 472).

Among these, the two phrases (*wa-*) '*alā ṣa 'īdin muttaṣilin* (6x) and (*wa-*) '*alā ṣa 'īdin 'āhara* (8x) reflect the difficulty of drawing a line between frozen and semi-frozen transition phrases. In addition to these however, there are a number of semi-frozen transition phrases such the locational transition phrase *wa-fī + nomen loci*, which occurs 18x times and only with *wa-*, e.g. *wa-fī bayrūt* (Article 71); and the transition phrase (*wa-*) '*alā l-ṣa 'īdi l- + nominal*, e.g. *al-rūsiyyi* (Article 27), *dātihi* (Article 7, and 21), or *al-siyāsiyyi* (Article 121), attested a total of 9x times with semantic relations ranging from topical to locational depending on the added lexical item.

The two transition phrases in Example (472) from Article 12 are notable: the transition phrase that begins with *wa-ḥawla* and contains an additional 31 tokens represents the longest in the corpus and comes with atypical Concerning semantics; whereas *wa-miṣr min ḡānibihā* is the only post-positioned transition phrase in the corpus and, in addition, this personal transition phrase refers to a country as the subject of the subsequent main clause, not a human or a group of humans (e.g. a news outlet). Note that contrary to practice in transition phrases, the pronominal suffix *-hā* is here anaphoric.

472. Article 12, transition phrase x2: *wa-ḥawla*, Concerning, and post-positioned transition phrase, personal

الجهود وحول المصرية للتوصل إلى وقف إطلاق النار في قطاع غزة وإشادة المستشارة الألمانية أنجيلا ميركل بالدور المصري في هذا الصدد، ورغبة ألمانيا في المساهمة في البعثة الأوروبية لمراقبة معبر رفح، أوضح وزير الخارجية أن مسألة البعثة الأوروبية تتم بلورتها في إطار الإتفاق الذي يتم التوصل إليه بين الطرفين، وهي إحدى الصيغ المطروحة وربما تلبى الاحتياج، ومصر من جانبها تثمن استعداد الجانب الأوروبي توفير مثل هذا الإطار للتعامل مع الوضع في غزة وهو شيء جيد نسعى لكي يسنفذ جميع الأطراف منه.	wa-ḥawla l-ḡuhūdi l-miṣriyyati l-mukattafati li-l-tawaṣṣuli 'ilā waqfi 'iṭlāqi l-nāri fī qitā'i ḡazza wa-'iṣādati l-mustaṣārati l-'almāniyyati 'anḡilā mērkil bi-l-dawri l-miṣriyyi fī ḥādā l-ṣadadi, wa-raḡbati 'almāniyā fi-l-musāhamati fi-l-ba'tati l-'ūrūbbiyyati li-murāqabati ma'bari rafah, 'awḡaḥa wazīru l-ḡāriḡiyyati 'anna mas'alata l-ba'tati l-'ūrūbbiyyati tatimmu bal-waratuhā fī 'iṭāri l-ittifāqi llaḡi yatimmu l-tawaṣṣulu 'ilayhi bayna l-ṭarafayni, wa-hiya 'iḡdā l-ṣiyaḡi l-maṭrūḡati wa-rubbamā tulabbī l-iḡtiyāḡa, wa-miṣr min ḡānibihā tutamminu sti'dāda l-ḡānibi l-'ūrūbbiyyi tawfīra miṭli ḥādā l-'iṭāri li-l-ta'āmuli ma'a l-waḡ'i fī ḡazza wa-huwa ṣay'un ḡayyidun nas'ā likay yastafīda ḡam'u l-'aṭrāfi minhu.	And concerning the intense Egyptian efforts to reach a ceasefire in the Gaza Strip and [concerning] the praise of the German chancellor Angela Merkel of the Egyptian role in this regard, and [concerning] Germany's desire to contribute in the European mission to monitor the Rafah crossing, the foreign minister explained that the issue of the European mission, will be elaborated within the framework of the agreement which was reached between the two sides, and this is one of the formulas [which was] proposed and [which] maybe [will] meet the need, and Egypt for its part, praises the readiness of the European side to provide such a framework for dealing with the situation in Gaza and this is a good thing which we are striving that all sides will benefit from.

Among the non-frozen, or *ad hoc*, transition phrases, are found the only two transition phrases in the corpus with the preposition *ma'a* (Articles 102 and 1). These are adduced here mainly because their status as transition phrases is debatable. The first of these is Example (473) from Article 102.

473. Article 102, transition phrase (or preposed subordinate clause), temporal

ومع اقتراب شبح تفكك المملكة المتحدة، أعربت الولايات المتحدة عن أملها في أن تبقى حليفتها موحدة.	wa-ma'a qtirābi šabaḥi ta-fakkuki l-mamlakati l-muttaḥidati, 'a'rabati l-wilāyātu l-muttaḥidatu 'an 'amaliḥā fī 'an tabqā ḥalīfa-tuhā muwaḥḥadatan.	And as the spectre of the disintegration of the United Kingdom approaches, the United States expressed its hope that its ally will remain united.

In Example (474) from Article 1, a preposed nominalized clause with *wa-ma'a* is preposed the main clause with semantics similar to Cause.

474. Article 1, transition phrase (or preposed subordinate clause), Cause

ومن جانبها قالت وكالة الأنباء الألمانية، إن الاجتماع انتهى دون الإعلان عن التوصل إلى حل نهائي للارزمة الخليجية المستمرة منذ سنة أشهر. ومع نجاح «داعش» في السيطرة على مساحات واسعة من العراق وسوريا، بدأت دول الخليج تشعر بالقلق من احتمال تقدمه باتجاهها، خصوصا مع وجود لأيديولوجيته المتطرفة لدى بعض الأوساط على أراضيها بحسب خبراء.	wa-min ḡānibihā qālat wik-ālatu l-'anbā'i l-'almāniyyatu, inna l-iḡtimā'a ntahā dūna l-'i'lāni 'ani l-tawaṣṣuli 'ilā ḥallin nihā' iyyin li-l-'azmati l-ḥalīḡiyyati l-mustamirrati mundu sittati 'ašhurin. wa-ma'a naḡāḥi «dā'eš» fi-l-sayṭarati 'alā misāḥātin wāsi'atin mina el-'irāq wa-sūriyā, bada'at duwalu el-ḥalīḡ taš'uru bi-l-qalaqi mina ḥtimāli taqad-dumihi bi-ttiḡāhihā, ḥuṣūṣan ma'a wuḡūdi ṣadan li-'īdiyūlūḡiyyatihi l-mu-ṭaṭarriḡati ladā ba'ḍi l-'awsāṭi 'alā 'arāḍihā bi-ḥasabi ḥubarā'a.	And for its part, the German news agency [Deutsche Presse-Agentur, dpa] said that the meeting ended without the announcement of having reached a final solution to the Gulf crisis which is continuing since six months, and with the success of «Daesh» in [gaining] control over large areas of Iraq and Syria, the Gulf States began to feel anxiety from the possibility of its advancement in its direction, especially with the presence of an echo of its extremist ideology among some circles in their territories, according to experts.

On a semantic plane, the unique transition phrase with *wa-istiš'āran* from Article 1 (Example 471) has been discussed above; in addition, the single Metalinguistic Comment of the transition phrase in Article 108 stands out as unique, not only in its semantics, but also because it is the only transition phrase to precede a main clause with *lam* VprefS.

475. Article 108, transition phrase, Meta-linguistic Comment

ومن حسن حظّه، لم يكن الرئيس الأمريكي باراك أوباما داخل البيت الابيض وقت وقوع الحادث، حيث غادر وأسرته قبلها بدقائق لقضاء عطلة نهاية الأسبوع في كامب ديفيد.	wa-min ḥusni ḥaẓẓihi , lam yakun al-ra'īsu l-'am- rīkiyyu bārāk 'ūbāmā dāḥila l-bayti l-'abyaḍi waqta wuqū'i l-ḥādīṭi, ḥaytu ḡādara wa-'usratuhu qablahā bi-daqa'īqa li- qaḍā'i 'uṭlati nihāyati l- 'usbū'ī fī kāmb dayfīd.	And in his good luck [= and fortunately for him] , the American president Barack Obama was not inside the White House at the time of the occurrence of the incident, as he and his family had left a few minutes earlier to spend the weekend at Camp David.

In addition, the Purpose semantics in the unique transition phrase *wa-ft muḥāwalatin li-ḥtiwā'i l-mawqifi* of Article 3 stands out (Example 384). (For *fī muḥāwalatin li-* as an article-initial element, see 5.3.3.) For the less common functions of Location of Utterance and attribution, see *fī kalimatihi l-muta-waqqā'ati* and *wa-bi-ḥasabi l-wazīri* in Examples (218) and (323) respectively.

5.3.4.3. Preposed elements in complement main and non-main clauses (42x)

In Media Arabic, the typical subordinate clause follows its matrix. Each clause has a fixed word order. Deviations from this word order primarily take place in the complement main clause. Unlike main clauses proper, complement main clauses (for a definition of which, see 5.3.2.2) do not have transition phrases, which only occur in main clauses; rather, as preposed elements in complement main clauses we find front dislocations, an occasional adverb, and, within the clause complex, subordinate clauses (finite and nominalized) (for preposed subordination to non-main matrices, see 5.3.4.4 below).

Front dislocations to complement main clauses (36x)

A front dislocation is here defined as a non-clausal syntagm (without finite predicate) that contrary to typical word order⁴⁰⁴ is preposed to a non-main line matrix, a clausal core structure to which it refers or belongs (i.e. a complement clause complex, typically a complement main clause).⁴⁰⁵ Included in this list

⁴⁰⁴ A number of elements may precede their heads (see Part 6), e.g. *ḥāṣṣatan*, *ḥuṣūṣan*, or *bi-l-taḥdīdi* (*hapax*, Article 1), *hā* (Article 124), and e.g. *fī ḥukmi l-mu'akkadi* (*hapax* Article 10). In the corpus, these particles and syntagms only precede their heads following the core structure of the matrix, or are part of the core structure (*hā*), and are consequently not front dislocations.

⁴⁰⁵ Excluded are thus also 12x nominal coordinators with the meaning 'also, as well', i.e. *wa-ka-ḡālika* (7x times), *wa-'ayḍan* (2x), *'ayḍan* (2x), and *fī nafsi l-waḡti* (1x, in Article 12); 1x with the meaning 'only', *faqat* (Article 1); and 2x attestations of preposed 'even', *ḥattā* (Articles 1 and 28); and 1x 'either', *sawā'an* (Article 23). The count also excludes 1x *mubāṣaratan qabla 'an VprefA*, 'x immediately before y', and 1x *mu'ahḥaran qabla 'an VprefA*, 'x shortly before y' (for which, see under "*qabla 'an VprefA*" in 6.1.5); as well as 1x 'immediately after' with *fawran ba'da ttiḥāmihi* in Article 90 (for which, see the compound preposition *fawran ba'da* under 6.9).

are also temporal adverbs, although they are typically not resumed in the matrix structure. Typically, an adverb follows the clausal core structure (see 6.8).

There are a total of 36x non-clausal front dislocations in the corpus. Of these, 25x (69.4%) occupy a purely grammatical pronominal suffix relation to the matrix core structure, similar to Example (358) from Article 49, *wa-'akkada [...]'anna waqfa 'itlāqi l-nāri qad bada 'a sarayānuhu [...]*, 'the cease-fire [it] has largely come into effect'.

This relation is further exemplified in Example (476) from Article 79 and Example (477) from Article 130 (with 2x instances of headless relative clauses in this position).

476. Article 79, front dislocation, pronominal suffix relation

وقال نائب الرئيس السوداني "إن الذين يرهنون أنفسهم لأجندات خارجية عليهم تحرير أنفسهم من الأجنبي أولاً"، مؤكدا أن الدولة ستوفر لهم ضمانات الدخول في الحوار الوطني.	wa-qāla nā'ibu l-ra'īsi l- sūdaniyyu "'inna llaḏīna yar- hanūna 'anfusahum li- 'aḡandātin ḥāriḡiyyatin 'alayhim tahrīru 'anfusihim mina l-'aḡnabiyyi 'awwalan", mu'akkidan 'anna l-dawlata sa- tuwaffiru lahum ḡamānāti l- duḡūli fi-l-ḥiwāri l-waṭaniyyi.	And the Sudani vice presi- dent said "that those who mortgage themselves to foreign agendas, they must free themselves from the foreigner first", assert- ing that the state will pro- vide them with guarantees to enter the national dia- logue.

477. Article 130, front dislocation, pronominal suffix relation

وأظهرت التوقعات، التي نشرت في مجلة «نيو إنجلاند جورنال أوف ميديسين»، أن من سيصابون بالمرض سيبلغ عددهم أكثر من ثلاثة أضعاف العدد الحالي البالغ ٥٨٠٠ شخص، والذين أصيبوا بالفيروس في غينيا وليبيريا وسيراليون، علما بأنه توفي حتى الآن نحو ٢٨٠٠ شخص جراء الإصابة بالمرض.	wa-'aẓharati l-tawaqqu'ātu, llatī nuširat fī maḡallati «nyū 'inglānd ḡurnāl 'ūf mēdisīn» , 'anna man sa-yuṣābūna bi-l-maraḡi sa-yabluḡu 'adaduhum 'aḡtara min ṭalāṭati 'aḡ'āfi l-'adadi l- ḥāliyyi l-bāliḡi 5800 ṣaḡšin , wa-llaḏīna 'uṣībū bi-l-fayrūs fī ḡīniyā wa-lībīriyā wa- sīrālīyūn , 'ilman bi-'annahu tuwuffiya ḡattā l-'āna naḡwa 2800 ṣaḡšin ḡarrā'a l- 'iṣābati bi-l-maraḡi.	And the forecasts, which were published in the journal «New England Journal of Medicine» showed that those who will be infected with the disease, their number will reach more than three times the present number which reaches 5800 persons, [and who have been] infected with the virus in Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, knowing that until now about 2800 persons have died from infection with the dis- ease.

In 7x instances, the front-dislocated element is a temporal adverbial, as in Article 58: *wa-qāla: mina l-'āna fa-ṣā'idan sa-yatimmu taṭbīqu qawānīna wa-'āliyāti l-ḡabṭi bi-ṣaklin 'aḡtara diqqatan*, '**from now on, [...]**' (Example 452); and in Article 57: [...]'akkada [...]'annahu **ḡattā l-'āna lam yatimma l-ittifāqu [...]** (Example 705); and in Article 42: *wa-yu'akkidu l-taqrīru 'annahu mundu 'āmi 2011 , hunāka mā lā yaqillu 'an 64 ḡukūmatan 'aḡnabiyyatan*

wa-munazzamāt# hukūmat# [...]. This only occurs prior to a complement main clause.

There are 4x instances where the subject is front dislocated, e.g. Example (478) from Article 109, where the word order is skewed due to a preposed Conditional clause, Subject (f.sg.) *law 'amilat* (see also Example 459 from Article 121 above).

478. Article 109, front dislocation, subject

، مؤكداً أن تركيا لو عملت بهذا النهج فإنها ستحقق نمواً مستداماً وانخفاضاً في العجز التجاري.	[...] , mu'akkidan 'anna tur-kiyā <i>law 'amilat</i> bi-hādā l-nahgī <i>fa-'innahā sa-tuḥaqqiqu</i> numuwwan mustadāman wa-nḥifaḍān fi-l-'ağzi l-tiğāriyyi.	[...], stressing that Turkey, <u>if it works</u> with this approach, <u>[it] is going to achieve</u> sustainable growth and a decrease in the trade deficit.

Example (479) from Article 14, with the expected word order *'anna S kāna*, is not counted as a front dislocation. It is a subsequent anaphoric resumption of a subject, something that is not investigated. The word order is idiomatic.

479. Article 14, not front dislocation

وأكد أن الغرب كان لابد أن يتنبأ برد فعل روسيا تجاه الموقف قائلاً إن:	wa-'akkada 'anna l-ğarba kāna lā-budda 'an <i>yatanabba'a</i> bi-raddi fi'li rūsiyā tuğāha l-mawqifi qā'ilan 'inna: [...]	And he confirmed that the West should have <u>predicted</u> Russia's reaction to the situation, saying that: [...]

Moreover, the unique case of the substantivated relative clause *wa-qāla* [...] *'inna al-mufrağā 'anhum wasalū 'ilā baldati 'arsāl* [...], 'that **those who have been released** have reached the village of Aarsal' (Article 6, Example 641) is also excluded from front dislocations since the example follows the expected word order of *'inna S Vsuff* (for word order in complement main clauses, see 5.3.2.2; for headless nominalized relative clauses with a participial predicate, see under 6.4). In addition to this should be mentioned again the unique example from Article 19, [...] *wa-mā 'adā dālika fa-huwa bāṭilun*, 'and everything else (it) is fake' (Example 610), not annotated here, but discussed in 6.1.5.

Preposed adverbials to complement main and non-main clauses (6x)

In addition to grammatical and temporal relations to the matrix, there are 6x instances of preposed syntagms that do not function as clauses but which come with a more complex semantic relation to the matrix than purely temporal. 3x of these expressions are *hapax*: Location of Utterance in Article 130: *wa-'afādat kiyūdū bi-'annahu fī ḥiṭābin min sīrlif 'ilā 'abī bi-tārīḥi 10 sibtabmīr ḍakarati l-ri'āsatu l-lībīriyyatu 'anna* [...] (Example 625); a Meta-linguistic Comment, 'unfortunately', is added in Article 24 preceding the predicate in a *wa-lākin(na) VprefL* structure: [...] *wa-lākin ma 'a l-'asafi l-šadīdi narā l-yawma 'iglāqa qadāyā l-taḥqīqi* [...] (Example 442); and in Article 102, a

Location & Instrument expressed with *bi-* is preposed the predicate of a complement main clause: *wa-ʿaḏāfa*: « *bi-ʿuqūlinā wa-qulūbinā wa-ʿarwāḥinā nurīdukum ʿan tabqaw maʿanā*», ‘in our minds, hearts, and souls we want you to stay with us’ (Example 466).⁴⁰⁶

In the remaining 3x examples, the preposed syntagms impose a condition (Preposed Condition)—‘in all cases’, ‘depending on’—on the matrix, without being conditional clauses (see Examples 480, 481, and 482 immediately below). Notice moreover that the matrix in all cases has a future reference (2x *sa-VprefL* and 1x *sa-yatimmu maṣḍar*). They are not treated as conditional clauses proper (for which, see 4.3.4).

480. Article 24, preposed syntagm, adverbial, Preposed Condition

وأكد أنه في كل الأحوال سيحاسب أردوغان على إغلاق قضايا الفساد والرشاوي.	wa-ʿakkada-ʿannahu fī kulli l-ʾaḥwālī sa-yuhāsabu ʿer- dūğān ʾalā ʾiğlāqī qaḏāyā l- fasādi wa-l-raṣāwī.	And he stressed that in all cases Erdoğan will be held <u>accountable</u> for closing the cases of corruption and bribes.

481. Article 62, preposed syntagm, adverbial, Preposed Condition

وأضاف أنه وفقا للوضع على أرض الواقع سيتحدد ما إذا كان سيتم تطبيق العقوبات المتفق عليها كلية أو جزئية، مشيرا إلى أنها تهدف إلى تشجيع «تغيير المسار في أفعال روسيا التي تتسبب في زعزعة استقرار شرق أوكرانيا».	wa-ʿaḏāfa ʿannahu wafqan li-l-waḏʿi ʾalā ʾarḏi l- wāqīʾi sa-yatahaddadu mā ʾiḏā kāna sa-yatimmu taṭbīqu l-ʿuqūbātī l-mutta- faqu ʾalayhā kulliyyan ʾaw ğuzʾiyyan, mušīran ʾilā ʾan- nahā tahdufu ʾilā tašğtʾi »tağayyuri l-masāri fī ʾaf ʾālī rūsiyā llatī tatasabbabu fī zaʾzaʾati stiqrāri šarqi ʾūkrāniyā«.	And he added that depending on the situation on the ground , it will be determined whether the sanctions agreed upon will be implemented in full or in part, referring to that they aim at encouraging »a change of the course in the actions of Russia which are causing a destabilization [lit. shake of stabilization] of eastern [East?] ⁴⁰⁷ Ukraine.

482. Article 69, preposed syntagm, Preposed Condition

وذكر المالكي أن القيادة ال فلسطينية لا تزال بانتظار الرد الأمريكي ورد الحكومة الإسرائيلية على هذه الخطوة «وبناء على طبيعة هذا الرد سيتم تحديد سقف زمني لإجراء مفاوضات لا تتجاوز ثلاثة أشهر».	wa-ḏakara el-mālikī ʾanna l- qiyādata l-filasṭīniyyata lā- tazālu bi-ntizāri l-raddi l- ʾamrīkiyyi wa-raddi l-ḥukūmati l-ʾisrāʾīliyyati ʾalā ḥāḏihi l- ḥuṭṭati » wa-binā ʾan ʾalā ṭabīʿati ḥāḏā l-raddi sa-ya- timmu tahdīdu saqfīn zamanīyyin li-ʾiğrāʾi mufaḵwāḏātīn lā tatağāwazu talātata ʾašhurin«.	And al-Maliki said that the Palestinian leadership is still waiting the American response and the response of the Israeli government on this plan, » and based on the nature of this response, a time limit will be set for conducting the negotiations which will not exceed three months.

⁴⁰⁶ See also Article 69, *wa-ʾalā naḥwin ʾāğilin* (Example 696), annotated as postpositioned Manner (“*wa-ʾalā*” in 6.9).

⁴⁰⁷ For the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

5.3.4.4. Preposed subordination to non-main matrices (38x)

In addition to the front dislocations and preposed adverbials discussed above (5.3.4.3), there are 38x preposed subordinate clauses (finite and nominalized) with non-main clause matrices. Excluded from this list are headless relative clauses (finite and nominalized) as subjects. For nominalized headless relative clauses, see 6.4.1.

Example (483) from Article 114 features a preposed subordinate clause to a non-main matrix.

483. Article 114 (final paragraph), *wa-rağma 'annahu lā* VprefL, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Paired Contrast

يذكر أن الطائفة العلوية هي ثاني أكبر أقلية إثنية بعد الكردية في البلاد ورغم أنه لا يوجد إحصاء دقيق لعدد العلويين في تركيا، إلا أنهم يمثلون في أقل التقديرات ١٥٪ من إجمالي عدد السكان البالغ ٧٦ مليون نسمة.	wa-yuḍkaru 'anna l-tā'ifata l-'alawiyyata hiya t̄anī 'akbara 'aḡalliyyatin 'itniyyatin ba'da l-kurdiyyati fi-l-bilādi wa-rağma 'annahu lā yūğadu 'iḡṣā'un daqīqun li-'adadi l-'alawiyyīna fī turkiyā, 'illā 'annahum yumattilūna fī 'aḡalli l-taḡdīrāti 15% min 'iğmāliyyi 'adadi l-sukkāni l-bāliḡi 76 milyūna nasamatin.	And it is mentioned that the Alawi sect is the second largest ethnic minority after the Kurdish [minority] in the country, and although there is no accurate count of the number of Alawites in Turkey, they nevertheless represent according to the lowest estimates 15% of the total number of citizens which reaches 76 million persons.

Of the 38x preposed subordinate clauses, 11x are Conditional (29%), and another 18x (47%) are in some way antiproidetic or contrastive (including Polarized Pair, and Numerical Comparative Contrast). The remaining 9x span Cause, Meta-linguistic Comment, Possible Consequence, and Temporal Succession in various combinations. Table 35 gives the semantics and syntax for all text-internal preposed subordinate finite clauses with a non-main clause as matrix in the corpus.

21x of the matrices begin with *fa-*, and another 5x with variations of *'illā 'anna*. 11x matrices lack a conjunction or preposed adverbial, but of these there are 4x futures (incl. 1x *sawfa*, Article 130; and 1x *sa-yatimmu maşdar*), 2x negated clauses, and 1x instance of *tamma + maşdar* (Article 106), none of which are among the most frequent grammatical morphemes. A preposed subordination only 1x precedes a matrix with a simple Vsuff (which is not *kāna* or *tamma*).

Combinations of *rağm-* (9x times) and *'iḡā* (8x) are the most frequent conjunctions in preposed subordination. Among the unique constructions in this position are *wa-ḡattā yatimma* to code Temporal 'until' bi Possible Consequence (irreal temporal reference) in Article 19: *wa-'aḡāfa l-bayānu: "wa-ḡattā yatimma ta'mīnu l-dawlati wa-maḡārrihā l-'āmmati fa-'inna l-hukūmata sa-ta'malu min 'ayyi madīnatin lībiyyatin [...]* (Example 254), and *bi-muḡarradi* in a Temporal Succession with an unspecific temporal reference ('whenever'), Article 61, Example (484):

Table 35: Relations and syntax of the 38x preposed subordinate constructions to non-main matrices, by frequency of relation type

Σ	Link	Preposed construction	Non-main matrix	A	Ex
11	Conditional	<i>'idā</i> Vsuff	<i>fa-sa-yakūnu</i>	4	270
		<i>'idā lam</i> VprefS	<i>fa-'inna-h sa-VprefL</i>	10	496
		<i>law</i> Vsuff	<i>fa-'inna S sa-yakūnu</i>	49	255
		<i>fī ḥāli kāna</i>	<i>fa-sa-VprefL</i>	69	613
		<i>wa-fī ḥāli 'adami maṣḍar</i>	<i>VprefL</i>	70	501
		<i>'idā lam</i> VprefS	<i>fa-'inna-h sa-yakūnu</i>	74	-
		<i>'idā</i> Vsuff	<i>fa-NCl</i>	83	440
		<i>'idā</i> Vsuff	<i>sa-VprefL</i>	90	-
		<i>'idā</i> Vsuff	<i>fa-inna S sa-yakūnu</i>	102	237
		<i>law</i> Vsuff	<i>fa-inna-h sa-VprefL</i>	109	478
		<i>fī ḡilli PP</i>	<i>lā VprefL</i>	111	- ⁴⁰⁸
9	Concession	<i>wa-kāna</i>	<i>illa 'anna-h NCl</i>	10	408
		<i>'alā l-raġmi min ḡālika</i>	<i>lam VprefS</i>	38	588
		<i>ma 'a ḡālika</i>	<i>sa-VprefL</i>	40	-
		<i>'alā l-raġmi min anna-h kāna</i>	<i>'illā 'anna-h NCl</i>	47	596
		<i>'alā l-raġmi min PP</i>	<i>fa-qad Vsuff</i>	57	231
		<i>'alā l-raġmi min PP</i>	<i>fa-'inna-h Vsuff</i>	65	-
		<i>wa-bi-l-raġmi min PP</i>	<i>'illā 'anna S Vsuff</i>	86	553
		<i>raġma PP</i>	<i>'illā 'anna S mā-zāla</i>	103	409
		<i>raġma PP</i>	<i>fa-'inna S laysa NCl</i>	108	-
3	Inconcomitance bi Conditional	<i>bi-dūni PP</i>	<i>fa-'inna S sa-VprefL</i>	25	-
		<i>bi-dūni PP</i>	<i>fa-'inna S sa-VprefL</i>	77	422
		<i>bi-dūni PP</i>	<i>sawfa VprefL</i>	130	423
2	Cause	NCl	<i>VprefL</i>	1	355
		<i>naẓaran li- PP</i>	<i>sa-yatimmu maṣḍar</i>	122	463
2	<i>instead of x, y</i> (Polarized Pair)	<i>kāna VprefL</i>	<i>fa-'idā binā VprefL</i>	34	461
		<i>wa-badalan 'an 'an VprefA</i>	<i>Vsuff</i>	45	387

⁴⁰⁸ Article 11: *wa-'awḍaha kāmīrūn 'annahu fī ḡilli manḥi šalāḥiyyātīn 'awsa 'a li-barlamāni wa-ḥukūmati 'iskutlandā, lā yumkinu 'an yakūna li-nuwwābi 'iskutlandā bi-l-barlamāni l-brīṭāniyyi ḥaqqu l-taswīṭi 'alā qadāyā taḥūṣṣu 'ingīltera wa waylẓ [...].*

Σ	Link	Preposed construction	Non-main matrix	A	Ex
2	Meta-linguistic Comment (relevance conditionals)	<i>'idā kāna lā VprefL</i>	<i>fa-'inna-h lan yakūna</i>	102	237
		<i>wa-'in kāna lā VprefL</i>	<i>fa-S lan VprefA</i>	102	237
2	Temporal Succession	<i>bi-muğarradi maşdar</i>	<i>fa-'inna-h VprefL</i>	61	484
		<i>ba'da PP</i>	<i>tamma maşdar</i>	106	522
1	Concession bi Meta-linguistic Comment	<i>hattā wa-'in kāna</i>	<i>fa-S laysa NCI</i>	116	402
1	Concession bi Paired Contrast	<i>bi-l-rağmi min 'anna S Vsuff</i>	<i>wa-lākin Vsuff</i>	64	637
1	Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause	<i>iğ NCI</i>	<i>NCI</i>	1	367
1	Meta-linguistic Comment bi Paired Contrast	<i>wa-rağma 'anna-h lā VprefL</i>	<i>'illa 'anna-h VprefL</i>	114	483
1	Numerical Comparative Contrast	<i>min bayni PP [+ REL]⁴⁰⁹</i>	<i>fa-'inna S Vsuff</i>	37	375
1	Possible Consequence	<i>'idā lam VprefS</i>	<i>fa-tammata ḥtimālu[n?] 'an VprefA</i>	61	232
1	Temporal Until bi Possible Consequence	<i>wa-hattā yatimma maşdar</i>	<i>fa-'inna S sa-VprefL</i>	19	254
38					

484. Article 61, *bi-muğarrad*, preposed subordinate clause, Temporal Succession

وذكرت المنظمة أنه بمجرد فتح مرفق جديد لعلاج المصابين فإنه «يزدحم على الفور بالمرضى ويصبح غير قادر على استيعابهم» وهو ما يعنى كثرة عدد الحالات التى لم يتم الإعلان عنها سابقاً.	wa-ḡakarati l-munazzamatu 'annahu bi-muğarradi fathī mirfaqin ḡadidin li-'ilāḡi l-muṣābīna fa-'innahū »yazdahimu 'alā l-fawri bi-l-mardā wa-yuṣbiḥu ḡayra qādirin 'alā stī'ābihim« wa-huwa mā ya'nī kaṭrata 'adadi l-ḡālāti llatī lam yatimma l-'i'lāni 'anhā sābiqan.	And the organization stated that as soon as a new facility for treating the infected is opened, it »instantly gets crowded with patients and becomes unable to accommodate them« and this is something which means a large number of cases which have not been announced previously.

⁴⁰⁹ The construction is included on formal grounds. The construction is partitive.

Article 37 (Example 375) occupies a middle-ground position between a partitive front dislocation and preposed subordination (Numerical Comparative Contrast): *wa-qāla ‘abbās ‘innahu min bayni 2149 šaḥṣan qutlū fi-l-‘ud-wāni l-‘aḥīri ‘alā ġazza fa-‘inna ‘adada qatlā harakati hamās «balaġa 50 šahīdan faqat [...]*. The complement main clause lacks an anaphoric pronominal suffix. It is unique not only in that the preposed element puts the complement main clause in a context of a Numerical Comparative Contrast, but also because it has an embedded relative clause. In addition, it features the only instance of an internally passive Vsuff in an asyndetic relative clause (see 5.2.2). For another unique feature of Article 37, the only extended metaphor in the corpus, see 3.15.1, and Example (201).

5.4. Questions in Media Arabic (15x)

A direct question is defined as a proposition directly asking for information, whereas an indirect question proper is an interrogative report. As indirect questions are here also included statements of the type ‘this is *what* it is’ (NCl), where the indirect question is expressed only in the shadow of a presupposition in the given answer through a nominal clause (and the *what* is not a resumptive construction, nor the content of a speech or talk, cf. Concerning, 4.11.5; and see *hādā mā* Vsuff in main clause, 5.3.1.7). The pervasive hard news register feature of stating facts propted a generous definition of indirect question; with only a dozen attestations in the corpus, a more precise calibration proved to be superfluous.

The annexation in Example (485) from Article 123 is atypical in Media Arabic in that it explicitly states ‘reasons’. It is not an indirect question in the present framework.⁴¹⁰

485. Article 123, not an indirect question

وأعلن السفير ياسر عثمان نائب مساعد وزير الخارجية لشئون فلسطين "أن واحدا من أهم أسباب دعوة مصر لعقد المصالحة يتمثل في	wa-‘a‘lana l-safirū-yāser ‘uṭmān nā‘ibu musā‘id# wazīri l-ḥāriġiyyati li-šu‘ūni fīlaṣṭīn “‘anna wāhīdan min ‘aḥammī ‘asbābi da‘wati miṣr li-‘aqdi ġtimā‘āti l-muṣālaḥati yatamattalu fi [...]	And the ambassador Yasser Othman, deputy assistant foreign minister for Palestine affairs, announced “that <u>one of the most important reasons</u> for Egypt’s call to hold the reconciliation meetings consists in [...]

There are 15x questions in the corpus: 3x direct questions and 12x indirect questions. As will be seen however, the distinction between direct and indirect questions proper can be superficial.

⁴¹⁰ In the corpus, plural ‘asbāb# is attested 4x, all in similar usage: Article 74; Article 80, Example (395); Article 119, Example (498); and Article 123, Example (486).

5.4.1. Direct questions (3x)

The 3x direct questions are all introduced by *hal*; 2x of these direct questions are directed to a second person (Article 34 and 47), and 1x has a third person verb (Article 49). Only 1x question is not rhetorical.

The example from Article 34 (see Example 461 above), *mutasā'ilan bi-stinkārin* : *hal sa-tahmūna man 'ahānakum wa-'aḍallakum wa-ttahamakum bal qātalakum wa-stabāḥa dimā'akum*, 'asking disapprovingly: Are you going to protect those who humiliated you and insulted and accused you, nay, who fought you and shed your blood.' is not a clear-cut direct question, but could be understood to be directed to a generic second person introduced by *mutasā'ilan*, 'would you?', except that it does not have a question mark. The question is rhetorical.

Example (486) from Article 49 also features a direct, albeit again rhetorical, question with a question mark in a paragraph begun with *wa-tasā'ala* about Western economic sanctions against Russia in a digression about the sanctions against China in 1989.

486. Article 49, full paragraph, direct question

وتساءل : هل أصبح
الاقتصاد الصيني أسوأ
بسبب هذه العقوبات؟
مضيفاً إن العقوبات
الغربية أفادت بشكل ما
الصين، حيث دفعتها
لتعبئة مواردها الداخلية.

wa-tasā'ala : **hal 'aṣḥaḥa l-
iqtisādu l-ṣīniyyu 'aswa'a
bi-sababi hāḍihi l-
'uqūbāti?** muḍīfan 'anna l-
'uqūbāti l-ḡarbiyyata 'afādat
bi-ṣaklin mā el-ṣīn, ḥayṭu
dafa'athā li-ta'bi'ati mawāri-
dihā l-dāḥiliyyati.

And he [Medvedev] asked:
**Did the Chinese economy
become worse because of
these sanctions?** Adding that
the Western sanctions some-
how benefited China, they
forced it to mobilize its do-
mestic resources.

Example (487) is taken from the unique Article 47 about the biography of Prince Harry, a member of the British royal family. This example features the only truly direct question, introduced by *taqūlu* (3fs) followed by the only instance of second person singular feminine verbal morphology in the corpus as a part of a direct speech. It is featured in a list of marital problems between Harry's parents. This is the only direct question which is arguably not rhetorical. The context is a unidirectional dialogue.

487. Article 47, direct question

فقد تناول كاتب
متخصص في السير
الذاتية الملكية حياة
الأمير هاري بعد بلوغه
سن الثلاثين، وأسرد فيه
العديد من المفاجآت
والفضائح، من بينها
مكالمة سرية بين ديانا
وكاميللا عشيقة تشارلز
وقتها تقول فيها ديانا
«أرسلت لك من
سيفتك.. هم الآن في

fa-qad tanāwala kātibun
muḥtaṣṣun fi-l-siyari l-
ḍātiyyati l-milkiyyati ḥayāta l-
'amīri hārī ba'da bulūḡihi
sinni l-ṭalātīna, wa-'asrada fihi
l-'adīda mina l-mufaḡḡi'āti
[ita] wa-l-faḍā'ihi, min
baynihā mukāmalatun sir-
riyyatun bayna diyāna wa-
kāmilā 'aṣīqati tšārلز waqtahā
taqūlu fihā diyāna »'arsaltu
laki man sa-yaqtuluki.. hum

And a writer specialized in
royal biographies dealt with
the life of Prince Harry after
reaching the age of thirty,
and in it [the book], he has
recounted many surprises
and scandals such as a secret
conversation between Diana
and Camilla Charles' mis-
tress in which she then said
»I have sent for you someone
who will kill you.. they are

الفناء الخارجى .. هل تستطيعين رؤيتهم؟»	al-’āna fi-l-finā’i l-hāriḡiyyi .. hal tastaṭī’ina ru’ya- tahum? «.	now in the courtyard .. can you see them? «.

5.4.2. Indirect questions (12x)

There are 12x indirect questions in the corpus.⁴¹¹ These are given in Table 36. In Example (488) from Article 69, a situation is expressed as a future test of ‘extent of credibility’. Though expressive of risk and uncertainty, the speaker is not engaging in interrogative report, nor is he stating explicitly *what* something is. It is not an indirect question in the present framework.

488. Article 69, not an indirect question

واعتبر أن ذلك «سيكون اختباراً لمدى صدقية الجانب الأمريكى فى تعامله مع القضية الفلسطينية بعدم استخدام حق النقض الفيتو ضد هذا الطلب» فى مجلس الأمن.	wa-’tabara ’anna dālīka »sa- yakūnu ḥtibāran li-madā ṣidqiyyati l-ḡānibi l- ’amrikiyyi fi ta’āmulīhi ma’a l-qaḍiyyati l-fi- lasṭīniyyati bi-’adami stiḥdāmi ḥaqqi l-naqdi al- fitū ḍidda ḥādā l-ṭalabi» fi maḡlisi l-’amni.	And he expressed that this “will be a test of the extent of the credibility of the American side in dealing with the Palestinian issue without using the right of refutation, the veto, against this demand» in the Security Council.

Table 36: Indirect questions

Σ	Matrix/head	Syntax	Predication	A	Ex
1	<i>mutasā’ilan</i>	<i>man</i>	Vsuff	24	489
1	<i>mutasā’ilan</i>	<i>wa-li-māḡdā</i>	<i>lam yatimma maṣḡdar</i>	24	489
1	<i>milaff# al-’irhābi</i>	<i>wa-mā</i>	VprefL	26	233
1	<i>li-l-naṣari</i>	<i>fīmā</i>	VprefL	37	- ⁴¹²
1	<i>lā-siyyamā</i>	<i>kayfiyyat#</i>	<i>’idḡāli</i> (NP)	54	426
1	<i>bi-ṣa’ni</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>sa-VprefL</i>	57	197
1	<i>sa-yatahaddadu</i>	<i>mā ’idā</i>	<i>kāna sa-yatimmu maṣḡdar</i>	62	481
1	<i>ḡādā l-kalām# huwa</i>	<i>mā</i>	VprefL	74	490
1	<i>’an tafahhumīhi</i>	<i>li-sababi</i>	<i>’iqbāli</i> (NP)	102	-
1	<i>’alā su’ālin</i>	<i>’an sababi</i>	<i>iḡṭiyārihi</i> (NP)	116	425
1	<i>lam yūḡḡih</i>	<i>māḡdā</i>	VprefL	116	425
1	<i>lam yata’akkadū</i>	<i>fīmā ’idā</i>	<i>kāna</i>	121	515
12					

⁴¹¹ Example (532) from Article 12, with a primary Concerning meaning is not treated here: [...] *ittifaq# ’alā ’anna l-ḡaṭara hunā wāḡidun sawā ’an fīmā yata’allaqu bi-duwali l-minṭaḡati ’aw* [...].

⁴¹² Article 37 (final sentence):

وأوضح أن إقامة الدولة الفلسطينية هي الضمانة الأكيدة للحيلولة دون تكرار العدوان على الشعب الفلسطينى ولعدم استمرار تردى الأوضاع فى غزة وفى الضفة الغربية معرباً عن تطلعه إلى النقاش الذى سيجرى للنظر فيما يمكن لنا اتخاذه من تدابير لتكثيف ومضاعفة دعمنا لأشقائنا الفلسطينيين لنيل حقهم المشروع فى الحرية والكرامة.

Example (489) from Article 24 features 2x indirect questions proper.

489. Article 24, *mutasā'ilan man* Vsuff + *wa-li-māḍā lam yatimma maṣḍar*, 2x indirect questions

وأوضح كليچدار أوغلو أنه لا يمكن أن تكون هناك بنية موازية داخل الدولة التي تمتلك بنيتها المرسومة وفق إطار الدستور، متسائلاً من سمح بدخول هذه البنية الموازية إلى مفصل الدولة؟ ولماذا لم يتم التطرق لهذه البنية الموازية قبل أعوام في ظل استمرار حكم أردوغان كرئيس حكومة منذ 12 عاماً؟ وأكذّاه في كل الأحوال سيحاسب أردوغان على إغلاق قضايا الفساد والرشاوي.	wa-'awḍaḥa kilīḡdār 'ūḡlū 'an-nahu lā yumkinu 'an takūna hunāka binyatun muwāziyatun dāḡila l-dawlati llatī tamtaliku binyatahā l-marsūmata wafqa 'iṭārī l-dustūrī, <u>mutasā'ilan man samaḥa</u> bi-duḡūli hāḡihi l-binyati l-muwāziyyati 'ilā mafāṣīli l-dawlati? wa-li-māḍā lam yatimma l-taṭarruqu li-hāḡihi l-binyati l-muwāziyyati qabla 'a wāmin fī zillī stimrārī ḡukmi 'erdūḡān ka-ra'īsi ḡukūmatin munḡu 12 'āman?. wa'akkada'annahu fī kulli l-'aḡwālī sa-yuḡḡasabu 'erdūḡān 'alā 'iḡlāqī qaḡāyā l-fasādi wa-raṣāwī.	And Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu explained that there cannot be a parallel structure within the state which has its structure drawn according to the framework of the constitution, <u>asking who allowed</u> this parallel structure to enter the joints of the state, and why it was not addressed years ago during the continued rule of Erdoğan as the prime minister during 12 years? ⁴¹³ And he stressed that in all cases Erdoğan will be held accountable for closing the cases of corruption and bribes.

wa-huwa mā is a syntagm used 12x times in the corpus as a resumptive construction (for which, see under 6.1.5, and in main clauses, 5.3.1). It is not used for indirect questions proper. The indirect question in Article 74 however features the *hapax* syntagm *huwa mā* (without *wa-*), and is here introducing what has been annotated as an indirect question under the umbrella of *muṣīran 'ilā*.

490. Article 74, *huwa mā*, indirect question

ووصف الحيدري عملية اختيار مستقلين لتلك الوزارتين بـ «البدعة»، مبيناً أن المستقل سيخضع لضغوط غير طبيعية من الكتلة السياسية التي رشحته، في نقل أو إقالة منتسبين أو اتخاذ مواقف معينة، مشيراً إلى أن هذا الكلام هو ما يدور في الأروقة السياسية عن المستقلين وليس غيره.	wa-waṣafa el-ḡaydari 'ama-liyyata ḡtiyārī mustaqillīna ⁴¹⁴ li-tilka [sic] l-wizāratayni bi «al-bid'ati», mubayyinān 'anna l-mustaqilla sa-yahḡa'u li-duḡūṭi ḡayri ṭabī'iyatin mina l-kutlati l-siyāsiyyati llatī raṣṣaḡathu, fī naqli 'aw 'iḡālātī muntasibīna 'aw ittiḡāḡi mawāqifa mu'ayyanatin, <u>muṣīran 'ilā 'anna hādā l-kalāmu huwa mā yadūru fi-l-'arwiqati</u> l-siyāsiyyati 'ani l-mustaqillīna wa-laysa ḡayr#h#.	And al-Haidari described the process of selecting independents to these two ministries as «heresy», clarifying that the independent will be subject to abnormal pressures from the political blocks which nominated him, either in transferring or dismissing associates or taking certain positions, <u>stating that this [kind of] talk is what is going on in the political corridors concerning the independents and nothing else.</u>

Example (233) from Article 26 is understood as an indirect question, although a purely nominalized reading is also possible, 'the threat it poses': *wa-baḡaṭa*

⁴¹³ The years 2003–2014.

⁴¹⁴ Or dual, *mustaqillayni*.

[...] *al- 'adīda min al-qadāyā* [...] *fī muqaddimatihā l- 'azmatu l-lībiyyatu, wa- [...] faḍlan 'an milaffi l- 'irhābi wa-mā yuṣakkiluhu min taḥdīdin li-l- 'amni wa-l-istiqrāri l-duwaliyyayni* [sic]. '[...] discussed [...] a number of the issues [...] especially the Libyan crisis [...] in addition to the terrorist portfolio and **what threat it poses to international security and stability.**' Together with *mā* VprefL from Article 74 (see Example 490), it is the only construction with a simple *mā* to code an indirect question.

5.4.3. Summary: Questions in Media Arabic

Despite a generous definition of indirect question (5.4), it must be concluded that questions, both direct and indirect, are not a pervasive feature of the Media Arabic hard news register.

5.5. Summary: Sentence structure

In this chapter, the sentence structure of Media Arabic hard news has been discussed with regard to frequencies of fundamental building blocks such as core structure, Verb + Subject + (n-complementizer) + complement main clause (here schematized as VS (+ *-n-*) + COMP), transition phrases, front dislocations, and preposed subordination in both main, non-main, and complement main clauses.

If transition phrases are excluded, and if vague experiential expressions in relation to frequencies are to be allowed in academia, a summary of the results in the present chapter would have it that preposed subordination in Media Arabic is “very rare”,⁴¹⁵ especially if put in relation to subordinate syntagms occurring in non-preposed positions vis-à-vis both main clause VS, and complement main clause (S)V. The quantitative investigation has shown that preposed finite clausal subordination to main clause matrices is almost non-existent, and that preposed subordination to non-main clause matrices in Media Arabic is favoured by a rather limited set of logico-semantic relations, and, in the case of transition phrases, consists of a limited number of syntactic constructions and lexical items.

The typical Media Arabic sentence, in conclusion, begins with *wa-* and runs from left to right at a length of about 30 words; it is likely to be in the third person, active, affirmative, expressive of the past, and to include a verb of attribution and a complement clause, but no direct questions.

The Media Arabic sentence also contains a non-main (subordinate) clause, a relative clause, and multiple prepositional phrases; these and other peripheral constituents are dealt with in the following Part 6.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. Holes (2004: 327).

6. Quantitative results: Peripheral clauses and elements and their semantics

This part gives frequencies and semantics for all the investigated peripheral elements in the corpus, beginning in 6.1 with non-deverbalized subordinate non-main clauses, first considering asyndetic linkings (6.1.1), syndetic linkings with *wa-* (6.1.2), finite clauses with *wa-* and a preposed subject (6.1.3), and asyndetic anaphoric nouns (peripheral nominatives) (6.1.4), then providing a list of all the attested non-deverbalized non-main clauses in Arabic alphabetical order (6.1.5). The subsequent chapters deal with embedded, nominal, and nominalized syntagms: accusative verbal nouns (6.2), both asyndetic (6.2.1) and syndetic with *wa-* (6.2.2); non-deverbalized relative clauses (6.3); and predicative uses of the participle (6.4). Chapter 6.5 describes attribution formulae; 6.6 considers non-disclosure formulae; 6.7 deals with conjunctions without full clauses and 6.8 with adverbs; and then 6.9 concludes the investigation with data on peripheral prepositional phrases, beginning with cardinal directions (6.9.2.1), and following this once again with a list of the attested constructions in Arabic alphabetical order. The part concludes with a summary of the clausal constructions in 6.10, and the frequencies for each semantic inference in 6.11, giving their respective linguistic expression.

6.1. Non-deverbalized non-main clauses: Finite and nominal clauses (869x or 872x)

869x (or 872x; see *wa*-NCl) attestations, approximately 190x different constructions. These non-main clauses are divided into asyndetic linkings in “Asyndetic linkings (without conjunctions)” (6.1.1), linkings with a *wa-* in “*wa*-as only conjunction” (6.1.2), clauses beginning in “*wa*-S + finite verb” (6.1.3), clauses with peripheral nominatives in “Asyndetic anaphoric nouns (peripheral nominatives)” (6.1.4), and linkings with conjunctions (all other linkings) in “Non-main clauses with conjunctions” (6.1.5, arranged alphabetically according to conjunction). Each heading and category represents exclusive attestations, not counted elsewhere.

The entries are organized by consonants according to the common Arabic *hiğāʾi*. Verbal forms are counted as null, i.e. *li-VprefA* = *li-* and precedes e.g. *li-darağati* [...].

The conjunction *wa-* is counted as null, but attestations with *wa-* follow their main conjunction, also in the absence of other conjunctions, e.g. asyndetic Vsuff (6.1.1.1) precedes *wa-Vsuff* (6.1.2.1).

Typically, syntagms are grouped by mere consonantal type: *bi-mā*, *waḡqan li-mā*, and *ḡimā* are grouped as separated categories, not under “*mā*”. Exceptions to this may occur for reasons of a discussion, e.g. *bi-ḡaytu* is grouped under “*ḡaytu*, constructions including”. The heading under which a construction type is treated features the number of attestations in parentheses, e.g. “*bal Vsuff* (2x)”, signalling that the construction is attested two times in the corpus. Headings containing only a cross-reference (e.g. “See ‘*tumma*, constructions including’”) has (Ref.) in place of the number of attestations (e.g. “*wa-min tumma* (Ref.)”).

Where multiple predicate morphologies are attested under one entry their organization follows three schemata:

- 1) Vsuff, VprefL, VprefA, VprefS, future VprefL, composite verbal forms with *kāna* (e.g. *kāna VprefL*), NCl.
- 2) Affirmative constructions first.
- 3) Constructions without *wa-* first.

Table 37 gives the constructions attested $\geq 3x$ by order of frequency (724x in total, or 83.3% of the 869x subordinate clauses discussed here). A total of 89x syntagms are *hapax* (10.2% of 869x); another 28x are attested 2x (6.4% of 869x). On the contrary, 10x of the most frequent non-main clause types account for 40% of the total number of clauses treated in this chapter.⁴¹⁶

There is however an element of arbitrariness in the categorization of these constructions. E.g. constructions preceded by *(wa-)ḡāṣṣatan*, and constructions preceded by *ḡuṣūṣan* are grouped together under respective preposed element, although strictly they consist of different syntagms and verbal morphologies. The reverse is true for the splitting up of e.g. nominal clauses based on their predication, and/or closed class item in the beginning of the clause.⁴¹⁷ Table 37 will nonetheless serve as one of multiple illustrations of the relative frequencies of individual non-main non-deverbalized constructions. For a list of the constructions in alphabetical order, see main index in the beginning of the book.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. the distribution of frequent, less frequent, and *hapax* types in 3.4.

⁴¹⁷ Noteworthy in this context are also the 35x attestations of combinations with *lākin*.

Table 37: The 70x finite and nominal non-main clause types occurring $\geq 3x$, arranged by number of occurrences

No.	No. by freq.	Σ	Syntax	Sum (1-n)	% of 869x	Sum % (1-n)
1	1	90	<i>wa</i> -Vsuff	90	10.37	10.36
2	2	58	<i>wa</i> -VprefL	148	6.67	17.03
3	3	42	<i>wa-dālika</i> X NCI	190	4.83	21.86
4	4	33	<i>wa-hw</i> NCI	223	3.80	25.66
5	5	31	<i>haytu</i> Vsuff	254	3.57	29.23
6	6	25	VprefL	279	2.88	32.11
7	7	19	<i>li</i> -VprefA	298	2.19	34.29
8	8	18	<i>mā</i> VprefL	316	2.07	36.36
9	9	17	<i>mimmā</i> Vsuff	333	1.96	38.32
10	10	16	<i>mā</i> Vsuff	349	1.84	40.16
11	11	15	(<i>wa</i> -) <i>hāṣṣatan</i> , constructions preceded by	364	1.73	41.89
12	12	14	<i>bi-mā</i> VprefL	378	1.61	43.50
13	13	13	<i>ḥimā</i> Vsuff	391	1.50	44.99
14	14	12	<i>haytu</i> VprefL	403	1.38	46.38
15	15	11	<i>wa</i> -future-VprefL	414	1.27	47.64
16	16	11	<i>wa</i> -NCI	425	1.27	48.91
17		11	<i>lākin(na)</i> Vsuff	436	1.27	50.17
18		10	<i>baynamā</i> Vsuff	446	1.15	51.32
19		10	<i>ba'da 'an</i> Vsuff	456	1.15	52.47
20		10	<i>li-'anna(-h)</i> , constructions with	466	1.15	53.62
21	17	10	<i>mimmā</i> VprefL	476	1.15	54.78
22		9	Vsuff	485	1.04	55.81
23		9	<i>ḥimā</i> VprefL	494	1.04	56.85
24	18	8	<i>'idā</i> Vsuff	502	0.92	57.77
25		8	<i>bayna-h</i> NCI	510	0.92	58.69
26		8	<i>ḥuṣūṣan</i> , constructions preceded by	518	0.92	59.61
27		8	<i>wa-huwa mā</i> VprefL (NCI)	526	0.92	60.53
28		7	NCI	533	0.81	61.33
29	19	7	<i>wa-lā</i> VprefL	540	0.81	62.14
30		7	<i>ba'damā</i> Vsuff	547	0.81	62.95
31		7	<i>ḥi ḥini</i> + finite verb	554	0.81	63.75
32		7	<i>min bayni-h</i> NCI	561	0.81	64.56
33		7	<i>wa-hw</i> VprefL	568	0.81	65.36
34		6	<i>wa</i> -VprefA	574	0.69	66.05
35		6	<i>bi-mā ḥi dālika</i> NCI	580	0.69	66.74

6.1. Non-deverbalized non-main clauses: Finite and nominal clauses (869x or 872x)

No.	No. by freq.	Σ	Syntax	Sum (1–n)	% of 869x	Sum % (1–n)
36		6	'indamā Vsuff	586	0.69	67.43
37		6	qabla 'an VprefA	592	0.69	68.12
38		6	kamā Vsuff	598	0.69	68.81
39		6	man Vsuff	604	0.69	69.51
40	21	5	Asyndetic anaphoric nouns	609	0.58	70.08
41		5	'ida lam VprefS	614	0.58	70.66
42		5	'illā 'anna Subject Vsuff	619	0.58	71.23
43		5	baynamā VprefL	624	0.58	71.81
44		5	bi-ḥaytu VprefL	629	0.58	72.38
45		5	raġm-, constructions including	634	0.58	72.96
46		5	'alā 'an VprefA	639	0.58	73.53
47		5	kamā VprefL	644	0.58	74.11
48		5	lākin(na) NCl	649	0.58	74.68
49	22		wa-'innamā, constructions includ- ing			
		4		653	0.46	75.14
50		4	'illā 'anna Subject VprefL	657	0.46	75.60
51		4	'aw Vsuff	661	0.46	76.06
52		4	fa-NCl	665	0.46	76.52
53		4	(wa-)fī muqaddimati-h NCl	669	0.46	76.99
54		4	lākin(na Subject) lam VprefS	673	0.46	77.45
55		4	mā lā VprefL	677	0.46	77.91
56		4	wa-mā VprefL	681	0.46	78.37
57	4	man future VprefL	685	0.46	78.83	
58	23	3	'idā mā Vsuff	688	0.35	79.17
59		3	'in, constructions including	691	0.35	79.52
60		3	wa-min tumma VprefL	694	0.35	79.86
61		3	ḥattā VprefA	697	0.35	80.21
62		3	ḥasbamā Vsuff	700	0.35	80.55
63		3	wa-'alā ra 'si-h NCl	703	0.35	80.90
64		3	lākin VprefL	706	0.35	81.24
65		3	wa-lākin(na Subject) Vsuff	709	0.35	81.59
66		3	mā lam VprefS	712	0.35	81.93
67		3	man VprefL	715	0.35	82.28
68		3	wa-hādā NCl	718	0.35	82.62
69		3	hal, constructions including	721	0.35	82.97
70		3	wafqan li-mā + Verb	724	0.35	83.31
		724				

6.1.1. Asyndetic linkings (without conjunctions) (43x)

Includes linkings where the finite predicate appears clause-initially and asyndetic NCl (6.1.1.8). This excludes *hāḍā* VprefL, *hāḍā fīmā* Vsuff, *ka-ḡālika* VprefL, and clauses with *wa-*; all are discussed below (6.1.2ff.). Compare the discussion of asyndetic non-deverbalized relative clauses in 6.3.

6.1.1.1. Vsuff (9x)

9x attestations, including 3x verbs of attribution, and 1x *kāna*, never *tamma maṣḍar*. See also non-disclosure formulae in 6.6. For asyndetic non-deverbalized relative clauses, see 6.3.

The semantics include Unordered Addition and Temporal Succession, with 1x additional Parenthetical Comment (Example 495 with *kāna* from the lead of Article 115); the most frequent relation being Unordered Addition (7x), distributed over 4x Different Level, and 3x Same Level Additions, only 1x of which is polysemous (Article 125, bi Temporal Succession). The only other monosemantic relation is Temporal Succession (1x). The full list is given in Table 38.

Table 38: *Asyndetic Vsuff*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
3	Same Level Different Subject Addition	Examples below		27 102 90	491 493 494
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition	[...] lā na 'rifu kulla šaḥṣin yaḥmilu ḡawāza safarin 'am- rīkiyy[an] [<i>ita</i>],	ḡahaba wa-tadarraba 'alā l-qitāli.	15	516
1	Same Level Different Sub- ject Addition bi Temporal Succession	wa-'aḏāfat [...] 'anna l-ṭā'irata l-sūriyyata [...] iqtarabat mina l- ḡānibi l-'isrā'īliyyi [...]	'asqaṭathā baṭṭāriyyatu ṣawārīḥi 'arḡ#-ḡaww# [...]	125	663
2	Same Level Same Subject Addition	Example below		112	492
1	Temporal Succession	kamā 'ādat ḥarakatu l-sayri bi-ṣaklin ṭabī'īyyin fī tilka l- manāṭiqi	'a 'qabahā faṭḥu l- maḥallāti [...]	118	169

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Parenthetical Comment	kašafa l-ğayšu l- 'amrīkiyyu 'anna l- rağula l-muttahama bi-qtiḥāmi l-bayti l- 'abyaḍi 'amsi l- 'awwala	- kāna musallaḥan bi- sikkīnin - 'askariyyun 'amrīkiyyun muḥaḍramun ḥāšilun 'alā 'awsimatin li-ḥid- matihi fi ḥarbi el-'irāq.	115	495
9					

The 4x attestations in Example (442) from Article 15 (also partially cited in the table above), Example (491) from Article 27, Example (493) from Article 102, and Example (492) from Article 112 all feature an unordered asyndetic Vsuff linking to a relative clause matrix, 1x with VprefL (Article 15), and 3x with Vsuff. The addition is similar to asyndetic VprefL in relative clauses (for which, see under “asyndetic VprefL”), and must be recognized as a recurring pattern in relative clause complexes. The structure is comparable, but not similar to the Unordered Addition of an asyndetic Vsuff in Example (494) from Article 90, *ğā'a dālīka fī risālatin min ḥaftar muwağğahat#n⁴¹⁸ 'ilā 'idārati mīnā'i bengāzī l-baḥriyyi, wa-tadāwalathā mawāqī'u 'iliktrūniyyatun [...]* ***haddada fihā bi-qaṣfi*** [...], where the preceding wa-Vsuff *wa-tadāwalathā* is analysed and annotated as a coordinated Different Level Different Subject Addition to the participle *muwağğahat#n* (not as a coordinated asyndetic relative clause). Example (491) should also be compared to Example (291) from Article 85 *'adlā 'akesūn bi-taṣrīḥin [...]* *qāla fihī* «[...]», where *qāla* introduces an asyndetic relative clause.

491. Article 27, Vsuff, Same Level Different Subject Addition

وفي الإطار نفسه، انتقد الكرملين أمس الصحافة الإيطالية بسبب تصريحات نشرتها على لسان الرئيس الروسي قال فيها إن روسيا قادرة على السيطرة على كييف خلال أسبوعين ، مشيراً إلى أن هذه التصريحات خرجت عن سياقها وأصبح لها معنى مختلف تماماً.	wa-fi-l-'itāri nafsīhi, in-taqada el-kremlīn 'amsi l-ṣaḥāfata l-'iṭāliyyata bi-sababi taṣrīḥātīn [REL] <u>našara-thā 'alā lisāni l-ra'īsī l-rūsiyyi qāla fihā 'inna rūsiyā qādiratun 'alā l-sayṭarati 'alā kiyeḥ ḥilāla 'usbū'ayni</u> , mušīran 'ilā 'anna ḥādihi l-taṣrīḥāti ḥarağat 'an siyāqihā wa-'aṣbaḥa lahā ma'anān muḥtalifun tamāman	And in the same context, the Kremlin criticized yesterday the Italian press because of statements [REL] <u>which it published in the words of the Russian president he said in them that Russia is able to [take] control over Kyiv within two weeks</u> , pointing out that these statements are taken [lit. gone] out of context and have gotten a new meaning.

492. Article 112, Vsuff, Same Level Same Subject Addition

يذكر أن الاتفاق على تشكيل حكومة الوحدة	wa-yudkaru 'anna l-ittifāqa 'alā taškīli ḥukūmati l-	And it is mentioned that the agreement to form a national

⁴¹⁸ For a discussion of *muwağğahat#n*, see 6.4.5.2.

الوطنية تم بين
المرشحين الأفغانين
في أعقاب زيارة قام بها
جون كيري وزير
الخارجية الأمريكي
لكابل استهدفت حل
الأزمة التي حدثت بعد
الجولة الثانية
للانتخابات الرئاسية
الأفغانية التي جرت في
يوليو الماضي.

waḥdati l-waṭaniyyati
tamma bayna l-mu-
raššahayni l-'afgāniyyayni fī
'a'qābi ziyāratin [REL]
qāma bihā ḡūn kīrī wazīru l-
hārīḡiyyati l-'amrīkiyyu li-
kābul istahdafat ḥalla l-'az-
mati llatī ḥadaṭat ba'da l-
ḡawlati l-tāniyyati li-l-in-
tiḡābāti l-ri'āsiyyati l-
'afgāniyyati llatī ḡarat fī
yūliyu l-māḍi.

unity government was con-
cluded between the two Af-
ghan candidates in the wake of
a visit [REL] which John
Kerry the American foreign
minister undertook to Kabul it
aimed at resolving the crisis
which occurred after the sec-
ond round of the Afghan pres-
idential elections that took
place last July.

493. Article 102, Vsuff, Same Level Different Subject Addition

وقبل 48 ساعة من بدء
الاستفتاء
الاستقلال المقرر غدا،
أصدر قادة الأحزاب
الثلاثة الكبرى في
بريطانيا تعهدا نشرته
صحيفة «ديلي
ريكورد» الاسكتلندية
أمس تحت عنوان
«النذر» أكد منح
البرلمان الاسكتلندي
المزيد من الصلاحيات
في حالة رفض
الانفصال، وتضمن
انشاء مصلحة ضرائب
مستقلة.

wa-qabla 48 sā'atan min
bad' i l-istiftā' i 'alā l-istiqlālī
l-muqarrari ḡadan, 'aṣḡara
qādatu l-'aḡzābi l-ṭalāṭati l-
kubrā fī brīṭāniyā ta'ahhu-
dan [REL] naṣarathu
ṣaḡhīfatu »daylī rīkūrd« al-
'iskutlandiyyatu 'amsi tahta
'unwāni »al-nadar« 'ak-
kada manḡa l-barlamāni l-
'iskutlandiyyi l-mazīda
mina l-ṣalāḡiyyāti fī ḡalati
rafḡi l-infiṣālī wa-taḡam-
mana 'inṣā'a maṣlaḡati
ḡarā'iba mustaqillatin.

And 48 hours before the start
of the referendum on the inde-
pendence scheduled for to-
morrow, the leaders of the
three major parties in Britain
issued a pledge [REL] which
the Scottish newspaper »Daily
Record« published yesterday
under the headline »the vow«
it promised to grant the Scot-
tish parliament more powers
in case of a rejection of the se-
cession and it included an es-
tablishment of an independent
tax authority.

494. Article 90, Vsuff, Same Level Different Subject Addition

جاء ذلك في رسالة من
حفتر موجهة إلى إدارة
ميناء بنغازي البحري،
وتداولتها مواقع
إلكترونية وصفحات
لناشطين على مواقع
التواصل الاجتماعي.
اليوم الاثنين، هدد فيها
بقصف أية سفينة تدخل
الميناء.

ḡā'a ḡālika fī riṣālatin min ḡaftar
muwaḡḡahat#n 'ilā 'idārati
mīnā'i bengāzī l-baḡriyyi, wa-
taḡawalathā mawāqī'u 'ilik-
trūniyyatun wa-ṣafahātun li-
nāṣiṭīna 'alā mawāqī'i l-tawāṣuli
l-iḡtimā'iyyi, al-yawma l-
itnayni, haddada fiḡh bi-qaṣfi
'ayyati safinatin tadḡulu l-
mīnā'a.

This came in a message
from Haftar addressed to
the management of the
Benghazi port, and circu-
lated by websites and
pages of activists on so-
cial media sites on mon-
day, he threatened in it
to bomb any ship that
enters the port.

Example (169) from Article 118 is the only instance where an asyndetic Vsuff is not an Unordered Addition, but expresses a monosemantic Temporal Succession. The verb is 'a'qabahā + maṣdar, 'this was followed by': kamā 'ādat ḡarakatu l-sayri bi-ṣaklin tabī'iyyin fī tilka l-manātiqi 'a'qabahā fathu l-maḡhallāti l-tiḡāriyyati llatī uḡliqat ḡilāla l-'ayyāmi l-māḡdiyyati.

Example (495) from Article 115 is the only attestation with *kāna*.

495. Article 115 (lead), Vsuff (*kāna*), Parenthetical Comment

كشفت الجيش الأمريكي أن الرجل المتهم باقتحام البيت الأبيض أمس الأول - كان مسلحاً بسكين - عسكري أمريكي مخضرم حاصل على أوسمة لخدمته في حرب العراق.	kašafa l-ğayšu l-'amrīkiyyu 'anna l-rağūla l-muttahama bi-qtiḥāmi l-bayti l-'abyadi 'amsi l-'awwala - kāna musallaḥan bi-sikkīnin - 'askariyyun 'amrīkiyyun muḥadramun ḥāṣilun 'alā 'awsimatin li-ḥidmatihī fī ḥarbi el-'irāq.	The American army revealed that <u>the man accused of hav-</u> <u>ing stormed the White House</u> <u>the day before yesterday</u> - he was armed with a knife - <u>is</u> <u>an American military vet-</u> <u>eran</u> who received medals for his service in the Iraq War.

6.1.1.2. VprefL (25x)

25x attestations, no *yatimmu mašdar*, no *yakūnu*.

With 12x relations, the most frequent relation is that of a Serial Verb. 8x of these instances are accounted for by 3x different roots in the matrix: 4x with the lemma NEG *zāla* (3x *lā ya/ta-zālu* + VprefL, and 1x *mā-zālat* + VprefL (Article 54)), 2x with Vsuff of *bada'a* + VprefL, and 2x with the root ḡ'l (1x *fī ḡa'li* [...] + VprefL (Example 496 from Article 10, the only example where the head is not a finite verb), and 1x *'annahā lan tağ'ala* [...] + VprefL (in Article 49)).

6x or 8x of the relations are Unordered Additions (for the figure, see Example 499 from Article 23, and Example 500 from Article 78 below), divided between 2x or 4x Same Level Additions, and 4x Different Level Additions, but 2x of these relations have a bi-nuance: 1x bi Temporal Succession (Article 40), and 1x bi Simultaneous (Article 119). All 6x or 8x Unordered Additions are additions to matrices that are asyndetic relative clauses with Vsuff or VprefL (comparable with asyndetic VSuff, see 6.1.1.1).

Monosemantic Motion Purpose accounts for 2x or 4x relations (see Examples 499 and 500 below from Articles 23 and 78).

Only 1x unique relation, the Different Level Same Subject Addition with the bi-nuance of Simultaneous in Example (498) from Article 119, is comparable to a traditional *ḥāl* construction (*nasabathā 'ilā + tattahimuhum*); the only other 1x attestation of an asyndetic VprefL with a Simultaneous inference, the monosemantic Simultaneous in Example (502) from Article 106, is a complement of direct perception: *šāhadat* [...] *tattaḡihu*, 'saw *x* head (to-wards)'. Traditional *ḥāl* via VprefL, in short, is not a frequent register feature of Media Arabic.

The full list of semantics is given in Table 39.

Table 39: Asyndetic *VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
12	Serial Verb	Example below		10	496
2	Motion Purpose	Example below		41	497
1	Different Level Different Subject Addition	ḥawla ‘arḍin [REL] qad-damahu li-l-ra’īsi ‘abbās	yaqḍī bi-tawsī’i qitā’i ġazza	51	-
1	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession	wa-’awḍaḥati l-mu-nazzamatu ‘anna ladayhā ṣuwaran ultiqāṭat bi-l-qamari l-šinā’iyyi	tumattīlu ‘adillatan dāmigatan ‘alā ta-daffuqi l-silāḥi	40	-
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition	wa-’azhara šarītun muṣawwarun [REL] baṭṭahu nāšiṭūna ‘alā mawqi’i yūtyūb laqāṭatin [REL] ‘a ‘qabati l-huġūma ‘alā ‘eḥsām	tuzhiru ‘ašḥāšan yuḥāwilūna ntišāla raġulin madfūnin	120	691
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Simultaneous	Example below		119	498
1	Same Level Different Subject Addition	wāṣifan ḥādā l-ṭalaba bi-’annahu ġuz’un min ‘istrāfiġiyyatin ġadīdatin yatabannāhā l-ra’īsu ‘abbās	taqḍī bi-’an yadfa’a min ġānibin wāḥidin hadafa l-istiqlāli l-filasṭīniyyi [...]	10	312
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition	muwāṭīninun mišriyyun [REL] yud‘ā ‘abūzēd šaḥḥāta l-sayyid,	ya‘malu fī maḥalli mawāddin ġidā’iyyatin bi-	36	353
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition OR Motion Purpose	Example below		78	499
1	Same Level Different Subject Addition OR Motion Purpose	Example below		23	500
1	Temporal Succession	Example below		70	501
1	Parenthetical Comment bi Presidency	[...] ‘anna l-ḥukūmata l-ḥāliyyata tatakawwanu min ḥizbi l-mu’tamari l-ša’biyyi l-‘āmmi	(yar’asuhu šāleḥ), wa-’aḥzābi l-liqā’i l-muštāraki llatī [...]	89	707
1	Simultaneous	Example below		106	502
25					

496. Article 10, VprefL, Serial Verb

وأضاف منصور أنه «إذا لم يتمكن الرئيس عباس من الحصول على موعد نهائي للاحتلال الإسرائيلي، فإنه سيستخدم وضع فلسطين كدولة مراقب في الأمم المتحدة في جعل الأراضي المحتلة تبدو وكأنها الدولة المستقلة التي كان ينشدها. وكشفت مصادر فلسطينية أن المفاوضات غير المباشرة مع الإسرائيليين ستبدأ خلال ٤٨ ساعة على أبعد تقدير».	wa-ʾaḏāfa manṣūr ʾannahu «ʾiḏā lam yataṣakkan al-raʾīsu ʾabbās mina l-ḥuṣūli ʾalā mawʾidin niḥāʾiyyin li-l-iḥtilālī l-ʾisrāʾīliyyi, fa-ʾinnahu sayastahdimu waḏʾa filastīn kadawlatin murāqibin fi-l-ʾumami l-muttaḥidati fī ḡaʾli l-ʾarādī l-muḥtallati tabdū wa-ka-ʾan-nahā l-dawlatu l-mustaqillatu llatī kāna yanṣuduhā. wa-kaṣafat maṣādiru filastīniyyatun ʾanna l-mufaḥwaḏāti ḡayra l-mubāširati maʾa l-ʾisrāʾīliyyīna sa-tabdaʾu ḥilāla 48 sāʾatan ʾalā ʾabʾada taqdīrin taqdīrin».	And Mansour added that «if president Abbas is not able to obtain an end date for the Israeli occupation, he will use the position of Palestine as an observer state in the United Nations <u>to make the occupied territories appear like they are the independent state</u> he has been asking for. And Palestinian sources have revealed that the indirect negotiations with the Israelis will begin within 48 hours at the latest [estimate]».

497. Article 41, VprefL, Motion Purpose

وقال باولو روبرتو كوستا للمحققين إن نوابا وأعضاء في مجلس الشيوخ وحكما «كانوا يأتون يقرعون على بابي كل يوم».	wa-qāla bāwlū rūbertū kūstā li-l-muḥaqqiqīna ʾinna nuwwāban wa-ʾaḏāʾan fī maḡlisi l-ṣuyūḥi wa-ḥukkāman «kānū yaʾtūna yaqraʾūna ʾalā bābī kulla yawmin».	And Paulo Roberto Costa told the investigator that deputies, members of the Senate, and rulers <u>were coming and knocking on my door every day</u> .

498. Article 119 (final paragraph), VprefL, Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Simultaneous

ولم تعرف في الحال أسباب هذه الانفجارات في المنطقة ذاتها التي شهدت منذ أكثر من عام تصاعدا ملحوظا لأعمال عنف نسبتها بكن إلى الأويجور تتهمهم بأنهم انفصاليون وإرهابيون متطرفون.	wa-lam tuʾraf fī-l-ḥālī ʾas-bābu ḥāḏihi l-infiḡārāti fī-l-mintaḡati ḏātiḥā llatī šahidat munḏu ʾaktara min ʾāmin taṣāʾudan malḥūzan li-ʾaʾmālī ʾunfīn [REL] nasa-bathā bikīn ʾilā l-ʾuwīḡūr tattahimuhum bi-ʾan-nahum infiṣāliyyūna wa-ʾir-hābiyyūna mutaṭarrifūna.	And the reasons for these explosions in the same region which has seen since more than a year a remarkable escalation of acts of violence [REL] which Beijing has attributed to the Uyghurs <u>accusing them that they are separatists and extreme terrorists</u> , were not immediately known.

Examples (499) and (500) from Articles 78 and 23 respectively are two dubious instances (both with *waṣala* [REL] *tastagriqu* + *yaltaqī*). They are either 2x of the 8x Unordered Additions to asyndetic relative clauses, or else Motion Purpose to *waṣala*.

**499. Article 78 (full body of text), VprefL, Same Level Same Subject
Addition OR Motion Purpose**

وصل إلى القاهرة أمس كريستيان بيرجر مدير إدارة الشرق الأوسط وشمال أفريقيا بالاتحاد الأوروبي في زيارة تستغرق يومين يلتقى خلالها مع عدد من المسؤولين المصريين لبحث الوضع في منطقة الشرق الأوسط ومستقبل العلاقات بين الجانبين المصري والأوروبي.	waṣala 'ilā el-qāhira 'amsi krīstīyān bīrğir mudīru 'idārati l-šarqī l-'awsaṭi wa- šamālī 'afrīqiyā bi-l-itthihādi l-'ūrūbbiyyi fī ziyāratin [REL] tastağriqu yawmayni yaltaqī ḥilālahā ma'a 'adadin mina l-mas'ūlina l-miṣriyyīna li-baḥṭi l-waḍ'i fī minṭaqati l-šarqī l-'awsaṭi wa-mustaqbali l-'alāqāti bayna l-ğānibayni l-miṣriyyi wa-l-'ūrūbbiyyi.	Christian Berger director of the Middle East and North Africa Administration at the European Union arrived in Cairo on a <u>visit</u> [REL] <u>last-</u> <u>ing for two days</u> during which he is meeting with a number of Egyptian offi- cials to discuss the situation in the Middle East region and the future of the relations between the Egyptian and European sides.

**500. Article 23 (lead), VprefL, Same Level Different Subject Addition
OR Motion Purpose**

وصل إلى القاهرة أمس مصطفى البرغوثي أمين عام المبادرة الوطنية ال فلسطينية قادما من رام الله على رأس وفد فلسطيني في زيارة لمصر تستغرق عدة أيام يلتقى خلالها كبار المسؤولين والشخصيات المصرية.	waṣala 'ilā el-qāhira 'amsi muṣṭafa el-bargūṭī 'amīn# 'āmm# al-mubādarati l- waṭaniyyati l-filasṭīniyyati qādiman min rām allāh 'alā ra'si waḍfin filasṭīniyyin fī ziyāratin li-miṣr [REL] tastağriqu 'iddata 'ayyāmin yaltaqī ḥilālahā kibāra l- mas'ūlina wa-l-šaḥṣiyyāti l-miṣriyyata.	Mustafa Barghouti secretary general of the Palestinian Na- tional Initiative arrived in Cairo yesterday coming from Ramallah at the head of a Pal- estinian delegation in a <u>visit</u> to Egypt [REL] <u>lasting a number</u> <u>of days</u> during which he will meet with senior officials and Egyptian personalities.

Example (501) from Article 79 features a VprefL in Temporal Succession to a complement main clause, but in *trajectio* with an interposed nominalized Conditional clause, *wa-fī ḥālī 'adami wuğūdi [...]* (for which, see Conditional under “*wa-fī*” in 6.9).

501. Article 70, VprefL, Temporal Succession

وأوضح القبي، أن المرحلة الأولى ستكون بإعطاء فرصة لكل مدينة لفتح حوار داخلي وحل المشكلات بين الأطراف المتنازعة داخلها، وفي حال عدم وجود حلول ترحل المشكلة إلى المرحلة التي تليها من مراحل التهدئة.	wa-'awḍaḥa el-qubbī, 'anna l-marḥalata l-'ulā sa-takūnu bi-'i'tā'i fursatin li-kulli maḍīnatin li-faṭhi hiwārin dāhiliyyin wa-halli l- muṣkilāti bayna l-'atrāfi l- mutanāzi'ati dāhilihā, wa-fī ḥālī 'adami wuğūdi ḥulūlin turaḥḥalu l-muṣkilatu 'ilā l-marḥalati llatī talihā min marāḥili l-tahdi'ati.	And al-Qouby explained that <u>the first stage will be to give</u> <u>each city an opportunity to</u> <u>open an internal dialogue and</u> <u>solve the problems between</u> <u>the conflicting parties within</u> <u>it</u> , and in case no solutions will be found, the problem will be forwarded to the next stage which follows it in the stages of the truce.

502. Article 106, VprefL, Simultaneous (direct perception)

وأكدت مصادر محلية أنها شاهدت مدرعات سيطر عليها الحوثيون تتجه إلى أماكن قريبة من الفرقة وجامعة الإيمان، هذا إلى جانب انتشار مسلحين بلبس مدني في تلك المنطقة.	wa-’akkadat maḥalliyyatun ṣāḥadat mudarra’ātin [REL] saytara ‘alayhā l-hūtiyyūna tattaḡihu ‘ilā ‘amākina qaribatin mina l-firqati wa-ḡāmi’ati el-’imān, hāḏā ‘ilā ḡānibi intiṣāri musallaḥīna bilibsin madaniyyin fī tilka l-mintaqati.	And local sources confirmed that <u>they have seen armoured vehicles</u> [REL] <u>which the Houthis had control over heading towards locations close to the division and the al-Iman University</u> , this in addition to the deployment of militants in civilian clothes in that area.

6.1.1.3. lā VprefL (0x)

No attestations (but see asyndetic relative clauses, 6.3).

6.1.1.4. VprefA (0x)

No attestations.

6.1.1.5. Future-VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 69, *sa-yatimmu maṣḍar*, Temporal Succession. The asyndetic future in Article 69 stands in a relation of Temporal Succession to a complement main clause with an interposed condition-construction (Preposed Condition) between the two: *wa-ḏakara* [...] *’anna l-qiyādata l-filastīniyyata bi-ntizāri l-raddi l-’amrīkiyyi* [...] «*wa-binā’an alā ṭabī’ati hāḏā l-raddi sa-yatimmu taḥḏīdu saqfin zamanīyyin* (see Example 482, and 5.3.4 about preposed syntagms, especially 5.3.4.3). The example is comparable to the asyndetic VprefL from Article 70: *wa-’awḏaḥa* [...] *’anna l-marḥalata l-’ulā satakūnu bi-’i ṭā’i furṣatin li-* [...] *wa-fī ḥālī ’adami wuḡūdi ḥulūli turaḥḥalu l-muṣkilatu ’ilā* [...] (Example 501, and 5.3.4.4).

6.1.1.6. lam VprefS (0x)

No attestations (but see asyndetic relative clauses in 6.3, and non-disclosure formulae in 6.6).

6.1.1.7. kāna VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 34, preposed subordination, *instead of* *x, y*, in a complement main clause complex following *bi-qawlihi*, ‘by saying that’: [...] *kunnā natawaqqa’u* [...] *fa-’idā binā narā* [...], ‘[...] **we would have expected** [...] **and yet now we see** [...]’ (see Example 461). For preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.

6.1.1.8. NCI (7x)

7x attestations. Note that the definition of NCI adopted here includes only elements with nominal open class lexical items in the first slot. This excludes

dālika PP NCl, *min bayni-h* NCl, *‘alay-h* NCl, *bayna-h* NCl, *min ḍimni-h* NCl, *min-h* NCl, *hādā* NCl, *hādā mā* NCl, *hw* NCl, *li-ḍā* NCl, *laysa* NCl, etc.

Being maximally unmarked, the most frequent semantics of this construction consists of various Paraphrases (5x), including 3x Expanding Paraphrases in the list of the topically deviant Article 86 (see Example 503 below). The other 2x instances are 1x Graded Exemplification (Article 10), and 1x *not x, but y* Polarized Pair, (Article 106). The full list is given in Table 40.

Table 40: Asyndetic NCl

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
3	Expanding Paraphrase	Example below		86	503
1	Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner	wa-yuḍkaru ‘anna bal‘am kāna qad ta‘arraḍa li- muḥāwalati ḡtiyālin marratayni qabla ḍālika,	al-‘ulā bi- ‘iṭlāqi l-nāri bi-šaklin mubāširin ‘alayhi, wa-l- ṭānī [...]	50	544
1	Graded Exemplification	[...] ba‘da silsilatin mina l-iḥbāṭāti	‘abrazuhā nhiyāru l- muḥādaṭāti llatī [...]	10	-
1	Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information bi Instrumental Manner	Example below		70	504
1	<i>not x, but y</i> (Polarized Pair)	Example below		106	505
7					

Example (503) features one of three Expanding Paraphrases with NCl in identical contexts in Article 86. The structure is: name of a criminal organization + *‘ā’idātu l-ḡarīmati* + monetary sum (= NCl) (without pronominal suffix). The example below features the second of the three syntactically very similar paragraphs (all three cited without translation in Example 117). Each paragraph is introduced by a topicalizing name of the structure described. The construction is unique for Article 86.

503. Article 86, Expanding Paraphrase

- سولنسیفسکایا براتفا - عائدات الجريمة ٨,٥ مليار دولار : وهي جماعات مافيا روسية، اعتبرتها مجلة	- <i>sūlnsīfskāyā brāṭfā</i> - ‘ <i>ā’idātu</i> <i>l-ḡarīmati</i> 8,5 milyār# <i>dūlārin</i> : wa-hiyā ḡamā‘ātu māfiā rūsiyyatun, i‘tabarathā maḡallatu “fūrṭsan” nushātan	- <i>Solntsevskaya Bratva</i> - proceeds of crime 8.5 mil- lion dollars: [it is] a Russian mafia group which the mag- azine “Fortune” considers a

"فورتشن" نسخة من عصابة ياكوزا ، لكن الاختلاف الوحيد يرجع إلى أن تنظيمها غير متمركز في مكان واحد في العالم.	min 'iṣābati yākūzā , lākinna l- iḥtilāfa al-waḥīda yarǧi' u 'ilā 'anna tanzīmahā ġayru muta- markizin fī makānin wāḥidin fī-l- 'ālamī.	copy of the Yakuza gang, with the only difference [go- ing back to] that its organiza- tion is not concentrated in one place in the world.

Example (504) from Article 70 features a near canonical example of Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information: 24/3 = 8.

504. Article 70, NCI, Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information bi Instrumental Manner

وقال سفيان القبي، رئيس قسم الشؤون السياسية بـ «ثوار مصراتة الموحد» في تصريح صحفي، أمس، إن المبادرة تتضمن تهنة لمدة ٢٤ شهراً مقسمة إلى ثلاث مراحل مدة كل مرحلة ثمانية أشهر.	wa-qāla sufyān el-qobbī, ra'īsu qismi l-ṣu'ūni l-siyāsiy- yati bi «ṭuwwār# miṣrāta el- muwaḥḥad» [sic] fī taṣrīḥin ṣuḥufiyyin, 'amsī, 'inna l-mu- bādarata tataḍammanu taḥdī'atan <u>li-muddati 24 ṣaḥ- ran muqassamatan 'ilā talāti</u> <u>marāhila</u> muddatu kulli <u>marḥalatin</u> ṭamāniyatu 'aṣḥurin.	And Sufyān al-Qouby, head of the Department of Political Affairs at “the United Mistrata Revolutionaries” said in press statements yesterday that the initiative includes a truce for the <u>period of 24 months di- vided into three stages, the du- ration of each stage being eight months.</u>

505. Article 106, NCI, *not x, but y* (Polarized Pair)

وأوضح أن ذلك لا دخل له بالاتفاق الذي يتفاوض فيه الحوثيون مع السلطة قائلا : "نحن والسلطة لا مشاكل بيننا مشكلتنا مع الأطراف الفاسدة في البلد وسنقوم بالإطاحة بها"، ومن المنتظر أن ينهى ذلك الاتفاق الأزمة الحالية التي تعيشها البلاد.	wa-'awḍaḥa 'anna ḍālika lā daḥla lahu bi-l-ittifāqi llaḍī yatafāwaḍu fīhi l-ḥūṭiyyūna ma'a l-sultati qā'ilan : “ <u>naḥnu wa-l-sultatu lā</u> <u>maṣākila baynanā muški-</u> <u>latunā ma'a l-'aṭrāfi l-fāsi-</u> <u>dati fi-l-baladi</u> wa-sa- naqūmu bi-l-'iṭāḥati [ita] bihā”, wa-mīna l-muntaẓari 'an yunhiya ḍālika l-ittifāqu l-'azmata l-ḥāliyyata llatī ta'īṣuhā l-bilādu.	And he explained that it has nothing to do with the agree- ment which the Houthis dis- cuss with the authority, saying: “ <u>We and the authority there are</u> <u>no problems between us, our</u> <u>problem is with the corrupt</u> <u>parties in the country</u> and we will overthrow them”, and it is expected that this agreement will end the current crisis which the country is experienc- ing.

6.1.2. *wa-* as only conjunction (188x or 191x)

Includes linkings where the finite predicate appears clause-initially with *wa-* as the only conjunction, *wa*-NCI (6.1.2.9), *wa-lā* NCI (6.1.2.10), and *wa-laysa* NCI (6.1.2.11). For clauses with *wa*-Subject + Verb, see the section 6.1.3. For other types of subject, e.g. *wa-hw*, see under e.g. *huwa* and the respective closed class lexical item in 6.1.5.

6.1.2.1. *wa*-Vsuff (90x)

90x attestations, including 12x verbs of attribution, and 4x *wa-kāna*, 1x of which is *wa-kāna bayna-h* (Article 88), no *wa-tamma maṣdar*. The count excludes the unique syntagm *wa-sabaqa 'an* Vsuff from Article 71, for which see “*wa-sabaqa 'an* Vsuff”.

Unordered Addition accounts for 46x of the relations (including bi-nuances; 33x monosemantic): 39x of which are Same Level Additions, and 7x Different Level Additions with matrices such as 2x clausal participles and 2x syndetic relative clauses with VprefL (all others occurring ≤ 1 x). Temporal Succession, including bi-nuances, accounts for 23x relations (15x monosemantic), and Numerical Comparative Contrast for 9x, but exclusively with the syntagm *wa-'uṣība(-ū/t)* as the second element in what is referred to as the *qutla wa-'uṣība* phrase, a sequentially restricted phrase stating the number of casualties + the number of wounded; with finite verbs in the matrix, the first verb is either *qutla* (4x) or *laqiya maṣra'a-h* (5x). This phrase accounts for 13x of the internal passives in the corpus, it is cited in e.g. Examples (226), (350), and (351). For internal passives, see 5.2.2.

Another of the more frequent relations is Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner (5x). The rest of the semantics are less frequent with ≤ 2 x per relation, but show a wide variety including Exemplification (only with *wa-kāna*), and antiproidetic relations such as Frustration in Article 90 and Concession in Article 10. Countersequential linking with *wa*-Vsuff is not attested.

Same Level Same Subject Addition, when *wa*-Vsuff follows a clause with Vsuff, is the most frequent relation: 20x are monosemantic, and 9x with bi-nuances; the matrix it links to is in 6x instances a main clause with Vsuff (4x with a verb of attribution), in 5x instances a relative clause (4x are syndetic), and in 5x instances a complement main clause (3x with a preposed explicit subject, S Vsuff); in 5x instances the *wa*-Vsuff follows another non-main clause with *wa*-Vsuff (2x with a verb of attribution), and in 2x instances it links to *bal* Vsuff (Articles 13 and 34, see under “*bal* Vsuff”); other matrices are attested ≤ 1 x. Indirect Cause as a bi-nuance is particularly elusive in this construction and the exact figure (4x) is open to debate.

Temporal Succession, including when it is only a bi-nuance, follows relative clauses with Vsuff 8x times (4x syndetic *allaq/t-*, and 4x asyndetic), complement main clauses with Vsuff 6x times (5x with a preposed explicit subject, S Vsuff, and 1x with *kāna*), and main clauses 4x times (2x with *kāna* Subject *qad* Vsuff, and 2x with a single Vsuff; see e.g. Example 507 from Article 35). The remaining 5x matrices to a *wa*-Vsuff with Temporal Succession semantics are non-main clauses and occurs 1x: 1x *haytu* Vsuff in Article 50; 1x prepositional phrase in Article 50; 1x *'idā lam* VprefS in Article 61; 1x *gayr 'anna* Subject Vsuff in Article 80, Example (395); and 1x *mā* Vsuff verb of attribution in Article 51.

In short, with only 2x instances of *wa*-Vsuff linked to a main clause with a Vsuff matrix, it can be concluded that in the case of Media Arabic the iconic sequential linking of temporally successive perfective events in a past narrative main line, *x and (then) y and (then) z*, is virtually non-existent. This can be said to be true also if we include a temporally successive *wa*-Vsuff to a complement main clause with a Vsuff predicate (6x instances). For *fa*- and *tumma*, see under 6.1 and 6.7; for the inverted pyramid structure, see 1.4.4. Table 41 gives the full list of semantics.

Table 41: *wa*-Vsuff

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
20	Same Level Same Subject Addition	Example below		81	506
15	Temporal Succession	Example below		35	507
9	Numerical Comparative Contrast	discussion above	-	-	226, 350, 351
8	Same Level Different Subject Addition	Example below		69	508
5	Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner	Examples below		41, 96	509, 510
4	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Indirect Cause	Example below		23	512
3	Different Level Different Subject Addition	šingyāng [...] wa- llatī taqtunuhā 'aḡlabiyyatun mina l- 'uwīḡūr al-muslimīna	wa-šahidati l- 'adīda mina l- iḡṭirābātī l-'irqiyyati.	119	192
2	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Consecutive	ḥaytu lā tazālu 'ašarātu l-ḡuṭaṭi muntaširatan	wa-ntašarat rā' iḥatuhā fi-l- makāni".	38	588
2	Different Level Same Subject Addition	Examples below		71, 121	514, 515
2	Exemplification	ḥaytu 'tādati l-sufunu l-ḥarbiyyatu l- 'irāniyyatu ziyārata l- mawāni' i l- sūdāniyyati	wa-kāna 'aḡhiruhā fi yūniyū l-māḍi	32	456

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
3	Temporal Succession bi Consecutive ⁴¹⁹	ġayra 'anna 'iḥdāhā nḥarafat	wa-nqalabat bi-l-wādī	80	395
2	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession	Example below		69	511
2	Serial Verb	sabaqa	wa-ḥaddara	87	59
1	Concession (preposed)	«qātalna 50 yawman wa-kāna bi-'im-kāninā 'an nuqātala 500 yawmin	'illā 'annanā fī waḍ'in yabdū fīhi tanzīmu l-dawlati l-'islāmiyyati 'alā 'abwābi el-'ur-dunn wa-l-qā'ida fī [...]	10	408
1	Consecutive	Example below		19	513
1	Expanding Paraphrase	yāmāġutsī ġūrī ⁴²⁰ [...]	wa-ġama 'at 'am-wālahā min tahrībi l-muḥaddarāti [...]	86	-
1	Frustration	mušīran 'ilā 'anna šārūḥan 'āḥara saqaṭa 'alā mustašfā el-zāwiya wa-l-miṣfāti l-niṭṭiyyati	wa-tasabbaba fī ḥudūṭi ba'di l-'aḍrāri l-māddiyyati faqaṭ.	90	352
1	Motion Purpose	Example below		15	516
1	Same Level Different Subject Addition bi Consecutive	mušīran 'ilā 'anna ḥādihi l-tašrīḥāti ḥaraġat 'an siyāqihā	wa-'ašbaḥa lahā ma'an an muḥtali-fun tamāmaman	27	491
1	Same Level Different Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession	bi-faḍli natīġati l-in-tiḥābāti l-tašrī'iyati llati ġarat 'amsi l-'awwala - al-'aḥada -	wa-ḥaqqaqqa fihā taqadduman tārīḥiyyan	85	196
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Expanding Paraphrase	fa-qad tanāwala [...] ḥayāta l-'amīri hārī ba'da bulūġihi sinni l-ṭalāṭina,	wa-'asrada fīhi l-'adīda mina l-mufaġġi'āti [ita] wa-l-faḍā'ihi	47	487

⁴¹⁹ See also Example (232) from Article 61: [...] *qāla 'ūbāma 'idā lam naqum bi-dālika l-ġahdi l-'āna wa-mtadda ḥāḍā l-fayrūs laysa 'abra 'afriqiyyā fa-ḥasb bal* [...] *fa-ṭammata ḥtimālu 'an* [...].

⁴²⁰ The name of the criminal organization is a front-dislocated topic; for syntactical context (without translation), see Example (117).

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Instrumental Manner	wa-’akkada [...] ’anna l-ḡihāti l-’aska-riyyata wa-l-’am-niyyata llati ’ay-yadati l-tawrata l-ša’biyyata	wa-nḥāzat ’ilā ḥiyāri l-ša’bi hiya: al-qiyādatu l-’āmmatu li-l-quwwāti l-musallahāti , mu’askaru [...]	106	168
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast	Example below		40	517
1	Simultaneous	[...] wa-dāhamat manāzila fi-lasṭīniyyīna,	wa-’taqalat ṭalāṭatan minhum.	51	720
1	Temporal Succession bi Degree Consecutive	qāla [...] ’innahu kāna qalīqan [...]	wa-’arāda ’iblāḡa ḥāḍihi l-ma’lūmati ’ilā ra’īsi l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati [...]	108	271
1	Temporal Succession bi Purpose	[...] istada’ati l-qā’ima bi-l-’a’ māli	wa-’ablaḡathu bi-l-qarāri	32	-
90					

506. Article 81, 2x wa-Vsuff, Same Level Same Subject Addition x2

وأوضحت مصادر أمنية فلسطينية أمس أن وحدة خاصة إسرائيلية مستعربة اعتقلت الشاب "عبد الله مطلق بلاونة" (35 عاماً) من مدينة «طولكرم» أثناء تواجده بمحطة محروقات على شارع جنين - نابلس بالقرب من «جبع» جنوب مدينة جنين واعتدت بالضرب وتكلت بالشاب مؤمن حمامرة من بلدة «جبع» والذي يعمل في المحطة.

wa-’awḡaḥat maṣādiru ’am-niyyatun filasṭīniyyatun ’amsi ’anna wahḡatan hāṣṣatan ’isrā’īliyyatan musta’ribatan i’taqalati l-šābba “‘abd allāh mutlaq balāwna (35 ’āman) min madīnati «ṭūlkarm» ’aṭnā’a tawāḡudihi bi-maḡaṭṭati maḡrūqātin ’alā šāri’i ḡenīn - nāblus bi-l-qurbi min «ḡaba’» ḡanūba madīnati ḡenīn **wa-tadat** bi-l-ḡarbi **wa-nakkalat** bi-l-šābbi mu’min ḡamāmra min baldati «ḡaba’» wa-llaḡī ya’malu fi-l-maḡaṭṭati.

And Palestinian security sources clarified yesterday that an Arabized Israeli special unit arrested the youth Abdullah Mutlaq Balawneh (35 years) from the city of «Tulkarm» while he was at the petrol station on the Jenin-Nablus road close to «Jaba», south of the city of Jenin, **and it assaulted** with beating **and abused** the youth Momen Hamamra from the town of «Jaba» who works at the station.

In Example (507) from Article 35, the main Vsuff + wa-Vsuff in Temporal Succession summarizes what is mentioned already in the lead, a sentence ending 126 words earlier.

507. Article 35, Main Vsuff + *wa*-Vsuff, Temporal Succession

وفي هذه الأثناء، إقتحم أكثر من 100 من أفراد عائلات جنود مفقودين خطفهم لتنظيم الدولة الإسلامية في يونيو الماضي مبنى البرلمان وعبثوا بمحتوياته.	wa-fi hāḍihi l-'atnā'i, iqtahama 'aktaru min 100 min 'afrādi 'ā'ilāti ġunūdin mafqūḍīna ḥatafahum tanẓīmu l-dawlati l-'islāmiyyati fī yūniyū l-māḍī mabnā l-barlamāni wa-'abitū bi-muḥtawayātihi.	And meanwhile, <u>more than 100 family members of the missing soldiers</u> whom the organization of the Islamic State kidnapped last June <u>stormed the parliament building</u> and messed with its contents.

508. Article 69, *wa*-Vsuff, Same Level Different Subject Addition

يأتي ذلك في وقت، أصيب طفل بالرصاص الاسرائيلي، واعتقل أربعة آخرون، خلال مواجهات مع قوات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي في بلدة «يعبد» جنوب غرب «جنين» بشمال الضفة الغربية.	ya'tī ḍālīka fī waqtin, 'usība tiḥḥun bi-l-raṣāsi l-'isrā'īliyyi, wa-'tuqila 'arba'atu# 'aḥarūna, ḥilāla muwāḡahātīn ma'a quwwāti l-iḥtilālī l-'isrā'īliyyi fī baldati »ya'bad« ġanūba ġarbi »ġenīn« bi-šamālī el-ḍiffa el-ġarbiyya.	This comes at a time when <u>a child was wounded by Israeli bullets</u> and four others were arrested during confrontations with the Israeli occupation forces in the city of »Ya'bad« south-west of »Jenin« in the south of the West Bank.

509. Article 41 (final paragraph), *wa*-Vsuff, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

كما ذكر أيضا من بين المتهمين بالاستفادة من سخاء بترولبراس غير المشروع، وزير الطاقة إدسون لوباو الذي نفى وأكد أنه لم يكن له «أى علاقات مؤسساتية» مع المسؤول السابق في الشركة.	kamā ḍakara 'ayḍan min bayni l-muttaḥamīna bi-l-istifādati min saḡā'i bitrūbrās ġayri l-mašrū'i, wazīra l-ṭāqati 'edisūn lūbāw alladī nafā wa-'akkada 'annahu lam yakun lahu «'ayyu 'alāqātin mu'assasātiyyatin» ma'a l-mas'ūli l-sābiqi fī-l-šarikati.	And he also mentioned among those accused of having taken advantage of the generosity of Petrobras, the energy minister Edison Lobão <u>who denied and asserted that he had not had «any institutional ties»</u> with the former official at the company.

510. Article 96, *wa*-Vsuff, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner
(the clause *wa*-*’atlaqū* is a Same Level Same Subject Addition)

وقال بيان عسكري إن الجنود حاولوا أيضا قتل قائدهم خلال التمرد الذي وقع في 14 مايو الماضي، حيث أطلقوا النار على قافلة كان يتواجد فيها الجنرال أمدو محمد قائد الفرقة السابعة التي تعتبر رأس حربة في الحرب على «بوكو حرام»، وقال شهود عيان حينها إن الجنود خرجوا عن الانضباط ورشقوا الحجارة لدى وصول الضابط وأطلقوا عيارات نارية في الهواء.	wa-qāla bayānun ‘askariyyun ’inna l-ḡunūda ḥāwalū ‘ayḍan qatla qā’idihim ḥilāla l-tamar- rudi llaḏī waqa’a fī 14 māyū l- mādī, ḥaytu ‘atlaqū l-nāra ‘alā qāfilatin kāna yatawāḡadu fihā l-ḡenarāl ‘amādū muḥammad qā’idu l-firqati l-sābi’ati llatī tu’tabaru ra’sa ḥarbatin fi-l- ḥarbi ‘alā »būkū ḥarām«, wa- qāla šuhūdu ‘iyānin ḥīnahā ’anna l-ḡunūda ḥaraḡū ‘ani l- indibāti wa-raṣaqū l- ḥiḡarata ladā wuṣūli l-dābiṭi wa-’atlaqū ‘iyārātin nāriyyatan fi-l-hawā’i.	And a military statement said that the soldiers also had tried to kill their commander during the rebellion that took place on the 14th of last May: they shot at a convoy in which the general Amadu Mohammad commander of the Seventh Division which is considered the spearhead in the war on »Boko Haram« was present, and eyewitnesses said at the time <u>that the soldiers broke their discipline and threw stones at the officer’s arrival</u> and fired shots in the air.

511. Article 69, *wa*-Vsuff, Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession

وذكرت مصادر أمنية ومحلية أن قوات الاحتلال أصابت الطفل «عماد حرز الله» (14 عاما) بعبارة حية في كتفه خلال المواجهات التي اندلعت بالبلدة وتركزت في محيط المدارس ومجمع ساحات انتظار السيارات.	wa-ḡakarāt maṣādiru ‘ami- niyyatun maḥalliyyatun ’anna quwwāti l-iḥtilālī ’aṣābati l-tifla »imād ḥerz- allāh« (14 ‘āman) bi-‘iyārin ḥayyin fī kitfihi ḥilāla l- muwāḡahāti llatī ndala’t bi- l-baldati wa-tarakkazat fī muḥiṭi l-madārisi wa- muḡamma’i sāḡāti ntizāri l-sayyārāti.	And local security sources mentioned that the occupa- tion forces hit the child »Imad Herzallah« (14 years) with a live bullet in his shoul- der during the confrontations <u>that broke out in the town and concentrated in the vicinity of the schools and the parking lot complex.</u>

Example (512) from Article 23 is comparable to an accusative participle with Indirect Cause semantics, meaning that the subject in the matrix is accountable for the Cause semantics, not the author directly (see 4.4.1). The construction only occurs with verbs of attribution: 3x *wa*-*’tabara(-t)*, and 1x *wa*-*waṣafūhu* (Article 131).

512. Article 23, *wa*-Vsuff, Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Indirect Cause

وعلى صعيد آخر، حملت حركة "فتح" حركة "حماس" مسئولية وفاة أحد كوادرها نتيجة فرض	wa-’alā ṣa’īdin ‘āḡara, ḥammalat ḥarakatu “fataḥ” ḥarakata “ḥamās” mas’ūliyyata wafāti ‘aḡadi kawādirihā natīḡata farḏi l-	And on the other hand, <u>the “Fatah” movement burdened the “Hamās” movement with the responsibility of the death of one of its cadres as the result</u>

الإقامة الجبرية عليه خلال العدوان الإسرائيلي على قطاع غزة، واعتبرت الحركة في بيان صدر عن مفوضية الإعلام والثقافة فرض حماس الإقامة الجبرية على مناضليها بمثابة جريمة أودت بحياة المناضل الشهيد أشرف إبراهيم عبد الله أبو حميد في ريعان شبابه.	<u>'iqāmati l-ğabariyyati</u> <u>'alayhi hīlāla l-'udwāni l-</u> <u>'isrā'iliyyi 'alā qitā'i ġazza,</u> wa-'tabarati l-ḥarakatu fī bayānin ṣadara 'an mufawwiḍiyyati l-'ilāmi wa-l-ṭaqāfati farḍa ḥamās l-'iqāmata l-ğabariyyata 'alā munāḍilihā bi- maṭābati ġarīmatin 'aw- wadat bi-ḥayāti l-munāḍili l- šahīdi 'ašraf 'ibrāhīm 'abd allāh 'abu ḥamīd fī raya 'āni šabābihi.	of the imposition of house ar- rest for him during the Israeli aggression on the Gaza Strip, and the movement consid- ered in a statement which was issued by the Commis- sion of Information and Cul- ture the Hamas imposition of house arrest on its fighters [as] a crime which killed the martyr fighter Ashraf Ibrahim Abdullah Abu Hamid in the prime of his youth.

513. Article 19, *wa-Vsuff*, Consecutive

وقالت الحكومة - في بيان صحفي لها - إن أغلب الوزارات ومؤسسات الدولة بالعاصمة طرابلس، هي خارج سيطرتنا وإنها محتلة، بعد محاصرتها واقتحامها ومنع موظفيها من دخولها، وأصبح من الخطورة الوصول إلى مقار أعمالهم، دون تعرضهم لخطر الاعتقال أو الاغتيال".	wa-qālati l-ḥukūmatu - fī bayānin ṣuḥufiyyin lahā - 'inna 'ağlaba l-wizārati wa- mu'assasāti l-dawlati bi-l- 'āsīmati ṭarābulus, hiya ḥāriġa sayṭaratīnā wa-'in- nahā muḥtallatun, <u>ba'da</u> <u>muhāsaratihā wa-qṭihāmihā</u> <u>wa-man'i muwazzafihā</u> <u>duḥūlahā, wa-'ašbaḥa mina</u> <u>l-ḥuṭurati l-wuṣūlu 'ilā</u> <u>maqārri 'a'mālihim, dūna</u> <u>ta'arruḍihim li-ḥaṭari</u> <u>l-i'tiqāli 'aw al-'iġtiyāli</u>".	And the government said - in a press statement by it - that the majority of the ministries and the institutions of the state in the capital Tripoli are outside our control and that they are occupied [after] ⁴²¹ <u>they have</u> <u>been besieged and raided and</u> <u>their employees prevented</u> <u>from entering them, [and] it</u> <u>has become dangerous to go</u> <u>to [lit. arrive at] their work-</u> <u>places without exposure to</u> <u>the risk of arrestation or as-</u> <u>sassination".</u>

For Different Level Same Subject Addition, two examples are adduced (Example 514 and Example 515 (iterated from Examples 228 and 173)). The first, with the sequence *mūḍiḥan* + *wa-qāla*, illustrates the elevated status of the accusative participle of utterance in Media Arabic and the difficulty with sentence division, while the second illustrates the elaborative function of *wa-* syntagms, here to an elliptical clause with *'aw [fīmā 'iḍā kānū] min duwalin [...]*.

⁴²¹ The prepositional phrase with *ba'da* is an Expanding Paraphrase bi Countersequential to the nominal matrix with *muḥtallatun*.

514. Article 71, *mūdiḥan* [...] + *wa*-Vsuff, Different Level Same Subject Addition⁴²²

وأشار في تصريح مقتضب للصحفيين عقب محادثات أجراها مع الدكتور نبيب العربي الأمين العام للجامعة العربية بحضور نائبه السفير رمزي عز الدين رمزي إلى أن هذه المحادثات تأتي في إطار الاهتمام المشترك بما يحدث في الاقليم خاصة في سوريا موضعا أنه عاد للتو من مهمة في سوريا استغرقت عدة أيام وأعقبها بزيارة بيروت، وقال: سأواصل جولتي في المنطقة للتباحث مع المسؤولين فيها بشأن الأوضاع في سوريا ومتابعة الوضع الإنساني في سوريا بشكل عام وخاصة ما يتعلق بأوضاع اللاجئين والنازحين.	wa-ʾašāra [«stīfān dī mastūrā» al-mabʾūtu l-ʾuma- miyyu l-ḥāṣṣu li-sūriyā] fī taṣrīḥin muqtaḍabin li-l-ṣuḥu- fiyyīna ʾaqiba muḥādaṭātin ʾagrāhā maʾa el-duktūr nabīl el-ʾarabī al-ʾamīni l-ʾāmmi li- l-ḡāmiʾati l-ʾarabiyyati bi- ḥuḍūri nāʾibihi l-safīri ramzī ʾezz el-dīn ramzī ʾilā ʾanna ḥāḍihi l-muḥādaṭāti taʾtī fī ʾiṭāri l-iḥtimāmi l-muṣṭaraki bi-mā yaḥduṭu fi-l-ʾiqḷmi ḥāṣṣatan fī sūriyā <u>mūdiḥan</u> <u>ʾannahu ʾāda li-l-tawwi min</u> <u>mahammatin fī sūriyā</u> <u>staḡraqat ʾiddata ʾayyāmin</u> wa-ʾaʿqabahā bi-ziyārati bayrūt, wa-qāla: sa-ʾuwāṣilu ḡawlatī fi-l-mintaḡati li-l- tabāḥuṭi maʾa l-masʾūlīna fihā bi-šaʾni l-ʾawḍāʾi fī sūriyā wa-mutābaʾati l-waḍʾi l-ʾinsāniyyi fī sūriyā bi-ṣaklin ʾāmmīn wa-ḥāṣṣatan mā yataʾallaqu bi-ʾawḍāʾi l- lāḡiʾīna wa-l-nāziḥīna.	And [Staffan de Mistura, the UN special envoy for Syria] in a brief statement to the journal- ists after talks that he carried out with Doctor Nabil al-Arabi secretary general of the Arab League in the presence of his deputy the ambassador Ramzi Ezzeldin Ramzi pointed out that these talks come in the framework of the shared inter- est concerning what happens in the region especially in Syria <u>pointing out that he just has re- turned from a mission in Syria</u> <u>which lasted several days</u> and [which] he followed up with a visit to Beirut, and he said: I will continue my tour in the re- gion to discuss with the offi- cials in it the situations in Syria and the following up of the hu- manitarian situation in Syria in general and especially what re- gards the situations of the refu- gees and displaced persons.

515. Article 121, *wa*-Vsuff, Different Level Same Subject Addition

وقال المصدر إن حصيلة القتلى في هذا الهجوم بلغت أكثر من ١٥٠ قتيلاً في صفوف المتحضرين داخل المعسكر، مشيراً إلى أنهم لم يتأكدوا بعد من أصول القتلى فيما إذا كانوا ليبينين أو من دول إفريقية وخلصوا كمرتزقة للقتال إلى جانب الكتيبتين المذكورتين".	wa-qāla l-maṣḍaru ʾinna ḥaṣīlata l-qatlā fī ḥādā l- huḡūmi balaḡat ʾaktara min 150 qatīlan fī ṣufūfi l-mu- taḥaṣṣinīna dāḥila l-muʾaskari, muṣṣiran ʾilā ʾannahum lam yataʾakkadū baʾdu min ʾuṣūli l-qatlā fimā ʾidā kānū lībiy- yīna ʾaw min duwali ʾafrīqiyy- yatīn <u>wa-ḡulibū ka-mur- tazaqatin li-l-qitāli ʾilā</u> <u>ḡānibi l-katībatayni l- maḡkūratayni</u> ".	And the source said that the death toll in this attack reached more than 150 dead among the ranks of those for- tified inside the camp, point- ing out that they have not yet confirmed the origins of the dead, whether they were Libyans or from [other] Af- rican countries and [were] brought as mercenaries to fight alongside the two bat- talions mentioned ".

⁴²² In Example (514), the relative construction *mahammatin* [...] *istaḡraqat ʾiddata ʾayyāmin wa-ʾaʿqabahā bi-ziyārati bayrūt* is a temporal sequence with Vsuff + *wa*-Vsuff (Temporal Succession).

516. Article 15, *wa*-Vsuff, Motion Purpose

و أعرب عن تخوفه قائلا: لا نعرف كل شخص يحمل جواز سفر أمريكي، ذهب وتدرب على القتال.	wa 'a'raba 'an taḥawwufihi qā'īlan: lā na'rifu kulla šaḥṣin yaḥmilu ḡawāza safa- rin 'amrīkiyy[an] [ita], dahaba wa-tadarraba 'alā l-qitāli.	And he expressed his concern saying: We do not know every person carrying an American passport <u>who has gone</u> and trained to fight.

517. Article 40, *wa*-Vsuff, Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast

من جهة أخرى، أكد جندى تابع للقوات الحكومية أنهم سحبوا الدبابات من المنطقة قبل يومين تمامًا مع بنود وقف إطلاق النار، وتركوا بعض الجنود المسلحين بأسلحة خفيفة في نقاط التفتيش الرئيسية، ملقيا اللوم على الانفصاليين في خرق الاتفاق.	min ḡihatin 'uḥrā , 'akkada ḡundiyyun tābi'un li-l- quwwāti l-ḥukūmiyyati 'an- nahum sahabū l-dabbābāti <u>mina l-mintaqati qabla yaw-</u> <u>mayni tamāšiyan ma'a bunūdi</u> <u>waqfi 'itlāqi l-nāri, wa-tarakū</u> <u>ba'ḍa l-ḡunūdi l-musal-</u> <u>lahīna bi- 'asliḥatin ḥafifatin</u> <u>fī niqāṭi l-taftīši l-ra'isiyyati,</u> mulqiyan al-lūma 'alā l-in- fiṣāliyyīna fī ḥarqi l-ittifāqi.	And on the other hand, a sol- dier belonging to the govern- mental forces confirmed that <u>they withdrew their tanks</u> <u>from the region two days ago</u> <u>in agreement with the terms</u> <u>of the ceasefire, and left</u> <u>some soldiers who were</u> <u>armed with light weapons</u> <u>at the main checkpoints,</u> throwing the blame on the separatists for violating the agreement.

6.1.2.2. *wa-sabaqa 'an* Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, Article 71, Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast to a complement main clause matrix with Subject *lā* VprefL as a generally valid negation: *wa-qāla* [...] 'inna [...] 'iqāmata ḥāḍihi l-muḥayyamāti [...] *lā taḥtāḡu 'ilā 'idnin* [...] ***wa-sabaqa 'an 'araḍnā ḥūḍā l-'iqtirāḥa*** [...] *wa-lam ya 'ariḍ 'aḥadun* [...] (Example 609).

6.1.2.3. *wa*-VprefL (58x)

58x attestations, including 1x *wa-yakūnu* (Article 73) and 1x *wa-VprefL li-ḡālika* (Article 41, Example 523), no *wa-yatimmu maṣḍar*.

The most frequent semantics include various Unordered Additions (43x), Expanding Paraphrases (6x), and Temporal Successions (4x). The semantic notion of Simultaneous is attested 1x: *wa-hum yaḡlisūna wa-yaqra 'ūna* (Article 8, Example 248).

In 37x instances, the matrix predicate is VprefL; in 8x we are dealing with a gram switch from a Vsuff-matrix to *wa*-VprefL: 4x Unordered Additions (Different Level), 2x Temporal Successions, 1x Context (Article 118), and 1x Expanding Paraphrase (Article 118). The traditional *ḥāl*, as a subordinate simultaneous syntagm to a Vsuff matrix, is unattested in Media Arabic. For an easier overview of this semantically inexplicit linking, the clauses of Examples (518)–(530) are also cited in the table (Table 42).

Table 42: *wa-VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1 3	Same Level Different Subject Addition	ya‘malāni bi-šaklin ṭabī‘iyyin	wa-yūḡadu bi-himā maḡmū‘atun mina l- tuwwāri	90	518
1	Same Level Different Subject Addition bi Consecutive	‘anna muhlata l-šahri [...] tantahī	wa-yaftariḏu ‘an ya- timma sti‘nāfi l- mufāwaḏāti qabla hāḏā l-maw‘idi	99	519
1	Same Level Different Subject Addition bi Tem- poral Succession	[REL] yunhī l- iḥtilāla	wa-yuqīmu l-dawlata l-filasṭīniyyata l-mu- staqillata	69	520
1 5	Same Level Same Subject Addition	yatadarrabūna fi mu‘askarātin ṭābi‘atin li-dā‘eš [...]	wa-yuṭliqūna l-nāra	8	354
2	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Consecutive	[REL] yaḥzā bi- tawāfuqin waṭaniyyin	wa-yakūnu qābīlan li- l-tanfīḏi	73	530
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Expanding Paraphrase	‘anna l-taḥawwula l- dīmuqrāṭiyya fi lībiyā ya‘tšu laḥzatan ḥariḡatan	»wa-yuhaddidu bi- suqūti lībiyā fi-l- nizā‘āti l-‘ahliyyati«.	103	521
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Instrumental Manner	sa-yušakkilu waṭīqatan [...] [REL] tadfa‘u bi-masīrati l- taḡyīri l-silmiyyi,	wa-turassiḥu mabda‘a l-širākati l- waṭaniyyati wa-l- ‘amni wa-l- [...]	106	522
4	Different Level Different Subject Addition	wa-huwa šaḥṣiyyatun qabaliyyatun muhim- matun	wa-yantamī li-ḥizbi [...]	118	528
1	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Cause	al-muḥtaḡaḡzīna fi makānin ‘āminin, wa-fi ḥālatin šihḥiy- yatin ḡayyidatin,	wa-yuqaddamu la- hum mā yaḥtaḡūnahu min [...]	9	364
3	Different Level Same Subject Ad- dition	[...] wa-l-mu‘taqala wa-l-muttahama fi ‘iṭāri milaffin wāsi‘in li-ḡasli l-‘amwāli ,	wa-yuwāḡihu li- ḏālīka ‘uqūbata l- siḡni	41	523
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Consecutive	bi-‘anna l-malikata muḥāyidatun bi- ḥukmi l-dustūri [...]	wa-ta‘tabiru ‘anna l- ‘amra yaḥuṣṣu ša‘ba ‘iskutlandā.	88	524

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
5	Expanding Paraphrase	mufa' ilayni	wa-tabluḡu l-tāqatu l-'intāḡiyyati li-kullin minhumā [...]	97	525
1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Consecutive	fa-l-quwwātu l-mu-sallaḡatu l-turkiyyatu tu' minu bi-mabda' i siyādati l-qānūni	wa-tattaḡiḡu l-'iḡrā' āti l-lāzimata-'alā hāḡā l-'asāsi».	11	531
3	Temporal Succession	iṡṡala' at 'alā l-taqāriri	wa-tas' ā li-l-ḡuᡀuli 'alā l-mazīdi mina l-taᡀaᡀili.	19	526
1	Temporal Succession bi Consecutive	[...] fa-ṡammata ḡtimālu[n?] 'an yataḡawwala ḡḡalika l-fayrūs	wa-yuᡀbiḡu ntiqāluḡu 'aᡀṡara suḡūlatan [...]	61	232
1	Consecutive	'inna l-wilāyāti l-muttaḡiddata tarā 'anna 'i 'lāna 'isrā' il [...] salbiyyun [...]	wa-taḡuttu l-ḡukūmata l-'isrā' iliyyata 'alā 'ilḡā' i hāḡā l-qarāri.	23	527
1	Context	kamā qtaḡamat mīlīᡀiyātu [...]	wa-yu' addu muḡsen [...] wa-' aḡmad [...] min 'aᡀaddi ḡuᡀūmi l-ḡūṡiyyina	118	528
1	Inconcomitance	'anna hunāka ḡiyārātin 'istrāṡiḡiyyatan	wa-na' mulu 'allā naḡṡāḡa li-ḡḡalika	63	529
1	Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information bi Instrumental Manner	[...] ḡukūmatu waḡdatin waṡaniyya-tin	wa-tumattīlu kāᡀᡀata l-tayyārāti l-siyāsiyyati.	90	327
1	Simultaneous	wa-hum yaḡlisūna	wa-yuṡliqūna l-nāra	8	248

518. Article 90, wa-VprefL, Same Level Different Subject Addition

وأكد أن المستشفى والمصفاة يعملان بشكل طبيعي ويوجد بهما مجموعة من الثوار لأأمينهما في الوقت الحالي.	wa-'akkada 'anna l-mustašfā wa-l-miṣfāta ya 'malāni bi- ṣaklin tabī'iyin wa-yūḡadu bi-himā maḡmū'atun mina l-tuwwāri li-ta'mīnihimā fi- l-waqtī l-ḥāliyyi	And he stressed that the <u>hospi- tal and the refinery are operat- ing normally, and there is in them a group of revolution- aries to secure them at the pre- sent time.</u>

519. Article 99, wa-VprefL, Same Level Different Subject Addition bi Consecutive

وأضاف عبد الكريم أن مهلة الشهر على إعلان اتفاق وقف إطلاق النار حسب المتفق عليه تنتهي في الخامس والعشرين من الشهر الحالي، ويفترض أن يتم استئناف المفاوضات قبل هذا الموعد.	wa-'aḏāfa 'abd ul-karīm 'anna muhlata l-ṣahri 'alā 'i'lāni ttifāqi waqfī iṭlāqi l- nāri ḥasaba l-muttafaqi 'alayhi tantahī fi-l-ḥāmisi wa-l-'iṣrīna mina l-ṣahri l- ḥāliyyi, wa-yaftariḏu 'an yatimma sti'nāfi l- mufaẓāḏāti qabla ḥādā l- maw'idi.	And Abdul Karim added that <u>the one-month deadline on announcing the ceasefire agreement according to what has been agreed on expires on the twenty-fifth of the present month, and the ne- gotiations are supposed to be resumed before this date.</u>

520. Article 69, wa-VprefL, Same Level Different Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession

, وأوضح أن الحل الأمثل سيكون في النهاية بتفعيل عملية السلم من جديد والوصول إلى تسوية عادلة تنتهي الصراع على قاعدة الحل الشامل الذي ينهي الاحتلال ويقيم الدولة الفلسطينية المستقلة بعاصمتها القدس الشريف.	[...] wa-'awḏaḥa 'anna l- ḥalla l-'amtāla sa-yakūnu fi- l-nihāyati bi-taf'īlu 'ama- liyyati l-salāmi min ḡadīdin wa-l-wuṣūlu 'ilā taswiyatin 'ādīlatin tunhī l-ṣirā'a 'alā qā'idati l-ḥalli l-ṣāmili [REL] lladī yunhī l-iḥtilāla wa-yuqīmu l-dawlata l-fi- lasṭīniyyata l-mustaqillata bi-'āṣimatihā el-quḏs el- ṣarīf.	[...] and he explained that the ideal solution in the end will be the activation of the peace process again and the reaching of a just settlement which ends the conflict on the basis of the comprehensive solution [REL] <u>which ends the occupation and establishes the inde- pendent Palestinian state with its capital al-Quds al-Sha- rif [Jerusalem].</u>

521. Article 103, wa-VprefL, Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Expanding Paraphrase

ومن جانبه، حذر المبعوث الأممي لدى ليبيا برناردينو ليون من أن التحول الديمقراطي في ليبيا يعيش لحظة حرجة «ويهدد بسقوط ليبيا في النزاعات الأهلية».	wa-min ḡānibihi, ḥaḏḏara l- mab'ūtu l-'umamiyyu ladā lībiyā bernārdīnū liyūn min 'anna l-taḥawwula l- dīmuqrāṭiyya fi lībiyā ya'īṣu lahzatan ḥariḡatan »wa- yuhaddidu bi-suqūṭi lībiyā fi-l-nizā'āti l-'ahliyyati«.	And for his part, the United Nations envoy to Libya, Ber- nardino Leon warned <u>that the democratic transition in Libya is living a critical mo- ment »and is threatening with Libya falling into civil conflicts«.</u>

522. Article 106, *wa*-VprefL, Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Instrumental Manner

وقال المبعوث الدولي - في بيان - انه بعد مشاورات مكثفة مع جميع الاطراف السياسية بمن فيهم أنصار الله (الحوثيون) تم التوصل الى اتفاق لحل الازمة الحالية في اليمن ، والتحصير جار لترتيبات التوقيع على الاتفاق، الذي رأى أنه سيشكل وثيقة وطنية تدفع بمسيرة التغيير السلمي، وترسخ مبدأ الشراكة الوطنية والأمن والاستقرار في البلاد.	wa-qāla l-mab'ūtu l-du- waliyyu - fī bayānin - 'in- nahu ba'da mušāwarātīn mukattāfatīn ma'a ḡamī'i l- 'atrāfi l-siyāsiyyati bi-man fihim 'anšār allāh (al-ḥūṭīy- yūna) tamma l-tawaṣṣulu 'ilā ttifāqin li-ḥalli l-'azmati l-ḥāliyyati fī el-yaman , wa- l-taḥḍīru ḡārin li-tartībātī l- tawqī'i 'alā l-ittifāqi, llaḍī ra'ā 'annahu sa-yuṣakkilu waṭīqatan waṭaniyyatan [REL] tadfa'u bi-masīrati l- taḡyīri l-silmiyyi, wa-tu- rassiḥu mabda'a l-širākati l-waṭaniyyati wa-l- amni wa-l-istiqrāri fi-l-bilādi.	And the international envoy said - in a statement - that after extensive consultations with all the political parties, includ- ing the Ansar Allah (the Houthis), an agreement was reached to solve the current cri- sis in Yemen, and the prepara- tion is underway for the ar- rangements for the signing of the agreement, which he be- lieved will constitute a national document [REL] <u>that advances the path of peaceful change,</u> <u>and establishes the principle of national partnership, secu- rity, and stability in the coun- try.</u>

Example (523) from Article 41 features the *hapax* construction *wa*-VprefL *li-dālīka*, where the prepositional phrase takes the preceding clause(s) as a vaguely defined anaphoric reference, “the crime and consequent charges” + ‘for which/this he is facing [...]’.

523. Article 41, *wa*-VprefL *li-dālīka*, Different Level Same Subject Addition

واستجوبت الشرطة باولو روبرتو كوستا الذى كان مديرا تنفيذيا لقسم التكرير فى بتروبراس بين ٢٠٠٤ و٢٠١٢ والمعتقل والمتهم فى إطار ملف واسع لغسل الأموال ، ويواجه لذلك عقوبة السجن ثلاثين عاما.	wa-staḡwabati l-šurṭatu bāwlū rūbertū kūstā [REL] llaḍī kāna mudīran tanfīḍiyy- an li-qismi l-takrīri fī bitrūrbrāz bayna 2004 wa- 2012 wa-l-mu'taqala wa-l- muttahama fī 'iṭāri milaffin wāsi'in li-ḡasli l-'amwālī , wa-yuwāḡihu li-dālīka 'uqūbata l-siḡni talātīna 'āman.	And the police questioned Paulo Roberto Costa [REL] who was the executive direc- tor for the refining depart- ment at Petrobras between 2004 and 2012 and [but who now] is detained and accused in the context of a large port- folio of money laundering, and for this he is facing a prison sentence for 30 years.

524. Article 88, *wa*-VprefL, Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Consecutive

وكان مصدر فى قصر بكنجهام قد صرح لوكالة أنباء رويترز بأن الملكة محايدة بحكم الدستور بعيدا عن	wa-kāna maṣḍarun fī qaṣri bakinghām qad šarraḥa li-wik- ālātī 'anbā'i rūytirz bi-'anna l- malikata muḥāyidatun bi- ḥukmi l-dustūri ba'īdan 'ani l-	And a source at the Bucking- ham Palace told the news agency Reuters that <u>the Queen is neutral by virtue of</u>

السياسة ، وتعتبر أن الأمر يخص شعب أسكتلندا.	siyāsati , wa-ta'tabiru 'anna l-'amra yaḥuṣṣu ša'ba 'is- kutlandā.	the constitution far from pol- itics, and considers that the issue concerns the people of Scotland.

525. Article 97, wa-VprefL, Expanding Paraphrase

هذه وأوضحت أن الرخصة لمؤسسة الإمارات للطاقة النوية تسمح بتشييد مفاعلين إضافيين من مفاعلات الماء المضغوط المتطورة، الكورية التصميم، وتبلغ الطاقة الإنتاجية لكل منهما 1400 ميجاوات من الطاقة الكهربائية.	wa-'awḍaḥat 'anna hāḍihi l- ruḥṣata li-mu'assasati el-'imārāt li-l-ṭāqati l-nawawīyyati tasmaḥu bi-tašyīdi <u>mufa'īlayni</u> <u>'idāfiyyayni</u> min mufa'īlāti l- mā'ī l-maḍḡuṭi l-mutaṭawwirati, al-kūriyyati l-tašmīmi, wa- tabluḡu l-ṭāqatu l-'intāḡiyyati li-kullin minhumā 1400 mīḡāwātīn mina l-ṭāqati l- kahrabā'iyyati.	And she explained that this license for the Emirates Nuclear Energy Corpora- tions allows for the con- struction of two additional reactors of advanced pres- surized water reactors of Korean design, and the production capacity of each of them reaches 1400 megawatts of elec- tric power.

526. Article 19, wa-VprefL, Temporal Succession

وقالت وزارة الخارجية الأمريكية إنها اطلعت على التقارير وتسعى للحصول على المزيد من التفاصيل.	wa-qālat wizāratu l- ḥāriḡiyyati l-'amrīkiyyatu 'in- nahā tṭala'at 'alā l-taḡārīri wa- tas'ā li-l-ḥuṣūli 'alā l-mazīdi mina l-taḡāṣīli.	And the American fore- ign minister said that she <u>has seen the reports and</u> <u>is seeking to obtain</u> <u>more details.</u>

527. Article 23 (final paragraph), wa-VprefL, Consecutive

وفى واشنطن، قال مسؤول بوزارة الخارجية الأمريكية، إن الولايات المتحدة ترى أن إعلان إسرائيل مصادرة أراض، لاحتمال بناء مستوطنة عليها في الضفة الغربية المحتلة "سلبى" بالنسبة لجهود السلام، وتحث الحكومة الإسرائيلية على إلغاء هذا القرار.	wa-fi wāṣintun, qāla mas'ulun bi-wizāratī l-ḥāriḡiyyati l- 'amrīkiyyati, 'inna l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidata tarā 'anna 'i lāna 'isrā'īl muṣādarata 'arāḍin, li-ḥtimāli binā'i mustawṭanatīn 'alayhā fi el- ḍiffa el-ḡarbiyya al-muḥtallati "salbiyyun" bi-l-nisbati li- ḡuhūdi l-salāmi, wa-taḡuttu l-ḥukūmata l-'isrā'īliyyata 'alā 'ilḡā'i hādā l-qarārī.	And in Washington, an offi- cial at the American Foreign Ministry said that <u>the United</u> <u>States thinks</u> that Israel's declaration of land confisca- tion for the possibility of building a settlement on it in the occupied West Bank is "negative" with regard to the peace efforts, and <u>urges the</u> <u>Israeli government to cancel</u> <u>this decision.</u>

528. Article 118, wa-VprefL, Context

كما اقترحت ميليشيات الحوثيين منزل حميد الأحمر وهو شخصية قبلية مهمة وينتمي لحزب التجمع اليمني	kaṡā qtaḡamat mīlīšiyātu l- ḥūtiyyīna manzila ḡamīd el- 'aḡmar wa-huwa šaḡsiyyatun qabaliyyatun muḡimmatun wa- yantamī li-ḥizbi el-taḡammu'	And the Houthi militias stormed the home of <u>Hamid</u> <u>al-Aḡmar</u> , he is an important tribal figure and belongs to the [party of the] Yemeni Congregation for Reform

للإصلاح «الإخوان والمسلمين» وبعد محسن الأحمر وحמיד الأحمر من أشد خصوم الحوثيين	el-yamanī li-l-ʾiṣlāḥ «al-ʾiḥwāni l-muslimīna» wa-yuʿaddu muḥsen el-ʾaḥmar wa-ḥamīd el-ʾaḥmar min ʾašaddi ḥuṣūmi l-ḥuṭiyyīna.	«the Muslim Brotherhood» [.] Mohsen al-Ahmar and Hamid al-Ahmar are con- sidered among the fiercest opponents of the Houthis.

Example (529) from Article 63 features a partial quote, only partially marked as such (with a single ⟨ « ⟩ following the quote). The quote is followed with an attribution formula, *ʿalā ḥaddi qawlihi* (for which, see 6.5). The semantics are inexplicit, *wa-*. The shift from third person in the matrix to first person makes the analysis problematic, but Inconcomitance is most suitable, focusing on the antiprödicative juxtaposition of having (and speaking of) strategic options **without a hope of needing them**.

529. Article 63, *wa-VprefL*, Inconcomitance

فجاء ردز عيم الحوثيين عبد الملك الحوثي - في كلمة بثتها قناة (المسيرة) الناطقة باسم الجماعة - أن التصعيد سيستمر حتى تسقط الحكومة. محذرا الرئيس اليمني من فض اعتصامات الحوثيين بالقوة، ومهددا بأن هناك خيارات إستراتيجية كبرى تتعدى صنعاء وحدها ونأمل ألا نحتاج لذلك»، على حد قوله.	fa-ǧāʾa raddu zaʾīmi l- ḥuṭiyyīna ʾabd-ul malik el-ḥuṭī - fī kalimatin battathā qanātu (el-masīra) al-nāṭiqatu bi-smi l-ǧamāʾati - ʾanna l-taṣʾīda sa- yastamirru ḥattā tasquta l- ḥukūmatu, muḥaddīran al- raʾīsa l-yamaniyya min faḍḍi ʾtiṣāmāti l-ḥuṭiyyīna bi-l- quwwati, <u>wa-muhaddidan bi- ʾanna hunāka ḥiyārātīn</u> <u>kubrā</u> <u>iṣṭrātīǧiyyatan</u> kubrā tataʾaddā sanʾāʾ wa-ḥudūdahā wa-naʾmulu ʾallā naḥtaǧu li- dālika », ʿalā ḥaddi qawlihi.	And the reponse of the Houthi leader Abdul-Malik al-Houthi came - in a speech which the channel “al- Masirah” which is speaking on behalf of the group broad- casted - that the escalation will continue until the gov- ernment falls, warning the Yemeni president against breaking the Houthi sit-ins by force and threatening that there are major strategic op- tions that go beyond Sanaa and its borders and [but] we hope that we will not need that », he said.

530. Article 73, *wa-VprefL*, Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Con- secutive

وقال البيان انه جرى بحث جميع القضايا العالقة بهدف الوصول إلى اتفاق سياسي يحظى بتوافق وطني ويكون قابلاً للتنفيذ في أقرب وقت من أجل ضمان أمن اليمن واستقراره.	wa-qāla l-bayānu ʾinnahu ǧarā baḥṭu ǧamīʿi l-qaḍāyā l- ʾāliqati bi-hadafī l-wuṣūli ʾilā ttifāqin siyāsīyyin [REL] yahzā bi-tawāfuqin watanīyyin wa-yakūnu qābilan li-l-tanfiḍi fī ʾaqraba waqtin min ʾaǧli ḍamāni ʾamni el-yaman wa-stiqrārihi.	And the statement said that the discussion is ongoing of all the pending issues with the goal of reaching <u>a political agreement</u> [REL] <u>that enjoys national</u> <u>consensus</u> and can be imple- mented as soon as possible in order to ensure the security of Yemen and its stability.

6.1.2.4. wa-lā VprefL (7x)

7x attestations: 2x times *wa-lā + tazālu*, 2x *wa-lā ymkn-h*. Only Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information bi Instrumental Manner is attested 2x (both polarized), all others $\leq 1x$. The syntagm is never antipröidetic. The Consecutive and Temporal Succession linkings are atypical. All attestations are listed in Table 43. Example (533) from the last paragraph of Article 58 could be understood as a main clause in a new sentence (background, see 1.4.5), but was annotated as a non-main clause, Temporal Succession.

Table 43: *wa-lā VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
2	Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain of Information bi Instrumental Manner (polarized)	'annahum 'anāsun yafūna bi-wu'ūdihim wa-tašmalu l-'āliyatū tamṭīlan li-ḡamī' i l-mukawwināti	wa-lā yankišūna 'anhā. wa-lā tastatnī min 'amaliḥā 'ayya 'aṭrāfin 'aw ḡamā'ātin 'aw 'afrādin [...]	111 118	328 328 329
1	Simultaneous	fīmā lā tazālu ta-taqaddamu	wa-lā tazālu l-ištibākātu	5	249
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition	allaḡī yataḥaddaṭu l-'iḡlīziyyata bi-l-kādi	wa-lā yantuqu l-firansiyyata	7	272
1	Consecutive	Example below		11	531
1	Meta-linguistic Comment	['anna] l-ḥaṭara hunā wāḥidun	wa-lā-yūmkinu qubūlu ḥāḡiḥi l-'a 'māli l-waḥšiyyati [...]	12	532
1	Temporal Succession (or new sentence)	[...] ittaḡahū [...]	wa-lā tazālu [...]	58	533
7					

531. Article 11, wa-lā VprefL, Consecutive

قائلا: «طلبنا من جهاز المخابرات ومديرية الأمن تزويدنا بالوثائق والمستندات اللازمة حول المزاعم الخاصة بالكيان الموازي، لكن لم نتسلم أي مستندات بعد، ولا يمكننا أن نبدأ التحقيق بناء على خطابات إبلاغ غير موقعة، فالفواتر

[...] qā' ilan: «ṭalabnā min ḡihāzi l-muḡābarāti wa-muḡīriyyati l-'amni tazwīdanā bi-l-waṭā'iqi wa-l-mustanadāti l-lāzimati ḥawla l-mazā'imi l-ḡaṣṣati bi-l-kiyāni l-muwāzi, lākin lam natasallam 'ayya mustanadātin ba'du, wa-lā yumkinunā 'an nabda'a l-taḡqīqa binā'an 'alā ḡiṭābāti 'iblāḡi ḡayri muwaqqa'atin,

[...] saying: «we asked the Intelligence Service and the Security Directorate to provide us with the necessary documents and papers concerning the allegations of the parallel entity, but we have not received any documents yet and cannot start the investigation based on

المسلحة التركية تؤمن بمبدأ سيادة القانون وتتخذ الإجراءات اللازمة على هذا الأساس.	fa-l-quwwātu l-musallahatu l- turkiyyatu tu'minu bi-mabda'i siyādati l-qānūni wa-tattaḥidu l-'iğrā'āti l-lāzimata-'alā hādā l-'asāsi.	unsigned notification let- ters , for the Turkish armed forces believe in the princi- ple of the rule of law and take the necessary measures on this basis».

532. Article 12, *wa-lā* VprefL, Meta-linguistic Comment

وأشار إلى أن هناك اتفاقا على أن الخطر هنا واحد سواء فيما يتعلق بدول المنطقة أو بدول أوروبا ولا يمكن قبول هذه الأعمال الوحشية والعنف والإنقضاض على إرادة الشعوب ومحاولة تغيير هويتها.	wa-'ašāra 'ilā 'anna hunāka ttifāqan 'alā 'anna <u>l-hatara</u> <u>hunā wāhidun sawā'an fīmā</u> <u>yata'allaqu bi-duwali l-</u> <u>mintaqati 'aw bi-duwali</u> <u>'ūrūbbā wa-lā-yumkinu</u> <u>qubūlu hādihī l-'a'māli l-</u> <u>waḥṣiyyati wa-l-'unfi wa-l-</u> <u>inqiḍāḍi 'alā 'irādati l-</u> <u>šū'ūbi wa-muḥāwalati</u> <u>tagyīri huwiyatihā.</u>	And he pointed out that there is an agreement on that <u>the</u> <u>danger here is one</u> whether with regard to the countries of the region or the countries of Europe for these acts of bru- tality and violence, and the attack on the will of the peo- ple and the attempt to change their identity cannot be accepted.

533. Article 58 (final paragraph), *wa-lā* VprefL, Temporal Succession
(or new sentence)

وذكرت محطة «إن تي في» الإخبارية التركية أمس أن المسلحين اتجهوا إلى مكان مجهول بالمنطقة الجبلية المغطاة بالغابات الكثيفة ولا تزال أعمال البحث والتمشيط مستمرة في ضواحي القرية في محاولة لتحرير الأطفال المختطفين والقبض على أعضاء المجموعة المسلحة.	wa-ḍakarat maḥaṭṭatu «'in tī fī» al-'iḥbāriyyatu l- turkiyyatu 'amsi 'anna l- <u>musallahīna ttaḡahū 'ilā</u> <u>makānin maḡhūlin bi-l-</u> <u>mintaqati l-ḡabaliyyati l-</u> <u>muḡattāti bi-l-ḡābāti l-katīfati</u> <u>wa-lā tazālu 'a'mālu l-baḥṭi</u> <u>wa-l-tamšīṭi mustamirratan</u> <u>fī ḍawāḥī l-qaryati fī</u> <u>muḥāwalatin li-taḥrīri l-</u> <u>'aḫfāli l-muḥtaṭafina wa-l-</u> <u>qabḍi 'alā 'a'ḍā'i l-</u> <u>maḡmū'ati l-musallahati.</u>	And the Turkish news sta- tion «NTV» mentioned yes- terday that <u>the militants have</u> <u>headed to an unknown loca-</u> <u>tion in the mountain region</u> <u>covered by thick forests</u> and the search and combing operations are still contin- uing in the outskirts of the village in an attempt to free the abducted children and to arrest the members of the armed group.

6.1.2.5. *wa-VprefA* (6x)

6x attestations, only as Same Level Same Subject Addition in a complement clause complex, including 1x instance with a bi-nuance of Countersequential (Example 534, Article 68). 4x of the attestations with *wa-VprefA* occur in Article 107; see Example (535).

534. Article 68, *wa-VprefA*, Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Countersequential

وفي باريس،حث جان إيف لودريان وزير الدفاع الفرنسي المجتمع الدولي أمس على اتخاذ إجراء لتحقيق الاستقرار في ليبيا والحيلولة دون تحويلها إلى ملاذ للإرهابيين.وقال لودريان لصحيفة «لو فيجارو»: «ينبغي أن نتخذ إجراء في ليبيا ونعني المجتمع الدولي» ، مضيفا أنه سوف يطرح القضية خلال اجتماع لوزراء دفاع الاتحاد الأوروبي خلال ساعات في ميلانو.	wa-fi bārīs,ḥatta ḡān 'īf lūdri- yān wazīru l-difā'i l- firansiyyu l-muḡtama'a l-du- waliyya 'amsi 'alā ttiḥādi 'iḡrā' in li-taḥqīqi l-istiqrāri fi lībiyā wa-l-ḥaylūlati dūna taḥawwuliḥā 'ilā malāḍḍa li- l-'irḥābiyyīna.wa-qāla lūdri- yān li-ṣaḥīfati »lū fiḡārū« :«yanbaḡi 'an nattahida 'iḡrā'an fī lībiyā wa- nu'abbi'a l-muḡtama'a l- duwaliyya», muḍīfan 'an- nahu sawfa yaṭraḥu l-qaḍiyya ḥilāla ḡtimā'in li- wuzarā'i difā'i l-ittiḥādi l- 'ūrūbbiyyi ḥilāla sā'ātin fi milānū.	And in Paris, Jean-Yves Le Drian the French defence minister urged the interna- tional community yesterday to take action to achieve sta- bility in Libya and [to] pre- vent it from turning into a ha- ven for terrorists. And Le Drian said to the newspaper »Le Figaro«: «We should take action in Libya and mo- bilize the international community », adding that he will raise the issue during a meeting of the defence min- isters of the European Union within hours in Milan.

535. Article 107 (lead), 4x *wa-VprefA*, 4x Same Level Same Subject Addition

وسط أجواء متفائلة يشوبها الحذر من مطالبات بنمو أقوى واحتجاجات لمواجهة التغيرات المناخية، إلى جانب الدعوات المطالبة بحضور الرئيس الروسي فلاديمير بوتين قمة مجموعة العشرين المقيلة في بريسيان الأسترالية لمواجهة الغضب الدولي بشأن أوكرانيا، اتفق وزراء مالية دول مجموعة العشرين - في ختام اجتماعهم بأستراليا أمس - على خطة لتحقيق هدف المجموعة بزيادة إجمالي الناتج المحلي بنسبة ٨,١٪ إضافية بحلول	wasta 'aḡwā'in mutafā'ilatin yašūbuhā l-ḥaḍaru min muṭālabātin bi-numūwin 'aqwā wa-ḥtiḡāḡātin li- muwāḡahati l-taḡayyurāti l- munāḥiyyati, 'ilā ḡānibi l- da'awāti l-muṭālibati bi- ḥuḍūri l-ra'īsi l-rūsiyyi flāḍīmīr būtin qimmata maḡmū'ati l-'iṣrīna l-muqbi- lata fi brīsbān al-'ustrāliyyati li-muwāḡahati l-ḡadabi l-du- waliyyi bi-ša'ni 'ukrāniyā, it- tafaqa wuzarā'u māliyyati duwali maḡmū'ati l-'iṣrīna - fi ḥitāmi ḡtimā'ihim bi- 'ustrāliyā 'amsi - 'alā ḥuṭṭatin li-taḥqīqi hadafi l-maḡmū'ati bi-ziyādati 'iḡmāliyyi l-nātiḡi l-maḥalliyyi bi-nisbati 1,8%	In the midst of an optimistic atmosphere which the awareness of calls for stronger growth and protests to address the climate changes marred, in addition to calls demanding the at- tendance of the Russian pres- ident Vladimir Putin on the upcoming summit of the group of the twenty [G20] in the Australian [city of] Bris- bane to face the international anger concerning Ukraine, the finance ministers of the countries of the group of the twenty agreed - at the end of their meeting in Australia yesterday - on a plan to achieve the goal of the group

العام ٢٠١٨ ، وذلك
عبر اتخاذ عدد من
الإجراءات الملموسة
التي من شأنها أن
تضاعف الاستثمارات
في البنى التحتية ، وتوفر
ملايين الوظائف وتسهل
النمو وتزيد من وتيرة
الإصلاح المالي وتدعم
التجارة والمنافسة.

'idāfiyyatin bi-ḥulūli l-'āmi
2018 , wa-ḍālika 'abra ttiḥāḍi
'adadin mina l-'iḡrā'āti l-
malmūsati llātī min ša'niḥā
'an tudā'ifa l-istitmārāti fi-l-
bunā l-taḥtiyyati , **wa-tu-
waffira** malāyīna l-waḥā'ifi
wa-tusahhila l-numūwa **wa-
tazīda** min watīrati l-'iṣlāḥi l-
māliyyi **wa-tad'ama** l-
tiḡārata wa-l-munāfasata.

of increasing the gross do-
mestic product [GDP] by an
additional 1.8% by the end of
the year 2018, and this by
taking a number of concrete
measures such that would
multiply the investments in
the infrastructure, and **pro-
vide** millions of jobs and **fa-
cilitate** growth and **increase**
the pace of the financial re-
form and **support** trade and
competition.

6.1.2.6. *wa-lan* VprefA (1x)

1x attestation, Article 37, Same Level Same Subject Addition to a complement main clause with *lan* VprefA: *lan naqbala 'an* [...] *wa-lan naqbala 'an* [...]
(Example 549).

6.1.2.7. *wa-future-VprefL* (11x)

11x attestations, including 2x *wa-future-yatimmu maṣḍar* (both in Article 71), and 2x *wa-sa-yakūnu*. The semantics include various Unordered Additions (5x), Temporal Successions (4x), and Expanding Paraphrases (2x). The full table including bi-nuances is given as Table 44; for an easier overview of this semantically inexplicit linking, the clauses of Examples (536)–(538) are also cited in the table.

Table 44: *wa-future-VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
4	Temporal Succession	tamma l-ittifāqu 'alā n'iqādi laḡnati l- tasyīri	wa-sa-yabda'u l- mas'ūlūna [...] l- taḥḍīra [...] laha	12	536
2	Same Level Same Subject Addition	fa-'inna l-ḥukūmata sa-ta'amalu	wa-sa-taqūmu bi-	19	254
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Simultaneous [OR bi Instru- mental Manner]	'inna l-masīrāti sa- tanṭaliqu min maydāni	wa-sa-yatimmu ḥilālahā l- iḥtiyāḡātu	114	537
1	Same Level Different Subject Addition	sa-yatimmu faṭḥu taḥqīqin	wa-sa-yu'ādu l- naḡaru	108	-
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition	'anna l-muḥāḍatāti [...] mutawāṣilatun	wa-sa-yaltaqūna	89	538

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Expanding Paraphrase	wa-yatarakkazu l-barnāmaḡu ḡawla l-siyāsati l-ḡāriḡiyyati	wa-sa-yakūnu 'iṭāruhu l-'āmmu mukāfaḡata 'anṡāri «al-tanẓīmi [...]	11	282
1	Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner	'anna l-wilāyāti l-muttaḡidata sa-tuwāṡilu ṡirākataḡa l-'istrāṡiḡiyyata	wa-sa-tad'amu l-ḡukūmata l-'afḡāniyyata l-ḡadīdata.	117	343
11					

Temporal Succession (4x) is posed against a backgrounding contextualizing clause (2x *tamma* + *maṡdar*, 1x *sabaqa* 'an 'araḡnā (Article 71), and 1x NCI (Article 106)), making the linking take on a pronounced nuance of background and sequel. Example (536) from Article 12 illustrates this.

536. Article 12, *wa*-future VprefL, Temporal Succession

، وأوضح الوزير انه تم الاتفاق على إنعقاد لجنة التسيير المصرية الألمانية المشتركة وسيبدأ المسؤولون في البلدين التحضير الجيد لها لتتقد في القاهرة في بداية العام المقبل.	[...] , wa-'awḡaḡa l-wazīru 'annahu <u>tamma l-ittifāqu</u> 'alā n'iqādi laḡnati l-tasyīri l-miṡriyyati l-'almāniyyati l-muṡtarakati wa-sa-yabda'u l-mas'ulūna fi l-baladayni l-taḡḡira l-ḡayyida lahā li-tan'aqida fi el-qāhira fi bidāyati l-'āmi l-muḡbili.	[...]. And the minister pointed out that <u>an agreement</u> to convene the Egyptian-German joint steering committee <u>has been reached</u> and the officials in the two countries will begin a good preparation for it to be held in Cairo in the beginning of the next year.

In Example (535) from Article 114, the typically temporal preposition *ḡilāla* adds a bi-nuance of Simultaneous (for *ḡilāla*, see under 6.9; cf. *min ḡilali*). (In accordance with 4.2, OR bi Instrumental Manner was not annotated.)

537. Article 114, *wa*-future-*yatimmu maṡdar*, Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Simultaneous [OR bi Instrumental Manner (not annotated)]

وقالت صحيفة «زمان» التركية أمس إن المسيرات ستنتقل من ميدان "صحبة" وسط أنقرة في ١٢ أكتوبر المقبل، وسيتم خلالها الاحتجاج على عدة قضايا في مقدمتها المواد الدينية الإجبارية.	wa-qālat ṡaḡīfatu «zamān» al-turkiyyatu 'amsi 'inna <u>l-masīrāti sa-tantaliqu</u> min mayḡāni "ṡiḡḡiyya" waṡa 'anqara fi 12 'uktūbir al-muḡbili, wa-sa-yatimmu ḡilālahā l-iḡtiyāḡātu 'alā 'iddati qaḡāyā fi muḡaddimatihā l-mawāddu l-dīniyyatu l-'iḡbāriyyatu.	And the Turkish newspaper «Zaman» said yesterday that <u>the marches will begin from</u> the "ṡiḡḡiye" square in central Ankara on the coming October 12, and during/through these [marches] protests will take place against a number of issues foremost among which is the compulsory religious subjects.

538. Article 89, *wa*-future VprefL, Different Level Same Subject Addition

وأضاف المصدر أن المحادثات بين ممثلي الرئاسة والحوثيين متواصلة وسيلاقون خلال الأوقات المقبلة.	wa-ʿaḏāfa l-maṣḍaru ʿanna l-muhādatātī bayna mumattilī l-riʿāsati wa-l- hūtiyyīna mutawāṣilatun wa-sa-yaltaqūna ḥilāla l- ʿawqāti l-muqbilati.	And the source added that <u>the</u> <u>talks between the representa-</u> <u>tives of the presidency and the</u> <u>Houthis are continuing</u> and <u>they will meet during the</u> <u>coming times.</u>

6.1.2.8. *wa-lam* VprefS (6x)

6x attestations, all with unique semantics; no *wa-lam yakun*, no *wa-lam yatimma maṣḍar*. For an easier overview of this semantically inexplicit linking, the clauses of Examples (539)–(538) are also cited in the table (Table 45).

Table 45: *wa-lam* VprefS

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	<i>x, not y</i> (Polarized Pair)	[...] ʿanna l- ḥaṭara l-ʿakbara fī el-ḥaliḡ ʿaṣbaḥa mina l-ḡamāʿati l- ʿirhābiyyati,	wa-lam-yaʿud ʿunwānu l-ʿiḥwāni huwa l-ʿunwāna l- ʿakbara.	1	386
1	Frustration	ʿamarati l-suluṭātu l-sūdāniyyatu	wa-lam taṣdur el- ḥartūm	32	539
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition	lam yaʿriḍ	wa-lam yataṭarraḡ li-	51	540
1	Expanding Paraphrase	al-ʿiṣābat# laysat ḥaṭīratan	wa-lam yazhar ʿalā l-qāʿidi l- ʿamrikiyyi ʿayyu ʿalāmāti [REL]	60	227
1	Temporal Success- ion bi Frustration	wa-sabaqa ʿan ʿaraḡnā ḥaḡā l- iqtirāḥa	wa-lam yaʿtariḍ ʿaḡadun	71	541
1	Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information bi Instrumental Manner	lam yuṭlab [...]	wa-lam yaṣil ʿilayhā ʿayyu maṭṭabin [...]	91	542
6					

539. Article 32 (lead), *wa-lam* VprefS, Frustration

أمرت السلطات السودانية أمس بإغلاق المركز الثقافي الإيراني في العاصمة الخرطوم وبقية الولايات وطالبت السلطات الملحق الثقافي وطاقم المركز بمغادرة البلاد خلال 72 ساعة ولم تصدر الخرطوم الرسمية أى تبريرات للخطوة المفاجئة،	'amarati l-sulūtātu l- sūdaniyyatu 'amsi bi-'iḡlāqi l-markazi l-taqāfiyyi l- 'irāniyyi fi-l-'āšimati el- ḥarṭūm wa-baqiyyati l-wilāyāti wa-tālabati l-sulūtātu l- mulhaqa l-taqāfiyya wa- tāqima l-markazi bi- muḡādarati l-bilādi hīlāla 72 sā'atan wa-lam tašdur el- ḥarṭūm al-rasmiyyatu 'ayya tabrīrātīn li-l-ḥaṭwati l-mufaḡi'ati.	<u>The Sudanese authorities or- dered</u> yesterday the closure of the Iranian cultural centre in the capital Khartoum and [in] the rest of the states, <u>and</u> <u>the authorities demanded the</u> <u>cultural attaché and the cen- tre's staff to leave the country</u> <u>within 72 hours, but the offi- cial Khartoum [govern- ment] did not issue any jus- tifications for the sudden</u> <u>step.</u>

540. Article 51, *wa-lam* VprefS, Same Level Same Subject Addition

وأضاف أبو ردينة أن الرئيس السيسى «لم يعرض ولم يتطرق لمثل هذا الموضوع المرفوض فلسطينيا ومصريا وعربيا لا من قريب ولا من بعيد».	wa-'aḏāfa 'abū rudeyna 'anna l-ra'īsa el-sīsī « <u>lam ya'rid wa- lam yataṭarraḡ li-miṭli hāḏā</u> <u>l-mawḏū'i</u> l-marfūḏi fi- lasṭīniyyan wa-miṣriyyan wa- 'arabiyyan lā min qarībīn wa- lā min ba'īdin».	And Abu Rudeineh added that the president el-Sisi « <u>did</u> <u>not present nor touch upon</u> <u>such a topic</u> which has been rejected by the Palestinian, and the Egyptian, and the Arab [side] from near or far.

541. Article 71, *wa-lam* VprefS, Temporal Succession bi Frustration; the example is iterated and expanded in Example (609)

وسبق أن عرضنا هذا الاقتراح في مجلس الوزراء ولم يعترض أحد	[...] wa-sabaqa 'an 'aradnā hāḏā l-iqtirāha fī maḡlisi l- wuzarā'ī wa-lam ya'tarid 'aḥadun [...]	[...] <u>and we have previously</u> <u>presented this proposal in the</u> <u>Council of Ministers and no</u> <u>one objected [...]</u>

542. Article 91, *wa-lam* VprefS, Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information bi Instrumental Manner

وقال القيادي في حماس أحمد يوسف في تصريحات نشرت بعمان أمس، إنه لم يُطلب من الحركة تخفيض تمثيلها في الدوحة، ولم يصل إليها أى مطلب أو تمارس عليها أى ضغوط في هذا الشأن، كما لم يطلب من مشعل مغادرة الأراضي القطرية.	wa-qāla l-qiyādiyyu fī ḥamās 'ahmad yūsuf fī taṣrīḥātīn nuširat bi-'ammān 'amsi, 'in- nahu <u>lam yutlab mina l-hara- kati taḥfīḏu tamṭīlihā fī el- dūha</u> , <u>wa-lam yašil 'ilayhā</u> <u>'ayyu maṭlabīn 'aw</u> <u>tumāras 'alayhā 'ayyu</u> <u>ḡuḡūṭīn fī hāḏā l-ša'ni</u> , kamā lam yuṭlab min meš'al muḡādaratu l-'arāḏī l- qaṭariyyati.	And a leader at Hamas Ah- med Yousef said in state- ments published in Amman yesterday that <u>the reduction</u> <u>of its representation in Doha</u> <u>has not been required from</u> <u>the movement and no de- mand has reached it nor</u> <u>any pressure been exerted</u> <u>on it in this regard</u> , and [Khaled] Meshal has not been asked to leave the Qatari lands.

6.1.2.9. *wa*-NCl (11x or 14x)

11x or 14x attestations. Note that this section includes only affirmative nominal clauses with an open class item (or items) in the first slot and a nominal or participial predicate. See also *wa-hw* NCl, *wa-dālika* X NCl, and *wa-hāḏā* NCl. For constructions introduced by a prepositional phrase with or without *wa-*, e.g. “*wa-‘alā* PP + *maṣḍar* NCl”, see under the preposition.

The most frequent semantics, Simultaneous (3x), is only attested by the problematic syntagm *wa-‘āṣimat#hā el-quds* (+ 2x *el-šarqīyyat#*) (1x in Article 37, and 2x in Article 51). However, the lemma ‘*āṣimatun*, ‘capital’, is attested 59x times in the corpus, 53x times with the definite article, and 1x in the *constructus*, ‘*āṣimat# al-‘iqḷīmi*, about Edinburgh in Article 88.⁴²³ The lemma is attested with a pronominal suffix (5x) only if the reference is to *el-quds*, ‘Jerusalem’, a name that is always in apposition in the phrase ‘*āṣimatV-hā el-quds*.⁴²⁴ There is reason to suggest that this phrase—contrary to intuition—should be taken as a noun phrase with an apposition, and not as a clause. If so, the phrase should be taken as at the same level of *al-dawlat#* (x4 *al-filasṭīniyyat#*) *al-mustaḡillat#*, a phrase which always precedes ‘*āṣimatV-hā el-quds* (and is always the reference of the pronominal suffix, *-hā*). This phrase is 4x preceded by a form of the root *qwm* (1x ‘*an taqūma* Article 37, 2x ‘*iqāmat#* in Article 51, and 1x *wa-yuqīmu* in Article 69). A probable mis-annotation, the construction is nevertheless included here, as well as in the table of semantics (Table 46).⁴²⁵

Moreover, the construction annotated as *wa*-NCl in Article 123—*wa-ḡadwalu ‘a ‘māliha muttafaḡun ‘alayhi* [...]—can also be understood as a second direct object to *sa-tabda‘u* (i.e. *ḡalasātin* [...]) *wa-ḡadwala ‘a ‘mālihā*), with *muttafaḡun ‘alayhi* understood as a nominalized relative clause of the type discussed in 6.4.2. The results of this study point to the latter as a more probable reading; the construction was nevertheless included here, as annotated.

⁴²³ The capital + *nomen loci*, is always given as an apposition, in contrast to *madīnat#*, where an epexegetic genitive is always used, e.g. *madīnat# benīna*.

⁴²⁴ E.g. in Example (693) from Article 51: [...] *wa-‘iqāmati l-dawlati l-filasṭīniyyati l-mustaḡillati ‘alā ḡudūdi l-rābi‘i min yūniyū ‘āma 1967 wa-‘āṣimat#hā⁴²⁴ el-quds*».

⁴²⁵ The example from Article 69, not counted as a NCl, is preceded by a preposition, *wa-yuqīmu l-dawlata l-filasṭīniyyata l-mustaḡillta bi-‘āṣimatiḡ el-quds el-šarīf*, which further strengthens the interpretation of an apposition for the phrase. For the passage in context, see Example (520). For other examples of the phrase, see Example (201) from Article 37, and Example (650), from Article 122.

Table 46: *wa-NCl*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
3 (or 0)	Simultaneous	See discussion above		37	201
2	Parenthetical Comment	Example below		126	543
2	Temporal Succession	[...] al-'ulā bi-'itlāqi l-nāri bi-šaklin mu- bāširin 'alayhi,	wa-l-tāniyatu min ḥilāli zar'i 'abwatin nāsifatin	50	544
		wa-qāla [...] 'innahu ba'da mušāwarātin mukattafatin [...] tamma l-tawaššulu 'ilā ttifāqin [...]	wa-l-tahqīru ḡārin li-tartībāti l-tawqī'i 'alā l-ittifāqi	106	522
1	Context	Example below		41	545
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition	[...] 'awḍaḥa el- 'aḥmad 'annahā sa- tabda'u l-yawma - al-'arbi 'ā'a - ḡalasātin tunā'iy- yatan wa-li-muddati yawmayni	wa-ḡadwalu 'a'māliha muttafa- qun 'alayhi qabla l-maḡī'i li-l-qāhira [...]	123	-
1	Exemplification	Example below		124	546
1	Expanding Paraphrase	[...] ṭarīqi l-maṭāri fi šamāli šan 'ā',	wa-ḥāḍihi l-ṭarīqu hiya l- [...]	56	331
1	Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause	»kāna yaḡību 'an ya'lama 'anna rūsiya lā yumkinu 'an taqīfa maktūfata l- 'aydī	wa-mā yaf' aluhu l- infīšaliyyūna raddu fi'lin ṭabī' iyyin min 'ašḥāšin yudāfi 'ūna 'an huqūqihim.«	14	439
1	<i>not x, but y</i> (Po- larized Pair)	lasnā bi-ḥāḡatin 'ilā [...]	wa-naḥnu bi-ḥāḡa- tin li-[...]	92	381
1	Summarizing Paraphrase bi Context	fī muḥīṭi maqarrin 'askariyyin tābi'in li- l-qā'idi l-'askariyyi [...], wa-fī muḥīṭi ḡāmi'ati el-'īmān al- tābi'ati li-l-za'īmi l- salafīyyi [...]	wa-kilāhumā min 'aladdi 'a'dā'i l- ḥūṭiyyīna.	106	168
14 (or 11)					

543. Article 126, *wa*-NCI, Parenthetical Comment

وقال باتريك ويلكين
الباحث في مجال تجارة
الأمن وحقوق الإنسان
في المنظمة، إن «أعدادا
متزايدة من الشركات
الصينية تحقق أرباحا من
التجارة في أدوات
التعذيب والقمع، مما
يؤدي إلى تزايد انتهاكات
حقوق الإنسان في جميع
أنحاء العالم». وويلكين
هو المؤلف الرئيسي لهذا
التقرير الذي جاء تحت
عنوان «التجارة الصينية
في أدوات التعذيب
والقمع»، والذي تم
إعداده بالتعاون مع
مؤسسة أوميجا للأبحاث
ومقرها بريطانيا. ويسرد
التقرير أسماء أكثر من
١٣٠ شركة صينية تنتج
«معدات إنفاذ القانون
التي يحتمل أن تكون
خطرة»، وهو ما يمثل
تزايدا كبيرا في عدد هذه
الشركات التي كان
عددها ٢٨ شركة فقط
قبل عشرة أعوام.

wa-qāla bātrīk wīlkīn al-
bāhītu fī maḡālī tiḡārati l-
'amni wa-ḥuqūqi l-'insāni fi-
l-munazzamati, 'inna
«'a'dādan mutazāyidatan
mina l-ṣarikāti l-ṣīniyyati
tuḥaqqiqu 'arbāḥan mina l-
tiḡārati fī 'adawāti l-ta'dībi
wa-l-qam'i, mimmā yu'addī
'ilā tazāyudi ntiḥākāti ḥuqūqi
l-'insāni fī ḡamī'i 'anḥā'i l-
'ālamī». wa-wīlkīn huwa l-
mu'allifu l-ra'īsu li-hāḍā l-
taqrīri llaḍī ḡā'a taḥta
'unwāni «al-tiḡārat# al-
ṣīniyyat# fī 'adawāti l-ta'dībi
wa-l-qam'i», wa-llaḍī tamma
'i'dāduhu bi-l-ta'āwuni ma'a
mu'assasati 'ūmīḡā li-l-
'abhāti wa-maḡarruhā
brīṭāniyā. wa-yasrudu l-
taqrīru 'asmā'a 'aḡṭara min
130 ṣarikatan ṣīniyyatan tun-
tiḡu «mu'addāti 'infāḍi l-
qānūni llatī yaḥṭamilu 'an
takūna ḥaṭīratan», wa-huwa
mā yumaṭṭīlu tazāyudan
kabīran fī 'adadi ḥāḍihi l-ṣa-
rikāti llatī kāna 'adaduhā 28
ṣarikatan faqaṭ qabla 'aṣarati
'a'wāmin.

And Patrick Wilkin a re-
searcher in the area of secu-
rity trade and human rights at
the organization [Amnesty
International] said that «an
increasing number of Chi-
nese companies are making
profits from trade in tools of
torture and repression, which
leads to an increase in the hu-
man rights violations all over
the world». And Wilkin is
the main author of this report
which came under the title
«Chinese Trade in Tools of
Torture and Repression» and
which was prepared in coop-
eration with the Omega Re-
search Foundation (**and**) **its
headquarters is Britain**).
And the report enumerates
the names of more than 130
Chinese companies that pro-
duce «law enforcement
equipment that is potentially
dangerous» and this is what
represents a big increase in
the number of these compa-
nies whose number was only
28 ten years ago.

544. Article 50, *wa*-NCI, Temporal Succession

ويذكر أن بلعم كان قد
تعرض لمحاولة اغتيال
مرتين قبل ذلك، الأولى
بإطلاق النار بشكل
مباشر عليه، والثانية
من خلال زرع عبوة
ناسفة، وهذه هي
المحاولة الثالثة.

wa-yuḍkaru 'anna bal'am
kāna qad ta'arraḍa li-
muḥāwalati ḡtiyālin mar-
ratayni qabla ḍālika, al-'ulā bi-
'itlāqi l-nāri bi-ṣaklin mubāṣi-
rin 'alayhi, wa-l-tāniyatu min
ḥilāli zar'i 'abwatin nāsifa-
tin, wa-hāḍihi hiyā l-
muḥāwalatu l-tālīṭatu.

And it is mentioned that Ba-
laam has been subjected to
an assassination attempt two
times before, **the first by
shooting directly at him, and
the second by planting an
explosive device**, and this is
the third attempt.

545. Article 41 (penultimate paragraph), wa-NCL, Context

وذكرت الصحيفة رئيس مجلس الشيوخ رينان كارنيروس ورئيس مجلس النواب إنريكي ألفيس وكلاهما في حزب الحركة الديمقراطية البرازيلية الحليف البرلماني الرئيسي لحزب العمال الحاكم، وقد نفيا التهم الموجهة إليهما.	wa-ḍakarati l-ṣaḥīfatu <u>ra'īsa</u> <u>mağlisi</u> l-šuyūhi <u>rīnān</u> <u>kārnīrūs</u> [sic] <u>wa-ra'īsa</u> <u>mağlisi</u> l-nuwwābi 'inrīkī 'alfīš wa-kilāhumā fi ḥizbi l-ḥarakati l-dīmūqrāṭiy- yati l-brāzīliyyati l-ḥalīfi l- barlamāniyyi l-ra'isiyyi li- ḥizbi l-'ummāli l-ḥākimi, wa-qad nafayā l-tuhama l- muwağğahata 'ilayhimā.	And the newspaper mentioned the Senate president Renan Calheiros and the president of the Chamber of Deputies Hen- rique [Eduardo] Alves, both in the Brazilian Democratic Movement party, the main parliamentary ally of the ruling Labour Party, but they [both] denied the charges directed against them.

546. Article 124, wa-NCL, Exemplification

وعقب موافقة المجلس على الحكومة الليبية الجديدة، قال عبدالله الثني - في كلمة ألقاها - "لقد حقق الليبيون نجاحا كبيرا في تأسيس دولتهم بانتخاب مؤسساتها الدستورية، وأخيرا مجلس النواب الذي أصبح بشرعية انتخابه وباعتراف الدول والمنظمات والهيئات الدولية والإقليمية به الممثل الشرعي الوحيد للشعب الليبي وللدولة الليبية كسلطة تشريعية".	wa-'aqiba muwāfaqati l- mağlisi 'alā l-ḥukūmati l- lībiyyati l-ğadīdati, qāla 'abd-ullāh el-tanī - fi kalima- tin 'alqāhā - "laqad ḥaqqāqa l-lībiyyūna nağāḥan kabīran fi ta'sīsi dawlatihim bi- ntiḥābi <u>mu'assasātihā l-</u> <u>dustūriyyati</u> , wa-'āḥiruhā mağlisu l-nuwwābi llaḍī 'aṣbaḥa bi-šar'iyyati ntiḥābihi wa-bi-'tirāfi l-du- wali wa-l-munazzamāti wa-l- haya'āti l-duwaliyyati wa-l- 'iqḷīmiyyati bihi l-mumattila l-šar'iyya l-waḥīda li-l-ša'bi l-lībiyyi wa-l-dawlati l- lībiyyati ka-sulṭatin tašrī'iyatin".	And after the council [House of Representatives] approved the new Libyan government Ab- dullah al-Thani said - in a speech he delivered - "The Lib- yans have achieved a great suc- cess in establishing their state by electing their constitutional institutions, [and] the last of which is the House of Repre- sentatives which has come about through the legitimacy of its election and by the recogni- tion of it by states, and interna- tional and regional organiza- tions and bodies, the only legit- imate representative of the Lib- yan people and the Libyan state as a legislative authority".

6.1.2.10. wa-lā NCL (1x)1x attestations, Article 91, *only x and not y*.**547. Article 91, wa-lā NCL, only x and not y**

وقال إن رؤية حماس واستراتيجيتها مختلفة، حيث تقتصر فقط على قضية المواجهة مع الصراع العربي - الإسرائيلي، ولا أجندة خاصة لها في الصراعات الداخلية.	wa-qāla 'inna ru'yata ḥamās wa-'istrāṭiğiyatahā muḥtali- fatun , ḥaytu taqtaširu faqat 'alā qadiyyati l-muwağğahati ma'a l-sirā'i l-'arabiyyi - al- 'isrā'īliyyi , wa-lā 'ağandat# ḥāṣṣat# laḥā fi-l-širā'āti l- dāḥiliyyati.	And he said that the vision of Hamās and its strategy are different, <u>as it is limited only</u> <u>to the issue of confrontation</u> <u>with the Arab-Israeli con-</u> <u>flict, and does not have a</u> <u>special agenda in the inter-</u> <u>nal conflicts.</u>

6.1.2.11. *wa-laysa* NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 34, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner to a matrix with *laysa* NCl.

548. Article 34 (penultimate paragraph), *wa-laysa* NCl, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

يذكر أن قيادة عمليات «فجر ليبيا» أكدت في بيان لها، في وقت سابق، أنها ليست تنظيماً ولا حزبا وليس لها أية أجندة سياسية أو دينية.	yudkaru 'anna qiyādata 'amaliyyāti «fağr libiyā» 'akkadat fī bayānin lahā, fī waqtin sābiqin, 'annahā lay- sat tanzīman wa-lā hizban, wa-laysa lahā 'ayyatu 'ağandatin siyāsiyyatin 'aw dīniyyatin.	It is mentioned that the leader- ship of the operations of «Libya Dawn» affirmed in a statement of theirs, earlier, <u>that</u> <u>it is not a <i>tanzīm</i> [organiza- tion], nor a party, and it does</u> <u>not have any political or reli- gious agenda.</u>

6.1.3. *wa*-S + finite verb (7x)

Includes *wa*-Subject + finite verb, with an open class subject; see also *wa-hādā* VprefL, and *wa-hw* Vpref, etc.; for *wa*-S NCl, see *wa*-NCl.

6.1.3.1. *wa*-Subject Vsuff (0x)

0x attestations.

Cf. complement main clauses with S Vsuff (in 5.3.2.2), and the *hapax* attestation *wa*-S *kāna* as a main clause (Article 1, Example 324; for main clauses, see 5.3.1).

6.1.3.2. *wa*-Subject VprefL (1x)

1x attestation in a non-main clause, Article 122, *wa-mahtammatuhā tatamattilu fī* [...], Same Level Different Subject Addition to a complement main clause matrix with Subject VprefL, quoted in Example (463). The construction is more common in main clauses (3x times, for which, see 5.3.1) and complement main clauses (5.3.2). See also *wa-hādā* VprefL.

6.1.3.3. *wa*-Subject *lā* VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 37, Simultaneous bi Consecutive.

549. Article 37, *wa*-Subject *lā* VprefL, Simultaneous bi Consecutive

ونقلت وكالة الأنباء والمعلومات الفلسطينية (وفا) عنه القول الليلة قبل الماضية في لقاء مع عدد من الإعلاميين والمتقنين المصريين في القاهرة: «لن نقبل أن يستمر الوضع كما هو، ولن نقبل أن يكون بيننا	wa-naqalat wikālatu l-'anbā'i wa-l-ma'lūmāti l-fi- lasṭīniyyatu (wafā) 'anhu l- qawla l-laylata qabla l- māḍiyati fī liqā'in ma'a 'adadin mina l-'i'lāmiyyīna wa-l-muṭaqqafīna l- miṣriyyīna fī el-qāhira :«lan naqbalā 'an yastamirra l-	And the Palestinian News and Information Agency (WAFA) quoted him as say- ing the night before the last [night] in a meeting with a number of Egyptian media professionals and intellectu- als in Cairo: «We will not ac-

وبين (حماس) شراكة إذا
استمر وضعهم في غزة
بهذا الشكل ، فهناك
حكومة ظل مكونة من
٢٧ وكيل وزارة هي
التي تقود البلد ، وحكومة
الوفاق الوطني لا
تستطيع أن تفعل شيئا
على أرض الواقع».

waḍ' u kamā huwa , wa-lan
naqbala 'an yakūna baynanā
wa-bayna (ḥamās) širākatun
'iḍā stamarra waḍ'uhum fī
gazza bi-hāḍā l-šakli , fa-
hunāka hukūmatu zillin
mukawwanat#n min 27
wakīla wizāratin hiya llatī
taqūdu l-balada , **wa-**
hukūmatu l-wifāqi l-
waṭaniyyi lā tastaṭī'u 'an
taf'ala šay'an 'alā l-'arḍi l-
wāqi'i».

cept that the situation contin-
ues as it is, and we will not
accept that there is a partner-
ship between us and Hamas,
if their situation in Gaza contin-
ues like this, for there is a
shadow government made
up of 28 undersecretaries of
the ministry which is leading
the country, **and [so] the Na-**
tional Accord government
cannot do anything on the
ground».

6.1.4. Asyndetic anaphoric nouns (peripheral nominatives) (5x)

Includes constructions where previous propositions are summarized in an asyndetically linked, peripheral nominative noun which is subsequently expanded upon, comparable to a clausal apposition, or Relative to Clause (for which, see 6.3.1.2).

Table 47: *Asyndetic anaphoric nouns*

Σ	Construction
4	<i>al-'amru llaḍī [...]</i>
1	<i>al-fazā'atu mimmā Vsuff [...]</i>
5	

5x attestations: 4x *al-'amru*, and 1x *al-fazā'atu* (Article 47, see Example 653 above). The latter attestation with *al-fazā'atu* is a *hapax* construction not only because it is a semantically charged and value-laden lexical item, 'the atrocity, horror', an evaluating Comment, but also because it is the only anaphoric noun followed by *mimmā Vsuff*, which here effectively functions as a predicate in a nominal clause (also a *hapax*, again, see Example 653).

The 4x attestations with *al-'amru* are more homogenous: the noun is a dummy, *al-'amru*, and is always followed by a syndetic non-deverbalized relative clause where the noun is the subject, 'something which', the relative clause has 2x *VprefL*, and 2x *Vsuff*, both times with verb *dafa'a*, 'forced' (cf. *mimmā Vsuff*).

Arabic relative clauses typically only expand on a noun as the correlate (but cf. 6.3.2.1). Conditioned by the limitations of Arabic grammar, the function of asyndetic anaphoric nouns is to create a subject out of more complex grammatical structures (i.e. previous propositions), in order to expand on them. The noun, *ergo*, acts as an economical anaphoric reference, itself the subject in a

relative clause whose lexical items will determine the interpretation of the structure in context.

The construction was initially annotated as having the semantic relation Comment throughout, on the grounds that the syntagm is a mere Relative to Clause, but the two examples with *dafa* 'a also cover situations that occurred with a temporal succession between the correlate complex and the *al-*'*amru* syntagm: Article 108 (Example 579), cases of misbehaviour **which forced Obama to act**, is Comment bi Consecutive (a notion involving temporal succession); likewise in Article 51 (Example 550 below), and *al-fazā* 'atu mimma 'attara [...], 'an atrocity which affected [...]', in Article 47 (Example 653). It could be argued that the syntagm in the case of Vsuff is used to express temporal succession and result via an interpretative summarizing comment.

In the case with VprefL in Example 456 from Article 32, *al-*'*amru llaḍī tanfīhi el-ḥarṭūm*, 'something which Khartoum denies', the use is non-interpretative, but Adversative (Comment bi Adversative). The only example with a monosemantic Comment function is in Article 64, *al-*'*amru llaḍī yu 'akkidu 'ahammiyyata l-tawassu 'i fī-l-ta 'āwuni l-'arabiyyi wa* [...], 'which confirms the importance of the expansion of the Arab cooperation and the [...]' (Example 714).

550. Article 51, *al-*'*amru llaḍī* Vsuff, Comment bi Consecutive

وأشار السرخي إلى أن وجهاء الحي كانوا قد تقدموا بعدة طلبات بلدية الاحتلال تتعلق أهمها بمديرية إحدى هذه المدارس، لكن البلدية رفضت كل طلبات الأهالي من الفلسطينيين؛ الأمر الذي دفع وجهاء الحي إلى إعلان الإضراب العام والشامل في هذه المدارس.	wa-'ašāra el-sarḥī 'ilā 'anna wuḡahā'a l-ḥayyi kāmū qad taqaddamū bi-'iddati ṭalabātin li-baladiyyati l- iḥtilālī tata'allāqu 'aham- muhā bi-mudīrati 'iḥdā hāḍihi l-madārisi, lākinna l- baladiyyata rafaḍat kulla ṭalabāti [ita] l-'ahālī mina l- filasṭīniyyīna; al-'amru llaḍī dafa'a wuḡahā'a l- ḥayyi 'ilā 'i lāni l-'iḍrābi l- 'āmmi wa-l-šāmili fī hāḍihi l-madārisi.	And al-Sarkhi pointed out that the notables of the district had presented a number of requests to the municipality of the Oc- cupation, the most important of which concerned the direc- tor of one of these schools, but the municipality refused all the requests of the families of the Palestinians, [something] which forced the notables of the district to announce a general and comprehensive strike in these schools.

6.1.5. Non-main clauses with conjunctions and/or frozen initial peripheral constituents (631x)

In the following, non-main clauses are listed in alphabetical order (as detailed in 6.1).

’ (‘alif) ١

’*id* lā VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 118, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (cause of utterance).

551. Article 118, ’*id* lā VprefL, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (cause of utterance)

وحذر العناصر الإضافية التي قد ترغب بدخول صنعاء بهدف إشعال الوضع بأن وجودهم لن يكون مرحباً به إذ لا يمكن لليمن أن يتحمل المزيد من الصراعات .	[...] wa-ḥaddara l-‘anāšira l- ’idāfiyyata llatī qad targabu bi- duḥūli šan‘ā’ bi-hadafi ’iš‘ālī l- waḍ‘i bi-’anna <u>wuḡūdahum lan</u> <u>yakūna murahabban bihi</u> ’ <i>id</i> lā yumkinu li-l-yaman ’an yataḥammala l-mazīda mina l-širā‘āti.	And he warned additional elements that might want to enter Sanaa in order to ignite the situation that <u>their presence will not be</u> <u>welcomed, as Yemen</u> <u>cannot bear more con-</u> <u>licts.</u>

’*id* NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 1, preposed subordination, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause, where ’*id* is topicalizing: [...] ’*id* ladā l-tanzīmi “*imtidādātun ‘aqā ‘id-
iyyatun*” *fi-l-minṭaqati* [...] nahnu fī ḥatarin [...] (see Example 367). For pre-
posed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.

’*idā*, constructions including (18x)

For *fīmā* ’*idā* Vsuff (1x), see “*fīmā*, constructions including”.

’*idā* Vsuff (8x)

8x attestations, including 1x *kāna* (Article 83, Example 440) which expresses a Meta-linguistic Comment; all other attestations (7x) are Conditional: 4x are preposed protases in Conditional linkings (for preposed subordination to non-main matrices, see 5.3.4.4), e.g. Article 102: *qā’ ilan* [...] *wa-lākinnakum* ’*idā* *ḡūdartum al-mamlakata l-muttaḥidata fa-*’inna *ḡālīka sa-yakūnu* ’*abadiyyan* (see Example 237). All instances of ’*idā* Vsuff are attested in complements to verbs of utterance. For post-positioned protasis, see Example 256 from Article

56, *wa-qāla [...]* 'innahu yumkinu 'iṣlāḥu l-ḥaṭṭi fī ḡudūni yawmin aw yawmayni, **'idā samaḥa riḡālu l-qabā 'ili bi-dālika**.

'idā lam VprefS (5x)

5x attestations, no *lam yakun*, no *lam yatimma maṣdar*.

4x Conditional (negated), and 1x Possible Consequence (preposed, Article 61). The Conditional linkings are distributed over 2x preposed protases, and 2x post-positioned (both in Article 89). Being negated, the syntagm represents a bridging context between Possible Consequence (Negated Condition type) and Conditional (e.g. Example 552 from Article 89). The Possible Consequence in Article 61 is prototypical (preposed): [...] *qāla 'ūbāma 'idā lam naqum bi-dālika l-ḡahdi l-'āna* [...] *fa-tammata htimālu[n?]* 'an yatahawwala dālika l-fayrūs wa-yuṣbiḥu ntiqāluḥu 'aktara suhūlatan, '[...] Obama said[:] **unless we make this effort now** [...] **it is possible that this virus mutates and becomes more easily transmitted**' (see Example 232).

In Example (552) from Article 89, the condition for the avoidance of the matrix situation is presented as not met and the matrix situation consequently expressed as an implemented indicative fact (cf. Example 558 from Article 90).

552. Article 89, 'idā lam VprefS, Conditional

يأتي ذلك في الوقت الذي حدث فيه أول انسحاب لأحد الأحزاب المشكلة للحكومة اليمنية التي يطالب الحوثيون بإسقاطها وذلك مع تنفيذ حزب التنظيم الوحدى الشعبى الناصرى لتهديداته بالانسحاب إذا لم تستجب الرئاسة لمبادرته التي طرحها لحل الأزمة بين الرئاسة والحوثيين.	[...] , ya'tī dālika fi-l-waḡti llaḍī ḥadaṭa fīhi 'awwalu nṣiḥābi li-'aḥadi l-'aḥzābi l- muṣakkalati li-l-ḥukūmati l-yamaniyyati llatī yuṭālibu l- ḥūṭiyyūna bi-stiqālatihā <u>wa-</u> <u>dālika ma'a tanfīdi ḥizbi el-</u> <u>tanzīm el-waḥdawī [ita] el-</u> <u>ša'bī el-nāsirī li-tahdīdātihi</u> <u>bi-l-insiḥābi</u> 'idā lam tastaḡib al-ri'āsatu li-mu- bādaratihi llatī ṭaraḥahā li- ḥalli l-'azmati bayna ri'āsati wa-l-ḥūṭiyyīna.	[...], this comes at a time when the first withdrawal happened of one of the parties formed for the Yemeni government, which the Houthis demand the resignation of, <u>and this with the</u> <u>Nasserist Unionist People's</u> <u>Organisation's implementation</u> of its threats to withdraw if the presidency does not respond to its [the party's] initiative which it proposed to solve the crisis between the presidency and the Houthis.

'idā kāna lā VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 102, preposed subordination, Meta-linguistic Comment (relevance conditional): [...] «'idā kuntum lā tuḥibbūnanī, fa-'innī lan 'akūna huna 'ilā l-'abadi, [...], 'if you do not like me, I am not going to be here forever' (see Example 237). For preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.

ʾidā mā Vsuff (3x)

3x attestations, including 1x *tamma mašdar* (Article 49). The syntagm is never used preposed (cf. “ʾidā, constructions including” above, and preposed subordination in 5.3.4.4).

2x relations are fundamentally Conditional, e.g. in Article 88: [...] *lan takūna hunāka* ‘awdatun ‘ani l-infišāli **ʾidā mā ḥtārūhu**, ‘there will be no return from the separation, **if they choose it**’ (Example 218), but in Article 102, the linked conditional syntagm is under the scope of the unspecific temporal reference of the matrix: *wa-ʾaḏāfa ʾanna ḥudūdan ʾakṭara šarāmātan sa-tur-samu bayna l-baladayni tuġbiru l-nāsa ʾalā ḥamli ġawazāti safārihim ʾidā mā ʾarādū ʾan yaraw ʾaqāribahum wa-ʾaḥibbatahum*, ‘and he added that stricter borders will be drawn between the countries, forcing people to carry a passport **whenever they want to visit their relatives and loved ones**’ (Example 692).

fa-ʾidā bihi VprefL (discussion)

The syntagm is attested 1x, Article 34, annotated as a complement main clause following *bi-qawlihi*, ‘by saying that’, and a preposed subordination (*instead of* x, y): *kunnā natawaqqa ʾu [...] fa-ʾidā binā narā [...]*, ‘we would have expected [...] **and yet now we see** [...]’ (Example 461). The complement main clause matrix is not easily indentifiable, and so the construction is mentioned here; both the subordinate *kāna* VprefL and *fa-ʾidā binā* VprefL here are *hapax* constructions in the corpus.

mā ʾidā kāna future VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 62, future-*yatimmu mašdar*, grammatical subject and indirect question to *sa-yataḥaddadu*, in a complement clause to a verb of utterance; ‘depending on [...], it will be determined **whether x or y**’: *wa-ʾaḏāfa ʾannahu waḡḡan li-l- [...] sa-yataḥaddadu mā ʾidā kāna sa-yatimmu taṭbīqu l-ʾuqūbāti [...] kulliyyan ʾaw ġuz ʾiyyan [...]* (see Example 481); for indirect questions, see 5.4.2.

wa-ʾillā future-VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 21, part of direct speech, Possible Consequence (Negated Consequence type): *wa-naqalat [...] qawlahu ʾinna hunāka šu ʾuran ladā l-ġamīʾi bi-ḡarūratī taškīli l-ḥukūmati wa-ʾillā sa-nadḥulu fī daw-wāmatin*, ‘[...] form a [new] government, **lest we enter a downward spiral**’ (Example 288).

al-ʾamru llaḏī [...] (Ref.)

See asyndetic anaphoric nouns, 6.1.4.

'illā 'anna, constructions including (13x)

13x attestations. This excludes 'illā 'anna in main clauses and complement main clauses (see 5.3), e.g. after preposed subordinate clauses (for which, see 5.3.4.4).

The linking is fundamentally antiproidetic, but it may function as the matrix to a preposed subordinate clause (for which, again, see 5.3.4.4), in which case the 'illā 'anna is not a marker of subordination, but of the antiproidetic linking vis-à-vis the preposed subordinate clause, 'nevertheless'.

'illā 'anna Subject Vsuff (5x)

5x attestations, including 1x verb of attribution (Article 86, Example 553); the attestations are distributed over 3x lexical subjects and 2x pronominal suffixes, 'anna-h. The relations are distributed over 3x Frustration, 1x Adversative (Article 116, see Example 425), and 1x Expanding Paraphrase; in the case of the Expanding Paraphrase (Article 86, Example 553), 'illā 'anna S Vsuff is the matrix for a preposed Concession clause coded with the prepositional phrase *bi-l-raġmi min* (nominalized), itself expanding on the topicalizing name *kāmūrā*, 'Camorra', and its revenues in a list of criminal organizations (for preposed subordinations, see 5.3.4.4). The whole structure functions as a list, with the same construction repeated 3x (main clause + name/topic + expansion).

Table 48: 'illā 'anna Subject Vsuff

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
3	Frustration	[...] 'a 'lanati l-suluṭātu l-yamaniyyatu 'ani l-tawaṣṣuli li-ttifāqayni li-l-ḥurūġi mina l-'azmati	'illā 'annahumā ṣallā ḥibran 'alā waraqin [...]	106	399
1	Adversative	[...]	'illā 'annahu 'ašāda bi-quwwatin bi- “[...]	116	425
1	Expanding Paraphrase	Example below		86	553
5					

553. Article 86, topic (one of 3x in a unique list, following a main clause)
+ *bi-l-raġmi min* PP + **'illā 'anna Subject Vsuff**, Expanding para-
phrase

- كامورا - عائدات الجريمة ٤,٩ مليار دولار : وبالرغم من بعض الشائعات التي تشير إلى ضعف المافيا الإيطالية الأمريكية في العقود الأخيرة، إلا أن تقرير مجلة "فورتن" أكد أن المافيا في إيطاليا لا تزال قوية، حيث كشفت الإحصائيات عن أن نشاطات المافيا تجلب عوائد بقيمة ٣٣ مليار دولار و ذلك لعام ٢٠١٣، توزع بين أكبر أربع عصابات في إيطاليا.	- <i>kāmūrā</i> - 'ā'idātu l-ġarīmati <u>4.9 milyār# dūlārīn</u> : wa-bi-l-raġmi min ba'ḍi l-šā'i'āti llatī tušīru 'ilā ḍu'fi l-māfiyā l-īṭāliyyati l-'amrīkiyyati fi-l-'uqūdi l-'aḥīrati, 'illā 'anna taqīra maġallati "fūrṭšan" 'akkada 'anna l-māfiyā fi 'īṭaliyā lā tazālu qawīy-yatan, haytu kašāfati l-'iḥšā'īyyātu 'an 'anna našāṭāti l-māfiyā taġlibu 'awā'ida bi-qīmati 33 milyāra dūlārīn wa ḍālika li-'āmi 2013, tuwazza'u bayna 'akbara 'arba'i 'iṣābātīn fi 'īṭaliyā.	- Camorra - proceeds of crime 4.9 billion dollars: [and] despite some rumours which point to a weakness of the Italian American mafia in recent decades, the report of the magazine "Fortune" nevertheless confirms that the mafia in Italy is still strong: the statistics revealed that the activities of the mafia bring revenues at a value of 33 billion dollars and this for 2013 [alone], distributed among the four largest gangs in Italy.

'illā 'anna Subject VprefL (4x)

4x attestations, distributed over 2x with lexical subjects and 2x with pronominal suffixes, *'anna-h*. The recurring semantics is Frustration bi Temporal Succession (2x times, Article 54, Example 278, and Article 2, Example 554 below); two other relations (in Article 75 and Article 114) warrant a discussion.

In Article 114, *'illā 'anna Subject VprefL* functions as the matrix vis-à-vis a preposed subordinate antiproidetic clause *wa-raġma 'annahū lā VprefL* (Meta-linguistic Comment bi Paired Contrast, see 5.3.4.4 for preposed subordination), *'illā 'anna* serving as an Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner to the preceding matrix: *wa-yudkaru 'anna l-tā'ifata l-'alawīyyata hiya tānī 'akbara 'aqallīyyatin 'itniyyatin* [...] *wa-raġma 'annahu lā yūġadu 'iḥšā'un daqīqun* [...], *'illā 'annahum yumattīlūna* [...] **15%** [...]. 'it is mentioned that the Alawites are the second largest ethnic minority [in Turkey ...] (and) although there is no accurate census [...], **they [nevertheless] represent [at least ...] 15%** [...]' (see Example 483).

In Article 75 (Example 555 below), the construction with *'illā 'anna* is Adversative, the arbitrarily contrasted elements consisting of the results of the most recently mentioned poll, its low number of participants, and other polls with diverging results mentioned earlier in the article.

Frustration bi Paired Contrast can be seen in Example (554) (and in Example 278). In the backgrounding final paragraph of Article 2, Turkish-Israeli relations are described in a chronological sequence: "past bad but present better". The contrasting morphology of past vs. present implies a Temporal Succession (or Frustration involving temporal notions, see 4.9.3). Together with

the same subject, the contrast of bad vs. better is comparable to a Polarized Pair (see 4.9.2). Example (278) from Article 54 is similar.

554. Article 2 (final paragraph), 'illā 'anna Subject VprefL, Frustration bi Temporal Succession

ويذكر أن علاقات بين البلدين شهدت توترا كبيرا خصوصا في عام ٢٠١٠ عقب حادث السفينة التركية مرمرة والتي أسفرت عن مقتل ٩ أتراك، إلا أن العلاقات التركية الإسرائيلية تشهد تقدما ملحوظا منذ عدة أشهر عقب تقديم إسرائيل اعتذارا رسميا لأنقرة على الحادث والاتفاق على دفع تعويضات لأسر ضحايا الحادث.	wa-yuḍkaru 'anna 'alāqātīn bayna l-baladayni šahidat tawatturan kabīran ḥuṣūṣan fī 'āmi 2010 'aqība ḥādīṭi l-safīnati l-turkiyyati marmara wa-llatī 'asfarat 'an maqtali 9 'atrākin, 'illā 'anna l-'alāqāti l-turkiyyata l-'isrā'iliyyata tašhadu taqadduman malḥūzan munda 'iddati 'ašhurin 'aqība taqdīmi 'isrā'īl i'tidāran rasmiyyan li-'anqara 'alā l-ḥādīṭi wa-l-ittifāqi 'alā daf'i ta'wīdātīn li-'usari ḡaḥyā l-ḥādīṭi.	And it is mentioned that [the] relations between the two countries have seen great tension, especially in the year 2010, [i.e.] after the incident with the Turkish ship Marmara, something that caused the death of 9 Turks, but the Turkish-Israeli relations witness a remarkable progress since several months [i.e.] after Israel presented an official apology to Ankara for the incident and [after] the agreement to pay a compensation to the families of the victims of the incident.

555. Article 75, 'illā 'anna Subject VprefL, Adversative

وكشفت الاستطلاعات الثلاثة التي أعلنت نتائجها أمس، تقدم أنصار الوحدة على مؤيدي الانفصال (القوميين) بفارق يتراوح ما بين ٢ و ٨٪. وشارك في إجراء هذه الاستطلاعات الثلاثة : حملة "برو يونيون كامبين" المؤيدة للوحدة، وصحيفة "الأوبزرفر". وفي المقابل، أظهر استطلاع أجرته مؤسسة "إي سي أم" لصحيفة "صنداي تلجراف"، تأييد ٤٩٪ من مواطني اسكتلندا للانفصال في مقابل رفض ٤٢٪، إلا أن عدد المشاركين في هذا الاستطلاع بالكاد يتجاوز الـ ٧٠٠ شخص.	wa-kašafati l-istiṭlā'ātu l-ṭalātatu llatī 'u'linat natā' iḡuhā 'amsi, taqadduma 'anšāri l-waḥdati 'alā mu'ayyidī l-infišāli(al-qawmiyyīna) bi-fāriqin yatarāwaḥu mā bayna 2 wa 8%. wa-šāraka fī 'iḡrā'i ḥādīhi l-istiṭlā'āti l-ṭalātati : ḥamlatu"brū yūniyūn kāmbayn" al-mu'ayyidatu li-l-waḥdati, wa-ṣaḥīfatu "al-'ūbzirfir." wa-fi-l-muqābili, 'aḡhara stiṭlā'un 'aḡrathu mu'assasatu"ay sī'im" li-ṣaḥīfati "ṣandāy tilīḡrāf", ta'yīda 49% min muwāṭinī 'iskutlandā li-l-infišāli fī muqābili rafḍi 42%, 'illā 'anna 'adada l-mušārikīna fī ḥadā l-istiṭlā'i bi-l-kādi yataḡwazu al-700 ṣaḥṣin.	And the three surveys whose results were announced yesterday revealed an advantage for the supporters of the union over those who support the secession (the nationalists) by a difference ranging between 2 and 8%. [And] in the conduct of these three polls participated the campaign of "Pro-Union Campaign" which supports the union, and the newspaper "The Observer". And in contrast, a survey which "ICM" conducted for the newspaper "Sunday Telegraph" showed a support of 49% of the citizens of Scotland for the secession, versus a rejection of 42%, the number of those who participated in this survey however barely exceeds 700 persons.

‘illā ‘anna Subject lā VprefL (2x)

2x attestations, only lā yazālu, affirmative in meaning, ‘is still’.

Table 49: ‘illā ‘anna Subject lā VprefL

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Frustration bi Temporal Succession	wa-‘akkada [...] ‘anna waqfa ‘itlāqi l-nāri qad bada ‘a sarayānuhu bi- šaklin kabīrin	‘illā ‘annahu lā yazālu haššan	49	358
1	Adversative	See example in 4.9.7	‘illā ‘anna ʔarīqa l-maʔari lā yazālu muġlaqan.	56	427
2					

‘illā ‘anna NCI (2x)

2x attestations, both with pronominal suffixes to ‘anna. The attestation in Article 10 with ‘illā ‘anna-nā is matrix to a preposed Concession clause, and expresses a Frustration (discontinuation of fighting) vis-à-vis its matrix: «*qātalna 50 yawman wa-kāna bi-‘imkāninā ‘an nuqātīla 500 yawmin ‘illā ‘annanā fī waq‘in yabdū fīhi tanzīmu l-dawlati l-‘islāmiyyati ‘alā ‘abwābi el-‘urdunn wa-l-qā‘ida* [...], ‘we have fought 50 days, [but] we are [however] in a situation in which ISIS is on the doors of Jordan, and al-Qaeda is [...]’; as is apparent in the example (for context, see Example 408), the tripartite clause complex was forcibly broken apart only under the pressure of computerized annotation.

Likewise in the attestation in Article 47, where ‘illā ‘anna-hu was annotated as an Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause vis-à-vis its matrix (a relative clause), and where—again—the use of ‘illā ‘anna is conditioned by a preposed Concession clause (here ‘alā l-raġmi min ‘annahu kāna) in a nested clause complex: *wa-yašrahu [...] haġma l-tawatturāti llatī ‘ānā minhā fī tufūlatihi ‘alā l-raġmi min ‘annahu kāna ‘aġlaba l-waḡti fī madrasatin dāḡiliyyatin wa-kāna l-qaṣru ḡarīšan ‘alā ‘adami wuṣūli mānšītātī l-ṣuḡufi - allatī tatanāwalu faḡā‘iha wālidayhi - ‘ilā yadayhi, ‘illā ‘annahu mina l-mustaḡlī ‘an yamna ‘a l-qaṣru wuṣūla tilka l-faḡā‘ihi li-bāqī l-talāmīdī fī-l-madrasati*. ‘[the book] explains [...] the amount of tension he suffered in his childhood, [for], although he was most of the time in a boarding school and the castle was careful that newspaper headlines - which treated his parents’ scandals - did not reach him, it was [nevertheless] impossible that [the castle] prevented those scandals from reaching the other students in the school [...]’ (see Example 596).

For preposed subordination in Media Arabic, see 5.3.4.4.

al-fazā 'atu mimṡā Vsuff [...] (Ref.)

See discussion of asyndetic anaphoric nouns in 6.1.4.

'ilā 'an VprefA (2x)

2x attestations, including 1x *yatimma maṣḍar* (Article 124). The count excludes complement clauses governed by verbs (for which, see 5.3.2.1).

The construction only expresses the monosemantic temporal relation Until. Both attestations occur in an attributed context (Complement of Utterance), in the final paragraph of the articles as the final clause of the respective article.

556. Article 51 (final paragraph), 'ilā 'an VprefA, Until

وأوضح السرخى أن الإضراب سيكون مفتوحاً إلى أن تستجيب البلدية إلى مطالب الأهالي.	wa-'awḍaḥa el-sarḥī 'anna l- 'idrāba sa-yakūnu maftūḥan 'ilā 'an tastağība l-baladiy- yatu 'ilā maṭālibi l-'ahālī.	And al-Sarkhi said that the strike will remain open until the municipality responds to the demands of the fam- ilies.

557. Article 124 (final sentence), 'ilā 'an yatimma maṣḍar, Until

وقال بو هاشم - في تصريحات صحفية له - إن الحكومة الجديدة ستبدأ أعمالها مؤقتاً من مدينة البيضاء إلى أن يتم خروج التشكيلات المسلحة من طرابلس.	wa-qāla bū ḥāšem - fī taṣrīḥātīn ṣuḥufiyyatīn lahu - 'inna l-ḥukūmata l-ğadīdata sa-tabda'u 'a'mālahā mu'aqqatan min madīnati el- bayda' 'ilā 'an yatimma ḥurūğū l-taškīlāti l-musal- laḥati min ṭarābulus.	And Buhashem said - in press statements of his - that the new government will begin its work temporarily from the city of al-Bayda [<i>sc.</i> and continue thus] until the armed formations have left Tripoli.

'ammā [...] fa-, constructions including (2x)

2x attestations, only as paragraph-initial transition phrases, Concerning, 1x in Article 42: 'ammā fīmā yata 'allaqu bi-, preceding a main clause with *fa-qad* Vsuff ('akkada), and 1x in Article 1, 'amma l-muḥallilu l-sa 'ūdiyyu PN [= Subject], *fa*-VprefL (*fa-yarā 'anna*, 'thinks, believes, that'). For transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

'in, constructions including (3x)

3x attestations: 1x 'in Vsuff (Article 34), 1x 'in lam VprefS (Article 90), and 1x *wa-'in kāna lā* VprefL in Article 102. For *ḥattā wa-'in kāna*, see under "ḥattā, constructions including".

All attestations are conditional in some way: the negated 'in lam VprefS in Example 558 is a Possible Consequence of the Negated Condition type (see 4.4.7 for a definition), and the attestation in Article 102, *wa-'in kuntum lā*

tuhıbbūna hāđihi l-ħukūmata fa-hiya lan tastamirra 'ilā l-'abadi, is a preposed Meta-linguistic Comment (relevance conditional) (Example 237). Only 'in Vsuff in Article 34, [...] *'in rađū bi-l-dīmūqrāṭiyyati wa-l-'i'lāni l-dustūriyyi* (Example 461), is a monosemantic Conditional.

The conjunction 'in is only attested as post-positioned vis-à-vis the protasis; this is different to *law* (see "*law* Vsuff"). For preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.

558. Article 90, 'in lam VprefS, Possible Consequence (Negated Condition type)

وفي الوقت نفسه، هدد اللواء الليبي خليفة حفتر بقصف أية سفينة تدخل ميناء بنغازي إن لم تستجب إدارة الميناء لأمر إغلاقه فوراً بعد اتهامه للتشكيكات المناهضة له بالتزود بالسلاح عبر الميناء.	wa-fi-l-waṣṣi nafsıhi, had- dada l-liwā'u l-lıbiyyu ḥalıfa ḥaftar bi-qaşfi 'ayyati safınatin tadḥulu mınā'i bengāzı 'in lam tastağib 'idāratu l-mınā'i li-'amri 'iğlāqıhi fawran ba'da tti- hāmihi li-l-taşkılāti l- munāhiđati lahu bi-l- tazawwudi bi-l-silāhi 'abra l-mınā'i.	And meanwhile, the Major General Khalifa Haftar threat- ened to bomb any ship that en- ters the Benghazi port, if the port administration does not respond to the order to close it immediately after his accu- sation of the formations that oppose him of providing arms through the port.

wa-'innamā, constructions including (4x)

4x attestations, three different constructions: 1x *wa-'innamā* NCl (Article 45), 1x *wa-'innamā* + *maşdar* (Article 91), 1x *wa-'innamā* + *li-maşdar* (Article 116), and 1x *wa-'innamā* + future-VprefL. In 2x attestations, *ergo*, the type is followed by nominal syntagms. These two can be considered ellipses of the matrix's full clausal expression and will be included in the table below.

Constructions with *wa-'innamā* only express variants of the *not x, but y* relation (4x), 1x of which is the special variant *not only x, but also y* (Article 116, Example 392).

'*innamā* is not attested without *wa-*.

Table 50: *wa-'innamā*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
3	<i>not x, but y</i>	[...] mu'akkidan 'anna ğawhara l-qađiyyati laysa ḥarakata «al-ḥidmati» wa-lā l- şayḥa «al-'allāmata» muḥammad faṭḥ allāh ğūlan, kamā turawwiğu l-ħukūmatu li-đālaka,	wa-'innamā huwa 'anna l-'aḥırata munğasimatun fı mumārasāti l-fasādi wa-l-rişwati.	45	624
		wa-'aşāra 'ilā 'anna l-ḥarakata ğayru ma'niyyatin bi-tawtırı l-	wa-'innamā l-tansıq# wa-l-taqārüb# ma'ahu bi-mā	91	-

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
		'alāqati ma'a l-'umqi l-'ara-biyyi l-'islāmiyyi ,	yaḥdimu l-qaḍiyyata l-filasṭīniyyata.		
		wa-qāla [...] 'inna siyāsata bilādihi fi-l-fatrati l-muqbilati lan tartahina 'aw tataqayyada bi-tanfiḍi 'ağandāti 'ayyi [ita] duwalin 'iqlīmiyyatin bi-'aynihā fi-l-mintaqati	wa-'innamā sa-taltazimu faqat bi-mā yuḥaqqiqu maşlahata 'ahli el-yaman 'an-fusihim.	129	383
1	not only x, but also y	wa-'adāfa l-bābā 'annahu sa-yatawağğahu [...] ilā maḍīnati strāsbūrğ al-fīransiyyati laysa faqat li-ziyārati l-barlamāni l-'ūrūbbiyyi,	wa-'innamā 'aydan li-ziyārati mağlisi 'ūrūbbā.	116	392
4					

'aw and 'aw mā, constructions including (7x)

For 'aw with nominals, see 6.7. 'aw is never preceded by wa-.

'aw Vsuff (4x)

4x attestations, including 2x *tamma maşdar*; only to express Inclusive Closed Disjunction, e.g. Article 49: *wa-'awḍaḥa 'annahu law tabannā l-ğarbu uqūbātīn tata'allaqu bi-mağāli l-tāqati 'aw waḍa'a quyūdan iḍāfiyyatan* [...] (Example 255; see also Article 4, Example 435).

'aw VprefA (1x)

1x attestation, Article 129, Negated Disjunction to a complement main clause matrix with *lan* VprefA: *wa-qāla [...] 'anna siyāsata bilādihi [...] lan tartahina 'aw tataqayyada bi-tanfiḍi 'ağandāti 'ayyi [ita] duwalin 'iqlīmiyyatin bi-'aynihā* [...] (Example 383).

'aw VprefS (1x)

1x attestation, Article 91, Negated Disjunction to a matrix with *wa-lam* VprefS: [...] *wa-lam yaşil 'ilayhā 'ayyu maṭlabin 'aw tumāras 'alayhā 'ayyu ḡuğūṭin fī hādā l-şa'ni* [...] (Example 542).

'aw mā VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 23. The construction with *mā* is an analytical prepositional complement in *trajectio* to the compound preposition *bi-l-nisbati li-*, 'with regard to', with an interposed relative clause. Preceded by *sawā'an*, 'either', 'aw expresses the second element of an Open Disjunction.

The construction is borderline coordinative: [...] *li-baḥṭi l-qadiyyati l-fi-lasṭīniyyati wa-l-tawaġġuhāti l-ġadīdati sawā'an bi-l-nisbati li-l-hudnati llati tammāt bi-naġāḥin binā'an 'alā l-mubādarati l-miṣriyyati 'aw mā yumkinu ttiḥādūhu min ḥaṭawātīn 'uḥrā li-'inhā'i l-nizā'i l-'arabiyyi l-'isrā'īliyyi*. '[...] to discuss the Palestinian issue and the new directions, either [both] with regard to the truce which was completed successfully based on an Egyptian initiative, or [and with regard to] what other steps that can be taken to end the Arab-Israeli conflict.'

b (bā') ب

bi-ḥasabi mā Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, Article 90, the attribution formula *bi-ḥasabi mā 'a' lana mu-taḥaddiṭun bi-smi l-barlamāni*. For attribution formulae, see 6.5.

wa-bi-dawri-h Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, in the final sentence of Article 36, Temporal Succession: *qāla* [...] 'inna l-katībata talaqqat balāḡan bi-l-ḥādīti, ***wa-bi-dawrihā 'alqati l-qabḍa 'alā l-ġānī*** [...]. See also transition phrases, 5.3.4.2.⁴²⁶

bi-ḥaytu (Ref.)

See “*ḥaytu*, constructions including”.

bal Vsuff (2x)

2x attestations, no *kāna*, no *tamma maṣdar*. For *bal* with nominals, see 6.7. The example from Article 13 was annotated as a Polarized Pair, *not x, but y*. The argument against Paired Contrast is an absence of a paired lexical opposition.

Table 51: *bal* Vsuff

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	<i>not x, but y</i> (Polarized Pair)	lākinna 'amaliyyata 'iġlā'i l-mabnā lam tatimma bi- šaklin 'anīfin	bal ḥaraġa l-muḥtaġġūna bi-hudū'in	13	382

⁴²⁶ In total, the phrase *wa-bi-dawri-h* is attested 3x, 2x attestations being paragraph-initial transition phrases in main clauses. For *bi-dawri-h*, see e.g. Example (662) from Article 106.

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Meta-linguistic Comment (corrective)	hal sa-tahmūna man 'ahāna-kum wa-'aḍallakum wa-tta-hamakum	bal qāṭalakum wa-stabāḥa dimā'akum	34	461
2					

bal NCI (1x)

1x attestation, Article 1, *not only x, but also y*, the matrix is a negated complement main clause with *laysa*: [...] *laysat* [...] *mawḡūdatan faqaṭ fī* [...] *bal hiya mawḡūdatun ḥattā fī* [...] (Example 390).

For *bal* with nominals, see 6.7.

bi-l-raḡmi min 'anna- (Ref.)

See “*raḡm-*, constructions including”.

wa-badalan 'an 'an VprefA (1x)

1x attestation, Article 45, preposed subordination, *instead of x, y*: [...] ***wa-badalan 'an 'an tu āqiba l-mutawarriṭna sāra 'at 'ilā himāyatihim wa-tama 'natihim*** [...] (Example 387). For preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.

ba'da 'an Vsuff (10x)

10x attestations, including 2x with a verb of attribution (Article 61 and Article 105), and 1x with *kāna* + passive participle (Article 34, see Example 246). The count includes the typo *b'd 'nkšf* in the lead of Article 105, for which read *ba'da 'an kašafa* (for typos, see 3.2.1). But the count excludes 1x *ḥāṣṣatan ba'da 'an tamma + maṣdar*, and 2x *wa-ḡālika ba'da 'an* Vsuff; for these, see “(wa-)ḥāṣṣatan”, and “wa-ḡālika X NCI”.

The Syntagm *ba'da 'an* Vsuff always codes a Countersequential linking. The function of the Countersequential can be to provide context. This notion is implicit already in the contextualising function of the post-positioned *ba'da 'an* Vsuff. The syntagm only expresses the Countersequential relative to its matrix; 2x of the examples also have the bi-nuance of Cause. The syntagm follows the main clause structure *wa-ya'tī* + anaphoric noun to provide a bi-nuance of Context 2x, and 1x to the provide the bi-nuances of both Context and Cause (Article 58). The syntagm *ba'da 'an* Vsuff is never antiproidetic (cf. *ba'damā* Vsuff).

Table 52: *ba'da'an Vsuff*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
5	Counter-sequential	Example below		111, 106, 125	559, 241, 242
2	Counter-sequential bi Cause	tawaqqa'a [...] tarāḡu'a 'timādi duwali l-ittihādi l-'ūrūbbiyyi 'alā wāridāti l-ġāzi l-rūsiyyi [...]	ba'da'an ḡazanāt duwalu l-ittihādi kamiyyātin kabīratan mina l-maḥzūni fī mu-stawda'ātin taḥta l-'arḍi	49, 105	247, 570
2	Counter-sequential bi Context	wa-ya'tī ḥādā l-'i'lānu	ba'da'an qāla l-ra'īsu	61, 34	574, 246
1	Counter-sequential bi Context bi Cause	wa-ya'tī l-taḥar-ruku l-ḡukūmiyyu	ba'da'an 'aṭlaqati l-šurṭatu l-ġāza l-musīla li-l-dumū'i [...] li-tafrīqi mi'āti l-mu-tazāhirīna [...]	58	635
10					

Example (559) from Article 111 is the only attestation where *ba'da'an Vsuff* is annexed to a non-finite construction. The article was published on September 22, four days after the 2014 Scottish independence referendum.

559. Article 111 (excerpt from final paragraph), *ba'da'an Vsuff*, Countersequential

وفي غضون ذلك، حث
رئيس الوزراء البريطاني
السابق جوردون براون
(الذي ينتمي لإسكتلندا)
زعماء بريطانيا على
الوفاء بوعدهم بمنح
المزيد من الصلاحيات
لإسكتلندا بعد أن صوتت
لصالح البقاء ضمن
المملكة المتحدة.

wa-ḡi ḡuḍūni ḡālika, ḡatta
ra'īsu l-wuzarā'i l-brīṭāniyyu
l-sābiq ḡūrdūn brāwn (allaḡī
yantamī li-'iskutlandā)
zu'amā'a brīṭāniyā 'alā l-
wafā'i bi-wa'dihim bi-manḡi
l-mazīdi mina l-ṣalāḡiyyāti li-
'iskutlandā **ba'da'an ṣawwa-**
tat li-ṣāliḡi l-baqā'i ḡimna l-
mamlakati l-muttaḡidati.

And meanwhile, the former British prime minister Gorgon Brown (who traces his origins/belongs to Scotland) urged the leaders of Britain to keep their promises of granting Scotland more powers after it voted in favour of remaining within the United Kingdom.

wa-ba'da'an Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, Article 102, the only preposed finite subordinate clause in the corpus with a sentence main clause as matrix, Temporal Succession, *wa-ba'da'an iqtarabat 'aynāhu mina l-bukā'i [...] ḡāwala kāmīrūn istirḡā'a [...]* (Example 237). For preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.1.

ba 'da 'an yakūna qad Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, Article 88, Countersequential with temporal anchoring in the future: *wa- 'a 'lanati l-kanīsatu 'an 'iqāmati salāti “musālahatin” bayna l-tarafayni yawma l- 'ahadi l-muqbila ba 'da 'an takūna natīgatu l-istiftā 'i qad zaharat* (see Example 244).

wa-ba 'da dālika Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, Article 35, Temporal Succession, complement main clause with Vsuff as matrix.

The syntagm (*wa- 'ba 'da dālika* here is a *hapax* in the corpus. It features an anaphoric reference to the previous clause via *dālika*. The prepositional phrase is understood as a semi-conjunction rather than a prepositional phrase: [...] *qālū 'inna htiḡāḡātihim 'ahadat tābi 'a l- 'unfi 'amāma l-barlamāni wa-ba 'da dālika qtaḥamū l-mabnā* (Example 193).

ba 'damā Vsuff (7x)

7x attestations, *ba 'damā* is only attested with Vsuff, including 1x *tamma maṣdar* (Article 122), and 1x with a verb of attribution (Article 15). The syntagm *ba 'damā Vsuff* may involve antiproidetic bi-nuances (2x Inconsequential; cf. *ba 'da 'an Vsuff*).

Table 53: *ba 'damā Vsuff*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
2	Countersequential bi Cause	Example below		117, 15	560, 594
2	Countersequential bi Context	ḥaythu baḥaṭa [...] li-ḡaḍbi l- istiṭmārāti wa- riḡāli l- 'a ' māli 'ilā l-bilādi	ba 'damā taqallaṣat fī 'a ' qābi ṭawrati yanāyir .	26	577
2	Countersequential bi Inconsequential	Example below		122, 108	561, 411
1	Countersequential	[...] wa- 'ursilati l- natā 'iḡu 'ilā laḡnati l-intiḥābāti	ba 'damā rāḡa 'at laḡnatu l-ṣakāwā l- taḡallumāti [...]	112	309
7					

560. Article 117, *ba 'damā* Vsuff, Countersequential bi Cause

من ناحية أخرى،
أعرب وزير الخارجية
الأمريكي جون كيري
عن أمله في أن يتم
التوقيع سريعا على
اتفاق أمني بين واشنطن
وكابل يراعى الوجود
العسكري الأمريكي في
أفغانستان بعد ٢٠١٤،
وهو اتفاق طال انتظاره
وبات إبرامه ممكنا
بعدما أصبح لأفغانستان
رئيسا جديدا.

wa-min nāhiyatin 'uḥrā,
'a'raba wazīru l-ḥāriġiyyati
l-'amrīkiyyu ġūn kīrī 'an
'amalihi fī 'an yatimma l-
tawqī 'u sarī 'an 'alā ttiḥqin
'amniyyin bayna wāšintun
wa-kābūl yurā 'ī l-wuġūda l-
'askariyya l-'amrīkiyya fī
'afġānistān ba 'da 2014, wa-
huwa ttiḥqun tāla ntizāruhu
wa-bāta 'ibrāmuhu mum-
kinan ba 'damā 'ašbaḥa li-
'afġānistān ra 'isun
ġadīdun [ita].

And on the hand, the American foreign minister John Kerry expressed his hope that a security agreement will be signed between Washington and Kabul which takes the American military presence in Afghanistan after 2014 into consideration, [and this is] an agreement whose wait was prolonged and [whose] conclusion became possible after Afghanistan got a new president.

561. Article 122, *ba 'damā* Vsuff, Countersequential bi Inconsequential

وتزامنا مع هذا التطور
قرر معتلون فلسطينيون
في السجون الاسرائيلية
خوض اضراب
تحذيري عن الطعام
اليوم ، وذلك لمطالبة
الوفد الفلسطيني
المشارك
في المفاوضات
بضرورة
التدخل العاجل لحل
قضيته والإفراج عنهم
بأسرع وقت، ويبلغ
عدد المعتقلين ٦٣
شخصا والذين أعادت
اسرائيل اعتقالهم
بعد يونيو الماضي بعدما
تم إطلاق سراحهم في
صفقة التبادل التي
أبرمتها حركة حماس
مع اسرائيل في أكتوبر
٢٠١١ بواسطة مصرية

wa-tazāmunan ma 'a ḥāḍā l-
taṭawwuri qarrara-mu 'taqālūna
filasṭīniyyūna fī l-suġūni l-
'isrā 'īliyyati ḥawḍa 'idrābin
taḥḍīriyyin 'ani l-ṭa 'āmi l-
yawma , wa-ḡālika li-
muṭālabati l-wafdi l-fi-
lasṭīniyyi l-mušārīki fī l-
mufāwādāti bi-darūratī l-
tadaḥḥuli l- 'āġili li-ḥalli qaḍiyy-
yatihim wa-l- 'ifrāġi 'anhum
bi- 'asra 'a waqtin, wa-yabluġu
'adadu l-mu 'taqālīna 63
šaḥṣan wa-lladīna 'a 'adat
'isrā 'īl i 'tiqālahum ba 'da-
yūniyū l-mādī ba 'damā
tamma 'iṭlāqu sarāḥihim fī
safqati l-tabāduli llatī 'abra-
mathā ḥarakatu ḥamās ma 'a
'isrā 'īl fī 'uktūbir 2011 bi-
wisāṭatin miṣriyyatin .

And simultaneously with this development Palestinian detainees in Israeli prisons decided to fight a warning strike on food today, and this to demand the Palestinian delegation which partakes in the negotiations of the necessity of urgent intervention to resolve their case and release them as soon as possible, and the number of prisoners reaches 63 persons whom Israel re-
arrested after last June after
[although] they had been
released in the exchange
deal which the Hamas movement concluded with Israel in October 2011 through Egyptian media-
tion.

wa-ba 'du-h NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 40, Context, inanimate plural referent.

562. Article 40, *wa-ba 'du-h* NCl, Context

وأصدر الانفصاليون
بيانا أكدوا فيه أن قوات
كيبف انتهكت وقف

wa- 'aṣḍara l- 'infiṣāliyyūna
bayānan 'akkadū fīhi 'anna
quwwāti kīyef intahakat

And the separatists issued a statement in which they asserted

إطلاق النار بقصف
ستة مواقع تابعة لهم
أمس الأول، وبعضها
قريب من محيط مطار
“دونيتسك”.

waqfa 'iṭlāqī l-nāri bi-qaṣfi
sittati mawāqifa tābi'atin
lahum 'amsī l-'awwala,
wa-ba'ḍuhā qarībun min
muḥīṭi maṭārī “dūnītsk”.

that the forces of Kyiv have vio-
lated the ceasefire by bombing
six sites belonging to them the
day before yesterday, **some of**
these are close to the airport of
Donetsk.

bi-mā Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, Article 118, governed by the root *lzm* stem VIII, excluded from investigation: *qāla* [...] 'innahum multazimūna **bi-mā naṣṣa** 'alayhim al-*ittifāqu*, [...] (Example 200).

bi-mā VprefL (14x)

14x attestations, never *yatimmu maṣdar*, never *yakūnu*. It is never preceded by *wa-*, and the verb is never negated.

2x excluded relations: 2x when *bi-mā* is a part of the core constituent structure, governed by verbs (embedded, 1x in the Manner type constituent in Article 48: tuqaddaru **bi-mā yu 'ādalu** 1,5%, 'estimated at', and 1x as the direct object in Article 129: sa-taltazimu faqaṭ **bi-mā yuḥaqqiqu maṣlahata** 'ahli el-*yaman* 'anfusihi (see Example 383)). Also the example from Article 71 (Example 513), al-ihtimām# [...] **bi-mā**, which was annotated as Concerning, could arguably be excluded on the same grounds, but was not.

Among the 12x annotated relations where *bi-mā* VprefL is a subordinated syntagm, monosemantic Purpose is the most frequently coded (7x + Article 51, Example 576, with discussion). All other semantics occur ≤1x: 1x Associative (Article 7), 1x Location & Instrument (Article 11), 1x Concerning (Article 71), and 1x Manner (Article 127). In Article 51 (Example 576), the syntagm codes Numerical Comparative Contrast & Purpose.

The syntagm is never antiproidetic.

Purpose linking with *bi-mā* VprefL involves a strong anaphoric Instrumental Manner, such that the Purpose expressed is the explicit volitional result of the manner of the matrix situation's realization, 'in a manner that' (e.g. Example 564 from Article 7 below). This notion present in the syntagm was not explicitly annotated. In Article 127 (Example 565), however, Manner is the dominant notion, suggesting a continuum between Purpose (e.g. Article 52, Example 563) and Manner for the syntagm, with Example (564) exemplifying the middle ground. In 3x when the syntagm codes Purpose, the verb of the construction is *yuḥaqqiqu*, 'in a manner that realizes, in order to realize': *bi-mā yuḥaqqiqu*.

Table 54: *bi-mā VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
7	Purpose	Examples below		52, 7	563, 564
1	Manner	Example below		127	565
1	Associative	'a'rabat mūġirīnī [...] 'an sa'adatihā bi-l-inḍimāmi li-l-ġli l-ġadīdi li-l-ittihādi l-'ūrūbbiyyi	bi-mā yatamatta' u bihi min t̄aqatin ġadīdatin	7	391
1	Location & Instrument	yaz'amu 'erdūġān 'anna 'anšāra ġamā'ati l-dā'iyati l-'islāmiyyi fath allah ġūlan	bi-mā yusammā «al-tanzīma al-muwāziya»	11	316
1	Concerning	[...] fi 'itāri l-ihtimāmi l-muštarakī	bi-mā yaħduṭu fi-l-'iqlīmi	71	513
1	Numerical Comparative Contrast & Purpose	bi-ħaytu taqūmu mišr bi-manħi l-filasṭīniyyīna minṭaqatan fi sīnā' misāħatuhā 1600 kīlūmitrin murabba'in, muħāḍiyatan li-qitā'i ġazza,	bi-mā yaġ'alu ħaġma l-qitā'i 5 'aḍ'āfi ħaġmihi l-ħāliyyi,	51	576
12					

Examples (563), (564), and (565) are selected to illustrate the varying degree of Manner associated with the syntagm *bi-mā VprefL*, from lower to higher.

563. Article 52, *bi-mā VprefL*, Purpose

ودعا مجلس الأمن
إلى تحمل مسؤولياته
الكاملة إزاء حالة
جمود مسار الحل
السياسي والتعامل مع
مختلف مجريات
الأزمة السورية
مجددا التأكيد على
ضرورة تكثيف
الجهود الرامية إلى
إقرار الحل السياسي
التفاوضي كأولوية
وذلك عبر التوصل
إلى اتفاق بين
الحكومة والمعارضة
حول تشكيل حكومة
انتقالية ذات
صلاحيات تنفيذية
كاملة وفقا لما جاء في

wa-da'ā maġlisa l-'amni 'ilā
taħammuli mas'ūliyyātihi l-
kāmilati 'izā'a ḥālatti ġumūdi
masāri l-ħalli l-siyāsiyyi wa-
l-ta'āmuli ma'a muḥtalifi
maġriyyāti l-'azmati l-
sūriyyati muġaddidan al-
ta'kīda 'alā ḍarūratī takṭīfi l-
ġuhūdi l-rāmiyyati 'ilā 'iqrāri
l-ħalli l-siyāsiyyi l-
tafawḍiyyi ka-'awlawiyya-
tin wa-dālika 'abra l-
tawassuli 'ilā ttiḥāqin bayna
l-hukūmati wa-l-mu'aradati
hawla taškīli hukūmatin in-
tiqāliyyatin dāti salāhiyyātin
tanfiḍiyyatin kāmilatin
wafqan li-mā ḡā'a fi mu'ta-
mari ġinīf l **bi-mā**

And [the Arab League] called on
the Security Council to assume
its full responsibilities regarding
the situation of stalemate of the
process of the political solution
and [in] dealing with the various
events of the Syrian crisis, re-
newing its assertion of the need
to intensify the efforts that aim
to establish a negotiational polit-
ical solution as a priority, and
this through reaching an agree-
ment between the government
and the opposition concerning
the formation of a transition
government with full executive
powers in accordance with what
was the outcome in the Geneva

مؤتمر جنيف 1 بما بضمن تلبية تطلعات الشعب السوري في التغيير والحرية وتحقيق الأمن والاستقرار.	yaḍmanu talbiyata taṭallu 'āti l-ša'bi l-sūriyyi fi-l-taḡyīri wa-l-ḥurriyyati wa-taḥqīqi l-'amni wa-l- istiqrāri.	1 Conference, in order to en- sure that the aspirations of the Syrian people for change and freedom and the realization of security and stability are met.

564. Article 7, *bi-mā* VprefL, Purpose (identical to Example 273)

ولوح بغصن زيتون لبريطانيا، متعهدا بإصلاح التكتل الموحد بما يلي مطالب لندن.	wa-lawwaḥa bi-ḡuṣni zaytūnin li-brīṭāniyā, muta'ahhidan bi-'islāhi l-ta- kattuli l-muwahhadi bi-mā yulabbī maṭālība landan.	And he waved an olive branch to Britain, and pledged to reform the unified block to meet [in a manner that meets] the de- mands of London.

565. Article 127, *bi-mā* VprefL, Manner

وقالت وكالة أنباء «كيودو» اليابانية نقلا عن مصادر في الحكومة لم تكشف عنها، إن واشنطن طلبت من رئيس الحكومة اليابانية إلغاء الدعوة التي وجهها أبى إلى بوتين بما يتفق مع الموقف العام لواشنطن وبلدان الاتحاد الأوروبي الذي اتخذته ردا على تدخل روسيا في الأزمة الأوكرانية.	wa-qālat wikālatu 'anbā'i «kiyūdū» al-yābāniyyatu naqlan 'an maṣādīra fi-l- ḥukūmati lam takšif 'anhā, 'inna <u>wāšintun talabat min</u> <u>ra'īsi l-ḥukūmati l-</u> <u>yābāniyyati 'ilgā'a l-</u> <u>da'wati llatī waḡḡahahā</u> <u>'ābī 'ilā būtin bi-mā yatta-</u> <u>fīqu ma'a l-mawqifi l-</u> <u>'āmmi li-wāšintun wa-</u> <u>buldāni l-ittihādi l-</u> <u>'ūrūbbiyyi llaḏī</u> <u>ttaḥaḏathu raddan 'alā</u> <u>tadahḥuli rūsiyā fi-l-</u> <u>'azmati l-'ūkrāniyyati.</u>	The Japanese news agency «Kyodo» said quoting sources in the government which it did not reveal, that Washington has <u>asked the head of the Japanese</u> <u>government [the PM] to cancel</u> <u>the invitation which Abe [the</u> <u>PM] directed to Putin in line</u> <u>with [lit. in what agrees with]</u> <u>the general stance of Wash-</u> <u>ington and the countries of</u> <u>the European Union which it</u> <u>took as a response to Russia's</u> <u>intervention in the Ukrainian</u> <u>crisis.</u>

bi-mā fī dālika NC1 (6x)

6x attestations, distributed over 2x different constructions: 4x *bi-mā fī dālika* + noun (3x of which are verbal nouns), and 2x *bi-mā fī dālika* + prepositional phrase: 1x *'abra* in Article 27, and 1x *min* in Article 103.

All syntagms express Exemplification, but the attestation with *'abra* also expresses *bi* Instrumental Manner. The attestation with *min* from Article 103 is elliptical in the sense that there is no explicitly mentioned group of which the exemplified element is part, but the phrase with *min* here expresses one of the many bodies who are implied by the matrix to have made 'repeated calls' (for *min* expressive of Agent & Origin, see 6.9): [...] *raḡma l-da'awāti l-mu-takarrirati 'ilā waqfin fawriyyin li-l-'a'māli l-'idā'iyyati bi-mā fī dālika min*

mağlisi l-'amni l-duwaliyyi, 'despite the repeated calls for an immediate cessation of hostile actions, **including from [by] the international [UN] Security Council**' (see Example 409).

For an example with *bi-mā fī dālika* + verbal noun, see Example 426 from Article 54: [...] *mā-zālat tadrusu masā'ila taqaniyyatan 'uḥrā «bi-mā fī dālika l-tamwīlu»*.

bi-mā fī-h NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 122, Exemplification: [...] *li-tumārisa šalāhiyyātihā 'alā muḥtaliḥi l-'arādī l-filastīniyyati bi-mā fīhā l-ma'ābiru wa-l-ḥudūdu wa-dāḥila qitā'i ġazza, mūdihān 'anna* [...], 'on the various Palestinian territories, **including crossings and borders** [...]'.

bi-man VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 102, complement to verb *šabbaha* (excluded from investigation): *wa-šabbaha kāmīrūn qarāra l-infišāli bi-man yabnī baytan* [...], (see Example 202). For metaphors and comparisons in Media Arabic, see 3.15.1.

bi-man fī-h NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 106, Exemplification: [...] *ba'da mušāwarātin mukattafatin ma'a ġamī'i l-'aṭrāfi l-siyāsiyyati bi-man fīhim 'anṣār allāh (al-ḥūṭiyyūna)* [...] (Example 522).

wa-bi-hāḍā VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 114, a near canonical instance of Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner with *bi-hāḍā* functioning as the anaphoric element, 'thus' or 'this [is the] way': *wa-ġā'a fī-l-da'wati li-l-mužāharāti 'annahu yatimmu 'ilḥāqu l-'alawīyyīna wa-šu'ubi l-'aqalliyyati wa-l-ṭullābi l-muntasibīna li-dayānātin 'uḥrā qasran 'ilā madārisi l-'a'im-mati wa-l-ḥuṭabā'i duna l-naẓari 'ilā huwiyyātihim wa-diyānātihim, wa-bi-hāḍā tumārasu ḍiddahum 'amaliyyatu damġin 'iġbāriyyin..*, 'And it was said in the call for demonstrations that Alawites, minority peoples, and students affiliated to other religions are being forcibly enrolled in the madrasas [schools] of the imams and preachers without regard for their identities and religions, **and through this a process of compulsory integration is being practiced against them..**' (Example 457).

baynamā Vsuff (10x)

10x attestations, including 1x verb of attribution. No *tamma maṣḍar*, no *kāna*.

Except for the attestation with a verb of attribution, *baynamā 'akkada* (Article 4, Example 429, Adversative), the syntagm *baynamā Vsuff* is only used for Unordered Additions (5x) and Numerical Comparative Contrast (4x); in the latter case, there are 3x about casualties, and 1x about the economy (Article 87, Example 376). The status of *baynamā* with Unordered Addition—a conjunction, a subordinator, or an adverb—will not be discussed, but it ought to be mentioned that the Unordered Additions were all annotated as Different Level Additions, even though all these linkings are added to clauses with a suffix-verb (3x complement main clauses with Subject Vsuff, 2x main clauses with Vsuff). The Unordered Additions with *baynamā* always change subject. Their temporality is discussed in 3.16.1.1. For *baynamā* in main clauses, see 5.3.1.

Table 55: *baynamā Vsuff*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
4	Numerical Comparative Contrast	Example below		21, 37, 87	568, 375, 376
4	Different Level Different Subject Addition	Example below		18, 121, 60	566, 222, 227
1	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Cause	Example below		60	567
1	Adversative	wa-'afāda šuhūdu 'iyānin bi-'anna [...] baynamā tataḥaddatu ma'lūmātun 'an [...]	baynamā 'akkada šuhūdu 'iyānin	4	429
10					

The clauses in Example (566) from Article 18 are simultaneous under the time frame of today's news, but exemplify the addition of information and the simple coordinating function of *baynamā Vsuff*: “a source said that *x* and *y* have both happened”. The matrix is a complement main clause.

566. Article 18, *baynamā Vsuff*, Different Level Different Subject Addition

وأكدت مصادر إعلامية أن مسلحي جبهة النصرة تمكنوا من السيطرة على معبر القنيطرة الذي تديره الأمم المتحدة،	wa-'akkadat maṣādiru 'i'lāmiyyatun 'anna musallaḥī ḡabhat el-nuṣra tamakkanū mina l-sayṭarati 'alā ma'bari el-qunayṭara llaḏī tudīruhu l-'umamu l-muttaḥidatu, wa-	And media sources confirmed that the militants of the Nusra Front have managed to [gain] control over the Quneitra crossings which

وأشارت المصادر إلى
أن الجانبين تبادلوا
إطلاق النيران بينما
انفجرت قذائف مورتر
من الجانب الإسرائيلي
للجبهة في الهضبة.

'ašārati l-mašādiru 'ilā 'anna l-
ḡānibayni tabādālā 'itlāqa l-
nīrāni baynamā nfaḡarat
qaḏā'ifu mūrtaṛ mina l-
ḡānibi l-'isrā'īliyyi li-l-
ḡabhati fi-l-ḥaḏḃati.

the United Nations is manag-
ing, and the sources pointed
out that the two sides ex-
changed fire and [that] mor-
tar bombs exploded from
the Israeli side on the front
on the [Golan] Height[s].

Example (567) from Article 60 was annotated as Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Cause. It could be argued that the two clauses occur within the same time span, “x fled while y captured cities”, and hence that it should be annotated as Simultaneous bi Cause. For the argument against this, see 3.16.1.1.

567. Article 60 (final sentence), *baynamā* Vsuff, Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Cause

ولا يفصل سوى جسر
بين فوتوكول
الكاميرونية وغمبورو
نجالا النيجيرية التي
سيطر عليها المقاتلون
الإسلاميون في 28
أغسطس بعد معارك
استمرت عدة أيام مع
قوات الأمن النيجيرية.
ومنذ يومين، فر الآلاف
من سكان مدينة موبى
بينما استولت بوكو
حرام على عدة بلدات
في المنطقة، وذلك بعد
فشل الجيش في استعادة
السيطرة على مادجالى
من مقاتلى بوكو حرام
الشهر الماضى مما
أرغم الجنود على
التراجع أولا إلى
جولاك ثم إلى موبى،
بحسب السكان.

wa-lā yafṣilu siwā ḡisrin
bayna fūtūkūl al-
kāmirūniyyati wa-ḡambūrū
nḡālā al-nīḡīriyyati llatī
sayṭara 'alayhā l-muqātilūna l-
'islāmiyyūna fī 28 'aḡuṣṭus
ba'da ma'ārika stamarrat 'id-
data 'ayyāmin ma'a quwwāti
l-'amni l-nīḡīriyyati. wa-
mundu yawmayni, farra l-
'ālāfu min sukkāni madīnati
mūbī baynamā stawalat
[ḡamā'atu] būkū ḥarām 'alā
'iddati baladāti fi-l-
minṭaqati, wa-dālīka ba'da
faṣli l-ḡayši fī sti'ādati l-
sayṭarati 'alā madaḡālī min
muqātilī būkū ḥarām al-ṣahra
l-māḏiya mimmā 'argama l-
ḡunūda 'alā l-tarāḡu 'i 'awwa-
lan 'ilā ḡulāk ṭumma 'ilā mūbī,
bi-ḥasabi l-sukkāni.

And only a bridge separates
the Cameroonian Fotokol
and the Nigerian Gamboru
Ngala which Islamist fight-
ers seized on August 28 after
fights that lasted several
days with the Nigerian secu-
rity forces. And two days
ago, thousands of the resi-
dents of the city of Mubi fled
while Boko Haram cap-
tured several towns in the
area, and this after failure of
the army to regain control
over Madagali from the
fighters of Boko Haram the
last month, something which
forced the soldiers to retreat,
first to Gulak, and then to
Mubi, according to the resi-
dents.

568. Article 21, *baynamā* Vsuff, Numerical Comparative Contrast

وأوضحت البعثة في
بيان لها أن «عدد
المدنيين الذين قتلوا في
الشهر المنصرم بلغ
١٢٦٥، بينما قتل ١٥٥
من عناصر الأمن»

wa-'awḏahati l-ba'ṭatu fī
bayānin lahā 'anna «adada
l-madaniyyīna lladīna qutīlū
fi-l-ṣahri l-munṣarimi balaḡa
1260, baynamā qutīlu 155
min 'anāṣiri l-'amni»[.]

And the mission said in a state-
ment by it that «the number of
civilians who have been killed
in the past month reached
1260, while 155 were killed
from the security person-
nel».

baynamā VprefL (5x)

5x attestations, including 1x with a verb of attribution (Article 4), no *yakūnu*, no *yatimmu mašdar*; the list also includes 1x article-initial, preposed, *baynamā VprefL* in Article 71 (for article-initial subordination, see 5.3.3), included here for reference. The table below excludes 1x attestation of *baynamā VprefL* as a main clause (Article 123, Example 223); for the fallacy of cotemporality, see 3.16.1.1.

The semantics expressed with this syntagm are always either primarily or secondarily antiproidetic, with Paired Contrast (i.e. *p x*, *but q z*) operating between juxtaposed syntagms being the most frequent (4x); Adversative is attested 1x, in Article 4, see Example (429).

Table 56: *baynamā VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast	'a' lana [...] 'anna wafdan fanniyyan sa-yatawağğahu 'ilā qitā' i ġazza ħilāla l- yawmayni l-qādi- mayni li-baḥṭi ḥtiyāğātiḥa mina l- musā' adāti,	baynamā yaqūmu wafdu wizāriyyun 'arabiyyun bi- ziyāratin 'uḥrā muntaṣafa l-šahri l-muqbili	23	286
1	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast bi Presi- dency	Example below		122	569
1	Adversative	wa-'afāda šuhūdu 'iyānin bi-'anna [...]	baynamā ta- taḥaddaṭu ma' lūmātun 'an [...] baynamā 'akkada šuhūdu 'iyānin	4	429
1	Paired Contrast	Example below		105	570
1	(article-initial) Context bi Paired Contrast	See chapter 5.3.3		71	224
5					

569. Article 122, *baynamā* VprefL, Different Level Different Subject
Addition bi Paired Contrast bi Presidency

وقال في تصريح لـ «مندوب الأهرام» إن عزام الأحمد رئيس كتلة فتح في المجلس التشريعي سيراأس وفد الحركة بينما يرأس وفد حماس موسى أبو مرزوق نائب رئيس المكتب السياسي للحركة.	wa-qāla fi taṣrīhin li-«man- dūbi al-ʾahrām» <u>inna</u> <u>ʾazzām el-ʾahmad raʾīsa</u> <u>kutlati fatah fi-l-mağlisi l-</u> <u>tašrīʾiyyi sa-yarʾasu wafda</u> <u>l-harakati</u> baynamā yarʾasu wafda ḥamās mūsā ʾabū marzūq nāʾibu raʾīsi l-maktabi l- siyāsiyyi li-l-ḥarakati.	And he said in a statement to the «reporter of Al-Ahram» that Azzam al-Ahmad head of the Fatah block in the legisla- tive council will head the movement's delegation, while Musa Abu Marzouk deputy head of the [Hamas] move- ment's political bureau will head the delegation of Ha- mas.

570. Article 105, *baynamā* VprefL, Paired Contrast

تجددت أمس أزمة التفرقة العرقية في الولايات المتحدة بعد أنكشف محامى أسرة دارين هانت الرجل الأسود الذي لقي مصربه على يد الشرطة في ولاية يوتا أنه أصيب بست رصاصات من الخلف، بينما تزعم السلطات أنه اندفع نحو ضابطين حاملًا سيفًا.	tağaddada ʾamsi ʾazmatu l- tafaruqati l-ʾirqiyyati fi-l- wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati baʿda ʾan-kašafa [ita] muḥāmi ʾus- rati dārīn hānt al-rağuli l- ʾaswadi llaḏī laqiya mašraʾahu ʾalā yadi l-šurṭati fi wilāyati yūtā ʾannahu ʾuṣība bi-sitti rašāšātin mina l-ḥalfi, baynamā tazʾamu l- suluṭātu ʾannahu ndafaʾa naḥwa ḏabiṭayni ḥāmīlan sayfan.	The crisis of racial segregation in the United States was re- newed yesterday after the law- yer of the family of Darren Hunt, the black man who met his fate by the hand of the po- lice in the state of Utah, re- vealed that he was injured by six shots from the back, while the authorities claim that he had rushed towards two of- ficers carrying a sword.

bayna-h NCl (8x)

8x attestations,⁴²⁷ only to code Exemplification. The pronominal suffix is al-
ways third-person masculine plural, *baynahum*, and the subject of the syntagm
is always human (cf. *min baynihā* NCl); 5x in the context of killings, 3x of
which are found in Article 120.

571. Article 120 (first sentence after lead), *bayna-h* NCl x2, Exemplifi-
cation

وأوضح المرصد السوري لحقوق الإنسان أن الغارات أوقعت ١٩ قتيلا بينهم سنة أطفال قرب مدينة سراقب، و٢٣ قتيلا بينهم عشرة أطفال في	wa-ʾawḏaḥa l-marṣadu l- sūriyyu li-ḥuqūqi l-ʾinsāni ʾanna l-ğārati ʾawqaʾat 19 <u>qatīlan</u> bayhahum sittatu ʾaṭfālīn qurba madīnati sarāqib, <u>wa-23 qatīlan</u> bayna-	And the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights said that <u>the strikes fell 19 dead in-</u> <u>cluding six children</u> close to the city of Saraqib, <u>and 23</u> <u>dead including 10 children</u> in the city of Ehsim on the

⁴²⁷ For *wa-kāna bayna-h*, see “*wa-Vsuff*”.

بلدة احسم بجبل الزاوية أمس الأول.	hum ‘ašaratu ‘aṭfālin fī bal- dati ‘eḥsim bi-ḡabali el- zāwiya ‘amsi l-’awwali.	mountain of al-Zawiya the day before yesterday.

ت (*tā*)

No attestations.

ث (*tā*)

tumma, constructions including (4x)

4x attestations, only with VprefL: 3x *wa-min tumma* VprefL (including 1x *qad* VprefL (Article 57) and 1x *qad yakūnu* (Article 61)), and 1x *tumma* VprefL. No *yatimmu mašdar*.

See also “*tumma*” under 6.7 with *tumma* ‘ilā PP and *tumma mašdar*.

***tumma* VprefL (1x)**

1x attestation, Article 102, Temporal Succession bi Frustration: [...] *yabnī baytan bi-šiqqi l-’anfusi*, ***tumma yuḡādiruhu*** [...], ‘[someone] who painstakingly builds a house, **then leaves it** [...]’ (see Example 202).

***wa-min tumma* VprefL (3x)**

3x attestations, only with preposed *wa-*: 1x VprefL (Article 8), 1x *qad* VprefL (Article 57), and 1x *qad yakūnu* (Article 61). The relations are all Temporal Succession, with *qad yakūnu* being also bi Consecutive.

Table 57: *wa-min tumma (qad) VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
2	Temporal Succession	yatadarrabūna fī mu‘askari «ḡāzī ‘anteb» al-‘askariyyi,	wa-min tumma yantaliqūna ‘ilā sūriyā wa-l-‘irāqi li-l-qitāli.	8, 57	230, 231
1	Temporal Succession bi Consecutive	wa-yuṣbiḥu ntiqāluhu ‘aḡṭara suhūlatan ,	wa-min tumma qad yakūnu ḡaṭaran ḡasīman ‘alā l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati.	61	232
3					

ڄ (*ḡīm*)

No attestations.

ḥ (ḥā) ح

ḥattā, constructions including (7x)

7x attestations. For *ḥattā* in prepositional phrases, see 6.9; for the adverb, see 6.8.1.

Table 58: Constructions including *ḥattā*

Σ	Conjunction	Σ _n	Syntax
5	<i>ḥattā</i>	3	VprefA
		2	<i>lā</i> VprefA
1	<i>wa-ḥattā</i>	1	<i>yatimma</i> + <i>maṣḍar</i>
1	<i>ḥatta wa-'in</i>	1	<i>kāna</i>
7			

ḥattā VprefA (3x)

3x attestations, no *yakūnu*, no *yatimma maṣḍar* (cf. *wa-ḥatta* VprefA): 2x Purpose (Examples 572 and 573), and 1x Until, Article 63. The latter, *ġā'a raddu za'imi l-ḥūṭiyyīna* [...] 'anna *l-taṣ'ida sa-yastamirru ḥattā tasquṭa l-ḥukūmatu* (see Example 529), '[...] that the exclamation will continue **until the government falls**', is an example which illustrates a bridging context between Until and Purpose. Both Example (572) and (573) have matrices expressing urgency through deontic modalities, 'must' and 'need', with reduced volition of the matrix subjects (cf. prototypical Purpose in 4.4.4).

572. Article 55, *ḥattā* VprefL, Purpose

وشدد السفير عبد
الرحيم سر الختم
على ضرورة تأسيس
علاقة قوية بين مصر
والسودان لمواجهة
العولمة المنتشرة
عالمياً، موضحاً بأن
أفريقيا تواجه مرحلة
من العولمة المتزايدة
في العالم الغربي،
وأكد أن علينا أن
نتعاون بشكل وثيق
حتى يصبح لدينا اليد
العليا في العولمة،
مشيراً إلى أننا نحتاج
إلى تكاتف الجهود
بين حكومة البلدين
والشعبين.

wa-šaddada l-safiru 'abd el-rahīm [sic]⁴²⁸ sirr el-ḥatim 'alā ḍarūratī ta'sīsi 'alāqatin qawīyyatin bayna miṣr wa-l-sūdān li-muwāḡahati l-'awlamati l-muntaṣirati 'ālamīyyan, mūḍiḥan bi-'anna 'afriqiyā tuwāḡihu marḥalatan mina l-'awlamati l-mutazāyidati fi-l-'ālamī l-ḡarbiyyi, wa-'akkada 'anna 'alayna 'an nata'āwana bi-šaklin watīqin **ḥattā** yuṣbiḥa ladaynā l-yadu l-'ulyā fi-l-'awlamati, muṣīran 'ilā 'annanā naḥtāḡu 'ilā takātufi l-ḡuhūdi bayna ḥukūmati l-baladayni wa-l-ša'bayni.

And the ambassador Abd al-Rahman [ita] Sirr al-Khatim stressed the need to establish a strong relation between Egypt and Sudan to counter the globalization which is spreading around the world, explaining that Africa is facing a phase of the globalization which is increasing in the Western world, and he stressed that we must cooperate in a close manner in order to have the upper hand in the globalization, pointing to that we must join efforts between the government of the two countries and the two peoples.

⁴²⁸ His name, Abd al-Rahman, is given correctly earlier in the article (lead).

573. Article 115, ḥattā VprefL, Purpose

وقال جونزاليس لعناصر الأمن السرى بعد اعتقاله "إنه كان يشعر بقلق لانتهيار البيئة، وإنه كان يحتاج أن يوصل هذه المعلومات لرئيس الولايات المتحدة حتى يمكنه إبلاغ ذلك للناس".	wa-qāla ḡünzālīs li-'anāširi l-'amni l-sirriyyi ba'da 'tiqālihi "‘innahu kāna yaš'uru bi-qalaqin li- nhiyāri l-bī'ati, wa-'innahu kāna yahtāḡu 'an yuwaṣṣila hādīhi l-ma'lūmata li-ra'isi l-wilāyāti l-muttahidati ḥattā yumkinahu 'iblāḡu dālika li-l-nāsi".	And Gonzalez told the secret security personnel after his ar- rest "that he had been feeling anxiety/concern for the col- lapse of the environment and that he needed to pass this in- formation to the president of the United States so that he would be able to communi- cate this to the people".

wa-ḥattā VprefA (1x)

1x attestation, Article 19, *wa-ḥattā yatimma maṣdar*, preposed subordination, Until bi Possible Consequence (Negated Condition type): *wa-'aḏāfa l-bayānu: "wa-ḥattā yatimma ta'mīnu l-dawlati [...] fa-'inna l-ḥukūmata sata'malu min 'ayyi madīnatin [...]"* (Example 254). For preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.

ḥattā lā VprefA (2x)

2x attestations. 1x in Article 14, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (cause of utterance type): *wa-da'ā būtin al-ḡarba 'ilā «l-taḥallī bi-l-mantiqi [...] ḥattā lā nataḥammalu nahnu wa-lā šurakā'unā [...]"* (see Example 439).

The other attestation is in Article 61, Example (574) below, a Possible Consequence (Negated Consequence type).

574. Article 61, full paragraph, ḥattā lā VprefL, Possible Consequence

ويأتى هذا الإعلان بعد أن قال الرئيس باراك أوباما إنه يجب على الولايات المتحدة أن تبذل المزيد للمساعدة في السيطرة على انتشار الفيروس حتى لا يتحول إلى أزمة عالمية قد تهدد الأمريكيين في نهاية الأمر.	wa-ya'tī hādā l-'i'lānu ba'da 'an qāla l-ra'isu bārāk 'ūbāmā 'innahu yaḡibu 'alā l-wilāyāti l- muttāhidati 'an tabdula l- mazīda li-l-musā'adati fi-l- saytarati 'alā ntišāri l-fayrūs ḥattā lā yataḥawwalu 'ilā 'az- matin 'ālamīyyatin qad tuhad- didu l-'amrīkiyyīna fī nihāyati l-'amri.	And this announcement came after the president Barack Obama said that the United States must do more to help to control the spread of the virus lest it turns into a global crisis that may ultimately threaten the Americans.

ḥattā wa-'in Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, *ḥattā wa-'in kāna*, Article 116, preposed subordination (for which, see 5.3.4.4), Concession bi Meta-linguistic Comment: *wa-'akkada l-bābā [...] 'annahu ḥattā wa-'in kānat 'albāniya dawlatan ḡati 'aḡtariyyatin muslimatin (56%) fa-hiya "laysat baladan musliman bal baladun 'ūrūbbiyyun.* (Example 402).

haytu, constructions including (52x)

Clauses including *haytu*, *bi-haytu*, and *haytu 'inna-h*. Never preceded by *wa-*.

52x attestations: 46x *haytu*, 1x *haytu 'inna-h*, and 5x *bi-haytu*.

Table 59: Constructions including *haytu*

Σ	Conjunction	Σ _n	Syntax
46	<i>haytu</i>	31	Vsuff
		12	VprefL
		1	<i>lā</i> VprefL
		1	Future VprefL
		1	NCI
5	<i>bi-haytu</i>	5	VprefL
1	<i>haytu 'inna-h</i>	1	VprefL
52			

bi-haytu VprefL (5x)

5x attestations, including 1x *yakūnu* (Article 7).

The conjunction *bi-haytu* is only used with VprefL, a syntagm that typically (3x) interprets the preceding matrix as an Instrumental Manner, and expands on it, typically (4x) as a Purpose clause (in which Anaphoric Instrumental Manner is intrinsic and not annotated; for examples, see e.g. 2x in Article 25, Example 240; and in Article 7, Example 272), but 1x, in Article 51, it is used as an Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner.

Example (575) from Article 12 below is given to illustrate a use of *bi-haytu* VprefL as a Purpose clause, and Example (576) from Article 51 to illustrate the atypical reading. (For the unusual use of the peripheral accusative participle 3x times in Article 12, see 6.4.5).

575. Article 12, *bi-haytu* VprefL, Purpose

وأضاف أن هناك اتصالات وثيقة مع الأردن عضو مجلس الأمن ممثلاً عن المجموعة العربية بحيث يصدر قرار مجلس الأمن داعماً للقضية الفلسطينية وإعادة إعمار غزة وداعماً أيضاً للمبادرة والجهود المصرية من أجل التوصل لإتفاق نهائي.	wa-'aḏāfa 'anna hunāka tṭiṣālātīn waṭīqatan ma'a el- 'urdunn 'uḏwi maḡlisi l-'amni mumattīlan 'ani l-maḡmū'ati l-'arabiyyati bi-haytu yaṣḏuru qarāru maḡlisi l- 'amni dā'iman li-l-qaḏiyyati l-filasṭīniyyati, wa-'i'ādati 'i'māri ḡazza wa-dā'iman 'ayḏan li-l-mubādarati wa-l- ḡuhūdi l-miṣriyyati min 'aḡli l-tawaṣṣuli li-ttifāqin nihā'iyyin.	And he added that <u>there are</u> <u>close contacts with Jordan</u> , a member of the Security Council representing the Arab Group, in order that the resolution of the Secu- rity Council will be issued such that it supports the Palestinian cause and the reconstruction of Gaza and supports also the Egyptian initiative and efforts to reach a final agreement.

576. Article 51 (lead), bi-ḥaytu VprefL, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

نفي مسؤول بوزارة الخارجية جملة وتفصيلاً، المزامع والأكاذيب التي أذاعتها القناة السابعة بالتلفزيون الإسرائيلي بأن الرئيس عبد الفتاح السيسي، اقترح على الرئيس الفلسطيني أبو مازن خلال اللقاء الذي جمع بينهما أمس الأول، إقامة دولة فلسطينية في قطاع غزة وجزء من سيناء، وإقامة حكم ذاتي في الضفة الغربية، بحيث تقوم مصر بمنح الفلسطينيين منطقة في سيناء مساحتها 1600 كيلومتر مربع، محاذية لقطاع غزة، بما يجعل حجم القطاع 5 أضعاف حجمه الحالي، من أجل إقامة دولة فلسطينية فيها تحت سيطرة السلطة الفلسطينية.	naḥā mas'ūlun bi-wizārati l- ḥārīḡiyyati ġumlatan wa- tafšīlan, <u>al-mazā'ima wa-l-</u> <u>akādība</u> llatī 'aḏā'athā l- qanātu l-sābi'atu bi-l- tilīfiziyyōn al-'isrā'īliyyi <u>bi-</u> <u>'anna l-ra'īsa 'abd el-fattāh el-</u> <u>sīsī, iqtaraha</u> 'alā l-ra'īsī l-fi- lasṭīniyyi 'abū māzen ḥilāla l- liqā' i llaḏī ġama'a baynahumā 'amsi l-'awwala, <u>'iqāmata</u> <u>dawlatin filastīniyyatin fī</u> <u>qitā'i ġazza wa-ġuz'in min</u> <u>sīnā', wa-'iqāmati ḥukmin</u> <u>dātiyyin fī el-diffa el-</u> <u>ġarbiyya, bi-ḥaytu taqūmu</u> <u>mišr bi-manḥi l-fi-</u> <u>lasṭīniyyīna minṭaqatan fī</u> <u>sīnā' misāḥatuhā 1600</u> <u>kālūmitrin murabba'in,</u> <u>muḥāḏiyatan li-qitā'i ġazza,</u> bi-mā yaġ'alu ḥaġma l-qitā' i 5 'aḏ'āfi ḥaġmihi l-ḥāliyyi, min 'aġli 'iqāmati dawlatin fi- lasṭīniyyatin fīhā taḥta sayṭarati l-sultati l-fi- lasṭīniyyati.	An official at the Foreign Ministry denied completely and in detail <u>the allegations</u> <u>and lies</u> which Channel Seven broadcasted on Israeli television, <u>that the president</u> <u>Abdel Fattah el-Sisi sug-</u> <u>gested</u> to the Palestinian president Abu Mazen during the meeting which brought them together the day before yesterday, <u>the establishment</u> <u>of a Palestinian state in the</u> <u>Gaza Strip and part of the Si-</u> <u>nai, and the establishment of</u> <u>self-rule in the West Bank,</u> <u>such that Egypt grants the</u> <u>Palestinians territory in Si-</u> <u>nai whose area is 1600</u> <u>square kilometres, adja-</u> <u>cent to the Gaza Strip,</u> making the size of the Strip 5 times its current size, in order to establish a Palestinian state in it under the control of the Palestinian Authority.

ḥaytu Vsuff (31x)

31x attestations. Including 5x with verbs of attribution, and 1x *kāna* (Article 6), never *tamma mašdar*.

The relations include Relative (Location) (4x), more frequently polysemous with secondary semantics such as Expanding Paraphrase (3x), Expanding Paraphrase bi Consecutive (2x), and Temporal Succession (1x). More frequently, however, the main semantics is Expanding Paraphrase, with 2x monosemantic or more typically with secondary semantics, the most frequent of which is Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner (9x, + Article 118), Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause (2x), and Expanding Paraphrase bi Exemplification (1x); it may even function as a Relative to Clause (1x) (for Relative to Clause with non-deverbalized relative clauses, see 6.3.1.2).

ḥaytu + Vsuff is synchronically a semantically vaguely defined subordinated clause, sometimes even functioning as a Different Level Addition (1x), and even as Cause (1x), or as Exemplification & Instrumental Manner (1x). It is never used antiprodietically.

Examples (306) and (580), from Articles 118 and 90 respectively, are perhaps the most vague, and testify to the function of the syntagm as primarily that of expanding a preceding noun or clause via Addition, Paraphrase, or Unordered Addition, and/or as a Relative (Location), a process wherein the expanding syntagm may or may not accumulate secondary semantics. The list of all its semantics and their frequencies is given below. The use of “OR” for several examples in the list is symptomatic of the nebulosity of the syntagm (for “OR”, see 4.2).

Table 60: *ḥaytu Vsuff*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
4	Relative (Location)	bi-ḥuḍūri maʿ dabati ġadāʾ in takrīman lahu fī maqarri ġamʿiyyati riġāli l- ʿa māli l- firansiyyīna, [...]	ḥaytu baḥaṭa l-wazīrāni subula l-istifādati	26	577
3	Relative (Location) bi Expanding Paraphrase	bi-tuhmati muḥāwalati duḥūli l-bayti l-ʿabyaḍi bi- ṣaklin ġayri qānūniyyin,	ḥaytu waṣala kīr bi- sayyāratihi ʾilā baw- wābati taftīši l-sayyārāti, rāfiḍan al-tarāġu ʿa	108	411
2	Relative (Location) bi Expanding Paraphrase bi Consecu- tive	wa-yasūdu l-tawat- turu l-ṣadīdu fī ṣanʿāʾ	ḥaytu mtanaʿa ʿadadun kabīrun mina l-sukkāni ʿan ʾirsāli ʾawlādihim ʾilā l-madrasati fī-l-yawmi l- ʾawwali mina l-ʿāmi l- dirāsiyyi.	56	427
1	Relative (Location) bi Temporal Succession	qāma [...] bi- masīratin mina l- barlamāni ʾilā man- zili raʾīsi l- ḥukūmati	ḥaytu ḥāwala baʿḍuhum ʾizālata l-ḥawāġira	3	337
2	Expanding Paraphrase	wa-tasabbaba mazāʾimu ʿerdūġān bi-tawarruṭi ḍubbātin fī muʾāmaratin ḍidda l-ḥukūmati fī ḥam- lati ʿtiqālātin ġadīdatin	ḥaytu ʾalqati l-suluṭātu l- ʾamniyyatu l-turkiyyatu l-qabḍa ʿalā	11	332

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
9	Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner	tadaḥḥala l-ḡayšu [...]	ḥaytu ltaqā l-ḡenərāl [...] ma‘a ra‘īsi l-wuzarā‘i	13	341
		hādā mā kašafat ‘anhu ‘amsi maḡallatu “fūrtšan” al-‘amrīkiyyatu ,	ḥaytu sta‘raḍat fī taqrīrin lahā qā‘imatan bi-‘ak-bara ḥamsi ‘išābātīn ‘iḡrāmiyyatin fī-l-‘ālamī [...]	86	454
1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Relative to Clause	naḡā ziyād bal‘a, [...] min muḥāwalati ḡtiyālin,	ḥaytu ‘uṣība wa-nuqila li-markazi bengāzi l-ṭib-biyyi li-talaqqī l-‘ilāḡi.	50	578
1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Exemplification	Example below		108	579
2	Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause	[...] lam yakun al-ra‘īsu [...] dāḥila l-bayti l-‘abyaḍi waqta wuqū‘i l-ḥādīṭi,	ḥaytu ḡādara [...] li-qaḍā‘i ‘uṭlati nihāyati l-‘usbū‘i fī kāmb dayfid.	108	475
1	Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner OR Relative (Location) bi Temporal Succession	wa-‘azzaza l-ḥūṭiy-yūna l-šī‘atu mawāqi‘ahum bi-tawsī‘i ruq‘ati ntišārihim l-‘askariyyi min ḡibālihim l-nā‘iyati fī šamāli ḡarbī# el-yaman bi-ttiḡāhi šan‘ā’	ḥaytu sayṭarū ‘alā mu‘zami l-munša‘āti l-siyāsiyyati wa-l-‘askariyyati qabla tawqī‘i ttifāqin li-l-salāmi kamaḡmū‘atin musallaḥatin qawīyyatin tumattīlu zāhiratan tatadāḥalu fīha ‘awāmilu ṭā‘ifiyyatun wa-qabaliyyatun wa-siyāsiyyatun wa-tārīḥiyyatun.	118	306
1	Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner bi Cause bi Exemplification	Example below		90	580

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Exemplification & Instrumental Manner	wa-yartabiṭu el-sūdān bi-‘alāqātin ‘askariyyatin ma‘a ‘irān	ḥayṭu ‘tādati l-sufunu l-ḥarbiyyatu l-‘irāniyyatu ziyārata l-mawāni‘i l-sūdāniyyati wa-kāna ‘āḥiruhā fī yūniyū l-māḍi ‘indamā zārat [...]	32	456
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition OR Relative (Location) bi Temporal Succession	Example below		103	581
1	Different Level Different Subject Addition	Example below		29	582
1	Cause	Example below		29	583
31					

577. Article 26, ḥayṭu Vsuff, Relative (Location)

وكان شكرى قد استهل
الزيارة بحضور مآدية
غداء تكريما له في مقر
جمعية رجال الأعمال
الفرنسيين، بحضور
نظيره الفرنسي لوران
فابيوس، حيث بحث
الوزير سبل الاستفادة
من العلاقات المصرية-
الفرنسية الوثيقة لجذب
الاستثمارات ورجال
الأعمال إلى البلاد بعدما
تقلصت في أعقاب ثورة
يناير .

wa-kāna šukrī qad istahalla
l-ziyārata bi-hudūri
ma‘dabati ġadā‘in takrīman
lahu fī maqarri ġam‘iyyati
riġālī l-‘a‘mālī l-firansiyy-
yīna, bi-hudūri naẓīrihi l-
firansiyyi lūrān fābiyūs,
ḥayṭu baḥaṭa l-wazīrāni
subula l-istifādati mina l-
‘alāqāti l-miṣriyyati-l-
firansiyyati l-waṭiḳati li-
ġadbi l-istiṭmārāti wa-riġālī
l-‘a‘mālī ‘ilā l-bilādi
ba‘damā taqallaṣat fī ‘a‘qābi
ṭawratī yanāyir .

And Shoukry started the visit
by attending a lunch in his
honour at the headquarters of
the French Businessmen As-
sociation, with the attend-
ance of his French counter-
part Laurent Fabius, **where**
the two ministers discussed
ways to benefit from the
close Egyptian-French rela-
tions and to attract invest-
ments and businessmen to
the country after it shrank in
the wake of the January rev-
olution.

578. Article 50, ḥayṭu Vsuff, Expanding Paraphrase bi Relative to Clause

وفي بنغازي، نجح زياد
بلعم، قائد كتيبة عمر
المختار والقيادي في
«مجلس شورى ثوار
بنغازي» من محاولة
اغتيال، حيث أصيب

wa-fī bengāzī, naġā ziyād
bal‘am, qā‘idu katībatī
‘umar el-muḥtār wa-l-
qiyādiyyu fī «maġlisi šūrā
ṭuwwāri bengāzī» min
muhāwalati ḡtiyālīn,

And in Benghazi, Ziyad Balaam
the leader of the Omar Mukhtar
Brigade and the leader of the
Benghazi Revolutionaries Shura
Council survived an assassina-
tion attempt: [in which] he was

ونقل لمركز بنغازي الطبي لتلقى العلاج.	ḥaytu 'uṣība wa-nuqila li-markazi bengāzi l-ṭīb- biyyi li-talaqqī l-'ilāgi.	injured and transferred to the Benghazi Medical Center to receive treatment.

579. Article 108 (final paragraph), ḥaytu Vsuff, Expanding Paraphrase
bi Exemplification

يذكر أن جهاز الأمن السري المكلف بحماية الرئيس قد واجه العديد من الفضائح من قبل، حيث أدين عدد من المسؤولين فيه بوقائع جنسية وحالات سكر، الأمر الذي دفع أوباما إلى تغيير قيادته إلى نسائية في محاولة لتحسين صورته السيئة.	yudkaru 'anna ḡihāza l-'amni l-sirriyya l-mukallafa bi- ḥimāyati l-ra'īsi qad wāḡaha l-'adīda mina l-faḍā'ihī min qablu, ḥaytu 'udīna 'adadun mina l-mas'ūlīna fīhi bi-waqā'ī'ī ḡinsiyyati wa-ḥālātī sukrin, al-'amru llaḍī dafa'a 'ūbāmā 'ilā taḡyīri qiyādātihi 'ilā nisā'iy- yatin fī muḥāwalatin li- taḥsīni šūratihī l-sayyi'ati.	It is mentioned that the Secret Security Service which is charged with protecting the president has faced a number of scandals before: [e.g.] a number of the officials in it have been convicted of sexual insidents and cases of drunkenness, something which forced Obama to change its leadership to women in an attempt to im- prove its bad image.

580. Article 90, ḥaytu Vsuff, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Man-
ner bi Cause bi Exemplification

وعن المؤتمر الوطني العام المنتهية ولايته، قال الثني «إنه غير شرعي»، ووصف «فجر ليبيا» بـ«مجموعة خارجة على القانون، حيث ارتكبت عمليات قتل ونهب وسرقة وتدمير بحق المدنيين».	wa-'ani l-mu'tamari l- waṭaniyyi l-'āmmi l-muntahiy- yati wilāyatuhu, qāla el-tanī «innahu ḡayru šar'iyyin», wa- wasafa «faḡr lībiyā» bi- «maḡmū'atin hāriḡatin 'alā l- qānūnī, ḥaytu rtakabat 'amaliyyāti qatlin wa- nahbin wa-sirqatin wa- tadmīrin bi-ḡaqqi l- madaniyyīna».	And concerning the outgoing General National Congress, al-Thani said «that it is ille- gal» and described «Libya Dawn» as «an outlaw group [lit. going outside the law]», such that it has committed killing operations, looting, robbery, and destruction against civilians.

581. Article 103, ḥaytu Vsuff, Different Level Same Subject Addition
OR Relative (Location) bi Temporal Succession

والتقى شكرى، على هامش مؤتمر باريس مع كل من الرئيس العراقي فؤاد معصوم حيث بحث معه تنمية العلاقات الثنائية بين مصر والعراق في شتى المجالات، فضلا عن لقائه بنظيره البريطاني فيليب هاموند الذي أعرب عن اهتمام بريطانيا باللقاء المرتقب بين الرئيس عبد	wa-ltaqā šukrī, 'alā hāmiši mu'tamari bārīs ma'a kullin mina l-ra'īsi l-'irāqīyyi fu'ād ma'sūm ḥaytu baḡaṭa ma'ahu tanmiyata l- 'alāqāti l-ṭunā'īyyati bayna mišr wa-l-'irāq fī šattā l-maḡālāti, faḍlan 'an liqā'ihī bi-naḡrihi l- brīṭāniyyi fiḥb hāmūd al- laḍī 'a'raba 'ani htimāmi	And Shoukry met, on the sideline of the Paris confer- ence with both [sic] the Iraqi president Fuad Masoum; he discussed with him the de- velopment of the bilateral relations between Egypt and Iraq in various fields, as well as his meeting with his British counterpart Philip Hammond who ex- pressed Britain's interest

الفتاح السيسي ورئيس
وزراء بلاده ديفيد
كاميرون، كما تلقى
شكرى دعوة من هاموند
لزيرة لندن فى أواخر
شهر أكتوبر المقبل
لاستكمال المشاورات
التي بدأت فى القاهرة
خلال زيارته الأخيرة.

brīṭāniyā bi-l-liqā’i l-mur-
taqabi bayna l-ra’isi ‘abd
el-fattāh el-sīsī wa-ra’isi
wuzarā’i bilādihi dayfid
kāmrūn, kamā talaqqā
šukrī da’watan min hāmūnd
li-ziyāratī landan fī ‘awāḥiri
šahri ‘uktūbir al-muqbili li-
stikmālī l-mušāwarātī llatī
bada’at fī el-qāhira ḥilāla
ziyāratihī l-’aḥīratī.

in the meeting expected be-
tween president Abdel Fat-
tah el-Sisi and the prime
minister of his country Da-
vid Cameron, Shoukry also
received an invitation from
Hammond to visit London in
late October to complete the
consultations that started in
Cairo during his last visit.

582. Article 29, ḥaytu Vsuff, Different Level Different Subject Addition

وتأتى رئاسة شريف
للجلسة البرلمانية
كتأكيد لسيطرته على
مقاليده الحكم ودعم
البرلمان له، حيث أكد
مكتبه أن الجلسة
ستستمر طوال الأسبوع
لبحث الأزمة.

wa-ta’tī ri’āsatu šarīf li-l-
ġalsati l-barlamāniyyati ka-
ta’kīdī li-saytaratihi ‘alā
maqālīdī l-hukmi wa-da’mi
l-barlamāni lahu, ḥaytu ‘ak-
kada maktabuhu ‘anna l-
ġalsata sa-tastamirru
ṭiwāla l-’usbū’i li-baḥṭi l-
’azmati.

And Sharif’s presidency of the
parliamentary session comes
as a confirmation of his control
of the reins of government and
the support of the government
for him, and his office con-
firmed that the session will
continue throughout the
week to discuss the crisis.

583. Article 29, ḥaytu Vsuff, Cause

وتشهد العاصمة إسلام
آباد منذ منتصف أغسطس
الماضى مظاهرات
احتجاجية بزعماء عمران
خان نجم الكريكت السابق
والداعية الإسلامى طاهر
القادرى للمطالبة باستقالة
شريف، وتتهم قوى
المعارضة شريف بتزوير
انتخابات 2013، رغم أن
مراقبين محليين وأجانب
وصفوا تلك الانتخابات
بالحرّة والنزيهة. ويذكر
أن الجيش قام الأسبوع
الماضى بدور «الوسيط»
فى الأزمة لكن دون
تحقيق نجاح حيث
اشتعلت المعارضة
استقالة شريف وهو ما
رفضته الحكومة.

wa-tašhadu l-’āšimatu
’islām ‘ābād munḍu
muntašafi ‘aḡuštus al-māḍī
muṣāharātīn iḥtiġāġiyyatan
bi-za’āmati ‘imrān ḥān
naġmi l-krīkit al-sābiqi wa-l-
dā’iyati l-’islāmiyyi ṭāher el-
qādirī li-l-muṭālabati bi-
stiḡālātī šarīf, wa-tattahimu
quwā l-mu’āraḡati šarīf bi-
tazwīri ntiḡābātī 2013,
raġma ‘anna murāqībīna
maḡalliyyīna wa-’aġāniba
wašafū tilka l-intiḡābātī bi-l-
ḥurrati wa-l-naẓīhati. wa-
yudkaru ‘anna l-ġayša qāma
l-’usbū’a l-māḍiya bi-dawri
»al-wasīt#« fi-l-’azmati
lākin dūna taḡḡiqi naġāhin
ḥaytu štarāṭati l-
mu’āraḡatu stiḡālata šarīf
wa-huwa mā rafaḡathu l-
ḥukūmatu.

And the capital Islamabad
witnesses since mid-August
protest demonstrations led
by Imran Khan the former
cricket player, and the Is-
lamic preacher Tahir ul-Qa-
diri, demanding the resigna-
tion of Sharif. [And] the
forces of the opposition ac-
cuse Sharif of rigging the
2013 elections, though local
and foreign observers have
described these elections as
free and transparent. And it
is mentioned that the army
took last week the role of
»mediator« in the crisis, but
without [achieving] success,
as the opposition stipulated
Sharif’s resignation, some-
thing which the govern-
ment rejected.

ḥaytu VprefL (12x)

12x attestations. No *yakūnu*, no *yatimmu maṣḍar*; never preceded by *wa-*. For the formally negated but idiomatically affirmative *ḥaytu lā tazālu* (Article 38), see under “*ḥaytu lā VprefL*”.

The relations of *ḥaytu VprefL* include Relative (Location) (5x), Relative (Location) bi Expanding Paraphrase (1x), and Expanding Paraphrases (5x) which include polysemous examples with bi Context (1x), bi Consecutive (1x), and bi Meta-linguistic Comment (1x). In addition, there is 1x instance of Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner (Article 110, Example 586), and 1x Unordered Addition (Different Level Same Subject; Article 57, Example 587). The full list of the semantics and their frequencies is given in Table 61.

Table 61: *ḥaytu VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
5	Relative (Location)	Example below		37	584
1	Relative (Location) bi Expanding Paraphrase	wa-l-ḥūṭiyyūna yan-tamūna 'ilā l-tā'ifati l-zaydiyyati l-šī'iyati llatī tušakkilu 'aḡlabiy-yatan fī šamāli el-ya-man , lākinnahā 'aḡal-liyyatun fi-l-bilādi ka-kullin	ḥaytu ya 'taniqu ḡālibiyyatu l-suk-kāni l-maḍhaba l-sunniyya.	106	453
1	Expanding Paraphrase	wa-qāla 'inna ru'yata ḥamās wa-'istrātīḡiyya-tahā muḥtalifatun ,	ḥaytu taqtaṣiru faqaṭ 'alā qaḍiyyati l-muwāḡahati ma'a l-širā' i l-'arabiyyi -al-'isrā'īliyyi	91	547
1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Context	bi-'itbāti mazā'imihi bi-wuḡūdi mu'āmarātin ḡiddahu [...]	,ḥaytu yaz'amu 'er-dūḡān 'anna [...]	11	316
1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Consecutive	laqad ta'attarnā qtiṣādiyyan bi-šaklin kabīrin (min ḡarrā' i l-'udwāni) ,	ḥaytu naḥtāḡu 'ilā 7 milyārāti dūlārin li-nabniya ḡilāla 15 'āman mā tamma tadmīruhu.	37	108
1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Meta-linguistic Comment	Example below		64	585

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	Example below		110	586
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition	Example below		57	587
12					

584. Article 37, *ḥaytu* VprefL, Relative (Location)

وأشار إلى أن مصر سوف تستضيف قريباً بالاشتراك مع النرويج مؤتمراً دولياً حول فلسطين لإعادة إعمار غزة وخلال كل ذلك، تستمر قوافل الإغاثة والمساعدات الإنسانية في الوصول عبر الأراضي المصرية إلى قطاع غزة، كما أن كل من يستطيع بلوغ معبر رفح من الجرحى والمصابين يتم نقله فوراً إلى المستشفيات المصرية مع مرافقيه حيث يسهر إخوته المصريون على علاجه وتضديد جراحه.	wa-‘ašāra ‘ilā ‘anna miṣr sawfā tastaḍīfu qarībān bi-l-ištirāki ma‘a el-nurwīġ mu‘tamaran duwaliyyan ḥawla filasṭīn li-‘i‘ādati ‘i‘māri ġazza wa-ḥilāla kulli ḍālīka, tastamirru qawāfilu l-‘iġāṭati wa-l-musā‘adati l-‘insāniyyati fi-l-wuṣūli ‘abra l-‘arādī l-miṣriyyati ‘ilā qitā‘i ġazza, kamā ‘anna kulla man yastatī‘u bulūġa ma‘bari rafah mina l-ġarhā wa-l-musābīna yatimmu naqluhu fawran ‘ilā l-mustaṣfayāti l-miṣriyyati ma‘a murāfiqīhi ḥaytu yasharu ‘ihwatuhu l-miṣriyyūna ‘alā ‘ilāġihi wa-taḍmīni ġarāhihi.	And he pointed out that Egypt is jointly with Norway soon going to host an international conference about Palestine for the reconstruction of Gaza and throughout all this the relief convoys and the humanitarian aid will continue to reach the Gaza Strip over Egyptian territories, as well as that <u>anyone who can reach the Rafah crossing of the injured and wounded is being transferred immediately to the Egyptian hospitals together with their companions, where their Egyptian brothers are watching over their recovery and the healing of their wounds.</u>

In Example (585) from Article 64, the *ḥaytu* VprefL clause refers to what has previously been said in the form of an Expanding Paraphrase, commenting on why the coming session is considered to be of importance by the speaker. The Meta-linguistic Comment semantics is of the type cause of utterance.

585. Article 64, *ḥaytu* VprefL, Expanding Paraphrase bi Meta-linguistic Comment

وأوضح لقمان أن هذه الدورة تكتسب أهمية كبيرة، حيث يدور محورها الرئيسي حول التقرير الصادر بعنوان «التعاون العربي وأفاقه لدعم التشغيل»، وأشار لقمان إلى أن هذا التقرير يأتي على خلفية	wa-‘awdaha luqmān ‘anna ḥādīhi l-dawrata taktasibu ‘ahammīyyatan kabīratan ḥaytu yadūru mihwaruhā l-ra‘īsiyyu ḥawla l-taqrīri l-ṣādīri bi-‘unwāni «al-ta‘āwun# al-‘arabiyy# wa-‘āfāq#hu li-da‘mi l-tašġili», wa-‘ašāra luqmān	And Luqman explained that this session is gaining great importance, as its main axis revolves around the report issued with the title «Arab Cooperation and its Prospects for Supporting Employment». And Luqman pointed out that this report

المتغيرات المتسارعة التي شهدتها بعض الدول العربية منذ عام 2011	'ilā 'anna hādā l-taqrīra ya'ti 'alā ḥalfiyyati l-mutaḡay- yirātī l-mutaṣārī'ati llatī ṣāhi- dathā ba'ḍu l-duwali l- 'arabiyyati munḍu 'āmi 2011, [...]	comes against the back- ground of the accelerating changes which some Arab countries have witnessed since the year 2011, [...]

586. Article 110, *ḥaytu* VprefL, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner

ولفت الى أنه سيتم خلال هذا البند تبادل المعلومات بشأن المشاريع المنفذة من قبل الدول العربية لتوفير السكن المناسب، خاصة لنوى الدخل المحدود ،حيث تعرض كل دولة تجاربها في هذا الموضوع، موضحا ان مصر عرضت من قبل ثلاثة	wa-lafata 'ilā 'annahu sa- yatimmu hīlāla hādā l-bandī tabādulu l-ma'lūmātī bi-ṣā'ni l-maṣārī'i l-munaffadati min qibālī l-duwali l-'arabiyyati li-tawfīri l-sakani l-munāsibi. hāṣṣatan li-dawī l-dahli l- mahdūdi ,ḥaytu ta'riḍu kullu dawlatin taḡāribahā fī hādā l-mawḍū'i, mūḍiḥan 'anna miṣr 'araḍat min qablu talāṭata [...]	And he pointed out that through this item information will be exchanged concern- ing projects which have been implemented by the Arab countries to provide adequate housing, especially for those of limited income, as each country displays its experi- ences in this matter, ex- plaining that Egypt earlier displayed three [...]

Example (587) from Article 57 was annotated as a Different Level Same Subject Addition. The relation between 'fear' and 'criticising' (the underlying reasoning of which spurs the aversions) are put in a grammatical relation of subordination, but a semantic relation of addition under the same contextual frame of cotemporality. Cf. *muntaqidan* (Simultaneous) in Article 34, Example (461).

587. Article 57, *ḥaytu* VprefL, Different Level Same Subject Addition

وأشار إلى أن المتشددین يخشون من وصول الرئيس السابق على أكبر رفسنجانی إلى الحكم مرة ثانية، حيث ينتقد المحافظون علاقته بالإصلاحيين، وأضاف أن رجل الدين البارز أحمد خاتمی ربما يكون الخيار المفضل للكثير من المتشددین.	wa-'aṣāra 'ilā 'anna l-mu- taṣaddidīna yaḥṣawna min wusūli l-ra'īsī l-sābiqi 'alī 'akbar rafsangānī 'ilā l-hukmi marratan tāniyatan, ḥaytu yantaqidu l-muḥāfiẓūna 'alāqātahu bi-l-'iṣlāḥiyyīna, wa-'aḍāfa 'anna raḡula l-dīni l-bārizi 'aḥmad ḥātīmī rub- bamā yakūnu l-ḥiyāra l- mufaḍḍala li-l-kaṭīri mina l- mutaṣaddidīna.	And he pointed out that the the hardliners ⁴²⁹ fear the arri- val of the former president Ali Akbar Rafsanjani to power again, as [= and] the conservatives criticize his relationship with the re- formists, adding that the prominent cleric Ahmad Khatami may be the pre- ferred choice for many of the hardliners.

⁴²⁹ 'Hardliners', *al-mutaṣaddidūna*, is a synonym for the right-wing Iranian 'conservatives', *al-muḥāfiẓūna*, i.e. the Iranian اصول گرایان *oṣūl garāyān*, 'fundamentalists, principalists', lit. 'followers of principles'.

ḥaytu lā VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 38, *ḥaytu lā tazālu*, affirmative in meaning: Expanding Paraphrase bi Consecutive.

588. Article 38, *ḥaytu lā VprefL (tazālu)*, Expanding Paraphrase bi Consecutive

واستأنف الطرفان مواجهاتهم المسلحة بعد اتفاق جرى بينهم اليوم لوقف إطلاق النار لفترة زمنية لم تتجاوز الثلاث ساعات وذلك لانتشار الجثث. وذكرت مصادر لوكالة الأنباء الألمانية، أنه "على الرغم من ذلك لم يلتزم الطرفان بذلك الاتفاق حيث لا تزال عشرات الجثث منتشرة وانتشرت رائحتها في المكان".	wa-sta' nafa l-ṭarafāni muwāḡahātihim [sic] al- musallahata ba'da ttiḡāqin ḡarā baynahum al-yawma li- waqfi 'iṭlāqi l-nāri li-fatratin zamaniyyatin lam tataḡāwaz al-ṭalāta sā'ātin wa-dālika li- ntiṣāli l-ḡuṭaṭi. wa-dakarāt maṣādiru li-wikālati l-'anbā'i l-'almāniyyati, 'annahu "alā l-raḡmi min dālika lam <u>yaltazim al-ṭarafāni bi-dālika</u> <u>l-ittiḡāqi ḥaytu lā tazālu</u> <u>'aṣarātu l-ḡuṭaṭi muntaṣira-</u> <u>tan</u> wa-ntaṣarat rā'ihātuhā fi- l-makāni".	And the two sides resumed their armed confrontations after an agreement which was between them today of ceasefire [lit. to stop shoot- ing] for a period of time which did not extend more than three hours and this to recover bodies. And sources said to the German News Agency that "despite this, <u>the two sides did not adhere</u> <u>to that agreement as there</u> <u>are still dozens of corpses</u> <u>scattered</u> and their smell has spread at the location".

ḥaytu future-VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 88. Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Instrumental Manner: *sa-yunāšidu muwāṭinī 'iskutlandā [...]* *ḥaytu sa-yuṣbiḥu 'aqālima brīṭāniyā l-'arba 'ata bi-»l- 'ā'ilati*» (see Example 218).

ḥaytu NCI (1x)

1x attestation, Article 13, Relative (Location): [...] *fi-l-minṭaqati l-ḥamrā'i ,ḥaytu maqarru 'iṣāmi l-mutaḡāhirīna [...]* (Example 183).

ḥaytu 'inna-h VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 123, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner. This is the only attestation of the syntagm *ḥaytu 'inna* in the corpus.

589. Article 123 (final paragraph), *ḥaytu 'inna-h VprefL*, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

وشدد الأحمـد في هذا الشأن على أن حركة فتح لها وجهة نظر في هذا الموضوع ، حيث إنها تعتبر قرار الحرب والسلام مسألة قرار وطني وليس قرارا فصائليا، وأيضا مستقبل حكومة التوافق الوطني والعمل على إزالة	wa-ṣaddada el-'ahmad fi hādā l-ša'ni 'alā 'anna harakata fa- tah lahā waḡhatu nazarin fi hādā l-mawdū'i, ḥaytu 'inna- hā ta'tabiru qarāra l-ḡarbi wa-l-salāmi mas'alata qarārin waṭaniyyin wa-laysa qarāran faṣā'iliyyan, wa- 'aydan mustaqbal# ḥukūmati l-tawāfuqi l-waṭaniyyi wa-l-	<u>And al-Ahmad stressed in</u> <u>this regard that the Fatah</u> <u>movement has a viewpoint</u> <u>on this issue, as it considers</u> <u>the decision of war and</u> <u>peace to be a matter of a</u> <u>national decision</u> , and not a factional decision, as well as [that] the future of the na- tional consensus government

العراقيل أمام بسط سلطاتها بالكامل وفق القانون على قطاع غزة كما هي في الضفة الغربية ومن جميع الاتجاهات.	‘amal# ‘alā ‘izālātī l-‘arāqīlī ‘amāma baṣṭi suluṭātihā bi-l- kāmilī waḥḍa l-qānūnī ‘alā qīṭā‘ī ġazza kamā hiya fi-l- ḍiffa el-ġarbiyya wa-min ḡamī‘ī l-ittiġāhāti.	and the work on removing the obstacles in front of the extension of its powers in full [is] according to the law over the Gaza Strip as it is in the West Bank and from all directions.

ḥasbamā Vsuff (3x)

3x attestations, only with verbs of attribution: 2x *ḥasbamā ḍakarāt*, and 1x *ḥasbamā ‘a lana* (Article 53), only attested in attribution formulae (for which, see 6.5).

ḥawla mā Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, Article 71, Concerning: [...] *wa-sa-yatimmu raf‘u taqrīri ḥawla mā qāma bihi farīqu l-‘amali fī hādā l-ṣadadī* [...], ‘[...] and a report will be submitted **concerning what the task force has achieved in this regard** [...]’ (Example 609).

ḥawla mā VprefL (1x)

1x attestations, Article 4, Location: *wa-fī-l-waḡṭi nafsīhi, taḡaddada l-qasfu bi-‘asliḥati l-taḡīlati ḥawla mā yu‘rafu bi-mu‘askaray al-27 wa-l-17 ġarba l-‘aṣimati l-lībiyyati* [...], ‘at the same time, shelling with heavy weapons began again **around what is known as camps 27 and 17 west[ern/of the]**⁴³⁰ **Libyan capital**’.

ḥīn#, constructions including (9x)

9x attestations with *ḥīn#*, three variants: 7x *fī ḥīnī*, 1x *ḥīna*, and 1x *ḥīnamā*. They are never preceded by *wa-*. For the prepositional phrases *ḥīna* (*ḥīnahā*, Article 90), *‘ilā ḥīnī + maṣḍar* (Article 19), and *li-ḥīnī + maṣḍar* (2x in Article 13) see “‘ilā” and “li-” respectively under 6.9; for the adverb *ḥīnaḍāk*, see 6.8.1.

ḥīna VprefL (*yatimmu maṣḍar*) (1x)

1x attestation, *yatimmu maṣḍar*, Article 14, Simultaneous: [...] *qā ‘ilan ‘inna: »kāna yaḡību ‘an ya lamū ‘anna rūsiya lā yumkinu ‘an taqīfa maktūfata l-‘aydi ḥīna yatimmu ‘iṭlāqu l-nāri ‘alā l-nāsi*, ‘[...] **while the people are being fired at**’ (Example 439).

⁴³⁰ For the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

hīnamā Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, Article 51, hīnamā Vsuff, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner, Example (590).

590. Article 51, hīnamā Vsuff, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner

وأكد المصدر أن هذه
الأخبار عارية تماماً
عن الصحة، وأن هذا
الأمر كان قد تم طرحه
إبان حكم الرئيس
المعزول محمد مرسي
حينما وعد بمنح
الفلسطينيين جزء من
سيناء لإقامة دولة
فلسطينية وذلك في
إطار المخططات
الخبئية للتنظيم الدولي
للإخوان المسلمين، في
تخل صريح عن
الالتزام بمبدأ
التراب الوطني لاسيما
في هذه البقعة الغالية
من أرض الوطن والتي
دفع الآلاف من
المصريين دماءهم ثمناً
لاستردادها. وطالب
المصدر وسائل الإعلام
بضرورة توخي الدقة
والحذر قبل نشر هذه
الأنباء.

wa-‘akkada l-mašdaru ‘anna
hāḍihi l-‘aḥbāra ‘āriyatun
tamāman ‘ani l-ṣiḥḥati, wa-
‘anna hādā l-‘amra kāna qad
tamma ṭarḥuhu ‘ibbāna ḥukmi
l-ra‘īsi l-ma‘zūli muḥammad
mursī hīnamā wa‘ada bi-
manḥi l-filasṭīniyyīna
ġuz‘an min sīnā‘ li-‘iqāmati
dawlatin filasṭīniyyatin wa-
ḍālika fī ‘itāri l-muḥaṭṭatāti l-
ḥabīṭati li-l-tanzīmi l-du-
waliyyi li-l-‘iḥwāni l-mus-
limīna, fī taḥallin ṣarīḥin ‘ani
l-iltizāmi bi-mabda‘i qudsiyy-
ati l-turābi l-waṭaniyyi lā-siyy-
amā fī hāḍihi l-buq‘ati l-ġāliyy-
ati min ‘arḍi l-waṭani wa-llatī
dafa‘a l-‘ālāfu mina l-
miṣriyyīna dimā‘ahum ṭa-
manan li-stirdādihā. wa-ṭālaba
l-mašdaru wasā‘ila l-‘i‘lāmi
bi-ḍarūratī tawahḥi l-diqqati
wa-l-ḥaḍari qabla našri hāḍihi
l-‘anbā‘i.

And the source asserted that this news is completely devoid of truth and that this matter was raised during the rule of the deposed president Mohamed Morsi, as he promised to grant the Palestinians a part of Sinai to establish a Palestinian state and this in the framework of the malicious plans of the international organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, [in] an explicit abandonment of the principle of the sanctity of the national soil, especially in this precious part of the homeland which thousands of Egyptians paid their blood as price to recover. And the source demanded [that] the media exercise carefulness and caution before publishing this news.

fī hīni + finite verb (7x)

7x attestations. The phrase *fī hīni* is not attested as a prepositional phrase, but only attested with finite verbs: 6x Vsuff (incl. 2x verbs of attribution), and 1x VprefL (Article 106). Different Level Addition is the most typical linking (5x). (For the fallacy of cotemporality in Media Arabic, see 3.16.1.1.)

Table 62: *fī hīni* + finite verb

Σ	Link	Gram	A	Ex
4	Different Level Different Subject Addition	Vsuff	70, 71	224, 225
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition	Vsuff	7	346
1	Numerical Comparative Contrast	Vsuff	87	376
1	Simultaneous	VprefL	106	238
7				

ḥīnamā (Ref.)

See under “ḥīn#, constructions including”.

ḥ (*ḥā*) ʕ

(wa-)ḥāṣṣatan, Constructions preceded by (15x)

15x attestations in total, 5x of which are preceded by *wa-*. (wa-)ḥāṣṣatan is followed by finite constructions 3x times: 2x *mā* VprefL, and 1 *ba'da 'an tamma maṣdar* (Article 98), but never followed by a *maṣdar* (for which cf. *ḥuṣūṣan*).

The base semantics are defined by *ḥāṣṣatan*, always (15x) expressing Graded Exemplification, but a number of bi-nuances are attested, the most frequent being Concerning (3x) and Location (2x), with all others occurring ≤1x.

Like *ḥuṣūṣan* (q.v.), *ḥāṣṣatan* can be used elliptically (3x), with the set of which the exemplified element is a member being left unstated and to be inferred from context, e.g. Article 110, with the indirect object: *li-tawfīri l-sakani l-munāsibi*, *ḥāṣṣatan li-dawī l-daḥli l-maḥdūdi*, ‘to provide adequate housing, **especially for those with a limited income**’ (Example 586); and in Article 122 (quoted in Table 63 below), with the bi-nuance Concerning; and even before a causal linking to adduce arguments for a rational position (Article 98, Example 591 with discussion below).

Table 63 and Table 64 feature *ḥāṣṣatan* and *wa-ḥāṣṣatan* respectively.

Table 63: Constructions preceded by *ḥāṣṣatan*

Σ	<i>ḥāṣṣatan</i> +	Link	Matrix	Construction	A	Ex
3	noun	Graded Exemplification bi Expanding Paraphrase	bahāṭa [...] taṭawwūrātī l-’awḍā’i ‘alā l-sāḥati l-fi-lasṭīniyyati	ḥāṣṣatan al-’awḍā’# al-ša’bat# allatī ya’īshuhā ‘abnā’u l-šā’bi l-filasṭīniyyi fī qīṭā’i ḡazza	51	-
			’anšītat# al-mīlīšiyātī wa-l-ḡamā’ātī l-musallaḥati [...]	ḥāṣṣatan aḥdāt# al-’unfi	52	-
			fi-l-’āsimati ṣan ‘ā’ wa-madāḥilihā	ḥāṣṣatan šār’i el-ṭalātīn wa-[...] wa-[...] wa-[...]	118	-

Σ	ḥāṣṣatan +	Link	Matrix	Construction	A	Ex
2	ʿalā	Graded Exemplification bi Concerning	lafata [...] ʿilā ʿanna l- iġtimāʿa sa- yurakkizu ʿalā stiʿādati l- zaḥmi li-ttifāqi l-muṣālaḥati l- waṭaniyyati li-tatawallā mahāmmahā bi-ṣaklin kāmilin [...]	ḥāṣṣatan ʿalā ṣaʿīdi baṣṭi sulṭati ḥukūmati l- tawāfuqi l-waṭa- niyyati [...]	122	-
				ḥāṣṣatan ʿalā ṣaʿīdi ʿiʿādati ʿi māri qiṭāʿi ġazza	123	-
1	baʿda ʿan tamma maṣḍar	Graded Exemplification bi Cause	Example below		98	591
1	fī	Graded Exemplification bi Location	fī-l-ʿiqlīmi	ḥāṣṣatan fī sūriyā	71	228
1	li-	Graded Exemplification	li-tawfīri l- sakani l- munāsibi	ḥāṣṣatan li-ḍawī l- daḥli l-maḥḍūdi	110	586
1	mā VprefL	Graded Exemplification	min taṭawwūrāti l- ʾaḥḍāṭi fī maḍīnati el- quds [...]	ḥāṣṣatan mā yurtakabu bi-ḥaqqi l-maṣġidi l-ʾaṣṣā min tadnīsīn wa- qtiḥāmātinin yawmiyyatin min qibali ġayṣi l-iḥtilālī wa l-mustawṭinīna wa- [...]	128	-
1	maʿa	Graded Exemplification bi Associative	[...] muʾakki- dan al-ḥirṣa ʿalā l-ʿamali bi-ṣaklin ġamāʿiyyin	ḥāṣṣatan maʿa l- ġamāʿati l-ʿara- biyyati wa-ʿamīnīhā l-ʿammi	71	-
10						

In Example (591) from Article 98 (iterated and expanded from Example 460), the unique use of *ḥāṣṣatan* warrants a discussion. Here, *ḥāṣṣatan baʿda ʿan tamma + maṣḍar* is used elliptically to adduce, i.e. exemplify, a number of arguments from a set of unstated alternatives. The use of ellipsis here is rhetoric, fronting the abundance of rational arguments for the correctness of the position of Benomar vis-à-vis the Houthi opinion, while *de facto* not presenting more arguments than those explicitly stated. The iteration of the *maṣḍar*, *wa-l-ittifāqu*, is atypical.

591. Article 98 (final sentence), *ḥāṣṣatan ba'da 'an tamma + maṣdar*,
Graded Exemplification bi Cause

وتدخل بن عمر في المفاوضات وأبلغ الحوثيين أنه وسفراء الدول العشر الراعية للمبادرة الخليجية يرون أن المفاوضات يجب أن تكون في إطار المبادرة الخليجية وتنفيذ مخرجات الحوار الوطني وفك الحصار عن صنعاء، خاصة بعد أن تم الاتفاق على تخفيض جديد في أسعار المشتقات البترولية والاتفاق على تشكيل حكومة جديدة .	[...] wa-tadaḥḥala ben 'umar fi-l-mufāwāḍāti wa-'ablaḡa l-ḥuṭiyyīna 'annahu wa- sufarā'u l-duwali l-'ašri l- rā'iyati li-l-mubādarati l- ḥaliḡiyyati yarawna 'anna l- mufāwāḍāti yaḡibu 'an takūna fi 'itāri l-mubādarati l-ḥaliḡiyyati wa-tanfidi maḥraḡāti l-hiwāri l- waṭaniyyi wa-fakki l-hiṣāri 'an san'ā' ḥāṣṣatan ba'da 'an tamma l-ittifāqu 'alā taḥfiḡin ḡadīdin fi 'as'āri l- muštaqqāti l-bitrōliyyati wa-l-ittifāqu 'alā taškili ḥukūmatin ḡadīdatin.	[...] and Benomar intervened in the negotiations and told the Houthis that he and the ambas- sadors of the ten countries that overlook the Gulf initiative think that <u>the negotiations</u> must be within the framework of the Gulf initiative and the implementation of the out- comes of the national dia- logue, and the lifting of the siege of Sanaa, especially since a new reduction in the prices of petroleum deri- vates has been agreed on and [since] the formation of a new government [has been] agreed on.

Table 64: Constructions preceded by wa-ḥāṣṣatan

Σ	wa- ḥāṣṣatan +	Link	Matrix	Tokens	A	Ex
3	noun	Graded Ex- emplifica- tion	wa-'ahammiyyati taktīfi l-ta'āwuni bayna miṣr wa- 'almāniyā wa-l- muḡtama'i l-du- waliyyi	wa-ḥāṣṣatan al- duwali l- 'iqlimiyyati ḡāti l-ta'īri	12	449
		Graded Ex- emplifica- tion	min duwali el- ḥaliḡ	wa-ḥāṣṣatan al- mamlakati l-'ara- biyyati l- sa'ūdiyyati	32	608
		Graded Ex- emplifica- tion	fi ḥāḡihi l-'ama- liyyati l- tanmawiyyati	wa-ḥāṣṣatan mašrū'i tanmiyyati miḥwari qanāti el-suwēs	39	-
1	fi	Location	fi-l-'āšimati	wa-ḥāṣṣatan fi minṭaqati ben ḡašīr	50	320
1	mā VprefL	Graded Ex- emplifica- tion bi Con- cerning	wa-mutāba'ati l- waḡ'i l-'insāniyyi fi sūriyā bi-šaklin 'āmin	wa-ḥāṣṣatan mā yata'allāqu bi- 'awḡā'i l-lāḡi'ina wa-l-nāziḥina	71	514
5						

ħuṣūṣan, Constructions preceded by (8x)

8x attestations, including 3x grammatical relations: 2x in combination with direct objects to verbs, in Article 56 (*wa-hum yuṭālibuna ħuṣūṣan bi-*) and in Article 92 (quoted below), and 1x reciprocal *maʿa* (Article 1; not investigated). The lexical item *ħuṣūṣan* is preposed a nominal or nominalized syntagm, 7x involving a prepositional phrase (including 1x *fīmā* VprefL, Article 109, Example 592 below), and 1x involving a *maṣdar* (Article 92, discussed below). All attestations will be covered here.

Table 65: Constructions preceded by *ħuṣūṣan*

Σ	Construction, <i>ħuṣūṣan</i> +
3	<i>fī</i> (PP)
2	<i>maʿa</i> (PP)
1	<i>bi-</i> (PP)
1	<i>fīmā</i> VprefL
1	<i>maṣdar</i>
8	

The lexical item *ħuṣūṣan* is preposed only to express Graded Exemplification (all 8x attestations), typically elliptically (5x) in the sense that the set of which the exemplified item is a member is not explicitly stated in what precedes, but is understood from context; an example of this is seen in Article 109, [...] *fī ta ʿāmulātiḥā l-naqdiyyati, ħuṣūṣan fīmā yataʿallaqu bi-l-ʿinfāqi* (Example 592 below); in Article 44 (Example 593 below); and in Article 2: *wa-yuḍkaru ʿanna ʿalāqātin bayna l-baladayni šahidat tawatturan kabīran ħuṣūṣan fī ʿāmi 2010* [...], ‘is it mentioned that [the] relations between the two countries witnessed great tension, **especially in the year 2010** [...]’ (Example 333), where the act of a past experiencing of political tension is bound to have occurred in relation to a historical timeline, here exemplified via a temporal expression to state one particular year. An attestation of a non-elliptical use is seen in Article 92: [...] *mūḍiḥan nurīdu tadahḥulan lūġistiyyan qabla kulli šayʿin ħuṣūṣan tadahḥulan bi-l-subuli l-ʿaskariyyati* [...], ‘[...] and he clarified[:] we need logistic intervention above all, **especially intervention by military means** [...]’ (Example 321), where the umbrella term ‘logistic intervention’ is exemplified after *ħuṣūṣan*.

The primary semantics of these constructions is always (8x) Graded Exemplification, but the discussion of semantics is complicated by the fronting of the Graded Exemplification via the preposing of *ħuṣūṣan*, meaning that the constructions may come with secondary semantics (5x), namely 2x Concerning (Example 592 from Article 109, and Example 593 from Article 44 below), 1x Cause (Article 1, *ħuṣūṣan maʿa + maṣdar*, see Example 324), 1x TEMP

Punctual (*ḥuṣūṣan fī 'āmi 2010* from Article 2, discussed above), and 1x Location (spatial), in Article 63: *li-ta'zīzi ḥuḍūrihā ḥuṣūṣan fī ḡanūbi l-bilādi wa-[...]*.

592. Article 109, *ḥuṣūṣan fīmā yata'allaqu bi-*, Graded Exemplification bi Concerning

وطالب الصندوق أنقرة بسن سياسات مالية تنافسية واتباع طريقة أكثر حنكة في تعاملاتها النقدية، خصوصاً فيما يتعلق بالإنفاق، كما طالبها برفع جميع القيود المفروضة على التجارة والاستثمار، بالإضافة إلى تحسين ظروف العمل، مؤكداً أن	wa-ṭālaba l-ṣandūqu 'anqara bi- sanni siyāsātīn māliyyatin tanāfusiyyatin wa-ttibā'i ṭarīqatin 'aktara ḥunkatan <u>fī</u> <u>ta'āmulātihā</u> l-naqdiyyati, ḥuṣūṣan fīmā yata'allaqu bi-l- 'infāqi , kamā ṭālabahā bi-raf'i ḡamī'i l-quyūdi l-mafrūḍati 'alā l-tiḡārati wa-l-istiṣmāri, bi-l- 'idāfati 'ilā taḥsīni zūrūfi l- 'amali, mu'akkidan 'anna [...]	And the fund called on Ankara to enact competitive financial policies and follow a more prudent path <u>in its cash dealings</u> , especially in what concerns spending , and asked it [Turkey] to lift all restrictions imposed on trade and investment, in addition to improving work conditions, asserting that [...]

593. Article 44, *ḥuṣūṣan fī*, Graded Exemplification bi Concerning

ومن المقرر ان يتم التباحث خصوصاً في جدوى إجراءات مثل تعليق الرحلات وإغلاق الحدود بالنسبة إلى الدول الأكثر تعرضاً.	wa-mīna l-muqarrari 'an yatimma l-tabāḥuṭu ḥuṣūṣan fī ḡadwā 'iḡrā'ātin miṭla ta'līqi l- riḥālāti wa-'iḡlāqi l-ḥudūdi bi-l-nisbati 'ilā l- duwali l-'aktari ta'ar- ruḍan.	And it has been scheduled that it will be discussed especially about the feasibility of measures such as suspension of flights and closing borders with regard to the most exposed countries.

d (dāl) د

dūna 'an VprefA (2x)

2x attestations of *dūna 'an VprefA* (for *dūna* in prepositional phrases, see 6.9).

The syntagm codes antiproidetic linkings: in Article 18 (Example 393) there is a canonical instance of Frustration, but in Article 15 (Example 594), the temporal notions are less defined, making the semantics closer to Incomitance. In both instances the matrix has a perfective Vsuff predicate.

594. Article 15, *dūna 'an VprefA*, Incomitance

كما أشار إلى ضرورة التحالف مع دول أخرى في هذا التحرك. لكنه ألمح إلى صعوبة نجاح أوباما في بناء هذا التحالف بسبب تراجع عن شن ضربة	kamā 'ašāra 'ilā ḍarūratī l- taḥālufi ma'a duwalin 'uḥrā fī hādā l-taḥarruki. lākin- nahu 'almaḥa 'ilā šu'ūbati naḡāḥi 'ūbāmā fī binā'i hādā l-taḥālufi bi-sababi tarāḡu 'ihi 'an šanni ḍarbatin	And he [the republican Senator John McCain] pointed to the need of allying with other states in this move. But he alluded to the difficulty of Obama's success in building this alliance because of his

عسكرية ضد سوريا
العام الماضي. وقال إن
السعوديين وآخرين
متشككون، بعدما أعلنوا
عن ضربة ضد سوريا،
وما لبث أن تراجع
حينذاك الرئيس أوباما
دون أن يخبرهم.

‘askariyyatin ḏidda sūriyā l-
‘āma l-māḏiya. wa qāla
‘inna l-sa‘ūdiyyīna wa-
‘āḥarīna mutašakkikūna,
ba‘damā ‘a‘lanā ‘an ḏarbatin
ḏidda sūriyā, wa-mā labīta
‘an tarāḡa‘a hīnadāka l-
ra‘īsu ‘ubāma ḏūna ‘an
yuhbirahum.

withdrawal from the launching
of a military strike against
Syria last year. And he said that
the Saudis and others are scepti-
cal, since the two had an-
nounced a strike against Syria,
and it did not take long before
the president Obama pulled out
without informing them

ḏ (ḏāl)

ḏālīka PP NCl (1x)

1x attestation (but see also *wa-ḏālīka* X NCl), Article 68, Associative: ‘a‘lana [...] ‘anna bilādahu ta‘tazimu l-intiṣāra l-‘askariyya [...] **ḏālīka bi-l-ta‘āwuni ma‘a el-ġazā‘ir llatī** [...].

wa-ḏālīka X NCl (42x)

42x attestations. For the separate *hapax* construction of the asyndetic *ḏālīka* NCl (Article 68, Associative), see “*ḏālīka* PP NCl”.

The syntagm adds clarity to the structure of text by resuming the previous construction via *ḏālīka* as subject in a nominal clause in order to expand on it. The semantics of the syntagm vis-à-vis its matrix is primarily an expression of the formative substance of the predicate (= X). The predicate of *ḏālīka* is typically nominal or prepositional (40x), except for 2x attestations of *ba‘da ‘an Vsuff* as the only exceptions with finite verbs. If the predicate of *wa-ḏālīka* X NCl is a verbal noun (*maṣḏar*), it is always in the accusative (7x). The most frequent matrix of the syntagm is a main clause (15x), or a complement main clause (12x); 3x attestations have relative clauses as matrices (Articles 38, 87, and 89).

The frequency of the semantics is given in Table 66; the distribution and frequency of different predicate types, their tokens, and their semantics are given in Table 67.

For more on *wa-ḏālīka* ‘alā ḥaddi ta‘bīrihi, see attribution formulae in 6.5.

Table 66: wa-dālika X NCl, attested relations

Σ	Link
6	TEMP ‘during’
5	Purpose
4	Equative
4	Countersequential
3	Nominal Purpose
3	Instrumental Manner
3	Countersequential bi Context bi Cause
2	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner
2	Location of Utterance
2	Cause
1	Context
1	Simultaneous
1	Temporal Succession
1	Paired Contrast bi Inconsequential
1	Manner
1	Inconcomitance
1	Comment
1	Comment (attribution formula)
42	

Table 67: wa-dālika X NCl, attested constructions and relation

Σ	X=	Tokens	Link	A	Ex
7	<i>maṣḍaran</i> (ACC)	wa-dālika taḥqīqan li-stiqrāri l-minṭaqati bi-waḡhin ‘āmin, wa-‘ishāman fī ‘i‘ādati l-istiqrāri ‘ilā kullin mina el-‘irāq wa-sūriyā wa-l-ḥifāzi ‘alā [...]	Nominal Purpose	39	-
		wa-dālika sa‘yan minhā li-l-taḡtiyati ‘alā faḍā‘iḥi l-fasādi	Equative	45	387
		wa-dālika raddan ‘alā malḥūẓatin min ‘aḥadi l-muwāṭinīna	Equative	88	445
		wa-dālika ḥawfan ‘alā l-salāmi	Cause	88	244
		wa-dālika sa‘yan min ḡānibi tell ‘abīb [<i>ita</i>] li-taḡannubi	Equative	95	-
		wa-dālika naẓaran l-ta‘aḥḥuri wuṣūli ba‘ḍi l-ṣaḥṣiyyāti l-muṣārikati fīhi	Cause	122	388

Σ	X=	Tokens	Link	A	Ex
		wa-ḡālīka tamhīdan li-bad’i hāḡīhi l-mufāwaḡāti	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	123	-
6	fi PP	wa-ḡālīka fi ma’ riḡi taḡḡīrihi	TEMP ‘during’	27	-
		wa-ḡālīka fi taqrīrin	Location of Utterance	40	-
		wa-ḡālīka fi ‘iṭāri l-muḡaṭṭāti l-ḡabīṭati	Context	51	590
		wa-ḡālīka fi muḡāwalatin li- ta’ tīri ‘alā	Nominal Purpose	75	595
		wa-ḡālīka fi bayānin lahā ‘alā mawqī’i “twītr”	Location of Utterance	104	-
		wa-ḡālīka fi ḡaṭwatin ḡadīdatin li-l-taḡyīqi ‘alā	Equative	109	-
5	li-maṣḡdar	wa-ḡālīka li-ntiṣāli l-ḡuṭaṭi	Purpose	38	588
		wa-ḡālīka li-tasliṭi l-ḡaw’i ‘alā	Purpose	64	-
		wa-ḡālīka li-ḡimāyati ḡayāti l- maḡaniyyīna l-‘abriyā’i	Purpose	118	-
		wa-ḡālīka li-muṭālabati l-wafdi l-filasṭīniyyi [...] bi-ḡarūrati l- taḡaḡḡuli l-‘āḡili li-ḡalli ḡaḡiyyatihim wa- [...]	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	122	561
		wa-ḡālīka li-munāḡaṣati ḡadwali l-‘a’ māli bi-l-taḡāṣili.	Purpose	123	605
4	ḡilāla PP	wa-ḡālīka ḡilāla ḡafli stiḡbālin	TEMP ‘during’	2	314
		wa-ḡālīka ḡilāla ziyāratī ‘inīk ḡīrārdān wazīrati l-dawlati l- firansiyyati	TEMP ‘during’	77	-
		wa-ḡālīka ḡilāla ziyāratīhi	TEMP ‘during’	82	-
		wa-ḡālīka ḡilāla ḡtimā’āti wuzarā’i l-māliyyati wa- muḡāḡiḡi l-bunūki l- markaziyyati	TEMP ‘during’	109	-

Σ	X=	Tokens	Link	A	Ex
4	ba'da PP	wa-dālika ba'da fašli l-ğayši fi sti'ādati l-saytarati	Counter-sequential	60	567
		wa-dālika ba'da stilāmi l-hay'ati qarḍan bi-mablaği 200 milyūni dūlārin	Counter-sequential	101	-
		wa-dālika ba'da 'aktara min šahrin 'alā bad'i l-mutamarridīna [...] taḥarrukahum	Counter-sequential bi Context bi Cause	106	-
		wa-dālika ba'da 'i'lāni l-ğayši	Counter-sequential bi Context bi Cause	125	-
2	'abra PP	wa-dālika 'abra l-tawaşşuli 'ilā ttiḥāqin bayna l-ḥukūmati wa-l-mu'āraḍati	Instrumental Manner	52	563
		wa-dālika 'abra ttiḥādi 'adadin mina l-'iğrā'āti l-malmūsati	Instrumental Manner	107	535
2	'alā PP	wa-dālika 'alā ḥaddi ta'bīrihi	Comment (attribution formula) ⁴³¹	3	384
		wa-dālika 'alā ġirāri l-qarāri l-muta'alliqati bi-qiyādāti min ġamā'ati l-iḥwāni l-muslimīna	Manner	91	-
2	ba'da 'an Vsuff	wa-dālika ba'da 'an šādaqa l-barlamānu fi ġalasitihi l-'aḥīrati 'alā maşrū'i qānūnin li-'işlāḥi qitā'āti l- [...]	Counter-sequential	87	283
		wa-dālika ba'da 'an šanna l-mu-sallaḥūna huğūman 'anīfan 'alā mawāqī'i l-ğayši	Counter-sequential	98	377
2	ma'a PP	wa-dālika ma'a l-'aḥḍi fi-l-i'tibāri ḍaḥāyā l-ṭā'irati l-māliziyyati “im 'itš 17”	Comment	49	-
		wa-dālika ma'a tanfīdi ḥizbi el-tanzīm el-waḥdawī [ita] el-ša'bī	Simultaneous	89	552

⁴³¹ See attribution formulae in 6.5.

Σ	X=	Tokens	Link	A	Ex
		el-nāširī li-tahdīdātihī bi-l-in-sihābi [...]			
2	PP (other)	wa-ḍālīka li-‘āmi 2013	TEMP 'during'	86	-
		wa-ḍālīka qubayla ttifāqi taswiyatin murtaqabatin bayna l-ḥūṭiyyīna ('anšār 'allāh) wa-l-sultati l-yamaniyyati	Temporal Succession	106	-
2	raġma PP	wa-ḍālīka raġma stimrārī l-mufāwaḍāti l-rūsiyyati l-‘ūkrāniyyati	Incon-comitance	62	-
		wa-ḍālīka raġma 'i'lāni l-'umami l-muttaḥidati l-tawaṣṣula 'ilā ttifāqin li-waḍ'i ḥaddin li-l-'azmati l-ḥāliyyati	Paired Contrast bi In-consequential	106	-
1	bi- PP	wa-ḍālīka bi-ġaraḍi baḥṭi ḥuṭṭati 'abbās li-'inhā'i l-iḥṭilālī l-'isrā'īliyyi	Purpose	69	-
1	'itra PP	wa-ḍālīka 'itra ḥulūli ḥizbihi fi-l-martabati l-tālīṭati fi-l-intiḥābāti	Counter-sequential bi Context bi Cause	85	655
1	min ḥilālī PP	wa-ḍālīka min ḥilālī stikmālī masārī l-intiqālī l-dīmūqrāṭiyyi wa-da'mi l-'amaliyyati l-siyāsiyyati wa-fatḥi qanawāti l-ḥiwārī	Instrumental Manner	52	670
1	min PP	wa-ḍālīka min 'aġli musā'adati l-duwali l-'afrīqiyyati	Nominal Purpose	44	-
42					

595. Article 75, wa-ḍālīka X NCl, Nominal Purpose

وشهدت شوارع العاصمة أدنبرة ومدينة جلاسجو مسيرات من كلا المعسكرين شارك فيها الآلاف، وذلك في محاولة للتأثير على الأصوات المتأرجحة.	wa-ṣahidat šawārī'u l-'āsi-mati 'edinbura wa-madīnati ġlāsġuw <u>masīrātīn</u> min kilā l-mu'askarayna šāraka fīha l-'ālāfu, wa-ḍālīka fī muḥāwalatin li-ta'tūri 'alā l-'aswāti l-muta'arġiḥati.	And the streets of the capital Edinburgh and the city of Glasgow have witnessed <u>marches</u> from both camps in which thousands participated, and this in an attempt to influence the swing votes.

r (*rā*) ʾ*wa-rubbamā* VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 12, Different Level Same Subject Addition to a nominalized relative clause matrix (definite participle): [...] *wa-hiya 'ihdā l-siyagi l-maṭrūḥati wa-rubbamā tulabbī l-iḥtiyāḡa*, [...], '[...] and this is one of the formulas [which was] proposed **and** [which] **maybe** [will] **meet the need**, [...]' (Example 472).

raḡm-, constructions including (5x)

5x attestations, 3x of which are preposed (for preposed subordinations, see 5.3.4.4). For (*wa-*)*raḡm-* in prepositional phrases and constructions including *wa-dālika* + PP with *raḡm-*, see 6.9.

2x post-positioned *raḡma 'anna* S Vsuff; in Article 29 the subject is explicit (Example 583) and in Article 87 it is a pronominal suffix *-hā* (Example 59). Both constructions code Inconsequential, in contrast to the preposed *'alā l-raḡmi min 'annahu kāna* (Article 47; matrix: *'illā 'anna-h* NCI), and *bi-l-raḡmi min 'anna* Subject Vsuff (Article 64; matrix: *wa-lākin* Vsuff), which both code Concession; the only syntagm with a VprefL, the preposed *wa-raḡma 'annahu lā* VprefL (Article 114, matrix: *'illā 'anna-h* VprefL) expresses a Meta-linguistic Comment bi Paired Contrast (see Example 483).

Table 68: Post-positioned non-main clauses with *raḡma 'anna*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Inconsequential	wa-tattahimu quwā l-mu'araḡati šarīf bi- tazwīri ntiḥābāti 2013,	raḡma 'anna murāqibīna maḥalliyyīna wa- 'aḡāniba waṣafū tilka l- intiḥābāti bi-l-ḥurrati wa-l-nazīhati.	29	583
1	Inconsequential	wa-'tarabat fiṭš, fi bayānin lahā , 'anna l-ziyādata l-sarī'ata fi-l-duyūni l- ḥāriḡiyyati qaṣīrati l- 'aḡali [...] 'aḡdaṭat tadahwuran sarī'an fi waḡ'i duyūnihā, [...]	raḡma 'annahā sabaqa wa-ḥaḡḡarat minhu 'aktara min marratin	87	59
2					

Table 69: Preposed non-main clauses with raġm-

Σ	Link	Non-main clause	Matrix	A	Ex
1	Concession	Example below		47	596
1	Concession bi Paired Contrast	bi-l-raġmi min 'anna l-munazzamata talaqqat 3 da'awātin min 3 duwalin 'arabiyyatin li-stiḍāfati l-mu' tamari ,	wa-lākin 'ablaġnā hāḍihi l-duwala 'anna mišr al-mustaqbilu hiya man sa-yastaḍīfuhu	64	637
1	Meta-linguistic Comment bi Paired Contrast	wa-raġma 'annahu lā yūġadu 'iḥṣā' un daqīqun li-'adadi l-'alawiiyyina fī turkiyā,	'illā 'annahum yumattīlūna fī 'aqalli l-taqdīrāti 15% min 'iġmāliyyi 'adadi l-sukkāni	114	483
3					

Example (596) from Article 47 poses a problem of sentence separation. It was annotated and understood such that the complex consisting of 'alā l-raġmi min 'annahu kāna and the clause introduced by 'illā 'anna function as an Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause to the main clause with *ħaġm# al-tawatturāti llati 'ānā minhā*. The preposed 'alā l-raġmi min 'annahu is a Concession to its matrix.

596. Article 47, 'alā l-raġmi min 'annahu kāna, Concession (preposed)

ويشرح كتاب السيرة الذاتية للأمير هاري حجم التوترات التي عانى منها في طفولته على الرغم من أنه كان أغلب الوقت في مدرسة داخلية وكان القصر حريصا على عدم وصول مانشيتات الصحف - التي تتناول فضائح والديه - إلى يديه، إلا أنه من المستحيل أن يمنع القصر وصول تلك الفضائح لباقي التلاميذ في المدرسة.

wa-yašraḥu kitābu l-sīrati l-ḍātiyyati li-l-'amīri hārī ḥaġma l-tawatturāti llati 'ānā minhā fī tufūlatihi 'alā l-raġmi min 'annahu kāna 'aġlaba l-waḡti fī mad-rasatin dāḥiliyyatin wa-kāna l-qašru ḥarīšan 'alā 'adami wuṣūli mānšitāti l-ṣuḥufi - allatī tatanāwalu faḍā'iḥa wāliḍayhi - 'ilā yadayhi, 'illā 'annahu mina l-mustahīli 'an yamna'a l-qašru wusūla tilka l-fadā'ihi li-bāqī l-talāmīdi fi-l-mad-rasati.

And the biography of Prince Harry explains the extent of the tensions he suffered during his childhood; **even though he was most of the time in a boarding school and the palace was careful that the headlines of the newspapers - which were dealing with the scandals of his parents - would not reach his hands, it was nevertheless impossible for the palace to prevent these scandals reaching the rest of the pupils in the school.**

raġma 'anna (Ref.)

See "raġm-, constructions including".

ز (*zāy*)

No attestations.

س (*sīn*)

wa-sabaqa 'an Vsuff (Ref.)

See under “*wa-* as only conjunction”, 6.1.2.2.

ش (*šīn*)

No attestations.

ص (*ṣād*)

No attestations.

ض (*ḍād*)

No attestations.

ط (*ṭā'*)

No attestations.

ظ (*ẓā'*)

No attestations.

ع (‘ayn)

wa-‘alā PP + *maṣḍar* NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 21, Consecutive. The matrix states causal conditions and the prepositional phrase of *wa-‘alā* is the predicate to express deontic modality in a Consecutive linking (Example 597).

See also “‘alay-h NCl”, “*wa-‘alā ‘itri-h* future-VprefL”, “*wa-‘alā ra’si-h* NCl”, “*wa-‘alā l-‘aḥaṣṣi* NCl”, “*‘alā naḥwi*, constructions including”, “*‘alā ‘anna-h* NCl”, etc. in what follows.

597. Article 21, *wa-‘alā* PP + *maṣḍar* NCl, Consecutive

وذكر المجلس - في
تقرير قدمه خلال جلسة
استثنائية للأمم المتحدة
أمس وأرودتها قناة
«سكاي نيوز»
الإخبارية لمناقشة
الأوضاع الإنسانية في
العراق أن «المسلحين
في العراق يعدمون
المنات، وعلى المجتمع
الدولي التصدي لتلك
الانتهاكات».

wa-ḍakarati l-mağlisu - fī
taqrīrin qaddamahu ḥilāla
ğalsatin istiṭnā’iyyatin li-l-
‘umami l-muttaḥidati ‘amsi
wa-awradathā [ita] qanātu
«skāy niyūz» al-‘iḥbāriyyatu
li-munāqaṣati l-‘awḍa’i l-
‘insāniyyati fī el-‘irāq ‘anna
«al-musallahīna fī el-‘irāq
yu’dimūna l-mi’āti, **wa-‘alā**
l-muğtama’i l-duwaliyyi l-
taṣaddī li-tilka l-inti-
hākāti».

And the council mentioned - in
a report, which it presented
during an extraordinary ses-
sion of the United Nations yes-
terday, [which] the news chan-
nel «Sky News» reported
about, to discuss⁴³² the human-
itarian situation in Iraq, that
«the militants in Iraq are exe-
cuting hundreds, **and the in-**
ternational community must
confront these violations».

wa-‘alā ‘itri-h future-VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 11, Temporal Succession: *muṣṭiran ‘ilā ‘anna ‘erdūgān ‘atāra l-qalāqila bi-ḥizbi l-ša’bi l-ğumhūriyyi*, ***wa-‘alā ‘itrihā sayatawağğahu l-ḥizbu li-‘aqdi mu’tamarin ‘āmmīn ṭāri’in*** [...], ‘noting that Erdoğan has caused unrest in the Republican People’s Party, **and following this the party will be going to hold a general emergency conference** [...]’ (Example 287).

wa-‘alā l-‘aḥaṣṣi NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 75, Graded Exemplification.

⁴³² *li-munāqaṣati* is Nominal Purpose in *trajectio* with *ğalsatin istiṭnā’iyyatin*, ‘an extraordinary session to discuss the [...]’.

598. Article 75 (final paragraph), wa- 'alā l- 'aḥaṣṣi NCl, Graded Exemplification

وأضافوا أن المخاوف تسود الاتحاد الأوروبي من تفشي النزعة الانفصالية بين أقاليم الدول الأعضاء، وعلى الأخص : إقليم كتالونيا والباسك في أسبانيا والفلاندر في بلجيكا.	wa- 'aḏāfū 'anna l-maḥāwifa tasūdu l-ittihāda l- 'ūrūbbiyya min tafaṣṣī l- naz'ati l-infiṣāliyyati bayna 'aqālīmi l-duwālī l-'a'dā'i, wa- 'alā l- 'aḥaṣṣi : 'iqlīm# ⁴³³ katālūniyā wa-l- bāsk fī 'asbāniyā wa-l- flāndir fī belġikā.	And they added that fears dominate the European Un- ion of the spread of separatist tendency <u>among the regions</u> <u>of the member states</u> , espe- cially: the region of Catalo- nia, the Basque in Spain, and Flanders in Belgium.

'alā l-raġmi min 'anna(-h) (Ref.)

See "raġm-, constructions including".

wa- 'alā ra 'si-h NCl (3x)

3x attestations, only to code Presidency. The subject of the syntagm is either a group of people (1x *maġlisu*, Article 52) or a human (2x), e.g. in the lead of Article 117, 'led by': [...] *qādatu l- 'ālamī - wa- 'alā ra 'sihim al-ra 'tsu l- 'am-rīkiyyu bārāk 'ūbāmā - [...]* 'world leaders - **and at their head the American president Barack Obama** - [...] (see Example 310).

'alā mā, constructions including (3x)

3x attestations, various constructions: 1x 'alā mā VprefL (Article 125), 1x 'alā mā *tamma maṣdar* (Article 26), 1x NCl, 'alā mā *huwa* (Article 37). The construction in Article 26 is excluded for being governed by the root *wqf* stem I, headless relative: *wa-l-wuqūf# 'alā mā tamma l-tawaṣṣulu 'ilayhi [...]*, '[to] find out **what was reached** [...]', in the context of talks and meetings.

'alā mā VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 125, Parenthetical Comment between the subject and predicate in a *wa-hw* nominal clause (also a Parenthetical Comment, see under *wa-hw* NCl), commenting on the epistemic certainty: *wa-hiyā 'alā mā yabdū min tīrāzi mīġ-21*, 'and this, **it appears**, was of the model MiG-21 [...]' (see Example 663).

'alā mā (*huwa*) NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 37, Manner.

⁴³³ Syntactically, 'aqālīm# is the subject, i.e. nominative, but the reading is marked as uncertain. It is possible that we are dealing with an attraction to the genitive of *bayna 'aqālīmi [...]* in what precedes. An investigation into the use of cases in Media Arabic is a *desideratum* of future research.

599. Article 37 (lead), 'alā mā hw NCI, Manner

قال الرئيس الفلسطيني
محمود عباس إنه يجب أن
يكون هناك سلطة واحدة
ونظام واحد ، وأضاف
: لن نقبل أن يستمر
الوضع مع حركة حماس
على ما هو عليه.

qāla l-raʿīsu l-filasṭīniyyu
maḥmūd ʿabbās ʾinnahu yaǧību
ʾan yakūna hunāka sulṭatun
wāḥidatun wa-niẓāmun
wāḥidun , wa-ʿaḍāfa :lan
naqbala ʾan yastamirra l-waḍʿu
maʿa harakati hamās ʿalā mā
huwa ʿalayhi.

The Palestinian president
Mahmoud Abbas said
there should be one au-
thority and one system
[only], and added: We
will not accept that the
situation with Hamas
continues as it is.

'alā naḥwi, constructions including (2x)

2x attestations, 'alā naḥwi Vsuff (Article 13), Degree Consecutive, and 'alā naḥwi ʾanna-h NCI (Article 69), Manner. The formative semantic substance, and its anaphoric manner element, 'alā naḥwin, 'in a manner', is transparent in both semantics.

Degree Consecutive in Article 13, "TV building stormed + government forced to stop the broadcast": [...] qtaḥama [...] mi'ātu l-mutaẓāhirīna l-[...] mabnā l-tilfiziōn al-waṭaniyyi [...] muraddidīna hutāfātīn munāḥiḍatan li-l-ḥukūmati, 'alā naḥwi aǧbara l-ḥukūmata li-waqfi l-baṭṭi [...], '[...] **in such a manner that it** forced the government to stop the broadcasting [...]' (Example 234). Here the condition met in the superordinate construction is subjective in the sense that the deontic force exerted on the government is a matter of assessment, not necessity (e.g. by natural law) or a lack of root possibility. The consequence of stopped broadcasts, strictly speaking, was not infallibly conditioned by what is described in the previous clauses. The example is monosemantic, but not a canonical instance of Degree Consecutive.

Example (600) from Article 69 is Manner.

600. Article 69, 'alā naḥwi ʾanna-h NCI, Manner (irreal)

ومن ناحية أخرى، أشاد
عزام الأحمد عضو
اللجنة المركزية لحركة
فتح بالدور المصري،
الذي حمل المطالب
والنقاط الفلسطينية
وتعامل معها على نحو
أنها مطالب ونقاط
مصرية، وتمسك بها
حازمة
بصورة
وحاسمة.

wa-min nāḥiyatin ʾuḥrā,
ʾašāda ʿazzām el-ʾaḥmad-
ʾuḍwu l-laǧnati l-markaziyyati
li-ḥarakati fataḥ bi-l-dawri l-
miṣriyyi, allaḍī ḥamala l-
maṭālība wa-l-niqāṭa l-fi-
lasṭīniyyata wa-taʿāmla
maʿahā ʿalā naḥwi ʾannahā
maṭālību wa-niqātun
miṣriyyatun, wa-tamassaka
bihā bi-ṣūratin ḥāzimatin wa-
ḥāsimatin.

On the other hand, Azzam al-
Ahmad, a member of the
Central Committee of the Fa-
tah movement praised the
Egyptian role, which carried
the Palestinian demands and
points and dealt with them **as**
if they are [= were] Egyp-
tian demands and points,
and held on to them in a firm
and decisive manner.

'alay-h NCI (1x)

1x attestation, Article 70, Different Level Different Subject Addition to a relative clause matrix, comparable to asyndetic VprefL (6.1.1.2) and asyndetic

Vsuff (6.1.1.1) in the same syntactic context (following a relative clause matrix), 'belonging to' and 'bearing signs': *kamā tamma l- 'utūru 'alā ġuttatayni li-muwāṭinīna* [REL] *yatba 'āni katībata 204 dabbābāt#*, 'alayhimā 'ātūru ta 'qibin., 'and two bodies were discovered of citizens who belong to the 204st Tank Battalion [and] on whom [there were] signs of torture.' (Example 451)

'alā 'an VprefA (5x)

5x instances, including 2x *yakūna*, and 1x *yatimma maṣdar*. For 'alā 'an(na) as complementizer, see 5.3.2.1.

The syntagm 'alā 'an VprefA provides additional information relevant to, but not easily logico-semantically relatable to, information in the matrix: 'it is said that', 'given that what is said is true, namely that' (testimonial epistemic certainty). The syntagm is nebulous as to its relation vis-à-vis its matrix. Part of the reason for this intransparency is explained by the fact that all the attestations are future projecting (irreal context), and frequently occur in the context of talks. The observed semantics are probably secondary to the future-projecting function, hence covering Paired Contrast, Conditional, Concerning, and Context & Cause.

Table 70: 'alā 'an VprefA

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Paired Contrast	Example below		38	601
1	Paired Contrast OR Cause	Example below		26	602
1	Conditional	Example below		37	603
1	Context & Cause	Example below		122	604
1	Concerning	Example below		123	605
5					

601. Article 38 (sentence after lead), 'alā 'an VprefA, Paired Contrast

يأتى ذلك فى وقت تصاعدت احتجاجات الحوثيين أمس، معتبرين أن التنازلات حول تعيين رئيس حكومة جديد وتخفيض اسعار المحروقات غير كافية. وتضمنت قطع الشوارع وحصار المؤسسات العامة على أن يكون التصعيد الأكبر غدا وبعد غد .	ya'tī dālika fī waqtin taṣā'adati htiġāġātu l-hūtiy- yīna 'amsi, mu'tabirīna 'anna l-tanāzulāti ḥawla ta'yīni ra'isi ḥukūmatin ġadīdin wa-taḥfīdi 'as'āri l- maḥrūqāti ġayra kāfīyatin. wa-taḍammanat qat'a l- ṣawāri'i wa-hisāri l-mu'as- sasāti l-āmmati 'alā 'an yakūna l-taṣ'īdu l-'akbaru ġadan wa-ba'da ġadin.	This comes at a time when the protests of the Houthis esca- lated yesterday, considering that the concessions concern- ing the appointment of the new prime minister and the reduce of fuel prices is not enough. And [yesterday's protests] in- cluded the cutting off of roads and the blockade of public in- stitutions, but the biggest es- calation will be tomorrow

and [the day] after tomorrow.

602. Article 26, 'alā 'an VprefA, Paired Contrast OR Cause

ومن المقرر أن يصل
شكري خلال ساعات
إلى إيطاليا، التي تعد
المحطة الأخيرة في
جولته الأوروبية على أن
يتوجه الخميس مباشرة
إلى أثيوبيا.

wa-mina l-muqarrari 'an
yasila šukrī ḥilāla sā'atin 'ilā
'itālyā, llatī tu'addu l-
mahattata l-'ahīrata fī ġawla-
tihi l-'urūbbiyyati 'alā 'an
yatawaġġaha l-ḥamīsa mu-
bāšaratan 'ilā 'atyūbiyā.

And it is scheduled that
Shoukry will [= Shoukry is
scheduled to] arrive within
hours to Italy, which is
counted as the last stop in
his European tour, given
that he is heading on
Thursday directly to Ethi-
opia.

603. Article 37, 'alā 'an VprefA, Conditional

وأشار أبو مرزوق
إلى أن الحديث عن
عدم نية الاحتلال
إرسال وفد إلى القاهرة
بأنه «تكن غير
دقيق»، وأن حماس
أبلغت بقاء الوسيط
مع إسرائيل للحديث
عن استئناف
المفاوضات، بانتظار
دعوة القاهرة ببدء
الاجتماعات والمقررة
أن تكون بعد شهر من
وقف إطلاق النار.
وفيما يتعلق بمؤتمر
المانحين، أكد أبو
مرزوق أن المؤتمر
سيعقد في شهر أكتوبر
بالقاهرة، على أن
تتولى تنسيقه الزرويج
كما تم الاتفاق بذلك
بينها وبين مصر.

wa-'ašāra 'abū marzūq 'ilā
'anna l-ḥadīṭa 'an 'adami
niyyati l-iḥtilālī 'irsāla waf-
din 'ilā el-qāhira bi-'annahu
«takahhunun ġayru daqīqin»
wa-'anna ḥamās 'ubliġat bi-
liqā' i l-wasīṭi ma'a 'isrā'īl li-
l-ḥadīṭi 'ani sti'nāfi l-
mufāwādāti, bi-ntizāri
da'wati el-qāhira bi-bad'i l-
iġtimā'ati wa-l-muqarrarati
'an takūna ba'da šahrin min
waqfi 'iṭlāqi l-nāri. wa-fimā
yata'allāqu bi-mu'tamari l-
māniḥīna, 'akkada 'abū
marzūq 'anna l-mu'tamara
sa-yu'qadu fī šaḥri 'uktūbir
bi-l-qāhira, 'alā 'an ta-
tawallā tansīqahu el-
nurwīġ kamā tamma l-
ittifāqu bi-ḡālīka baynahā
wa-bayna mišr.

And Abu Marzouk pointed to
[the fact] that the talk concern-
ing the lack of intention of the
occupation to send a delegation
to Cairo [by [saying] that it] is
«an inaccurate speculation»
and that Hamas has been in-
formed about the mediator's
meeting with Israel to talk
about the resumption of nego-
tiations, waiting the call of
Cairo to begin the meetings
which are scheduled to take
place after a month from the
ceasefire. And concerning
what regards the conference of
donors, Abu Marzouk con-
firmed that the conference will
be held in the month of Octo-
ber in Cairo, provided that
Norway assumes the coordi-
nation as [was] agreed be-
tween it [Norway] and Egypt.

604. Article 122, 'alā 'an yatimma + mašdar, Context & Cause

وفي سياق متصل
تتعلق غدا الأربعاء
جولة من المفاوضات
غير المباشرة بين
الوفدين الفلسطيني
والإسرائيلي استكمالاً
للمفاوضات التي نجم
عنها التوصل إلى

wa-fī siyāqin muttašilin
taṇṭaliqu ḡadan al-'arbi 'ā'a
ġawlatun mina l-
mufāwādāti ġayri l-mu-
bāširati bayna l-wafdayni l-
filasṭīniyyi wa-l-'isrā'īliyyi
stikmālan li-l-mufāwādāti
llatī naġama 'anhā l-

And in a related context, a round
of indirect negotiations will
launch tomorrow Wednesday
between the two delegations, the
Palestinian and the Israeli, as a
means and manner of completing
the negotiations that the reaching
of a ceasefire in Gaza resulted
from.

وقف إطلاق النار في غزة.	tawaṣṣulu 'ilā waqfi 'iṭlāqi li-l-nāri fi ḡazza.
وقال عضو الوفد الفلسطيني المفاوض بسام الصالحى لوكالة فرانس برس إن هذه المفاوضات تهدف الى التوصل الى جدول أعمال فقط، على أن يتم العودة لاستكمالها بعد عيد الأضحى .	wa-qāla 'uḍwu l-wafdi l-filastīniyyi l-mufāwiḍu basām el-ṣālīḥi li-wikālati frāns briss 'inna <u>hādihi l-mufāwadāti tahdufu 'ilā ḡadwali 'a mālin faqat</u> , 'alā 'an yatimma l-'awdatu li-stikmālihā ba'da 'īdi l-'aḍḥā.

And a member of the Palestinian negotiating delegation, Bas-sam Al-Salhi, said to Agence France-Presse that these negotiations aim towards an agenda only, since [provided that] they [the negotiations] will be returned to to be finished [will be resumed] after Eid al-Adha.

'alā 'an VprefA in Example (605) from Article 123 could arguably have been classified as a complement clause to *mubāḥaṭātīn* ('talks' + Concerning), but given the *trajectio* with an interposed relative clause, the construction is included here as a possible bridging context, shedding light on the other examples. It illustrates well the vagueness of the irreal future projection implied in the syntagm. If high grades were to be given for low clarity, a lack of brevity, and difficult comprehension, this example would have been considered for top scores.

605. Article 123, 'alā 'an VprefA, Concerning

واكد الأحمد، انه تم الاتفاق بعد اتصالات مع المسؤولين المصريين مع الجانبين الفلسطيني والاسرائيلي على أن تكون هناك جلسة مباحثات والتي عقدت أمس على أن يتم استئناف المفاوضات بعد عيد الأضحى المبارك و الاعياد اليهودية ، التي تبدأ اليوم الاربعاء ولمدة عشرة أيام متقطعة، وركزت على وضع جدول الأعمال والموع الذي سيتم استئناف المفاوضات فيه بعد إجازة الأعياد، وذلك لمناقشة جدول الاعمال بالتفصيل.	wa-'akkada el-'aḥmad, 'an-nahu tamma l-ittifāqu ba'da ttīšālātīn ma'a l-mas'ūlīna l-miṣriyyīna ma'a l-ḡānibayni l-filastīniyyi wa-l-'isrā'īliyyi 'alā 'an takūna hunāka ḡalsatu mubāḥaṭātīn wa-l-latī 'uqīdat 'amsi 'alā 'an yatimma sti'nāfu l-mufāwaḍāti ba'da 'īdi l-'aḍḥā l-mubāraki wa l-'a'yādi l-yahūdiyyati , llatī tabda'u l-yawma l-'arbi'ā'a wa-li-muddati 'ašarati 'ayyāmin mutaqaṭṭi'atin, wa-rakkazat 'alā waḍ'i ḡadwali l-'a māli wa-l-maw'idi llaḍī sa-yatimmu sti'nāfu l-mufāwaḍāti fihi ba'da 'iḡāzati l-'a'yādi, wa-dālīka li-munāqašati ḡadwali l-'a māli bi-l-taṣṣīli.

And al-Ahmad said that it was agreed after contacts with Egyptian officials with the two sides, the Palestinian and the Israeli, that there would be a session of talks, which [the session?] was held yesterday, **concerning [or provided] that the negotiations will be resumed after Eid al-Adha and the Jewish holidays**, which begin today, Wednesday, and [will continue] for ten intermittent days, and it/they [the session?] focused on setting the agenda and the date on which the resumption of negotiations will continue [namely] after the vacation of the holidays, and this in order to discuss the agenda in detail.

‘alā ’anna-h NCl (0x)

No attestation, but cf. Article 114, a possible irreal comparison: *waṣafat* [... direct object] ‘alā ’annahā NCl, ‘described [... direct object] **as if it were** [...]’ (Example 704).

‘indamā Vsuff (6x)

6x attestations of ‘indamā, only with Vsuff. No *tamma maṣdar*, no *kāna*. The time frame of both the matrix and the subordinate clause are broadly shared and set by the matrix. The matrix, a clause or a nominal phrase, is topical and the ‘indamā Vsuff syntagm expands on it, typically through an Expanding Paraphrase (4x), 2x with bi-nuances, but may also code what is best described as a monosemantic Simultaneous clause, stating circumstances (Article 56, Example 427). The syntagm is also used to express circumstantial causes of the matrix situation 2x in Article 3: 1x as a Simultaneous bi Cause, and 1x as a long Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause; the latter is only broadly cotemporal with the matrix, as discussed where Example 337 is given.

Table 71: ‘indamā Vsuff

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
2	Expanding Paraphrase	wa-qad sabaqa tilka l-wāqi‘ata bi-sā‘ātin qalilatin, ḥādiṭu tasallulin ‘āḥaru	‘indamā naḡaḡa ḡünzālis fi-l-qafzi fawqa sūri l-bayti l-‘abyaḍi wa- [...]	108, 32	252, 456
1	Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner	wa-qāla [...] ‘inna l-suluṭāti l-iḥtilāli qāmat ‘aḡīran bi-l-i‘tidā’i ‘alā maqābiri l-muslimīna [...]	‘indamā qāmat quwwātuhā bi-nabši wa-taḡṭīmi ba‘ḍi l-qubūri fi-l-maqbarati l-yūsufiyyati [...]	128	-
1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause	wa-‘ašārat maṣādiru ‘amniyyatun ‘ilā ‘anna ‘a‘māla l-‘unfi ndala‘at	‘indamā qāma ḡawālay 25 ‘alfa mutazāhirin bi-maṣīratin mina l-barlamāni ‘ilā manzili ra‘īsi, ḡayṭu [...]	3	337
1	Simultaneous	ba‘da maqtali mutazāhirin bi-l-raṣāsi ‘amsi l-‘awwala,	‘indamā ḡawalati l-ṣurṭatu tafriqa ‘anṣāri l-ḡamā‘ati	56	427
1	Simultaneous bi Cause	mu‘akkidan ‘anna ‘al-ṣurṭata lam tastaḡdim siwā l-ḡāzi l-musīli li-l-dumū‘i wa-l-raṣāsi l-maṭṭāṭiyyi	‘indamā da‘ati l-ḡāḡatu ‘ilā ḡālika”	3	259
6					

ğ (ğayn) غ

ğayra 'anna Subject Vsuff (2x)

2x attestations, including 1x verb of attribution (Article 127). For *ğayra 'anna* in main clauses, see 5.3.1.

The attestation of *ğayra 'anna* Subject Vsuff in Article 80 is a prototypical Frustration, with three buses aiming for a destination, and one crashing down the valley (Example 395); whereas the attestation in Example (606) from Article 127 with a verb of attribution expresses contrast at a higher level, Adversative bi Temporal Succession.

606. Article 127 (final sentence), *ğayra 'anna* Subject Vsuff, Adversative bi Temporal Succession.

وكانت اليابان سبق وأقرت الانضمام إلى العقوبات التي فرضتها هذه البلدان ضد روسيا، غير أن صحيفة «آر بي كي» الروسية كشفت أمس النقاب، عن أن رئيس الحكومة اليابانية أعرب عن أمله في لقاء الرئيس الروسي على هامش قمة رؤساء بلدان آسيا والمحيط الهادئ التي من المقرر عقدها في بكين في نوفمبر المقبل.	wa-kānati el-yābān sabaqa wa-'aḡarrati l-īndimāma 'ilā l-'uqūbāti llatī faradathā hādihi l-buldānu didda rūsiyā, ḡayra 'anna ṣaḥīfata «'ār bī kī» al- rūsiyyata kaṣafat 'amsi l- niqāba 'an 'anna ra'īsa l- ḥukūmati l-yābāniyyati 'a'raba 'an 'amalihi fī liqā'i l-ra'īsi l-rūsiyyi 'alā hāmiši qimmatī ru'asā'i buldāni 'āsiyā l-muḡarrari 'aḡduhā fī bikīn fī nūfimbir al-muḡbili.	Japan has already approved adhering to the sanctions which these countries im- posed against Russia, the Russian Newspaper «RPK», however, revealed yesterday that the Japanese prime minister has expressed his hope to meet the Russian president on the sidelines of the summit of the heads [of state] of the countries of Asia which is scheduled to be held in Beijing in November.

f (fā) ف

fa-, linkings with + (Subject) predication (11x)

Grouped according to the placement of subject, e.g. under “*fa*-VprefL” and “*fa*-Subject VprefL”.

See also “*fa*-l-VprefS”, and “*fa*-inna *dālīka* future-VprefL”.

fa-Vsuff (2x)

2x attestations, Temporal Succession, 1x of which is bi Consecutive (Article 90). No *fa-kāna*, no *fa-tamma maṣḍar*.

Both attestations follow matrices with *lākin(na)*: 1x with Vsuff (Article 64), and 1x with *lam* VprefS (Article 90).

Table 72: *fa-Vsuff*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Temporal Succession	wa-lākin 'ablaġnā hāđihi l-duwala 'anna mišr al-mustaqbilu hiya man sa-yastađfuhu	,fa-wāfaqat hāđihi l-duwalu	64	637
1	Temporal Succession bi Consecutive	Example below		90	607
2					

607. Article 90, *fa-Vsuff*, Temporal Succession bi Consecutive

وقال فرج ابوهاشم تم استدعاء الحاكم إلى جلسة استماع امام البرلمان بعد مزاعم عن مخالفات مالية، لكنه لم يحضر فأجرى النواب تصويتا لصالح إقالته.	wa-qāla faraġ 'abūhāšim tamma sti'dā'u l-ħākimi 'ilā ġalsati stimā'in 'amāma l-barlamāni ba'da mazā'ima 'an muħālafātin māliyyatin, lākinnaħu lam yaħdur fa-'aġrā l-nuwwābu tašwītan li-šāliħi 'iqālatiħi.	And Faraj Buhashem said the governor was summoned to a hearing session before the parliament following allegations of financial irregularities, <u>but he did not show up, and so the MPs took a vote in favour of his dismissal.</u>

fa-future VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, *fa-sa-yakūnu*, a Different Level Different Subject Addition as the matrix to a preposed Conditional clause in a direct speech clause complex introduced by a front dislocation (for which, see 5.3.4.3), Article 4: [...] *wa-hāđihi l-tašrīħātu l-'abaṭiyyatu, idā takarrarat fa-sa-yakūnu lanā mawqifun tuġāha turkiyā llafī* [...], '[...] if they are repeated, **we will have [such] an attitude towards Turkey that they [...]**' (see Example 270).

fa-NCl (4x)

4x attestations, including 1x *fa-hāđihi* NCl (Article 71), 1x *fa-huwa* NCl (Article 19), and 1x *fa-hunāka* NCl (Article 37). Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause is the most frequent relation (2x).

Table 73: *fa-NCl*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
2	Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause	:«lan naqbala 'an yastamirra l-wađ'u kama huwa , wa-lan naqbala 'an yakūna baynanā wa-bayna (ħamās) širākatun 'idā stamarra wađ'uhum fī ġazza bi-hāđā l-šakli ,	fa-hunāka ħukūmatu zillin mukawwana tun min [...]	37	549

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
	Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause	Example below		71	609
1	Expanding Paraphrase	Example below		32	608
1	Discussion below	Example below		19	610
4					

608. Article 32, fa-NCl, Expanding Paraphrase

وقال باحث مختص في
الشيعية شئون
بالسودان- طالبا عدم
نكراسمه -الأرجح أن
القرار صدر نتيجة
لضغط داخلية
وخارجية فالضغط
الخارجية من دول
الخليج وخاصة المملكة
العربية السعودية القلقة
من التقارب السوداني
الإيراني ولديها
مخاوف من انتشار
المذهب الشيعي على
الساحل الغربي للبحر
الاحمر».

wa-qāla bāhiṭun muḥtaṣṣun fī
šu'ūni l-šī'iyyati bi-l-sūdān-
ṭāliban 'adama ḍikri-smihi -al-
'arḡaḥu 'anna l-qarāra ṣadara
naṭiḡatan li-duḡūtin dāḥiliyya-
tin wa-ḥāriḡiyyatin **fa-l-**
ḍuḡūtu l-ḥāriḡiyyatu min
duwali el-ḥaliḡ wa-ḥāṣṣatan
al-mamlakati l-'arabiyyati l-
sa'ūdiyyati l-qaliqati mina l-
taqārubi l-sūdāniyyi l-
'irāniyyi wa-ladayhā
maḥāwifu mina ntišāri l-
maḡhabi l-šī'iyyi 'alā l-sāḥili
l-ḡarbiyyi li-baḥri l-'aḥmariḡ.

A researcher specialized in
Shiite affairs in Sudan - ask-
ing not to be named - said it
is likely that the decision was
issued as a result of internal
and external pressures, **the**
external pressures coming
from the Gulf States, par-
ticularly the Kingdom of
Saudi Arabia [because it
is/was] worried about the
Iranian-Sudanese rapproche-
ment, and has fears of the
spread of the Shiite school
on the western coast of the
Red Sea.

609. Article 71 (final sentence), fa-NCl, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (cause of utterance)

وقال درباس في
تصريحات أمس إن
إقامة هذه المخيمات
على أرض لبنانية لا
تحتاج إلى إذن من أي
دولة أخرى فهذه أرضنا
وسبق أن عرضنا هذا
الاقتراح في مجلس
الوزراء ولم يعترض
أحد وسيتم رفع تقرير
حول ما قام به فريق
العمل في هذا الصدد في
الجلسة المقبلة لمجلس
الوزراء تمهيدا للعمل
بالعمل.

wa-qāla derbās fī taṣrīḥātīn
'amsi 'inna 'iqāmata ḥāḍihi
l-muḥayyamātīn 'alā 'arḍin
lubnāniyyatin lā taḥtāḡu 'ilā
'idnin min 'ayyi dawlatin
'uḥrā **fa-ḥāḍihi 'arḍunā**
wa-sabaqa 'an 'araḍnā ḥāḍā
l-iqtirāḥa fī maḡlisi l-
wuzarā'i wa-lam ya'tariḍ
'aḥadun wa-sa-yatimmu
raf'u taqrīri ḥawla mā qāma
bihi farīqu l-'amali fī ḥāḍā l-
ṣadadi fī-l-ḡalsati l-
muqbilati li-maḡlisi l-
wuzarā'i tamḥīdan li-l-bad'i
bi-l-'amali.

Derbas said in statements yes-
terday that the establishment
of these camps on Lebanese
soil does not require the per-
mission from any other state,
for this is our land and we
have presented this proposal in
the assembly of representa-
tives and no one objected, and
a report will be submitted con-
cerning what the task force has
achieved in this regard in the
coming session of the assem-
bly of representatives in prepa-
ration of the beginning of the
work.

Example (610) warrants a discussion. The complement main clause, *‘annahu huwa [...] al-waḥīdu*, proposes that there is only one legitimate council, to the effect that ‘what exists other than that, [it] is invalid’. The *wa-mā ‘adā* clause was annotated as Consecutive to the proposition stating that there only exists one legitimate council, and consequently *fa-huwa* NCI was annotated as an Exception Contrast (an atypical reverse case) in relation to *wa-mā ‘adā*. An alternative annotation would have taken the *wa-mā ‘adā dālīka* as the Exception Contrast, headless relative subject to *fa-huwa* NCI, which then would be the Consecutive clause of the complement matrix. The example features two *hapax* constructions: *mā ‘adā* and *fa-huwa* NCI.

610. Article 19, *wa-mā ‘adā dālīka fa-huwa* NCI, Exception Contrast, and Consequence

واعتبر مجلس شوري ثوار طرابلس الكبرى - في بيان له أمس - أنه هو المجلس الشرعي الوحيد الذي يمثل ثوار تصحيح المسار عن طرابلس وما عدا ذلك فهو باطل.	wa-‘tabara mağlisu šūrā tuwwāri ʔarābulus al-kubrā - fī bayānin lahu ‘amsi - ‘an- nahu huwa l-mağlisu l- šar‘iyyu l-waḥīdu llaḏī yumattilu tuwwāra tashīhi l- masāri ‘an tarābulus wa-mā ‘adā dālīka fa-huwa bāṭi- lun.	The Shura Council of the Greater Tripoli Revolutionar- ies considered - in a statement it made yesterday - <u>that it is the only legitimate council repre- senting the rebels of the Cor- rection of the Path of Tripoli,</u> [and] anything else [it] is in- valid.

fa-Subject VprefL (2x)

2x attestations, Articles 1 and 11, only to express Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (cause of utterance). No *yakūnu*, no *yatimmu maṣdar*.

Table 74: *fa-Subject VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Meta-linguis- tic Comment bi Cause	Example below		1	611
1	Meta-linguis- tic Comment bi Cause	[...] wa-lā yum- kinunā ‘an nabda’ a l-taḥqīqa binā’an ‘alā ḥiṭābāti ‘iblāgi ḡayri mu- waqqa‘atin,	fa-l-quwwātu l-musal- laḥatu l-turkiyyatu tu’minu bi-mabda’i siyādati l- qānūni wa-tattaḥīdu l- ‘iḡrā’āti l-lāzimata-‘alā hādā l-‘asāsi».	11	531
2					

611. Article 1, *fa*-subject VprefL, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (cause of utterance)

وقال المحلل السياسي الكويتي عايد المناع أصبح لدينا هاجس أكبر من مسألة التباين في السياسات الخارجية، فداعش تسيطر على ثلث العراق وثلث سوريا.	wa-qāla l-muḥallilu l- siyāsiyyu l-kuwaytiyyu 'āyed el-mannā' ašbaḥa ladaynā hāḡisun 'akbaru min mas'alati l-tabāyuni fi-l- siyāsāti l-hāriḡiyyati fa- dā'eš tusayṭiru 'alā ṭulṭi el- 'irāq wa-ṭulṭi sūriyā.	And the Kuwaiti political an- alyst Ayed al-Manna said that we have got a bigger concern than the issue of var- iance in foreign policies for Daesh is controlling a third of Iraq and a third of Syria.

fa-Subject *lā* VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 42, *fa*-Subject *rubbamā lā yakūnu*, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (cause of utterance).

612. Article 42, *fa*-Subject *rubbamā lā yakūnu*, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (cause of utterance)

وطالب على أعضاء الكونجرس الذين يعتمدون على تقارير بروكينجز بأن يكونوا حذرين في تعاملهم مع مثل هذه التقارير ، فالأبحاث ربما لا تكون كاذبة ، ولكنها تنقل صورة «مبتورة» وغير مكتملة.	wa-tālaba 'alā 'a'dā' i l-kūnḡris# allaḡina ya'tamidūna 'alā taqāriri brūkingz bi-'an yakūnū ḡadīrina fī ta'āmuliḡim ma'a mitli ḡadīhi l-taqāriri , fa-l- 'abḡātu rubbamā lā takūnu kāḡibatan , wa-lākinnahā tanqulu šūratan «mabtūra- tan» wa-ḡayra muktamilaṭin.	And he called the mem- bers of the congress who rely on the reports of Brookings to be cautious when dealing with such reports, for they may not be false, but they [nev- ertheless] convey a «truncated» and incom- plete picture.

fa-hw lan VprefA (1x)

1x attestation, Article 102, Same Level Different Subject Addition to a complement main clause matrix in a clause complex with multiple preposed relevance conditional clauses (a type of Meta-linguistic Comment, see 4.11.1): *qā' ilan* : «'iḡā kuntum lā tuḡibbūnanī, *fa-*'innī lan 'akūna huna 'ilā l-'abadi, wa-'in kuntum lā tuḡibbūna ḡadīhi l-ḡukūmata *fa-hiya lan tastamirra* 'ilā l-'abadi, [...], 'saying: «If you do not like me, I am not going to be here forever, and if you do not like this government, **it is not going to remain forever** [...]» (see Example 237). See also *fa-'inna dālika* future VprefL below.

fa-'inna dālika future VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 102, future-*yakūnu*, as the final apodosis in a three-part conditional clause complex where the preposed protasis is preceded by a front-dislocated subject, *wa-lākinnakum*. The whole syntagm stands as a Paired Contrast (“if *x* and *y*, not for eternity, vs. if *z*, then for eternity”) to what precedes it, in a highly rhetorical speech by Cameron: [‘if *x* and *y*, then not for eternity] *wa-lākinnakum* 'iḡā ḡādartumu l-mamlakata l-muttaḡidata *fa-'inna*

dālīka sa-yakūnu 'abadiyyan«, '[...] but you, if you leave [...] it will be for eternity' (see Example 237). For front dislocations, see 5.3.4.3; for preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4. See also *fā-hw lan* VprefA above.

fī ḥālī Vsuff (2x)

2x attestations, including 1x *kāna*. (For prepositional phrases with *fī ḥālī* and *fī ḥālātī*, see the discussion of Conditional under “*fī*” in 6.9.)

Both attestations occur in Complements of Utterances and express the Conditional: 1x *fī ḥālī kāna* in a preposed subordination (Article 69, Example 613; for preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4), and 1x post-posed with *fī ḥālī ḥāwalat* (Article 10, Example 614).

613. Article 69, *fī ḥālī kāna*, Conditional

وأكد أنه في حال كان
الرد سلبيًا فسينتوجه
الفلسطينيون إلى مجلس
الأمن الدولي يطلب
لتحديد سقف زمني
لإنهاء الاحتلال
الإسرائيلي وإقامة
الدولة الفلسطينية على
حدود عام 1967،
استنادًا إلى رسالة
الضمانات التي قدمتها
الإدارة الأمريكية للقيادة
الفلسطينية قبل تسعة
أشهر.

wa-'akkada 'annahu **fī ḥālī**
kāna l-raddu salbiyyan fa-
sa-yatawağğahu l-fi-
lasṭīniyyūna 'ilā mağlisi l-
'amni l-duwaliyyi bi-talabin
li-taḥdīdi saqfin zamaniiyyin
li-'inhā' i l-iḥtilālī l-'isrā'īliyyi
wa-'iqāmati l-dawlati l-fi-
lasṭīniyyati 'alā ḥudūdi 'āmi
1967, istinādan 'ilā risālati l-
ḍamānāti llatī qaddamathā l-
'idāratu l-'amrikiyyatu li-l-
qiyādati l-filasṭīniyyati qabla
tis'ati 'ašhurin.

And he stressed that **if the response would be negative, the Palestinians will go to the international Security Council with a request to set a time limit to end the Israeli occupation and [to] establish the Palestinian state on the borders of the year 1967, based on the letters of guarantees which the American administration presented to the Palestinian leadership nine months ago.**

614. Article 10, *fī ḥālī* Vsuff, Conditional

ودعا نتنياهو الرئيس
الفلسطيني محمود عباس
إلى الاختيار بين
مفاوضات السلام مع
إسرائيل وحركة حماس. .
وفي مقابلة مع الشبكة
الثانية للتلفزيون
الإسرائيلي قال نتنياهو
“ليس لدينا أي مشكلة في
سيطرة السلطة الفلسطينية
على قطاع غزة، لكن لدينا
مشكلة في حال حاولت
حماس السيطرة على
الضفة الغربية. وإضاف
أن إسرائيل لا يمكنها أن
تصنع السلام مع محاور
يأمل في تدميرها.

wa-da'ā nītānyāhū l-ra'īsa l-fi-
lasṭīniyya maḥmūd 'abbās 'ilā
l-iḥtiyārī bayna mufāwaḍāti l-
salāmi ma'a 'isrā'īl wa-ḥara-
kati ḥamās. . wa-fī muqābala-
tin ma'a l-šabakati l-tāniyyati
li-l-tilifizyōn al-'isrā'īliyyi
qāla nītānyāhū “laysa ladaynā
'ayyu muškilatin fī saytarati l-
sulṭati l-filasṭīniyyati 'alā
qiṭā' i ġazza, lākinna **ladaynā**
muškilatan fī ḥālī ḥāwalat
ḥamās al-sayṭarata 'alā el-
ḍiffa el-ğarbiyya. wa-'aḍāfa
'anna 'isrā'īl lā yumkinuhā
'an tašna'a l-salāma ma'a
muḥāwirin ya'mulu fī tad-
mīrihā.

And Netanyahu called on the Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas to choose between peace negotiations with Israel and the Hamas movement. . And in an interview with the second Israeli television network Netanyahu said “We do not have any problems with the Palestinian Authority’s control over the Gaza Strip, **but we [would] have a problem if Hamas would try to control the West Bank.** And he added that Israel cannot make

peace with an interlocutor
who hopes to destroy it.

fī hīni + finite verb (Ref.)

See under “*hīn*#, constructions including”.

faḍlan ‘an ‘anna Subject VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 8, a second complement to a verb of attribution: ‘*ašāra* [...] ‘*ilā* ‘*annahu tamma* [*maṣḍar*] [...] *faḍlan* ‘an ‘anna Subject VprefL (see Example 464). For second complements to verbs of utterances, see 5.3.2.1.

fa-l-VprefS (1x)

1x attestation, Article 85, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (cause of utterance).

615. Article 85, *fa-l*-VprefS, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (cause of utterance)

وقال : "لن يكون
هناك تعاون معهم ..
فلنذكر دوماً أن
٨٧٪ من السويديين
لم يصوتوا لهم".

wa-qāla : “lan yakūna hunāka
ta‘āwunun ma‘ahum .. **fa-l-na-**
taḍakkar dawman ‘anna 87%
mina l-swīdiyyīna lam yuṣaw-
witū lahum”.

And he said: “There will be
no cooperation with them ..
for let us always remember
that 87% of the Swedes did
not vote for them”.

fīmā, constructions including (26x)

26x constructions that include *fīmā*, including *fīmā* ‘*idā* Vsuff. See also “*hādā fīmā* Vsuff” and “*ḥuṣūṣan*, constructions preceded by”. No *tamma maṣḍar*.

fīmā Vsuff (13x)

13x attestations, excluding the direct object in Article 9: [...] *sā‘adatā fīmā waṣafahu bi*-[...], ‘helped with what he described as [...]’ (governed by the verb *sā‘ada*).

The semantics of *fīmā* Vsuff are expressions of the formative semantic substance of the conjunction, ‘in that [which]’. Unordered Addition is the most frequent relation (7x): 4x monosemantic Different Level Different Subject, and 3x Different Level Different Subject bi Paired Contrast.

Numerical Comparative Contrast is the second most frequent semantic relation (3x), only with internal passives: *qutila*, *ḡuriḥa*, and *quddira* (Articles 5, 72, and 48, respectively); the third most frequent is a focal Simultaneous linking in the construction (*wa*-)*ya’tī dālika, fīmā ‘a lanat* (2x), both instances of which are in Article 61. The Manner Instrument of Article 27 is a *hapax* reading (Example 616 below).

Table 75: *fīmā Vsuff*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
4	Different Level Different Subject Addition	wa-'aḏafa "naḥūdu ḥāliyyan ma'ārīka 'anīfatan fī qaryati yankaḡa,	fīmā tamakkanat quwwātunā min taṭḥīri ṭalāṭi quran šamāla 'amerlī	5	226
3	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast	Example below		25, 13	617, 183
3	Numerical Comparative Contrast	wa-ḡakarati l-wizāratu 'anna 2200 ṭālibin fi-lasṭīniyyin qutīlū fi-l-ḡūmi l-'isrā'īliyyi	fīmā ḡuriḡa 1100 'āḡarūna.	72	-
2	Simultaneous (focal)	ya'tī dālika	fīmā 'a'lanat munazzamatu l-ṣiḡḡati l-'ālamīyyatu 'anna [...]	61	-
1	Manner Instrument	Example below		27	616
13					

616. Article 27 (lead), *fīmā Vsuff*, Manner Instrument

في بواذر مواجهة
عسكرية بين موسكو
والغرب، أعلنت روسيا
أمس أنها ستعدل
استراتيجيتها العسكرية
مع ظهور تهديدات
جديدة ولا سيما تعزيز
وجود حلف شمال
الاطلنطي «الناتو»
على حدودها، فيما
أطلقت عليه «خطة رد
سريع» أو «خطة رأس
الحرية».

fī bawādira muwāḡahatin
'askariyyatin bayna mūskuw
wa-l-ḡarbi, 'a'lanat rūsiyā
'amsi 'annahā sa-tu'addilu
'istrāṭiḡiyyatahā l-'aska-
riyyata ma'a zuḡūri
tahdīdātin ḡadīdatin wa-lā
siyyamā ta'zizi wuḡūdi ḡilfi
šamāli l-'aṭlantīyyi «el-
nātū» 'alā ḡudūdhā, **fīmā**
'aṭlaqat 'alayhā «ḡuṭṭata
raddin sarī'in» 'aw
«ḡuṭṭata ra'si l-ḡarbati».

As the first signs of a military confrontation between Moscow and the West, Russia announced yesterday that it will adjust its military strategy [in accordance] with the presence of new threats, especially the strengthening of the presence of the North Atlantic Treaty, «NATO» on its borders, **with what it calls «a quick response plan» or «the spear-head-plan».**

617. Article 25, *fīmā Vsuff*, Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast

يأتي ذلك بعد ساعات من
تأكيد منظمة حقوق
الإنسان التابعة للأمم

ya'tī dālika bā'da sā'ātin min
ta'kīdi munazzamati ḡuḡūqi l-
'insāni l-tābi'ati li-l-'umami l-

This comes hours after the
United Nations Human

المتحدة على وجود أدلة
قوية على ارتكاب داعش
جرائم حرب، فيما أشارت
نائبية المفوض السامي
لحقوق الإنسان الى
انتهاكات مشابهة ارتكبتها
القوات العراقية.

muttaḥidati ‘alā wuḡūdi ‘adil-
latin qawiyyatin ‘alā rtikābi
dā‘eš ḡarā‘ima ḥarbin, **fīmā**
‘ašārat nā‘ibatu l-mufaw-
wiḍi l-sāmī li-ḥuqūqi l-
‘insāni ‘ilā ntiḥākātin
mušābihatin irtakabathā l-
quwwātu l-‘irāqiyyatu.

Rights Organization’s con-
firmation of having strong
evidence for Daesh’s com-
mitting war crimes, **while**
the deputy high commis-
sioner for human rights
pointed to similar abuses
which the Iraqi forces
have committed.

(*wa-*)*fīmā* VprefL (9x)

9x attestations. 6x attestations are excluded from this count: 3x instances of *wa-fīmā yata‘allaqu bi-*, and 1x instance of *‘ammā fīmā yata‘allaqu bi-* (Article 42), all of which are only used as transition phrases (Concerning; see 5.3.4.2); and 1x article-initial subordination, *fīmā yabdū ‘annahu* (Equateive) in Article 82 (for article-initial subordinate clauses, see 5.3.3); for 1x *ḥuṣūṣan fīmā* VprefL, also excluded from this count, see “*ḥuṣūṣan*, constructions preceded by”.

The most frequent semantics is Concerning (5x), 3x of which have the verb *yata‘allaqu bi-*, and 2x have *yaḥuṣṣu*, ‘something which concerns’; 1x of the Concerning constructions (*yata‘allaqu*) is also bi Indirect question (*sawā‘an fīmā yata‘allaqu bi-[...] ‘aw bi-*, Article 12; for indirect questions proper, see 5.4.2). Other relations include 1x indirect question; the remaining 3x relations are *hapax*, but easily inferable given the formative semantic substance of the conjunction, ‘in that [which]’: Simultaneous bi Cause (Article 106), Relative (Location) bi Expanding Paraphrase (Article 29), and Context (Article 44), the last of which could perhaps be excluded on the grounds that it is governed by *musā‘adat#*.

The Simultaneous bi Cause linking of Article 106 does not take the anaphoric *-mā* of *fīmā* as its subject, but has a different explicit subject in the subordinate syntagm, *fīmā tata‘arraḍu mabānī l-ḡāmi‘ati li-l-qasfi*, comparable to the same-subject construction in Article 5, *fīmā lā tazālu tataqaddamu* (Simultaneous, see “*fīmā lā* VprefL”).

The syntagm *fīmā* VprefL is never used antiproidetically.

Table 76: *fīmā* VprefL

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
4	Concerning	qarārāt#	<i>fīmā yaḥuṣṣu l-‘iskāna</i> [...]	110, 14, 58	-, 439, 635
1	Context	[...] <i>wa-dālika min</i> <i>‘aḡli musā‘adati l-</i> <i>duwali l-‘afriqiyyati</i> [...]	<i>fīmā yuṣakkilu marḥa-</i> <i>latan ḡadīdatan fi-l-</i> <i>ta‘bi‘ati l-duwaliyyati</i> <i>ḍidda ‘aswa‘a ntišārin</i>	44	-

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
			li-hādā l-fayrūs fi-l-tārīḥi.		
1	Concerning bi Indirect question	wa-'ašāra 'ilā 'anna hunāka tiḥāqan 'alā 'anna l-ḥaṭara hunā wāḥidun sawā'an	fīmā yata'allaqu bi-duwali l-minṭaqati 'aw bi-duwali 'ūrūbbā	12	532
1	Indirect question	al-niqāš# allaḍi sa-yağrī li-l-naṣari	fīmā yumkinu lanā ttiḥāduhu min tadābīra	37	-
1	Simultaneous bi Cause ⁴³⁴	[...] wa-huwa muḥāṣarun bi-dawrihi	fīmā tata'arraḍu mabānī l-ġāmi'ati li-l-qasfi,	106	662
1	Relative (Location) bi Expanding Paraphrase	Example below		29	618
9					

618. Article 29, *fīmā* VprefL, Relative (Location) bi Expanding Paraphrase

واحتشد آلاف المتظاهرين خارج مبنى البرلمان، فيما يعرف بالمنطقة الحمراء، حيث يقع مكتب شريف ووزارات وعدد من السفارات.

wa-ḥtašada 'alāfu l-mu-tazāhirīna hāriġa mabnā l-barlamāni, **fīmā yu'rafu bi-l-minṭaqati l-ḥamrā'i**, ḥayṭu yaqa'u maktabu šarīf wa-wizārātun wa-'adadun mina l-sifārāti.

And thousands of demonstrators gathered outside the parliament building, **in what is known as the red zone**, where the office of Sharif, ministries, and a number of embassies are located.

fīmā lā VprefL (1x)

1x attestations, Article 5, *fīmā lā tazālu*, affirmative in meaning, Simultaneous: [...] *daḥalat 'ilā madīnati 'amerlī min miḥwarin ġanūba l-madīnati*, ***fīmā lā tazālu tataqaddamu min talāṭati maḥāwira 'uḥrā*** [...], 'the vanguards of the Iraqi forces entered the city of Amerli from an axis south [in/of?]⁴³⁵ the city, **while still progressing from three other axes** [...]' (Example 249).

fīmā NCl (2x)

2x attestations, including *fīmā bayna-h* NCl (Article 49), a borderline adverb. Both readings and constructions are *hapax*.

⁴³⁴ Cf. Example (238) from the same Article 106: [...] *wa-huwa muḥāṣarun tamāman fī ḥīni yata'arraḍu l-maqarru li-l-qasfi min qibali l-musallaḥīna l-ḥūṭiyīna* [...].

⁴³⁵ For the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

Table 77: *fīmā* NCl

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast	Example below		85	619
1	Manner bi Associative	Example below		49	620
2					

619. Article 85, *fīmā* NCl, Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast

وفى مقابلة مع وكالة أنباء "تي تي"، قال لوفين إن الخضر هم "شركاء" عمل طيبعيون، فيما حزب اليسار "هو حزب" بجمعنا به تعاون جيد.	wa-fī muqābalatin ma'a wik-ālati 'anbā'i "tī tī", qāla lūfēn 'inna l-hudra hum "šurakā'u 'amalin tabī'īyyūna", fīmā ḥizbu el-yasār "huwa ḥizbun yağma'unā bihi ta'āwunun ḡayyidun".	And in an interview with the news agency "TT" Löven said that the Greens are "natural business partners", while the Left party "is a party which good cooperation unites us with".

620. Article 49, *fīmā bayna-h* NCl, Manner bi Associative

وأكد أن الشعب الروسى سيتضامن فيما بينه فى مواجهة أى إجراءات عقابية جديدة.	wa-'akkada 'anna l-ša'ba l-rūsiyya sa-yataḏāmanu fīma baynahu fī muwāğahati 'ayyi 'iğrā'ātin 'iqābiyyatin ḡadidatin.	And he stressed that the Russian people will stand in solidarity together in facing any new punitive measures.

***fīmā 'idā* Vsuff (1x)**

1x attestation, *kāna*, Article 121, indirect question: *lam yata'akkadū* [...] *fīmā 'idā kānū lībiyyīna 'aw min duwali 'afrīqiyyatin*, 'whether they were Libyans or from [other] African countries' (Example 515). For indirect questions, see 5.4.2.

***fīmā ba'du* (Ref.)**

For the frozen adverbial phrase *fīmā ba'du*, see 6.8.6.

(wa-)fī muqaddimati-h NCl (4x)

4x attestations, only to express Exemplification. The attestations are equally divided between syndetic linking with *wa-* (2x), and asyndetic linking (2x). In 3x of the instances, the head of the construction is *qaḏāyā* (see Articles 110 and 114, Examples 322 and 618 respectively; for a counterexample, see Example 332 from Article 11).

q (qāf) ق

qabla 'an VprefA (6x)

6x attestations of *qabla* 'an, only with VprefA; no *yakūna*, no *yatimma mašdar*. Only to code Temporal Succession, *x before y*, but 1x with the temporal bi-nuance of Until (Article 106, Example 238). In 1x attestation, from Article 20, the conjunction is preceded by *mubāšaratan*, 'x immediately before y' (see Example 236), and in Article 24 (Example 419), it is preceded by *mu'aḥḥaran*, 'x shortly before y'.

For *qabla* 'an VprefA from Article 25, see Example (240); and Article 8, Example (248).

wa-qad Vsuff (2x)

2x attestations, for *wa-qad* Vsuff in main clauses, see 5.3.1.

Table 78: *wa-qad* Vsuff

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Temporal Succession	wa-qāla - 'inna l-ra'īsa l-firansiyya frānsuwā 'ūlānd qad ṭalaba ḥilāla ziyāratihī li-baġdād [...] bi-l-samāḥi lahu bi-l-taḥlīqi fawqa l-'arāḍi l-'irāqiyyati	wa-qad wāfaqati l-suluṭātu l-'irāqiyyatu 'alā dālika.	92	239
1	Different Level Different Subject Addition	wa-qāla [...] 'innahu kāna qal-iqan mina nḥiyāri l-'umūri wa-'arāda 'iblāga ḥāḍihī l-ma'lūmati [...]	wa-qad waġġahat 'ilayhi maḥk-amatu minṭaqati wāšintun tuhmata l-duḥūli [...]	108	271
2					

wa-qad VprefL (2x)

2x attestations, only as an Unordered Addition: 1x Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession (Article 108, see Example 271), and 1x Different Level Same Subject Addition to a complement main clause matrix with Subject future-VprefL, Article 75, Example (621).

621. Article 75, *wa-qad* VprefL, Different Level Same Subject Addition

و يؤكد المعهد الملكي
للخدمات المتحدة المعنى
بالبحوث العسكرية أن
عملية نقل هذه الترسنة
من الأسلحة ستتكلف عدة

wa yu'akkidu l-ma'hadu l-ma-lakiyyu li-l-ḥidamāti l-muttaḥi-dati l-ma'niyyu bi-l-buḥūti l-'askariyyati 'anna 'amaliyyata naqli ḥāḍihī l-tirsānati mina l-

And the Royal United Services Institute concerned with military research affirms that the op-

مليارات استرليني وقد
تدوم حتى عام ٢٠٢٨.

’aslihati sa-tatakallafu ’iddata
milyārātīn ’istirlīniyyīn wa-qad
tadūmu ḥatta ’āmi 2028.

eration to transfer this ar-
senal of weapons will
cost several billion ster-
ling, and it might con-
tinue until 2028.

k (kāf) ك

wa-ka-’anna-h NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 10, bridging context: as a complement to verb, *tabdū*, ‘seem, appear’, and expressive of Manner, ‘like’: [...] *fī ḡa’li l-’arādī l-muḥtallati tabdū wa-ka-’annahā l-dawlatu l-mustaḡillatu llatī kāna yanšuduhā* [...], ‘to make the occupied territories appear **like the independent state** he has been asking for.’ (Example 496).

ka-ḡālika VprefL (2x)

2x attestations, only to express Unordered Addition; 1x to a matrix with a future gram, *wa-sa-yakūnu* (Article 11), and 1x to *wa-VprefL*, *wa-yaqūmūna* (Article 114); both linkings share the same subject.

Table 79: ka-ḡālika VprefL

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition	[...] wa-yatarakkazu l-barnāmaḡu ḥawla [...] wa-sa-yakūnu ’iṭāruhu l-’āmmu mukāfaḡata ’anṣāri «al-tanzīmi l-muwāzī»	ka-ḡālika yataḡam-manu ma’lūmātun tafṣīliyyatan bi-ṣa’ni [...]	11	339
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition	[...] wa-yaqūmu bi-ḡalqī l-madārisi l-muḡālīfati taḡta ṣi’āri ’ummat# wāḡīdat#,	ka-ḡālika yaṣirru ’ayḡan ’alā tadrīsi l-mawāddi l-dīniyyati l-’iḡbāriyyati [...]	114	457
2					

kamā, constructions including (15x)

For *kamā* in main clauses, see 5.3.1. See also “*kamā ’anna*, constructions including” below.

kamā Vsuff (6x)

6x attestations, including 1x *kāna* (Article 86, Example 269), and 1x *tamma mašdar* (Article 37, Example 603), both Manner.

The syntagm only expresses two semantics: Manner (4x) and Unordered Addition (2x), both being Same Level (Vsuff + *kamā* Vsuff): 1x Different Subject (Article 5), and 1x Same Subject (Article 131). The count for Unordered Addition for the syntagm would undoubtedly have been higher if relations between juxtaposed sentences were to be included (for *kamā* Vsuff in main clauses, see 5.3.1).

Example (247) from Article 49, [...] *kamā ḥadaṭa ḥilāla l-sanawāti l-māḍiyati*, ‘[...] as happened previous years’, as well as the attestation from Article 85, [...] *kamā fa‘alū fi-l-sanawāti l-‘arba‘i l-māḍiyati*, ‘as they did in the past four years’ (Example 291), were both annotated as Manner, but are comparable to a Relative to Clause with *-mā* as the anaphoric element: ‘which happened [...]’, and ‘which they did [...]’.

Table 80: *kamā Vsuff*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
4	Manner	‘alā ‘an tatawallā tansīqahu el-nurwīġ	<i>kamā tamma l-ittifāqu bi-dālika baynahā wa-bayna miṣr.</i>	37	603
		wa-huwa mā yuqallilu maḥāṭira ta‘arruḍihā li- ‘azmatin fi ‘imdādāti l- ġāzi ḥilāla faṣli l-šitā’i l- muqbili	<i>kamā ḥadaṭa ḥilāla l-sanawāti l-māḍiyati.</i>	49	247
		[...] fa-’inna zu‘amā’a l- ‘iṣābāti l-kubrā lā ya- zālūna yaġmā‘ūna ‘amwālahum min maṣādiri tamwīli l- ġarā’imi l-taqlīdiyyati llatī lam ta‘ud taḥzā bi- htimāmin ‘i‘lāmiyyin	<i>kamā kāna ‘alayhi l-ḥālu qabla dālika</i>	86	269
1	Same Level Different Sub- ject Addition	Example below		5	622
1	Same Level Same Subject Addition	Example below		131	623
6					

622. Article 5, kamā Vsuff, Same Level Different Subject Addition

وقال مسؤولون إن
طائرات أمريكية أسقطت
أكثر من ١٠٠ حزمة من
الإمدادات الطارئة كما
أسقطت طائرات من
بريطانيا وفرنسا
وأستراليا مزيدا من
المساعدات مما يشير إلى
تقدم في جهود أوباما
لجذب الحلفاء إلى قتال
تنظيم الدولة الإسلامية.

wa-qāla mas'ulūna 'inna
tā'irātīn 'amrīkiyyatan 'as-
qatat 'aktara min 100 huz-
matīn mina l-'imādātī l-
tārī'atī kamā 'asqaṭat
tā'irātun min brīṭāniyā wa-
firansā wa-'ustrāliyā
mazīdan mina l-musā'adātī
mimmā yuṣīru 'ilā taqad-
dumin fī ḡuhūdi 'ūbāmā li-
ḡadbi l-hulafā'i 'ilā qitālī
tanẓīmī l-dawlātī l-'islāmiy-
yati.

And officials said that
American planes have
dropped more than 100
emergency supply packages
and planes from Britain,
France and Australia
have dropped [even]
more aid, which signals a
progress in Obama's ef-
forts to attract allies to fight
the Islamic State organiza-
tion.

623. Article 131, kamā Vsuff, Same Level Same Subject Addition

وطالب كرزاي الحكومة
الجديدة بتوخي الحذر في
التعامل مع الولايات
المتحدة وباكستان، كما
تعهد بدعم الحكومة
الجديدة.

wa-ṭālaba karzāy al-ḥukūmata
l-ḡadīdata bi-tawaḥḥī l-ḥaḍari
fī l-ta'āmuli ma'a l-wilāyātī l-
muttaḥidati wa-bākistān,
kamā ta'ahhada bi-da'mi l-
ḥukūmatī l-ḡadīdatī.

And Karzai called on the
new government to exer-
cise caution when dealing
with the United States and
Pakistan, **and he pledged**
to support the new gov-
ernment.

kamā VprefL (5x)

5x attestations. No *yatimmu maṣḍar*, no *yakūnu*.

The semantics cover Unordered Addition (3x) and Meta-linguistic Comment (2x), all relations of which function as Relative to Clause, 'which is what'. Manner is unattested for *kamā VprefL* (cf. *kamā Vsuff* above).

The syntagm is not used antiproidetically.

Table 81: *kamā VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
2	Meta-lingu- istic Com- ment	Example below		45, 33	624, 441
1	Different Level Dif- ferent Sub- ject Addition	[...] mūdīḥan 'anna miṣr 'araḍat [...] ṭalāṭata maṣārī'a muḥtalifatin [...]	kamā ta'riḍu l-duwalu l-'arabiyyatu l-'uḥrā maṣrū'ātiḥā [...]	110	-
1	Different Level Same	[...] 'anna l-tawaṣṣula li-waqfi 'itlāqi l-nāri [...] yu'addu 'ingāzan	kamā yu'akkidu ḥirṣa miṣr ḥaqna dimā'i l-	123	207

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
	Subject Addition	kabīran wa-ya‘kisu sti‘ādata l-dawri l-miṣriyyi l-‘iqlimiyyi	ša‘bi l-filastīniyyi wa-ħimāyatihi , [...]		
1	Same Level Different Subject Addition	wa-tataħammalu l-laġnatu l-mas‘ūliyyata l-ra‘isata ‘ani l-‘iṣrāfi ‘alā l-ittifāqi wa-tanfiḍihi [...]	kamā tata‘ahhadu l-‘aṭrāfu ‘i‘tā‘a ġamī‘i l-ma‘lūmāti l-ḍarūriyyati ‘ilā laġnati l-murāqibati [...]	118	-
5					

624. Article 45, *kamā* VprefL, Meta-linguistic Comment

وكان رئيس حزب
الحركة القومية دولت
بهتشلی قد انتقد
محاولات حكومة حزب
العدالة والتنمية التستر
على فضائح الفساد
المرتبطة بها، مؤكداً أن
جوهر القضية ليس
حركة «الخدمة» ولا
الشيخ «العلامة» محمد
فتح الله جولن، كما
تروج الحكومة لذلك،
وإنما هو أن الأخيرة
منغمسة في ممارسات
الفساد والرشوة.

wa-kāna ra‘īsu ħizbi l-ħarakati l-qawmiyyati dewlet bahtšelī qad intaqada muħāwalāti ħukūmati ħizbi l-‘adālat# wa-l-tanmiyat# l-tasattura ⁴³⁶ ‘alā faḍā‘ihī l-fasādi l-murtaḃiṭati bihā, mu‘akkidan ‘anna ġawhara l-qadiyyati laysa ħarakata «al-ħidmati» wa-lā l-šayħa «al-‘allāmata» muħammad fath allāh ġūlan, **kamā turawwiġu l-ħukūmatu li-ḍālika**, wa-‘innamā huwa ‘anna l-‘aħīrata munġamisa-tun fī mumārasāti l-fasādi wa-l-rišwati.

The president of the Nationalist Movement Party Devlet Bahçeli has criticised the attempts of the government of the Justice and Development Party to cover the scandals of corruption associated with it, stating that the essence of the issue is not the «the Service» movement [Hizmet] nor the Sheikh «the most erudite» Muhammad Fethullah Gülen, **as the government promotes**, but it is that the latter [the government] is immersed in practices of corruption and bribery.

kamā lam VprefS (2x)

2x attestations, only to code Unordered Addition (Same Level) to matrices with *lam* VprefS: 1x Same Level Different Subject Addition (Article 91), and 1x Same Level Same Subject Addition (Article 126). Manner is unattested for *kamā lam* VprefS (cf. *kamā* Vsuff above).

Table 82: *kamā lam* VprefS

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Same Level Different Subject Addition	wa-qāla [...] ‘innahu lam yuṭlab mina l-ħarakati taħfiḍu tamṭilihā fī el-dūħa , wa-lam yaṣil ‘ilayhā ‘ayyu maṭlabin ‘aw	kamā lam yuṭlab min meš‘al muġādaratu l-‘arāḍi l-qatariyyati.	91	542

⁴³⁶ Note the direct accusative object to the plural verbal noun *muħāwalāti* (imperfective, repeated action). An investigation into its use is a *desideratum* of future research.

		tumāras 'alayhā 'ayyu duḡūtin fī hādā l-ša'ni ,			
1	Same Level Same Sub- ject Addi- tion	[...] li-'anna l-suluṭāti l- šīniyyata lam taf'al šay'an li-waqfi l-šarikāti llafī tuntiḡu hādīhi l-'aḡhizata l-muqazzazata min 'aḡli l- tašdīri ,	kamā lam tamna' l- 'aḡhizata [...] mina l- wuqū'i fī 'aydī muntahikī ḡuqūqi l- 'insāni l-ma'rūfīna.«	126	428
2					

kamā (huwa) NCI (2x)

2x attestations, both are *kamā* + 3rd person from the *hw*-paradigm, both with Manner semantics, 'as it is'.

Table 83: *kamā* (huwa) NCI

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
2	Manner	:«lan naqbala 'an yastamirra l- waḍ'u	kama huwa	37	549
		wa-l-'amal# 'alā 'izālāti l- 'arāqīli 'amāma baṣṭi suluṭātihā bi-l-kāmili wafqa l-qānūni 'alā qitā'i ḡazza	kamā hiya fī el- ḡiffa el-ḡarbiyya wa-min ḡamī'i l- ittiḡāhāti.	123	589
2					

kamā 'annā, constructions including (7x)

7x attestations: 5x affirmative, 2x negated. For *kamā* 'anna in main clauses, specifically *kamā* 'anna VprefL in Article 114 (Example 457), see 5.3.1.

The semantics include 4x Unordered Additions and 3x Second Complements of Utterances, the line between which typically is not easy to draw. The two negated attestations, *lā* VprefL and *lan* VprefA, are both future projecting, and have negated matrices, 'not ... nor', and so they have the additional annotation of Negated Disjunction.

See also "*kamā*, constructions including".

kamā 'anna Subject Vsuff (2x)

2x attestations: 2x Subject Vsuff (no *kamā* 'anna-h Vsuff).

The relations are 1x Second Complement of Utterance (for which, see 5.3.2.1), and 1x Unordered Addition (Article 98).

Examples (625) and (626) include both attestations, the first from Article 130 with two partial quotes following a verb of attribution as a second complement, and the second from Article 98 without a verb of attribution as an

Unordered Addition (Same Level Different Subject) to a matrix with *li-’anna* Subject Vsuff.

625. Article 130, *kamā ’anna* S Vsuff, Second Complement of Utterance

وأفادت كيودو بأنه في خطاب من سيرليف إلى أبي بتاريخ ١٠ سبتمبر ذكرت الرئيسة الليبيرية، أن «الفيروس يتفشى بمعدل سريع للغاية»، كما أن «مواردنا المحدودة بالفعل وصلت إلى حد الانهيار».

wa-’afādat kiyyūdū bi-’annahu fi ḥiṭābin min sīrlif ’ilā ’abī bi-tārīhi 10 sibtambir ḍakarati l-ri’āsatu l-lībīriyyatu, ’anna «al-fayrūs yatafaššā bi-mu’ad-dalin sarī’in li-l-ġāyati», kamā ’anna «mawāridanā l-maḥḍūdata bi-l-fi’li waṣalat ’ilā ḥaddi l-inhiyāri».

And Kyodo reported that in a speech from Sirleaf to Abe on the date of September 10 the Liberian presidency mentioned that «the virus is spreading at a very rapid rate», as well as [that] «our already limited resources have reached the point of collapse».

626. Article 98, *kamā ’anna* S Vsuff, Same Level Different Subject Addition

وأضاف أن المشاورات تركزت على سبل معالجة الأزمة وضرورة التوافق على حلول عاجلة مبنية على مخرجات مؤتمر الحوار الوطني. ولا تزال المفاوضات بين الوفد الرئاسي اليمني والحوثيين متوقفة بعد الاتفاق على بنود كثيرة، ولكن الرئيس اليمني رفض ما تم التوصل إليه لأن الحوثيين رفضوا ذكر المبادرة الخليجية واليتها التنفيذية في أي اتفاق، كما أن الوفد اليمني شكاً من مطالب الحوثيين الكثيرة والمفاجئة التي لا تندرج في الموضوعات الأساسية لحل الأزمة،

wa-’aḍāfa ’anna l-muṣāwarāti tarakkazat ’alā subuli mu’ālaġati l-’azmati wa-ḍarūratī l-tawāfuqi ’alā ḥulūlin āġilatin mabniyyatin ’alā maḥraġāti mu’tamari l-ḥiwāri l-waṭaniyyi. wa-lā tazālu l-muḥāwaḍātu bayna l-wafdi l-ri’āsiyyi l-yamaniyyi wa-l-ḥūṭiyyīna mutawaqqifatan ba’da l-ittifaqi ’alā bunūdin kaṭīratin, wa-lākinna l-ra’īsa l-yamaniyya rafaḍa mā tamma l-tawaṣṣulu ’ilayhi li-’anna l-ḥūṭiyyīna rafadū dikra l-mubādarati l-ḥalīġiyyati wa-’āliyatihā l-tanfidiyyati fi ’ayyi ttifaqin, kamā ’anna l-wafda l-yamaniyya šakā min maṭālībī l-ḥūṭiyyīna l-kaṭīratī wa-l-muḥāġi’ati llati lā tandariġu fi l-mawḍū’āti l-’asāsiyyati li-ḥalli l-’azmati, [...]

And he added that the consultations focused on ways to address the crisis and [on] the necessity to agree on urgent solutions based on the outcomes of the National Dialogue Conference. And the negotiations between the Yemeni presidential delegation and the Houthis are still stalled after [despite] the agreement on a number of items, but [because]⁴³⁷ the Yemeni president rejected what had been reached because the Houthis refused to mention the Gulf initiative and its executive mechanism in any agreement, and [because] the Yemeni delegation complained about the many and surprising demands of the Houthis which are not included in the core topics for the resolution of the crisis [...]

***kamā ’anna* X VprefL (2x)**

2x attestations, including 1x *yatimmu maṣdar* (Article 37).

The relations are 1x Different Level Different Subject Addition (Article 37, Example 584) and 1x Second Complement of Utterance (Article 91, Example

⁴³⁷ See discussion, *wa-lākin* Vsuff in 6.1.5.

627). Both attestations have grammatical front dislocations resumed via the verb (suffix relations, see front dislocations, 5.3.4.3).

Example (627) from Article 91 illustrates the thin line between Unordered Addition and Second Complement of Utterance with *kamā 'anna*.

627. Article 91, *kamā 'anna* X VprefL, Second Complement (to verb)

وأضاف:علاقة مشعل بأفراد الأسرة الحاكمة في قطر آل ثاني وطيدة يزيد عمرها على العشرين عاما ، كما أن علاقته بالأمير القطري الشيخ تميم بن حمد آل ثاني يسودها أجواء التفاهم والاحترام المتبادل.	wa-'aḏāfa: 'alāqatu meš' al bi-'afrādi l-'usrati l-ḥāki- mati fī qatar 'āl t̄anī waṭīdatun yazīdu 'umruhā 'alā l-'išrīna 'āman , kamā 'anna 'alāqatahu bi-l- 'amīri l-qatariyyi l-šayḥi tamīm bin ḥamad 'āl t̄anī yasūduhā [sic] 'aḡwā'u l- tafāhumi wa-l-iḥtirāmi l- mutabādali.	And he [the Hamās leader Ahmed Yousef] added: the relation of Meshal with individuals of the ruling family in Qatar al Thani is firm, its time span exceeding 20 years, as well as that his relation with the Qatari Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect dominates it.

***kamā 'anna* NCI (1x)**

1x attestation, Article 32, Different Level Different Subject Addition (cf. Second Complement of Utterance, 5.3.2.1).

628. Article 32, *kamā 'anna* NCI, Different Level Different Subject Addition

وتتركز أنشطة المراكز الثقافية الإيرانية على تنظيم دورات في تعلم اللغة الفارسية كما أن لكل مركز منها مكتبة عامة مفتوحة للجمهور .	wa-tatarakkazu 'anšīātu l- marākizi l-ṭaqāfiyyati l- 'irāniyyati 'alā tanzīmi dawarātīn fī ta'allumi l-luḡati l- fārisiyyati kamā 'anna li-kulli markazin minhā maktabatan 'āmmatan maftūḥatan li-l- ḡumhūri.	And the activities of the Iranian cultural centres are focused on organizing courses in learning the Persian language and each of these centres has a public library open to the public.

***kamā 'anna-h lā* VprefL (1x)**

1x attestation, Article 118, Second Complement of Utterance (for which, see 5.3.2.1).

629. Article 118, *kamā 'annahu lā* VprefL, Second Complement of Utterance

وأوضح الهلال الأحمر في ندائه أنه لا توجد أماكن لاستيعاب الجثث والمصابين، كما أنه لايستطيع نقل جثث عديدة إلى المستشفيات .	wa-'awḏaḥa l-hilālu l- 'aḥmaru fī nidā'ihī 'annahu lā tūḡadu 'amākinu li-stī'ābi l- ḡuṭaṭi wa-l-muṣābīna, kamā 'annahu lā-yastaṭī'u naqla ḡuṭaṭin 'adīdatin 'ilā l-mus- tašfayāti .	And the Red Crescent clarified in its appeal that there is not [enough] places to accommodate the bodies and the wounded and that it cannot transport many bodies to hospitals .

kamā 'anna-h lan VprefA (1x)

1x attestation, Article 49, Different Level Same Subject Addition (negated), with a complement main clause as matrix, comparable to Second Complement of Utterance.

630. Article 49, *kamā 'annahu lan VprefA*, Different Level Same Subject Addition

وقال في تصريحات
لصحيفة «فيدومستي»
الاقتصادية الروسية أمس
إن العقوبات لا تساعد
على إحلال السلام في
أوكرانيا، كما أنها لن
تجعل الكرملين يغير
سياسته ، واصفا إياها
بـ«الفكرة الغبية».

wa-qāla fī taṣrīḥātīn li-ṣaḥīfati
»fīdūmūstī« al-iqtisādiyyati l-
rūsiyyati 'amsi 'inna l-
'ūqūbātī lā tusā'idu 'alā 'ihlālī
l-salāmi fī 'ūkrāniyā, **kamā**
'annahā lan taġ'alā el-krem-
līn yuġayyiru siyāsatahu ,
wāṣīfan 'iyyāha bi-«al-
fikrat# al-ġabiyyat#».

And he [Medvedev] said in
remarks to the Russian eco-
nomic newspaper »Ve-
domosti« yesterday that the
sanctions do not help to
bring about peace in
Ukraine, and that they
will not make Kremlin
change its policy, describ-
ing them as «a stupid
idea».

l (lām) ل

li-VprefA (19x)

19x attestations, including 3x *li-yakūna*, and 3x *li-VprefA bi-dālika*.

The syntagm is generally subordinating and its semantics often nebulous and imprecise. The most frequent are Purpose, accounting for 7x of the attestations, 1x of which is problematic (*li-yuwāġiha* Article 115, Example 633), and Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Consecutive (4x, including the 3x *li-VprefA bi-dālika*). The third most common semantics is a lexically restricted Consecutive (3x). The remaining 4x attestations are *hapax* readings. The syntagm is never antiproidetic, and never preceded by *wa-*. The full list of semantics is given in Table 84.

Table 84: *li-VprefA*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
6	Purpose	wa-'arāda 'iblāga hādihi l-ma'lūmati 'ilā ra'īsi l- wilāyati l-muttaḥidati	li-yataḥaddata 'anhā 'ilā l-nāsi.	108	271
1	Purpose OR Motion Pur- pose (non- volitional)	Example below		115	633
1	Nominal Purpose	lasnā bi-hāġatin 'ilā ġunūdin	li-yuqātilū maydāniyyan	92	381

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
3	Consecutive	intaḥaba qādatu l-ittiḥādi l-’ūrūbbiyyi [...] dūnāld task	li-yakūna ra’īsan	7	346
1	Degree Consecutive	Example below		130	634
4	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Consecutive	Example below		109	632
1	Equative	Example below		58	635
1	Expanding Paraphrase	wa ‘tabarat ’anna ntiḥābahu ramzan li-l-waḥdati l-’ūrūbiyyati,	li-yatalāšā l-ḥāḡizu bayna duwali minṭaqaṭi l-yūrū wa-sā’iri ’a’ḏā’i l-ittiḥādi	7	336
1	Same Level Different Subject Addition OR Consecutive	Example below		115	633
19					

The clear-cut monosemantic Purpose linking of “doing *x* in order to *y*” (see definition, 4.4.4), is somewhat blurred in the case of *li*-VprefA. A separate category of unrealized consecutive, “doing *x* so that *y* can be realized”, would have accounted for a number of the instances ($\leq 8x$) including e.g. Article 12: *wa-sa-yabda’u [...] l-taḥḏīra l-ḡayyida lahā li-tan’aqida fī el-qāhira*, ‘[...] will begin a good preparation for it **so that it can be held in Cairo**’ (see Example 536); Article 37: *naḥtāḡu ’ilā 7 milyārāti dūlārin li-nabniya ḥilāla 15 ’āman mā tamma tadmīruhu*, ‘[...] we need 7 billion dollars **so that we can (re-)build** [...]’ (Example 108); and Article 108:[...] *wa-’arāda ’iblāḡa ḥāḏihi l-ma ’lūmati ’ilā ra’īsi [...] li-yataḥaddaṭa ’anhā ’ilā l-nāsi*, ‘[...] and wanted to report this information to the president [...] **so that he could talk about it to the people** [...]’ (Example 271).

li-VprefA typically covers what can be described as a continuum, spanning Purpose, Summarizing Paraphrase, and Consecutive. In a number of linkings annotated as Purpose with *li*-VprefA ($\leq 5x$), subtle notions of inexplicit unorderedness, Comment, and/or Paraphrase can be inferred in the subordination, in addition to being comparable to a Summarizing Paraphrase. In Example (631) from Article 131 the proximity to Summarizing Paraphrase is most pronounced, and it illustrates a bridging context between Summarizing Paraphrase and Purpose; the example could arguably have been annotated as the former.

631. Article 131, *li*-VprefA, Purpose

وكان قد تم الإعلان عن فوز وزير المالية السابق أشرف عبد الغنى بالرئاسة بعد توقيعه على اتفاق باقتسام السلطة مع منافسه وزير الخارجية السابق عبد الله عبد الله لينهى ٨ أشهر من الاضطرابات التي زعزت استقرار البلاد في الوقت الذي تستعد فيه القوات الأجنبية للانسحاب من أفغانستان.

wa-kāna qad tamma l-'i'lānu 'an fawzi wazīri l-māliyyati l-sābiqi 'ašraf 'abd el-ġanī bi-l-ri'āsati ba'da tawqī'ihī 'alā ttifāqin bi-qtisāmi l-sultati ma'a munāfisihi wazīri l-hāriġiyyati l-sābiqi 'abd-ullāh 'abd-ullāh li-yunhiyā 8 'ašhurin mina l-iḏṭirābāti llatī za'za'ati stiqrāra l-bilādi fi-l-waḡti llaḏī tasta'iddu fihi l-quwwātu l-'aġnabiyyatu li-l-insihābi min 'afġānistān.

And it has been announced that the former minister of finance Ashraf Abdel Ghani won the presidency after signing an agreement to share the power with his rival the former foreign minister Abdullah Abdullah ending 8 months of the unrest which has shaken the stability of the country at a time when the foreign forces are ready to withdraw from Afghanistan.

These subtle notions are pronounced in the 3x examples of *li*-VprefA *bi-dālika*, where the author comments on the overt consequence of a matrix event realization by summarizing the result in a paraphrase, a function unique to *li*-VprefA in the corpus, and exclusive in meaning to the syntagm *li*-VprefA *bi-dālika*. Two examples have been cited previously (Examples 267 and 346); the third and last example of this construction is Example (632) from Article 109 in a passage about Eid al-Adha.

632. Article 109, *li*-VprefA *bi-dālika*, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Consecutive

وقالت صحيفة «زمان» أن هيئة الطيران التركي التابعة للدولة ستكون هي المسئول الوحيد عن جمعها، لتعيد بذلك إلى الأذهان قرار إجبار الناس على تحديد الجهة التي يقدمون إليها جلود الأضاحي إبان الانقلاب العسكى عام 1980 الذى تزعمه آنذاك الجنرال كنعان إيفرين.

wa-qālat ṣaḥīfatu »zamān« anna hay'ata l-tayarāni l-turkiyyi l-tābi'ata li-l-dawlati sa-takūnu hiya l-mas'ūla l-waḥīda 'an ḡam'ihā, li-tu'ida bi-dālika 'ilā l-'aḏhāni qarāra 'iġbāri l-nāsi 'alā taḏīdī l-ġihati llatī yuqaddimūna 'ilayhā ḡulūda l-'aḏāḥī 'ibbāna l-inqilābi l-'askariyyi 'āma 1980 llaḏī taz'amuhu 'ānadāka l-ġenərāl ken'an 'ēfrēn.

And the newspaper «Zaman» said that the Turkish Aviation Authority which belongs to the state will be the sole responsible for their collection, thereby bringing to mind the decision of forcing the people to decide the organization to which they would offer the skins of the sacrifices during the military coup of 1980 which the general Kenan Evren led back then.

Example (633) from Article 115 features two *hapax* readings: the first *yumattīlu* [...] *li-yuwāḡiha* about a (forced, non-volitional) spatial movement of Gonzalez to appear in court facing a sentence; and the second, *li-tašila* [...], with the addition of potential time in case of conviction. The former relation is annotated as either Purpose (despite the questionable volition) OR Motion Purpose (despite more of a figurative movement), the latter as an Unordered

Addition OR Consecutive. Both linkings, however, are nebulous, showing traits of unorderedness with the function of *li-VprefA* being more about syntactic cohesion via subordination than explicitness of logico-semantic relations. At least *li-yuwāḡiha* bears traits of a bridging context between Purpose and Summarizing Paraphrase as exemplified with *li-VprefA bi-dālika* above.

633. Article 115, *li-VprefA* x2: *li-yuwāḡiha*, Purpose OR Motion Purpose, and *li-taṣila*, Same Level Different Subject Addition OR Consecutive

ومن المتوقع أن يمثل عمر جونزاليس - ٤٢ عاما - أمام المحكمة في واشنطن ليواجه تهمة دخول مبنى محظور بشكل غير قانوني وهو يحمل سلاحا قاتلا، لتصل فترة العقوبة إلى ١٠ سنوات في حالة الإدانة.	wa-mina l-mutawaqqa'i 'an yumattila 'umar ḡūnzālīs - 42 'āman - 'amāma l-mahkamati fī wāšintun li-yuwāḡiha tuhmata duḡūli mabnan maḥḡūrīn bi-ṣaklin ḡayri qānūniyyin wa-huwa yaḡmilu silāḡan qātilan, li-taṣila fatratu l-'uqūbatī 'ilā 10 san- awātīn fī ḡalati l-'idānati.	And it is expected that <u>Omar Gonzalez</u> - 42 years - <u>will appear before the court</u> <u>in Washington to face</u> <u>charges of illegally enter-</u> <u>ing a prohibited building</u> while carrying a deadly weapon, <u>the penalty pe-</u> <u>riod reaching 10 years in</u> case of conviction.

All 3x examples of *li-VprefA* with a monosemantic Consecutive reading are comparable to the English *choose to be*, with a verb in the semantic sphere of choosing, an object, *li-*, and a singular form of *yakūna*: *intahaba* [...] *li-yakūna* (Article 7, Example 346), *iḡtiyār*# [...] *li-takūna*, and *sabab*# *iḡtiyārihi dawlatan ṣaḡīratan* [...] *li-takūna* (both in Article 116, see Example 425).

The Degree Consecutive in Example (634) from Article 130 is different: the Consecutive is here conditioned in the irreal realm of predictions such that the number of inflicted is said 'to rise **so that it reaches**', *tartaḡi'a* [...] ***li-taṣila 'ilā***.

634. Article 130 (lead), *li-VprefA*, Degree Consecutive

توقع خبراء من منظمة الصحة العالمية ووكالة إمبريال في لندن أمس، أن ترتفع حالات الإصابة بفيروس إيبولا لتصل إلى ٢٠ ألفا في غرب إفريقيا بحلول مطلع نوفمبر المقبل ما لم يتم تحسين تدابير احتواء المرض بشكل سريع.	tawaqqa'a ḡubarā'u min mu- nazzamati l-ṣiḡḡati l-'ālamīy- yati wa-kulliyyati 'imberiyāl fī landan 'amsi, 'anna tartaḡi'a hālātu l-'isābati bi-fayrūs 'ibūlā li-taṣila 'ilā 20 'alfan fī ḡarbi 'aḡrīqiyā bi-ḡulūli maṡla'i nūḡimbir al-muqḡbili mā lam yatimma taḡsīnu tadābiri iḡtiwā'i l-maraḡdi bi- ṣaklin sarī'in.	And experts of the World Health Organization and Im- perial College in London ex- pected yesterday <u>that the</u> <u>cases of Ebola infections will</u> <u>increase to reach 20 thou-</u> <u>sand</u> in West Africa by the beginning of November un- less the disease containment measures are quickly im- proved.

Example (635) from Article 58, is best described as an Equative (*x as y*) but could arguably be described as a divine Purpose, 'so as to'. The construction *ḡā'a li-VprefA* is unique, the reading *hapax*.

635. Article 58 (second sentence), *li*-VprefA, Equative

ويأتى التحرك الحكومي
بعد أن أطلقت الشرطة
الغاز المسيل للدموع
وخراطيم المياه لتفريق
مئات المتظاهرين الذين
احتشدوا في اسطنبول
قبل أيام احتجاجاً على
الحادث الذى جاء ليحذر
من إهمال تركيا فيما
يتعلق بالسلامة في أماكن
العمل.

wa-ya'tī l-taḥarruku l-
ḥukūmiyyu ba'da 'an
'atḷaqatī l-šurṭatu l-ġāza l-
musīla li-l-dumū'i wa-
ḥarāṭima l-miyāhi li-tafriqi
mi'āti l-mutazāhirīna llaḍīna
ḥtašadū fi 'iṣṭanbūl qabla
'ayyāmin iḥtiġāġan 'alā l-
ḥāditi llaḍī ḡā'a li-yuḥaddira
min 'ihmāli turkiyā fimā
yata'allaqu bi-l-salāmati fi
'amākini l-'amali.

And the action of the govern-
ment came after the police
fired tear gas and water can-
nons to disperse hundreds of
demonstrators who had gather-
ed in Istanbul days ago pro-
testing against the incident
which came as a warning of
Turkey's negligence con-
cerning what regards the
safety in workplaces.

wa-lā NCl (Ref.)

See under “*wa-* as only conjunction”, 6.1.2.10.

li- 'anna(-h), constructions with (10x)

li- 'anna is attested 10x in the corpus with different constructions (see Table 85). It can have a pronominal suffix (3x) or be without (7x). Nominal clauses account for 5x, or 50% of all instances (incl. 1x *li-* 'anna-h). Semantically, the clauses only express Cause (e.g. Article 105, Example 636), except 1x in Article 64 (Example 637) where it codes an Expanding Paraphrase.

li- 'anna is never preceded by *wa-*.

Table 85: Constructions with *li-* 'anna(-h)

Σ	Construction	A	Ex
4	<i>li-</i> 'anna NCl	63	-
1	<i>li-</i> 'anna-hu NCl	105	636
1	<i>li-</i> 'anna S lam VprefS	126	428
1	<i>li-</i> 'anna S lā VprefL	48	184
1	<i>li-</i> 'anna S Vsuff	98	626
1	<i>li-</i> 'anna-hu Vsuff	116	425
1	<i>li-</i> 'anna-hu VprefL	90	-
10			

636. Article 105, *li-* 'anna-h NCl, Cause

ومن جانبها، أكدت والدة
هانت لصحيفة «ديزيرت
نيوز» أن الشرطة قتلتها
لأنه أسود.

wa-min ḡānibihā, 'akkadat
wālidatu hānt li-ṣaḥīfati
»dīzirt niyūz« 'anna l-šurṭata
qatalathu li-'annahu
'aswadu.

And for her part, Hunt's
mother said to the »Desert
News« newspaper that the
police killed him **because**
he was black.

637. Article 64, li- 'anna NCI, Expanding Paraphrase

وقال السفير الدكتور أحمد لقمان ، مدير المنظمة ، إن مؤتمر العمل العربى سيعقد بالقاهرة تأكيداً للمساعدة والدعم لمصر، بالرغم من أن المنظمة تلقت 3 دعوات من 3 دول عربية لاستضافة المؤتمر ، ولكن أبلغنا هذه الدول أن مصر المستقبل هي من سيستضيفه، فوافقت هذه الدول ، وهذا يبرز مكانة مصر لدى الأشقاء العرب، لأن مصر أعلى من كل الاعتبارات .	wa-qāla l-safīru el-duktūr 'aḥmad luqmān , mudīru l- munazzamati , 'inna mu'tamara l-'amali l- 'arabiyya sa-yu'qadu bi-l- qāhira ta'kīdan li-l- musānadati wa-l-da'mi li- miṣr, bi-l-raḡmi min 'anna l- munazzamata talaqqat 3 da'awātin min 3 duwalin 'arabiyyatin li-stiḡāfati l- mu'tamari , wa-lākin 'ablaḡnā hāḡihi l-duwala 'anna miṣr al-mustaqbilu hiya man sa-yastaḡifuhu ,fa-wāfa- qat hāḡihi l-duwalu , wa-hāḡā yubrizu <u>makānata miṣr ladā l-</u> <u>'aṣiḡqā'i l-'arabi, li-'anna</u> <u>miṣr 'a'lā min kulli l-</u> <u>i'tibārati.</u>	And the ambassador Doctor Ahmad Luqman, director of the organization, said that the Arab Labour Conference will be held in Cairo, a confirma- tion of the assistance and support for Egypt, despite [the fact] that the organiza- tion received three invita- tions from three Arab states to host the conference, but/and ⁴³⁸ we have notified these states that the receiver Egypt is the one to host it, ⁴³⁹ and these states agreed, and this highlights <u>the [high] sta-</u> <u>tus of Egypt among the Arab</u> <u>brothers, [namely] that</u> <u>Egypt is the highest in re-</u> <u>gard to all considerations.</u>

li-daraḡati 'anna S VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 86, Degree Consecutive: [...] *li-daraḡati 'anna* Subject VprefL, '[...] to the degree that [...]' (see Example 269).

wa-laday-h NCI (1x)

1x attestation, Article 32, Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner: *fa-l-ḡuḡūtu l-hāriḡiyyatu min duwali el-haliḡ wa-hāṣṣatan al-mamlakati l-'arabiyyati l-sa'ūdiyyati l-qaliqati mina l-taqārubi l-sūdāniyyi l-'irāniyyi wa-ladayhā maḡāwifu mina ntīšāri l-maḡhabi l-št'iyyi 'alā l-sāhili l-ḡarbiyyi li-baḡhri l-'aḡmari*, '[...] particularly the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, [since it is] worried about the Iranian-Sudanese rapprochement **and has fears of the spread of the Shiite school on the western coast of the Red Sea.**' (Example 608). The attestation is a *hapax* for the prepositional syntagm *wa-ladā*.

li-dā NCI (1x)

1x attestation, Article 43, Consecutive.

⁴³⁸ See discussion, under *wa-lākin* Vsuff.

⁴³⁹ Or 'Egypt (f.) will be the receiver (m.), i.e. is going to host [...]', with *hiya* introducing a Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information to a preceding NCI (not annotated thus).

638. Article 43, *li-dā* NCI, Consecutive

وقال الشيخ حميد معة -
في تصريحات صحفية
أمس أن مباحثات تشكيل
الحكومة بين التحالف
الوطني والكردستاني
والقوى الوطنية تعاني من
التلكؤات لذا على الجميع
تقديم التنازلات عن
بعض المطالب لتحقيق
الهدف الاسمي وهو
تشكيل الحكومة.

wa-qāla l-šayḥu ḥamīd ma'la
- fī taṣrīḥātīn šuḥufiyyatin
'amsi 'anna mubāḥatātī
taškīlī l-hukūmatī bayna l-
taḥālufi l-waṭaniyyi wa-l-
kutali l-kurdistāniyyati wa-
tthīhādī l-quwā l-waṭaniyyati
tu'ānī mina l-talakku'ātī li-
dā 'alā l-ġamī'i taqdīmu l-
tanāzulātī 'an ba'ḍi l-
maṭālībī li-taḥqīqī l-hadaḥi l-
'asmā wa-huwa taškīlu l-
hukūmatī.

Sheikh Hamid Maaleh said -
in press statements yesterday
that the discussions to form a
government between the Na-
tional Alliance, the Kurdish
blocs, and the National
Forces Union suffer delays,
so everyone must make
concessions on some de-
mands to achieve the ulti-
mate goal, namely the for-
mation of a government.

***wa-li-dālika* VprefL (1x)**

1x attestation, Article 79, Consecutive, complement main clause as matrix.

639. Article 79 (lead), *wa-li-dālika* VprefL, Consecutive

رفض حسبو عبد
الرحمن نائب الرئيس
السوداني ورئيس
القطاع السياسي بحزب
المؤتمر الوطني
الحاكم، دعوة
المعارضة لحكومة
انتقالية، مشيرا إلى أن
الداعين لحكومة انتقالية
يدركون أنهم لن يأتوا
بالانتخابات ولذلك
يطالبون بوضع
استثنائي.

rafaḍa ḥasabū 'abd el-
rahmān nā'ibu l-ra'īsī l-
sūdāniyyi wa-ra'īsu l-qīṭā'i
l-siyāsiyyi bi-ḥizbi l-mu'ta-
mari l-waṭaniyyi l-ḥākimi,
da'wata l-mu'āraḍati li-
hukūmatin intiqāliyyatin,
mušīran 'ilā 'anna l-dā'īna
li-hukūmatin intiqāliyyatin
yudrikūna 'annahum lan
ya'tū bi-l-intihābātī wa-li-
dālika yuṭālibūna bi-
waḍ'in istiṭnā'iyyin.

Hassabo Abdel Rahman, the
Sudanese vice president and
head of the political sector of
the ruling National Congress
Party, rejected the opposi-
tion's call for a transitional
government, noting that
[i.e. because] those who call
for a transition government re-
alize that they will not come
through the elections and
therefore demand an excep-
tional situation.

***wa-li-dālika lan* VprefA (*yatimma maṣḍar*) (1x)**

1x attestation, Article 118, Consecutive (negated), complement main clause as matrix: [...] 'awḍaḥa el-šāmī 'anna dālika l-mulḥaqa 'uḍīfa 'alā l-raġmi min 'adami munāqaṣatihi musabbaqan ***wa-li-dālika lan yatimma l-tawqī'u 'alayhi*** [...] al-Shami clarified that this appendix was added despite it not having been discussed previously **and therefore it will not be signed**' (Example 170).

***lākin(na)*, constructions including (35x)**

35x attestations. For *kāna* and *tamma maṣḍar*, see each subentry.

The conjunction may be preceded by a *wa-*, but never following a full stop (only the attestations without *wa-* follow a full stop (6x), 1x of which is a paragraph-initial main clause (Article 41); for main clauses, see 5.3.1). For the front-dislocated *wa-lākinnakum* in Article 102, see Example (237), front dislocations (5.3.4.3), and *ʾidā* Vsuff.

Table 86: Constructions including *lākin(na)*, arranged by grammatical morpheme and predicate morphology (= Gram)

Σ	Gram	<i>lākin</i> (na) S	<i>lākinna</i> -h	<i>lākin</i> (na)	<i>wa-</i> <i>lākinna</i> S	<i>wa-</i> <i>lākinna</i> -h	<i>wa-</i> <i>lākin</i> (na)
14	Vsuff	7	4		1	1	1
5	VprefL	1	1	1		1	1
2	future VprefL		1				1
6	NCl	n/a	1	3		2	
	<i>lā</i> VprefL						
3	<i>lan</i> VprefA			1	1	1	
4	<i>lam</i> VprefS	1	2	1			
1	<i>laysa</i>			1			
35		9	9	7	2	5	3

lākin(na)(-h/Subject) Vsuff (11x)

11x attestations, including 7x verbs of attribution, and 2x *kāna*, never *tamma mašdar*; in 4x of the syntagms with verbs of attribution, the conjunction is *lākinna* with a pronominal suffix. For *lākin-* in main clauses, see 5.3.1.

lākin(na)(-h) can be considered the general contrastive conjunction and covers a wide range of antiprödicative linkings. In addition, it can be used in matrices to preposed subordinations (for preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4). Its wide range of semantics makes it occasionally superfluous, mutually exclusive with *wa-* (e.g. *lākinna* Vsuff in Article 103, Example 640).

The semantics of the constructions seem to correlate with verb type and syntax (type of subject), so the tables below are split between the different constructions.

lākinna Vsuff (verb of attribution) (4x)

4x attestations. The relations cover 1x Adversative (Article 15), 1x Adversative OR Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Consecutive (Article 103), 1x Paired Contrast (Article 99), and 1x *x*, *not y* bi Inconsequential (indeed with two opposing pairs, Article 94).

Table 87: *lākinnahu Vsuff (verb of attribution)*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Adversative	kamā 'ašāra 'ilā ḍarūrati l-taḥālufi ma'a duwalin 'uḥrā fī hādā l-taḥarruki.	lākinnahu 'almaḥa 'ilā šu 'ūbati naḡāḥi 'ūbāmā fī binā' i hādā l-taḥālufi bi-sababi tarāḡu 'ihi 'an šanni ḍarbatin 'aska- riyyatin ḍidda sūriyā l- 'āma l-māḍiya.	15	594
1	Adversative OR Same Level Same Subject Ad- dition bi Consecutive	Example below		103	640
1	x, not y bi In- consequen- tial	[...] 'aḍāfa qā' ilan 'an- nahu sa-yaṭlubu min ra'īsi l-wuzarā' i waqfa l-ta'āwuni ma-a hātayni l-iṭnatayni 'ayḍan	lākinnahu staṭrada «lam našil 'ilā tilka l-nuqṭati ba'du».	94	467
1	Paired Con- trast	wa-'ašāra 'ilā wuḡūdi tawāšulin mustamirrin ma'a l-miṣriyyīna bi- ša'ni taḥdīdi maw'idi sti'nāfi l-mufāwaḍāti,	lākinnahu 'a'raba 'ani l- taḥawwufi min tahar- rubi 'isrā'īl.	99	-
4					

640. Article 103, *lākin(na)* Vsuff, Adversative OR Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Consecutive

وأقر ليون بالخلافات
السياسية العميقة وعدم
الثقة المستشري بين
مختلف الأطراف في
ليبيا، لكنه أكد الحاجة
إلى التغلب على تلك
الخلافات لإنهاء الأعمال
العنائية المسلحة
واستئناف العملية
السياسية في أقرب وقت
ممكن من أجل منع
المزيد من الاستقطاب
والانقسام».

wa-'aqqarra liyūn bi-l-ḥilāfāti
l-siyāsiyyati l-'amīqati wa-
'adami l-tīqati l-mustašrī
bayna muḥtalifi l-'atrāfi fī
lībiyā, lākinnahu 'akkada l-
ḥāḡata 'ilā l-taḡallubi 'alā
tilka l-ḥilāfāti li-'inhā' i l-
'a'māli l-'idā' iyyati l-mu-
sallaḡati wa-sti'nāfi l-'ama-
liyyati l-siyāsiyyati fī
'aqraba waqtin mumkinin
min 'aḡli man' i l-mazīdi
mina l-istiḡṭābi wa-l-in-
qisāmi».

And Lyon acknowledged the
deep political differences and
rampant mistrust between the
various parties in Libya, **but**
[or: and (so)] **he stressed the**
need to overcome these dif-
ferences in order to end the
armed hostile actions and
resume the political process
as soon as possible in order
to prevent further polariza-
tion and division».

lākinna *Subject Vsuff* (verb of attribution) (3x)

3x attestations, only to express the Adversative. All attestations follow a full stop. The verbs following *lākinna* are 'awḍaḥa (Article 6), qālū (Article 35), and 'a'raba (Article 102).

641. Article 6 (final paragraph), *lākinna* subject Vsuff (verb of attribution), Adversative

وقال مصدر أمني لبناني إن المفرج عنهم وصلوا إلى بلدة عرسال القريبة من الحدود مع سوريا حيث كان في استقبالهم رجل دين كان يتولى وساطة لإطلاق سراحهم. لكن المصدر أوضح أن الأجهزة الأمنية لم تتسلم العسكريين حتى الآن.	wa-qāla maṣḍarun 'amniyyun lubnāniyyun 'inna l-muḥraġa 'anhum waṣalū 'ilā baldati 'arsāl al-qarībati mina l- ḥudūdi ma'a sūriyā ḥaytu kāna fī stiḡbālihim raġulu dīnin kāna yatawallā wisāṭatan li-'iṭlāqi sarāḥihim. lākinna l-maṣḍara 'awḍaḥa 'anna l-'aġhizata l-'am- niyyata lam tatasallam al- 'askariyyīna ḥattā l-'āna.	And a Lebanese security source said that those who have been released have reached the village of Arsal which is close to the borders with Syria, where a cleric who had taken over the medi- ation for their release was re- ceiving them. But the source clarified that the security services have not received the soldiers so far.

lākinna *Subject Vsuff* (4x)

4x attestations, including 2x *kāna*, the grammatical morphemes of which are of two kinds: 1x *kāna* as copula (Article 121), and 1x *kāna* + passive participle as a periphrastic resultative morpheme (Article 3). The attestation with *kāna* from Article 121 has a front dislocation (suffix relation, for which, see 5.3.4.3).

All attestations feature opposing pairs: 3x Frustration bi Paired Contrast, and 1x Inconsequential bi Paired Contrast with a resultative grammatical morpheme which expresses stative current result (Article 3).

Table 88: *lākinna* Subject Vsuff

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
3	Frustration bi Paired Contrast	tazāmana ḍālika ma'a muḥāwalati 'aḥarīna iqtihāma 'adadin mina l-mabānī l- ḥukūmiyyati [...]	lākinna quwwāti l-'amni tamakkanat min raddi- him wa-hum 'alā 'a'tābi manzili ra'īsi l-wuzarā' i nawāz šarīf.	13	183
		wa-'ašāra el-sarḥī 'ilā 'anna wuġaḥā' a l- ḥayyi kāmū qad taqaddamū bi-'iddati ṭalabātin li-baladiy- yati l-iḥtilālī [...]	lākinna l-baladiyyata ra- faḍat kulla ṭalabāti [ita] l-'ahālī mina l-fi- lasṭīniyyīna;	51	550
		Example below		121	642

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	In-consequential bi Paired Contrast	wa-qāla [...] 'inna quwwāti l-'amni ltazamat ḍabṭa l-nafsi ḥilāla l-muṣādamāti ,	lākinna l-muḥtağğīna kānū musallaḥīna bi-l-ʿaṣiyyi wa-l-sakākīni wa-ʿaslākin ḥadīdiyyatin.	3	413
4					

642. Article 121, *lākinna* front dislocation *kāna*, Frustration bi Paired Contrast

وقال المتحدث الرسمي باسم البرلمان فرج بوهاشم إن الثني أرسل مقترحا بتشكيلته الحكومية متضمنة ١٠ حقائب، إضافة إلى نائبين للرئيس في شكل حكومة أزمة مصغرة، لكن تلك التشكيلة المرسلة كانت فيها حقيبنا الدفاع والداخلية شاغرتين، مضيفاً "أن هذا النقص سبب احتقاناً لدى النواب لأن أية حكومة للأزمة لا بد وأن تكون على رأسها حقيبنا الدفاع والداخلية.

wa-qāla l-mutaḥaddiṭu l-rasmiyyu bi-smi l-barlamāni farağ bühāšem 'inna el-tanī 'arsala muqtarahan bi-taškīlatiḥi l-hukūmiyyati muṭadammīnatan 10 ḥaqā'iba, 'idāfatan 'ilā nā'ibayni li-l-ra'īsī fī šakli ḥukūmati 'azmatin musağğaratīn, lākinna tilka l-taškīlata l-mursalata kānat fihā ḥaqībatā l-difā'i wa-l-dāḥiliyyati šağīratayni", muḍīfan "anna ḥadā l-naqša sabbaba ḥtiqānan ladā l-nuwwābi li-'anna 'ayyata ḥukūmatin li-l-'azmati lābudda wa-'an takūna 'alā ra'sihā ḥaqībatā l-difā'i wa-l-dāḥiliyyati.

And the official spokesman on behalf of the parliament Faraj Bohashem said that al-Thani has sent a proposal for his governmental formation containing 10 portfolios, in addition to two vice presidents in the form of a mini-crisis government, but this formation sent, in it were the defence and internal portfolios vacant", adding "that this shortage caused congestion among the deputies because any government of the crisis, it must be that it has at the top the two portfolios of defence and the interior.

wa-lākin(na)(-h/Subject) Vsuff (3x)

3x attestations, including 1x verb of attribution (Article 64), and 1x *kāna* (Article 131); *wa-lākin* in Article 64 is matrix to a preposed *bi-l-rağmi min 'anna* Subject Vsuff (a *hapax* conjunction), *wa-lākin* here standing as an Unordered Addition (Different Level Different Subject) to a complement main clause (future VprefL), in a rare nested clause complex (for preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4).

In the attestation from Article 98, *wa-lākinna l-ra'īsā l-yamaniyya rafaḍa*, 'wa-lākinna the Yemeni president rejected' (Example 626), is either Adversative, if taken in relation to the general topic of consultations and "ways to remedy the crisis", or Cause, if taken together with the main clause. Both understandings would be *hapax* readings of *wa-lākin(na)* in the corpus (but cf. *lākin*, for which the Adversative is attested but not Cause, and cf. Example (649) from Article 29 *wa-lākin* NCI with discussion); it is also possible that the use of *wa-lākin* is conditioned by the nominalized *ba'da l-ittifāqi 'alā*

bunūdin kaṭīratin, ‘having agreed on many items’, in which case it is an Un-ordered Addition (Different Level Different Subject). The example testifies to an arbitrariness in the use of the conjunction. It was annotated as Cause, perhaps with too much confidence.

Example (643) from Article 131 below features a near canonical example of *not x, but y*: ‘keen not on *x*, but on *y*’.

Table 89: *wa-lākin(na)(-h/Subject) Vsuff*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	<i>not x, but y</i>	Example below	[<i>wa-lākinna-h kānat</i>]	131	643
1	Different Level Different Subject Addition	wa-qāla [...] ‘inna mu’tamara l-‘amali l-‘arabiyya sa-yu’qadu bi-l-qāhira ta’kīdan li-l-musānadati wa-l-da‘mi li-miṣr, bi-l-rağmi min ‘anna l-munazzamata talaqqat 3 da‘awātin min 3 duwalin ‘arabiyyatin li-stiḍāfati l-mu’tamari ,	wa-lākin ‘ablağnā hāḍihi l-duwala ‘anna miṣr al-mustaqbilu hiya man sa-yastaḍifuhu , fa-wāfaqat hāḍihi l-duwalu , wa-hāḍā yubrizu makānata miṣr ladā l-‘aṣiqqā’i l-‘arabi, li-‘anna miṣr ‘a’lā min kulli l-i’tibārati.	64	637
1	Cause	wa-‘aḍāfa ‘anna l-muṣāwarāti tarakkazat ‘alā subuli mu‘ālağati l-‘azmati wa-ḍarūrati l-tawāfuqi ‘alā ḥulūlin ‘ağilatin mabniyyatin ‘alā maḥrağati mu’tamari l-ḥiwāri l-waṭaniyyi. wa-lā tazālu l-mufāwaḍātu bayna l-wafdi l-ri’āsiyyi l-yamaniyyi wa-l-ḥuṭiy-yīna mutawaqqifatan ba‘da l-ittifāqi ‘alā bunūdin kaṭīratin,	wa-lākinna l-ra’īsa l-ya-maniyya rafaḍa mā tamma l-tawaṣṣulu ‘ilayhi li-‘anna l-ḥuṭiy-yīna rafaḍū ḍikra l-mu-bādarati l-ḥalīğiyyati wa-‘āliyatihā l-tanfīḍiy-yati fī ‘ayyi ttifāqin, [...]	98	626
3					

643. Article 131, *wa-lākinna-h kāna, not x, but y*

وقال كرزای فی الخطاب، إن الأفغان ضحايا حرب أجنبية علی أراضيهم، وأن الولايات المتحدة لم تكن أبدا حريصة علی تحقيق السلام والاستقرار فی

wa-qāla karzāy fī-l-ḥiṭābi, ‘inna l-‘afğāna ḍaḥāyā ḥarbin ‘ağnabiyyatin ‘alā ‘arādihim, wa-‘anna l-wilāyāti l-muttahidata lam takun ‘abadan harisatan ‘alā tahqīqi l-salāmi wa-l-istiqrāri fī ‘afğānistān,

And Karzai said in the speech that the Afghans are victims of a foreign war on their territories, and that the United States has never been keen to achieve peace

أفغانستان، ولكنها كانت
حريصة على تحقيق
مصالحتها وأهدافها.

wa-lākinnahā kānat
ḥarīṣatan ʿalā taḥqīqi
maṣālihihā wa-ʿahdāfihā.

and stability in Afghani-
stan but it has been keen
to achieve its [own] inter-
ests and goals.

lākinna-h/Subject VprefL (3x)

3x attestations, 2x with explicit subjects and 1x with a pronominal suffix, *lākinnahu* (Article 44). No *yakūnu*, no *yatimmu maṣdar* (for *lākinna* Subject VprefL in main clause, see 5.3.1).

The linkings of Articles 44 and 96—namely, “vaccine proven effective for a short period *lākin* needs a second vaccine for prolonged protection” (Article 44) and “the army fights a group *lākin* the front complains about lack of arms for confrontation” (Article 96)—were both annotated as Paired Contrasts. The linkings however, could arguably be labelled also bi Frustration (Article 44) and bi Inconcomitance (Article 96). The antiproidetic force of *lākin* is highly generalized.

Table 90: *lākinna-h/Subject VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Paired Contrast	kaṣafat dirāsātun [...] ʿanna liqāḥan taḡrībiyyan [...] ʿaṭbata fa-ʿāliyya-tahu li-muddati ḥamsati ʿasābiʿa ʿalā l-ʿaḡalli [...]	lākinnahu yaḥtāḡu ʿilā tadʿīmihi bi-liqāḥin ʿidāfiyyin li-tamdīdi ḥimāyatihi li-ʿaṣarati ʿaṣhurin .	44	-
1	Paired Contrast	wa-yuwāḡīhu l-ḡayṣu l-nīḡriyyu munḡu ḥamsi sanawātin tamarruda ḡamāʿati »būkū ḥarām« al-mutaṭarrafati llaḡī ʿawqaʿa ʿalāfa l-qatlā ,	lākinna l-ḡunūda fi-l-ḡuṭūṭi l-ʿamāmiyyati yataḡammarūna min naqṣi l-ʿasliḡati wa-l-taḡhīzāti l-munāsibati li-muwāḡahati ḡaʿulāʿi l-mutamarridīna.	96	-
1	Exception Contrast ⁴⁴⁰	[...]iʿtabarathā maḡallatu “fūrṡan” nuṣḡatan min ʿiṣābati yākūzā ,	lākinna l-iḡṡilāfa l-waḡīda yarḡiʿu ʿilā ʿanna tanzīmahā ḡayru muta-markizin fi makānin waḡhidin fi-l-ʿālami.	86	503
3					

⁴⁴⁰ Example (503) from Article 86 expresses an Exception Contrast where all qualities except one are comparable between groups *a* and *b*.

***lākinnahu* future VprefL (1x)**

1x attestation, Article 62, Frustration.

644. Article 62 (lead), *lākinnahu* future VprefL, Frustration

أعلن هيرمان فان رومبوي رئيس الاتحاد الأوروبي أن الاتحاد اتفق على فرض عقوبات اقتصادية جديدة ضد روسيا لكنه سينتظر «أياماً قليلة» قبل تنفيذها، مشيراً إلى	'a'ana hērmān fān rōmbūy ra'īsu l-ittihādi l-'ūrūbbiyyi 'anna l-ittihāda ttafaqa 'alā fardi 'uqūbātīn iqtisādīyyatīn ḡadīdatīn didda rūsiyā lākin- nahu sa-yantaḡīru «'ayyāman qalīlatan» qabla tanfīḡihā, mušīran 'ilā [...]	Herman Van Rompuy, presi- dent of the European Union, announced that <u>the Union</u> has agreed to <u>impose new</u> <u>economic sanctions against</u> <u>Russia</u> , <u>but it will wait</u> «a <u>few days</u> » before imple- menting them, noting that [...]

***wa-lākin(na)* future VprefL (1x)**

1x attestation, Article 122, *lākin* X *sa-yatimmu maṣḍar*, where X is a preposed nominalized clause (Cause; for preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4), the whole syntagm expressing Frustration vis-à-vis its matrix: [*al-intihābāt# al-latī kāna*] *mina l-muqarrari 'an tunazzama* *ba'da sittati 'aṣḥurin min taškīli l-ḥukūmati wa-lākin(na) naẓaran li-tadā'iyāti l-'udwāni l-'isrā'īliyyi* [...] *sa-yatimmu l-naẓaru fī taḥḏīdi maw'idīn ḡadīdin li-iḡrā'ihā*, '[the elections were] scheduled to be held six months after the formation of the government, but due to the repercussions of the Israeli aggression [...] a new date will be considered' (see Example 463).

***wa-lākin(na-h)* VprefL (2x)**

2x attestations, including 1x with a front-dislocated adverbial, 'unfortunately', a Meta-linguistic Comment, Article 24: *wa-lākin ma'a l-'asafī l-ṣadīdi narā* [...] (Example 442).

Table 91: *wa-lākin(na)(-h/Subject) VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	<i>not x, but y</i>	fa-l-'abḥāṭu rubbamā lā takūnu kāḏībatan ,	wa-lākinnahā tanqulu ṣūratān «mabtūratān» wa- ḡayra muktamilatin.	42	612
1	Frustration bi Paired Contrast	wa-qāla [...] 'inna ra'īsa l-wuzarā'ī [...] ta' ahhada [...] bi'an «yaqṭa'a 'aydī l- fāsīdīna	wa-lākin ma'a l-'asafī l- ṣadīdi narā l-yawma 'iḡlāqa qaḏāyā l-taḥqīqi fī milaffāti l-mutawarriṭīna bi-l-fasādi wa-l-raṣāwī	24	442
2					

***lākinna* Subject *lan* VprefA (1x)**

1x attestation, Article 37, Adversative, as part of the only extended metaphor in the corpus, [...] *lākinna tilka l-’āmāla* [...] *lan taḥfuta ġaḍwatuhā ’abadan* [...], ‘[...] However, the fire of these hopes [...] will never faint [...]’ (Example 201).

***wa-lākinna-h/Subject lan* VprefA (2x)**

2x attestations, 1x with pronominal suffix, *wa-lākinnaḥu* (Article 85).

Both attestations include Paired Contrasts, both have complement main clauses with VprefL as matrices, and both have the adverb *muṭlaqan*, ‘[with] not’ at all’, ‘never’, in the *wa-lākin* clause, but the primary semantics are different in the two examples.

Example (645) from Article 131 expresses Frustration bi Paired Contrast (frustrated intent).

645. Article 131, *wa-lākinna* Subject *lan* VprefA, Frustration bi Paired Contrast

وقال كرزاي: «باكستان تريد السيطرة على سياستنا الخارجية، ولكن الحكومة الأفغانية لن تدع ذلك يحدث مطلقاً».	wa-qāla karzāy: « <u>bākistān turīdu l-saytarata</u> ‘alā <u>siyāsatinā l-hāriġiyyati</u> , <i>wa-lākinna l-ḥukūmata l-’afġāniyyata lan tada’a ḍālika yaḥduṭu muṭlaqan.</i>	And Karzai said: « <u>Pakistan wants to control our foreign policy</u> , but the Afghan government will never allow this to happen.

Example (646) from Article 85 features a special case of *x*, *not y* bi Paired Contrast: “reaches out to + other parties, *wa-lākinnaḥu* will not negotiate with + the Sweden Democrats”. It could be argued that the example is an Exception Contrast, but the scope of ‘other parties’ are conditioned by a defining relative clause, ‘who want [...]’. It is not synonymous to ‘all other parties’ as a totality.

646. Article 85, *wa-lākinnaḥu lan* VprefA, *x*, *not y* bi Paired Contrast

وأكد لوفين أمام حشد من أنصار حزبه في ستوكهولم أنه يمد يده إلى "أحزاب ديمقراطية أخرى" ترغب في التعاون معه في البرلمان، ولكنه لن يتفاوض مطلقاً مع حزب "ديمقراطي السويد".	wa-’akkada lūfēn ‘amāma ḥašdīn min ‘anṣāri ḥizbihi fī stūkhūlm ‘annahu <u>yamuddu yadahu</u> ‘ilā “ <u>aḥzābin dīmuqrāṭiyyatin</u> ” ‘uḥrā “ <u>targabu fī-l-ta’āwuni ma’ahu fī-l-barlamāni</u> ”, <i>wa-lākinnaḥu lan yatafāwaḍa muṭlaqan ma’a ḥizbi “dīmuqrāṭiyyī l-swīd”.</i>	And in front of a gathering of supporters of his party in Stockholm Löfven asserted that <u>he reaches out his hand to “other democratic parties”</u> <u>willing to cooperate with him in the parliament</u> , but [that] he is never going to negotiate with the party of “the Sweden Democrats”.

lākin(na)(-h/Subject) lam VprefS (4x)

4x attestations, including 1x Subject *lam yatimma* (Article 13), but here with *yatimma* as a lexical verb in the semantic sphere of “be completed” (i.e. not as a periphrastic passive, for which, see 5.2.1); in 2x instances the subject is a pronominal suffix, *lākinna-h*; and 1x, in Article 11, the subject is only implicit in the verb: *lākin lam natasallam*. The semantics are evenly distributed over 2x Adversative (both in Article 13) and 2x Frustration. Both attestations of the Adversative are preceded by full stops.

Table 92: *lākin(na)(-h/Subject) lam VprefS*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
2	Adversative	Example below		13	647
		wa-ḍakarat [...] 'anna l-muḥtaḡḡīna qāmū bi-ḥtilālī ḥuḡrati l-taḥakkumi l-ra'īsiyyi wa-ḡurfati l-'aḥbāri l-markaziyyati wa-ḥaṭṭamū ba'ḍa l-mu'addāti li-ḥīni tadaḥḥuli riḡālī l-'amni.	lākinna 'ama-liyyata 'iḡlā'i l-mabnā lam ta-timma bi-ṣaklin 'anīfin	13	382
2	Frustration	qā' ilan: «ṭalabnā min ḡihāzi l-muḥābarāti wa-mudīriyyati l-'amni tazwīdanā bi-l-waṭā'iqi wa-l-mustanadāti l-lāzimati [...]	lākin lam nata-sallam 'ayya mu-stanadātin ba'du	11	531
		wa-qāla faraḡ 'abūhāšim tamma sti'dā'u l-ḥākimi 'ilā ḡalsati stimā'in, [...]	lākinnahu lam yaḥḍur	90	607
4					

647. Article 13, *lākinnahu lam VprefS*, Adversative

وفى وقت سابق، أكد الجيش فى بيان التزامه بالديمقراطية فى البلاد، معتبرا أن خيار «الانقلاب العسكرى» وفرض الأحكام العرفية غير محتمل. لكنه لم يعارض استقالة شريف وتشكيل حكومة وحدة وطنية، مشددا على الالتزام بدوره فى الحفاظ على الأمن فى البلاد.

wa-fi waqtin sābiqin, 'akkada l-ḡayṣu fi bayānin iltizāmahu bi-l-dīmūqrāṭiyyati fi-l-bilādi, mu'tabiran 'anna ḥiyāra «al-inqilābi l-'askariyyi» wa farḍa l-'aḥkāmi l-'urfiyyati ḡayru muḥtamalin. **lākinnahu lam** **yu'arīd istiḡālata šarīf wa-taškīla ḥukūmati waḥdatin waṭaniyyatin, mušaddidan 'alā l-ltizāmi bi-dawrihi fi-l-ḥifāzi 'alā l-'amni fi-l-bilādi.**

And earlier, the army confirmed in a statement its commitment to democracy in the country, considering that the choice of «a military coup» and the imposition of martial law are improbable. **But he did not oppose Sharif's resignation and the formation of a national unity government, stressing the commitment to his role of maintaining security in the country.**

lākin(-na)(-h/Subject) NCI (5x)

5x attestations, including 1x *laysa* (Article 33), and 1x *min al-* passive (Article 99). For *min al-* passives, see 5.2.3.

Table 93: *lākin(na)(-h/Subject) NCI*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
2	Paired Contrast	Example below		102	648
		wa-l-ḥūṭiyyūna yantamūna 'ilā l-ṭā'ifati l-zaydiyyati l- šī'iyati llati tušakkilu 'aḡlabiyyatan fī šamāli el- yaman ,	lākinnahā 'aqaḷliyyatun fi-l- bilādi ka-kullin ḥaytu ya'taniqu ḡālibiyyatu l-sukkāni l-maḡhaba l-sunniyya.	106	453
2	<i>not x, but y</i>	qāla nītānyāhū "laysa ladaynā 'ayyu muškilaṭin fī sayṭarati l-sulṭati l-fi- lastīniyyati 'alā qitā'i ḡazza,	lākinna ladaynā muškilaṭan fī ḥāli ḥāwalat ḥamās al- sayṭarata 'alā el-ḡiffa el-ḡarbiyya.	10	614
		wa-qāla 'innahu lam ya- timma ḥattā l-'āna taḥdīdu maw'idin li-sti'nāfi l- mufāwādāti	lākin mina l- mutawaqqa' i 'an ya- timma ḡālika ḥilāla l- 'usbū' i l-muqbili.	99	-
1	Adversative	wa-qāla [...] 'inna 'anšār el-qā'ida takabbadū ḥasā'ira	lākin laysa ladaynā tafāṣīlu fi-l-waḡti l- ḥāḡiri.	33	424
5					

648. Article 102 (final paragraph), *lākin* NCI, Paired Contrast

وقال جوش إيرنست
السكرتير الصحفي
للبيت الأبيض: «نحن
نحترم بالتأكيد حق
الاسكتلنديين في
اتخاذ قراراتهم ، لكن
لدينا مصلحة في بقاء
مملكة متحدة قوية
وموحدة وشريكا
فعالا».

wa-qāla ḡūš 'irnest al-sikritīru l-
ṣuhufiyyu li-l-bayti
l-'abyaḡi: «naḥnu naḡtarimu bi-l-
ta'kīdi ḥaḡqa l-'iskutlandiyyīna fī
tṭiḡādi qarārihim , ***lākinna***
ladaynā maṣlaḡatan fī baḡā'i
mamlakatin mutṭaḡidatin
qawiyyatan wa-muwaḡḡadatan
wa-šarīkan fa'ālan».

And Josh Earnest, the
White House press secre-
tary said: «we certainly re-
spect the right of the Scots
to take their [own] deci-
sion , **but we have an in-
terest in the United King-
dom remaining strong
and united, and an effec-
tive partner**».

wa-lākinna-h/Subject NCI (2x)

2x attestations, both part of direct speech. The attestation from Article 3 expresses *not x*, *but y* bi Paired Contrast, but the statement including *wa-lākinnahum* NCI in Article 29 (Example 649) is either *not x*, *but y* OR Cause. Cause as meaning of *wa-lākin* was also discussed in relation to Example 626 from Article 98, *wa-lākin* Vsuff. See further Example (649) with discussion below.

Table 94: *wa-lākinna-h/Subject NCI*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	<i>not x</i> , <i>but y</i> bi Paired Contrast	mu'akkidan 'anna l-šurṭata lam tabda' bi- l-ištibāki,	wa-lākinna l-mutaẓāhirīna hum al- mas'ūlūna 'an taḥwīlihā 'ilā 'a 'māli 'unfīn 'aqiba muḥāwalatihim duḥūla mabānin ḥukūmiyyatin ḥassāsatin	3	384
1	<i>not x</i> , <i>but y</i> OR Cause	Example below		29	649
2					

Example (649) from Article 29 includes partial quotes in a modal context stating a subjective notion that “a subject cannot [must not] be described as *x*, *but y*”. If no ellipsis of the type “[should be described as]” is assumed in the *wa-lākin* NCI clause, we need to infer a causal relationship: “because they are *y*”. The statement is arguably biased and the force rhetoric.

649. Article 29, wa-lākinna-h NCI, not x, but y OR Cause

وصف تشوڊري نزار
الداخلية وزير
الباكستاني في كلمته
أمام البرلمان
الاحتجاجات بأنها
«تمرد»، مؤكدا أن
المتظاهرين لا يمكن
وصفهم بأنهم «ثوار»
ولكنهم «إرهابيون
ومخربون».

waṣafa tšawdari nizār wazīru
l-dāḥiliyyati l-bākistāniyyu fī
kalimatihi 'amāma l-bar-
lamāni l-iḥtiġāġāti bi-'annahā
«tamarrudun», mu'akkidan
'anna l-mutaẓāhirīna lā yum-
kinu waṣfuhum bi-'annahum
«tuwwārun» **wa-lākinnahum**
«**irhābiyyūna wa-muḥab-**
birūna».

Chaudhary Nisar, Pakistani
minister of the interior, in his
speech in front of the parlia-
ment described the protests
as “a revolt”, asserting that
the demonstrators cannot
[must not] be described as
“revolutionaries”, but as
[because] they are “terror-
ists and saboteurs”.

wa-li-kawni Subject Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, *kāna*, Article 130, Cause, possibly Indirect (see discussion under 4.4.1): [...] *murġiʿan ḍālika ʿilā simāti l-sukkāni l-mutaḍarrirīna wa-ḥālāti l-nuẓumi l-ṣiḥḥiyyati*, ***wa-li-kawni ġuhūdi mukāfaḥati l-wabāʿi kānat ġayra kāfiyatin li-waqfi ntišāri l-maraḍi*** (see Example 264). This is arguably a proleptic relative; for the proleptic relative construction, see 6.3.1.1.

likay, constructions including (2x)

2x attestations, only as *likay* VprefA; in Article 12, it substitutes for *li-* as the complement to the verb *yasʿā*, ‘seek, strive, aim (for)’, and is not accounted for in the present investigation: *nasʿā likay yastafīda ġamīʿu l-ʿaṭrāfi minhu* (see Example 472). In the second instance from Article 122, the construction expresses a Degree Consecutive of the enabling type (Example 650).

650. Article 122, *likay* VprefA, Degree Consecutive

، وقال إنها تحظى
بالاهتمام المكثف من
الجامعة بهيكلها المختلفة
مشددا على ضرورة توفير
المتطلبات المالية للإعلام
العربي لكي يتمكن من
القيام بدوره المهم على
صعيد هذه القضية مشيدا
بالدور المصري البالغ
الأهمية للوقوف الى جانب
الشعب الفلسطيني لتحقيق
مطالبه المشروعة في
الدولة المستقلة وعاصمتها
القدس الشريف .

[...] , wa-qāla ʿinnahā taḥzā
bi-l-ihtimāmi l-mukattafi
mina l-ġamiʿati bi-hayākilihā
l-muḥtalifati mušaddidan
ʿalā darūratī tawfīri l-
mutatallabāti l-māliyyati li-l-
ʿilāmi l-ʿarabiyyi ***likay ya-***
tamakkana mina l-qiyāmi
bi-dawrihi l-muhimmi ʿalā
šaʿīdi ḥaḍihi l-qaḍiyyati
mušīdan bi-l-dawri l-
mišriyyi l-bāliġi l-ʿaḥam-
miyyati li-l-wuqūfi ʿilā
ġānibi l-šaʿbi l-filasṭīniyyi li-
taḥqīqi maṭālibihi l-mašrūʿati
fi-l-dawlati l-mustaqillati
wa-ʿāšimat#hā⁴⁴¹ el-quḍs el-
šarīf .

[...] , and he said that it re-
ceived extensive attention
from the League with all its
different structures stress-
ing the need to provide fi-
nancial requirements for
the Arab media so that it
will be able to execute its
important role in regard
to this issue praising the
very important Egyptian
role to stand by the Pales-
tinian people in realizing its
legitimate demands of an
independent state and its el-
Quds el-Sharif [Jerusalem].

⁴⁴¹ For a discussion of the unique ʿāšimat#hā el-quḍs, see under “wa-NCl” in 6.1.2.9.

wa-li-māḏā VprefL (yatimmu maṣḏar) (1x)

1x attestation, Article 24, *wa-li-māḏā lam yatimma l-taṭarruqu li-*, indirect question to a participial matrix, *mutasā' ilan* (Example 489); for indirect questions, see 5.4.2.

li-man Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, Article 33, headless relative, indirect object (excluded from investigation): *wa-raṣadat wāšintun mukāfa'atan qadruhā sab'atu malāyīna dūlārīn li-man yusā'idu fī-l-qabḏi 'alā ḡūdān [...]*, 'And Washington has set a reward of seven million dollars **for the one who helps arrest Ghudan** [...]' (Example 257).

law Vsuff (2x)

2x attestations, only as a preposed protasis in a Conditional linking: *if x, then y* (e.g. Example 255). For preposed subordination in Media Arabic, see 5.3.4.4.

laysa NCl (0x)

No attestations.

wa-laysa NCl (Ref.)

See under "wa- as only conjunction", 6.1.2.11.

m (*mīm*) م

(*wa-*)*mā*, constructions including

Includes only non-main clauses with *mā* and *wa-mā*. See also other constructions including *mā*, e.g. (*wa-*)*huwa mā*, *bi-ḥasabi mā*, *bi-mā*, *fīmā*, *fīmā 'idā*, *mimmā*, *ḥawla mā*, *'alā mā*, *'idā mā*, *miṭlamā*, *bi-mā fī ḏālika* NCl, *bi-mā fī-h* NCl, *'aw mā*, *mā 'idā*, *li-mā-ḏā*, *hāḏā fīmā* Vsuff, (*wa-*)*ḥāṣṣatan*.

mā Vsuff (16x)

16x attestations, including 4x with a verb of attribution, 2x *tamma maṣḏar*, never *kāna*. 11x of the relations are grammatical, and hence excluded from the investigation: 7x direct objects (3x of which with a verb of attribution, and 2x *tamma maṣḏar*), 3x genitive objects, and 1x predication (*hāḏā mā kaṣafat*

‘*anhu* [...], a nominal main clause in Article 86, see Example 454). There are 4x instances where *mā* is a verbal negator, 3x with *zāla*, 1x with *labīta* (Article 37). (For *mā* Vsuff, see 5.1.1; for clausal negation, see 5.1.)

Of the 5x annotated relations, 4x are Consecutive, and 1x Conditional (*mā dāma*, ‘if’, ‘as long as’, Article 37). The 4x Consecutive clauses are variants of the resumptive *mimmā* (q.v.), distributed evenly over 2x *mā ‘asfara ‘an maqtali* + number, and 2x *mā ‘addā ‘ilā + maqtali* 32 *šaḥṣan* (Article 35, Example 193), and + *‘iṭlāqi l-nāri ‘alayhi* (Article 36, Example 353).

Table 95: *mā* Vsuff

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
4	Consecutive	qutila muwāṭinun miṣriyyun [...].ġarrā ‘a ḥilāfātin naṣabat ma ‘a ba ‘di l-ṣabābi l-musallaḥīna fī maḥalli ‘amalihi,	<i>mā ‘adda ‘ilā ‘iṭlāqi l-nāri ‘alayhi wa-qatlihi fi-l-ḥālī</i> .	36	353
1	Conditional	[...] lākinna tilka l-‘āmāla llatī mā labītat ‘an tarāġa ‘at lan taḥfuta ġaḍwatuḥā ‘abadan	<i>mā dāma l-filasṭīniyyūna wa-l-‘arabu wa-man warā ‘ahum ‘āzimīna ‘alā ‘an taqūma l-dawlatu l-filasṭīniyyatu l-mustaqillatu dāti l-siyādati,</i>	37	201
5					

wa-mā Vsuff (2x)

2x attestations, 1x is grammatical, Article 26, direct object, excluded from investigation: *hayṭu ‘a lana l-ġānibāni l-ḥuṭūta l-‘arīḍata llatī tamma isti ‘rāḍuhā ḥilāla l-muṣāwarāti wa-mā ḥalaṣat ‘ilayhi ziyaratu šukrī li-bārīs*. ‘in which the two sides announced the broad outlines reviewed during the consultations, **and what Shoukry’s visit to Paris had resulted in.**’ (Example 305).

1x annotated relation: Article 15, where *mā* is a negation, *mā labīta*, and the syntagm is expressive of a Temporal Succession vis-à-vis a preposed matrix with *ba ‘damā* Vsuff, *after x, y*: *ba ‘damā ‘a lanā ‘an darbaṭin didda sūriyā, wa-mā labīta ‘an tarāġa ‘a ḥīnadāka l-ra ‘tsu ‘ūbāmā dūna ‘an yuḥbi-rahum*, ‘[...] after he had announced [...] **it did not take long** [...]’- (Example 574).

mā VprefL (18x)

18x attestations, never *yatimmu maṣdar*, never *yakūnu*. For *wa-ḥāṣṣatan mā* VprefL, see “(wa-)ḥāṣṣatan, constructions preceded by”; see also “‘aw mā VprefL in “‘aw and ‘aw mā, constructions including”.

17x of the attestations are grammatical relations and hence excluded from the investigation (5x genitive objects, 5x headless relative subjects, 4x 'idāfa-genitive relatives to nouns, 1x complement to preposition (*ma'a*, Article 52), 1x direct object (to *nafā*, Article 129), and 1x genitive subject (Article 121)). 4x of these syntagms are made up of *mā* *yu'rafu*, 2x of *mā* *yusammā* (for internal passives, see 5.2.2), and 2x of the root *qwm* stem I, *mā* *yaqūmūna bihi* (Article 86) and *mā* *taqūmu bihi* (as preposed subject, Article 94). In 2x of the 5x attestations when *mā* VprefL is the syntactic subject of a clause, the construction precedes the matrix predicate, both attestations are in complement main clauses following a complementizer.

The only annotated relation of *mā* VprefL is the predication of a nominal clause in Article 74, also serving as an indirect question within the present framework: *mušīran 'ilā 'anna hādā l-kalāma huwa mā yadūr fi-l-'arwiqati l-siyāsiyyati 'an [...]*, 'stating that this [kind of] talk is **what is going on in the political corridors concerning [...]**' (Example 490); for indirect questions proper, see 5.4.2.

wa-mā VprefL (4x)

4x attestations, 3x grammatical relations (excluded from investigation): 1x subject in a nominal clause in Article 14: *wa-mā yaf'aluhu [...]* *raddu fi'lin tabī'yyun* (see Example 439, and under *wa-NCl* in 6.1.2.9 above), 1x genitive object in Article 19: *wa-sa-taqūmu bi-tasyīri l-'a 'māli wa-mā tukallafu bihi* (Example 254), and 1x as the second complement to a preposition in Article 52: *'abbara [...]* *'an qalaqihi [...]* *'izā'a tašā'udi 'a 'māli l-tadmīri-wa al-'unfi wa-l- [...]* *wa-mā yurāfiqūhā min taraddī [sic]* *ḥaḥḥrin li-l-'awḍā'i l-'insāniyyati [...]*.

1x annotated relation, Article 26, indirect question (also a direct object): *wa-baḥaṭa [...]* *al-'adīda mina l-qaḍāyā [...]* *wa-mā yuṣakkiluhu min tahdīdin li-l-'amni wa-l-istiqrāri*. '[...] discussed [...] a number of issues [...] **and what threat it poses to international security and stability.**' (Example 233; for indirect questions proper, see 5.4.2).

mā lā VprefL (4x)

4x attestations, only with grammatical relations (uninvestigated): 2x genitive objects, 2x grammatical subjects, and only in the syntagm *mā(-)lā yaqillu 'an*, lit. 'what is no less than', i.e. 'at least'⁴⁴² + a number. In 3x of the 4x attestations, the context is killings, e.g. Article 4, genitive subject: *wa-'aḥādat mašādiru 'askariyyatun libiyyatun bi-wuqū'i mā lā yaqillu 'an 70 qaṭīlan [...]* (see Example 435).

⁴⁴² *mā* is proclitic 1x, Article 4, *mā-lā yaqillu [...]*.

mā lam VprefS (3x)

3x attestations, only with forms of the periphrastic passive, *mā lam yatimma mašdar*, and only to express Possible Consequence (Negated Condition type), “unless *x* is done”; the matrix is always a complement main clause. See Examples (289) and (634) from Articles 1 and 130, respectively.

Example (651) from Article 15 is the only attestation where the verb is in the feminine.

651. Article 15, *mā lam yatimma mašdar*, Possible Consequence (Negated Condition type)

فى غضون ذلك، حذر أعضاء بالكونجرس من أن المدن الأمريكية و مدن أوروبا الغربية أصبحت أهدافا مستقبلية لتنظيم الدولة الإسلامية، ما لم تتم مواجهته.	fi ġuḍūni dālika, ḥaḍḍara 'a'ḍā'un bārizūna bi-l-küngrīs min 'anna l-muduna l-'am- rīkiyyata wa muduna 'ūrūbbā l- ġarbiyyati 'ašbahat 'ahdāfan mustaqbiliyyatan li-tanzīmi l- dawlati l-'islāmiyyati, mā lam tatimma muwāḡahatuhu.	Meanwhile, prominent members of the Congress warned that <u>the American</u> <u>cities and the western Eu-</u> <u>ropean cities have be-</u> <u>come future targets of the</u> <u>terrorist organization of</u> <u>the Islamic State</u> , unless it is confronted.

mā NCI (1x)

1x attestation, Article 128, genitive relation (excluded from investigation), partitive genitive, *'alā kulli mā huwa 'arabiyyun wa-'islāmiyyun*, ‘everything Arab(ic) and Islamic’.

miṭlamā VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 118, Manner: [...] *qāmū bi-tafṣīḥi l-manzili sti 'dādan li-tafṣīrihi miṭlamā yaf'alūna ma'a ḥuṣūmihim* [...], ‘[...] they took to booby-trapping the house, preparing to blow it up **like they do with all their opponents** [...]’ (Example 344).

māḍā VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 116, indirect question: [...] *wa-lam yūḍiḥ l-bāba māḍā yaqṣudu bi-hāḍā l-kalāmi* [...], ‘But the Pope did not clarify **what he meant by these words** [...]’ (Example 425); for indirect questions, see 5.4.2.

wa-mā 'adā dālika fa-NCI (1x)

1x attestation, Article 19, in a context of Consecutive and Exception Contrast, *wa-mā 'adā dālika fa-huwa bāṭilun*; for discussion, see Example (610).

mimmā, constructions including (28x)

28x attestations: 17x *mimmā* Vsuff, 10x *mimmā* VprefL, and 1x *mimmā* future VprefL; no periphrastic passive. See also asyndetic anaphoric nouns in 6.1.4.

Table 96: Constructions including *mimmā*

Σ	Construction
17	<i>mimmā</i> Vsuff
10	<i>mimmā</i> VprefL
1	<i>mimmā</i> sa-VprefL
28	

***mimmā* Vsuff (17x)**

17x attestations. The syntagm resumes what has previously been mentioned and comments upon it as a type of Relative to Clause to state a consequence, typically Consecutive (14x), occasionally through a concluding Comment (2x), and 1x by expanding on a simple noun, which by itself was a summary of even earlier propositions, *al-faḏā* 'atu, 'the atrocity, horror' (Article 47), strictly speaking in the function of a predicate in a nominal clause, as part of an evaluating Comment.

When expressing the Consecutive (14x), the verb is typically 'addā 'ilā/li- (8x), or 'aṣfara 'an (3x), 'lead to, result in', stating negative consequences such as casualties, wounded, and material damage.

The most common matrix is a complement main clause with Subject Vsuff (9x).

Table 97: *mimmā* Vsuff

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
14	Consecutive	-	[<i>mimmā</i> Vsuff]	20, 3, 98, 4, 60	236, 337, 377, 398, 567
2	Comment	Example below		40	551
1	Comment (as part of an evaluating comment)	Example below		47	653
17					

652. Article 40, *mimmā* Vsuff, Comment

ونكرت وكالة الأنباء
الفرنسية أن الموالين
لروسيا قصفوا نقاط
تفتيش تابعة للقوات
الحكومية على الجانب

wa-ḏakarat wikālatu l-
'anbā'i l-fransiyyatu 'anna
l-muwālīna li-rūsiyā qaṣafū
niqāṭa tafaṭūšin tābi'atan li-l-
quwwāti l-ḥukūmiyyati 'alā

And Agence France-Presse
mentioned that the loyalists
of Russia bombarded check-
points of the governmental
forces in the eastern side of

الشرقي من ميناء
"ماريوبول" المطل على
بحر "أزوف" جنوب
"دونيتسك"، مما أثار رد
فعل من جانب القوات
التابعة لكيف.

l-ġānibi l-šarqiyyi min
mīnā 'i "māryūbūl" al-muṭilli
'alā baḥri "azūf" ḡanūba
"dūnītsk", **mimmā 'atāra
radda fi'lin min ḡānibi l-
quwwāti l-tābi'ati li-kīyef.**

the port of "Mariupol" which
is overlooking the Sea of
"Azov" south⁴⁴³ "Donetsk",
**something which triggered
a reaction from the side of
the forces of Kyiv.**

653. Article 47 (final sentence), *al-faḡā'atu mimmā* Vsuff, Comment
(evaluating)

ويشرح الكتاب حجم
العزلة التي شعر بها
هاري في ظل عدم
وجود والدته في الجوار
بسبب مشاكلها الزوجية
، بالإضافة إلى نزوات
أبيه مع كاميليا والتي
أدت في النهاية إلى
معاصرته لطلاق شديد
الفضاعة مما أثر بشكل
سيئ وسلبي على حالته
النفسية.

wa-yašraḥu l-kitābu ḥaġma l-
'uzlati llatī ša'ara bihā hārī fi
zilli 'adami wuġūdi wālidatihi
fi-l-ġiwāri bi-sababi
mašākilihā l-zawġiyyati , bi-l-
'iḏāfati 'ilā nazawāti 'abihi
ma'a kāmīlā wa-llatī 'addat fi-
l-nihāyati 'ilā mu'āsaratihi li-
ṭalāqin šadīdin al-faḡā'atu
**mimmā 'attara bi-šaklin
sayyi'in wa-salbiyyin 'alā
ḥālātihi l-nafsiyyati.**

And the book explains the
extent of the isolation which
Harry felt in the absence of
his mother [around] because
of her marital problems, in
addition to his father's ca-
prices with Camilla which
eventually led to his contem-
porary [state] of a terrible di-
vorce[,] an atrocity which
**affected his mental state in
a bad and negative way.**

***mimmā* VprefL (10x)**

10x attestations, no *yatimmu mašdar*, no *yakūnu*.

No single lexical item following *mimmā* occurs >1x (cf. *mimmā* Vsuff).
The most frequent verb in the syntagm *mimmā* Vsuff, 'addā, is only attested
1x in *mimmā* VprefL, *mimmā* yu'addī, in Article 126, Consecutive.

mimmā VprefL functions as a Relative to Clause, and thus summarizes the
preceding proposition(s), 'something which', by presenting the result, typi-
cally in the form of what is best described as a Comment (7x), 1x of which
has the bi-nuance of Purpose (Article 15), or to state the Consecutive (1x, Ar-
ticle 126, Example 543), Degree Consecutive (1x, Article 85, Example 655),
or Numerical Comparative Contrast, albeit without numbers in the second
clause (1x, Article 86, Example 664).

6x of the clauses have complement main clauses as matrices: 5x Subject +
VprefL, 1x Subject + Vsuff.

Table 98: *mimmā* VprefL

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
6	Comment	wa-yuḏkaru 'anna l- mīlīšiyāti l-musallaḥata tušārī'u min 'aġli l- sayṭarati 'alā l-'āšimati wa- maṭārihā,	mimmā yaqūdu ḡuhūda l- ḥukūmati	19, 90	275, 365

⁴⁴³ For the semantic ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Comment bi Purpose	Example below		15	654
1	Consecutive	wa-qāla [...] 'inna «'a dādan mutazāyidatan mina l-šarikāti l-šīniyyati tuḥaqqiqu 'arbāḥan mina l- tiḡarati fī 'adawāti l-ta' dībi wa-l-qam'i ,	mimmā yu'addī 'ilā tazāyudi nti- hākāti ḥuqūqi l- 'insāni fī ḡamī'i 'anḥā'i l-'ālamī».	126	543
1	Degree Consecutive	Example below		85	655
1	Numerical Comparative Contrast	wa-naqalat [...] 'anna 'awā'ida bay'i l-kūkāyīn fī-l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati tašilu 'ilā 34 milyāra dūlārīn sanawīyyan,	mimmā yafūqu 'ā'idāti ḡarā'imi l- tiknūlūḡiyā	86	664
10					

Example (654) from Article 15 presents a purpose of Daesh's planned 'dramatic attacks', but the purpose, "to help with funding and recruit fighters", is inserted not as a volitional aim of Daesh, but as a news outlet's Comment, stating an indicative, albeit perhaps involuntary, but indeed highly probable result, as expressed by the speaker of the main clause, Comment bi Purpose.

654. Article 15, *mimmā* VprefL, Comment bi Purpose

وحذر روجرز من أن قادة التنظيم يسعون لتنفيذ «هجمات درامية» مما يساعدهم في جمع تمويل أكبر، وتجنيد المزيد من المقاتلين.	wa-ḥaddara rūḡirz min 'anna qādata l-tanzīmi yas'awna li- tanfīdi «ḥaḡamātin drāmiy- yatin» mimmā yusā'iduhum fī ḡa'li tamwīlin 'akbara, wa-taḡnīdi l-mazīdi mina l- muqātilīna.	And Rogers warned that <u>the</u> <u>leaders of the organization</u> <u>are seeking to implement</u> <u>«dramatic attacks»</u> , <u>some-</u> <u>thing which would help</u> <u>them in raising more fund-</u> <u>ing, and recruit more fight-</u> <u>ers.</u>

In Example (655) from Article 85, the Sweden Democrats are described to having gotten 13.1% of the votes, enough to qualify it to occupy important seats; this is a Degree Consecutive.

655. Article 85 (second paragraph), *mimmā* VprefL, Degree Consecutive

وقال أكسون أمام حشد من أنصار حزبه في العاصمة ستوكهولم «نحن الآن أسياة اللعبة المطلقة»، وذلك إثر حلول حزبه في المرتبة الثالثة في الانتخابات	wa-qāla 'akesūn 'amāma ḥašdīn min 'anšari ḥizbihi fī-l- 'āšimati stūkhūlm «naḥnu l-'āna 'asyādu l-lu'batī l- muṭlaqūna» , wa-dālika 'itra ḥulūlī ḥizbihi fī-l-martabati l- tālīṭati fī-l-intiḡābāti <u>bi-</u>	And Åkesson said in front of a crowd of supporters of his party in the capital Stock- holm «We are the absolute masters of the game», and this after his party ended in third position in the elections

بحصوله على ١٣,١٪
من الأصوات بحسب
نتائج الفرز الأولية ،
مما يؤهله لاحتلال
مقاعد مهمة في برلمان
لا يمتلك فيه اليسار
متصدر الانتخابات
الأغلبية المطلقة.

huṣūlihi 'alā 13,1% mina
l-'aswāti bi-hasabi natā'īgi l-
farzi l-'awwaliyyati , **mimmā**
yu'ahhiluhu li-ḥtilāli
maqā'ida muhimmatin fi
barlamānin lā yamtaliku fihi
l-yasāru mutaṣaddiru l-in-
tiḥābāti l-'ağlabiyyata l-
muṭlaqata.

by getting 13.1% of the votes
according to the preliminary
results of the counting,
which qualifies it to occupy
important seats in a parlia-
ment where the Left, winner
of the election, does not hold
an absolute majority.

mimmā future VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 28, Comment bi Consecutive (irreal context), Example (656).

656. Article 28 (final two sentences), *mimmā* future VprefL, Comment bi Consecutive (irreal)

وعلى الصعيد
العسكري، كشفت إيران
أمس عن صواريخ
أرض - جو جديدة
بالإضافة إلى أجهزة
رادار حديثة لتعزيز
خطوطها الدفاعية. وأكد
الجنرال
إسماعيلي قائد القوات
الجوية الإيرانية أنه من
المتوقع أن تتضاعف
القدرة الدفاعية لإيران
عقب إضافة صاروخي
«تالاش - 3»
و«إنديفور - 3» إلى
ترسانتها، مما سيمنحها
من صد أي هجوم برى
أو حتى جوى على
ارتفاعات عالية.

wa-'alā l-ša'īdi l-'askariyyi,
kaṣafat 'īrān 'amsi 'an
ṣawārīḥa 'arḍ# - ġaww#
ḡadīdatin bi-l-'idāfati 'ilā
'ağhizati rādār ḡadīdatin li-
ta'zīzi ḡuṭūḥā l-difā'iyati.
wa-'akkada l-ğenerāl farzād
'ismā'īlī qā'idu l-quwwāti l-
ğawwiyyati l-'īrāniyyati 'an-
nahu mina l-mutawaqqa'i 'an
tatadā'afa l-qudratu l-difā'iy-
yatu li-'īrān 'aqiba 'idāfati
sārūḥay «tālāš - 3» wa«'in-
diyāfūr - 3» 'ilā tirsānatiḥā,
mimmā sa-yumkinuhā min
ṣaddi 'ayyi ḡuğūmin bar-
riyyin 'aw ḡattā ġawwiyyin
'alā rtifā'ātin 'āliyatīn.

And on a military plane,
Iran yesterday unveiled
new surface-to-air missiles
as well as modern radar de-
vices to strengthen its de-
fence lines. General Farzad
Ismaili, commander of the
Iranian Air Force, said that
it is expected that the de-
fence capability of Iran will
double following the addi-
tion of the two missiles
“Talash-3” and “Endeav-
our-3” to its arsenal, some-
thing which would enable
Iran to repel any ground
or even air attack at high
altitudes.

wa-ma 'a-h NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 4, Associative: yuwāṣilu [...] liwunyārdū liyūn **wa-**
ma 'ahu safratu l-ittihādi l-'ūrubbiiyi wa-safirū 'iṭāliya [...] (Example 277).

man Vsuff (6x)

6x attestations, 1x annotated relation; no *kāna*, no *tamma maṣdar*. 5x of the
relations are grammatical relations (excluded from investigation): 2x direct
objects, e.g. Article 34: *hal sa-taḥmūna man 'ahānakum wa* [...], ‘Are you

going to protect **those who humiliated you** and [...]’ (Example 461), 1x complement to preposition *ma’a* (Article 16), 1x *’idāfa* genitive to *kullu* (Article 34), and 1x genitive object (Article 120): [...] *al-’iğrā’āti l-qānūniyyati bi-ḥaqqi man irtakaba tilka l-ḥurūqāti* [...], ‘[...] legal actions against **the one who committed these violations** [...]’ (Example 673). (For Malefactive in this construction, *bi-ḥaqqi*, see under “*bi-*” in 6.9.)

Only Article 24 has a relation of interest for the present investigation, indirect question: *mutasā’ilan man ṣamaḥa bi-* [...]; for questions in Media Arabic, see 5.4.

man VprefL (3x)

3x attestations, only grammatical relations (excluded from investigation): 1x subject to predicative *hunāka* in a complement main clause in Article 24: *’anna hunāka man yuḥāwilūna* [...], 1x *’idāfa* to a front-dislocated subject *kulla*, Article 37: *kamā ’anna kulla man yastaḥī’u* [...] *tamma naqluhu* [...] (Example 584), and 1x as a front dislocation in a complement main clause in Article 4 (suffix relation): *wa-qāla: man yurīdu ’an yudīra l-bilāda, fa-’alayhi ’an* [...] (Example 258). For front dislocations, see 5.3.4.3.

man future VprefL (4x)

4x attestations: 1x direct object which also expresses Purpose, Article 47: »’arsaltu laki *man sa-yaqtuluki...*, ‘»I have sent for **someone to kill you..**’ (Example 274); 1x indirect question, Article 57: *ṣirā #* [...] *bi-ša’ni man sa-yahlufu l-muršida* (for indirect questions proper, see 5.4.2); 1x predicate in a nominal clause (excluded from investigation) or possibly an Expanding Paraphrase, Article 64: *balaḡnā* [...] *’anna miṣr al-mustaqbilu hiya man sa-yastaḍīfuhu* (see Example 637); and 1x as a front dislocation in a complement main clause (Article 130, suffix relation; see front dislocations in 5.3.4.3).

man lā VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 102, genitive object (excluded from investigation): *ḥāwala* [...] *istirdā’a man lā yuḥibbūnahu* [...], ‘tried [...] to appease **those who do not like him** [...]’ (Example 237).

wa-man NCI (1x)

1x attestation, Article 37, headless relative, bi Associative, subject to verb (excluded from investigation): [...] *mā dāma l-filasṭīniyyūna wa-l-’arabu wa-man warā’ahum āzimīna ’alā ’an* [...], ‘as long as the Palestinians and the Arabs **and those behind them** remain determined that [...]’ (Example 201).

wa-min tumma (Ref.)

See “*tumma*, constructions including”.

min bayni-h NCl (7x)

7x attestations, only to express Exemplification. The reference is always a plural noun and the pronominal suffix is always feminine (cf. *bayna-h* NCl), i.e. *min bayni-hā*, e.g. Article 8: [...] *wa-yuṭliqūna l-nār min 'asliḥatin min baynihā el-kalāšīnkūf*, ‘[...] and shooting with weapons **such as the Kalashnikov**’ (Example 354).

wa-min bayni-h NCl (2x)

2x attestations, Articles 39 and 98, only to express Exemplification, e.g. Article 98: *wa-qālat* [...] *'inna l-'ašarāti min muqātīlī el-'islāh qutīlū* [...] ***wa-min baynihim naḡlā l-šayḥi ḥasan 'abkar***. ‘[...] dozens of al-Islah fighters were killed [...] **and among them the two sons of Sheikh Hassan Abkar**.’ (Example 661). Excluded from this count is a main clause, *wa-min bayni-h* NCl in Article 25; see main clauses in 5.3.1.

munḍu 'an Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, Article 106, with a verb of attribution, subordinate to a main clause with Vsuff, Since: *wa-našara l-ḥūṭiyyūna l-'ālāfa* [...] *fī šan 'ā' wa-ḥawlahā munḍu 'an 'a 'lana za 'tmu l-tamarrudi* [...] *taḥarrukan iḥtiḡāḡiyyan tašā 'udiyyan* [...], ‘And the Houthis [have] deployed thousands [...] in Sanaa and around it **since the rebel leader Abdul-Malik al-Houthi announced** [...] **an escalating protest action** (Example 253).

min ḍimn-h NCl (1x)

1x attestation, in the lead of Article 118, Exemplification, groups of humans as reference, *min ḍimnihā*.

657. Article 118 (lead), *min ḍimnihā* NCl, Exemplification

شهدت العاصمة صنعاء
ومحيطها أمس هدوءاً
حذراً منذ توقيع اتفاقية
السلم والشرابة الوطنية
أمس الأول من قبل
رئيس الجمهورية،
والأطراف السياسية
الأخرى من ضمنها
جماعة أنصار الله.

šahidati l-'āšimatu šan 'ā' wa-
muḥīṭuhā 'amsi hudū'an
ḥaḍīran munḍu tawqī'i
'ittiḡāqiyyati l-silmi wa-l-
širākati l-waṭaniyyati 'amsi l-
'awwala min qibali ra'īsi l-
ḡumhūriyyati, wa-l-'atrāfi l-
siyāsiyyati l-'uḥrā min
ḍimnihā ḡamā'atu 'anšar
allāh.

The capital Sanaa and its sur-
roundings witnessed yester-
day a cautious calm after the
signing of a Peace and Na-
tional Partnership Agree-
ment the day before yester-
day by the president of the
Republic and the other polit-
ical parties, including the
Ansar Allah group.

wa-min ḡimni-h NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 74, Exemplification, Example (658). The example is arguably a complete list of the exemplified set, in which case it should have been annotated as an Expanding Paraphrase (an atypical relation for the syntagm).

Excluded from this count is a main clause, wa-min ḡimni PP NCl in Article 86 (for which, see Example 432; for main clauses, see 5.3.1).

658. Article 74 (lead), wa-min ḡimnihā NCl, Exemplification

كشفت مصادر برلمانية عراقية عن أبرز الأسماء الجديدة المرشحة لتولى حقيبة الدفاع، ومن ضمنها اللواء الركن نوري غافل الدليمي، وبحيى العيساوي، والنائب الحالي بدر الفحل، فيما أبدت كتلة بدر «امتعضها» من رفض تكليف أمينها العام لمنصب وزارة الداخلية.	kašafat mašādiru bar-lamāniyyatun 'irāqīyyatun 'an 'abrazi l-'asmā'i l-ḡadīdati l-muraššahati li-ta-wallī haqībati l-difā'i, wa-min ḡimnihā l-liwā'u l-rukn# nūrī ḡāfil el-dulaymī, yaḥyā el-'isāwī, wa-l-nā'ibu l-ḡālīyyu badr al-faḡal, fīmā 'abdat kutlatu badr <imti'āḡahā> min rafḡi taklīfī 'amīnihā l-'āmmi li-manšibi wizāratī l-dāḡiliyyati.	Iraqi parliamentary sources revealed <u>the most prominent new names nominated to take over the defence portfolio</u> , among which [is] Major General Nuri Ghafil al-Dulaymi, Yahya al-Issawi, and the present member of parliament Badr al-Fahal, while the Badr bloc displayed «its resentment» with the refusal to nominate its secretary general for the office of the Interior Ministry.

min-h NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 25, Exemplification The head is an inanimate plural noun, and the exemplification with *minhā* includes adjectives with the ellipsis of the matrix noun.

659. Article 25 (final clause), minhā NCl, Exemplification

مشيرا إلى طرق مختلفة للإسهام فى التحالف منها العسكرية والإنسانية والمخابراتية والدبلوماسية.	[...] <u>mušīran 'ilā turuqin muḡtalīfatin li-l-'ishāmi fi-l-taḡālufi minhā l-'askariyyat# wa-l-'insāniyyat# wa-l-muḡābarātiyyat# blūmāsiyyat#.</u>	[...] <u>pointing to different ways to contribute in the coalition</u> , such as the military, the humanitarian, the intelligence, and the diplomatic [way].

mu'ahḡaran qabla 'an VprefA (Ref.)

See “qabla 'an VprefA”.

mubāšaratan qabla 'an VprefA (Ref.)

See “qabla 'an VprefA”.

n (*nūn*) ن

No attestations.

h (*hā*) ◦*hāḍā* VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 62, *hāḍā* is anaphoric to clause, a Comment. The whole syntagm vis-à-vis its matrix expresses an underlying Purpose, hence Comment bi Purpose.

See also *hāḍā fīmā* Vsuff.

660. Article 62, *hāḍā* future VprefL, Comment bi Purpose

وقال فان رومبوى
فى بيان رسمى ان
دخول العقوبات حيز
التنفيذ سيتم خلال
الايام القليلة القادمة،
هذا سيوفر الوقت
لإجراء تقييم لتنفيذ
اتفاق وقف إطلاق
النار فى أوكرانيا
وخطة السلام.

wa-qāla fān rōmbūy fī bayānin
rasmiyyin 'inna duḥūla l-
'uqūbāti ḥayza l-tanfīḍi sa-
yatimmu ḥilāla l-'ayyāmi l-qal-
īlati l-qādimati, **hāḍā sa-yu-
waffiru l-waḡta li-'iğrā'i**
taqyīmin li-tanfīḍi ttifāqi
waqfi 'iṭlāqi l-nāri fī
'ūkrāniyā wa-ḥuṭṭati l-salāmi.

And Van Rompuy said in an official statement that the entry of the sanctions into force will take place during the next few days, **this will provide time to conduct an evaluation of the implementation of the ceasefire agreement in Ukraine and the peace plan.**

wa-hāḍā VprefL (1x)

1x attestation, Article 64, Comment: *wa-hāḍā yubrizu makānata miṣr ladā l-'aṣiqqā'i l-'arabi* (see Example 637; see also discussion with Example 595).

hāḍā NCl (1x)

1x attestation, Article 106, Different Level Different Subject Addition in the context of an attribution: *wa-'akkadat maṣādiru maḥalliyyatun 'annahā ṣāḥadat mudarra'ātin [...] hāḍā 'ilā ḡānibi intiṣāri musallahīna [...]*, 'And local sources confirmed that they have seen armoured vehicles [...] **this in addition to the deployment of militants with civil clothes in that area.**' (Example 502).

wa-hāḍā NCl (3x)

3x attestations. For constructions with *hāḍā* as a determiner, e.g. *wa-hāḍihi l-tarīqu hiya [...]* (Article 56, Example 331), see *wa*-NCl in 6.1.2.9.

Table 99: wa-hāḍā NCI

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	Comment	'iḍ ladā l-tanzīmi “imtidādātun ‘aḡā’idiyyatun” fi-l-minṭaqati ‘alā ḥaddi qawlihi, naḥnu fi ḥaṭarin min šamāli šarqi sūriyā ‘ilā šamāli ġarbi el-‘irāq,	wa-hāḍā ġarasu ‘indārin ḥaḡḡiyyun li-duwali l-maġlisi li-tašaffi ḥilāfātihā”.	1	367
1	Comment bi Cause	wa-ḥaḍḍara ‘alkān al-ḥukūmata li-qiyāmihā bi-‘tiqāli riġāli l-šurtati dūna l-ḥuṣūli ‘alā qarārātin mina l-ġihāti l-qaḍā’iyyati,	wa-hāḍā muḥālifun li-mabda’i stiqlāli l-qaḍā’i,	24	419
1	Temporal Succession	[...] al-‘ulā bi-‘iṭlāqi l-nāri bi-šaklin mubāširin ‘alayhi, wa-l-tāniyatu min ḥilāli zar’i ‘abwatin nāsifatin,	wa-hāḍihi hiyā l-muḥāwalatu l-tālīṭatu	50	544
3					

hāḍā fīmā Vsuff (1x)

1x attestation, Article 4, with verb of attribution, Different Level Different Subject Addition: *wa-‘afādat mašādiru ‘askariyyatun libiyyatun bi-wuḡū’i [...] hāḍā fīmā ḡakarat munazzamātun ḥaḡḡiyyatun maḥalliyytun ‘anna [...] (see Example 435). This attestation is arguably better understood as a main clause, hāḍā fīmā functioning as a dummy coordinator. For the fallacy of cotemporality, see 3.16.1.1; for main clauses, see 5.3.1.*

hal, constructions including (3x)

3x attestations, only interrogative: 1x *hal* Vsuff (Article 49), 1x *hal* VprefL (Article 47), and 1x *hal* future VprefL (Article 34); for direct questions in Media Arabic, see 5.4.1.

wa-hw VprefL (7x)

7x attestations; *wa-hw* VprefL is a coordinating *wa-* + a personal pronoun of the *huwa*-paradigm: 4x *wa-hum*, 2x *wa-hiya*, and 1x *wa-huwa* VprefL (Article 115). No *yakūnu*, no *yatimmu mašdar*.

The construction typically occurs with a gram switch: 4x subordinated a clause with Vsuff in the matrix, 1x to a NCI (Article 1), 1x to a nominalized clause with *mašdar* (Article 115), and 1x to an asyndetic relative clause with VprefL (Article 71). It occurs 3x times in the context of the root *zhr* involving immediate perception (e.g. Example 677 from Article 71).

The syntagm resumes its pronominal subject from the preceding matrix and expands on it with a temporally simultaneous clause; being unmarked as to its semantics which have to be inferred from context, the expansion may be more of an Unordered Addition (Different Level Same Subject, as in Article 37, Example 162), a mere Expanding Paraphrase (Article 71, Example 677), or together with *ḥuṣūṣan* be expressive of more complex notions such as Graded Exemplification bi Expanding Paraphrase: [...] *wa-hum yuṭālibūna ḥuṣūṣan* [...] (Article 56, Example 325). Typically, however, it only expresses a Simultaneous clause (4x times, as in e.g. Example 661 from Article 98).

Table 100: *wa-hw VprefL*

Σ	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
4	Simultaneous	bal hiya mawġūdatun ḥatta fī duwalinā	wa-hiya tantaziru l- waqta li-tanquḍa	1	390
		wa-zahara l-ʾaṭfālu fī-l- fīdiyū llaḍī battathu l- ġamāʾatu l-ʾirhābiyyatu	wa-hum yaġlisūna, wa-yaqraʾūna l- qurʾāna	8	248
		Example below		98	661
		li-yuwāġiha tuhmata duḥūli mabnan maḥzūrin bi-šaklin ġayri qānūniyyin	wa-huwa yaḥmilu silāḥan qātilan	115	633
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Simultaneous	muʾakkidan ʾanna miṣr saʾat munḍu bidāyati ndilāʾi ʾazmati ġazza l- ʾaḥīrati ʾilā l-ʾamali ʾalā waqfi ʾitlāqi l-nāri wa-[...] wa-[...]	wa-hiya taʾmalu l- yawma ʾalā ḍamāni taḥqīqi l-maṭālibi l- filasṭīniyyati.	37	162
1	Graded Exem- plification bi Expanding Para- phrase	wa-qāla [...] ʾinna «al- ḥuṭiyyīna qaddamū maġmūʾata maṭāliba ʾilā l-raʾīsi l-yama- niyyi,[...]	wa-hum yuṭālibūna ḥuṣūṣan bi-[...] wa- [...]	56	325
1	Simultaneous bi Expanding Para- phrase	fīmā batta nāšiṭūna bi- rīfi ḥalab, šuwaran tuḫhuru muqātili [ita] l- ġayši l-ḥurri	wa-hum yastahdifūna maqārra dāʿeš fī balḍati el-ḥaṣayy.	71	677
7					

661. Article 98, *wa-hw VprefL*, Simultaneous

وقالت المصادر إن
العشرات من مقاتلي
الإصلاح قتلوا وهم

wa-qālati l-maṣādiru ʾinna l-
ʾaṣarāti min muqātili el-ʾislāh
qutlū wa-hum yudāfiʾūna ʾan

And the sources said that
dozens of al-Islah fighters

يدافعون عن منازلهم ومن بينهم نجلا الشيخ حسن أبكر.	manāzilihim wa-min baynihim nağlā l-šayḥi ḥasan 'abkar.	<u>were killed while de-</u> fending their homes and among them the two sons of Sheikh Hassan Abkar.

wa-hw linkings with nominal clauses (44x)

For wa-S NCI, see “wa-NCI”.

wa-hw NCI (33x)

33x attestations: 20x *wa-huwa*, 11x *wa-hiya*, 1x *wa-hum* (Article 13), and 1x *wa-humā* (Article 73). A coordinated nominal clause with an anaphoric third person pronoun of the *huwa*-paradigm as its subject. See also “*wa-huwa mā* VprefL (NCI)” and “*wa-huwa mā* Vsuff (NCI)”.

The construction takes its subject from the matrix and expands on it with a nominal clause, the reference may be a noun or a proposition, as in e.g. Example (472) from Article 12.

The semantics range from Expanding Paraphrase, to Parenthetical Comment, Simultaneous, and Summarizing Paraphrase, with a number of polysemous linkings. In the unique *wa-huwa šay'un ḡayyidun*, lit. ‘and this is a good thing’, in Example (472) from Article 12, authorial distance is disregarded in an evaluating Comment (see also *al-fazā 'atu* in 6.1.4, and Example 653).

Being temporally unbound, the semantics expressed by the construction are more typically those of an Expanding Paraphrase (19x) than a Simultaneous clause (3x, cf. *wa-hw* VprefL); for Simultaneous, there is 1x clause with a passive participle as the predicate, 1x with a prepositional phrase (see Example 183), and 1x with *wa-huwa tiḡlun* (Article 47).

Table 101: wa-hw NCI

Σ	Link	Tokens (example only)	A	Ex
19	Expanding Paraphrase	wa-huwa l-'awwalu [...]	86	-
2	Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause	wa-hiya 'iḥdā l-šiyaḡi l-maṭrūḡati	12	472
2	Expanding Paraphrase bi Context	wa-huwa 'aḡadu l-'a'ḡā'i l-mu'ta-mari l-waṭaniyyi	121	-
1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Parenthetical Comment	wa-hiya l-ṭarīqatu l-mufaḡḡalatu laḡā muḡarribi l-muḡaddarāti [...]	48	-
1	Parenthetical Comment	Example below	125	663
1	Comment (evaluating)	wa-huwa šay'un ḡayyidun	12	472
3	Simultaneous	wa-hum 'alā 'a'tābi manzili ra'īsi [...]	13	183
1	Simultaneous bi Consecutive	Example below	106	662

Σ	Link	Tokens (example only)	A	Ex
1	Different Level Same Subject Addition	[syndetic REL] wa-hiya milkun li-l-dawlati	118	-
1	Numerical Comparative Contrast	wa-huwa ʿiʿfu l-mablaġi [...]	48	687
1	Summarizing Paraphrase bi Context	wa-humā maṭlūbāni raʿiṣiyyāni li- l-ħuṭiyyina	73	-
33				

662. Article 106, *wa-hw* NCI, Simultaneous bi Consecutive

ومن جهتها، أكدت مصادر مصرية من الزندانى أن الأخير موجود فى جامعة الايمن، وهو محاصر بدورة فيما تتعرض مبانى الجامعة للقصف،	wa-min ġihatihā, ʿakkadat mašādiru muqarrabatun mina l- zindānī ʿanna l-ʿaḥīra mawġūdun fī ġāmiʿati el-ʿīmān, wa-huwa muḥāṣarun bi- dawrihi [ita] fīmā tataʿarraḡu mabānī l-ġāmiʿati li-l-qaṣfi, [...]	And for their part, sources close to al-Zindani asserted that the latter is currently at the Iman University and [that] he in turn is be- sieved as the buildings of the university are exposed to bombardment, [...]

In Example (663) from Article 125, *wa-huwa* NCI codes a Parenthetical Comment.

663. Article 125, *wa-hw* NCI, Parenthetical Comment

وأضافت الإذاعة أن الطائرة السورية وهى على ما يبدو من طراز ميج-٢١ اقتربت من الجانب الإسرائيلى من هضبة الجولان أسقطتها بطارية صواريخ أرض-جو من طراز باتريوت، موضحة أن حطام الطائرة سقط فى الجانب السوري.	wa-ʿaḏāfati l-ʿiḏāʿatu ʿanna l-tāʿirata l-sūriyyata wa- hiyā ʿalā mā yabdū min ṭirāzi miġ-21 iqtarabat mina l-ġānibi l-ʿisrāʿīliyyi min habḡati el-ġulān ʿasqaṭathā baṭṭāriyyatu ṣawārīḡi ʿarḡ#- ġaww# min ṭirāzi bātriūt, mūḏiḡatan ʿanna ḡuṭāma l- tāʿirati saqaṭa fi-l-ġānibi l- sūriyyi.	And the radio added that the Syrian plane - [and] it appears to have been of the model MiG-21 - ap- proached the Israeli side of the Golan heights [and] a surface-to-air missile bat- tery of the type Patriot shot it down, explaining that the plane wreck fell on the Syr- ian side.

wa-huwa mā VprefL (NCI) (8x)

8x attestations: 7x masculine verbs, 1x feminine (Article 89); no *yakūnu*, no *yatimmu maṣdar*.

The scope of the present investigation is not the lexicon, nor extra-sentential segmentation and relations. The syntagm functions as a Relative to Clause (Comment, see 4.8), with *huwa* as an anaphoric reference to what has been mentioned earlier in the article, typically in the preceding clause, and with *mā* VprefL as the predicate. Any inferred semantics stem from the semantics of the verb, which may thus be interpreted as Cause (Article 86, Example 664) or Contrast (Article 89, Example 665), but since all verbs are unique to each attestation, the construction not being restricted to a limited number of verbs (no verb appearing >1x), and since the construction may exceed sentence level

in its scope by having a paragraph concluding text-linguistic function (Article 57, Example 666), all attestations were annotated as Comment, except for Article 126, which was annotated as Numerical Comparative Contrast: *wa-yasrudu l-taqrīru 'asmā'a 'aktara min 130 šarikatan šīniyyatan [...]* ***wa-huwa mā yumattīlu tazāyudan kabīran [...]***, ‘the report lists names of more than 130 Chinese companies [...] and this [is what] represents a significant increase [...]’ (see Example 543).

664. Article 86, *wa-huwa mā* VprefL (NCI), Comment

ونقلت "فورتن" عن تقرير لمركز "جافلين" الأمريكي للاستشارات الاستراتيجية أن عوائد بيع الكوكايين في الولايات المتحدة تصل إلى ٣٤ مليار دولار سنوياً، مما يفوق عائدات جرائم التكنولوجيا، مشيرة إلى صعوبة تحديد العائدات المالية للجريمة التقليدية ، وهو ما يرجع إلى أن أصحابها يبذلون جهد كبير لإخفاء ما يقومون به.	wa-naqalat "fūrṭṣan" 'an taqrīrin li-markazi "ğāfelīn" al-'amrīkiyyi li-l-istišārāti l- 'istrātīğiyati 'anna 'awā'ida bay'ī l-kūkāyīn fi-l-wilāyati l- muttaḥidati taşilu 'ilā 34 mi- lyāra dūlārīn sanawīyyan, mimmā yafūqu 'ā'idāti ğarā'imi l-tiknūlūğiyā, muşīratan 'ilā şu'ūbati taḥdīdi l-'ā'idāti l-māliyyati li-l- ğarīmati l-taqlīdiyyati , wa- huwa mā yarğī'u 'ilā 'anna 'aşḥābahā yabḍulūna ğahd[an] [ita] kabīr[an] [ita] li-'ihfā'i mā yaqūmūna bihi.	And "Fortune" quotes a re- port by the American centre "Javelin" for Strategic Con- sulting that the returns of co- caine sales in the United States reaches 34 billion dol- lars annually, which sur- passes the proceeds of tech- nological crimes, noting the difficulty of determining the financial returns of tradi- tional crime, [something] which goes back to the fact that those who do it [= 'aşḥābahā] make a great ef- fort to hide what they do.

665. Article 89, *wa-huwa mā* VprefL (NCI), Comment

وفى هذا الصدد ، ذكرت صحيفة (أخبار اليوم) ، لسان حال اللواء على محسن الأحمر المستشار الخاص لرئيس الجمهورية لشئون الدفاع والأمن ، أن جماعة الحوثيين تسعى إلى اتفاق جديد مع الرئيس عبد ربه منصور هادى بعيداً عن شرعية المبادرة الخليجية وقرارات مجلس الأمن وهو ما ترفضه هذه الجهات.	wa-fi ḥādā l-şadadi , ḡakarāt şaḡīfatu ('aḥbār el- yawm) , lisānu ḡālī l-liwā'i 'alī muḥsen el-'aḥmar al- mustaşārī-l-ḡaşṣi li-ra'īsi l- ğumhūriyyati li-şu'ūni l- difā'i wa-l-'amni , 'anna ğamā'ata l-ḡūṭiyyīna tas'ā 'ilā ttifāqin ġadīdin ma'a l- ra'īsi 'abd rabbuh manşūr ḡadī ba'īdan 'an şar'īyyati l-mubādarati l-ḡalīğiyati wa-qarārāti mağlisi l- 'amni wa-huwa mā tarfuḡuhu ḡādihi l- ğihātu.	And in this regard, the news- paper (Akhbar al-Youm), the mouthpiece of Major General Ali Mohsen al-Ahmar, special advisor of the president of the Republic for security and de- fence affairs, stated that the group of the Houthis is seek- ing a new agreement with the president Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi away from the legitimacy of the Gulf initiative and the resolutions of the Security Council, something which these authorities reject.

666. Article 57 (final paragraph), *wa-huwa mā* VprefL (NCI), Comment

في الوقت نفسه، حذر
وزير الخارجية
الأمريكي الأسبق
هنري كيسنجر من
خطورة الحزام الشيعي
الممتد من طهران مارا
عبر بغداد وحتى
بيروت وهو ما يعطي
فرصة لإعادة إنشاء
الإمبراطورية الفارسية
تحت المسمى الشيعي
بحسب تعبيره.

fi-l-waḡti nafsīhi, ḥaḍḍara
wazīru l-ḥarīġiyyati l-ʿam-
rīkiyyu l-ʿasbaqu henrī
kīsingīr min ḥuṭūrati l-
ḥizāmi l-šīʿiyyi l-mumtaddi
min ṭahrān mārran ʿabra
baġdād wa-ḥattā bayrūt **wa-
huwa mā yu ʿtī furṣatan li-
ʿiʿādati ʿinšāʿi l-ʿim-
berāṭūriyyati l-fārisiyyati**
taḥta l-musammā l-šīʿiyyi
bi-ḥasabi taʿbīrihi

Meanwhile, the former Amer-
ican foreign minister Henry
Kissinger warned of the dan-
ger of the Shiite belt which is
stretching from Tehran pass-
ing through Baghdad and all
the way to Beirut, [and] **this**
[is something which] gives
an opportunity to re-eslab-
lish the Persian Empire un-
der the Shiite name, accord-
ing to his way of putting it.

***wa-huwa mā* future VprefL (NCI) (1x)**

1x attestation, *wa-huwa mā sa-yakūnu*, Article 49, Relative to Clause (Com-
ment), drawing on extra-sentential contents (economic sanctions against Rus-
sia).

667. Article 49, *wa-huwa mā* future-*yakūnu* (NCI), Comment

وحذر من أن روسيا قد
تعيد النظر في
التزاماتها إزاء التعاون
مجال الأمن الدولي،
وهو ما سيكون له
تبعات أخطر من القيود
الاقتصادية.

wa-ḥaḍḍara min ʿanna
rūsīyā qad tuʿidu l-naẓara fī
ltizāmātiḥā ʿizāʿa l-taʿāwuni
[fī] maġālī [ita] l-ʿamni l-du-
waliyyi, **wa-huwa mā sa-
yakūnu lahu tabīʿatin**
**aḥṭara mina l-quyūdi l-
iqtisādiyyati.**

And he warned that Russia
might reconsider its commit-
ments with regard to the coop-
eration [in] the field of interna-
tional security, **something**
that would have more seri-
ous consequences than eco-
nomic restrictions.

***wa-huwa mā* Vsuff (NCI) (2x)**

2x attestations, excluding 1x *wa-huwa mā* Vsuff (NCI) in a nominal main
clause (for main clauses, see 5.3.1). The syntagm functions as Relative to
Clause by adducing a Comment (see the discussion for *wa-huwa mā* VprefL
(NCI); for definition of Comment, see 4.8). Article 29, Comment (not anno-
tated as bi Frustration): *wa-yuḍkaru ʿanna l-ġayša qāma [...] bi-dawri »al-
wasīṭ#« fī-l-ʿazmati lākin dūna taḥqīqi naġāḥi ḥayṭu štarāṭati l-muʿāraḍatu*
stiḡālata šarīf wa-huwa mā rafaḍathu l-ḥukūmatu, ‘it is mentioned that the
army took the role of »mediator« [...] in the crisis, but without success, as the
opposition required the resignation of Sharif, **something which the govern-**
ment refused’ (Example 583); and the end of the lead of Article 3, Comment:
[...] *wa-huwa mā dafaʿa l-ḥukūmata l-bākistāniyyata ʿilā l-saʿyi li-stiʿnāfi l-
mufāwāḍati maʿa l-ġamāʿati l-muʿāridati li-ʿiḥtiwāʿi l-mawqifi l-mutaḡaḡġiri.*
‘[...] something which prompted the Pakistani government to seek to resume
the negotiations with the opposition groups to contain the explosive situation.’
(Example 186).

hw NCl (1x)

1x attestation, direct speech in Article 47, in Temporal Succession of the cause-result type in relation to its matrix: [...] *taqūlu* [...] » *'arsaltu laki man sa-yaqталuki.. hum al-'āna fi-l-finā'i l-ḥārīḡiyyi..* [...] (see Example 487). Annotated as Temporal Succession bi Consecutive; but as it is separated from the matrix with two full stops, it is arguably a main clause of its own.

wa-hw mā + finite verb (Ref.)

See “*wa-hw* linkings with nominal clauses” above.

w (*wāw*) و*wafqan li-mā* + Verb (3x)

3x attestations: 1x *wafqan li-mā* VprefL (Article 35), and 2x Vsuff; 1x of the latter is with a verb of attribution, the attribution formula (for which, see 6.5) *wafqan li-mā ḡakarahu l-taqrīru* in Article 126, a Meta-linguistic Comment, Example 428. The other 2x examples express Manner in agreement with the formative substance of the syntagm, *wafqan li-mā* ‘according to what’: 1x with VprefL in Article 35: *muḡīfan 'anna l-'amaliyyāti sa-takūnu «maḡdūdatan [...]» wafqan li-mā yataḡallabuhu l-waḡ'u 'alā 'arḡi l-wāḡi'i*, ‘[...] will be limited [...] according to what the situation on the ground requires’, and 1x with Vsuff in Article 52: [...] *wafqan li-mā ḡā'a fī mu'ta-mari ḡinīf 1*, ‘[...] according to [what came out of] the Geneva 1 Conference’ (Example 563).

y (*yā'*) ي

No attestations.

6.2. Nominalized subordination via a peripheral accusative verbal noun (40x)

This chapter deals with nominalized subordination via a peripheral accusative verbal noun (*maşḍaran*). Only subordinated nominalized clauses will be covered, excluding embedded nominalization via verbal nouns and core constituents—e.g. nominalized subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects—as well as adverbs (for which, see 6.8) and other peripheral verbal nouns such as *tamyīz* following an elative form.⁴⁴⁴ Included are the predicative *ramzan* from Article 7 (Example 336) and *ḥaṣṣyatan* from Article 57 (Example 671), but *ziyādat*# following a numeral in Article 101 (Example 401) is not included. For predicative accusative *maşḍar* in *wa-ḏālika maşḍaran*, see “*wa-ḏālika* X NCI” under 6.1.5. For compound prepositional constructions with verbal nouns as the base, e.g. *faḍlan* ‘an, *waḥqan* li-, etc., see the relevant prepositional phrases in 6.9.

The verbal nouns discussed in this passage will be split into two categories: asyndetic (*maşḍaran*) and syndetic (*wa-maşḍaran*).

6.2.1. *maşḍaran* (35x)

There are 35x nominalized subordinated clauses with asyndetic *maşḍar* accusatives in the corpus. 6x different types (lexical items) occur ≥ 2 x, making up 19x of all tokens (54.3%). These recurring types all come with an immediately following prepositional phrase (no variation); by contrast, 16x types are *hapax*. Table 102 gives the recurring types; following a discussion, *hapax* types are given further down in Table 103.

Table 102: Asyndetically linked subordinate clauses with *maşḍaran*, types occurring ≥ 2 x; note that Type = lexical items

Σ	Type	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
5	<i>iḥtiğāḡan</i> ‘alā	3x Summa- rizing Para- phrase Ana- phoric In- strumental Manner	Example below		88	668
		2x Purpose	Example below		114	669

⁴⁴⁴ Only attested with (*al-*)‘*aḡtar*# (6x: including 2x with *al-* and 1x with *wa-* (together with ‘*asra* ‘a: Article 102, Example 77)).

Σ	Type	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
3	<i>tamhīdan li-</i> ⁴⁴⁵	3x Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	wa-sa-yatimmu raf‘u taqrīri hawla mā qāma bihi farīqu l-‘amali fī hādā l-ṣadadi fī-l-ḡal-sati l-muqbilati li-maḡlisi l-wuzarā‘i	tamhīdan li-l-bad‘i bi-l-‘amali.	71	609
3	<i>istinādan ‘ilā</i>	3x Instrumental Manner	ka-dālika yaşirru ‘ayḡan ‘alā tadrīsi l-mawāddi l-dīniyyati l-‘iḡbāriyyati	stinādan ‘ilā šī‘ārihi l-mutamattili fī dīn# wāḡid# wa-maḡhab# wāḡid#..	114	457
3	<i>raddan ‘alā</i> ⁴⁴⁶	3x Equative	[...] l-mawqif# l-‘āmm# li-wāşintun wa-buldāni l-ittihādi l-‘ūrūbiyyi llaḡi ttaḡadathu	raddan ‘alā tadaḡḡuli rūsiyā fī-l-‘azmati l-‘ūkrāniyyati.	127	565
3	<i>naqlan ‘an</i>	3x attribution formula, see 6.5	-	-	-	-
2	<i>wuşūlan ‘ilā</i>	1x Nominal Purpose	wa-qāla šukrī [...] ‘anna mişr lan tawānā ‘an baḡli kulli ḡahdin mumkinin	wuşūlan ‘ilā tilka l-ḡāyati [...]	37	-
		1x Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	Example below		52	670
19						

The attestations with *iḡtiḡāḡan ‘alā*, the most frequent syntagm in this category (5x), illustrate a difficulty in separating between Purpose, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner, and Equative for the the syntagm.

The context of *iḡtiḡāḡan ‘alā* is always demonstrations and strikes, where *iḡtiḡāḡan ‘alā* states the object of protest. In Example (668) from Article 88,

⁴⁴⁵ Excluding *wa-dālika tamhīdan li-* (Article 123); on this, see “*wa-dālika X NCI*” in 6.1.5.

⁴⁴⁶ Excluding *wa-dālika raddan ‘alā* (Article 88); on this, see “*wa-dālika X NCI*” in 6.1.5.

discontent with a biased media coverage, Scots are reported to have ‘gone out’ in ‘demonstrations’ in front of the local headquarters of the BBC; *iḥtiḡāḡan* ‘*alā*, ‘protest(ing).ACC against’, at the same time both summarizes the act of taking to the streets in demonstrations (Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner) and states a **purpose** for so doing, while at the same time the two clauses describe two inseparable sides of a single situation where the subject is doing *x* as a *y* (Equative): To protest is, by and large, to take to the streets in demonstrations.

That this difficulty is implicit in subordinate *maṣḍaran* is symptomatic of a bridging context displaying a continuum of semantics within this triangle. Being maximally inexplicit as to the semantics, the categorization as Purpose, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner, or Equative is arduous, and—for the verbal noun—arguably overly theoretic. Great care has nevertheless been taken to annotate the most prominent semantics, as illustrated by Examples (668) and (669).

668. Article 88, *iḥtiḡāḡan* ‘*alā*, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner

من جهة أخرى، خرج المئات من الأسكتلنديين في مظاهرات أمس أمام مقر هيئة الإذاعة البريطانية «بي بي سي» في الإقليم، احتجاجا على تغطيتها المحيزة ضد الانفصال.	min ḡihatin ‘uḡrā, <u>haraḡa l-</u> <u>mi’ātu mina l-’iskutlandiy-</u> <u>yīna fī muzāharātin ‘amsi</u> <u>‘amāma maqarri hay’ati l-</u> <u>‘idā’ati l-brīṭāniyyati</u> «bī bī <u>sī» fī-l-’iqlīmī, iḥtiḡāḡan</u> <u>‘alā taḡṭiyatihā l-mutaḡay-</u> <u>yizati ḡidda l-infiṣālī.</u>	On the other hand, <u>hundreds</u> of Scots went out in demon- strations yesterday in front of the headquarters of the Brit- ish Broadcasting Coopera- tion «BBC» in the region, a means and manner of pro- testing against its biased coverage against secession.

Example (669) from Article 114 features an attestation where the Purpose semantics are stronger.

669. Article 114 (lead), *iḥtiḡāḡan* ‘*alā*, Purpose

- يستعد علويو تركيا - ثاني أكبر أقلية عرقية في البلاد - لتنظيم مظاهرات حاشدة احتجاجا على قرارات وزارة التربية والتعليم بشأن التعليم الديني الإجباري في البلاد والحاق الجميع بمدارس الأئمة والخطباء، فضلا عن جعل اللغة التركية لغة التعليم الوحيدة.	yasta ‘iddu ‘alawīyyū tur- kiyā - ṭānī ‘akbara ‘aqallīyyatin ‘irqīyyatin fī- l-bilādi - <u>li-tanzīmi</u> <u>muzāharātin hāṣidatin</u> <u>iḥtiḡāḡan ‘alā qarārāti</u> <u>wizārati l-tarbiyati wa-l-</u> <u>ta’līmī bi-ša’ni l-ta’līmī l-</u> <u>ḡibāriyyi l-’iḡbāriyyi fī-l-</u> <u>bilādi wa-’ilḡāqī l-ḡamī’i</u> <u>bi-madārisi l-’a’immati</u> <u>wa-l-ḡuṭabā’i, faḍlan ‘an</u> <u>ḡa’li l-luḡati l-turkiyyati</u> <u>luḡata l-ta’līmī l-waḡīdati.</u>	Turkey’s Alawites - the second largest ethnic minority in the country - <u>are preparing to or-</u> <u>ganize mass demonstrations to</u> <u>protest against the decisions</u> <u>of the Ministry of Education</u> <u>in the country</u> concerning compulsory religious educa- tion and the enrolment of eve- ryone in schools of imams and preachers, in addition to mak- ing the Turkish language the only language of education.

670. Article 52, *ihtigāgan* 'alā, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner

وشدد المجلس في
قراره الخاص بشأن
تطورات الأوضاع في
ليبيا في ختام أعمال
دورته العادية الـ142
على الدعوة الى الوقف
الفوري لكافة العمليات
المسلحة وأعمال العنف
في جميع الأراضي
الليبية والتأكيد على
ضرورة تضافر جهود
جميع الليبيين من أجل
تمكين الدولة من
استعادة وبسط سلطتها
وسيادتها على كامل
التراب الوطني وذلك
من خلال استكمال
الانتقال مسار
الديمقراطي ودعم
العملية السياسية وفتح
قنوات الحوار بين
جميع الأطراف
السياسة التي تنبذ العنف
والإرهاب وصولا إلى
تحقيق التوافق الوطني
والمصالحة ووضع
دستور جديد للبلاد.

wa-šaddada l-mağlisu fī
qarārihi l-hāṣṣi bi-ša'ni
taṭawwurāti l-'awḍā'i fī
libiyā fī ḥitāmi 'a'māli
dawratihī l-'ādiyati al[-]142
'alā l-da'wati 'ilā l-waḥfi l-
fawriyyi li-kāffati l-'ama-
liyyāti l-musallaḥati wa-
'a'māli l-'unfi fī ḡamī'i l-
'arādī l-lībiyyati wa-l-ta'kīdi
'alā ḡarūrati taḍāfuri ḡuhūdi
ḡamī'i l-lībiyyīna min 'aḡli
tamkīni l-dawlati mina
sti'ādati wa-basṭi sulṭatihā
wa-siyādatihā 'alā kāmili l-
turābi l-waṭaniyyi wa-dālika
min hilāli stikmāli misāri l-
intiḡālī l-dīmuqrāṭiyyi wa-
da'mi l-'amaliyyati l-
siyāsiyyati wa-faṭḥi qana-
wāti l-hiwāri bayna ḡamī'i l-
'atrāfi l-siyāsiyyati [ita] llati
tunbīdu l-'unfa wa-'irhāba
wuṣūlan 'ilā taḥqīqi l-
tawāfuqi l-waṭaniyyi wa-l-
muṣālaḥati wa-waḍ'i
dustūrīn [ita] ḡadīdin li-l-
bilādi

And the council stressed in its
special resolution concerning
the development of the situa-
tion in Libya at the end of its
acts of the 142nd regular ses-
sion the call to the immediate
cease of all armed operations
and acts of violence in all the
Libyan territories, and
[stressed] the emphasis of the
need for concerted efforts of
all the Libyans in order to
make the state able to restore
and extend its authority and
sovereignty on all the national
territory and this by means of
a completion of the path of the
democratic transition and the
support of the political process
and the opening of the chan-
nels of national dialogue be-
tween all the political parties
that reject violence and terror-
ism[.] a means and manner
of reaching the realization of
national consensus, reconcil-
iation, and the putting up a
new constitution for the
country.

Table 103: *Asyndetically linked subordinate clauses with maṣḍaran, hapax types*

Σ	Type	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	<i>irtifā'an</i>	Numerical Comparative Contrast	wa-'aḍāfati l-dirāsatu 'anna l-ḥasā'ira l-sanawiyyata tuqaddaru bi-mā yu'ādilu 1,5% mina l-nātiği l-'iğmāliyyi li-l-bilādi, fīmā quddira mu'addalu hāḍihi l-ḥasā'iri bi-33,7 milyār# dūlārin sanawiyyan fi-l-fatrati mā bayna 2010 wa-2012,	irtifā'an min 14,7 milyār# dūlar fi-l-'aqdi l-'awwali mina l-qarni l-ḥādī wa-l-'iṣrīna.	48	-
1	<i>irtibāṭan</i>	Temporal Succession	Example below		39	675
1	<i>ḥaṣyatan</i>	Predicate & Cause	Example below		57	671
1	<i>ḥawfan</i>	Cause	[...] baynamā 'akkada šuhūdu 'iyānin 'anna l-madīnata tašhadu ḥālata nuzūhin kabīratan	ḥawfan min ta'arruḍihā li-l-qaṣfi min qibali quwwāti "fağr libiyā".	4	429
1	<i>bad'an</i>	Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner	Example below		39	675
1	<i>taqdīran</i>	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	Example below		65	672
1	<i>ta'kīdan</i>	Equative	wa-qāla l-safīru el-duktūr 'aḥmad luqmān , mudīru l-munazzamati , 'inna mu'tamara l-'amali l-'arabiyyi sa-yu'qadu bi-l-qāhira	ta'kīdan li-l-musānadati wa-l-da'mi li-miṣr, [...]	64	637

Σ	Type	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
1	<i>harban</i>	Motion Purpose OR Expanding Paraphrase	[...] baynamā farra l- 'ālāfu min sukkāni nīḡīriyā	harban min 'irhābi būkū ḥarām.	60	227
1	<i>ramzan</i>	Equative OR Predicate	wa 'tabarat 'anna ntihābahu	ramzan li-l- waḥdati l- 'ūrūbiyyati	7	336
1	<i>isti'dādan</i>	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	wa-yataraddadu 'an- nahum qāmū bi- tafḥīlī l-manzili	sti'dādan li- tafḡīrihi	118	344
1	<i>man'an</i>	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Purpose	Example below		120	673
1	<i>istikmālan</i>	Equative & Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	wa-fī siyāqin muttaşilin taṇṭaliqu ḡadan al-'arbi 'ā'a ḡawlatun mina l- mufāwaḡāti ḡayri l- mubāşirati bayna l- wafdayni l-fī- lastīniyyi wa-l- 'isrā'īliyyi	istikmālan li-l- mufāwaḡāti llatī naḡama 'anhā l- tawaşşulu 'ilā waqfi 'itlāqi li-l-nāri fī ḡazza.	122	604
1	<i>'ilman</i>	Numerical Comparative Contrast	wa-'aḡharati l- tawaqqu'ātu, [...] 'anna man sa- yuşābūna bi-l-maraḡi sa-yabluḡu 'adaduhum 'aḡtara min taḡātati 'aḡ'āfi l- 'adadi l-ḡāliyyi l- bāliḡi 5800 şaḡşin , wa-llaḡīna 'uşībū bi-	'ilman bi-'an- nahu tuwuf- fiya ḡattā l- 'āna naḡwa 2800 şaḡşin ḡarrā'a l- 'işābati bi-l- maraḡi.	130	477

Σ	Type	Link	Matrix	Non-main clause	A	Ex
			l-fayrūs fī ġīniyā wa-lībiriyā wa-sīrālīyūn ,			
1	<i>muqārana-tan</i>	No category (here to compare <i>x</i> and <i>y</i>)	wa-'akkada [...] 'anna l-tašwīta bi-«lā» sa-yaḍmanu taġyīran 'asra 'a wa-'aktara 'amānan wa 'afdala li-ša 'bi 'is-kutlandā	muqāranatan bi- «al-in-fišālī».	102	77
1	<i>ḥifāzan</i>	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	Example below		18	674
1	<i>takrīman</i>	Nominal Purpose	wa-kāna šukrī qad istahalla l-ziyārata bi-ḥuḍūri ma' dabati ġadā' in	takrīman lahu fī maqarri ġam' iyyati riġālī l-'a māli l-firansiyyīna	26	577
16						

671. Article 57, *mašḍaran*, Predicate & Cause

وأشارت التاييمز إلى أن خضوع خامنئي لجراحة في البروستاتا قبل أيام وحرصه على عدم تركية أحد لخلافته كان خشية أن يتحول الاهتمام إلى الرجل المقبل.	wa-'ašāra el-tāymz 'ilā 'anna ḥuḍū'a ḥāmene'ī li-ġarāḥatin fi-l-brūstātā qabla 'ayyāmin wa-ḥirṣahu 'alā 'adami tazkiyati 'aḥadin li-ḥilāfatihī <u>kāna ḥašyatan 'an yataḥawwala l-ihtimāmu 'ilā l-raġuli l-muqbili.</u>	And The Times pointed out that the submission of Khomeini to surgery in the prostate days ago and his keenness to not recommend anyone to succeed him <u>was for fear that the attention would turn to the next man.</u>

672. Article 65 (lead), *mašḍaran*, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner

كرمت الأمم المتحدة أمس دولة الكويت كمركز إنساني عالمي، وأطلقت على أميرها الشيخ صباح الأحمد الجابر الصباح لقب «قائد العمل الإنساني»، تقديرًا للدور الكبير	karramati l-'umamu l-muttaḥidatu 'amsi dawlata el-kuwayt ka-markazin 'insāniyyin 'ālamīyyin, wa-'aṭlaqat 'alā 'amīrihā l-šayḥi šabāḥ el-'aḥmad el-ġāber el-šabāḥ laqaba »qā'id# al-'amali l-'insāniyyi«, taqḍīran li-l-dawri llaḍī	The United Nations honoured the State of Kuwait yesterday as a global humanitarian centre, and called its Emir Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah by the title of »the leader of the humanitarian work«, a means and manner of recognizing the role which Kuwait

الذى تؤديه الكويت فى مجال العمل الانسانى.	tu'addihi el-kuwayt fi mağāli l-'amali l- 'insāniyyi.	is leading in the field of hu- manitarian work.

673. Article 120, *mašḍaran*, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Purpose

واستنكر الائتلاف الوطني هذه التجاوزات، مؤكدا أنها لن تسهم فى تهدئة الأوضاع بل فى تفاقمها على مستوى المنطقة ، داعيا السلطات اللبنانية إلى التحقيق بشأنها واتخاذ الإجراءات القانونية بحق من ارتكب تلك الخروقات منعاً لتكرارها.	wa-stankara l-i'tilāfu l- waṭaniyyu hāḍihi l- tağāwuzāti, mu'akkidan 'an- nahā lan tushima fī tahdī'ati l- 'awḍā'i bal fī tafāqumiḥā 'alā mustawā l-mintaqati , <u>dā'iyan</u> <u>al-sulūṭāti l-lubnāniyyata 'ilā</u> <u>l-tahqīqi bi-ša'niḥā wa-ttiḥādī</u> <u>l-'iğrā'āti l-qānūniyyati bi-</u> <u>ḥaqqi man irtakaba tilka l-</u> <u>ḥurūqāti</u> man 'an li- tākārīḥā.	And the National Coalition denounced these abuses, stressing that they [the abuses] will not contribute to calm the situation but to ag- gravate it on a regional level, calling on the Lebanese au- thorities to investigate the matter and take legal actions against the one who commit- ted these violations [a means and manner to] preventing their recurrence.

674. Article 18, *mašḍaran*, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Purpose

ومن جانبه، أعلن الجيش الإسرائيلى المنطقة المحاذية للسياج الحدودى مع سوريا فى هضبة الجولان منطقة عسكرية مغلقة حفاظا على حياة المدنيين.	wa-min ḡānibihi, 'a'lana l- ğayšu l-'isrā'īliyyu l-mintaqata l-muhādiyyata li-l-siyāğī l- hudūdiyyi ma'a sūriyā fī ḥadbatī el-ğūlān mintaqatan 'as- kariyyatan muğlaqatan ḥifāẓan 'alā ḥayāti l-madaniyyīna.	And for its part, the Is- raeli army declared the area adjacent to the bor- der fence with Syria in the Golan Heights a closed military zone, protecting the life of the civilians.

6.2.2. *wa-mašḍaran* (5x)

Clauses nominalized via subordinate accusative verbal nouns in the corpus are typically asyndetically linked (35x times, treated above). 5x attestations are syndetically linked: for 2x attestations with *wa-mašḍaran* as temporal transition phrases, preposed subordination: *wa-stiṣ'āran* (Temporal Succession bi Cause) and *wa-tazāmunan*, Articles 1 and 122 respectively, see 5.3.4.2; these are excluded from the discussion below.

The 3x remaining attestations of nominalized subordinate clauses with *wa-mašḍaran* in the corpus,⁴⁴⁷ are all attested in Article 39; 2x of these can be found in Example (675) (both being Temporal Succession); the third attestation is a second predicate (Same Level Different Subject Addition) to *wa-*

⁴⁴⁷ Excluding clausal core constituents, the other attestations of *wa-mašḍaran* are *ğumlatan wa-taḡṣīlan*, 'in whole and in detail' (Limitationis, 2x, in Articles 51 and 103), and *wa-taḡḍīdan*, 'and in particular' (Graded Exemplification, Article 109); for the latter, see 6.8.3.8.

dālika taḥqīqan [...] *wa-ʿishāman* (for which, see “*wa-dālika* X NCI” under 6.1.5), and is consequently excluded from investigation (same level nominal addition; see 2.3.2.3ff.).

The complete list of syndetic and asyndetic subordinate nominalized verbal nouns in Article 39 are *badʿan* (Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner), *wa-murūran*, *irtibāṭan*, *wa-wuṣūlan* (3x Temporal Succession), and *wa-ʿishāman* (the last not in Example 675 below).

wuṣūlan (without *wa-*) is attested 2x in the corpus,⁴⁴⁸ but *ʿishāman* and *murūran* are not attested elsewhere (i.e. *hapax*). With the other two, *badʿan* and *irtibāṭan* also being *hapax*, the passage in Article 39 is both syntactically and lexically unique (Example 675).

675. Article 39 (lead + 1 sentence), Nominalized subordination via verbal nouns, 1x Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner + 3x Temporal Succession

استقبل الرئيس عبد الفتاح السيسي، أمس الأمير سعود الفيصل، وزير الخارجية السعودي، والأمير خالد بن بندر بن عبد العزيز آل سعود، رئيس الاستخبارات العامة السعودية، وصرح السفير إيهاب بدوي، المتحدث الرسمي باسم رئاسة الجمهورية، بأن اللقاء تناول مجمل القضايا والأوضاع الراهنة في منطقة الشرق الأوسط، بدءاً بالعلاقات العربية – العربية، ومروراً بالأوضاع في ليبيا، ارتباطاً بضرورة دعم البرلمان الليبي المنتخب والمُعبر عن الإرادة الشعبية، ووصولاً إلى التهدد الذي تمثله الإرهابية المتطرفة المنتشرة في العراق وسوريا.	istaqbala l-raʿīsu ʿabd el-fat- tāḥ el-sīsī, ʿamsi l-ʿamīra saʿūd el-fayṣal, wazīra l- ḥāriḡiyyati l-saʿūdiyya, wa-l- ʿamīra ḫāled bandar bin ʿabd el-ʿazīz ʿāl saʿūd, raʿīsa l- istiḥbārāti l-ʿāmmati l-sa- ʿūdiyyati, wa-ṣarraḥa l-sa- firu ʾihāb badawī, al-mu- taḥaddiṭu l-rasmiyyu bi-smi riʾāsati l-ḡumḥūriyyati, <u>bi-</u> <u>ʿanna l-liqāʿa tanāwala</u> <u>maḡmala l-qadāyā wa-l-</u> <u>ʿawdāʿi l-rāhinati fī</u> <u>mintaqati l-ṣarqi l-ʿawsati,</u> badʿan bi-l-ʿalāqāti l- ʿarabiyyati – al-ʿarabiyyati, wa-murūran bi-l-ʿawdāʿi fī lībiyā, irtibāṭan bi- ḡarūrati daʿmi l-barlamāni l-lībiyyi l- muntaḥabi wa-l-muʿabbiri ʿani l-ʾirādati l-šaʿbiyyati, wa-wuṣūlan ʾilā l-tahdīdi llaḏī tumattiḥulu l-tanzīmātu l-irḥābiyyatu l-mu- taṭarrifatu l-muntaširatu fī el-irāqi wa-sūriyā.	President Abdel Fattah el- Sisi received yesterday the prince Saud al-Faisal, Saudi foreign minister, and the prince Khaled bin Bandar bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, head of the Saudi General Intelli- gence. And the ambassador Ihab Badawi, official spokesman on behalf of the presidency of the Republic, stated that <u>the meeting dis-</u> <u>cussed the entirety of the is-</u> <u>sues and situations in the re-</u> <u>gion of the Middle East, be-</u> <u>ginning</u> with the Arab-Arab relations, going over the sit- uations in Libya, connecting with the necessity to support the Libyan parliament which is elected and expressive of the popular will, and arriv- ing at the threat which the extremist terrorist organiza- tions deployed in Iraq and Syria pose.

⁴⁴⁸ Nominal Purpose in Article 37, and Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner in Article 52.

6.3. Non-deverbalized relative clauses (642x)

A non-deverbalized or non-nominalized relative clause is what is commonly referred to as a relative clause.⁴⁴⁹ It is a typically embedded structure with a non-deverbalized predicate, i.e. a finite grammatical morphology or a nominal clause structure, and a nominal referent (head, correlate) in the superordinate structure; a syndetic relative clause is here defined as a syntagm initialized with a form of the *(wa-)alladī* paradigm, with or without an *‘ā’id* typically referring to a non-subject definite correlate, and an asyndetic relative clause is defined similarly, but typically with an indefinite referent, $\emptyset$ relative marking, and with or without a non-subject *‘ā’id* (prototypically referring to a noun). For syndetic clauses with relatives outside the *(wa-)alladī* paradigm—such as *ḥaytu*, *man*, *mā*, *mimmā*, *bi-mā*, and *fīmā*—see those structures in the chapter on non-nominalized subordinate clauses (6.1). For nominalized relative clauses, see “The participle” in 6.4.

There are 642x non-nominalized relative clauses in the corpus: 366x syndetic (57.0%), and 276x asyndetic (43.0%), which on average means that more than one in every two sentences (of the 1,144x sentences in total) has a non-nominalized relative clause.

A conservative approach was taken with regard to the annotation of relative clause relations (e.g. the exclusion of Meta-Linguistic Comments of the type ‘which is known as’ in 4.11.1;). Relative temporal relationships are, moreover, reflected in the predicate morphology (not annotated, for the definition of Temporal relations, see 4.3). And in essence, a relative clause is typically an Expanding Paraphrase that gives context to a nominal referent in the matrix by explaining it further, either as a Comment or as a Parenthetical Comment (for Context, see 4.6; Expanding Paraphrase, see 4.7.2.2–4.7.2.3; for Parenthetical Comment, see 4.7.3). To mark a relative clause for Expanding Paraphrase, Context, and/or Comment, therefore, is typically superfluous, e.g. Article 51 *minṭaqat#fī sīnā’ misāḥatuhā 1600 kīlūmitrin murabba’in*, ‘territory in Sinai **whose area is 1600 square kilometres**’ (see Example 576). Beside the predicate morphology, the semantics of a relative clause are unmarked and inexplicit, and in addition they may be highly polysemous. The number of semantic relations of relative clauses in 6.3.2.2 and 6.3.3.2 below are to be taken as a minimum count. An *x* in the column for count means $\geq 1x$ attested, but that the actual numbers are unknown. A more in-depth study is a *desideratum* of future research. Such a study would need to involve disciplines outside of linguistics.

⁴⁴⁹ E.g. definite and indefinite relative clauses, in the terminology of Ryding (2005: 323–4).

6.3.1. The structure and frequency of non-deverbalized relative clauses

642x attestations: 366x (57.0%) syndetic relative clauses, 32x preceded by *wa-* (8.2% of 366x) and 334x without; and 276x (43.0% of 642x) attestations of asyndetic relative clauses.

Table 104 below summarizes the different syntax of non-deverbalized relative clause syntagms, ordered by frequency according to syndetic structures without *wa-*.

Table 104: Structures of non-deverbalized relative clauses, arranged by frequency of syndetic relative clauses without *wa-*

Syntax	Syndetic relative	Asyndetic relative	<i>wa</i> -syndetic relative
VprefL	144	120	9
Vsuff	132	108	13
future VprefL	13	4	1 (<i>sawfa</i>)
<i>kāna</i> VprefL	9	7	2
Vsuff (verb of attribution)	9	9	
<i>tamma maṣḍar</i>	6	1	1
<i>kāna</i>	5	3	
<i>lā</i> VprefL	3	5	
<i>lam</i> VprefS	2	4	
NCl	2	8	1
<i>yatimma maṣḍar</i>	2		
future- <i>yatimma maṣḍar</i>	1	2	
<i>kāna</i> Subject Vsuff	1		
<i>lam yatimma maṣḍar</i>	1		
<i>mā</i> (neg) Vsuff	1		
<i>min al-</i> + passive participle NCl	1		1
<i>qad</i> VprefL	1	2	1
<i>kāna</i> + passive accusative participle + subject	1		
<i>min ḥilālīhā</i> + <i>yatimma maṣḍar</i>		1	
<i>rubbamā yakūnu</i>		1	
<i>kāna min al-</i> + passive participle			1
<i>kāna</i> + passive accusative participle		1	1
	334	276	32

Morphologically, *kāna* VprefL is unattested in main clauses and attested 3x in complement main clauses, but 18x in relative clauses; (*wa-*)*kāna* S *qad* Vsuff is unattested in relative clauses and complement main clauses, but attested 28x times in main clauses (8x with verb of attribution). The negation *lan* is unattested in non-deverbalized relative clauses, and the standard negators *lā*, *lam*,

and *lan* are altogether unattested in combination with a *wa-llaḍī* relative pronoun. The periphrastic passive (5.2.1), attested 14x times in relative clauses, is only attested 1x in a *wa-llaḍī* construction (Article 126, Example 543). The only attestation of *sawfa* in a relative clause is found in combination with *wa-llaḍī* (for *sa-* vs. *sawfa*, see 3.10; for *wa-llaṭī sawfa takūnu l-rakīzata*, see Article 70, Example 280).

These notes go to suggest possible tendencies, the comprehensive investigation of which is a *desideratum* of future research.

6.3.1.1. The proleptic relative construction

A relative clause, syndetic and asyndetic, may be part of a proleptic⁴⁵⁰ nominalizing construction where the relative clause correlate is the complement noun to a preposition of whose scope the relative clause logically is a part; the proleptic relative construction thus serves as an alternative to a nominalization of the entire syntagm via a verbal noun and a subjective genitive or via a complementizer. The proleptic relative construction is exemplified in Example (142) from Article 51: [...] *nanfī nafyan qāṭī ‘an mā ‘awradathu [ita] wasā ‘ilu ‘i lāmin ‘isrā ‘iliyyatun [...] ḥawla ‘arḍin qaddamahu l-ra’ṭsu el-sīs li-l-ra’ṭsi maḥmūd ‘abbās [...]*, ‘we categorically deny what has been reported by Israeli media [...] **concerning a proposal which president el-Sisi offered to president Mahmoud Abbas [...]**’, where what is logically denied is not the proposal presented, but more likely the fact that a proposal was presented at all, and consequently any content of such a proposal. A similar case is seen e.g. in Example (676) from Article 25, where what is written is *tumattīlu ‘adillatan ḡadīdatan ‘alā mawḡati l-taḥīri [...]* ***allatī taḡtāḥu [...]***, ‘represent new evidence **of the wave of ethnic cleansing which is sweeping the country**’, not the perhaps logically more transparent *tumattīlu ‘adillatan ḡadīdatan ‘alā ‘anna mawḡata l-taḥīri taḡtāḥu [...]*, ‘represent new evidence **that a wave of ethnic cleansing is sweeping the country**’, nor *‘alā ḡtāḥati mawḡati l-taḥīri [...]*, ‘evidence **for the sweeping of a wave of [...]**’. Likewise in the asyndetic relative clause from Article 9, Example (688), which reads *kašafa [...] nuṣaṭā ‘u [...]* *‘an ma ‘ārika ‘anīfatin dārat bayna [...]*, lit. ‘have revealed [...] **fierce battles which [...]**’, not *kašafa ‘an ‘anna ma ‘ārika tadūru*, or similar.

A possible explanation for this construction, beyond its idiomatic use, are lexical restrictions, the limited frequency of complement clauses to nouns (see 5.3.2), and the formalization of the proleptic relative nominalization structure in the context of Media Arabic. A systematic investigation of this phenomenon is a *desideratum* of future research.

⁴⁵⁰ The adjective “proleptic” is borrowed from Greek grammar, noun *prólepsis* (e.g. Blomqvist & Jastrup 2006: 176); from Gr. *prolambánō*, ‘receive before’, ‘take beforehand’, (LSJ).

676. Article 25, syndetic relative clause, proleptic correlate

وأكدت دوناتيل روفيرو مستشار المنظمة الدولية في شمال العراق أن المذابح و عمليات الخطف التي ارتكبتها التنظيم تمثل أدلة جديدة على موجة التطهير العرقي ضد الأقليات التي تجتاح شمال العراق.	wa-'akkadat dūnātēlā rūfērā mustašāru [sic] l-mu- nazzamati l-duwaliyyati fī šamālī el-'irāq 'anna l- maḍābiḥa wa 'amaliyyāti l- ḥaṭfī llatī rtakabahā l-tanzīmu tumattīlu 'adillatan ḡadīdatan <u>'alā mawḡati l-tathīri l-'irqiyyi</u> didda l-'aqqaliyyāti llatī taḡtāḥu šamāla el-'irāq.	And Donatella Rovera, advisor of the international organization in northern Iraq, stressed that the massacres and kidnapping operations which the [terrorist] organization has committed represent new evidence of [that] a wave of ethnic cleansing against minorities [is] sweeping northern Iraq

6.3.1.2. Relative to Clause and asymmetric relatives

This section discusses the concepts of Relative to Clause and asymmetric relatives. The former relative clause takes a whole clause as its head/matrix, the latter exhibits a disagreement in definiteness vis-à-vis its head.

In syndetic relative clauses

2x syndetic relative clauses have indefinite correlates, unlike the more typical symmetric linking of DEF + *allaḡī* REL, and INDEF + asyndetic REL. This might be due to atypical gender agreement (for which, see e.g. Example (681) from Article 80 below).

6x–8x syndetic relative clauses have unspecific correlates rather than a single nominal correlate, where the construction is comparable to Relative to Clause. The number of attestations is not precise since in at least two cases it could be a case of a genitive exponent as correlate (likely so in Example 679 from Article 24 below).

677. Article 71, syndetic relative clause, Relative to Clause

وفي الغوطة الشرقية قرب العاصمة، سيطر مسلحو المعارضة على بلدة حنيثة الجرش إثر اشتباكات مع القوات الحكومية التي سقط جراؤها قتلى وأسرى خلال المعارك فيما بث ناشطون بريف حلب، صورا تظهر مقاتلو الجيش الحر وهم يستهدفون مقر داعش في بلدة الحصي.	wa-fī el-ḡūta el-šarqiyya qurba l-'āšimati, saytara musallahū l-mu'āradati 'alā baldati hutētīt el-ḡaraš 'itra <u>štibakātin</u> ma'a l-quwwāti l-hukūmiyyati llatī saqaṭa ḡarra'ahā qatlā wa-'asrā ḥilāla l-ma'āriki fīmā baṭṭa nāšitūna bi-rīfī ḥalab, šu- waran tužhiru muqātīlī [ita] l-ḡayši l-ḥurri wa-hum yastahdifūna maqārra dā'eš fī baldati el-ḥaṣayy.	And in Eastern Ghouta near the capital, <u>opposition fighters have taken control over the town of Hutaytat al-Jarash after clashes</u> with the <u>government forces in which dead, wounded, and prisoners fell during the battles</u> , and activists in the Aleppo countryside broadcasted pictures showing fighters of the Free Army targeting Daesh headquarters in the town of al-Hasai.

678. Article 1, syndetic relative clause, Relative to Clause; the example is iterated and expanded from Example 262

وكانت السعودية والإمارات والبحرين قد	wa-kānat el-sa'ūdiyya wa-l- 'imārāt wa-l-baḥrayn qad	For Saudi, the Emirates [UAE], and Bahrain withdrew

سحبت سفراءها من
قطر في مارس
الماضي، قائلين إنها
نكثت بوعودها لهم
بشأن أمن الخليج والتي
ربطها محللون يدعم
قطر لجماعة الإخوان
المسلمين.

sahābat sufārā' ahā min qatar
fī mārs al-māḍī, qā' ilīna 'in-
nahā nakatat bi-wu'ūdihā
lahum bi-ša'ni 'amni el-
ḥalīḡ wa-llatī rabaṭahā
muḥallilūna bi-da'mi
qatar li-ḡamā'ati l-'iḥwāni
l-muslimīna.

their ambassadors from Qatar
in March, because—as they
said— it [Qatar] had broken its
promises to them in regard to
the security of the Gulf,
[something] **which the ana-**
lysts connect to Qatar's sup-
port of the Muslim Brother-
hood.

679. Article 24, syndetic relative clause, Relative to Clause OR relative
to *qubruş*

ومن جهة أخرى،
نظمت الجمعيات
المدنية والنقابات
بالشطر التركي من
الجزيرة القبرصية
تظاهرات احتجاجا على
وصول أردوغان إلى
قبرص الشمالية، والتي
تعتبر الزيارة الأولى له
بعد تنصيبه رئيسا
للجمهورية.

wa-min ḡihatin 'uḥrā,
nazzamati l-ḡam' iyyatu l-
madaniyyatu wa-l-niqābātu
bi-l-šaṭri l-turkiyyi mina l-
ḡazīrati l-qubruşıyyati
taẓāhurātın iḥtiḡāḡan 'alā
wuşūli 'erdūḡān 'ilā qubruş
al-şamāliyyati, wa-llatī tu'ta-
baru l-ziyārata l-'ūla lahu
ba'da taṇşibihi ra'isan li-l-
ḡumhūriyyati.

And on the other hand, the
civil associations and the un-
ions on the Turkish part of
the Cypriot island organized
demonstrations protesting
against Erdoğan's arrival to
Northern Cyprus, which is
[considered] the first visit
of his after his inaugura-
tion as president of the Re-
public.

Example (680) from Article 121 is either a relative to *al-niqāşī* OR a Relative
to Clause with the masculine relative *wa-lladī*.

680. Article 121, syndetic relative clause, Relative to Clause OR Rela-
tive to *al-niqāşī*

وعلى الصعيد
السياسي، واصل
مجلس النواب الليبي
جلساته أمس بشأن
منح الثقة لحكومة
الأزمة الذي تقدم بها
عبد الله الثني وفشل
مجلس النواب للمرة
الثانية على امتداد
جلسة ماراتونية أمس
الأول في حسم
النقاش حول منح
الثقة لحكومة الأزمة،
والذي عكس مدى
الاختلاف بين الكتل
النيابية حول تشكيلة
الحكومة الجديدة.

wa-'alā l-şa'tdi l-siyāsiyyi,
wāşala maḡlisu l-nuwwābi l-
lībiyyu ḡalasātihi 'amsi bi-
ša'ni manḡi l-tiḡati li-
ḡukūmati l-'azmati llaḍī
taqaddama bihā 'abdullāh el-
tanī[.] wa-faşala maḡlisu
l-nuwwābi li-l-marrati l-
tāniyati 'alā mtidādi ḡalsatin
mārātūniyyatin 'amsi l-'aw-
wala fī ḡasmi l-niqāşī ḡawla
manḡi l-tikati li-ḡukūmati l-
'azmati, wa-lladī 'akasa
madā l-iḡtilāfi bayna l-ku-
tali l-niyābiyyati ḡawla
taşkilati l-ḡukūmati l-
ḡadīdati.

And on a political plane, the
Libyan House of Representa-
tives continued yesterday its
sessions on granting confidence
to the crisis government which
Abdullah al-Thani presented[.]
And the House of Representa-
tives failed a second time over
the extent of a marathon session
the day before yesterday to re-
solve the debate on granting
confidence to the crisis govern-
ment which reflected the ex-
tent of the difference between
the parliamentary blocs con-
cerning the composition of the
new government.

Example (681) from Article 80 has an indefinite correlate *ḥarakatin* in *trajectio* with an asyndetic relative clause to a syndetic relative clause. (For a definition of *trajectio*, see 3.7.)

681. Article 80, syndetic relative clause to indefinite correlate

أَلَقَتْ مَجْمُوعَةً مِنْ أَعْضَاءِ حَرَكَةِ تَطْلُقُ عَلَى نَفْسِهَا اسْمَ شَبَابِ الْوَطَنِ مَحَبِّي الْديمقراطية التي تعتبر امتداداً لمنظمة حزب العمال الكردستاني الانفصالية قنابل مولوتوف على خمس مدارس ابتدائية في بلدة سيلفان التابعة لمدينة ديار بكر جنوب شرق تركيا.	'alqat maǧmū'atun min 'a'ḏā'i <u>ḥarakatin</u> tuṭliq 'alā nafsihā sma šabāb muḥibbī l-waṭani al- dīmūqrāṭiyyati [sic] llatī tu'tabarū mtidādan li-mu- naẓẓamati ḥizbi l-'ummālī l-kurdistāniyyi l-in- fiṣāliyyati qanābila mūlūtūf 'alā ḥamsi madārīsa btidā'iyyatin fī baldati sīlfān al-tābi'ati li-madīnati diyār bakir ḡanūba šarqī turkiya.	A group of members of the democratic ⁴⁵¹ movement which calls itself by the name Youth Lovers of the Home Country which is considered an extension of the organiza- tion of the separatist Kurdi- stan Workers' Party threw Molotov cocktails at five pri- mary schools in the town of Silvan which belongs to the city of Diyarbakır in south- eastern ⁴⁵² Turkey.

In asyndetic relative clauses

As with syndetic relative clauses, the asyndetic relative can also function as a Relative to Clause; e.g. in Example (352) from Article 90, 'asfara 'an has a status comparable to *mimmā 'asfara 'an* (see "*mimmā* Vsuff" under 6.1.5) in giving the consequence of the matrix situation: *wa-qāla [...] 'inna maǧmū'ātin musallahatan 'aṭlaqat 'adadan mina l-qadā'ifi l-šārūḥiyyati [...] 'asfarat 'an maqtali ṭiḥlatin wa-iṣābati sayyidatin*, '[...] fired a number of rocket-propelled grenades [...] **which caused the death of a child and the wounding of [...]**', where the correlate *'adadan*, in the phrase *'aṭlaqat 'adadan mina l-qadā'ifi l-šārūḥiyyati*, is followed by an asyndetic relative clause, which is either interpreted as *constructio ad sensum* with *'adadan* as the correlate (referring to the plural *al-qadā'ifi*) OR Relative to Clause with the feminine taking the whole clause as correlate. For another example of the feminine referring to a clause, see Example (683) from Article 21.

In 4x instances (or 5x, see Example 689 from Article 120 below), the asyndetic relative clause has a definite head, e.g. Example (682) from Article 41. The constructions should be compared with asyndetic Vsuff (6.1.1.1).

682. Article 41 asyndetic relative clause with definite head, OR Relative to Clause

واستمر استجواب باولو روبرتو كوستا العشرات الساعات أدلى خلالها باعتراقات خطيرة بغية	wa-stamarra stiǧwābu bāwlū rūbertū kūstā li-'ašarāti l-sā'āti 'adlā ḥilālahā bi-'tirāfatin ḥaṭīratin buǧyata l-	And the investigation of Paolo Roberto Costa continued for tens of hours during which/this he made serious confessions for the purpose of benefiting from

⁴⁵¹ The adjective *al-dīmūqrāṭiyyati* stands in *trajectio* to *ḥarakati*, with disagreement of definiteness with its head.

⁴⁵² For the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

الاستفادة من خفض عقوبته لاحقاً.	stifādati min ḥafḍi 'uqūbatihī lāḥiqan.	a reduction of his sentence later.

683. Article 21, asyndetic relative, Relative to Clause

وأعلنت مصادر أمنية عراقية أن الطيران العراقي تمكن من قصف أربعة معازل لمسلحي الدولة الاسلامية في القرى الشمالية لناحية السعدية شمال شرقي بعقوبة بمحافظة ديالى تمكن خلالها من قتل ١٥ مسلحا بينهم عرب الجنسية وتدمير سبع سيارات تحمل اسلحة،	wa-'a'lanat maṣādiru 'am- niyyatun 'irāqiyyatun 'anna l- ṭayarāna l-'irāqiyya tamakkana min qaṣfi 'arba'ati ma'āqila li- musallahī l-dawlati l-'islāmiy- yati fi-l-qurā l-šamāliyyati li- nāhiyyati el-sa'adiyya šamāla šarqī# ba'qūba bi-muḥāfazati diyālā tamakkana ḥilālahā min qatli 15 musallaḥan baynahum 'arabu l-ğinsiyyati wa-tadmīri sab'i sayyārātīn taḥmilu 'asliḥatan, [...]	And Iraqi security sources announced <u>that the Iraqi air force managed to bomb four strongholds of militants of the Islamic State in the north- ern villages of the district of al-Saadiyah north-east of</u> ⁴⁵³ Baqubah in the governorate of Diyala <u>during which it managed to kill 15 mili- tants of Arab nationality and destroy four cars which carried weapons,</u> [...]

6.3.2. Syndetic relative clauses (366x)

366x syndetic non-deverbalized relative clauses.

6.3.2.1. Heads of syndetic relative clauses (including wa-)

The most frequent types used as heads are *al-waqt* (14x), *al-'amr*# (5x), *al-ittifāq*# (5x), *al-taqrīr*# (5x), *al-'azmat*# (4x), *'a dā*# (3x), *iğtimā'āt*# (3x), *al-šarikāt*# (3x), *al-dawlat*# (3x), *al-ğuhūd*# (3x), *al-mu'tamar*# (3x), *al-minṭaqat*# (3x), and *tanẓīm*# (3x); all others occur ≤2x, suggesting a wide variety of heads.

Grammatically, a relative clause can be the subject of another clause as a headless relative (2x), 'that which', or the predicate (3x), e.g. *al-'amru llaḍī* (for which, see the discussion of asyndetic anaphoric nouns in 6.1.4); these relations are not treated here. Moreover, 15x relative clauses are focal, 14x with *fi-l-waqtī* as the correlate (*al-waqt*# being the most frequent head type), and 1x with *al-'amru* (Article 69). The verbs that immediately follow *fi-l-waqtī llaḍī* are third person verbs (masculine and feminine singular), 3x *yasta'iddu*, 2x *ḥaḍḍara*, 2x *iqtaḥama*, and 2x *yağtami'u*. The phrase is attested 4x times as (*wa-*)*ya'tī dālika fi-l-waqtī llaḍī* (incl. *wa-* 1x), 2x *ğā'a dālika fi-l-waqtī llaḍī*, and 2x in the phrase *ya'tī/ta'tī* + Subject+ *fi-l-waqtī llaḍī*, where the subject is an anaphoric *maṣdar* that creates a subject out of what has been mentioned previously. See e.g. Example (552) from Article 89.

⁴⁵³ For the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

6.3.2.2. The semantics of syndetic relative clauses

The list of documented semantics of syndetic non-deverbalized relative clauses is given in Table 105 below

The 6x relative clauses annotated for Presidency have a limited set of predicates: 3x the root *r*'s (2x *yar* 'asu, 1x *yatara* 'asuhā (Article 103)); and 2x *z*'m (1x *yataza* 'amuhā (Article 109), 1x *taz* 'amuhā (Article 109), and 1x *yaqūdu* (Article 90)).

≥4x relative clauses are Unordered Additions.⁴⁵⁴ These are comparable to Unordered Additions with relative clauses as matrices (see e.g. asyndetic Vsuff in 6.1.1.1, and asyndetic VprefL in 6.1.1.2), but here with a relative pronoun which is always preceded by *wa*-, and the matrix clause is always a resumptive construction: 2x relative clauses, 1x nominalized relative clause (definite participle, genitive, Article 119), and 1x *wa-huwa* NCl (Article 121); for an example of this, see Example (684) from Article 27.

5x clauses are labelled REL Context & Cause, meaning that the context provided by the relative clause is also a causative background description, e.g. Example (361) from Article 15, where the Cause semantics are indirect, 'awḍaḥa [...] 'anna l-taḥarruka [...] yataṭallabu 'iṣrāka l-mazīdi min [...] wa-l-mazīdi mina l-murāqibīna l-ḡawwiyyīna, wa-l-mustašārīna li-tadribi l-ḡayši l-'irāqīyyi **llaḍī yuqāribu l-inhiyāra, ḥasaba ta'bīrihi.**, '[...] clarified that the American move [...] requires the involvement of more of the American Special Operations Forces, and more air traffic observers and advisors to train the Iraqi army, **which [= since it] is close to collapse**, as he put it [= according to him].'

≥8x clauses express Cause, e.g. in Article 56: [...] 'indamā ḥāwalat a-ṣurṭatu tafriqa 'anṣāri l-ḡamā'ati, **allaḍīna qaṭa 'ū farīqa l-maṭāri l-ra'ṣiyyata.**, '[...] tried to disperse supporters of the group, **who had cut off the main airport road [...]**', and (also in Article 56) Simultaneous bi Cause [...] wa-staḥdamati l-ḡāza l-musīla li-l-dumū'i wa-ḥarāṭīma l-miyāhi li-tafriqi l-mutaṣāhirīna **llaḍīna kānū yaqtaribūna min wizāratī l-dāḥiliyyati**, '[...] 'to disperse the demonstrators **[who were] approaching the Interior Ministry**' (see Example 427).

Table 105: Documented semantics of syndetic non-deverbalized relative clauses; *n* in the column for count means ≥1x attestations, but that the actual numbers are unknown (see 6.3)

Σ	Link	Matrix	Relative clause	A	Ex
15	REL focal	See discussion in 6.3.2.1			

⁴⁵⁴ The 4x instances were annotated as Different Level, although the different morphosyntactic properties of 2x attestations could be discussed, namely Example (684) from Article 27, asyndetic REL VprefL + *wa*-syndetic REL *qad* VprefL, and the attestation from Article 126, *allaḍī ḡā'a* [...] *wa-llaḍī tamma 'i dāduhu*.

Σ	Link	Matrix	Relative clause	A	Ex
7	REL bi Cause	wa-qālat [...] 'inna l- 'amaliyyata l- ta'limiyyata sa- tabda'u fī <u>ğamī'i</u> <u>madārisi el-qitā'</u> 'adā madārisi baldati bayt hānūn [...]	allatī tu'awwī 'ālāfa l-nāziḥīna llaḍīna yarfuḍūna muğādarata l- madārisi.	72	374
6	REL bi Presidency	Discussion below		-	-
5	REL (Relative to Clause)	'aqība ḥādiṭi l-safīnati l-turkiyyati marmara	wa-llatī 'asfarat 'an maqtali 9 'atrākin	2	333
5	REL Context & Cause	Discussion below		-	-
4	REL bi Inconsequential	wa-'awḍaḥa [...] 'anna lağnatan ḥāṣṣatan bi- wizāratī l-ḥāriğiyyati l-'isrā'iliyyati 'algati l-ṣaqfata	llatī 'aqarrathā wi- zāratu l-difā'i fī waqtin sābiqin	95	366
2	REL bi Simultaneous bi Cause	Discussion below		-	-
2	REL & Different Level Different Subject Addition	waqa 'at fī muqāta'ati šingyāṅg al-wāqi'ati šamāla ġarbi el-šin	wa-llatī taqtunuhā 'ağlabiyyatun mina l-'uwīğūr al- muslimīna	119	192
2	REL & Different Level Same Subject Addition	Example below		27	684
2	REL bi Parenthetical Comment bi Cause bi Context	wa-fī ġuḍūni dālika, ḥaṭṭa ra'īsu l-wuzarā'i l-brīṭāniyyu l-sābiqu ğūrdūn brāwn	(allaḍi yantamī li- 'iskutlandā) zu'amā'a brīṭāniyā 'alā l- wafā'i bi- wa'dihim	111	559
2	REL bi Temporal Succession	[...] nağaḥa ġūnzālis fi-l-qafzi fawqa sūri l- bayti l-'abyaḍi wa- wuṣūlihi 'ilā l-ğanāḥi l-šamāliyyi li-l-bayti,	llaḍi ttaḍaḥa fīmā ba'du [ita] 'an- nahu kāna mu- sallaḥan bi- sikkīnin waqta l- iqtiḥāmi	108	252
x	REL bi Consecutive	[...] sallata l-ḍaw'a 'alā madā ḍu'fi 'anzimati l-siḥḥati l- 'āmmati wa-ḥāğati l- šu'ubi li-l-nafaḍi 'ilā	llatī taḍmanu salāmatahum.	61	195

6.3. Non-deverbalized relative clauses (642x)

Σ	Link	Matrix	Relative clause	A	Ex
		l-mazīdi mina l-ri'āyati wa-l-'ināyati l-šihhiyyati l-'āmmati			
x	REL & Degree Consecutive	'idā takarrarat fa-sa-yakūnu lanā mawqifun tuḡāha turkiyā	allatī yaḡibu 'an tafhama ḡayyidan ḡuṭūrata l-tadaḡḡuli fī šu'ūninā	4	270
x	REL bi Frustration	fīmā raddati l-šurṭatu bi-qanābili l-ḡāzi l-musīlati li-l-dumū'i	allatī badat 'adīmata l-fā'idati waṣṭa l-'amtāri l-ḡazīrati llatī šahidathā l-'āšimatu 'islām 'ābād.	13	183
x	REL bi Parenthetical Comment	wa-ḡakarati l-taqīru	- alladī 'a'addahu l-banku al-duwaliyyu [...] - 'anna [...]	84	-
x	REL bi Simultaneous	fī qarārāti l-mustaṭmirīna	alladīna yurīdūna l-qiyāma bi-stiṭmārāti [...]	45	-
x	REL bi Exemplification	al-'iḡrā'āt# [...]	allatī min ša'nihā da'mi l-šar'iyyati [...]	70	-
x	REL bi Counter-sequential	Example below		21	685

684. Article 27, syndetic relative clause, & Different Level Same Subject Addition

ويأتى هذا التصعيد من الجانبين فى أعقاب الضجة التى أثارتهأ أوكرانيا من خلال تصريحات حذرت فيها من «حرب كبرى» لم تشهد أوروبا مثلاً منذ الحرب العالمية الثانية والتى قد تسفر عن مقتل عشرات الآلاف.	wa-ya'tī hādā l-taṣ'īdu mina l-ḡānibayni fī 'a'qābi l-ḡaḡḡati llatī 'aṭārathā 'ūkrāniyā min ḡilālī taṣrīḡātīn ḡaḡḡarat fihā min «ḡarbin kubrā» <u>lam taṣḡad 'ūrūbbā mitlahā mundu l-harbi l-'ālamīyyati l-tāniyati wa-llatī qad tufiru 'an maḡtali 'aṣarāti l-'ālāfi.</u>	And this escalation by the two sides comes in the wake of the uproar which Ukraine raised through statements in which they warned of «a greater war» <u>which Europe has not seen since the Second World War and which could cause the deaths of tens of thousands.</u>

685. Article 21, syndetic relative clause, bi Countersequential

كما تمكنت قوات البشمركة الكردية وقوات الحشد الشعبى	kamā tamakkanat quwwātu el-bišmerka al-kurdiyyatu wa-quwwātu el-ḡaṣḡ el-ša'bī	And the Kurdish Peshmerga forces and the Shiite Popular

الشيعة من استعادة السيطرة على بلدة سليمان بيك المعقل الرئيسي للمسلحين الذين استولوا عليها قبل ١١ أسبوعا في هذه المنطقة الواقعة جنوب كركوك،	l-šī'ıyyati mina sti'dādati l- saytarati 'alā baldati sul- eymān btk al-ma'qili l- ra'ısiyyi li-l-musallahīna llađīna stawalū 'alayhā qabla 11 'usbū'an fī hāđihi l-miṇṭaqati l-wāqi'ati ġanūba kirkūk, [...]	Mobilization Forces man- aged to regain the control over the town of Suleiman Bek the main stronghold of the insurgents who took con- trol over it 11 weeks ago in this region which lies south [in/of?] ⁴⁵⁵ Kirkuk.

6.3.3. Asyndetic relative clauses (276x)

276x asyndetic non-deverbalized relative clauses.

6.3.3.1. Heads of asyndetic relative clauses

The most frequent types used as heads are *waqt*# (8x), *ittifāq*# (6x), *bayān*# (4x), *bayānan* (4x), *taqrır*# (4x), *taşrīhāt*# (4x), *ziyārat*# (4x); *ġunūd*# (3x), *kalimat*# (3x), *maşādir*# (3x), and *siyāsāt*# (3x) (46x in total, 16.7% of 276x), all others occurring ≤2x (33x types occurring 2x, 24.0% of 276x), suggesting a wide variety of heads (164x, or 59.4% *hapax* heads).

6.3.3.2. The semantics of asyndetic relative clauses

Asyndetic relative clauses, like syndetic relatives, can be focal (10x): 6x of which with *fī waqtin* as the head, 5x times following the phrase *ya'tī dālika fī waqtin*, in which the relative clause always lacks the prescriptively correct non-subject 'ā'id (see e.g. Example 601 from Article 38); different to this are the attestations when a focal asyndetic relative clause follows *ya'tī hāđā fī waqtin* (Article 9, Example 688), and the complement main clause 'anna hāđihi l-ištibākātī ta'tī fī waqtin (Article 71), where the relative clause always has an 'ā'id. Example (686) from Article 3, where the status of the clause with *ġā'u*, following a probable nominal clause introduced by an existential *hunāka*, is unclear, is also annotated as focal, likewise with Example (687) from Article 48, with a similar complement clause introduced by *hunāka*.

Example (686) from Article 3 illustrates the more frequent pattern.

686. Article 3, asyndetic relative clause, focal

وفي الوقت ذاته، أوضح خواجه آصف وزير الدفاع الباكستاني أن "هناك ما بين ألف وستمئة وألفي إرهابي مدربين ومائتي امرأة تم تدريبهن على استخدام الأسلحة النارية جاءوا بنيّة احتلال مباني الدولة".	wa-fi-l-waqtī dātihi, 'awḍaḥa ḥawāğā 'āsef wazīru l-difā'i l- bākistāniyyu 'anna "hunāka mā bayna 'alfi wa-sitti-mi'atin wa-'alfay 'irhābiyyin mudarrabīna wa-mi'atay imra'atin tamma tadrībuhunna 'ālā stiḥdāmī l-'asliḥati l- nāriyyati ġā'u bi-niyyati ḥtīlālī mabānī l-dawlati".	And at the same time, the Pa- kistani defence minister Khawaja Asif said that "there were between one thousand six hundred and two thousand trained [male] terrorists and two hundred women who had been trained on using firearms who came

⁴⁵⁵ For the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1.

with the intention to occupy the state buildings”.

687. Article 48 (lead), asyndetic relative clause, focal

كشفت دراسة حديثة لمنظمة النزاهة المالية العالمية أن هناك أكثر من 30 مليار دولار من الأموال القذرة المرتبطة بالجريمة والفساد والتهرب الضريبي تتدفق خارج البرازيل كل عام، وهو ضعف المبلغ الذي كان يتدفق خارج البلاد منذ عقد مضي.	kašafat dirāsātun ḥadītatun li-munazzamati l-nazāḥati l-māliyyati l-‘ālamīyyati ‘anna hunāka ‘aktara min 30 milyāra dūlārīn mina l-‘amwālī l-qaḍīrati l-murtaḥḩātī bi-l-ḡarīmati wa-l-fasādi wa-l-tahar-rubī l-darībiyyi tatadaffaḡu ḥārīḡa el-brāzīl kulla ‘āmin , wa-huwa ḡi‘fu l-mablaḡi llaḡī kāna yatadaffaḡu ḥārīḡa l-bilādi munḡu ‘aqdīn maḡā.	A new study of the Global Financial Integrity organization revealed that there are more than 30 billion dollars of dirty money linked to crime, corruption and tax evasion pouring out of Brazil every year , and this is twice the amount which was pouring out of the country a decade ago.

Example (688) from Article 9 illustrates the less frequent subject *ḥādā* in the construction with *waqt#*. The example also features an instance of a proleptic relative construction (for which, see 6.3.1.1 and Example 676 from Article 25 above, with discussion).

688. Article 9, asyndetic relative clause, *ya’ti S fī waqt#* + REL (focal), and proleptic relative

يأتى هذا فى وقت كشف فيه نشطاء سوريون عن معارك عنيفة دارت بين مسلحين أكراد ومسلحي «داعش» قرب مدينة الحسكة بسوريا.	<i>ya’tī ḥādā fī waqtīn kašafa fīḩi nuṣatā’u sūriyyūna ‘an ma’ārika ‘anīfatin dārat bayna musallahīna ‘akrādin wa-musallahī «dā’eš» qurba madīnati el-ḥasaka bi-sūriyā.</i>	<u>This comes in a time when Syrian activists revealed [that] fierce battles [that] have taken place between Kurdish militants and militants of «Daesh» close to the city of Hasaka in Syria</u>

Example (689) from Article 120 features an asyndetic relative clause comparable to the Exemplification with asyndetic *wa-kāna ‘āḩiruhā* in Article 32 (Example 456, see also under “*wa-Vsuff*” in 6.1.2.1). Here, *kāna ‘āḩiruhā* either stands in *trajectio* to an indefinite correlate, the topicalizing *taḡāwuzāt#*, or is linked asyndetically (asymmetrically) to the sequentially later definite noun, *al-i’tiqālāt#*. The relative clause expresses an Exemplification.

689. Article 120, asyndetic relative clause, *trajectio*, & Exemplification

وذكر الائتلاف فى بيان أمس أن بعض التقارير والأنباء التى تناقلتها وسائل الإعلام ومواقع التواصل الاجتماعى كشفت عن تجاوزات غير مقبولة ارتكبها بعض عناصر الجيش اللبنانى بحق لاجئين سوريين فى لبنان، بالإضافة إلى الاعتقالات التعسفية بحق	wa-ḡakarati l-i’tilāfu fī bayānin ‘amsi ‘anna ba’ḡa l-taḡārīri wa-l-‘anbā’i llatī tanāqalathā wasā’ilu l-‘i’lāmi wa-mawāḡi‘u l-tawāṣuli l-iḡtimā’iyyi kašafat ‘an <u>taḡāwuzātīn ḡayri maqbūlatin</u> irtakabahā ba’ḡu ‘anāṣiri l-ḡayṣi l-lubnāniyyi bi-ḡaḡqi lāḡi’īna sūriyyīna fī lubnān, bi-l-‘iḡāfati ‘ilā l-i’tiqālātī l-	And the coalition said in a statement yesterday that some of the reports and news which the media and social networking sites have circulated revealed <u>unacceptable abuses</u> which some elements of the Lebanese army committed against refugees in Leba-

الناشطين السوريين هناك، كان آخرها اعتقال الناشط السوري المعروف باسم أحمد القصير.	ta'assufiyyati bi-ḥaqqi l- nāšiṭīna l-sūriyyīna hunāka, kāna 'āḥiruhā 'tiqāla l- nāšiṭi l-sūriyyi l-ma'rūfi bi- smi 'aḥmed el-quṣayyer.	non, ⁴⁵⁶ in addition to arbi- trary arrests against Syrian activists there, the last of which was the arrest of the Syrian activist known by the name Ahmed al- Qusair.

A partial quote may come in the form of an asyndetic relative clause, as in Example (690) from Article 125.

690. Article 125 (final sentence), asyndetic relative clause, partial quote

وقال يعالون «سنرد بقوة على أى محاولة لتهديد أمننا وانتهاك سيادتنا»، وذلك بعد إعلان الجيش أنه أسقط طائرة سورية «تسللت إلى المجال الجوى الإسرائيلي على هضبة الجولان».	wa-qāla ya'alūn «sa-naruddu bi-quwwatin 'alā 'ayyati muḥāwalatin li-tahdīdi 'amnīnā wa-ntahāki siyādatinā», wa-dālika ba'da 'i'lāni l-ḡayši 'annahu 'asqaṭa tā'iratan sūriyyatan « tasalla- lat 'ilā l-maḡālī l-ḡawwiyyi l-'isrā'īliyyi 'alā ḥaḍḇati el- ḡulān ».	And Yaalon said «We will respond with force on any at- tempt to threaten our security and violate our sovereignty», and this after the announce- ment of the army that it had shot down a Syrian plane « that had crept into Israeli airspace on the Golan Heights ».

As discussed under asyndetic clauses with VprefL in 6.1.1.2, asyndetic relatives can also function as syntagms stating the content of observation after the root *zhr*. Example (691) from Article 120 is a bridging context for three constructions: the asyndetic relative clause, circumstantial VprefL (Simultaneous), and the proleptic relative. It was only annotated as a relative.

691. Article 120, asyndetic relative, content of observation

وأظهر شريط مصور بثه ناشطون على موقع يوتيوب لقطات اعقبت الهجوم على احسم تظهر اشخاصا يحاولون انتشال رجل مدفون حتى رقبته تحت أنقاض مبنى منهار.	wa-'aḥzara šarīṭun muṣaw- warun battahu nāšiṭūna 'alā mawqī'i yūtyūb laqaṭātin 'a'qabati l-ḥuḡūma 'alā 'eḥsim tuzhīru 'ašḥāsan yuhāwilūna ntišāla raḡulin maḍfūnin ḥattā raqabatihi taḥta 'anqāḍi mabnan munhārin.	And a video which activists posted on the YouTube site shows footage following the attack on Ehsim which shows people [who are] try- ing to pull out a man who is buried to his neck under the rubble of a collapsed house.

⁴⁵⁶ The passage features a proleptic relative in *kašafat 'an taḡāwuzātin ḡayri maḡbūlatin irtakabā ba'ḍu 'anāširi l-ḡayši l-lubnāniyyi bi-ḥaqqi lāḡi'īna sūriyyīna fī lubnān*. For the proleptic relative construction, see 6.3.1.1.

Table 106: Documented semantics of asyndetic non-deverbalized relative clauses *an* in the column for count means $\geq 1x$ attestations, but that the actual numbers are unknown (see 6.3)

Σ	Link	Matrix	Relative clause	A	Ex
10	REL focal	ya'tī dālika fī waqtin	Vsuff	38, 69, 56	601, 508, 427
6	REL bi Degree Consecutive	Example below bi-šaklin (2x) ⁴⁵⁷	[REL]	102 -	692 -
3	REL bi Purpose	'ašdara l-ğayšu l-tur-kiyyu bayānan	yuṭālibu fīhi l-ra'īsa reğeb ṭayyib 'erdūğān bi-'itbāti mazā'imīhi bi-wuğūdi mu'āmarātin dīddahu	11	316
2	REL bi Conditional	Example below		51	693
x	REL bi Cause	wa-'tabarati l-ḥarakatu [...] farḍa ḥamās l-'iqāmata l-ğabariyyata 'alā munāḍilīhā bi-maṭābati ġarīmatin	'awwadat bi-ḥayāti l-munāḍili l-šahīdi 'ašraf 'ibrāhīm 'abd allāh 'abū ḥamīd fī raya'āni šabābihi.	23	512
3	REL bi Consecutive	ḍakarat [...] 'anna ṭā'iratan ḥarbiyyatan 'aṭlaqat 3 šawārīḥa, wa-qāla [...] 'inna mağmū'atin musallaḥatan 'aṭlaqat 'adadan mina l-qaḍā'ifi l-šārūḥiyyati 'alā maḍīnati el-zāwiya	'ašābat 'aḥada l-mustawda'āti, [...] 'asfarat 'an maqtali ṭiflatin wa-'iṣābati sayyidatin, wata'atturi 'adadin mina l-manāzili,	4 90	- 352
x	REL bi Exemplification	wa-ḍakara [...] 'anna l-infiğārāti waqa'at 'amsi l-'awwala fī ṭalātati mawāqi'a	'aḥaduhā fi-l-ḥayyi l-tiğāriyyi bi-mintaqati lūntāy ḡanūba šingyāng	23	727
x	REL bi Simultaneous bi Cause	Example below		63	694
x	REL bi Simultaneous	Example above		120	691

⁴⁵⁷ See under Manner for *bi-* in 6.9.

Σ	Link	Matrix	Relative clause	A	Ex
x	REL & Context & Cause	Example below		11	695
x	REL bi Associative	baḥaṭa wafḍun wi-zāriyyun 'arabiyyun min duwali ġiwāri lībiyā, bi ri'āsati l-safīru muḥammad [...]	yurāfiqihu mas'ūlūna mina l-ġāmi'ati l-'arabiyyati wa- [...]	70	-
x	REL bi Counter-sequential (<i>constructio ad sensum</i>)	[...] mubāšaratan qabla 'an tubāšira quwwātu l-ġayši tabādula 'itlāqi l-nāri ma'a 'adadin 'āḥara min 'a 'dā'i el-qā'ida	qadimū 'ilā l-mawqī'i.	20	236

692. Article 102, asyndetic relative clause, bi Degree Consecutive

وأوضح في كلمته بمدينة أبردين باسكتلندا أن الحركة الانفصالية في الإقليم رسمت صورة خيالية بعيدة عن الواقع بعد الانفصال ، وأضاف أن حدودا أكثر صرامة سترسم بين البلدين تجبر الناس على حمل جوازات سفرهم إذا ما أرادوا أن يروا أقاربهم وأحببتهم.

wa-'awḍaḥa fī kalimatihi bi-madīnati 'aberdīn bi-'is-kutlandā 'anna l-ḥarakata l-in-fišāliyyata fi-l-'iqlīmi rasamat šūratan ḥayāliyyatan ba'īdatan 'ani l-wāqī'i ba'da l-infišāli , wa-'adāfa 'anna hudūdan 'aktara sarāmatan sa-tursamu bayna l-baladayni tuġbiru l-nāsa 'alā ḥamlī ġawazāti sa-farihim 'idā mā 'arādū 'an yaraw 'aqāribahum wa-'aḥib-batahum.

And he said in his speech in the city of Aberdeen in Scotland that the separatist movement in the region has painted a fantasy picture far from the reality after the separation, and he added that stricter borders will be drawn between the two countries forcing people to carry passports when they want to see their relatives and loved ones.

693. Article 51, asyndetic relative, bi Conditional

وأكد «أننا لن نقبل أي عرض لا يلبى طموحات وأهداف شعبنا الفلسطيني بالحرية والاستقلال وإقامة الدولة الفلسطينية المستقلة على حدود الرابع من يونيو عام 1967 وعاصمتها القدس».

wa-'akkada «'annanā lan naqbala 'ayya 'arḍin lā yulabbī ṭumūḥāti wa-'ahdāfi ša'binā l-fi-lasṭīniyyi bi-l-ḥurriyyati wa-l-istiqlālī wa-'iqāmati l-dawlati l-filasṭīniyyati l-mustaqillati 'alā ḥudūdi l-rābi' min yūniyū 'āma 1967 wa-'āšimat#hā⁴⁵⁸ el-quds».

And he stressed «that we will not accept any offer **that does not meet the aspirations and goals of our Palestinian people of freedom and independence and of the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the borders of June 4 of the year 1967 and of its capital Jerusalem**».

⁴⁵⁸ For a discussion of the unique 'āšimat#hā el-quds, see under "wa-NCI" in .

694. Article 63, asyndetic relative, *constructio ad sensum*, Simultaneous
bi Cause

وقالت مصدر حوثي - في تصريحات وكالة الأنباء الفرنسية أمس - إن 7 متظاهرين على الأقل قتلوا أثناء إطلاق قوات الأمن اليمنية الأعيرة النارية في الهواء لتفريق مجموعة من المحتجين الموالين للمتمردين الحوثيين كانوا يحاولون اقتحام مقر رئاسة الوزراء في وسط صنعاء.	wa-qālat maṣḍarun ḥuṭiyyun -fī taṣrīḥātīn li-wikālati l- 'anbā' i l-firansiyyati 'amsi- inna 7 mutazāhirīna 'alā l- 'aqaḥli qutīlū 'atnā 'a 'iṭlāqi quwwātī l-'amni l-yama- niyyati l-'a'yirata l-nāriyyata fī-l-hawā' i li-tafrīqi <u>mağmū'atin mina l-muhtağğīna</u> l-muwālīna li-l-mutamarridīna l-ḥuṭiyyīna kānū yuḥāwilūna qṭiḥāma maḡarri ri'āsati l-wuzarā' i fī wasaṭi ṣan'a'.	And a Houthi source said - in remarks to the French news agency yesterday - that at least 7 demonstrators were killed as the security forces fired live bullets in the air in order to disperse <u>a group of</u> <u>Houthi protesters loyal to the</u> <u>Houthi rebels who were try-</u> <u>ing to storm the prime min-</u> <u>ister's headquarters in cen-</u> <u>tral Sanaa.</u>

695. Article 11, asyndetic relative, & Context & Cause

وذكرت قناة «إن. تي. في» أن السلطات أصدرت أوامر اعتقال ما يصل إلى ٣٣ ضابطاً يزعم أردوغان أنهم يسعون للإطاحة بالحكومة.	wa-dakarat qanātu «'in. tī. fī» 'anna l-sulutātī 'asdarat <u>'awāmira 'tiqāli mā yasīlu</u> <u>'ilā 33 dābiṭan yaz'amu 'er-</u> <u>dūğān 'annahum yas'awna</u> <u>li-l-'iṭḥāti bi-l-ḥukūmati.</u>	And the channel «NTV» reported that <u>the authorities</u> <u>have issued arrest warrants</u> <u>for up to 33 officers who</u> <u>Erdoğan claims are try-</u> <u>ing to overthrow the gov-</u> <u>ernment.</u>

6.4. The participle (461x)

This chapter investigates 461x attestations of participles that may all be called clausal, i.e. non-main clause morphological predicative participles which are not nouns, adjectives, adverbs (for *mu'aqqatan*, *sābiqan*, *musabbaqan*, *muğaddadan*, *muṭlaqan*, *mu'aḥḥaran*, and *lāhiqan*, see 6.8.4–6.8.5), deictics, or part of a *min al-* passive (for which, see 5.2.3).

The disposition of this chapter can be summarized as a flow of exclusion. Organized by syntax and morphology, a discussion of a number of less frequent constructions lead up to 6.4.5 where the two dominant constructions of clausal participles proper are discussed, namely the so-called participle of attribution, and deverbalized relative clauses with a nominal head to which the participle agrees in case, number, and gender (in 6.4.5.3 and 6.4.5.4 respectively).

The participles under investigation are either definite or indefinite, and may be linked with a *wa-* (16x) or *'aw* (discussed in 6.4.6, and under “*'aw*” in 6.7), and—in the case of nominalized headless relative clauses—be preceded by a preposition (for which, see 6.4.1).

There are fundamentally two types of participial clauses in Media Arabic: grammatically subordinate and embedded. Embedded participial clauses comprise a number of relative clause type constructions with a nominal head; while subordinate participial clauses are a series of grammatically subordinate nominalized clauses with clauses as matrices, typically with the indefinite accusative participle, some of which are text-linguistically equal to main clauses with which, under certain conditions, they are mutually exclusive. Between prototypical examples of each type, however, there is a continuum (for nominalization, see 2.3.3ff.; for relative clause nominalization, see 2.3.5).

6.4.1. Headless nominalized relative clauses (18x)

18x attestations; this excludes fully substantivated participle morphologies.⁴⁵⁹ The most frequent types are *al-muṣṭabāḥ# bihim* (3x, only in Article 25), *al-mu'ṭaqālīna* (3x, only in Article 122), and *al-mutawarriṭīna* (2x, in Article 24 and Article 45). 13x are genitives, 3x accusatives (including 2x subjects after a complementizer, and 1x direct object), and 2x nominatives (subjects).

The 13x genitives are distributed over 8x complements to prepositions: 3x *bayna* (2x in Article 88), 1x *min*, 1x *min bayni*, 1x *'alā*, 1x *ḥasaba*, and 1x *li-*

⁴⁵⁹ E.g. (*al-*)*mutaḥaddiṭu/atu* and *al-nāṭiqu* preceding *bi-smi* + name of institution, ‘spokesperson on behalf of’ (22x times: 17x + 5x respectively, always following a finite verb of attribution), and participles with a genitive object such as in Article 126: *fi 'aydi muntahikī ḥuqūqī l-'insāni*, ‘in the hands of human rights violators’. This is a methodological decision which is not based on Semitic diachrony.

(indirect object); in addition there are 3x possessive genitives, 1x partitive genitive, and 1x genitive object.

12x attestations are plural: 2x *al-mutawarriṭīna: fī milaffāti l-mutawarriṭīna bi-l-fasādi wa-l-rašāwī*, ‘the portfolios of those involved with corruption and bribes’ (Article 24, Example 442); *wa-badalan ‘an ‘an tu ‘āqiba l-mutawarriṭīna [...]*, ‘and instead of punishing those involved [...]’ (Article 45, Example 387); *bi-hadaḡi tawṣīli musā‘adātin ‘insāniyyatin li-l-muḡḡaṣarīna fī madīnati ‘amerlī*, ‘in order to deliver humanitarian aid to those besieged in the city of Amerli’ (Article 35); *min bayni l-muttahamīna bi-l-stīfādati min saḡā‘i bitrūbrūz ḡayri l-mašrū‘i [...]*, ‘among those who are accused of having benefited from Petrobras’ illegal generosity’ (Article 41, Example 509); *wa-sa-ta ‘riḡu tūnis ‘alā l-muṣārikīna fī ḡadā l-mu‘tamari* ‘22 mašrū‘an kabīran [...], ‘and Tunisia is going to present to those partaking in this conference “22 large projects [...]’ (Article 53); *muṣīran ‘ilā ‘anna l-dā‘īna li-ḡukūmatin intiḡāliyyatin yudrikūna ‘annahum*, ‘referring to that those who call for a transition government realize that they [...]’ (Article 79, Example 639); *al-fāriq# bayna l-rāfiḡīna li-l-istiqlāli wa-l-munādīna bihi*, ‘the [percentual] difference between the naysayers to the independence and those who call for it’ (Article 88); *150 qatīlan fī ṣuḡūfi l-mutaḡaṣṣinīna dāḡila l-mu‘askari*, ‘150 casualties among the ranks of those entrenched inside the camp’ (Article 121, Example 515); *mūḡiḡan ‘anna qaḡiyyata l-mu‘taqalīna l-filasṭīniyyīna fī-l-suḡūni l-‘isrā‘īliyyi [sic] sa-takūnu [...]*, ‘clarifying that the case of those detained in Israeli prisons will be [...]’ (Article 122); *qarrara-mu‘taqalūna filasṭīniyyūna fī-l-suḡūni l-‘isrā‘īliyyati ḡawḡa ‘iḡrābin taḡḡīriyyin ‘ani l-ṭa‘āmi*, ‘the Palestinian detainees in the Israeli prisons decided to launch a warning food strike’ (Article 122, Example 561); and *wa-yabluḡu ‘adadu l-mu‘taqalīna 63 ṣaḡṣan*, ‘and the number of detainees reaches 63 persons’ (Article 122). The 3x last examples, all from Article 122, are the most nominalized, arguably fully substantivated, and could possibly have been excluded, as indicated by the word order *al-mu‘taqalīna l-filasṭīniyyīna*, ‘Palestinian detainees/prisoners’ instead of *al-filasṭīniyyīna l-mu‘taqalīna*, ‘the Palestinians who have been detained’. The elliptical example from Article 45, *al-mutawarriṭīna*, ‘those involved’, without explicit postmodifier, could have been excluded on the same formal grounds.

The 6x exceptions to the morphological plurals are 3x *al-muṣṭabah# bihim*, ‘suspected (of carrying the Ebola virus)’, in Article 25: *ṣalāḡiyyat# muṣādarati ḡawāzāti l-safari min al-muṣṭabahi bihim*, ‘the authority to confiscate the passports from those suspected’; *bi-salāḡiyyati tarḡīli l-muṣṭabahi bihim*, ‘with the authority to deport those suspected’; and *al-duwal# al-‘uḡrā llatī yamurru min ḡilāliḡa l-muṣṭabahu bihim*, ‘other states through which the suspects pass’ (Example 240). In addition, there is 1x *‘inna l-muḡraḡa ‘anhum waṣalū*, ‘that those who were released have arrived’ (Article 6, Example 641); 1x *‘afḡal# mina l-mamnūḡi lahum ḡāliyyan*, ‘better than what is currently given them’ (Article 94); and 1x *ḡasaba l-muttaḡaḡi*

'*alayhi*', 'according to what has been agreed upon' (Article 99, Example 519).

6.4.2. Head + passive participle (m.sg.) + preposition (6x)

This includes constructions with a passive participle in the masculine singular with a following prepositional phrase, which in all cases except Article 31 (Example 719) agree with the head.

6x attestations, excluding headless nominalized relatives where the syntagm is headless (for which, see 6.4.1) such as *al-muštabah# bihim*, 'those suspected, the suspects', 3x in Article 25; but including *al-takfīriyyīna l-brīṭāniyyīna l-muštabahi bihim* in the same article. The unique predicate *mut-tafaqun 'alayhi* in a *wa*-NCI is also excluded here (for which, see under "*wa*-NCI" in 6.1.2.9). For a comparable construction, a passive participle in the singular together with a prepositional phrase, but with different subject, see Example (697) from Article 88 below (*na't sababī*).

The construction *al-muqarrari la-h* + date is attested 2x, all others ≤1x. Note the example from Article 42, *wa-mawṭūqin minhu*, a *hapax* construction in the corpus with a preposed *wa*-.

Table 107: Head + passive participle (m.sg.) + preposition

Σ	Head + syntagm	Translation	A	Ex
1	<i>al-takfīriyyīna l-brīṭāniyyīna l-muštabahi bihim</i>	the suspected British <u>tak-firists</u> ⁴⁶⁰	25	-
1	<i>fī misāhati 6 'amyālin al-masmūḥi lahum bi-l-ṣaydi fihā fī baḥri rafaḥ</i>	in an area of 6 miles in which it is allowed for them to fish in the sea of Rafah	31	719
1	<i>min masdarin mustaqillin wa-mawṭūqin minhu</i>	from an independent and reliable source	42	-
1	<i>fī-l-intihābātī l-ri'āsiyyati l-muqarri lahā 2017</i>	in <u>the presidential elections</u> scheduled for 2017	46	-
1	[...] mā 'idā kāna sa-yatimmu taṭbīqu l-'uqūbātī l-muttafaqi 'alayhā kulliyyan 'aw ġuz' iyyan	whether <u>the sanctions</u> agreed upon will be implemented in whole or in part	62	481
1	(lead) qabla bad' i <u>l-istiftā' i</u> 'alā l-istiqlālī fī 'iskutlandā l-muqarrari lahu ba' da ġadin al-ḥamīsa	(lead) Before the start of <u>the referendum</u> on independence in Scotland scheduled for the day after tomorrow, Thursday	88	9
6				

⁴⁶⁰ *takfīriyyun*, lit. 'someone characterized by proclaiming others as unbelievers (*kāfirun*, pl. *kuffārūn*)', i.e. 'jihadists, terrorists'.

6.4.3. Participle head + genitive noun (false *'idāfa*, *'idāfatun ġayru haqīqiyyatin*) (6x)

6x attestations. These attestations are case-relations of the genitive and not necessarily to be counted as nominalized relative clauses. They are included for reference. Annexation of this type is not exclusive to participles.⁴⁶¹

Only examples with explicit head nouns to the post-positioned participle are counted, thus excluding headless attestations such as Article 111, *mu'akkidan 'annahu lan yasmaḥa 'an tuṣbiḥa 'ingilterā muslūbata l-'irādati*, 'he asserted that we will not let England be **robbed of its will**', and Article 14 *rūsiyā lā yumkinu 'an taqīfa maktūfata l-'aydi*, 'Russia cannot stand **fettered as to the hands**' ('with hands tied', 'idle'), and *'alā muḥtalifi l-'arāḍi l-fi-lasṭīniyyati*, 'on **various Palestinian territories**' (Article 122).

Moreover, apposition with a genitive object such as in Article 85 is also excluded from the investigation: *li-ḥtilāli maqā'ida muhimmatan fī bar-lamānin lā yamtaliku fīhi l-yasāru mutaṣaddiru l-intiḥābāti l-'aḡlabiyyata l-muṭlaqata*, 'to occupy important seats in [the] parliament where the Left, **the winner of the election**, does not have the absolute majority' (Example 655).

The only construction appearing 2x is *muta'addidat# al-ġinsiyyāti*, 'multi-national'; all others occur 1x.

Table 108: Participle head + genitive noun (false *'idāfa*)

Σ	False <i>'idāfa</i>	Translation	A	Ex
1	maġmū'atun maġḥūlatu l-huwiyyati	a group of unknown identity	45	71
1	al-mu'assasāti l-muta'addidati l-ġinsiyyāti	multinational establishments	48	184
1	buldānin munḥafiḍati wa-mutawassiṭati l-dahli ⁴⁶²	the low- and middle-income countries	84	335
1	šarikātun 'amlāqatun muta'addidatu l-ġinsiyyāti	giant multinational companies	107	-
1	talātata mašārī'a muḥtalifatin fī maġāli l-sakani munḥafiḍi l-takālifi	three different projects in the field of low-cost housing	110	-
1	mušīdan bi-l-dawri l-miṣriyyi l-bāliġi l-'ahammiyyati	praising the extremely important role of Egypt	122	650
6				

⁴⁶¹ The false *'idāfa* with a non-participial head is attested 16x: 5x *qašīrat# al-'aġali* (only in Article 87), +1x *ṭawīlat# al-'aġali* (also in Article 87); 4x *kibār#*, including 3x *kibār# al-mas'ūlīna* (Articles 23, 110, and 112) and 1x *kibār# qādati l-ḥūṭiyyīna* (Article 98); 2x a definite *nisba* adjective of nationality + *al-'ašli*, only about humans, e.g. *al-'arġantīniyy# al-'ašli* (Article 116); 2x *(al-)raqī# al-mustawā*; 1x *al-kūriyyat# al-tašmīmi* (Article 97), and 1x in the phrase *baynahum 'arabu l-ġinsiyyati*, 'among which [were] Arabs' (Article 21).

⁴⁶² For the polyheaded genitive annexation, see 3.8.

6.4.4. Head + participle + different nominative subject (*na 't sababī*) (18x)

18x attestations, 13x (72.2%) of which are accounted for by the two participles *al-muntahiyat# wilāyatuhu* (8x: 3x nominative and 5x genitive) and *al-muqarrar(at)i* (5x, all genitive); the remaining 4x are *hapax* (all genitive). (The grammar of *na 't sababī* is discussed in 2.3.5.3.)

The construction with *al-muntahiyat# wilāyatuhu* (8x) is only used about “outgoing” prominent politicians (5x) and political authorities (3x), ‘whose mandate is coming to an end’ e.g. in the transition phrase of Article 90: *wa-‘ani l-mu’tamari l-waṭaniyyi l-‘āmi l-muntahiyati wilāyatuhu*, ‘and concerning the outgoing General National Congress’ (Example 580). For transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

The constructions with *al-muqarrar(at)i* (5x) are more varied: 4x with verbal nouns as subjects (2x *‘iḡrā’u-hā*, 2x *‘aqdu-hā* (e.g. Article 69, Example 696)), and 1x with a finite complement clause with complementizer: *muḥāwalāt# al-tadaḥḥuli fi-l-intiḥābāti l-muqarrari ‘iḡrā’uhā bi-l-mu’as-sasāti l-qadā’iyyati l-muḥtalifati*, ‘attempts to intervene in the elections scheduled to be held in different judicial institutions’ (Article 24); and *li-l-ḥadīṭi ‘ani sti nāfi l-mufāwadāti [...]* *wa-l-muqarrarati ‘an takūna ba‘da šahrin min waqfi ‘iṭlāqi l-nāri*, ‘to talk about the resumption of negotiations [...] (and which is) scheduled to take place a month after the ceasefire’ (Article 37, Example 603). The latter construction is similar to one of the *hapax* constructions, *wa-l-mutawaqqa ‘i ‘an [...]*, in Article 69 (Example 696).⁴⁶³

696. Article 69, *na 't sababī* x2

وأوضح الأحمد أن ذلك
يستدعي وعلى نحو
عاجل البدء بالإعمار
وأن على المجتمع
الدولي دعم ومساندة
هذه العملية بدعم مؤتمر
إعادة الإعمار المقرر
عقده في القاهرة
واستئناف المفاوضات
غير المباشرة مع
الطرف الإسرائيلي
والمتوقع أن تستأنف
نهاية الشهر الحالي،
مشيرا إلى أن

wa-‘awḍaḥa el-‘aḥmad ‘anna
ḍālika yastadī‘ wa-‘alā naḥwin
‘āḡilin al-bad’a bi-l-‘i‘māri
wa-‘anna ‘alā l-muḡtama‘i l-
duwaliyyi da‘ma wa-musāna-
data ḥādīhi l-‘amaliyyati bi-
da‘mi mu’tamari ‘i‘ādati l-
‘i‘māri l-muqarrari ‘aqduhu
fī el-qāhira wa-sti nāfi⁴⁶⁴ l-
mufāwadāti ḡayri l-mu-
bāšarati ma‘a l-ṭarafī l-
‘isrā’īliyyi wa-l-
mutawaqqa‘i ‘an tusta‘nafa
nihāyata l-šahrī l-ḥāliyyi,
mušīran ‘ilā ‘anna [...]

And al-Ahmad clarified that
this calls - and urgently - for
the beginning of the recon-
struction and that it is [in-
cumbent] upon the interna-
tional community to support
and assist this process by
supporting the reconstruc-
tion conference which is
scheduled to be held in
Cairo and the resumption of
the indirect negotiations with
the Israeli side which are ex-
pected to be resumed by
the end of the present
month, referring to that [...]

⁴⁶³ Both constructions with a complement clause as subject are preceded by *wa-*.

⁴⁶⁴ The verbal noun *isti nāfi* is either accusative (as a coordinated subject to ‘*alā l-muḡtama‘i*’), or genitive object to *bi-da‘mi*. The translation reflects the latter.

2x of the remaining 4x constructions have human subjects: Article 50, [...] *mušīran 'ilā 'anna silāḥa l-ḡawwi qāma bi-qaṣfi ba'ḍi l-mawāqī'i l-muta-markīzi biḥā 'anāširu l-ḡamā'ati*, 'he pointed out that the Air Force had bombed some sites **in which elements of the group are positioned**'; and Article 24, *li-milaffāti l-fasādi l-mutawarriṭi fīḥā l-ra'īsu* [...], 'the corruption portfolios **in which the president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is involved**' (see Example 313). The other 2x examples are *min ḥilāli ḡisri el-malik fahd al-bālīḡi ṭūluḥu 25-kīlūmitran*, 'through the King Fahd causeway, **whose length reaches 25 kilometres**', both in Article 54 (see Example 292). The final instance, Example (697) from Article 88, is a combination of a passive participle in the singular, and a following subject.

697. Article 88, head + passive participle + prepositional phrase + different subject, nominalized relative clause (*na't sababī*)

وحمل المتظاهرون العلم الاسكتلندي ، إضافة إلى لافتات مكتوب عليها "نعم للاستقلال".	wa-ḥamala l-mutaṣāḥirūna l-'alama l-'iskutlandiyya , 'iḏāfatan 'ilā lāfitātīn mak- tūbin 'alayḥā "na'am li-l- istiqlālī".	And the demonstrators carried the Scottish flag along with <u>banners</u> on <u>which was written</u> "yes to independence".

6.4.5. Clausal participles (412x)

This section deals with attributive nominalized (deverbalized) relative clauses with participles (discussed in 2.3.5.2), and peripheral clausal accusative participles (e.g. *mušīran 'ilā*). This excludes, *ergo*, categories of participles dealt with above (6.4.1–6.4.4).

6.4.5.1. Clausal participles with *wa-* (12x)

12x attestations. This count excludes the 4x attestations already discussed: 2x participle + nominative subject (discussed in 6.4.4), 1x nominalized headless relative (6.4.1), and 1x *wa*-participle (m.sg.) + prepositional phrase (6.4.2), in addition to the other constructions discussed in these sections.

The 12x constructions of clausal participles with *wa-* will here serve as illustrators of the issues dealt with in categorizing the nominalized clauses with participles along the continuum between relative clauses and subordinate clauses.

Morphologically, these *wa*-participles are split over 10x active and 2x passive participles. The passives are only attested in stem VIII in the definite masculine accusative, and only in Article 41: 1x *wa-al-mu'taqala* and 1x *wa-l-muttahama* (Example 523). The 10x active participles are distributed over different stems as 5x definite active genitives (both genders, *wa-l-fā'il(at)i* type), 3x indefinite active masculine accusatives (*wa-fā'ilan* type), and 2x definite active masculine accusatives (*wa-l-fā'ila* type, only in Article 98).

In total there are 9x definite and 3x indefinite participles; the latter will be dealt with first.

wa-fā' ilan (3x)

3x attestations, only as Unordered Additions: 2x Same Level and 1x Different Level. All attestations will be discussed below.

In the final paragraph of Article 68 (Example 698), *wa-dā' iyan* fills the function of a finite verb in an Unordered Addition (Different Level Same Subject). The type *dā' iyan* (without *wa-*) is attested 3x times, its finite verb attested 6x times in the corpus; *wa-dā' iyan* here is a *hapax* type.

698. Article 68 (final paragraph), *wa-fā' ilan*, Different Level Same Subject Addition

وأشار وزير الدفاع الفرنسي - في تصريحات له أمس - إلى أن انتشار القوات العسكرية الفرنسية الذي سيوسع نطاقه في الأيام القليلة القادمة يأتي في إطار إنقاذ ليبيا من الإرهاب المسلح الذي تعاني منه، وداعيا المجتمع الدولي للتدخل ومساندة طرابلس.	wa-'ašāra wazīru l-difā'i l- firansiyyu - fi taṣrīḥātīn lahu 'amsi - 'ilā 'anna ntišāra l- quwwāti l-'askariyyati l- firansiyyati llaḏī sa-yattasi 'u niṭāquhu fi-l-'ayyāmi l-qal- īlati l-qādimati ya'tī fi 'itāri 'inqādi lībiyā mina l-'irhābi l- musallaḥi llaḏī tu'ānī minhu, wa-dā' iyan al-muḡtama' a l- duwaliyya li-l-tadaḥḥuli wa-musānadati ṭarābulus.	And the French defence min- ister said - in remarks of his yesterday - that the deploy- ment of French military forces the outposts of which will expand during the next few days comes in a frame- work of saving Libya from the armed terrorism which it suffers from, and called on the international commu- nity to intervene and sup- port Tripoli.

In Article 63, the indefinite participle with *wa-* fills the function of an Unordered Addition (Same Level Same Subject) to a preceding indefinite accusative participle without *wa-*, *muḥaddīran*, itself an analytical Unordered Addition (Different Level): *ḡā'a radda za 'imi l-ḥūṭiyyīna [...] fī kalimatihi [...] 'anna [...] muḥaddīran [...] wa-muḥaddīdan [...]*, 'the response of the Houthi leader came [...] in his speech [...] that [...] **warning [...] and threatening [...]**' (Example 529). Stem II of the root *hdd* is attested 12x times as a finite verb in the corpus; the use as a participles here is a *hapax*.

In Article 12, the participle is used 3x times in a shorter segment (see Example 575). The first, *mumattīlan* (without *wa-*), is a *hapax* type: *ma'a el-'urdunn 'uḏwi maḡlisi l-'amni mumattīlan 'ani l-maḡmū'ati l-'arabiyyati [...]*, 'with Jordan, a member of the security council, **[which is] representing the Arab group [...]**'. The use of the accusative here should be put in context with the low count of nominalized relative clauses with a nominative predicate (see 6.4.5.4; for more on peripheral accusative participles, see 5.4.5.4); the use is reminiscent of nominalized relative clause (which is typically definite) or possibly an apposition (substantivated, 'a representative'). The other two participles in Article 12 are *dā' iman* and *wa-dā' iman* (both *hapax* types), the second, *wa-dā' iman*, being an Unordered Addition to the first, *dā' iman*, type of Manner & Degree Consecutive: *bi-ḥayṭu yaṣḏuru qarāru maḡlisi l-'amni dā' iman li-l-qaḏiyyati l-filasṭīniyyati, wa-'i'ādati 'i-māri ḡazza wa-dā' iman 'aydan li-l-mubādarati wa-l-ḡuhūdi l-miṣriyyati min 'aḡli l-tawaṣṣuli li-*

ttifāqin nihā'yyin, 'in order that it issues a degree **such that it supports** [...] **and also supports** [...] (Example 575). These examples also resemble nominalized relative clauses, albeit without case agreement to the nominative head.

wa-l-fā'il (9x)

9x attestations. The syntagm is used as a nominalized relative clause, which can function as an Unordered Addition to other constructions, typically to a preceding nominalized relative clause as a Same Level Same Subject Addition.

2x attestations are simple nominalized relative clauses (Articles 24 and 106): The use of *wa-* in Article 24 is conditioned by a *trajectio* between the head and the relative for reasons of clarity: [...] *'iglāqa qaḍāyā l-taḥqīqi fī milaffāti l-mutawarriḥina bi-l-fasādi wa-l-rašāwī wa-l-muta'alliqati bi-qaḍiyati 17 dīsembir al-māḍi*, 'the closure of the investigation of the portfolios of those involved with corruption and bribes, [**portfolios**] **which are related to the case of December 17**' (Example 442). In Article 106, the use of the participle is comparable to this, with *wa-* separating a partial quote from the words of the news outlet (Example 699).

699. Article 106, *wa-l-fā'il*, nominalized relative

وقال على البختي -
عضو المكتب السياسي
لأنصار الله - إنهم في
الوقت الراهن يقومون
بتصفية القيادات
"الفاسدة" والمنتزمة
للتجمع اليمني لحزب
الإصلاح، وعلى رأسها
اللواء على محسن قائد
الفرقة الأولى مدرع
سابقاً ومستشار الرئيس
لشئون الدفاع حالياً.

wa-qāla 'alī el-baḥtī - 'uḍwu l-makatabi l-siyāsiyyi li-'anṣār allāh - 'innahum fi-l-waḥtī l-rāḥini yaqūmūna bi-taṣfiyati l-qiyādātī "al-fāsi-dātī" wa-l-muntamiyati li-taḡammu' el-yamanī li-ḥizbi el-'iṣlāḥ, wa-'alā ra'sihā l-liwā'u 'alī muḥsen qā'idu l-firqati l-'ūlā mudarra' sābiqan wa-mustaṣāru l-ra'īs li-ṣu'ūni l-difā'i ḥāliyyan.

And Ali al-Bakhti - a member of the political bureau of Ansar Allah - said that they are currently liquidating leaders "who are corrupt" **and who belong to the Yemeni Congregation of the al-Islah [Reform] Party**, headed by Major General Ali Mohsen, formerly the Commander of the First Armoured Division and currently the president's advisor for defence affairs.

In Article 39 (Example 675), the coordinated participle is a Same Level Same Subject Addition to a definite participle (a Nominalized Relative bi Cause), *bi-darūratī da'mi l-barlamāni l-lībiyyi l-muntaḥabi wa-l-mu'abbiri 'ani l-'irādati l-ša'biyyati*, 'the need to support the Libyan government which is [since it is] elected **and** [is] **expressing the will of the people**'. In Article 63, the use is also a Same Level Same Subject Addition: *li-hāḍā l-'asālībi l-mut-tasimati bi-l-'uḍwāni 'alā l-muḡtama'i l-yamaniyyi wa-l-ḥāriḡati 'an tartībātī l-marḥalati l-intiqāliyyati*, 'of these methods which are characterized by an

الفرقة الأولى مدرع (1983 - 2013) تشكيل عسكري تم إنشائه في 2 يناير 1983 كأعلى تشكيل عسكري في الجيش اليمني

(Wikipedia, "al-firqa al-'ūlā mudarra' (el-yaman)", accessed November 21, 2019). See also footnote to Example 238.

aggression on the Yemeni society and outside the arrangements of the transition period'.

Example (523) from Article 41 features two *wa-l-fā 'il* participles: the second is a Same Level Same Subject Addition, but the first might be either a Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Frustration to a preceding syndetic relative with *alladī kāna*, or a nominalized relative to the direct object of the sentence matrix, *bāwlū rūbertū kūstā* (to which it agrees in case): *wa-staḡwabati l-šurṭatu bāwlū rūbertū kūstā lladī kāna mudīran tanfīdiyyan [...]* ***wa-l-mu'taqala wa-l-muttahama fī 'iṭāri milaffin wāsi 'in li-ḡasli l-'amwāli [...]***, 'and the police interrogated Paulo Roberto Costa who was the executive director [...]' **and [but who now] is detained and accused in the framework of a large portfolio of money laundering [...]**'.

In Example (700) from Article 66, the coordinated nominalized participle is used as a Same Level Same Subject Addition to a clausal adjective (nominalized relative with adjectival predicate, for which, see under 6.4.5.4).

700. Article 66, *wa-l-fā 'il*, Same Level Same Subject Addition

وذكرت شبكة «سكاي نيوز» البريطانية أمس، أن معارك عنيفة تدور في بلدة الدخانية، التي كان مقاتلو المعارضة السورية استولوا على أجزاء كبيرة منها قبل يومين نظرا لأهمية موقعها القريب من العاصمة والمتاخم للغطاة الشرقية، أحد معاقل المعارضة في ريف دمشق.

wa-ḡakarat šabakatu «skāy ni-yūz» al-brīṭāniyyatu 'amsi, 'anna ma'ārika 'anīfatan tadūru fī baldati el-duḡāniyya, allatī kāna muqātilū l-mu'āraḡati l-sūriyyati stawalū 'alā 'aḡzā'in kabīratin minhā qabla yawmayni nazaran li-ahammiyyati mawqī'ihā l-qarībi mina l-'āsimaṭi **wa-l-muṭāḡimi li-l-ḡūṭa el-šarḡiyya**, 'aḡadi ma'āqili l-mu'āraḡati fī rīfī dimašq.

And the British «Sky News» network reported yesterday that fierce fights are taking place in the town of Dukhaniya, which the fighters of the Syrian opposition seized large parts of two days ago due to the importance of its location [which is] near the capital **and [which is] adjacent to Eastern Ghouta**, one of the strongholds of the opposition in the countryside of Damascus.

In Article 98, Example (701), two coordinated participles are used in a similar syntax with a definite participle (nominalized relative, *constructio ad sensum*) as its matrix in two Unordered Additions (Same Level Same Subject).

701. Article 98, *wa-l-fā 'il* x2, Same Level Same Subject Addition x2

وقال تنظيم القاعدة إن جماعة الحوثي المعتصمين في العاصمة اليمنية صنعاء والمحتجين على زيادة أسعار المشتقات النفطية والمطالبين بإقالة الحكومة سيكونون هدفا له.

wa-qāla tanzīmu el-qā'ida 'inna ḡamā'ata el-ḡuṭī l-mu'tašimīna fī-l-'āsimaṭi l-yamaniyyati šan'ā' **wa-l-muḡtaḡḡina** 'alā ziyādati 'as'āri l-muštaqqāti l-naftiyyati **wa-l-muṭālibīna** bi-'iqālati l-ḡukūmati sa-yakūnu hadafan lahu.

And the al-Qaeda organization said that the Houthi group which is holding a sit-in the Yemeni capital Sanaa **and protesting against** the increase of the prices of oil derivatives **and demanding** the dismissal of the government is going to be a target for them.

6.4.5.2. Attestations of participles with uncertain case (5x)

Case and definiteness are the two determining factors in understanding a clausal participle as a nominalized relative clause or as a subordinate clause.

For 5x attestations, there are no means to distinguish the case. The following instances are therefore excluded from categorization and only given here. Compare these attestations with Example (575), from Article 12, *ma 'a el- 'urdunn [...] mumattīlan* (discussed under 6.4.5.1 above, and again in 6.4.5.3), and nominalized relative clauses, which agree in case and definiteness with their head (6.4.5.4).

Table 109: Participles with uncertain grammatical case

Σ	Case	Head + syntagm	Translation	A	Ex
1	NOM or ACC	fa-hunāka <u>hukūmatu zillin</u> mukawwanat#n min 28 wakīla wizāratin	For there is a <u>shadow</u> <u>government</u> made up of 28 undersecretaries	37	549
1	ACC or GEN	bi-l- 'idāfati 'ilā <u>mu 'addātin</u> <u>ma 'maliyyatin</u> bi-qīmati 150 'alfa ġinēh 'uḥrā muqad- damat#n 'ilā libīriyā.	in addition to <u>laboratory</u> <u>equipment</u> at a worth of another 150 thousand Egyptian pounds pro- vided to Liberia	61	-
1	GEN or ACC	qāla [...] 'inna qatar 'arsalat ṭalāṭa ṭā'irātin 'askariyyatin muḥammalat#n bi-l-silāḥi wa-l-ḡaḥīrati li-maṭāri ṭarābulus	said [...] that Qatar has sent three military air- craft loaded with weap- ons and ammunition to the Tripoli airport	90	-
1	GEN or ACC	qā' ilan 'inna el-ḥartūm ḥāwa- lat 'irsāla ṭā'iratin 'askariyya- <u>tin muḥammalat#n bi-l-</u> ḡaḥīrati li-maṭāri ma 'ittiġa	Saying that Khartoum has tried to send a <u>mili-</u> <u>tary aircraft</u> loaded with ammunition to Mitiga Airport	90	342
1	GEN or ACC	fi risālatin min ḥaftar mu- waġġahat#n 'ilā 'idārati mīnā' i bengāzī l-baḥriyyi	In a letter by Haftar ad- dressed to the manage- ment of the maritime port of Benghazi	90	494
5					

Letter combinations with *mḥml-* are only attested 2x, both in similar phrases in Article 90, giving no further clues to the readings. However, the combination *al-mqdm-*, as seen in Article 61, is also attested in Article 30, suggesting that a genitive reading is appropriate in the indefinite attestation cited above:

[...] *allatī stanadat niqātuḥā ‘alā ḡamī‘i l-ru’ā wa-l-mubādarātī wa-l-muqtarahātī l-muqaddamati min ḡamī‘i l-mukawwanātī wa-l-‘ahzābi l-siyāsiyyati*, ‘whose points rest on all the visions, initiatives and proposals **presented by all the political constellations and parties**’; likewise with *muwaḡḡah#n* in Article 90, which is attested in the definite in Article 41, again suggesting a genitive reading in the indefinite attestation cited above: *wa-qad nafayā l-tuḥama l-muwaḡḡahata ‘ilayhimā*, ‘but they denied the charges [**which have been**] **directed towards them**’ (Example 545).

6.4.5.3. Peripheral indefinite accusative participles (186x)

186x attestations. This excludes the constructions dealt with above, and adverbs with participle morphologies, e.g. *sābiqan*, *muḡaddadan*, etc. (for which, see 6.8.4). Also excluded from this count are cases conditioned by verbs, e.g. NEG *zāla/yazāl#*; [...] *taqifa* [...] ‘**ā’iqan**, ‘stand as a hinderance, be a trouble’ (Article 7, Example 198); and [...] *al-qarāra llatī [sic] taḡiduhu mutawāfiqan ma‘a raḡbatihā fī* [...], ‘the decision which it finds **compatible with its desire to** [...]’ (Article 12, Example 462); and also the tautological [...] *tawāṣalati l-iṣṭibākātu mustamirratan bayna* [...], ‘the clashes continued **continuing** between [...]’, from Article 70. For indefinite accusative participles as the predicate of a main clause, see 5.3.1.

The indefinite accusative participle dealt with here can function either as a subordinate clause or attributively (in full agreement with an indefinite nominal accusative head). These categories will be dealt with separately: the first group as participles of attribution, and as active participles which are not from verbs of attribution, and the second as passive accusative participles. For definite participles as nominalized relative clauses, see 6.4.5.4.

The participle of attribution (active indefinite accusative participle)

The most frequent use of the indefinite accusative participle is in the context of what someone (a person, group of persons, or a text, in the broad linguistic meaning of the word) is saying or has said. This is done in the form of a continuation of an attribution typically begun with a finite verb of attribution, e.g. *(wa-)qāla* [...] *muṣīran ‘ilā ‘anna* [...]. This relation is typically one of Different Level Same Subject Addition. It is almost exclusively asyndetically linked (see *wa-fā‘ilan* under 6.4.5.1 for the only 2x counterexamples). The participle is always active, and is never preceded by a transition phrase. For a participle of attribution as the predicate of a main clause matrix, see 5.3.

Table 110 lists 18x lexical items that make up 153x of the 184x of these non-relative subordinate participles (83.2%). Only 1x of these types occurs in the definite in the corpus, *al-muṭālib#*; in addition, *muttaḥim#*, ‘accusing’, is only attested in the definite passive (*al-muttaḥam#*, ‘accused’); all others are lexically restricted to only being used as participles of attribution. This restriction in use suggests a mutual exclusivity among lexical items between the

6.4. The participle (461x)

nominalized relative clause (see 6.4.5.4) and the subordinate participle. Moreover, high frequency has bleached the formative semantic substance of many of these items so that they have become highly synonymous and mere verbs of attribution or *verba dicendi*, a development indicated by dual meanings in the list below, with one of the meanings being the more bleached, ‘saying, to say’.

The list provides only the masculine accusative singular form, but all genders and numbers were counted.

Table 110: 18x recurring ($\geq 2x$) lexical items for participles of attribution (masculine and feminine indefinite accusative)

Σ	Lexical item	Rough translation	Attested in the definite
39	<i>mušīran</i>	referring, noting, saying	
30	<i>mu'akkidan</i>	asserting, saying	
11	<i>qā'ilan</i>	saying	
11	<i>mu'tabiran</i>	considering, saying	
11	<i>mūḍiḥan</i>	clarifying, adding, saying	
9	<i>mušaddidan</i>	stressing, saying	
8	<i>muḍīfan</i>	adding	
6	<i>muttahiman</i>	accusing	
4	<i>muḥaḍḍiran</i>	warning	
4	<i>lāfitan</i>	pointing	
3	<i>dā'īyan</i>	calling	
3	<i>wāṣīfan</i>	describing	
3	<i>muta'ahhidan</i>	vowing	
3	<i>mu'arriban</i>	expressing	
2	<i>muntaqidan</i>	criticizing	
2	<i>muṭāliban</i>	demanding	5x
2	<i>musta'riḍan</i>	reviewing	
2	<i>mutasā'ilan</i>	asking	
153			

In addition to the above, there are 12x *hapax* lexical items occurring in mutually exclusive contexts to those in Table 94: *mutawaqqi'an*, ‘expecting’ (Article 10); *muraddidīna*, ‘chanting’ (slogans, of demonstrators) (Article 13); *mukarriran* [...] *al-ittihāmāti*, ‘repeating [...] the accusations’ (Article 28); *munawwihan*, ‘noting’ (Article 39); *mulqīyan al-lūma 'alā*, ‘blaming’ (Article 40); *muḡaddidan*⁴⁶⁶ *al-ta'kīda*, ‘asserting again’ (Article 52); *muktafiyan bi-l-qawli*, ‘content with saying, just saying [that]’ (Article 54); *mutamanniyan*,

⁴⁶⁶ The type *mḡddan* is attested 4x times; in the remaining instances it means ‘again’, and is to be read as *muḡaddadan* (see 6.8.4).

‘hoping’ (Article 57); *mubayyinan*, ‘indicating’ (Article 74); *munāšidatan*, ‘appealing [to]’ (Article 114, Example 704); *mušīdan*, ‘praising’ (Article 122); and *murǧi’an dālika*, ‘referring this [to]’ (Article 130).

Together with those in Table 110, 153x + 12x or 89.7% of all peripheral indefinite active accusative participles, roughly 9 in 10, occur in the context of attributions. Also noteworthy in this context is *ṭāliban ‘adama ḍikri-smihi*, ‘asking not to be mentioned by name’, a non-disclosure formula in Article 32 (for non-disclosure formulae, see 6.6).

These 165x instances are located along a continuum spanning from subordinate clauses, albeit with a highly restricted logico-semantic relation to its matrix, to main clauses (see further below; in addition, for main clauses, see 5.3.1).

Active indefinite accusative participles (not participles of attribution)

Of the remaining 20x peripheral indefinite active accusative participles (those which are not participles of attribution), 7x are nominalized relative clauses (with case agreement to their head): 5x *tābi ‘atan* as their predicate, ‘belonging [to]’; 1x *ǧāhizan* in Article 53: «22 *mašrū’an kabīran ǧāhizan li-l-’ingāzi*», ‘22 large projects **ready for completion**»; and 1x *muḥāḍiyatan*,⁴⁶⁷ in *trajec-tio* with an interposed asyndetic relative clause (NCI) to its head in Article 51: *bi-ḥaytu taqūmu mišr bi-manḥi l-filasṭīniyyīna mintaqatan fī sīnā’ misāḥatuhā 1600 kīlūmitrin murabba’in, muḥāḍiyatan li-qitā’i ǧazza*, ‘[...] such that Egypt gives the Palestinians territory in Sinai whose area is 1600 square kilometres, **adjacent to the Gaza Strip**’ (Example 576).

Outside the context of deverbalized relative clauses, attribution, and speech, the indefinite accusative participle as the predicate of a nominalized subordinate clause is attested 13x times, including 2x in Article 12 (*dā’iman*, ‘supporting’, and *mumattīlan*, ‘representing’, both discussed under “*wa-fā’ilan*” in 6.4.5.1); 2x in Article 23 (1x *qāḍiman min*, ‘coming from’, and 1x *mutawaǧǧihan ‘ilā*, ‘heading, going to’); and 2x in Article 124 (1x *tārikan*, ‘leaving (sth)’ and 1x *mutaḍamminatan*, ‘containing’, both in Example 706 below). All others occur as sole instances in their respective article.

The most frequent lexical words are: *mutawaǧǧihan ‘ilā* + *nomen loci* (3x in total) and *mutaḍamminatan* (2x in total). In addition, *mumattīlan* is put in context with another instance of an accusative participle in Article 70: *muta-mattīlatan bi-maǧlisi l-nuwwābi l-lībiyyi*, ‘represented by/in the Libyan House of Representatives’ (i.e. passive in meaning). Of the remaining *hapax* types, *rāfiḍan al-tarāǧu’a*, ‘refusing to retreat’ (Article 108, Example 411), *ḥāmīlan sayfan*, ‘carrying a sword’ (Article 105, Example 570), and *mārran ‘abra*, ‘passing through’ (Article 57, Example 666) all concern spatial extension and

⁴⁶⁷ *al-muḥāḍiyata*, the definite accusative, is also attested as a nominalized relative in Article 18.

movement. Both *rāfiḍan* and *hāmilan* are also related to a matrix expressing the movement of one human.

The active accusative or *hāl* participle in the broad meaning of the term, *ergo*, while not unproductive in Media Arabic, is predominantly used only in contexts of attribution (~90%) and in contexts of movement. The 5x attestations outside these two contexts (2x *mutaḍamminatan*, 1x *dāʿīman*, 1x *mumattīlan*, and 1x *mutamattīlatan*) make up 2.7% of all attestations and suggest a limited use of this particular syntagm in Media Arabic: 1x attestation per 26.2 newspaper articles. In a broader perspective, this is equal to less than 1x attestation every two days of reading the entire section of regional and international news.

Passive indefinite accusative participle (maʿūlan) (9x)

9x attestations. Of these, 5x or 6x are nominalized relative clauses and 4x or 3x are predicates of nominalized subordinate clauses (see the attestation from Article 70 below).

The subordinate predicates are *mudaʿʿamatan bi-*, ‘supported by’ (Article 9), and *madʿūmatan bi-*, ‘supported by’ (Article 33), both with the definite *al-quwwāt*, ‘(military) forces’, as head; and *mumattālatan fi-l-barlamāni*, ‘represented in/by the parliament’ (Article 103): [...] *ḍidda suluṭāti l-dawlati l-muntaḥabati mumattālatan fi-l-barlamāni* [...]. These 3x represent passives of lexical items that are also attested by active participles in nominalized subordinate clauses: *dāʿīman* and *mumattīlan* (both in Article 12; see discussion immediately above).

The remaining attestation is found in Article 70 (an article also having the subordinate predicative indefinite active accusative participle *mutamattīlatan*), and is dubious: *wa-qāla* [...] *ʿinna l-mubādarata tataḍammanu taḥdiʿatan li-muddati 24 šahrān muqassamatan ʿilā talāṭi marāḥila* [...], ‘and he said [...] that the initiative includes a truce for 24 months, **which is** divided into three phases [...]’ (Example 504). This attestation could be understood as a nominalized relative clause in *trajectio* to its head, *taḥdiʿatan*. The attestation is similar to the dubious case with *mumattīlan* discussed above, with the difference that here, the participle agrees in case with the head.

6.4.5.4. Nominalized relative clauses (209x; 219x if adjectives included)

Given the focus here on the clausal end of the continuum between adjectival (more nominal) postmodifiers and predicative uses of the participle, a conservative approach has been taken in the categorization and annotation of nominalized relative clauses with participles; in order to be counted as a deverbalized relative clause, the participle needs to have additional constituents under its scope (cf. post-deictics in 2.3.2.1). In effect, the investigation excludes single participles without additional constituents (e.g. *ḥaytu ʿalqā kalimata mišr ʿamāma l-wuḥūdi l-mušārikati min 24 dawlatan* [...], ‘where he

delivered a speech in front of the **participating** delegations from 24 states [...]', Article 103); it also excludes participles like *al-maḍkūr(at)#*, 'which has been mentioned (above)'; moreover, prefix-substitutes such as 'anti' are excluded, so *mu'ādin* is excluded but *al-muttahami* is counted in '*izā'a hāḍā l-ḥizbi l-muttahami bi-'timādi sulūkin mu'ādin li-l-muhāğirīna*, 'against this party **accused of having an anti-immigrant behaviour**' (Article 85).

As exemplified by e.g. *bi-'afrādi l-'usrati l-ḥākimati fī qatar*, 'with individuals of the ruling family in Qatar' (Article 91; not relative), this methodology is nonetheless dependent on subjective judgement and the close reading of analytical grammar: *al-'usrati* is here taken as the head to *fī qatar*, 'the ruling family in Qatar', and not to *al-ḥākimati*, 'the family which is ruling in Qatar', and is consequently not counted as a relative. For a brief theory of nominalization of relative clauses via the participle, see 2.3.5. For the single instance where a nominalized relative clause is preceded by a conjunction other than *wa-*, see under "'aw" in 6.7 (that use is not counted here).

Nominalized relative clauses with adjectival predicates (10x)

It should be noted that given the above definition, not only participles can be used as nominalized relatives. There are 10x instances of non-participial nominalized relative clauses: first the unique feminine *ba'īḍatan* in Article 102 (annotated as Manner, see *ba'īḍan* in 6.8.3.3): [...] *rasamat sūratan ḥayāliyyatan ba'īḍatan 'ani l-wāqi 'i ba'da l-infişāli*, '[...] has painted a fantasy picture [which is] far from the reality after the separation' (Example 692); the causal *al-qaliqati* in Article 32: *fa-l-ḍuğūtu l-ḥāriğiyatu min duwali el-ḥalīğ wa-ḥāşşatan al-mamlakati l-'arabiyyati l-sa'ūdiyyati l-qaliqati mina l-taqārubi l-sūdāniyyi l-'itrāniyyi*, 'the external pressures coming from the Gulf States, particularly the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia **[because it is/was] worried about the Iranian-Sudanese rapprochement**' (Example 608); and 8x instances of definite and indefinite *qarīb#*, an adjective—5x times as definite *al-qarīb(at)#*, only in the genitive (4x feminine, 1x masculine in Article 66), and 3x indefinite *qarīb(at)#n* (2x genitive feminine, 1x nominative masculine in Article 56). See Example (320) from Article 50, Example (502) from Article 106, and Example (641) from Article 6.

Nominalized relative clauses with participles as predicates (209x)

209x nominalized relative clauses are attested, excluding the indefinite accusatives and the constructions dealt with above (under 6.4). These 209x attestations are to be compared with the 642x non-deverbalized relative clauses (366x syndetic and 276x asyndetic); roughly one quarter of relative clauses, then, are nominalized. The grammatical distribution of these clauses is given in Table 111.

As seen in Table 111, 157x or 75.1% of these predicates are in the genitive; moreover, 6x of the 11x indefinite active genitives are made up of the lexical item *tābi* ‘#’,⁴⁶⁸ ‘belonging to, of’, as well as 4x of the 7x nominatives; 17x of the definite active genitives, 6x of the nominatives, and 4x of the accusatives are made up of the same lexical item.

The ratio of definite to indefinite nominalized relative clauses is 102x to 8x; the definite is 12.75 times more frequent.

Table 111: Nominalized relative clauses with participles (209x)

Attestations	Diathesis	Case	Excluding <i>tābi</i> ‘
183 definite	129 active	97 genitive	80 (= 97 – 17)
		18 accusative	14 (= 18 – 4)
		14 nominative	8 (= 14 – 6)
	54 passive	41 genitive	41
		8 accusative	8
		5 nominative	5
26 indefinite	18 active	11 genitive	5 (= 11 – 6)
		7 nominative	3 (= 7 – 4)
	8 passive	8 genitive	8
		0 nominative	0

The preferred head of the nominalized relative clause here described is the definite genitive; the preferred predicate is active. Its counterpart, the nominative indefinite passive, is unattested. This should be put in relation to the passive indefinite accusative participles discussed earlier in this chapter.⁴⁶⁹

6.4.6. Semantics of clauses with participles

The nominalized clause with a participle predicate is not preceded by conjunctions other than the occasional *wa-*, nor is the attributive participle. The only exceptions to this are 2x instances with *’aw* as Exclusive Closed Disjunctions, 1x as an attributive adjective in Article 12: *fī-l-’iṭāri l-tunā’iyyi ’aw al-muta’addidi*, ‘in a bilateral **or** multilateral framework; and 1x as a nominalized relative clause in Article 25: *ḥawla l-rukkābi l-muttağihīna ’ilā manāṭiqi l-nizā’i ’aw al-qādimīna minhā*, ‘[information] concerning passengers who are [either] going to conflict zones, **or coming from them**’. (For *’aw* in this context, see 6.7.)

⁴⁶⁸ The lexical item *al-wāqi* ‘#’ in the definite genitive is attested 7x. Other predicates were not investigated.

⁴⁶⁹ Unfortunately, I did not take into account when annotating that the type of non-nominalized clause in which the deverbalized relative clause is part would be of interest. Its investigation is a *desideratum* of future research.

All other instances of clausal participles, both relative and subordinate, are maximally unmarked as to their logico-semantic link vis-à-vis their linguistic surroundings.

6.4.6.1. Semantics of the indefinite accusative participle: participle of attribution

The relatively low number of “traditional” *ḥāl* constructions with participles outside the sphere of attribution (and, for that matter, other types of finite *ḥāl* constructions; see 6.1) can be explained by journalistic rationales of clarity and explicitness, brevity, and authorial distance. Being maximally inexplicit, the indefinite accusative participle gives the reader no further guidance as to the logico-semantic relation between the nominalized clause and the matrix, which may render it inapt for informative prose of the type seen in hard news, outside the sphere of attribution, that is.

By the same hypothesis, the participle of attribution can be explained as relatively frequent, since it decreases interpretation on the part of the news outlet, and at the same time increases authorial distance by only presenting “facts” in the form of what can be attributed and has been said by someone else (for the definition of Indirect Cause, see 4.4.1). On top of this, it is maximally economical and effective. Without the need for repetition of the subject, and without the need for a conjunction (typically not even *wa-*), at least one lexical item is spared (brevity); in addition, it solves a problem of textual cohesion via addition through syntactic subordination (for a discussion about bleached conjunctions, see 3.16.1.1).

Temporally, the participle of attribution is nebulous vis-à-vis its matrix, the segmentally subsequent propositions introduced by a participle of attribution probably being a part of what has been expressed by the source, but not necessarily printed in accordance with the historic chronological order. Clauses with participles of attribution leave no further information as to the temporal relationship between different bits of attributed information (again, see 3.16.1.1).

The relation of the participle of attribution vis-à-vis the matrix is typically that of an Unordered Addition: Different Level in the case of a Vsuff matrix, and Same Level in the case of a preceding participle of attribution. The subject is typically identical; or if not, it is extractable from the immediate context, in which case it is comparable to a relative clause with an expanding function. This atypical use is exemplified in Example (702) from Article 111, Different Level Different Subject Addition, *constructio ad sensum*.

702. Article 111, *wāṣifīna*, *constructio ad sensum*, Different Level Different Subject Addition

وقد واجهت تصريحات كاميرون رد فعل غاضبا من حزب العمال واصفين دعوته بـ«الفخ».	wa-qad wāḡahat taṣrīḥātu kāmīrūn radda fi 'lin ḡāḍiban min ḥizbi l-'ummālī wāṣifīna da 'watahu bi-»al-faḥḥi«.	And Cameron's remarks met with an angry reaction from the Labour Party who described his call as »a trap«.

The participle of attribution may come with different indirect semantic relations. The interpretation of these links, however, is typically an interpretation of the content of attributed statements whose understanding is more a matter of knowledge of politics, etc., than of linguistics. From a linguistic standpoint, it must be noted that the participle of attribution (see 6.4.5.3) may indeed come with indirect semantics, for example of the type labelled as Indirect Cause in 4.4.1. This, typologically speaking, is even expected (Dixon 2009: 25; Aikhenvald 2009: 287 with references). It should also be mentioned here that these relations could be expressed explicitly, but that in the case of participles of attribution, they rarely are (compare the high frequency of verbs of attribution in main clauses under 5.3.1 and the high number of participles of attribution, on the one hand, and the various subordinate syntagms with conjunctions dealt with throughout this investigation, on the other).

The analysis of the participle of attribution vis-à-vis its matrix yielded a number of bi relations, e.g. Exemplification (*muṣīran*, Article 11, Example 287), Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner (*'akkada [...] qā'ilan*, Article 14, Example 439, and *wa-qāla [...] mūḍiḥan*, Article 92, Example 321), Numerical Comparative Contrast (*muṣīran*,⁴⁷⁰ Article 21), Cause (*mu'tabiran*,⁴⁷¹ Article 34; *muṣīran*, Article 90, Example 352; and *wa-'awḍaḥa [...] lāfitan*, Article 113, Example 703), Summarizing Paraphrase (*wa-qāla [...] wāṣifan*, Article 49, Example 630), *not x, but y* (*mutamanniyan*, Article 57, Example 705), Simultaneous (*qaddama stiḡālatahu [...] muttahiman*,⁴⁷² Article 106), and Consecutive (*wa-waṣafat [...] munāṣidatan*, Article 114, Example 704).

703. Article 113 (final paragraph), *lāfitan 'ilā 'anna*, Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Indirect Cause

وأوضح سليمان أن حزبه يتعامل مع هذه	wa-'awḍaḥa suleymān 'anna ḥizbahu yata'āmalu ma'a	And Suleiman clarified that his party is dealing with these

⁴⁷⁰ Article 21: [...] 'a 'lana maḡlisu ḥuḡūqi l-'insāni l-tābi 'u li-l-'umami l-muttaḥidati 'an farāri tamāniyati 'ālāfi masīḥiyyin mina el-mūṣul bi-sababi baṭṣi tanzīmi "dā'eš", muṣīran 'ilā wuḡūdi 'aktara min milyūni wa-200 'alfi nāziḥin 'irāḡiyyin niṣfuhum mina l-'atfāli.

⁴⁷¹ Article 34: wa-stankara l-tanzīmu fi bayānin lahu 'amsi bayāna maḡlisi šūrā tuwwāri tarābulus, allaḡi da 'ā li-'iḡamati dawlatin dustūriyyatin wa-dīmuqrāṭiyyatin 'ādilatin, mu'tabiran ḡālika ḥurūḡan 'ani l-dīni l-'islāmiyyi, ḥasaba waṣfihim.

⁴⁷² Article 106 (lead): qaddama ra 'tsu l-wuzarā 'i l-yamaniyyu muḥammad sālem bāsindawah istiḡālatahu 'amsi muttahiman ra 'isa l-ḡumhūriyyati 'abd rabbuh maṣṣūr hādī bi-l-tafarrudi bi-l-sulṭati wa-ḡālika ba 'da 'aktara min šahrin 'alā bad 'i [...].

الجزئيات بالمصالح التي تربط السودان بتلك الدول دون مراعاة للعلاقة التي تربط الحركة الإسلامية السودانية بجماعة الإخوان المسلمين، لافتا إلى أن العالم أصبح تعامله وفقا لسياسة المصالح المتبادلة في علاقاته الخارجية.	hādīhi l-ğuz'ıyyāti bi-l- maşālihi llatī tarbuṭu el-sūdān bi-tilka l-duwali dūna murā'atin li-l-'alāqati llatī tar- buṭu l-ḥarakata l-'islāmiyyata l-sūdāniyyata bi-ğamā'ati l- 'iḥwāni l-muslimīna, lāfitan 'ilā 'anna l-'ālama 'aşbaḥa ta āmuluhu wafqan li- siyāsati l-maşālihi l-muta- bādlati fī 'alāqātihi l- ḥāriğıyyati.	particulars with the interests that bind Sudan to those countries [Saudi Arabia and Qatar], without regard for the relation which binds the Su- danese Islamic Movement to the Muslim Brotherhood group, pointing out that dealings of the [whole] world now happen accord- ing to a policy of [only] mu- tual interests in its foreign relations.

704. Article 114, *munāşidatan*, Different Level Same Subject Addition
bi Consecutive

ووصفت الجمعيات العلوية المواد الدينية الإجبارية على أنها دمج إجبارى، مناشدة الأكراد بالمشاركة فى المسيرة.	wa-waşafati l-ğam'ıyyatu l- 'alawiyyatu l-mawādda l- dīniyyata l-'iğbāriyyata 'alā 'annahā damğun 'iğbāriyyun, munāşidatan al-'akrāda bi-l-muşārakati fī-l-maşırati.	And the Alawite associations described the compulsory reli- gious subjects as if they are compulsory integration and [consequently] they appealed to the Kurds to participate in the march.

No antiproidetic linkings were attested—except as a side nuance, bi *not x*, but *y* (*mutamanniyan*, Article 57, Example 705)—but a systematic investigation into the semantic relations of the participle of attribution vis-à-vis its matrix was only arduously conducted; the attestations of the participle of attribution are many, and the pitfalls legion. An analysis of this sort proved to be part of an investigation of censorship, politics, media policies, etc, and not primarily one of linguistics. A more comprehensive approach to this issue is a *desideratum* of future research.

705. Article 57, *mutamanniyan*, Different Level Same Subject Addition
bi *not x*, but *y*

ومن جانبه، أكد عباس عراقى كبير المفاوضين الإيرانيين أنه حتى الآن لم يتم الاتفاق على عدد أجهزة الطرد المركزى متمنيا التوصل إلى الاتفاق النوى الشامل نهاية نوفمبر المقبل.	wa-min ġānibihi, 'akkada 'abbās 'arāqğī kabīru l-mufāwiḍīna l- 'irāniyyīna annahu <u>hattā l-'āna</u> <u>lam yatimma l-ittifāqu</u> 'alā 'adadi 'ağhizati l-ṭardi l- markaziyyi mutamanniyan al- tawaşşula 'ilā l-ttifāqi l-na- wawıyyi l-şāмили nihāyata nūfimbir al-muqbili.	And for his part, Abbas Araghchi, the Iranian chief negotiator, stressed that so far, <u>no agreement has been</u> <u>reached</u> on the number of centrifuge devices, but hoped to reach a compre- hensive nuclear agree- ment before the end of the coming November.

6.4.6.2. The semantics of *ḥāl* participles (not participles of attribution)

The semantics of the few subordinate indefinite accusative participles that are not categorizable as participles of attribution (see 6.4.5.3) are either comparable to relative clauses (e.g. *mutaḍamminatan*, ‘including, containing’, from Article 124, Example 706) or come with a bi-nuance beside the primary Simultaneous temporal reading. Only 2x attestations are possibly contrary to this.

Example (706) from Article 124, features a *hapax* in *tārikan*, an attestation which is put in context with Example (642) from the previous day in Article 121, where the syntagm of *lākin* Subject *kāna* expresses Frustration bi Paired Contrast in the same news context: [...] *lākinna tilka l-taškīlata l-mursalata kānat fihā ḥaqībatā l-difā‘i wa-l-dāḥiliyyati šāğiratayni*, ‘but the formation which was sent had the two portfolios of defence and the interior vacant in it’. In Article 124, there is reason to suggest similar semantics, but here, it is left maximally unexpressed.

706. Article 124 (the sentence following the lead), *mutaḍamminatan*, comparable to a nominalized relative clause, and *tārikan*, Frustration bi Paired Contrast

وكان فرج بوهاشم
المحدث الرسمي باسم
البرلمان الليبي قد
صرح بأن التتي أرسل
مقترحا بتشكيلته
الحكومية متضمنة ١٠
حقائب إضافة إلى
نائبين للرئيس في شكل
حكومة أزمة مصغرة،
تاركا حقيبتى الدفاع
والداخلية شاغرتين،
مضيفا أن "هذا النقص
سبب احتقاننا لدى
النواب".

wa-kāna farğ būhāšem al-mu-
taḥaddiṭu l-rasmiyyu bi-smi l-
barlamāni l-lībiyyi qad sarraḥa
bi-’anna el-tanī ’arsala
muqṭaraḥan bi-taškīlatihi l-
ḥukūmiyyati mutaḍammina-
tan 10 ḥaqā’iba ’idāfatan ’ilā
nā’ibayni li-l-ra’īsī fī šakli
ḥukūmati ’azmatin
mušağğaratīn, **tārikan**
ḥaqībatay al-difā‘i wa-l-
dāḥiliyyati šāğiratayni,
muḍīfan ’anna “ḥadā l-naqṣa
sabbaba ḥtiqānan ladā l-
nuwwābi”.

And Faraj Bohasheem, the official spokesman on behalf of the Libyan parliament, has said that al-Thani sent a proposal with his government formation, containing 10 portfolios, in addition to two vice presidents in the form of a mini-crisis government, **leaving [but he left] the defence and interior portfolios vacant**[. And] he added that “this shortage caused congestion among the deputies”.

This reading, however, is the only antiproidetic linking of clausal participles outside the realm of nominalized relatives, and its interpretation is highly debatable, and perhaps only detectable through reference to the newspaper of the previous day.

Also Article 108 has one possibly deviant reading in the *hapax* participle *rāfiḍan* with the possible reading of Temporal Succession bi Frustration (or perhaps more the expected Simultaneous reading): *ḥayṭu wašala kīr bi-sayyāratihi ’ilā bawwābati taftīši l-sayyārāti, rāfiḍan al-tarāğū ‘a wa-l-ibtī ‘ūdā ‘ani l-madḥali ba ‘damā ṭalabat minhu ‘anāširu l-’amni ‘akṭara min marratin al-tarāğū ‘a*, ‘as Kerr arrived with his car to the vehicle inspection gate **and refusing [= but refused] to retreat and move away from the en-**

trance after/although the security officers asked him more than once to retreat’ (Example 411). It could be argued either that the participle *rāfiḍan* is loosely simultaneous with the matrix, *waṣala*, ‘arrived refusing to retreat’; or else that the arrival in *waṣala* is perfective, and hence that the refusal follows the completion of the matrix situation, ‘arrived and refused to retreat’. The antiproidetic notion is inferred from the unexpected behaviour of not stopping at an inspection.

6.4.6.3. Summary: The indefinite accusative participles

There is not enough absence of evidence to suggest that nominalized subordination with a participle is unproductive in Media Arabic today. But it can be said that the peripheral indefinite active accusative participle as predicate of subordinate nominalized clauses is limited in Media Arabic, both in its context of use, its semantic relation vis-à-vis its matrix, and in terms of the lexicon used with it. The participle of attribution (90%), on the other hand—typically following a finite verb of attribution, an indefinite accusative participle, e.g. *mušīran*—is frozen in its syntax to the degree that the news outlet occasionally punctuates with a full stop preceding it, and on occasion even disregards gender agreement in favour of a masculine participle in place of an expected feminine singular. Its use is an economical means to continue an attribution with the same subject, adding textual cohesion through grammatical agreement. It allows the news outlet to maintain authorial distance by asyndetically adding to a previous statement, without explicit conjunctions that would have added a level of interpretation. It is my belief that an investigation into the semantics between a subordinate clause with a participle of attribution and its matrix is not primarily the task of the grammarian, but an endeavour more reliant on extra-linguistic competence and erudition, which does not fall within the scope of the research conducted here.

Outside of this context, a mere 10% of the uses of the “*ḥāl* participle” are attested, predominantly in contexts of spatial movement and extent, and with lexical items of the semantical spheres of “representation”, “support”, “content”, and “carrying”, typically with a Simultaneous reading.

As with everything Media Arabic, however, there are *hapax* constructions which run counter to this uniform picture (as illustrated by e.g. *tārikan* in Example 706 from Article 124; see 6.4.6).

6.4.6.4. The semantics of the nominalized relative clause

The nominalized relative clause is more closely linked to the head than the non-deverbalized relative clause, leaving less room for semantic inference since the syntagm functions more as an attribute.

The semantics of the maximally inexplicit nominalized relative clause include Cause (e.g. Indirect Cause in Article 88: *iḥtiḡāḡan ‘alā taḡṭiyatihā l-mutaḥayyizati ḍidda l-infiṣāli*, ‘protesting against its [BBC’s media] coverage [because as they think] it is biased against the secession’, Example 668);

and Countersequential, prevalent for example in passive participles (resultative or anterior verbal aspect), e.g. the resultative *madfūnin*, ‘buried’, in Article 120: *yuhāwilūna ntišāla raḡūlin madfūnin ḥattā raqabatihī taḥta ‘anqāḍi mabnan munhārin*, ‘[who are] trying to pull out a man [who is, had been] buried to his neck under the debris of a collapsed house’ (Example 691), but occasionally also found with active participles, e.g. Article 118: [...] *bi-mā fī dālīka saḥbu ḡamī‘i l-maḡmū‘āti l-musallaḥati l-qādimati min ḥariḡi ‘amrān*, ‘[...] the withdrawal of all armed groups **who have come from outside of Amran**’.

The attested semantics are dependent on the semantics of the participle; e.g. Presidency is only attested in the phrase ‘the ten states who sponsor the initiative’ (2x times), 1x in Article 98 (*al-duwali l-‘ašri l-rā‘iyati li-l-mubādarati* [...]) and 1x in Article 118 (*maḡmū‘at# al-duwali l-‘ašri l-rā‘iyati li-mubādarati l-salāmi* [...]). Similarly dependant is Numerical Comparative Contrast, *al-bālīḡu*, in Article 130: [...] *sa-yabluḡu ‘adaduhum ‘akṭara min talāṭati ‘aḍ‘āfi l-‘adadi l-ḥāliyyi l-bālīḡi 5800 šaḥšin*, ‘[...] their number will reach more than three times the current number **which reaches** [= is] **5800 persons**’ (Example 477). In addition to this, there is a Parenthetical Comment in Article 89 (Example 707; cf. the second instance of *al-tābi* ‘#, which is not parenthetical).

707. Article 89, *al-tābi* ‘#, Parenthetical Comment

تجدر الإشارة الى أن
الحكومة الحالية المشكلة
بعد الاحتجاجات التي أدت
إلى إقصاء الرئيس السابق
على عبد الله صالح عن
الرئاسة عام 2011 تتكون
من حزب المؤتمر الشعبي
العام (يرأسه صالح)،
وأحزاب اللقاء المشترك
التي تضم بالإضافة إلى
الحزب الناصري - أحزاب
التجمع اليمني للإصلاح
(التابع للإخوان المسلمين
)، والحزب الاشتراكي
اليمني وحزب البعث
العربي الاشتراكي (جناح
سوريا)، وحزب اتحاد
القوى الشعبية (مقرب من
الحوثيين)، وحزب الحق
التابع للحوثيين.

taḡduru l-‘išāratu ‘ilā ‘anna
l-ḥukūmata l-ḥāliyyata l-
mušakkalata ba‘da l-iḥtiḡāḡāti
llatī ‘addat ‘ilā ‘iqṣā‘i l-ra‘īsi
l-sābiqi ‘alī ‘abd ullāh šāleḥ
‘anī l-rī‘āsati ‘āma 2011 ta-
takawwanu min ḥizbi l-mu‘ta-
mari l-ša‘biyyi l-‘āmmi
(yar‘asuhu šāleḥ), wa-‘aḥzābi
l-liqā‘i l-muštaraki llatī
taḍummu bi-l-‘iḍāfati ‘ilā l-
ḥizbi l-nāširiyyi - ‘aḥzāba el-
taḡammu‘ el-yamanī li-l-
‘islāḥ (al-tābi‘i li-l-‘iḥwāni l-
muslimīna), wa-l-ḥizb# el-
ištirākī l-yamanī wa-ḥizb#
el-ba‘t el-‘arabī el-ištirākī
(ḡanāḥ# sūriyā), wa-ḥizb#
ittiḥād el-quwā el-ša‘biyya
(muqarrib# mina l-ḥūṭiyyīna),
wa-ḥizb# el-haqq al-tābi‘# li-
l-ḥūṭiyyīna.

It should be mentioned that
the current government
formed after the protests
which led to the ousting of
the former president Ali Ab-
dullah Saleh from the presi-
dency in 2011 consists of the
General People’s Congress
Party (Saleh heads it), the
Joint Meeting Parties, which
comprise in addition to the
Nasserite Party - the parties
of the Yemeni Congregation
for Reform (belongs to the
Muslim Brotherhood), the
Yemeni Socialist Party, the
Ba’ath Arab Socialist Party
(the Syrian wing), the Popu-
lar Forces Union (close to
the Houthis), and the Party
of Truth which belongs to
the Houthis.

A more comprehensive study, discussing when, why, and in what contexts the nominalized relative clause is preferred over the non-deverbalized relative clause, is a *desideratum* of future research. An examination of its semantics would require a great deal of competence outside the profession of a grammarian.

In conclusion, however, it ought to be iterated that the present study found nominalized relatives to have semantic inferences less frequently than non-deverbalized relative clauses, and never with antiprödicative or Consecutive semantics. This is probably linked to the fact that the nominalized relative never functions as a Relative to Clause, being more closely linked to its head as a nominal attribute (typically without TAM).

6.5. Attribution formulae (40x)

An attribution formula is here defined as a phrase that attributes information to a source but which is not a verb of attribution in the typical verb slot of the non-deverbalized clause (e.g. a verb of attribution in a main clause, for which see 5.3.1). The source is typically a human, or a group of humans, but may be e.g. a source document such as a law. The phrase is typically a prepositional phrase.

An attribution formula is not to be confused with Location of Utterance, e.g. *fi bayānin la-h (‘amsi)* (for which, see “fi” in 6.9; also see the use of Lam Auctoris under “li-” in 6.9).

40x attestations, essentially of 4x different categories. In order of frequency, these constructions include variations of *-ḥasab-* (28x), *‘alā ḥaddi* (5x), *wafq-* (4x), and *naqlan ‘an* (3x).

The formulae have different syntactic contexts based on their formative substance. All attestations of preposed attribution formulae introduced by *wa-* are used as transition phrases (see 5.3.4.2), and hence are put before the main clause core structure at the beginning of the sentence. The construction with *naqlan ‘an* follows a verb of utterance as a peripheral constituent, but precedes the complement clause. All other structures without *wa-* are typically sentence-final, positioned after the core structure of the main clause (and typically at the very end of the sentence, after the entire clause complex).

The attribution formula fills a twofold duty: it instantiates, or resumes, the attribution of information as introduced by a verb of attribution, and it positions the news outlet at an authorial distance (see 1.4.7) from potentially problematic propositions and positions allegedly expressed by a source. A study of a news outlet’s policies in terms of questions of censorship and similar topics would need to take attribution formulae into account. Such a study is a *desideratum* of future research.

bi-ḥasabi (11x)

11x attestations, including 1x *bi-ḥasabi mā* (Article 90). This is the most frequent attribution formula in the corpus. The construction is followed: 4x times by a person (name or function), e.g. *bi-ḥasabi ḥubarā'a*, 'according to experts', *bi-ḥasabi ben Saqr*, 'according to ben Saqr', *bi-ḥasabi l-murāqibīna*, 'according to the observers' (all 3x in Article 1, see e.g. Examples 471 and 475), and *bi-ḥasabi l-sukkāni*, 'according to the [local] people' (Article 60, Example 567); 2x times by a group of persons signified by a singular: *bi-ḥasabi l-markazi l-'amrīkiyyi li-murāqabati l-['...]*, 'according to the American Center for Monitoring [...]' (Article 9) and *bi-ḥasabi l-marṣadi*, 'according to the observatory' (Article 120); 2x by a *maṣdar*, with *bi-ḥasabi ta'bīrihi* (Article 57, Example 666) and *bi-ḥasabi ta'bīri-hā* (Article 88) both meaning 'according to his/her expression, as he/she put it'. 3x times, it is followed by other constructions: 1x *bi-ḥasabi ddi'ā'āti ba'ḍi l-kutali*, 'according to the claims of some blocs' (Article 74), 1x *bi-ḥasabi natā'iḡi l-farzi l-'awwaliyyati*, 'according to the preliminary results of the counting' (Article 85 Example 655), and 1x *bi-ḥasabi mā'a lana mutahaddiṭun bi-smi l-barlamāni*, 'according to what a spokesman of the parliament announced/said' (Article 90).

wa-bi-ḥasabi (4x)

4x attestations, only as part of transition phrases (for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2), e.g. *wa-bi-ḥasabi l-qawānīni l-turkiyyati*, 'and according to the Turkish laws' (Article 45), *wa-bi-ḥasabi l-wazīri*, 'and according to the minister' (Article 54, Example 426), *wa-bi-ḥasabi al-maṣdari*, 'and according to the source' (Article 56), and *wa-bi-ḥasabi al-taqrīri*, 'and according to the report' (Article 84).

ḥasaba (9x)

8x attestations, 7x followed by a *maṣdar*—4x *ḥasaba waṣfi-hi/hā/him*, 'according to his/her/their description', 3x *ḥasaba ta'bīrihi*, 'according to his expression, as he put it'—and 1x followed by a person, *ḥasaba bābān*, 'according to Baban' (Article 21).

wa-ḥasaba (1x)

1x attestation, only as a paragraph-initial transition phrase, Article 40: *wa-ḥasaba l-wikālati, fa-'inna [...]*, 'And according to the [news] agency, [main clause]'. (For transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2; for main clauses, see 5.3.1.)

ḥasbamā + Vsuff (verb of attribution) (3x)

3x attestations: 2x with *dakarāt* + news source (e.g. Article 102, Example 237), and 1x 'a'lana + prominent politician (Article 53).

'alā ḥaddi + maṣdar (4x)

4x attestations: 3x *'alā ḥaddi qawlihi*, 'according to his saying', 'according to him' (e.g. Article 63, Example 529), and 1x *'alā ḥaddi ta' bīrihi*, 'according to his expression, as he put it' (Article 24).

wa-ḡālika 'alā ḥaddi + maṣdar (1x)

1x attestation: *wa-ḡālika 'alā ḥaddi ta' bīrihi*, 'and this according to his expression, as he put it' (Article 3, Example 384).

naqlan 'an + source (3x)

3x attestations. The phrase always follows a verb of attribution—2x *qālat* and 1x *ḡakarāt* (Article 45)—but before the Complement of Utterance. The sources are documents, sources, and news outlets: *naqlan 'an bayānin li-hay'ati l-'arkāni l-'āmmati l-turkiyyati* [...], 'citing a statement of the Turkish general staff [...]' (Article 45), *naqlan 'an šabakati + name + nationality nisba*, and *naqlan 'an maṣādira fi-l-ḡukūmati lam takšif 'anhā*, 'quoting sources in the government which it [the news agency] did not disclose' (Article 127, Example 565). (For *lam takšif 'anha* and non-disclosure formulae, see 6.6.)

waḡqan li- (2x)

2x attestations: *waḡqan li-munazzamati l-'amali l-duwaliyyati*, 'according to the International Labour Organization' (Article 58, Example 11) and *waḡqan li-mā ḡakarahu l-taqrīru*, 'according to what the report mentioned' (Article 126, Example 428).

wa-waḡqan li- (1x)

1x attestation, only as a paragraph-initial transition phrase (for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2): *wa-waḡqan li-bayānāti fītš , fa-qad*, 'and according to the Fitch data, so [main clause]' (Article 87, Example 376).

waḡqa + source (1x)

1x attestation, the source being anaphorically referenced: *waḡqa l-maṣdari naḡsihi*, 'according to the same source' (Article 73).

6.6. Non-disclosure formulae (6x)

A non-disclosure formula is an explicit non-disclosure of a source by name. Constructions that do not disclose the source, but do this in an inexplicit way—e.g. attributions to unidentifiable sources in syntagms such as Vsuff (verb of attribution) + *maṣādiru maḥalliyyatun*, ‘local sources said, mentioned, etc.’—are not included in this count.

6x attestations. Of three kinds: with the root *tlb* in stem I + ‘adam#, ‘asked not to’; Vsuff of *rafaḍa*, ‘refused’; and the unique *lam takšif* ‘anhā, in an asyndetic relative clause, ‘which it [the news agency] did not disclose’ (Article 127, Example 565).

A non-disclosure formula typically comes with interpunctuation marks (dashes or commas), emphasizing the parenthetical or non-focal status of the syntagm. Syntactically, the non-disclosure formula is typically a parenthetically inserted asyndetic relative clause with Vsuff (or 1x *lam* VprefS in Article 127) within the core structure of the main clause, after a Vsuff verb of attribution but before the Complement of Utterance; in all cases, the latter is introduced with a complementizer. The 1x exception to this structure is in Article 32, where the formula is an indefinite accusative participle in a parenthetical comment, and where the complement of the matrix verb of attribution is a definite elative form, *al-’arḡaḥu*, which in turn is followed by a complementizer: *wa-qāla bāḥiṭun muḥtaṣṣun fī šu’ūni l-ši’iyyati bi-l-sūdāni - ṭāliban ‘adama ḍikri-smihi - al-’arḡaḥu ‘anna l- [...]*, ‘a researcher specialized in Shiite affairs in Sudan - **asking that his name not be mentioned** - said it is more likely that the [...]

(Example 608). All other examples are distributed over Vsuff of two roots in stem I. First, there are 2x *ṭalaba* (only 3ms): 1x *ṭalaba* ‘adama l-kašfi ‘ani smihi, ‘who asked that his name not be revealed’ (Article 11, Example 287) and 1x *ṭalaba* ‘adama našri smihi, ‘asked that his name not be published’ (Article 56, Example 427), both times with *mas’ūlun bi- [...]* as the matrix subject, ‘an official at [...]

Then second, there are 2x *rafaḍa*: 1x - *rafaḍū l-kašfa ‘an huwiy-yātihim* -, ‘- they/who refused to reveal their identities - ’ (Article 42) and 1x [...], *rafaḍat ḍikra smihā*, [...], ‘[...], refused to mention its name, [...]

6.7. Conjunctions with nouns, noun phrases, and prepositional phrases (76x)

This chapter deals with building blocks (typically conjunctions or closed class items) that connect non-clausal phrases and/or elliptical clauses, such as *bal*, *'aw*, *'ay*, *fa-*, *lā*, and *wa-lā*.

For constructions including *(wa-)ḥuṣūṣan* and *(wa-)ḥāṣṣatan* and for *wa-'innamā* (including elliptical phrases), see under 6.1; these are not included below.

Table 112 lists the attestations by frequency.

Table 112: Conjunctions with nouns, noun phrases, and prepositional phrases

No.	No. by freq.	Σ	Construction	As % of 76	Sum (1–n)	Sum % (1–n)
1	1	32	'aw	42.11	32	42.11
2	2	8	bal	10.53	40	52.63
3	3	6	wa-laysa	7.90	46	60.53
4	4	5	lā	6.58	51	67.11
5		5	wa-lā	6.58	56	73.68
6	5	3	sawā'an	3.95	59	77.63
7		3	fa-	3.95	62	81.58
8		3	laysa	3.95	65	85.53
9	6	2	'ay	2.63	67	88.16
10		2	tummā	2.63	69	90.79
11		2	lā-siyyamā	2.63	71	93.42
12		2	wa-lā(-)siyyamā	2.63	73	96.05
13	7	1	'illā ba'da (PP)	1.32	74	97.37
14		1	kayfiyyat#	1.32	75	98.68
15		1	lākin(na) dūna + maṣdar (PP)	1.32	76	100
		76				

'illā ba'da (PP) (1x)

1x attestation, Article 118. The Conditional *hapax* relation, ‘only if’ or ‘only after’, has been labelled Countersequential bi Conditional ‘only’, and has a negated future-projecting (irreal) matrix; it is perhaps best understood in context: *wa-qāla el-šāmī: lan narfa'a l-muḥayyamāti 'illā ba'da l-ta'akkudī min tanfīdī mā ḡā'a fi-l-ittifāqi lladī waqqa'at* [sic] *'alayhi ḡamī'u l-'aṭrāfi l-siyāsiyyati*”, ‘And Shami said: We will not remove the camps, **except after**

an assurance of the implementation of what came in the agreement which all political parties signed' (Example 200).⁴⁷³

wa- 'innamā + nominals (Ref.)

See "*wa- 'innamā*, constructions including" in 6.1.5.

'aw (32x)

32x attestations. For *'aw* with full clauses, see under 6.1.5.

The elements following *'aw* are of seven kinds. There are 14x nouns; 8x *maṣḍars*; 5x prepositional phrases (2x *bi-*, 1x *min*, 1x *li-*, and 1x *'an*); the remaining constructions are *hapax*: 1x with an adverb + adjective, [...] *sa-yum-kinuhā min ṣaddi 'ayyi huḡūmin barriyyin 'aw ḥattā ḡawwiyyin*, '[...] would enable Iran to repel any ground **or even air** attack' (Article 28, Example 656), 1x adjective, *wa-laysa lahā 'ayyatu 'aḡandatin siyāsiyyatin 'aw dīniyyatin*, 'and it does not have any political **or religious** agenda' (Article 34, Example 548), 1x accusative *nisba* adverbial, *sa-yatimmu taṭbīqu l-'uqūbāti [...] kulliyyan 'aw ḡuz 'iyyan*, 'the sanctions [...] will be implemented in full **or in part**' (Article 62, Example 481), and 1x definite active genitive participle as a nominalized relative clause, *ḥawla l-rukkābi l-muttaḡihīna 'ilā manāṭiqi l-nizā 'i 'aw al-qādimīna minhā*, '[information] concerning passengers who are [either] going to conflict zones, **or coming from them**', (Article 25, discussed in 6.4.6).

The relations expressed are always disjunctive, but occasionally border on coordinative, e.g. in Article 28 quoted above, or Article 50 (cited below). The 32x disjunctive relations are equally divided over 8x Exclusive Closed Disjunctions, 10x Inclusive Closed Disjunctions, and 6x Open Disjunctions; 8x are under the scope of a negation and were labelled as Negated Disjunctions.

In Example (165) from Article 50 the conjunction *'aw* is coordinative under the scope of *ḥaḍḍara*, i.e. [...] *mina l-i 'tirāfi bi-l-mu 'tamari l-waṭaniyyi l- [...] 'aw al-ta 'āmuli ma 'ahu*, 'warned against *x* and *y*'.

'ay (2x)

2x attestations, only to code an Expanding Paraphrase: 1x *'ay + noun* in the nominative (!), Article 116: [...] *mukawwināti l-muḡtama 'i l-'albāniyyi l-ṭalāṭati, 'ay al-muslimūna wa-l-kāṭūklīk# wa-l-'ūrūduks# [...]* (Example 425), and 1x *'ay qurba* prepositional phrase (Article 107, Example 708). *'ay* is never used with full clauses.

⁴⁷³ I.e. they will stop the sit-in, he says, only after the implementation of the agreement (i.e. only when and if this happens).

708. Article 107 (final sentence), 'ay qurba + noun, Expanding Paraphrase

وتقدم الوزراء المشاركون بنحو ألف مقترح لإجراءات لتعزيز النمو بحلول عام ٢٠١٨ أى قرب الهدف الطموح لزيادة بمقدار نقطتين مئوية وهو الهدف الذى تبنته المنظمة.	wa-taqaddama l-wuzarā'u l-mušārikūna bi-naḥwi 'alfi muqtarahin li-'iğrā'ātin li-ta'zīzi l-numūwi bi-hulūli 'āmi 2018 'ay qurba l-hadafi l-ṭamūḥi li-ziyādatin bi-miqdāri nuqtatayni mi'awiyatayni wa-huwa l-hadafu llaḍi tabannathu l-munazzamatu.	And the participating ministers submitted about a thousand proposals for measures to <u>promote growth before the year 2018, in other words [to get] close to the ambitious goal of an increase by an amount of two percentage points</u> , [and this is] the goal which the organization has adopted.

bal (8x)

8x attestations. For *bal* with full clauses, see under 6.1.5.

The elements following *bal* include 4x prepositional phrases ('alā, min ḥilāli, 'ilā, and fi) and 3x nouns, 1x of which is the unique *bal wa-l-künğris# 'aydan* (Article 42, Example 709). The 1x construction with an adjective, in Article 116, is a *hapax*: 'akkada [...] 'anna hāḍā l-balada "laysa musliman *bal 'ūrūbbiyyan*", 'said [...] that this country "is not Muslim, **but European**" (Example 425).

The relations coded are Polarized Pairs, divided between *not x, but y* (4x) and *not only x, but also y* (3x), the latter having additional adverbs such as *faqat* or *fa-ḥasb*, '[not] only', and 'aydan, '[but] also'. Example (709) from Article 42 below is unique in that the matrix of the construction with *bal* does not fall under the scope of a negator; the relation is a *hapax* for *bal*, as is the construction *bal wa-*. This is a case of nominal addition, 'and, as well as', and so is not investigated here.

709. Article 42, *bal wa-l- + noun*, nominal addition (not investigated)

وأكدت الصحيفة أن الهدف من هذه المنحة النرويجية السخية هو التأثير على المسؤولين فى البيت الأبيض ووزارة الخزانة ، بل والكونجرس أيضا، لدفع الولايات المتحدة لمضاعفة قيمة برامجها للمساعدات الخارجية.	wa-'akkadati l-ṣaḥīfatu 'anna l-hadafa min hāḍihi l-minḥati l-nurwīğiyati l-saḥiyyati huwa l-ta'īru 'alā l-mas'ūlīna fi-l-bayti l-'abyadi wa-wizāratī l-ḥizānati , bal wa-l-künğris# 'aydan , li-daf'i l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati li-muḍā'afati qīmati barāmiğihā li-l-musā'adati l-ḥāriğiyati.	And the newspaper said that the goal of this generous Norwegian grant is to influence the officials <u>in the White House and [in] the Department of the Treasury, and even [in] the Congress also</u> , to push the United States to double the value of its programmes for foreign aid.

tummā (2x)

2x attestations, only to explicitly express Temporal Succession: 1x between allatives to express spatial motion, Article 60: [...] 'awwalan 'ilā ḡulāk *tumma*

'ilā mūbī, ‘first to Gulak, later to Mubi’ (Example 567); and 1x in Example (710) from Article 61 below, where *tumma* is used instead of *wa-* in a chain of verbal nouns. The impositioning of *tumma* extends the *trajectio* between the preposition and the second complement.

710. Article 61, *tumma* in a chain of verbal nouns, Temporal Succession

وقال المتحدث باسم البنّاجون الكولونيل ستيف وارين إن دور الجيش سيتمثل في إنشاء المستشفى ثم تسليمه إلى الحكومة الليبيرية لتشغيله.	wa-qāla mutahaddiṭun bi- smi l-bentaḡūn al-kūlūnīl stīf wārīn 'inna dawra l- ḡayši sa-yatamattalu fī 'inšā'i l-mustašfā tumma taslīmihi 'ilā l-ḡukūmati l-libīriyyati li-tašḡīlihi.	And a spokesman on behalf of the Pentagon the colonel Steve Warren said that the role of the army will be [represented in] <u>building the hospital</u> [and] <u>then handing it over to the</u> Liberian government for op- erating it.

sawā'an (3x)

3x attestations, only as part of a bipartite construction, *sawā'an* [...] 'aw, 'either [...] or', which occasionally borders on a disjunctive coordination (cf. 'aw): e.g. Inclusive Closed Disjunction in Article 12: [...] *ittifāq#* [...] 'alā 'anna l-ḡaṭara hunā wāḡhidun **sawā'an fīmā yata'allaqu bi-duwali l-miṇṭaqati 'aw bi-duwali 'ūrūbbā**, '[...] that the danger here is one, **regardless whether it concerns states of the region or European countries**' (Example 532); also e.g. Article 23 discussed under "'aw mā VprefL" in 6.1.5. See also *lā-siyyamā* below.

fa- (3x)

3x attestations: 1x with an accusative adverbial, 'later', Article 58: *mina l-'āna fa-ṣā'idan*, 'from now on' (Example 452); 1x *fa-hunāka*, as a predicate in a nominal clause, *fa*-NC1, Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause (Article 37, Example 549; see also "*fa*-NC1" in 6.1.5); and 1x *fa-ḡasb*, '[not] only, [but also]' (Article 61, Example 232; see also the discussion of *bal* above).

kayfiyyat# (1x)

1x attestation, Article 54, indirect question following a Graded Exemplification: *mā-zālat tadrusu* [...] *lā-siyyamā kayfiyyat# 'idḡālī l-qīṭā 'i l-ḡāṣṣi fī-l-mašrū'i*, 'especially **how to include the private sector in the project**' (Example 426). For indirect questions in Media Arabic, see 5.4.2; *kayfiyyatun* is strictly speaking a noun, lit. 'the how', but is included here for reference.

lā (5x)

5x attestations in 2x different constructions. One construction (3x) is *lā* + noun as an absolute negation in a predicate: 2x *lā-budda* (Articles 14 and 121) and 1x *lā šakka* (Article 27). The other construction (2x) is *lā* + *min* prepositional phrase, once as the matrix of a Negated Disjunction (*lā taḍummu [...] lā min [...] 'aw [...]*, ‘does not include [...] **neither from** [...] nor [...]’, Article 122) and 1x expressive of Manner («*lam ya 'riḍ wa-lam yataṭarraḡ li-miṭli hāḍā l-mawḍū 'i l-marfūḍi filastīniyyan wa-mišriyyan wa-'arabiyyan lā min qarībin wa-lā min ba 'īdin*», Article 51, Example 540). See also *wa-lā*, *lā-siyyamā*, and *wa-lā(-)siyyamā* below.

wa-lā (5x)

5x attestations, only used to add additional nominal components to matrices under the scope of negation, ‘[not x ...,] nor y’. 4x different constructions: 2x *wa-lā* + noun (e.g. Article 14, Example 439, and Article 34, Example 548); 1x *mašdar*; 1x personal name (Article 45, Example 624); and 1x *min* prepositional phrase. The prepositional construction *min* is part of a bipartite manner complex: *lā min qarībin wa-lā min ba 'īdin* (Article 51, Example 540, also cited under *lā* immediately above).

lā-siyyamā (2x)

2x attestations, only written as one word, *lā-siyyamā*, and only to express Graded Exemplification, ‘especially’. 2x constructions: *lā-siyyamā* + *kayfiyyat*# (Article 54, Example 426) and *lā-siyyamā* + *fī* prepositional phrase (Article 51, Example 590).

wa-lā(-)siyyamā (2x)

2x attestations, only to express Graded Exemplification, ‘and especially’: *wa-lā siyyamā* + *mašdar* (Article 27, Example 616) and *wa-lā-siyyamā* + noun (Article 31).

lākin(na) dūna + *mašdar* (prepositional phrase) (1x)

1x attestation, Article 29, Frustration: *wa-yuḍkaru 'anna l-ḡayša qāma l-'usbū'a l-māḍiya bi-dawri »al-wasīṭ#« fī-l-'azmati lākin dūna taḡqīqi naḡāḥin*, ‘And it is mentioned that the army took last week the role of »mediator« in the crisis, **but without success**’ (Example 583).

laysa (3x)

3x attestations, 3x different constructions, only as the matrix in a Polarized Pair, *not only x, but also y*: [...] *wa-mtadda hādā l-fayrūs laysa ‘abra [...] fa-ḥasb bal ‘ilā* [...], ‘so that this virus spreads **not over [...] only**, but [also] to [...]’ (Article 61, Example 232); a similar use but with bi Temporal Succession in Article 46: [...] *mušīran ‘ilā ‘anna hādīhi l-natīgata sa-tulqī bi-tadā ‘iyātiḥā laysa faqat ‘alā l-firansiyyīna, bal ‘alā ‘ūrūbbā bi-‘itriḥā*, ‘he pointed out that this result will have repercussions **not only on the French**, but later also on Europe’; and in Article 116, with a Motion Purpose linking: *wa-‘aḏāfa l-bābā ‘annahu sa-yatawaḡḡahu [...] ‘ilā madīnati [...] laysa faqat li-ziyārati* [...], *wa-‘innamā ‘aydan li-ziyārati maḡlisi ‘ūrūbbā*, ‘And the Pope added that he will go [...] to the city [...] **not only to visit the European parliament**, but also to visit the Council of Europe.’ (Example 392).

wa-laysa (6x)

6x attestations, only Polarized Pairs, two different constructions: 5x *wa-laysa* + nominal component, and 1x *wa-laysa faqat* + noun (Article 61). In the latter *hapax* construction, *wa-laysa faqat* expresses the *hapax* relation *x*, and *not only y* (Example 711 below); the former, more frequent construction with a nominal component is only used with an affirmative matrix to express *x*, *not y*, e.g. with a prepositional phrase (Article 4, Example 385), a subject (Article 74, Example 490), or the direct object, as in Article 123: [...] *ḥaytu ‘inna-hā ta ‘tabiru qarāra l-ḥarbi wa-l-salāmi mas ‘alata qarārīn waṭaniyyin wa-laysa qarārān faṣā ‘iliyyan*, ‘as it considers the decision of war and peace to be a matter of a national decision, **and not a factional decision**’ (Example 589).

711. Article 61, *wa-laysa faqat* + noun, *x*, and *not only y*

كما أوضحت أهمية
تبنى مقاربة شاملة
للتعامل مع هذه الأزمة
باعتبارها تحدياً يواجه
القارة بأسرها وليس
فقط الدول الثلاث
المتضررة

kamā ‘awḏaḥat ‘aḥammiyyata
tabannī muqārabatin šāmilatin
li-l-ta ‘āmuli ma ‘a hādīhi l-‘az-
mati bi-‘tibāriḥā taḥaddiyan
yuwāḡihu l-qārrata bi-‘asriḥā
wa-laysa faqat al-duwalu l-
ṭalāṭu l-mutaḏarriratu.

And it [Egypt] highlighted
the importance of adopting a
comprehensive approach to
dealing with this crisis as a
challenge which faces the
whole continent, **and not**
only the affected countries.

6.8. Adverbs, peripheral accusatives, and adverbial accusative nouns (473x)

This chapter covers adverbs proper, typically without an article and typically not preceded by *wa-*, e.g. *‘amsi, ba ‘du, ḡadan, faqat, ‘aydan, ḥīnaḏāka*⁴⁷⁴ (with or without *wa-*, 6.8.1–6.8.2), accusative peripherals (6.8.3–6.8.5), and

⁴⁷⁴ With *ḡa-k* having its origins in Semitic demonstratives.

the frozen phrase *fīmā ba'du* (6.8.6). Counted as accusative peripherals (6.8.3–6.8.5) are peripheral accusative nouns (6.8.3.1), idiomatic adverbs such as *al-yawma* originating from accusative nominals (6.8.3.3), accusative *nisba* adjectives such as *maydāniyyan* (6.8.3.5), *maṣdar* accusatives as adverbs, e.g. *tamāman* (6.8.3.7), and accusative participles as adverbs, e.g. *sābiqan* (6.8.4); each of these categories is followed by a separate section where attestations preceded by *wa-* are dealt with. A temporal adverb can be preposed to the clausal core structure; these are covered in 5.3.4.3, but also counted in this chapter.

This chapter excludes 1x *mubāšaratan qabla 'an* VprefA, 'x **immediately** before y', and 1x *mu'aḥḥaran qabla 'an* VprefA, 'x **shortly** before y', for which, see under "*qabla 'an* VprefA" in 6.1.5; for *ḥuṣūṣan* and *ḥāṣṣatan*, see under "*ḥuṣūṣan*, Constructions preceded by" and "*ḥāṣṣatan*, Constructions preceded by" in 6.1.5. For *ḥīnahā* and *waqtahā*, see under the prepositions "*ḥīna*" and "*waqt*#" in 6.9.

6.8.1. Adverbs, e.g. 'amsi (232x)

232x attestations. 'amsi is in the list of the most frequent types (see 3.4), and may occur as an annexed genitive postmodifier, e.g. Article 70, *wa-šamalat ḥaṣīlatu 'amsi*, 'and yesterday's [death] toll included' (Example 451) and Article 121, *wa-šahidat ġalsatā 'amsi l-'awwali l-ṣabāḥiyyatu wa-l-masā'iy-yatu*.⁴⁷⁵ Although strictly speaking these are annexed constructions, these, too, have been included in the count.

Table 113: Adverbs, e.g. 'amsi

Σ	Link	Σ _n	Construction	Notes
148	TEMP punctual	126	'amsi ⁴⁷⁶	-
		18	'amsi l-'awwal# ⁴⁷⁷	-
		2	ġadan	-
		1	ḥīnaḡāka	Article 15
		1	'ānaḡāka, 'at the time'	Article 109
1	TEMP punctual bi Location	1	hunā, 'here and now'	Article 12, Example 532
21	ADVERB 'also'	21	'ayḡan, 'also'	-
13	ADVERB 'only'	13	faḡaṡ, 'only'	-

⁴⁷⁵ This construction is comparable to *trajectio* of a genitive annexation via an interposed temporal phrase, for which, see 3.7.

⁴⁷⁶ 2x of which are spelled أمنس, without *hamza* (Articles 90 and 92).

⁴⁷⁷ 2x of which are spelled أمنس الاول (only in Article 118).

Σ	Link	Σ _n	Construction	Notes
10	Location	8	<i>hunāka</i> , ‘there’	-
		2	<i>hunā</i> , ‘here’	Article 12 and Article 102, Example 237
22	Location (dummy)	14	<i>hunāka</i> , ‘there is, there were’	-
8	Location (dummy) + <i>laysa</i> or prefix form of <i>kāna</i>	8	<i>hunāka</i> , comparable to Eng. ‘there is’, ‘there isn’t’	Only with <i>yakūn</i> # (7x) and <i>laysa</i> (1x): 4x <i>ya/takūn</i> #; 2x <i>lan ta/yakūna</i> ; 1x <i>sa-takūnu</i> (Article 20); 1x <i>laysa</i> (Article 113, Example 436)
6	TEMP ‘yet’	6	<i>ba‘du</i> , ‘yet’	only with <i>lam</i> VprefS
4	Manner	2	2x <i>‘alīnan</i> , ‘publicly’	
		1	<i>quduman</i> , ‘forward’	Article 71, Example 224
		1	<i>hākaḍa</i> , ‘thus’	Article 38
3	TEMP punctual date	1	<i>‘amsi l-‘awwala - al-‘aḥada</i>	Article 85, Example 196
		1	<i>ḡadan al-ḥamīsa</i>	Article 27
		1	<i>ḡadan al-‘arbi‘ā’a</i>	Article 122
1	ADVERB ‘even’	1	<i>ḥattā</i> , ‘even’	Article 1; also part of the syntagm <i>‘aw ḥattā</i> + adjective in Article 28: [...] <i>sa-yumkinuhā min ṣaddi ‘ayyi huḡūmin barriyyin ‘aw ḥattā ḡawwiyyin</i> (Example 656)
1	ADVERB ‘(n)ever’	1	<i>qaṭ</i> , ‘ever, never’	<i>lam yakun qaṭ</i> (Article 65)
1	Deictic existential	1	<i>hā</i>	Article 124, Example 712
1	Manner bi Associative	1	<i>ma‘an</i> , ‘together’	Article 88
232		232		

712. Article 124, *hā* (hapax type)

وأضاف "ها هي
حكومة الوفاق الوطني
قد تم اختيار أعضائها
حسب المعايير الوطنية
والكفاءة المهنية،
وسوف يتولى الوزراء
اختيار الوكلاء حسب
المعايير المهنية من
داخل كل قطاع.

wa-‘aḍāfa [‘abd-ullāh el-
ṭanī] “**hā hiya ḥukūmatu l-
wifāqi l-waṭaniyyi** qad
tamma ḥtiyāru ‘aḍā‘iha
ḥasaba l-ma‘āyiri l-waṭa-
niyyati wa-l-kafā‘ati l-
mihniyyati, wa-sawfa
yatawallā l-wuzarā‘u ḥtiyāra
l-wukalā‘i ḥasaba l-ma‘āyiri
l-mihniyyati min dāḥili kulli
qiṭā‘in.

And he [Abdullah al-Thani] added “**Here is the Govern-
ment of National Accord**, its
members were chosen accord-
ing to the national standards
and professional competence,
and the ministers are going to
undertake the selection of
agents according to the profes-
sional standards [from] within
each sector.

6.8.2. *wa*-adverbs, e.g. *wa- 'amsi* (2x)

2x attestations, both *wa- 'aydan*, coordinator of additional nominal constituents, ‘x and also y’ (excluded from investigation), e.g. with *trajectio* to *bayna* in Article 12: *bayna miṣr wa- 'almāniyā wa-l-muḡtama 'i l-duwaliyyi, wa-ḥāṣṣatan al-duwali l- 'iqlīmiyyati dāti l-ta 'īri fī muḥīṭihā l- 'iqlīmiyyi wa- 'aydan al-duwali l- 'ūrūbbiyyati*, ‘between Egypt and Germany, and the international community, and especially [between] the countries of the region with influence in its surroundings **and also [between] the European countries**’ (Example 449); see also Article 123, Example 589.

6.8.3. Peripheral accusative nomina (214x)

Excluded from this count are the 3x TEMP punctual date discussed in 6.8.1, see Table 113.

6.8.3.1. Noun accusatives (6x)

Accusative nouns with a literal lexical meaning but peripheral adverbial function.

6x attestations.

3x Limitationis: *mu 'akkidan fī-l-waḡti dātihi taḍāmuna munazzmati l-ta 'āwuni l- 'islāmiyyi ma 'a 'afḡānistān ḥukūmatan wa-ša 'ban*, ‘emphasizing at the same time the solidarity of the Islamic Cooperation Organization with Afghanistan **as to what regards [both] the government and the people**’ (Article 117, Example 448); *wa-ttibā '# ṭarīḡatin 'aktara ḥunkatan*, ‘and follow a more **prudent** path’ (Article 109; Example 592);⁴⁷⁸ and ‘*alā l-raḡmi min ṣiḡari ḥaḡmi el-kuwayt misāḥatan wa-sukkānan*, ‘despite Kuwait’s smallness of size **in terms of its spatial extent** and population’ (Article 65, Example 410).

2x Manner & Limitationis: in the phrase *ḡumlatan wa-taḡṣīlan*, ‘**in whole** and in detail’, in the contexts of denying (*naḡā*, Article 51, Example 576) and truth value: *wa-qāla [...]* ‘inna ḥādā l-ḥabara ḡayru ṣaḥīḥin *ḡumlatan wa-taḡṣīlan*, ‘is not true, not **in whole**, nor in detail’ (Article 103). For *wa-taḡṣīlan*, see *wa-maṣḍaran* in 6.8.3.8.

1x Equative: *fī ḥādīhi l-buḡ 'ati l-ḡāliyyati min 'arḍi l-waṭani wa-llatī dafa 'a l- 'ālāfu mina l-miṣriyyīna dimā 'ahum ṭamanan li-stirdādihā*, ‘in this precious part of the homeland which thousands of Egyptians paid their blood **as price** to recover.’ (Article 51, Example 590).

⁴⁷⁸ *ḥunkatan* is not a verbal noun; for the excluded Limitationis *maṣḍaran* following (*al-*) '*aktar*#, see footnote 444 on p. 628.

6.8.3.2. *wa*-noun accusatives (2x)

2x attestations, only Limitationis following an asyndetic Limitationis accusative noun: *ḥukūmatan wa-ša‘ban* (Article 117, Example 448, also cited in 6.8.3.1); and *misāḥatan wa-sukkānan* (Article 65, Example 410, also cited in 6.8.3.1).

6.8.3.3. Adverbs originating from accusative nominals (144x)

Includes frozen adverbs with accusative endings and typically an idiomatic meaning, e.g. *al-yawma*, ‘today’, lit. ‘the day’. Both *waqta-hā* and *ḥīna-hā* were counted as prepositions (for which, see 6.9).

144x attestations.

A word about the terminology and annotation. An exact line between TEMP punctual and TEMP ‘during’ (i.e. duration) was not easily drawn for this category of adverbs, as the aspectual interpretation is dependent on both verbal and lexical aspects, as well as on context. TEMP ‘during’—e.g. with the verb *istamarra*, ‘lasted’ (7x times)—is not problematic, but compare this with phrases including ‘week’, ‘month’, and ‘year’ in e.g. Article 15: *bī-sababi tarāḡu ‘ihi ‘an šanni ḍarbatin ‘askariyyatin ḍidda sūriyā l-‘āma l-māḍiya.*, ‘because of his withdrawal from the launching a military strike against Syria **last year.**’ (Example 594). A somewhat superficial systematization has been made in the classification (annotation) of these two temporal meanings for adverbs originating from accusative nouns. Noteworthy for the register of Media Arabic, however, is the recurring use of temporal adverbs, which in the hard news story are typically used to place news events along a historical timeline.

Annotations of the type today + name of day, e.g. *al-yawma l-‘arbi‘ā’a*, ‘today, Wednesday’ (Article 123) are only annotated as one accusative adverbial, not two (using the relation TEMP punctual, not TEMP punctual date).

Table 114: Adverbs originating from accusative nouns

Σ	Link	Σ _n	Construction	Notes
8 4	TEMP punctual	13	<i>al-yawma</i> , ‘today’	
		10	<i>masā‘a ‘amsi l-‘awwali</i> ⁴⁷⁹	
		7	<i>faḡra ‘amsi</i>	
		7	<i>yawma</i> + day + <i>al-māḍī/iyati</i> (4x) or <i>al-muqbili</i> (2x) ⁴⁸⁰	
		7	name of day.ACC (+ 3x <i>al-muqbila</i> , 2x <i>al-māḍiya/iyata</i>)	

⁴⁷⁹ With an equal distribution (5x vs. 5x) for *masā‘a ‘amsi l-‘awwali* (with *hamza*) and [...] *al-awwali* (without *hamza*); Article 63 has *masā‘a-‘amsi l-awwali* (without space).

⁴⁸⁰ E.g. *yawma l-ḡum‘ati l-māḍiyati*, ‘last Friday’ (Article 49). The *hapax* attestation without an attributive participle is *yawma ḡadin al-‘arbi‘ā’a*, ‘yesterday, Wednesday’ (Article 49).

Σ	Link	Σ _n	Construction	Notes
		6	<i>al-laylata qabla l-māḍiyati</i>	Article 37, Example 549
		6	'āma n (where n = 1980, 1989, 2001, 2009, 2011, and 2016)	
		6	<i>al-'usbū'a</i> (+ 4x <i>al-māḍiya</i> , 1x <i>al-ḥāliyya</i> , and 1x <i>al-muqbila</i>)	
		4	<i>ṣabāḥa 'amsi</i>	
		3	<i>hādā l-'āma</i>	
		3	n (where n = 2003, 2011, and 2017)	
		3	<i>al-'āma</i> (+ 2x <i>al-māḍiya</i> , 1x <i>al-muqbila</i> 2015)	
		2	<i>al-šahra</i> (+ 1x <i>al-māḍiya</i> , 1x <i>al-muqbila</i>)	
		2	<i>zuhra</i> (#): 1x <i>zuhran</i> (A128), 1x <i>zuhra 'amsi</i> (A123)	
		2	<i>ṣabāḥa</i> (#): 1x <i>ṣabāḥa l-sabti</i> (A33), 1x <i>ṣabāḥan</i> (Article 128)	
		2	<i>muntaṣafa</i> + (1x <i>laylati 'amsi l-'awwali</i> (A80); 1x <i>al-šahri l-muqbili</i> (A23))	
		1	<i>al-'awwala min māyū al-qādimi</i>	Article 79, Example 417
1 6	TEMP 'during'	9	number ⁴⁸¹ + (3x days, 3x years ⁴⁸² 2x hours, 1x weeks)	
		3	<i>'iddata 'ayyāmin</i>	Article 71, Example 228; Article 23, Example 500; Article 60, Example 567
		1	<i>'aḡlaba l-waḡti</i>	Article 47, Example 596
		1	<i>'ayyāman qalīlatan</i>	Article 62, Example 644
		1	<i>yawmayni</i>	Article 78, Example 499
		1	<i>'aḡlara min 50-yawman</i>	Article 122, Example 463
6	TEMP 'x times'	2	<i>'aḡlara min marratin</i>	Article 87,

⁴⁸¹ The number may be spelled out with letters or written with numbers.

⁴⁸² 2x 'āman, 1x sanawātin.

Σ	Link	Σ _n	Construction	Notes
				Example 59; Article 108, Example 411
		4	With form of (al-)marrat#: 1x: <i>mar-ratayni</i> (A50), 1x <i>hāḍihi l-marrata</i> (A57), 1x <i>marratan tāniyatan</i> (A57), and 1x <i>'iddata marrātin</i> (A101)	
5	Manner	3	2x <i>ba 'īdan</i> ; 1x <i>ba 'īdatan</i> (discussed in 6.4.5.4)	Article 88, Ex-ample 524; Article 89, Ex-ample 665; <i>ba 'īdatan</i> : Ar-ticle 102, Ex-ample 692
		1	<i>yaḡibu 'an tafhama ḡayyidan</i> , ‘must well understand’	Article 4, Example 270
		1	[...] <i>qawlahā</i> [...] <i>'innahā tatamannā 'an yufakkira l- 'iskutlandiyyūna maliyyan bi-ša 'ni l-mustaqbali</i> , ‘think carefully about the future’, lit. ‘for a long time’.	Article 88
5	TEMP ‘currently’	3	<i>al- 'āna</i>	
		2	<i>al-yawma</i>	
5	TEMP ‘soon’	4	<i>qarīban</i> , ‘soon’	Articles 37, 43, 54, 74
		1	[...] <i>'an 'amalihi 'an yatimma l-tawqī'u sarī'an</i> , ‘will be signed soon ’, ‘ quickly ’	Article 117
4	TEMP distri-butive	4	Only with <i>kulla</i> : <i>kulla yawmin</i> , ‘every day’ (A41), <i>kulla 'āmin</i> , ‘every year’ (A48), <i>kulla 'āmayni</i> , ‘every second year’ (A64), <i>kulla sanatīn</i> , ‘every year’ (A68)	
3	ADVERB ‘first’	3	Only <i>'awwalan</i> : 1x in Article 60, <i>al-tarāḡu # 'awwalan 'ilā</i> [...] <i>ḡumma 'ilā</i> [...]; 1x in Article 79, <i>'alayhim taḥrīru 'anfusihim minā l- 'aḡnabiyyi 'awwa-lan</i> ; and 1x in Article 103, <i>'alā qanāti "lībiyā 'awwalan"</i>	Article 60, Example 567; Article 79, and Article 103
2	ADVERB ‘(n)ever’	2	<i>'abadan</i> , ‘(n)ever’: 1x with <i>lan</i> VprefA (A37); and 1x with <i>lam takun</i> (A131)	Article 37, Example 201;

Σ	Link	Σ _n	Construction	Notes
				Article 131, Example 643
2	Location	1	<i>'iddata kīlūmitrātin dāhila minṭaqati qarqūza</i>	Article 90
		1	60 km <i>šamāla ġarbi baġdād</i>	Article 92
2	Location Broader	2	Cardinal directions: [...] <i>fī kullin min 'iqlīmi 'ūrūzgān bi-wasati l-bilādi, wa-'iqlīmi hīlmand ġanūban wa-'iqlīmi bāktiyā šarqan.</i>	Article 117, Example 301
2	TEMP 'before'	1	<i>mutamanniyan al-tawaṣṣula 'ilā [...] nihāyata nūfimbir al-muqbili</i>	Article 57, Example 705
		1	<i>wa-l-mutawaqqa 'u 'an tusta 'nafa nihāyata l-šahri l-ħāliyyi</i>	Article 69, Example 696
2	TEMP 'sometimes'	2	Only with <i>'ahyānan</i> : [...] <i>ta 'lū 'ahyānan wa-taqillu 'ahyānan 'uħrā</i>	Article 86
1	TEMP 'recently'	1	<i>'aħīran</i> , 'recently'	Article 128
1	Limitationis	1	<i>isti 'ādat# l-sayṭarati 'alā 'arāḏihā kāf-fatan</i>	Article 118
1	Manner bi Location	1	<i>allatī tab 'udu misāfata kīlūmitrayni 'an baldati šemdīnī</i>	Article 80
1	Manner & Predicate	1	Example and discussion below	Article 22, Example 713
1	TEMP 'again'	1	<i>wa-ltaħaqa bi-l-ġayši marratan 'uħrā fī 2005</i>	Article 115
1	TEMP 'immediately'	1	<i>ħarakat# (el- 'iṣlāħ al- 'āna)</i> , 'the "Re-form Now (!)" movement'	Article 67, Example 110
144		144		

Example (713) from Article 22 features a *hapax* attestation of a partial quote with an accusative Manner adverb as the predicate in a prepositional phrase (for *ba 'īdan* as Manner adverb, see Table 114; also note *ba 'īdatan*).

713. Article 22 (end of article), *ba 'īdan* as Manner & Predicate

مشددا على "دعم الجيش بعيدا عن الحسابات السياسية".	[...] mušaddidan 'alā "da'm# al-ġayši ba 'īdan 'ani l-ħisābāti l-siyāsiyyati".	[...] stressing [that] "the army's support is far from political calculations".

6.8.3.4. wa-adverbs originating from accusative nouns (0x)

No attestations.

6.8.3.5. *nisba*-accusatives (30x)

Peripheral accusatives formed from *nisba* adjectives, e.g. *ḥāliyyan*, ‘now’. Non-peripheral accusatives are excluded, e.g. the attributive accusative in Article 26: [...] *’ağrā ttiṣālan ḥātifiyyan ma’a* [...], ‘made a **phone** call’.

30x attestations; these are primary attestations, i.e. not following a conjunction such as *’aw* (for which, see under 6.7).⁴⁸³

Table 115: Peripheral *nisba*-accusatives

Σ	Link	Σ _n	Construction	Notes
8	Manner	2	<i>iqtiṣādiyyan</i> , ‘economically’	e.g. Article 64 Example 714 below
		2	<i>rasmiyyan</i> , ‘officially’	-
		1	<i>ğiddiyyan</i> , ‘seriously’	Article 15
		1	<i>kulliyyan</i> , ‘entirely’	Article 62, Example 481
		1	<i>nihā’iyyan</i> , ‘for good, completely’	Article 90
		1	<i>ğuz’iyyan</i> , ‘partly’: <i>murğī’an dālīka ġuz’iyyan ’ilā</i> , ‘partly attributing this to [...]’	Article 130
8	TEMP ‘currently’	8	<i>ḥāliyyan</i> , ‘currently’	-
3	locational transition phrase	3	<i>maydāniyyan</i> , ‘on the ground’	see transition phrases, 5.3.4.2
3	Manner In- strument	2	<i>’askariyyan</i> , ‘militarily’: <i>al-dawlat# allatī ġtāḥathā ’askariyyan āma</i> 2001, ‘the country which [the US] devastated militarily in 2001’	Article 131, Example 74
			<i>ba’da tafağğuri l-waḍ’i ’aska-riyyan</i> , ‘after the situation erupted militarily ’	Article 89
		1	<i>’alā ṣa’īdi ḥalli l-’azmati dī-blūmāsiyyan</i>	As part of tran- sition phrase (Article 98)
3	TEMP distri- butive	3	<i>sanawiyyan</i> , ‘yearly’	cf. <i>kulla sanatin</i> in Article 86
1	Agent	1	[...] <i>wa-lam yataṭarraḡ li-miṭli ḥāḍā l-mawḍū’i l-marfūḍi fi-</i>	Article 51, Example 540

⁴⁸³ E.g., *’aw ġuz’iyyan* in Article 62, *kulliyyan ’aw ġuz’iyyan* (not counted here).

Σ	Link	Σ _n	Construction	Notes
			<i>lasfīniyyan wa-mišriyyan wa-‘ara-biyyan lā min qarībin wa-lā min ba‘īdin</i> »	
1	Concerning	1	<i>wa-tāba ‘a ma ‘šūm ‘askariyyan</i>	Article 92, Example 381
1	Location	1	<i>li-muwāğahati l-‘awlamati l-muntaširati ‘ālamīyyan</i>	Article 55, Example 572
1	Location & Benefactive & Limitationis	1	<i>li-tahfīfi min ḥiddati muškilati l-baṭālati qaṭariyyan</i>	Article 64, Example 714 below
1	Manner bi Location	1	<i>li-yuqātilū maydāniyyan</i>	Article 92, Example 381
30				

714. Article 64, *qaṭariyyan*, Location & Benefactive & Limitationis

«وأشار لقمان إلى أن هذا التقرير يأتي على خلفية المتغيرات المتسارعة التي شهدتها بعض الدول العربية منذ عام 2011، والتي دفعت بقضايا التشغيل والبطالة والعدالة الاجتماعية والتنمية المستدامة إلى صدارة الاهتمامات على المستويين القطري والقومي، الأمر الذي يؤكد أهمية التوسع في التعاون العربي ودعم آفاقه اقتصاديا واجتماعيا للتخفيف من حدة مشكلة البطالة قطريا، وخدمة المصالح المشتركة للدول العربية في الوقت ذاته، وأكد لقمان أن

[...]« wa-‘ašāra luqmān ‘ilā ‘anna hādā l-taqrīra ya’tī ‘alā ḥalfiyyati l-tağayyurāti l-mutasāri‘ati llatī šahidathā ba‘du l-duwali l-‘arabiyyati munḍu ‘āmi 2011, wa-llatī dafa‘at bi-qaḍāyā l-tašğīli wa-l-baṭālati wa-l-‘adālati l-‘iğtimā‘iyyati wa-l-tamniyyati l-mustadāmati ‘ilā šadārati l-ihtimāmāti ‘alā l-mustawayayni l-qaṭariyyi wa-l-qawmiyyi, al-‘amru llaḍī yu‘akkidu ‘ahammiyyata l-tawassu‘i fi-l-ta‘āwuni l-‘arabiyyi wa-da‘mi ‘āfāqihi qtišādiyyan wa-ğtimā‘iyyan li-l-tahfīfi min ḥiddati muškilati l-baṭālati **qaṭariyyan**, wa-ḥidmati l-mašālihi l-muštarakati li-l-duwali l-‘arabiyyati fi-l-waḡti ḍātihi, wa-‘akkada luqmān ‘anna [...]

And Luqman pointed out that this report comes against the background of the accelerating changes which some Arab countries have witnessed since the year 2011, and which have pushed the issues of employment, unemployment, social justice, and sustainable development to the forefront of concerns on both the Qatari and the national level, something which confirms the importance of expanding Arab cooperation and supporting its prospects economically and socially to alleviate the severity of the problem of unemployment **of/for/in Qatar**, and [of] serving the common interests of the Arab countries at the same time. And Luqman said that [...]

6.8.3.6. *wa-nisba-accusatives (5x)*

5x attestations: 2x locational transition phrases, *wa-maydāniyyan*, ‘and on the ground’ (for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2); 2x Agents, both in Article 51: *al-marfūḍi filasfīniyyan wa-miṣriyyan wa-‘arabiyyan*, ‘denied by Palestine, **and by Egypt, and by the Arab [League]**’ (Example 540); and 1x Manner, Article 64, *wa-da ‘mi ‘āfāqihi qtiṣādiyyan wa-ḡtimā ‘iyyan* (Example 714 above).

6.8.3.7. *maṣdar accusatives as adverbs (24x)*

24x attestations given in Table 116.

For accusative verbal nouns acting as Equative, see 6.2. Limitationis after the elatives are not included below (for which, see footnote 444 on p. 628). For accusative verbal nouns in transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2. See also 6.9 for accusative verbal nouns as part of complex prepositional phrases.

Table 116: *maṣdar accusatives as adverbs*

Σ	Link	Σ _n	Construction and translation	A	Ex
13	Manner	8	<i>tamāman</i> , ‘completely’	11	180
		2	<i>tamāšiyan ma ‘a</i> , ‘agreeing with’	40	517
		1	<i>nanfi nafyan qāfi ‘an</i> , ‘we categorically deny’	51	-
		1	<i>talbiyatan li-</i> , ‘agreeing with’	63	.-
		1	<i>inṭilāqan min dawāfi ‘a siyāsiyyatin</i> , ‘with/by political motives’	94	-
6	TEMP ‘immediately’	5	<i>fawran</i> , ‘immediately’ ⁴⁸⁴	14	281
		1	<i>‘alā ‘an yatawaḡḡaha l-ḥamīsa mu-bāṣaratan ‘ilā [...]</i> , ‘given that he is heading on Thursday directly to [...]	26	602
2	Manner Instrument	1	<i>qasran</i> , ‘with force’	114	457
		1	<i>iḥtiṣāran</i> , ‘by the acronym’	67	-
1	ADVERB ‘almost’	1	<i>taqrīban</i> , ‘almost’	54	217
1	ADVERB ‘always’	1	<i>dawman</i> , ‘always’	85	615
1	Location	1	<i>al-ṣayd# al-baḥriyy# inṭilāqan min 6 mīl# baḥriyy# [sic]</i> , ‘sea fishing beginning from 6 nautical miles ’	123	174
24		24			

⁴⁸⁴ See also the additional *hapax* attestation of *fawran ba ‘da*, ‘immediately after’, under 6.9.

6.8.3.8. *wa-maṣḍar accusatives as adverbs (3x)*

3x attestations; see also the 2x attestations as transition phrases (5.3.4.2) not counted here.

Table 117: *wa-maṣḍar accusatives as adverbs*

Σ	Link	Construction	Notes
2	Manner & Limitationis	<i>ḡumlatan wa-taṣṣīlan</i>	The phrase appears 2x: 1x in Article 51, Example 576; and 1x in Article 103.
1	Graded Exemplification	<i>wa-taḥdīdan</i> , ‘and in particular’	Article 109, Example 715 (below)
3			

715. Article 109 (end of article), *wa-taḥdīdan*, Graded Exemplification

ويعد تجميع الجلود في عيد الأضحى مصدرا أساسيا لتمويل الجمعيات والخيرية وتحديدا حركة جولن، ويأتي ذلك في إطار محاربة ما تسميه بالدولة الموازية.	wa-yu‘addu taḡmī‘u l-ḡulūdi fī ‘īdi l-‘adhā maṣḍaran ‘asāsiyyan li-tamwīli l-ḡamā‘āti wa-l-ḡam‘iyyāti l-ḥayriyyati wa-taḥdīdan ḥarakati ḡūlan , wa-ya’tī dālīka fī ‘itāri muḥārabati mā tusammīhi l-ḥukūmatu bi-l-dawlati l-muwāziyati.	And the gathering of skins during Eid al-Adha is considered a primary source for funding charity groups and charity associations and in particular the Gülen movement , and this came in the framework of fighting what the government calls the parallel state.

6.8.4. Participles as adverbs (22x)

22x attestations, including 3x lexically conditioned participial forms (2x Equative, 1x Manner; see Table 118).

Table 118: *Participles as adverbs*

Σ	Link	Σ _n	Construction	Notes
7	TEMP ‘earlier’	6	<i>sābiqan</i>	3x in A106; 1x in A35, A42, and A61
		1	<i>musabbaqan</i>	Article 118
3	ADVERB ‘again’	3	<i>muḡaddadan</i>	2x A52, 1x in A90
3	ADVERB ‘at all’	3	<i>muṭlaqan</i>	2x A85, Ex646; 1x A118, Ex645
2	TEMP ‘recently’	2	<i>mu‘aḥḥaran</i>	Articles 4 and 91
2	ADVERB ‘temporarily’	2	<i>mu‘aqqatan</i>	Article 14, and Article 124

Σ	Link	Σ _n	Construction	Notes
1	TEMP ‘later’	1	<i>lāḥiqan</i>	Article 41
1	TEMP ‘always’	1	<i>dā’iman mā</i>	A11, Ex716
2	Equative	1	<i>wa-rafaḍa ‘an taqīfa mahārātuhu l-maḥdūdatu ‘ā’iqan</i> , ‘stand as a hindrance’	Article 7, Example 198
		1	<i>taḡīduhu mutawāfiqan ma’a</i> , ‘finds it compatible with’	Article 12, Example 462
1	Manner	1	[...] <i>qarrarat</i> [...] <i>waḍ’a ḥilāfātihā ḡāniban</i> , ‘decided to set aside their differences’	Article 1, Example 471
22		22		

716. Article 11, *dā’iman mā*, TEMP ‘always’

وشدد أوزال على أن المؤسسة العسكرية دائماً ما تعمل وتتخذ الإجراءات استناداً إلى الوثائق والمستندات، قائلاً:	wa-šaddada ‘ūzāl ‘alā ‘anna l-mu’assasata l-‘askariyyata dā’iman mā ta‘malu wa-tattaḥiḍu l-‘iḡrā’āti stinādan ‘ilā l-waṭā’iqi wa-l-mustanadāti, qā’īlan: [...]	And Özel stressed that the military establishment always works and takes measures based on documents and records, saying: [...]

6.8.5. *wa*-participles as adverbs (1x)

1x attestation, *wa-lāḥiqan*, ‘and later’, a transition phrase in Article 85 (see Example 291); for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

6.8.6. *fīmā ba’dū* (2x)

2x attestations, Article 45 and Article 108 (Example 252), only as a temporal adverbial, ‘later’.

6.9. Prepositional phrases (6,391x)

All prepositional phrases in the corpus have been annotated and consequently counted (6,391x), but not all of their relations have been investigated (see 2.3). Each entry in this chapter details the specifics of the particular preposition.

6.9.1. Single, dual, and complex compound prepositions

Treated as prepositional phrases in the count are syntagms with obligatory complements introduced by single prepositions (e.g. *fī*, *bi-*, and *rağma*), dual prepositions (e.g. *min ḥilāli* and *šamāla ġarbi*), and (frozen) complex compound constructions including a prepositional phrase (e.g. *ʾiḏāfatan ʾilā, bināʾan ʾalā, bi-l-ʾiḏāfati ʾilā*, and *ʾalā l-rağmi min*). The count excludes prepositional phrases following conjunctions (e.g. *ʾaw* + a prepositional phrase; see under “*ʾaw*” in 6.7) and when the prepositional phrase is included as part of a larger, often non-deverbalized syntagm as dealt with above (e.g. *dālika PP NCI*); for a full list of these constructions, see Table 119. Naturally, attributive constructions such as *ğayru* and *miṭlu*, which agree in case with their heads, as well as adverbs (e.g. *hattā*, ‘even’) are not treated as prepositions; the related prepositions *miṭla* and *hattā*, however, are included in the count. Prepositions preceding a complementizer (e.g. *fī ʾanna*) are not included in the count (on them, see 5.3.2.1) nor are prepositions as part of conjunctions included (e.g. *fīmā, baʿda ʾan, ba ʿdamā*, etc.; see 6.1). For *mubāšaratan* followed by *ʾilā*, not treated as a compound preposition, see 6.8.3.7.

There are 6,391x attestations of prepositional phrases, 237x of which are preceded by *wa-* (3.7%). As noted, this excludes the 129x prepositional phrases already covered in attestations of other constructions (32x different syntagm types), which are given in Table 119.

In the annotation, a separate category was created for syntagms with *wa-* and syntagms without. But no separate category was created for a syntagm with respect to different prepositional complements (e.g. noun or verbal noun), nor for prepositional phrases stating cardinal directions, to the effect that both single (e.g. *šamāl#*, ‘north’) and dual (e.g. *šamāla ġarb#*, ‘north-west’) directions are treated as one syntagm type, although, theoretically, they constitute eight directions.⁴⁸⁵ Cardinal directions are treated separately in 6.9.2.1.

⁴⁸⁵ It would be possible to argue against implementing this theoretical distinction in practice, as it skews the ratios for peripheral and central prepositional syntagms. The function of cardinal directional prepositional phrases, however, has proven central to Media Arabic.

Table 119: Prepositional phrases integral in syntagms already discussed (not investigated in this chapter), and their respective constructions

		ʔ	bi-	bayna	min bayni	min	li-	ma'a	ʔalla	ʔilla	hilla	min qilli	ba'da	min dimni	awba	ʔabra	ʔadā	raʔma	awba	ʔa	waʔa
Σ	Construction																				
1	bi-mā ʔi dālika NC1	9				1										2					
2																					
3	wa-dālika X NC1	6	1			1	5	2	2		4	1	4		2	2	1		2		
6	ḥuṣūṣan	3	1					2													
6	(wa-)ḥāṣṣatan PP	2					1	1	2										2		
2	bi-mā ʔi-h NC1	2																			
4	bal PP	1							1	1		1									
1	lā siyyamā	1																			
5	'aw		2			1	1														1
1	dālika NC1		1																		
1	wa-bi-dawri-h Vsuff		1																		
8	bayna-h NC1			8																	
1	fīmā NC1			1																	
1	wa-kāna bayna-h			1																	
7	min bayni-h NC1				7																
4	main clause				4																
2	wa-min bayni-h NC1				2																
1	min al- passive					1															
6						6															
3	ʔumma (clause)				3																
2	lā				2																
1	min-h NC1				1																
1	wa-lā				1																
2	laysa PP						1		1												
1	wa- 'alā NC1								1												
1	ʔumma PP									1											
1	REL (asynd) min ḥilāli-h yatimmu maṣdar											1									
1	'illā ba 'da PP												1								
1	min ḍimni-h NC1													1							
1	MAIN wa-min ḍimni PP NC1													1							
1	wa-min ḍimni-h NC1													1							
1	wa-mā 'adā PP NC1																1				
1	'ay PP																		1		
1	wa-man PP NC1																				1
1		2	6	1	1	2	8	5	7	2	4	3	5	3	2	4	1	1	2	1	1
2		4		0	3	6															
9																					

Table 120 gives the distribution by frequency of the 6,391x attested prepositional phrases over the 110x prepositional syntagms investigated for this chapter. 237x attestations are preceded by *wa-* (28x construction types).

As illustrated by Table 120, 40x of the syntagm types are attested ≥ 10 x and must be considered central. Together those types make up 6,182x attestations, or 96.7% of the total number of prepositional phrases.⁴⁸⁶ The remaining 70x construction types can be considered peripheral: they account for 209x (3.3%) of the total number of attestations, although making up 63.6% of the total number of construction types. 25x construction types (22.7% of 110x) are *hapax* (13x with *wa-*), accounting for 0.4% of the total number of prepositional phrases investigated here. By comparison, *fī* alone, with 1,223x attestations, accounts for 19.1% of all prepositional phrases. As with types in general, a small number of them account for the greater bulk of tokens, and vice versa for *hapax* types (for which, see 3.4 and 3.4.1 in particular).

Table 120: The 6,391x prepositional phrases discussed in this chapter (excluding the 129x in Table 119, not investigated in this chapter)

No.	Σ	Construction	As % of 6,391x	Sum (1–n)	Sum % (1–n)
1	1223	<i>fī</i>	19.14	1223	19.14
2	1128	<i>li-</i>	17.65	2351	36.79
3	960	<i>bi-</i>	15.02	3311	51.81
4	701	<i>min</i>	10.97	4012	62.78
5	505	<i>'alā</i>	7.90	4517	70.68
6	320	<i>'ilā</i>	5.01	4837	75.68
7	210	<i>'an</i>	3.29	5047	78.97
8	181	<i>ma'a</i>	2.83	5228	81.80
9	111	<i>bayna</i>	1.74	5339	83.54
10	93	<i>wa-fī</i>	1.46	5432	84.99
11	85	<i>ḥilāla</i>	1.33	5517	86.32
12	71	<i>ba'da</i>	1.11	5588	87.44
13	51	cardinal directions	0.80	5639	88.23
14	46	<i>wa-min</i>	0.72	5685	88.95
15	44	<i>munḍu</i>	0.69	5729	89.64
16	41	<i>ḥawla</i>	0.64	5770	90.28
17	41	<i>ḍidda</i>	0.64	5811	90.92
18	35	<i>ladā</i>	0.55	5846	91.47
19	29	<i>qabla</i>	0.45	5875	91.93
20	24	<i>wa-'alā</i>	0.38	5899	92.30
21	23	<i>'amāma</i>	0.36	5922	92.66
22	22	<i>taḥta</i>	0.34	5944	93.01
23	20	<i>ka-</i>	0.31	5964	93.32
24	19	<i>dūna</i>	0.30	5983	93.62
25	18	<i>dāḥila</i>	0.28	6001	93.90
26	18	<i>ḥattā</i>	0.28	6019	94.18
27	16	<i>min ḥilāli</i>	0.25	6035	94.43
28	16	<i>waṣṭa</i>	0.25	6051	94.68
29	15	<i>'aqiba</i>	0.23	6066	94.91
30	12	<i>wa-bi-</i>	0.19	6078	95.10

⁴⁸⁶ 55x of the syntagms occur ≥ 5 x times, and account for 6,291x attestations (98.3%).

6.9. Prepositional phrases (6,391x)

No.	Σ	Construction	As % of 6,391x	Sum (1-n)	Sum % (1-n)
31	12	<i>bi-l- 'idāfati 'ilā</i>	0.19	6090	95.29
32	11	<i>ḥasaba</i>	0.17	6101	95.46
33	11	<i>ḡarrā 'a</i>	0.17	6112	95.63
34	10	<i>wa-ḥawla</i>	0.16	6122	95.79
35	10	<i>'abra</i>	0.16	6132	95.95
36	10	<i>'alā l-raḡmi min</i>	0.16	6142	96.10
37	10	<i>bi-ḥasabi</i>	0.16	6152	96.26
38	10	<i>'idāfatan 'ilā</i>	0.16	6162	96.42
39	10	<i>naḥwa</i>	0.16	6172	96.57
40	10	<i>qurba</i>	0.16	6182	96.73
41	9	<i>bi-dūni</i>	0.14	6191	96.87
42	9	<i>'izā 'a</i>	0.14	6200	97.01
43	8	<i>wa-li-</i>	0.13	6208	97.14
44	8	<i>faḍlan 'an</i>	0.13	6216	97.26
45	7	<i>wa-ka-</i>	0.11	6223	97.37
46	7	<i>ḥārīḡa</i>	0.11	6230	97.48
47	7	<i>ḍimna</i>	0.11	6237	97.59
48	7	<i>'itra</i>	0.11	6244	97.70
49	6	<i>binā 'an 'alā</i>	0.09	6250	97.79
50	6	<i>fawqa</i>	0.09	6256	97.89
51	6	<i>miṭla</i>	0.09	6262	97.98
52	6	<i>waḥḡa</i>	0.09	6268	98.08
53	5	<i>mā bayna</i>	0.08	6273	98.15
54	5	<i>waḡḡan li-</i>	0.08	6278	98.23
55	4	<i>wa-ḥilāla</i>	0.06	6282	98.29
56	4	<i>wa-bayna</i>	0.06	6286	98.36
57	4	<i>wa-bi-ḥasabi</i>	0.06	6290	98.42
58	4	<i>warā 'a</i>	0.06	6294	98.48
59	4	<i>'aṭnā 'a</i>	0.06	6298	98.54
60	4	<i>'inda</i>	0.06	6302	98.61
61	4	<i>naṭīḡata</i>	0.06	6306	98.67
62	4	<i>raḡma</i>	0.06	6310	98.73
63	4	<i>tuḡāha</i>	0.06	6314	98.80
64	3	<i>wa- 'an</i>	0.05	6317	98.84
65	3	<i>wa-ma 'a</i>	0.05	6320	98.89
66	3	<i>ḥawālay</i>	0.05	6323	98.94
67	3	<i>min dāḡili</i>	0.05	6326	98.98
68	3	<i>nazarān li-</i>	0.05	6329	99.03
69	3	<i>siwā</i>	0.05	6332	99.08
70	3	<i>ṭibqan li-</i>	0.05	6335	99.12
71	3	<i>waḡta</i>	0.05	6338	99.17
72	2	<i>wa-ba 'da</i>	0.03	6340	99.20
73	2	<i>wa-dūna</i>	0.03	6342	99.23
74	2	<i>wa-qabla</i>	0.03	6344	99.26
75	2	<i>ḡiyāla</i>	0.03	6346	99.30
76	2	<i>badalan min</i>	0.03	6348	99.33
77	2	<i>bi-l-raḡmi min</i>	0.03	6350	99.36
78	2	<i>fawra</i>	0.03	6352	99.39
79	2	<i>'ibbāna</i>	0.03	6354	99.42
80	2	<i>min 'alā</i>	0.03	6356	99.45

No.	Σ	Construction	As % of 6,391x	Sum (1-n)	Sum % (1-n)
81	2	<i>min bayni</i>	0.03	6358	99.48
82	2	<i>min hāriḡi</i>	0.03	6360	99.51
83	2	<i>muqābila</i>	0.03	6362	99.55
84	2	<i>qayda</i>	0.03	6364	99.58
85	2	<i>qibālata</i>	0.03	6366	99.61
86	1	<i>wa- 'aqiba</i>	0.02	6367	99.62
87	1	<i>wa-ḥasaba</i>	0.02	6368	99.64
88	1	<i>wa-bi-l-raḡmi min</i>	0.02	6369	99.66
89	1	<i>wa-binā 'an 'alā</i>	0.02	6370	99.67
90	1	<i>wa-dāḥila</i>	0.02	6371	99.69
91	1	<i>wa-ḥattā</i>	0.02	6372	99.70
92	1	<i>wa- 'ilā</i>	0.02	6373	99.72
93	1	<i>wa-ladā</i>	0.02	6374	99.73
94	1	<i>wa-min ḥilāli</i>	0.02	6375	99.75
95	1	<i>wa-mundu</i>	0.02	6376	99.77
96	1	<i>wa-wafqa</i>	0.02	6377	99.78
97	1	<i>wa-wafqan li-</i>	0.02	6378	99.80
98	1	<i>wa-wasta</i>	0.02	6379	99.81
99	1	<i>'ibāratān 'an</i>	0.02	6380	99.83
100	1	<i>ḥalfa</i>	0.02	6381	99.84
101	1	<i>ḥayza</i>	0.02	6382	99.86
102	1	<i>ḥīna</i>	0.02	6383	99.87
103	1	<i>bi-iṭri</i>	0.02	6384	99.89
104	1	<i>bi-lā</i>	0.02	6385	99.91
105	1	<i>buḡyata</i>	0.02	6386	99.92
106	1	<i>fawran ba 'da</i>	0.02	6387	99.94
107	1	<i>'iḏāfatān li-</i>	0.02	6388	99.95
108	1	<i>natīḡatān li-</i>	0.02	6389	99.97
109	1	<i>ṭayya</i>	0.02	6390	99.98
110	1	<i>ṭiwāla</i>	0.02	6391	100
	6,391				

6.9.2. The semantics of prepositional syntagms

All peripheral prepositional phrases were annotated as attestations (entities), but only the semantics (relations) of peripheral (non-core) constituents are investigated and annotated, resulting in a lower number of relations accounted for than the number of attested prepositional syntagms (for scope, see 2.3ff.; for the method of annotation, see 2.5). Objects of verbs are excluded (e.g. *yas 'ā 'ilā*, ‘strive **for**’) and prepositional predicates, but also all uses of the *'ā'id* in relative clauses. These exclusions mainly concern a number of the more frequent prepositions: *fī*, *li-*, *bi-*, *min*, *'alā*, *'ilā*, *'an*, *ma'a*, and *bayna*.

Excluded relations also include nominal additions (even if coded in a scheme of e.g. *x bi-l- 'idāfati 'ilā y*, ‘*x* in addition to *y*’), reciprocal relations (e.g. *bayna*), expressions for motion such as allative (e.g. *'ilā*, movement ‘to’) and ablative (e.g. *min*, ‘from’, including movement ‘from’), constructions with the meaning ‘in general’ (e.g. *bi-ṣifatin 'āmmatin*, *bi-ṣaklin 'āmmīn*, etc.), constructions with numbers (e.g. *'ilā maqtali naḥwa ḥamsati ḡunūdin*, Article 20), partitive expressions (e.g. *n min x*, ‘*n* number/amount of *x*’),⁴⁸⁷ genitive relations (*x li- y*, ‘*x* of *y*’), and *min* in constructions with *ba'da* (e.g. *ba'da x yawm#/ṣahr#/etc. min*, ‘*x* days/months/etc. after’). For the summary of scope, see 2.4.

A word on the locative, Location, and Location broader

In discussing prepositional phrases in this chapter, the terms “locative” and Location are used to refer to a non-motional, stative location; but unless otherwise stated, it need not be spatial (e.g. geographical). Abstract relationships of belonging, e.g. to a larger group, are also treated as location here. The function of the locative in this chapter, *ergo*, is to locate something in relation to something else, whether this is concrete or an abstract relationship (cf. Associative, for which, see 4.5.5).

The term Location Broader is employed when a phrase is used to position a previous spatial location in relation to a larger geographical area, e.g. ‘city *x* **in country y**’.

⁴⁸⁷ E.g. the phrase *'adad# min*, ‘a number of’, is attested 29x (including 6x *'adadan min*).

6.9.2.1. Cardinal directions

This section deals with the types for cardinal directions (including adverbs and adjectives, as well as prepositions), and will discuss problems associated with their interpretation as locational postmodifiers.

51x attestations as prepositions. Cardinal directions are used to state geographical location (18x Location, 33x Location Broader). Note that there is also the preposition *waṣṭa*, not treated here under cardinal directions; see the section “*waṣṭa*” below.

شمال, *šamāl*# (77th most common type in the corpus, attested 37x times) and شرق, *šarq*# (27x times, 135th most common type), together with جنوب, *ġanūb*# (140th most common type, attested 27x times) and غرب, *ġarb*# (213th most common type, attested 21x times), are used to denote the four cardinal directions in relation to another geographical location.⁴⁸⁸ The types may be combined to render the four diagonal directions. No tripartite combinations of the pattern ‘south south-west’ and so on are attested in the corpus.

In the attestations, the cardinal directions are occasionally spelled with an additional final *yā*’, both as a cardinal direction and in the second element of a combined diagonal, e.g. *šmāl šrqy ba ‘qūba* (Article 35).

Table 121: spelling of cardinal prepositions, unvocalized transcription (*ā*=*ʾ*)

5 <i>šmāl ġrb</i>	7 <i>šmāl</i> 2 <i>šmāly</i> 1 <i>šmāl wṣṭ</i> ⁴⁸⁹	3 <i>šmāl šrqy</i> 2 <i>šmāl šrq</i>
6 <i>ġrb</i>		3 <i>šrq</i> 2 <i>šrqy</i>
1 <i>ġnwb ġrb</i>	2 <i>ġnwb y</i> 13 <i>ġnwb</i>	1 <i>ġnwb šrqy</i> 3 <i>ġnwb šrq</i>

Looking at the 51x prepositional attestations (Table 121), the spellings without final *yā*’ are the most frequent (with 10x having *yā*’: 6x solitary, and 4x as the second element in a dual preposition). The *yā*’ is never attested on the first element in a dual preposition.

Wehr (1961) treats the directionals cautiously and in an inconsistent manner in his dictionary. For *šarq* (Wehr, *šarq*, *šarqī*, etc., under *šaraqa*), no preposition based on the construct accusative is given, although we find the adverbial *šarqan* with the meaning ‘eastward’ and the masculine singular construct

⁴⁸⁸ Due to the uncertain vocalization of the cardinal directions and the discussion of many uncertain names, this chapter will also employ Arabic types. For the 333x most frequent types, see 3.4.1ff..

⁴⁸⁹ شمال وسط إيطاليا (Article 46).

šarqiyya, ‘east of’. For *ġarb*, no preposition based on the construct accusative is listed; there is an adverb; and there is no preposition *ġarbiyya* mentioned. For *ġanūb*, the lexical meaning of the noun plus an adverb are found, together with the *nisba* preposition *ġanūbiyya*, ‘south of’. For *šimāl/šamāl*,⁴⁹⁰ ‘north’, we are given the prepositional use of *šamāla* to be ‘north of’, and the adverb *šamālan* to mean ‘northwards, to the north’; but no *nisba* preposition *šamāliyya* is given.

Under *šamāl*, Wehr also gives the compounds for the diagonal directions, شمال غربي and شمال شرقي, which he vocalizes partially, but only as “šarqī” and “ġarbī”; and under the *nisba* preposition *šamālī* he also gives two expressions both translated “North Africa”, namely شمالي إفريقيا and افريقيا الشمالية, but here he abbreviates the direction as “š.” and consequently only vocalizes “afriqiyyā”. Under the *nisba* preposition *ġanūbī*, we find جنوبي إفريقيا for ‘South Africa’, but no vocalization. Under *šarqī*, شرقي اوربا is only said to mean ‘Eastern Europe’. Under *ġarb*, Wehr also gives the expression غربا بجنوب, which he vocalizes fully as *ġarban bi-ġanūbin* and translates ‘south-westwards, toward the south-west’.

From Wehr’s entries we get no guidance on how to fully vocalize the compound directionals, and there seem to be no entries for compound constructions such as شمال شرق, i.e. without the *nisba* on the second directional.

In Media Arabic, administrative divisions may be located linguistically in terms of their relative location inside or outside a larger, more populous, or more well-known administrative division (for contextualization, see 1.4.5). This may be done by relationally stating the location with cardinal directions—north, south, west, or east—or via other prepositions expressive of locative semantics.

With regard to the directional adverbs with the ending *-an* in the corpus, it is easy to be exhaustive: 2x attestations, *ġanūban* and *šarqan*, both in the penultimate paragraph of Article 117: *wa-ḍakarāt [...] ’anna l-’amalīyyāti nuffiḍāt fī kullī min ’iqḷīmi ’ūrūzgān bi-wasaṭi l-bilādi wa-’iqḷīmi hīlmand ġanūban wa-’iqḷīmi bāktiyā šarqan.*, ‘mentioned [...] that the operations were carried out in both the province of Uruzgan in the middle of the country and the province of Helmand **in the south** and the province of Baktia **in the east**.’ (Example 301).

Since these are the only attestations of adverbs, very little can be said. Uruzgan, Helmand, and Paktia are three Afghan provinces, here located within the country in relation to its outer borders. The rough descriptions of ‘in the middle of the country’ and the elliptical ‘to the south’ (of the country) and ‘to the east’ (of the country)—or maybe ‘in the south’ and ‘in the east’—are transparent enough.

⁴⁹⁰ Wehr gives two vocalizations for this. The transcriptions in this book reflect the pronunciations *šimāl*, ‘left’, and *šamāl*, ‘north’, from Cairene Arabic.

In addition to this, the *hapax* attestation in Article 53 about Tunisia should be mentioned (Example 717), where *šarq* is either a caseless adverb (a *hapax*, dialectal influence?), or an elliptical prepositional phrase without the prepositional complement *al-bilādi*. There are no other attestations of a missing *-an* accusative of cardinal directions, nor of a preposition without a prepositional complement. The attestation was left unannotated. El-Nafīḍa (Enfidha) is located on the coast in north-eastern Tunisia.

717. Article 53, [...] (*šarq*#[...]) [...]

ومن بين هذه المشاريع بناء سد شمال غرب البلاد، وميناء في المياه العميقة بمنطقة النفیضة (شرق) إضافة إلى مشاريع أخرى في قطاعات مختلفة مثل الصناعة والطاقة والنقل والسياحة.	wa-min bayni hāḍihi l- mašārī'i binā'u saddin šamāla ġarbi l-bilādi, wa-mīnā'in fi-l- miyāhi l-'amīqati <u>bi-mintaqati</u> <u>el-nafīḍa</u> (šarq #[...]) 'iḍāfatan 'ilā mašārī'a 'uḥrā fī qitā'atin muḥtalifatin miṭla l-šinā'ati wa-l-tāqati wa-l-naqli wa-l- siyāḥati.	And among these projects are the construction of a dam north-west in the country, a port in the deep waters <u>in the</u> <u>area of Enfidha</u> (east), in ad- dition to other projects in various sectors such as in- dustry, energy, transporta- tion, and tourism.

In order to clarify the meaning of the postmodifier as inclusive, located **within** a region, the prepositions *fī* and *bi-* may be preposed, similar to *bi-wasaṭi*, 'in the middle of', in Article 117 (Example 301). In the corpus, this is done 38x times: 33x with *fī*, and 5x with *bi-*; it is only attested 1x with a diagonal directional, *fī šamālī ġarbi# el-yaman*, 'in northwestern Yemen' (Article 118).⁴⁹¹ These compound locative prepositions are syntactically more varied than the simple directionals: they may give the location of an event (predication) as absolute locational adverbs, serve as transition phrases (*wa-fī ġarbi ṭarābulus*, Article 70), serve as postmodifiers to nouns other than *nomina locorum*, or function as postmodifiers to state the relative location of a site or area vis-à-vis another. The complement location follows immediately and may be a continent; a country; part of a country, e.g. *el-'anāḍūl* (Article 45); an anaphoric noun, e.g. *al-bilād*# (Article 64); an area, e.g. *el-diffa el-ġarbiyya* (Article 69); or a city, e.g. *šan'ā'* (Articles 56 and 106). In cases such as e.g. *fī ġarbi 'afriqiyā*, 'in West Africa' (1x in Article 61, and 2x in Article 130), the distinction between preposition and compound *nomen loci* is not based on syntactic grounds. In all the cases with *fī* and *bi-*, the meaning of the double preposition is to state the prepositional complement as inclusive of the previously mentioned location (or object): 'towards *this* cardinal side inside of location *x*', where *x* is the prepositional complement. This is exemplified in Article 56: *wa-qāma 'anšāru l-ḥūṭiyyīna bi-qaṭ'i ṭarīqi l-maṭāri fī šamālī šan'ā'*, 'And Houthi supporters cut off the airport road **in northern Sanaa**' (Example 331).

⁴⁹¹ 3x *bi-šamālī*; 10x *fī šamālī*; 1x *fī šamālī ġarbi#*; 4x *fī ġanūbi*; 7x *fī ġarbi*; 11x *fī šarqi* (2x with dots under *yā'* in *fī*); 2x *bi-šarqi*.

Although the adverbials and their uses with preposed locative prepositions are informative and consistent in their semantics, the simple prepositional cardinal directions—*šarqa*, *garba*, etc.—are not as clear. The difficulty is not only related to vocalization, and the fact that an international news section potentially deals with news from all over the entire world, but that there is an ambiguity in the semantics of the bare cardinal prepositions such that the types used have two meanings: one inclusive, ‘inside’, and one exclusive, ‘to the side of’. For example شرق may in the corpus mean either ‘in the eastern part of *x*’, or ‘east of *x*’. The cardinal directions, e.g. ‘east’, root *šrq*, may also be spelled شرقي, and be found in compounds such as جنوب شرق, ‘south’ + ‘east’, which may also have a *nisba* ending in the second element (e.g. شمال شرقي; both spellings are found in e.g. Article 21). In addition to these prepositions, the *nisba* adjectives based on the directions are used attributively. The fact that the meanings of the bare prepositions are less clear than the compounds with *bi*- and *fī* will be illustrated below together with a number of other ambiguities in relation to these locational prepositions.

Let us first consider a number of examples from the corpus. The use of the *nisba* adjective in *el-diffa el-ġarbiyya*, ‘the West Bank’, and a preposition, *ġanūba*, is illustrated by the final sentence in Article 10, Example 718.

718. Article 10 (final sentence), cardinal preposition *ġanūba*, inclusive

وفي هذه الاثناء، أصدر
جيش الاحتلال
الإسرائيلي أمراً
عسكرياً بالاستيلاء على
آلاف الدونمات الزراعية
من أراضي محافظة
الخليل وببيت لحم جنوب
الضفة الغربية بهدف
توسيع الاستيطان في
تجمع مستوطنات «غوش
عتصيون».

wa-fī hādīhi l-’atnā’i, ’aṣḍara
ġayṣu l-iḥtilālī l-’isrā’īliyyu
’amsi ’amran ’askariyyan
bi-l-istīlā’i ’alā ’ālāfi l-
dūnamāti l-zirā’iyyati min
’arādī muḥāfazatay el-ḥalīl
wa-bayt laḥm ġanūba el-
dīffa el-ġarbiyya bi-hadaḥi
tawṣī’i l-istīṭāni fī
taḡammu’i mustawṭanāti
«ġūš ’iṣṭiyūn».

And meanwhile, the Israeli
occupation army issued a
military order yesterday to
seize thousand of dunams of
agricultural lands from the
territories of the two gover-
norates of Hebron and Beth-
lehem, southern West
Bank, with the goal of ex-
panding the settlement in the
Gush Etzion settlement bloc.

Today a frozen name, ‘the West Bank’ is called thus because it is situated on the western side (‘bank, shore’) of the Jordan River. The ‘western’ bank, together with Hebron and Bethlehem, are well-known. As to the location of Hebron (*el-ḥalīl*) and Bethlehem, they are situated ‘in the southern part of’ the West Bank, a location here expressed via the cardinal preposition جنوب: *el-ḥalīl wa-bayt laḥm ġanūba el-dīffa el-ġarbiyya*. The cardinal preposition *ġanūba* here is inclusive in meaning, ‘inside the West Bank’.

In Article 31, Example (719), however, we are given the relative locations of two geographical places, Anza and Rafah, via the same interposition of جنوب between the two sites that are to be related. Here, the difficulty of interpretation is not only related to the use of the prepositions, but also relates to the interpretation of names.

719. Article 31 (final paragraph), 2x *ġanūba*

وميدانيا، فتحت الزوارق
الحربية الإسرائيلية
صباح أمس نيران
أسلحتها الرشاشة تجاه
مراكب الصيادين
الفلسطينيين قبالة سواحل
مدينة رفح جنوب قطاع
غزة في أول خرق للتهدة
الموقعة بين الفصائل
الفلسطينية وإسرائيل
برعاية مصرية، وأفادت
مصادر محلية أن زوارق
الاحتلال أطلقت النار
بكتافة على الصيادين
الذين كانوا يعملون في
مساحة 6 أميال المسموح
لهم بالصيد فيها في بحر
رفح دون الإبلاغ عن
وقوع إصابات، واعتقلت
قوات الاحتلال
الإسرائيلي فجر أمس 17
شابا من قرية عنزا جنوب
جنين..

wa-maydāniyyan, fataḥati l-
zawāriq l-ḥarbiyyatu l-
'isrā'īliyyatu ṣabāḥa 'amsi
nīrāna 'asliḥatiḥa l-raššāṣati
tuḡāha marākibi l-ṣayyādīna
l-filasṭīniyyīna qubālata
sawāhili **madīnati rafaḥ**
ġanūba qitā'i ġazza fī
'awwali ḥarqin li-l-tahdi'ati
l-muwaqqa'ati bayna l-
faṣā'ili l-filasṭīniyyati wa-
'isrā'īl bi-ri'āyatin
miṣriyyatin, wa-'afādat
maṣādiru maḥalliyyatun
'anna zawāriqa l-iḥtilālī
'aṭlaqati l-nāra bi-kaṭāfatin
'alā l-ṣayyādīna llaḍīna kănū
ya'malūna fī misāḥati 6
'amyālin al-masmūḥi lahum
bi-l-ṣaydi fihā fī baḥri rafaḥ
dūna l-'iblāġi 'an wuqū'i
'iṣābātīn wa-'taqalat
quwwātu l-iḥtilālī l-
'isrā'īliyyi faġra 'amsi 17
šābban min qaryati 'anzā
ġanūba ġenīn..

And on the ground, Israeli
gunboats opened yesterday
morning the fire of their ma-
chine guns towards the boats
of Palestinian fishermen off
the coast of **the city of Ra-
fah, southern Gaza Strip**, in
the first breach of the truce
signed between the Palestin-
ian factions and Israel under
Egyptian auspices. And local
sources reported that boats of
the occupation opened fire
intensively on the fishermen
who were working in a zone
of 6 [nautical] miles which is
allowed for them to fish in
the sea of Rafah without re-
porting about any injuries.
And the Israeli occupation
forces arrested at dawn yes-
terday 17 youths in the vil-
lage of Anza, south of [the
city of] Jenin / southern
Jenin [governorate].

In the first instance, with Rafah, the preposition جنوب has the meaning ‘in the southern part of’—that is, inside—the Gaza Strip, much like the adverb *ġanūban* in Article 117 (Example 301), and similar to the case of Bethlehem and Hebron in relation to the West Bank in Example (718) from Article 10. But in the second instance, with the village Anza (عنزة), the meaning appears to be exclusive—‘south of’ (outside)—since the village of Anza lies south-west of the city of Jenin. However, Jenin is both a city and a governorate (*muḥāfazatun*); the latter borders Tulkarm, Nablus, and Tubas. The village of Anza is part of the governorate of Jenin, so we could alternatively interpret *ġanūba* here as ‘in the southern part of the governorate of Jenin’. Since this is the first and only mention of Jenin in this article, there is no means for the reader to know which is intended: *ġanūba* can be either inclusive, or—more probably (as will be shown below)—exclusive.

To continue with Palestinian geography and Jenin, let us consider Example (508) from Article 69: [...] *ḥilāla muwāḡḡahātīn [...] fī baldati* »ya'bad« **ġanūba ġarbi** »ġinīn« **bi-šamālī el-ḍiffa el-ġarbiyya**. Here, both a locational compound cardinal preposition, *bi-šamālī*, and a compound directional, *ġanūba ġarbi*, are used. In this case, the preposition *bi-* attempts to clarify the

interpretation of *šamāl#* to mean ‘in the northern part of’, on the basis that compounds with *bi-* and *fī* are inclusive in meaning; but as to Jenin, we are again prone to interpret the location of *Ya ‘bad* as ‘south-west of’ the city of Jenin (exclusive, as in Article 31, Example 719), rather than ‘south-west, inside’ the governorate.⁴⁹²

In the corpus, Jenin is mentioned 6x times: in Articles 31 and 69 as quoted above, and 4x in Article 81. In Article 81, we find explicit references to the city of *ḡenīn*, e.g. *min baldati “ḡaba” ḡanūba madīnati “ḡenīn”* (Example 356) and *šāri ‘i ḡenīn - nāblus* (Example 506). The governorate is never explicitly mentioned. The town of Jaba’ is located in the Jenin governorate, but is here mentioned in relation to an explicit reference to the city of Jenin.

There seems to be no syntactic solution to the two conflicting, and mutually exclusive, semantics of جنوب and the other cardinal directions, and the ambiguity in meaning between a city and a governorate is not systematically resolved via appositions or exegetical genitives, as it is in Article 81 above with the use of *madīnat#*. In all the examples quoted above, there are two geographical sites with the cardinal preposition interposed in between them, and the meaning is either inclusive or exclusive, with no syntactic basis for either interpretation.

It would seem reasonable to think that in relation to geographical areas such as the Gaza Strip, countries, and continents, *ḡanūb#* will yield the meaning ‘in the southern part of’; whereas in relation to smaller sites, e.g. cities, the meaning is more probably exclusive, ‘south of’. This, however, is not a watertight interpretation. The following discussion will broaden the picture.

There are no attestations of more than 45 degrees divisions of direction: that is to say, there is no attestation for ‘south south-west’, ‘south south-east’, and so on. As is the case with single cardinal directional prepositions, the diagonals, too, may be either inclusive or exclusive in meaning; and to further confuse matters, the addition of a final *yā’* to the second component appears optional, with no semantic import.

In addition to one attestation with a final *yā’*, the type combination جنوب شرق is used 5x times in the corpus:⁴⁹³ 2x in the semi-compound *ḡanūb# šarq# ‘ūkrānyā* (1x in Article 83 to position a peace process *fī ḡanūbi šarqi ‘ūkrānyā*, ‘in south-east(ern) Ukraine’, and 1x in Article 14 in a context of granting the status of a state *li-ḡanūbi šarqi ‘ūkrānyā*, ‘to south-east(ern) Ukraine’); in this context, the *ḡanūb# šarq#* is inclusive in the sense that south-eastern Ukraine is Ukraine, at least at some point in time, and not outside of Ukraine. The same is true for the other 3x attestations, where a smaller geographic area or site is positioned inside a bigger unit—*al-bilād#* (Article 24), *turkiya* (Article 80),

⁴⁹² Its location is rather in the south of the governorate.

⁴⁹³ In addition to these compound diagonal prepositions including *ḡanūb# šarq(ī)#*, there is one instance with an anaphoric pronominal suffix, in the phrase *fī ḡanūbi l-bilādi wa-ḡanūb# šarqihā* (Article 63), where the locational preposition helps clarify that the meaning is inclusive.

and *el-ʿanāḍūl* (Article 80)—with all instances meaning ‘(in) the southern part of’. In the lead of Article 80, *ḡanūba šarqi* (without final *yā*) is used in relating Diyarbakır to Turkey (here spelled *turkiya* with *tāʾ marbūṭa*): *fī baldati sīlfān al-tābiʿati li-madīnati diyār bakir ḡanūba šarqi turkiya*. Diyarbakır is inside the borders of Turkey, and hence we are to understand the preposition as inclusive, ‘in the south-east’.

In addition to these instances, there is one attestation with a final *yā*, جنوب شرقی, in Example (720) from Article 51, again inclusive in meaning.

720. Article 51, *ḡanūba šarqī#*, *šamālī#*; 3x inclusive

وعلى صعيد آخر، عم
الإضراب العام أمس
مدارس حي جبل
«المكبر» جنوب شرقي
مدينة القدس المحتلة،
التي تضم نحو سبعة
آلاف طالب وطالبة،
احتجاجا على عدم
استجابة بلدية الاحتلال
الإسرائيلي ودائرة
معارفها لمطالب
الفلسطينيين واعتقلت
فلسطينيين اثنين، كما
اعتقلت اثنين آخرين من
أريحا شرقي الضفة
الغربية، بينما اقتحمت
قوات الاحتلال
الإسرائيلي فجر أمس
مخيم «عايدة» وجبل
«هندازة» في محافظة
بيت لحم شمالي الضفة
الغربية وداهمت منازل
فلسطينيين، واعتقلت
ثلاثة منهم.

wa-ʿalā šaʿīdin ʾāḡara,
ʿamma l-ʾidrābu l-ʾāmmu
ʾamsi madārisa hayyi ḡabal
«el-mukabbir» ḡanūba
šarqī# madīnati el-quḍs al-
muḡtallati, allatī taḡummu
naḡwa sabʿati ʾālāfi ṭālibin
wa-ṭālibatin, iḡtiḡāḡan ʿalā
ʾadami stiḡābatī baladiyyati
l-iḡtilālī l-ʾisrāʾīliyyi wa-
dāʾirati maʾārifihā li-maṭālibi
l-filasṭīniyyīna wa-ʿtaqalat
filasṭīniyyayni ṭnayni, kamā
ʿtaqalati ṭnayni ʾāḡarayni min
ʾarīḡa šarqī# el-ḡiffa el-
ḡarbiyya, baynamā qtaḡamat
quwwātu l-iḡtilālī l-
ʾisrāʾīliyyi faḡra ʾamsi
muhayyama «ʾāyda» wa-ḡa-
bala «hindāza» fī muḡāfazati
bayt lahm šamālī# el-ḡiffa
el-ḡarbiyya wa-dāḡamat
manāzila filasṭīniyyīna, wa-
ʿtaqalat ṭalāṭatan minhum.

And on another level, a general strike broke out yesterday in the schools of the district of Jabal al-Mukaber south-eastern occupied Jerusalem, which includes about seven thousand male and female students, a protest against the lack of response from the municipality of the Israeli occupation and the circle of acquaintances to the demands of the Palestinians, and it arrested two Palestinians, and it arrested two others from Jericho eastern West Bank, while the Israeli occupation forces stormed at dawn yesterday the «Aida» camp and Jabal «Hindaza» in the governorate of Bethlehem northern West Bank, and raided homes of Palestinians and arrested three of them.

Jabal el-Mukaber is located in southern East Jerusalem. Like the other six uses of dual prepositions with *ḡanūb#* and *šarq#*, the meaning is inclusive. The relation, again, is between a *ḡayyūn*, ‘neighbourhood’, and a *madīnatun*, ‘city’, the smaller to the bigger. But that all attestations of *ḡanūba šarq(ī)#* in the corpus happen to be inclusive in meaning is clearly incidental, as illustrated by the instances of *šamāla šarq(ī)#*.

Compounds of شمال and شرق are attested 6x times; in half (3x) of these, it is spelled شمال شرقی, with a final *yā*. Two attestations are governed by *min* and *ilā* respectively. In Article 1, the Kuwaiti political analyst Ayed al-Manna comments on the threat of Daesh, and what he says is that if the organization (*al-tanzīm#*) has doctrinal extensions (*imtidādāt#* ‘aqāʾidiyyat#) in the region

(*al-miṭṭaqat#*), *naḥnu fī ḥaṭarin min šamāli šarqi sūriyā 'ilā šamāli ġarbi el-irāq* (Example 367), which must be understood as inclusive, as '[then] we are in danger **from north-eastern Syria to north-western Iraq**', comparable to the examples with Ukraine from Article 14 discussed above.

In Article 16 (Example 721), the relation is state (administrational district) to country, the preposition features a final *yā*, and the meaning is again inclusive.

721. Article 16, *šamāla šarqī#* (inclusive)

١٤ في الوقت نفسه، لقي شخصاً مصرعهم على يد أعضاء في جماعة «بوكو حرام» المتشددة بولاية «بورنو» شمال شرقي نيجيريا.	fi-l-waṭṭi nafsīhi, laqiya 14 šaḥṣan maṣra'ahum 'alā yadi 'a'ḏā'in fī ġamā'ati «būkū ḥarām» al-mutašad- didati <u>bi-wilāyati «būrnū»</u> šamāla šarqī# nīġiriyā.	At the same time, 14 persons met their fate by the hand of members in the extremist group of «Boko Haram» <u>in</u> <u>the state of «Borno»</u> north- eastern Nigeria.

But in Article 21 (Example 722), the Peshmerga forces are said to have recuperated a village, *yankaġa* (Yengejeh), contextualized locationally in relation to “Baghdad”. As has been written repeatedly, although a tendency can be traced when it comes to the cardinal directions that the smaller relates to the bigger inclusively, especially when a country is related to, and that two smaller sites may relate to each other exclusively, the distinction is not always upheld, and a larger administrative district may well be located exclusively in relation to a more well-known location or city.

722. Article 21, *šamāla šarqī* (exclusive)

كما تمكنت القوات من استعادة قرية ينكجة الواقعة ضمن محافظة صلاح الدين شمال شرق بغداد	kamā tamakkanati l-quwwātu mina sti'ādati qaryati <u>yankaġa</u> <u>al-wāqī'ati dimna muḥāfazati</u> <u>salāḥ el-dīn</u> šamāla šarqī baġdād [...]	And the forces managed to retake <u>the village of</u> <u>Yengejeh which lies inside</u> <u>the governorate of Saladin</u> north-east of Baghdad [...]

Here in Example (722), the relation is of a governorate, *šalāḥ el-dīn*, to a city, Baghdad (not the governorate of Baghdad), and although the majority of the Saladin governorate lies to the north-west of Baghdad, and the preposition *šamāla šarqī* is probably in *trajectio* to Yengejeh, a village north north-east of the city of Baghdad, the meaning is exclusive.

In Article 35, security sources, *maṣādiru 'amniyyatun*, report a bombardment outside the city of *ba'qūba*. Here, a diagonal prepositional with final *yā'* is used.

723. Article 35, *ṣamāla šarqī#* (exclusive)

وأضافت المصادر أن الطائرات العراقية تمكنت من قصف وكر للمسلحين في جبال حميرين التابع لناحية السعدية شمال شرقي بعقوبة ما أسفر عن مقتل 8 من المسلحين.	wa-'aḏāfa l-maṣādiru 'anna l- ṭā'irāti l-'irāqīyata tamakka- nat min qaṣfi wakrin li-l-mu- sallaḥīna <u>fī ḡibālī hamrīn al-</u> <u>tābī'ī li-nāhiyati el-sa'adiyya</u> ṣamāla šarqī# ba'qūba mā 'asfara 'an maqtali 8 mina l- musallaḥīna.	And the sources added that the Iraqi aircraft managed to bomb a den of militants in the <u>Hamrin mountains belonging</u> <u>to the el-Saadiyah district</u> north-east of Baqubah which resulted in the killing of 8 of the militants.

El-Saadiyah is a town in the Diyala governorate; both the town and the Hamrin mountains are situated south-east in relation to the city of Baqubah. The meaning is exclusive.

As illustrated by Examples (722) and (723) from Articles 21 and 31, there seems to be no distinction in meaning from directional compounds with or without final *yā'* in the second component: both with and without final *yā'*, the compounds can be either inclusive or exclusive in meaning. The only influencing parameter on an interpretation of the semantics seems to be whether or not reference is made to a larger administrative district or country, or to a city or smaller administrative subdistrict; but this criterion is not watertight. A numerical analysis will not be carried out, for multiple reasons.

The difficulty is not limited to the mutually exclusive meanings of the directional prepositions alone. The terminology for the divisions and subdivisions of a country, state, kingdom, or republic, or the United States or the European Union may be wobbly, too, even if explicitly written out. For example, the Arabic Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is divided into 13 *minṭaqa 'idāriyya*, or administrative “regions”, which are in turn divided into governorates, *muḥāfazāt*, and further into *marākiz*. In Iraq, a *qaḏā'* (district) is part of a larger governorate (*muḥāfaẓa*), which is the first subdivision of the Republic; but in Egypt, the subdivision under the governorate, *muḥāfaẓa*, is the *markaz* or the *qism*; in Syria the *minṭaqa*; in Yemen the *mudīriyya*; in Qatar, the first sub-divisions are called *baladiyyāt*, and in Sudan *wilāyāt*, whereas *wilāyāt* in Uman are subdivisions of the *muḥāfaẓa*. With even lower—more or less formal—subdivisions into cities, towns, villages, streets, corners, and landmarks, it is not surprising to find generalizations in the Media Arabic terminology, not least considering the multinational and multilingual product that an international news item originally is. To find consistency in the use of all names for geographical subdivisions would be remarkable; and it is not the case, as will be shown.

Example (724) from Article 21 mentions the Iraqi “*minṭaqa*” of *القره غول*. This is the only mention of this *minṭaqa* in the corpus: Qaragoll (?) is said to be *ḡanūba baḡdād*. Whether it is actually a part of the city or outside it is hard to determine since it has proven difficult to locate *القره غول* (or *القره غول*?) in a southward direction from Baghdad by means of a map. At any rate, this *minṭaqa* cannot be huge, and it is not very well-known outside of Iraq.⁴⁹⁴ The relation of this *minṭaqa* is expressed in the exact same manner as the location of Hebron and Bethlehem in Article 10 (Example 718) and in many other examples above, namely via جنوب put between the respective *nomina locorum*. The meaning, therefore, can be either inclusive or exclusive.

724. Article 21, *القره غول*

وفي الوقت نفسه أعلنت
وزارة الدفاع العراقية
توجيه طيران الجيش ٢٣
ضربة جوية استهدفت
تجمعات لتنظيم داعش في
محافظات بغداد والأنبار
واديالى، وذكر بيان صادر
عن الوزارة أمس أن
طيران الجيش العراقي
وبالتنسيق مع
الاستخبارات العسكرية
وجهوا ١٦ ضربة جوية
لتجمعات داعش في
منطقة القره غول جنوب
بغداد والسجّر بالأنبار.

wa-fi-l-waḡti nafsīhi ‘a‘la-
nat wizāratu l-difā‘i l-
‘irāqīyyatu tawḡīha ṭayarāni
l-ḡayši 23 ḍarbatan
ḡawwiyyatan istahdafat
taḡammu‘ātin li-tanzīmi
dā‘eš fī muḥāfazāti baḡdād
wa-l-‘anbār wa-diyālā, wa-
ḍakara bayānun ṣādirun ‘ani
l-wizāratī ‘amsī ‘anna
ṭayarāna l-ḡayši l-‘irāqīyyi
wa-bi-l-tansīqi ma‘a l-
istiḥbārātī l-‘askariyyati
waḡḡahū 16 ḍarbatan
ḡawwiyyatan li-
taḡammu‘āti dā‘eš fī
minṭaqati el-qara ḡūl
ḡanūba baḡdād wa-l-seḡar
bi-l-‘anbār.

And at the same time, the Iraqi Ministry of Defence announced the directing of 23 air strikes by the Iraqi aviation which targeted gatherings of the Daesh organization in the governorates of Baghdad, al-Anbar, and Diyala, and a statement issued from the ministry yesterday that the Iraqi army aviation in coordination with the Military Intelligence have directed 16 air strikes to Daesh gatherings in the region of Qaragoll [?] south [of?] Baghdad and al-Sejar in al-Anbar.

Outside of Media Arabic the word *minṭaqatun* may in the semantic sphere of a locational designation mean anything from ‘zone’ to ‘district’, ‘territory’, or ‘region’. In Media Arabic, it can be used as a “rubbery” term to designate a geographical area that needs be called something, a term used to pinpoint the semantics of a geographical outstretch, a type of lexical categorization of a name (epexegetic genitive). This use was seen in *fī minṭaqati el-qara ḡūl* in Article 21 (Example 724). Similarly, in the lead of Article 38, al-Jawf in Yemen is called *minṭaqatun*, ‘area, region’, and in addition is related to *ṣan ‘ā*,

⁴⁹⁴ There is a Qaragoll in Iraq along the Arbat Zarayan Road in the Sulaymaniyah Governorate. There is also a Qara Gol, Gharagol, in the Hamadan province, Iran, one in Divandarreh, Kurdistan Province, a قاراگول Qaragöl (Ҷағол, Keren) along the Armenian border in Azerbaijan, and the Uzbek city in the Bukhara region, Qorako‘l, Қорақўл, قره كۆل, to mention but a few; the etymology is Turkic and the formative lexical items reflected in modern Turkish *kara*, ‘black’ and *göl*, ‘lake’.

the city of Sanaa: *fī minṭaqati el-ğawf šamāla šarqi šan ‘ā’* (Example 725 below). It is only from prior knowledge that the reader knows that al-Jawf in Yemen—unlike the city of el-Jawf in Libya, the al-Jawf region (*minṭaqatun*) in northern Saudi Arabia, or the village (*qaryatun*) of al-Jawf in the Tunisian governorate Zaghuan—is a governorate (*muḥāfaẓatun*) that consequently cannot easily be located inside the city of *šan ‘ā’*. The understanding of *šamāla šarqi šan ‘ā’*, then, has to be exclusive, ‘north-east of Sanaa’.

725. Article 38 (lead), *šamāla šarqi* (exclusive)

استمر التوتر في منطقة الجوف شمال شرق صنعاء ، نتيجة الاشتباكات العنيفة الدائرة بين الجيش ومسلحي جماعة الحوثي.	istamarra l-tawatturu fī minṭaqati el-ğawf šamāla šarqi šan ‘ā’ , natīğata l-ištibākāti l-‘anīfati l-dā’irati bayna l-ğayši wa-musallaḥi ḡamā’ati el-ḥuṭī.	Tension continued in the region of al-Jawf north-east of Sanaa, because of the violent clashes taking place between the army and militants of the Houthi group.

And as mentioned above in relation to Jenin and Baghdad, when a city and a governorate share the same name, it does not need to be specified which of the two is meant. An additional example is Kirkuk in Article 21.

726. Article 21, cardinal directions, *ğarba kirkūk*

وفي الوقت نفسه أعلن مصدر أمني أن عناصر ما يسمى بالدولة الإسلامية «داعش» قامت بإعدام ستة من عناصر الشرطة العراقية والصحات في قضاء الحويجة غرب كركوك	wa-fi-l-waḡṭi nafsīhi ‘a’lana mašdarun ‘amniyyun ‘anna ‘anāšira mā yusammā bi-l-dawlati l-‘islāmiyyati «dā’eš» qāmat bi-‘i’ dāmi sittatin min ‘anāširi l-šurtati l-‘irāqīyyati wa-l-ṣaḥawāt fī qadā’i el-hawīğa ġarba kirkūk	And at the same time, a security source said that elements which are called the Islamic State «Daesh» have executed six of elements of the Iraqi police and the Sahwa <u>in the district of al-Hawija west</u> [of?] Kirkuk

Here, the Hawija district is contextualized locationally as *ğarba kirkūk*, which has to be understood either as west of the city of Kirkuk, to the (north-)west inside the governorate with the same name, or to the (north-)west of the district of Kirkuk, given that Hawija, together with Kirkuk, al-Dibis, and Daquq, is one of four districts of the governorate. Both inclusive and exclusive readings happen to be geographically correct.

A final difficulty, touched upon in the case of *القره غول* in Example (726) from Article 21, is that of transcriptions and names. Example (727) from the penultimate paragraph of Article 119 locates the Chinese *لونتاي* as *ğanūba* in relation to *شينجيانج*. The latter must be what is also spelled *سنجان* in Arabic, that is to say the autonomous Xinjiang region in north-western China, *muqāṭa’ati šīngyāng al-wāqi’ati šamāla ġarbi el-šin*, as the lead of this article reads.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁵ The lead of Article 21 reads:

لقى شخصان مصرعهما وأصيب آخرون بجروح في سلسلة انفجارات وقعت في مقاطعة شينجيانج الواقعة شمال غرب الصين والتي تقطنها أغلبية من الأويغور المسلمين وشهدت العديد من الاضطرابات العرقية.

The “*minṭaqa*” لونتاي however is potentially more difficult to identify as Xinjiang’s Luntai County. The meaning here, however, is inclusive, and the relation of a smaller inside a larger administrative division applies.

727. Article 119, لونتاي جنوب شينجيانج

وذكر موقع «تيانشان» الإخباري التابع للحكومة المحلية أن الانفجارات وقعت أمس الأول في ثلاثة مواقع أحدها في الحي التجاري بمنطقة لونتاي جنوب شينجيانج.	wa-dakara mawqī‘u «tyānshān» al-’ihbāriyyu l- tābi‘u li-l-ḥukūmati l- maḥalliyyati ‘anna l-infiḡārāti waqa‘at ‘amsi l-’awwala fī ṭalātati mawāqī‘a ‘aḥaduhā fī- l-ḥayyi l-tiḡāriyyi <u>bi-</u> <u>minṭaqati lūntāy ḡanūba</u> <u>šīngyāng</u>	And the «Tianshan» news site belonging to the local government mentioned that the explosions occurred the day before yesterday in three locations one of them in the commercial district <u>in the re-</u> <u>gion of Luntai south Xin-</u> <u>jiang</u>

Given the semantic ambiguity of the cardinal directions and the taxonomy of administrative divisions and their adaptations into Media Arabic output, it would seem unlikely that the terms *šarq*#, *ḡarb*#, *šamāl*#, and *ḡanūb*# and their four combinations are accurately understood by a readership without prior knowledge. And as stated repeatedly, there is no strict consistency in the application of relating the smaller to the larger in an inclusive manner, even when the object to be related to is very small. That this is the case is illustrated in the lead of Article 36 in Example (353), where we get the location of a *maḥaṭṭatun*—probably a station, likely a petrol station with an adjacent store—geographically related to the Libyan *madīnatun*, or city, of Sirte via the interposition of *ḡarba*, ‘west’: *fī maḥalli mawādda ḡidā’iyyatin bi-maḥaṭṭati el-tisīn ḡarba madīnati sirt al-lībiyyati*, ‘in a foodstuff store in the Taseen station **ḡarba the Libyan city of Sirte**’. As illustrated via the numerous examples above, nothing can be said whether the *maḥaṭṭatun* is in fact in the western part of Sirte or outside of the city. The Al-Ahram article gives no more information in this regard.

That news story was in fact published by a number of news outlets; for example, Al-Hayat Online had reported on it the day before (September 2).⁴⁹⁶ In that article, the phrase was identical and equally ambiguous (save for the orthographic practice of dots under final *yā*). Only when al-Yawm al-7 published the same news online a week later did we learn the meaning of the preposition *ḡarba*, as seen in Example (728).

⁴⁹⁶ Al-Hayat online, (site accessed May 5, 2017; print edition and website suspended, inaccessible February 7, 2025).

728. Al-yawm al-7, September 9 (here only the lead is given),⁴⁹⁷ *ġarba*

قُتِلَ مواطن مصري
يدعى أبو زيد شحاتة
السيد، يعمل في محل
مواد غذائية بمحطة
التسعين غرب مدينة سرت
(60 كم)، واستقبل
مستشفى ابن سينا بالمدينة
خلال الساعات الماضية
جثمان الضحية.

qutila muwāṭinun miṣriyyun
yud‘ā ‘abū zēd šahhāta el-
sayyid, ya‘malu fī mahalli
mawādda ġidā‘iyyatin bi-
mahattati el-tisīn **ġarba**
madīnati sirt (60 km), wa-
staqbala mustašfā ibn sīnā
bi-l-madīnati ḥilāla l-sā‘ati
l-māḍiyati ġuṭmāna l-ḍaḥiy-
yati.

An Egyptian citizen who is
called Abu Zeid Shahata el-
Sayid, [and] who was work-
ing in a foodstuff store in the
Taseen station **west of city of**
Sirte (60 km) was killed, and
the Ibn Sina hospital in the
city has received during the
past hours the body of the
victim.

The parenthetical information “(60 km)” cannot easily be understood if we take *ġarba* to be inclusive; rather, we must understand that the *maḥaṭṭatun* is in fact 60 kilometres outside the city, or almost halfway to Abu Grein (أبو قرين), contrary to assumption that the smaller relates to the larger in an inclusive manner.

Summary: Cardinal directions

Given the ample attestations of the cardinal directions in the corpus—as prepositions, adjectives, and adverbs—and with examples such as the one from Article 36 using *maḥaṭṭatun*, a statistical analysis of the more than 100x attestations of the related tokens in the corpus will not be conducted.

Suffice it to say that the directionals give a rough organization of locations in a less discrete mental map, rather than the exact relative location vis-à-vis another named location in the real world. In this context, it is not surprising to find the relation Location Broader (64.5%) to be more frequent than Location (18x Location, 33x Location Broader for the prepositions). It seems as if in the case of cardinal directions, the practice of contextualizing entities within the news article gives rise to quasi-precise expressions, the informational import of which *prima vista* appears more exact than a deeper scrutiny can support.

One reason for the competing meanings could be a substrate of lexical regional variation, but although the ambiguity may be partly resolved via the prepositions *bi-* and *fī*, both of which infallibly render the expressions inclusive, Media Arabic has not currently resolved the geographical nebulosity by means of these prepositions. No unambiguously exclusive expression for relative location is attested in the corpus: there is currently no linguistic means to express unambiguously exclusive location with cardinal directionals in Media Arabic.

⁴⁹⁷ “مقتل عامل مصري رميًا بالرصاص بمدينة سرت الليبية.. وضبط الجاني - اليوم السابع”, Youm7 online, Article from September 9, 2014; <https://youm7.com> (accessed May 5, 2017).

’ (’*alif*)¹

’*ibbāna*

2x attestations, 2x annotated relations.

2x TEMP ‘during’, e.g. Article 51: [...] *wa-’anna hādā l-’amra kāna qad tamma tarḥuhu ’ibbāna ḥukmi l-ra’ṣi l-ma’zūli muḥammad mursī*, ‘[...] and that this matter was raised **during the rule of the deposed president Mohamed Morsi**’ (Example 590). For front dislocations to complement main clauses, see 5.3.4.3.

’*itra*

7x attestations, 7x annotated relations.

The matrix is typically (6x) a main clause with Vsuff as the predicate (1x exception, Article 94).

3x Countersequential bi Cause, e.g. Article 59 (lead): *izdahamati l-mustaṣfayātu l-’amrīkiyyatu ḥilāla l-’ayyāmi l-māḍiyati bi-mi’āti l-’aṭfāli ’itra ’iṣābatihim bi-fayrūs nādirin fi-l-ḡihāzi l-tanaffusiyyi*, ‘American hospitals have been crowded during the past few days with hundreds of children **after they have been affected with a rare respiratory virus**’.

2x Instrumental Manner, only in the context of casualties, e.g. the proleptic relative in Article 9: *qutila tis’atun min quwwāti l-niḡāmi ’itra nfiḡārin istahdafahum fi ḥayyi ḡubar* [...], ‘[...] were killed **in an explosion** which targeted them them in [...]’.

1x Countersequential bi Context bi Cause, Article 94, a prepositional phrase with *li-* as the matrix: [...] *’a rabatā* [...] *’an maḥāwifihimā mina l-ta’īri l-muḥtamali li-stimrāri ’adami l-tayaqquni l-siyāsīyyi ’itra fawzi ’erdūḡān fi-l-’āsiri min ’aḡustuṣ al-māḍī fi ’awwali ntiḡābātin ri’āsīyyatin mubāṣīratin*, ‘[...] of continued political uncertainty **after the victory of Erdoğan on August 10 in the first direct presidential election** [...]’.

1x Expanding Paraphrase, Article 50: *tagaddadati l-iṣtibākātu* [...] *wasumi’a dawīyyun li-’iṭlāqi l-nāri bi-ṣiddatin fi-l-’āsimati* [...], *’itra qiyāmi iḥdā l-miltīṣiyāti l-’islāmiyyati bi-l-ḥuḡūmi ’alā ’aḡadi l-maqarrāti wataṣaddā lahā l-ḥurrāsu min tuwwāri l-minṭaqati*, ‘the clashes renewed [...] and the sound of heavy gunfire was heard in the capital [...]: **one of the militias had attacked one of the headquarters and the guards of the region’s rebels had resisted them**’ (Example 320).

’*aṭnā’a*

4x attestations, 4x annotated relations.

2x Simultaneous, Article 81: *wa-’awḍaḡat* [...] *’anna waḡḡatan ḡāṣṣatan ’isrā’īliyyatan musta’ribatan i’taqalati l-ṣābba* “’*abd allāh* [...] *’aṭnā’a*

tawāğudihi bi-maḥaṭṭati maḥrūqāti ‘alā šāri‘i ġenīn- nāblus [...], ‘[...] arrested the young man “Abdullah [...] when he was at the petrol station [...]’ (Example 506); and Article 21: wa-‘awḍaḥat ‘anna ‘abwatan nāsifatan [...] infağarat ‘aṭnā ‘a murūri ḥāfilatin ṣağīratin yastaqilluhā madaniyyūna [...], [...] that an explosive device [...] exploded [...] as a minibus passed by [...]’.

1x TEMP ‘during’, Article 44: [...] ‘iḍāfatan ‘ilā l-mutāba‘ati l-muta-wāšilati [...] ‘aṭnā ‘a l-ḥağğī [...], ‘[...] in addition to continuous follow-up [...] throughout the pilgrimage [hajj] [...]’.

1x Instrumental Manner, in the context of killing, Article 63: wa-qālat [...] ‘inna 7 mutaṣāhirīna ‘alā l-‘aqaḷli qutīlū ‘aṭnā ‘a ‘iḥlāqi quwwāti l-‘amni l-yamaniyyati l-‘a ‘yira l-nāriyyata fi-l-hawā‘i [...], ‘[...] were killed as the Yemeni security forces shot live bullets in the air [...]’ (Example 694).

‘izā‘a

9x attestations, 9x annotated relations: 5x Concerning bi Cause; 2x Limitationis; 1x Concerning; and 1x Malefactive. For which, see the following discussion.

The preposition ‘izā‘a, lit. ‘towards’, is used to limit the scope of a nominal phrase, typically (5x) the scope and reason for a subject’s emotion, annotated as Concerning bi Cause, where the object and cause of the emotion is the same.

5x Concerning bi Cause, e.g. Article 52: mu‘arriban fi-l-waḡti naṣsihi ‘an qalaqihi l-bāliḡi ‘izā‘a stimrāri l-muwāğahāti l-musallaḡati wa- [...], ‘and he also expressed his concern about the continuation of the armed confrontations and [...]’; but the preposition may be used only to limit the scope.

2x Limitationis, Article 49: wa-ḥaḍḍara min ‘anna rūsiyā qad tuṭdu l-nağara fi ltizāmihā ‘izā‘a l-ta ‘āwuni [fi] mağāli [ita] l-‘amni l-duwaliyyi [...], ‘that Russia might reconsider its commitment to cooperation [in] the field of international security [...]’; and Article 52: wa-da‘ā [...] ‘ilā taḥammuli mas‘ūliyyātihi l-kāmīlati ‘izā‘a ḥālātī ġumūdi masāri l-ḥalli l-siyāsiyyi wa-l-ta ‘āmuli ma‘a [...], ‘[...] to assume its full responsibilities regarding the stalemate of the process of the political solution and in dealing with [...]’ (Example 563).

1x Concerning, in a future-projecting context, Article 28: ‘abbara [...] ‘an tafā‘ulihi ‘izā‘a muḥāḍaṭātīn ma‘a kāğirīn ‘āštūn [...], ‘expressed his optimism concerning the [upcoming] talks with Catherine Ashton [...]’.

1x Malefactive, Article 85: [...] ta‘ahḡadati l-‘aḡzābu l-sab‘atu naṣsuhā bi-nṭihāği l-siyāsiyyati naṣsihā ‘izā‘a ḥāḡḡ l-ḥizbi l-muttahami bi-‘timādi sulūkin mu‘ādin li-l-muḡāğirīna wa-‘unşuriyyīn, ‘[...] pledged to pursue the same policy towards this party which is accused of having adopted an anti-immigrant and racist behaviour’.

All in all, the heads expressive of emotion are 3x (al-)qalaq(-h), ‘worry, concern’; 1x istiğrāb-h, ‘surprise’ (Article 19); 1x tafā‘ul-h, ‘optimism’ (Article

28); and 1x *al-tawattur*#, ‘tension’ (Article 75), 4x in the context of a subject “expressing” this emotion: 2x with forms of the verb ‘*abbara*, 1x ‘*a’raba* (Article 19), and 1x *mu’arriban* (Article 52).

The preposition is attested 3x in Article 52, and 2x in Article 75; in all other articles $\leq 1x$.

‘*idāfatan* ‘*ilā*

10x attestations, 2x annotated relations.

2x annotated as Numerical Comparative Contrast, Article 52: *wa-ma ‘a rtifā ‘i ‘a dādi l-nāziḥīna wa-l-lāḡi ‘īna ‘ilā ‘aqtara min ‘aṣarati malāyīna dāḥila sūriyā wa-fī-l-duwali l-muḡāwirati ‘idāfatan ‘ilā ‘aqtara min ‘arba ‘ati malāyīna bi-ḥāḡati ‘ilā l-musā ‘adāti l-‘insāniyyati l-‘āḡilati [...]*, ‘and with the rise of the numbers of displaced and [...] to more than ten million [...] **in addition to more than four million in need of [...]**’; and Article 106: *‘itra ṣtidādi l-ma ‘āriki [...] llatī ‘awqa ‘at ‘aṣarāti l-qatlā [...] mina l-ḡānibayni ‘idāfatan ‘ilā 22 madaniyyan ‘alā l-‘aqallī [...]*, ‘which left tens of dead from both sides [...] **in addition to at least 22 civilians [...]**’.

The remaining 8x attestations are nominal additions, *x in addition to y* (not investigated), of which the diverging attestations in Articles 52 and 106 above, showing Numerical Comparative Contrast, are clearly extensions.

‘*idāfatan li*-⁴⁹⁸

1x attestation, nominal addition (not investigated), Article 32: *yunazzimu [...] riḥalātin [...] ‘idāfatan li-musābaqātīn [...]*, ‘organizes [...] trips [...] **in addition to competitions [...]**’.

‘*ilā*

320x attestations, 10x annotated relations.

The low count of annotated relations is possibly due to lexical governance, and allative semantics (motion ‘to’, not investigated). The preposition is also used for nominal addition (not investigated), e.g. in the phrase ‘*ilā ḡānibi X* (8x).

4x Location, as an extension of the allative: 3x with *mab ‘ūt*# as the head, e.g. Article 52: [...] *mab ‘ūt# li-l-‘amīn# al-‘āmm# li-l-‘umami l-muttaḥidati ‘ilā sūriyā*, ‘Secretary General’s Envoy of the United Nations **to Syria**’ (also attested with *li*- and *ladā*); and 1x in Article 39: *wa-dālika taḥqīqan li-stiqrāri l-minṭaqati [...] wa-‘ishāman fī ‘i ‘ādati l-istiqrāri ‘ilā kullī mina el-‘irāq wa-sūriyā wa- [...]*, ‘[...] return stability **to [= in] Iraq and Syria [...]**’.

2x TEMP ‘forever’, only in the phrase ‘*ilā l-‘abadi*, only in Article 102, and only in negated complement main clauses with *lan* VprefA, e.g. *fa-‘innī lan ‘akūna huna ‘ilā l-‘abadi*, ‘I am not going to be here **forever**’ (see Example 237).

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. the more common (10x) ‘*idāfatan* ‘*ilā*.

1x Associative, Article 121 (lead): [...] *šannū huġūman ‘alā mu‘askari “bi’r el-ġanam” allađi yatamarkazu dāḥilahu ‘adadun mina l-muqātilīna ‘ilā ġānibi katibatay el-šawā ‘iq wa-l-qa ‘qā* [...], ‘[...] launched an attack on “the Bir Ghanam” camp, in which a number of fighters were stationed **along with two battalions of Al-Sawaiq [Lightning Bolt] and Al-Qaaqaa** [...].’

1x Manner, Article 49: *maydāniyyan , sāda l-hudū ‘u fī šarqi ‘ūkrāniyā ‘ilā ḥaddin kabīrin ‘amsi* [...], ‘on the ground, calm ruled in eastern Ukraine **to a large extent** yesterday [...].’

1x Numerical Comparative Contrast, Article 84: *wa-ḍakara* [...] ‘*anna mišr istaṭā ‘at ‘an tuḥaqqiqa ziyādatan hā ‘ilatan balaġat 76% fī ḥafđi mu ‘ad-dalāti wafayāti l- ‘atfāli* [...] *min 86 ḥālata wafātin li-kulli ‘alfi ṭiflin fī ‘āmi 1990 , ‘ilā 21 ḥālata wafātin fī ‘āmi 2012*, ‘[...] stated that Egypt was able to achieve a huge increase that reached 76% in reducing the mortality rates of children [...] from 86 cases of death per thousand children in the year 1990, **to 21 cases of death in the year 2012**.’

1x TEMP ‘until’, Article 19: “[...] *wa-sa-taqūmu bi-tasyīri l- ‘a ‘māli wa-mā tukallaḥu bihi ‘ilā ḥīni taklīfi ḥukūmatin ġadīdatin*”, ‘[...] and it will run its businesses and what it is tasked with **until a new government is assigned**’ (Example 254).

wa- ‘ilā

1x attestation, governed by verb ‘*addā* (not investigated), Article 106: [...] *wa- ‘addat ‘a ‘mālu l- ‘unfi ‘ayḍan ‘ilā ta ‘līqi l-riḥalāti l-ġawwiyyati fī maṭāri šan ‘ā*’, *wa- ‘iġlāqi l-madārisi wa-kubrā ‘aswāqi l- ‘āsimati , wa- ‘ilā šibhi šalalin tāmmin fī šan ‘ā*’, ‘[...] and the acts of violence also led to the suspension of international flights at Sanaa airport, the closure of schools and major markets of the capital, **and to a near-total paralysis in Sanaa**.’ The iteration of a preposition is atypical for Media Arabic.

‘amāma

23x attestations, 23x annotated relations.

11x Location & Indirect Object, the locative also functioning as a marker of the indirect object, or receiver of message, speech, demand, etc., recurring prepositional complements being 4x *al-barlamani*, e.g. Article 35: *wa-kāna mina l-muqarrari ‘an yataḥaddaṭa ‘aqāriba li-l-ġunūdi l-maḥṭūfina* [...] ‘*amāma l-barlamāni li-l-su ‘āli ‘an mašīri ḍawīhim*, ‘[...] to speak **to/before the parliament** [...]’; and 2x *ḥašd#*, only in Article 85, e.g. ‘*akkada/qāla* [...] ‘*amāma ḥašdin min ‘anšāri ḥizbihi* [...], ‘[...] say [...] **to/before a group of his party’s supporters**’ (Example 646); all other prepositional complements occur 1x.

6x Malefactive & Location, ranging on a continuum from more malefactive, e.g. Article 63: *wa-qāla* [...] ‘*inna quwwāti l- ‘amni ‘aṭlaqati l-rašāša ‘amāma l-mutaḡāhirīna mimma ‘addā ‘ilā* [...], ‘[...] shot **against the demonstrators** [...]’, to more locational, e.g. Article 88: [...] *ḥaraġati l-mi ‘ātu*

mina l-’iskutlandiyyīna fī muṣāharātin ’amsi ’amāma maqarri hay’ati l-’idā’ati l-brūṭāniyyati «bī bī sī» fī-l-’iqḷīmī, iḥtiḡāḡan ’alā taḡṭiyatihā l-mu-taḡayyizati ḡidda l-infiṣālī, ‘[...] went out in front of the BBC headquarters [...] protesting against its biased coverage against secession [...]’ (Example 668).

2x Ethicus, expressing a subjective and evaluative relation held or expected to be held by the prepositional complement vis-à-vis the head or matrix situation (for a definition of Ethicus, see 4.11.3), Article 70: [...] *’anna el-ḡazā’ir lā yumkinuhā tabrīru taqḡdīmi tashlīlātīn ’askariyyatin li-’ayyati ḡamlatin ’askariyyatin ḡawwiyyatin fī lībiyā ’amāma ṣa’bīhā*, ‘[...] that Algeria cannot justify providing military facilities for any military air campaign in Libya **before its people**’; and Article 103: *wa-ttahama laḡnata l-’uqūbātī [...] bi-’ar-qalati taslīhī l-ḡayṣī l-lībiyyi wa-tarkihi ḡa’īfan ’amāma l-ḡamā’ātī l-musal-laḡati fī bilādīhi*, ‘[...] and leaving it weak **before the armed groups in the country**’.

2x Location, borderline allative (motion ‘to’), only of appearance before a state power, court or parliament, Article 115: *wa-mina l-mutawawqa’i ’an yumattīla ḡunzālīs 42 ’āman ’amāma l-maḡkamati fī wāṣinṭun* [...], ‘[...] to appear **before the court in Washington** [...]’ (Example 633); and Article 90: *wa-qāla farḡ būhāṣem tamma stid’ā’u l-ḡākimi ’ilā ḡalsati stimā’in ’amāma l-barlamāni* [...], ‘[...] has been summoned to a hearing session **before the parliament** [...]’ (Example 607), the parliament in the latter example having agency in the situation.

2x Malefactive, only atypically with an inanimate prepositional complement and figurative location with the root *wqf*, stem I, and the context of ‘standing as an obstacle **to something**’, Article 123: [...] *wa-yataḡamman mu’ālāḡata l-’arāqīli wa-l-’aqabātī llatī waqafat ’amāma ttīmāmi ttifāqi l-muṣālaḡati* [...], lit. ‘[...] addressing the hindrances and obstacles that have stood **before the completion of the reconciliation agreement** [...]’; and Article 7: *wa-rafaḡat ’an taqīfa mahārātuhu l-maḡdūdātu fī-l-luḡātī l-’aḡnabiyyati ’ā’iqan ’amāma mahāmmīhi ka-ra’īsin li-l-ittihādī l-’ūrūbbiyyi*, ‘[...] will stand as [be] an obstacle **to his duties as president of the European Union**’ (Example 198).

b (bā) ب

bi-

960x attestations, 445x annotated relations. The low count of annotated relations (~46%) is possibly due to lexical governance (e.g. *ittahama bi-*), and its use as an *’ā’id* in relative clauses.

117x Location, e.g. *bi-madrīd*, ‘in Madrid’ (Article 103); for Location, *fī* (*q.v.*) is more frequent.

55x Manner, e.g. 30x *bi-šaklin* + postmodifier (e.g. an adjectival postmodifier, *bi-šaklin sarī'in*, ‘quickly’, Article 130). Noteworthy are the 2x attestations where the postmodifier is a relative clause, 1x in Article 42: *qatar manaḥat brūkingz [...] naḥwa 15 milūna dūlārin [...] fī muqābili waḍ'i dirāsatin ḥawla l-'alāqāti l-'amrīkiyyati ma'a l-'ālamī l-'islāmiyyi bi-šaklin yaḥdimu l-mašālīḥa l-qatariyyata [...]*, ‘Qatar gave Brookings 15 million dollars [...] in exchange for them writing a study [= Purpose] [...] **in such a manner that it serves the Qatari interests**’; and 1x in Article 61: *wa-rakka-zat mišr 'alā 'ahammīyyati l-'amali l-fawriyyi bi-šaklin ya'ḥuḍu fī-l-i'tibāri l-tadā'iyāti l-iqtisādiyyata wa-l-iğtimā'īyyata wa-'adama iğfālīḥa [...]*, ‘Egypt focused on the importance of immediate action, **in such a manner that it takes the economic and social repercussions into account, not neglecting them** [...]’. The relative clauses in these constructions are bi Degree Consecutives.

43x Instrument, attested are both prototypical inanimate concrete instruments, e.g. Article 13: *qāma l-mutaṣāḥirūna bi-rašqi riğāli l-šurṭati bi-l-ḥiğārati wa-taḥṭīmi 'adadin mina l-darrāğāti l-buḥāriyyati bi-l-hirāwāti*, ‘threw **stones** on the policemen and destroyed motorcycles **with truncheons**’ (Example 183); and with human Instruments, e.g. Article 86: *wa-l-ittiğāri bi-l-bašari*, lit. ‘and trade **with humans**’, ‘human trafficking’ (Example 432).

32x Concerning, 26x *bi-ša'ni*, e.g. Article 114: [...] *iḥtiğāğān 'alā qarārāti wizārati l-tarbiyati wa-l-ta'līmi bi-ša'ni l-ta'līmi l-dīniyyi l-iğbāriyyi fī-l-bilādi wa- [...]*, ‘protesting against the decisions by [...] **on compulsory religious teaching** [...]’ (Example 669); the remaining attestations with a simple *bi-* have as heads 3x *qarār#*, 2x *al-ittifāq#* (Article 131), 1x *al-iğtimā' #* (Article 122), and 1x *balāğ#* (Article 36), e.g. Article 131: [...] *rafaḍat ṭālibān al-ittifāqa [... 9 tokens ...] bi-taškīli ḥukūmati waḥdatin waṭaniyyatin*, ‘The Taliban refused the agreement [...] **on the formation of a national unity government**’.

30x Manner Instrument, e.g. Article 75: *li-taḥḍīri l-nāḥibīna mina l-tašwīti bi-«lā»*, ‘in order to warn the voters against voting **with “no”**’; and Article 64: [...] *ḥawla l-taqrīri l-šādīri bi-'unwāni «al-ta'āwun# al-'arabiyy# wa-'āfāq#h# li-da'mi l-tašğīli» [...]*, ‘[...] concerning the report issued **with the title «Arabic Cooperation and its Prospects of Supporting Employment»** [...]’ (Example 585).

28x Location Broader, to position a previous spatial location in relation to a larger geographical area, e.g. Article 9: *bi-ḥayyi ġūbār bi-l-'āṣimati dimašq*; including 3x *bi-waṣaṭi* + e.g. 1x *al-bilādi* (Article 117); and 3x *bi-šamāli* + e.g. 1x *el-'irāq* (Article 5).

21x Instrumental Manner, only with *bi-* + *mašdar*, e.g. Article 40: *wa-'ašdara l-infišāliyyūna bayānan 'akkadū fīhā 'anna quwwāti kīyef intahakat waqfa 'iṭlāqi l-nārī bi-qasfi sittati mawāqi'a tābi'atin lahum 'amsi l-'awwala [...]*, ‘[...] that the forces of Kyiv violated the ceasefire **by bombing six sites** belonging to [...]’. The construction is negated 1x, Article 69: [...] *bi-'adami*

stiḥdāmi haqqi l-naqḍi al-fītū [...], lit. '[...] by not using the right to overrule, the veto [...]' (Example 488).

18x Cause: 15x *bi-sababi*; 1x *bi-fi'li*, Article 72: *ba'da ta'gīlin istamarra talāṭata 'asābī'a bi-fi'li l-huḡūmi l-'isrā'īliyyi l-'aḡīri*, 'after a delay [...] because of the latest Israeli attack [...]' ; 1x *bi-ḥukmi*, Article 88, *wa-kāna [...]* *qad-ṣarraḥa [...]* *bi-'anna l-malikata muḥādiyatun bi-ḥukmi l-dustūri*, 'that the Queen is impartial by virtue of the constitution'; and 1x *bi-faḍli*, Article 102: *wa-qāla 'inna 'ummatahum ṣārat brīṭāniyā l-'uẓmā bi-faḍli 'iskutlāndā l-'aẓīmati*, '[...] that their nation had become Great Britain thanks to the great Scotland' (Example 202).

16x Presidency, 9x *bi-ri'āsati(n)*, 6x *bi-ri'āyati*, 1x *bi-za'āmati*, all followed by a postmodifier, person, group of persons, or nationality *nisba*.

14x Associative, 5x *bi-ḥuḍūri* + genitive subject, 3x *bi-l-ta'āwuni ma'a*, 3x *bi-muṣāarakati(n)*, 1x *bi-l-iştirāki ma'a el-nurwīg* (Article 37), and 2x with simple *bi-* + noun.

8x TEMP 'before', only *bi-hulūli* + temporal phrase, e.g. Article 7: *bi-ḥaytu yakūnu 'alā sti'dādin tāmmīn bi-hulūli l-'awwali min dīsembir*, *maw'idi taslimihi l-manṣība*, 'in such a manner that he will be perfectly prepared by [the onset of] the first of December, the date when he takes office' (Example 272); and Article 130: *li-taṣila 'ilā 20 'alfan [...]* *bi-maṭla'i nūfimbir al-muqbili*, lit. 'to reach 20 thousand [...] by the onset of the upcoming November', i.e. 'before November'.

6x Malefactive, only in the phrase *bi-ḥaqqi* + victim (which does not need to be animate), and only in the context of a form of the verb *irtakaba*, 'commit' (Vsuff, Vpref, verbal noun, or participle), e.g. Article 128 (lead): *ḥaddara [...]* *min [...]* *ḥāṣṣatan mā yurtakabu bi-ḥaqqi l-masḡidi l-'aqṣā*, lit. 'warned [...] against [...] especially [against] what is perpetrated against the right of the al-Aqsa mosque'; and Article 120 (where *irtakaba* is not found in the matrix): *wa-ttiḥāḍi l-'iḡrā'āti l-qānūniyyati bi-ḥaqqi man irtakaba tilka l-ḥurūqāti*, 'and taking the legal measures against the one who committed these violations'.

6x Nominal Purpose, 5x *bi-hadaḍi* + *maṣḍar*, 1x *bi-ḡaraḍi* + *maṣḍar* (Article 11), e.g. Article 10: [...] *aṣḍara ḡayṣu l-iḥtilāli l-'isrā'īliyyi [...]* *'amran 'askariyyan bi-l-istilā'i 'alā 'ālāfi l-dūnūmāti l-zirā'īyyati min 'ārāḍi el-ḥalāl wa-bayt laḥm [...]* *bi-hadaḍi tawsī'i l-istiftāni [...]*, 'issued a military order to seize territories [...] with the aim of expanding the settlement [...]'.
 5x Equative, 3x *bi-tibāri-h* + accusative, e.g. Article 61: [...] *li-l-ta'āmulī ma'a ḥāḍihi l-'azmāti bi-tibārihā taḥaddīyan yuwāḡihu l-qārrata bi-'asrihā wa-laysa faqaṭ al-duwala l-talāṭa l-mutaḍarrirati [...]*, '[...] to deal with this crisis as a challenge which faces the whole [...] and not only [...]'; 1x *bi-maṭābati*, Article 8: *naḑā [...]* *'an takūna l-masāḡidu fī 'ūrūbbā bi-maṭābati 'awkārin li-'a ḑā'i dā'eṣ*, 'denied [...] that the mosques in Europe would be like nests for members of Daesh'; and 1x *bi-ṣifati-h*, Article 52: *maḡlis# al-nuwwābi wa-maḡlis# al-wuzarā'i [...]* *bi-ṣifatihimā l-mumattīlayni l-*

waḥīdayni [...], ‘[...] in their capacity of being the sole representatives [...]’.

4x TEMP punctual (including 1x date): 2x *bi-munāsabati* + temporally fixed and yearly recurring event, e.g. Article 24: *bi-munāsabati bad’i l-sanati l-qaḍā’iyyati l-ġadīdati*, ‘on the occasion of the beginning of the new Judicial year’; 1x *bi-tārīḥi*, Article 130: *bi-tārīḥi 10 sibtabmir*; and 1x *bi-nihāyati*, Article 15: *wa-’awḍaḥat* [...] ‘anna l-du’fata l-’ulā sa-takfī li-taġżi 4 ‘ālāfi ġundiyyin *bi-nihāyati šahri sibtabmir al-ġārī*, ‘[...] to arm 4 thousand soldiers by the end of the current month of September’, this last phrase being borderline TEMP ‘before’ (for which, see above).

3x Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner, explainable as a variant of the more frequent relation Instrumental Manner with *bi-* (see above) but with the two elements describing the same situation, e.g. in the lead of Article 20: [...] *tanẓīmi el-qā’ida istaġalla inšigāla l-ḥukūmati l-yamaniyyati bi-l-taš’idi llaḍī taqūmu bihi*⁴⁹⁹ *ġamā’atu l-ḥūṭi* [...] *bi-tawġīḥi qarabātin ġadīdatin* [...], ‘exploited the government’s preoccupation with [...] [by] directing new strikes [...]’; Article 26: *wa-htatama šukrī ziyāratahu li-bārīs bi-’aqdi mu’tamarin šuḥufiyyin* [...], ‘and Shoukry concluded his trip to Paris [by] holding a press conference’; and Article 19: ‘adāna [...] *al-i’tidā’ati bi-l-qatli wa-l-i’tiqāli ‘alā l-huwiyyati* [...], ‘condemned [...] the assaults of killing and detention of the identity [...]’.

3x Instrument & Agent, where the instrument is also a group of human agents, only in combination with accusative participles passive in meaning, Article 9: *quwwāt# al-niẓāmi muda* ‘amatan *bi-quwwāti l-difā’i l-waṭaniyyi wa-* [...], ‘the regime forces supported by the National Defense Forces and the [...]’; Article 33: *al-quwwātu l-šūmāliyyatu* [...] *mad’ūmatan bi-quwwati l-ittiḥādi l-’afriqiyyi* [...], ‘the Somali forces [...] backed by the African Union force [...]’ (Example 251); and Article 70: *li-l-ta’bīri ‘an da’mi l-dawlati l-’almāniyyati li-l-šar’iyyati fī lībiyā mutamattilatan bi-maġlisi l-nuwwābi l-lībiyyi*, ‘[...] for the legitimacy in Libya represented by the Libyan House of Representatives’, this last example being borderline Location & Instrument & Agent (an otherwise unattested category, but cf. 3x Location & Instrument for *bi-*, below).

3x Limitationis: 2x *bi-ša’ni* + genitive, ‘in/with regard to’ (typical for Concerning, for which, see above), e.g. Article 45: *li-l-taṭawwuri llaḍī ‘aḥrazathu turkiyā bi-ša’ni qaḍāyā l-fasādi* [...], ‘the progress which Turkey has made in regard to the corruption cases [...]’; and 1x *bi-l-nisbati li-*, Article 23: *qāla* [...] ‘innā ‘i lāna ‘isrā’īl mušādarata ‘arāḍin [...] “salbiyyun” *bi-l-nisbati li-ġuhūdi l-salāmi* [...], ‘said that [...] is “negative” in regard to the peace efforts [...]’.

⁴⁹⁹ The article has *bihā*.

3x Purpose: 2x *bi-hadaḥfi* + *maṣḍar*; 1x *bi-ğaraḍi* + *maṣḍar*; i.e. no difference compared to Nominal Purpose (for which, see above; and cf. Motion Purpose for *bi-* below).

3x Countersequential *bi* Cause, 1x *bi-muğarradi* + *maṣḍar*, Article 42, ‘as soon as’; 1x *bi-’amrin min*, Article 58: *wa-’aḍāfa ’annahū sa-yatimmu taškīlu lağnati mufattišīna li-l-taḥqīqi fi-l-ḥādiṭi bi-’amrin min ra ’tṣi l-wuzarā’i* [...], ‘[...] **by order of the president** [...]’; and 1x *bi-faḍli*, Article 85: *’a ’lana [...]* *’anna ḥizbahu [...]* *’aṣḥaḥa «sayyida l-lu’bati» l-siyasiyyati [...]* ***bi-faḍli naṭiğati l-intiḥābātī*** [...], ‘[...] had become «the master» of the political «game» [...] **thanks to result of the election** [...]’ (Example 196).

3x Location & Instrument, location that also expresses instrument: Article 123: *wa-qāla ’innahā taḥzā bi-l-ihtimāmi l-mukattaḥi minna l-ğāmi’ati bi-hayākiliḥ l-muḥtalifati* [...], ‘[...] that it [the Palestinian cause] is receiving intense attention from the [Arab] League **in its different structures** [...]’; Article 102: [...] *bi-’uqūlinā wa-qulūbinā wa-’arwāḥinā nurīdukum* [...], ‘[...] **in our minds, hearts, and souls** we want you to [...]’ (Example 466); and Article 51: [...] *allatī ’aḍā’athā l-qanātu l-sābi’atu bi-l-tilfiziūn al-’isrā’īliyyi*, where the relation is possibly a mere Location (affiliation), ‘Channel Seven **on Israeli television**’, comparable to Location of Utterance (for which, see e.g. *fī*).

2x ADVERB ‘barely’, only *bi-l-kādi*; 1x Article 75 (Example 555) and 1x Article 7 (Example 272).

2x Mediation, only *bi-wisāṭatin* + *nisba* adjective of country, e.g. Article 10: *al-muḥādaṭāti llatī ġarat ma ’a ’isrā’īl bi-wisāṭatin ’amrīkiyyatin*, ‘talks that took place with Israel **through American mediation**’ (Example 312).

2x Motion Purpose: 1x *bi-hadaḥfi* + *maṣḍar* (cf. Nominal Purpose and Purpose, above); and 1x *bi-niyyati* + *maṣḍar*, Article 3: *ğā’ū bi-niyyati ḥtilālī mabānī l-dawlati*, ‘who came **with the intention of occupying buildings of the state**’ (Example 686).

2x TEMP ‘already’, only *bi-l-fī’li*, e.g. Article 130: [...] *kamā ’anna mawāridanā l-maḥdūdata bi-l-fī’li* [...], ‘[...] our **already** limited resources [...]’ (Example 625).

All other attestations are *hapax*.

1x ADVERB ‘at all’, Article 50 (final sentence): *ḥaddara [...] min al-i ’tirāfi bi-l-mu’tamari l-waṭaniyyi* [...] *bi-’ayyi ḥālin mina l-’aḥwālī*, ‘warned [...] against recognizing the National Conference [...] **in any way**’ (Example 165).

1x Agent & Ethicus, Article 69: [...] *yu’tabaru l-hamma l-’asāsiyya bi-l-nisbati li-l-qiyaḍati l-filasṭīniyyati* [...], ‘[ceasefire] [...] is considered the primary concern **in the eyes of/by the Palestinian leadership** [...]’ (Example 446).

1x Ethicus, Article 12, [...] *naḥaran li-’ahammiyyatihi bi-l-nisbati li-l-duwali l-’ūrūbbiyyati*, ‘[...] its importance **to the European states**’.

1x Exception Contrast, Article 120: *wa-taqā'u ġālbiyyatu minṭaqati rīfi 'idlib tahta sayṭarati l-mu'arīdati [...]* **bi-stiġnā'i markazihā madīnati 'idlib**, 'the majority of the region [...] **except for its capital, the city of Idlib**' (Example 373).

1x Expanding Paraphrase, Article 107: *li-tahqīqi hadaḡi l-maġmū'ati bi-ziyādati 'iġmāliyyi l-nātiġi l-maħalliyyi bi-nisbati 1,8% 'idāfiyyatin*, 'to realize the goal of the group [i.e. the G20] **to increase the gross domestic product by an additional 1.8%**' (Example 535).

1x Inconcomitance, Article 88: [...]' *alā l-'ayši fī nsiġāmin bi-ġadḡi l-naḡari 'ani l-natīġati [...]*, '[...] to live in harmony **regardless of the result** [...]'

1x Instrumental Manner bi Cause, Article 124: [...]' *maġlisu l-nurwābi llaḡi 'aṣbaħa bi-šar' iyyati ntiħābihi wa-bi-'tirāfi l-duwali wa-l-munazzamāti wa-l-haya'āti l-duwaliyyati wa-l-'iqlīmiyyati bihi [...]*, '[...] which has come about **through the legitimacy of its election** and through [...]' (Example 546).

1x Limitationis bi Graded Exemplification, *bi-l-tahdīdi fī*, Article 1 (final sentence): [...]' *fa-yarā 'anna l-dawra l-'abraza llaḡi yumkinu 'an tal'abahu l-sa'ūdiyyatu bi-l-tahdīdi fī-l-'amali l-'askariyyi ḡidda tanẓīmi l-dawlati l-'islāmiyyati huwa [...]*, '[...] he thinks that the most prominent role Saudi can play **especially in the military action against Daesh**, is [...]'

1x Location of Utterance, not prototypical (cf. this relation for *fī*), Article 85: [...]' *'adlā 'akesūn bi-taṣrīhin [...]* *qāla fīhi 'innahu [...]*, '[...] Åkesson made **a statement** [...] in which he said that [...]' (direct object governed by 'adlā, possibly better excluded from investigation; see Example 291).

1x Manner & Associative, in a list of legal measures to be taken, Article 25: [...]' *ittiħāḡu l-'iġrā'āti l-lāzimati - bi-l-ittifāqi ma'a sā'iri l-'aħzābi bi-l-barlamāni - li-man'i 'awdati l-takfīriyyina [...]*, '[...] taking the necessary measures - **in agreement with the rest of the parties in the parliament** - to prevent terrorists from returning [...]'

1x Meta-linguistic Comment, *bi-l-ta'kīdi*, in direct speech, Article 102: «*naħnu naħtarimu bi-l-ta'kīdi haqqa l-'iskutlandiyyina fī ttiħāḡi qarārihim [...]*», «**we of course** respect the right of the Scots to take their [own] decision [...]» (Example 648).

1x Numerical Comparative Contrast, Article 75: *wa-kaṣafat [...]* *taqad-duma 'anšāri l-waħdati 'alā mu'ayyidi l-infiṣāli (al-qawmiyyina) bi-fāriqin yatarāwaħu mā bayna 2 wa 8 %*, '[...] a lead by the supporters of the union over those who support the secession (the nationalists) **with a difference ranging between 2 and 8%**' (Example 555).

1x Predicate bi Associative, Article 31: *wa-'adāfa [...]* *'anna l-wafda sa-yakūnu bi-ṣuħḡati qāfilatin mina l-musā'adāti l-'insāniyyati*, 'that the delegation will **be accompanied with a convoy of humanitarian aid**'.

1x Predicate bi Motion Purpose, Article 67: *wa-naḡā 'an takūna ziyarata ra'īsi l-'āliyyati l-'afrīqiyyati [...]* *bi-hadaḡi naqli l-ħiwāri l-waṭaniyyi li-*

hāriği l-bilādi mušīran 'ilā 'anna [...], ‘and he denied that the visit of [...] will be **to transfer the national dialogue to outside the country** [...]’.

1x TEMP ‘as soon as possible’, Article 122: [...] *bi-ḍarūrati l-tadaḥḥuli l-‘āğili li-ḥalli qadiyyatihim wa-l-‘ifrāği ‘anhum bi-‘asra ‘a waqtin*, ‘[...] the necessity of urgent intervention to resolve their case and release them **as soon as possible**’ (Example 561).

1x TEMP punctual bi Cause, Article 2: *ḥilāla ḥaflī stiqbālin ‘aqāmahu l-ra‘īsu li-l-diblūmāsiyyīna bi-munāsabati l-iḥtīfālī bi-yawmi “el-naşr” al-turkiyyi*”, ‘during a reception party that the president held for the diplomats **on the occasion of the Turkish day of “the victory”**’ (Example 314).

1x Temporal Succession, *bi-muğarradi + maşdar*, ‘as soon as’ preposed element (hence the temporal relation; for preposed elements and subordinations, see 5.3.4.4), Article 61: *wa-ḍakarati l-munazzamatu ‘annahu bi-muğarradi fathī mirfaqin ġadīdin li-‘ilāği l-muşābin fa-‘innahu »yazdaḥimu ‘alā l-fawri bi-l-marḍā [...]*, ‘And the organization stated that **as soon as a new facility for treating the infected is opened** it »instantly gets crowded with patients [...]’ (Example 484); the other 1x attestation of *bi-muğarradi* in the corpus (2x in total) is post-positioned and expresses Countersequential bi Cause, ‘as soon as’ (for which, see above).

wa-bi-

12x attestations, 9x annotated relations.

This count includes 4x transition phrases: 2x personal, 1x temporal (Article 5), 1x topical/Concerning, *wa-bi-l-nisbati li-muḥāfazati ‘amrān, ‘awḍaḥa [...]* (Article 118); for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

The remaining 3x unannotated relations are iterated prepositions following lexically governed *bi-* syntagms (the iteration of a preposition is atypical for Media Arabic).⁵⁰⁰

All other relations are *hapax*.

1x Associative, Article 21: *wa-ḍakara bayānun [...] ‘amsi ‘anna ṭayarāna l-ğayşi l-‘irāqiyyi wa-bi-l-tansīqi ma ‘a l-istiḥbārati l-‘askariyyati wağğahū 16 ḍarbatan ġawwiyyatan li-tağammu ‘āti dā‘eş fi [...]*, ‘[...] that the Iraqi army’s air force [and] **in coordination with the military intelligence** directed 16 air strikes against ISIS gatherings [...]’ (Example 724).

1x Instrumental Manner bi Cause, Article 124, where the preposition is repeated with the same semantics as the preceding one: [...] *wa-‘āḥiruhā mağlisu l-nuwwābi llaḍī ‘aşbaḥa bi-şar‘iyyati ntiḥābihi wa-bi-‘tirāfi l-duwālī wa-l-munazzamāti wa-l-haya ‘āti l-duwālīyyati wa-l-‘iqlīmiyyati bihi [...]*,

⁵⁰⁰ Article 48: [...] ‘awşā bi-l-mazīdi mina l-ta ‘āwuni bayna [...] *wa-bi-l-şafāfiyyatin ‘akbara [...]*; Article 116: [...] ‘aşāda bi “al-şabībatī” [...] *wa “bi-l-qudrati [...]*”; and Article 117: [...] *raḥḥabat bi-fawzi [...] wa-bi-l-tawaşşuli ‘ilā ttiḥāqin bi-taškili ḥukūmati [...]*.

‘which has come about through the legitimacy of its election and through the recognition by [...] of it [...]’ (Example 546).

1x Location, Article 106: *wa-qāla [...] ’inna qasfan ’anīfan yadūru fī maqarri l-firqati l-’ulā sābiqan [...] wa-bi-muḥṭi ġāmi ’ati el-’imān fī šārī ’i el-talātīn [...]*, ‘[...] that heavy shelling was taking place at the headquarters of the former First Armored Division [...] **and around Iman University** [...]’.

1x Manner, Article 38: *da’ā [...] ’irān [...] ’ilā “’adami l-ta’āṭī ma’a maḡmu ’ātin” fī bilādihi mukarriran hākaḏā wa-bi-šaklin ġayri mubāširin al-ittihāmātī li-’irān bi-da’mi l-mutamarridīna l-šī’ati fī el-yaman*, ‘called on Iran [...] to not [...] iterating thus **[yet] in an indirect manner** the accusations [...]’.

1x Presidency, Article 31: [...] *da’at [...] ’ilā ḏarūrati ’aqdi ġawlatin ḡadīdatin min l-muḡawwaḏātī [...] bayna [...] bi-l-qāhira wa-bi-ri ’āyatīn mišriyyatīn li-tamkīni l-ša’bi [...] min ’inhā’i l-iḥtilālī [...]*, ‘[...] called for the necessity of holding a new round [...] negotiations between [...] **in Cairo and with Egyptian sponsorship** [...]’.

bi-’iṭri-h

1x attestation, TEMP ‘later’, Article 46: [...] *mušīran ’ilā ’anna hāḏihi l-natīḡata sa-tulqī bi-tadā’iyātiha laysa faqat ’alā l-firansiyyīna, bal ’alā ’urūbbā bi-’iṭrihā.*, ‘pointing out that this result will have repercussions not only on the French, but **later** also on Europe.’

wa-bi-l-raḡmi min

1x attestation, preposed subordination, Concession, Article 86: *wa-bi-l-raḡmi min ba’ḏi l-šā’i āti llatī tušīru [...] ’illā ’anna taqrīra maḡallati “fūrṭšan” ’akkada [...]*, ‘**despite some rumours** which point to [...] the report of the magazine “Fortune” nevertheless confirms [...]’ (Example 553; for preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4).

bi-l-’iḏāfati ’ilā

12x attestations, 4x annotated relations.

2x Numerical Comparative Contrast, Article 53: *wa-yušāriku fī-l-mu’ta-mari [...] ḥawālay 30 dawlatan wa-20 mu’assasatan duwaliyyatan bi-l-’iḏāfati ’ilā ’ašarātī l-mu’assasātī l-ḥāššati*, ‘and about 30 states and 20 international institutions partake in the conference [...] **in addition to dozens of private institutions**’; and Article 61: *wa-tataḏammanu l-musā’adātu mustalzamātīn ṭibbiyyatan bi-qīmati 100 ’alfi ġinēh li-sīraliyūn wa-150 ’alfa ġinēh li-ḡinīyā kūnākri wa-ka-ḏālika 150 ’alfa ġinēh li-lībīriyā, bi-l-’iḏāfati ’ilā mu’addātīn ma’aliyyatīn bi-qīmati 150 ’alfa ġinēh ’uḥrā muqad-damat#n ’ilā lībīriyā.*, ‘The aid includes medical supplies at a worth of 100 thousand Egyptian pounds to Sierra Leone, 150 thousand Egyptian pounds to

Guinea Conakry, as well as 150 thousand Egyptian pounds to Liberia, **in addition to laboratory equipment at a worth of another 150 thousand Egyptian pounds provided to Liberia**’.

2x Unordered Additions (Different Level Different Subject), Article 20, with a proleptic relative (for proleptic relatives, see 6.3.1.1): *wa-’akkadat maṣādiru maḥalliyyatun* [...] *’anna musallaḥī “el-qā’ida” ḥāḡamū ’abra sayyāratin mufahḥaḥatin katībatan tābi’atan li-l-liwā’i l-tānī* [...], *al-mutamarkizi fī ḡūl el-rayda, mimmā ’addā ’ilā maqtali naḥwa ḥamsati ḡunūdin, wa-’adadin ’āḥara mina l-ḡarḥā, bi-l-’idāfati ’ilā l-intihāriyyin llaḏī qtaraba min bawwābati l-mu’askari llaḏī turābiḡu fīhi l-katībatu wa-faḡḡara nafsahu* [...], ‘and local sources said [...] that al-Qaeda militants attacked [...] and in addition a suicide bomber [who] approached [...] [and] blew himself up [...]’ (Example 236); and Article 47: [...] *al-’uzlati llatī ša’ara bihā ḥārī fī zilli ’adami wuḡūdi wālidatihi* [...] *bi-l-’idāfati ’ilā nazawāti ’abīhi ma’a kāmīlā* [...], ‘[...] which Harry suffered due to the absence of his mother [...] and [due to] his father’s caprices with Camilla [...]’ (Example 653).

The remaining 8x unannotated relations are nominal additions, *x in addition to y* (not investigated), of which the annotated relations above are clearly extensions. In relation to this should be adduced the unique nominal addition from Article 89 where the *bi-l-’idāfati ’ilā* syntagm is preposed the direct object to which the syntagm is added: *wa-’aḥzābi l-liqā’i l-muštarakī llatī taḏummu bi-l-’idāfati ’ilā l-ḥizbi l-nāṣiriyyi - ’aḥzāba el-taḡammu’ el-yamanī li-l-’iṣlāḥ* [...] *wa-l-ḥizba* [...] *wa-ḥizba* [...] *wa-ḥizba* [...], ‘the Joint Meeting Parties, which comprise **in addition to the Nasserite Party** - the parties of the Yemeni Congregation for Reform [...] and [...] and [...] and [...]’, (Example 707).

wa-bi-ḥasabi

4x attestations, 4x annotated relations, only in attribution formulae (for which, see 6.5).

badalan min

2x attestations, only to express *x instead of y* with nominal, non-clausal constituents, Article 122: *’a’lana* [...] *’anna l-iḡtimā’a* [...] *sa-yu’qadu l-yawma badalan mina l-’amsi* [...], ‘announced that the meeting [...] will be held today instead of yesterday [...]’ (Example 388); and Article 89: [...] *li-tasmiyati mufāwiḏīna ḡududin min qibali l-ri’āsati badalan min al-mufāwiḏīna l-ḥāliyyīna* [PN wa-PN], ‘[...] to name new negotiators on behalf of the presidency, **instead of the current negotiators** [PN and PN]’ (Example 389).

bi-dūni

9x attestations, 9x annotated relations, only Inconcomitance, 3x preposed with a secondary conditional notion, Inconcomitance bi Conditional, e.g. Article 77: *wa-ḥaḍḍarat min 'annahu bi-dūni l-mazīdi mina l-musā'adāti [...]* *fa-'inna bilādahā sa-taḥsaru l-ma'rikata [...]*, 'without more aid [...], her country will lose [...]' (Example 422) (for which, see Inconcomitance in 4.9.6, and preposed subordination in 5.3.4.4); these 3x are the only relations with a finite clause as the matrix (complement main clauses); in all other attestations the head is nominal, including 3x *tā'irāt#* (only Article 95) in the phrase *tā'irāt# bi-dūni ṭayyārīn*, lit. 'planes without pilots', i.e. 'drones'.

bi-ḥasabi

10x attestations, only in attribution formulae (for which, see 6.5).

ba'da

71x attestations, 71x annotated relations. This count includes 1x article-initial subordination, Temporal Succession bi Context, in Article 40. For article-initial subordination, see 5.3.3.

Two finite clauses in temporal succession are not related temporally via *ba'da* in a sequence of the type *did x*, *and did y*, *and after interval n did z*; for the closest equivalent, see the *hapax* syntagm *wa-ba'da dālīka* Vsuff under 6.1.5, a syntagm in temporal succession to a preceding matrix (Article 35, Example 193).

42x Countersequential, a segmentally post-positioned situation or event which temporally either preceded, was expected to have preceded, or will precede the matrix situation, e.g. Article 38: *wa-sta'nafa l-ṭarafāni muwāḡahātīhim [sic] al-musallahata ba'da ttifāqin ġarā baynahum al-yawma li-waqfi 'iḷlāqi l-nāri li-fatratin zamanīyyatin lam tataḡāwaz al-ṭalāṭa sā'ātin [...]*, 'And the two parties resumed their armed confrontations after an agreement was reached between them today for a ceasefire for a time period not exceeding 3 hours [...]' 12x matrices are complement main clauses (8x Vsuff, 4x VprefA/L); 8x are main clauses (7x Vsuff, 1x VprefL); 8x clauses are relatives (4x Vsuff, 2x VprefL, 2x future VprefL); all other matrices/heads (14x) are nominal phrases, nominalized clauses, or subordinate finite clauses.

8x Countersequential bi Context, e.g. Article 14: *wa-ya'tī ṭalabu būtin bi-'iqāmati dawlatin li-l-infišāliyyīna ba'da yawmin min 'i'lāni l-ittihādi l-'ūrūbbiyyi manḥa rūsiyā muhlatan li-muddati 'usbū'in li-taḡyīri ṭarīqati ta'āmulihā ma'a l-'azmati l-'ūkrāniyyati [...]*, 'Putin's request to [...] came a day after the European Union had announced that [...]'; Article 59 (final sentence): [...] *wa-ya'tī dālīka fi-l-waqti llaḍi fataḡat fihi l-madārisu 'abwābahā ba'da 'uḷlati l-ṣayfi*, '[...] and this came at a time when the schools opened their doors after the summer holiday'; and Article 9: *wa-'adāfa [...]* 'inna [sic] *l-ḥukūmatayni l-sūriyyata wa-l-'isrā'īliyyata sā'adatā fīmā*

*waşafahu «bi- 'akbara hurūbin» li-l-quwwāti l-filibīniyyati ba 'da l-iştibāki ma 'a nahwi 100 mina l-islāmiyyīna l-mutaşaddidīna llaḍīna kānū yuhāşirūhum fī [...], 'and he added [...]' that the Syrian and Israeli governments helped in what he described as «the greatest escape» of the Philippine forces **after the clash with about 100 radical Islamists [...]**'.*

7x Countersequential bi Context bi Cause, e.g. Article 58 (lead): *fī muḥāwalatin li-ḥtiwā 'i l-ğadabi l-ša 'biyyi l-mušta 'ali, ta 'ahhadati l-suluṭātu l-turkiyyatu bi-waḍ 'i «ḥuṭṭati 'amalin» li-taḥsīni l-salāmati fī 'amākini l- 'amali ba 'da ḥādīṭi maşra 'i 'aşarati 'aşḥāşin ġarrā 'a suqūṭi miş 'adin mina l-tābiqi al 32 dāhila mabnan qayda l- 'inşā 'i, [...]* the Turkish authorities have pledged to put down a «plan of action» to improve the safety in the workplaces **following an incident that killed 10 people when an elevator fell from the 32nd floor inside a building under construction [...]**'.

4x Countersequential bi Cause, e.g. Article 56: *ya 'tī ḍālika fī waqtin, şa 'adat ġamā 'atu l-ḥūṭiyyīna mina ḥtiġāġātihā 'amsi, ba 'da maqtali mutaţāhirin bi-l-raşāşi 'amsi l- 'awwala [...]*, 'this came when the Houthi group intensified their protests yesterday **after a demonstrator was killed by a bullet the day before yesterday [...]**'.

3x TEMP punctual date, only in the phrase *ba 'da ġadin* + name of the day, e.g. Article 88 (lead): [...] *ba 'da ġadin al-ḥamīsa [...]*, 'the day after tomorrow, Thursday' (Example 9).

1x Cause, Article 90: *wa-qāla [...] tamma stid 'ā'u l-ḥākimi 'ilā ġalsati stimā 'in 'amāma l-barlamāni ba 'da mazā 'ima 'an muḥālafātīn māliyyatin [...]*, '[...]' that the governor was summoned to a hearing session in front of the parliament **due to allegations of financial irregularities [...]**'.

1x Countersequential bi Inconsequential, Article 98: *wa-lā tazālu l-mufāwādātu bayna l-wafdi l-ri 'āsiyyi l-yamaniyyi wa-l-ḥūṭiyyīna muta-waqqifatan ba 'da tifāqin 'alā bunūdin kaḡratin [...]*, 'the negotiations between the Yemeni presidential delegation and the Houthis are still stalled **after having agreed on many items [...]**'.

1x Expanding Paraphrase bi Countersequential, Article 19: *wa-qālati l-ḥukūmatu [...] 'inna 'aġlaba l-wizārāti wa-mu 'assasāti l-dawlati [...] hiya ḥāriġa sayṭaratinā wa- 'innahā muḥtallatun, ba 'da muḥāşaratihā wa-qṭihāmihā wa-man 'i muwazzafihā min duḥūlihā [...]*, '[...]' that the majority of the ministries and state institutions [...] are outside of its control and that they are occupied: **[after] they have been besieged and raided and their employees prevented from entering them [...]**' (Example 513).

1x Numerical Comparative Contrast, Article 114: *wa-yuḍkaru 'anna l-ṭā 'ifata l- 'alawiyyata ṭānī 'akbara 'aqalliyyatin 'iṭniyyatin ba 'da l-kurdiyyati fī-l-bilādi [...]*, '[...]' is the second largest ethnic minority **after the Kurdish [minority]** in the country [...]'.

1x TEMP punctual, Article 70: *ba 'da ġadin*, 'the day after tomorrow'.

1x Temporal Succession, preposed subordination to a complement main clause, Article 106: *wa-qāla l-mab 'ūtu l-duwaliyyu - fī bayānin - 'innahu*

ba'da mušāwarātin mukattafatin ma'a ġamī'i l-'aṭrāfi l-siyāsiyyati [...] *tamma l-tawassulu* 'ilā ttifāqin li-ħalli l-'azmati [...]. For preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.

wa-ba'da

2x attestations, only to express TEMP punctual in the phrase *wa-ba'da ġadin*, 'and the day after tomorrow', e.g. Article 27: *ħilāla qimmatihī fī waylz ġadan al-ħamīsa wa-ba'da ġadin al-ġum'ata*, 'during its summit in Wales tomorrow Thursday **and the day after tomorrow Friday**'.

buġyata

1x attestation, Purpose, Article 41: 'adlā [...] *bi-tirāfātin ħaṭīratin buġyata l-istiftādati min ħafdi* 'uqūbatihī lāħiqan, 'he made [...] serious confessions **for the purpose of benefiting** from a reduction of his sentence later' (Example 682).

bi-lā

1x attestation, Inconcomitance, Article 79: [...] *sa-yuṣbiḥu l-ra'isu bi-lā sulṭatin wa-dūna tafwīdin*, '[...] the president will become **without authority** and without delegation' (Example 417).

binā'an 'alā

6x attestations, 6x annotated relations.

6x Countersequential bi Context bi Cause. The syntagm is typically used to code an anterior background which functions as a Context & Cause to the matrix situation, the only recurring prepositional complement being 2x *ṭalabin min* + Agent & Origin, e.g. Article 61: *wa-'aḍāfa* [...] 'anna 'irsāla l-mustašfā [...] *ya 'tī binā'an 'alā ṭalabin mina l-wikālati l-'amrīkiyyati li-l-tanmiyyati l-duwaliyyati* [...], 'that the dispatch of the hospital [...] came **against the background of a request from the United States Agency for International Development** [...]'. 3x of the *hapax* prepositional complements are found in adjacent semantic spheres of communication, 2x in Article 11: *ħiṭābātī iblāġi ġayri muwaqqa'atin*, 'unsigned notification letters' (Example 531); *ta'limāti l-mudda'ī l-'āmmi l-ġumhūriyyi*, 'instructions of the attorney general of the Republic' (Example 332); and 1x in Article 23: *al-mubādarati l-miṣriyyati*, 'The Egyptian initiative' (Example 121, without translation). The remaining 1x prepositional complement *al-istiftā'i* in Article 75 is atypical not only lexically, but also because the anteriority and current relevance of the syntagm lies in the causative context of anticipation of an event which is yet to take place: *wa-fī brüksel 'akkada murāqibūna 'anna l-qalaqa bada'a yusaytiru 'alā 'arwiqati l-ittihādi l-'ūrūbbiyyi 'izā'a l-infiṣāli l-muħtamali li-'iskutlandā 'an brīṭāniyā , binā'an 'alā l-istiftā'i llaḍī sa-yaġrī yawma l-ħamīsi l-muqbila*, '[...] the anxiety for the possible separation of Scotland from Britain

has started to control the corridors of the European Union **based on the referendum which will be held this upcoming Thursday** [...]’. This last example could arguably have been annotated as Context & Cause.

wa-binā'an 'alā

1x attestation, preposed syntagm to state condition for matrix, Preposed Condition, ‘based on’, ‘depending on’, Article 69: »*wa-binā'an 'alā ṭabī'ati ḥāḍā l-raddi sa-yatimmu tahdīdu saqfin zamanīyyin li* [...], ‘**and based on the nature of this response**, a time limit will be set for [...]’ (Example 482). For preposed adverbials, see 05.3.4.3.

bayna

111x attestations, 4x annotated relations. The low count of annotated relations is probably due to its use for reciprocal and interpersonal semantics (not investigated).

2x Location, Article 66: [...] *sayṭara* [...] *'alā ḥān el-ḥalabāt al-wāqi'i bayna qaryati el-ḥiḡa qurba el-qunayṭara wa-tell el-ḥārri* [...]; and Article 102: *wa-'aḍāfa 'anna ḥudūdan 'akṭara šarāmatan sa-tursamu bayna l-baladayni* [...], ‘and he added that stricter borders will be drawn **between the two countries** [...]’ (Example 692).

1x Agent & Reciprocal, Article 31: [...] *fataḥat* [...] *nīrāna 'asliḥatihā l-raššāšati* [...] *fī 'awwali ḥarqin li-l-tahdi'ati l-muwagga'ati bayna l-ḥaṣā'ili l-filasṭīniyyati wa-'isrā'īl bi-ri'āyatin mišriyyatin* [...], ‘[...] in the first breach of the truce signed **between the Palestinian factions and Israel** [...]’.

1x TEMP ‘between’, Article 41: [...] *allaḍī kāna mudīran tanfīḍiyyan li-qismi l-takrīri fī betrūbrās bayna 2004 wa-2012* [...].

wa-bayna

4x attestations, zero annotated relations. All 4x unannotated relations are reciprocal expressions of the type *bayna* [...] *wa-bayna* [...], ‘between x and y’ (not investigated).

ت (tā')

tuḡāha

4x attestations, 4x annotated relations. All relations are expressive of a hostile stance or action towards the prepositional complement, Malefactive, 1x of which is polysemous.

3x Malefactive, Article 31: *wa-maydāniyyan, fataḥati l-zawāriqu l-ḥarbiyyatu l-'isrā'īliyyatu šabāha 'amsi nīrāna 'asliḥatihā l-raššāšati tuḡāha marākibi l-šayyādīna l-filasṭīniyyīna* [...], ‘[...] opened machine-gun fire **against the boats of Palestinian fishermen** [...]’ (Example 719); Article 61:

[...] *binā'an 'alā ṭalabin mina l-wikālati l-'amrīkiyyati li-l-tanmiyyati l-duwaliyyati llati tunassiqu stiġābata l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati tuġāha tafaššī 'ibūlā llaḍi* [...], '[...] which coordinates the United States' response to the **Ebola outbreak** [...]; and Article 14: *wa-'akkada 'anna l-ġarba kāna lā-budda 'an yatanabba'a bi-raddi fi'li rūsiyā tuġāha l-mawqifi* [...], 'And he stressed that the West should have expected a reaction from Russia to the **situation** [...]' (Example 439).

1x Concerning & Malefactive, Article 4: [...] *'idā takarrarat fa-sa-yakūnu lanā mawqifun tuġāha turkiyā llati yaġibu 'an tafhama ġayyidan ḥuṭūrata l-tadaḥḥuli fi' šu'ūninā*, '[...] if they are repeated, we will have such a stance **concerning/against Turkey** that they well must understand the danger of interfering in our affairs' (Example 270).

taḥta

22x attestations, 17x annotated relations. The remaining 5x unannotated relations are predicates: 4x *taḥta* + *sayṭarati* + genitive, 'under the control of [...]; and 1x *al-'inšā'i*, 'under construction' (Article 24). For the latter example, cf. the preposition *qayda*.

9x Manner Instrument, recurring prepositional complements being 2x *'unwān*#, 2x *ši'ār*#, and 2x *(al-)musammā*, with all others 1x, e.g. Article 126: [...] *li-hādā l-taqrīri llaḍi ġā'a taḥta 'unwāni «al-tiġārat# al-šniyyat# fi' ad-awāti l-ta' dībi wa-l-qam'i* [...], '[...] the report which came **under the title «Chinese Trade of Torture and Repression Instruments»** [...]'.

4x Presidency, the prepositional complements being 2x *sayṭarati* + genitive subject, 1x *qiyādati* + genitive subject (Article 79), and 1x *'isrāfi* + genitive subject, e.g. Article 120: *wa-taqa'u ġālibiyyatu minṭaqati rīf 'idlib taḥta sayṭarati l-mu'āraḍati l-musallahati bi-stiṭnā'i markaziha madīnati 'idlib*, 'the majority of the region of the Idlib countryside lies **under the control of the armed opposition** [...]; and Article 112: *wa-yuṣāru 'ilā 'anna 'amaliyyata 'i'ādati farzi l-'aṣwāti ntahati l-'usbū'a l-māḍiya taḥta 'isrāfi l-'umami l-muttaḥidati* [...], '[...] that the recount process ended last week **under the supervision of the United Nations** [...]'.

1x Context & Cause, Article 114: [...] *wa-yaqūmūna bi-ġalqi l-madārisi l-muḥālīfati taḥta ši'āri 'ummat# wāḥidat#*, '[...] closing dissident schools **under the slogan of one nation** [...]'.

1x Location, Article 49: [...] *fi' mustawda 'ātin taḥta l-'arḍi* [...], '[...] **underground** reservoirs [...]'.

1x Location & Instrument, Article 120: [...] *yuḥāwilūna ntišāla raġulin madfūnin ḥattā raqabatihi taḥta 'anqāḍi mabnan munhārin*, '[...] a man **buried** to his neck **under the rubble of a collapsed building**'.

1x Manner, atypical, postmodifier to a noun, Article 84: [...] *fi' ḥafḍi ḥālāti wafayāti al-'atfāli - taḥta sinni l-ḥāmisati* - [...], '[...] in reducing mortality rates of children - **under the age of five** - [...]'.

ت (tā) ٲ

No attestations.

ڃ (ǧīm) ڄ

ǧarrā'a

11x attestations, 10x annotated relations. The construction is typically (9x) used in the context of casualties or wounding to express the how. The 1x un-annotated relation also has this function, an 'ā'id in a syndetic relative clause in Article 71: *'iṭra al-iṣṭibākāt [...] allatī saqaṭa ǧarrā'ahā qatlā wa-'asrā [...]*, lit. 'following clashes [...] **during which** dead and prisoners fell [...]', 'which resulted in deaths and prisoners being taken'.

8x Instrumental Manner, e.g. Article 19: *wa-naḥati l-quwwātu [...] mā tanāqalathu l-qanawātu wa- [...] 'an maqtali 'aṣarati ǧunūdin min quwwāti-him ǧarrā'a l-iṣṭibākātī l-ǧāriyati munḍu 'awwali 'amsi ḥattā l-'āna ma 'a [...]*, 'the forces [...] deny [...] what the channels reported [...] concerning the death of ten soldiers from its forces **in the clashes going on since the day before yesterday until now with [...]**'. These relations span a continuum from Instrumental Manner to what has 1x been annotated as Instrumental Manner bi TEMP 'during', Article 90 (lead): *laqiyat ṭiḥlatun maṣra 'ahā wa-'uṣṭibati l-mar'ati naṭiǧata suqūṭi 'adadin mina l-qada'ifi l-ṣārūḥiyyati 'alā madinati el-zāwiya bi-l-'āṣimati ṭarābulus ǧarrā'a iṣṭibākātīn bi-minṭaqati warṣefāna*. 'A girl was killed and a woman was injured as a result of the falling of a number of rockets on the city of Zawiya in the capital Tripoli **during clashes in the Warshefana area**.' (Example 351); the second attestation of the preposition from the same article, annotated as a monosemantic Instrumental Manner, illustrates the presence of the temporal notions also in these annotations, Article 90: *kamā qutila ṭalātatu ǧunūdin [...] wa-'uṣṭiba 12 'aḥarūna ǧarrā'a l-iṣṭibākātī l-dā'irati munḍu l-laylati qabla l-māḍiyati ḥawla maṭāri benīnā [...]*, '3 soldiers were killed [...] and 12 others were wounded **during the clashes** which [...]' (Example 350).⁵⁰¹

1x Cause, Article 69, here the preposition is not attested in the context of death, but of becoming homeless, denoting Cause: [...] *wa-'iṭwā'i l-mušar-radīna, allaḍīna balāḡa 'adaduhum 450 'alfan ǧarrā'a tadmīri buyūtihih min qibali l-ṭayarāni l-ḥarbiyyi l-'isrā'iliyyi*, '[...] the displaced whose number reached 450 thousand **because of the destruction of their homes by the [...]**' (Example 446). The example is similar to Instrumental Manner above.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. also Article 58: [...] *ba'da ḥādīṭi maṣra 'i 'aṣarati 'aṣḥāšin ǧarrā'a suqūṭi miṣ'adin mina l-ṭābiqi al 32 dāḥila mabnan qayda l-'inšā'i*, '[...] since the accident with the death of ten persons **ǧarrā'a the falling of an elevator from the 32nd floor inside a building under construction**'.

1x Instrumental Manner bi TEMP ‘during’, Article 90, see under “Instrumental Manner” above.

ġanūb#, ġanūbiyy# (Ref.)

‘South’, ‘south of’, ‘southern part of’; see 6.9.2.1.

ḥ (ḥā) ɛ

ḥattā

18x attestations, 17x annotated relations. The remaining 1x unannotated relation expresses the allative (motion ‘to’), Article 3, *kāna ladayhim rāfi ‘atun qāmū bi-qiyādatihā ḥatta madḥali maqarri l-ri’ūsati*, ‘they had a crane that they drove **up to the entrance of the presidential headquarters**.’

9x TEMP ‘until now’: 8x *ḥattā l-’āna*; and 1x *ḥattā l-yawmi*, Article 45: *wa-qāla stānū ’inna l-ittihāda l-’ūrūbbiyya ṭālaba ḥizba l-’adālat# wa-l-tanmiyyat# l-ḥākima munḍu l-’i lāni ‘an qaḍāyā l-fasādi fī 17 dīsembir al-māḍi, ḥattā l-yawmi*, bi-’adami l-tasatturi ‘alā ’a mālī l-fasādi wa-l-rišwati., ‘And Stano said that the European Union has asked the ruling Justice and Development Party since the announcement of the corruption cases the past December 17, **until today**, not to cover up acts of corruption and bribery.’

6x TEMP ‘until’, typically (5x) with temporal nouns to express a period: 3x with years in digits as part of the prepositional complement, e.g. Article 75: [...] *wa-qad yadūmu ḥattā ‘āmi 2028*, including 2x with a preceding *munḍu* to express a period, 1x, e.g. in Article 48: *munḍu ‘āmi 1960 ḥattā 2012*, and similarly 1x with *min*, Article 115: *fī-l-fatratī min ’uktūbir 2006 ḥattā yanāyir 2008*. 2x attestations have a specific date as complement, only to express a period: in Article 72 together with *min*: [...] *istamarra mina l-tāmini min yūliyyū ḥattā 26 ‘aḡuṣṡus al-māḍiyayni* [...], ‘[...] that lasted from the past July 8 **to August 26**’, and in Article 128 together with *munḍu*: [...] *fī ba’ḍi l-’ayyāmi munḍu l-sā’ati l-sābi’ati ṣabāḥan ḥattā l-ḥāḍiyata ‘ašrata zuhran* [...], ‘on some days from 7 in the morning **until 11 at noon**. [...]’.

ḥattā to express TEMP ‘until’ occurs 1x with a nominalized clause, Article 44: *wa-’ašāra [...] ’ilā ’annahū sa-yatimmu [...] al-kašfu ‘alā daraḡati ḥarārati l-ḥuḡḡāḡi [...] ’iḍāfatān ’ilā mutāba’ati l-mutawāšilati [...] li-ḥuḡḡāḡi ḡarbi ‘afrīqiyyā ‘aṭnā’a l-ḥaḡḡi ḥattā muḡādaratihim al-balada*, ‘[...] in addition to continuous monitoring [...] of the pilgrims from West Africa throughout the pilgrimage [hajj] **until they leave the country**’.

1x Manner, Article 120: [...] *yuhāwilūna ntišāla raḡulin madfūnin ḥattā raqabatihī* [...], ‘[...] a man buried **to his neck** [...]’.

1x TEMP ‘yet’, with a negated matrix, Article 63: [...] *mimmā ‘addā ’ilā suqūti ‘adadin mina l-qatlā wa-l-ḡarḥā lam tuqaddar ‘a’ dāduhum ḥattā l-lahḡati* [...], ‘[...] whose numbers have not **yet** been estimated [...]’, lit. ‘**until this moment**’.

wa-ḥattā

1x attestation, allative (motion ‘to’, not investigated), Article 57: [...] *mārran ‘abra baġdād wa-ḥattā bayrūt*, ‘[...] passing through Baghdad **and all the way to Beirut**’ (see Example 666).

ḥasaba

11x attestations, 11x annotated relations. The count includes 8x attribution formulae, for which, see 6.5.

3x Manner: 2x *ḥasaba l-ma ‘āyīri* + postmodifiers, both in Article 124: *wa-‘aḏāfa*: “*hā hiya ḥukūmatu l-wifāqi l-waṭaniyyi qad tamma ḥtiyāru ‘a ḏā’ihā ḥasaba l-ma ‘āyīri l-waṭaniyyati wa-l-kafā’ati l-mihniyyati* , *wa-sawfa yatawallā l-wuzarā’u ḥtiyāra l-wukalā’i ḥasaba l-ma ‘āyīri l-mihniyyati min dāḥili kulli qitā’in*, ‘[...] **according to national standards and professional competence [...] according to professional standards from within each sector**’ (Example 712); 1x *ḥasaba l-muttafaqi ‘alayhi*, Article 99 (for which see the discussion of headless nominalized relative clauses in 6.4.1).

wa-ḥasaba

1x attestation, transition phrase with verb of attribution (for which, see 5.3.4.2), Article 40: *wa-ḥasaba l-wikālātī*.

ḥawālay

3x attestations, only with quantitative numerals to render them inexact, ‘about’ (not investigated); in Article 53 the syntagm is subject: *wa-yuṣāriku fi-l-mu’tamari [...] ḥawālay 30 dawlatan wa-20 mu’assasatan duwaliyyatan bi-l-‘iḏāfatī ‘ilā ‘aṣarāti l-mu’assasāti l-ḥāṣṣati*, ‘**and about 30 states and 20 international institutions** partake in the conference [...]’.

ḥawla

41x attestations, 41x annotated relations.

37x Concerning, typically (32x) with a noun as the head, e.g. Article 14: *wa-qāla būtin yaġibu ‘an nabda’a fawran muḥādatātīn ġawhuriyyan ḥawla qadāyā l-tanzīmi l-siyāsiyyi li-l-muġtama’i wa-manḥi waḏ’i dawlatin li-ġanūbi šarqi ‘ukrāniyā* bi-hadafi [...], ‘[...] we must immediately start substantial talks on the issues of the political organization of the society and [on] granting the status of a state to south-east Ukraine [...]’; also in *trajectio* with an asyndetic relative clause, Article 19: *ġā’a dālika fī bayānin ‘aṣdarathu wizāratu l-ḥāriġiyyati wa-l-ta’āwuni l-duwaliyyi l-lībiyyatu*, ‘*amsi l-‘awwala ḥawla taṣrīḥātī ‘erdūġān wa-llatī* [...], ‘this came in a statement which the Libyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation issued, the day before yesterday **on Erdoğan’s statements which** [...]’.

3x Location, e.g. Article 108: [...] *wa-‘amarat bērsūn bi-taṣḏīdi ‘amaliyyati l-murāqabati ḥawla siyāġi l-maqarri l-ri’āsiyyi l-wāqi’i fī qalbi*

wāšintun, *alladī* [...], ‘[...] ordered stricter surveillance operations **around the fence of the presidential headquarters** which is located in the heart of Washington, which [...]’.

1x Concerning bi Expanding Paraphrase, Article 103 (lead): *naḡā l-mu-taḥadditu l-rasmiyyu bi-smi maġlisi l-nuwwābi l-lībiyy# farġ būhāšem mā tadāwalathu wasā’ilu l-’i lāmi ḥawla tawqī’i maġlisi l-nuwwābi ‘alā ttiḡāqin yasmaḥu li-miṣr wa-lībiyā bi-stiḥdāmi l-maġāli l-ġawwiyyi li-kilayhima li-’aġrādīn ‘askariyyatin*, ‘[...] denied [...] what the media has circulated concerning the House of Representatives having signed an agreement that allows Egypt and Libya to use their respective airspaces for military purposes’.

wa-ḥawla

10x attestations, 10x annotated relations. This count includes 6x transition phrases, only Concerning, never with pronominal suffix (cf. *ḥawla*). For transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

4x Location: 2x *fi šan ‘ā’ wa-ḥawlahā* (Articles 98 and 106); 1x *fi-l-’āṣi-mati šan ‘ā’ wa-ḥawlahā* (Article 63); and 1x *fi-l-’adīdi mina l-manāṭiqi bi-madīnati [ita] bengāzī wa-ḥawla maṭāri benīnā [ita]* (Article 70, Example 451; on typos, see 3.2).

In short, then, *wa-ḥawla* in sentence-initial position is only used in transition phrases with the meaning ‘and concerning’, whereas sentence-internally, it is only used to describe spatial location, ‘and around’.

ḥīna

1x attestation, TEMP punctual, ‘at the time’, Article 96: *wa-qāla šuhūdu ‘iyānin ḥīnahā’ inna [...]*, ‘and eyewitnesses said **at the time** that [...]’ (Example 510).

ḥiyāla

2x attestations.

1x Concerning, Article 31: [...] ‘a’ *raba [...]* ‘an »*qalaqihi l-kabīri*« *ḥiyāla qarāri ‘isrā’īl [...]*, ‘[...] Expressed his »grave concern« **over Israel’s decision to [...]**’.

1x Concerning & Malefactive, ‘about, concerning, against’, Article 91: *wa-stab’ada ‘an tu’ḥaḍa bi-ġarīrati l-qarāri l-sādīri mu’ahḥaran ḥiyāla qiyādātīn min ġamā’ati l-’iḥwāni l-muslimīna fi qatar*, ‘[...] the decision [...] **against leaders of the group of the Muslim Brotherhood in Qatar**’.

ḥayza

1x attestation, Manner, postmodifier, comparable to the function of *qayda* (q.v.), Article 62: *wa-qāla [...]* ‘inna *duḥūla l-’uqūbati ḥayza l-tanfīdi sayatimmu ḥilāla l-’ayyāmi l-qalīlati l-qādīmati [...]*, ‘[...] that the sanctions will come **into effect** within the next few days [...]’.

ḥ (*ḥā'*) ʕ

ḥārīḡa

7x attestations, 6x annotated relations.

4x Location, 'outside'; *al-bilādi*, 'the country', is the only recurring complement to the preposition (2x), e.g. Article 77: [...] *bi-sababi baqā'ihim ḥārīḡa l-bilādi* [...], '[...] because they stayed **abroad** [...]'.

2x Manner, only in Article 52: *mu'arriban* [...] *bi-qalaqihi l-bāliḡi 'izā'a istimrāri* [...] *wa-ttisā'i nitāqi 'anšitati l-milīšiyāti wa-l-ḡamā'āti l-musal-lahati ḥārīḡa 'iḡāri sulṭatin al-duwaliyyi* [*sic*], 'expressing his deep concern [...] for the continuation of [...] and [for] the extent of the domain of activities of the militias and the armed groups **outside the international framework of authority**'; and later in the same article: [...] *wa-'adami l-ta'āmuli ma'a 'ayyi ḡihatin ḥārīḡa l-šari 'iyyati*, lit. '[...] and not to deal with any party **outside of legitimacy**'.

The remaining 1x attestation is a predicate of a nominal clause in Article 19 (not investigated): *wa-qālat* [...] *'inna 'aḡlaba l-wizārāti wa-l-mu'assasāti l-dawlati* [...], *hiya ḥārīḡa sayṭaratina*, 'And [...] said that the majority of the ministries and the institutions of the state [...] are **outside of our control**' (Example 513).

ḥilāla

85x attestations, 81x annotated relations. The 4x unannotated relations are 'ā'ids in relative clauses.

55x TEMP 'during', e.g. Article 44: [...] *sa-yatimmu l-'amalu biḥa ḥilāla mawsimi l-ḡaḡḡi l-muḡbīli*, '[...] **during the upcoming pilgrimage [hajj] season**'.

18x TEMP 'within', only with temporal lexical items as part of the complement: 6x *'usbū #/'usbū 'ayni*, 5x *yawm#/'ayyām#*, 5x *sā'at#/'āt#*, and 2x *šahr#/'ašhur#*, e.g. Article 123: *ḥilāla šahrin*, 'within a month'.

4x Instrumental Manner bi TEMP 'during', the only recurring head being 2x (*al-*)*ma'ārik#*, e.g. Article 71: [...] *'itra l-ištibākāti* [...] *allatī saḡaṭa ḡarrā'ahā qatlā wa-'asrā ḥilāla l-ma'ūriki*, 'following clashes [...] which resulted in deaths and prisoners being taken **in the fights**'.

1x Context, Article 110: [...] *bi-l-'iḡāfati 'ilā baḡṭi bandin ḡawla* [...] *wa-laḡata 'ilā 'annahu sa-yatimmu ḥilāla ḡāḡā l-bandi tabādulu l-ma'lūmāti bi-ša'ni l-mašār'i l-munaffaḡati min ḡibali l-duwali l-'arabiyyati li-tawḡīri l-sa-kani l-munāsibi* [...], 'in addition to discussing a clause concerning [...] And he pointed out that **within this clause** information will be exchanged [...]' (Example 586). This example is comparable to Manner Instrument below.

1x Manner Instrument, Article 44: [...] *'adadan mina l-'iḡrā'āti* [...] *wa-'ašāra* [...] *'ilā 'annahu sa-yatimmu ḥilāla ḡāḡihi l-'iḡrā'āti l-kašfu 'alā*

daraġati ħarārati l-ħuġġāġi [...], ‘[...] that **through these measures** the pilgrims’ temperatures will be checked [...]’.

1x TEMP ‘soon’, Article 89: [...] *wa-’aḍāfa l-mašdaru ’anna l-muḥādaṭāti bayna mumattīlī l-ri’āsati wa-l-ħuṭiyyīna mutawāšilatun wa-sa-yaltaqūna ḥilāla l-’awqāti l-muqbilati*, lit. ‘[...] and they will meet **within/during the coming times**’, i.e. ‘soon’ (Example 538).

1x TEMP ‘during’ bi Cause, Article 118: *wa-qālat mašādiru maḥalliyyatun ’inna l-muwāṭinīna bada’ū ’amsi fi-l-’awdati ’ilā manāzilihim allatī ġādarūhā ḥilāla l-muwāḡahāti l-musallahāti*, ‘And local sources said that the citizens began yesterday to return to their homes, which they had left **during the armed confrontations**’ (Example 1).

wa-ḥilāla

4x attestations, 4x annotated relations, all temporal transition phrases (for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2).

ħalfa

1x attestation, Location bi Agent, Article 15: [...] *taṣā’adati l-maṭālibu ’amāma l-ra’īsi* [...] *ħawla* [...] *waṣta ttiḥāmihi bi-l-inġirāri ḥalfa l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati*, ‘[...] while he is being accused of being dragged **behind/by the United States**’.

d (dāl) د

dāḥila

18x attestations, 17x annotated relations. The remaining 1x unannotated relation is an ‘a’id in a syndetic relative clause (Article 121).

15x Location, ‘inside’, e.g. Article 52: *ma’a suqūti* [...] *wa-ma’a rtifā’i ’a’dādi l-nāziḥīna wa-l-lāġi’īna ’ilā ’aktara min ’aṣarati malāyīna dāḥila sūriyā wa-fi-l-duwali l-muġāwirati* [...], ‘[...] and with the rise of the numbers of displaced and refugees [...] **inside Syria** and in the neighbouring countries [...]’.

1x Location bi Context, with a following relative clause, Article 104: *wa-waqa’a l-infiġāru fi waqti l-izdiḥāmi l-ṣabāḥiyyi ’alā ṭarīqi l-maṭāri bi-l-qurbi min madḥali muġamma’i l-sifārati l-’amrikiyyati dāḥila l-ḥayyi llaḡt yaḍummu ’ayḍan al-maḥkamata l-’ulyā wa-qā’idatan ’askariyyatan wa-sifārātīn uḥrā* [...], ‘And the explosion occurred during the morning rush hour on the airport road near the entrance to the American embassy compound **in a district which also includes the supreme court, a military base and other embassies** [...]’.

1x Predicate & Location, Article 108: *wa-min ḥusni ḥaẓẓihi , lam yakun al-ra’īsu l-’amrikiyyu bārāk ’ubāmā dāḥila l-bayti l-’abyaḍi* waqta wuqū’i l-

hādiṭi [...], ‘[...] the American president Barack Obama was not **inside the White House** [...]’ (Example 475).

wa-dāḥila

1x attestation, Location (in *variatio* with ‘*alā*’), Article 122: [...] *li-tumārisa salāhiyyātihā ‘alā muḥtalifi l- ‘ārāḍi l-filasṭīniyyati bi-mā fihi l-ma ‘ābiru wa-l-ḥudūdu wa-dāḥila qīṭā ‘i ḡazza*, ‘to exercise its powers on the various Palestinian territories including the crossings, the borders, and within the Gaza Strip’.

dūna

19x attestations, 15x annotated relations. The remaining 4x unannotated relations are lexically conditioned by the definite genitive *al-ḥaylūlati* which is governed by a preposition immediately before it, e.g. Article 61: [...] *li-l-ḥaylūlati dūna taḥawwuli l-fayrūs ‘ilā wabā ‘in ‘ālamīyyin*, ‘[...] to prevent the virus from turning into a global pandemic’.

The semantics of *dūna* spans a continuum between Inconcomitance and Frustration, the interpretation being largely dependent on the aspectual interpretation of the predicates in the matrix and the subordinate syntagm: stative (including anterior/resultative) and imperfective (including the iterative) for Inconcomitance (“having done *x*”,⁵⁰² “did *x* repeatedly”, “doing *x* without *y*”, or “without having the achievement *y*”⁵⁰³); and perfective being characteristic of Frustration (“did, has done *x* without (the following) *y*”). The subordinate syntagm with *dūna* always being nominal, the TAM interpretation is based on inference and the aspect of the matrix. Inconsequential is not attested for *dūna*.

11x Inconcomitance, the matrices being different constructions: 5x prepositional phrases (4x *bi-*, 1x *li-* (Article 15)); 4x complement main clauses (3x VprefL, including 1x with *yatimmu maṣdar* (Article 114, Example 457), and 1x Vsuff (Article 62)); 1x *wa-*Vsuff (Article 19, Example 513); 1x syndetic relative clause with VprefL (Article 37); and 1x noun (*tā ‘irāt# dūna tayyārīn*, Article 22, in place of the typical *bi-dūni tayyārīn*, *q.v.*). The lack of TAM categories in nominalized syntagms (see 2.3.3) makes the categorization difficult, e.g. in Article 117, where the *dūna* syntagm is borderline Frustration (resultative inference in the matrix), but where the syntagm with *dūna* refers to the whole process as described in the matrix: [...] *hanna ‘a [...] kullan min ‘ašraf ‘abd el-ḡanī wa- ‘abdullāh ‘abdullāh*⁵⁰⁴ *bi-l-tawassuli li-l-ittifāqi hawla taškīli hukūmati wahdatin wataniyyatin fī ‘afḡānistān dūna ḥudūṭi ma ‘ziqin siyāsiyyin wa-nqisāmin* [...], ‘[...] of having reached an agreement concerning the formation of a national unity government in Afghanistan without the

⁵⁰² In the literal resultative (non-causative) meaning of “having *y* done”.

⁵⁰³ As above.

⁵⁰⁴ The article has his name separated: عبد الله عبد الله.

occurrence of a political stalemate and division [...]; whereas others, with atelic lexical aspects, are expressive of a more prototypical Inconcomitance, e.g. Article 77: [...] *wa-ttaḥadāt sīrlīf qarāran bi-’iqālati ‘ašarati mas ‘ulīna ḥukūmiyyīna bi-sababi baqā’ihim hāriġa l-bilādī dūna ‘uḍrin fī darwati ‘azmati tafaššī fayrūs al-’ibūlā*, ‘[...] to sack ten government officials because they stayed out of the country **without an excuse** during the hight of the crisis of the Ebola virus outbreak’.

4x Frustration, only with matrices having a Vsuff predicate: 3x complement main clauses (Articles 1, 8, and 31), and 1x *mimmā* Vsuff (Article 4), e.g. Article 1: [...] *qālat [...] ‘inna l-iġtimā’a ntaḥā dūna l-’lāni ‘ani l-tawaṣṣuli ‘ilā ḥallin nihā’iyyin li-l-’azmati l-ḥaliġiyyati [...]*, ‘[...] that the meeting ended **without the announcement of having reached a final solution to the Gulf crisis** [...]

wa-dūna

2x attestations, 2x annotated relations; only to code Inconcomitance: 1x in Article 37: [...] *‘āzimīna ‘alā ‘an taqūma l-dawlatu l-filasṭīniyyatu l-mustaqillatu dāti l-siyādati [...] fī ‘aqraba waqtin wa-dūna talakku’in ‘aw musāwamatin*, ‘[...] that the independent sovereign Palestinian state is established [...] as soon as possible **and without delay or compromise**’ (Example 201); and 1x in Article 79: *lāfitan ‘ilā ‘anna l-’awwala min māyū al-qādimi sa-yuṣbiḥu l-ra’isu bi-lā sulṭatin wa-dūna tafwīḍin*, ‘[...] that on the first of next May the president will be without authority **and without delegation**’ (Example 417).

د (dāl) ذ

No attestations.

ر (rā’) ر

raġma

4x attestations, 4x annotated relations. This includes 2x article-initial subordinations, Concession, for which, see 5.3.3. Cf. *wa-bi-l-raġmi min* and *‘alā l-raġmi min*.

2x Concession, only as a preposed nominalized subordination (see 5.3.4.4) with a complement main clause as the matrix, e.g. Article 103 (final sentence): *wa-’ašāra liyūn ‘ilā ‘annahu raġma l-da’awāti l-mutakarrirati ‘ilā waqfīn fawriyyin li-l-’a māli l-’adā’iyyati bi-mā fī dālika min maġlisi l-’amni l-duwaliyyi ‘illā ‘anna l-wad’a ‘alā l-’arḍi mā-zāla mutaqaalliban li-l-ġāyati wa-ġayra mustaqirrin*, ‘[...] that **despite the repeated calls for an immediate**

cessation of the hostile actions, including by the international Security Council, the situation on the ground remains extremely volatile and unstable' (Example 409).

In summary, the prepositional syntagm with *ragma* is only used in preposed subordinations to code Concession.

z (zayn) ز

No attestations.

s (sīn) س

siwā

3x attestations, 'except', used 3x in negated contexts to mean 'only', e.g. Article 66: *wa-lā yafṣilu siwā ġisrin bayna [...]* *wa- [...]*, 'nothing separates [...]' and [...] **except a bridge**', 'are separated only by a bridge' (Example 567).

š (šīn) ش

šarq#, *šarqiyy#* (Ref.)

'East', 'east of', 'eastern part of'; see 6.9.2.1.

šamāl#, *šamāliyy#* (Ref.)

'North', 'north of', 'northern part of'; see 6.9.2.1.

ṣ (ṣād) ص

No attestations.

ḍ (ḍād) ض

ḍidda

41x attestations, 41x annotated relations.

40x Malefactive, e.g. Article 1: [...]*fi-l- 'amali l- 'askariyyi ḍidda tanẓīmi l-dawlati l- 'islāmiyyati* [...], '[...] in the military action **against the Islamic State organization** [...]'; also in *trajectio* with an interposed asyndetic relative clause, Article 19: [...]*ba 'da 'an ḥāḍat ma 'rikatan ṭāḥinatan istamarrat 40 yawman ḍidda quwwātīn tantamī li-l-tayyāri «el-madaniyy#»*, '[...] after having fought a fierce battle which lasted 40 days **against forces belonging to «the civil» current**'.

1x Malefactive bi Conditional, in conjunction with *muḥtamal*#, Article 87: *wa-ṭabarathā nuḡṭata ḍuṭfin li-l-iḡṭiṣādi l-turkiyyi ḍidda l-ṣadamāti l-ḥāriġiyyati l-muḥtamalati* [...], lit. ‘[...] and considered it a weak point of the Turkish economy **against possible external shocks** [...]’, i.e. ‘[...] in the event of external shocks [...]’ (Example 59).

ḍimna

7x attestations, 7x annotated relations.

5x Context, e.g. Article 118: *muṣīran ’ilā ’anna raf’a muḥayyamāti l-iṭiṣāmi sa-yaṭī ḍimna ḥaṭawātīn turāfiḡu tanfiḍa l-bunūdi llatī stanada ’alayhā l-ittifāqu*, ‘[...] the removal of the sit-in camps will come **as part of the steps that accompany the implementation of the items that the agreement has been based on**’ (Example 200).

As Context, Article 69 features the atypical prepositional complement ḡawlatihi: *wa-qāla* [...] *’inna l-liqā’a ma’a kīrī sa-yuḡadu ḍimna ḡawlatihi l-rāhinati llatī sa-taṣmalu l-sa’ūdiyyata wa-l-’urdunn* [...], ‘[...] that the meeting with Kerry will be held **as part of his current tour** [...]’ (cf. e.g. *ḥilāla ḡawlatihi*, ‘during his tour’, TEMP ‘during’, Article 71).

2x Location, e.g. Article 111: [...] *ba’da ’an ṣawwatat li-ṣālīhi l-baqā’i ḍimna l-mamlakati l-muttaḥidati*., ‘[...] after it voted in favour of remaining **within the United Kingdom**.’ (Example 559).

ٲ (ṭā) ٲ

ṭibqan li-

3x attestations, only to express Manner, ‘in accordance with’, ‘according to’: 1x *ṭibqan li-l-mabādi’i*, ‘according to the principles’ (Article 37); 1x *ṭibqan li-’aḡadi l-bunūdi l-ra’iṣiyyati fi-l-ittifāqi*, ‘according to one of the key provisions of the agreement’; and 1x *ṭibqan li-l-ittifāqi*, ‘according to the agreement’ (both in Article 49).

ṭiwāla

1x attestation, TEMP ‘during’, Article 29: *’akkada* [...] *’anna l-ġalsata satastamirru ṭiwāla l-’usbū’i* [...].

ṭayya

1x attestation, Manner, Article 41: *wa-’akkadat ’anna l-muḥaqqiqīna yubqūna ’asmā’ahum ṭayya l-kitmāni*, ‘and stressed that the investigators are keeping their names **secret**’.

z (zā) ٲ

No attestations.

‘ (‘ayn) ع

‘ibāratan ‘an

1x attestation, Expanding Paraphrase, Article 77: *kamā ‘a‘lanat [...] ‘an musā‘adatin li- [...] ‘ibāratan ‘an ṭunnayni min al-musā‘adāti l-ṭibbiyyati (‘aqni‘at# wa-quffāzāt# wa-malābis# ‘āzilāt# wa-mahālil# li-taḥṭiri l-yadayni)*., ‘[...] made an announcement on aid to [...] consisting of two tons of medical aid (masks, gloves, insulating clothing, and solutions to sanitize the hands)’.

‘abra

10x attestations, 9x annotated relations.

4x Location & Instrument, e.g. Article 49: *i‘timādi duwali l-ittihādi l-ūrūbbiyyi ‘alā wāridāti l-ġāzi l-rūsiyyi l-qādimi ‘abra šabakati ḥuṭūfi l-‘anābībi llati tamurru bi- ‘arāqī ‘ūkrāniyā*, ‘[...] Russian gas coming **through the pipeline network** [...]’.

3x Manner Instrument, e.g. Article 118: [...] *min ‘aġli ḥalli ‘ayyi nizā’in ‘abra l-ḥiwāri* [...], ‘[...] to solve any conflict **through the dialogue** [...]’.

2x Location, only in the context of the root *mdd*, stem VIII, ‘extend’ + Location, e.g. Article 61: [...] *wa-mtadda hāqā l-fayrūs laysa ‘abra ‘afrīqiyā fa-ḥasb, bal ‘ilā ‘aġzā’in ‘uḥrā mina l-‘ālamī* [...], ‘[...] and the virus spreads not only **over Africa** but to other parts of the world [...]’ (Example 232).

The remaining 1x unannotated attestation is an ‘ā‘id in a syndetic relative clause (Article 48, *allaqī tuġādiru ‘abrahu* [...]; not investigated).

‘adā

1x attestation, Exception Contrast, Article 72: [...] *fī ġamī‘i madārisi el-qitā’ ‘adā madārisi baldati bayt ḥānūn* [...] (Example 383).

Excluded from this count is the compound construction *wa-mā ‘adā dālīka* *fa*-NCI, for which, see under 6.1.5.

‘aqiba

15x attestations, 15x annotated relations.

7x Countersequential, 5x with a main clause with Vsuff as the matrix (incl. 3x verbs of attribution), e.g. Article 13: *wa-ġā‘at ‘amaliyyatu ḥtilāli mabnā l-tiliḏiyyōn allatī dāmat li-niṣfi sā‘atin ‘aqiba štibākātīn ‘anīfatīn dārat bayna quwwāti* [...] *wa* [...], ‘occurred [...] **after violent clashes** [...]’ (Example 183); and Article 58 (matrix with verb of attribution): *wa-šarraḥat būlant ‘arīnġ ra‘īsu l-wuzarā‘i l-turkiyyu ‘aqiba ġtimā‘ātī l-ḥukūmatī l-‘usbū iyyi ‘amsi bi-‘anna* [...], ‘[...] stated [...] **after the weekly meetings of the government yesterday** that [...]’. Cf. Article 28 with a noun as the head: *wa-qāla żarīf fī mu‘tamarin suḥufiyyin ‘aqiba muḥādaḡātīn munfašilatīn ma‘a* [...] *‘inna* [...], ‘and [...] said at a press conference **following separate talks** with

[...] that [...]; Article 123 has a future-projecting nominal clause as the matrix: [...] *wa-dālika tamhīdan li-bad’i hādīhi l-mufāwāqāti bi-šaklin mukattafin ‘aqiba ‘īdī l-‘aḏḏā l-mubāraki wa-l-‘a ‘yādī l-yahūdīyyati* [...], ‘[...] and this in preparation to begin these intensive negotiations **after the blessed Eid al-Adha and the Jewish holidays** [...].

3x Expanding Paraphrase, all following temporal prepositional phrases as matrices: 2x following phrases with *munḏu* (see Examples 314 and 333, both from Article 2), and 1x following *‘itra* (Instrumental Manner), Article 3 (lead): *laqiya šahṣāni ‘alā l-‘aqalli maṣra ‘ahā wa-‘uṣība* [...] *‘itra štibākātin bayna l-šurṭati l-bākīstāniyyati wa-mutaṣāhirīna fī* [...] *‘aqiba taḥawwuli l-iḥtiğāğāti* [...] *‘ilā muwāğahātin* [...], ‘[...] at least two persons died [...] in clashes between the Pakistani police and demonstrators in [...] **after the turning of the protests [...] into confrontations** [...].’ (Example 186), being borderline bi Cause (see below).

3x Countersequential bi Cause, 2x with complement main clauses as matrices, Article 28: *wa-‘akkada* [...] *‘annahu mina l-mutawaqqa ‘i ‘an tataḏā ‘afa l-quḏratu l-dīf ‘iyyatu li-‘īran ‘aqiba ‘iḏāfati šārūḥay “talāš - 3” wa “‘iniyāfūr - 3 “ ‘ilā tirsānatihā* [...], ‘[...] that Iran’s defence power will double **thanks to the addition of the two rockets [...] to its arsenal** [...].’; and Article 66, with weaker Cause semantics: [...] *muḏīfatan ‘anna l-musallahīna qāmū bi-tamṣīṭi l-minṭaqati ‘aqiba nsihābi l-quwwāti l-ḥukūmiyyati minhā*, ‘[...] took to comb the region **following the withdrawal of the governmental forces from it** [...].’ Cf. Article 52 with a nominalized complement to the verb of attribution, and *‘aqiba* taking a noun as the head: *wa-da ‘ā l-qarāru* [...] *li-tanfīḏi l-ta ‘ahhudāti l-duwaliyyati bi-saddi l-‘ağzi fī-l-iqtisādi l-sūdāniyyi ‘aqiba nfiṣāli l-ğānūbi* [...], ‘and the resolution called [...] to implement the international pledges to bridge the deficit in the Sudanese economy after the secession of the south [...].’

1x Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause, Article 3: *mu-‘akkidan ‘anna l-šurṭata lam tabda’ bi-l-ištibāki*, *wa-lākinna l-mutaṣāhirīna hum al-mas’ūlūna ‘an taḥwīlīhā ‘ilā ‘a ‘mālī ‘unfin ‘aqiba muḥāwalatihim duḥūla mabānin ḥukūmiyyatin ḥassāsatin* [...] *wa-dālika ‘alā ḥaddi ta ‘bīrihi*, ‘[...] the demonstrators are responsible for turning it into violent acts **having tried to enter sensitive governmental buildings** [...].’ (Example 384).

wa-‘aqiba

1x attestation, temporal transition phrase, Article 124: *wa-‘aqiba muwāfaqati l-mağlisi ‘alā* [...] *qāla ‘abd-ullāh el-tanī* [...]. For transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

‘inda

4x attestations, 4x annotated relations.

2x Location, e.g. Article 21: [...] *bi-ğānibi l-ṭarīqi ‘inda madḥali qaḏā’i beldrūz šarqiyy# ba ‘qūba* [...], ‘[...] by the side of the road **at the entrance**

to the district of Baldrúz east [of?] Baqubah [...]; and Article 48: *wa- 'ašāra [...]* 'ilā wuḡūdi muškilatin ḥaṭīratin **'inda el-brāzīl** [...], '[...] the presence of a serious problem **in Brazil** [...]'.

2x Manner, only in economic contexts, Article 87: [...] *fī ḥīni baqiyat ziyādatu l-duyūni l-ḥariḡiyyati*⁵⁰⁵ *ṭawīlati l- 'aḡali* **'inda 26,5%** [...], '[...] as the increase of foreign long-term debt remained **at 26,5%** [...]' (Example 376); and Article 94: [...] *ḥaḍḍarat mūdīz allatī tušannifu turkiyā* **'inda-Baa3 ma 'a naṣratin mustaqbiliyyatin salbiyyatin, min 'anna** [...], 'Moody's, which ranks Turkey **at Baa3** with a negative outlook, warned that [...]'.

'alā

505x attestations, 134x annotated relations.

The low count of annotated relations is possibly due to lexical governance (e.g. by roots such as *syṭr*, in the semantic sphere of 'control', used with 'alā, 'over', attested 57x; and *wfq*, stem VIII, 'agree(ment)', e.g. *(al-)ittifāq-*, 91x).

The count includes 6x transition phrases (5x topical, 1x topical/locational). For transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

51x Location; frequent lexical items as prepositional complements are 8x *(al-)ḥudūd#*, 'borders', 6x *(al-) 'arḍ#/ 'arāḍī*, and 7x *mustawā*, the latter expressing the extent of the matrix situation, e.g. Article 15: *wa- 'awḍaḥa 'anna tanfīda ḥaḡamātīn « 'alā l-ṭirāzi l-ḡarbiyyi » sa-yumakkinu l-tanzīma mina l-iḡtifāzi bi-laḡabi « al-ḡamā 'at# al-ḡihādiyyat# al- 'ulā » 'alā mustawā l- 'ālami*, '[...] will enable the organization to retain the title of «the primary jihadist group» **worldwide**'.

10x Malefactive, 6x of which in recurring contexts: 3x in the context of the root *ḥṭr*, e.g. Article 52: *maḥāṭira ḡasīmatīn 'alā mustaqbali ṭbiyā wa-* [...], 'serious risks **for the future of Libya** [...]; and 3x in the context of forms of *'uqūbat#*, 'sanctions' and *'awāqib#*, 'consequences', e.g. Article 83: *wa-naḡalat [...] qawlahu: "tamma 'ayḍan tabādulu l- 'ārā 'i ḥawla l- 'awāqibi l-salbiyyati l-muḡtamalati 'alā l-iḡtiṣādi l-rūsiyyi wa-l-iḡtiṣādi l- 'ūkrāniyyi* [...], '[...] was quoted [...]: "Views were also exchanged on the possible negative consequences **for the Russian and Ukrainian economies** [...]'.

10x TEMP 'during', frequent lexical items as prepositional complements being: 4x *madā* + temporal expression, e.g. Article 110: *'alā madā ṭalātati 'ayyāmin*; and 3x *hāmiši*, e.g. Article 103: *wa-lṭaḡā [...] 'alā hāmiši mu 'ta-mari bārīs ma 'a kullin min al-ra 'īsi* [...], 'and he met [...] **on the sideline of the Paris conference** with both [*sic*] the Iraqi president Fuad Masoum [...]' (Example 581).

7x 'at least' with numerative, only in the phrase *'alā l- 'aqalli*.⁵⁰⁶

7x Malefactive & Location, 4x with the root *ṭlq*, stem IV, e.g. Article 50: *wa-ḍakara [...] 'anna musallaḥīna maḡḥulīna 'aṭlaḡū wābīlan mina l-raṣāṣi*

⁵⁰⁵ The article reads *ḥāriḡiyyati*, missing a diacritic; see discussion of typos in 3.2.

⁵⁰⁶ 5x *'alā l- 'aqalli* (with *hamza*) vs. 2x *'alā l-aqalli* (without *hamza*).

‘*alā bal’am*; and Article 90: *wa-qāla* [...] ‘*inna maġmū’ātin musallaḥatan ‘aṭlaqat ‘adadan mina l-qadā’ifi l-šārūhiyyati ‘alā madīnati el-zāwiya* [...], ‘[...] that armed groups had fired a number of rocket-propelled grenades **over the city of al-Zawiya** [...]’ (Example 352).

7x Manner, the only recurring prepositional complement being 2x *al-ṭirāzi*, e.g. Article 15: *tanfīd# haġamātin* «‘*alā l-ṭirāzi l-ġarbiyyi*’, ‘carrying out **«Western style» attacks**’.

6x Location & Instrument, the only recurring prepositional complement being forms of *mawqi#* in the meaning of ‘website’, e.g. Article 120: [...] *šarīṭun mušawwarun battahu nāšitūna ‘alā mawqi’i yūtūb* [...], ‘[...] a tape which activists published **on the YouTube website** [...]’ (Example 691).

4x Concerning, 2x with *istiftā’#*, ‘referendum’, as head, e.g. Article 88 (lead): *qabla bad’i l-istiftā’i ‘alā l-istiqlāli fī ‘iskutlandā* [...], ‘before the start of the referendum **on the independence in Scotland** [...]’ (Example 9), concerning which, cf. the lead of Article 75 with *hawla*: *ma’a bad’i l-‘addi l-tanāzuliyyi li-‘iġrā’i l-istiftā’i l-tārīhiyyi hawla nfišāli ‘iqlīmi ‘iskutlandā ‘an brīṭāniyā* [...]). See also the unique Article 99 in relation to a deadline: *wa-‘adāfa* [...] ‘*anna muhlata l-šahri ‘alā ‘i lāni ttiḥāqi waqfi ‘iṭlāqi l-nār ḥasaba l-muttafaqi ‘alayhi tantahī fi-l-ḥāmisi wa-l- ‘iṣrīna mina l-šahri l-ḥālīyyi, wa-yaftariḍu ‘an yatimma sti nāfu l-mufāwaḍāti qabla hādā l-maw’idi*, ‘[...] that the one-month deadline **on announcing a ceasefire agreement** according to what has been agreed on expires on [...]’ (Example 519).

4x Location of Utterance, 2x with the complement *qanāt#*, e.g. Article 98: [...] *fī tasġilin ġadīdin battat hu [sic] el-qā’ida ‘alā qanāti «el-malāḥim»* [...], ‘[...] in a new recording that Al-Qaeda broadcasted **on the channel «Al-Malahem»** [...]’; see also 6x Location & Instrument for ‘*alā*’ above.

3x Context, e.g. Article 64: *wa-‘ašāra* [...] ‘*ilā ‘anna hādā l-taqrīru ya’tī ‘alā ḥalfiyyati l-mutaġayyirāti l-mutasāri’ati llatī šahidathā* [...], ‘[...] **against the backdrop of** [...]’ (Example 585); and Article 23: *wa-šarraḥat* [...] *bi-‘anna l-wafda sa-yabḥātu ‘ahdaṭa taṭawwurāti l-waḍ’i fī qiṭā’i ġazza* [...] ‘*alā ḍaw’i mubādarati l-tahdī’ati llatī naġaḥat mišr fī ‘iqrāriha fi-l-qiṭā’i* [...], ‘will discuss the most recent developments of the situation in the Gaza Strip [...] **in light of the truce initiative** which Egypt managed to establish in the Strip [...]’ (Example 279).

3x Instrument & Agent, only in the context of death, and only with the prepositional complement *yadi*, ‘hand’, + genitive Agent; this Agent is 2x ‘the police’, both in Article 105: [...] *hāditi maqtali l-šābbi l-murāḥiqi l-‘aswadi māykel brāwn ‘alā yadi šurṭiyyin ‘abyaḍa fī madīnati firġesūn* [...], ‘the killing of [...] Michael Brown **by [the hand of] a white policeman** [...]’.

2x Limitationis, Article 12: *wa-tanāwalati l-mubāḥaṭātu bi-šaklin mufaššalin wa-wāfin al-qadāyā l-‘iqlīmiyyata l-bārizata ‘alā saṭḥi l-ih-timāmāti l-miṣriyyati wa-l-‘almāniyyati*, lit. ‘the talks dealt with regional issues [...] **on the surface of Egyptian and German concerns** [...]’, ‘[...] **in regard to Egyptian and German concerns** [...]’; and Article 122:

mušaddidadan 'alā ḍarūrati tawfīri l-mutaṭallabāti l-māliyyati li-l-'i'lāmi l-'arabiyyi likay yatamakkana mina l-qiyāmi bi-dawrihi l-muhimmi 'alā ṣa 'īdi hādīhi l-qāḍiyyati [...], lit. 'to play its important role **at the level of this issue**', '[...] **with regard to this issue** [...]'.
 2x Location & Manner, Article 54: *wa-yaftaridu 'an tamtadda l-ṣabakatu l-ḥalīḡiyyatu 'alā ṭūli 'alfay kīlūmitrin [...]*, 'And the Gulf network is supposed to extend **two thousand kilometres** [...]; and Article 62: [... *taḥlīq# ṭā'iratin rūsiyyatin 'alā rtiṣā'in munḥafiḍin [...]*, 'flying **at a low altitude** [...]'.
 2x Predicate & Location, Article 5: *wa-qāla [...]* 'inna quwwātin mina l-ḥaṣḍi wa-l-beṣmerka [sic]⁵⁰⁷ 'alā maṣārifi 'amerli, 'And [...] said that the mobilization forces and the Peshmerga **are on the outskirts of Amerli**.'; and Article 1: *fa-yarā [...]* 'anna l-dawra l-'abraza llaḍi yumkinu 'an tal'abahu l-sa'ūdiyyatu [...]' *'alā mustawī l-muḥābarāti wa-l-ma'lūmāti wa-l- [...]*, '[...] he thinks [...] that the most prominent role that Saudi Arabia can play [...] is **at the level of intelligence, information, and** [...]'.
 2x Presidency, only with *ra'si* + *wafḍin* as the prepositional complement, and only in a lead main clause together with a movement verb: 1x in Article 23 (lead): *waṣala 'ilā [...]* qāḍiman min rām allāh 'alā *ra'si wafḍin fi-lasṭīniyyin [...]*, 'arrived in [...] coming from Ramallah **at the head of a Palestinian delegation** [...]' (Example 500); and 1x in Article 76 (lead): *ta-waḡḡaha [...]* 'ilā el-dūḥa 'alā *ra'si wafḍin wizāriyyin li-baḥṭi [...]*, 'headed to Doha **at the head of a ministerial delegation** to discuss the [...]'.
 1x, ADVERB 'especially', 'alā *waḡhi l-ḥuṣūṣi* used to elevate a syntagm with *bi-sababi* (Cause) to a Graded Exemplification (not annotated thus) in Article 87: *muṣīratan 'ilā 'anna 'anqara qad tuwāḡihu muṣkilatan fī sadādi duyūnihā fī ḥālātī ḥudūṭi 'azmatin māliyyatin muḥtamalatin mina l-ḥārīḡi bi-sababi hādā l-irtifā'i fī-l-duyūni qaṣīrati l-'aḡali 'alā waḡhi l-ḥuṣūṣi*, 'may face a problem [...] due to this increase in short-term debt **in particular**'. This attestation is a *hapax* for the relation named 'especially'.
 1x Agent & Ethicus, Article 98: [... *ḥizbi el-'iṣlāḥ » al-maḥsūbi 'alā l-'iḥwāni l-muslimīna* », 'the Islah party » a protégé, favourite **of**, or affiliated **with the Muslim Brotherhood**»; perhaps better annotated as Associative.
 1x Agent & Location, Article 17, about Saudi Arabia: *wa-'aḍāfa Fābiyūs 'anna milaffa l-'irḥābi yuṣakkilu taḥaddiyan duwaliyyan li-'ūrūbbā wa-l-ṣarqi l-'awsaṭi wa-l-ḥalīḡ el-'arabiyy#, mimmā yaḡ'alu dawra l-mamlakati muhimman wa-maṭlūban 'alā l-sāḡati l-duwaliyyati*, 'And Fabius added that the terrorism portfolio poses an international challenge to Europe, the Middle East, and the Arabian Gulf, which makes the Kingdom's role important and required **on the international scene**'.

⁵⁰⁷ The noun *el-biṣmerka* is typically spelled with a *yā* in the first syllable (5x with vs. 2x without).

1x Countersequential, Article 106: *wa-dālika ba‘da ‘aqtara min šahrin ‘alā bad‘i l-mutamarridīna l-ħūṭiyyīna l-št‘atī taħarrukahum naħwa l-‘āšimati* [...], ‘[...] after a month **after the Shiite Houthi rebels began their move toward the capital** [...], a position (after *ba‘da*) which is typically occupied by *min* (a relation not investigated for *min*).

1x Location Broader, Article 4: [...] *ħawla mā yu‘rafu bi-mu‘askaray al-27 wa-l-17 ġarba l-‘āšimati l-lībiyyati ‘alā l-ṭarīqi l-sāħiliyyi l-duwaliyyi l-rābiṭi bayna ṭarābululs wa-tūnis.*, ‘around what is known as Camps 27 and 17 west of (?) the Libyan capital **on the international coastal road linking Tripoli and Tunisia.**’ (For cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1).

1x Purpose, Article 37: [...] *ħayṭu yasharu ‘iħwatuhu l-miṣriyyūna ‘alā ‘ilāġihi wa-taḍmidi ġarāhihi*, ‘where his Egyptian brothers are sleepless **for the sake of his treatment and** [...], i.e. ‘[...] watch over his treatment [...].’ (Example 584). Governed by verb, *shr* stem I, a relation perhaps better left unannotated.

1x TEMP distributive, Article 44: *wa-‘ašāra ‘ilā ‘annahu sa-yatimmu ḥilāla hādīhi l-‘iġrā‘ati l-kašfu ‘alā daraġati ḥarārati l-ħuġġāġi fī ḥamsi niqāṭin mutafarriqatin qabla l-šu‘ūdi ‘ilā l-ṭā‘irati, ‘idāfatan ‘ilā l-mutāba‘ati l-mutawāsilati ‘alā midāri l-daḡqati li-ħuġġāġi ġarbi ‘afrīqiyā*, ‘[...] in addition to a continuous follow-up **every minute** [...].’

1x TEMP ‘immediately’, Article 61: *‘alā l-fawri* (Example 484).

wa-‘alā

24x attestations, 24x annotated relations. This includes 22x transition phrases: 15x topical, 3x topical/concerning, 3x topical/locational, and 1x personal (Article 131); for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

1x Malefactive, atypical with inanimate prepositional complement, as an iteration of a preceding preposition, *‘alā* [...] *wa-‘alā*, Article 52: [...] *wa-mā yaħmiluhu dālika min maḥāṭira ġasīmatin ‘alā mustaqbali lībiyā wa-waḥdati ša‘biḥā wa-‘arādīhā wa-‘alā masīrati taḥqīqi l-salāmi wa-sṭi‘ādati l-istiqrāri* [...], ‘[...] grave risks to the future of Libya and the unity of its people and territory **and to the process of achieving peace and the restoration of stability** [...].’

1x Manner, Article 69: *wa-‘awḍaħa el-‘aḥmad ‘anna dālika yastad‘ā wa-‘alā naḥwin ‘aġilin al-bad‘a bi-l-‘i māri wa-‘anna* [...], ‘[...] that this requires **and urgently** the beginning of the (re-)construction and [...].’ (Example 696). The prepositional phrase was understood as postpositioned to *yastad‘ā* rather than prepositioned to *al-bad‘a*. For preposed elements in complement main clauses, see 5.3.4.3.

‘alā l-raġmi min

10x attestations, 10x annotated relations, covering a wide variety of antipro-identific linkings. The syntagm is always nominal, lacking morphological TAM

categories, making for a difficult categorization. The syntagm, in short and sweeping terms, always imposes antiproidetic conditions on the matrix.

4x Inconsequential, only together with a *maşdar* (perfective in meaning), 1x of which has the only negation of the syntagm, an explicit Inconsequential linking, Article 118: [...] *'awḍaḥa* [...] *'anna ḍālika l-mulḥaqa 'uḍīfa 'alā l-rağmi min 'adami munāqaşatihi musabbaqan* [...], 'that this appendix was added **even though no discussion preceded it** [...]', 'even though it was **not/had not been discussed beforehand**' (Example 170).

3x Concession, only preposed, and only with complement main clauses as matrices. None of the Concession relations are prototypical, 2x of the prepositional syntagms come together with nouns, and the subordinate syntagm is always stative, including when the syntagm comes with a verbal noun in Article 65: [...] *qāla* [...] *'annahu 'alā l-rağmi min şığari ḥağmi el-kuwayt mişāḥatan wa-sukkānan*, *fa-'innahā tamakannat min ḥilāla musā'adātiḥā l-'insāniyyati 'an tatabawwa'a markazan mutaqaddiman bayna l-'umami*, '[...] said that **despite Kuwait's smallness of size in terms of its spatial extent and population**, it has nevertheless managed through its humanitarian aid to occupy an advanced position among the nations.' (Example 410). For preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.

The remaining 3x relations span a continuum from 2x Inconcomitance to 1x Inconcomitance bi Paired Contrast, only with non-perfective nominal syntagms.

2x Inconcomitance, Article 84 (lead): *'akkada l-taqrīru 'anna miş ḥaqqaqat taḥassunan kabīran fī mağāli l-muḥāfazati 'alā şihḥati l-nisā'i wa-l-'atfāli*, *'alā l-rağmi mina l-zurūfi l-siyāsiyyati l-muḍṭaribati llatī şahidathā l-bilādu fi-l-sanawāti l-ṭalāṭi l-māḍiyati*, '[...] that Egypt has made great progress [...] **despite the troubled political conditions** [...]' (Example 421); and Article 118: *wa-'akkadati l-maşādiru tawaqqufa 'iṭlāqi l-nāri wa-l-qasfi l-midfā'iyyi*, *'alā l-rağmi mina stimrāri ntişāri l-musallaḥīna fī tilka l-manāṭiqi*, 'And the sources confirmed the cessation of shooting and artillery shelling **despite the continuation of proliferation of militants in this area.**' (Example 416).

1x Inconcomitance bi Paired Contrast, Article 8: *wa-qālati l-şahīfatu* [...] *'anna turkiyā 'aşbaḥat 'akbara sūqin li-l-tanzīmi l-'irḥābiyyi 'alā l-rağmi min 'inkāri ḥukūmati «al-'adālat# wa-l-tanmiyat#» ḍālika*, 'and the newspaper said [...] that Turkey has become a market for the terrorist organization, **even though the government of [the] «Justice and Development» [Party] denies this**' (Example 370). This last example, if a perfective aspect is inferred (i.e. 'has denied') could be understood as an Inconsequential bi Paired Contrast. This example on its own illustrates well the difficulty of annotating this antiproidetic syntagm.

‘an

210x attestations, 19 annotated relations. The low count of annotated relations is possibly due to lexical governance (roots such as *‘ln* stem IV, *‘br* stems II and IV, *kšf* stem I, *nql* stem I).

The preposition *‘an* is also used 1x in an indirect question, Article 116: [...] *su’āl# ‘an sababi ḥtiyārihi dawlatan* [...], ‘[...] a question of **why he chose** [...]’, lit. ‘[...] **concerning the reason of him choosing** [...]’ (Example 425); not covered here (for indirect questions, see 5.4.2).

12x Concerning, the recurring heads are 3x *ḥadīṭ#* (2x in Article 37), 2x *taqrīr#*, and 2x *šay#*; all others occur 1x. Examples include a constituent in a temporal transition phrase in Article 61: *wa-ḥi ma’riḍi ḥadīṭihi ‘ani ntišāri ṭbūlā qāla* [...], lit. ‘and on the occasion of his speaking **about the spread of Ebola** [...]’ (Example 232).

4x ‘at least’ with numerative, only in the syntagm *mā lā(-)yaqillu ‘an*, 3x of the attestations in the context of casualties, 2x in Article 4, e.g. *wa-‘afādat mašādiru ‘askariyyatun lībiyyatun bi-wuqū’i mā lā yaqillu ‘an 70 qaṭīlan min ḡamā’ati “‘anšār el-šarī’a”* [...], ‘and Libyan military sources reported about the fall of **at least 70 dead** of the “Ansar al-Sharia” group [...]’ (Example 435).

1x Instrument & Mediation, Article 61 (lead): [...] ‘a *‘lana mišr* [...] ‘*an taqdīmi musā’adātin bi-qīmati 550 ‘alfa ḡinēh li-l-duwali l-mankūbati ‘an ṭarīqi l-wikālati l-miṣriyyati li-l-širākati min ‘aḡli l-tanmiyati li-l-ḥaylūlati dūna taḥawwuli l-fayrūs ‘ilā wabā’in ‘ālamīyyin*, ‘Egypt announced [...] that it will provide aid [...] **through the Egyptian Agency of Partnership for Development** [...]’.

1x Location & Instrument, Article 90: [...] *tatazawwadu bi-l-silāhi wa-l-ḡaḥīrati* [...] ‘*an ṭarīqi mīnā’i bengāzi l-baḥriyyi*, ‘is supplied with arms and ammunition [...] **via maritime Port of Benghazi**’.

wa-‘an

3x attestations, 2x annotated relations. 2x transition phrases, Concerning (for which, see 5.3.4.2). The remaining 1x attestation is governed by a verb (excluded from investigation), *‘br* stem II, Article 52: [...] *bi-ṣifatihimā l-mumattīlayni l-waḥīdayni l-mu‘abbirayni ‘an ‘irādati l-ša’bi* [...] *wa-‘an ḥiyārātīhi l-dīmuqrāṭiyyati* [...], ‘in their capacity of being the only two representatives expressive of the will of the people [...] **and of its democratic choices** [...]’.

ğ (ğayn) Ğ

ḡarb#, ḡarbiyy# (Ref.)

‘West’, ‘west of’, ‘western part of’; see 6.9.2.1.

f (fā') ف

faḍlan 'an

8x attestations, 1x annotated relation.

1x Unordered Addition (Different Level Same Subject), Article 103: *wa-l-taqā šukrī, [...] ma 'a kullin [sic] mīna l-ra 'īsi l- 'irāqīyyi fu 'ād ma 'šūm ḥaytu baḥaṭa ma 'ahu tanmiyata l- 'alāqāti l-ṭunā 'iyyati bayna miṣr wa-l- 'irāq fī šattā l-mağālāti, faḍlan 'an liqā 'ihi bi-naḏīrihi l-brīṭāniyyi fīlīb hāmūnd al-ladī 'a 'raba 'ani htimāmi brīṭāniyā bi-l-liqā 'i l-murtaqabi bayna l-ra 'īsi 'abd el-fattāḥ el-sīsī wa-ra 'īsi wuzarā 'i bilādihi dayfid kāmūrūn, 'and Shoukry met with [...] and he also met [...]' (Example 581).*

The remaining 7x relations are nominal additions, *x in addition to y* (not investigated), of which the diverging semantics in Article 103 (above) clearly is an extension.

fawra

2x attestations, 2x annotated relations.

2x Countersequential, only to a finite matrix, 'as soon as', e.g. Article 118: *[...] kamā tata 'ahhadu l- 'aṭrāfu 'i 'ṭā 'a ḡamī 'i l-ma 'lūmāti l-ḍarūriyyati 'ilā lağnati l-murāqabati wa-l-taḥqīqi fawra ṭalabihā, 'the parties also undertake to provide all the necessary information to the monitoring and verification committee upon request [...]'.*

fawran ba 'da

1x attestation, Countersequential, Article 90: *[...] haddada [...] bi-qasfī 'ayyi saḡḡinatin tadḡulu mīnā 'i bengāzī [...] fawran ba 'da ttiḡamihi li-l-taškīlāti l-munāḡiqati lahu bi-l-tazawwudi bi-l-silāḡi 'abra l-mīnā 'i, [...]' threatened to bomb any ship that enters the Benghazi port [...] immediately after his accusation of the formations that oppose him of providing arms through the port.'* (Example 558). The example forms a bridging context for composite prepositional phrases, where *fawran* could—perhaps better—be understood together with the preceding nominalized clause. See also under "*qabla 'an* VprefA" in 6.1.5 for comparable finite constructions with *mu 'aḡḡaran* and *mubāṣaratan*.

fawqa

6x attestations, 5x annotated relations.

5x Location, 'over', 3x including (*al-*) *'arādī* as the prepositional complement, e.g. Article 49: *wa- 'aḡāfa [...] 'anna bilādahu 'alā sti 'dādi li-ḡazri l-ṭayarāni fawqa l- 'arādī l-rūsīyyati [...]'*, 'prepared to ban flying over Russian territory [...]'.

The remaining 1x attestation occurs with a number and is governed by a verb (not investigated), Article 86: *wa- 'aḡāfa [...] 'anna 'adada 'a 'ḡā 'ihā*

yuqaddaru fawqa 9 ‘ālāfi šaḥšin [...], ‘[...] estimated to more than 9 thousand persons’. The syntagm is governed by the root *qdr*, stem II, which typically takes *bi(-)*, e.g. *bi-33,7 [...]* and *bi-mā yu ‘ādilu 1,5%* in Article 48, *bi-ḥawālay 30 [...]* in Article 58, and *bi-l-milyārāti* and *bi-9,4 [...]* in the headline and body of Article 86 respectively.

fī

1,223x attestations, 951x annotated relations.

This includes 17x article-initial phrases (in the lead; for which, see 5.3.3): 6x Equative, 5x Context (various constructions), 4x Purpose (all *fī muḥāwalatin li- [...]*), 1x Location (*fī mu ‘tamarin ḥāššin [...]*, Article 46), and 1x Topic (preposed summarizing paraphrase): *fī nazratin mutašā ‘imatin li-mustaqbali l-iqtisādi l-turkiyyi*, Article 87, Example 376). It also includes 11x transition phrases (see 5.3.4.2): 9x temporal (5x *fī ġuḏūni dālīka*, 3x *fī-l-waḡti nafsihi*, 1x *fī-l-waḡti dātīhi*); 1x topical, *fī siyāqin muttašilin* (Article 80); and 1x adversative, *fī-l-muqābili* (Article 88).

The remaining 920x annotated relations consist of 540x monosemantic Location and an additional 91x monosemantic Location of Utterance, 631x in total, accounting for 51.6% of all attestations of prepositional phrases with *fī* (631x of 1,223x), itself being the most frequent type in the corpus (without dots under *yā’*, see Table 6 in 3.4.2).

The other most frequent monosemantic uses of prepositional syntagms with *fī* are, in order, 58x TEMP punctual, 46x TEMP ‘during’, and 28x Context. These 132x (10.8% of all uses with *fī*) are mainly another means of locating entities and situations, albeit in a temporal and a situational context.

Within the context of informative hard news, the frequency not only of *fī*, but even more importantly of these most frequent uses of *fī*, is largely explained by the need to locate entities and events in a larger real world of entities and situations in a flow of information part of which is potentially new to the reader, together with the need to reiterate such localisations for each new entity and in every article (done 4.82 times per article with *fī* alone).

All other annotated relations expressed with *fī* are attested ≤13x each, and account for <13% of the total number of attestations of *fī*.

540x Location, various constructions. One peculiarity of syntax (no counter-examples) is that the word *madīnat#* is only used with an epexegetical genitive of the place name, 16x *fī madīnati + nomen loci*, ‘in the city of *x*; in *x*, which is a city’; this is to be compared to *al- ‘āšimati*, ‘the capital’, which has the place name as an apposition, 20x *fī-l- ‘āšimati* (+ optional country *nisba*) + *nomen loci*. (For the unique *wa- ‘āšimat#hā el-quḏs*, see under “*wa-NCl*” in 6.1.2.9)

91x Location of Utterance: *fī* + 28x *taṣrīḥ(āt)in* (19x *taṣrīḥātīn*, 8x *taṣrīḥīn*); 23x *bayāni(-h)*; ⁵⁰⁸ 8x *kalimati-n/h*; 6x *ḥiṭābi(-h)*; 5x *(al-)muqābilati(n)*; 4x *taqrīrin*; all others occur ≤ 3x (including 11x *hapax*).

58x TEMP punctual, complement types occurring >5x are 14x names of months (including 4x with name of month + year with digits, e.g. *fī yūliyyū 1997* in Article 115); and 8x specifying years (e.g. *fī 1981* in Article 1). In addition, there are 12x syntagms with *al-waqtī* as complement, and 8x with *waqtin* (for which, cf. focal relative clauses, *fī-l-waqtī llaḏī [...]* (*fīhi*), etc., under 6.3.1); and 5x stating a specific date. All others occur <5x each and include expressions such as *fī-l-ṣahri l-muqbili* (Article 10), *fī ḥārīfī ḥāḏā l-‘āmi* (Article 127), *fī ḥārīfī ‘āmi 2015* (Article 111), *fī bidāyati l-‘āmi l-muqbili* (Article 12), *fī nihāyati nūfimbir al-muqbili* (Article 116), and more specific events such as 2x with *(al-)intiḥābātī* + postmodifiers. No investigation of the postmodifier *al-muqbili/al-māḏī* was made for the relation.

46x TEMP ‘during’, typically with less temporally specific complements than for the relation TEMP punctual (e.g. Article 71: [...] *fī-l-ḡalsati l-muqbilati li-maḡlisi l-wuzarā‘i* [...] (Example 609)), although more temporally specific complements do occur (e.g. the plural in Article 84: [...] *fī-l-sanawātī l-ṭalātī l-māḏiyati* [...], ‘[...] during the past three years [...]’).⁵⁰⁹

28x Context, 14x with *‘iṭāri* + genitive as the complement, being the single most frequent for Context with *fī*, e.g. Article 9: *wa-ḏakarati* [...] ‘*anna ḥāḏihi l-iṣtibākātī ta‘tī fī ‘iṭāri muḥāwalātī «dā‘eṣ» li-l-sayṭarati ‘alā l-maṭāri llaḏī yumaṭṭilu ‘ahamma ḥuṣūni l-quwwātī l-ḥukūmiyyati fī-l-muḥāfazati*, ‘mentioned [...] that these clashes come **within the framework of Daesh’s attempts to gain control over the airport** which represents the most important stronghold of the governmental forces in the governorate’.

13x Simultaneous, various constructions, typically (11x) with a *maṣḍar* (4x *(al-)ta‘āmuli(-h)*, 2x *‘aṭnā‘i* + *maṣḍar*), e.g. Article 42: *wa-ṭālaba ‘alā ‘a ḏā‘i l-kūnḡris#* [...] *bi-‘an yakūnū ḥaḏirīna fī ta‘āmuliḥim ma‘a miḡli ḥāḏihi l-taqārīri* [...], ‘and he called the members of the Congress [...] to be cautious in dealing with reports such as these [...]’ (Example 612).

12x Conditional: 10x *fī ḥālātī* (9x + *maṣḍar*, and 1x *fī ḥālātī lībiyā*, Article 70); 1x *fī ḥālī* + *maṣḍar* (Article 27); and 1x *fī ṣilli* + *maṣḍar* as a preposed construction in a future-projecting context in Article 111: *wa-‘awḏaḥa kāmīrūn ‘annahu fī ṣilli manḥi ṣalāḥiyyātīn ‘awsa‘a li-barlamāni wa-ḥukūmati ‘iskutlandā, lā yumkinu ‘an yakūna li-nuwwābi ‘iskutlandā bi-l-barlamāni l-brīṭanniyyi ḥaqqu l-taṣwīti ‘alā qaḏāyā ṭaḥuṣṣu ‘ingilterā wa waylz , mu‘tabiran ‘anna ḏālīka yaṇṭawī ‘alā ṣulmīn ḡawhawiriyyīn fī qalbi l-ḏīmūqrāṭiyyati l-brīṭāniyyati, ḥasaba waṣḥīhi, dā‘iyan ‘ilā ‘aqḏi mu‘tamarin*

⁵⁰⁸ 1x *bayānihi* (Article 118); for Lam Auctoris in this context, see under ‘*fī*’ in 6.9. The count also include 1x *hapax*: *fī-l-bayāni*.

⁵⁰⁹ The annotation of TEMP ‘during’ and TEMP punctual takes lexical and verbal aspect into consideration, as well as the lexical complement of the preposition, see discussion in 6.8.3.3.

ħizbiyyin al-yawma taħta šī 'āri » 'ašwāt# 'inġlīziyyat# li-qawānīna 'inġlīziyyatin«. 'Cameron explained that, **if broader powers are granted to the Scottish Parliament and Government**, Scottish representatives in the British parliament cannot have the right to vote on issues that concern England and Wales, considering that it would involve a fundamental injustice in the heart of British democracy, according to his description, and called for holding a party conference today under the slogan »English votes for English laws«. (For proposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.)

12x Instrumental Manner, e.g. Article 63: [...] *qutilu* [...] ***fī talāṭi haġamātin munfašilatin*** [...], 'were killed [...] **in three separate attacks** [...]; but cf. Instrumental Manner bi TEMP 'during' below.

12x TEMP date, e.g. Article 103: *fī 4 sibtbambir*.

11x Limitationis, e.g. Article 35: *muḍīfan 'anna l-'amaliyyāti sa-takūnu «maħdūdatan fī maġālihā wa-muddatihā*», '[...] will be «limited **in scope and [temporal] extent**»'.

8x Instrumental Manner bi TEMP 'during', comparable to Instrumental Manner, but with a greater temporal force, e.g. Article 71: *qālat* [...] *'inna 150 madrasatan ħukūmiyyatan taḍarrarat fī-l-ħuġūmi l-'isrā'īliyyi* [...], '[...] were damaged **in the Israeli attack**'.

6x ADVERB 'also', 6x *fī-l-waḡti* (4x + *naḡsihi*, and 2x + *dātihi*).

6x Concerning: 3x *fī hādā l-šadadi* (e.g. Article 71, Example 609); 2x ***fī hādā l-ša 'ni***; and 1x *wa-lā 'aġandat# ħāṣṣat# lahā fī-l-širā 'āti l-dāħiliyyati*, 'and does not have a special agenda **in the internal conflicts**' (Article 91, Example 547).

6x Location Broader, to position an obligatorily preceding spatial Location in relation to a larger geographical area, e.g. Article 24: [...] *fī dawāhī qaryati būlmūšler al-tābi'ati li-kūġlūkūnāk fī muħāfazati šīrnāq ġanūba l-bilādi*.

5x Manner Instrument, e.g. Article 106: *wa-ġariqa el-yaman fī 'azmatin* [...], 'and Yemen has drowned **in a crisis** [...]' (Example 399).

5x TEMP 'earlier', only *fī waḡtin sābiqin* (e.g. Article 96, Example 366).

5x TEMP 'within': 4x *fī ġuḍūni* x (e.g. Article 56, *fī ġuḍūni yawmin*, 'within a day'); and 1x *fī waḡtihā l-dustūriyyi*, Article 43: *wa-'akkada 'anna 'adama l-'i lāni 'ani l-taškīlati l-wizāriyyati fī waḡtihā l-dustūriyyi* [...] 'am-run *fī ġāyati l-ħuṭūrat*, '[...] that the failure to announce the ministerial lineup **within the constitutional time** [...] is very dangerous'.

4x Nominal Purpose, e.g. Article 74: [...] *sa-yahḡa 'u li-ḡuġūtin ġayri ṭabī'iyatin min* [...] ***fī naqli 'aw 'iqālati muntasibīna*** [...], '[...] will be subject to abnormal pressures from [...], either **in transferring or dismissing associates** [...]' (Example 490).

4x Purpose: 3x *fī muħāwalatin li- + mašdar*; 1x *fī muqābili + mašdar*, with subject shift, Article 42: *qaṭar manahat brūkīnġz* [...] *naħwa 15 milūna dūlārin* [...] ***fī muqābili waḡ 'i dirāsatin ħawla*** [...], 'Qatar gave Brookings [...] **in order that they write a study concerning** [...]'. Cf. the preposition *muqābila*, 'in exchange for'.

3x ADVERB ‘eventually’, only with the item (*al-*)*nihāyat#*: 2x *fi-l-nihāyati*, lit. ‘in the end’ (Articles 47 and 69), and 1x *fi nihāyati l-’amri* (Article 61, Example 574).

3x Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Context, only *fi ’išāratin ’ilā*, in the context of a verb of attribution (cf. the more common *mušīra(ta)n ’ilā* under 6.4.5.3).

3x Predicate & Location, Article 9: *wa-’akkada [...] ’anna “al-muhtağazīna **fi makānin ’āminin**” [...], ‘[...] are in a secure location’ [...]* (Example 364), and in direct speech in Article 47: [...] *hum al-’āna **fi-l-finā’i l-hāriğiyi** ...*, ‘they are now **in the courtyard.**’ (Example 487). Predicates are typically not investigated, but the relative rarity of locative predication (Predicate & Location) is noteworthy. Location (e.g. under “*fi*” 540x and “*bi-*” 117x above), is typically a relation expressed by a peripheral constituent or post-modifier.

3x TEMP ‘as soon as possible’, only *fi ’aqraba waqtin* (including 1x + *mumkinin*, Article 103, Example 640).

3x TEMP ‘currently’, various constructions: *fi-l-marḥalati l-hāliyyati* (Article 39), *fi-l-waḥṣi l-hāliyyi* (Article 90), and *fi-l-waḥṣi l-rāḥini* (Article 106).

2x Context bi Purpose, only in the phrase *fi ’iṭāri + maṣḍar*, ‘in a framework [which aims at]’, e.g. Article 26 (final sentence): *wa-’akkada šukrī ḥilāla ḥadīṭihi li-’adānūm ’ahammīyyatan ’an ta’kisa l-ziyāratu l-rūḥa l-’iğābiyyata llatī sādāt bayna el-sīsī wa-dīsālīn wa-tadšīna marḥalatin ḡadīdatin minā l-’alāqāti l-tunā’iyyati **fi ’iṭāri taḥqīqi l-maṣālīhi l-muštarakati li-l-baladayni***, ‘And Shoukry stressed during his speech to Adhanum the importance that the visit will reflect the positive spirit that has prevailed between el-Sisi and Desalines, and [that it reflects] the inauguration of a new phase of bilateral relations **within the framework of achieving the common interests of the two countries.**’

2x Different Level Different Subject Addition, only *fi-l-waḥṣi* + focal relative clause, e.g. Article 35 (lead): *’ablağa l-ra’isu l-’amrīkiyyu [... 18 words ...] **fi-l-waḥṣi llaḍi qtaḥama fihi** [...]* *’aktaru min 101 min ’aqāribi ḡunūdin mafqūḍīna [...]* *mabnā l-barlamāni [...]*, ‘Obama notified [the Congress], **and [in Iraq] 100 relatives stormed** [...]. For the fallacy of cotemporality, see 3.16.1.1.

2x Equative, only in the phrase *bi-taškūlatihi l-hukūmiyyati [...]* ***fi šakli hukūmati ’azmatin muṣağğaratīn***, ‘his government formation [...] **in the form of a mini crisis government**’ (identical wording in both Article 121 and Article 124).

2x Expanding Paraphrase, only to temporal expressions as heads: 1x in Article 101: *tantahī [...] ḥāḍā l-’āma **fi-l-ḍikrā l-mi’awīyyati li-ftūṭāhi l-qanāti***, ‘[...] would finish this year **on the centenary of the opening of the canal**’ (Example 401); and 1x in Article 24: *wa-li-māḍā lam yatimma l-taṭarruqu li-ḥāḍihi [...] qabla ’a wāmin **fi ḡilli stimrāri hukmi ’erdūḡān** [...]*, ‘and why

was not this [...] addressed years ago **during the continued rule of Erdoğan** [...]’ (Example 489).

2x Instrument, only in Article 126, both *al-tiġārat# fī*, ‘trade with’ + goods (Example 543).

2x Location & Instrument, only with the root *hzn*, stem II, active and passive, ‘store(d) **in**’ (Articles 49 and 75), e.g. *naql# al-tirsānati l-nawawīyyati l-brīṭāniyyati l-muḥazzanati bi-l-kāmili fī ġawwāšātin* [...], ‘[...] stored entirely **in submarines**’.

2x Meta-linguistic Comment, comparable to appositions: 1x as an evaluative comment in Article 51: *wa-dālika fī ’iṭāri l-muḥaṭṭatātī l-ḥabīlātī li-l-tanzīmi l-dawliyyi li-l-’iḥwāni l-muslimīna, fī taḥallin šarīhin ’ani l-iltizāmi bi-mabda ’i qudsiyyati l-turābi l-waṭaniyyi*, ‘[...] in the framework of the malicious plans of [...], **[in] an explicit abandonment of the principle of the sanctity of the national soil**’ (Example 590); and 1x as a repeated preposition in Article 83: *fa-mīna l-muḥimmi ’allā [...]* *wa-’an nuḥāfiḥa wa-nastamirra fī taṭwīri l-’amaliyyāti l-dīmūqrāṭiyyati fī muġtama ’inā. fī dawlatinā*, ‘[...] in the society. **in our country**’ (Example 440).

2x Numerical Comparative Contrast, only *fī muqābili ta ’yīdi/rafḍi* + n%: 1x in Article 25: [...] 50% [...] *yu ’āriḍūna [...]* *fī muqābili ta ’yīdi 35%*, ‘50% oppose [...] **compared to a support of 35%**’; and 1x in Article 75: *ta ’yīda 49% [...] fī muqābili rafḍi 42% [...]* (Example 555).

2x Simultaneous & Malefactive, only in the phrase *fī muwāġahati + mašdar*, ‘combating, in facing’, ‘against’, e.g. Article 77: *bi-dūni [...] fa-’inna bilādahā sa-taḥsaru l-ma ’rikata llatī taḥūduhā fī muwāġahati l-fayrūs al-qātili*, ‘the war that it wages **in facing the deadly virus**’ (Example 422).

2x TEMP ‘immediately’, only *fī-l-ḥāli*, Article 36: *mā ’addā ’ilā ’iṭlāqi l-nāri ’alayhi wa-qatlihi fī-l-ḥāli*, ‘[...] and his killing **on the spot**’; Article 119: *wa-lam tu ’raf fī-l-ḥāli ’asbābu hāḍihi l-infiġārāti [...]* (Example 498).

2x TEMP ‘later’: Article 13: *fī waqtin lāḥiqin*; and Article 25: *fī-l-mustqballi*.

All other annotated relations for *fī* are *hapax*.

1x Location bi Context, Article 21: *kamā tamakannat quwwātu l-bešmerka [...] isti ’ādata l-sayṭarati ’alā [...]* *fī hāḍihi l-miṇṭaqati l-wāqi ’ati ġanūba [...]*, ‘in this region which lies south [of?] [...]’ (Example 685). (For cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1).

1x Location of Utterance bi Instrument, Article 42: [...] *bi ’annahu lā yaḥuqqu lahu ntiqādu l-ḥukūmati l-qatariyyati [...]* *fī ’abḥāṭihi*, ‘[...] has no right to criticize the Qatar government [...] **in its research papers**’.

1x Malefactive, Article 108: [...] *wa-qad-yašduru fī ḥaqqihi ḥukmun bi-l-siġni ’ašra sanawātin*, ‘and a sentence of prison for ten years may be issued **against him**’ (Example 271).

1x Manner, Article 88: [...] *ḥattat kanīṣatu 'iskutlandā 'abnā'a l-'iqḷīmi 'alā l-'ayṣi fī nsiḡāmi bi-ḡaddi l-naẓari 'ani l-natīḡati*, '[...] to live **in harmony** [...]’.

1x Manner bi Location, Article 63: [...] *'atnā'a 'iṭlāqi quwwāti l-'amni l-yamaniyyati l-'a 'yirata l-nāriyyata fī-l-hawā'i*, '[...] fired live bullets **in the air**’ (Example 694).

1x Motion Purpose, Article 88: [...] *tawaḡḡaha ra 'īsu l-wuzarā'i* [...] *'ilā* [...] *fī muḥāwalatin 'aḥīratin li-'iṭnā'i l-muwāṭinīna* [...], ‘headed to [...] **in a last attempt to discourage the citizens** [...]’ (Example 9).

1x Simultaneous bi Cause, Article 47: [...] *al-'uzlati llatī ša 'ara bihā* [...] *fī ṣilli 'adami wuḡūdi wāḷidatihi* [...], ‘the isolation he felt [...] **in the absence of his mother**’ (Example 653).

1x Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Purpose, Article 10: *fa-'innahu sa-yastahdimu waḍ'a filasṭīn* [...] *fī ḡa 'li l-'arāḍi* [...] *tabdū wa-ka-'annahā* [...], ‘will use the position of Palestine [...] **in making the territories** [...] **look like they are** [...]’ (Example 496).

1x TEMP ‘during’ bi Location of Utterance, a variation of Location of Utterance with a primary temporal relation: Article 55: *ḡā'a ḡālika fī mu'tamarin šuḥufiyyin* [...], lit. ‘This came **in a press conference** [...]’.

1x TEMP punctual bi Inconcomitance, Article 56: *wa-yasūdu l-tawatturu* [...] *ḡaytu mtana'a 'adadun kabīrun mina l-sukkāni 'an 'irsāli 'awlādihim 'ilā l-madrasati fī-l-yawmi l-'awwali mina l-'āmi l-dirāsiyyi*, ‘[...] a large number of residents have refused to send their children to school **on the first day of the school year**’ (Example 427).

1x TEMP ‘whenever’, Article 3: [...] *'akkada* [...] *'anna l-ḡukūmata sa-taẓallu musta'iddatan li-* [...] *fī 'ayyi waqtin* [...], ‘that the government will remain ready to [...] **at any time** [...]’ (Example 384).

wa-fī

93x attestations, 93x annotated relations. See also “(wa-)fī muḡaddimati-h NCl” under 6.1.5.

The count includes 78x transition phrases: 35x temporal, 18x locational, 9x topical, 8x Location of Utterance, 4x adversative, 2x equative, 1x purpose to complement (Article 3), and 1x topical/concerning (Article 25). For transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

6x Location, only as a second spatial location, 3x following *fī* + the geographical location, e.g. Article 46: [...] *fī bilādihi wa-fī 'urūbbā* [...]; and 1x following *dāḡila*, Article 52: [...] *dāḡila sūriyā wa-fī-l-duwali l-muḡāwirati* [...], ‘[...] inside Syria **and in the neighbouring countries** [...]’.

2x Manner, Article 37: *wa-qāla* [...] *'inna miṣr lan tatawānā 'an baḡli kulli ḡahdin mumkinin wuṣūlan 'ilā tilka l-ḡāyati ṭibqan li-l-mabādi'i llatī 'arsathā l-qarārātu l-duwaliyyatu ḡāti l-ṣilati wa-fī 'iṭāri l-mubādarati l-'arabiyyati li-l-salāmi* mu'akkidan 'anna [...], ‘[...] that Egypt will not hesitate to make every possible effort to reach this goal in accordance with the principles which

the relevant international resolutions established **and within the framework of the Arab peace initiative** [...]'; and Article 44: *wa-tuqaddimu l-dirāsatu lamḥatan mubakkaratan* 'an 'ayyi liqāḥin min liqāḥāti 'ibūlā qayda l-tatwīri llaḍī sa-yuḥbitu fa 'āliyyatahu **wa-ft** 'ayyi šaklin, [...] an early glimpse into which vaccine under development that will prove its effectiveness and **in what form** [...]'.
 1x ADVERB 'also', Article 12: [...] *mutawāfiqan ma'a raġbatihā fī tad'imi l-'alāqāti ma'a mišr wa-ft nafsi l-waḡti tawfīri* 'iḥtiyāġātīn rubbamā takūnu ḍarūriyyatan wa-muhimmatan li-mišr [...], [...] its wish to strengthen the relations with Egypt **as well as** to provide needs that might be needed and important to Egypt [...] (Example 462); cf. *fī-l-waḡti nafsihi* (under "ft").

1x Conditional (negated), preposed nominalized subordination (for which, see 5.3.4.4), Article 70: *wa-'awḍaḥa* [...] 'anna l-marḥalata l-'ulā sa-takūnu bi-'i'ṭā'i furṣatan li-kulli madīnatīn li-faṭḥi ḥiwārīn dāḥiliyyīn wa-ḥalli l-muškilāti bayna l-'atrāfi l-mutanāzi 'ati dāḥilahā, **wa-ft ḥālī 'adami wuġūdi ḥulūlin turahhalu l-muškilatu** 'ilā l-marḥalati llatī talīhā min marāḥili l-tahdi 'ati, [...] **and in case no solutions are found, the problem will be transferred** to the stage which follows it in the stages in the truce' (Example 501).

1x Context, Article 1: *wa-kānati l-duwalu l-talātu wa-ft ḥaṭwatīn ġayri masbūqatin* munḍu ta'sīsi maġlisi l-ta'āwuni l-ḥaliġiyyi fī 1981, qad saḥabat sufarā 'ahā mina el-dūḥa fī mārs al-māḍi muttahimatan qaṭar [...], [...] **in an unprecedented step** since [...] (Example 299); it could be argued that this is an Equative, 'an unprecedented step', but in any case, both the syntax and the semantics of the syntagm are *hapax* here.

1x Meta-linguistic Comment (epistemic), Article 10: [...] *mutawaqqi'an* 'an yalqā ḥāḍā l-ṭalabu mu'araḍatan šadīdatan mina l-'isrā'iliyyīna **wa-ft ḥukmi l-mu'akkadi** min ḥulaḑā 'ihim al-'amrīkiyyīna, [...] will meet strong opposition from the Israelis, **and most certainly** from their American allies'.

1x Predicate & Manner, Article 9: *wa-'akkada* [...] 'anna "al-muḥtaġaḏina fī makānin 'āminin **wa-ft ḥālatin šihḥiyyatin ġayyidatin**, [...]". Cf. Manner & Predicate (1x), *ba'īdan* in Article 22 (Example 713).

1x TEMP 'during', Article 47: *al-mu'ānāti llatī 'ānāhā wa-huwa ṭiflun wa-ft marḥalati l-nuḍūġi* [...], lit. 'the suffering which he suffered when he was a child **and in the stage of adolescence** [...]'.
 1x TEMP 'within', Article 118, the *wa-* appearing superfluous, or acting as an anaphoric anchoring: *wa-qāla* [...] 'innahu yaġibu 'alā kulli l-'atrāfi l-muwāfaqatu 'alā baṣṭi sultati l-dawlati wa-sti'ādati sayṭaratihā 'alā 'arāḍihā [...] *wa-l-ittifāqu* 'alā 'āliyatīn bi-musā'adatin fanniyyatin mina l-'umami l-muttaḥidati li-tanfīdi tawṣiyyāti mu'tamari l-ḥiwāri l-waṭaniyyi l-šāmili [...] *bi-naz'i l-silāhi wa-sti'ādati l-'aslihati l-taqīlati wa-l-mutawassitati min kāffati l-'atrāfi* [...] llatī nuhibat 'aw tamma l-istilā'u 'alayhā wa-hiya milkun li-l-dawlati 'alā l-mustawā l-waṭaniyyi **wa-ft waḡtin zamaniiyyin muḥaddadin wa-muwahaddin**, [...] **disarmament and the recovery of heavy and medium weapons** [...] **within a single, specified time frame**'.

q (*qāf*) ق*qibālata*

2x attestations, only to express Location, ‘opposite’, and only about coastal locations of Palestine: 1x in Article 31: *qibālata sawāḥili madīnati rafah*; and 1x in Article 69: *qibālata baḥri minṭaqati l-sūdaniyyati šamāla ġarbi madīnati ġazza*.

qabla

29x attestations, 29x annotated relations. This count includes 1x article-initial nominalized subordination (Context bi Countersequential, Article 88). For article-initial subordination, see 5.3.3.

8x TEMP ‘ago’, two different constructions: 5x with a temporal word as prepositional complement (2x *yawmayni*, 2x *’ayyāmin*, and 1x *’a wāmin* (Article 24)) and 3x with a complements consisting of number + temporal word (*qabla 11 ’usbū’an* (Article 21), *tis’ati ’ašhurin* (Article 69), and *’ašarati ’a wāmin* (Article 126)).

8x TEMP ‘before’, only with nouns as prepositional complements: 7x in the phrase *al-laylata qabla l-mādiyyati*, lit. ‘the night before the last one’; and 1x with a temporal noun, Article 99: [...] *fī-l-hāmisi wa-l-’iṣrīna mina l-šahri l-hāliyyi wa-yaftariḍu ’an yatimma sti’nāfu l-muḥāwaḍāti qabla hādā l-maw’idi*, ‘[...] and it is expected that the negotiations will resume **prior to this date**’ (Example 605).

7x Temporal Succession, only with *mašdar* as prepositional complement: 4x with matrices with finite verbs (2x Vsuff, 2x future VprefL, including 1x *sa-yatimma + mašdar* (Article 44)), e.g. Article 118: [...] *ḥaytu sayṭarū ’alā mu’zami l-munši’ati l-siyāsiyyati wa-l-’askariyyati qabla tawqī’i ttiḥāqin li-l-salāmi* [...], ‘[...] where they gained control over most of the political and military establishments **before they signed a peace treaty** [...].’ (Example 444); and 3x with nominalized clauses as matrices (2x *mašdar*, 1x nominalized relative clause (Article 123)), e.g. the future-projecting Article 87: *ya’tī [...] fī-l-waḡti llaḍi tasta’iddu fīhi l-ḥukūmatu l-turkiyyatu l-ġadīdatu [...] li-’itlāqi ḥamlati tahawwulin kabīratin fī-l-iqtisādi qabla tawallī turkiyā ri’āsata maġmū’ati l-’iṣrīna l-’āma l-qādima*, ‘[...] the new Turkish government is preparing to launch a major campaign of economic transformation **before Turkey takes over the presidency of the G20 next year**’.

3x TEMP ‘earlier’: 2x *qabla ḡālika*; and 1x *qabla-hā*, with the feminine suffix referring to the previous nominalized clause in its entirety, Article 108: [...] *lam yakun [...] dāḥila l-bayti l-’abyaḍi waḡta wuḡū’i l-hāditi, ḥaytu ḡādara [...] qablahā bi-daḡā’iqi* [...], ‘he was not inside at the time of the incident [...] because he had left **a few minutes before [it]**’ (Example 475).

1x Graded Exemplification, elliptical, Article 92: [...] *mūḍiḥan nurīdu tadaḥḥulan lūġistiyyan qabla kulli šay’in* [...], ‘we want logistic intervention **above all** [...]’ (Example 321).

1x Temporal Succession bi Context, in conjunction with *min*, Article 80: *wa-ğā’a hādā l-hādītu qabla yawmin min bad’i l-āmi l-dirasiyyi l-ğadīdi*, ‘and this incident happened **a day before the beginning of the new school year**’.

wa-qabla

2x attestations, only in temporal transition phrases (for which, see 5.3.4.2), Article 63: *wa-qabla dālika bi-yawmin wāḥidin, qutilu ’arba ’atu* [...], ‘**And only a day before that**, four were killed [...]’; and Article 102: *wa-qabla 48 sā’atan min bad’i* [...] *’ašdara qādatu l-’aḥzābi* [...], ‘**And 48 hours before the start of the** [...] the party leaders issued [...]’ (Example 493).

qubayla

1x attestation, no annotated relations. The preposition *qubayla* is only attested 1x in the construction *wa-dālika X NCI* (for which, see under 6.1.5).

qurba

10x attestations, 10x annotated relations.

8x Location, e.g. Article 9, in a proleptic relative: [...] *kašafa* [...] *’an ma ’ārika ’anīfatin dārat bayna musallaḥīna ’akrādin wa-musallaḥī «dā’eš» qurba madīnati el-ḥasaka bi-sūriyā.*, ‘[...] revealed that violent battles have taken place between Kurdish militants and militants of «Daesh» **near the city of Hasakah** in Syria.

2x Location Broader, to position a previous spatial location in relation to a larger geographical area, 1x of which is part of a transition phrase, Article 71: *wa-fi el-ğūta el-šarqiyya qurba l-’āšimati* [...], ‘And in Eastern Ghouta **near the capital**, [...]’ (Example 677). For transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

qayda

2x attestations, only used as a Manner postmodifier to nouns, comparable to the function of *ḥayza* (q.v.), Article 44: *liqāḥāt# ’ibulā qayda l-taṭwīri*, ‘Ebola vaccines **under development**’; and Article 58, *dāḥila mabnan qayda l-’inšā’i*, ‘inside a building **under construction**’.

k (kāf) ك

ka-

20x attestations, 20x annotated relations.

17x Equative, 8x with nouns as heads, including 1x with a digit, Article 15: *kamā sa-tursilu berlin 50 milyūna yūrū ka-musā’adātīn ’insāniyyatīn ’ilā l-*

'iqḷimi, 'And Berlin will send 50 million euros **as humanitarian aid** to the region' (Example 219). Also with finite clause as matrix, e.g. 1x main clause with VprefL, Article 29: *wa-ta'ī ri'āsatu šarīf li-l-ğalsati l-barlamāniyyati ka-ta'kīdīn li-sayṭaratihi 'alā maqālīdi l-ḥukmi wa-da'mi l-barlamāni lahu* [...], 'and Sharif's presidency of the parliamentary session comes **as a confirmation of his control over the reigns of government and the parliament's support of him** [...]' (Example 582). In Article 118, the Equative has a unique anterior/resultative aspect: *wa-'azzaza l-ḥūṭiyyūna l-šī'atu mawāqī'ahum bi-tawsī'i ruq'ati ntišārihim* [...] *fī šamāli ġarbī# el-yaman* [...] *ḥayṭu sayṭarū 'alā mu'zami l-munši'āti l-siyāsiyyati wa-l-'askariyyati qabla tawqī'i ttifāqin li-l-salāmi ka-mağmū'atin musallaḥatin qawīyyatin* [...], '[...] where they gained control over most of the political and military establishments before they signed a peace treaty [now] **as a powerful armed group** [...]' (Example 444).

2x ADVERB 'also', only *ka-dālika*, 1x in a main clause with Vsuff (Article 118); and 1x in a complement main clause with VprefL (Article 32).

1x Manner, *ka-dālika*, 'thus', used anaphorically in a Meta-linguistic Comment, direct speech, Article 83: [...] *min šurakā'inā - 'idā kāna mina l-mumkini tasmiyatuhum ka-dālika* - [...], '[...] our partners - if they can be called **thus** - [...]' (Example 440).

wa-ka-

7x attestations, 7x annotated relations, only ADVERB 'also' in the phrase *wa-ka-dālika*, only with nominal matrices; 1x in Article 63 followed by 'ayḍan: [*li-x wa-y*] *wa-ka-dālika 'ayḍan* z, lit. '[for x and y] as well as also (for) z'.

1 (*lām*) ∪

li-

1,128x attestations; approximately 349x annotated relations. This includes 2x article-initial subordinations, both Context, expressed by the phrase *li-l-mar-rati l-'ulā* (in the leads of Articles 2 and 14). For article-initial subordination, see 5.3.3.

The low count of annotated relations (30.9%) is possibly due to a high frequency of genitive type constructions with *li-*, its use as an 'ā'id in relative clauses, lexical governance, and indirect objects⁵¹⁰ (excluded from investigation, see 2.3.2.4ff.).

⁵¹⁰ A total of 43x indirect objects introduced with *li-* were annotated before the scope of the investigation was limited to exclude indirect objects from investigation; 43x (or 5.5% of the excluded relations of *li-*) should be taken as a minimum count of indirect objects introduced with *li-*.

Nominal Purpose (184x) and Purpose (47x)⁵¹¹ are the most frequent relations, accounting for 231x of the annotated relations, or around two-thirds (231x of 349x).

There is a semantic continuum within the Nominal Purpose linking, ranging from more of an annexing genitive type construction at the nominal end, to more of a nominalized Purpose linking at the clausal end. This continuum extends to Purpose clauses (being even more clausal).

Article 118 features a nominal annexation with *li-* in the clause *wa-ta-taḍammanu huṭṭatan mufaṣṣalatan wa-ğadwalaṇ zamanīyyan li-l-tanfīdi wa-wafqa natāʾiği muʾtamari l-ḥiwāri l-waṭaniyyi*, ‘includes a detailed plan and an implementation schedule according to the results of the National Dialogue Conference’ (Example 329). Lacking both subject and object in the prepositional syntagm, it was left unannotated as a mere noun (nominal genitive type annexation, comparable to the possessive genitive; see 2.3.2.4); likewise in Article 72, with the less nominal construction *manaʾat [...] mina l-ḥuṣūli ʾalā taṣrīhin ḥāssin li-ftitāḥi l-ʾāmi l-dirasiyyi l-ğadīdi*, ‘denied [...] from getting a special permission to open the new school year’, where the prepositional syntagm is governed by the fully nominalized verbal noun *taṣrīhin*, ‘a permission (to)’.

3x attestations (annotated Nominal Purpose OR Concerning) are dubious as to their interpretation as either genitive type annexations (possibly with *trajectio*, in which case no annotation for the relation would have been made), as Concerning, OR as Nominal Purpose: 1x in Article 54: *wa-kānat el-baḥrayn qad badaʾat muḥādātātīn maʾa qatar li-ʾinšāʾi ġisrin yarbuṭu bayna l-baladayni*, ‘had begun talks with Qatar **to build a bridge** that would connect the two countries’ (Example 278); 1x in Article 38 (with interposed relative): *baʾda ttiḥāqin ġarā baynahum al-yaḥwa li-waqfi ʾiḥlāqi l-nāri li-fatratīn zamanīyyatin*, ‘after an agreement which was reached between them today for ceasefire for a period of time’ (Example 588); and 1x in Article 106: *wa-dālika raġma ʾi lāni l-ʾumami l-muttaḥidati l-tawaṣṣula ʾilā ttiḥāqin li-waḍʾi ḥaddīn li-l-ʾazmati l-ḥāliyyati*, ‘despite the announcement of the United Nations of having reached an agreement to put an end to the current crisis’. These examples are nonetheless all explainable by the formative substance of the preposition, ‘for’ and (by extension) ‘of’.

⁵¹¹ It would be interesting to know how many of these Purpose expressions consist of a *maṣḍar*; how many are singular, plural, definite, and indefinite; how often they code same vs. different subject; and how the direct object, if present, is expressed (genitive or accusative). No such investigation was made. An initial investigation found that 187x of the Nominal Purpose clauses and 50x Purpose clauses (including polysemous linkings) with *li-* had a *maṣḍar* as the complement of the preposition, but since Media Arabic also allows accusative objects with plurals of the *maṣḍar* (see e.g. Article 45, Example 624: [...] *muḥāwalāti ḥukūmati ḥizbi l-ʾadālat# wa-l-tanmiyat# l-tasattura* [...]), the methodology used was incomplete and the investigation abandoned. This count must be taken with caution, and probably as a minimum, in which case the typical Purpose construction with *li-* would be with a *maṣḍar* complement.

In 2x cases, Nominal Purpose and Purpose are difficult to distinguish due to an interposed relative clause, e.g. in Article 89: *naḡā [...] 'an yakūna ben 'umar qad tadaḡḡala [...] fi-l-muḡāwadāti llati taḡrī ma 'a l-hūtiyyīna li-l-tawaṣṣuli 'ilā ḡallin li-l-'azmati bayna l-dawlati wa-l-ḡamā'ati*, 'denied [...] that Benomar will intervene [...] in the negotiations which are taking place with the Houthis to reach a solution to the crisis between the state and the group' (Example 389) (both annotated as Nominal Purpose OR Purpose).

A background to this difficulty involves the frequency of Nominal Purpose, formalization of syntax, as well as the frequency of certain lexical items in the matrices/heads of Nominal Purpose linkings in Media Arabic. A relative clause transforms a Nominal Purpose construction into a Purpose clause (with increased verbal force). The phrase in Article 23 is a typical Nominal Purpose: *'aw mā yumkinu ttiḡāḡu min ḡatawātin 'uḡrā li-'inhā'i l-nizā'i [...]*, '[...] other steps to end the conflict'. In Article 67, a comparable construction is found, but with an interposed relative clause: *wa-kaṣaḡa [...] 'an ḡatawātin tattaḡiḡuḡ ḡukūmatu el-ḡarṡūm ḡāliyyan li-ta'zīzi l-tiḡati baynahā wa-bayna [...]*, 'steps which the Khartoum government currently is taking in order to strengthen [...]'. Similarly the Nominal Purpose phrase *li-ḡalli l-'azmati* in Article 30 ('*a lana [...] 'ani l-tawaṣṣuli 'ilā muḡādaratin wataniyyatin li-ḡalli l-'azmati l-rāḡinati*, 'announced [...] to having reached a national initiative to resolve the current crisis', Example 66) can be compared to the example in Article 89 with an interposed relative clause functioning as the matrix of the prepositional syntagm: [...] *'idā lam tastaḡib al-ri'āsatu li-muḡādaratiḡi llati tarahahā li-ḡalli l-'azmati bayna l-ri'āsati wa-l-hūtiyyīna*, 'if the presidency does not respond to his initiative which he raised in order to solve the crisis between [...]' (Example 552). A similar example can be seen with *al-ḡuhūd#* in Article 51, indicating Purpose (*wa-'aṡla'a 'abū māzen ḡilāla l-liqā'i ra-'isa l-muḡābarāti 'alā l-ḡuhūdi llati tabḡuluḡa l-qiyādatu l-fi-lasṡiniyyatu li-waḡ'i ḡaddin li-l-iḡtilāli [...]*, 'Abu Mazen informed during the meeting the head of intelligence about the efforts which the Palestinian leadership has done to put an end to the occupation [...] and the transition phrase with *ḡawla* in Article 12: *wa-ḡawla l-ḡuhūdi l-misriyyati l-mukattafati li-l-tawaṣṣuli 'ilā waḡfi 'iṡlāqi l-nāri fi qitā'i ḡazza wa-[...]*, 'concerning the efforts [...] to reach a ceasefire [...] (Nominal Purpose, see Example 472).

The frequency of interposed relative clauses was not investigated. 13x of the nominalized purpose clauses with *li-*, however, have non-deverbalized relative clauses as matrices, suggesting this as a maximum. These bridging contexts shed light on the cognition of the linkings with *li-*, and illustrate the verbal force of the syntagm at the more clausal end of the nominalization continuum. The same transformation is observed for the syntagm *min 'aḡli + maṣḡar* (see under "*min*" below).

In a monosemantic Nominal Purpose linking, matrices including the following 29x lexical items are attested $\geq 2x$ as heads of the syntagm (here given in the indefinite without case): 7x *'istrātiḡiyya*; 7x *muḡāwaḡāt*; 6x

musā’adalāt; 5x *wikāla*; 5x *markaz*; 5x *mu’tamar*; 4x *tağammu’*; 4x *ittifāq*; 4x *ħuṭṭa*; 4x *ta’āwun*; 3x *wafd*; 3x *mubādara*; 3x *igra’(āt)*; 3x *ġuhūd* (+1x *ġahd*); 3x *da’m*; 3x *taħarruk*; 3x *ħaṭawāt* (incl. 1x *ħaṭwa*); 3x *‘amal* (noun); 2x *hay’atun*; 2x *ba’ta*; 2x *maw’id*; 2x *tadaħħul*; 2x *mağlis*; 2x *iğtimā’*; 2x *mašrū’(āt)*; 2x *tadābīr*; 2x *balāğ*; 2x *ğalsa*; and 2x *barāmiğ* (only the plural).

Together, these 97x attestations account for 54.2% of all matrices of Nominal Purpose constructions with *li-*, suggesting a lexical co-occurrence for the linking.

29x Lam Auctoris, ‘the *lām* of the author’.⁵¹² The *li-* here expresses authorship in a prepositional phrase with *fī* (see Location of Utterance under “*fī*”); *li-* comes immediately after the following types: *fī* + 11x *bayānin* (+1x *al-bayāni*), 10x *tašrīḥ(āt)in* (8x plural, 2x singular), 3x *taqrīrin*, and 4x *hapax* complements. These nouns may be followed by the adverb *‘amsi*, ‘yesterday’, e.g. Article 19: [...]-*fī bayānin lahu’amsi* - [...], ‘[...] - in a statement of his yesterday - [...]’, ‘[...] - in a statement **it made** yesterday’ (Example 610).

13x Motion Purpose, the most frequent movement verbs being 4x *ta-wağğaha* (2x futures with *sa-*, 1x accusative participle (*li-ħuḍūri*, Article 103), and 1x Vsuff (*li-baħṭi*, Article 76)) and passives of root *nql* stem I (2x *tamma naql#* and 1x *wa-nuqila* (Article 50, Example 578); the remaining verbs and roots for movement occur 1x.

11x TEMP ‘during’, basically in two different constructions. The first construction involves a noun meaning ‘period of time’: 3x *li-muddati* + temporal expression (*‘usbū’in* (Article 14), 24 *šahran* (Article 70), *‘ašarati ‘ašhurin* (Article 40), and *ħamsati ‘asābī’a* (Article 44)); 2x *li-fatratin* + adjective (1x + *zamaniyyatin* (Article 38) and 1x + *ṭawīlatin* (Article 57)). The second construction involves a lexical item in the semantic sphere of time: *li-niṣfi sā’atin* (Article 13), *li-sā’atin ṭawīlatin* (Article 40), *li-‘ašarati l-sā’atin* (Article 41), *li-‘ašrati ‘ašhurin* (Article 44), and *li-yawmin wāḥidin* (Article 90).

9x Benefactive: 5x with *li-* alone (all with human entities), and 4x with *li-šāliḥi* + genitive complement (also with inanimates), e.g. in the context of voting ‘for’, e.g. Article 90: [...] *tašwītan* [...] *li-šāliḥi ‘iqālatihi*, ‘vote [...] **for his resignation**’ (Example 607; see also Article 111, Example 559).

7x Context, only in connection with (*al-*)*marrat#*: 3x *li-l-marrati l-‘ūla* (2x of which are article-initial, for which see 5.3.3), 2x *li-l-marrati l-ṭāniyati*, and 2x *li-‘awwali marratin* (Article 32, Example 314).

6x ADVERB ‘very’, only in the phrase *li-l-ğāyati*, ‘very’ (e.g., Article 103, Example 409; and Article 130, Example 625).

6x Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner, similar to Purpose but here the summary paraphrases a preceding matrix by giving a more elaborate description, casting a shadow of Instrumental Manner over the matrix. Examples ordered in degree of ‘purposeness’, starting with the lowest: Article 73: *wāšala* [...] *ittišālātihi bi-‘aṭrāfi l-‘azmati li-baḥṭi ‘iğādi ḥallin*

⁵¹² The term is borrowed from Gesenius and his “lamed auctoris” (GKC: 420 §129c).

silmiyyin li-l-ʿazmati l-rāhinati, ‘continued his contacts [...] **discussing** [...]’; Article 22: *wāšala* [...] *qaṭʿa l-ṭuruqi* [...] *li-l-muṭālabati bi-ʾiṭlāqi sarāhi ʾabnāʾihim*, ‘continued to cut off the roads [...] **demanding** [...]’ (Example 345); and Article 15: *qarrarat* [...] *ʾirsāla šaḥanātin mina l-silāhi ʾilā* [...] *li-musānadatihim fi-l-tašaddī li-tanzīmi l-dawlati l-ʾislāmiyyati*, ‘decided to send [...] **to support them in** [...]’. In addition Article 29 features an attestation with a diffuse reference (comparable to Relative to Clause): *wa-tašhadu l-ʾāšimatu* [...] *muṣāharātin iḥtiḡāḡiyyatan bi-za ʾāmati* [...] *li-l-muṭālabati bi-stiqālati šarīf* [...], ‘the capital city experiences [...] protest demonstrations led by [...] **demanding** the resignation of Sharif [...]’ (Example 583).

5x Agent (?). The annotation of Agent for *li-* is open to much criticism, as it could easily be argued that all attestations are mere annexations not much different than a subjective genitive type annexation, ‘of, by’ (see 2.3.2.4). Its inclusion does however illustrate a vital function of *li-*; a total of 5x annotations were made. The Agent with *li-* is only used with nouns in nominalized phrases, e.g. the verbal noun in Article 18 (final sentence), *fī + mašdar* (Instrumental Manner) + Agent + Instrument: *wa-ʾaḏāfa l-maršadu ʾanna ḡālibiyyata l-ʾaṭfāli qutilū fī muḥāfaẓatay ḥalab wa-ʾidlib fī qaṣfīn li-l-ṭayarāni l-sūriyyi bi-l-barāmīli l-mutaḡaḡḡirati*, ‘and the observatory added that the majority of the children were killed in the governorates of Aleppo and Idlib **in a bombing by the Syrian air force with barrel bombs**’ (Example 100); compare the identical construction with *min* in this chapter (*min* and *min qibali* + Agent, e.g. *li-l-qaṣfi + min qibali* + Agent); Article 90: *wa-ʾaḏāfa ʾanna* [...] *fī minṭaqati waršefāna llatī tašhadu taqadduman malḥūzan li-quwwāti l-ṭuwwāri ʾiddata kīlūmītrātin dāḥila minṭaqati qarqūza* [...], ‘and he added that [...] in the region of Warshefana which witnesses a remarkable progress by the rebel forces many kilometres inside the region of Kerkouza [...]’; and Article 103: [...] *ḥawla tawqīʿi maḡlisi l-nuwwābi ʾalā tiṭfāqin yasmaḥu li-miṣr wa-lībiyā bi-stiḥdāmi l-maḡāli l-ḡawwiyyi li-kilayhima li-ʾaḡrāḏin ʾaskariyyatin*, ‘[...] concerning the signing by the House of Representatives of an agreement which would grant Egypt and Libya the use of the airspace **by both of them for military purposes**’.

≤4x Cause, there are only⁵¹³ 4x cases where the semantics of Cause are relevant to be discussed for prepositional syntagms with *li*; this constitutes <0.35% of the attestations of prepositional syntagms with *li-* (see the discus-

⁵¹³ Elgibali and Korica (2007: 76) present a table which includes *li-*, stating that the “connector” *li-* “signals [...] purpose or reason”—i.e. Purpose or Cause in the present terminology—and is to be translated as “to, for”. As this investigation illustrates, Cause is a highly unlikely semantic inference for *li-*, especially if compared to the different relations involving Purpose.

sion on Article 11 below). 2x of the attestations are in the context of *intaqada/intiqād#*,⁵¹⁴ Article 24: [...] *intaqada* [...] *hukūmata* «*al-‘adālat# wa-l-tanmiyat#*» *bi-šiddatin li-tadaḥḥulihā fi-l-ša’ni l-qaḏā’iyyi wa* [...], ‘criticized [...] the government [...] **for intervening** [...]’; and likewise in Article 131: *wa-ḥaššaša kerkāy ḥiṭābahu* [...] *li-ntiqādi* ‘*amrika li-qiyāmihā bi-za’za ‘ati l-istiqrāri fī ‘afgānistān* [...], lit. ‘dedicated his speech [...] to criticize America **for shaking the stability in Afghanistan** [...]’; both these constructions are arguably conditioned by the verb.

The lead of Article 115 has the only real Cause reading of *li-* in the corpus: *kašafa l-ğayšu l-‘amrīkī* [...] ‘*anna l-rağula l-muttahama bi-qtiḥāmi* [...] ‘*askariyyun ‘amrīkiyyun muḥaḍramun ḥāšilun ‘alā ‘awsimatin li-ḥidmatihī fī ḥarbi el-‘irāq*, ‘revealed [...] that the man accused of [...] is an American military veteran who has achieved medals **for his service/for serving in the Iraqi war**’ (Example 495).

But it is only in Article 11 that a Cause reading of *li-* (which is not governed by a verb) has a finite clause as the matrix, and here the use of *li-* is possibly based on a misunderstanding on the part of the news outlet, which obscurely codes Cause under a typical Purpose syntagm *li-*: [...] *ḥaytu yaz ‘amu ‘erdūgān ‘anna ‘anšāra ḡamā‘ati l-dā’iyati l-‘islāmamiyyi faṭḥ allāh ḡūlan* [...] *yuhattītu li-tanfīdi nqilābin ‘alā l-ḥukūmati li-l-tasatturi ‘alā faḏṭḥati l-fasādi*, ‘Erdoğan alleges that the supporters of the group of the Islamic preacher Fethullah Gülen is planning to carry out a coup on the government ***li-* [for? in order to?] cover(ing) up the corruption scandal**’ (Example 316). Without prior knowledge, the general reader has no guidance to know that the reasons for the alleged coup lie in the cover-up by Erdoğan and his government (the implicit subject(s) of the *li-* syntagm, if read according to real-world events), i.e. ‘because Erdoğan and his government have tried to cover up the corruption scandal’. The construction, at any rate, is a *hapax*. The semantics of Cause is dubious.

4x Location, 3x as an extension of the allative with *mab ‘ūt#* as the head, e.g. Article 71: [...] *al-mab ‘ūtū l-‘umamiyyu l-ḥāššu li-sūriyā* (also attested with ‘*ilā* and ‘*ladā*), ‘the special UN envoy **to Syria**’ (Example 224); and 1x in Article 21, perhaps better understood as an annexation: *fi-l-qurā l-šamāliyyati li-nāḥiyati el-sa‘adiyya šamāla šarqī# ba ‘qūba bi-muḥāfazati diyālā*, ‘in the northern villages **of the district of al-Saadiyah** north-east of Baqubah in the governorate of Diyala’ (Example 683; for the ambiguity of cardinal directions, see 6.9.2.1).

⁵¹⁴ The construction of the Vsuff of *intaqada* is highly unstable in its syntax to code the reasons for criticism, x criticised y: *ḥawla raḡḏihī*, ‘concerning his refusal’ (Article 4, Example 385), *bi-sababi l-tašrīḥāti*, ‘because of its statements’ (Article 27); in Article 34, the direct accusative object is inanimate: *intaqada l-tanzīmu l-mutašaddidu l-dīmūqrāṭiyyata* (Example 246). Likewise with the verbal noun *intiḡād(āt)#*: *bi-‘ayyi šaklin minā l-‘aškālī*, ‘in any way’ (Article 42) has a direct object with *li-*: *wağğaha* [...] *intiḡādātīn ḥāddatan li-dawri ba ‘tati l-‘umami l-muttaḥidati li-l-da ‘mi fī libiyā* [...], ‘the role of the mission of [...]’ (Article 103).

3x Malefactive, with forms of 'dw, in the semantic sphere of 'hostility' and 'enmity', specifically with *mu'ādin/yatun*, stem III participle, 'hostile towards', e.g. Article 85: *al-ḥizbi l-muttahami bi-timādi sulūkin mu'ādin li-l-muhāğirīna wa- 'unşuriyyin*, 'the party accused of having adopted an **anti-immigrant** and racist behaviour'.

3x Purpose bi Temporal Succession, e.g. Article 107: *wa-'akkada wuzarā' al-māliyyati [...]'annahum qādirūna 'alā tağāwuzi l-tawatturāti l-ğīū-siyāsiyyati [...]'li-ziyādati ḥağmi l-nātiği l-'iğmāliyyi bi-1,8% 'idāfiyyat#*,⁵¹⁵ '[...] to overcome the geo-political tensions [...] **and raise the gross output an additional 1.8%**'.

2x Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner: 1x in Article 107: [...]*muşirīna 'ilā 'annahum nağahū fī 'ihrāzi taqaddumin li-ḥimāyati l-nizāmi l-māliyyi wa-saddi l-tuğarāti l-ḍarībiyyati* [...], 'succeeded to make progress, **protecting the financial system and filling tax holes**'; and 1x in Article 122: *muşidan bi-l-dawri l-misriyyi l-bāliği l-'ahammiyyati li-l-wuqūfi 'ilā ġānibi l-ša'bi l-filasfīniyyi*, 'praising the very important **role of Egypt, standing by the side of the Palestinian people** [...]' (Example 650).

2x TEMP 'until', only in the phrase *li-ḥīni tadaḥḥuli + quwwāti/riğāli l-'amni*, and only in Article 13, e.g. *wa-ḥaṭṭamū ba'ḍa l-mu'addāti li-ḥīni tadaḥḥuli riğāli l-'amni*, '[...] **until the security forces intervened**' (Example 382). See also "ḥīn#, constructions including" in 6.1.5.

All other relations for *li-* are *hapax*:

1x Agent & Benefactive, Article 111: *dā'īyan 'ilā 'an yakūna ḥaqqu l-taşwīti 'alā l-qawānīni l-'ingliziyyati, li-l-'aşwāti l-'ingliziyyati faqat*, '[...] that there will be the right to vote on English laws **to/by English votes only**'. Dubious relation, see the discussion of monosemantic Agent under "li-" above.

1x Agent & Ethicus, Article 57: *wa-'adāfa 'anna rağula l-dīni [...]'rub-bamā yakūnu l-ḥiyāra l-mufaḍḍala li-l-kaḡiri mina l-mutaşaddidīna*, 'may be the preferred choice **by most of the hardliners**' (Example 587).

1x Ethicus, Article 12: [...]*tawfīra ḥtiyāğātin rubbamā takūnu ḍarūriyyatan wa-muḥimmatan li-mişr fī mağāli mukāfaḥati l-'irhābi*, 'supply needs that may be necessary and important **to Egypt** in the field of combating terrorism.'

1x Expanding Paraphrase, Article 107, 'ay *qurba l-hadafi l-tamūḥi li-ziyādatin bi-miqdāri nuqtatayni mi'awīyyatayni* [...], 'namely close to the ambitious goal, **an increase of two percentage points**' (Example 708).

1x Indirect Question, *li-sababi*, Article 102: *lākinna kāmīrūn 'a'raba 'an tafahhumihī li-sababi 'iqbāli malāyīna l-nuwāḡinīna fī 'iskutlandā 'alā l-*

⁵¹⁵ The construction arguably includes an ellipsis; cf. Article 107: [...]*bi-ziyādati 'iğmāliyyi l-nātiği l-mağallīyyi bi-nisbatī 1,8% 'idāfiyyatin* [...] (Example 535).

taṣwīti li-ṣālihi l-infiṣāli, ‘expressed his understanding **for why** millions [...] **turned to vote for secession** [...]’ (for indirect questions proper, see 5.4.2).

1x Instrumental Manner, Article 63: *wa-qad istafādat el-qā’ida fi-l-ġazīrati l-‘arabiyyati min du’fi l-sultati l-markaziyyati fi el-yaman fi 2011 ba’da l-intifādati l-ša’biyyati dīdda l-ra’iṣi l-sābiqi ‘alī ‘abd allāh šāleḥ li-ta’zīzi ḥuḍūrihā ḥuṣūṣan fi ḡanūbi l-bilādi wa-ḡanūbi šarqihā*, ‘took advantage [...] **by strengthening its presence**, especially in [...]’.

1x TEMP ‘recently’, *li-l-tawwi*, in Article 71: *mūdiḡan ‘annahu ‘āda li-l-tawwi min [...]*, ‘pointing out that he has **just** returned from [...]’ (Example 514).

The following 5x relations are very similar, but *hapax*.

1x Context bi Purpose, Article 70: *ya’tī dālīka fi’iṭāri da’mi l-‘alāqāti l-tunā’iyyati, wa-ka-dālīka li-ta’bīri ‘an da’mi l-dawlati l-‘almāniyyati li-l-šar’iyyati fi lībiyā [...]*, ‘This comes within the framework of supporting bilateral relations, **as well as to express the support of the German state for the legitimacy in Libya** [...]’.

1x Nominal Purpose & Simultaneous OR Annexation, Article 52: [...] *ka-mu’assasātīn tumattīlu l-rukna l-‘asāsiyya li-binā’i dawlatin madaniyyatin wa-dusturiyyatin qādiratin ‘alā [...]*, ‘[...] as institutions that represent the cornerstone of building a civil and constitutional state capable of [...]’.

1x Purpose OR Simultaneous, Article 29: *‘akkada [...]* ‘anna l-ġalsata *sa-tastamirru tiwāla l-‘usbū’i li-baḡṭi l-‘azmati*, ‘[...] that the session will continue throughout the week **to discuss the crisis**’ (Example 582).

1x Simultaneous OR Nominal Purpose, Article 56: [...] *ṭālabū ‘aydan «bi-‘an ya’tamidu l-ra’iṣu mabda’a l-tašāwuri ma’ahum li-ḡtiyāri ra’iṣi l-wuzarā’i l-ġadīdi wa-tasmiyati wuzarā’ al-wizārāti l-siyādiyyati [...]*, ‘[...] also demanded «that the president adopts the principle of consulting with them **when choosing the new prime minister and naming the ministers of the sovereign ministries** [...]’.

1x Simultaneous, Article 42: *wa-huwa ‘aḡadu l-marākizi l-baḡṭiyyati l-hāmmatu llatī ya’tamidu ‘alayha l-mas’ulūna l-ḡukūmiyyūna wa-[...] li-l-ḡuṣūli ‘alā taḡlīlātīn siyāsiyyatin mustaqillatin [...]*, ‘one of the major research centres that government officials and [...] rely on **for obtaining independent policy analyses** [...]’.

wa-li-

7x attestations, 4x annotated relations.

3x TEMP ‘during’, only *wa-li-muddati* + temporal noun, and only with a preceding temporal accusative (weekday), 2x are in Article 123, e.g. [...] *al-latī tabda’u l-yawma l-‘arbi’ā wa-li-muddati ‘ašarati ‘ayyāmin mutaqaṭṭi’atin*, ‘which begins today, Wednesday, and [will continue] **for the [temporal] extent of ten intermittent days** [...]’ (Example 605).

1x Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner, Article 56: [...] *wa-staḥdamati l-ḡāza l-musīla li-l-dumū'i wa-ḥarāṭīmi l-miyāhi li-tafrīqi l-mutaḏāhirīna* [...] ***wa-li- 'iḡbārihim 'alā fathī ṭarīqi l-maṭāri***, 'used tear gas [...] dispersing the demonstrators [...] **and forcing them to open the airport road**' (Example 81).

The remaining 3x unannotated relations are in two constructions. First, 1x direct object to a nominalized *maṣdar* (and/or genitive annexation), Article 65: *wa-yumattilu 'tirāfan muṣarrafan wa-li-kuwayt wa-l-'ahlihā wa-qādatihā*, '[...] an honourable recognition **both of Kuwait** [...] and of [...] and of [...]' (Example 357). Second, 2x genitive annexations, Article 124: *al-mumattila l-ṣar'iyya l-wahīda li-l-ṣa'bi l-lībiyyi wa-li-l-dawlati l-lībiyyati ka-sulṭatin taṣrī'iyyatin*, 'the sole legitimate representative of the Libyan people **and of the Libyan state** as a legislative authority'; and Article 37, where the syntagm is negated (*hapax*) and conditioned by *ḍamānatun*, 'a guarantee for': *wa-'awḍaḥa 'anna 'iqāmata l-dawlati l-filasṭīniyyati hiya l-ḍamānatu l-'akīdatu li-l-ḥaylūlati dūna takrāri l-'udwāni 'alā l-ṣa'bi l-filasṭīniyyi wa-li-'adami stimrāri taraddī l-'awḍā 'i fī ḡazza* [...], '[...] is the guarantee [...] for the [...] **and for the discontinuation of the deterioration of the situation in Gaza** [...]'].

In a linking with multiple complements to the preposition *li-*, the preposition *li-* is typically not repeated as *wa-li-* for subsequent prepositional complements in *trajectio* (for *trajectio*, see 3.7). This is represented not least in the frequency discrepancy between *li-* and *wa-li-*.

ladā

35x attestations, 23x annotated relations. The remaining 12x unannotated relations are 11x expressions of possession (including predicates of possession) and 1x indirect object (Article 61).

8x Location, the head *mandūb#* recurring 5x, e.g. Article 10: [...] *mandūbu lībiyā l-dā'imu ladā l-'umami l-muttaḥidati* [...], '[...] Libya's permanent representative **at the United Nations** [...]' (similarly in e.g. Article 65, Example 410).

5x Location & Ethicus, e.g. Article 21: *wa-naqala* [...] 'an ma'šūm qawlahu 'inna hunāka šu'ūran ***ladā l-ḡamī'i bi-ḍarūratī taškīli l-ḥukūmati*** [...], '[...] that **with everyone** are feelings of the importance of forming a government [...]' and Article 24: [...] 'a 'ṭati nṭibā 'an ***ladā l-ra'yi l-'āmmi bi-'anna l-'aḡhizata l-qaḍā'iyyata*** [...], '[...] gave the impression **in the public opinion** that [...]' (Example 419).

3x Ethicus & Possession, e.g. Article 27: *wa-tāba 'a qā'ilan 'innahu : lā šakka **ladayya** bi-'anna* [...], lit. 'and he continued saying: there is no doubt **to me** that [...], i.e. '[...] **I** have no doubt that [...]'; and Article 102: [...] *lākinna **ladaynā** maṣlaḥatan fī baqā'i mamlakatin muttaḥidatin qawīyyatan wa-muwahḥadatan wa-šarīkan fa' 'ālan*, lit. '[...] but **to us** is an interest in

that the United Kingdom remains strong and unified and an effective partner’, i.e. ‘**we** have’ (Example 648).

3x Simultaneous, only with a *maṣdar* as the prepositional complement, and only with finite matrices with Vsuff (including 1x *tamma maṣdar*, Article 26), e.g. Article 96: [...] *wa-raṣaqū l-ḥiġārata ladā wuṣūli l-qābiṭi* [...], ‘and they threw stones **when the officer arrived** [...]’ (Example 510); and Article 23: *wa-qāla el-ʿarabī fī taṣrīḥātīn ṣuḥufiyyīn ladā muġādaratihi el-qāhira masāʿa ʿamsi l-ʿawwali mutawaġġiḥan ʿilā el-ʿurdunn ʿinnahu* [...], ‘el-Araby said [...] **when leaving Cairo** [...] that [...]’.

2x Location bi Agent, Article 6 (lead): *ʿafraġat “ġabhat el-nuṣra”* [...] *ʿan 4 ġunūdin* [...] *kānū muḥtaġazīna ladayhā munḍu naḥwi šahrin* [...], ‘The Nusra Front released [...] 4 soldiers [...] who have been held detained **by it** since about a month [...]’; and similarly Article 22: [...] *al-ʿaskariyyīna l-lubnāniyyīna l-muḥtaṭafīna ladā ġabhat el-nuṣra wa-dā ʿeš* [...], ‘[...] kidnapped **by the Nusra Front and Daesh** [...]’ (Example 345).

2x Agent & Ethicus, e.g. Article 45: *wa-qāla* [...] *ʿinna mukāfahata l-fasādi tuʿaddu ʿunṣuran ʿasāsiyyan li-l-ma ʿāyiri l-siyāsiyyati ladā l-ittihādi l-ʿurūbbiyyi*, ‘[...] that the fight against corruption is considered an essential component of the political standards **by the European Union**’; and Article 48: [...] *wa-hiya ṭariqatun mufaḍḍalatun ladā muḥarribi l-muḥaddarāti wa-l-muġrīmīna l-ʿaḥarīna* [...], ‘[...] a preferred method **by the drug traffickers and other criminals** [...]’ (Example 184).

wa-ladā

1x attestation, Article 32, predicate of nominal clause (not investigated); see “*wa-ladā* NCI” in 6.1.5.

m (mīm) ʔ

mā bayna

5x attestations, 1x annotated relation.

1x TEMP ‘between’, Article 48: [...] *quddira muʿaddalu hādihi l-ḥasā ʿiri bi* [...] *sanawiyyan fi-l-fatratī mā bayna 2010 wa-2012* [...], ‘in the period **between 2010 and 2012** [...]’.

The remaining 4x unannotated relations also state distributions and ranges, ‘between [...] and [...]’. 3x are conditioned by a verb (not investigated): *wa-nqasama l-ṭalabatu* (Article 72), *tatanawwaʿu našāṭuhum* (Article 86), and *yatarāwaḥu* in Article 75: [...] *bi-fāriqin yatarāwaḥu mā bayna 2 wa 8%*, ‘[...] ranging **between 2 and 8%**’ (Example 555). In Article 3, the syntagm functions as the subject to *hunāka*; see Example (686) with discussion.

miṭla

6x attestations, 5x annotated relations, only Exemplification.

5x Exemplification, e.g. Article 53: [...] *'idāfatan 'ilā mašārī'a 'uḥrā fī qitā'ātin muḥtalifatin miṭla l-šinā'ati wa-l-ṭāqati wa-l-naqli wa-l-siyāḥati*, '[...] in various sectors **such as production, energy, transport, and tourism**' (Example 717).

The remaining 1x attestation is an *'ā'id* in an asyndetic relative clause in Article 27, *lam tašhad 'ūrubbā miṭlahā munḍu* [...], 'which Europe has not seen [anything] **like** since [...]' (Example 684).

ma'a

181x attestations, 13x annotated relations.

The low count is probably due to verbal governance, reciprocal relations, and '(together) with' (not investigated for *ma'a*, see 2.3.2.5). The count also includes 1x article-initial subordination, Context, Article 75 (for article-initial elements, see 5.3.3). The remaining 3x unannotated relations are nominal additions (not investigated).

2x Simultaneous, Article 19: *wa-'aḍāfa l-bayānu: "wa-ḥattā yatimma ta'mīnu l-dawlati wa-maqārrihā l-'āmmati fa-'inna l-ḥukūmata sa-ta'malu min 'ayyi madīnatin lībiyyatin ma'a stimrāri tawāṣuliḥā bi-ḡamī'i muwazzafī l-dawlati wa-l-mu'assasāti l-'āmmati bi-l-'āṣimati ṭarābulus* [...], '[...] will work [...] **while continuing its communication with** [...]' (Example 254); and Article 52: [...] *mu'akkidan musānadata l-ḥukūmati l-sūdaniyyati fī mawqifiḥā l-tābiti mina l-tanfiḍi l-kāmili li-kulli l-ittifāqiyyāti l-mubarramati baynahā wa-ḡanūbi l-sūdāni ma'a 'i'ṭā'i l-'awlawiyyati li-ttifāqiyyati l-tartībāti l-'amniyyati, wa-l-* [...], 'stressing the support of the Sudanese government in its consistent position on the full implementation of the [...] **while giving priority to the agreements of security arrangements and** [...]'.

2x Simultaneous bi Cause, Article 89 (lead): *šahidati l-'azmatu l-yamaniyyatu mazīdan mina l-ta'qīdi wa-l-taṣ'īdi ma'a 'i'lāni laḡnati l-wisāṭati l-ri'āsiyyati l-mukallafati bi-'inhā'i l-qitāli bayna l-ḡayši l-yamaniyyi wa-musallaḥīna mina l-ḥūṭiyyīna fī muḥāfazati el-ḡawf al-šamāliyyati nsiḥābahā wa-'inhā'i mahammatihā ba'da tafaḡḡuri l-waḍ'i* [...], 'witnessed more complication and escalation [...] **as the Presidential Mediation Committee announced** [...] **its withdrawal and** [...]' ; and Article 106: *wabadat minṭaqatu sāḥat# el-taḡyīr fī šamāli šan'ā' ḥāliyyatan tamāman min 'ayyi ḥarakatin , ma'a stimrāri l-qasfi wa-l-tabāduli 'iṭlāqi l-nāri*, '[...] appeared empty [...] **as the shelling and shooting continued** [...]'.

2x Simultaneous bi Cause bi Conditional, e.g. Article 3: [...] *mušīrīna 'ilā 'annahu mina l-mutawaqqa'i 'an tartafi'a ḥašīlatu l-ḍahāyā ma'a stimrāri l-muwāḡahāti*, '[...] that it is expected that the death toll will rise **with continued confrontations**' (Example 260).

1x Concession, proposed nominalized subordination to a complement main clause, Article 40: *'akkada* [...] *'anna l-ḥarqa ḡā'a min ḡānibi l-quwwāti l-ḥukūmiyyati , mu'akkidan 'annahu ma'a ḍālika, sa-taltazimu l-mīlīšiyyātu l-muḥāribatu fī šarqi 'ūkrāniyā bi-ttifāqi "mīnsk"*, '[...] that **despite this**, the

militias will abide by the “Minsk” agreement’. For preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4.

1x Context bi Manner, Article 27 (lead): [...] ‘a lanat rūsiyā ʾamsi ʾannahā sa-tuʾaddilu ʾistrātīġiyyatahā l-ʾaskariyyata **maʾa zuhūri tahdīdātīn ġadīdatīn** wa-lā siyyamā taʾzīzi wuġūdi ħilfī šamālī l-ʾaṭlānṭiyyi “el-nātū” ʾalā ħudūdihā [...], ‘[...] that Russia will adjust its military strategy **with the appearance of new threats**, especially the strengthening [...]’ (Example 616).

1x Expanding paraphrase, a postmodifier in technical economic nomenclature, Article 94: [...] *ħaḍḍarat mūdīz allatī tušannifu turkiyā ʾinda Baa3 maʾa naẓratīn mustaqbiliyyatīn salbiyyatīn*, min ʾanna [...], ‘Moody’s, which ranks Turkey at **Baa3 with a negative outlook**, warned that [...]’. See also *ʾinda* for Manner in economic contexts (2x).

1x Instrument, Article 42: *wa-ṭālaba [...] bi-ʾan yakūnū ħaḍīrīna fī taʾāmulihim maʾa miṭli ħāḍiḥi l-taqārīri*, ‘[...] in dealing **with such reports**’ (Example 612).

1x Malefactive, Article 118: [...] *istiʾdādan li-tafġīrihi miṭlamā yaḥʾalūna maʾa ħuṣūmihim* [...], ‘[...] preparing to blow it up, as they do **with their opponents** [...]’.

1x Manner bi Associative, Article 102: [...] *nurīdukum ʾan tabqaw maʾanā*«, ‘[...] we want you to stay **with us**»’ (Example 466).

1x Meta-linguistic Comment, Article 24: [...] *wa-lākin maʾa l-ʾasaḥi l-šadīdi narā l-yawma ʾiġlāqa qadāyā l-taḥqīqi* [...], ‘[...] **unfortunately** we see today [...]’ (Example 442).

wa-maʾa

3x attestations, 3x annotated relations. This includes 1x temporal transition phrase (Article 102); for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

2x Cause, Article 52: [...] *taraddī [sic] ħaṭīrin li-l-ʾawḍāʾi l-ʾinsāniyyati allatī izdādat [ita]⁵¹⁶ ħuṭūratuhā wa-maḥāṭirihā-maʾa suqūti l-mazīdi mina l-ḍaḥāyā l-ʾabriyāʾi wa-maʾa rtifāʾi ʾaʾdādi l-nāziḥīna wa-l-lāġiʾīna* [...], ‘[...] the serious deterioration of the humanitarian situation whose seriousness and dangers increased with the fall of more innocent victims **and with the rise of the number of displaced and refugees** [...]’; in Article 1, the construction is a preposed Cause construction (for preposed subordination, see 5.3.4.4): *wa-maʾa naġāḥi dāʾeš fi-l-sayṭarati ʾalā [...] badaʾat duwalu el-ħalīġ tašʾuru bi-l-qalaqi* [...] (Example 474).

muqābila

2x attestations, ‘in exchange for’, Article 45: [...] *sāraʾat ʾilā ħimāyatihim wa-ṭamaʾnatihim, muqābila l-taḥqīqi maʾa kulli l-qādātī l-ʾamniyyīna* [...], ‘they rushed to protect them and reassure them, **in exchange for an investi-**

⁵¹⁶ The word is spelled as ʾzādādī; on typos, see 3.2.

gation of all the security leaders [...] (Example 387); Article 51: [...] *ḥawla 'arḍin [...]* *yaqḍī bi-tawsī 'i qīṭā 'i ġazza min 'arāḍī sīnā' muqābila l-tanāzuli 'an ḥudūdi 'āmi 1967*», '[...] an offer [...] which calls for the expansion of the Gaza Strip [...] **in exchange for the giving up of the 1967 borders**'. The relation is related to Purpose; cf. *fī muqābili* under “*fī*”.

min

701x attestations, 112x annotated relations.

The low count of annotated relations is possibly due to the frequency of partive expressions, its use as a paraphrase of genitive annexations, lexical governance (such as with the root *ḥḍr* (43x), e.g. *ḥaḍḍara min*, ‘warn against’), expressions of monosemantic origin, motion ‘from’ (ablative, not investigated), dates (e.g. *al-rābi # min yūniyū*, ‘4th of June’, Article 51), and it forming part of other prepositional phrases with dominant semantics such as *ba 'da [...]* *min*, e.g. Article 44: *ba 'da yawmayni min 'i lāni l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati 'an [...]*, ‘two days after the announcement by the United States [...]’, annotated as a Countersequential prepositional phrase with *ba 'da* (the frequency of *min* in these positions is left uninvestigated).

The count includes 16x transition phrases: 9x personal, 6x topical, and 1x temporal; for transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

22x Agent & Origin, where the origin is expressed together with a notion of agency: 19x with simple *min* + Agent & Origin; 3x *min ḡanibi* + Agent & Origin; and 1x *min al-ḡānibi* + *nisba* of Agent & Origin, Article 12: *wa-šad-dada [...]* *'alā 'annahu lamasa raḡbatan haqīqiyyatan mina l-ḡānibi l-'almāniyyi fī 'an [...]*, ‘he stressed that he sensed a real desire **by the German side to** [...]’. The recurring heads to the prepositional phrase are the verbal nouns 3x *ṭalab#* (only *min*), 3x *duḡūṭ#* (and cf. Article 113 below), 2x *ša 'yan* (1x *min*, 1x *min ḡānibi*), 2x *radd#* (only *min ḡānib#*), 2x *mu 'araḍat#* (1x head, 2x prepositional postmodifiers, 2x *min*, Article 10), and 1x *'idn#* (only *min*, only in Article 71).

2x times with Agent & Origin, the constructions border Lam Auctoris (for which, see under “*li-*”), only in a Location of Utterance with *fī*, and with *min* only (not *min qibali*), Article 130, as part of a unique preposed adverbial (for which, see 5.3.4.3): *wa-'afādat [...]* *bi-'annahu fī hitābin min sīrlif 'ilā 'abī bi-tārīḥi 10 sibtabmir ḍakarati l-ra 'īsatu l-lībīriyyatu [...]*, ‘in a speech **by** [...] to [...]’ (Example 625); and Article 90: *ḡā 'a dālīka fī risālatin min ḥaftar muwaḡḡahat#n 'ilā [...]*, ‘This came in a message **from Haftar** addressed to [...]’ (Example 494).

1x time with Agent & Origin, the head is a passive finite verb, a relative clause, Article 113: [...] *ba 'da duḡūṭin mūrisat 'alayhā mina l-sa 'ūdiyyati wa-duwalin ḥaliḡiyyatin [...]*, ‘[...] after pressure exerted on them **by Saudi and the Gulf States** [...]’ (Example 436). Compare the only attestation of Predicate & Agent & Origin, in Article 32: [...] *fa-l-duḡūṭu l-ḥāriḡiyyatu min duwali el-ḥaliḡ wa-ḥāṣṣatan al-mamlakati l-'arabiyyati l-sa 'ūdiyyati [...]*,

‘[...] the external pressures [coming] **from the Gulf States, particularly the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia**’ (Example 608).

1x time with Agent & Origin, a passive participle is the head for the Agent & Origin, Article 113: [...] ‘*ašārat ilā ’anna bilādahu staqbalat sab’atan min qiyādātī l-ǧamā’ati l-mustab’adīna min qatar* [...]’, ‘[...] seven of the leaders of the group who have been expelled from Qatar’ (Example 436), cf. Agent below.

14x Agent, distributed over 11x *min qibali* + Agent, and 3x *min* + Agent. Typically, the verbal phrase of the Agent is nominalized, 7x a verbal noun (only with *min qibali*), e.g. 2x in the phrase (*ta’arruḍ#*, *yata’arraḍu*) + *li-l-qasfī* + *min qibali* + Agent: 1x in Article 4: *ḥawfan min ta’arruḍihā li-l-qasfī min qibali quwwātī “faǧr lībiyā”*, ‘for fear of it [the city] being exposed to bombardment by the forces of “Libya Dawn”’ (Example 429), 1x in Article 106: *fī ḥīni yata’arraḍu l-maqarru li-l-qasfī min qibali l-musallahīna l-ḥūṭīyīna..*, ‘while the headquarters is being bombed by the Houthi militants’ (Example 238). 1x with nominalized Agent with *trajectio* in Article 19: ‘*adāna [...] al-i’tidā’ātī bi-l-qatli wa-l-i’tiqālātī ‘alā l-huwiyyati*’ *allatī ṭālātī l-madaniyyīna wa-mumtalakātihim fi-l-’āsimati (ṭarābulus) min qibali mīlīṣīyātīn ḥārīǧatīn ‘ani l-qānūnī*, ‘[...] condemned the attacks [... 11 words ...] **by outlaw militias** [...]’. Agent occurs 3x with noun as prepositional complement (only with *min*), e.g. Article 122: [...] *taḥzā bi-l-ihtimāmi l-mukattaʿī min al-ǧāmī’atī*, ‘gets intense attention **by the [Arab] League**’; and Article 88: [...] *wa-dālīka raddan ‘alā malḥūzatin min ‘aḥadi l-muwāfiṭīna bi-’annahā* [...], ‘and this in response to a remark/observation **by one of the citizens**, that she [...]’ (Example 445). It occurs 3x to express Agent with passive participles (2x *min qibali*, 1x *min*), the participles always functioning as nominalized relative clauses to genitive heads (for which, see 6.4.5.4), Article 30: [...] *ǧamī’i l-ru’ā wa-l-mubādarātī wa-l-muqtarahātī l-muqaddamatī min ǧamī’i l-mukawwinātī wa-l-’aḥzābi l-siyāsiyyati*, ‘[...] presented by all political components and parties’; Article 98: [...] *al-ḥiṣāri l-mafrūdi ‘alā l-’āsimati l-yamaniyyati ṣan’ā’ min qibali l-ḥūṭīyīna wa-l-qabā’ili l-muta’āwinati ma’ahum*, ‘[...] the siege imposed on the Yemeni capital Sanaa **by the Houthis and the tribes** who cooperate with them’; and Article 110: [...] *bi-ša’ni l-mašārī’i l-munaffadatī min qibali l-duwali l-’arabiyyati*, ‘[...] concerning projects which have been implemented **by the Arab countries**’ (Example 586). It occurs 2x with passive verbs (only with *min qibali*), both attestations in relative clauses: 1x with a periphrastic passive, Article 126: [...] *al-’aǧhizata llatī yatimmu stiḥdāmuhā min qibali l-ṣurṭati* [...], ‘[...] devices used **by the police** [...]’ (Example 428); and 1x with an internal passive, Article 128: *ḥāṣṣatan mā yurtakabu bi-ḥaqqi [...] min tadnīsi wa-qtiḥāmātin yawmiyyatin min qibali ǧayši l-iḥtilālī wa l-mustawṭīnīna wa- [...]*, ‘[...] committed against [...] **by the occupation forces and the settlers and the [...]**’.

There are 2x contexts, however, where the phrase *min qibali* does not express Agent, but where the expression clearly is an extension towards an agentive use from more typical uses of *min* such as the ablative or partitive (excluded from investigation, see 2.4), e.g. Article 76: [...] ‘abbās ‘ibrahīm al-ladī yunassiqu ‘iṭlāqa l-‘askariyyīna **min qibali ḡabhat el-nuṣra wa-tanzīmi dā‘eš** [...], ‘[...] Abbas Ibrahim who coordinates the release of the soldiers **from (by?) the Nusra Front and the Daesh organization** [...]’; here understood as an expression of “origin” (ablative), a relation not annotated if monosemantic (see 2.4). Likewise the unique use in Article 89: [...] *naḡā maktabu ḡamāl ben ‘umar* [...] ‘an yakūna ben ‘umar qad tadaḡḡala li-tasmiyati muḡāwiḡīna ḡududin **min qibali l-ri‘āṣati**, badalan mina l-muḡāwiḡdayni l-ḡāliyyayni [+2 personal names], ‘[...] intervened to name/appoint new negotiations **on behalf of the presidency** [...]’ (Example 389; relations in the semantic sphere of “behalf”, or delegation, are not investigated; see 2.4). These phrases were annotated as <not_agent> and were not investigated further.

16x Nominal Purpose, only *min ‘aḡli + maṣḡdar*. The recurring heads (>2x) are 6x (*al-*)ḡuhūd# and 3x muṣāwarāt#, e.g. Article 12: [...] *raḡbatan* [...] *fī ‘an ta ‘ḡuḡa l-‘alāqatu bayna l-baladayni minḡan ‘iḡābiyyan min ḡilāli takṡīfi l-muṣāwarāti wa-l-ziyārāti wa-l-ta ‘āwuni* **min ‘aḡli da ‘mi l-dawri l-mu‘attiri llaḡī tadṡali ‘u biḡi miṣr fī tawḡīri** [...], ‘[...] a desire [...] that the relation takes a positive turn through intensified consultations, visits, and cooperation, **aimed at supporting the influential role which Egypt plays in providing** [...]’.

8x Location, expressive of location but with an emphasis on ‘in, and from a centre and out’, typically with a full clause as matrix (6x: 4x complement main clauses, 1x relative, 1x main clause), e.g. Article 124: *wa-qāla* [...] ‘inna l-ḡukūmata l-ḡadīdata sa-tabḡa ‘u ‘a ‘mālahā mu‘aqqatan **min maḡīnati el-bayḡā** [...], ‘[...] will begin its work temporarily **from the city of al-Bayḡa** [...]’ (Example 557). 1x with a nominalized relative clause, Article 35: [...] *li-l-ḡunūdi l-maḡṡīfina* **min tikrūt** [...], ‘kidnapped **from Tikrit** [...]’; and 1x with a noun, a subject, Article 86: *wa-yaḡūlu frīdikū fārsī - brūḡisūr ‘ilmi l-ḡarīmati* **min ḡāmi‘ati “uksḡūr”** [...], ‘[...] professor of the science of crime **from the University of “Oxford”** [...]’.

7x Purpose, only *min ‘aḡli + maṣḡdar*, e.g. Article 61: [...] *da ‘ā l-ittihādu l-‘aḡriḡiyyu* [...] ‘ilā raf‘i kulli l-quyūdi ‘alā l-saḡari lltī *furiḡat* **min ‘aḡli muk-āḡaḡati ḡāḡā l-wabā‘i**, ‘[...] which were imposed **to fight this epidemic**’; and Article 39: [...] *muṣṡa ‘riḡan al-ḡuhūda llatī tabḡuluhā miṣr* **min ‘aḡli tahyi‘ati l-munāḡi l-ḡāḡibi li-l-istīmāri**, ‘reviewing the efforts which Egypt makes **to create an attractive climate for investment**’ (for which, cf. *al-ḡuhūd#* as head for Nominal Purpose, discussed above).

6x TEMP ‘earlier’, only *min qablu*, 4x in complement main clauses, 2x in relative clauses with compound predicates with *kāna*: *kāna muḡaddadan* **min qablu**, ‘was scheduled **earlier**’, (Article 122, Example 388); and *kāna yu ‘rafu*

in Article 25: *wa-llaḡī kāna yu‘rafu min qablu bi-smi l-dawlati l-‘islāmiyyati fī el-‘irāq wa-l-šām(dā‘eš).*, ‘which was **formerly** known as [...]’.

4x Instrument & Agent, only *min*, and only with verbal forms passive in meaning, 2x with the root *kwn*: 1x passive participle (in Article 37); 1x VprefL in Article 89: [...] *‘anna l-ḡukūmata [...] tatakawwanu min ḡizbi [...] wa-‘aḡzābi [...]*, ‘is made up **by** [...]’ (Example 707). The other verbs are *tata‘al-lafu*, ‘is composed by’ (Article 86), and *muwassa‘an* in Article 31: [...] *qāla [...] ‘inna wafdan fanniyyan muwassa‘an mina l-‘amānati l-‘āmmati li-l-ḡāmi‘ati taḡummu ḡubarā‘a [...]*, ‘[...] a technical delegation, **expanded by the General Secretariat of** [...]’ (or ‘an expanded delegation from [...]’ (not annotated)).

3x Manner Instrument, only as the source in the context of making money: 2x in Article 86: *wa-tuḡaddaru ‘ā‘idātuḡa l-sanawiyyatu bi-4,9 milyār# dūlārīn kulla sanatin, taḡlibuḡa min ‘ašyā‘in ‘iddatin miṡla l-ibtizāzi l-ḡinsiyyi wa-taḡrībi l-‘asliḡati wa- [...]*, ‘its annual revenue [...] they get **from various things** such as sexual blackmail and arms trafficking [...]’, and earlier in the same article: [...] *yaḡma‘ūna ‘amwālahum min mašādīri tamwīli l-ḡarā‘imi l-taḡlīdiyyati [...]*, ‘they get their **money from traditional crime funding sources** [...]’ (Example 269); and 1x in Article 42: [...] *qā‘imatin ṡawīlatin taḡummu l-‘ašarāti min marākizi l-‘abḡāṡi [...] allatī taḡṡidu ‘ašarāti l-malāyīna mina l-dūlārāti mina l-ḡukūmāti l-‘aḡnābiyyati [...]*, ‘a long list containing dozens of research centres [...] which reap tens of millions of dollars **from foreign governments** [...]’.

2x Expanding Paraphrase, various constructions: 1x *mā [...]* *min*, Article 89: *ḡašṡatan mā yurtakabu bi-ḡaḡqi l-mašḡidi l-‘aḡṡa min tadnīsin wa-ḡtiḡāmātīn yawmiyyatin*, ‘[...] specially what is being committed against the Al-Aqsa Mosque **in terms of desecration and daily incursions** [...]’; and 1x stating an interval with *min* [...] *‘ilā*, the phrase with *‘ilā* being a Numerical Comparative Contrast, Article 84: [...] *‘anna mišr istaṡā‘at ‘an tuḡaḡḡiqa ziyādatan ḡā‘ilatan [...] fī ḡafḡi ḡālātī wafayāti l-‘atfāli - taḡta sinni l-ḡāmi-sati - min 86 ḡālata wafātīn li-kulli ṡiflīn fī ‘āmi 1990, ‘ilā 21 ḡālata wafātīn fī ‘āmi 2012*, ‘achieve a tremendous increase [...] in reducing child mortality rates - under the age of five - **from 89** [...] to 21 deaths [...]’. The construction *mā [...]* *min* occurs a number of times in the data, but was typically considered partitive (not investigated).

2x Instrument, only in Article 8, and only in the phrase ‘shoot’ + ‘**with weapons**’ + modifier: 1x *wa-yuṡliḡūna l-nāra*, and 1x *‘iṡlāḡi l-nāri* + 2x *min ‘asliḡatin* + 1x *min bayniḡa l-kalāšīnkūf[sic]* (Example 354), and 1x *‘ūtūmāti-kiyyatin*, ‘**with weapons** such as the Kalashnikov’, ‘**with automatic weapons**’.

2x Instrumental Manner, only in contexts of making profits ‘from’, Article 86: *wa-ḡama‘at ‘amwāliḡa min taḡrībi l-muḡaddarāti bi-ṡaklīn ‘asāsiyyīn, bi-l-‘iḡāfati ‘ilā l-ibtizāzi wa-l-ḡumāri*, ‘**and has made its money from drug**

min bayni

2x attestations: 1x as part of a front-dislocated Numerical Comparative Contrast in Article 37 (see Example 375 with discussion); and 1x in Article 41 as a partitive construction (not investigated): *kamā dakara ʿaydan min bayni l-muttahamīna* [...] *wazīra l-tāqati*, ‘[...] mentioned **among the accused** [...] the energy minister [...]’ (Example 509). The compound preposition is more frequent in other syntagms, see Table 119 on p. 698.

wa-min bayni

The preposition *wa-min bayni* is not attested outside the constructions cited in Table 119 on p. 698.

min dāḥili

3x attestations, 3x annotated relations, only to state Location, the stative spatial Location of *dāḥili*, ‘inside’, being more salient than the “origin” meaning expressed by *min*, ‘from’; 2x with the head noun *maṣādir*#, e.g. in Article 13 to state the received perspective of the sender: *wa-dakarāt maṣādiru min dāḥili l-mabnā* [...], ‘And sources **from inside the building** have said [...]’ (Example 382).

munḍu

44x attestations, 44x annotated relations, only temporal relations.

34x TEMP ‘since’, typically (25x) with temporal nouns, 5x including *ʾaktara* as the head of the temporal noun(s), e.g. Article 119: [...] *fī-l-minṭaqati dātihā llatī šahīdat munḍu ʾaktara min ʾāmin taṣāʿudan malḥūzan li-ʾa māli ʾunfin* [...], ‘[...] in the same region, which has seen **since more than a year** a significant increase in the acts of violence [...]’ (Example 498); in 9x attestations, the prepositional complements to *munḍu* are *maṣdar* forms, recurring lexical items among the complements being 2x *indilā* # in Article 37: *munḍu bidāyati ndilā ʾi ʾazmati ǧazza al-ʾaḥīrati*, ‘**since the beginning of the outbreak of the last Gaza crisis**’ (Example 162), and Article 121: [...] *munḍu ndilā ʾi mā yu ʾrafu bi-ʾamaliyyāti ʾfaǧr lībiya* [...] (Example 172); and 2x *badʾi*, Article 56: [...] *munḍu badʾi l-iḥtiǧāǧāti l-ḥūṭiyyati fī 18 ʾaǧuṣtus* [...], ‘**since the beginning of the Houthi protest on August 18** [...]’ (Example 427), and Article 62: [...] *munḍu badʾi waqfi ʾiṭlāqi l-nāri bayna* [...], ‘**since the beginning of the ceasefire** between [...]’, i.e. ‘since the ceasefire began’.

The matrix to this semantic relation is 10x non-deverbalized relative clauses and 4x nominalized relative clauses (participles); 7x main clauses and 5x complement main clauses; all others (8x) are nominal matrices/heads.

2x TEMP ‘ago’, Article 48: [...] *wa-huwa ǧi fu l-mablaǧi llaḍī kāna yata-daffaḡu ḥāriǧa l-bilādi munḍu ʾaqdin maḍā*, ‘and this is double the amount which was flowing out the country **a decade ago**’ (Example 687); and Article

106: *wa-nzalaqa l-waḍ'ū 'ilā l-'unfi munḍu 'ayyāmin fī ṣan'ā*, '[...] and the situation slid into violence **a few days ago** in Sanaa [...]'].

2x TEMP 'between', only together with a following *ḥattā*, lit. 'from [...] until', Article 48: [...] *al-tarīqu l-ra'īsiyyu ḡayru l-ṣar'iyyi llaḍī tuḡādiru 'abrahū l-'amwālu l-muharrabatu el-brāzīl munḍu 'āmi 1960 ḥattā 2012*, '[...] the main way through which smuggled funds left Brazil **between 1960 and 2012**'; and Article 128: [...] *fī ba'ḍi l-'ayyāmi munḍu l-sā'ati l-sābi'ati ṣabāḥan ḥattā l-ḥādiyata 'aṣrata zuhran* [...], '[...] on some days **between 7 in the morning and 11 at noon** [...]'].

2x Countersequential bi Context bi Cause, Article 118 (lead): *ṣahidati l-'āsimatu ṣan'ā 'wa-muḥīṭuhā 'amsi hudū'an ḥaḍīran munḍu tawqī'i ttifāqiy-yati l-silmi wa-l-ṣirākati l-waṭaniyyati 'amsi l-'awwala min qibali ra'īsi l-ḡumhūriyyati wa-l-'aṭrāfi l-siyāsiyyati l-'uḥrā min ḍimnihā ḡamā'atu 'anṣār allāh*, 'The capital Sanaa and its surroundings experience a cautious calm **since the signing of the Peace and National Partnership Agreement yesterday by the president of the Republic and the other political parties**, including the Ansar Allah group' (Example 657); and Article 106, with weaker Cause semantics: [...] *wa-ḡariqa el-yaman fī 'azmatin munḍu raḥīli l-ra'īsi l-sābiqi 'alt' 'abd allāh ṣāleḥ fī fabrāyir 2012*, *ba'da 11 ṣaḥran mina l-iḥtiḡāḡāti ḍidda niḡāmihi*, 'Yemen has drowned in a crisis **following the departure of the former president Ali Abdullah Saleh in February 2012 after 11 months of protests against his regime**' (Example 399).

2x TEMP punctual, Article 22 (lead): *bada'at quwwātun 'isrā'īliyyatun munḍu sā'atin mubakkiratin min ṣabāḥi 'amsi munāwarātin 'askariyyatan* [...], '[...] began military maneuvers **at an early hour yesterday morning** [...]'; and Article 8: *wa-'aḍāfat 'anna l-taqrīra l-'iḥbāriyyata l-muṣawwara llaḍī battathu l-ṣabakatu ḡā'a ba'da faḍīḥati taḡassusi l-muḥābarāti l-'almāniyyati 'alā turkiya munḍu 'āmi 2009* [...], '[...] after the German intelligence espionage scandal on Turkey **in 2009** [...]'].

1x TEMP 'since' & Countersequential bi Inconsequential, Article 106: *wa-stamarrati l-muwāḡahātu fī ṣan'ā munḍu 'i'lāni l-mab'ūti l-duwaliyyi ḡamāl ben 'umar masā'a 'amsi l-'awwali 'ani l-tawaṣṣuli 'ilā ttifāqin bayna l-ḥūtiyyīna wa-l-ri'āsatī l-yamaniyyati li-'inhā'i l-'azmatī l-ḥāliyyati*, '[...] and the confrontations have continued in Sanaa **since (despite) the announcement by the international envoy Jamal Benomar yesterday evening on having reached an agreement between the Houthis and the Yemeni presidency to end the current crisis** [...]'] (Example 253).

1x TEMP 'during', Article 24: *mutasā'ilan* [...] *wa-li-māḍā lam yatimma l-taṭarruqu li-ḥāḍihi l-binyati l-muwāziyyati qabla 'a'wāmin fī ḡilli stimrāri ḥukmi 'erdūḡān ka-ra'īsi ḥukūmatin munḍu 12 'āman?*, 'asking [...] and why was this parallel structure not dealt with years ago during the continued rule of Erdoğan as prime minister [lit. president of the government] **for 12 years?**' (Example 489).

wa-mundu

1x attestation, temporal transition phrase, Article 60: *wa-mundu yawmayni* [...] (Example 567). For transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2.

min ħāriġi

2x attestations, zero annotated relations, only used to state spatial locative origin ‘from outside’ (ablative, not investigated), and only in Article 118: [...] *al-qādimati min ħāriġi ‘umrān*; and [...] *al-qādimati min ħāriġi l-muḥāfaẓatayni*, ‘[...] who come from outside the two governorates’.

min ħilālī

16x attestations, 15x annotated relations. The remaining 1x unannotated relation is an ‘*ā*’id in an asyndetic relative clause (Article 53).

6x Manner Instrument, e.g. Article 103: *wa-šaddada* » ‘*alā ’annahu lā yumkinu hallu l-’azmati fī lībiyā min ħilālī l-wasā’ili l-’askariyyati bal min ħilālī l-tawāfuqin siyāsiyyin* [...], ‘[...] that it is not possible to resolve the crisis in Libya **via military means** [...]’. The construction may take a nominalized clause as matrix, e.g. Article 83: *wa-qāla* [...] ‘‘*idā ḥāwala ’adadun min šurakā’inā* [...] *iḥtibāra quwwati rūsiyā min ħilālī l-’uqūbāti wa-kulli ’aškālī l-tahdīdi*, *fa-mīna l-muḥimmi ’allā* [...], ‘[...] try to test the strength of Russia **via sanctions and all kinds of threats** [...]’ (Example 440).

4x Instrumental Manner, e.g. Article 62: [...] *ḥaddara* [...] *min ’anna bilādahu fī ḥālātī farḍi ’uqūbātīn ḡadīdatīn min ħilālī man’i šarikātī l-ṭayarāni l-ġarbiyyati mīna l-murūri fawqa ’arāḍihā fī riḥlatihā bayna ’ūrūbbā wa-’āsīyā*, ‘[...] will respond [...] **by preventing Western aviation companies from passing over its territory** [...]’; and Article 12: *wa-šaddada* [...] ‘*alā ’annahu lamasa raġbatan ḥaqīqīyyatan mīna l-ġānibi* [...] *fī ’anta ḥuḍa l-’alāqatu bayna l-baladayni minḥan ’iġābiyyan ḡadīdan min ħilālī takṭīfi l-muṣāwarāti wa-l-ziyārāti wa-l-ta’āwuni min ’aġli* [...], ‘[...] a veritable desire that the relation between the two countries takes a new positive direction **by intensifying consultations, visits and cooperation** [...]’.

3x Instrument, 2x with *qanāt#*/*qanawāt#* as the prepositional complement, Article 1: [...] *da’mi l-’iḥwāni l-muslimīna wa-taġnīsi mu’āridīna ḥaliġiyyīna min ħilālī qanāti el-ġazīra*, ‘support the Muslim Brotherhood and neutralize Gulf dissidents **through the Al Jazeera channel**’ (Example 299); and Article 27: *kamā ttahamat rūsiyā bi-tahdīdi kīyef min ħilālī qanawātīn ġayri rasmiyyatīn bi-stiḥdāmi quwwātihā l-nawawīyyati l-’istrātīġiyyati fī ḥālī* [...], ‘[...] threatening Kyiv **via unofficial channels** with using its strategical nuclear powers in case [...]’.

1x Instrument & Mediation, Article 98: [...] *fī-l-waqtī llaḍī yuġrūna fīhi muḥādaṭātīn ma’a l-ra’īsi l-yamaniyyi* [...] *min ħilālī laġnati l-wisāṭati l-yamaniyyati* [...], ‘while they conduct talks with the Yemeni president [...] **through the Yemeni Mediation Committee** [...]’.

1x Manner Instrument bi TEMP ‘during’, Article 111: *wa-qtaraha* [...] ‘*an yatimma tarhu l-ḥuṭaṭi l-rāmiyyati ilā ’iḡrā’i ta’dīlin dustūriyyin bi-hāḍā l-ḥaḡmi*, ‘*alā l-ḡumhūri min ḥilāli mu’tamarin yu’qadu fī ḥarīfi ’āmi 2015 ba’da l-intiḥābāti l-barlamāniyyati l-qādimati*, ‘and he proposed [...] that the plans which aim for a constitutional amendment of this magnitude be presented to the public **during a conference which will be held in the fall of 2015** after the upcoming parliamentary elections’ (Example 334). This attestation is a *hapax* of this semantic relation, but explained as an extension into the temporal sphere of the more typical Instrument usage.

wa-min ḥilāli

1x attestation, Instrument & Mediation, Article 98: *fī-l-waḡti llaḍī yuḡrūna fīhi muḥādaṭātin* [...] *min ḥilāli laḡnati l-wisāṭati* [...] *wa-min ḥilāli ben ’umar mab ’ūṭi l-’amīn# al-’āmm# li-l-’umami l-muttaḥidati* [...].

min ’alā

2x attestations, 1x annotated relation.

1x Location, Article 32: [...] *wa-’aṣbaḥat tataḥaddaṭu ’alīnan ’an ḥaṭarin šī’iyyin min ’alā manābiri l-masāḡidi wa-ṣafaḥāti l-ṣuḥufi.*, ‘they began to speak publicly about the Shiite danger **from the pulpits of mosques and the pages of newspapers.**’

The remaining 1x unannotated relation is an ablative, ‘from’ (not investigated), Article 45: *qāmat* [...] *bi-tadmīri timtāli mu’assisi l-ḡumhūriyyati l-turkiyyati* [...] *wa-’inzāli l-’alami l-turkiyyi min ’alā sāriyatihī* [...], ‘destroyed the statue of the founder of the Turkish Republic [...] and took down the Turkish flag from its flagpole [...]’ (Example 71).

n (nūn) ن

naṭṭaḡata

4x attestations, 4x annotated relations.

2x Cause, Article 23: [...] *ḥammalat ḥarakatu “fataḥ” ḥarakata ”ḥamās” mas’ūliyyata waḡā’i ’aḡadi kawādirihā naṭṭaḡata farḍi l-’iqāmati l-ḡabariyyati ’alayhi ḥilāla l-’udwāni l-’isrā’īliyyi ’alā qīṭā’i ḡazza*, ‘[...] blamed the “Hamas” movement for the death of one of its cadres **as a result of the[ir] imposition of house arrest on him during the Israeli aggression** [...]’ (Example 512); and Article 38 (lead): *istamarra l-tawattur fī minṭaḡati el-ḡawf šamāla šarqi šan’ā*, *naṭṭaḡata l-iṣṭibākāti l-’anīfati l-dā’irati bayna l-ḡayši wa-musallaḥī ḡamā’ati el-ḥūṭī*, ‘Tension continued in the al-Jouf region [...] **as a result of the violent clashes that are taking place between the army and the Houthi group**’.

1x Conditional bi Cause, in the context of *muḥtamal#*, Article 83: *naqalat* [...] *qawlahu “tamma ’ayḍan tabādulu l-’ārā’i ḥawla l-’uqūbati l-salbiyyati*

l-muḥtamalati ‘alā l-iqtisādi l-rūsiyyi wa-l-iqtisādi l-‘ukrāniyyi natīġata ‘iṣrāri ‘ukrāniyā ‘alā tanfīdi tifāqi l-irtibāfi bi-l-ittihādi l-‘urūbiyyi’, ‘[...] concerning the possible negative consequences on the Russian and Ukrainian economies **as a result of Ukraine’s insistence on the implementation of the agreement of association with the European Union**’.

1x Countersequential bi Cause, Article 90 (lead): *laqiyat tīflatun maṣra ‘ahā wa-‘uṣībati l-mar’atu natīġata suqūfi ‘adadīn minā l-qadā’ifi l-ṣārūḥiyyati ‘alā madīnati el-zāwiya bi-l-‘aṣimati ṭarābulus ġarrā’a štibākātīn bi-minṭaqati warṣefāna*, ‘A girl died and a woman was injured **as the result of the falling of a number of rocket grenades over the city of al-Zawiya** in the capital Tripoli during clashes in the region of Warshefana’ (Example 351).

natīġatan li-

1x attestation, Cause, Article 32: *wa-qāla [...] al-‘arġaḥu ‘anna l-qarāra ṣadara natīġatan li-ḍuġūṭīn dāḥiliyyatīn wa-ḥārīġiyyatīn*, ‘[...] said it is most likely that the decision was issued **as a result of internal and external pressures** [...]

naḥwa

10x attestations, 1x annotated relation.

1x Nominal Purpose, Article 63 (final sentence): *kamā ‘akkada [...] wuqūfa l-mamlakati wa-maġlisi l-ta ‘āwuni l-ḥalīġiyyi ‘ilā ġānibi l-ra’īsi [...] wa-da ‘mi qarārātīhi wa-‘iġrā’ātīhi wa-ḥaṭawātīhi naḥwa ‘iḥrāġi el-yaman ‘ilā barri l-‘amāni*, ‘and he [...] confirmed the [...] and the support of his decisions, his measures, and his steps **towards bringing out Yemen to a land of safety**’ (Example 206, a passage discussed in relation to metaphors in 3.15.1).

The remaining 9x unannotated attestations are: 6x with exact numbers to render them inexact (not investigated), e.g. Article 75: [...] *naḥwa 9% [...]*, ‘[...] about 9% [...]’; and 3x allative (motion ‘to’, not investigated), ‘in the direction of’, e.g. Article 105: [...] *indafa ‘a naḥwa dābiṭayni [...]*, ‘he rushed towards two officers’; the latter has given rise to the Nominal Purpose linking for in Article 63, for which, see Nominal Purpose (above).

naẓaran li-

3x attestations, only to express Cause; in Article 122 the construction is preposed (for which see 5.3.4.4): *wa-lākin naẓaran li-tadā ‘iyāti l-‘udwāni l-‘iṣrā’īliyyi [...] sa-yatimmu l-naẓaru fī taḥdīdi maw‘idin ġadīdin [...]*, ‘**but because of the repercussions of the Israeli aggression** [...] the setting of a new date will be considered [...]’ (Example 463).

h (*hā*) ◦

No attestations.

w (*wāw*) و***warā`a***

4x attestations, 1x annotated relation.

1x Instrument & Agent, Article 34: *wa-`aḏāfa l-bayānu »naṣaḥnā quwwa-takum `allā yangīrrū warā`a l-ḥuda`i l-ġarbiyyati* [...], lit. '[...] »we have advised your forces that they should not be dragged **behind the Western tricks** [...]' (Example 461).

The remaining 3x unannotated relations are: 2x `ā`ids in asyndetic relative clauses with VprefL (Article 63 and Article 106); and 1x predicate in a nominal clause⁵¹⁷ (Article 131).

waṣṭa

16x attestations, 16x annotated relations. The count includes 1x article-initial nominalized clause (Context, Article 107). For article-initial subordination, see 5.3.3.

8x Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Simultaneous, 4x with a main clause with Vsuff as the matrix, e.g. Article 129 (lead): *sayṭara l-mutamarridūna l-ḥūṭiyyūna l-šī`atu `amsi bi-ṣaklin šibhi kāmilin `alā l-`āṣimati l-yamaniyyati ṣan`ā` waṣṭa ġiyābin šibhi tāmmin li-l-quwwāti l-ḥukūmiyyati*, *fī ḥīni naddada l-ra`īsu* [...], 'The Houthi rebels took control over [...] **while the governmental forces were almost completely absent** [...]'; and Article 15: *wa-fī `ustrāliyā*, *taṣā`adati l-maṭālibu `amāma ra`īsi l-wuzarā`i* [...] *li-l-`iṣṣāḥi `an `istrātīġiyyatihi ḥawla l-muṣāarakati fī-l-ḥamlati ḏidda tanẓīmi l-dawlati l-`islāmiyyati waṣṭa ttiḥāmihi bi-l-iṅġirāri ḥalfa l-wilāyāti l-muttaḥidati*, '[...] the demands escalated before the prime minister [...] to disclose his strategy [...] **while he is being accused of being dragged behind/by the United States**'. It could be argued that the unorderedness of these clauses is less relevant than the Simultaneous inference. For the fallacy of cotemporality, see 3.16.1.1; also see immediately below.

3x Different Level Different Subject Addition, e.g. Article 40 (lead), with an inferred impersonal subject: *ba`da 36 sā`atan min `i`lāni waqfi `iṭlāqi l-nāri fī* [...] *tagāddada l-qasfu wa-`iṭlāqu l-nīrāni fī mīnā`i "māriyūbūl"* [...] *waṣṭa maḥāwifa mina nḥiyāri l-hudnati bayna l-quwwāti w-al-mutamarridūna*, '36 hours after the announcement of the truce [...] shelling and shooting renewed [...] **amid fears of a breakdown of the truce** [...]', i.e. 'and it is now feared that the armistice may collapse'; in Article 22, the fallacy of

⁵¹⁷ *wa-ttahoma* [...] *al-`atrāfa l-ḥāriġiyyata bi-`annahā warā`a ziyādati ḥaġamāti l-mutamarridūna* [...], '[...] that they are responsible for [lit. behind] the increase of rebel attacks [...]'.

cotemporality is even more deluding: *wa-ḡakarāt wikālatu lubnān al-waṭaniyyatu li-l-’i lāmi ’annahū tamma samā’u dawīyyi ’ašwāti qasfīn midfa’iyyin wa-’asliḥatin taqīlatin maṣḍaruhā baldata’ za’ūra wa-’amfīt. wa-’awḡaḥati l-wikālatu ’anna “al-munāwarāti tastahdifu l-’atrāfa l-šamāliyyata l-šarqiyyata li-mazāri’i šeb’ā l-muhtallata, waṣṭa taḥlīqin mukattafin li-ṭā’irāti l-iṣṭilā’i dūna ṭayyārīn fī ’aḡwā’i l-mazāri’i wa-l-ḡulān al-muḥtal-latayni”*, ‘[...] the sound of bombardment and artillery has been heard [...] and the agency said that the maneuvers target the north-eastern outskirts of the occupied Shebaa Farms [...] **while/and unmanned reconnaissance aircraft flew in the airspace above the Golan** [...]’. This last example is comparable to Dixon’s prototypical Unordered Addition, *Mary peeled the potatoes and John shelled the peas* (Dixon 2009: 26). The nominalized subordination puts the Unordered Addition under the scope of the verb of attribution (cf. Second Complement of Utterance, under 5.3.2.1). Cf. Simultaneous below.

2x Location, Article 50: [...] *’alā bal’am waṣṭa l-madīnati* [...], ‘over Ba-laam, **in the midst of the city**’; and Article 114: [...] *min maydāni “šihḥiyya” waṣṭa ’anqara* [...].

1x Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Cause, Article 13: [...] *fīmā raddati l-šurṭatu bi-qanābili l-ḡāzi l-musīlati li-l-dumū’i llatī badat ’adīmati l-fā’idati waṣṭa l-’amṭāri l-ḡazīrati* [...], ‘and the police responded with tear gas canisters, which however seemed useless **amid the heavy rain** [...]’ (Example 183).

1x Location Broader, Article 98: [...] *fī radā’ bi-muḥāfazati el-bayḡa’ waṣṭa el-yaman* [...], ‘[...] In Rada’a in the governorate of al-Bayda **in central Yemen** [...]’.

1x Simultaneous, Article 24: [...] *ḡakarāt* [...] *’anna maḡmū’atan* [...] *hāḡamat maṣḡida “el-’imām ’alī”* [...] *waṣṭa huṭāfātīn «naḥnu lā nurīdu maṣḡidan šī’iyyan»* [...], ‘[...] attacked the mosque [...] **while shouting: «we do not want a Shia mosque»** [...]’.

wa-waṣṭa

1x attestation, Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Simultaneous, Article 70: [...] *tawāsalati l-iṣṭibākātu* [... 16 words ...] *waṣṭa qasfīn mustamirrin* [... 12 words ...] *wa-waṣṭa l-nuzūḥi l-mustamirri min qibali l-’ahālī waṣṭa l-damāri l-šāmili li-l-miṭṭaqati*,⁵¹⁸ ‘clashes continued [...] amid the ongoing shelling [...] **and amid the ongoing displacement of residents amid the total destruction of the area** [...]’.

⁵¹⁸ Final paragraph, Article 70:

وفى غرب طرابلس، تواصلت الاشتباكات مستمرة بين جيش قبائل ورشفاة وقوات فجر ليبيا التي تحاصر المنطقة منذ أكثر من عشرة أيام وسط قصف مستمر أدى أمس إلى مقتل ٥ أشخاص وإصابة أكثر من ١٨ آخرين ووسط النزوح المستمر من قبل الأهالي وسط الدمار الشامل للمنطقة، في حين اعتبرت المنظمة الليبية لحقوق الإنسان ورشفاة منطقة منكوبة.

wafqa

6x attestations, 5x annotated relations. The remaining 1x relation is an attribution formula in Article 73, *wafqa l-mašdari nafsīhi*, ‘according to the same source’ (for attribution formulae, see 6.5).

5x Manner, ‘in accordance with, according to’, e.g. Article 45: *mušīran ‘ilā ḍarūratī ‘igra’i l-i’tiqālātī wa-l-tahqīqātī wafqa ‘ususīn qānūniyyatīn [...], ‘[...] the need to conduct arrests and investigations according to legal grounds’* (Example 263).

wa-wafqa

1x attestation, Manner, Article 118: [...] *wa-tataḍammanu huṭṭatan mufaššalatan wa-ḡadwalan zamaniyyatan li-l-tanfīḍi wa-wafqa natā’iḡi mu’tamari l-ḥiwāri l-waṭaniyyi*, ‘[...] and it includes a detailed plan and an implementation schedule [and] in accordance with the results of the National Dialogue Conference.’ (Example 329).

wafqan li-

5x attestations, 3x annotated relations. The remaining attestations are 2x attribution formulae (for which, see 6.5).

2x Manner, ‘according to’, e.g. Article 79: *wa-šaddada ‘alā ‘anna l-in-tihābātī sa-taḡrī fī mawā’idihā wafqan li-l-dustūri*, ‘that the elections will be held on time according to the constitution’.

1x Preposed Condition, a preposed adverbial to state a condition (for which, see 5.3.4.3), Article 62: *wa-‘aḍāfa ‘annahū wafqan li-l-waḍ‘i ‘alā ‘arḍi l-wāqi’i sa-yatahaddadu mā ‘idā kāna sa-yatimmu tatbīqu l-‘uqūbātī [...], ‘[...] depending on the situation on the ground, it will be determined whether the sanctions agreed upon will be implemented [...]*’ (Example 481).

wa-wafqan li-

1x attestation, transition phrase and attribution formula, Article 87: *wa-wafqan li-bayānāti fītš, fa-qad irtafa’a [...], ‘And according to the Fitch data, [...]*’ (Example 376). For transition phrases, see 5.3.4.2; for attribution formulae, see 6.5.

waqta

3x attestations, only to express TEMP punctual: 2x ‘at the time of’ + *mašdar* as an anaphoric reference, e.g. Article 108: [...] *kāna musallaḥan bi-sikkīnin waqta l-iqtihāmi*, ‘[...] he was armed with a knife at the time of the intrusion’ (for context, see Example 252); and 1x *waqtahā* with an anaphoric feminine suffix (cf. *ḥīnahā* under “*ḥīna*”), ‘at the time’, Article 47: [...] *wa-‘asrada fīhi l-‘adīda mina l-mufaḡi’āti [ita] wa-l-faḍā’ihī, min baynihā mukāmalatun sirriyyatun bayna diyānā wa-kāmīlā ‘ašīqati tšārlz waqtahā*

taqūlu fihā diyāna »[...]«, ‘and in it [the book], he has recounted many surprises and scandals such as a secret conversation between Diana and Camilla Charles’ mistress in which she **then** said «[...]»’ (Example 487).

y (yā') ي

No attestations.

6.10. Summary: The Media Arabic sentence

This chapter summarizes the data on the features of the Media Arabic sentence that have been investigated in Parts 3–6.

The study was conducted on a hard news corpus from Al-Ahram consisting of 131x articles with an average length of 273x words, or 8.7 sentences (excluding headlines and by-line), distributed over an average of 4.9 paragraphs per article, each with an average length of 53x words. The average lead length is 35x words. All articles have a headline of 12.3x words; more than 99% of the articles have a by-line, about 90% of which have the base structure of “city - author - source:”. The basic vocabulary of Media Arabic is focused, such that 333x words (types) account for 40% of the vocabulary in a corpus of 35,354x words (tokens).

20.6% of the articles begin with an article-initial element preceding the verb; only 1x of these article-initial elements is a finite clause (1x of 131x articles, or 0.7%), the remainder are prepositional phrases.

A reader can expect 3.3 typos daily in the hard news section, and 1x typographical error every 3.0 articles; but only one vocalization sign (excluding *tanwīn* with *fatha*) per 1,219 words (in addition, vocalization signs group in clusters). The reader will encounter a space after *wa* every 4.4 articles.

With an average article being 8.7 sentences long, any structure attested in 11.5% of every sentence will be found, on average, more than once per article basis in the corpus.

A sentence in the corpus has an average of 1.1x commas; 94.8% of the sentences have a full stop; 39.8% have two quotation marks; 34.1% have a dash; 17.2% have a colon; 4.4% have a pair of parentheses; and 4.1% have double dots { .. }.

The reader is unlikely to encounter alliteration and extended metaphors (1x attestation of the latter).

Based on the sample of 1,144x sentences, 15.1% of all sentences have a clausal negation (173x), but *mā* is only used as a negator with suffix forms of *zāla* in the affirmative meaning of ‘still’ (lit. ‘has not ceased’) and with *labīṭa*. Out of all non-deverbalized clauses, 6.7% have an internal or periphrastic passive; 20.9% of all sentences have an internal passive or a periphrastic passive, with more than two out of three passives being an internal passive with a 79.3% likelihood that the passive will be formed on the basis of a limited set of grammatical morphemes and lexemes (22x in the present corpus). 14.2% of the sentences include a future verb; this verb is in 4.9% of the attestations a *sawfa* type of future; the rest are *sa*- futures. The first sentence in an article, also called the lead, never begins with a *wa*-, whereas 87.8% of all other sentences start with *wa*-.

Out of 1,144x main clauses, 891x complement main clauses, 869x non-main clauses, and 642x non-deverbalized relative clauses (3,546x clauses in total), less than one in 1,000 are direct questions (0.1%, 3x direct questions; 0.3% of all main clauses). The text of Media Arabic articles convey facts and statements, with the occasional inclusion of bias, as seen e.g. in relation to evaluative comments (e.g. Article 12, Example 472) and the metaphor in Article 37 (see 3.15.1).

Main clauses

100% of the finite verbal main clauses have a verb in the third person. 86.2% of the main clauses have a simple *fa'ala* as the predicate; but only 0.44% are futures, with no attestations of *sawfa*. 65% of the main clauses come with a finite verb of attribution. 7.0% of all main clauses are negated.

Text-internally (i.e. excluding the first sentence of each article), finite subordinate clauses preceding the main clause matrix occur only once, i.e. in less than one in a 1,000 sentences (less than 0.1%, see 5.3.4.1). Once again excluding the first sentence, peripheral elements and clauses are likely to be positioned after the main clause, with 38x exceptions, 29% of which are conditional, and 47% in some way antiprödicative or contrastive. These numbers, however, exclude the mostly frozen transition phrases, which precede the sentence matrix. Excluding the lead sentence, the Media Arabic sentence begins with *wa-* in 87.8% of cases (890x). With or without *wa-*, the main clause comes first in the sentence in 80.8% of the sentences; excluding the first sentence in each article, 21.6% of all 1013 remaining sentences begin with a transition phrase, which is typically a nominal structure (with only 3x exceptions, all in a frozen verbal phrase). 82.2% of the 219 transition phrases begin with *wa-* (accounting for 20.2% of all sentences begun with *wa-*). In 92% of those cases where the sentence begins with a transition phrase, the transition phrase immediately precedes an affirmative clause introduced by a *Vsuff*.

Complements

77.9% of all sentences contain a non-deverbalized complement main clause (891x); the verb in these complement clauses is a verb of attribution in only 1.8% of cases (consequently, it is clear that the main clause is the preferred position for verbs of attribution). The complement main clause always follows its governing structure, and is thus always positioned after the main clause *V(S)* of a sentence. In the complement main clause complex, the complement main clause typically comes first, but front dislocation is attested in 4.0% of the complement clauses. 75.4% of the complement main clauses are Complements of Utterances. 50.2% of the complement main clauses have an overt lexical subject.

The complement main clause typically has a complementizer, but 6.0% of all complement main clauses have no complementizer, a construction only attested when the governing structure is a verb of utterance. The complement

main clause is affirmative in 89.9% of cases with a varied verbal morphology: 32.3% *fa'ala*, 21.1% *yaf'alu*, 15.5% nominal clauses, 11.2% futures, and 12.0% *yaf'ala* (finite verbs other than third person are attested for these structures). Of the 10.1% of negated complement main clauses, one-third are *lā yaf'alu* and one-third are *lam yaf'al*; the remaining third consisting of approximately 50% *laysa* nominal clause (16.6% of all negated complement main clauses) and 50% *lan yaf'ala* (15.5% of all negated complement main clauses). 4.6% of complement main clauses have an internal passive verb, while an additional 1.5% have a periphrastic passive (a form of *tamma* + *mašdar*).

72.4% of the sentences in the articles have a complementizer (828x), 20.8% of which are preceded by a preposition determined by the lexical items of the matrix. The complement clause is governed by a verb in 95.5% of the attestations, with governing nouns being limited in number. 96.5% of the complementizers are either *'an*, *'anna(-h)*, or *'inna(-h)*, and 19.9% of these having a pronominal suffix (*'anna-h* or *'inna-h*).

Non-main, relatives, adverbs, and prepositional phrases

On average, there are 5.6x prepositional phrases per sentence (excluding prepositions with complementizers); of the 6,391x attested prepositional phrases, 50.2% (3,210x) can be considered peripheral (non-core). They exhibit any of the semantics presented in chapter 6.9.

76.0% of the sentences in the corpus have a non-deverbalized non-main clause (as discussed in 6.1), 56.1% have a non-deverbalized relative clause (distributed over 57.0% syndetic and 43.0% asyndetic relative clauses), and 41.2% have a nominal adverb (472x, discussed in 6.8). 18.3% of the sentences have a deverbalized relative clause with a participial predicate: about 87% of these participles are definite and 75.1% have a nominal head in the genitive.

16.2% of the sentences in the data have a peripheral indefinite accusative participle, around nine-tenths of which are in the sphere of attribution and come with a predominant Unordered Addition relation to their matrix. 3.4% of the sentences have an attribution formula. 6.6% of the sentences have a conjunction with a nominal following it as a type of peripheral element (discussed in 6.7): clauses are typically not elliptical. Sentences are straightforward.

6.11. Summary: List of semantics and their respective expressions, arranged by frequencies

The summary of semantics excludes any relations found in article-initial subordinate clauses (5.3.3) and nominal front dislocations, as well as relations found in both deverbalized and non-deverbalized relative clauses as discussed in 6.3 and 6.4, and in the nominalized structures with participles discussed in 6.4; it also excludes relations in core constituent slots such as between e.g. verb, complementizer, and complement main clause.⁵¹⁹ In addition, the list excludes transition phrases (see 5.3.4.2), attribution formulae (see 6.5), and non-disclosure formulae (see 6.6).

In the following discussion, constructions with *hāṣṣatan*, *huṣūṣan*, and *ʾin-namā* have been split between non-nominalized and nominal constructions, depending on the post-positioned element.

Those relations from non-nominalized clauses (i.e. finite and NCI clauses discussed in 6.1) and nominalized clauses with *maṣḍar* which were annotated including an “OR”, e.g. Paired Contrast OR Cause in Article 26 (see Example 602) will be included in the following tables under both relations (e.g. as a Paired Contrast and as a Cause). Nominal and other nominalized expressions were not treated this way.

Table 122 lists the semantics for 4,106x relations (including 682x non-nominalized specified in a separate column), by frequency of occurrence of the semantic relation. 236x different combinations of semantics.

Table 122: The total number of annotated relations in the corpus (4,106x) in order of frequency

No. by freq.	Σ	Incl. non- nomi- nalized	Link
1	842	11	Location
2	302		TEMP punctual
3	223	4	Nominal Purpose
4	153	6	TEMP ‘during’
5	139	14	Manner
6	102	7	Concerning
7	98	2	Location of Utterance
8	94	27	Purpose
9	73		Location Broader
10	68		Malefactive
11	65	12	Countersequential
12	62	1	Manner Instrument
13	58	3	Instrumental Manner
	58	44	Temporal Succession

⁵¹⁹ The latter excludes 2x of 3x Preposed Conditions (following complementizers, for which, see 5.3.4.3).

6.11. Summary: List of semantics and their respective expressions, arranged by frequencies

No. by freq.	Σ	Incl. non- nomi- nalized	Link
14	56	4	Expanding Paraphrase
15	53	52	Same Level Same Subject Addition
16	51	16	Cause
	51		Instrument
17	48	5	Context
18	46	22	Simultaneous
19	39		ADVERB 'also'
20	38	31	Different Level Different Subject Addition
21	36	5	Equative (incl. 1x OR Predicate)
	36	1	TEMP 'since'
22	35	3	Exemplification
23	34	34	Same Level Different Subject Addition
24	33	2	Conditional
25	31	31	Consecutive
	31	2	Numerical Comparative Contrast
26	30	24	Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner
27	29		Lam Auctoris
28	26	3	Inconcomitance
	26	3	Presidency
29	24	24	Comment
	24		Limitationis
	24	4	Motion Purpose
	24		TEMP 'within'
30	22		Agent
	22		Agent & Origin
	22	4	Associative
31	21	4	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner
	21		TEMP 'earlier'
32	20	4	Countersequential bi Context bi Cause
	20	7	Graded Exemplification
33	18	4	Countersequential bi Cause
	18	17	Different Level Same Subject Addition
	18	1	Location & Instrument
	18		TEMP 'before'
34	17		ADVERB 'only'
	17	12	Frustration
35	16		TEMP 'currently'
36	15	1	<i>not x, but y</i>
37	14	14	Adversative
	14	4	Inclusive Closed Disjunction
	14	14	Serial Verb
38	13		Instrumental Manner bi TEMP 'during'
	13		Malefactive & Location
39	12	4	Countersequential bi Context
	12	9	Indirect question
	12	7	Meta-linguistic Comment
	12		TEMP date
	12	3	TEMP 'until'

No. by freq.	Σ	Incl. non- nomi- nalized	Link
40	11		'at least' (with numerative)
	11		Instrument & Agent
	11		Location & Indirect Object
41	10	2	Negated Disjunction
	10	1	Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause
	10		TEMP 'ago'
	10		TEMP 'immediately'
42	9		Benefactive
	9	2	Concession
	9	9	Paired Contrast
	9		TEMP 'until now'
43	8		Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Simultaneous
	8		Exclusive Closed Disjunction
	8	2	Inconsequential
44	7	1	Open Disjunction
	7	6	Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause
	7	7	Possible Consequence
	7		TEMP distributive
	7		TEMP 'later'
	7		TEMP 'yet'
	7	7	Temporal Succession bi Consecutive
45	6		ADVERB 'very'
	6		Agent & Ethicus
	6	6	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast
	6	5	Parenthetical Comment
	6		Predicate & Location
	6		TEMP 'between'
	6		TEMP punctual date
	6		TEMP 'soon'
	6		TEMP 'x times'
46	6	1	<i>x, not y</i>
	5		Concerning bi Cause
	5	5	Degree Consecutive
	5	5	Frustration bi Paired Contrast
	5	2	Graded Exemplification bi Concerning
	5	5	Location bi Expanding Paraphrase
	5		Location & Ethicus
	5	1	<i>not only x, but also y</i>
	5	5	Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information bi Instrumental Manner
47	5	2	Simultaneous bi Cause
	4		ADVERB 'again'
	4		ADVERB 'at all'
	4	4	Comment bi Consecutive
	4		Ethicus
	4	2	Exception Contrast
	4	1	Graded Exemplification bi Expanding Paraphrase

6.11. Summary: List of semantics and their respective expressions, arranged by frequencies

No. by freq.	Σ	Incl. non- nomi- nalized	Link
	4		Manner & Limitationis
	4	4	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Indirect Cause
	4	4	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Consecutive
	4		TEMP 'as soon as possible'
	4		TEMP 'recently'
48	3		ADVERB '(n)ever'
	3		ADVERB 'eventually'
	3		ADVERB 'first'
	3		Context bi Purpose
	3	3	Countersequential bi Inconsequential
	3	2	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Cause
	3		Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Context
	3	3	Direct question
	3		Ethicus & Possession
	3	3	Expanding Paraphrase bi Consecutive
	3	3	Expanding Paraphrase bi Context
	3	3	Frustration bi Temporal Succession
	3		Graded Exemplification bi Location
	3		Inconcomitance bi Conditional
	3		Instrument & Mediation
	3		Location bi Agent
	3	3	Location bi Temporal Succession
	3	1	Manner bi Associative
	3		Manner bi Location
	3		Purpose bi Temporal Succession
	3	3	Same Level Different Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession
	3	3	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Consecutive
	3	3	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Instrumental Manner
49	2		ADVERB 'always'
	2		ADVERB 'barely'
	2		ADVERB 'temporarily'
	2	2	Comment bi Purpose
	2		Concerning & Malefactive
	2	1	Context & Cause
	2	2	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Consecutive
	2	2	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession
	2	2	Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Simultaneous
	2	2	Exemplification & Instrumental Manner
	2	1	Graded Exemplification bi Cause
	2		'in exchange for'
	2	2	<i>instead of x, y</i>
	2		Instrumental Manner bi Cause
	2		Location bi Context
	2	2	Location bi Expanding Paraphrase bi Consecutive
	2		Location & Manner
	2		Mediation

No. by freq.	Σ	Incl. non- nomi- nalized	Link
	2	2	Same Level Different Subject Addition bi Consecutive
	2	2	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Expanding Paraphrase
	2	1	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession
	2		Simultaneous bi Cause bi Conditional
	2	2	Simultaneous bi Consecutive
	2		Simultaneous & Malefactive
	2		Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Purpose
	2	2	Summarizing Paraphrase bi Context
	2		TEMP ‘already’
	2		TEMP ‘forever’
	2		TEMP ‘sometimes’
	2	2	Temporal Succession bi Frustration
	2		<i>x instead of y</i>
50	1		ADVERB ‘almost’
	1		ADVERB ‘especially’
	1		ADVERB ‘even’
	1		ADVERB ‘from now on’
	1	1	Adversative bi Temporal Succession
	1		Agent & Benefactive
	1		Agent & Location
	1		Agent & Mediation
	1		Agent & Reciprocal
	1	1	Comment bi Adversative
	1	1	Comment bi Cause
	1		Concerning bi Expanding Paraphrase
	1	1	Concession bi Meta-linguistic Comment
	1	1	Concession bi Paired Contrast
	1		Conditional bi Cause
	1		Context bi Manner
	1		Countersequential bi Conditional ‘only’
	1	1	Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast bi Presidency
	1	1	Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Consecutive
	1		Equative & Anaphoric Instrumental Manner
	1		Expanding Paraphrase bi Countersequential
	1	1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Exemplification
	1	1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Meta-linguistic Comment
	1	1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Parenthetical Comment
	1	1	Expanding Paraphrase bi Relative to clause
	1	1	Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner bi Cause bi Exemplification
	1		Graded Exemplification bi Associative
	1		Graded Exemplification bi TEMP punctual
	1		Inconcomitance bi Paired Contrast
	1	1	Inconsequential bi Paired Contrast
	1	1	Concerning bi Indirect question

6.11. Summary: List of semantics and their respective expressions, arranged by frequencies

No. by freq.	Σ	Incl. non- nomi- nalized	Link
	1		Limitationis bi Graded Exemplification
	1		Location bi Benefactive bi Limitationis
	1		Location of Utterance bi Instrument
	1		Malefactive bi Conditional
	1		Manner & Associative
	1		Manner Instrument bi TEMP ‘during’
	1		Manner & Predicate
	1	1	Meta-linguistic Comment bi Paired Contrast
	1	1	<i>not x, but y</i> bi Paired Contrast
	1	1	Numerical Comparative Contrast & Purpose
	1	1	<i>only x and not y</i>
	1	1	Paired Contrast bi Inconsequential
	1	1	Parenthetical Comment bi Presidency
	1		Predicate & Agent & Origin
	1		Predicate bi Associative
	1		Predicate bi Motion Purpose
	1		Predicate & Manner
	1		Preposed Condition
	1	1	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Countersequential
	1	1	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast
	1	1	Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Simultaneous
	1	1	Simultaneous bi Expanding Paraphrase
	1		TEMP ‘again’
	1		TEMP ‘during’ bi Cause
	1		TEMP ‘during’ bi Location of Utterance
	1		TEMP punctual bi Cause
	1		TEMP punctual bi Inconcomitance
	1		TEMP punctual bi Location
	1		TEMP ‘since’ & Countersequential bi Inconsequential
	1	1	TEMP ‘until’ bi Possible Consequence
	1		TEMP ‘whenever’
	1		Temporal Succession bi Context
	1	1	Temporal Succession bi Degree Consecutive
	1	1	Temporal Succession bi Purpose
	1	1	Temporal Succession bi TEMP ‘until’
	1		<i>x, and not only y</i>
	1	1	<i>x, not y</i> bi Inconsequential
	1	1	<i>x, not y</i> bi Paired Contrast
	4,106	682	

Table 123 is intended to give a sort of semantic profile of the relational inferences in the Media Arabic register. It displays the number of occurrences (annotations) for each discrete semantic inference, meaning that e.g. a Temporal Succession bi Purpose for this table is counted as both Temporal Succession and Purpose. Those semantic relations coded with “OR” were also counted twice (once under each relation). The relations Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner, Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner,

and Equative & Anaphoric Instrumental Manner were counted as discrete semantics in this table. Uninvestigated categories, e.g. indirect object, have been eliminated, leaving e.g. Location & Indirect Object as a monosemantic Location. For the sake of the ensuing discussion, Agent has been retained in the table.

Table 123: The total number of annotated discrete relations in the corpus (4,490x), arranged by frequency of the discrete relation

No. by freq.	Σ	Link	Times per article	As % of 4,490x	Sum (1-n)	Sum % (1-n)
1	921	Location	7.03	20.51	921	20.51
2	306	TEMP punctual	2.34	6.82	1227	27.33
3	224	Nominal Purpose	1.71	4.99	1451	32.32
4	169	TEMP 'during'	1.29	3.76	1620	36.08
5	155	Manner	1.18	3.45	1775	39.53
6	135	Cause	1.03	3.01	1910	42.54
7	122	Countersequential	0.93	2.72	2032	45.26
8	116	Concerning	0.89	2.58	2148	47.84
9	106	Purpose	0.81	2.36	2254	50.20
10	100	Location of Utterance	0.76	2.23	2354	52.43
11	97	Context	0.74	2.16	2451	54.59
12	89	Expanding Paraphrase	0.68	1.98	2540	56.57
	89	Temporal Succession	0.68	1.98	2629	58.55
13	86	Malefactive	0.66	1.92	2715	60.47
14	84	Instrument	0.64	1.87	2799	62.34
15	78	Instrumental Manner	0.60	1.74	2877	64.08
16	73	Location Broader	0.56	1.63	2950	65.70
	73	Simultaneous	0.56	1.63	3023	67.33
17	70	Same Level Same Subject Addition	0.53	1.56	3093	68.89
18	69	Agent	0.53	1.54	3162	70.42
19	63	Manner Instrument	0.48	1.40	3225	71.83
20	61	Consecutive	0.47	1.36	3286	73.18
21	60	Different Level Different Subject Addition	0.46	1.34	3346	74.52
22	41	Conditional	0.31	0.91	3387	75.43
23	39	ADVERB 'also'	0.30	0.87	3426	76.30
	39	Exemplification	0.30	0.87	3465	77.17
	39	Same Level Different Subject Addition	0.30	0.87	3504	78.04
	39					
24	37	Equative	0.28	0.82	3541	78.86
	37	Graded Exemplification	0.28	0.82	3578	79.69
	37	TEMP 'since'	0.28	0.82	3615	80.51
25	33	Comment	0.25	0.73	3648	81.25
26	32	Numerical Comparative Contrast	0.24	0.71	3680	81.96
27	31	Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner	0.24	0.69	3711	82.65
	31	Inconcomitance	0.24	0.69	3742	83.34

6.11. Summary: List of semantics and their respective expressions, arranged by frequencies

No. by freq.	Σ	Link	Times per article	As % of 4,490x	Sum (1-n)	Sum % (1-n)
28	30	Limitationis	0.23	0.67	3772	84.01
29	29	Lam Auctoris	0.22	0.65	3801	84.65
	29	Paired Contrast	0.22	0.65	3830	85.30
	29	Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	0.22	0.65	3859	85.95
30	28	Associative	0.21	0.62	3887	86.57
	28	Presidency	0.21	0.62	3915	87.19
31	27	Frustration	0.21	0.60	3942	87.80
32	25	Meta-linguistic Comment	0.19	0.56	3967	88.35
33	24	Different Level Same Subject Addition	0.18	0.53	3991	88.89
	24	TEMP 'within'	0.18	0.53	4015	89.42
34	23	Motion Purpose	0.18	0.51	4038	89.93
35	21	TEMP 'earlier'	0.16	0.47	4059	90.40
36	18	ADVERB 'only'	0.14	0.40	4077	90.80
	18	Ethicus	0.14	0.40	4095	91.20
	18	TEMP 'before'	0.14	0.40	4113	91.60
37	16	Adversative	0.12	0.36	4129	91.96
	16	Inconsequential	0.12	0.36	4145	92.32
	16	<i>not x, but y</i>	0.12	0.36	4161	92.67
	16	TEMP 'currently'	0.12	0.36	4177	93.03
38	14	Inclusive Closed Disjunction	0.11	0.31	4191	93.34
	14	Serial Verb	0.11	0.31	4205	93.65
	14	TEMP 'until'	0.11	0.31	4219	93.96
39	13	Indirect question	0.10	0.29	4232	94.25
40	12	TEMP date	0.09	0.27	4244	94.52
41	11	'at least' (with numerative)	0.08	0.24	4255	94.77
	11	Benefactive	0.08	0.24	4266	95.01
	11	Concession	0.08	0.24	4277	95.26
42	10	Negated Disjunction	0.08	0.22	4287	95.48
	10	TEMP 'ago'	0.08	0.22	4297	95.70
	10	TEMP 'immediately'	0.08	0.22	4307	95.92
43	9	TEMP 'until now'	0.07	0.20	4316	96.12
44	8	Exclusive Closed Disjunction	0.06	0.18	4324	96.30
	8	Parenthetical Comment	0.06	0.18	4332	96.48
	8	Possible Consequence	0.06	0.18	4340	96.66
	8	<i>x, not y</i>	0.06	0.18	4348	96.84
45	7	Open Disjunction	0.05	0.16	4355	96.99
	7	TEMP distributive	0.05	0.16	4362	97.15
	7	TEMP 'later'	0.05	0.16	4369	97.31
	7	TEMP 'yet'	0.05	0.16	4376	97.46
46	6	ADVERB 'very'	0.05	0.13	4382	97.59
	6	Degree Consecutive	0.05	0.13	4388	97.73
	6	Mediation	0.05	0.13	4394	97.86
	6	TEMP 'between'	0.05	0.13	4400	98.00
	6	TEMP punctual date	0.05	0.13	4406	98.13
	6	TEMP 'soon'	0.05	0.13	4412	98.26
	6	TEMP 'x times'	0.05	0.13	4418	98.40
47	5	<i>not only x, but also y</i>	0.04	0.11	4423	98.51

No. by freq.	Σ	Link	Times per article	As % of 4,490x	Sum (1-n)	Sum % (1-n)
	5	Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information	0.04	0.11	4428	98.62
48	4	ADVERB 'again'	0.03	0.09	4432	98.71
	4	ADVERB 'at all'	0.03	0.09	4436	98.80
	4	Exception Contrast	0.03	0.09	4440	98.89
	4	TEMP 'as soon as possible'	0.03	0.09	4444	98.98
	4	TEMP 'recently'	0.03	0.09	4448	99.06
49	3	ADVERB '(n)ever'	0.02	0.07	4451	99.13
	3	ADVERB 'eventually'	0.02	0.07	4454	99.20
	3	ADVERB 'first'	0.02	0.07	4457	99.27
	3	Direct question	0.02	0.07	4460	99.33
50	2	ADVERB 'always'	0.02	0.04	4462	99.38
	2	ADVERB 'barely'	0.02	0.04	4464	99.42
	2	ADVERB 'temporarily'	0.02	0.04	4466	99.47
	2	'in exchange for'	0.02	0.04	4468	99.51
	2	<i>instead of x, y</i>	0.02	0.04	4470	99.55
	2	Summarizing Paraphrase	0.02	0.04	4472	99.60
	2	TEMP 'already'	0.02	0.04	4474	99.64
	2	TEMP 'forever'	0.02	0.04	4476	99.69
	2	TEMP 'sometimes'	0.02	0.04	4478	99.73
	2	<i>x instead of y</i>	0.02	0.04	4480	99.78
	2					
51	1	ADVERB 'almost'	0.01	0.02	4481	99.80
	1	ADVERB 'especially'	0.01	0.02	4482	99.82
	1	ADVERB 'even'	0.01	0.02	4483	99.84
	1	ADVERB 'from now on'	0.01	0.02	4484	99.87
	1	Equative & Anaphoric Instrumental Manner	0.01	0.02	4485	99.89
	1	<i>only x and not y</i>	0.01	0.02	4486	99.91
	1	Preposed Condition	0.01	0.02	4487	99.93
	1	TEMP 'again'	0.01	0.02	4488	99.96
	1	TEMP 'whenever'	0.01	0.02	4489	99.98
	1	<i>x, and not only y</i>	0.01	0.02	4490	100.0
	1					
4,490						

The corpus has 1,144x main clauses, or “sentences”. With an average article being 8.7 sentences long (8.7328224...), any semantic relation attested more than 11.45% per sentence will be found on a per article basis.

The following is a discussion on the semantics of the Media Arabic sentence, excluding peripheral indefinite accusative participles and non-deverbalized relative clauses.

In terms of the journalistic question of **where** an event occurs, 80.5% of all sentences state the location of something in relation to something else (7.9% of which also have an additional location, positioning the first location in a broader context, Location Broader); 8.7% also state the Location of Utterance.

Relating to the question of **when** something happens, 26.7% of the sentences come with a punctual temporal reference, and an additional 14.8% of

sentences feature a temporal expression of duration. In addition, 10.7% of all sentences include a Counter-sequential situation answering the question of when in relation to something that occurred earlier, a figure to be compared to the 7.8% of clauses which feature situations in accordance with the order in which the situations occurred in real life (Temporal Succession), and the 6.4% of clauses stating Simultaneous events. 16.9% of all sentences will include an Unordered Addition (with or without additional inferences, *bi*; the figure does not include clausal participles, discussed in 6.4.5, an additional 36.0% of all sentences). These numbers, showing the breaking of the iconic narrative sequencing of sequential events, are explained by information hierarchies: monosemantic Temporal Succession is only attested in 3.8% of the sentences, and the relation is typically not expressed with *Vsuff wa-Vsuff*, but has a wide range of linguistic expressions, including nominalized expressions. An additional 7.9% of all sentences feature an Expanding Paraphrase to further describe situations and entities in a matrix. Excluding relative clauses, 8.5% of all sentences also feature a construction to express the context (Context), again relating to information hierarchies.

3.2% of all sentences contain structures to express the temporal relation ‘since’, 2.1% temporal ‘within’, 1.8% temporal ‘earlier’, 1.6% temporal ‘before’, and 1.4% temporal ‘currently’, arguably to highlight current relevance of the news at hand. These relations together are attested in about 10% of all sentences, making them more than 2.5 times more frequent than Temporal Succession.

The broken narrative structure needs to be considered in relation to the fact that 11.8% of all sentences state a Cause, that 9.6% state the Purpose of a situation, and 19.6% of all sentences state the Purpose of a nominal constituent such as a conference or a talk (Nominal Purpose); all contributing answers to the journalistic **why**. Grammatically, these can be compared to the lower percentage for Consecutive (5.3%), and Degree Consecutive (0.52%), relations which are expected frequently in more traditional narratives.

13.5% of all sentences answer the question of **how** with a construction stating Manner, an additional 7.3% with Instrument, 6.8% with Instrumental Manner, and 5.5% with Manner Instrument. 33% express how with these four semantic relations.

Together with constituents in the predicate and direct object slot of the clause to answer **why** and **what**—the object slot is in 77.9% of all sentences a complement clause—10.1% of the sentences will state what something concerns. 7.5% of all sentences state to whose detriment a situation is (Malefactive), but only 0.96% to whose benefit (Benefactive), and an additional 1.6% explicitly indicate by whom a situation or thing is ethically evaluated (Ethicus). In 6.0% of the sentences, an agent is expressed outside the slot of grammatical subject to answer the question of **who** (Agent). That 2.5% of all sentences have a *Lam Auctoris* is also put in relation to the journalistic **who**. Similarly the 3.4% of sentences with Exemplification and the 3.2% with Graded

Exemplification relate to the questions of who and what: the news value of prominence.

Media Arabic is fact oriented, presenting facts. That 2.7% of all sentences include detectable semantics of Inconcomitance (31x), 2.4% of Frustration (27x), 1.4% of Inconsequential (16x), and 0.96% of Concession (11x), or 7.4% for these antiprödicative relations combined, is probably not explained by a Media Arabic interest in logical reasoning. This argument is strengthened by the fact that only 1.4% of sentences feature semantics of *not x, but y*, 0.70% the semantics of *x, not y*, 0.44% the semantics of *not only x, but also y*, 0.35% the semantics of Exception Contrast, and 2.5% for the semantics of Paired Contrast, logico-semantic relations expected to be more frequent in argumentative prose. Also semantics of Conditional and conditional clauses would arguably be higher than the present 3.5% (less than one every three articles, on average) if the register had been intrinsically reasoning. These antiprödicative relations should, however, be put in relation to the 1.4% of sentences with annotated Adversative semantics, a relation typically expressed on a sentence-to-sentence level, and so more often left unannotated. These relations are to be compared to the typical Media Arabic semantics of Presidency, attested in 2.4% of the sentences.

+++

The following list states the semantic relations in the order in which they are given in Table 122, each followed by the constructions through which they are expressed in Media Arabic, as discussed in this book. Each numbered entry in the list states the total number of attestations followed by the number of attestations for non-nominalized expressions in parenthesis. Ambiguous relations (annotated with OR) are listed twice together with a note for each entry (e.g. incl. 1x OR ...), once under each relation type together with a note. The most frequent relation in the corpus is Location with 842x attestations, 11x of which are non-nominalized. This relation is most frequently (540x) expressed by a prepositional phrase with *fī*, and second most frequently (117x) by a prepositional phrase with *bi*-.

A few notes on terminology: (*wa*-)*nisbiyyan* ADV means a peripheral *nisba*-accusative (discussed in 6.8.3.5 and 6.8.3.6); ADV means an adverb of the '*amsi* type as discussed in 6.8.1; and ACC ADV means a peripheral accusative adverb, as discussed in 6.8.3.3.

+++

Table 124: The annotated relations and their linguistic expressions in the corpus, arranged by frequency of the total number of attestations (with count for non-nominalized expressions in parenthesis); note that VoA = verb of attribution

- 1 **842x (11) Location:** 540x *fī* PP | 117x *bi-* PP | 51x *'alā* PP | 18x Cardinal Direction PP | 15x *dāhila* PP | 10x ADV | 8x *ladā* PP | 8x *min* PP | 8x *qurba* PP | 6x *wa-fī* PP | 5x *fawqa* PP | 5x *'ilā* PP | 5x *haytu* VprefL (relative) | 4x *hāriḡa* PP | 4x *li-* PP | 4x *wa-hawla* PP | 4x *haytu* Vsuff (relative) | 3x *hawla* PP | 3x *min dāhila* PP | 2x *'abra* PP | 2x *'inda* PP | 2x ACC ADV | 2x *'amāma* PP | 2x *bayna* PP | 2x *ḡimna* PP | 2x *qibālata* PP | 2x *waṣṭa* PP | 1x *hawla mā* VprefL | 1x *maṣḡaran* | 1x *min 'alā* PP | 1x *nisbiyyan* ADV | 1x *taḡta* PP | 1x *wa-bi-* PP | 1x *wa-dāhila* PP | 1x *haytu* NCl (relative)
- 2 **302x (0) TEMP punctual:** 148x ADV | 84x ACC ADV | 58x *fī* PP | 3x *bi-* PP | 3x *waḡta* PP | 2x *munḡu* PP | 2x *wa-ba 'da* PP | 1x *hīna-hā* PP | 1x *ba 'da* PP
- 3 **223x (4) Nominal Purpose:** 190x *li-maṣḡar* PP (incl. 3x OR Concerning; 2x OR Purpose; and 1x OR Simultaneous) | 16x *min* PP | 6x *bi-* PP | 4x *fī* PP | 2x *maṣḡaran* | 1x *li-VprefA* | 1x *naḡwa* PP | 1x *wa-ḡālika maṣḡaran* NCl | 1x *wa-ḡālika min* PP NCl | 1x *wa-ḡālika fī* PP NCl
- 4 **153x (6) TEMP 'during':** 55x *hilāla* PP | 46x *fī* PP | 16x ACC ADV | 11x *li-* PP | 10x *'alā* PP | 4x *wa-ḡālika hilāla* PP NCl | 3x *wa-li-* PP | 2x *'ibbāna* PP | 1x *'atnā 'a* PP | 1x *munḡu* PP | 1x *ṭiwāla* PP | 1x *wa-ḡālika fī* PP NCl | 1x *wa-ḡālika li-* PP NCl | 1x *wa-fī* PP
- 5 **139x (14) Manner:** 55x *bi-* PP | 13x *maṣḡaran* | 8x *nisbiyyan* ADV | 7x *'alā* PP | 5x ACC ADV | 5x *waḡa* PP | 4x ADV | 4x *kamā* Vsuff | 3x *ḡasaba* PP | 3x *ṭibqan li-* PP | 2x *'inda* PP | 2x *hāriḡa* PP | 2x *kamā* NCl | 2x *wa-fī* PP | 2x *waḡan li-* PP | 1x *'alā mā hw* NCl | 1x *'alā naḡwi 'anna-h* NCl | 1x *bi-mā* VprefL | 1x *fī* PP | 1x *ḡattā* PP | 1x *'ilā* PP | 1x *ka-* PP | 1x *lā min* PP | 1x *min* PP | 1x *miṭlamā* VprefL | 1x PTC INDEF ACT ACC | 1x *taḡta* PP | 1x *ṭayya* PP | 1x *wa-'alā* PP | 1x *wa-bi-* PP | 1x *wa-ḡālika 'alā* PP NCl | 1x *waḡan li-mā* VprefL | 1x *waḡan li-mā* Vsuff | 1x *wa-ka-'anna-h* NCl (also complement to verb) | 1x *wa-lā min* PP | 1x *wa-nisbiyyan* ADV | 1x *wa-waḡa* PP
- 6 **102x (7) Concerning:** 38x *hawla* PP | 32x *bi-* PP | 12x *'an* PP | 4x *'alā* PP | 4x *fīmā* VprefL | 3x *fī* PP | 3x *li-maṣḡar* (incl. 3x OR Nominal Purpose) | 1x *'alā 'an yatimma maṣḡar* | 1x *hawla mā* Vsuff | 1x *ḡiyāla* PP | 1x *bi-mā* VprefL | 1x *'izā 'a* PP | 1x *nisbiyyan* ADV
- 7 **98x (2) Location of Utterance:** 91x *fī* PP | 4x *'alā* PP | 2x *wa-ḡālika fī* PP NCl | 1x *bi-* PP
- 8 **94x (27) Purpose:** 50x *li-maṣḡar* PP (incl. 2x OR Nominal Purpose; and 1x OR Simultaneous) | 7x *bi-mā* VprefL | 7x *li-VprefA* (incl. 1x OR Motion Purpose) [see discussion in 6.9] | 7x *min* PP | 4x *bi-haytu* VprefL | 4x *fī* PP | 4x *wa-ḡālika li-maṣḡar* PP NCl | 3x *bi-* PP | 2x *ḡattā* VprefL | 2x *maṣḡaran* | 1x *'alā* PP | 1x *buḡyata* PP | 1x *wa-ḡālika bi-* PP NCl | 1x *man* future VprefL (is also direct object)
- 9 **73x (0) Location Broader:** 33x Cardinal Direction PP | 28x *bi-* PP | 6x *fī* PP | 2x ACC ADV | 2x *qurba* PP | 1x *'alā* PP | 1x *waṣṭa* PP
- 10 **68x (0) Malefactive:** 40x *ḡidda* PP | 10x *'alā* PP | 6x *bi-* PP | 3x *li-* PP | 3x *tuḡāha* PP | 2x *'amāma* PP | 1x *fī* PP | 1x *'izā 'a* PP | 1x *ma 'a* PP | 1x *wa-'alā* PP
- 11 **65x (12) Countersequential:** 42x *ba 'da* PP | 7x *'aqiba* PP | 5x *ba 'da 'an* Vsuff | 2x *fawra* PP | 2x *wa-ḡālika ba 'da 'an* Vsuff | 2x *wa-ḡālika ba 'da* PP NCl | 1x *'alā* PP | 1x *ba 'da 'an yakūna qad fa 'ala* (future temporal anchoring) | 1x *ba 'damā* Vsuff | 1x *fawran ba 'da* PP | 1x *wa-ba 'da ḡālika* Vsuff

- 12 **62x (1) Manner Instrument:** 30x *bi-* PP | 9x *tahta* PP | 5x *fî* PP | 5x *min hîlâli* PP | 3x *'abra* PP | 3x *min* PP | 3x *nisbiyyan* ADV | 2x *maşðaran* | 1x *hîlâla* PP | 1x *fîmâ* Vsuff (VoA)
- 13 **58x (3) Instrumental Manner:** 21x *bi-* PP | 12x *fî* PP | 8x *ğarrâ'a* PP | 4x *min hîlâli* PP | 3x *maşðaran* | 2x *'itra* PP | 2x *min* PP | 2x *wa-dâlika 'abra* PP NCI | 1x *'atnâ'a* PP | 1x *'aw +* PP | 1x *li-maşðar* PP | 1x *wa-dâlika min hîlâli* PP NCI
- **58x (44) Temporal Succession:** 15x *wa-Vsuff* | 7x *qabla* PP | 5x *qabla 'an* VprefA | 4x *wa-future* VprefL | 3x *wa-VprefL* | 2x *wa-maşðaran* | 2x *wa-NCI* | 1x *ba'da* PP (preposed) | 1x *bi-* PP (preposed *bi-muğarradi + maşðar*, 'as soon as') | 1x *fa-Vsuff* | 1x *future* VprefL (*sa-yatimmu maşðar*) | 1x *maşðaran* | 1x *tumma ilâ* PP | 1x *tumma maşðar* | 1x *wa-'alâ 'itri-hâ* future VprefL | 1x *wa-ba'da 'an* Vsuff (preposed: after x, y) | 1x *wa-ba'da dâlika* Vsuff | 1x *wa-bi-* PP Vsuff (*wa-bi-dawrihi* Vsuff) | 1x *wa-dâlika qubayla* PP NCI | 1x *wa-hâdâ* NCI | 1x *wa-lâ* VprefL [or main clause, see discussion in 6.1.2.4] | 1x *wa-mâ* NEG Vsuff (*mâ labîta*) | 1x *wa-min tumma qad* VprefL | 1x *wa-min tummax* VprefL | 1x *wa-qad* Vsuff | 1x VprefL | 1x Vsuff
- 14 **56x (40) Expanding Paraphrase:** 19x *wa-hw* NCI | 5x *wa-VprefL* | 4x *'aqiba* PP | 3x NCI | 2x *'indamâ* Vsuff | 2x *fî* PP | 2x *haytu* Vsuff (incl. 1x VoA) | 2x *min* PP | 1x *'ibâratan 'an* PP | 1x *'ay* noun | 1x *'ay qurba* PP | 1x *bi-* PP | 1x *fa-NCI* | 1x *haytu* VprefL | 1x *'illâ 'anna* S Vsuff (VoA) | 1x *'itra* PP | 1x *li-'anna* NCI | 1x *li-VprefA* | 1x *ma'a* PP | 1x *maşðaran* (incl. 1x OR Motion Purpose) | 1x *li-maşðar* PP | 1x *wa-future* VprefL (*wa-future-yakûnu*) | 1x *wa-NCI* | 1x *wa-Vsuff* | 1x *wa-lam* VprefS
- 15 **53x (52) Same Level Same Subject Addition:** 20x *wa-Vsuff* | 15x *wa-VprefL* | 5x *wa-VprefL* | 2x *wa-future* VprefL (incl. 1x future-*yakûnu*) | 2x VprefL (incl. 1x OR Motion Purpose) | 2x Vsuff | 1x *ka-dâlika* VprefL | 1x *kamâ lam* VprefS | 1x *kamâ* Vsuff | 1x *wa-lâ* VprefL | 1x *wa-lam* VprefS | 1x *wa-lan* VprefA | 1x *wa-maşðaran*
- 16 **51x (16) Cause:** 18x *bi-* PP | 4x *li-maşðar* PP ($\leq 4x$, see discussion in 6.9) | 3x *naðaran li-* PP (incl. 1x preposed) | 2x *li-'anna* NCI | 2x *natîğata* PP | 2x *wa-dâlika maşðaran* NCI | 2x *wa-ma'a* PP (incl. 1x preposed) | 1x *'alâ 'an* VprefA (incl. 1x OR Paired Contrast) | 1x *ba'da* PP | 1x *haytu* Vsuff | 1x *ğarrâ'a* PP | 1x *li-'anna* front dislocation NCI | 1x *li-'anna* S *lam* VprefS | 1x *li-'anna* S *lâ* VprefL | 1x *li-'anna* S Vsuff | 1x *li-'anna-h* NCI | 1x *li-'anna-h* VprefL | 1x *li-'anna-h* Vsuff | 1x NCI (preposed) | 1x *min* PP | 1x *maşðaran* | 1x *natîğatan li-* PP | 1x *wa-li-kawni* S Vsuff (*kâna*) | 1x *wa-lâkin(na)* S Vsuff (see discussion) | 1x *wa-lâkinna-h* NCI (incl. 1x OR *not x, but y*)
- **51x (0) Instrument:** 43x *bi-* PP | 3x *min hîlâli* PP | 2x *fî* PP | 2x *min* PP | 1x *ma'a* PP
- 17 **48x (5) Context:** 28x *fî* PP | 5x *ðimna* PP | 5x *li-* PP | 3x *'alâ* PP | 1x *hîlâla* PP | 1x *fîmâ* VprefL | 1x *wa-ba'ðu-h* NCI | 1x *wa-dâlika fî* PP NCI | 1x *wa-fî* PP | 1x *wa-NCI* | 1x *wa-VprefL*
- 18 **46x (22) Simultaneous:** 13x *fî* PP | 4x *wa-hw* VprefL | 3x *li-maşðar* PP (incl. 1x OR Purpose; and 1x OR Nominal Purpose) | 3x *ladâ* PP | 3x *wa-NCI* (dubious morphology, see discussion) | 3x *wa-hw* NCI | 2x *'atnâ'a* PP | 2x *ma'a* PP | 2x *fîmâ* Vsuff (focal) | 1x *'indamâ* Vsuff | 1x *fî hîni* VprefL | 1x *fîmâ lâ* VprefL (*lâ tazâlu*) | 1x *'idâ mâ* Vsuff | 1x *wa-dâlika ma'a* PP NCI | 1x *wa-lâ* VprefL | 1x *waşta* PP | 1x *wa-VprefL* | 1x *wa-Vsuff* | 1x VprefL | 1x *hîna* VprefL (*yatimmu maşðar*)
- 19 **39x (0) ADVERB 'also':** 21x ADV | 7x *wa-ka-* PP | 6x *fî* PP | 2x *ka-* PP | 2x *wa-ADV* | 1x *wa-fî* PP

- 20 **38x (31) Different Level Different Subject Addition:** 4x *baynamā* Vsuff | 4x *fī hīni* Vsuff (incl. 2x with VoA) | 4x *fīmā* Vsuff | 4x *wa-VprefL* | 3x *wasta* PP | 3x *wa-Vsuff* | 2x *bi-l- 'idāfati 'ilā* PP | 2x *fī* PP | 2x *haytu* Vsuff (incl. 1x VoA) OR Location bi Temporal Succession) | 1x *'alay-h* NCl | 1x *hādā fīmā* Vsuff (VoA) | 1x *hādā* NCl | 1x *kamā 'anna* front dislocation *yatimma maşdar-h* | 1x *kamā 'anna* NCl | 1x *kamā* VprefL | 1x *wa-lākin(na)* Vsuff (VoA) | 1x *wa-qad* Vsuff | 1x VprefL | 1x *fa-future* VprefL
- 21 **36x (5) Equative:** 17x *ka-* PP | 5x *bi-* PP | 4x *maşdaran* (incl. 1x OR Predicate) | 3x *wa-ḡālika maşdaran* NCl | 2x *fī* PP | 2x PTC INDEF ACT ACC | 1x *li-VprefA* | 1x noun ACC | 1x *wa-ḡālika fī* PP NCl
- **36x (1) TEMP 'since':** 34x *munḡu* PP | 1x *min* PP | 1x *munḡu 'an* Vsuff (VoA)
- 22 **35x (30) Exemplification:** 8x *bayna-h* NCl | 7x *min bayni-h* NCl | 5x *miṭla* PP | 4x *bi-mā fī ḡālika* NCl | 2x *wa-Vsuff* (only *wa-kāna*) | 2x *wa-min bayni-h* NCl | 1x *bi-mā fī ḡālika min* PP NCl | 1x *bi-mā fī-h* NCl | 1x *bi-man fī-h* NCl | 1x *min ḡimni-h* NCl | 1x *min-h* NCl | 1x *wa-min ḡimni-h* NCl | 1x *wa-NCl*
- 23 **34x (34) Same Level Different Subject Addition:** 13x *wa-VprefL* | 8x *wa-Vsuff* | 3x Vsuff | 2x VprefL (incl. 1x OR Motion Purpose) | 1x *fa-hw lan* VprefA | 1x *kamā 'anna* S Vsuff | 1x *kamā lam* VprefS | 1x *kamā* VprefL | 1x *kamā* Vsuff | 1x *wa-future* VprefL | 1x *wa-S* VprefL | 1x *li-VprefA* (incl. 1x OR Consecutive)
- 24 **33x (20) Conditional:** 12x *fī* PP | 7x *'idā* Vsuff (incl. 4x preposed) | 4x *'idā lam* VprefS (incl. 2x preposed) | 2x *fī ḡālī* Vsuff | 2x *'idā mā* Vsuff (incl. 1x *tamma maşdar*) | 2x *law* Vsuff (incl. 2x preposed) | 1x *'alā 'an* VprefA | 1x *'in* Vsuff | 1x *mā* Vsuff [*mā dāma*] | 1x *wa-fī* PP (preposed)
- 25 **31x (31) Consecutive:** 14x *mimmā* Vsuff | 4x *mā* Vsuff | 3x *li-VprefA* | 1x *li-ḡā* NCl | 1x *mimmā* VprefL | 1x *wa-'alā* PP *maşdar* NCl | 1x *wa-lā* VprefL | 1x *wa-li-ḡālika* VprefL | 1x *wa-li-ḡālika lan yatimma maşdar* (incl. 1x negated) | 1x *wa-mā 'adā* PP NCl (see discussion) | 1x *wa-Vsuff* | 1x *li-VprefA* (incl. 1x OR Same Level Different Subject Addition) | 1x *wa-VprefL*
- **31x (20) Numerical Comparative Contrast:** 9x *wa-Vsuff* | 4x *baynamā* Vsuff | 3x *fīmā* Vsuff | 2x *bi-l-'idāfati 'ilā* PP | 2x *fī* PP | 2x *'idāfatan 'ilā* PP | 2x *maşdaran* | 1x *ba'da* PP | 1x *bi-* PP | 1x *fī hīni* Vsuff | 1x *'ilā* PP | 1x *mimmā* VprefL | 1x *wa-hw mā* VprefL (NCl) | 1x *wa-hw* NCl | [+ 1x preposed partitive *min bayni-h* + REL in a complement main clause as *X fa-'inna* S Vsuff, see discussion in 5.3.4.4]
- 26 **30x (24) Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner:** 10x *haytu* Vsuff (incl. 1x OR Location bi Temporal Succession) | 5x *wa-Vsuff* | 3x *bi-* PP | 2x *li-maşdar* PP | 1x *'indamā* Vsuff | 1x *bi-haytu* VprefL | 1x *haytu 'inna-h* VprefL | 1x *ḡinamā* Vsuff | 1x *'illā 'anna-h* VprefL | 1x *maşdaran* | 1x NCl | 1x *wa-future* VprefL | 1x *wa-laysa* NCl | 1x *wa-laday-h* NCl
- 27 **29x (0) Lam Auctoris:** 29x *li-* PP
- 28 **26x (3) Inconcomitance:** 11x *dūna* PP | 6x *bi-dūni* PP | 2x *'alā l-raḡmi min* PP | 2x *wa-dūna* PP | 1x *bi-* PP | 1x *bi-lā* PP | 1x *dūna 'an* VprefA | 1x *wa-ḡālika raḡma* PP NCl | 1x *wa-VprefL*
- **26x (3) Presidency:** 16x *bi-* PP | 4x *taḡta* PP | 3x *wa-'alā ra'si-h* NCl | 2x *'alā* PP | 1x *wa-bi-* PP
- 29 **24x (24) Comment:** 7x *wa-huwa mā* VprefL (NCl) (see discussion) | 6x *mimmā* VprefL | 3x *mimmā* Vsuff (incl. 1x as part of an evaluating comment) | 2x *wa-huwa mā* Vsuff (NCl) (see discussion) | 1x *al-'amru* | 1x *wa-ḡālika ma'a* PP NCl | 1x *wa-hāḡā* NCl | 1x *wa-hāḡā* VprefL | 1x *wa-huwa mā* future-*yakūnu* (NCl) | 1x *wa-hw* NCl (evaluating comment)

- **24x (0) Limitationis:** 11x *fī* PP | 3x *bi-* PP | 3x noun ACC | 2x '*alā* PP | 2x '*izā* 'a PP | 2x *wa*-noun ACC | 1x ACC ADV
- **24x (6) Motion Purpose:** 13x *li-maṣḍar* PP | 4x VprefL (incl. 1x OR Same Level Same Subject Addition; and 1x OR Same Level Different Subject Addition) | 2x *bi-* PP | 1x *fī* PP | 1x *laysa faqaṭ li-maṣḍar* PP | 1x *maṣḍaran* (incl. 1x OR Expanding Paraphrase) | 1x *wa*-Vsuff | 1x *li*-VprefA (incl. 1x OR Purpose)
- **24x (0) TEMP 'within':** 18x *hīlāla* PP | 5x *fī* PP | 1x *wa-fī* PP
- 30 22x (0) Agent:** 14x *min* PP | 5x *li-* PP (see discussion in 6.9) | 2x *wa-nisbiyyan* ADV | 1x *nisbiyyan* ADV
- **22x (0) Agent & Origin:** 22x *min* PP
- **22x (4) Associative:** 14x *bi-* PP | 2x *ma* 'a PP | 1x *bi-mā* VprefL | 1x *dālika fī* PP NCI | 1x '*ilā* PP | 1x *wa-bi-* PP | 1x *wa-ma* 'a-h NCI | 1x *wa-man warā* 'a PP NCI (also headless relative)
- 31 21x (4) Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner:** 10x *maṣḍaran* | 6x *li-maṣḍar* PP | 1x *wa-dālika maṣḍaran* NCI | 1x *wa-bi-hādā* VprefL | 1x *hayṭu* VprefL | 1x *wa-dālika li-maṣḍar* PP NCI | 1x *wa-li-* PP
- **21x (0) TEMP 'earlier':** 6x *min* PP | 6x PTC INDEF ACT ACC | 5x *fī* PP | 3x *qabla* PP | 1x PTC INDEF PASS ACC
- 32 20x (4) Countersequential bi Context bi Cause:** 7x *ba* 'da PP | 6x *binā* 'an '*alā* PP | 2x *munḍu* PP | 2x *wa-dālika ba* 'da PP NCI | 1x *ba* 'da 'an Vsuff | 1x '*iṭra* PP | 1x *wa-dālika* '*iṭra* PP NCI
- **20x (7) Graded Exemplification:** 4x *wa-fī muqaddimati-h* NCI | 3x *wa-hāṣṣatan + noun* | 2x *lā siyyamā + nominal* | 2x *wa-lā siyyamā + nominal* | 1x NCI | 1x *qabla* PP | 1x *wa-* '*alā l-* 'aḥaṣṣi NCI | 1x *wa-maṣḍaran* | 1x *hāṣṣatan mā* VprefL | 1x *huṣūṣan bi-* PP | 1x *huṣūṣan ma* 'a PP | 1x *huṣūṣan* noun | 1x *hāṣṣatan li-* PP | [see also ADV 'especially']
- 33 18x (4) Countersequential bi Cause:** 4x *ba* 'da PP | 3x '*aqiba* PP | 3x *bi-* PP (incl. 1x *bi-muḡarradi + maṣḍar*, 'as soon as') | 3x '*iṭra* PP | 2x *ba* 'da 'an Vsuff | 2x *ba* 'damā Vsuff (incl. 1x VoA) | 1x *natīgata* PP
- **18x (17) Different Level Same Subject Addition:** 3x *wa*-VprefL | 2x *wa*-Vsuff | 1x *faḍlan* 'an PP | 1x *fī hīni* Vsuff | 1x *hayṭu* VprefL | 1x *ka-dālika* VprefL | 1x *kamā* VprefL | 1x *wa*-future-VprefL | 1x *wa-qad* VprefL | 1x *wa-rubbamā* VprefL | 1x *wa-hw* NCI | 1x VprefL | 1x Vsuff | 1x *kamā* 'anna-h lan VprefA (comparable to second complement) | 1x *wa*-NCI | [see also clausal participles (412x), in 6.4.5]
- **18x (1) Location & Instrument:** 6x '*alā* PP | 4x '*abra* PP | 3x *bi-* PP | 2x *fī* PP | 1x *bi-mā* VprefL | 1x '*an* PP | 1x *taḥta* PP
- **18x (0) TEMP 'before':** 8x *bi-* PP | 8x *qabla* PP | 2x ACC ADV
- 34 17x (0) ADVERB 'only':** 13x ADV | 3x *siwā* PP (lexically conditioned) | 1x *fa-ḥaṣb*
- **17x (12) Frustration:** 4x *dūna* PP | 2x '*illā* 'anna S Vsuff | 1x *dūna* 'an VprefA | 1x *ḡayra* 'anna S Vsuff | 1x '*illā* 'anna-h NCI | 1x '*illā* 'anna-h-Vsuff | 1x *lākin(na) lam* VprefS | 1x *lākin(na) dūna + nominal* | 1x *lākinna-h* future VprefL | 1x *lākinna-h lam* VprefS | 1x *wa-lākin(na)* front dislocation future-yatimmu *maṣḍar* | 1x *wa-lam* VprefS | 1x *wa*-Vsuff
- 35 16x (0) TEMP 'currently':** 8x *nisbiyyan* ADV | 5x ACC ADV | 3x *fī* PP
- 36 15x (10) not x, but y:** 2x *lākin(na)* NCI | 1x *bal* adj | 1x *bal fī* PP | 1x *bal min hīlālī* PP | 1x *bal* noun | 1x *bal* Vsuff | 1x NCI | 1x *wa-* 'innamā future VprefL | 1x *wa-* 'innamā *maṣḍar* | 1x *wa-* 'inna-mā NCI | 1x *wa-lākinna-h kāna* | 1x *wa-lākinna-h* NCI (incl. 1x OR Cause) | 1x *wa-lākinna-h* VprefL | 1x *wa*-NCI

- 37 **14x (14) Adversative:** 3x *lākin(na)* S Vsuff (VoA) | 2x *lākinna-h/S lam* VprefS | 2x *lākinna-h* Vsuff (VoA) (incl. 1x OR Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Consecutive) | 1x *baynamā* VprefL (VoA)| 1x *baynamā* Vsuff (VoA) | 1x *'illā 'anna* S *lā* VprefL (*lā yazālu*) | 1x *'illā 'anna* S VprefL | 1x *lākin(na)* laysa NCl | 1x *lākin(na)* front dislocation *lan* VprefA | 1x *'illā 'anna-h* Vsuff (VoA)
- **14x (4) Inclusive Closed Disjunction:** 10x *'aw+ nominal* | 4x *'aw+ Vsuff*
- **14x (14) Serial Verb:** 12x VprefL | 2x *wa-Vsuff*
- 38 **13x (0) Instrumental Manner bi TEMP 'during':** 8x *fī* PP | 4x *hīlāla* PP | 1x *ğarrā'a* PP
- **13x (0) Malefactive & Location:** 7x *'alā* PP | 6x *'amāma* PP
- 39 **12x (4) Countersequential bi Context:** 8x *ba'da* PP | 2x *ba'da 'an* Vsuff | 2x *ba'damā* Vsuff
- **12x (9) Indirect question:** 1x *'an* PP | 1x *fīmā 'idā kāna* | 1x *fīmā* VprefL | 1x *kayfiyyat#* (noun) | 1x *li-* PP | 1x *mā* VprefL | 1x *mā 'idā kāna* future-*yatimma maşdar* (which also serves as subject) | 1x *māqā* VprefL | 1x *man* future VprefL | 1x *man* Vsuff | 1x *wa-li-māqā lam yatimma maşdar* | 1x *wa-mā* VprefL
- **12x (7) Meta-linguistic Comment:** 2x *fī* PP | 2x *kamā* VprefL | 1x *bal* Vsuff (corrective) | 1x *bi-* PP | 1x *'idā kāna lā* VprefL (preposed, relevance conditional) | 1x *ma'a* PP | 1x *wa-fī* PP | 1x *wa-'in kāna lā* VprefL (preposed, relevance conditional) | 1x *wa-lā* VprefL | 1x *'idā* Vsuff (*'idā kāna*)
- **12x (0) TEMP date:** 12x *fī* PP
- **12x (3) TEMP 'until':** 6x *hattā* PP | 2x *'ilā 'an* VprefA (incl. 1x *yatimma maşdar*) | 2x *li-* PP | 1x *hattā* VprefL | 1x *'ilā* PP |
- 40 **11x (0) 'at least' (with numerative):** 7x *'alā* PP | 4x *'an* PP
- **11x (0) Instrument & Agent:** 4x *min* PP | 3x *'alā* PP | 3x *bi-* PP | 1x *warā'a* PP
- **11x (0) Location & Indirect Object:** 11x *'amāma* PP
- 41 **10x (2) Negated Disjunction:** 8x *'aw+ nominal* | 1x *'aw* VprefL | 1x *'aw* VprefS
- **10x (10) Meta-linguistic Comment bi Cause:** 2x *fa-NCl* | 2x *fa-S* VprefL | 1x *fa-l-VprefS* | 1x *fa-S rubbamā lā yakūnu* | 1x *hattā lā* Vpref | 1x *'id lā* VprefL | 1x *'id* NCl (preposed) | 1x *wa-NCl* (with *wa-mā* VprefL as subject)|
- **10x (0) TEMP 'ago':** 8x *qabla* PP | 2x *munḍu* PP
- **10x (0) TEMP 'immediately':** 6x *maşḍaran* | 2x *fī* PP | 1x *'alā* PP | 1x ACC ADV
- 42 **9x (0) Benefactive:** 9x *li-* PP
- **9x (2) Concession:** 3x *'alā l-rağmi min* PP | 2x *rağma* PP | 1x *'alā l-rağmi min 'anna-h kāna* | 1x *ma'a* PP | 1x *wa-bi-l-rağmi min* PP | 1x *wa-Vsuff*
- **9x (9) Paired Contrast:** 1x *'alā 'an* VprefA (incl. 1x OR Cause) | 1x *'alā 'an yakūna maşdar* | 1x *baynamā* VprefL | 1x *lākin(na)* NCl | 1x *lākinna-h* NCl | 1x *lākinna-h* VprefL | 1x *lākinna-h* Vsuff (VoA) | 1x *lākin(na)* S VprefL | 1x *fa-'inna ḍālika* future VprefL (*yakūnu*; with a front dislocation (subject))
- **9x (0) TEMP 'until now':** 9x *hattā* PP
- 43 **8x (0) Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Simultaneous:** 7x *waṣṭa* PP | 1x *wa-waṣṭa* PP
- **8x (0) Exclusive Closed Disjunction:** 8x *'aw+ nominal*
- **8x (2) Inconsequential:** 4x *'alā l-rağmi min* PP | 2x *bi-l-rağmi min* PP | 1x *rağma 'anna* S Vsuff | 1x *rağma 'anna-h* Vsuff
- 44 **7x (1) Open Disjunction:** 6x *'aw+ nominal* | 1x *aw mā* VprefL
- **7x (6) Expanding Paraphrase bi Cause:** 2x *hayṭu* Vsuff | 2x *wa-hw* NCl | 1x *'aqiba* PP | 1x *'indamā* Vsuff | 1x *'illā 'anna-h* NCl

- 7x (7) **Possible Consequence:** 3x *mā lam yatimma maşdar* | 1x *hattā lā* Vpref (Negated Consequence type) | 1x *'idā lam* VprefS (preposed) | 1x *'in lam* VprefS (Negated Condition type) | 1x *wa-'illā* future VprefL
- 7x (0) **TEMP distributive:** 3x ACC ADV | 3x *nisbiyyan* ADV | 1x *'alā* PP
- 7x (0) **TEMP 'later':** 2x *fī* PP | 2x *fīmā ba'du* | 1x *bi-'itri-h* PP | 1x *fa-PTC* INDEF ACT ACC | 1x PTC INDEF ACT ACC
- 7x (0) **TEMP 'yet':** 6x ADV | 1x *hattā* PP
- 7x (7) **Temporal Succession bi Consecutive:** 3x *wa-Vsuff* | 1x *fa-Vsuff* | 1x hw NCl | 1x *wa-min tumma qad yakūnu* | 1x *wa-VprefL*
- 45 6x (0) **ADVERB 'very':** 6x *li-* PP
- 6x (0) **Agent & Ethicus:** 2x *ladā* PP | 1x *'alā* PP | 1x *bi-* PP | 1x *li-* PP | 1x *min* PP
- 6x (6) **Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast:** 3x *fīmā* Vsuff | 1x *baynamā* VprefL | 1x *fīmā* NCl | 1x *wa-sabaqa 'an* Vsuff
- 6x (5) **Parenthetical Comment:** 2x *wa-NCl* | 1x *'alā mā* VprefL | 1x *min* PP | 1x *wa-hw* NCl | 1x Vsuff
- 6x (0) **Predicate & Location:** 3x *fī* PP | 2x *'alā* PP | 1x *dāhila* PP
- 6x (0) **TEMP 'between':** 2x *min* PP | 2x *munḍu* PP | 1x *bayna* PP | 1x *mā bayna* PP
- 6x (0) **TEMP punctual date:** 3x ADV | 3x *ba'da* PP
- 6x (0) **TEMP 'soon':** 5x ACC ADV | 1x *hilāla* PP
- 6x (0) **TEMP 'x times':** 6x ACC ADV
- 6x (1) *x, not y:* 5x *wa-laysa* | 1x *wa-lam* VprefS
- 46 5x (0) **Concerning bi Cause:** 5x *'izā'a* PP
- 5x (5) **Degree Consecutive:** 1x *'alā nahwi* Vsuff | 1x *li-darağati 'anna* | 1x *likay* VprefL | 1x *li-VprefA* | 1x *mimmā* VprefL
- 5x (5) **Frustration bi Paired Contrast:** 3x *lākin(na)* S Vsuff | 1x *wa-lākin(na)* front dislocation VprefL | 1x *wa-lākin(na)* S *lan* VprefA
- 5x (2) **Graded Exemplification bi Concerning:** 2x *hāşşatan 'alā* PP | 1x *wa-hāşşatan mā* VprefL | 1x *huşuşan fī* PP | 1x *huşuşan fīmā* VprefL
- 5x (5) **Location bi Expanding Paraphrase:** 3x *haytu* Vsuff (relative) | 1x *fīmā* VprefL (relative) | 1x *haytu* VprefL (relative)
- 5x (0) **Location & Ethicus:** 5x *ladā* PP
- 5x (1) *not only x, but also y:* 1x *bal 'ilā* PP | 1x *bal* noun | 1x *bal wa-noun* | 1x *bal* S NCl | 1x *wa-'innamā li-* PP
- 5x (5) **Paraphrase without Noticeable Loss or Gain in Information bi Instrumental Manner:** 2x *wa-lā* VprefL (only grammatically polarized) | 1x NCl | 1x *wa-lam* VprefS | 1x *wa-VprefL*
- 5x (2) **Simultaneous bi Cause:** 2x *ma'a* PP | 1x *'indamā* Vsuff | 1x *fī* PP | 1x *fīmā* VprefL
- 47 4x (0) **ADVERB 'again':** 3x PTC INDEF PASS ACC | 1x *min* PP
- 4x (0) **ADVERB 'at all':** 3x PTC INDEF PASS ACC | 1x *bi-* PP
- 4x (4) **Comment bi Consecutive:** 2x *al-'amru* | 1x *al-faẓā'atu* | 1x *mimmā* future VprefL
- 4x (0) **Ethicus:** 2x *'amāma* PP | 1x *bi-* PP | 1x *li-* PP
- 4x (2) **Exception Contrast:** 1x *'adā + noun* (see discussion under “*wa-mā 'adā dālika*”) | 1x *bi-* PP | 1x *fa-NCl* (see discussion) | 1x *lākin(na)* S VprefL
- 4x (1) **Graded Exemplification bi Expanding Paraphrase:** 3x *hāşşatan* noun | 1x *wa-hw* VprefL
- 4x (0) **Manner & Limitationis:** 2x noun ACC | 2x *wa-maşdaran*
- 4x (4) **Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Indirect Cause:** 4x *wa-Vsuff*

- 4x (4) **Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Consecutive:** 4x *li*-VprefA [see discussion in 6.9]
- 4x (0) **TEMP ‘as soon as possible’:** 3x *fī* PP | 1x *bi*- PP
- 4x (0) **TEMP ‘recently’:** 2x PTC INDEF PASS ACC | 1x ACC ADV | 1x *li*- PP
- 48 3x (0) **ADVERB ‘(n)ever’:** 2x ACC ADV | 1x ADV
- 3x (0) **ADVERB ‘eventually’:** 3x *fī* PP
- 3x (0) **ADVERB ‘first’:** 3x ACC ADV
- 3x (0) **Context bi Purpose:** 2x *fī* PP | 1x *li-maṣḍar* PP
- 3x (3) **Countersequential bi Inconsequential:** 2x *ba‘damā* Vsuff | 1x *ba‘da* PP
- 3x (2) **Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Cause:** 1x *baynamā* Vsuff | 1x *wa*-VprefL | 1x *wasta* PP
- 3x (0) **Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Context:** 3x *fī* PP
- 3x (3) **Direct question:** 1x *hal* VprefL | 1x *hal* Vsuff | 1x *hal* future VprefL
- 3x (0) **Ethicus & Possession:** 3x *ladā* PP
- 3x (3) **Expanding Paraphrase bi Context:** 2x *wa-hw* NCl | 1x *ḥaytu* VprefL
- 3x (3) **Expanding Paraphrase bi Consecutive:** 1x *ḥaytu lā* VprefL | 1x *ḥaytu* VprefL | 1x *wa*-VprefL
- 3x (3) **Frustration bi Temporal Succession:** 2x ‘*illā ‘anna* S VprefL | 1x ‘*illā ‘anna-h lā* VprefL (*lā yazālu*)
- 3x (0) **Graded Exemplification bi Location:** 1x *wa-hāṣṣatan fī* PP | 1x *ḥāṣṣatan fī* PP | 1x *ḥuṣūṣan fī* PP
- 3x (0) **Inconcomitance bi Conditional:** 3x *bi-dūni* PP (preposed)
- 3x (0) **Instrument & Mediation:** 1x ‘*an* PP | 1x *min ḥilāli* PP | 1x *wa-min ḥilāli* PP
- 3x (0) **Location bi Agent:** 2x *ladā* PP | 1x *ḥalḥa* PP
- 3x (3) **Location bi Temporal Succession:** 3x *ḥaytu* Vsuff (relative; incl. 1x OR Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner; and 1x OR Different Level Different Subject Addition)
- 3x (1) **Manner bi Associative:** 1x ADV | 1x *fīmā bayna-h* NCl | 1x *ma‘a* PP
- 3x (0) **Manner bi Location:** 1x ACC ADV | 1x *fī* PP | 1x *nisbiyyan* ADV
- 3x (0) **Purpose bi Temporal Succession:** 3x *li-maṣḍar* PP
- 3x (3) **Same Level Different Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession:** 1x *wa*-VprefL | 1x *wa*-Vsuff | 1x Vsuff
- 3x (3) **Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Consecutive:** 2x *wa*-VprefL | 1x *lākinna-h* Vsuff (VoA) (incl. 1x OR Adversative)
- 3x (3) **Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Instrumental Manner:** 1x *ḥaytu* future VprefL | 1x *wa*-VprefL | 1x *wa*-Vsuff | [+ 1x *wa*-future VprefL (*wa-sa-yatimmu maṣḍar* (pl.) *ḥilāla-h*), annotated as bi Simultaneous]
- 49 2x (0) **ADVERB ‘always’:** 1x PTC INDEF ACT ACC + *mā* (*dā‘iman mā*) | 1x *maṣḍaran*
- 2x (0) **ADVERB ‘barely’:** 2x *bi*- PP
- 2x (0) **ADVERB ‘temporarily’:** 2x PTC INDEF PASS ACC
- 2x (2) **Comment bi Purpose:** 1x *hādā* future-VprefL | 1x *mimmā* VprefL
- 2x (0) **Concerning & Malefactive:** 1x *ḥiyāla* PP | 1x *tuḡāha* PP
- 2x (1) **Context & Cause:** 1x ‘*alā ‘an yatimma maṣḍar* | 1x *taḥta* PP
- 2x (2) **Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Consecutive:** 2x *wa*-Vsuff

- 2x (2) **Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession:** 1x VprefL | 1x *wa-qad* VprefL
- 2x (2) **Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Simultaneous:** 1x VprefL | 1x *wa-hw* VprefL
- 2x (2) **Exemplification & Instrumental Manner:** 1x *bi-mā fī dālika* 'abra PP NCI | 1x *haytu* Vsuff
- 2x (1) **Graded Exemplification bi Cause:** 1x *huṣūṣan ma'a* PP | 1x *hāṣṣatan ba'da* 'an Vsuff
- 2x (0) **'in exchange for':** 2x *muqābila* PP
- 2x (2) **instead of x, y:** 1x *kāna* VprefL (preposed) | 1x *wa-badalan* 'an 'an VprefA (preposed)
- 2x (0) **Instrumental Manner bi Cause:** 1x *bi-* PP | 1x *wa-bi-* PP
- 2x (2) **Location bi Expanding Paraphrase bi Consecutive:** 2x *haytu* Vsuff (relative)
- 2x (0) **Location bi Context:** 1x *dāhila* PP | 1x *fī* PP
- 2x (0) **Location & Manner:** 2x *'alā* PP
- 2x (0) **Mediation:** 2x *bi-* PP
- 2x (2) **Same Level Different Subject Addition bi Consecutive:** 1x *wa-* VprefL | 1x *wa-* Vsuff
- 2x (2) **Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Expanding Paraphrase:** 1x *wa-* VprefL | 1x *wa-* Vsuff
- 2x (1) **Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Temporal Succession:** 2x *wa-* Vsuff
- 2x (0) **Simultaneous bi Cause bi Conditional:** 2x *ma'a* PP
- 2x (2) **Simultaneous bi Consecutive:** 1x *wa-hw* NCI | 1x *wa-S lā* VprefL
- 2x (0) **Simultaneous & Malefactive:** 2x *fī* PP
- 2x (0) **Summarizing Paraphrase Anaphoric Instrumental Manner bi Purpose:** 1x *fī* PP | 1x *maṣḍaran*
- 2x (2) **Summarizing Paraphrase bi Context:** 1x *wa-* NCI | 1x *wa-hw* NCI
- 2x (0) **TEMP 'already':** 2x *bi-* PP
- 2x (0) **TEMP 'forever':** 2x *'ilā* PP
- 2x (0) **TEMP 'sometimes':** 2x ACC ADV
- 2x (2) **Temporal Succession bi Frustration:** 1x *tumma* VprefL | 1x *wa-lam* VprefS
- 2x (0) **x instead of y:** 2x *badalan min* PP

The remaining relations are *hapax*:

- 50 1x (0) **ADVERB 'almost':** 1x *maṣḍaran*
- 1x (0) **ADVERB 'especially':** 1x *'alā* PP
- 1x (0) **ADVERB 'even':** 1x ADV
- 1x (0) **ADVERB 'from now on':** 1x *min* PP
- 1x (1) **Adversative bi Temporal Succession:** 1x *gayra 'anna* S Vsuff (VoA)
- 1x (0) **Agent & Benefactive:** 1x *li-* PP
- 1x (0) **Agent & Location:** 1x *'alā* PP
- 1x (0) **Agent & Mediation:** 1x *min* PP
- 1x (0) **Agent & Reciprocal:** 1x *bayna* PP
- 1x (1) **Comment bi Adversative:** 1x *al-'amru*
- 1x (1) **Comment bi Cause:** 1x *wa-hādā* NCI
- 1x (0) **Concerning bi Expanding Paraphrase:** 1x *hawla* PP

6.11. Summary: List of semantics and their respective expressions, arranged by frequencies

- 1x (1) **Concession bi Meta-linguistic Comment:** 1x *hattā wa-'in kāna* (preposed)
- 1x (1) **Concession bi Paired Contrast:** 1x *bi-l-rağmi min 'anna* S Vsuff (preposed)
- 1x (0) **Conditional bi Cause:** 1x *natīgata* PP
- 1x (0) **Context bi Manner:** 1x *ma 'a* PP
- 1x (0) **Countersequential bi Conditional 'only':** 1x *'illā + ba 'da* PP
- 1x (1) **Different Level Different Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast bi Presidency:** 1x *baynamā* VprefL
- 1x (1) **Different Level Same Subject Addition bi Consecutive:** 1x *wa-* VprefL
- 1x (0) **Equative & Anaphoric Instrumental Manner:** 1x *maşḍaran*
- 1x (0) **Expanding Paraphrase bi Countersequential:** 1x *ba 'da* PP
- 1x (1) **Expanding Paraphrase bi Exemplification:** 1x *haytu* Vsuff
- 1x (1) **Expanding Paraphrase bi Meta-linguistic Comment:** 1x *haytu* VprefL
- 1x (1) **Expanding Paraphrase bi Parenthetical Comment:** 1x *wa-hw* NCl
- 1x (1) **Expanding Paraphrase bi Relative to clause:** 1x *haytu* Vsuff
- 1x (1) **Expanding Paraphrase Instrumental Manner bi Cause bi Exemplification:** 1x *haytu* Vsuff
- 1x (0) **Graded Exemplification bi Associative:** 1x *hāşşatan ma 'a* PP
- 1x (0) **Graded Exemplification bi TEMP punctual:** 1x *huşuşan fī* PP
- 1x (0) **Inconcomitance bi Paired Contrast:** 1x *'alā l-rağmi min* PP
- 1x (1) **Inconsequential bi Paired Contrast:** 1x *lākin(na)* S kāna
- 1x (1) **Concerning bi Indirect question:** 1x *fīmā* VprefL
- 1x (0) **Limitationis bi Graded Exemplification:** 1x *bi-* PP
- 1x (0) **Location & Benefactive & Limitationis:** 1x *nisbiyyan* ADV
- 1x (0) **Location of Utterance Instrument:** 1x *fī* PP
- 1x (0) **Malefactive bi Conditional:** 1x *ḍidda* PP
- 1x (0) **Manner & Associative:** 1x *bi-* PP
- 1x (0) **Manner Instrument bi TEMP 'during':** 1x *min ḥilālī* PP
- 1x (0) **Manner & Predicate:** 1x ACC ADV
- 1x (1) **Meta-linguistic Comment bi Paired Contrast:** 1x *wa-rağma 'anna-h lā* VprefL (preposed)
- 1x (0) **Nominal Purpose & Simultaneous:** 1x *li-maşḍar* PP (incl. 1x OR Annexation)
- 1x (1) **not x, but y bi Paired Contrast:** 1x *wa-lākin(na)* NCl
- 1x (1) **Numerical Comparative Contrast & Purpose:** 1x *bi-mā* VprefL
- 1x (1) **only x and not y:** 1x *wa-lā* NCl
- 1x (1) **Paired Contrast bi Inconsequential:** 1x *wa-ḍālīka rağma* PP NCl
- 1x (1) **Parenthetical Comment bi Presidency:** 1x VprefL
- 1x (0) **Predicate & Agent & Origin:** 1x *min* PP
- 1x (0) **Predicate & Cause:** 1x *maşḍaran*
- 1x (0) **Predicate bi Associative:** 1x *bi-* PP
- 1x (0) **Predicate bi Motion Purpose:** 1x *bi-* PP
- 1x (0) **Predicate & Manner:** 1x *wa-fī* PP
- 1x (0) **Preposed Condition:** 1x *wafqan li-* PP (relation attested 3x, see 5.3.4.3)
- 1x (1) **Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Countersequential:** 1x *wa-* VprefL

- 1x (1) **Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Paired Contrast:** 1x *wa-Vsuff*
- 1x (1) **Same Level Same Subject Addition bi Simultaneous:** 1x *wa-future VprefL (wa-sa-yatimmu maşdar (pl.) ħilāla-h)* [OR bi Instrumental Manner (not annotated)]
- 1x (1) **Simultaneous bi Expanding Paraphrase:** 1x *wa-hw VprefL*
- 1x (0) **TEMP ‘again’:** 1x ACC ADV
- 1x (0) **TEMP ‘during’ bi Cause:** 1x *ħilāla* PP
- 1x (0) **TEMP ‘during’ bi Location of Utterance:** 1x *fī* PP
- 1x (0) **TEMP punctual bi Cause:** 1x *bi-* PP
- 1x (0) **TEMP punctual bi Inconcomitance:** 1x *fī* PP
- 1x (0) **TEMP punctual bi Location:** 1x ADV
- 1x (0) **TEMP ‘since’ & Countersequential bi Inconsequential:** 1x *munḍu* PP
- 1x (1) **TEMP ‘until’ bi Possible Consequence:** 1x *wa-ḥattā yatimma maşdar* (preposed, Negated Condition type)
- 1x (0) **TEMP ‘whenever’:** 1x *fī* PP
- 1x (0) **Temporal Succession bi Context:** 1x *qabla* PP
- 1x (1) **Temporal Succession bi Degree Consecutive:** 1x *wa-Vsuff*
- 1x (1) **Temporal Succession bi Purpose:** 1x *wa-Vsuff*
- 1x (1) **Temporal Succession bi TEMP ‘until’:** 1x *qabla ‘an VprefA*
- 1x (0) ***x, and not only y:*** 1x *wa-laysa faqaṭ* noun
- 1x (1) ***x, not y* bi Inconsequential:** 1x *lākinna-h Vsuff (VoA)*
- 1x (1) ***x, not y* bi Paired Contrast:** 1x *wa-lākinna-h lan VprefA*

+++

6.12. Conclusions

This chapter will sum up a number of reflections and results from the investigation and put some of them in the context of news and news production (as described in 1.4), i.e. as features of a register (2.1.2). I will allow myself experiential epithets as descriptions of the register here together with references to hard data in the results (Parts 3–6). In this chapter, the abbreviation x—e.g. 1,144x, to state frequencies of attestations or the number of times something is attested, used elsewhere in the book)—will not be used.

The aim of this book was to present academia with quantitative linguistic data on the register used to report hard news in Arabic, “Media Arabic”, to serve as a reference for the writing of linguistically oriented coursebooks, articles on certain grammatical structures, or more general books on Arabic grammar, or to be used in translation studies or media studies, or simply to be read by those who want to learn more about Media Arabic or Arabic in general. It has been demonstrated in 1.2 that academia is in dire need of studies of this kind.

The genre for the corpus developed for this research was international and regional news, a “core news product” (1.2.1). In 1.3 it was showed that, at least in 2014, a study of hard news should be conducted on print rather than digital news, and that taking the data from the Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram would be an ideal starting point. The scope of the corpus was 35,000 words, from 1,144 sentences; the texts are taken from issues of the newspaper published in September 2014. The limitations of the scope of investigation was motivated primarily by my personal experience from teaching Media Arabic.

The focus of the investigation was at the sentence level: clauses, verbal morphology, negation, futures, passives, peripheral elements, subordinate clauses, and non-deverbalized embedded elements. Specific features of the by-line, sentence, paragraph, and article were also investigated.

Are there defining linguistic characteristics of Media Arabic? The answer is yes. I would even argue that linguistic uniformity across articles is *the* characteristic trait of the register. The study of types and tokens (in 3.4), showing that 333 types represent 40.0% of the 35,000 tokens in the corpus, is a clear indication of this. Written Arabic hard news articles present a mature linguistic register. Its characteristics intertwine to form a functional whole: morphology, syntax, lexicon, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, word count, organization, and layout of the news item. That Media Arabic can be defined linguistically indicates the need for a coursebook which adopts an academic approach to the teaching of Media Arabic, taking the recurring features of the register as the focal point of teaching; the current coursebooks cannot be viably considered as academically sound instruments for teaching the linguistics of Media Arabic efficiently (see 1.2, in particular 1.2.1).

Subjectively, as a linguist having worked primarily with dead languages, my first collected impression of Media Arabic was one of uniformity, an impression of repetitive patterns *ad nauseam*. My subjective emotional response to the linguistics of the register, in short, was boredom. With continued close study, however, I realized that while I continued to expect linguistic continuity and consistency and that the continual deviations from uniformity that I noticed would soon come to an end, there always remained an element of surprise. Having now finished the study of the features I set about to investigate, I must conclude that my initial impression of uniformity or repetition—let us call it **consistency**—must be countered with a by now substantiated impression of discontinuity of repetition and of deviations from the expected form, an element of the register we must refer to as **inconsistency**. The following conclusion will provide examples of this, objectively, based on quantitative data presented in this investigation.⁵²⁰

Now, any modern written standardized language has features which are expected to exhibit high consistency and minimal inconsistency. Spelling is one of them: mostly correct, the occasional typo.⁵²¹ The most concrete example of Media Arabic consistency/inconsistency, however, is again demonstrated by the type-token study (3.4). Whereas the 333 most frequent types make up 40.0% of the entire corpus (35,354 tokens), 6,147 types are only attested once in the corpus. These *hapax* types make up 60.0% of the total number of types (10,248), but only 17.4% of all tokens in the corpus. The initial impression of consistency, then, is recurrently questioned by inconsistency: uniformity to the point of boredom, coupled with surprise.

Another feature of consistency and inconsistency is the by-line: more than 99% of the articles have a by-line, but one article among the 131 has no by-line and one article has two. More than 90% of the by-lines (3.5) follow a pattern of “city - author - source:”, where either author or source is obligatory; in contrast, fewer than 10% conform to an alternative pattern of “*kataba(t)* author (*wa*-author)”. We see, then, a ratio of 9:1 for consistency in this regard.

Morphologically, the internal passive (5.2.2) is attested 164 times. But 22 roots in 22 stem forms account for 130 (or 79.3%) of all these internal passives in the corpus; by contrast, 34 roots are *hapax* in the passive (63.0% of all roots, but 20.9% of the total number of internal passives). Moreover, 90.8% of the recurring roots predominantly occur in either the prefix verbal morphology or in the suffix verbal morphology, showing a pattern of consistency vs. inconsistency also at the level of morphology within the group of recurring internal passives.

⁵²⁰ I will grossly disregard inconsistencies from journalistic bias, e.g. concerning Palestine, Israel, or Egypt, where the generally neutral functional characteristics of the register fail to provide established frames of expression.

⁵²¹ On the other hand, the spelling in the corpus of *mas 'ul-* (3.14) could be taken as an indication of consistency/inconsistency, with *yā'* as the chair attested 55 times, against a single attestation with *wāw*.

The participle shows similar features. The *na 't sababī* (6.4.4), for example, is attested 18 times: 13 times (or 72.2% of the 18) represented by two participles: the lexical pattern *al-muntahiyat# wilāyatuhu* and the participle *al-muqarrar(at)i*; inconsistency, or deviation from these formulas, is represented here by 4 attestations (22.2%) with unique lexical components (*hapax* vocabulary in the construction). The clausal peripheral indefinite accusative participle or *ḥāl* participle (discussed in 6.4.5.3) is another such feature. The *ḥāl* participle is attested 186 times, only 2 of which are preceded by *wa-*. This consistency/inconsistency recurs also among the 184 asyndetic *ḥāl* participles without *wa-*: 18 lexical items make up 83.2% (153 in total) of these *ḥāl* participles, and they are all verbs of attribution in a fixed syntactic context of mutual exclusivity with the finite verb of attribution (albeit never with a transition phrase); by contrast, 13 attestations of *ḥāl* participles are not verbs of attribution. A *ḥāl* participle of the 18 most frequent lexical items is expected on average 1.17 times per article, whereas a more productive use of the *ḥāl* participle outside this context only can be expected on average once per 26.2 newspaper articles. Again, consistency and surprise.

With prepositions, the pattern is again repeated: the 6,391 prepositional phrases analysed for chapter 6.9 are accounted for by 110 prepositions in total. But the 10 most frequently attested prepositions account for 85.0% of all these prepositional phrases in the corpus, whereas the 39 least frequent prepositions only account for 0.8% of these prepositional phrases (with 25 *hapax* prepositions, accounting for 0.38% of all prepositional phrases). Again: predictability and surprise.

There are no extended metaphors in the corpus (3.15.1), except for a single extended metaphor in Article 37. Absence and sporadic attestation can here be seen as the reverse side of the coin of consistency of attestation.

Many linguistic features are formulaic and not all of them will be shown here. However, every statement about what Media Arabic is will have to come with a set of exceptions to state that the opposite is probably also true. That this statement is accurate is confirmed by the fact that even this statement must come with exceptions. One such example is the full stop (3.3.2.4), whose segmental placement in relation to other punctuation signs is consistent in that only the order “optional sign + full stop” is attested, e.g. ⟨ » . ⟩, ⟨ ” . ⟩, ⟨) . ⟩, ⟨ ‹ . ⟩, and ⟨ ‹ . ⟩ (these signs are here represented in left-to-right order). No counterexamples, where the full stop precedes a different punctuation sign, are attested in the corpus. Another consistent grammatical feature is the grammar of *'āḥar#* in the context of numbers in the corpus (3.9); there are no counterexamples to the consistent use formulated in 3.9.5. The application of *taškīl* (vowel signs and *šadda*, see 3.6) is also partly systematic in that the accusative is never marked on words ending in *tā' marbūṭa*.

Needless to say, there are also features of more equal distribution where the tendency is less apparent with regard to consistency/inconsistency. Typos

is one such feature (see 3.2), and cannot easily be placed along a consistency/inconsistency continuum. Equally non-nominalized subordinate clauses show less predictability/surprise at a macro level, except for the general absence of Temporal Succession (inferred in 7.8% of all sentences). Except for sentence-initial *wa-* (see 5.3.1.1), no specific conjunction can be said to be favoured with any higher degree of predictability, and a wide array of semantics are attested in the articles. Here, a comparative register study would better illustrate the unique character of Media Arabic (cf. 3.4.4). Non-nominalized subordinate clauses, with only one exception, never precede the first sentence matrix in the article (see 5.3.3), and they never precede the sentence matrix (5.3.4.1), again with only a single exception. In addition, only 38 of 891 (4.3%) sentences features a non-nominalized subordinate clause that is preposed to its matrix (5.3.4.4). This indicates a straightforward type of writing, to be “read” from right to left. In addition, there seems to be a tendency that certain semantics and conjunctions are more frequent in preposed subordinate clauses.

Given that so many linguistic features show what appear to be recurring patterns or formulaic behaviour, it would seem wise to construct a coursebook around the more frequent patterns. The reason for the occurrence of recurring patterns in Media Arabic can be summarized by quoting from section 1.4.2:

For the writer, these conventionalized patterns and information structures facilitate work flow and rapidity in composing news articles, since, as Cotter writes, “[i]t is easier to write a story that follows, to some degree, a pre-existing form” (2010: 138).

It must be said that Media Arabic, at least when it comes to the hard news article and its sentences, is structurally defined by the general absence of temporal succession between elements; unlike typical historical narrative prose, which is segmentally structured in an iconic sequence of “*x* and then *y* and then *z*” along an imaginary linear time axis, Media Arabic is organized by other rationales. I would argue that news values (1.4.3), the inverted pyramid structure (1.4.4), the need for contextualization (1.4.4) and attribution (1.4.6), authorial distance (1.4.7), and the dictates of the lead (1.4.8) are the main determining factors in story design both at article and sentence level, and consequently affect the logico-semantic relations of peripheral elements in the sentence. The Media Arabic hard news article, in short, is different from typical past narratives. Given the limited space and the limited time allotted for writing each news article (see 1.4.8.1 and 1.4.10), and the fact that the texts are written by a limited group of news professionals (1.4.2), it is not surprising to find a degree of consistency in this regard. The participle of attribution can be taken to summarize this. Explained by rationales of brevity and clarity, it signals topic continuity by eliminating the need for repetition of the subject and/or the insertion of a transition phrase (5.3.4.2). Adding a second element

of attributed information to an earlier attribution under the syntax and topic of only one finite verb, the participle of attribution is linguistically economical, easily comprehended, and functional in straightforward hard news writing. The semantic bleaching of the lexicon that occurs most frequently in this function (6.4.5 and Table 110) and the occasional gender disagreement with the subject of the sentence matrix with this construction are symptoms of its formulaicity in the context of the news register. The simultaneous temporal relation of this construction is, like many other expressions of cotemporality used in typical narratives (see 3.16.1.1), only superficial, its function and use better explained by journalistic rationales. Unordered additions are *legio*.

What I have demonstrated throughout this book, to summarize, is that Media Arabic is a register of its own, with recurring linguistic patterns motivated by function in context. I have pinpointed a number of the recurring patterns, arguing for a highly formulaic register in many respects. It is my belief that consistency in Media Arabic is deeply and widely implemented. Recurring patterns can be observed from full text (cf. the parts of article in 1.4.1), down to the lexical and morphological level, and is even noticeable in certain constructions. We may speak of an Arabic journalese, or a mature and functional news language. It is my belief that not all of the linguistic patterns are 100% diachronically stable (see 2.1.1), nor have I managed to describe them all. It is definitely the case that not all linguistic characteristics have been mentioned in this conclusion. It is moreover my belief and hope that the results of this and many other future studies will come to form the basis of more linguistically oriented coursebooks on Media Arabic *ad usum scholarum*.

6.12.1. *Desiderata* for future research

This chapter sums up the *desiderata* for future research mentioned throughout the book (with references to where they are mentioned). In addition to deeper, more focused studies of the features investigated here, perhaps including a corpus representative of the entire Arab world (2.2.1), the following are a number of identified *vacua* in the field of linguistic Media Arabic studies:

Comparative studies: Comparing Media Arabic and other registers (3.4.4).

Broadcast news: The syntax of broadcast news (1.3.1), and the use of case and mood (1.5.1.6), and pausa (1.5.1.7). By extension, also written news professionals: Research into the print news community and the written news professionals' understanding and internalization of the Arabic case and mood system (1.5.1), including a comparison between broadcast and print news (2.2).

Attribution formulae: Considered in the context of a news outlet's policies, taking questions of censorship and similar topics into account (6.5). The use of an attribution formula is not obligatory but signals and reiterates authorial distance.

Text linguistics: E.g. with regard to information hierarchies, and cross sentence relations, including temporal relations (3.16.1.2), Paraphrase (4.7.2.2), and the Adversative (4.9.7).

The lead: Lead structure and length. The present analysis supports the existence of a lead structure for most articles. Investigations could consider how many of the journalistic questions—the five Ws—are answered in the lead, and similar content-based questions (3.1.2), or focus on particularities in the syntax of leads (cf. article-initial subordination, 5.3.3).

Verbs of attribution and speech verbs: These play an intrinsic role in story design, and a study could focus on their function on a text-linguistic level (3.13).

Lexical studies: Types in syntactic contexts as expressive of functions in the register (3.4.3). A diachronic study of the frequencies and contexts of use of *qad* and *laqad*, preferably covering multiple news outlets (3.11, in particular 3.11.1). An examination of *'āḥar#*, both in terms of the use of cases with the singular in broadcast news, and focused studies of the dual and plural. The study of numbers in general, and combinations with *milyūn#* and *milyār#*, and *'idāfiyyat#* in particular (3.9). The frequency of homographs, the stability of syntactic contexts for the most frequent types, and of the most frequent Media Arabic collocations (the hypothesis being a limited number of homographs; see 3.4 and 3.4.3, and cf. 5.2.2). The type *sābiqan* (see footnote on p. 309, and cf. 6.8.4 and 6.8.5).

The noun phrase: The function of post-deictics (2.3.2.1) and of the noun phrase, including postmodifiers, appositions, and annexations (2.3.2.4), and the order of chains of verbal nouns (the *maṣḍar*) (4.7.4.1). A quantitative investigation of classifiers vs. epithets, perhaps including non-attributive constructions such as the genitive (2.3.6–2.3.7). The use of the accusative direct object to a plural verbal noun as an expression of imperfective verbal aspect on the nominal level.⁵²²

Verbal morphology and transitivity: A systematic investigation into the grammatical and semantic transitivity of hard news predicates and clauses at different levels of the clause complex (see footnote 289).

Interpunctuation (3.3.2): Generally, and including the multiple functions of the comma (3.3.2.2).

Trajectory: Its frequency, scope, and limitations (3.7).

The spelling of *hamza*: Globalization, the development of ICT, and the rapid spread of textual data in this present age no doubt play a role in the change of the ratios of different spellings in comparison with earlier data (3.14).

⁵²² As seen in e.g. Article 45, [...] *intaqada muḥāwalāti ḥukūmati ḥizbi l-'adālat# wa-l-tan-miyat# l-tasattura 'alā faḍā'ihi l-fasādi*, '[...] has criticised the attempts of the government of the Justice and Development Party **to cover the scandals of corruption** [...]' (Example 624).

Relative clauses and the participle: In the corpus, the negation *lan* is unattested in non-deverbalized relative clauses, and the standard negators *lā*, *lam*, and *lan* are altogether unattested in combination with a *wa-llaḏī* relative pronoun. The periphrastic passive, attested 15 times in relative clauses, is only attested once in a *wa-llaḏī* construction. The only attestation of *sawfa* in a relative clause is found in combination with *wa-llaḏī* (for *sa-* vs. *sawfa*, see 3.10). This suggests possible tendencies worthy of an investigation (6.3.1). In addition, the semantics of a relative clause are always unmarked and inexplicit and may be highly polysemous. An investigation is needed of the semantics of the non-deverbalized relative clause in a broader non-linguistic perspective, taking world affairs into account (6.3). The proleptic relative clause needs to be investigated for syntactic and lexical contexts of use, as well as for its scope (6.3.1.1). The semantics of clauses with participles needs to be investigated taking censorship, politics, media policies, and so on into account (6.4.6). A more comprehensive study discussing when, why, and in what contexts the nominalized relative clause is preferred over the non-deverbalized relative clause is also a *desideratum* (6.4.6).

Bias: The one extended metaphor (3.15.1) in the corpus is in an article about Palestine. The only attestation of a post-positioned transition phrase (5.3.4.2) is *wa-miṣr min ḡānibihā*. My impression is that deviations from frequent syntactic patterns are more likely to occur in contexts of political bias, i.e. when the language is employed for atypical functions of the register. In other words, when the typical authorial distance (1.4.7) is disregarded, it is likely to have linguistic repercussions, traceable even in the syntax.

Descriptions: How children are described (see footnote 202 on p. 208).

Literature

- Abboud, P. F. & McCarus, E. N. (eds.), 1968, *Elementary Modern Standard Arabic*, 3rd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Abdelfattah, Nabil M. S., 1990, *Linguistic changes in journalistic language in Egypt, 1935–89: A quantitative and comparative analysis*, PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.
- Abdelfattah, Nabil M. S., 1996, “Reflections on the Sociolinguistic Force of Journalism in the Process of Language Development in Egypt”, 129–136 in Elgibali, Alaa (ed.), *Understanding Arabic: essays in contemporary Arabic linguistics in honor of El-Said Badawi*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Abdulla, Rasha, 2013, “Mapping Digital Media: Egypt, A report by the Open Society Foundations”, New York: Open Society Foundations, <http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/mapping-digital-media-egypt> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- Abu-Melhim, Abdel-Rahman, 1991, “Code-Switching and linguistic accommodation in Arabic”, 231–250 in Comrie, Bernard & Mushira Eid (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics. 3, papers from the Third Annual Symposium on Arabic linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Agbaht, Mahmut (2023). *The Arabic dialect of Šēxtōba/Shaykh Taba (northern Lebanon) in its regional context*. PhD dissertation, Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Ahram Online, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/UI/Front/Aboutus.aspx> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y., 2009, “Semantics and Grammar in Clause Linking”, 380–400 in Dixon, R. M. W. & Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (eds.), *The Semantics of Clause Linking: a cross-linguistic typology*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Aitchison, Jean, 2010, “The evolution and role of newspapers”, 13–22 in Bassiouney, Reem (ed.), *Arabic and the Media: Linguistic analyses and applications*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 57, Leiden: Brill.
- Aitchison, Jean & Lewis, Diana M. (eds.), 2003, *New media language*, London: Routledge.
- Al-Batal, Mahmoud, 1990, “Connectives as Cohesive Elements in a Modern Expository Arabic Text”, 234–267 in Eid, Mushira & John J. McCarthy, John J. (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 2*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Al-Batal, Mahmoud, 1994, “Connectives in Arabic Diglossia: The Case of Lebanese Arabic”, 91–119 in *Perspectives On Arabic Linguistics: Papers From The Annual Symposium On Arabic Linguistics, Volume VI*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Al-Batal, Mahmoud, 2002, “Identity and Language Tension in Lebanon: The Arabic of Local News at LBCI”, 91–115 in Rouchdy, Aleya (ed.), *Language Contact and Language Conflict: Variations on a Sociolinguistic Theme*, London: Routledge Curzon Press.
- Al-Hayat online, [http://www.alhayat.com/Articles/\[...\]](http://www.alhayat.com/Articles/[...]) (accessed May 5, 2017; the closure was announced in 2020).
- Al-Jarrah, Mohammad, 2011, “Arabic Newspapers Discourse: Rhetorical Features, Discourse Markers, Strategies and Organization”, 207–235 in *Damascus University Journal* 27(3–4).
- Al Kohlani, Fatima A., 2010, *The Function of Discourse Markers in Arabic Newspaper Opinion Articles*, PhD dissertation, Georgetown University.
- Allen, Roger M. A., 1998, *The Arabic literary heritage: the development of its genres and criticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Al-Shabbab, Omar & Swales, John, 1986, “Rhetorical features of Arab and British news broadcasts”, 31–42 in *Anthropological Linguistics* 28(1).
- Al-Shurafa, N. S. D., 1994, “Text Linguistics and Cohesion in Written Arabic”, 17–30 in *JKAU: Arts and Humanities* 7.
- Al-Sulaiti, Latifa & Atwell, Eric Steven, 2006, “The Design of a Corpus of Contemporary Arabic”, 135–171 in *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 11(2).
- Al-Thubaity, Abdulmohsen, 2015, “A 700M+ Arabic corpus: KACST Arabic corpus design and construction”, 721–51 in *Language Resources and Evaluation* 49(3).

- Al-Thubaity, Abdulmohsen, Khan, Marwa, al-Mazrua, Manal & al-Mousa, Maram, 2013, "New Language Resources for Arabic: Corpus Containing more than Two Million Words and a Corpus Processing Tool", 67–70 in *2013 International Conference on Asian Language Processing (IALP)*.
- Amnesty International, 2013, *Amnesty International Report 2013: The State of the World's Human Rights*, London: Amnesty International, http://files.amnesty.org/air13/AmnestyInternational_AnnualReport2013_complete_en.pdf (accessed March 25, 2021).
- AMO 2009–2013 = Arab Media Outlook 2009–2013, <http://fas.org/irp/eprint/arabmedia.pdf> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- AMO 2011–2015 = Arab Media Outlook 2011–2015, <https://documents.in/document/arab-media-outlook-2011-2015.html> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- Andrews, Avery D. 2007. "Relative clauses", 206–235 in Shopen, Timothy (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. 2, Complex Constructions*, 2nd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ashtiany, Julia, 1993, *Media Arabic*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Aydin, Sami, 2013, *Klassisk arameisk grammatik (syrisk) = Tūrāš mamlā dā-leššānā 'ārāmāyā sefrāyā*, Södertälje: Anastasis Media.
- Aziz, Y. Y., 1967, *The Influence of English Grammar, Syntax, Idiom and Style upon Contemporary Literary Arabic*, PhD dissertation, The University of St Andrews.
- Baalbaki, Ramzi (ed.), 2007, *The early Islamic grammatical tradition*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Baalbaki, Ramzi, 2008, *The legacy of the Kitāb: Sībawayhi's analytical methods within the context of the Arabic grammatical theory*, Leiden: Brill.
- Badawi, Said M., 1973, *Mustawayāt al-'arabiyya al-mu'āšira fī miṣr*, Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif.
- Bahloul, Maher, 1993, "The Copula in Modern Standard Arabic (SA)", 209–229 in Eid, Mushira & Clive Holes (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 5*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Baize-Robache, Marie, 2009, *Les formes augmentées de l'arabe littéraire moderne de presse: une étude statistique et syntaxico-sémantique à travers un corpus de presse*, PhD dissertation, University of Aix-Marseille.
- Baize-Robache, Marie, 2011a, "Le masdar de forme III en arabe moderne: essai de différenciation entre fi'āl et muḡā'ala", 67–74 in *Synergies – Monde Arabe 7*.
- Baize-Robache, Marie, 2011b, "Les formes verbales augmentées de l'arabe moderne de presse: une étude statistique et syntaxico-sémantique à travers un corpus de presse", 404–429 in *Arabica* 58(5).
- Baize-Robache, Marie, 2012, "L'arabe moyen, support d'évolution sur Internet? Analyse de quelques formes augmentées de l'arabe de presse", 15–33 in *Quaderni di Semitistica* (Florence) 28.
- Baize-Robache, Marie, 2013, "Étude statistique des formes dérivées et de leurs valeurs sémantiques à travers un corpus d'arabe moderne de presse", 17–35 in *Didactiques* (Université Yahya Farès, Médéa, Algeria) 3.
- Baize-Robache, Marie, 2014, "La diversité des organisations combattantes dans le monde arabe: de la prétendue synonymie entre *tanẓīm* et *munazzama*", 77–97 in *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 62.
- Baize-Varin, Marie, 2016, "'Traitement' de 'l'organisation' en arabe moderne, ou le point de vue d'une linguiste sur l'apparente synonymie *'ilāğ/mu'ālağa* et *tanẓīm/munazzama*", 390–409 in *Approaches to the History and Dialectology of Arabic in Honor of Pierre Larcher*, Leiden: Brill.
- Bassiouny, Reem, 2009, *Arabic sociolinguistics*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bassiouny, Reem (ed.), 2010, *Arabic and the Media: Linguistic Analyses and Applications*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 57, Leiden: Brill.
- Bassiouny, Reem & Katz, E. Graham (eds.), 2012, *Arabic language and linguistics*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

- BCG = Badawi, Elsaid, Carter, M. G. & Gully, Adrian, 2004, *Modern Written Arabic: A Comprehensive Grammar*, London: Routledge.
- Bell, Allan, 1991, *The language of news media*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Belnap, Kirk, 1986, "Grammar, Style and Discourse: An Empirical Look at Modern Standard Arabic Complementation in the Newspaper, Al-Ahram", 45–51 in *Proceedings of the Deseret Language and Linguistic Society Symposium* 12(1).
- Belnap, Kirk, 1993, "The Meaning of Deflected/Strict Agreement variation in Cairene Arabic", 97–117 in Eid, Mushira & Holes, Clive (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics* 5, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Belnap, Kirk, 2008, "If You Build it, They Will Come", 53–66 in Ibrāhīm, Zaynab & Makhoul, Sanaa A. M. (eds.), *Linguistics in an age of globalization: perspectives on Arabic language and teaching*, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Belnap, Kirk & Shabaneh, Osama, 1992, "Variable Agreement and Nonhuman plurals in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic", 245–262 in Eid, Mushira, McCarthy, John & Brose, Ellen I. (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics* 4, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Benmamoun, Elabbas, "Construct state", in EALL.
- Biber, Douglas, 1993, "Representativeness in Corpus Design", 243–257 in *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 8(4).
- Biber, Douglas, 1994, "An Analytical Framework for Register Studies", 31–56 in Biber, Douglas & Finegan, Edward (eds.), *Sociolinguistic perspectives on register*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Biber, Douglas, 2010, "Corpus-based and Corpus-Driven analyses of language variation and use", 159–191 in Heine, Bernd & Narrog, Heiko (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of linguistic analysis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Biber, Douglas & Conrad, Susan, 2009, *Register, genre, and style*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Biber, Douglas & Finegan, Edward (eds.), 1994, *Sociolinguistic perspectives on register*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blomqvist, J. & Jastrup, P. O., 2006, *Grekisk=Græsk Grammatik*, 3rd ed., Copenhagen: Nørhaven Book.
- Bybee, Joan, L., 1986, "On the nature of grammatical categories: a diachronic perspective", 17–34 in *Eastern States Conference on Linguistics* 2.
- Bybee, Joan L., Perkins, Revere & Pagliuca, William, 1994, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cantarino, Vicente, 1974, *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose, Vol. 1*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Cantarino, Vicente, 1975, *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose, Vol. 2*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- CAPMAS, Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (Egypt), <http://www.capmas.gov.eg/> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- Carter, M. G., 2007, "The Origins of Arabic Grammar", 2–26 in Baalbaki, Ramzi (ed.), *The early Islamic grammatical tradition*, Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Carter, M. G., "Sabab", in EALL.
- Chaalal, Imen, 2010, *Foreign Learners' Difficulties in Translating the Arabic Discourse marker 'Fa' into English: The Case of Thirds Year Students of Translation at the University of Constantine*, Master's thesis, Applied Language studies, Mentouri University-Constantine, Algeria.
- Christian, Darrell, Jacobsen, Sally & Minthorn, David (eds.), 2011, *The Associated Press Stylebook and Briefing on Media Law 2011*, 46th ed., New York: Basic Books.
- CIA World Factbook, 2014, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/eg.html> (accessed September 9, 2014; link invalid, February 3, 2025).

- Coghill, Eleanor, 2012, “Parallels in the Grammaticalization of Neo-Aramaic zil- and Arabic rah- and a Possible Contact Scenario”, 127–144 in Eades, Domenyk (ed.), *Grammaticalization in Semitic*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard, 1991, “On the importance of Arabic for general linguistic theory”, 3–30 in Comrie, Bernard & Eid, Mushira (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 3*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Comrie, Bernard & Eid, Mushira (ed.), 1991, *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 3*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Cotter, Colleen, 2003, “Prescriptions and practice: Motivations behind change in news discourse”, 45–74 in *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 4(1).
- Cotter, Colleen, 2010, *News Talk: Investigating the Language of Journalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dahl, Östen, 1985, *Tense and Aspect Systems*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dahlgren, Sven-Olof, 2004, *Arabisk högspråklig Grammatik: an-naḥwu l-‘arabiyyu l-faṣīḥu*, Coursebook, Göteborgs universitet, Orientaliska institutionen, Göteborg.
- Davidovich, Tal, Lahdo, Ablahad & Lindquist, Torkel (eds.), 2014, *From Tur Abdin to Hadramawt: Semitic studies; Festschrift in honour of Bo Isaksson on the occasion of his retirement*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Diem, Werner, 2007, “Arabic *allaḏī* as a conjunction: An old problem and a new approach”, 67–112 in Ditters, Everhard & Motzki, Harald (eds.), *Approaches to Arabic linguistics: presented to Kees Versteegh on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday*, Leiden: Brill.
- Ditters, E., “Maṣḍar”, in EALL.
- Dixon, R. M. W., 2009, “The semantics of clause linking in typological perspective”, 1–55 in Dixon, R. M. W. & Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (eds.), 2009, *The Semantics of Clause Linking: a cross-linguistic typology*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W., 2010, *Basic linguistic theory, Vol. 1: Methodology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W., 2012, *Basic linguistic theory, Vol. 3: Further grammatical topics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. & Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (eds.), 2009, *The Semantics of Clause Linking: a cross-linguistic typology*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Doss, Madiha, “Indirect Speech”, in EALL.
- Doss, Madiha, 1987, “Les variétés linguistiques en usage à la télévision égyptienne”, 63–74 in *Bulletin du CEDEJ* 21(1^{er} semestre).
- Doss, Madiha, 2010, “*Ḥal id-dunyā*, An Arabic News Bulletin in Colloquial (‘*ammiyya*)”, 123–140 in Bassiouney, Reem (ed.), *Arabic and the Media: Linguistic analyses and applications*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 57, Leiden: Brill.
- Dubai Press Club, <http://www.dpc.org.ac/en/amo/overview.aspx> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- Dvorkin, Jeffrey A., 2001, “NPR: It’s Journalism! Not, it’s radio! Stop! You’re both right!”, www.npr.org/yourturn/ombudsman/2001/010305.html (cited in Cotter 2010; link invalid, February 3, 2025).
- EALL = Versteegh, C. H. M. & Eid, Mushira (eds.), 2006–2009, *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics*, 4 vols., Leiden: Brill.
- EALL = Edzard, Lutz & Jong, Rudolf de (eds.), 2005, *Encyclopedia of Arabic language and linguistics online*, Leiden: Brill. <https://brill.com/display/serial/EALL> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- Edzard, Lutz, “Annexation”, in EALL.
- Edzard, Lutz, 2006, “Some Aspects of Compound Formations in Modern Semitic”, 132–154 in Edzard, Lutz & Retsö, Jan (eds.), *Current Issues in the Analysis of Semitic Grammar and Lexicon II: Oslo–Göteborg Cooperation 4th –5th November 2005*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Edzard, Lutz, 2014, "The Epexegetical Genitive in Semitic and the Sūra Titles in the Qur'ān", 49–58 in Davidovich, Tal, Lahdo, Ablahad & Lindquist, Torkel (eds.), *From Tur Abdin to Hadramawt: Semitic studies; Festschrift in honour of Bo Isaksson on the occasion of his retirement*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Edzard, Lutz (ed.), 2015, *Arabic and Semitic Linguistics Contextualized: A Festschrift for Jan Retsö*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Edzard, Lutz & Huehnergard, John, 2014, *Proceedings of the Oslo-Austin Workshop in Semitic Linguistics: Oslo, May 23 and 24, 2013*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Edzard, Lutz & Retsö, Jan (eds.), 2005, *Current Issues in the Analysis of Semitic Grammar and Lexicon II: Oslo–Göteborg Cooperation 4th–5th November 2005*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Effat, Ragia M., "Media", in EALL.
- Effat, Ragia M., "Media Arabic", in EALL.
- Eid, Mushira (ed.), 1995, *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics VII: Papers from the Seventh Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, Series IV, Current Issues in Linguistics, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Eid, Mushira, 2007, "Arabic on the media: Hybrid and styles", 403–434 in Ditters, E. & Motzki, H. (eds.), *Approaches to Arabic linguistics presented to Kees Versteegh on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday*, Leiden: Brill.
- Eid, Mushira & Holes, Clive (eds.), 1993, *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 5*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Eid, Mushira & McCarthy, John J. (eds.), 1990, *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 2*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Eid, Mushira, McCarthy, John J. & Broselow, Ellen I. (eds.), 1992, *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 4*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins..
- Eisele, John C., 1992, "Egyptian Arabic Auxiliaries and the Category of AUX", 143–165 in Eid, Mushira, McCarthy, John & Broselow, Ellen I. (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 4*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Elgibali, Alaa, 1993, "Stability and Language Variation in Arabic: Cairene and Kuwaiti dialects", 75–96 in Eid, Mushira & Holes, Clive (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 5*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Elgibali, Alaa (ed.), 1996, *Understanding Arabic: Essays in Contemporary Arabic Linguistics in Honor of El-Said Badawi*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Elgibali, Alaa & Korica, Nevenka, 2007, *Media Arabic: A Coursebook for Reading Arabic News = Luḡatu wasā'ili l-'i'lāmi l-'arabiyyati*, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Elgibali, Alaa & Korica, Nevenka, 2014, *Media Arabic: a coursebook for reading Arabic news = Luḡatu wasā'ili l-'i'lāmi l-'arabiyyati*, Rev. ed., Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- El Gody, Ahmed, 2012, *Journalism in a network: the role of ICTs in Egyptian newsrooms*. Örebro Studies in Media and Communication 12, Örebro University.
- Elhakim, Gehan H., 1998, *Sentence structure in Egyptian journalistic Arabic: A Quantitative and Comparative Study in Al Ahram Newspaper from 1937 to 1997*, MA thesis, American University in Cairo.
- Elshami, Yasser N., 2013, *The Language of Contemporary Egyptian Newspapers: Re-Visiting Badawi's Model*, Master's thesis, Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language Department, University of Cairo.
- Essa, Shaemaa Mohamed Hosny Ahmed, 2013, *A Corpus-based Analysis of Three Arabic Adversative Conjunctions in Current Egyptian Newspapers*, Master's thesis, Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language Department, The Arabic Language Institute, The American University of Cairo.

- Esseesy, Mohssen, 2010, *Grammaticalization of Arabic prepositions and subordinators: a corpus-based study*, Leiden: Brill.
- Fakhri, Ahmed, 1995, "Topic Continuity in Arabic Narrative Discourse", 141–155 in *Perspectives On Arabic Linguistics: Papers From The Annual Symposium On Arabic Linguistics, Volume VII; Austin, Texas 1993*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fakhri, Ahmed, 2012, "Nominalization in Arabic Discourse: A Genre Analysis Perspective", 145–155 in Bassiouney, Reem & Katz, E. Graham (ed.), *Arabic language and linguistics*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Ferguson, Charles A., 1959, "Diglossia", 325–340 in *Word* 15.
- Ferguson, Charles A. (ed.), 1960, *Contributions to Arabic linguistics*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs III, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ferguson, Charles A., 1994, "Dialect, Register, Genre: Working Assumptions about Conventionalization", 15–30 in Biber, Douglas & Finegan, Edward (eds.), *Sociolinguistic perspectives on register*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Francis, Winthrop Nelson & Kučera, Henry, 1982, *Frequency analysis of English usage: lexicon and grammar*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Friedrich, Johannes & Röllig, Wolfgang, 1970, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- Ġabartī, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 1969, *Maẓhar al-taqdīs bi-ḡahāb dawlat al-Faransīs*, Cairo: Laġnat al-bayān al-'arabī.
- GKC = Gesenius, Wilhelm & Kautzsch, Emil (ed.), Cowley, A. E., *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, (unabridged republication of the second English edition, published in Oxford, 1910), reprint 2006 Mineola: Dover Publications
- Girod, Alain, 2000, *Faits d'évolution récents en arabe moderne à travers un corpus de presse égyptien*, PhD dissertation, University of Aix-Marseille I.
- Givón, Talmy (ed.), 1979, *Syntax and semantics, Vol. 12: Discourse and syntax*, New York: Academic Press.
- Givón, Talmy, 1990, *Syntax: a functional-typological introduction, Vol. 2*, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Givón, Talmy, 1993, *English grammar: a function-based introduction, Vol. 2*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Givón, Talmy, 2001, *Syntax: An introduction*, Rev. ed., 2 vols., Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Habash, Nizar, 2010, *Introduction to Arabic Natural Language Processing*, San Rafael, CA: Morgan & Claypool.
- Haeri, Niloofar, 2003, *Sacred language, ordinary people: Dilemmas of culture and politics in Egypt*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Haiman, John & Thompson, Sandra A. (ed.), 1988, *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hallberg, Andreas, 2016, *Case Endings in Spoken Standard Arabic: Statistics, norms, and diversity in unscripted formal speech*, PhD dissertation, Lunds Universitet.
- Hallberg, Andreas, 2018, "Word and aya counts in the Quran", <http://andreasmhallberg.github.io> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- Halliday, M. A. K., 1994, *An introduction to functional grammar*, 2nd ed., London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K., 2014, *Halliday's introduction to functional grammar*, 4th ed., Milton Park: Routledge.
- Halm, Carolus, 1901, *Cornelii Taciti Libri qui supersunt*, Tomus posterior [Vol. 2], Editio stereotypa, Leipzig: B. G. Teubneri.
- HALOT = Koehler, L. & Baumgartner, W., 2001, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Study ed., 2 vols., Leiden: Brill.

- Harrell, Richard S., 1960, "A linguistic Analysis of Egyptian Radio Arabic", 3–78 in Ferguson, Charles A. (ed.), *Contributions to Arabic linguistics*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs III, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Harrell, Richard S., 1964, "A Linguistic Analysis of Egyptian Radio Arabic", 1–77 in Ferguson, Charles A., Harrell, Richard S. & Blanc, Haim, *Contributions to Arabic Linguistics*, Cambridge, MA.
- Haspelmath, M., 1998, "The semantic development of old presents: New futures and subjunctives without grammaticalization", 29–62 in *Diachronica* 15.
- Heine, Bernd & Narrog, Heiko (eds.), 2010, *The Oxford handbook of linguistic analysis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Holes, Clive, 1995, *Modern Arabic: Structures, functions and varieties*, London: Longman.
- Holes, Clive, 2004, "The language of the media", 314–332 in Holes, Clive, *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions, and Varieties*, Rev. ed., Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Hopper, Paul J., 1979, "Aspect and foregrounding in discourse", 213–242 in Givón, Talmy (ed.), *Syntax and semantics, Vol. 12: Discourse and syntax*, New York: Academic Press.
- Hopper, Paul J., 1982a, "Aspect between discourse and grammar: An introductory essay for the volume", 3–18 in Hopper, Paul J. (ed.), *Tense-Aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics*, Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hopper, Paul J. (ed.), 1982b, *Tense-Aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hopper, Paul J. & Thompson, Sandra, 1980, "Transitivity in grammar and discourse", 251–299 in *Language* 56.
- Hunston, S., 2002, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hussein, Khalid Shakir, 2015, "Measuring Lexical richness through type-token curve: a Corpus-Based Analysis of Arabic and English Texts", 97–104 in *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* 5(4).
- Ibrahim, Talaat Ibrahim, 2012, *Semantic Classification of English and Arabic Tense and Aspect*, A Term paper for the Academic Year 2011–2012, 1st Semester, Department of Translation, College of Arts, Al Mustansiriyah University.
- Ibrahim, Zeinab, 2010, "Cases of Code-Switching in Egyptian Opposition Newspapers", 23–45 in Bassiouney, Reem (ed.), *Arabic and the Media: Linguistic Analyses and Applications*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 57, Leiden: Brill.
- Internet world stats, <http://www.internetworldstats.com/> (accessed March 25, 2021)
- Isaksson, Bo, 2009, "An outline of comparative Arabic and Hebrew textlinguistics", 36–150 in Isaksson, Bo, Kammensjö, Heléne & Persson, Maria (eds.), *Circumstantial qualifiers in Semitic: The case of Arabic and Hebrew*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 70, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Isaksson, Bo, 2011, "The textlinguistics of the Suffering Servant: Subordinate structures in Isaiah 52,13–53,12", 173–212 in Geiger, Gregor & Pazzini, Massimo (ed.), *En pāsē grammatikē kai sophiā: Saggi di linguistica ebraica in onore di Alviero Niccacci, OFM*, Collana Analecta: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 78, Milan: Editioni Terra Santa & Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press.
- Isaksson, Bo, 2014, "Clause linking strategies in the narrative and instructional discourse of Joseph's speech in Gen. 45: 3–15", 15–45 in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 59(1).
- Isaksson, Bo, 2015a, "'Subordination': Some reflections on Matthiessen and Thompson's article 'The structure of discourse and "subordination"' and its bearing on the idea of circumstantial clause in Arabic and Hebrew", 404–424 in Edzard, Lutz (ed.), *Arabic and Semitic Linguistics Contextualized: A Festschrift for Jan Retsö*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Isaksson, Bo, 2015b, "Clause Combining in Biblical Hebrew", 126–169 in Isaksson, Bo & Persson, Maria (eds.), *Clause combining in Semitic: the circumstantial clause and beyond*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Isaksson, Bo, Kammensjö, Hélène & Persson, Maria, 2009, *Circumstantial qualifiers in Semitic: the case of Arabic and Hebrew*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 70, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Isaksson, Bo & Persson, Maria (eds.), 2015, *Clause combining in Semitic: the circumstantial clause and beyond*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Jabartī, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, 1998, *Maṣḥar al-taqdīs bi-ḡahāb dawlat al-Faransīs*, Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyyah.
- Jansson, Anna, 2007, *De röda orden: en studie av språkliga och typografiska konstruktioner i tidningsrubriker på arabiska*, Bachelor’s thesis, Institutionen för afrikanska och orientalistiska språk, Göteborgs Universitet.
- Joüon, Paul & Muraoka, Takamitsu, 2009, *A grammar of biblical Hebrew*, 2nd ed., Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press.
- Journalist Book / Dalīl al-Ṣuḥuḥ*, 2007?, Abu Mahjoob for Creative Production, USAID (two versions, one in English and one in Arabic).
- Kapliwatzky, Jochanan, 1946, *Arabic language and grammar*, 3 vols., Jerusalem: Rubin Mass.
- Kendall, Elisabeth, 2005a, *Media Arabic: an essential vocabulary*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Kendall, Elisabeth, 2005b, *The top 1,000 words for understanding media Arabic*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Kendall, Elisabeth, 2012a, *Media Arabic: Essential Middle Eastern Vocabularies*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Kendall, Elisabeth, 2012b, *The Top 1,300 Words for Understanding Media Arabic*, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Kennedy, Graeme, 1998, *An introduction to corpus linguistics*, London and New York: Longman.
- Khaldieh, Salim A., 2001, “The Relationship between Knowledge of I‘raab, Lexical Knowledge, and Reading Comprehension of Nonnative Readers of Arabic”, 416–431 in *Modern Language Journal* 85(3).
- Khalil, Esam Nazmi, 1999, *Grounding in English and Arabic News Discourse*, PhD dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam.
- Khalil, Esam Nazmi, 2000, *Grounding in English and Arabic news discourse*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kitchen, Helen, 1950, “‘Al-Ahram’: The ‘Times’ of the Arab World”, 155–169 in *Middle East Journal* (Middle East Institute) 4(2).
- Krahl, Günther & Reuschel, Wolfgang, 1974, *Lehrbuch des modernen Arabisch*, Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie.
- Kronholm, Tryggve, 1995, *Spegelbilder: den arabiska litteraturens historia*, Stockholm: Natur och kultur.
- L&S = Lewis, Charlton T. & Short, Charles (eds.), 1996, *A latin dictionary*, founded on Andrews’ edition of Freund’s Latin dictionary, Oxford: Clarendon.
- Lagerqvist, Hans, 2012, “Some Observations on Language and Style in Arabic newspapers”, paper delivered at Semitiska Seminariet, Uppsala University.
- Lahlali, El Mustapha, 2008, *Advanced Media Arabic*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Lahlali, El Mustapha & Abu Hatab, Wafa, 2014, *Advanced English-Arabic translation: a practical guide*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Lambdin, Thomas Oden, 1978, *Introduction to classical Ethiopic (Geez)*, Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
- Lane, Edward William, 1863, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London: Williams & Norgate.
- Lanson, Gerald & Stephens, Mitchell, 1994, *Writing and Reporting the News*, 2nd ed., Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace.
- Larcher, Pierre & Girod, Alain, 1990, “Passif grammatical, passif périphrastique et catégorie d’auxiliaire en arabe classique moderne”, 97–110 in *Arabica* 37(2).

- Leech, G., 1991, "The State-of-the-Art in Corpus Linguistics", 8–29 in Aijmer, K. & Altenberg, B. (eds.), *English Corpus Linguistics, Studies in Honour of Jan Svartvik*, London: Longman.
- Lehmann, Christian, 1988, "Towards a typology of clause linkage", 181–225 in Haiman, John & Thompson, Sandra A. (eds.), *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lehmann, Christian, "Nexion" = https://www.christianlehmann.eu/ling/lg_system/grammar/nexion/nexion_index.php?open=nexion (accessed January 14, 2019).
- Lehmann, Christian & Shin, Yong-Min 2005, "The functional domain of concomitance. A typological study of instrumental and comitative relations", 9–104 in Lehmann, Christian (ed.), *Typological studies in participation*, Studia Typologica 7, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Letourneau, Mark S., 1993, "Case-Marking and binding of subject clitics in Arabic complement clauses", 261–290 in Eid, Mushira & Holes, Clive (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 5*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Longacre, Robert E., 2007, "Sentences as combinations of clauses", 372–420 in Shopen, Timothy (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, Vol. 2: Complex constructions*, 2nd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LSJ = Liddell, H. G. & Scott, R., 1996, *A Greek-English Lexicon ... with a revised supplement*, 9th ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lundin, Emil, 2007, *Forster till Linné: Två 1700-talsbrev från en världsomsegling med inledning, översättning och kommentar*, Magister's thesis in Latin, Uppsala University.
- Lundin, Emil, 2013, *Grammaticalization in the context of Modern Standard Arabic journalese: the case of tamma*, Master's thesis in Semitic languages, Uppsala University.
- Marçais, William, 1930, "La diglossie arabe", 401–409 in *L'enseignement public* 104/12.
- Marogy, Amal (ed.), 2012, *The foundations of Arabic linguistics: Sibawayhi and early Arabic grammatical theory*, Leiden: Brill.
- Matthiessen, Christian & Thompson, Sandra A., 1988, "The structure of discourse and subordination", 275–329 in Haiman, John & Thompson, Sandra A. (eds.), *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- McCarus, Ernest N., "Modern Standard Arabic", in EALL.
- McCarus, Ernest N. & Yacoub, Adil I. (eds.), 1962, *Contemporary Arabic readers, vol. 1, Newspaper Arabic = Lughat al-jarā'id*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- McEnery, Tony & Wilson, Andrew, 2001, *Corpus linguistics: an introduction*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- McEnery, Tony, Xiao, Richard & Tono, Yukio, 2006, *Corpus-based language studies: an advanced resource book*, London: Routledge.
- MCIT, 2014a, *Information and Communications Technology Indicators Bulletin*, December 2014 issue, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (Egypt), <https://mcit.gov.eg/en/Publications> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- MCIT, 2014b, *MCIT Yearbook 2014*, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (Egypt), <https://mcit.gov.eg/en/Publications> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- Mejdell, Gunvor, 2008, "What is Happening to Lughatuna l-Gamila?", 108–124 in *Journal of Arabic and Islamic studies* 8(8).
- Mellor, Noha, 2005, *The Making of Arab News*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Mellor, Noha, 2011, *Arab Media: Globalization and Emerging Media Industries*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Mencher, Melvin, 1997, *Authority in language: Investigating Language Prescription and Standardisation*, 3rd ed., Madison, WI: Brown and Benchmark.
- Merrill, J. C. & Fisher, H. A., 1980, *The World's Great Dailies: Profiles of Fifty Newspapers*, New York: Hastings House.

- Michael, Lev, 2009, "The Semantics of Clause Linking in Iquito", 145–166 in Dixon, R. M. W. & Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (eds.), *The Semantics of Clause Linking: a cross-linguistic typology*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mohamed, Ayisha H. & Majzoub, Omer R., 2000, "Texture and Culture: Cohesion as a Marker of Rhetorical Organisation in Arabic and English Narrative Texts", 45–75 in *RELJ Journal* 31.
- Monteil, Vincent, 1960, *L'arabe moderne*, Études Arabes et Islamiques, Études et Documents 3, Paris: Klincksieck.
- Morén, Jonathan, 2015, "Interpunktionsanarki och fantomsmärkor", 96–98 in *Kritiker* 37.
- Morsly, D., 1990, "En arabe classique le journal télévisé?", 163–174 in Pleines, J. (ed.), *La linguistique au Maghreb*, Rabat: Editions Okad.
- Moutaouakil, Ahmed, 2007, "Coordinative constructions in Arabic: Aspects of Morphosyntax as an indicator of interpersonal status", 57–71 in *Revista de Linguistica* (Mohammed V University, Morocco) 51(2).
- Murgida, Jacqueline, 1993, *Passive and passive-like expressions in journalistic modern standard Arabic*, PhD dissertation, Georgetown University.
- Nāfi', 'Aḥmad, 1997, *Dalīl al-'amal aṣ-ṣuḥufī / Al-Aḥram Stylebook*, Cairo: Al-Aḥram.
- Nahmad, H. M., 1970, *From the Arabic Press: A Language Reader in Economic and Social Affairs*, London: Lund Humphries.
- Nelson, Mike, 2010, "Building a written corpus: what are the basics?", 53–65 in O'Keefe, Anne & McCarthy, Michael (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of corpus linguistics*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Nemeth, Titus, 2006, *The current state of Arabic Newspaper type and typography*, Master's thesis, Department of Typography & Graphic Communication, University of Reading, UK.
- Newman, Daniel L. & Husni, Ronak (eds.), 2008, *Modern Arabic short stories: a bilingual reader*, London: Saqi.
- Newman, Francis William, 1866, *A handbook of modern Arabic: consisting of a practical grammar*, London: Trübner.
- News Media Stylebook*, <http://www.irex.org/resource/jordan-news-media-stylebook> (accessed August 26, 2014; link invalid, February 3, 2025).
- Ni, Yibin, 2003, "Noun phrases in media texts: A quantificational approach", 159–168 in Aitchison, Jean & Lewis, Diana M. (eds.), *New media language*, London: Routledge.
- Nofal, K., 1993, *The use of passive voice in the language of journalism in Arabic and English*, MA thesis, University of Jordan, Amman.
- Noy, Avigail S., 2012, "Don't be absurd: The term muḥāl in Sībawayhi's Kitāb", 27–58 in Marogy, Amal (ed.), *The foundations of Arabic linguistics: Sībawayhi and early Arabic grammatical theory*, Leiden: Brill.
- OED = *Oxford English Dictionary*, Electronic, oed.com, Oxford: Oxford University Press (accessed January 14, 2019)
- O'Keefe, Anne & McCarthy, Michael (eds.), 2010, *The Routledge handbook of corpus linguistics*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- OLD = Glare, P. G. W. (ed.), 1968–1982, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, reprinted 2006, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Parkinson, Dilworth B., 1981, "VSO to SVO in Modern Standard Arabic: A study in diglossia syntax", 24–37 in *Al-'Arabiyya* 14.
- Parkinson, Dilworth B., 1990, "Orthographic Variation in Modern Standard Arabic: The Case of Hamza", 267–295 in Eid, Mushira & McCarthy, John J. (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics* 2, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Parkinson, Dilworth B., 1991, "Searching for Modern Fuṣḥā: Real-life Formal Arabic", 31–64 in *Al-'Arabiyya* (Georgetown University Press) 24.

- Parkinson, Dilworth B., 1993, "Knowing Standard Arabic: Testing Egyptians' MSA Abilities", 47–73 in Eid, Mushira & Holes, Clive (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 5*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Parkinson, Dilworth B., 1994, "Testing Native Speakers: Implications for Teaching Arabic to Non-Native Speakers", 191–203 in McCarus, Ernest N., Rammuny, Raji M. & Parkinson, Dilworth B. (eds.), *Investigating Arabic: Linguistic, Pedagogic and Literary Studies in Honor of Ernest N. McCarus*, Columbus, OH: Greyden.
- Parkinson, Dilworth B., 1996, "Variability in Standard Arabic Grammar Skills", 91–101 in Elgibali, Alaa (ed.), *Understanding Arabic: essays in contemporary Arabic linguistics in honor of El-Said Badawi*, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Parkinson, Dilworth B., 2003, "Future Variability: A Corpus Study of Arabic Future Particles", 191–211 in Parkinson, D. B. & Farawneh, S. (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XV*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Parkinson, Dilworth B., 2008, "Sentence Subject Agreement Variation in Arabic", 67–90 in Ibrahim, Zaynab & Makhlof, Sanaa A. M. (eds.), *Linguistics in an age of globalization: perspectives on Arabic language and teaching*, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Parkinson, Dilworth B., 2010, "Communities of Use in Arabic Newspaper Language: The Meaning of the Country Effect", 47–60 in Bassiouney, Reem (ed.), *Arabic and the Media: Linguistic analyses and applications*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 57, Leiden: Brill.
- Pasha, Arfath, al-Badrashiny, Mohamed, Diab, Mona, El Kholy, Ahmed, Eskander, Ramy, Habash, Nizar, Pooleery, Manoj, Rambow, Owen & Roth, Ryan M., 2014, "MADAMIRA: A Fast, Comprehensive Tool for Morphological Analysis and Disambiguation of Arabic", 1094–1101 in *Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC' 2014)*, Reykjavik: Iceland: European Language Resources Association (ELRA).
- Peled, Yishai, 1999, "Aspects of the use of grammatical terminology in Arabic grammatical tradition", 50–85 in Suleiman, Yasir (ed.), *Arabic grammar and linguistics*, London: Curzon.
- Persson, Maria, "Circumstantial clause", in EALL.
- Persson, Maria, 2002, *Sentential Object Complements in Modern Standard Arabic*, Studia Orientalia Lundensia N.S. 2, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Plunkett, Bernadette, 1993, "The position of subjects in Modern Standard Arabic", 231–260 in Eid, Mushira & Holes, Clive (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics 5*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- PwC, *Global entertainment and media outlook 2012–2016*, [http://www.careercatalysts.com/pdf/PwCOutlook2012-Industry%20overview%20\(3\).pdf](http://www.careercatalysts.com/pdf/PwCOutlook2012-Industry%20overview%20(3).pdf) (accessed March 25, 2021).
- PwC, *Global entertainment and media outlook 2014–2018*, <https://www.pwc.com/gx/en/global-entertainment-media-outlook/> (accessed August 2015; link now refers to most up-to-date version).
- Reckendorf, H., 1921, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- Reichenbach, Hans, 1947, *Elements of symbolic logic*, New York: Free Press & London: CollierMacmillan.
- Reichmuth, Philipp, "Transcription", in EALL.
- Renouf, A., 1987, "Corpus Development", 1–41 in Sinclair, J. (ed.), *Looking Up: An Account of the COBUILD Project in Lexical Computing*, Birmingham: HarperCollins.
- Retsö, Jan, 1984–1986, "State, Determination, and Definiteness in Arabic: A Reconsideration", 341–346 in *Orientalia Suecana* 33–35.
- Retsö, Jan, 2004, "Relative clause marking in Arabic Dialects", 263–273 in Haak, M., de Jong, R. & Versteegh, K. (eds.), *Approaches to Arabic Dialects: A Collection of Articles presented to Manfred Woidich on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, Leiden: Brill.

- Retsö, Jan, 2006, "Thoughts About the Diversity of Arabic", 23–33 in Edzard, Lutz & Retsö, Jan (eds.), *Current Issues in the Analysis of Semitic Grammar and Lexicon II: Oslo–Göteborg Cooperation 4th–5th November 2005*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Retsö, Jan, 2009, "Nominal Attribution in Semitic: Typology and Diachrony", 3–33 in Watson, Janet C. E. & Retsö, Jan (eds.), *Journal of Semitic Studies* Supplement 25.
- Retsö, Jan, 2010, "Status: eine vernachlässigte Kategorie der arabischen Grammatik?", 65–71 in Talay, Shabo & Bobzin, Hartmut (eds.), *Arabische Welt: Grammatik, Dichtung und Dialekte; Beiträge einer Tagung in Erlangen zu Ehren von Wolfdietrich Fischer*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Retsö, Jan & Watson, Janet C. E. (eds.), 2009, *Relative clauses and genitive constructions in Semitic*, Oxford: Oxford University Press on behalf of the University of Manchester.
- Reuters, *Reuters's Handbook of Journalism*, https://www.mediareform.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Reuters_Handbook_of_Journalism.pdf (accessed July 12, 2024).
- Rezaei, Siamak, "Punctuation", in EALL.
- Riḍā, Muḥammad Raṣīd, 1906–1931, *Tārīḥ al-ʿustād al-ʿImām al-ṣayḥ Muḥammad ʿAbduḥ*, 3 vols., Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Manār.
- Roper, Geoffrey (ed.), 2014, *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East : Papers from the Symposium at the University of Leipzig, September 2008*, Leiden: Brill.
- Rouchdy, Aleya (ed.), 2002, *Language contact and language conflict in Arabic: variations on a sociolinguistic theme*, London: Routledge Curzon.
- Rubin, Aaron D., 2005, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*, Harvard Semitic Studies 57, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Rugh, William A., 1979, *The Arab press: news media and political process in the Arab world*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Rugh, William A., 2004, *The Arab mass media: newspapers, radio, and television in Arab politics*, Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Ryding, Karin C., "Idāfa", in EALL.
- Ryding, Karin C., 1992, "Morphosyntactic analysis in al-Jumal fii l-naḥw: Discourse structure and metalanguage", 263–277 in Broselow, Ellen, Eid, Mushira & McCarthy, John (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics, IV*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ryding, Karin C., 2005, *A Reference Grammar of Modern Standard Arabic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ryding, Karin C., 2010, "Media Arabic as a regional standard", 219–228 in Bassiouney, Reem (ed.), *Arabic and the Media: Linguistic analyses and applications*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 57, Leiden: Brill.
- Saeed, Aziz Thabit & Fareh, Shahdeh, 2006, "Difficulties Encountered by Bilingual Arab Learners in Translating Arabic 'fa' into English", 19–32 in *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 9(1).
- Sakr, Naomi (ed.), 2007, *Arab Media and Political Renewal: Community, Legitimacy and Public Life*, London: I. B. Tauris.
- Salhi, Ali & Yahya, Adnan, 2014, "Quality Assessment of General and Categorized Arabic Text Corpora", 149–158 in *Proceedings of 5th International Conference on Arabic Language Processing-CITALA 2014; November 26-27, 2014, Rabat, Morocco*, <https://www.asalhi.info/paper7.pdf> (accessed July 12, 2024).
- Sartori, Manuel, 2015, "Sawfa lā/lan yaf'al et lā/lan sawfa yaf'al: Étude de cas sur corpus pour une grammaire didactique et renouvelée de l'arabe modern", 1–17 in *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 15.
- Shaefer, Karl, 2014, "Mediaeval Arabic block printing: State of the field", 1–16 in Roper, Geoffrey (ed.), *Historical Aspects of Printing and Publishing in Languages of the Middle East : Papers from the Symposium at the University of Leipzig, September 2008*, Leiden: Brill.

- Scheffler, Tatjana, 2013, *Two-dimensional Semantics: Clausal Adjuncts and Complements*, PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Sherringham, A. T. (ed.), 1927. *Modern Arabic sentences on practical subjects: being a selection from the newspapers of Iraq, Palestine, and Egypt*, London: K. Paul Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd.
- Shopen, Timothy (ed.), 2007, *Language typology and syntactic description, Vol. 2: Complex constructions*, 2nd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sjörs, Ambjörn, 2015, *The history of standard negation in Semitic*, PhD dissertation, Uppsala Universitet, Uppsala.
- Sjöstrand, Nils, 1953, *Ny latinsk grammatik*, Malmö: Gleerups.
- Skogseth, Geir Juell, 2000, *Egyptian Radio Arabic: a phonological analysis of the language in EBA news broadcasts*, Master's thesis in Arabic, Institute of East-European and Oriental Studies, Faculty of History and Philosophy, University of Oslo.
- Smyth, Herbert Weir, 1956, *Greek grammar*, revised by Messing, Gordon M., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Solà-Solé, Josep M., 1961, *L'infinitif sémitique: contribution à l'étude des formes et des fonctions des noms d'action et des infinitifs sémitiques*, Paris: Champion.
- Solders, Severin, 1974, *Grekisk Grammatik*, 9th ed., Lund: Gleerup.
- Stadlbauer, Susanne Marion, 2010, "Language Ideologies in the Arabic Diglossia of Egypt", 1–19 in *Colorado Research in Linguistics* 22(1).
- Stein, Peter, 2013, *Lehrbuch der sabäischen Sprache, Teil 1: Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Stetkevych, Jaroslav, 1970, *The modern Arabic literary language: lexical and stylistic developments*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Suleiman, Yasir, 1996, "Language and Identity in Egyptian Nationalism", 25–37 in Suleiman, Yasir (ed.), *Language and Identity in the Middle East and North Africa*, Richmond: Curzon Press.
- Suleiman, Yasir (ed.), 1999, *Arabic grammar and linguistics*, London: Curzon.
- Suleiman, Yasir, 2003, *The Arabic Language and National Identity: A Study in Ideology*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Suleiman, Yasir, 2012, "Ideology and the Standardization of Arabic", 201–213 in Reem Bassiouney and E. Graham Katz (eds.), *Arabic language and linguistics*, Georgetown university press, Washington DC.
- Taine-Cheikh, Catherine, 2004, "Le(s) Futur(s) en arabe: Réflexions pour une typologie", 215–238 in *Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí* 8.
- The Arab Center for the Development of the Rule of Law and Integrity, <http://www.arabrulcoflaw.org/> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- Thompson, Sandra A., Longacre, Robert E. & Hwang, Shin Ja J., 2007, "Adverbial clauses", 237–300 in Shopen, Timothy (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description, Vol. 2: Complex constructions*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Togeby, A., 1982, "The Structure of the News Story", 236–244 in Fretheim, Thorstein & Helan, Lars (eds.), *Papers from the sixth Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics*, Dragvoll, Norway: Tapair.
- UNESCO, 2007, *Model Curricula for Journalism Education / Minhāḡ namūḏaḡī li-tadrīs al-ṣiḥāfa*, UNESCO Series on Journalism Education, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/publications-and-communication-materials/publications/full-list/model-curricula-for-journalism-education/> (accessed March 25, 2021; link invalid, July 12, 2024).
- UNESCO, 2011, "UNESCO to assist in reforming journalism education in Egypt" (press release), http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=31264&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (accessed August 26, 2014; link invalid, February 3, 2025).

- United Nations, 2013, *UN Demographic Yearbook 2012*, New York: United Nations, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/dyb/dybssets/2012.pdf> (accessed March 25, 2021).
- Van Mol, Marc, 2003a, *Variation in modern standard Arabic in radio news broadcasts: a synchronic descriptive investigation into the use of complementary particles*, Leuven: Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies.
- Van Mol, Marc, 2003b, "Evolution of MSA: The case of some complementary particles", 135–147 in Parkinson, D. B. & Farawneh, S. (eds.), *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XV*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Van Mol, Marc, 2010, "Arabic oral media and corpus linguistics: A first methodological outline", 63–79 in Bassiouney, Reem (ed.), *Arabic and the Media: Linguistic analyses and applications*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 57, Leiden: Brill.
- Ventola, Eija, 1984, "Orientation to Social Semiotics in Foreign Language Teaching", 275–86 in *Applied linguistics* 5.
- Versteegh, K., 1997, *The Arabic language*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Versteegh, K., 2003, *The Arabic language*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Walters, Keith, Cantarino, Vicente & Eid, Mushira, 1994, *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics VI: Papers From the Sixth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, Series IV, Current Issues in Linguistics, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Watson, Janet, 1999, "The Syntax of Arabic Headlines and News Summaries", 161–181 in Suleiman, Yasir (ed.), *Arabic grammar and linguistics*, London: Curzon.
- Wehr, Hans, 1961, *A dictionary of modern written Arabic*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Woidich, Manfred, 1980, "Illi als Konjunktion im Kairenischen", 224–238 in Diem, Werner & Wild, Stefan, *Studien aus Arabistik und Semitistik Anton Spitaler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag von seinen Schülern überreicht*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Woidich, Manfred, 1989, "Illi, 'dass', illi, 'weil' und zayy illi 'als ob': zur Reinterpretation von Relativsatzgefügen im Kairenischen", 109–128 in *Mediterranean Language Review* 4–5.
- Wright, W., 2005 [1896–1898], *Arabic Grammar*, 3rd ed., translated from the German of Caspari by Wright, Dover, NY: Mineola.
- Youmans, Gilbert, 1990, "Measuring Lexical Style and Competence: The Type-Token Vocabulary Curve", 584–599 in *Style* 24(4).
- Zizi, Khadija, 1987, *Contrastive discourse analysis of argumentative and informative newspaper prose in Arabic, French, and English: Suggestions for teaching/learning English as a foreign language for journalistic purposes (EJP) in Morocco*, PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Music

- Beastie Boys, "Sure Shot", on *Ill Communications* (CD), 1994, Grand Royal, Capitol.
- Beatles, "Yellow Submarine", on *Revolver*, 1966, Parlophone (UK), Capitol (US).
- Celeste, "What's your poison", on *Celeste* (EP), 2014 [indie release].
- Empire cast, "Love is a drug", on *Love is a Drug (From "Empire")*, 2017, Twentieth Century Fox Film.
- Lady Leshurr, "Lukatar" (single), 2015, Lady Leshurr.
- West Coast G'Z, كلاش | داعس = Klash, *dā'es*, [indie release].
- Wu-Tang Clan, "A Better Tomorrow", on *Wu-Tang Forever* (dCD), 1997, Loud/RCA Records.