Conditional Sentences
in Modern Written Arabic

Submitted by:

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature: …………………………………………………………..

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Abstract

This study is concerned with the semantic and the functional aspects of Arabic conditional sentences. The motivation behind the study is the existing gaps in previous studies. The framework applied in this study is influenced by some Western linguistic analyses which mainly targeted English conditionals. Additionally, based on the findings, some comparisons between Arabic and English are drawn in order to determine the similarities and the differences between the two languages.

This study particularly adopts a certain number of parameters; namely: Modality meanings and their temporal interpretations, the relationship between the two clauses, discourse functional roles and the interaction between conditional particles and other conjunctions and particles. Methodologically, the data included in this study is drawn from a range of Modern Written Arabic sources; hence, the results are proved by empirical evidence based on real texts.

This research conducts a qualitative and detailed investigation for the actual use of Modern Written Arabic conditionals with relation to the parameters adopted. As a result, a number of classifications have been identified. These are sometimes supplemented with statistical descriptions. Additionally, this study shows how conditional sentences semantically and functionally act in real Modern Written Arabic texts. i.e. how they denote a variety of meanings and perform functional and textual roles. Finally, the broader contribution of this study is that it provides new insights and a deeper understanding of Arabic conditionals.

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Transliteration System

Library of Congress Arabic Transliteration System:

Consonants:

ء	ʾ	ط	ṭ
ب	b	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	ʿ
ث	th	غ	gh
ج	j	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	kh	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	dh	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	ه	h
س	s	و	w
ش	sh	ي	y
ص	ṣ		
ض	ḍ		

Vowels:

Long	ا	ā		Short	َ	a
	و	ū			ِ	i
	ي	ī			ُ	u

Abbreviations

b.	Ibn
CA	Classical Arabic
CLA	Classical Literary Arabic
d.	Died
IS	Information Structure
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
MWA	Modern Written Arabic
n.d.	No date
NP	Noun Phrase
P	The protasis
Q	The apdosis.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Statement of the problem:

The topic of this study is conditional sentences in Modern Written Arabic (henceforth MWA). The notion of conditionality has been a central concern to linguists, psychologists, and philosophers. This is due to the fact that conditionals "directly reflect the characteristically human ability to reason about alternative situations, to make inferences based on incomplete information, to imagine possible correlations between situations, and to understand how the world would change if certain correlations were different".[1] These complex aspects of human communication have led linguists to pay a great deal of attention to the study and analysis of this topic, and to expend large amounts of ink, publishing findings and theories, in order to provide a better understanding of the notion of conditionality. Dancygier indicates that the importance of conditionals emerges from their interaction with structure, meaning, and context, which makes them complex and fascinating.[2] The complexity of conditional structures can be seen in the form of their being constructed by three syntactic elements: particle, subordinate clause (protasis), and main clause (apodosis). Furthermore, the semantic loads and the functional aspects of the conditional seem equally complex.[3]

Although a great deal of focus has been given to the study of Arabic conditionals by Arabic language grammarians in the Classical period of Arabic (CA), the major focus has been given to the syntactic features of the sentence. This includes the issue of *al-ʿāmil al-naḥwī* (the syntactic governor/operator) and its inflectional effect, the verbal patterns and the grammatical and the ungrammatical structures. Hence, as far as I know, the semantic functions and the contextual roles of conditional sentences were not considered within the scope of their work, apart from general discussions as will be shown in Chapter 2. There are also intensive contemporary studies that target conditional sentences in Classical Arabic, but most of these studies are actually bound by the views adopted by medieval Arabic

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[1] Traugott *et al.* (1986), p. 3
[2] Dancygier (2006), p. 2.
[3] Elder (2014: a), p. 2.

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grammarians, i.e. examining their views and presenting some controversial issues.[4] Nevertheless, a few of these studies have attempted to address some questions with regard to the semantics of conditionals.[5]

In comparison, by looking at the studies that are concerned with conditionals in the context of MWA, we notice that the subject is scattered throughout grammar books and never treated in a completely separate book. Hence, there is a lacuna in the literature in that the topic of conditionals has not been subjected to deep analysis. From a general point of view, and in agreement with Sartori, these studies of conditionals are descriptively insufficient.[6] This is because most of the studies either aim at a pedagogical description, or focus on one aspect of the topic at the expense of others. More specifically, these treatments present us with some obvious problems. First, they concentrate on the interchangeability between the three conditional particles: *idhā, in* and *law* in terms of Modality meanings. The scope here is very narrow and limited. Besides, they still lack a proper analysis within this (limited) area.

Secondly, the relation between the protasis and the apodosis, especially the semantic relation, has been neglected or superficially presented by these studies. In Western linguistics studies of English conditionals, the relation between the two clauses is regarded as an essential aspect of conditional sentences, and there are different types of linkages that can be expressed.[7]

A third problem with these studies is that the contextual and discourse functions that can be expressed by MWA conditionals have also been overlooked. This shortcoming has also been observed by one author with regards to the works of medieval Arabic grammarians, due to their primary focus on the syntactic functions.[8]

Fourthly, the interaction between the form of conditionals and the Modality meanings expressed, in my opinion, needs deeper analysis, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This must be conducted on the basis of the actual usages of the Arabic conditional in written discourse. This particular problem is noticeable in many studies. Even those who have

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[4] See: Wright (1875); Hasan (1979); Abū al-Makārim (2007); al-Saad (2010).
[5] For example, Peled (1992). Abdel Ghani (1981) didcates a Chapter in his study in which he attempts to investigate this matter.
[6] Sartori (2011), pp. 1, 4.
[7] Dancygier (2006), p. 13.
[8] Al-Saad (2010), p. 285.

analysed natural written data, appear to make inadequate judgments.[9] Realising these general weaknesses and gaps in the extant literature, the present work contributes towards reaching a fuller analysis of conditional sentences in MWA, and especially in revealing how conditionals are actually used by modern Arabic writers.

1.2. Aims and objectives:

The main purpose of this study is to fill the lacunae above by exploring the semantic functions and the contextual/pragmatic aspects of conditional sentences in MWA through the empirical method of using a broad set of text-based data. This will reveal some significant aspects of conditional structures that have been ignored or considered peripheral by previous studies. The research specifically aims at investigating the relationship between Modality meanings and conditional structures, seeking to determine the syntactic features and the temporal references that may be associated with the identified meanings. It will also attempt to analyse the nature of the semantic and the pragmatic relation between the two clauses and their contextual roles. By achieving these aims, this study will reveal some distinct typological categories for the use of conditional sentences in MWA. In order to accomplish this objective, I will apply a framework that is influenced by some Western linguistic studies, especially on English conditionals. This framework, as will be shown in Chapter 3, will aim to fill the extant gaps in the existing literature on the study of Arabic conditionals.

1.3. Scope and limitation:

This study is limited to conditional sentences that are used by modern Arabic writers. Hence, those conditional sentences that were produced in the classical and medieval period of Arabic will not be part of the main analysis. They might, however, be fruitful for drawing comparisons between Classical and Modern Arabic. Furthermore, this study does not deal with the controversial issues and scholarly debates among Arabic grammarians concerning conditionals as many studies have already been done in this respect.[10]

Since there are many conditional particles, as will be shown in (1.5), the focus will be on three particles: *in, idhā* and *law*. The reasons for choosing these particles is that they are the

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[9] I will show in Chapter 2 that Sartori's work is an exception here. However, his work still has some other shortcomings that will be discussed.

[10] See the following for examples of these controversies: al-Shamsān (1981); Abdel Ghani (1981); Al-Saad (2010).

(i) the most common of all conditional particles;[11] (ii) they have received a great deal of attention from scholars of the Arabic language, both traditional and modern (as will be shown in Chapter 2); (iii) they are semantically, partly interchangeable.[12] Sentences which are not considered to be structurally conditional, but express a conditional meaning, do not fall under the scope of this study. An example of this is (S.1):

S. 1) Open the window and I will kiss you.[13]

This sentence can be read as follows: if you open the window, I will kiss you. Arabic equivalents to this English example will not be considered in this study. After delimiting the scope of this study, the next section proposes the research questions.

1.4. Research questions:

1. What types of Modality meaning can be denoted by MWA conditional sentences?

2. How do the three particles conditionals (*idhā, in* and *law*) interact quantitatively and qualitatively with the types Modality meaning identified in question (1); and are there any syntactic-semantic relations?

3. How do the Time References act with relation to the Modality meanings of conditionals?

4. How is the relationship between the two clauses in MWA conditionals semantically and pragmatically presented? Are there different types of relationships?

5. How do the connector particles that link the two clauses interact with the syntax and the semantics of conditional sentences in MWA?

6. How do conditional sentences act contextually and functionally in the text?

7. How does the interaction between the conditional particles and other linguistic elements develop additional meanings for conditional structures?

1.5. The Arabic Language and its varieties: an overview:

Arabic is a language that belongs to the Semitic family, a separate subgroup within the Afro-Asiatic group of languages. It is considered to be one of the South-western Semitic languages.[14] Scholars agree that the genesis of Arabic is unknown due to the fact that there

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[11] Buckley (2004), p. 731; Ryding (2005), pp. 671, 675.
[12] Peled (1992), pp. 25, 41; Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 636.
[13] Dancygier (2006), p. 188.
[14] Qaddūr (1993), p: 37. Versteegh (2014), p: 10-11.

are no documents, petroglyphical records, nor written sequels in existence which could give any indications as to the first developmental stages of Arabic. [15]

Currently, Arabic is perceived as to be a diglossic language. This means that there are two levels of Arabic co-existing in Arabic-speaking countries. The first level is standard and the other is considered to be non-standard.[16] Standard Arabic is known as *fuṣḥā*, and non-standard Arabic is known as *ᶜāmmiyyah*, or, dialect, colloquial, or spoken Arabic. The literate speaker switches or mix between the two levels as the situation requires.[17] The distinctions between the two varieties are acknowledged by linguists who specialise in Arabic. Here are the main the distinctive features of Arabic:[18]

a. Standard Arabic is highly codified with normative, systematic, explicitly written, grammatical prescribed rules which are extracted from CA material and usages, while non-standard Arabic (i.e. Arabic dialects), though in spoken form, follow rules which are mentally absorbed by the speakers. In other words, non-standard Arabic retains its own complex linguistic system that is used among the native community speakers who subconsciously follow this system. This means that non-standard Arabic still holds the concept of correct and incorrect speech, which is usually determined by native spkears. Nonetheless, unlike Standard Arabic, this linguistic system is not regulated by authoritative organisations.[19]

b. Standard Arabic is viewed as a highly prestigious variety since it is the language of religion, literature, and scholarship, while the non-standard is described as a low variety since it is the language of casual daily communication at home and on the street.

c. Standard Arabic is deemed a unified variety. This means that the language does not pertain to a specific area or a group of people but it is usually used and understood by those who

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[15] Qaddūr (1993), p: 42.

[16] Van Mol (2003), pp. 41.

[17] Versteegh (2014), pp. 241-243.

[18] These features are summarised from the following sources: Ferguson (1959 a), p. 236; Kaye (1970), p. 383; Holes (2004), pp. 4-5; Van Mol (2003), pp. 13-21, 46; Alosh (2005), p.p.3-9; Zaidan and Callison-Burch (2014), p. 173.

[19] Some works by inviduals that describe Arabic dialects include:
1- Spoken Iraqi Arabic by Merrill Y. Van Wagoner (1949).
2- Gulf Arabic by Clive Holes (1989).
3- Najdi Arabic: Central Arabian by Bruce Ingham (1994).
4- A Reference Grammar of Syrian Arabic by Mark W. Cowell (1964).
5- Yemeni Arabic Reference Grammar by Hamdi Qafisheh (1992).
6- An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic by Terry Mitchell (1978).

live in the whole region regardless of their distinct local divisions of dialect. As a result, when two speakers from different and distant regions use Standard Arabic in their communication, they should easily be able to understand each other. This leads the standard language to act as a *lingua franca* for the different regions.[20] By contrast, non-standard Arabic has local characteristics. Hence, since there are many local regions in the Arab world, it is not surprising that there are many spoken dialects. However, there are main dialectal geographical areas in Arab world. This includes, for instance, North African, Egyptian, Arabian Gulf, Levantine, Iraqi, and Yemeni dialects. According to Holes, the difference between the dialects becomes more substantial when the distance between the dialects' respective geographical locations is greater.[21] This directly indicates that the non-standard Arabic variety lacks a unification character.

d. Standard Arabic is commonly used in formal situations and discourse such as sermons in church and mosque, political speeches, and news broadcasts. By contrast, the non-standard variety is commonly utilised in informal situations such as conversation between family members, friends and colleagues, and in social gatherings or folk poetry.

e. Standard Arabic is commonly written. Even the spoken practice of Standard Arabic is usually based on what is already written and is prepared to be read loudly. Non-standard Arabic, by contrast, is usually oral.

f. Linguistically, the two varieties present a number of phonological, morphological, syntactical, semantic, and lexical differences. One of the main syntactical difference between the two types of Arabic is the absence of the *i'rāb* (case-endings) in the non-standard variety, while it is found in Standard Arabic.[22]

g. Standard Arabic is the variety that is learned and taught in the school, while non-standard Arabic is the native mother tongue for speakers. Hence, it is acquired naturally through interaction with the community members.

Chronologically, standard Arabic is divided on the basis of its historical development into different stages. These two stages are: Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). I will shed light on these two stages:

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[20] Joseph (1987), p. 75.
[21] Holes (2004), p. 3.
[22] Meiseles (1979), p. 127. Ferguson (1959 b), pp. 620-630 managed to trace fourteen features in which Arabic dialects are distinguishable from standard Arabic.

CA, dating from approximately 600 A.D until towards the end of the eighteenth century, is a term that is used by modern linguists to refer to the language that was described by the medieval Arabic grammarians.[23] These grammarians relied mainly on three sources for their studies: the Holy *Qur'ān*, pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry and *ḥadīth*.[24] As a result of the grammarians' works, CA is considered a normative language which has grammatical rules that must be followed by its speakers. Consequently, CA was believed by the early Arabic philologists to be the only correct form, and traditional grammar books were written to formulate prescriptive foundational principles that would guide Arabic speakers away from grammatical errors.[25] In addition, at this stage, Arabic became the official language of Islamic civilization as it was the language of religion, administration, science, education, and literature. As a result, it gained a position of high prestige.[26]

It is generally accepted that the period of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) began roughly at the end of the 18th century. This estimation is based on the most dramatic event of the era that occurred in the Arab world—Napoleon Bonaparte's 1798 expedition to Egypt.[27] Following this event, Western culture started to influence Arab civilization by transferring new ideas through the translation of books and articles in different subjects, such as politics, culture, and technology. This necessitated Arabic users gaining new modes of expression in order to cope with the transmitted ideas.[28] In addition, printing techniques and technologies played a vital role in influencing the Arabic language with respect to a period of recovery in Arabic literature known as the *Nahḍah* (awakening) movement.[29] At this stage, academies, as Versteegh points out, were concerned with the reform of Arabic language.[30] They worked to adapt CA in order to cope with the linguistic demands of modern times. As a result, new Arabic terms were produced via translation, *taʿrīb* (Arabicisation) and borrowing, which played a role in expanding the Arabic lexicon. At the same time, however, academies aimed to protect the Arabic language from the influence of colloquial and foreign languages in order

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[23] Cuvalay-Haak (1997), p. 15.
[24] Rabin (1955), pp: 21-22; Fischer (2006), pp: 397.
[25] Van Mol (2003), p: 23.
[26] Fischer (2006), pp: 397, 402; Ryding (2004), p: 3.
[27] Van Mol (2003), p: 25. See also: Holes (2004), p. 42; Versteegh (2014), p. 221.
[28] Beeston (1970), p: 15.
[29] Van Mol (2003), pp: 26-27.
[30] He provides the following examples of theses academies: *Majmaʿ al-Lughah al-ʿarabiyyah* in Damascus (founded in 1919), *Majmaʿ al-Lughah al-ʿarabiyyah* in Cairo (founded in 1932), and *al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī* in Baghdad (founded in 1947). See: Versteegh (2014), p. 227.

to preserve the standard character of CA.[31] Finally, Van Mol asserts that the second half of the 20th Century witnessed the dramatic evolution of Arabic, and that these changes became widespread throughout education systems and also the media.[32]

Nowadays, MSA has taken over from CA as the unifying standard language used in the Arab world and is identified as being the official Arabic language in international organisations.[33] It is defined as the language that is found in contemporary books (fiction and non-fiction), textbooks, and newspapers and it is used in political and religious speeches, and public lectures because of its formality. It is the language of education, media, and literature.[34]

MSA has been considered to be controversial since it has not been completely agreed upon amongst linguists, especially in the Arab world.[35] The debate is focused on the existence of MSA as a new distinctive variety of Arabic. Conservative scholars, such as scholars of al-Azhar, believe that there is only one standard Arabic language, and MSA is based on the same principles that CA is, that is the *Qurʾān* and other classical literary materials.[36] This view is also adopted by some Western linguists who use the term CA to refer to the language that represents the same grammatical system of CA, and comprising also MSA.[37] In this respect, ordinary Arab people use the terms *Fuṣḥā* or *al-ʿArabiyyah* for both types of Arabic without any distinction.[38] One reason for this argument is that *Qurʾānic* language and the traditional texts continue to maintain their status among Arabic speakers.[39] Therefore, it is thought that the grammar of MSA does not have obvious distinct grammatical features that distinguish it from CA, i.e. Modern Arabic grammar books contain the same principles of CA grammar.[40] Clearly, proponents of this view assert that the existence of MSA as a new variety of the Arabic language is deceptive and they establish their argument on the existing common ground in the syntax of both CA and MSA.

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[31] Versteegh (2014), p. 227.
[32] Van Mol (2003), pp: 29-30.
[33] Van Mol (2003), pp: 36-37. Badawi (2013), p. 119 states that CA (using the term *fuṣḥā al-turāth*) is used in very limited situations and exclusively used by religious people in sermons and programs of faith.
[34] MaLoughlin (1972), p. 58; Van Mol (2003), p. 39.
[35] Van Mol (2003), p. 38.
[36] Van Mol (2003), p. 39; Abdul Razak (2011), p: 40.
[37] Palva (1969), p. 3; Fischer (2006), p. 399.
[38] Van Mol (2003), p. 38; Holes (2004), p. 5.
[39] Van Mol (2003), p. 38.
[40] Abdul Razak (2011), pp. 40-41.

On the other hand, the term MSA has been accepted by many linguists as describing something undeniably distinct from CA.[41] According to Stetkevych, MSA has obviously deviations from CA. These include syntactic and stylistic aspects, although the MSA morphological system presents the CA system.[42] In this manner, a group of linguists have translated the Arabic term for MSA as *faṣīḥ* (pure Arabic) to distinguish it from the dialects, while they use the term *fuṣḥā* for CA.[43] According to Blau, the existence of MSA as a newly developed layer cannot be denied.[44] Similarly, Kaye has argued that the stance that distinguishes MSA from CA is convincing.[45] Linguists with this point of view have undertaken intensive empirical studies in order to provide practical support for their claim. Generally, they observed a number of changes that occurred in the system of CA. But a systematic, comprehensive investigation seems not to have been achieved yet in order to draw a clear-cut line between the two varieties.[46] These observed changes give an indication that there are certainly differences.[47] Versteegh points out that there are great deals of "idiosyncrasies of the Classical Arabic [that] have become obsolete".[48] In addition, he continues, MSA has evolved some grammatical elements.[49] However, as Van Mol points out, the changes between the two varieties seem immense in the scope of lexicon, phraseology, and style while they are limited in the scope of syntax[50]. But to what to extent are they limited? There is no definite answer in the literature. In the following lines, I will provide some examples taken from previous studies which reveal some of the practical differences between the two varieties of Arabic:

a- According to the principles of CA grammar, the verbal form that denotes reciprocity requires at least two persons as a subject. However, in MSA, the subject can be a single person followed by a preposition that expresses reciprocity, such as *maᶜa*. This has been observed by Blau who thinks that this change might have occurred as a result of dialectal

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[41] See for example: Meiseles (1979), p. 122; Holes (2004), pp. 4, 46; Ryding (2005); p. 4. Versteegh (2014), p. 22.
[42] Stetkevych (1970), p. 121.
[43] Van Mol (2003), p. 39.
[44] Blau (1981), p. 145.
[45] Kaye (1970), p. 377.
[46] Van Mol (2003), p. 31.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Versteegh (2014), p. 233.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Van Mol (2003), pp. 29-31.

influence.[51] The following examples illustrate this. The first, (S.9), represents CA and the second, (S.10), represents MSA:

S. 9) *tashājara ʿAliyyun wa Khālidun.*

<div dir="rtl">تشاجر علي و خالد.</div>

  ʿAli and Khālid quarrelled.[52]

S. 10) *tashājara ʿAliyyun maʿa Khālidin.*

<div dir="rtl">تشاجر علي مع خالد.</div>

  ʿAli quarrelled with Khālid.[53]

b- In MSA, passive constructions are commonly followed by prepositional phrases, such as *min qibali, min ṭarafi* (form the side/party of) to introduce the agent. According to the CA norm, the agent should not be overtly expressed.[54] Consider the following example: (S.11)

S. 11) *tamma al-istīlāʾu ʿalā al-qaṣri al-malakiyyi min qibali quwwāti al-infiṣāliyyati.*

<div dir="rtl">تم الاستيلاء على القصر الملكي من قبل قوات الانفصالية.</div>

  The royal palace was captured by secessionist forces.[55]

c- The widespread use of the dummy verb *qāma bi-* as a substitute for an active verb. For example, in MSA, instead of saying *zāra* (he visited), the sentence *gāma bi-ziyāratin* is often used, especially in the media.[56]

d- The intensive use of the verb *tamma* (to be completed), followed by *maṣdar* (verbal noun), instead of the passive voice reports the completion of iterative processes. Holes asserts that this can be seen as one of the most striking changes in which MSA has developed the passive construction.[57] Consider the following example: (S.12)

S. 12) *tamma iktishāfu ʿilāgin li-maraḍi al-saraṭāni.*

<div dir="rtl">تم اكتشاف علاج لمرض السرطان.</div>

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[51] Blau (1973), p: 185.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Holes (2004), pp. 319-320; Versteegh (2014), p. 233.
[55] Holes (2004), pp. 320.
[56] Versteegh (2014), p. 233.
[57] Holes (2004), p. 317.

A new treatment for cancer has been discovered.[58]

e- It has been also noticed that MSA writers/speakers frequently utilize the particle *ka-* (as) instead of the accusative adverb of circumstance. Consider the following example: (S.13)

S. 13) *tūnis ka-dawlatin nāmiyatin muḍṭarratun…*

تونس كدولة نامية مضطرة...

Tunisia as a developing country is obliged…[59]

Such examples, along with many others, provide convincing arguments with respect to the existence of MSA as a developed layer from CA; that is to say the fundamentals of MSA have been established on the basis of CA principles, though in practice it sometimes behaves differently.[60] Therefore, it may be reasonable to say, as Abdul Razak states, that the aim of MSA was not to establish a completely separate form of language from CA.[61] In other words, the relation between CA and MSA does not resemble the relation between standard Arabic and dialects. The latter shows significant distinctions between the two varieties. Finally, I believe that the claimed existence of MSA as a modern version of the Arabic language is reasonable due to the fact that the Arabic language, in recent times, has experienced a certain amount of change, but this version is not entirely separate from CA. Rather, it is fundamentally grounded to CA principles.

1.6. Case of study: Conditional sentences:

The purpose of this section is to provide a sketch of the general characteristics of the conditional system. This covers its syntactic classification, the meaning of the conditional, the particles used, and the patterns presented in the two clauses.

A conditional sentence is defined as a complex structure that contains two clauses which are originally independent but are linked by a conjunction called a 'conditional particle' (e.g. 'if' in English).[62] The first clause contains the particle and is called the protasis, the antecedent,

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[58] Ibid., p. 318.
[59] Blau (1973), p. 201.
[60] Versteegh (1997), p: 183, appears to take a moderate attitude in this point; he says: "Ideologically, of course, the modern language is still the same as the language of the *Qurʾān* and the Classical period, but in practice it is easy to see that there are differences, not all them lexical".
[61] Abdul Razak (2011), p. 41. Meiseles (1979), p. 124, highlights that "although modern LA (Literary Arabic) seems to be developing a linguistic system of its own, its existence is not separate from that of ancient LA".
[62] Trask (1993), p. 55; Peled (1992), p. 1; Dancygier (2006), p. 1.

the if-clause, or the subordinate clause, while the second clause is known as apodosis, consequence, then-clause, or main clause.[63]

In English grammar books, the conditional sentence is classified as a type of adverbial clause which consists of two parts, a subordinate and main, that serves a variety of semantic categories. These include clauses of time, clauses of place, and clauses of condition[64] as in the following examples respectively: (S.14-16)

S. 14) Buy your tickets as soon as you reach the station.

S. 15) They went wherever they could find work.

S. 16) If he changed his opinion, he would be a more likeable person.[65]

Semantically, in conditional sentence, the two clauses are seen dependent upon each other in terms of the realisation, i.e. there is a causal link between the events expressed in the two clauses. This view can be observed clearly as adopted by some medieval Arabic grammarians as in the following example from Ibn Mālik's (d. 672/1273) grammar:

> *adawātu al-sharṭi kalimātun wuḍiʿat li-tadulla ʿalā al-taʿliqi bayna jumlatayni wa al-ḥukmu bi-sababiyyati ūlāhumā wa musabbabiyyati al-thāniyati.*
>
> أدوات الشرط كَلِمات وُضعت لتدل على التعليق بين جملتين والحكم بسببية أولاهما ومسببية الثانية.
>
> Conditional particles are elements that are made for signifying dependency between two clauses. The first [clause] is called a cause and the second is called an effect.[66]

Similarly, some English linguists define conditional sentences with relation to causality. Hacking, for example, states that "a conditional relation between two events is one in which the realisation of one event is dependent upon or conditioned by another".[67]

On the other hand, some other linguists do not follow the aforementioned definition of conditional. i.e. they do not restrict conditionality to the domain of causal relation between the propositions expressed in the two clauses. For example, Quirk *et al.* state that the

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[63] Declerk and Reed (2001), p. 10; Dancygier (2006) p. 1.
[64] Qurik *et al.*, (1972), pp. 744-745; Thompson *et al.*, (2007), vol. 2. p. 243.
[65] Qurik *et al.*, (1972), pp. 744-745, 747.
[66] Ibn Mālik 1990, vol. 4. p. 66. A similar view is held by Abū Ḥayyan (1994), vol. 4. p. 1862; Ibn al-Ḥājib (1997), vol. 3. p. 882.
[67] Hacking (1998), p. 1.

conditional sentence expresses contingency between the two clauses either directly or indirectly. In the direct sense, there is an explicit causal dependency between the two propositions presented in the two clauses. In other words, "the truth of the proposition in the matrix clause (the apodosis) is a consequence of the fulfilment of the condition in the conditional clause (the protasis)".[68] Consider (S.17):

S. 17) If you put the baby down, she will scream.[69]

In the indirect sense, by contrast, there is an implicit pragmatic relationship which justifies the dependency of one clause upon another.[70] This type can be illustrated by (S.18):

S. 18) If you are going my way, I need a lift back.[71]

Although there is no direct dependency between the occurrences of the two events—the case that you are going my way does not make me need a lift back—the proposition presented in the apodosis is true regardless of the truth-value of the protasis. However, there is a covert expression that pragmatically justifies the dependency between the two clauses. Hence, the sentence can be read as follows: if you are going my way, will you please give me a lift back.[72] In a similar vein, Athanasiadou and Dirven highlight that the dependency, which is not necessarily causal, between the two clauses varies in English conditional sentences, which leads to the establishment of a number of sub-categories. In some, the dependency is high, while in others it is reduced, but totally absent dependency relation does not occur.[73]

Gabrielatos claims that "the direct-indirect distinction proved salient in differentiating between types of conditionals".[74] In other words, it creates the chance to capture a wide variety, albeit different types, of conditional sentences rather than restricting the scope to the overt causal link. Hence, in this thesis, I follow the broader sense of the conditional as adopted by Quirk *et al.*[75] That is to say, a conditional sentence consists of two clauses that are relevant and dependant, either directly or indirectly, and connected by a conditional particle. In the following lines, I will give an overview of the conditional system in Arabic.

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[68] Quirk *et al.*, (1985), pp. 1088.
[69] Ibid., p. 1088.
[70] Ibid., p. 1089.
[71] Ibid., p. 1096.
[72] Ibid. For more details on 'Direct vs Indirect' conditionals see also: Gabrielatos (2010), p. 157.
[73] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 3.
[74] Gabrielatos (2010), p. 157.
[75] Following Quirk *et al.*, Gabrielatos (2010), pp. 157-158 adopts this classification in his study of English conditionals.

Arabic has at least seventeen identifiable conditional particles which are categorised on the basis of their syntactic function into two groups: *adawāt jāzimah* (those that produce the jussive mood of the verb), and *adawāt ghayr jāzimah* (those that do not produce the jussive mood of the verb). I will list these particles according to this division:

The first group: *in* (if), *man* (whoever), *mā* (whatever), *mahmā* (whatever), *aynamā* (wherever), *annā* (however, wherever), *ayyān* (whenever), *ayn* (where), *matā* (when), *ḥaythumā* (wherever), *kayfamā* (however), *ay* (who, which, what), *idhmā* (whenever).

The second group: *idhā* (when, if), *law* (if, supposing that), *lawlā* (if were not), *lawmā* (if were not), *ammā* (as for), *lammā* (when), *kullamā* (every time that).[76]

These syntactic groupings were established as a result of the great influence of the *ᶜāmil* theory (the theory of governor/operator) which is the heart of the Arabic grammar tradition. The *ᶜāmil* is basically an element that governs the Morphological inflection of other words that occur in the same sentence.[77] This element can be a verb, particle, or preposition.[78] Let us consider the following example: (S.19)

S. 19) *kataba ᶜAliyyun maqālatan ʾan riḥlatihi.*

كتب علي مقالة عن رحلته.

ᶜAli wrote an article about his trip.

The verb *kataba* governs two constituents in the sentence: *ᶜAliyyun*, which is the subject and which it puts into the nominative case, and *maqālatan*, which is the object and which it puts into the accusative case. Also, the preposition *ᶜan* governs the word *riḥlatihi* and puts it into the genitive case.

In the case of the Arabic conditional, the particle plays this role in case it is *jāzimah*.[79] The syntactic effect is to inflect the end of the imperfect verb. In other words, it changes the mood ending attached to the end of the verb through removing the short vowel *u* attached to the end of the verb, which is in the indicative mood, and puts it into the jussive mood. If one

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[76] Al-Saad (2010), pp. 28-29; Alotaibi (2014), p. 105. It is worth stating that this division was adopted in the later stages of Arabic grammar traditions. Al-Shamsān (1981), p. 119. In the early stage of Arabic grammar scholarship, only those that are considered operators are deemed proper conditional particles. Sībawayhi (1983), vol. 3. p. 62 said: *ḥurūfu al-jazāʾi tajzimu al-afʿāla* (the conditional particles put the verb into jussive). Hence, according to his definition, *idhā* and *law* are not conditional particles. See: Dévényi (2007), vol. 2. p. 479.

[77] Wehr (2011), p. 757; Alotaibi (2014), p. 104.

[78] Alotaibi (2014), p. 104.

[79] Sībawayhi (1983), vol. 3. p. 62.

compares (S.20.a) and (S.20.b), one can observe that the verb *yadrusu* in the former is in the indicative mood, while it is in the jussive mood in the latter, hence, the vowel *u* is removed:

S.20.a) *yadrusu ᶜAliyyun fī al-jāmiᶜati.*

<div dir="rtl">يدرس علي في الجامعة</div>

     ᶜAli studies at the university.

S.20.b) *in yadarus ᶜAliyyun yanjaḥ.*

<div dir="rtl">إن يدرس علي ينجح</div>

     If ᶜAli studies, he will succeed.

However, since not all conditional particles play this role, grammarians have established the second group, the *adawāt ghayr jāzimah.* With these particles, the verbs remain in their mood as they are outside the conditional scope. In other words, the particles do not inflect the verbs. Consider the following sentence: (S.21)

S. 21) *law nashāʾu la-jaᶜalnāhu ujājan.*

<div dir="rtl">لو نشاء لجعلناه أجاجاً</div>

     If we willed, we could make it bitter.[80]

As can be seen here, the verbs *nashāʾu* remains in the indicative mood without any inflection. Hence, the particle *law* is classified as *adāh ghayr jāzimah.*

Only three particles will be the focus in this study. They are: *in, idhā,* and *law.* The reason for choosing these three has been given in (1.3) above.

I have mentioned above that conditional sentences consist of two clauses; the first clause is the protasis, which is one that is initiated by the particle, and the second clause is the apodosis. In the Arabic grammar tradition, the protasis is generally termed *jumlat al-sharṭ* (the condition clause), while the apodosis is labelled *jumlat jawāb al-sharṭ* (the clause that is the result of the condition). The following sentence illustrates this: (S.22)

S. 22) *in ḥaḍara Khālidun   dhahabtu maᶜahu.*

<div dir="rtl">إن حضر خالد ذهبت معه</div>

   If Khālid comes,   I will go with him.

   jumalah al-sharṭ   *jumlah jawāb al-shraṭ*

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[80] *The Holy Qurᶜān*, Sūrat al-Wāqiᶜah (56): 70. The translation is cited in al-Mehri (2010), p. 493.

These two parts are originally two unrelated sentences whose meanings are fully understood outside the conditional domain, i.e. independently.[81] For example, in (S.22), *ḥaḍara Khālidun* (Khalid came) is a complete sentence, as is *dhahabtu maʿahu* (I will go with him). However, when the conditional particle *in* initiates the utterance, it makes the first part incomplete in meaning terms as we cannot say *in ḥaḍara Khālidun* and then stop. This would be nonsense. Therefore, the first part needs to be supplied by another clause in order to bridge the gap. This phenomenon is seen as being one of the main semantic roles that is performed by the conditional particle. Abū al-Makārim says:

> *al-tarābuṭu bayna al-sharṭi wa al-jazāʾi ḍarūriyyun li-taḥqquqi al-fāʾidati wa lākinna hādhā al-tarābuṭa lam yaʾti ʿafwan wa innamā nataja ʿan adāti al-sharaṭi.*

> الترابط بين الشرط والجزاء ضروري لتحقق الفائدة ولكن هذا الترابط لم يأت عفواً وإنما نتج عن أداة الشرط.

> The interconnection between the protasis and the apodosis is necessary in order to understand the meaning [of the sentence]. However, this interconnection is not random; rather, it is the result of the presence of the conditional particle.[82]

Syntactically, the protasis in Arabic must be a declarative clause utilising a derivative verb. Hence, this excludes nominal sentences and sentences that are in the imperative and interrogative mood, that is, the verbal sentence whose verb is non-derivative, such as *ʿasā* (may). In addition, the verb must not be prefixed by the following particles: *sa-, sawfa* or *lan*.[83] The apodosis, however, can be either a verbal clause without containing the constraints mentioned in the protasis features, or a nominal clause.[84] Hence, the apodosis syntactically allows a greater range of patterns than the protasis.

One of the interesting issues that accompanies the conditional sentence is its ability sometimes to indicate tense shifting in the verbal form. In other words, the verb which occurs within its scope does not refer to the time reference which is typically referred to in a non-

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[81] Al-Shamsān (1981), p. 129.
[82] Abū al-Makārim (2007), pp. 142-143.
[83] Hasan (1979), vol. 4. pp. 444-445; Abdel-Ghani (1981), p. 139.
[84] Hasan (1979), vol. 4. p. 449; Abdel-Ghani (1981), pp. 148-149.

conditional sentence. This phenomenon is found in both Arabic and English.[85] Let us consider the following examples: (S.23-24)

S. 23)   *in jāʾa ʿAliyyun asʿadanā.*

إن جاء علي أسعدنا

If ʿAli comes, he will please us.

S. 24)   If I had money, I would buy a new car.

The perfect verb *jāʾa* in a non-conditional sentence normally refers to the past as we say: *jāʾa ʿAliyyun* (ʿAli came). However, in (S.23) it refers to a future action. Similarly, in the English example (S.24) the verb 'had' typically indicates a past time reference. However, in this sentence, it signals a contrary-to-fact present state

This section has provided an overall description of the conditional system in Arabic. It has revealed that Arabic conditional sentences can be introduced by a variety of particles, and it presents a possible variety of patterns in the two clauses.

1.7. The structure of the thesis:

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Following the present chapter, Chapter 2 focuses on examining the literature on the topic of conditionals in Arabic and English. It starts with a historical background of the emergence of Arabic grammar. Subsequently, a number of relevant and important classical and modern works that pertain to Arabic conditionals are described and critically reviewed. In addition to this, several English linguistic studies that focus on conditionals are reviewed. Chapter 3 is concerned with the conceptual framework and the methodology employed in the study. In this chapter, the concepts on which the framework is based are defined. Additionally, the methodological procedure is described. This also covers the data collection process and the rationale behind it. Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 cover the empirical analysis. Chapter 4 provides an analysis of MWA conditionals through the lens of Modality and Time Reference. Chapter 5 focuses on the analysis of the relationship between the two clauses in conditional sentences. Chapter 6 examines the discourse functions of MWA conditional sentences and presents how they interact with the context. Chapter 7 explores the semantic meaning of the interaction between conditional particles and other linguistic elements. It particularly focuses on two structures: concessive

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[85] Abdel-Ghani (1981), p. 111; Dancygier (2006), p. 37.

conditional and exceptive conditional. Finally, Chapter 8 provides the conclusion where the significant outcomes are highlighted and further research areas are suggested.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction:

In this chapter, works related to the topic of the thesis, conditional sentences, will be reviewed. The focus will be given to those that dealt with Arabic conditionals, although, the studies of English conditionals will be briefly described. Since this work deals with the Arabic language, it is relevant to shed light on the history of the Arabic grammar tradition and its early stages, and explain how this tradition was born and developed through the centuries. This will include a brief description of the major schools of thought in Arabic grammar, as they made undeniable contributions to the development of Arabic philological studies. Subsequently, I will assess the contributions of several of the most notable works that have dealt with the topic of conditional sentences in Arabic and English.

2.2. The birth of Arabic grammar:

The common reason that motivated Muslim scholars to establish the principles of Arabic grammar (ᶜilm al-naḥw) is to prevent laḥn (ungrammatical mistakes) that infected the Arabic tongue in the early stages of Islam. This occurred as a result of the conversion of many non-Arab peoples to Islam, who desired to use Arabic, which was important because it is the language of the Qurʾān and hence the language of Islam.[1]

In his book *Marātib al-Naḥwiyyīn*, Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ḥalabī (d. 351/962) indicated that the first aspect of the Arabic language that began to be expressed incorrectly and was necessary for the people to learn is *al-iᶜrāb* (declension) because *laḥn* emerged in the speech of slaves and Arabised people from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad.[2] This can be best illustrated through an anecdotal story about Abū al-Aswad al-Duʾalī (d. 69/688), who is thought of as the founder of Arabic grammar tradition. This story was regarding a conversation he had with his daughter and is considered, among other stories, as one of the first signs that alerted scholars to establish a proper science of Arabic grammar. The story is related as follows:

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[1] Ṭanṭāwī (1973), p. 18; Versteegh (2014), p. 108.
[2] Al-Ḥalabī (1974), p. 5.

Qālat la-hu ibnatuhu: mā aḥsanu al-samāʾi, fa-qāla la-hā: nujūmuhā, fa-qālat:
innī lam urid hādhā wa innamā taʿajjabtu min ḥusnihā, fa-qāla la-hā: idhan fa-
qūlī mā aḥsana al-samāʾa.

قالت له ابنته: ما أجملُ السماءِ؟ فقال لها: نجومها. فقالت: إنني لم أرد هذا وإنما تعجبت من حسنها. فقال
لها: إذن فقولي ما أحسنَ السماءَ.

She said to him (her father): "What is the most perfect [object] in the sky?" He
replied to her: "The stars." She said: "I did not mean this, but instead I meant to
say that I am struck by its perfection". He said to her: "Then you should have
said: "How beautiful is the sky". [3]

This anecdotal story aptly demonstrates the problems faced by native Arabic speakers
expressing themselves in "correct Arabic" *(fuṣḥā),* and gives us an insight into why it was
necessary to begin formulating the foundation of Arabic grammar in order to preserve the
correct and pure Arabic language. Carter points out that the immediate motivation for early
grammarians behind prescribing grammatical rules for Arabic was when the corruption of
language started to threaten the correct recitation of the *Qurʾan.*[4]

This linguistic tradition was first developed in Baṣra in Iraq during the time of the Umayyad
Caliphate, and it passed through several phases until it reached its zenith in Baghdād by the
end of 3/9 century.[5] Early Arabic grammarians started with building some basic rules, such as
al-fāʿil marfūʿ (the subject is nominative), and they invented some terms, such as *iʿrāb* and
ʿāmil (governor).[6] This could be said to have been because the rules governing the Arabic
language needed categorisation for ease of learning.

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[3] Ṭanṭāwī (1973), p. 26. In this story, Abū al-ʾAswad's daughter confused him by making a mistake in the case
ending. She suffixed the word *aḥsan* by the vowel *–u* in the nominative case, and the word *al-samāʾ* by the
vowel *–i* in the genitive case. This signifies an interrogative meaning, while she meant being struck by its
beauty. Hence, her father corrected the sentence by suffixing the words *aḥsan* and *al-samāʾ* by the vowel *–a* in
the accusative case, which generates an exclamative meaning.
[4] Carter (2007), p. 183.
[5] Ṭanṭāwī (1973), pp. 34-35.
[6] Ibid., p. 19.

2.3. The Arabic grammar schools and early traditions:

There are three major Arabic grammar schools: Baṣrah, Kūfah and Baghdād. Each school has their own distinct characteristics. In the following section, I will provide a brief description of these schools and their most famous scholars.

The Baṣran school, which was the first school of Arabic grammar, aimed at building "a systematic, organised system",[7] and in order to achieve this goal, they heavily relied upon *qiyās* (analogy) to restrict the rules of Arabic grammar. Owens points out that this procedure of data gathering generated a greatly effective method for analysing grammatical aspects.[8] Another important feature of the data gathering procedure, particularly with regard to the sources utilized, is that Baṣran scholars, who will be elaborated upon later, tended to collect their data from those whose tongue was assumed not to be affected by *laḥn*, such as the Bedouin desert nomads, and they used to avoid those who appeared to have had weakness in their language, such as urbanized Arabs who had mixed with other ethnic communities.[9] The main Baṣran scholars are: Abū ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜAlāʾ (d. 154/771), al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791), Sībawayhi (d. 180/796), Abū al-ᶜAbbās al-Mubarrid (d. 285/898).

The Kūfan school was established around a century after the Baṣran. It is thought that this school was founded by Abū Jaᶜfar al-Ruʾāsī (d. 187/803).[10] In contrast to the Baṣrans, the Kūfans were less strict with Arabic grammar rules as they relied on *samāᶜ* (usage attested), which can be considered as a source that allows for the collection of new data,[11] and this was done by depending upon the assumed reliability of a limited number of oral sources, "which…seems quite difficult to reconstruct any kind of coherent system [of Arabic grammar]".[12] In addition, they were liberal with those whose tongues have been affected by incorrect use of Arabic, such as the aforementioned urbanized Arab communities, and they considered their speech as a source for data collection. Hence, they regarded what was considered by the Baṣrans as being anomalous and incorrect Arabic as being instead of an original principle that is valid for use as an analogy.[13] The major Kūfan representatives are:

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[7] Bohas, Guillaume and Kouloughli (1990), p. 7.
[8] Owens (1990), p. 2.
[9] Ṭanṭāwī (1973), p. 127.
[10] Ibid., p. 115.
[11] Baalbaki (2007), pp. xli, xlii.
[12] Bohas *et al.*, (1990), pp. 7-8.
[13] Ṭanṭāwī (1974), pp. 139-141.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/805), who first widely spread the Kūfan school of thought, and Abū Zakariyyā al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822).

It is worth noting that the differences between the approaches of the two schools have generated many controversial linguistic issues between them in terms of the terms used,[14] the application of *qiyās* (analogy),[15] and *al-ʿāmil* (governor).[16] This encouraged some later scholars to compile the disagreements between the two schools, such as Abū al-Barakāt al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) in his book *al-Inṣāf fī Masāʾil al-Khilāf* [Equity in the Controversial Issues] and Abū al-Baqāʾ al-ʿUkbarī (d. 616/1219) in his book *al-Tibyān fī Masāʾil al-Khilāf* [The Clarity of the Controversial Issues].

With the above kept firmly in mind, a third school of thought appeared and was classified as the Baghdādī school. This school came into existence after the last generation of Baṣran and Kūfan scholars had met in Baghdād, and they started to spread their respective methodologies. As a result, the students of these two schools intermingled and shared ideas, hence a new direction of thought, the Baghdādī school, emerged. The Baghdādī scholars aimed to integrate the aforementioned schools' methodologies and investigate the principles of Arabic grammar created by them, which would then enable them to synthesize their own opinions.[17] The main figures of this school are: Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/911), Abū Isḥāq al-Zajjāj (d. 310/922), Abū Bakr b. al-Sarrāj (d. 316/928), and Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī (d. 327/939).[18]

2.4. The later Arabic grammarians:

Some scholars believe, as Ṭanṭāwī states, that the Baghdādī school ended after the middle of the 4/10 century, which is considered to be the dividing line between early and later Arabic grammarians.[19] Furthermore, Ṭanṭāwī points out that the later grammarians did not completely follow the old grammar schools, but instead tried to create new ways of thought.[20]

I will now focus on some of the most important studies that dealt with the subject of the conditional sentence, dividing them chronologically into main parts: classical studies and modern studies.

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[14] See examples in: Versteegh (1993), p. 12.
[15] See examples in: Ṭanṭāwī (1973), pp. 141-142.
[16] See examples in: al-Anbārī (2002), pp. 40, 48.
[17] Ṭanṭāwī (1973), pp. 170-171, 184-185.
[18] Ibid., pp. 172-176.
[19] Ibid., pp. 190-192.
[20] Ibid., p.198.

2.5. Classical studies:

2.5.1. The works of the early grammarians:

Sībawayhi, who is considered to be the most famous figure with respect to Arabic grammar, wrote *al-Kitāb* (The Book). He was Persian and grew up in Baṣra where he received his education from several linguists, especially from al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad and Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (d. 182/799). Methodologically, Sībawayhi is considered to have belonged to the Baṣran school, yet he was also considered to be its leader who attracted the admiration of other scholars.[21]

Sībawayhi's contributions to Arabic linguistics are highly significant and distinguished. Carter states that "he was also a genius, whose concept of language has a universal validity".[22] In addition, Bohas, Guillaume and Kouloughli point out with respect to his period that "[he] was the only grammarian to show deep and systematic interest in the field of syntax".[23]

Undoubtedly, *al-Kitāb* is a crucial source in the field of Arabic grammar due to several reasons. First, it is the first complete book written on Arabic grammar, and it covers and constructs most Arabic linguistic topics and grammatical principles. Moreover, it has received much admiration and respect from scholars, with some naming it *"Qurʾān al-naḥw"*[24], which is high praise indeed as it means "the *Qurʾān* of Arabic grammar". Secondly, Sībawayhi conveyed the ideas that came from the major Arabic grammarians prior to him, who contributed to Arabic grammar at the beginning of its appearance as a scholarly discipline.[25] In addition, he tended to compare between those scholars' points of view, and then he chose the most appropriate ideas according to his own thoughts on Arabic grammar.[26] The third reason is that his ideas influenced all Arabic grammar authors after him. Therefore, these subsequent authors extensively explained and either followed or opposed his thoughts and ideas. Hence, it may be impossible to find any Arabic linguistic source that neglects Sībawayhi.

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[21] Ṭanṭāwī (1973), p.80.
[22] Carter (2004), p. 1.
[23] Bohas *et al.* (1990), p. 6.
[24] Nāṣif (1979), p. 199.
[25] See information about these grammarians in Carter (2004), pp. 18-25.
[26] Ṭanṭāwī (1973), pp. 80-82.

As for the sources of *al-Kitāb*, Sībawayhi collected his data from different information resources, such as the language spoken by the Bedouin, Arabic poetry, the verses of the *Qurʾān* and Arabic proverbs.[27] In addition, the questions that he used to ask his teacher, the aforementioned al-Khalīl and the quotations that he extracted from him played an essential role in providing many of the Arabic grammar rules detailed in his book.[28]

What is relevant to our study is his contribution to the conditional topic. He devoted a chapter to the conditional sentence entitled *Bāb al-Jazāʾ* (The Chapter of *al-Jazāʾ*).[29] In this chapter, he counted the linguistic elements used to express Arabic conditional sentences and classified whether they are categorised as either *ism* (noun) or *ḥarf* (particle) and provided semantic aspects of them. For example, he described the particle *in* morphologically as a one that does not belong to the noun class[30], and semantically as *mubhamah* (uncertain).[31] Also, he regarded the particle *in* as *umm* [mother], meaning it is the basic and the main conditional particle.[32] In addition, he recorded the possible verbal forms that take place in the two clauses of the sentence and the various conditional structures.[33] Following this chapter, he presented some aspects of the relation between the conditional sentence and some other Arabic linguistic topics such as interrogation, negation and oath. Furthermore, he was concerned with *al-ʿāmil,* which is here the conditional particle that produces a jussive mood in the verb[34], and he also made observations on *al-ʿalāmāt al-iʿrābiyyah* (case-endings) that are suffixed to the verbal forms. One important aspect in his treatment of the topic is the core semantic feature of conditionality. He maintained that conditional particles should have the meaning of *ibhām*

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[27] Carter (2004), p. 39.
[28] See a description of al-Khalīl's contribution to *al-Kitāb* in Carter (2004), pp. 27-32.
[29] For a linguistic usage, I did not find an appropriate equivalent term to *al-jazāʾ* in English, except Dévényi (1988), p. 14 who provides "requital", and Giolfo (2012), p. 140 who provides several translations, like: "remuneration, reciprocation and compensation". In my opinion, these translations may be inaccurate since the first three generate the meaning of returning the favour, and the latter has the meaning of receiving a sum of money in return for suffering from damage. However, it could be argued that these translations have something in common with this concept of the conditional sentence in terms of a cause-affect value. Nevertheless, Sībawayhi used this term with the same meaning as *sharṭ* (condition), referring exactly to the particle and the first part of the conditional sentence (the protasis) in opposition to *jawāb* (the apodosis). See: al-Shamsān (1981), pp. 53-57.
[30] Sībawayhi (1983), vol. 3. pp. 56.
[31] Ibid., p. 60.
[32] Ibid., p. 63.
[33] Ibid., p. 63-67.
[34] Ibid., p. 62.

(uncertainty).[35] That is to say the speaker expresses his doubt and uncertainty that the action in the protasis will or will not occur as in the following example: (S.1):

S. 1) *in taʾtinī ātika.*

<div dir="rtl">

إن تأتني آتك.

</div>

    If you come, I will come.[36]

Because of this criterion, he excluded *idhā* and *law* from the conditional particles as both indicate certainty. i.e. *idhā* indicates that something definitely will happen and *law* indicates that something did not happen.[37]

Another important source in Arabic linguistic tradition is *al-Muqtaḍab* (The Concise [Book]) by Abū al-ᶜAbbās al-Mubarrid (d. 285/898), who was the leader of the Baṣran school whilst he was in Baghdād.

Al-Mubarrid wrote his book in a similar way to that which is found in *al-Kitāb.* He even acknowledged Sībawayhi many times. However, he "was the first who openly criticised the *Kitāb*".[38] Additionally, even though he generally followed the Baṣran path, he did not limit himself to it, particularly when another opinion or explanation from a different school of thought appeared be more correct in his opinion.[39] These characteristics give his book additional importance because he not only addresses Arabic grammar topics, but also presents us with original opinions which may be fruitful to an analysis of the topic without presenting us with any dogmatism.

With regard to the subject of the conditional sentences, he sets off his explanation of this topic with a chapter entitled *Hādhā bāb al-Mujāzāh wa ḥurūfihā* (This is the Chapter for *al-Mujāzāh* and its particles).[40] In this chapter, he defined *sharṭ* as a concept that signals that the occurrence of something is caused by the occurrence of something else.[41] Hence, he seems to have connected the concept of conditionality to the concept of causality. He also made focused observations on the classes of the particles (*ism* or *ḥarf*) and the meanings expressed by them in a similar to Sībawayhi. In addition, he recorded the variations of the verbal

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[35] Ibid., p. 60.
[36] Sībawayhi (1983), vol. 3. p. 63.
[37] Dévényi (1988), p. 17; Giolfo (2012), p. 137, 139.
[38] Bernards (1990), p. 35.
[39] Ṭanṭāwī (1973), p. 113.
[40] *Al-Mujāzāh* has the same meaning of *al-jazāʾ* that is explained in note 29.
[41] Al-Mubarrid (1994), vol. 2. p. 45.

patterns in the conditional sentence. One interesting point he made regarding the verbal form is that he clearly stated that the basic form of the verb in conditional sentence is *muḍāriᶜ* (imperfect).[42] Furthermore, he was concerned with classifying some conditional structures into *jāᵓiz* (permissible) and *mamnūᶜ* (forbidden).[43]

To sum up, the early grammarians counted *in* as the only particle, among the three particles, that expresses conditional meaning. This is due to the semantic criterion which the conditional statement must have, which is the meaning of uncertainty.

2.5.2. The works of the later grammarians:

Three important sources will be reviewed here:

The first source is *al-Mufaṣṣal* (The Detailed [Book]) by Abū al-Qāsim al-Zamakhshari's (d. 538/1143). The author aimed at establishing a comprehensive Arabic grammar book which covers most of the grammar principles in detail. This book is divided into four main chapters: *asmāᵓ* (nouns), *afᶜāl* (verbs), *ḥurūf* (particles) and *mushtarak* (shared). Of importance to this research, al-Zamakhsharī's treatment of conditional is provided in two places: (i) in the "verbs chapter" where he explains the jussive mood,[44] and (ii) in the "particles chapter" under a section entitled *Ḥarfā al-sharṭ* (the two conditional particles). In this section, he covers the conditional particles *in* and *law*.[45] Historically, al-Zamkhsharī is thought to be the first Arabic grammarian who included *law* among the conditional particles even though it does not induce the jussive form.[46] This can be considered a dramatic shift with respect to the conditional particles since *law* was not included by the early grammarians as shown above. Furthermore, the difference between the two particles, in his view, is related to the time reference. This means that, for him, *in* has future value, while *law* refers to the past. Nevertheless, the difference between the two particles actually goes further than he stated. This is to say that the modality meanings that are derived from the two particles belong to different domains. In other words, he did not link *in* to the uncertainty domain and *law* to the impossibility. This

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[42] Al-Mubarrid (1994), vol. 2. p. 48.
[43] Ibid., p. 58.
[44] Al-Zamakhsharī (2004), p. 252-253.
[45] Ibid., p. 326.
[46] Al-Shamsān (1981), p. 205.

semantic differentiation between the two particles, which was overlooked by al-Zamakhsharī, can be understood from Sībawayhi's two statements:

(i)   *"fa-in abadan mubhamatun, wa kadhālika ḥurūfu al-jazāʾ".*

فإن فأبداً مبهمة، كذلك حروف الجزاء

In fact, *in* is always uncertain, like all conditional particles.[47]

(ii)   *"fa-ammā law fa-limā kāna sayaqaʿu li-wuqūʿi ghayrihi".*

فأما لو فلما كان سيقع لوقوع غيره

law is for what could have happened if something else had happened.[48]

The second source is *Sharḥ al-Tashīl* (Explaining the book of *Tashīl*) (the word *Tashīl* means making something easy and understandable) by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1273). He was born in Jayyān in al-Andalus, but eventually left his home and travelled to the Middle East before settling in Damascus until his death. He is considered one of the most respected Andalusian Arabic grammarians, and was known as *al-nāẓim* (the composer of didactic poetry), referring to his famous work *al-Alfiyyah* (The One Thousand [Verses]), which is a poem about Arabic grammar. It is worth noting that the grammarians in al-Andalus created their own school of thought which is different in some respects from that in the traditional Middle East. Even though they profited from the intellectual works conducted by the three schools preceding them (*Baṣra, Kūfa* and *Baghdād)*, the Andalusain grammarians provided the field of Arabic grammar with innovative opinions and fruitful discussions.[49] Hence, they have a number of disagreements with the scholars of the former schools on many Arabic grammar rules.[50]

Ibn Mālik aimed to explain Arabic grammar in detail in his concise book *Tashīl al-Fawāʾid wa Takmīl al-Maqāṣid* (Capturing the Benefits and Fulfilling the Objectives). This book has several positive features. First, Ibn Mālik tended to compare between the grammarians' opinions and then choose the one that he assumed was the most correct, supporting his selection with scholarly evidence. In addition, he provided sometimes his own views in cases

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[47] Sībawayhi (1983), vol. 3. p. 59. The translation is quoted from Giolfo (2012), p. 139.
[48] Sībawahyi (1983), vol. 4. p. 244. The translation is cited in Giolfo (2012), p. 155 where she asserts on the meaning of impossibility
[49] Ḍayf (1968), pp. 292-293.
[50] See examples for this issue in Ṭanṭāwī (1973), pp. 223-225.

where he was not persuaded by the opinions of grammarians who came prior to him.[51]

Secondly, in contrast to the early Arabic grammarians, Ibn Mālik is thought to be the first who extensively applied *Ḥadīth* (the Prophet Muḥammad's sayings and deeds) as one of the main sources for data collection and, hence, the construction of the rules of Arabic grammar. The early Arabic grammarians overlooked this linguistic source because they suspected that the narrators may have not conveyed the actual words of *Ḥadīth*.[52] This led Ibn Mālik to investigating the early grammarians' views on other grammatical issues depending on his contrary attitude towards this source of data.[53]

Concerning conditional sentences, Ibn Mālik's critical attitude is a dominant feature in his explanations of topic. He pointed out that the conditional particles can host either past (with *law*) or future (with other particles) references in the two clauses.[54] This is to say the time reference in the protasis must agree with that in the apodosis, as follows (S.2-3):

S. 2) *law qāma zaydun qāma ᶜAmrun.*

لو قام زيد قام عمرو

If Zayd had stood, Amr would have stood as well.[55]

S. 3) *in taqum aqum.*

إن تقم أقم.

If you stand up, I will stand up.[56]

In addition, he had different views with regard to the meaning of the conditional particles. For example, unlike the early Arabic grammarians, he believed that *idhā* carries the meaning of conditionality besides the temporal value, giving the following verse in the *Qurᵓān* as an example (S.4):

S. 4) *wa idhā laqū alladhīna āmanū qālū āmannā.*

وإذا لقوا الذين آمنوا قالوا آمنا.

When they (the hypocrites) meet those who believe, they say: we believe. [57]

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[51] Al-Sayyid and al-Makhtūn (eds) Ibn Mālik (1990), vol. 1 p. 40.
[52] Ibid. p.48; see also: Bohas *et al.* (1990), p. 18.
[53] Al-Sayyid *et al.* in Ibn Mālik (1990), vol. 1. p. 49.
[54] Ibn Mālik (1990), vol. 4. p. 66.
[55] Ibid., 66.
[56] Ibid., p. 66.
[57] *The Holy Qurᵓan*, Sūrat al-Baqarah (2): 14. The translation is cited in Ali (1983), p. 19. The particle *idhā* is interpreted here as "when" because Ibn Mālik believed that *idhā* has essentially a temporal character, while the conditionality value is an implicit meaning.

Furthermore, he asserts that *law* typically carries the sense of the past time reference. He illustrated this by the following example (S.5):

S. 5) *law jiʔtanī la-akramtuka.*

<div dir="rtl">لو جئتني لأكرمتك</div>

If you had come, I would have honoured you.[58]

Hence, the conditional particles in his view are three: *in*, *law* and *idhā*. He then distinguished between two types of *idhā*:

a) The one that has temporal value while providing the meaning of conditional implicitly. This type is the most common one as in (S.4) above. In this manner, *idhā* has a high level of certainty in the action occurrence, which is different from *in*.

b) The one that only has pure temporal value as in (S.6):

S. 6) *wa al-layli idhā yaghshā.*

<div dir="rtl">والليل إذا يغشى.</div>

By the night when it covers (with darkness).[59]

The third source *is Mughnī al-labīb ʿan kutub al-aʿārīb* (Despensing the Intelligent Man of the Need for Grammar Books) by ʿAbdullāh b. Hishām (d. 761/1359), who was an outstanding Egyptian grammarian, has had significant contributions to the field of Arabic grammar. It is said that he has had a considerable influence on Arabic grammarians in subsequent years, and it is thought that the procedure adopted by him shows ingenious perception in terms of semantic aspects.[60] This book consists of eight chapters, but the first one, which is the largest and entitled *Fī Tafsīr al-Mufradāt wa Dhikr Aḥkāmihā* (In the Interpretation of the Particles and their Principles), is the only relevant one to our study. The aim of his chapter is to investigate the meanings of the particles used in the Arabic language and their syntactic functions, providing examples from the *Qurʔān* and poetry. Hence, he explored the various possible meanings of the conditional particles whilst providing detailed discussions. For example, he made a distinction between the meanings that the particle *law* generates, such as

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[58] Ibn Mālik (1990), vol. 4. pp. 94-96.
[59] *The Holy Qurʔān*, Sūrat al-Layl (92): 1. The translation is quoted from al-Mehri (2010), p. 620.
[60] Gully (1995), pp. x, xii.

imtināᶜ (impossibility), which has the meaning of the condition in the past,[61] whilst that of *sharṭ* was in the future,[62] as in the following examples respectively (Sentences 7-8):

S. 7) *law jiʾtanī amsi akramtuka.*

<div dir="rtl">لو جئتني أمس أكرمتك</div>

If you had come yesterday, I would have honored you.

S. 8) *wa l-yakhsh alladhīna law tarakū min khalfihim dhurriyyatan ḍiʾāfan khāfū ᶜalayhim.*

<div dir="rtl">وليخش الذين لو تركوا من خلفهم ذرية ضعافاً خافوا عليهم</div>

Those who are concerned about their own [weak] children in case they leave them behind, shall observe God.[63]

However, the syntactic characteristics of the conditional structures in each meaning remained neglected, which poses a question: do both meanings that are expressed by *law* present the same the structural patterns in the two clauses or not, and how?

The works reviewed above are a combination of both early and later Arabic grammarians' books. We traced the development that took place in the study of the conditional system. Although *in* was, in the view of early grammarians, the basic particle conditional to denote conditionality due to the concept of uncertainty it carries, it became clear that *law* and *idhā* were counted, by some grammarians, as conditional particles at later stages. In terms of time reference, *in* and *idhā* indicate future reference, while *law* typically refers to the past with a possibility of referring to the future. The grammarians' efforts, however, have been collectively criticised as having a great deal of focus on the formal aspects of the conditional system, mainly: the choice of the particles and their syntactic roles, the verbal patterns of the two clauses and the methods of formal connection between the two clauses.[64]

2.6. Modern Studies:

There are several recent studies that deal with the topic of conditional sentences in Arabic grammar. They have been carried out by both Arab and Western linguists. They generally can be divided into two major categories of research according to the period of Arabic being addressed. The first category of research contains studies on the conditional sentence in

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[61] Ibn Hishām (1965), p. 255-6
[62] Ibid. p. 261.
[63] *The Holy Qurʾān*, Sūrat al-Nisāʾ (4): 9. The translation is quoted in Khalifa (2000), p. 47 with my amendment.
[64] Dévényi (1988), p. 14. See also, al-Shamsān (1981), p. 189.

Classical Arabic, whilst the second category deals with the same topic but within Modern Arabic period. In the following, I will review the most notable studies that pertain to this research's focus, whilst paying particular attention to the second category mentioned above since it shares the same context of the present studies.

2.6.1. Modern studies on CA conditional sentences:

Three studies will be reviewed under this category:[65]

The first study is *Al-jumlah al-Sharṭiyyah ᶜinda al-Nuḥāh al-ᶜArab* (The Conditional Sentence according to the Arabic Grammarians), by Ibrāhīm al-Shamsān, published in 1981. The author aims at evaluating and analysing the books of early and later Arabic grammarians who dealt with the conditional sentence. One perspective of this study is that it provides diachronic observations, aiming to trace the historical sequence that accompanied the study of the conditional sentence through the centuries. As an example of this, al-Shamsān has attempted to provide a comprehensive view of the historical evolution of the syntactic terms used to refer to the conditional sentence and its components. Hence, he can be said to take note of the fact that one term could refer to various meanings. For instance, the term *al-jazāʾ* was used by the grammarians to refer to either the conditional sentence as a whole, the protasis, the apodosis or the particle. He attributes this to several factors, such as the different uses among the grammarians. This is to say that one grammarian would have used a term in order to convey a specific meaning, while another would use it for a different meaning.[66]

Another important issue he discusses is the grammarians' treatments of the verbal forms in the conditional sentence. He critiques the grammarians who dealt with this issue in a rigid, formal way. For example, he mentions that they were concerned with observing the morphological classes of the verbs and the possible syntactical features such as case endings.

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[65] Conditional sentences in CA have been studied extensively by modern linguists of Arabic, but since the present study targets conditionnals in MWA, I chose not to provide an extensive critical inquiry into those that focus on CA conditionals. However, it may be useful to list some of these studies which are not included in this Chapter:
  1- Conditional Sentences within the Arab Grammatical Tradition by Ahmed Abdel-Ghani (1981).
  2- Al-Tarākīb al-Isnādiyyah: al-Jumal al-Waṣfiyyah wa al-Ẓarfiyyah wa al-Sharṭiyyah by ᶜAlī Abū al-Makārim (2007).
  3- Al-Sharṭ fī al-Qurʾān by ᶜAbd al-Salām al-Massadī wa Muḥammad al-Ṭarābulsī (1985).
  4- The treatment of conditional sentences by the Mediaeval Arabic grammarians: stability and change in the history of Arabic grammar' by Kinga Dévényi (1988).
  5- Al-Sharṭ wa al-Istifhām fī Asālīb al-ᶜArabiyyah by Samīr Staytiyyah (1995).
  6- Uslūb al-Sharṭ bayna al-Naḥwyyin wa al-Uṣūliyyin by Nāṣir Karīrī (2004).
[66] Al-Shamsān (1981), pp. 131-3.

He produces Table 1 to illustrate Sībawayhi's observation on the verbal patterns that accompany the particle *in*:[67]

No	Protasis	Apodosis	Example		
1	Jussive	Jussive	*in*	*taʾtinī*	*ātika.*
			particle-if	jussive-come	jussive-come
			If you come to me, I will come to you.		
2	Perfect	Imperfect indicative	*in*	*ataytanī*	*ātīka.*
			particle -if	perfect-come	indicative-come
			If you come to me, I will come to you.		
3	Jussive	Imperfect indicative	*in*	*taʾtinī*	*ātīka.*
			particle -if	jussive-come	Indicative-come
			If you come to me, I will come to you.		
4	Perfect	Jussive	*in*	*ataytanī*	*ātika.*
			particle -if	perfect -come	jussive-come
			If you come to me, I will come to you.		

Table 1. The verbal patterns that accompanying the particle *in* according to Sībawayhi's observation according to al-Shamsān (1981).

As such, he believed that this formal procedure overlooked investigating the possible meanings that can be generated from the different verbal forms.[68]

As for the issue of time reference in the conditional sentence, being convinced that the study of time reference in the Arabic sentence in general had not received enough and adequate study by Arabic grammarians, al-Shamsān presents some problematic issues that emerged from some grammarians' explanations, such as the principle that indicates that the conditional particle must transform the perfect form (past) to the future as in the following example (S.9):

S. 9) *in jiʾtanī jiʾtuka.*

إن جئتني جئتك

If you come, I will come.[69]

In (S.9), the perfect form in the two clauses is interpreted as having a future time reference since the future sense is a fundamental feature of *in*. However, this principle fails to be

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[67] Ibid., p. 247.
[68] Ibid., p. 254. See also Giolfo (2012), p. 152.
[69] Ibid., p. 248.

applied to the examples that contain the auxiliary *kāna* (was) as in the following example (S.10):

S. 10) *in kuntā zurtanī amsi akramtuka al-yawma.*

إن كنت زرتني أمس أكرمتك اليوم.

If you had visited me yesterday, I would have honoured you today.[70]

Nevertheless, some grammarians, as he states, rejected the possibility that the past time reference can be expressed by the conditional sentence in order to keep the principle consistent. Hence, they interpreted the latter example like this: if the fact that you visited me yesterday is true, I would visit you today. [71]

The second study is *Conditional Structures in Classical Arabic* by Yishai Peled, which was developed from a PhD thesis in 1983 and published in 1992. This source reflects a more Western-oriented thought to the conditional sentence in Classical Arabic. This study mainly aims at identifying the syntactic-semantic relations and their features of conditional structures in Classical Arabic prose.

In order to proceed with his analysis in a coherent way, Peled establishes a model that he calls "Conditio-Selectional Rules". He deduces, on the basis of the aforementioned model, two main types of conditional sentence: "Modally Interdependent sentence" and "Modally Split sentence". The former indicates that both the protasis and the apodosis are dependent on each other, while, in the latter, both clauses can operate independently.[72] In other words, he means by the former case where the apodosis is not preceded by the connector *fa-*, and by the latter where it is. Hence, his theoretical framework is based on the nature of the link between the two clauses. Some concepts that have emerged from some Western linguistic treaties are applied in his analysis, such as the dichotomies (actual vs. potential)[73] and (hypothetical vs. counterfactual).[74]

The author manages to provide a clear syntactic and semantic analysis for the structures derived from the aforementioned two types. For example, the conditional structures with *in* within the first type can serve either actuality (when the protasis implies the meaning of 'if X

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[70] Ibid., p.265.
[71] Ibid., p. 265.
[72] Peled (1992), p. 9.
[73] Ibid., p. 14.
[74] Ibid., p. 40.

happens'. i.e. it expresses action) or potentiality (when the protasis indicates the notion of 'if X is true'. i.e. it expresses state). Each meaning has general explicit syntactical features, such as the following syntactical patterns:

i) *in* + jussive + jussive.

ii) *in* + perfect + perfect.

Both imply actual conditional[75] as in the following examples respectively: (S.11-12)

S. 11) *innaka in taltamis riḍā jamīʿi al-nāsi taltamis mā lā yudraku.*

إنك إن تلتمس رضا جميع الناس تلتمس ما لا يدرك.

If you see the approval of all people, you are seeking the unattainable.[76]

S. 12) *in aʿazzanā Allāhu wa aẓharanā ʿalā ʿaduwwinā kāna dhālika mā aḥbabnā.*

إن أعزنا الله و أظهرنا على عدونا كان ذلك ما أحببنا.

If God gives us strength and grants us victory over our enemy, this will be what we want.[77]

On the other hand, he found that the potential conditional meaning is expressed by various syntactic patterns, such as (*kāna* + non-verbal complement) in the protasis as in the following example (S.13):

S. 13) *in kāna ibnī fī al-jannati lam abki ʿalayhi.*

إن كان ابني في الجنة لم أبك عليه.

If my son is in paradise (now), I will not cry over him.[78]

As for the relation between time reference and conditional sentences, Peled believes that the two clauses "are not time marked", hence, the future reference cannot be inferred by the verbal forms, rather they should be deduced by implication. i.e. by the context. Hence, he critiques the classical view which claimed that future is essentially marked by the conditional particles, thus, the *māḍī* (past) form carries the value of futurity. He describes this as an oversimplified view.[79]

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[75] Ibid., pp. 14-17.
[76] Ibid., p. 16.
[77] Ibid., p. 18.
[78] Ibid., p.21.
[79] Ibid., p. 12.

Furthermore, although he points out that there is an existing replacement between the particles *in* and *idhā,* he does not attempt to determine the cases where they can be interchangeable, though this might not have been his aim.[80]

His discussion covers some other issues, such as the features of subordinated conditional structures, clause order and conditional concessive clauses. For example, he mentions that concessive conditional clauses are indicated by the following combined particles *wa-in* and *wa-law*. He points out that these particles are unlikely to occur at the beginning of the sentence. Furthermore, he notes that *wa-in* conveys two possible meanings: potential and factual as illustrated in (S.14-15) below respectively. On the other hand, *wa-law*, which is lesser used, provides only the meaning of potentiality as in (S.16):[81]

S. 14) *ismaʿū wa aṭīʿū wa-in istuʿmila ḥabashiyyun kaʾanna raʾsahu zabībatun.*

اسمعوا وأطيعوا وإن استعمل حبشي.

Listen and obey, even if the instated is Abyssinian.[82]

S. 15) *innī rajulun minka wa ilayka wa-in farraqa al-dīnu baynanā.*

إني رجل منك وإليك وإن فرق الدين بيننا

I am a man and my sympathy is on your side, even though there is a religious difference of between us.[83]

S. 16) *wa āmanahum jamīʿan illā khamsata nafarin amara bi-qatlihim wa-law kānū mutaʿalliqīna bi-astār al-kaʿbati.*

وآمنهم جميعاً إلا خمسة نفر أمر بقتلهم ولو كانوا متعلقين بأستار الكعبة

He granted them all protection, except for five people whom he ordered to be killed, even if they were to hold on to the covering of the al-Kaʾbah.[84]

Peled's book is a useful source, and it will be used as a tool to compare the applications of conditional sentences in CA with those utilised in MWA, which may lead to examining the ongoing validity of the description of the conditional sentence in CA.

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[80] Ibid., p. 25.
[81] Ibid., p. 157.
[82] Ibid. Peled's translation with my amendment.
[83] Ibid., p. 158. Peled's translation with my amendment.
[84] Ibid., p.161. Peled's transaltion.

The third study is *Conditional Structure in Classical Arabic: A General Descriptive Study* (2010). It is written by Salman al-Saad and is an unpublished PhD thesis based on research conducted at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. The author's primary aim is to investigate conditional structures from a descriptive approach; this covers different aspects related to the system of conditionals in CA such as, particles, forms, meaning, and rhetorical functions.[85] The main source of the data the author has examined comes from the *Qur'an*. Therefore, this study cannot be regarded as a comprehensive work for all CA conditional structure usages since other important sources upon which CA grammar rules are built are neglected. These include poetry and prose.

Another aim that al-Saad hopes to achieve with his research is to provide a statistical description of the frequencies of the particles used and the syntactic features (patterns of the two clauses).[86] He generally identifies two typological patterns: the agreement structure, where the protasis and the apodosis have the same syntactical forms (e.g. verbal forms: past + past),[87] and the non-agreement structure, where each clause exhibits different forms (e.g. past + present). One apparent problem of this approach is that it categorises the two clauses of a conditional structure on the basis of their morphological classes; hence, it neglects the actual time references that associate with the two clauses due to the fact that verbal forms and time references are not, in many cases, consistent in a straightforward manner in conditional sentences. A clear example of this problem is illustrated in his statement that the syntactical pattern (past + past) acts as the most possible structure associated with the particle *law*, representing 61 occurrences. Then, he provides the following *Qurʾānic* example (S.17):

S. 17) *wa law samiʿū mā istajābū la-kum.*

ولو سمعوا ما استجابوا لكم.

And if they were to listen, they would not be able to respond.[88]

This verse indicates a future time reference although the past form *samiʿū* (heard) *istajābū* (respond) is used in the two clauses. Therefore, it seems that the issue of exploring the actual

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[85] Al-Saad (2010), p. 5.
[86] Ibid.
[87] I use his terms here as the author used him. However, later I am going to use the terms perfect for past form *māḍī* and imperfect for present form *muḍāriʿ*.
[88] *The Holy Qurʾān*, Sūrat Fāṭir (35): 14. The translation is cited in Al-Saad (2010), p. 115.

time reference held by conditional structures, has been overlooked by the author. This can be applied to many of the examples he has quoted.

2.6.2. Modern Studies on conditional sentences in MSA:

Modern linguists of Modern Arabic have also been concerned with the topic of conditional sentences. However, most of their works included in this review appear as either chapters in Arabic grammar books or articles. Thus, this may justify my argument that there is a need to produce a concentrated study that covers most of the important issues related to the conditional sentences in MWA.

It is also important to state that most of these books were designed to teach Arabic. Consequently, these studies provide sketchy and limited discussions on the topic.[89] Nevertheless, these studies include some serious attempts at addressing the conditional sentence, which are valuable to our study. They are as follows:

The first one is *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose* by Vicente Cantarino, which was published in 1975. The author sets out to explain the use of the conditional sentence in modern Arabic prose with particular focus on clarifying the semantics of conditional structures in general.[90] The data examined was primarily collected from literary works. This has, however, been criticised as constituting a very narrow corpus.[91]

As for conditional particles, Cantarino seems to claim that the main conditional particles in Arabic are: *in* and *law*. Hence, in contrast to other major modern works, he does not seem to consider *idhā* as a main conditional particle, or at least a dominant particle even though he admits elsewhere that *idhā* can express conditional meaning as well as temporal meaning.[92] In addition, he argue that *idhā* takes the function of *in* in some cases but not vice versa. In other words, *idhā* can express conditionality, while *in* cannot express temporality. Consider the following example: (S.18):

S. 18) *idhā naẓarta ilā al-kharīṭati al-yawma raʾayta al-nāṭiqīna bi-al-ʿarabiyyati muntashirīna [fī gharbiyyi al-baḥri al-mutawassiṭi].*

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[89] Examples of these studies include Cowan (1958), Smart (1986), Mace (1998), Ryding (2005) and Abu-Chacra (2007).
[90] Cantarino (1975), vol. 3. p. 312.
[91] Badawi *et al.* p. 4.
[92] Cantarino (1975), vol. 3. p. 302. He actually discusses structures with *idhā* within the group of temporal particles.

إذا نظرت إلى الخريطة اليوم رأيت الناطقين بالعربية منتشرين [في غربي البحر المتوسط].

<blockquote>If you look now at a map, you will see the Arabic speakers are spread [across the western Mediterranean].[93]</blockquote>

One interesting point he made is related to the syntactic features of the structures that occur in *idhā* sentence as a temporal element and as a conditional element. He states that generally they are the same, but the one with conditional meaning can have a structure which does not exist with temporal meaning. That is when *idhā* is followed by a pre-verb noun subject as in (S.19):

S. 19) *mā taraynahu yafᶜalu idhā huwa dakhala ᶜalaynā al-sāᶜata?*

ما ترينه يفعل إذا هو دخل علينا الساعة؟

<blockquote>What do you think he would do if he enters here at this moment?[94]</blockquote>

This reflects his interest in observing examples that show a connection between syntax and semantics in the context of conditionals.

In several cases, Cantarino clearly maintains that time references cannot be exactly determined without considering the context,[95] and the verbal forms in the two clauses can be, in the case of *in*, either the same or different. This may be regarded as an important point that signifies that agreement between the verbal forms in the two clauses is not always required.[96] He also divides time references in conditional sentences into two major types: past and non-past, and he tends to connect various conditional structures to these types. For instance, he notes that when the clauses are reversed (apodosis + protasis) after *in*, the temporal reference is often non-past as in the following example: (S.20)

S. 20) *innī amūtu in makathtu hunā.*

إني أموت إن مكثت هنا.

<blockquote>I will die if I stay here.[97]</blockquote>

The division, past and non-past, which he adopts may be considered very broad since it should have more specific types, such as future, pluperfect, and so on.

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[93] Ibid., p. 303. What is between the square brackets is added to make the sentence meaningful. It is taken from the original source from which Cantarino cited the example; which is Zīdān (2012), p. 53.

[94] Ibid., pp. 302-303.

[95] Ibid., pp. 313, 320.

[96] Ibid., p. 315.

[97] Ibid., p. 317.

This source forms a significant contribution to this study, especially in terms of the semantic aspects of the conditional sentence. However, the data he has examined only represents material which were written before 1975.

The second study is *Modern Written Arabic: A Comprehensive Grammar Reference,* by El-Said Badawi, Micheal Carter and Adrian Gully, published in 2004. The authors aim to provide Arabic readers with a broad-scope, descriptive study in modern Arabic grammar.[98] Hence, they devote an entire chapter to the description of conditional sentences in MWA.

At the beginning of this chapter, the authors have briefly described the diachronic evolution that occurred in some conditional particles; namely: *in, law* and *idhā*. One interesting point of this issue is that they state that *idhā*, which, classically speaking, mainly had a temporal character, has become the most common particle in MWA instead of *in,* which was the most common particle in CA. Hence, *in* no longer occurs as a main particle and is used to a much lesser extent than *idhā* and *law*.[99]

One important aspect of their work is that they concern themselves with recording the meanings of the aforementioned particles and some of their syntactic features, such as the verbal forms accompanying them. This seems the primary focus of the authors. For example, following their description of the particle *idhā,* they maintain that this particle can present one of the four following meanings:

 i) Pure conditional (if). (S.21)

 S. 21) *idhā ḥallalnā ᶜamala hadha al-shakhṣi wajadnā annahu lā yamuttu ilā mihnati al-handasti bi-ṣilatin.*

إذا حللنا عمل هذا الشخص وجدنا أنه لا يمت إلى مهنة الهندسة بصلة

 If we analyse the work of this person, we will find that it does not relate very closely to the profession of engineering.[100]

 ii) Temporal (when or whenever). (S.22)

 S. 22) *idhā anna marīḍun anna al-jamīᶜu.*

إذا أنّ مريض أنّ الجميع

 When one patient moaned, everyone moaned.[101]

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[98] Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 1.
[99] Ibid., p. 636.
[100] Ibid., p. 653.

iii) Conditional-temporal sense (if and when). (S.23)

S. 23) *idhā ᵓajaza ᶜan al-qiyāmi bi-hi baytu al-māli wajaba ᶜalā al-muslimīna kāffatan.*

<div dir="rtl">إذا عجز عن القيام به بيت المال وجب على المسلمين كافة</div>

If and when the community treasury is unable to carry it out, the obligation falls on the Muslims generally.[102]

iv) Unlikely or hypothetical conditional as the same sense as *law.* (S.24)

S. 24) *idhā aḍafnā li-ḍālika mā yatimmu ijrāᵓuhu fī al-marākizi al-ṭibbiyyati la-fūjiᵓnā bi-raqmin ḍakhmin yuthīru al-rahbata.*

<div dir="rtl">إذا أضفنا لذلك ما يتم إجراؤه في المراكز الطبية لفوجئنا برقم ضخم يثير الرهبة</div>

If we added to this what is happening in medical centres (then) we would certainly be amazed by a horrifyingly large number.[103]

Although this description provides us with a valuable contribution in terms of the meanings of *idhā* in MWA, one point appears problematic here. That is the syntactic characteristics of each meaning have not been intensively investigated apart from general signals which seem inadequate or based on intuition. For example, the authors claim that the verbal patterns of the types (i), (ii) and (iii) are usually the same (*idhā* + perfect + perfect). This result, however, is contradicted by the analysis conducted by Sartori's work reviewed below (See Table 2 below).

It is worth mentioning that the authors aim at some points in their study to compare between the usages of conditional sentences in CA and MWA, especially at the syntactic level. For example, they claim that the patterns (*in* jussive + jussive), which is classically regular,[104] is not common in MWA as in (S.25):

S. 25) *in tughliq samᶜahā ᶜan thartharatihi al-yawmiyyati yanṣaliḥ al-ḥālu baᶜada al-shayᵓi baynahumā.*

<div dir="rtl">إن تغلق سمعها عن ثرثرته اليومية ينصلح الحال بعض الشيء بينهما.</div>

If she shuts herself off [lit. closes her hearing] to his daily gossiping. Their relationship will be better.[105]

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[101] Ibid., p. 661.
[102] Ibid., p. 660.
[103] Ibid., p. 656.
[104] Ibid., p. 638.
[105] Ibid., I did some amendments on their translation.

This observation which acknowledges some of the differences between CA and MWA is interesting and strongly justifies the importance of studying MWA conditional structures in isolated data from those extracted from CA.

The third work reviwed in this section is *Modern Literary Arabic: A Reference Grammar*, by Ron Buckley, published in 2004. In compiling this book, the author aims to offer a detailed reference of the grammar of Modern Literary Arabic as it exists today for advanced students. Methodologically, from the outset, Buckley clearly states that his book is mainly descriptive rather than prescriptive. The data included in his book represents only modern literary works (i.e. novels), while other genres, such as non-fiction and newspapers, are not included.

Buckley dedicates a chapter to describing conditional sentences. The author deals with each conditional particle separately and provides their modality meanings, making some observations on possible structures that accompany the particles. He then supports his description with actual examples from the data.

One of the interesting findings that he recorded – in line with Badawi *et al.* (reviewed above) – is that the particle *idhā* can express the four meanings presented above. However, he has not investigated (i) which is the most common meaning expressed by *idhā*, (ii) whether there are syntactic boundaries or features that distinguish between these meanings.

Another significant point Buckley has made is that the actual temporal interpretations depend on the context and the meaning of the conditional sentence. This signals that he may believe that the conditional particles and the verbal forms cannot act as time reference indicators. This view appears partially in agreement with Cantarino's view mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, Buckley does not explain how the meaning of the sentence can help determine the exact temporal interpretations.

The fourth study is *Modern Arabic, Structures, Functions and Varieties* by Clive Holes, published in 2004 in a second, revised edition. He discusses conditional sentences in a short section. The author aims mainly to draw some of the features of the conditional system in MSA (the written material) that distinguish it from that which is utilised in Classical Literary Arabic (CLA). As well as this, he attempts to highlight the features of the conditional sentences in some Modern Arabic dialects. Hence, he briefly compares between the three varieties MSA, CLA and dialects, which can be considered a different approach from the

three works reviewed above. The data analysed in this study was limited and exceedingly narrow as it was only collected from one single book that contains only seventy pages. Besides, this book only represents a political and economic policies genre.[106] This is, in my opinion, an insufficient sample since it is too narrow in terms of text-size and variety of genres. The selection of the data sources should be much broader in order to achieve a comprehensive explanation for such a complex topic.

According to the author, the most prominent features "of conditional sentences in Modern Standard Arabic are the sequence of verb forms used and the particles used to introduce the [two clauses]".[107] Comparing with English, he states that Modality meanings (e.g. possibility, impossibility) are indicated by particles in MSA as will be shown, whereas, in English, the verbal forms play that role. He considers the following examples to clarify how the verb forms control English conditionals meanings (Sentences 26-28):[108]

S. 26) If he agrees, he will regret it.   (possible)

S. 27) If he agreed, he would regret it.   (less probable)

S. 28) If he had agreed, he would have regretted it.   (impossible).

However, this view does not reflect the reality of the system of conditional in the two languages. As for MSA, we have presented above the observation made by Badawi *et al.* where the particle *idhā* can be associated with four Modality meanings.[109] This implies that it is difficult to rely on the particles only independently in denoting Modality meanings. As for English, this division clearly adopts verbal forms as a criterion in classifying the meaning of conditionals. This method of classification has been critiqued as being insufficient or oversimplified, and it is largely pedagogical in purpose, and, thus, neglects some other actual behaviors of English conditionals.[110] For example, as Declerk and Reed point out, (S.29) expresses Open (i.e. possible) conditional although it is not identical to the verbal forms presented in (S.27) above:

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[106] Holes (2004), p. 295.
[107] Ibid., p. 293.
[108] Ibid.
[109] See page 48 above.
[110] Declerck (2001), pp. 231-233; Dancygier (2006), pp. 25-26.

S. 29) (I was not sure the murder would ever be caught). If the muder had been commited by the Secret Service, there would be a cover up.[111]

Even though this study deals with the topic of conditional sentences mainly in MSA, the author repeats the general traditional classification for the meanings of the conditional particles. That is to say *in* is for a possible proposition, *idhā* implies the certainty of the event, even though the time of the event is considered uncertain, and *law* generates an unreal conditional sentence. Hence, Holes provides the classical exemplification with respect to this semantic division as follows respectively: (S.30-32)

S. 30) *in māta Zaydun.*

<div dir="rtl">

إن مات زيد

</div>

If Zayd dies. (meaning: in his present illness).

S. 31) *idhā māta Zaydun.*

<div dir="rtl">

إذا مات زيد

</div>

When Zayd dies (i.e. like all men, he eventually will).

S. 32) *law māta Zaydun.*

<div dir="rtl">

لو مات زيد

</div>

If Zayd were to die or if Zayd had died.[112]

However, Holes claims that "in MSA...*idhā* has to some extent encroached on the territory of CLA *in*, whereas in spoken Arabic, its various local dialectal reflexes are now easily the most common particle used in open conditional clauses".[113] This means that he has noticed the dominance of the particle *idhā* over the particle *in* in Modern Arabic, both standard and dialect, which was not the case in CLA. This shows that he is in agreement on this particular point with Badawi *et al.* mentioned above.

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[111] Declerck (2001), p. 236. Brackets in original.
[112] Holes (2004), p. 293.
[113] Ibid.

Speaking of the semantic classifications of conditional sentences, the author adopts two major types namely: "open" and "contra-factive" conditional.[114] He notes, on the basis of his single source of data, that the first category is expressed by *idhā* and the second one is signaled by *law*, while *in* is not totally used to express one of the aforementioned types. He also divides "open" conditional into two subtypes: "organising", where the user makes a contribution to direct the addressee to understand his ideas, and "textual", where "the conditional sentences form part of the substance of the text".[115] He then goes on to determine the syntactic features of these subtypes, but he only focuses on the particle *idhā.* For example, he records that the "textual" conditional can be expressed by either the perfect or *kāna* + imperfect in the protasis, while the verbal forms in the apodosis are varied.[116] In this manner, he notes that the examples where the verb in the protasis is perfect denote the meaning of possibility, as in (S.33):

S. 33) *idhā istamarrati al-qiyādātu al-siyāsiyyatu fī duwali al-majlisi bi-hādhihi al-kayfiyyati fa-lā shakka annahā sa-taẓallu ḍimna ḥalaqatin shirrīratin.*

إذا استمرت القيادة السياسية في دول المجلس بهذه الكيفية فلا شك أنها ستظل ضمن حلقة شريرة.

If the political leaders in the GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) continue with this approach, then, there is no doubt that they will remain in a vicious circle.[117]

By contrast, the examples, where the form *kāna* + imperfect is presented in the protasis, do not signify a proper conditional meaning. Hence, Holes considers the latter form as being further away semantically from the notion of condition. He provides the following examples: (S.34)

S. 34) *idhā kāna al-ikhwatu al-ashiqqāʾu fī al-jazīrati wa al-khalīji yaʿtabirūna al-Yaman dawalatan ghayra nafṭiyyah…… la-kāna ajdaru bi-l-ikhwah fī al-duwali al-shaqīqati an tuṭliqa ʿalā al-majlisi isma majlisi al-taʿāwuni li-duwali al-nafṭi fī al-khalij.*

إذا كان الإخوة الأشقاء في الجزيرة والخليج يعتبرون اليمن دولة غير نفطية .... لكان الأجدر بالإخوة في الدول الشقيقة أن تطلق على المجلس اسم مجلس التعاون لدول النفط في الخليج.

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[114] Ibid., p. 296. He basically means by the term "open" when the content of the sentence can be fulfilled (other terms are "real" and "indicative"), whereas the term "contrafactive" is equivalent to the term "counterfactual",implying the meaning of an unfulfilled proposition.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid., pp. 296-297.

[117] Ibid., I had to return to the original Arabic text (al-Nafīsī, 1982, p. 61) from which this example was taken since Holes only provides the English translation.

If the brothers in [the Arabian] Peninsula and the Gulf consider Yemen a non-oil state…. it would be better for them to call the GCC: the Gulf Oil States Cooperation Council.[118]

Finally, it is obvious that the significance of this study cannot be denied in terms of the relation between syntax and semantics in MSA and comparing this with conditional sentences in CA. However, several shortcomings can be noticed; namely: (i) little attention is given to the particles *in* and *law*, (ii) the data examined is rather small in size, (iii) anslysing the semantic link between the two clauses does not seem to fall within the scope of the investigation.

The fifth study is *For a Relational Approach to Modern Literary Arabic Conditional Clauses,* by Manuel Sartori. The English version of article was published in 2011. The corpus considered in this study was gathered from nine Modern Arabic novels that were published between 1963 and 2005.[119] The major focus was given primarily to the particles *idhā* and *law,* while *in* received much less attention since its occurrence represented only 5.65% of the data gathered. Hence, Sartori believes that *in* has almost disappeared from practical usage within the conditional system of Modern Literary Arabic.[120]

Having criticised the contents of several previous relevant works, Sartori is convinced that those studies do not present an adequate and coherent description for the actual situation of conditional sentences in MSA.[121] Therefore, he sets up his analysis on the basis of what he calls a "relational approach". This approach assumes that there is a relation between the conditional particle and the verbal form used in the apodosis. This tied relation plays a role in conveying the Modality meaning and time references. Therefore, his work can be seen as a syntactic-semantic study on the conditional sentences. The importance of the form of the apodosis emerges on the fact that the vast majority of the protasis forms in his data present almost a stable form, which is the perfect tense form, covering 97.18% of the sample.[122]

This engagement between the two elements, he asserts, signifies the exact meaning of the sentence which combines time reference and Modality meanings. By following this procedure

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[118] Ibid., p. 297.
[119] Sartori (2011), p. 1.
[120] Ibid. p. 3.
[121] Ibid., pp. 1, 6.
[122] Ibid., p. 3.

and examining the conditional sentences introduced by three particles: *idhā, law* and *in,* the author formulates five semantic domains: (i) present eventual,[123] (ii) past eventual, (iii) potential[124], (iv) present unreal and (v) past unreal. Then, he traces the possible structures that help indicate the aforementioned meanings on the basis of his relational approach, supporting his results with statistical observations.[125] This analysis shows something in common with the present study in terms of the syntactic-semantic relationship in conditional sentences. An example of this is that he maintains that the structure *idhā* + perfect + imperfect (i.e. *idhā faʿala yafʿalu)* often indicates present eventual conditional which denotes the temporal value that is equivalent to 'when' in English,[126] giving the following example (S.35):

S. 35) *idhā fuṣila al-hindiyyu lā yashkū.*

إذا فصل الهندي لا يشكو

When the Indian man (worker) is sacked, he does not complain.

Table 2 shows Sartori's overall results:

No	Meaning	Particle	Protasis form	Apodosis form
1	Present Eventual	*idhā*	*faʿala*	*yafʿalu*
2	Past Eventual	*idhā*	*faʿala*	*faʿala*
3	Potential	*idhā*	*faʿala*	*(fa-) sa-yafʿalu*
		in	*faʿala*	*yafʿal/ sa-yafʿalu/ lan yafʿala*
		law	*faʿala*	*yafʿalu*
4	Present Unreal	*law*	*faʿala*	*(fa-) sa-yafʿalu*
		idhā	*faʿala*	*(la-) faʿala*
5	Past Unreal	*law*	*faʿala*	*(la-) (mā) faʿala*

Table 2. Sartori's overall results. Note: *faʿala* **refers to the perfect form and** *yafʿalu* **refers to the imperfect form.**

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[123] He means by the term "eventual" the co-occurrence of two events. Hence, the particle has the meaning of 'when' in English.

[124] The "potential" meaning is the only one that is left without connection with time reference like the others. However, by looking at his interpretations for the examples, it appears that he associates this meaning with future time reference. Like in*: idhā lafaftahu ḥawla ʿunuqika sa-yakūnu rāʾiʿan.* (if you tie it around your neck, it will be great). Ibid., p. 12.

[125] Ibid., pp. 7-18.

[126] Ibid., p. 7.

Consequently, Sartori reaches the conclusion that "this is no longer the operator (the particle) only that demonstrates the meaning of a conditional clause"[127] since the verbal form in the apodosis has begun to play an essential role in determining the sense of the sentence. Hence, he is opposing the traditional view which connects the semantics of conditional structures to the particles.

As a result, he says, the conditional system in Modern Literary Arabic has become closer to a "sequence of tenses",[128] which exists in the conditional system in English and French, whilst seemingly assuming that these languages have influenced the Arabic conditional system.[129] However, this approach cannot be regarded as perfectly systematic since the author admits that there are still some cases where this relational approach fails to determine the meaning because some structures have been found to belong to a number of different aforementioned domains. Hence, the context is essentially required to identify the exact meaning. For example, the structure (*idhā* + perfect + perfect) can be found in either past eventual or present unreal[130] as in sentences (S.36) and (S.37) respectively:

S. 36) *idhā taḥaddatha al-sukkānu ᶜan buṭūlātihim taḥaddathū bi-basāṭatin wa tawāḍuᶜin.*

إذا تحدث السكان عن بطولاتهم تحدثوا ببساطة وتواضع.

When the residents spoke of their heroism, they did so with simplicity and modesty.[131]

S. 37) *idhā sāᶜadahu Zakariyyā kāna dhālika afḍal.*

إذا ساعده زكريا كان ذلك أفضل.

If Zakariyyā helped him, it would be better.[132]

Another lack noticed in this study is that this approach only focuses on verbal clauses in conditional sentences, excluding non-verbal clauses, and it seems only to focus on conditional sentences where the time references are agreed. In other words, those conditional sentences which combine between different time references cannot be observed by this approach.

Another important feature of this study is that the author adopts, throughout his analysis, a quantitative approach in order to observe the tendencies of the semantic interchangeability

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[127] Ibid., p. 21.
[128] Ibid., p. 20.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid., pp. 8, 14.
[131] Ibid., Sartori's translation with my amendments.
[132] Ibid., p. 15.

among the conditional particles. Having examined 283 examples that only include the cases where the protasis requires logically the content of the apodosis (i.e. cause-effect relation between the two clauses), Sartori draws some significant results. For instance, the study proves that *idhā* is the most prominent particle in Modern Literary Arabic conditional use to denote potential meaning, which was classically signified by *in*, accounting for 67.95% of the total numbers of potential conditional examples,[133] and additionally *idhā* denotes the meaning of unreality in the present which is the same as *law*.[134] This can be considered a new semantic aspect that presumably did not exist classically. The results found in the study may be valuable to compare with the ones that the present study intends to produce.

This study, despite of its valuable contribution, has two obvious deficiencies. First, it only focuses on the verbal patterns and the declarative mood that are found in the apodoses of the conditional sentences. This excludes non-verbal patterns and the interrogative and the imperative moods. Second, the approach adopted seems only to focus on conditional sentences where the time references are agreed. In other words, those conditional sentences which combine between different time references are not be observed by this approach.

The sixth study is *Conditional Sentences in Modern Standard Arabic and the Taif Dialect* [135] by Yasir Alotaibi (2014). This is an unpublished PhD thesis examined at the University of Essex. As the title suggests, conditional sentences in MSA are not the only target variety to be investigated by the author, who considers as well the Taif dialect as a variety of Arabic to be compared with MSA. Hence, Alotaibi aims to show the similarities and the differences in the use of conditional sentences between these varieties of Arabic. For example, in terms of the similarities, he mentions that the two varieties use the same conditional particles, which are *in* and *law*.[136] However, in terms of the differences, he notes that in the Taif dialect the marker, which sometimes prefixes the verbal form in the apodosis, overtly indicates a future reference. This marker is *bi* (will),[137] which is a direct and is a comparable equivalent to the standard marker *sa-/sawfa* as exemplified in (S.38) and (S.39) respectively:

   S. 38) *in dhākar Fāris bi-yinjaḥ.*   (Taif dialect)

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[133] Ibid., p. 9.
[134] Ibid., pp.14, 19.
[135] The Taif dialect is one of the local dialects which is spoken in the Ḥijāz province in Saudi Arabia.
[136] Alotaibi (2014), p. 1.
[137] Ibid., p. 152.

<div align="right">إن ذاكر فارس بينجح.</div>

If Fāris studies, he will succeed.[138]

S. 39) *in jāʿa ʿAliyyun fa-sawfa yafūzu fī al-musābaqati.*　　　　　　(MSA)

<div align="right">إن جاء علي فسوف يفوز في المسابقة.</div>

If ʿAli comes, he will win in the competition.[139]

In addition, in a further chapter, the author analyses conditional sentences in the two varieties of Arabic that he studies, through the lens of Lexical Functional Grammar theory.

One methodological problem that I have observed in his study is that the data of MSA conditional that he has examined is artificial (i.e. not natural language use), which has caused a blurred view of the actual usages of the conditional sentences. As a result, Alotaibi, in my view, ends up producing some inaccurate findings. I will only discuss three of these:

(i) He states that the particles *in* and *law* are the predominant conditional particles used in MSA.[140] This result contradicts the actual behaviour of the conditional system in MSA. We have seen earlier that some studies have proved that the particle *idhā* is the most common candidate among other conditional markers. Hence, a certain gap in his study is realised.

(ii) He follows a seemingly oversimplified semantic division (Real conditional vs Unreal conditional) where the particle *in* expresses real conditionals, while the particle *law* expresses unreal conditionals.[141] Again, this view does not reflect the actual use of MSA conditionals since it has been proved by some of the studies reviewed above that *law* can in practice express open (real) conditionals as well.[142] This is exemplified by the following example: (S.40)

S. 40) *law dakhalnā sibāqa tasalluḥin nawawiyyin fī al-manṭiqati lan yantahiya.*

<div align="right">لو دخلنا سباق تسلح نووي في المنطقة لن ينتهي.</div>

If we enter a nuclear arms race in the region, it will not end.[143]

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[138] Ibid., p. 153.
[139] Ibid., p. 125.
[140] Ibid., p. 319.
[141] Ibid., p. 151.
[142] Badawi *et al.* p. 647; Sartori (2011), p. 12.
[143] Badawi *et al.* p. 647.

(iii) Since the examples analysed were artificial they were not contextually analysed. Consequently, Alotaibi had to, on several occasions, provide two or three temporal interpretations for a particular example. Let us consider the following example: (S.41)

S. 41) *law qāma Aḥmadu qāma Sālimun.*

<div dir="rtl">لو قام أحمد قام سالم.</div>

He states that this sentence can refer to either past as in (a), present or future as in (b) below:

a. If Ahmad had stood, Salem would have stood.
b. If Ahmad stood, Salem would stand.

Such confusion would have been avoided if he had relied on authentic data which is given in a particular context since the speaker of natural language logically must have one particular interpretation in his/her mind.

2.7. Studies in English conditionals:

Conditional sentences have been intensively analysed in the English language. As a whole, these studies cover several aspects of the system of conditionality including: structure; the tense system; time references; Modality expressions; discourse functions, and so on. As a result of adopting different criteria several typologies and classifications have emerged. Gabrielatos points out there are three main principles recognised collectively by linguists that are used to categorise English conditionals.[144] However, I believe that there are five principles. These principles with representative examples are:

i) The degree of the likelihood (actuality, possibility, impossibility), i.e. Modality expressions. An example of this may be seen in Comrie's (1986) classifications: higher hypothetical vs. lower hypothetical; Huddleston and Pullum's (2002) Open and Remote conditional; Quirk *et al.* (1972), and Palmer's (1986) Real and Unreal.

ii) Time reference. An example of this is Dancygier (2006): Predictive and Non-predictive.

iii) The nature of the link between the protasis and the apodosis. Quirk *et al.* (1985) propose Direct and Indirect, and Sweetser (1990) proposes Content, Epistemic and Speech act.

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[144] Gabrielatos (2010), p. 153. He has conducted an intensive critical review of the major treaties on English conditionals.

iv) The forms of the verb. This is widely used in English grammar textbooks[145] which consider the verbal patterns (Table 3). This criterion is usually linked to (ii), time reference.

v) Pragmatic and discourse function. Elder (2014) propose Resultative, Inferential, Topic Marker, Propositional content hedge, Illocutionary force hedge and Directive.[146]

Protasis	Apodosis	Time Reference
Present tense	will	Future
Past tense	would	Present/future
past perfect	would have	Past

Table 3. Conditional sentence types on the basis of the forms of the verb according to English grammar textbooks.

It is worth stating that some linguists adopt two or three combined principles in classifying conditionals; Athanasiadou and Dirven consider the degree of likelihood, the nature of the link between the two clauses and the pragmatic function in order to distinguish between conditional types.[147] Using a similar method, Dancygier and Mioduszewska adopt the first and third criteria that are mentioned above: the degree of likelihood and the link between the two clauses. Thus, on the basis of the former they distinguish among Factual, Theoretical and Hypothetical conditionals, while on the basis of the latter, they make a distinction among Consequential and Non-consequential relations.[148] Finally, it is also worth mentioning that although in many cases analysts tend to use different terms, their typologies in reality show that large amount of overlap.[149]

Apart from this general overview, I will briefly review some of these studies, focussing on six studies:

The first one is the article *Conditionals: a Typology* (1986), by Bernard Cormie. This is one of the most important studies in the field of conditional sentences. Its importance stems from the author's stated purpose in conducting such a study. His first reason is that he aims to formulate a framework for characterising conditional sentences that can be applied in cross-

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[145] See: Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (2005), p. 545; Swan (2009), p. 233. Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 231, call this division "canonical tense patterns".
[146] Elder (2014), pp. 103-104.
[147] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 3.
[148] Dancygier and Mioduszewska (1984), pp. 121-122.
[149] Gabrielatos (2010), pp. 185, 188.

linguistic studies, and, secondly, he aims to determine the major parameters that should be taken into consideration while treating conditional constructions in all languages.[150] Hence, although he focuses on conditionals in English, he attempts to provide some practical support for other languages through some of his findings. The languages that his work encompasses include: French, Russian, German, Turkish and Mandarin.[151] The parameters he adopts in analysing conditionals are: characterization of conditionals; clause order; markers of protasis and apodosis; degrees of hypotheticality and time reference. Some of the salient results he has obtained in his study can be summarised as follows:

i) The prototypical conditional sentences are those that present a causal link between the two clauses.[152]

ii) There are continuum degrees of Modality meanings expressed by conditional structures. These degrees move from more likely to less likely propositions.[153]

iii) Universally, the common clause order is the protasis to preced the apodosis.[154]

The second study is *Conditionals and Predication: Time, Knowledge and Causation in Conditional Constructions* (1998) by Barbara Dancygier. The revised edition, published in 2006, is the one that I refer to in my study. Under the significant influence of Comrie's study, mentioned earlier, Dancygier attempts to provide an in-depth analysis of conditional structures in English. However, she intends to establish a framework that has universal validity, one that can be applied to other languages.

Dancygier believes in the necessity of determining a set of descriptive parameters which are very much like those adopted by Comrie.[155] These parameters are: (i) Prediction and distance (include Time References and Modality), (ii) Relations between the clauses, (iii) Knowledge and conditional protases, (iv) Conditional clauses: form and order and (v) The interaction between the conditional particles and other conjunctions. Each parameter is discussed in an individual chapter.

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[150] Comrie (1986), p. 77.
[151] Ibid., pp. 84, 91-92.
[152] Ibid., p. 80.
[153] Ibid., p. 88.
[154] Ibid., p. 83.
[155] Dancygier (2006), pp. 10-11.

Another aim of this study is to address the relationship between form and meaning.[156] For example, under the first parameter mentioned above, Dancygier makes a distinction between two types of conditional constructions, the predictive (which can be either open or hypothetical) and non-predictive conditional.[157] One of the syntactical differences between the two types is that the former's verbal form in the protasis is backshifted, which is not the case in the latter.[158] The term "backshift" means "that the time marked in the verb phrase is earlier than the time actually referred to [in non-conditional structures]".[159] Compare the two following examples where the first is backshifted, hence, predictive, while the second is not, hence, non-predictive: (S.42-43)

S. 42) If it rains, the match will be cancelled.[160]

S. 43) If she is in the lobby, the plane arrived early.[161]

The present tense form in (S.42) refers to the future, while in (S.43) it refers to the present in the same way it does as in non-conditional structures. However, one of the critiques of Dancygier's classification is that some of the structures which are marked by the backshift feature do not indicate prediction.[162] Consider (S.44):

S. 44) If I were president, I would sell the White House limoges china to fund bilingual education.[163]

Here, the past tense form, 'were', is backshifted because it possibly refers to a present time. However, "such constructions do not express prediction but intention or promise".[164]

The third and fourth studies are two related and complementary articles written by Athanasiadou and Dirven. The first is *Conditionality, Hypotheticality, Counterfactuality* (1997), and the second is *Pragmatic Conditionals* (2000). As mentioned above, the authors seem to adopt three main criteria in their studies, namely, the degree of the likelihood, the nature of the link between the two clauses and the pragmatic functions. Both conclude with the identification of three main types of conditionals: Course-of-events, Hypothetical and

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[156] Ibid., p. 10.
[157] Ibid., p. 37.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid., p. 25.
[161] Ibid., p. 62.
[162] Gabrielatos (2010), p. 176.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid., p. 177

Pragmatic.[165] The first is equivalent to what is known as Factual conditional. The second, which is the most typical, covers Open and Counterfactual conditionals. The third is further sub-categorised into Logical and Conversational.[166] Gabrielatos states that Logical conditionals seem to correspond to the term Epistemic as proposed by Sweetser (1990), while Conversational conditionals can be seen as a mirror of the term Indirect, as adopted by Quirk *et al.* (1985).[167] This can be seen as evidence of the overlap between the ostensibly different typologies, as mentioned above. These investigations have touched upon several issues related to English conditionals, such as the link between the two clauses, the frequency of each type, and some syntactic features of these types. The findings of their study are supported by English examples taken from real texts.

The fifth study is *Conditionals: A Comprehensive Empirical Analysis* (2001) by Renaat Declerck and Susan Reed, which is, as far as I know, the most detailed and elaborative study of English conditionals. One of the positive features of this study is that it is empirical in nature since the data that has been examined reflects the authentic and actual use of English conditionals. The examples that were analysed were collected from two English corpora: Cobuild and LOB.[168] The authors believe that what emerged from the authentic data indicates the possibility that conditional clauses may express many semantic and pragmatic functions. This is more than what has been achieved in many other studies, several of which have relied on artificial examples.[169]

Another interesting aspect of this study is that the authors argue that there are several categorisations involved in the analysis of conditional structures. This is due to the fact "that there are so many different parameters to be taken into account".[170] They provide the following example to clarify this situation: (S.45)

 S. 45) If Alan did not do his work properly, he may get into trouble.
Declerck and Reed claim that this sentence can be categorised in various ways: (i) looking at the relation between the two clauses, it is an inferential conditional, (ii) it is either an open or closed (likely to occur) conditional. This last categorisation is related to the possible world

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[165] Athanasiadou and Dirven (1997), p. 61.
[166] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), pp. 1-2.
[167] Gabrielatos (2010), p. 163.
[168] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 1.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid., p. 2.

parameter. Because of this, Gabrielatos has described their study as having a "multi-angle" typology, i.e. it analyses conditionals in different ways, and from many angles, which leads the authors to establish a number of categorisations.[171] Additionally, this study shows deep and comprehensive analysis of an enormous number of examples of the actual use of English conditionals.[172] Declerck and Reed's work will be beneficial to the present study in terms of conducting contrastive inquiries between Arabic and English.

The sixth study, which is an unpublished PhD thesis, is *A Corpus-based Examination of English if-conditionals through the Lens of Modality* by Constantinos Gabrielatos (2010). As the title suggests, this study focuses on the relation between conditional sentences and the semantic concept of Modality. The author was motivated to conduct this study following the claim made by researchers in several linguistic studies "that conditionals are closely related to Modality".[173] But, as Gabrielatos believes, an empirical and intensive investigation is still necessary in order to reveal the nature of the relation between the two concepts.[174] Hence, he aims to investigate the Modality meanings which stem from uttering conditional sentences from an empirical perspective. However, at some point in his study, he seems to trace the pragmatic functions that can be implied by conditional sentences. This study follows a corpus-based methodology, wherein the data being collected from the British National Corpus (BNC).[175] This methodology can support the analysis with a strong quantitative element. In terms of the qualitative results, the researcher manages to extract the meanings that may be denoted by conditionals: Likelihood, Propensity, Directed Desirability and Indirect Desirability.[176] Although this study provides a valuable contribution, quantitatively and qualitatively, to conditional sentences in English, it nonetheless narrows its scope to the Modality concept.

2.8. Conclusion:

The literature summarised in this chapter has described and evaluated several studies on the conditional sentence in Arabic and English. The early and later Arabic grammarians' treatments tended to focus mainly on the basis of the language of the *Qurʾān, Ḥadīth* and CA

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[171] Gabrielatos (2010), p. 177.
[172] Ibid., p. 232.
[173] Ibid., p. 2.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid., p. 5.
[176] Ibid., p. 238.

poetry, specifically with the formal syntactical features of conditional sentences such as the operator, case-endings, variations in the verbal and non-verbal forms in the two clauses, clause order, and so on. Hence, it appears that the semantic aspects of the conditional sentences were not given enough attention. However, Peled's writing on the subject of CA prose attempted to provide an advanced analysis by aiming to investigate the syntactic-semantic relation while dealing with conditional sentences.

On the other hand, the studies carried out on the topic in MSA aim more often at pedagogical purposes for learners of the Arabic language. Hence, they generate general, insufficient descriptions that disregard many relevant aspects of the subject. Nevertheless, some others aim to deal with the topic deeply, following different methodologies from each other that (i) range from descriptive to (ii) comparative analysis with conditionals in CA or Arabic dialects, with (iii) others attempting to offer a relational analysis. Moreover, it appears that these studies collectively focus on one shared issue, that is, to observe the Modality expressions denoted by the conditional particles. But, with the exception of Sartori's work they provide general descriptive observations which cannot be seen as systematic. Sartori's work, however, can be deemed limited since it excludes many conditional structures (e.g. apodoses introduced by imperative or non-verbal structures and concessive conditionals), and neglects some other issues relevant to the topic of conditionality (e.g. the semantic link between the two clauses and discourse functions).

By contrast, the studies of English conditionals seem to provide a focused analysis in terms of the semantic and pragmatic functions of conditional sentences. Hence, a certain number of classifications are adopted, but they show significant overlaps.

By looking at the current state of the field of the MWA conditional (reviewed in the Chapter) through the lens of English studies, we can re-emphasis some of the gaps that need to be filled:

i) A deeper and systematic semantic analysis that explores the Modality expressions and the link between the two clauses.

ii) The discourse functions which reveal how conditional sentences act contextually in a particular text.

iii) The semantic interaction between the conditional particles and some other elements.

The following chapter will present the proposed framework, and the methodological procedure.

Chapter Three

The Conceptual Framework and Methodology

3.1. Introduction:

This chapter proposes and outlines the conceptual framework of the study and provides its main parameters, the meanings of the concepts related to this framework, and the advantages of choosing this specific protocol. Secondly, the chapter outlines the methodological principles of the study including data description and sources, the types of genres chosen, the criteria adopted for choosing them, and the number of examples analysed.

3.2. The Conceptual Framework:

The aim of this study is to analyse the semantics and the contextual functions of conditional sentences in MWA. After reviewing a number of studies on the subject of Arabic conditionals, I identified some areas that still need to be analysed. The reasons include: superficial descriptions that have emerged from some studies, the limitation and the narrow scope of others, or the limitation of the data examined. The reason I focused on the semantic and contextual aspects of MWA conditionals is that the syntactic aspects have been given a great deal of attention by classical and modern works as shown in Chapter 2. However, this is not to say that the structural aspects will be totally neglected in this study. They will be borne in mind, but with relation to the semantic functions. The importance of the semantic-syntactic relations is already emphasised by Peled who has claimed, commenting on the works of CA conditionals, that "the question of the syntactico-semantic relationship between them usually remains unsolved".[1] This aspect will be taken into account in my forthcoming analysis although it is not the main aim of the study to address this, the main aim being to explore the semantic and pragmatic functions of MWA conditional sentences that are contextually determined.

The conceptual framework upon which the present analysis is based is influenced by the works conducted by Comrie and Dancygier reviewed in Chapter 2. Their framework is based on determining parameters that act as lenses through which the conditional sentences are analysed. Although the main target language in their studies is English, they assert that this

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[1] Peled (1992), p. 1. Peled's work is an investigation into this matter with reference to CA conditionals.

framework is not specifically designed for English conditionals.[2] After extensively researching the existing literature, this framework has not been, to the best of my knowledge, applied to Arabic conditionals.

Since Dancygier's work was conducted after Comrie's, I will follow the sequence of the parameters she adopted. With a slight adaptation of the framework applied by those linguists, four parameters will form the basis of the present analysis. They are:

1. Modality and Time Reference.
2. The Relation between the two clauses.
3. Clause order and discourse functions.
4. Interaction between conditional particles and other linguistic elements.

A brief description for these parameters will be provided in the following lines:

Modality and Time Reference:

This parameter consists of two major categories. The first category is Modality, which is defined as the grammaticalisation that indicates the speaker's estimate and attitude towards an occurrence of a state of affairs, counting several semantic notions, such as possibility, necessity, obligation volition etc.[3] Commonly, linguists distinguish between two types of Modality: Epistemic and Deontic.[4] According to Dik, Epistemic is defined as the degree of the speaker's personal evaluation of the potentiality of the event occurrence on the basis of his knowledge. This includes the following notions: certainty, possibility, necessity, probability, and impossibility. Deontic is concerned with the speaker's evaluation of the actuality of the events' occurrence on the basis of moral, legal and social considerations. This includes: obligation, acceptance, permission, non-acceptance, and forbidden.[5]

In English, Modality meanings can be expressed by various lexical items such as modal verbs (e.g. may, can, must), adverbs (e.g. possibly, surely), and adjectives (able to).[6] On the hand, Arabic modality expressions can be denoted by various resources: verbs (e.g. *yajib* 'must',

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[2] Comrie (1986), p. 77.
[3] Palmer (1986), p. 17; Dik (1997 a), p. 242.
[4] Palmer (1979); pp. 41-58; Lyons (1977), vol. 2. pp. 787-849; Huddleston (1984), p. 166. Sweetser (1990), p. 49 prefers to use the term "root" instead of "deontic". The term "epistemic" comes from the Greek word "epistemology", which means "knowledge" or "understanding". The term "deontic" comes from the Greek word "deon", which means what is binding. See: Lyons (1977), vol. 2. pp. 793, 823.
[5] Dik (1997 a), p. 242.
[6] Huddleston (1984), p. 166.

yastaṭīᶜ 'can), particles (e.g. *inna* 'indeed', *qad* 'it is possible that' or 'it is actually the case that'), adverbs (e.g. *ḥaqqan* 'indeed'), and an affix to the verb (e.g. *nūn al-tawkīd*).[7]

The connection between the conditionality and Modality is necessarily tied. Huddleston and Pullum point out that "conditional constructions are conducive to the expression of Modality".[8] Turner also states that conditionals denote mainly uncertainties.[9] Therefore, the semantics of conditional sentences is typically treated on the basis of Modality notions. Palmer, for example, devotes a section in his book "Mood and Modality" to conditionals. He discusses the notion of Modality with relation to conditionals, providing the division: Real and Unreal conditionals.[10] He also shows, elsewhere, the role of modal verbs in producing the aforementioned domains, i.e. the occurrence of 'will' in the apodosis of the real conditional and 'would' in the unreal conditional as in the following sentences: (S.1-2)

S. 1) If it rains, the match will be cancelled.

S. 2) If it rained, the match would be cancelled.[11]

Obviously, both sentences uncover the speaker's personal estimate and are based on his knowledge of the statuses of the two actions expressed. He estimates the first one as being possible in the real world, while the second is seen as being unlikely.

Another reason why the relation between the conditional and Modality domain seems close is related to the conditional particle as a marker of epistemic Modality. This is stressed by Traugott who states that conditional meaning is marked by epistemic Modality markers, such as 'if'.[12] Similarly, Dancygier claims that the conditional particle 'if' is a sign of unassertiveness,[13] i.e. the proposition that occurs with the use of this construction can be possible, or unlikely, as exemplified above in (S.1-2). Similarly, as Chapter 2 demonstrates, the Arabic conditional particles are connected to some epistemic Modality notions such as uncertainty, likelihood, potentiality, and so on.

The second category (sometimes the term 'Tense' is used[14]) is connected to the time reference domain, which reveals when an event or action is temporally located.

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[7] Al-Moutawakkil (2013), part. 2. p. 266.
[8] Huddleston and Pullum (2002), p. 744.
[9] Turner (2003), p. 135.
[10] Palmer (1986), pp. 189-199.
[11] Palmer (1979), pp. 136-137. See also: Palmer (1986), pp. 188-197; Thompson *et al.* (2007), vol. 2. p. 256.
[12] Traugott (1985), p. 290.
[13] Dancygier (2006), p. 19. See also: Dancygier and Sweetser (2005), p. 45-47.
[14] Huddleston (1984), p. 143; Trask (1993), p. 276; Crystal (1980), p. 352; Timberlake (2007), vol. 3. p. 304.

Conventionally, there are three temporal domains: past, present, and future.[15] The past describes the event that occurred before the moment of speech. The present is used in the case of overlapping between the event time and the speech moment. The future refers to the event that comes after the time of speech.[16]

Following Comrie, Peled, and Dancygier,[17] I prefer to use the term "Time Reference" to refer to the three domains mentioned above rather than "Tense". One reason behind this choice is because Tense is typically and conventionally associated with the verbal forms in grammar books.[18] That is to say, a tense form denotes the time location of the event, i.e. 'walked' expresses the past tense. In doing so, there must be specific forms to each one of the aforementioned temporal domains. However, the term 'tense' can be problematic due to three reasons. The first is that not all languages have systematic tense categorisations that link the form of the verb to the temporal reference. For instance, the future does not have a particular verb form in English and Arabic. Therefore, other lexical items are used to express futurity, such as 'will' in English and *sawfa* in Arabic.[19] This may account for why some linguists prefer the tensed dichotomy (past vs present) when dealing with languages such as English[20]. Similarly, some other scholars divide tense into perfect and imperfect,[21] thus avoiding such a controversial term.

The second problem that arises is that in some structures, tense forms can express some meanings other than temporal domains. For example, in English the past form may denote a tentative meaning or unreality instead of past time as in (S.3-4) respectively:

S. 3) I wish I knew.[22]

S. 4) If John came, he would stay.[23]

The third problem that emerges from adopting the term 'Tense' (verbal form), denoting time reference, is the lack of consistency. There is no a regular one-to-one relation between the

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[15] Givon (1984), vol. 1. p. 273; Crystal (1980), p. 352; Timberlake (2007), vol. 3. p. 304.
[16] Givon (1984), vol. 1. p. 273; Haan (2011), pp. 446-448.
[17] Comrie (1986), p. 93; Peled (1992), p. 12; Dacnygier (2006), p. 25.
[18] Lyons (1970), vol. 2. p. 678; Crystal (1980), p. 352; Dixon (2010), vol. 2. p. 52.
[19] See a list of the grammatical items that express time in Arabic in Abdel-Ghani (1981), pp. 106-109.
[20] Quirk *et al.* (1972), p. 84; Culicover (1976), p: 47; Scott *et al.* (1968), p: 110.
[21] Wright (1875), vol. 2. pp. 1, 16; Cantarino (1975), vol. 1. p. 58; Balhloul (2008), p. 29.
[22] The time reference is "now", Crystal (1980), p. 352.
[23] It is cited in: Palmer (1979), p: 6.

verb form and their temporal values since one form can refer to different time references depending on the context.[24] This problem can be clearly seen in conditional structures such as those that Dancygier suggests.[25] Consider the following example: (S.5)

S. 5) If it rained, the match would be cancelled.

The verb in the past form, "rained", can refer either to present or future time despite the fact that the form is usually connected to the past time. Therefore, taking these points into consideration and in order to avoid such problems, in this study I will use the following terms: 'Time Reference' for the temporal domains 'past, present and future', and 'perfect and imperfect' for the verbal forms.

One final point that needs to be clarified in the discussion is the question, why does this parameter combine the two concepts, Modality and Time Reference? The answer is that it has been observed that Time Reference and Modality are interrelated;[26] time reference implies the speaker's judgment towards events in terms of the statuses of their occurrences: whether they are, for example, expressed with certainty or potentiality. For instance, future time reference indicates prediction. Hence, the event that is located in the future is regarded to be irrealis or potential.[27] Consider the following example: (S.6)

S. 6) The weather will be warmer tomorrow.[28]

In this study, like Dancygier and Sartori, I will deal with Modality and Time Reference as one interactional parameter that plays a fundamental part in analysing conditional sentences in MWA.

The Relation between the two clauses:

In her study on the conditional in English, Dancygier highlights the importance of the relation between the protasis and the apodosis in understanding conditional sentences.[29] She also hypothesises that there may be several ways in which the protasis and the apodosis are connected, but each sort of connection will play a part in the interpretation of conditional

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[24] Alsuhaibani (2012), p. 242.
[25] Dancygier (2006), pp. 29-30.
[26] Jaszczolt (2009), p. 44.
[27] Timberlake (2007), vol. 3. p. 306.
[28] Jaszczolt (2009), p. 52.
[29] Dancygier (2006), pp. 13, 72.

constructions.[30] In a similar vein, Bawrise states that "the interpretation of a conditional should be a relation between the matters spoken in the antecedent and consequence".[31]

The importance of this parameter does not come as a surprise since the nature of conditional constructions is based on them being linked between two clauses by a particle. Hence, there must be a mutual connection between them. This has been agreed by Peled, who states that "the two clauses [of conditional sentences] ..... appear to function as mutually dependent constituents".[32] We have seen in Chapter 2 that some English conditional treatises adopt the link between the two clauses as a criterion for conditional classification.[33] Then too, Dancygier wonders about the possibility of classifying conditionals on the basis of the protasis/apodosis relation. She, then, proceeds to explore and analyse what can be seen as a distinctive category for the two clauses relations.[34] Taken all together, these quotations and remarks justify the idea that the semantic link between the two clauses in MWA conditional sentences should be given central attention. This may help provide a deeper understanding of the semantics of conditionals.

Discourse Functions:

Dancygier has investigated the issue of the discourse function of conditionals under two headings: knowledge and conditional protases,[35] and conditional clauses—form and order.[36] Discourse function basically means the study of a linguistic unit within a wider context. In other words, this linguistic domain explores the interaction between that unit and the context; hence, it is a pragmatic domain.[37] Discourse, from a linguistic perspective, is a stretch of language which is larger than a sentence.[38]

The issue of conditionals and discourse has been a common concern in the field of functional English linguistic studies. Schiffrin, for example, has emphasised the importance of considerations of discourse in revealing the communicative messages of conditionals.[39] This

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[30] Ibid., p. 14.
[31] Bawrise cited in Gabrielator (2010), p. 236.
[32] Peled (1992), p. 1.
[33] See page 59 above.
[34] Dancygier (2006), p. 72.
[35] Dancygier (2006), p. 110.
[36] Ibid., p. 138.
[37] Brown and Yule (1993), pp. 26-27.
[38] Crystal (1980), p. 114.
[39] Schiffrin (1992), p. 175.

argument shows the interaction between the speaker and the addressee in a particular context. Akatsuka has claimed that conditionals are discourse-bound which means that their intended meaning cannot be identified unless the contextual considerations are identified.[40] Since the term 'Discourse Function' is loose, and many issues are involved under its scope, I will centre my analysis on exploring the interaction between MWA conditionals and Information Structure. The latter is a pragmatic domain that is concerned with how the ideas are conveyed in discourse to meet the immediate communicative needs of the interlocutors.[41] More details will be given about this domain and its common elements in Chapter 6.

One of the linguistic issues that has a strong correlation to the discourse function domain is word/clause order. This is one of the most striking fundamental areas of language universals and language typology. The term 'Word Order' is commonly used to refer to the syntactic order of a set of units at either the level of sentence, e.g. Subject-Verb-Object order (SVO), or clause order in adverbial clauses.[42] Dryer poses two questions that are normally borne in mind while examining this. The first concerns the possible order of the constituents in a specific language. The second is related to how this order fits cross-linguistic universal tendencies.[43] A third important consideration that can be regarded here is the question of the discourse functions following a particular order in a particular context.[44] The importance of including the last question emerges from the view that sees word/clause order as a functional as well as a syntactic issue.[45] In the present analysis, these three questions will be addressed through investigating the conditional functions in MWA.

The interaction between conditional particles and other linguistics elements:

The focus of this parameter will be on how conditional particles interact syntactically and semantically with a certain number of linguistic components. In her study, Dancygier focuses on three conjunctions: 'even' which compounds with 'if' to form concessive conditionals, 'unless' as an exceptive and negative marker of the protasis, and 'then' as a marker of the apodosis.[46] Similarly, Declerck and Reed discuss in detail the occurrence of the first two

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[40] Akastuka (1986), p. 349.
[41] Lambrecht (1994), pp. 2-3; Féry and Krifka (2008), p. 125.
[42] Dryer (2007), vol. 1. p. 61.
[43] Dryer (2007), vol. 1. p. 61.
[44] Dancygier (2006), pp. 147-148.
[45] Andersen (1983), pp. 35-36; Abdul-Raof (1998), p. 84.
[46] Dancygier (2006), pp. 138-183.

elements.[47] These investigations reveal how syntax and semantics interact in conditionals. In the present study, I will focus on the particles, for example *ḥattā,* that may precede the three Arabic conditional particles, *idhā, in* and *law,* and search for their possible meanings.

Figure 1 illustrates the framework adopted in this study:
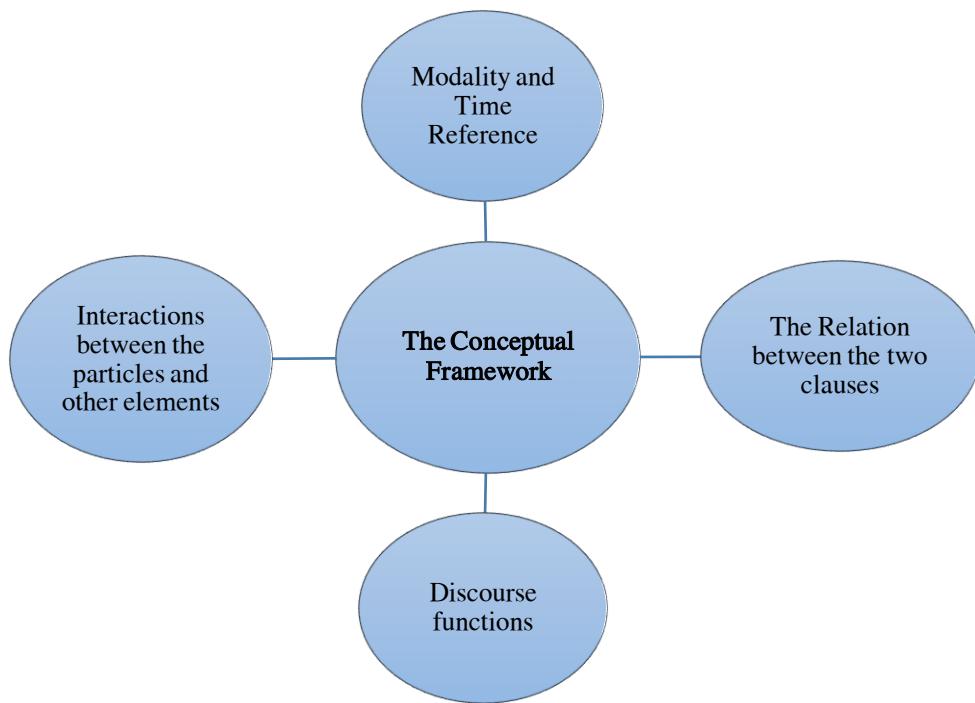
Figure 1. The framework employed in this study.

This framework has several advantages:

i. It is a multi-angle framework that provides access to investigate the relation between conditional sentences and a range of various linguistic parameters, as opposed to setting up a single parameter to analyse this topic. These parameters will help illustrate the complex nature of conditional sentences. As a result, number of different categorisations and functions will possibly be identified.

ii. The parameters adopted (namely: Modality and Time Reference, the link between the two clauses, Discourse Function and the interaction with other linguistic devices) are recognised as universal linguistic concepts. This means that they are relevant to the study

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[47] Declerck and Reed (2001), pp. 447, 461.

of other languages, and will help in the comparison of MAW conditionals with other languages. In the case of the present study, a comparison with English will be utilised.

iii. This framework makes a clear-cut distinction between two semantic domains: Modality expressions and the link between the two clauses. The former signals how the speaker sees the actions expressed with relation to possible worlds, while the latter reveals how the speaker sees the nature of the connection between the two clauses.

iv. This framework pays attention to the role of conditional sentences in a wider context. This is done by considering the discourse function as an essential parameter.

Although Comrie's, and specifically, Dancygier's work act here as a guide and foundation to the present study, this does not mean they are the only sources that will be consulted. In pursuing the present study, other linguistic analyses and theories in conditionals, especially in English, will also be consulted in order to enrich the investigation.

3.3. Methodology and Data description

3.3.1. Methodology

The study will be pursued through the use of empirical analysis of the authentic use of MWA conditional sentences. The advantage of this is that it examines these sentences as they really are.[48] This involves, as much as possible, avoiding relying on introspective and artificial examples which are provided by Arabic textbooks in order to illustrate prescriptive grammatical rules rather than describing the real linguistic situation. However, on a few occasions made-up examples are given for the purpose of clarifying the meaning of some concepts, especially when they are quoted from others' works. A second advantage of employing an empirical methodology "lies in the availability of a wide range of attested examples which may not be represented in a purely introspective study".[49] A third advantage may emerge from the fact that the examples are analysed under the effect of contextual considerations since they form parts of a large text in which a number of sentences are organised and connected and a number of forms of backgrounded information is involved. This will, most often, play a role in revealing the appropriate, or at least the closest, interpretation of the conditional sentences examined.

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[48] Tony McEnery and Andrew Wilson (2004), p. 104.
[49] Elder (2014), p. 8.

This study also focuses, as a priority, on conducting a qualitative analysis of MWA conditionals. This means the main methodology is to identify the possible types and sub-types that are utilised by the observation of actual data of MWA conditionals, and seeks out the patterns used, the meanings expressed, and the functions implied. However, observations of frequencies are sometimes made in order to obtain an impression of the major and minor tendencies of the patterns used.[50] Oakes states that "statistics enable one to summarise the most important properties of the observed data".[51]

Since I employ a multi-angle framework, each angle (parameter) will be considered individually and discussed in a separate chapter. In each chapter, three main steps will be followed as illustrated in Figure 2:
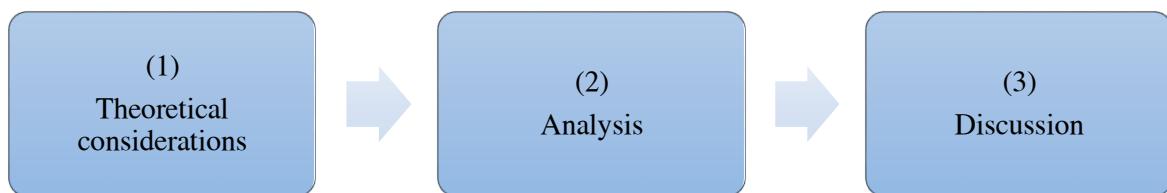
Figure 2. The methodological steps followed in each chapter.

The first step, the theoretical considerations, means that as a researcher I will attempt to provide a close look at the concept of the parameter/angle through which the conditional sentences are analysed. This covers its meaning, the relation of the parameter to conditionals and, most importantly, the operational definition that will be employed in the practical analysis. This step is very important since it informs the reader how, practically, MWA conditionals will be analysed with connection to the parameter specified.

The second step is the analysis, which is the heart of the chapter. In this step, the empirical investigation for the examples will be carried out in order to obtain typological classifications, and types and sub-types of the actual use, of conditionals with relation to the parameter adopted. The analysis will also provide a contextualised interpretation of many of the examples attested in order to justify the way they are categorised. Another practical aspect of the analysis is that an attempt will be made to compare the features of conditionals in MWA with relevant English conditionals in order to show the similarities and differences

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[50] On the usefulness of statistics in linguistics, see Van Mol (2003), p. 115.
[51] Oakes (2003), p. 1.

between the two languages. Such a comparison may contribute to language universal principles.[52] The third step and the final is the discussion and summary. Here, the significant outcomes will be highlighted with special reference to previous studies on both Arabic and English conditionals.

3.3.2. The Data Description

The present study is based on an empirical investigation of conditional sentences in MWA. This level of Arabic is considered to be relatively stable as opposed to the dialects which vary greatly.[53] A selection of examples to be examined is drawn from a variety of MWA sources. The data represents the authentic use of conditionals as they are based on contextual considerations instead of involving abstract, isolated sentences. It is worth mentioning that a set of criteria were taken into consideration while collecting the MWA sources:

a) The selected sources vary, but they represent both fiction and non-fiction genres. The fiction group includes (i) novels and (ii) plays. The non-fiction group includes (ii) general written works which deal with different issues, such as culture, politics, history, philosophy, science, and literature and (ii) newspapers. Although an attempt is made to ensure that the number of sources in the two groups is almost the same, the number of sources in the sub-groups is uneven. E.g. the number of novels is not the same as the number of plays. This is because this study does not aim to compare between these genres with regard to the use of conditionals. In other words, this study does not seek to observe the stylistic differences between these genres. This is because stylistic differences can be observed between individual writers, i.e. they can reflect the writer's style rather than the genre's features.[54] Table 4 presents the number of examples of each genre:

Genre	Number of sources	Number of examples
Fiction	12	461 (58 %)
Non-fiction	13	333 (42 %)
Total	25	794

Table 4. The numbers of the genres and the examples analysed in this study.

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[52] Abdul-Raof (1998), p. 10.
[53] Bahloul (2008) p. 2.
[54] Elder (2014), p. 94.

Although the number of examples gathered from fiction genres is obviously higher than those gathered from non-fiction genres, this does not mean that conditional sentences appear in fiction works more than non-fiction ones in the context of MWA. This is due to the fact that this statistical result is not based on a systematic and comparative corpus-based analysis, which is a methodology that requires a relatively equal number of words in the corpus in each genre, i.e. the total number of words in the texts examined should be roughly the same in the corpora chosen. This does not fall under the scope of the present study.

b) The sources, on which the data is based, do not represent only one Arab country. Instead, a consideration has been taken to make sure that the sources are representatives of different countries in order to avoid any bias. The analysis examines written works from the following countries: Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Syria, Jordon, Palestine, Sudan, Morocco, and Algeria (see Table 5 below).

c) These MWA sources are written by educated Arab writers. This is intentionally applied for the sake of ensuring that the level of Arabic is relatively stable across the examples. One advantage of this is to avoid any possible examples that could be representative of dialectal variations among Arabic native speakers. In other words, the educated writers normally maintain and follow, elbeit with some adoptations (as discussed in this thesis), the codified and prescribed system of standard Arabic which is different from their spoken practices that usually represent their local or regional dialects.

The examples included in this study will first be rendered in a systematic transliteration of the written form of Arabic[55] alongside the original Arabic representation. Then the English translation is provided in order to make this work comprehensible for readers who are unfamiliar with Arabic. The translation is sometimes facilitated by additional words in square brackets. The translations of *Qurʾānic* verses are given with adaptations where necessary after consulting some translations of the *Qurʾān*. The translations of the examples that are taken from some previous studies will also sometimes be given with adaptations. Table 5 presents a brief description of the Arabic sources of the data:

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[55] An exception to this is that "ء" is not represented as " ʾ " when it occurs initially. This is because the vowel associated with it cannot be pronounced without a glottal stop which is the distinctive feature of "ء". For example: أحمد is transliterated as Aḥmad not as ʾAḥmad. This is also applied even when " ʾ " is preceded by the definite article *al-* .

No	genre	Author	Title	Translation	Year	Nationality of authors	Additional comments
1.	Novels	Jubūr, Zuhayr	Musīqā al-Ruqād	The Music of the [river] al-Ruqād	2000	Syria	
2.		Al-ᶜUlayyān, Qumāshah	Unthā al-ᶜAnkabūt	The Female Spider	2010	Saudi Arabia	This was originally written in 2000.
3.		Al-Kaylāni, Najīb	Al-Rabīᶜ al-ᶜĀṣif	The Stormy Spring	1981	Egypt	
4.		Ḥasan, Ṣalāḥ	Thamānūn ᶜĀman Baḥthan ᶜan Makhraj	Eighty Years Seeking an Exit.	1972	Palestine	
5.		Jawdat, Suhā	Al-Safar Ḥayth Yabkī al-Qamar	A Journey to the Moon that Cries.	2004	Syria	
6.		Ibrāhīm, Jamāl	Ḥān Awān al-Raḥīl.	It is Time to Leave	2010	Sudan	
7.		Al-Jubūrī, Asᶜad	Al-Taʾlīf Bayn Ṭabaqāt al-Layl	Writing between the Layers of the Night.	1997	Iraq	
8.		Dabābnah, Taysīr	Fī Mahabb al-Rīḥ	Where the Wind Blows	2000	Jordan	
9.		Mustaghānmī, Aḥlām.	Dhākirat al-Jasad	The Memory of the Body	2007	Algeria	This was originally written in 1988
10.	Plays	Ḥannā, Ghassān	Mamlakat al-Ghubār	The Kingdom of Dust	2004	Syria	
11.		Jāda al-ḥaq, Yusuf	Al-Muḥākamah	The Trial	1998	Palestine	
12.		Al-Anbārī, Ṣabāḥ	Laylat Infilāq al-Zaman	The Night when the Time Split	2001	Iraq	
13.	Non-fiction books	Maḥmūd, Zakī	Min Khizānat Awrāqī	From my Box of Papers	1996	Egypt	Collection of articles that were written in different periods of time; between

						1928-1968.
14.		Al-Ṭanṭāwī, ʿAlī	Maqālāt fī Kalimāt	Articles in [a few] Words	2012	Syria	Collection of articles that were written between 1949-1959
15.		Al-Ghadhāmī, ʿAbdullāh	Al-Libraliyyah al-Jadīdah	The Neo- liberalism	2013	Saudi	Politics
16.		Munīf, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	Bayna al-Thaqāfah wa al-Siyāsah	Between Culture and Politics.	2003	Saudi	Culture and Politics
17.		Al-ʿAqqād, ʿAbbās	ʿAbqariyyat Khālid	The Genius of Khalid	2000	Egypt	History
18.		Maḥfūẓ, Najīb	Ḥawla al-Adab wa al-Falsafah	Of Literature and Philosophy	2003	Egypt	A collection of articles on philosophy and literature that were written at different periods between 1930-1945.
19.		Al-Manṣūr, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	Al-Kuwayt wa ʿAlāqatuhā bi-ʿArabistān wa- al-Baṣrah	Kuwait and its Relation with Arabistan and Basra	1980	Kuwait	History
20.		ʿAbdul- Raḥmān, Ṭāha	Taʿaddudiyyat al-Qiyam	The Diversity of Values	2001	Morocco	Philosophy
21.	Newspapers	N/A	Al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ	The Middle East	2014	International (London)	Independent
22.		N/A	Al-Quds al-ʿArabī	The Arab Jerusalem	2014	Internation-al (London)	Independent
23.		N/A	Al-ʿArab	Arab	2014	Internation-al (London)	Independent
24.		N/A	Al-Ahrām	The Pyramids	2013	Egypt	State
25.		N/A	Al-Waṭan	Home	2013	Saudi Arabia	State

Table 5. The list of the MWA sources of the data examined in this study.

The technique that was followed to extract the data was manual, i.e. reading each source page by page. However, a few sources have a MS Word version which is available in the internet for downloading. In this case, the "Find" tool has been used to search of the three particles. The total number of conditional tokens is 794 examples. Table 6 shows the distribution of these examples among the three particles:

Particle	Number of examples
idhā	359
law	265
in	170
Total	794

Table 6. A statistical comparison between the three conditional particles *idhā*, *in* and *law*.

This statistical result does not surprise me since as Chapter 2 demonstrates, some of the previous studies have already confirmed the dominance of the particle *idhā*, and *law* is ranked in second place, while *in* is the lesser used particle.

It is important to mention that the data of the present study is divided into two groups. The first group, which is the largest, will be analysed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. The second group will be analysed in Chapter 7. This division is due to the nature of the conceptual framework adopted in this study which suggests that the conditional particle either acts independently with no influence from any other linguistic components, or interacts with other components. The first group deals with the typical use of the conditional particles, while the second group deals with conditional particles that are compounded with other particles or conjunctions, such as *ḥattā*, *wa-*, and *illā*, where the meaning is affected. Hence, they are not seen as having an ordinary conditional meaning. The statistical distribution of the two groups is illustrated in Table 7:

Group	Number of examples
One	628
Two	166
Total	794

Table 7. The two groups of data adopted in this study.

Now, three methodological questions need to be addressed before proceeding with the analysis:

The first question considers what units are under investigation in this study.

The answer to this question is two-fold:

i) This study is limited to analysing conditional structures which are initiated by three particles: *idhā*, *in* and *law*. The reasons for choosing these particles are that, a) it is claimed that they are the most common conditional particles,[1] b) they have been subject to ongoing discussion in the literature as shown in Chapter 2, and c) they are semantically, partly interchangeable.[2]

ii) This study deals only with those structures that indicate conditional meaning as presented and illustrated by many of the examples in Chapter 2. This means that when a structure is initiated by one of the three particles mentioned above, but does not signal a conditional meaning, then it will not be included in this study. The possibility of a structure with one of these particles that can be rendered in a non-conditional meaning has been observed in some of the literature. I will present examples of these meanings:

a- The particles *idhā* and *in* can be paraphrased by a meaning which is equivalent to the English disjunction 'whether'. This occurs when introducing direct questions.[3] Consider the following examples taken from Buckley: (S.7)

S. 7) *saʾaltuhā in kānat mā tazālu turīdu an tatazawwajanī.*

سألتها إن كانت ما تزال تريد أن تتزوجني.

I asked her if/whether she still wanted to marry me.[4]

b- The particle *law* can be preceded by *ka-mā,* forming together a comparative marker which provides a hypothetical meaning, which can be rendered by 'as if' in English. Consider the following example taken from Buckley: (S.8)

S. 8) *taṣarraftu ka-mā law annī mutazawwijatun.*

تصرفت كما لو أني متزوجة

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[1] Buckley (2004), p. 731; Ryding (2005), pp. 671, 675.
[2] See for example, Peled (1992), pp. 25, 41; Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 636.
[3] Buckley (2004), pp.734, 738.
[4] Ibid., p. 734.

I acted as I was married.[5]

c- Conditional particles that introduce polite expressions, like *idhā samaḥta, law samaḥta* (if you please).[6]

d- The particle *law* as a wish particle. In this example the speaker expresses his or her desire to gain something unattainable.[7] Consider the following example: (S.9)

S. 9) *atamannā law aqḍī hunā fatratan ṭawīlatan.*

<div dir="rtl">أتمنى لو أقضي هنا فترة طويلة.</div>

I wish I could spend a long time here.[8]

e- Some conditional structures are purely rhetorical and are therefore not true conditionals; they are only assumed to be conditionals according to their structural aspect because they are of a form which normally belongs to the conditional system. They present linearlyas "conditional particle + protasis + apodosis". Badawi *et al.* assert that such a structure is not real conditional in terms of semantics, and the auxiliary verb *kāna* normally introduces the protasis.[9] Consider the following example: (S.10):

S. 10) *idhā kānat al-ʿamaliyyatu lā takhtalifu fa-inna taʾthīrahā al-nafsiyya yakhtalifu min shakhṣin ilā ākhara.*

<div dir="rtl">إذا كانت العملية لا تختلف فإن تأثيرها النفسي يختلف من شخص إلى آخر</div>

If the operation is the same, its psychological effect varies from one person to another.[10]

The translation provided for this example is a literal one (i.e. a calque). Actually, the speaker (the doctor) does not want to state the fact that how the operation is carried out, i.e. differently, has a psychological impact that may differ from one patient to another. Rather, he wants to compare between the two facts. Hence, the idiomatic translation is appropriately rendered as follows: "while the operation is always performed in the same way, its psychological effect, nonetheless, varies from one person to another".

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[5] Ibid., p. 741.
[6] Buckley (2004), pp. 738,
[7] Ibid., p. 741.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Badawi *et al.* (2004), pp. 655, 657.
[10] Mustaghānmī (1997), p. 60.

Such cases and examples are excluded from the present study since they do not denote the meaning of conditionality.

The second methodological question concerns the written discourse of MSA and looks at why written examples have been chosen rather than spoken?

There are two reasons behind this choice:

First, MWA forms the essential and major part of MSA as discussed in Chapter 1. The spoken practice of MSA is limited to certain contexts, such as religious and political speeches, TV and radio broadcast news. Even those spoken practices are normally assumed be written beforehand, hence, they are a spoken aloud practice of written Arabic.[11]

Second, there are differences between written and spoken languages. This emphasises the importance of separating the two discourses while analysing a natural language data. One of the main differences is that written language is usually presented after careful thinking, and spoken language is usually delivered spontaneously. In other words, the written is a planned and prepared linguistic product which has the advantage of following the prescribed rules of the standard level of Arabic, whereas in spoken language, the speaker can possibly deviate from the standard level due to the improvisatory nature of speech and dialogue.[12]

The third methodological question of whether –since the data is collected from sources whose writers come from different Arab countries– there are any possible regional variations among these countries. This assumption will not be considered in this study due to the following reasons:

i) This is not a sociolinguistic study of a type in which the focus of the researcher might be mainly on socio-economic, geographical or gender variables.
ii) MWA is a major part of MSA as mentioned above. One of the fundamental principles of a standard language is establishing uniformity among speakers from different communities.[13] This means that a standard language does not pertain to a specific area or a group of people but is used by those who live in the region regardless of their distinct local divisions in

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[11] Meiseles (1979), p. 125. See also McLoughlin (1972), p. 58.
[12] See about these two discourses: Halliday (1989), pp. 29, 46; Biber and Conrad (2009), pp. 109, 220.
[13] Van Mol (2003), p. 20.

dialect. Therefore, variation in the standard language is considered to be extremely limited in order to maintain this function.[14]

iii) It has been stated specifically in the case of MSA that variations can possibly occur at the lexical and stylistic levels, while at the syntactic level does not show variations. Holes, for example, claims that "syntactically speaking, MSA is relatively homogeneous across the whole Arabic speaking world".[15] Likewise, Zeinab's pilot study which tested two groups of Arabic native speakers from Egypt and Morocco has found that "both groups had difficulties with [understanding] some lexical items, yet there was no difficulty whatsoever with any syntactic structure".[16] Van Mol has also concluded his empirical study on variation in MSA with this statement: "we observe that regional differences in the standard language are mainly limited to differences in style".[17]

iv) Some empirical studies which have specifically investigated the use of conditional particles in different Arab countries indicate that there are no significant variations found in the data examined. I will briefly provide the results of two of these studies. The first is undertaken by Dilworth Parkinson who compares two newspapers with regard to the use of the three conditional particles (*idhā, law* and *in*). These newspapers are: *al-Ahrām* from Egypt and *al-Ḥayāh* which is published in London with a Lebanese influence. Table 8 shows his results:

Newspaper / Particle	*al-Ahrām*	*al-Ḥayāh*
idhā	20897 (67.6%)	23733 (67.9%)
law	6975 (22.6%)	8143 (23.3%)
in	3031 (9.8%)	3066 (8.8%)

Table 8. The statistical distrbuition of the three conditional paticles *idhā, in* and *law* in Parkinson's study.

He states that this table "shows an almost amazing consistency of relative rates of usage of these forms in the two newspapers". [18] This provides us with persuasive evidence that confirms the absence of regional variation with regard the use of the three conditional particles.

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[14] Ibid.
[15] Holes (2004), p. 47. See also:
[16] Zeinab (2009), p. 3.
[17] Van Mol (2003), p. 298.
[18] Parkinson (2003), p. 191.

The second study is conducted by Van Mol. He has investigated the use of the three conditional particles in Algeria, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. The data was collected from radio news broadcasts. His conclusion confirmed that no regional variation has been observed.[19] These four reasons given in this section strengthen my position that regional variation is not considered in the present study.

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[19] Van Mol (2003), p. 256.

Chapter Four

Modality and Time Reference

4.1 Introduction:

This chapter aims at analysing conditional sentences in relation to the Modality and Time Reference parameter. The analysis carried out in this chapter will aim, first, at classifying conditionals into different semantic domains in terms of their Modality meanings. Secondly, it will investigate temporal interpretations for the semantic domains identified in order to show how time references interact with the semantics of Modality in conditional context. Thirdly, the analysis will attempt to observe the syntactic characteristics in relation to the semantic types of conditional identified and the particles used. Before providing the empirical analysis for the data gathered, I will provide a theoretical outline about how the analysis will be undertaken.

4.2 Theoretical considerations:

We have mentioned in Chapter 3 that the meaning of conditionals is closely tied to the concept of epistemic Modality, and "all conditionals have obligatory modal marking in their protases".[1] In other words, conditionals have a connection to the speaker's attitude towards the actualization of the actions expressed. This shows that conditional statements give attention to the notion of "Possible World", which basically indicates how we look or think of the propositions expressed by sentences; do they have factuality in the real world, or do they denote an assumption that indicates different truth values (e.g. possible, likely, false). This also shows that the epistemic Modality, which has been defined in Chapter 3, forms a strong relationship with conditional statements through the notion of "Possible World", which will be adopted in this study and will be considered as a foundation for classifying conditionals in terms of Modality meaning.

Declerck and Reed assert the importance of this notion in conditional descriptions.[2] The possible world approach to conditionals here opposes the classification adopted by Huddleston and Pullum's "Open and Remote"[3] conditional; Palmer's "Real and Unreal".[4] It,

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[1] Gabrielatos (2010), p. 328.
[2] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 50.
[3] Huddleston and Pullum (2002), p. 739.
[4] Palmer (1986), p. 189.

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however, broadly accords with the model applied by Declerck and Reed in analysing conditionals in English.[5] The following (Figure 3) illustrates the adapted framework:

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                  ┌──────────────────────────┐
                  │   MWA conditional types  │
                  │ according to the "possible│
                  │          world".         │
                  └──────────────────────────┘
                    │                      │
          ┌─────────────┐          ┌─────────────┐
          │   Factual   │          │ Non-factual │
          └─────────────┘          └─────────────┘
            │        │                │         │
      ┌────────┐ ┌────────┐     ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
      │ Likley │ │  Open  │     │ Tentative│ │ Counterfactual│
      └────────┘ └────────┘     └──────────┘ └──────────────┘
```
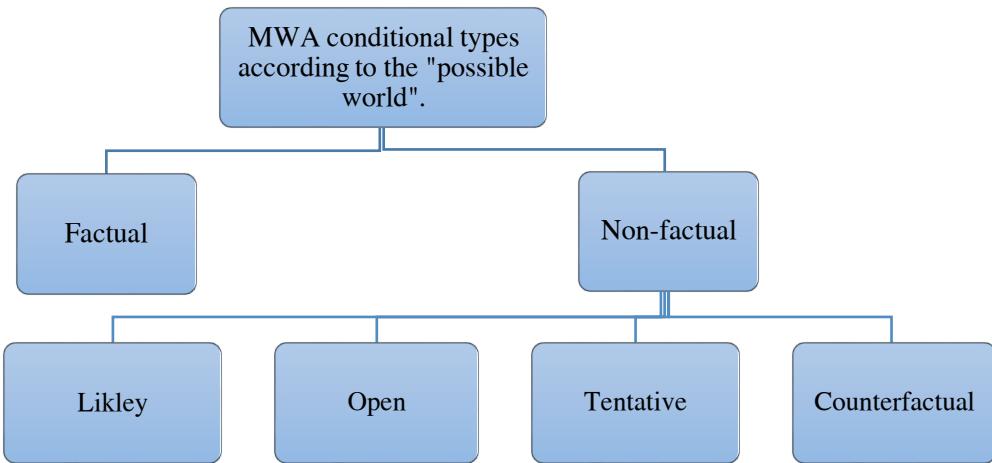
Figure 3. The Conditional semantic classifications in MWA on the basis of the notion of "Possible World". (Declerck and Reed (2001) with adaptation).

This classification has two advantages; namely: a) it covers two main dimensions of the possible world: Factuality and Non-factuality (i.e. 'Factual' and 'Theoretical' in Declerck and Reeds' terms), b) it provides different degrees of hypotheticality on the basis of the speaker's assessment of the event occurrence. The latter is justified by Comrie who directly states that "hypotheticality [in conditionals] is a continuum"[6] (i.e. scalar). That is to say there are various degrees of hypotheticality. i.e. low, medium, high.[7] This means when the hypotheticality is low or not assumed, the speaker sees the actions expressed are factual or near to factual. By contrast, when the hypotheticality is high, the speaker assumes the unlikelihood of the occurrences of the actions or he/she just hypothesises imaginative situations.

In the following sections, (i) I will analyse the conditional sentences informed by the current data of MWA on the basis of the classification illustrated in Figure 3 above. additionally, (ii) the time references will be observed to show how they interact with each class, and (iii) the syntactic properties will be identified and statistically described in order to observe the major trends in each semantic class.

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[5] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 65
[6] Comrie (1986), p. 88.
[7] Gabrielatos (2010), p. 185.

4.3 The analysis:

4.3.1. Factual conditionals:

In this type of conditional, Declerck and Reed state that the protasis is seen as to have to take part in the real (actual) world. Thus, the speaker commits themselves to the truth value to the proposition (expressed in the protasis) as to have actualised or is actualising in the real world prior to or at the moment of speech.[8] Even though this definition forms part of the scope of this type, it, however, consequently excludes some other sub-semantic notions that can be considered, in my view, to be as factual regardless of their actualization at the time of speech, such as scientific facts and present habitual actions. Therefore, this class of conditional is best defined as a construction that expresses a general truth-commitment toward the proposition in the protasis whether it exists in the real world at the time of the utterance or not. This class is marked mainly by the particle *idhā*. The particle *in* can also be used but it is not common. Table 9 compares between the frequencies of the two particles in this study:

idhā	*in*
81	14
Total: 95	

Table 9. Comparison between *idhā* and *in* expressing Factual conditionals.

This class of conditionals can refer to either past or present or to be generic "timeless". Various semantic sub-types can be deemed as Factual (See Figure 4). Across these sub-types, the conditional particles are followed by the perfect form in the protasis, while the apodosis shows mainly two possible forms: perfect and imperfect as will be shown below.
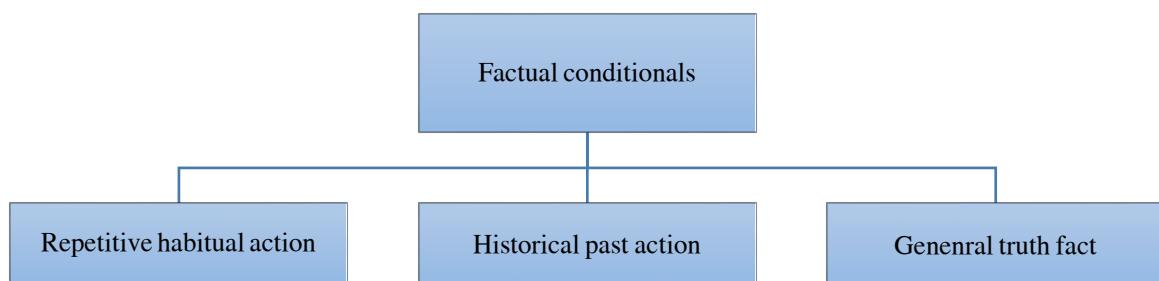
Figure 4. Semantic sub-types of Factual conditionals

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[8] Declerck and Reed (2001), pp. 50, 67.

A. Repetitive habitual actions.

This type refers to repetitive actions or a sequence of events that occurred /occurs regularly as a habit.[9] The events described can have two time references, (i) past and (ii) present:

i) Past.

The apodosis can be in the perfect verbal form (S.1) or the imperfect form (S.2):

S. 1) *wa kāna min ᶜādati hādhihi al-ḥayawānāti annahu idhā waqaᶜa aḥaduhum takālabū ᶜalayhi.*

وكان من عادة هذه الحيوانات أنه إذا وقع أحدها تكالبوا عليه و أكلوه عن آخره

It was the habit of these animals that if one of them died, they would attack it and eat it all.[10]

S. 2) *wa yaqūmu al-timsāḥu bi-ḥirāsatihti ṣadīqihi ᶜĀmirin idhā nāma*

ويقوم التمساح بحراسة صديقه عامر إذا نام

The crocodile would guard his friend, ᶜĀmir, if he slept.[11]

The past time reference can be sometimes marked explicitly by the *verb kāna* preceding *idhā* as in (S.3):

S. 3) *fa-kāna idhā laqiya al-ᶜaraba saʾalahum mudhkiyan fī-him nakhawata al-ᶜurūbati.*

فكان إذا لقي العرب سألهم مذكياً فيهم نخوة العروبة

Whenever he met the Arabs, he incited their Arab sense of honour.[12]

ii) Present.

Similarly to (i), the apodosis can be in the perfect verbal form (S.4) or the imperfect form (S.5):

S. 4) *idhā iḥtajja aḥaduhum tunzilūna bi-hi ashadda al-ᶜuqūbāti.*

إذا احتجَّ أحدهم تُنزلون به أشدَّ العقوبات

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[9] See the definition of habitual sentences in Leech and Svartvik (1975), p. 64; and Rimell (2004), p. 2.
[10] Ḥasan (1972), p. 38.
[11] Ḥasan (1972), p. 69.
[12] Al-ᶜAqqād (2000), p. 118.

If anyone of them objects, you punish him severely.

S. 5) *du'ā'un yatabādaluhu al-nāsu idhā iltaqū wa idhā iftaraqū.*

دعاء يتبادله الناس إذا التقوا وإذا افترقوا

A prayer that people exchange when they meet and go their way.[13]

One aspectual feature that can be noticed from the two sub-types (past and present) above is the predominant use of dynamic verbs (i.e. action) in the protasis (e.g. *waqa'a* (fell) as in S.1, *nāma* (slept) as in S.2, *iḥtajja* (object) as in S.4, and *iltaqū* (met) as in S.5, rather than static verbs.[14]

It is worth noting that due to the fact that the sameness between the syntactical features of habitual past and present conditionals, the identification of either of them depends heavily on the context unless an overt marker is inserted such as *kāna* the precedes *idhā* as exemplified in (S.3) above.[15]

By contrast, English examples of these types require past tense form in the two clauses to indicate the past time reference, and the present simple form to signal present time reference. Consider the following examples respectively: (S.6-7)

S. 6) If I had a problem, I always went to my grandmother.[16]

S. 7) If I go to town, I take the bus.[17]

B. Historical past:

Here, the speaker indicates an action that took place in the past as a complete action which occurred in one go (i.e. non-repetitive one). Hence, this type is different from the past time reference above (habitual past) in terms of aspectual value. The habitual past aspect describes an action that occurred regularly (i.e. it used to occur over and over),[18] while the historical

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[13] Ḥasan (1972), p. 50.

[14] Dynamic and Static are aspectual values denoted by verbs. The former expresses an occurrence of an action, movement or change (i.e. it happens), while the latter expresses a state of affairs (i.e. something exists or obtains); Trask (1993), p. 87, 259; Huddleston and Pullum (2002), p. 119.

[15] Ingham (1991), p. 50 has noted this phenomenon in some Bedouin dialects and he has asserted the need for the context, linguistically or extra-linguistically, to identify the exact time reference.

[16] Declerck and Reed (2001), pp. 67.

[17] Ibid., p. 75.

[18] See the definition of "habitual" aspect in: Lyons (1977), vol. 2. p. 716; Haan (2013), p. 451.

past is concerned with the occurrence of the action as not being incomplete or continuous.[19] The following English examples clarify the distinction between the two aspects (S.8-9):

S. 8) He went to work yesterday.

S. 9) He always went [to work] by bus.[20]

S.8 describes an action in the past as having occurred once, while S.9 refers to a recurrent action in the past. However, it must be borne in mind that both retain the perfective aspect which expresses action completion (i.e. finishing).[21] Hence, both aspectual values (habitual and historical) can be considered as sub-divisions of the perfective aspect.[22] The following diagram illustrates this (Figure 5):
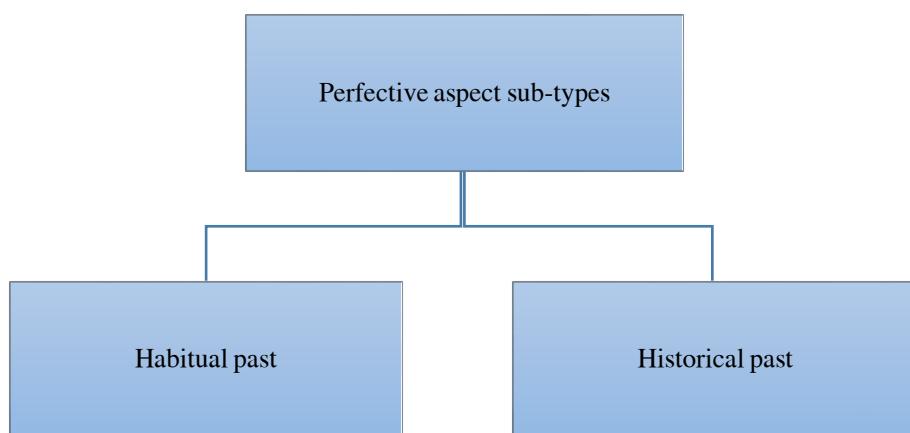
Figure 5. The relationship between habitual past and historical past in terms of Perfective aspect.

Let us now consider the following example in which the particle *idhā* denotes historical past events. (S.10):

S. 10) *ḥattā idhā jāʾa khulafāʾuhu bāʿū Miṣra arḍan wa shaʿban.*

حتى إذا جاء خلفاؤه باعوا مصر أرضاً وشعباً

Until when (Muḥammad ʿAlī Bāshāʿs) successors came, they sold Egypt, both land and people.[23]

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[19] Linguists typically refer to the former by the term "past simple". See: Quirk *et al.* (1972), p. 86.
[20] They are cited from Palmer (1974), p. 63.
[21] See the definition of "perfective" aspect in: Lyons (1977), vol. 2. p. 712; Fischer (2001), p. 102; Buckley (2004), p. 537.
[22] Al-Suhaibani (2012), pp. 231-236 states that "habitual perfective" (= habitual past) is a type of what he calls "secondary aspect" in Arabic, while the "perfective" is type of "primary aspect".
[23] Munīf (2003), p. 12.

In (S.10), the particle *idhā* is rendered by the temporal adverbial conjunction 'when'.[24] This may be because the speaker does not make a prediction related to the occurrence of the action in the past which typical implies the sense of 'if' to donate uncertainty, while 'when' has, in principle, the sense of certainty or factuality.[25] Compare the following English examples: (S.11-12)

S. 11) If it rained last year in Egypt, the Nile Delta [should have] flooded.

S. 12) When it rained last year in Egypt, the Nile Delta flooded.[26]

In both examples, the time reference is past, nevertheless, there is a fine distinction between the two. In (S.11), the speaker is making a prediction about the occurrence of the protasis "rained in Egypt last year", or he was told this fact, which, consequently, leads him to infer a possible result "the Nile Delta should have flooded" in the apodosis, which typically co-occurs with the event in the protasis. In (S.12), on the other hand, the situation is slightly different; the speaker believes, with no doubt, that it definitely rained in Egypt last year and the Nile Delta definitely flooded (i.e. he does not aim to indicate any other possibilities).[27] The Arabic example (S.10) above is quite similar to the English example (S.12) in terms of the speaker's certain attitude towards the occurrence of the two events. That is to say as the speaker of (S.12) is sure that it rained in Egypt last and the Nile flooded last year, the speaker of (S.10) believes, with no doubt, that Muḥammad's successors who came after him sold Egypt out. This, thus, requires the interpretation of 'when' as a the correct equivalent of *idhā* in this context.

The structural feature of historical past conditional seems to show a symmetry between the protasis and the apodosis as they exhibit the verbal perfect form, when preceded by the preposition *ḥattā* 'until'.[28]

C. General truth expressions:

Here, the speaker communicates general ideas of truth such as explaining scientific processes or concepts that are known to be facts based on experience.[29] In other words, the two clauses

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[24] Al-Saad (2010), p. 144 indicates that the Arabic grammarians regarded *idhā* preceded by *ḥattā* (until) as an adverbial particle carrying a conditional sense.

[25] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 31; Reilly (1986), p. 312.

[26] Reilly (1986), p. 313.

[27] Elder (2012), pp. 185-186.

[28] See the examples provided by Cantarino (1975), vol. 3. pp. 91-93 and Buckley (2004), p. 736 which support this point.

express a constant relation/co-occurrence between two actions in terms of causality. This class receives a generic interpretation in terms of time reference as it is seen to take place at any time in the real world. With regard to the syntactic features, the apodosis of this class commonly exhibits perfect and imperfect forms as in (S.13-14) and (S.15-16) respectively:

S. 13) *fa-idhā khadasha al-qiṭṭu uṣbuʿa al-ṭifli thāra minnā al-ḍaḥiku, ammā idhā ʿaḍḍahu kalbun taḥarraka fī nufūsinā al-ḥuznu.*

فإذا خدش القط أصبع الطفل ثار منا الضحك أما إذا عضه فهشم أصابعه تحرك في نفوسنا الحزن

If the cat scratches the baby's finger, we burst out laughing, but if a dog bites him and crushes his fingers, sadness stirs in our souls.[30]

S. 14) *li-l-ṭaʿāmi awānu nuḍjin, idhā zāda iḥtaraqa.*

للطعام أوانُ نضجٍ إذا زاد احترق

The food has a particular amount of time to cook, if it is exceeded, it burns.[31]

S. 15) *samiʿtu yā duktūru anna al-ṭuḥāla idhā talifa yastʾṣilūnahu.*

سمعت يا دكتور أن الطحال إذا تلف يستأصلونه

I heard, O doctor, that the spleen, if damaged, is removed.

S. 16) *al-rajulu yadʿū al-marʾat ilā al-saʿādati idhā kānat ladayhi ghāliyatan.*

الرجل يدعو المرأة إلى السعادة إذا كانت لديه غاليةً

A man makes a woman happy [only] if she is precious to him.[32]

Looking at these examples, the main semantic feature is that the propositions are seen to be undoubted true in the real world. The knowledge of this semantic value is obtained from practical experience.

Another possible syntactic feature that can be seen in this class, although it seems not common, is that the imperfect form, which is in the apodosis, can be nominalized. I mean by nominalization here that the clause is introduced by a noun or any elements that are classified

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[29] This class of Factual conditionals accords with Cantarino's following statement "it (*idhā*) generally introduces only a statement of something which is known through experience and about the eventual occurrence of which there can, therefore, be no doubt"; Cantarino (1975), vol. 3. p. 302.
[30] Maḥmūd (1996), p. 56.
[31] Ḥannā (2004), p. 89.
[32] Ḥannā (2004), p. 108.

to be related to nominal groups (e.g. nouns, pronouns, the emphatic particle *inna*). Consider (S.17):

S. 17) *idhā hājara al-marʾu ilā makānin ghayri alladhī tanashshaʾa fī-hi fa-innahu yashʿuru bi-inqitāʿi judhūrihi.*

<div dir="rtl">إذا هاجر المرء إلى مكان غير الذي تنشأ فيه فإنه يشعر بانقطاع لجذوره</div>

When one moves away from the place where they were raised, they feel disconnected from their roots.[33]

In English, conditional sentences that express generic facts are expressed by using the present verb form in the two clauses as in (S.18-19):

S. 18) If water boils, it changes into steam.

S. 19) If you throw a piece of foam rubber into water, it does not sink.[34]

Interchangeability between the particle *idhā* and other conjunctions:

In this section, I will show how conditional particles that express Factual conditionals may be substituted by two other Arabic linguistic conjunctions with roughly the same meanings. These conjunctions are ʿ*indamā* (when, whenever)[35] and *kullamā* (whenever, every time that).[36] These two conjunctions introduce a group of clauses called "Clauses of Time" since the issue in question is the time of the occurrence of the action, not the action itself.[37] Ingham states that "conditional and time clauses are very close".[38] One of the main areas of common ground between the two domains is that both imply mainly causal relations between the two clauses.[39] This phenomenon is seen in English to occur between the two conjunctions 'if' and 'when'. Although 'if' is assumed to be used in the context of a non-factual statement, it is sometimes substituted with 'when' whose essential role is to express factuality as mentioned above. Therefore, the Arabic conditional particles with factual meaning can be sometimes

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[33] Al-Ghadhāmī (2013), p. 57.
[34] Cited in Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 74.
[35] Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 661; Satori (2011), pp. 7-8.
[36] Peled (1992), p. 26.
[37] Ingham (1991), p. 44.
[38] Ibid., p. 43.
[39] Reilly (1986), p. 312 speaks of the similarities between "if" and "when".

indistinguishably paraphrased by either 'if' or 'when'.[40] Let us now consider this in relation to (S.2), which has been mentioned above:

S. 2) *yaqūmu al-timsāḥu bi-ḥirāsatihti ṣadīqihi ʿĀmirin idhā (kullamā nāma) (ʿindmā yanāmu).*

يقوم التمساح بحراسة صديقه عامر إذا نام (/كلما نام) (/عندما ينام)

The crocodile would guard his friend, ʿĀmir, whenever he slept.[41]

Compare this with the English example: (S.20)

S. 20) If/ when/ whenever I go to town, I take the bus.[42]

Nevertheless, in the case of "historical past", *idhā* cannot be replaced with *kullamā* due to the absence of the sense of repetition, a feature which is essential in *kullamā*. Hence, *ʿindamā* is the only possible alternative to *idhā* in this context. Similarly, 'when' cannot be substituted by 'whenever' when speaking about a single past historical action.[43] Of course, 'when' can be replaced with 'if' but the meaning will be slightly different as seen above. By contrast, the replacement of *idhā* with *ʿindamā* seems not to change the meaning. Compare the two examples which have been already mentioned above: (S.10) and (S.12)

S. 10) *ḥattā idhā (ʿindamā) jāʾa khulafāʾuhu bāʿū Miṣra arḍan wa shaʿban.*

حتى إذا (/عندما) جاء خلفاؤه باعوا مصر أرضاً وشعباً

Until when (Muḥammad ʿAlī Bāshāʿs) successors came, they sold Egypt, both land and people.[44]

S. 12) When (*whenever) it rained in Egypt last year, the Nile Delta flooded.

Now, we move on to shed the light on the particle *in* when it expresses Factual conditional menaing. We have mentioned earlier that *in* seems not to be preferred in this context compared to *idhā,* as shown in Table 9 above. Examples of this can be illustrated in (S.21-22):

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[40] Ingham (1991), p. 43.
[41] Ḥasan (1972), p. 69.
[42] Dancygier (2006), p. 64.
[43] Dancygier (2006), p. 64.
[44] Munīf (2003), p. 12.

S. 21) *wa hum yaᶜtaqilūna al-nāsa in takallamū aw li-mujarradi al-ishtibāhi bi-him.*

وهم يعتقلون الناس إن تكلموا أو لمجرد الاشتباه بهم

They arrest people if (/when) they just speak or for mere suspicion.[45]

S. 22) *in ibtasama raᵓati al-dunyā qad basimat la-hā.*

إن ابتسم رأت الدنيا قد بسمت لها

If (/when) she smiled, she would see life smiling for her.[46]

In this manner *in* can be seen as a possible interchangeable particle with the *idhā* to signal the regular co-occurrence of two events.[47] However, *idhā* is more common in this context. This seems to be driven by the semantic load that it carries, which is here the high level of certainty that corresponds regularly with the co-occurrence of the events.[48]

It is noteworthy that although *idhā* with factual meaning can be usually rendered by 'when', this does not mean that the converse translation always works the same. i.e. the particle *idhā* in some contexts cannot be an acceptable equivalent of all 'when' usages. One of thses usages is when 'when' refers to the state that took place once in the past. Consider the following example: (S.23)

S. 23) When Kate was six months, she was bald.[49]

The particle *idhā* is not here a correct equivalent of 'when'. Instead, it needs be rendered by two other temporal conjunctions, namely: *ᶜindamā* and *lammā* as exemplified in (S.24) and (S.25) respectively:

S. 24) *ᶜindamā kāna ᶜumru Kate sittat ashhurin kānat ṣalᶜāᵓa.*

S. 25) *lammā kāna ᶜumru Kate sittat ashhurin kānat ṣalᶜāᵓa.*

4.3.2. Non-factual conditionals:

The essential semantic feature of this type is the interference of the speaker's assumption or supposition. Thus, the occurrence of the events expressed (positively or negatively) in the protasis only exists in the mind of the speaker.[50] Therefore, unlike Factual conditionals, no

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[45] Jubūr (2000), p. 56.
[46] Al-Ṭanṭāwī (2012), p. 48.
[47] Peled (1992), p. 26 speaking of CA conditional sentences.
[48] Cantarino (1975), vol. 3. p. 313;
[49] Reilly (1986), pp. 312
[50] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 50 speak of "Theoretical conditionals".

complete truth-commitment of the actuality of the events in the real world can be made in this context. However, the position of the speaker's attitude may vary with respect to the actuality of the proposition of the protasis from likelihood to impossibility as will be shown.

While Declerck and Reed who use the term "Theoretical" for this type, I adopt the term "Non-factual" for the sake of clarity since the term "Theoretical", in my opinion, does not imply a straightforward connection to non-factuality. Non-factual, in my opinion, is semantically more accessible. Additionally, the term "Theoretical conditional" has been adopted by some linguists to denote "the fulfilment of the condition as truly open",[51] (i.e. it denotes the neutral/open attitude of the speaker towards the propositions), which consequently results to exclude some sub-types of non-factual, which will be explained in the following.

According to the data examined, Non-factual conditionals form the largest part of the data, with 533 tokens. We can recognise, in the light of Declerck and Reed's treatment of the concept "Possible World" in English conditionals, four sub-types, which represent a scale of degrees of assumption. These are: Likely, Open, Tentative and Counterfactual conditionals, as illustrated in Figure 3 above.

4.3.2.1. Likely conditionals:

The main semantic feature in this type of conditional is that the speaker assumes the proposition expressed in the protasis to be true in the real world, and this is normally followed by a likely proposition in the apodosis. In other words, the actions in the two clauses are, in the speaker's view, (highly) likely to occur. Thus, some linguists use the term "Closed conditional" for this class because the content expressed by it is seen to be identical or closed to the actual world.[52] The likelihood can sometimes be denoted by phrases given by the speakers as in (S.26):

S. 26) *idhā badaʾat thawratu al-jiyāʿi marratan ʾukhrā wa hiya qādimatun lā maḥālata, fa-inna al-natāʾija lan taqtaṣira ʿalā al-manāṭiqi al-faqīrati waḥdahā.*

إذا بدأت ثورة الجياع مرة أخرى، وهي قادمة لا محالة، فإن النتائج لن تقتصر على المناطق الفقيرة وحدها.

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[51] Dancygier and Mioduszewska (1984), p. 128.

[52] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 81. I did not use the term "closed conditional" because it has been used differently by some linguists (Bailey (1989), p. 277), who use it for tentative and counterfactual conditionals). Instead I use the term "Likely" for the sake of clarity.

When the hungry revolution, which is inevitably coming, begins once again, the consequences will not be limited to poor areas alone.[53]

Here, the phrase *hiya qādimatun lā maḥālata* denotes that the speaker believes that the proposition in the protasis *thawrat al-jiyāᶜ* is most likely to occur in the future, which consequently leads to the highest possibility of the occurrence of the proposition in the apodosis. Therefore, *idhā* is rendered by the English conjunction 'when' to imply the maximum degree of likelihood in the speaker's mind.

However, there is sometimes a need consider to the context in order to extract the speaker's thoughts about whether the events are likely to occur or not. This makes it hard to distinguish Likely conditionals from other types of non-factual conditionals. Consider the following dialogue in (S.27):

S. 27) *al-ḍābiṭ: yuqālu inna al-fatāta allatī ṣanaᶜtahā tamarradat ᶜalayka.*

     al-muḥarrij: idhā kāna hādhā ḥaqqan fa-innī sa-aḥtarimu tamarrudahā.

الضابط: يُقال: إن الفتاة التي صنَعتها تمرّدَتْ عليك.

المهرّج: إذا كان هذا حقاً فإنّي سأحترم تمرّدها.

The officer: It is said that the girl you trained has rebelled against you.

The comedian: If (as you said) this is true, I will respect her rebellion.[54]

Here, the conditional sentence is used by the comedian who builds his knowledge (the likelihood of the proposition in the protasis) on the utterance of the officer who told him about the girl's rebellion, which the comedian did not know about before. Hence, without considering the preceding context, it would be hard to claim that the conditional sentence belongs to likelihood class. However, the likelihood of (S.27) appears to be weaker than that in (S.26) because it is not appropriate semantically to render *idhā* as an equivalent to 'when' in the former, while it is possible in the latter, which implies a certain degree of expectancy on the speaker's part.[55] Sometimes, as Declerck and Reed mention,[56] the propositions expressed are ostensibly likely since the speaker pretends that they are likely for the sake of argument. Consider (S.28):

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[53] Munīf (2003), p. 137.

[54] Ḥannā (2004), p. 115.

[55] See: Reilly (1986), p. 312 about the semantics of 'when'.

[56] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 89 speak of English closed conditionals.

S. 28) *fa-idhā kāna hādhā ṣaḥīḥan fa-man tuḥākimūna idhan?*

<div dir="rtl">فإذا كان هذا صحيحاً فمن تحاكمون إذن؟</div>

If (as you said) that is true, whom are you judging?[57]

A comparable example from English is given in (S.29):

S. 29) If, as you told me, you made such a big impression on that woman, why did she just walk straight past you?[58]

According to the data, this type of conditional is usually expressed by the particle *idhā*, and less commonly by *in*. This result is not surprising because the meaning of likelihood is already commonly expressed by *idhā* in CA conditional sentences.[59] Interestingly, I found one unique example in which a Likely conditional is initiated by the particle *law* as will be shown below. The comparison between the frequencies of the three particles is illustrated in Table 10:

The particles	Frequency	Total
idhā	80	
in	13	94
law	1	

Table 10. Frequency of the three particles that express of Likely conditionals

With regard to time reference, examples of this type tend to have either future or present reference, apart from a few examples that refer to the past. As for the syntax of this type, the protasis shows a consistency as it always comes in the perfect form (e.g. *faʿala*) or its negative counterpart (e.g. *lam yafʿal*). The syntax of the apodosis is unmistakably varied. It can involve different verbal forms. It can also involve a nominal sentence as well as non-declarative sentences. i.e. interrogative and imperative sentences. This will be shown in the following lines.

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[57] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 52.
[58] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 89.
[59] Peled (1992), p. 26.

The particle *idhā*:

The data shows that the apodosis of *idhā,* when it expresses a Likely conditional sentence involve the following forms:

i) Imperfect. (S.30) for future reference and (S.31) for present reference:

S. 30) *idhā kānat istimrāriyyatu nafsi muᶜaddalāti al-ziyādati al-sukkāniyyati mustaqbalan ghayra wāridatin fa-taẓallu nisbatu al-sukkāni al-rāhinati wa mushkilatu muᶜaddali al-baṭālati qāʾimatan ᶜalā madā al-jīli bi-ᶜakmalihi.*

إذا كانت استمرارية نفس معدلات الزيادة السكانية مستقبلا غير واردة فتظل نسبة السكان الراهنة و مشكلة معدل البطالة قائمة على مدى هذا الجيل بأكمله.

[Even] if there will be no such thing as current population growth rates [among Saudies] in the future, both the [overall] current population rate [including immigrants] and the unemployment rate are still problematic for this entire generation.[60]

S. 31) *idhā kāna kullun min aᶜḍāʾi al-iʾtilāfi al-waṭaniyyi al-sūriyyi yabḥathu ᶜan al-riʾāsati qabla an yataḥaqqaqa shayʾun bahījun li-ṣāliḥihim, fa-yanṭabiqu ᶜalayhim ᶜindaʾidhin waṣfu man yaḍaᶜu al-ᶜarabata qabla al-ḥiṣāni.*

إذا كان كلٌّ من أعضاء الائتلاف الوطني السوري يبحث عن الرئاسة قبل أن يتحقق شيء بهيج لصالحهم، فينطبق عليهم عندئذ وصف من يضع العربة أمام الحصان.

If every member of the Syrian National Coalition is competing for the presidency before any real achievement [on the ground], then they are similar to someone who puts the cart before the horse.[61]

ii) Future particle + imperfect. (S.32-33):

S. 32) *idhā ḥaḍara wāliduhā ilā al-mustashfā sa-yaᶜlamu kulla shayʾin.*

إذا حضر والدها إلى المستشفى سيعلم كل شيء

If her father comes to the hospital, he will find out everything.[62]

S. 33) *fa-idhā rafaḍa wālidī ayya shayʾin fa-lan ajruʾa ᶜalā muᶜāraḍatihi.*

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[60] Kābilī, Suᶜūd, 'Akhṭāᶜ al-Ṭafrah al-Ūlā wa ʾAkhṭāʾunā al-Yawam', *Al-Waṭan*, 7/10/2013, p. 21.
[61] Al-Tamīmī, Ḥusām, 'Taqāsum al-Kaᶜkah al-Sūriyyah', *al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ*, 21/1/2014, p. 16.
[62] Al-ᶜUlayyān (2010), p. 35.

<div dir="rtl">
فإذا رفض والدي أي شيء فلن أجرؤ على معارضته
</div>

If my father says no to anything, I will not dare oppose him.[63]

iii) Perfect. (S.34):

S. 34) *la-qad dhahabta baʿīdan ayyuhā al-wazīru idhā ʿanayta zawājī.*

<div dir="rtl">
لقد ذهبت بعيداً أيُّها الوزير إذا عنيت زواجي
</div>

You were completely wrong, Minister, if you meant my marriage.[64]

iv) Nominal form. (S.35):

S. 35) *idhā kāna dhālika tafkīrahu fa-huwa sādhijin.*

<div dir="rtl">
إذا كان ذلك تفكيره فهو ساذجٌ
</div>

If this is what he thinks, then he is naive.[65]

When the nominal form is found in the apodosis, it usually has a present time reference as in (S.35). However, future time reference is also possible. It is overtly indicated by the particles *lan* or *sawfa* which precede the imperfect verb that is inserted in the nominal sentence domain. Consider (S.36):

S. 36) *idhā badaʾat thawratu al-jiyāʿi marratan ʾukhrā wa hiya qādimatun lā maḥālata, fa-inna al-natāʾija lan taqtaṣira ʿalā al-manāṭiqi al-faqīrati waḥdahā.*

<div dir="rtl">
إذا بدأت ثورة الجياع مرة أخرى، وهي قادمة لا محالة، فإن النتائج لن تقتصر على المناطق الفقيرة وحدها.
</div>

When the revolution of the hungry, which is inevitably coming, begins once again, the consequences will not be limited to poor areas alone.[66]

v) Non-declarative form. (S.37-38):

S. 37) *wa lākin idhā aradti an tarḥalī fa-irḥalī fawran.*

<div dir="rtl">
ولكنْ إذا أردتِ أنْ ترحلي فارحلي فوراً.
</div>

But if you wish to leave, do so immediately.[67]

S. 38) *idhā kāna amalī lan yataḥaqqaqa, mā jadwā dafni al-raʾsi fī al-rimāli.*

<div dir="rtl">
إذا كان أملي لن يتحقق، ما جدوى دفن الرأس في الرمال
</div>

---

[63] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 48.
[64] Ḥannā (2004), p. 69.
[65] Dabābnah (2000), p. 16.
[66] Munīf (2003), p. 137.
[67] Ḥannā (2004), p. 63.

If my goal will definitely not be achieved, what is the value of burying my head in the sand? (viz. being silent).[68]

The particle *in*:

The syntactic features of Likely conditional sentences initiated by the particle *in* are similar to those associated with *idhā*, apart from the absence of the perfect form in the apodosis:

i) Imperfect. (S.39):

S. 39) *al-rumūzu in kānat qad ghābat lā yaᶜnī annahā muḥat.*

الرموز – إن كانت قد غابت – لا يعني أنها محت.

If the symbols have disappeared, it does not mean they have been [completely] erased.[69]

ii) Future particle + imperfect. (S.40):

S. 40) *in kunta mina al-tuᶜasāʾi wa huwa al-ghālibu fa-sayatimmu irjāᶜu al-tayyāri [al-kahrabāʾī] fī al-yawmi al-tālī.*

إن كنت من التعساء وهو الغالب فسيتم إرجاع التيار[الكهربائي] في اليوم التالي.

If you are amongst the miserable people who are affected by the power outage, which is the most common case, your electric power will be returned the next day.[70]

iii) Nominal form. (S.41):

S. 41) *in kunta taẓunnu anna suhayra tadhkuraka fa-anta ghalṭānu.*

إن كنت تظنّ أن سهير تذكرك فأنت غلطان

If you think that Suhayr still remembers you, then you are a mistaken.[71]

iv) Non-declarative form. (S.42-43):

S. 42) *in kāna kalāmuka muwajjahan lī yā sayyidī fa-ismaḥ lī an aqūla annaka ᶜalā khaṭaʾin kabīrin.*

إن كان كلامك موجهاً لي، يا سيدي، فاسمح لي أن أقول أنك على خطأ كبير

Sir, if you are addressing me (as it appears to me), then allow me to say that you are mistaken. [72]

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[68] Al-ᶜUlayyān (2010), 165.
[69] ᶜAlāʾ al-Dīn, Ḥasan, 'Fī al-Baḥth ᶜan Rumūz al-Mudun al-ᶜIrāqiyyah wa ᶜAlāmātihā', *al-Quds al-ᶜArabī*, 28/2/2014, p. 10.
[70] Al-Shirīmī, ᶜAlī, 'Hayʾah Jadīdah li-l-Muwallidāt', *al-Waṭan*, 7/10/2013, p. 20.
[71] Jubūr (2000), p. 121.

S. 43) *in kuntum kadhālika limādhā idhan saraqtum aᶜmālanā.*

<div dir="rtl">إن كنتم كذلك لماذا إذن سرقتم أعمالنا</div>

If you are like that, then why did you steal our work? [73]

The particle *law*:

law is not known to initiate conditional sentences that express likely or expected actions. Surprisingly, however, I found one example in the data in which the speaker shows his expectation of the action occurrence. Consider (S.44):

S. 44) *law kāna al-ustādhu al-Khafīfu jāddan fī hādhā al-waṣfi wa lā-budda an yakūna fa-laysa baynī wa baynahu khilāfun.*

<div dir="rtl">لو كان الأستاذ الخفيف جادا في هذا الوصف – ولابد أن يكون – فليس بيني وبينه خلاف</div>

If al-Khafīf was serious about this description –and he must have been, then I do not disagree with him.[74]

In this example, the parenthetical sentence *wa lā budda in yakūna* signals the speaker's expectation of the proposition *law kāna al-ustādhu al-Khafīfu jāddan fī hādhā al-waṣfi,* which is presented in the protasis. In other words, he assumes that the proposition "al-Khafīf was serious" to be true. In this context, the particle *law* is interchangeable with *idhā* and *in*.

Table 11 below shows the distribution of the possible structures involving Likely conditionals:

The particles	Protasis	Apodosis			Frequency	Total
		Mood	Form			
idhā	Perfect form and its negative counterpart: *lam +*	Declarative	Verbal forms	Imperfect	5	80
				Future particle +imperfect	9	
				Perfect	8	
			Nominal form		21	
		Non-declarative	Imperative and interrogative		37	
		Declarative		Imperfect	1	

---

[72] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 149.
[73] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 48.
[74] Maḥmūd (1996), p. 119.

in	imperfect.		Verbal forms	Future particle + imperfect	2	13
			Nominal form		3	
		Non-declarative	Imperative and interrogative		7	
law		Declarative	Verbal form	Perfect	1	1
Total						94

Table 11. Statistical distribution of the possible structures of Likely conditionals.

By contrast, in English, Declerck and Reed state that Likely conditionals ("closed conditionals" in their term) can be expressed by the particle 'if' followed by several verbal forms. The time reference can be either past, present or future without apparent preference.[75] The context requires considering, either explicitly or implicitly, phrases like: "as I was told, as you say, as I believe"[76] to refer to the speaker's belief.

i) Past:

The past simple form in English is commonly used in the protasis. (S.45):

S. 45) If, as they say, they were late yesterday, it cannot have been because of the weather.[77] Rarely, the English past perfect form is used in the protasis with a modal perfect in the apodosis. (S.46):

S. 46) If, as I knew to be the case, she had been on deck at the time of the murder, he could have seen what was happening.[78]

ii) Present:

This is marked by a present simple form or progressive forms. (S.47-48):

S. 47) If he (as I think) has got a lot of money, he must have a big house.[79]

S. 48) A: I am feeling sick.

B: If you are feeling sick, you had better go outside and lie down.[80]

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[75] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 81.
[76] Ibid., p. 147.
[77] Ibid., p. 81.
[78] Ibid., p. 152.
[79] Ibid., p. 87.

iii) Future:

The modal verb 'will' in English is commonly inserted in the protasis, which normally has future reference, to imply a degree of Modality. i.e. to imply the speaker's view carrying sense of the expectation of the occurrence.[81] Consider (S.49-50):

S. 49) If the work will be done anyhow, I might as well have a lie down.

S. 50) If he will be on holiday from tomorrow, I will not contact him until he is back.[82]

The 'be going to' structure is a possible alternative for 'will' as in (S.51):

S. 51)   You ought to lock your doors if you are going to stay here.[83]

The epistemic modal verbs 'must' and 'should' can be also inserted to strengthen the speaker's epistemic assessment for the situation, i.e. the strengthen the speaker's expectation. Declerck and Reed state that this class of English conditionals is the only one that accepts this sort of modal verbs in the protasis.[84] Consider the following example: (S.52)

S. 52) If the treasure must/should be hidden here, we will start looking at it once.[85]

Finally, 'when' seems to be sometimes used in the context of Likely conditionals. Elder points out that 'when' sometimes moves from reality, i.e. it does not express a complete factual or certain statement. Instead, it presents the proposition in the protasis as being assumed to be factual[86] ("likely" in my terms). An example of this is found in (S.53):

S. 53) How can I demonstrate a machine when it does not work properly?[87]

The speaker of this sentence assumes that the machine breakdown is likely to happen at any time in the future.

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[80] Ibid., p. 84.
[81] Ibid., p. 133.
[82] See the examples in Declerck and Reed (2001), pp. 81, 149.
[83] Ibid., p. 150.
[84] Ibid., p. 204.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Elder (2012), pp. 186-188.
[87] Ibid.

4.3.2.2. Open conditional:

This class of conditionals is sometimes referred to as neutral conditionals.[88] The notion of openness or neutrality refers to the speaker's view of the event expressed in the protasis without bias to any side. In other words, contrary to Likely conditionals, the speaker does not have a view about whether the events may or may not occur in the actual world; they are "viewed as an open possibility".[89] In doing so, the speaker is seen completely uncertain. By contrast, the speaker, in Likely conditionals, establishes a prediction that something is expected to occur or assumed to be true in the real world as illustrated above.

The syntactic features of Open conditionals are fairly similar to those of Likely ones, such that there sometimes arises the problem of overlap between these semantic domains, and, hence, the the context is necessary to determine the exact meaning, especially in cases where an appropriate overt marker in Likely conditionals is absent. According to the data, Open conditionals had the highest number of occurrences in MWA with 275 tokens. This class can be marked by the three particles: *idhā, in* and *law*, with a clear dominance of *idhā*. Table 12 present the frequencies of the three particles in the context of open conditionals:

The particles	Frequency	Total
idhā	168	
in	74	275
law	33	

Table 12. Frequency of the three particles in the context of Open conditionals

As for the time references, this type of conditional tends to refer more often to the future, although present and past time references are possible. Syntactically, since the perfect verb and its negative counterpart (*lam* + imperfect) are the predominant form in the protasis, the apodosis forms will be identified in the following lines:

The particle *idhā:*

i) Imperfect form. (S.54):

S. 54) *idhā aradti raʾyī al-ḥaqīqiyya fa-yajibu an taṣmudī wa tuḥāribī li-l-nihāyati.*

إذا أردتِ رأيي الحقيقي فيجب أن تصمدي وتحاربي للنهاية

---

[88] Dancygier (2006), p. 30.
[89] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 91. See also: Bailys (1989), p. 276.

If you want my real advice, you must stand up and fight until the end.[90]

ii) Future particle + imperfect. (S.55-56):

S. 55) *idhā dhahabta ilā bayti Aṣālata sawfa atbaʿuka baʿda qalīlin.*

<div dir="rtl">إذا ذهبت إلى بيت أصالة سوف أتبعك بعد قليل.</div>

If you go to Aṣālah's house, I will follow you shortly after.[91]

S. 56) *idhā iʿtarafta lan ukhbira al-shurṭata.*

<div dir="rtl">إذا اعترفت لن أخبر الشرطة</div>

If you confess, I will not inform the police.[92]

iii) Perfect form. (S.57):

S. 57) *idhā wajadtu anna al-maṣlaḥata al-ʿulyā taqtaḍīhi ittakhadhtu al-mawqifa al-munāsiba fī al-waqti al-munāsibi.*

<div dir="rtl">إذا وجدت أنَّ المصلحة العليا تقتضيه اتخذْت الموقف المناسب في الوقت المناسب</div>

If I find it (nominating myself to be king) necessary for the sake of the higher interest, I will take the right decision at the right time.[93]

iv) Nominal form. (S.58-59):

S. 58) *idhā tawaḥḥadati al-ummatu fī hādhā al-waqti al-ṣaʿbi min tārīkhihā fa-al-faḍlu fī dhālika li-l-qāʾidi Jamāl ʿAbdu al-Nāṣiri.*

<div dir="rtl">إذا توحّدت الأمة في هذا الوقت الصعب من تاريخها، فالفضل في ذلك للقائد جمال عبد الناصر.</div>

If the nation becomes as one at this difficult point in our history, we owe this to the leader Jamal Abdel-Nasser.[94]

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[90] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 48.
[91] Jubūr (2000), p. 61.
[92] Jawdat (2004), p. 89.
[93] Ḥannā (2000), p. 23.
[94] Jubūr (2004), p. 10.

S. 59) *idhā iqtaḍati al-ḍarūratu fa-hunāka sharṭun wāḥidun an akhruja mina al-bayti wa min dūni rajʿatin ilayhi.*

إذا اقتضت الضرورة فهناك شرط واحد، أن أخرج من البيت ومن دون رجعة إليه.

If [forgiveness] is a must, then there will be one condition: that is to leave the house and do not return.[95]

The nominal form can retain a verbal form in its scope, e.g. with *inna* followed by a noun, as in (S.60):

S. 60) *idhā lam aḍaʾ ḥaddan la-hā fa-innahā sa-tushakkilu khaṭaran yaqḍī ʿalā ḥayātī wa mustaqbalī.*

إذا لم أضع حداً لها فإنها ستشكل خطراً يقضي على حياتي و مستقبلي.

If I do not establish a limit to that, it will be dangerous to my life and to my future.[96]

v) Non-declarative form. (S.61-62):

S. 61) *idhā kunta tufaḍḍilu al-rasma fa-ursum.*

إذا كنت تفضل الرسم فارسم.

If you prefer to draw, please do.[97]

S. 62) *idhā shāhadta ʿājizan ṭalaba musāʿadataka mā tafʿalu?*

إذا شاهدت عاجزاً طلب مساعدتك ما تفعل؟

If you come cross a helpless person asking for your help, what will you do?[98]

The particle *in*:

i) Imperfect form. (S.63):

S. 63) *wa lākin yumkinu an nunāqisha al-amra in kāna khārija al-ḥudūdi al-shakhṣiyyati.*

ولكن يمكن أن نناقش الأمر إن كان خارج الحدود الشخصية.

However, we could discuss the matter unless it is personal.[99]

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[95] Jawdat (2004), p. 89.
[96] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 72.
[97] Mustaghānmī (2007), p. 61.
[98] Jawdat (2004), p. 12.

ii) Future particle imperfect. (S.64-63):

S. 64) *in rāfaqa ummahu fa-sawfa yaghību muddata usbūᶜin ᶜalā al-aqalli.*

<div dir="rtl">

إن رافق أمّه فسوف يغيب مدّة أسبوع على الأقلّ

</div>

If he goes with his mother, he will be absent for at least a week.[100]

S. 65) *in lam tarḥam nafsaka lan narḥamaka abadan.*

<div dir="rtl">

إن لم ترحم نفسك لن نرحمك أبداً

</div>

If you are not merciful with yourself, we will never be merciful with you.[101]

iii) Perfect form. (S.66):

S. 66) *lā takhjal min kalāmihim wa lā tadhilla amāmahum fa-innaka in faᶜalta aghraytahum bi-ka.*

<div dir="rtl">

لا تخجل من كلامهم و لا تذل أمامهم فإنك إن فعلت أغريتهم بك و جرأتهم عليك.

</div>

Do not be embarrassed by what they say about you, and do not humiliate yourself in front of them. If you do so, you will [only] embolden them and strengthen them.[102]

iv) Nominal form. (S.67):

S. 67) *fa-in wāfaqa fa-anā muwāfiqatun.*

<div dir="rtl">

فإن وافق فأنا موافقة

</div>

If he agrees, then I will also agree. [103]

v) Non-declarative form. (S.68-69):

S. 68) *wa in muttu fa-ḥāwilū qadra al-imkāni iḥḍāra juththatī ilā hunā.*

<div dir="rtl">

وإن متّ فحاولوا قدر الإمكان إحضار جثّتي إلى هنا.

</div>

And, if I die, try, to the best of your abilities, to bring my dead body here. [104]

S. 69) *in aṣbaḥta ṭabīban min ayna la-ka an tashtarī ᶜiyādatan?*

<div dir="rtl">

إن أصبحت طبيباً من أين لك أن تشتري عيادة ؟

</div>

If you become a doctor, how will you buy a clinic?[105]

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[99] Dabābnah (2000), p. 52.
[100] Jubūr (2004), p. 11.
[101] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 110.
[102] Al-Ṭanṭāwī (2012), p. 26.
[103] Al-ᶜUlayyān (2010), p. 46.
[104] Jubūr (2004), p. 100.

The particle *law*:

i) Imperfect form. (S.70):

S. 70) *law qārannā al-waḍᶜa al-ᶜarabiyya al-rāhina maᶜa fatarātin sābiqatin aw maᶜa anẓimatin ukhrā fī al-ᶜālami najidu anna al-fajwata tazdādu ittisāᶜan bayna al-anẓimati al-ḥākimati wa al-shuᶜūbi.*

لو قارنا الوضع العربي الراهن مع فترات سابقة أو مع أنظمة أخرى في العالم نجد أن الفجوة تزداد اتساعاً بين الأنظمة الحاكمة والشعوب.

If we compare the contemporary Arab situation with previous [historical] periods or with other [existing political] systems in the world, we will find that the chasm is ever increasing between the ruling regimes and the people.[106]

ii) Future particle imperfect form. (S.71):

S. 71) *fa-anta law faᶜalta dhālika ᶜalā al-dawāmi fa-sa-yantahī bi-ka al-maṭāfu ilā maṣīrin rubbamā lā targhabu fī-hi.*

فأنت لو فعلت ذلك على الدوام فسينتهي بك المطاف إلى مصير ربما لا ترغب فيه

If you always do so, you will be misled to a fate you might not desire.[107]

iii) *la-* + perfect form. (S.72):

This form is very rare in the apodosis of *law*-Open conditionals. Only four examples have been found in the present data, and it is seldom mentioned in MWA grammar.[108] We are going to see that this form is more common with Tentative and Counterfactual conditionals.

S. 72) *law naẓarnā ilā buldānin ukhrā uktushifa fī-hā al-nafṭu ᶜindahā ṣudfatan la-wajadnā anna tilka al-buldāna waẓẓafat hādhihi li-khidmati abnāʾihā.*

لو نظرنا إلى بلدان أخرى اكتشف النفط عندها صدفة لوجدنا أن تلك البلدان وظفت هذه المادة لخدمة أبنائها

If we consider some other countries where oil was discovered by chance, we will discover that these countries have utilized this wealth for the good of their citizens.[109]

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[105] Jawdat (2004), p. 32.
[106] Munīf (2003), p. 162.
[107] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 113.
[108] As far as I know, only Cantarino (1975), vol. 3. p. 321 and Buckley (2004), p. 739 provide examples associated with this form in which *law* has the sense of Open conditional.
[109] Munīf (2003), p. 161.

iv) Nominal form. (S.73):

S. 73) *law aradtī raʾyī fa-innī lā anṣaḥu bi-naqli ayyin mina al-khabarayni ilayhi wa huwa fī*

ḥālihi tilka.

<div dir="rtl">

لو أردتِ رأي فإني لا أنصح بنقل أي من الخبرين إليه وهو في حاله تلك

</div>

If you want my advice, do not tell him any of the two pieces of news as long as he is
in this condition.[110]

v) Non-declarative form. (S.74)

S. 74) *mādhā yaqūlu abī law ᶜarafa?*

<div dir="rtl">

ماذا يقول أبي لو عرف؟

</div>

What will my father say if he discovers [this]?[111]

Finally, in some cases of Open conditionals, the protasis can be nominalized by a pronoun.
Only four examples have been attested in the present corpus. Consider (S.75):

S. 75) *lā naᶜjabu idhā huwa lam yaghḍab.*

<div dir="rtl">

لا نعجب إذا هو لم يغضب.

</div>

We will not be surprised if he does not get angry.[112]

Table 13 below shows a distribution of the possible structures accompanied with Open
conditionals:

The partilces	Protasis	Apodosis			Frequency	Total
		Mood	Form			
idhā	Perfect form and its negative counterpart: *lam* + imperfect.	Declarative	Verbal forms	Imperfect	44	168
				Future particles + Imperfect	38	
				Perfect	13	
			Nominal form		43	
		Non-declarative	Imperative and interrogative		27	
	Nominal form	Declarative	Verbal forms	Imperfect	3	

[110] Ibrāhīm (2010), p. 136.
[111] Al-ᶜUlayyān (2010), p. 160.
[112] Al-ᶜAqqād (2000), p. 97.

in	Perfect form and its negative counterpart: *lam* + imperfect.	Declarative	Verbal forms	Imperfect	4	74
				Future particles + Imperfect	21	
				Perfect	16	
			Nominal form		13	
		Non-declarative	Imperative and interrogative		19	
	Nominal form	Declarative	Verbal forms	Imperfect	1	
law	Perfect form and its negative counterpart: *lam* + imperfect.	Declarative	Verbal forms	Imperfect	6	33
				Future particles + Imperfect	12	
				la- perfect	4	
			Nominal form		2	
		Non-declarative	Imperative and interrogative		9	
Total						275

Table 13. Statistical distribution of the possible structures of Open conditionals.

By contrast, in English, Open conditionals can refer to different temporal locations. In terms of tendency, Declerck and Reed state that this type often refers to the future in English, which is the case in Arabic conditionals as mentioned above. Why is future preferred by Open conditionals? The reason behind is that future is unknown and cannot be determined.[113] Here are the temporal values and their syntactical features of English Open conditionals. Some of these features present overlaps with Likely conditionals:

i) Past:

It is marked by the past simple forms in the two clauses. (S.76):

S. 76) If Kim did not do it, Pat did it.[114]

ii) Present: (simple or progressive) as in (S.77) and (S.78) respectively:

S. 77) If they live here, they know him.[115]

S. 78) If she is not at work, she may be watching the cricket match.[116]

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[113] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 91.
[114] Huddleston and Pullum (2002), p. 743.
[115] Bailay (1989), p. 277.

iii) Future:

It is commonly marked by the present form in the protasis and *will* + present in the apodosis as in (S.79):

S. 79) It the train is late, we will miss our connection to London.[117]

4.3.2.3. Tentative conditionals:

In this type of conditional, the speaker expresses his doubt about the actuality of the event expressed in the protasis. He/she claims that the event is unlikely to occur in the real world, but it is not impossible.[118] Reilly, Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman's regard[119] Tentative conditional (they use the term Hypothetical) as a part of what they call "Imaginative conditional" because the events in the two clauses are only imagined in the speaker's mind. Some other linguists state that this type denotes unreal situations as doCounterfactuals[120] (which will be demonstrated in the following section). In my opinion, the term "Unreal" is not accurate to be connected to Tentative conditional because although the propositions expressed by this type are seen to be improbable to occur in the real world, there is still a small amount of possibility of them actually taking place.[121]

In MWA, the particle *law* is the dominant particle that denotes Tentative conditionals. *idhā* can also express this type as Badawi *et al.* and Sartori state,[122] but it is not as common as *law*. phenomenon of tentative conditionals being expressed by *idhā* has not been recorded in CA conditionals, and it may be regarded as a modern evolution in the system in Arabic

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[116] Huddleston and Pullum (2002) p. 744
[117] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 91.
[118] I prefer to follow Declerck and Reed regarding the term "tentative", refusing the term "hypothetical" as it is sometimes misleading since many linguists have used it in different ways. For more details see Declerck and Reed (2001), pp. 14, 93. Some linguists have used the term "improbable" instead of "tentative". See: Buckley (2005), p. 739.
[119] Reilly (1986), p: 312; Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (2005), p. 551.
[120] Palmer (1986), p. 191; Thompson *et al.* (2007), vol. 2. p. 256; Sartori (2011), p. 17.
[121] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 167.
[122] Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 656; Sartori (2011), p. 14. They actually state that *idhā* can have the sense of *law* to indicate unreal conditionals, but they do specify it for tentative. However, a certain number of Sartori's examples seem to belong to tentative conditionals.

conditionals.[123] Table 14 shows a statistical comparison between the particles that have been attested in the current data to express Tentative conditionals:

Particles	Frequency	Total
law	59	
idhā	6	65

Table 14. Frequency of the particles used in the context of Tentative conditionals

Concerning time reference, Tentative conditionals tend to carry the value of either present or future, but do not seem to have a preference to engage with past reference in MWA, except for a very few cases (See S.92 below). The structural features for this type will be drawn in the following lines:

The particle *law*:

One of the salient feature of *law*-Tentative conditionals is the regularity of the verbal harmony in the two clauses; this is to say that the occurrence of the perfect form in both clauses (e.g. *law faʿala faʿala*) is dominant, which is very rare in *law* that expresses Open conditionals. However, some other linguistic elements (apart from verbal forms) have a certain number of occurrences in the apodosis, playing roles in constituting the apodosis in various formats, such as the emphatic particle *la-* and the negative particle *mā*.[124] Another feature that should be mentioned here is that the protasis exhibits some other forms alongside the perfect form, which is the dominant one. In the following lines, structural properties that are associated with *law*-Tentative will be provided:

A. Perfect form in the protasis:

   This type of protasis can be associated with the following forms in the apodosis:

i) *la-* + perfect.

This is the most common forms with 20 occurrences. Consider (S.80-81):

 S. 80) *law khaṭabanī ḥārisu al-madrasati la-tazawwajtuhu.*

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[123] Sartori (2011), p. 19.
[124] Peled (1992), p. 38 points out, with regard to CA conditionals, that "the occurrence of *ma-* as a negative particle is the most remarkable feature in *law*-apodosis".

<div dir="rtl">

لو خطبني حارس المدرسة لتزوجته

</div>

If the school guard proposed to me, I would marry him.[125]

S. 81) *law bakaytu al-āna amāmahu la-ajhasha bi-dawrihi bi-al-bukāʾi.*

<div dir="rtl">

لو بكيت الآن أمامه لأجهش بدوره بالبكاء

</div>

If I cried in front of him right now, he too would then weep heavily.[126]

The difference between these two examples is related to the time reference interpretation. In (S.80), the speaker refers to a future situation, while, in (S.81), the speaker refers to present time which is overtly indicated by the adverbial lexical item *al-āna* (now).

ii) Perfect.

This seems very rare. The examples attested involves the verb *laysa* which negates an action the present time. Consider (S.82):

S. 82) *law khāba amalunā fī al-ishtirākiyyati baʿda al-khaybati fa-laysa maʿnā dhālika annanā narghabu fī al-rujūʿi ilā ḥālatinā al-ūlā al-sayyiʾati.*

<div dir="rtl">

لو خاب أملنا في الاشتراكية بعض الخيبة فليس معنى ذلك أننا نرغب في الرجوع إلى حالتنا الأولى السيئة

</div>

If we were to be a little disappointed about socialism, it would not mean that we would wish to go back to the former bad state of affairs.[127]

iii) *la-mā* perfect. (S.83):

S. 83) *law kāna hādhā alladhī qālahu ṣaḥīḥan la-mā fātanī an ataʾaththara mithlakum ayḍan.*

<div dir="rtl">

لو كان هذا الذي قاله صحيحاً لما فاتني أن أتأثر مثلكم أيضاً

</div>

If what he said were true, I would not have been impressed like you.[128]

Deleting *la-* is very rare, occuring twice in the data: (S.84)

S. 84) *wa law jāʾa min baʿdihi amharu al-nāsi mā istaṭāʿa an yaʾkhudha bi-thamanin aqall.*

<div dir="rtl">

ولو جاء من بعده أمهر الناس ما استطاع أن يأخذه بثمن أقل.

</div>

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[125] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 28.
[126] Mustaghānmī (2007), p. 329.
[127] Maḥfūẓ (2003), p. 17.
[128] Gāda al-Ḥaq (1998), p. 49.

And if he were followed by the most skilful person, he/she would not be able to get it at a lower price.[129]

iv) Imperfect form. (S.85)

S. 85) *fa-law faraḍnā jadalan faqaṭ anna al-kafāʾata al-ḥarbiyyata aṣlaḥa li-l-baqāʾi fa-lā yatbaʿu dhālika annahā afḍalu li-l-insāni.*

فلو فرضنا جدلاً فقط أن الكفاءة الحربية أصلح للبقاء فلا يتبع ذلك أنها أفضل للإنسان

[Even] if we only supposed that military efficiency is the most optimal option for survival, this does not mean that it is the best option for the human-being.[130]

v) Future particle + imperfect. (S.86):

This form is extremely rare in *law*-tentative.

S. 86) *innahum law tarakūhā fa-sa-takūnu mithla juthathin mutaʿaffinatin.*

إنهم لو تركوها فستكون مثل جثث متعفنة.

If they were to leave them, they would become like mouldy corpses.[131]

vi) Nominal form. (S.87):

S. 87) *wa hiya natījatun silbiyyatun fiʿlan law jazamnā bi-hā.*

وهي نتيجة سلبية فعلا لو جزمنا بها

Indeed, the result would be negative only if we asserted it. [132]

vii) Non-declarative form. (S.88):

S. 88) *mādhā sa-yakūnu mawqifuhu law kāna makāna Nazīhin?*

ماذا سيكون موقفه لو كان مكان نزيه؟

What would he do if he were in Nazīh's situation?[133]

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[129] Al-Ṭanṭāwī (2012), p. 96.
wa law at the beginning of the sentence could signify the meaning of concessive conditional, in which case the translation would be "even if he were…". From the context, this is not determinable.
[130] Maḥmūd (1996), p. 60.
I have inserted "Even" in parenthesis to make the English more idiomatic. This is because there is insufficient relevancy between the two clauses. This type of insufficient relevancy can often be found in a debating context. Examples from the data include S.96 in page: 119.
[131] Al-Kaylānī, (1981), p. 141.
[132] Al-Ghadhāmī (2013), p. 91.
[133] Dabābnah (2000), p. 48.

B. Imperfect form in the protasis:

It is very rare that *law* is followed by an imperfect form. Only three examples have been identified. The apodoses of these two examples are represented by two possible forms:

i) *la* + Perfect. (S.89):

 S. 89) *law taʿrifūna al-ḥaqīqata la-qaddartum mādhā yajrī.*

لو تعرفون الحقيقة لقدرتم ماذا يجري.

If you knew the truth, you would appreciate what is going on.[134]

ii) *la- mā* + perfect form. Consider (S.90):

 S. 90) *law astaṭīʿu qatla aḥadin aw sariqatahu la-mā wajadtu ghayra abī wa jaddatī.*

لو أستطيع قتل أحدٍ أو سرقته لما وجدت غير أبي وجدتي

If I could kill or rob someone, it would be no one else but my father and my grandmother. [135]

C. Nominal form in the protasis.

This is typically structured by introducing the protasis by (*anna* + noun), including a perfect form in its predication. Only six examples have been attested in the present data. The apodoses of these examples exhibit three possible forms:

i) *la* + perfect. (S.91):

 S. 91) *wa arā law annahu taʿāwana maʿa al-akhi Āli Musfirin rijālu aʿmālin wa aṣḥābu amwālin wa ṭawwarū al-mashrūʿa ilā ṭāʾirātin la-sāʿadat ʿalā ījādi safariyyātin murīḥa.*

و أرى لو أنه تعاون مع الأخ آل مسفر رجال أعمال و أصحاب أموال و طوروا المشروع إلى طائرات لساعدت على إيجاد سفريات مريحة.

I think that if businessmen and money holders co-operated with Āl Misfir's [company] and developed the project into airplanes, this would help make comfortable flights available.[136]

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[134] Jubūr (2000), p. 36.
[135] Jawdat (2004), p. 68.
[136] Al-Ḥimayyid, Muḥammad, 'Min Waḥy al-Waṭan', *al-Waṭan*, 7/10/2013, p. 11

ii) Nominal form. (S.92):

S. 92) *law anna hādhā ḥadatha fī khamsatin wa ʿishrīna ʿāman fa-hādhā yaʿnī anna aʿmāranā qad taqaddamat bi-nā khamsatan wa ʿishrīna ʿāman ayḍan.*

لو أن هذا حدث في خمسة وعشرين عاماً فهذا يعني أن أعمارنا قد تقدمت بنا خمسة وعشرين عاماً أيضاً.

If this happened in twenty-five years, this would mean that we have grown for another twenty-five years.[137]

iii) Non-declarative form. (S.93):

S. 93) *ufakkiru law annanī ʿummirtu ḥattā al-thamānīna hal sa-atamattaʿu bi-mithli nashāṭihi wa ḥayawiyyatihi?*

أفكر لو أنني عمّرت حتى الثمانين هل سأتمتع بمثل نشاطه وحيويته؟

I am thinking that if I lived as long as eighty, would I too enjoy his level of activity and vitality?[138]

The particle *idhā*.

Badawi *et al.* and Sartori have indicated that *idhā* can be a synonym for *law* in MWA, which was not the case in CA. By examining their examples, it appears that *idhā* is semantically identical to *law*-Tentative conditional, not *law*-Counterfactual conditional (which will be examined in the following section). The data of the present study has attested only six examples in which *idhā* expresses Tentative conditional meaning. Syntactically, these examples retain the perfect form in the protasis which is can be associated with the following forms in the apodosis:

i) Future particle + imperfect. (S.94):

S. 94) *idhā kutibat la-hu al-ḥayātu sa-yaʿūdu.*

إذا كُتبت له الحياة سيعود

If he were to survive, he would return.[139]

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[137] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 34.
[138] Ibid., p. 43.
[139] Jubūr (2000), p. 110.

ii) Perfect. (S.95):

S. 95) *idhā wujidat al-fatātu al-qādiratu ʿalā iḍāʾati rūḥī al-muʿadhdhabati fa-qad aḍribu al-ʿajīnata bi-al-ḥāʾiṭi.*

إذا وجدت الفتاة القادرة على إضاءة روحي المعذّبة فقد أضرب العجينة بالحائط

If I found the lady who is able to light my tormented soul, I might stick dough on the wall (viz. he might get married). [140]

iii) Nominal form. (S.96):

S. 96) *idhā iftaraḍnā ṣiḥḥata mā taqūlu fa-inna ḥayātaka mā tazālu bayna yadayyi.*

إذا افترضنا صحّة ما تقول فإنَّ حياتك ما تزال بين يديّ

[Even] if we assumed the validity of what you are saying, your life is still in under my control.[141]

iv)   Non-declarative form. (S.97):

S. 97) *wa idhā amkana wa khalaqahā fa-kayfa yumkinuhu an yuʿallimahā li-ghayrihi wa huwa lā yastaṭīʿu dhālika illa idhā kāna la-hum lughatun yatafāhamūna bi-hā?*

وإذا أمكن وخلقها فكيف يمكنه أن يعلمها لغيره وهو لا يستطيع ذلك إلا إذا كان لهم لغة يتفاهمون بها؟

If it were possible for [mankind] to create [language], how could they be able to teach it to others given that they would only be able to do so using a language that all would understand?[142]

Table 15 presents the Statistical Distriubiution of the possible strcutures of Tentative conditional:

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[140] Ḥannā (2004), p. 78.
[141] Ḥannā (2004), p. 114.
[142] Maḥfūẓ (2003), p. 166.

The particals	Protasis	apodosis			Frequency	Total
		Mood	Form			
law	Perfect form and its negative counterpart: *lam* + imperfect.	Declarative	Verbal forms	Imperfect	11	59
				Future particles + Imperfect	3	
				Perfect	2	
				la- perfect	22	
				(la-)mā perfect	7	
			Nominal form		4	
		Non-declarative	Imperative and interrogative		3	
	Imperfect	Declarative	Verbal forms	*la-(mā)* perfect	2	
	Nominal	Declarative	Verbal forms	*la*- perfect	3	
			Nominal form		1	
		Non-declarative	interrogative		1	
idhā	Perfect form and its negative counterpart: *lam* + imperfect.	Declarative	Verbal forms	Future particles + Imperfect	1	6
				Perfect	1	
			Nominal form		2	
		Non-declarative	Imperative and interrogative		2	
Total						65

Table 15. Statistical distribution of the possible strcutures of Tentative conditionals.

In English, Tentative conditionals are typically marked by the past simple form in the protasis and (would + infinitive) in the apodosis.[143] It is relevant to point out that there is a backshift tense in the past verb in the protasis as it refers either to present or future.[144] These temporal references are either deduced from the context as in respectively (S.98-99):

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[143] Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (2005), p. 552.
[144] Dancygier (2006), p. 37; Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (2005), p. 551. Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 94 indicate that Tentative conditionals usually refer to the future in English.

S. 98) If Joe had the time, he would go to Mexico.[145]

S. 99) If it rained, the match would be cancelled.[146]

or indicated by an adverbial of time as "tomorrow" in (S.100):

S. 100) I would be glad if she left tomorrow.[147]

There are other forms that can express Tentative conditionals:

i) Using the form 'were to' referring to the future in the protasis as in (S.101):

S. 101) If it were to rain (tomorrow), I would stay home.[148]

ii) Using epistemic modal verbs (in their past forms) in the apodosis such as 'could, might, should' as in (S.102-104) respectively:

S. 102) If you moved over a bit, I could sit down.

S. 103) If the enemy attacked, the bridge might be blown up.

S. 104) If we started off at once, we should be back in time for lunch.[149]

Finally, it is worth mentioning that, similarly to Arabic, English Tentative conditionals do not refer to the past.[150]

4.3.2.4. Counterfactual conditionals:

With regard to the definition, counterfactuality means that the speaker sees the proposition expressed in the protasis is impossible to occur; in other words, the sentence uttered is actually a false statement.[151] Hence, the speaker imagines a situation that did not, does not or will not take place in the real world.

The only conditional particle that normally seems to express counterfactuality in Arabic is *law*. Interestingly, however, I found one example initiated by the particle *in* that expresses the

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[145] Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (2005), p. 551.
[146] Dancygier (2006), p. 35.
[147] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 94.
[148] Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (2005), p. 552.
[149] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 170.
[150] Ibid., p. 94.
[151] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 99.

sense of counterfactuality as will be shown later. Table 16 compares the two particles in terms of their frequencies:

The particles	Frequency	Total
law	98	
in	1	99

Table 16. Frequency of the particles used in the context of Counterfactual conditionals

According to the data, Counterfactual conditionals can refer to the three time references: past, present and future. However, the majority of counterfactual examples have the value of past reference. The time references are not generally syntactically marked by the conditional particle, which requires contextual consideration or inserting an adverbial of time. However, some examples show ambiguity in terms of time reference interpretations as they can be interpreted temporally in different ways.

The particle *law*:

Concerning their syntactic characteristics, *law*-Counterfactuals can accompany various possible patterns; some of these patterns are shared with *law*-Tentative, hence, the overlap between these types, especially when the time reference is either present or future. Thus, the context must sometimes be borne in mind. Additionally, one of the most striking syntactic features in *law*-Counterfactual is the absence of the positive imperfect form in the apodosis, which has been recorded in *law*-open and tentative conditional sentences above. I will now demonstrate the possible structures for *law*-Counterfactual:

A. Perfect form in the protasis:

The perfect form is associated with the following forms in the apodosis:

i) Future particle imperfect.

This form is very rare, only three examples being attested in the current data. Consider (S.105):

S. 105) *law ᶜāda ilā al-ḥayāti sa-aqtulahu.*

لو عاد إلى الحياة سأقتله.

Would he return to life, I would kill him [again].[152]

ii) Perfect form. (S.106):

S. 106) *law kānat ummī lā tazālu ʿalā qaydi al-ḥayāti kuntu nimtu bi-ḥuḍnihā wa laʿibnā sawiyyan.*

لو كانت أمي لا تزال على قيد الحياة كنت نمت بحضنها ولعبنا سوياً.

If my mother were still alive, I would sleep in her arms and we would play together.[153]

iii) *la-* perfect form.

This is the most common forms that is associated with *law*-Counterfactual sentences, and usually refers to past actions, Consider (S.107):

S. 107) *law waqaʿa fī yadī abī la-mazzaqaka.*

لو وقع في يد أبي لمزقك

Had it fallen into my father's hand, he would have torn you apart.[154]

However, this form may refer to present time as in (S.108):

S. 108) *law kuntu astaṭīʿu la-waḍaʿtu ʿalā ẓahrihā (the ship) wa fī ʿanābirihā kulla al-lājiʾīna.*

لو كنت أستطيع لوضعت على ظهرها(السفينة) وفي عنابرها كل اللاجئين

If I could, I would put all the refugees on its deck.[155]

The time reference can be overtly marked to indicate pluperfect aspect (= past perfect) by inserting the auxiliary verb *kāna* before the perfect verb.[156] This sometimes shows a structural harmony between the two clauses. Aspectualy, this particular structure implies, in general, remote past.[157] The particle *qad* sometimes precedes the perfect form. Consider the following examples which all indicate past perfect aspect. (S.109-111):

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[152] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 197.
[153] Al-Zaʿīm, Āyah, 'Khaymat al-Yatāmā', *al-Quds Al-ʿArabī,* 28/2/2014, p. 4.
[154] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 86.
[155] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 126.
[156] Beeston (1968), p. 85.
[157] Ḥassān (1979), p. 246; al-Suhaibani (2012), p. 246.

S. 109) *wa law kunta tajarraᶜta marārata al-intiẓāri ṭiwāla al-shuhūri al-māḍiyati la-kunta qad waḍaᶜta fī famika ḥajaran wa lam tanṭiq bi-kalimatin min hādhihi al-mawāᶜiẓi al-tāfihati.*

لو كنت تجرعت مرارة الانتظار طوال الشهور الماضية لكنت قد وضعت في فمك حجراً ولم تنطق بكلمة من هذه المواعظ التافهة

Had you suffered (lit. swallowed) the bitterness of waiting over the past months, you would have put a stone in your mouth, remained silent and never uttered any of these trivial sermons.[158]

S. 110) *law kunta qad ikhtarta al-layla la-kānati al-ḥukūmātu qad dafaᶜat la-ka maṣārīfa atᶜābika.*

لو كنت قد اخترت الليل لكانت الحكومات قد دفعت لك مصاريف أتعابك

Had you chosen the night shifts, the government would have paid your fees.[159]

S. 111) *wa law ṭāla zamanu al-aḥdāthi la-kunnā raʾaynā fī landana ashyāʾa tuᶜīdu al-ṣuwara allatī nalḥaẓuhā.*

ولو طال زمن الأحداث لكنا رأينا في لندن أشياء تعيد الصور التي نلحظها.

Had these events taken more time, we would have noticed recurring images in London.[160]

However, in cases in which *kāna* precedes an imperfect form, the sentence can refer to either past or present time. Consider (S.112) and (S.113) respectively:

S. 112) *law kāna al-Ramlāwī yamliku wāḥidan min tilka al-maẓārīfi la-hāna al-amru ᶜalayka yā Māwardī.*

لو كان الرملاوي يملك واحداً من تلك المظاريف لهان الأمر عليك يا ماوردي

If al-Ramlāwī had had one of these envelopes, it would have been easy for you, Māwardī.[161]

S. 113) *law kāna yamliku al-māla al-kāfī la-ḥamala la-hā al-jawāhira al-fākhirata.*

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[158] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 45.
[159] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 53.
[160] Al-Ghadhāmī (2013), p. 35.
[161] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 123.

<div dir="rtl">لو كان يملك المال الكافي لحمل لها الجواهر الفاخرة.</div>

If he had enough money, he would carry for her precious gems.[162]

iv) *la-mā* + perfect. (S.114)

S. 114) *law kāna jismuhu fī mithli wazni al-muhandisi la-mā taḥammalahu al-maqʿadu.*

<div dir="rtl">لو كان جسمه في مثل وزن المهندس لما تحمله المقعد</div>

If he were as heavy as the engineer, his seat would not hold him.[163]

It is worth mentioning that omitting the emphatic particle *la-* seems to be extremely rare in MWA. The data records only two examples. Consider (S.115):

S. 115) *wa Allāhi law kāna baytuka kaʿbatan musharrafatan mā ʿudtu dākhilatan ʿalayhi.*

<div dir="rtl">والله لو كان بيتك كعبة مشرفة ما عدت داخلة عليه</div>

I swear by God that even if your house were the Holy Kaʿbah, I would never enter it again.[164]

v) Nominal form. (S.116):

S. 116) *anta taʿrifu annanī lā usāwimu ʿalā mabādiʾī law imtalaktu amwāla al-dunyā kullahā.*

<div dir="rtl">أنت تعرف أنني لا أساوم على مبادئي لو امتلكت أموال الدنيا كلها</div>

You know that I do not leave my principles, [even] if I possessed the whole money in the world.[165]

vi) Non-declarative form. (S.117):

S. 117) *law kunta makānī mādhā tafʿalu?*

<div dir="rtl">لو كنت مكاني ماذا تفعل ؟</div>

If you were in my place, what would you do?[166]

B. Nominal form in the protasis.

According to the data, this form is associated with the following forms in the apodosis:

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[162] Dabābnah (2000), p. 37.
[163] Ibrāhīm (2010), p. 41.
[164] Jawdat (2004), p. 34.
[165] Dabābnah (2000), p. 77.
[166] Dabābnah (2000), p. 103.

i) *la-* perfect. (S.118):

S. 118) *law anna al-shaykha Muḥammadan ʿalā qaydi al-ḥayāti la-aṭlaʿaka ʿalā al-ḥaqīqati.*

لو أن الشيخ محمداً على قيد الحياة لأطلعك على الحقيقة.

If Sheikh Muḥammad were alive, he would tell you the truth.[167]

ii) *la-mā* + perfect. (S.119):

S. 119) *law anna kulla baḥḥārin kāna yakhshā min imtidādi al-baḥri wa ʿumqihi la-mā ḍaraba fī al-mawji mijdāfan wāḥidan.*

ولو أنَّ كل بحار كان يخشى من امتداد البحر وعمقه لما ضربَ في الموج مجدافاً واحدا

If each sailor feared the extension and depth of the sea, he would not paddle even once.[168]

C. Imperfect form in the protasis:

Only one example has been attested in the current data. This is followed with a (*la*-perfect) form in the apodosis. Consider (S.120):

S. 120) *law amliku tafwīḍan rasmiyyan la-kuntu waḍaʿtu qāʾimatan ṭawīlatan ʿarīḍatan bi-istithmārati wa ʿaqārāti hāʾulāʾi al-naṣṣābīina wa ghayrihim fī al-khāriji.*

لو أملك تفويضاً رسمياً لكنت وضعت قائمة طويلة عريضة باستثمارات وعقارات هؤلاء النصابين وغيرهم في الخارج.

If I had an official authority, I would have made a long list of the investments and real estate properties of these swindlers here and abroad.[169]

The particle *in*:

in is not known to express Tentative or Counterfactual conditional sentences. Surprisingly, however, I found one example in which *in* refers to a past counterfactual action. Consider (S.121):

S. 121) *hal kāna sayqbalu minī in ṣiḥtu bi-hi anna jaddahu maḥdu qātilin?*

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[167] Jawdat (2004), p. 109.
[168] Ḥannā (2004), p. 88.
[169] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 69.

هل كان سيقبل مني إن صحت به أن جده محض قاتل؟

Would he have accepted from me if I had shouted at him that his grandfather was a

mere killer?[170]

Table 17 presents the Statistical Distriubiution of the possible strcutures of Counterfactual

conditionals:

The partilces	Protasis	apodosis			Frequency	Total
		Mood	Form			
law	Perfect form	Declarative	Verbal forms	Future particles + imperfect	3	98
				Perfect	4	
				la- perfect	60	
				(la-)mā perfect	16	
			Nominal form		3	
		Non-declarative	interrogative		3	
	Imperfect	Declarative	Verbal forms	*la-* perfect	1	
	Nominal	Declarative	Verbal forms	Perfect	3	
				la- perfect	5	
in	Perfect form	Non-declarative	interrogative		1	1
Total						99

Table 17. Statistical distribution of the possible structures of Counterfactual conditionals.

I have mentioned earlier that some examples show ambiguity in terms of time references.

This is due to the absence of overt time markers without the context providing any temporal

indications. The following sentence is a representative for this case. (S.122)

S. 122) *law kuntu makānahā la-fariḥtu bi-al-takhalluṣi min abī.*

لو كنت مكانها لفرحت بالتخلص من أبي.

If I were /had been in her position, I would be /would have been happy to have got rid

of my father.[171]

[170] Ibrāhīm (2010), p. 34.

In this example, we cannot spot the precise time reference. The speaker may want to say "If I had been in her place" referring to the past or "If I were in her place" referring to the present.

By contrast, in English, there are two canonical structures that express Counterfactual conditionals:

i) Past verb form in the protasis with "would + infinitive" form in the apodosis:

    The time reference is always present.[172] Consider (S.123-124):

S. 123) If I had a lot of money, I would not be doing this lousy work.[173]

S. 124) If I knew her name, I would tell you.[174]

It is common to use the subjunctive mood 'were' in the protasis to express counterfactuality in the present time instead of 'was'.[175] Consider (S.125-126):

S. 125) If I were the President, I would make some changes.[176]

S. 126) If my grandfather were here now, he would be angry.[177]

It is very important to consider the present time reference that associates counterfactuality here. This is because the subjunctive mood 'were' can possibly refer to the future, and thus express Tentative conditionals.[178] Hence, this can be regarded as a case of ambiguity between the two classes, which, however, can be tackled by investigating the context that determines the right time reference. Compare between (S.127) as an example for future Tentative conditionals and (S.128) as an example for present Counterfactual conditionals:

S. 127) If I were you, I would complain to the manager.

S. 128) If I were you, I would be complaining to the manager.[179]

ii) Past perfect form in the protasis with modal perfect form (=would have + past participle) in the apodosis:

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[171] Al-ᶜUlayyān (2010), p. 64.
[172] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 196; Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (2005), p. 551.
[173] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 183.
[174] Swan (2009), p. 235.
[175] Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (2005), p. 551; Swan (2009), p. 238.
[176] Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (2005), p. 551.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 272.
[179] Ibid.

This form commonly carries the value of past time reference to imply what did not happen[180] as in (S.129):

S. 129) If it had rained, the match would have been cancelled.[181]

However, this structure can sometimes refer to either the present or the future as in (S.130-131) respectively:

S. 130) If she had been here (now), I would have been happy.

S. 131) If you had come tomorrow instead of today, you would not have found me at home.[182]

Note that because it is unusual for this form to refer to the present or the future, the adverbial of time must be considered either explicitly or implicitly.

This structure can be subject to some changes: 'if' if is omitted, then the auxillary verb 'had' is brought in the initial position of the clause before the subject. Consider (S.132):

S. 132) Had we not missed the plane, we would all have been killed in the crash.[183]

This particular phenomenon seems not be exemplified in Arabic Counterfactual conditionals.

Finally, it is possible to use 'were to' with the past perfect form having the past time sense to express Counterfactual conditional meaning as in (S.133):

S. 133) Were he to have objected to the plan, all hope of saving the company would have been lost.[184]

However, 'were to' is commonly followed by a present form and expresses Tenatative conditional meaning in the future as we have seen in an earlier section.[185] Declerck and Reed state that 'were to' with the present verbal form as a rule expresses Tentative conditional meaning. This means that 'were to' is not commonly used to express counterfactuality.

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[180] Swan (2009), p. 236; Thompson (2007), vol. 2. p. 260.
[181] Dancygier (2006), p. 25.
[182] Declerck (2001), p. 177-178. See also Dancygier (2006), p. 33.
[183] Swan (2009), p. 238.
[184] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 218.
[185] See page 121 above.

4.3.3. Mixed time references:

Conditionals in MWA allow for time reference combinations in one sentence. That is to say the protasis and the apodosis refer to different temporal values. Consider the following Examples: (S.134-136)

S. 134) *idhā kāna hādhā ḥaqqan fa-innī sa-aḥtarimu tamrrudahā.*

إذا كان هذا حقاً فإنّي سأحترم تمرّدها

If this is true, I will respect her rebellion.[186]

S. 135) *idhā kāna al-ṣabiyyu qad qaddama lī mithla hadhihi al-hadiyyati al-ʿaẓīmati fa-sa-uʿṭīhi hadāyā aʿẓama mimmā qaddamahu lī.*

إذا كان الصبي قد قدم لي مثل هذه الهدية العظيمة فسأعطيه هدايا أعظم مما قدمه لي.

If the boy has honoured me with this great gift, I will honour him with gifts greater than the one he gave me.[187]

S. 136) *law ḥajaznā bi-iḥdā ṭāʾirāti al-khalīji la-kāna al-waḍʿu afdala bi-kathīrin.*

لو حجزنا بإحدى طائرات الخليج لكان الوضع أفضل بكثير

If we had booked on one of the Gulf airlines, our circumstance would be much better.[188]

In (S.134), the protasis refers to a present situation, while the apodosis refers to a future action. In (S.135), the protasis has a near past value (i.e. present perfect), whereas the apodosis holds a future reference. The future of both apodoses are overtly indicated by the lexical item *sa-*. In (S.136), the protasis refers to an imaginary action that could have happened in the past, while the apodosis refers to a present situation that is counter to fact. Likewise, English conditionals allow for time reference combinations.[189] Consider the following examples: (S.137-140)

S. 137) If they do not come, we are wasting our time.[190] [Future – Present]
S. 138) If he knows the answer, he got it from you.[191] [Present – Past]

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[186] Ḥannā (2004), p. 115.
[187] Ḥasan (1972), p. 51.
[188] Dabābnah (2000), p. 95.
[189] Huddleston and Pullum (2002), p. 743, 751-752.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.

S. 139) If it is Jill over there, I will ask her to join us.[192] [Present – Future]

S. 140) If I were ill, I would have stayed at home. [193][Present- Past].

4.3.4. Hybrid conditionals:[194]

I mean by "hybrid conditional" where a sentence combines between two possible worlds. This case is not seen as a prototypical one.[195] According to the data, this phenomenon seems not common. It is noteworthy that the mixing between the two clauses in terms of Modality is sometimes associated with difference in time reference. I found the following cases in the current data:

i) Combination between factuality and openness as in (S.141):

S. 141) *idhā taqaddamnā fa- al-jayshu aw al-alghāmu bi-al-intiẓāri.*

إذا تقدمنا فالجيش أو الألغام بالانتظار

If we move forward, there are the army [of the enemy] or mines awaiting [for us].[196]

In (S.141), the proposition expressed in the protasis *taqaddamnā* should be seen as a possible action that may or may not occur in the future, while the proposition expressed in the apodosis is seen as a fact. i.e. the army of the enemy and mines are certainly waiting for us.

ii) Combination between openness and likelihood as in (S.142):

S. 142) *in lam adullahum anā [ᶜalā makāni Nanrūtā] fa-sa-yadulluhum ghayrī*

إن لم أدلهم أنا [على مكان ننروتا] فسيدلهم غيري

If I do not lead them [to where Nanruta is hiding], someone else will.[197]

The speaker of this sentence expresses his unbiased attitude towards the proposition expressed in the protasis. i.e. neutral proposition. However, the propositional content of the apodosis appears to have a likelihood sense.

iii) Combination between openness and tentativeness as in (S.143):

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[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid., p. 752.
[194] The term "hybrid" is borrowed from Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 153.
[195] Athanasiadou and Dirven (1997), p. 74 speak of English conditionals.
[196] Jubūr (2000), p. 56.
[197] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 115. I had to add what is between the brackets in order to make the sentence contextually clear.

S. 143) *bal idhā wujidat al-fatātu al-qādiratu ʿalā iḍāʾati rūḥī al-muʿadhdhbati fa-qad aḍribu*
al-ʿajīnata bi-al-ḥāʾiti.

بل إذا وجدت الفتاة القادرة على إضاءة روحي المعذّبة فقد أضرب العجينة بالحائط

Rather, if I find the lady who is able to light my tormented soul, I might stick a dough
on the wall (viz. he might get married).[198]

Here, it is the particle *qad* that precedes the imperfect *aḍrib* that implies tentativeness; its role
is to reduce the possibility of the event occurrence. It can be regarded as an equivalent to
'might' or 'perhaps' in English.[199]

iv) Combination between tentativeness and counterfactuality as in (S.144):

S. 144) *wa law kāna hadhā alladhī qālahu ṣaḥīḥan la-mā fātanī an ataʾaththara mithlakum*
ayḍan.

ولو كان هذا الذي قاله صحيحاً لما فاتني أن أتأثّر مثلكم أيضاً.

If what he said were true, I would not have been impressed like you.[200]

The protasis of this sentence can be seen as projecting a present tentative proposition; the
speaker believes that the proposition he refers to is not true although there could be a small
possibility of it being true. This is followed by a past action that did not happen, which is the
"negativity of being affected in the same way as them." Hence, it should be seen as a
counterfactual proposition.

In English, by contrast, hybrid conditionals are rarely considered in grammar books. Declerck
and Reed always have kept in mind, in their analysis, the possible combination between
Modality meanings in the two clauses. In the following some cases they provide:

i) Protasis: likely + apodosis: open. (S.145):

S. 145) If (as you tell me and I assume) she is seriously ill, she will perhaps be taken to
hospital.[201]

ii) Protasis: likely + apodosis: counterfactual in the past. (S.146):

S. 146) If your late father was as clever as you always claim, he would not have gone
bankrupt.[202]

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[198] Ḥannā (2004), p. 78.
[199] See Cantarino (1975), vol. 1. p. 70 regarding the sematic role of *qad* before the imperfect verb.
[200] Gāda al-Ḥaq (1998), p. 49.
[201] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 153.

iii) Protasis: open + apodosis: tentative. Note the role of modal verb "could" to express tentativeness in the apodosis in (S.147):

S. 147) If you have enough money, you could treat yourself to a new pair of shoes that do not let in quite so much water.[203]

iv) Protasis: open + apodosis: counterfactual. (S.148):

S. 148) If he was suffering from depression, she could have been cured.[204]

4.4 Discussion:

The aim of this section is to highlight the findings that have emerged from the data analysis in this chapter in order to answer the research questions:

1. What types of Modality meaning can be denoted by MWA conditional sentences?
2. How do the three particles conditionals (*idhā, in* and *law*) interact quantitatively and qualitatively with the types Modality meaning identified in question (1); and are there any syntactic-semantic relations?
3. How do the Time References act with relation to the Modality meanings of conditionals?

Each question will be dealt with in a separate section below.

4.4.1. Modality meanings in MWA conditionals:

The analysis above shows that epistemic Modality has a strong relationship with conditional sentences. Hence, a range of Modality meanings can be denoted by conditional structures. These meanings are better seen as a scalar system,[205] which means that there are different degrees of the speaker's attitude toward the event's occurrence. These degrees range from a certainty of factuality value to an impossibility value. These digrees are: Factual, Likely, Open, Tentative and Counterfactual with undeniable dominance of Open conditionals. The view of scalar Modality in conditionals is supported, in one way or another, by Comrie's cross-linguistic theory which indicates that hypotheticality (=Modality) in conditionals is a

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[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid., p. 163.
[204] Ibid., p. 164.
[205] See Gabrielots (2010), p. 155 who speaks of the scalarity of Modality meanings in English.

continuum, which means that there are different degrees of the speaker's hypothesis that descend from high to low, and thus a Factual conditional would represent the lowest degree of hypotheticality, while a Counterfactual conditional would represent the highest degree.[206]

Similarly, Elder tentatively states that there is, in English conditionals, a "gradation of certainty from absolute certainty to complete impossibility".[207] Furthermore, to be more precise, the Modality classes found in the study of MWA conditionals correspond with those identified in English conditionals by Athanasiadou and Dirven, on the one hand and Declerck and Reed on the other hand with some differences in terminology.[208] Consider the following table (Table 18):

MWA	English	
The present study	Athanasiadou and Dirven (1997)	Declerck and Reed (2001)
Factual	Factual	Factual
Likely	Close to factual	Closed
Open	Distancing from factual	Open
Tentative	Not likely Less likely Highly unlikely	Tentative
Counterfactual	Counterfactual	Counterfactual

Table 18. The correspondence between the Modality meanings of MWA conditionals and the ones adopted by Athanasiadou and Dirven (1997) and Declerck and Reed (2001).

Considering the above, this means that this study indicates that conditionality is not one type, which is to say that conditionality is not only related to the notion of uncertainty as was the view of the early Arabic grammarians.[209] Furthermore, it implies the oversimplified nature of most of the previous studies which have suggested inaccurate descriptions with respect to modality meanings in conditionals in MWA. This includes the Real and Unreal binary,[210] and the Certain, Potentail and Unreal tripartite division,[211] because they do not reflect the precise semantic roles of conditionals in MWA.

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[206] Comrie (1986), p. 88.
[207] Elder (2012), p. 188.
[208] Athanasiadou and Dirven (1997), p. 73.
[209] Sībawayhi (1983), vol. 3. p. 59; Devenyi (1988), p. 13; Giolfo (2012), p. 138.
[210] Schluz et al. (2000), p. 362-369; Abu-Chacra (2007), p. 309-311; Alotaibi (2014), p. 1.
[211] Sartori (2011), p. 21.

Another noteworthy point that should be highlighted here is that this study is in an agreement with some English conditional studies that believe Factual conditionals should be included in the system of conditionality although they seem to be not as common as the non-factual classes. This result diametrically opposes the view held by Comrie who claims that "conditionals never express factuality of either its constituent propositions",[212] and that adopted by Dancygier who points out that conditionals only saty in the domain of non-assertiveness since the speaker does not have sufficient information to assert the protasis to be a fact or true.[213]

4.4.2. Syntactic-semantic correlation:

One of the main issues that this study aims to investigate is the relation between syntax and semantics with respect to Modality meanings in MWA conditionals. In a general sense, the analysis above suggests that there is no systematic one-to-one relation between form and meaning in conditional sentences. Thus, the possibility that one structure can denote two or more meanings, or one meaning may be expressed by various structures cannot be denied. This implies the complexity of conditional sentences. Hence, either contextual considerations are usually required in order to identify the exact meanings (compare between S.32 and S.55 mentioned above) or an explicit marker is needed to reveal the exact meaning (e.g. *wa huwa al-ghālib* (often) in S.40 mentioned above to indicate likelihood.). Example from English to support this view can be seen in the case where the pattern "if + past form" possibly occurs in the context of both Tentative and Counterfactaul conditionals as illustrated by S.98 and S.123 above.

However, outside of this general rule, the analysis shows some tendencies in which syntax and semantics can interact. That is to say some particular forms usually accompany some particular conditional semantic classes. The predominance of the perfect verbal form in the protasis imposes a significance on the apodosis forms to be considered in this issue since they

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[212] Comrie (1986), p. 89.
[213] Dancygier (2006), p. 19.

are varied.[214] In the following lines, some significant remarks with respect to the form-meaning relationship will be elaborated upon:

A. The analysis shows the predominance of the particle *idhā* among the others (*law* and *in*).[215] It also shows the significant movements of *idhā* across the semantic meanings, which allows it to express four Modality meanings, namely: Factual, Likely, Open and Tentative, with the particular dominance of the first three, although Open meaning is the most frequent. The significant syntactic trends that come along with the particular semantic meanings by *idhā* can be seen as follows:

i) When the form (*sa-*/*sawfa* + imperfect) occurs in the apodosis, it is most likely that *idhā* denotes either Likely or Open conditionals, hence, the preceding context is necessary to draw distinctions between them. However, as shown in Tables 11 and 13, this form occurs much more in Open conditionals than in Likely ones. This result is in agreement with Sartori who claims that this form is more frequently used in the context of Potential conditionals ("Open" in our terms).[216] There may be a reason behind this trend which is related to the time reference. Since *sa-*/*sawfa* are future particles and Open conditionals, in turn, most often refer to future actions, then there is no surprise that (*sa-*/*sawfa* + imperfect) usually associates with Open conditionals.

ii) *idhā* as a Tentative conditional particle seems to be rare since having a frequency of 6 in the current data. With respect to the verbal form, this case shows the possibility of the occurrence of "*sa-* + imperfect" in the apodosis although it appears very rare as presented in S.64 above. This disproves Sartori, who seems to claim that *idhā* which expresses a present unreal situation is only denoted by the form "(*la-*) + perfect" in the apodosis.[217] Thus, contrary to Sartori, I can claim that the *idhā*-Tentative can be denoted by more than structure as presented in the analysis. My claim appears in the agreement with Buckley's implicit view. He provides an example (for *law*-Tentative conditional) with "*sa-* + imperfect" in the apodosis side by side with another example that retains the verbal form adopted by Sartori. Consider (S.149-150):

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[214] Holes (2004), p. 293; Sartori (2011), p. 20.
[215] This goes in line with some previous studies. E.g. Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 636; Buckley (2004), p. 731.
[216] Sartori (2011), p. 11.
[217] Ibid., p. 14. He does not explain what he means by Unreal here; is it Tentative or Counterfactual. However, according to his interpretations of the examples, they seem to be Tentative.

S. 149)   *baqīnā nuʾammilu annanā idhā tazawwajnā wa dhahabnā maʿan ilā al-khāriji li-l-*
dirāsati li-sanatin aw sanatayni sa-naʿūdu ilā Baghdāda min jadīdin.

بقينا نؤمل أننا إذا تزوجنا و ذهبنا معاً إلى الخارج للدراسة سنة أو سنتين سنعود إلى بغداد من جديد.

We continued to hope that if we got married and went abroad together for a year or two to study, we would return to Baghdad again.[218]

S. 150)   *idhā raʾawka tadūru ḥawla al-rādyū ḍaḥikū ʿalayka.*

إذا رأوك تدور حول الراديو ضحكوا عليك.

If they saw you circling round the radio, they would laugh at you.[219]

It may be reasonable to say that what Sartori has observed is a common trend rather than being a one-to-one form-meaning relation, but he does not make any explicit statement regarding this.

B. The particle *law* has been seen to denote three Modality meanings, namely: Open, Tentative and Counterfactual with the particular dominance of the last two.[220] The significant form-meaning relation remarks are highlighted here:

i)   The analysis shows that the structure "*sa-/sawfa* + imperfect" in the apodosis of *law* has a tendency to express Open conditionals. This is informed by the data which indicates that this form scores 12 occurrences out of 18 (compare between Tables 13, 15 and 17 above). It appears that this phenomenon has been overlooked by the literature examined. This also goes against Sartori who maintains that the form mentioned above most often expresses what he calls the "Present Unreal".[221]

ii)   Another form-meaning issue with respect to *law*-Open sentences is that it has been shown that this semantic class can rarely be expressed by the verbal form "*la-* perfect" as exemplified in S.72 above. My observation corresponds with Cantarino and Buckley's following examples: (S151-152)

S. 151)   *law shiʾta an aqūla la-ka la-qultu.*

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[218] Buckley (2004), p. 737.

[219] Ibid.

[220] I do not take into account the particle *law* which expresses Likely conditionals because it only occurs once in the current data. Hence, this case should be seen as exception.

[221] He does not clarify what he means by the term "Unreal", whether it expresses Tentative or Counterfactual meanings.

<div dir="rtl">لو شئت أن أقول لك لقلت.</div>

If you want me to tell you, I will.[222]

S. 152) *law awghalta fī buṭūni muʾallafātihi tanqīban wa taqlīban la-wajadtahu sammāhum saʿālīka.*

<div dir="rtl">لو أوغلت في بطون مؤلفاته تنقيباً و تقليباً لوجدته سموهم صعاليك.</div>

If you delve deeply into his books and scrutinise them, you will find that he called them "vagabonds".[223]

It appears that Badawi *et al.*[224] and Sartori[225] do not capture this form in the context of *law*-Open conditionals. On the other, this form is extremely common in the context of Tentative and Counterfactual conditionals as has been presented in the analysis. Sartori maintains that "*la*- perfect" form in the apodosis of *law*, with the meaning of Unreal conditionals, always holds past time reference.[226] In my opinion, this claim is oversimilfied and, thus, inaccurate because the semantic class should be considered in this matter. Hence, it should be elaborated as follows:

a. When this form occurs in the context of Tentative conditionals, it refers most often to either present or future time as exemplified in S.81 and S.80 above.

b. When it occurs in the context of Counterfactual, it usually refers to the past as exemplified in S.107, while the time present reference has less possiblity as given in S.112.

This clearly indicates a case of overlap between the two classes, which requires contextual considerations in order to extract the exact meaning.

iii) The analysis of MWA conditionals shows that *law*-Tentative conditional sentences retain a verbal form that has not been attested in *law*-counterfactual examples despite the large syntactic overlap between the two classes. This form is "*law* perfect + imperfect". It scores 11 occurrences in *law*-Tentative conditionals as exemplified in (S.85) above. By contrast, *law*-Counterfactual conditionals retain a different form that is not attested in *law*-tentative conditional examples. This is structured by (*kāna* + perfect), referring to the past as displayed in (S.109-110) above. However, in the case that *kāna* is followed by an imperfect

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[222] Cantarino (1975), vol. 3. p. 321.
[223] Buckley (2004), p. 739 with amendment.
[224] Badawi *et al.* p. 647.
[225] Sartori (2011), pp. 12-13.
[226] Ibid., p. 17.

or nominal form, the sentence will ambiguous between Tentative and Counterfactual. Yet, the time reference, which may be identified by the context, can help in determining the exact meaning.

C. The particle *in*:

We have seen in the analysis that the particle *in* most often expresses Open conditional. This indicates that this particle despite being the least common conditional particles in MWA, still retains the semantic value it had in the CA conditional system. i.e. it expresses uncertain events.[227] Another issue in relation to the use of *in* in conditionals is that the view that *in* has nearly disappeared from the MWA conditional system is not accurate statement. This view is held by Badawi *et al.*, Holes and Sartori.[228] They think, instead, that *in* is exclusively used in the scope of either idiomatic expressions (e.g. *in shaʾa Allahu*) or concessive expressions e.g. *wa-in* (even if).[229] Of course, *idhā* and *law* have encroached on the scope of *in* and have narrowed the amount it is used, but Arabic speakers and writers still use *in* as a proper and common conditional particle. In this manner, I take a moderate position which corresponds to Buckley who only states that "*in* is not as common as *idhā* and *law*"[230] without giving an impression to the near disappearance of *in*.

Another form-meaning issue that seems interesting in relation to the particle *in* is that the form "*sa/sawfa* + imperfect" is more common in the apodoses of *in*-Open than *in*-Likley conditionals. Consider Tables 11 and 13 above. Hence, this tendency might act as an adavntagoues practical syntactic distinction between the two semantic classes of *in*.

Finally, it is interesting that the verbal patterns associated with the particle *in*, expressing uncertainty ("Open conditional" in our terms), in MWA shows some developments in the system. One of the striking changes is that in the CA system the most common and prototypical patten is "*in* + jussive + jussive".[231] This pattern, however, has not been attested in the current data. Badawi *et al.* have found some examples in their data and admitted they

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[227] Sībawayhi (1983), vol. 3. pp. 56.
[228] Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 637; Holes (2004), p. 295; Sartori (2011), pp. 3, 19.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Buckley (2004), p. 731.
[231] Al-Mubarrid (1994), vol. 2. p. 48. Giolfo (2012), p. 149 states that "*in* + jussive + jussive" pattern represent 87% of *in*-conditional sentences in the *Qurʾān*.

are rare cases, suggesting a different practical behaviour between CA and MWA conditionals.[232] They provide the following example: (S.153)

S. 153) *in tughliq samʿahā ʿan thartharatihi al-yawmiyyati yanṣaliḥ al-ḥālu baʿda al-shayʾi baynahumā.*

إن تغلق سمعها عن ثرثرته اليومية ينصلح الحال بعض الشيء بينهما.

If she shuts herself off [lit. closes her hearing] to his daily gossiping, their relationship will be better.[233]

Finally, having provided the observations above, I agree with Sartori who puts forward the view that the particle cannot act individually as a (decisive) Modality marker in MWA conditionals.[234] Instead, the interaction between the particles and the structures can help determine the meaning of the sentence. However, context also is required in order to reveal the exact meaning.

4.4.3. Time reference:

The analysis shows that time references interact with Modality in conditionals in MWA. In many cases, as exhibited, the time is contextually controlled. Thus, the background that precedes the sentence plays an undeniable role in providing the temporal interpretation. This corresponds to Dancygier's view who claims that "temporal reference is a largely contextually controlled aspect of the interpretation of a hypothetical construction [in English conditionals]".[235] She provides the following English example: (S.154)

S. 154) If I lived in Italy, I would eat pasta every day.[236]

She states that the speaker may refer to her current situation; hence, she expresses that her permanent living now is not in Italy (hence, it is Counterfactual in my terms). Or, she possibly may refer to a future action, meaning that she does not have the intention to live in Italy, (hence, it is Tentative in my terms). [237] This confusion can be dismissed when the sentence is contextualised.

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[232] Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 638.
[233] Ibid. I made some amendments to their translation.
[234] Sartori (2011), p. 20.
[235] Dancygier (2006), p. 70.
[236] Ibid., p. 32.
[237] Ibid.

In the case of Arabic, the role of context is also raised by Cantarino and Buckley as indicated in the literature review (Chapter 2). However, apart from this generalisation, and according to the analysis, there are several factors which show interaction with the temporal references of conditional sentences, namely: the class of conditionals (i.e. Modality meanings), verbal form, accusatives of time and some particular particles. This will be discussed in the following lines:

a. The semantic class of conditionals:

We showed in Chapter 2 that Buckley believes that the meaning of the conditional sentence can play a role in identifying the exact temporal values. But, he does not explain how. According to what I have found in my analysis, I can draw the following remarks that show some interactions between the meanings and time references:

i) We have seen that generic (timeless) statements have a strong connection with those conditionals that express general truths (such as scientific facts, known facts) as previously shown in (S.13-15). One interpretation for this phenomenon is provided by Dancygier who claims it is because of the everlasting relation between the participants in the clause, "they are presented as valid over extended periods of time".[238]

ii) It appears that there is a strong connection between the counterfactuality of the actions expressed by *law* and past reference. Many examples in the data analysis above support this claim (e.g. S.107 and S.110). The strong connection between *law*-Counterfactual and past time can be justified through the connection between the past and certainty from one hand,[239] and the connection between certainty and counterfactuality on the other hand, since the speaker implies a negative conviction toward the propositions in counterfactual conditionals;[240] in other words, he/she is certain that the action expressed in the protasis unmistakably did not occur in the positive sentence or definitely did occur in the negative sentence.[241] Consider the following English examples: (S.155-156)

S. 155)   He did not study well.

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[238] Dancygier (2006), p. 69.

[239] Wright (1875), vol. 2. p. 2; Timberlake (2007), vol. 3, p. 315. They speak of the connection between past and certainty.

[240] Akatsuka (1985), p. 628; Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (2005), p. 551.

[241] Dévényi (1988), p. 20 mentions, in the light of Sībawayhi's definition, that *law* carries the value of certainty. Hence, he does not consider *law* as a conditional particle.

S. 156) If he had studied well, he would have passed the exam.

In both examples, the speaker is certain that the actions did not take place in the actual world. But there is a slight difference between them. In (S.155), the negativity is overt ("not"), while in (S.156), the negativity is covert (i.e. "he did not study well, then, he did not pass the exam").

iii) There is a regular connection between the possibility of the event's occurrence regardless of its degrees (Likely, Open and Tentative) and future reference. This may be due to the common denominator between the concept of possibility and futurity which is the lack of certainty. In this respect, Dancygier points out that "full assertions cannot be made about future situations".[242] It would appear that because of the concept of uncertainty of the future that conditionals carry, the early Arabic grammarians aimed to confine conditional sentences to only future situations.[243]

As a result of these remarks we can draw one of the following conclusions that may help to establish a relation between syntax and meaning through time reference:

First, the structure *idhā* + perfect + imperfect commonly has four possible temporal values: when it is past or present, it has a tendency to denote factual meaning (more specific "habitual repetitive actions"); when it is future, it is most likely to express either Likely or Open conditionals although the latter meaning is more common; when it is timeless, it denotes general truths. These possible variations may be seen as an evolution in the conditionals system in MWA since this structure is considered to involve, in most of its CA cases, timeless propositions as pointed out by Peled.[244] Hence, we can conclude that this structure has become more flexible to denote several meanings.

Second, the structure *idhā* + perfect + perfect seems to have three possibilities: when it is timeless, it expresses general truth values; when it refers to present or future, its meaning is preferably to be either Likely or Open conditional; when it refers to the past, it denotes habitual repetitive actions.

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[242] Dancygier (2006), p. 186. See also: Timberlake (2007), vol. 3, p. 306-307.
[243] See the grammarians' view in: al-Mubarrid (1994) vol. 2. p. 50; Ibn Yaʿīsh (n.d), vol. 8. p. 155; al-Shamsān (1981), p. 263.
[244] Peled (1992), p. 27.

Third, the structures *law* + perfect + *la-* (*mā*) perfect and *law anna* + *la-* (*mā*) perfect are most likely to denote a tentative meaning when they refer to the future, and they, by contrast, express directly counterfactuality when they carriy a past reference value. These three points are better seen as indications of a tendency, rather than being restrictive rules.

Finally, we can conclude that time references and Modality meanings are interrelated in the context of MWA conditionals.

b. The verbal form:

Although the verbal forms in conditionals are not generally time markers,[245] the analysis displays some certain cases where it is possible to discern a relationship between the form of the verb and its temporal values. Let us look at these cases:

i) *kāna idhā*:

The presence of the auxiliary verb *kāna* before the particle *idhā* encodes habitual past as exemplified in (S.3).[246]

ii) *law* perfect + (*la-*) perfect:

Alotaibi claims that this form, having the sense of an unreal conditional ("Counterfactual" in our terms), shows ambiguity between three temporal interpretations: past, present and future[247] as in the following examples: (S.157-159):

S. 157) *law qāma Aḥmadu qāma Sālimun.*

لو قام أحمد قام سالم

If Aḥmad stood/had stood, Salem would/could stand/would have stood.[248]

S. 158) *law dhākara al-ṭālibu la-najaḥa.*

لو ذاكر الطالب لنجح

If the student studied/had studied, (indeed) he would/could succeed/would have succeeded.[249]

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[245] Peled (1992), p. 12.
[246] See another example in al-ᶜAqqād (2000), p. 118. See also Badawī *et al.* (2004), p. 662.
[247] Alotaibi (2014), p. 140.
[248] Ibid., p. 140.
[249] Ibid., p. 145.

Nevertheless, his claim is too general. This is due to the fact that it is not based on empirical evidence. i.e. his examples are not contextualised. The present analysis, which is based on the actual use of MWA conditionals, asserts, as mentioned earlier, that this form, with counterfactual meaning, has a great tendency with past time references, scoring 41 occurrences out of 64. Present reference interpretation is also possible, scoring 14 occurrences. The remaining examples which exhibit this form are distributed as follows: two with future interpretation, three with overlap between two temporal interpretations and four with mixed time references. Table 19 compares between the time references that accompany this structure:

Structure Time reference	*law* perfect + (*la-*) perfect
Past	41
Present	14
Future	2
Case of ambiguity	3
Mixed time references	4
Total	64

Table 19. Comparison between the possible types of the time reference that accompany "*law* perfect + (*la-*) perfect" in the context of counterfactual conditionals.

iii)   *kāna* (*qad*) + perfect:

This structure, as mentioned earlier, can accompany the particle *law*. The structure has a tendency to mark past time references with perfect aspect (= pluperfect) as exemplified by several examples above, such as (S.109- 110). This result is in agreement with some modern linguists' views such as Cantarino[250] and Fischer.[251] However, this structure can also be initiated by the particle *idhā*, providing the sense of present perfect. (S.135), provided above, is a good representative for this case. This case is supported by Badawi *et al.* who put forward the claim that the form "*idhā kāna* (*qad*) + perfect" in the protasis conveys the meaning of

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[250] Cantarino (1975), vol. 3. p. 316.
[251] Fischer (2001), p. 229.

present perfect, and this is different from the case of "*kāna* (*qad*) + perfect" in non-conditional structures, where it gives a past perfect sense[252] as in the following example: (S.159):

S. 159)   *wa fī al-ṣabāḥi kāna al-maṭaru qad sakana.*

و في الصباح كان المطر قد سكن.

In the morning, the rain had calmed down.[253]

iv)   *kāna* + imperfect:

The is the case even though this structure is directly related to the past progressive outside conditional structures[254] as in (S.160):

S. 160)   *kāna al-awlādu yatarākaḍūna.*

كان الأولاد يتراكضون.

The children were racing around.[255]

It, nonetheless, has a static present simple value when accompanied with a conditional particle in most cases. This has been clearly exemplified by (S.108 and S.113). However, I found a few examples which display the aforementioned structure in the protasis with a particle *law* that refers to the past. Hence, it is interpreted as being a Counterfactual conditional as exemplified d by (S.112) above.

v)   *law qad* + perfect.

This structure has not been attested to in the present data. Badawi *et al.* describe this usage as rare in MWA. The purpose of inserting *qad* is to enforce past perfect reference. Consider (S.161):

S. 161)   *law qad sumiḥa la-hum bi-ʿubūri al-bawwābati la-mā uḍṭurrū ilā al-wuqūfi hākadhā fī al-shamsi al-ḥāriqati.*

لو قد سمح لهم بعبور البوابة لما اضطروا إلى الوقوف هكذا في الشمس الحارقة

If they had been allowed to pass through the gate they would not have had to stand like this under the scorching sun.[256]

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[252] Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 657.
[253] Ibid., p. 368.
[254] Ḥassān (1979), p. 245; Badawī *et al.* (2004), p. 367.
[255] Badawī *et al.* (2004), p. 368.

vi) *law* + imperfect:

The analysis shows that this construction, despite its rarity, does not refer to the past; it refers to present time as exemplified in (S.89-120). Nevertheless, it appears that the situation is different in CA conditionals. Peled points out that this structure can have either past or present interpretations in CA as in (S.162) and (S.163) respectively:[257]

S. 162) *law ya'lamu hā'ulā'i al-misammawna farqa mā bayna al-ḥalāli wa al-ḥarāmi lam yansubū ilā al-kashkhi ahlahā.*

لو يعلم هؤلاء المسمون فرق ما بين الحلال والحرام لم ينسبوا إلى الكشخ أهلها.

If the aforesaid had known the difference between what is permitted and what is forbidden, they would not have charged those people with pimping.

S. 163) *wa Allāhi law a'lamu annī lā uṣību bihā ghayraka yā Muḥammadu la-ḍarabtu bi-hā wajhaka.*

والله لو أعلم أني لا أصيب غيرك يا محمد لضربت بها وجهك

By God, if I could be sure that I should not hit someone else, O Muḥammad, I would throw it in your face.

This may suggest the following conclusion. It could be said that this structure used to denote in CA either the past or present conditional, and it has evolved in the MWA system to only denote non-past conditional. But, since there are not many examples that display the aforementioned form in the present data, my hypothesis remains inconclusive until great numbers of examples that use this form have been analysed.

c.   Accusative of time:

We mean by this term those phrasal nouns that specify the temporal values in which the events take or took place.[258] The most frequent item that occurs in the data is *al-āna* "now" as an indicator to the progressive aspect for the present time. This is illustrated by the

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[256] Badawī *et al.* (2004), p. 646.
[257] Peled (1992), p. 57-58.
[258] Buckley (2004), p. 765.

aforementioned example (S.81).[259] However, some other elements are also examined, such as *fī hādhā al-waqti* "at this time" as in (S.58), *mustaqbalan* "in the future" as in (S.30) and *wa hiya qādimatun* "it is coming" as in (S.26).

d. Particles:

The analysis shows some significant roles of some particles in either defining or emphasising the temporal values when preceding the verbal forms in the apodosis. Hence, we can divide them into two groups in terms of the forms of the verbs:

1- Perfect form can be preceded by the particle *qad* to imply past reference as exemplified in (S.110)

2- Imperfect form can be preceded by the particle *sa-/sawfa* to indicate affirmative future as in (S.55) and *lan* to indicate negative future as in (S.56).

4.5 Conclusion:

In this chapter, the issue of the relation between MWA conditionals on the hand and Modality and Time Reference on the other hand has been empirically investigated. The analysis shows that conditionals greatly interact with Modality meanings via the notion of "Possible World". Five semantic classes have been determined: Factual, Likely, Open, Tentative and Counterfactual. None of these classes is systematically marked by a particular structure; instead, several structures are shared among these classes. These classes are also not exclusive to Arabic conditionals since it has been proved that English develop such semantic classes as shown in the analysis. Time references in MWA conditionals are not driven by one single element as it was the view of some CA grammarians who put forward the claim that time references are encoded by the conditional particles.[260] It has been evidenced through this chapter that time reference interpretations in MWA conditionals are linked to several factors such as the semantic class, verbal forms, accusative of time and some particular lexical elements. But, most important is the context. In this chapter, we have looked at the semantic aspects of conditionals that are linked to the speaker's perception of the factuality or the possibility of the occurrence of the actions expressed in MWA conditionals. Now, we will

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[259] See more examples in: Ḥasan (1972), p. 35; Munīf (2003), p. 30; Al-Kaylānī (1981), p. 127.
[260] Al-Zamakhsharī (2004), p. 326; Sartori (2011), 20-21.

turn to investigate the semantic aspects that reveal how the speaker perceives the relationship between the two clauses in conditionals.

Chapter Five

The Relationship between the Two Clauses

5.1. Introduction:

This chapter deals with the typology that emerges from the nature of the semantic and the pragmatic link between the protasis and apodosis in conditional structures. It has been mentioned in Chapter 3 that the relationship between the two clauses forms an important part of the conceptual framework employed in this study. First, I will draw some theoretical considerations which reveal some crucial points with respect to the relation between the two clauses, clarifying the principles on which my analysis will be based. Secondly, I will provide the empirical analysis of the data gathered from MWA texts. Finally, I will close the chapter by discussing the significant findings emerging from the analysis.

5.2. Theoretical considerations:

Before proceeding with the analysis, it is highly relevant to draw attention to the importance of the relation between the clauses in conditional sentences and to clarify what is meant by such a notion. With regard to the importance of this domain, a number of Arabic grammarians maintained that conditional sentences are constructed from two clauses which are inseparable since one depends on the other in terms of occurrence.[1] In modern linguistics, Comrie states that "conditionals require a stronger link between the protasis and the apodosis".[2] Sweetser claims that the purpose of conditional utterance is to talk about related things. Hence, the following example seems odd from this linguistic viewpoint (S.1):

S. 1) If Paris is the capital of France, then two is an even number.[3]

This sentence may not make sense for speakers of natural languages because the relatedness between the two clauses is rather vague as it can be questioned: what is the relation between "Paris being the capital of France" and "two being an even number"?[4] The addressee is expecting to hear two related concepts.

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[1] See: al-Mubarrid (1994), vol. 2. p. 45; Ibn Mālik (1990), vol. 4. p. 73; Abū Ḥayyān (1998), vol. 4. p. 1862; al-Shamsān (1981), pp. 66, 70.
[2] Comrie (1986), p. 80.
[3] Sweetser (1990), p. 113.
[4] Sweetser (1990), p. 113.

Concerning the meaning of this notion, unlike the semantics of Modality, the relation between the two clauses deals with semantic dependency or relevancy between the propositions that are expressed in the two clauses. This notion attempts to answer the question of whether or not the idea conveyed by the protasis can be a valid condition to the one in the apodosis, and if so, how? Hence, this notion does not deal with the actualization of the propositions expressed in the two clauses as Modality does,[5] (i.e. it does not concern itself with the degree of likelihood of the events), which was the central issue that was addressed in Chapter 4.

We have mentioned earlier in (1.6) that some Arabic grammarians and some English linguists claimed that the relation between the two clauses in conditional sentences displays only causality.[6] On the other hand, in modern Western linguistic analyses of conditionals, it has been claimed that causality is not the only semantic relation that links the two clauses since many conditional sentences exhibit an explicit non-causal link between the protasis and the apodosis.[7] Consider the following English example (S.2):

S. 2) If you are thirsty, there is some beer in the fridge.[8]

In (S.2), the state of affairs expressed in the apodosis does not contribute to the one in the protasis from the causal point of view; it actually serves a pragmatic function, which is likely to be an offer. Hence, the speaker may offer the listener some beer if he/she wants some.[9] Therefore, (S.2) and the following example, which expresses causal relation between the two clauses, do not fall under the same category: (S.3)

S. 3) If it rains, we will stay inside.[10]

Considering the above, this implies the need for a theory that helps us to identify what kind of semantic and pragmatic relations conditionals in MWA can hold. To answer this question, I will adopt the "Sufficient Conditionality Thesis" (henceforth: Sufficiency Theory) which basically means that the protasis acts as at least a sufficient condition for the apodosis.[11] To clarify this, let us take (S.3). This sentence can be understood as follows: the state of raining

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[5] See: Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 42.
[6] See page 22.
[7] Quirk *et al.,* (1985), p. 1089; Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 3; Elder and Jaszczolt (2013), pp. 12.
[8] Elder and Jaszczolt (2013), pp. 12.
[9] Ibid., p. 12, 21.
[10] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 427.
[11] Van der Auwera (1985), p. 190; Sweetser (1990), p. 113; Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 426.

is a sufficient (and necessary) condition for staying inside,[12] in other words, the proposition in the protasis entails or causes the proposition in the apodosis.

This theory was considered by several Western linguists, such as Van der Auwera, Sweetser and Dancygier who have applied it when analysing English conditionals.[13] Sweetser determined different types of semantic relations on the basis of this theory, which she uses to distinguish three different types relations in conditionals, namely: Content, Epistemic and Speech acts. Sweetser's classification was influential and adopted by Dancygier with a slight adaptation; she added a Metatextual relation as part of the overall classification.[14] (Table 20 compares Sweetser and Dancygiers' classifications).

Sweetser	Dancygier
Content	Causality
Epistemic	Inferential
	Speech act
Speech act	Metatextual

Table 20. Comparison between Sweetser and Dancygiers' typologies with regard to the relation between the two clauses.

One may ask - what is the advantage of applying the sufficiency hypothesis in conditional sentences? We can answer by saying that the types that are developed from it are deemed to be functional ones,[15] since it distinguishes between some communicative purposes between the speaker and the addressee as will be highlighted in the empirical analysis. Besides, in my view, this theory can find answers to those examples that appear bizarre and present ostensibly unrelated propositions (e.g. S.1 above).

In what follows, an empirical analysis will be produced to investigate the nature of the relation between the two clauses in MWA conditionals under the umbrella of Sweetser and Dancygiers' classifications with a slight addition. I assume assume there are five types of relational interpretation as shown in Figure 6:

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[12] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 427.
[13] See: Van der Auwera (1985), p. 190, (1986), p. 203; Sweetser (1990), p. 113; Dancygier (2006), p. 73.
[14] Dancygier (2006), p. 73. She calls "Content conditionals" by "Causality".
[15] Werth (1997), p. 245-246.
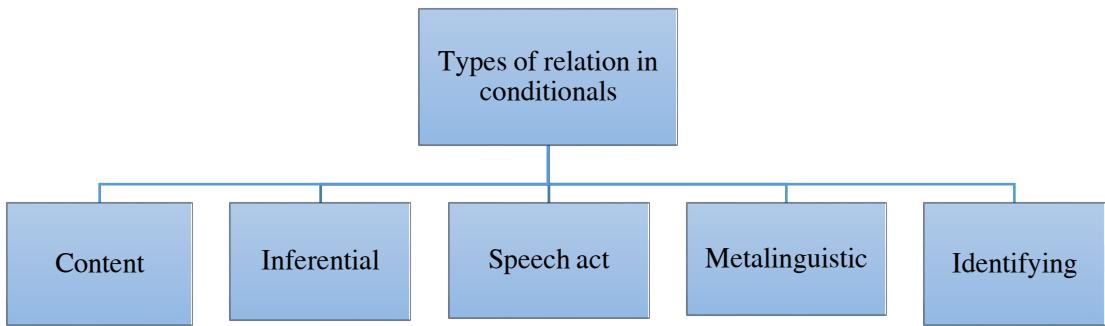
Figure 6. Types relation in MWA conditionals adopted in this study.

As can be seen in Figure 6 there is a type of relation that is not included in Sweetser and Dancygiers' typologies, which is "Identifying relation". This type has been determined by Athanasiadou and Dirven, but, they did not connect it to the Sufficiency Hypothesis.[16] I will show later in (5.3.5) how this type can be relevant to this theory. Another adaptation I will consider in my present analysis is that the concepts of Causality and Sequentiality will not be analysed independently (i.e. they do not act as distinct types). Therefore, they will be linked to the aforementioned five types in Figure 6 to show in what ways they interact with each other.[17] Causality means one clause acts as a cause and the other acts as an effect.[18] Sequentiality means putting things one after another.[19]

5.3. The analysis:

5.3.1. Content conditional:

This type of relation is defined as those conditionals that indicate that the realisation of the event or the states of affairs described in the protasis is a sufficient condition for the realisation of the event or state of affairs described in the apodosis.[20] In other words, the actualization of the proposition expressed in the protasis affects (either positively or negatively) the actualization of the proposition expressed in the apodosis. Consider the following English example (S.4):

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[16] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p.7.
[17] This method has been employed by Dancygier (2006) in the context of English conditinals.
[18] Comrie (1986), p. 81.
[19] Dancygier (2006), p. 77.
[20] Sweetser (1990), p. 114.

S. 4) If Mary goes, John will go.[21]

Here, the realisation of Mary's going will mean John's departure as well. The Content relation in conditionals involves two main sub-types of link between the two clauses: Causality and Enablement [22] (Figure 7). In what follows, both concepts will be defined and analysed in MWA conditionals.
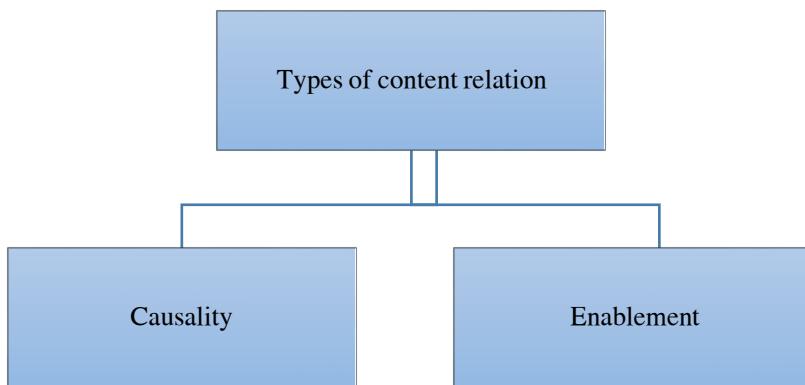
Figure 7. The two sub-types of Content conditionals.

5.3.1.1. Causality:

In most literature, it has been argued that the most typical semantic link between the two clauses is causality.[23] Comrie points out that a causal relation is one of the main required characteristics of conditional sentences.[24] Causality in conditionals means that the protasis is interpretable as a cause of the content of the apodosis, which then represents an effect.[25]

According to the present data, this can be seen in Arabic conditionals. Consider (S.5-7):

S. 5) *idhā dhahabtu waḥdī fa-sa-tabqā waḥdaka kadhālika.*

إذا ذهبت وحدي فستبقى وحدك كذلك.

If I go alone, you will stay on your own too.[26]

S. 6) *sa-azdādu irhāqan idhā aṣrarti ᶜalā munādātī mawlāy.*

سأزداد إرهاقاً إذا أصررْتِ على مناداتي مولاي

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[21] Ibid., p. 114.

[22] Sweetser (1990), p. 115:

[23] Sweetser (1990), p. 115; Dancygier (2006), p. 82, 84; Athanasiadou and Dirven (1997), pp. 64-65.

[24] Comrie (1986), p. 80.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ḥasan (1972), p. 21.

I will get more annoyed if you insist on calling me "Sir".[27]

S. 7) *innahum law tarakūhā fa-sa-takūnu mithla juthathin mutaᶜaffinatin.*

<div dir="rtl">إنهم لو تركوها فستكون مثل جثث متعفنة</div>

If they were to leave them, they would become like mouldy corpses.[28]

In (S.5), the event expressed in the apodosis, which is "the addressee's going alone", may (or may not) be caused by the one expressed in the protasis, which is the situation where the speaker may go alone. Similarly, in (S.6), the addressee's insistence on calling the king (the speaker) "Sir", showing ennoblement, will make the king feel annoyed as he does not want her to do that because he loves her and does not want any barrier between them. In both examples, the propositions mentioned in the protases are presented as a sufficient cause for the ones expressed in the apodosis. Likewise, it is obvious in (S.7) that leaving the burnt plant without removing it will cause the place to be smelly as there are mouldy corpses left.

One might ask - what are the motivating factors behind uttering conditional sentences in the sense of the causal interpretation? In fact, there are two factors that can contribute to a causal relation as shown in (Figure 8):
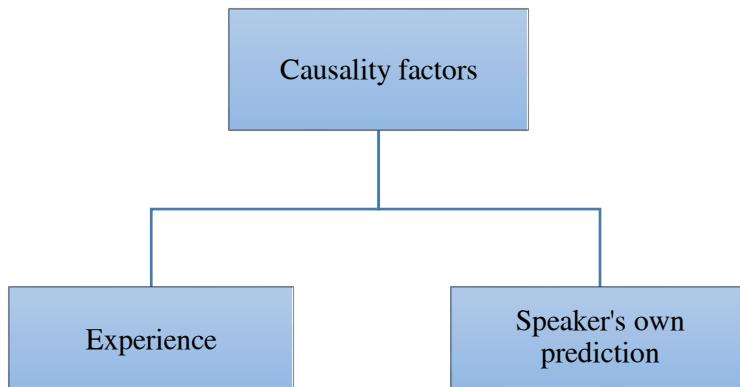
Figure 8. The factors that contribute to causal relation in conditional sentence in MWA.

A. **Experience**:

Practical contact or observation of any event by the speaker or his/her experience in his/her life enables him/her to build a causal relation between the two events expressed in the protasis and the apodosis. This factor can be seen in different contexts:

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[27] Ḥannā (2004), p. 60.
[28] Al-Kaylānī, (1981), p. 141.

i) Habitual practice:

The experience that establishes causality can be motivated by observing or practicing repeated action, which is expressed in the protasis, as a habit that causes the occurrence of the action expressed in the apodosis. Consider (S.8-9):

S. 8) *wa yaqūmu al-timsāḥu bi-ḥirāsatihti ṣadīqihi ʿĀmirin idhā nāma*

ويقوم التمساح بحراسة صديقه عامر إذا نام

The crocodile would guard his friend, ʿĀmir, if he slept.[29]

S. 9) *duʿāʾun yatabādaluhu al-nāsu idhā iltaqū wa idhā iftaraqū.*

دعاء يتبادله الناس إذا التقوا وإذا افترقوا

A prayer that people exchange when they meet and go their way.[30]

In (S.8), the speaker describes two situations that used to occur in the past which are causally related. That is to say the action of Amir being asleep used to force the crocodile to stay awake to guard him from harm. In, (S.9) exhibits habitual present actions. The one in the protasis plays a role in causing the one expressed in the apodosis. This means the prayer regularly exchanged is caused by regularity of people's meeting or separation. Although these sentences can be replaced with subordinate time clauses as clarified in Chapter 4 (i.e. to express the meaning of 'when' in English), they still suggest a causal connection between the two propositions in each of them. This clearly indicates that conditional clauses and time clauses have common ground in terms of the causality implication they involve.[31]

ii) Scientific experiments:

Here, the speaker's view of the relation between the two clauses is driven by an experimental examination which allows him/her to establish a causal link.[32] Consider (S.10):

S. 10) *li-l-ṭaʿāmi awānu nuḍjin idhā zāda iḥtaraqa.*

للطعام أوانُ نضجٍ إذا زاد احترق.

The food has a particular amount of time to cook, if it is exceeded, it burns.[33]

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[29] Ḥasan (1972), p. 69.
[30] Ibid. p. 50.
[31] Reilly (1986), p. 312 speaks of the similarities between 'if' and 'when'.
[32] Athanasiadou and Dirven (1997), p. 65.

iii) Concepts known as facts:

Here, the speaker sets up the causal link between the two clauses on the basis of a fact that is deemed accepted among the speakers of natural languages. This fact can be acceptable among people in a particular community or in general. This fact is also normally observed or extracted through past experience, which sometimes leads the speaker to present it as an abstract general concept. Consider (S.11-12):

S. 11) *al-rajulu yadⁱū al-marʾat ilā al-saᶜādati idhā kānat ladayhi ghāliyatun*

<div dir="rtl">الرجل يدعو المرأة إلى السعادة إذا كانت لديه غاليةً</div>

A man makes a woman happy [only] if she is precious to him.[34]

S. 12) *fa-idhā khadasha al-qiṭṭu uṣbuᶜa al-ṭifli thāra minnā al-ḍaḥiku*

<div dir="rtl">فإذا خدش القط أصبع الطفل ثار منا الضحك</div>

If the cat scratches the baby's finger, we burst out laughing.[35]

The contents of both examples seem to be deduced from past observation between two actions or states of affairs. This observation has led the speaker to establish a causal link between the two propositions and, then, construct a sentence that carries a general statement. In (S.11), when a woman is precious and beloved by a man, this normally pushes him to make her happy in her life. This statement is developed through people's conceptualization of experience in which lovers are encouraged to make each other happy. In (S.12), it is generally admissible to accept the causality relation between the action of the baby being scratched by a cat and the action of laughter which can be derived from past observation by the speaker or from collective thought that is shared by people.

In a slightly different case, the speaker sometimes does not present the sentence as an abstract utterance as presented above in (S.11 and S.12), but instead he/she establishes a future causal connection between two actions in a particular case on the basis of a general collective idea that is believed by a particular community. Consider the following example (S.13):

S. 13) *in ṭalaba daftara muḥāḍarātihā sa-taᶜrifu ḥatman annahā ḥujjatun li-l-ḥadīthi maᶜahu.*

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[33] Ḥannā (2004), p. 89.
[34] Ḥannā (2004), p. 108.
[35] Maḥmūd (1996), p. 56.

<div dir="rtl">

إن طلب دفتر محاضراتها ستعرف حتماً أنها حجة للحديث معه

</div>

If he asks for her class notebook, she will surely realise that it is a pretext to talk to him.[36]

Here, the speaker predicts that asking the girl to give him her notebook will cause her to know that this is an excuse to talk to him. Seemingly, the speaker predicts this potential causal connection between aforementioned actions depending on a conceptualized common thought among the university students society in the sense that when a boy wants to start a relationship with a girl, he pretends to ask her for her notebook to take the chance to start to talk to her. (S.14) below can be taken as another good example of this type:

S. 14) *law ʿalima abī yā saʿdu bi-anna rajulan awṣalanī ilā baytinā sa-yaqtulinī ḫatman.*

<div dir="rtl">

لو علم أبي يا سعد بأن رجلا أوصلني إلى بيتنا سيقتلني حتماً

</div>

Saʿd, if my father finds out that someone drove me home, he will surely kill me.[37]

In (S.14), the speaker predicts what can happen and become true in the future, i.e. her father will possibly know that a man gave her a lift home, which consequently may cause her to be punished. This prediction appears to be based on experience. That is to say, the girl's father is known to treat his children strictly and he prevents his daughters from any contact with any strange man. Hence, she establishes a causal link between the contents of the two clauses.

B. Speaker's own prediction:

Here, the causal relation between the content of the two clauses is based on a mere prediction by the speaker who presupposes that only the action in the protasis will or would cause the one in the apodosis. Consider (S.15):

S. 15) *sa-aṭlubu minhu al-khurūja mina al-qāʿati, wa in imtanaʿa sa-aḥmiluhu wa ulqīhi mina al-bābi.*

<div dir="rtl">

سأطلب منه الخروج من القاعة و إن امتنع سأحمله و ألقيه من الباب.

</div>

I will ask him to leave the room; if he refuses, I will carry him and throw him out.[38]

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[36] Dabābnah (2000), p. 9.
[37] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 123.
[38] Dabābnah (2000), p. 62.

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In this example, the speaker predicts that the person whom the speaker is talking about may refuse to leave if he is asked to do so, and this will cause the speaker to expel that person from the room.

5.3.1.2. Enablement:

Enablement is defined as a situation which provides opportunity to do something.[39] In conditionals, Enablement is seen as indirect causation since the content of the protasis does not provide an inevitable cause of the one in the apodosis. Instead, the notion of Enablement denotes the fulfilment of the content of the protasis and is viewed as being sufficient to assure the fulfilment of the content of the apodosis.[40] Consider the following English examples (S.16 and S.17):

S. 16) If you feel better, we will go for a walk.[41]

S. 17) If I were an actress, I would live in Beverly Hills.[42]

Both examples suggest that the states of affairs expressed in the protasis will or would enable the ones expressed in the apodosis to occur rather than to be caused by them; in (S.16), the addressee feeling better will allow and enable them (the speaker and the addressee) to go for a walk; in (S.17), being an actress would enable the speaker to live in Beverly Hills.

Similar to English, MWA Arabic conditionals allows this type of relation, but it seems it is not as common as the causal relation: (S.18-219)

S. 18) *law kāna ʿindī mālun la-ʿabbartu la-kum bi-ghayri hādha al-kalāmi ʿan miqdāri mā taraktum fī nafsī min al-ḥubb.*

لو كان عندي مال لعبرت لكم بغير الكلام عن مقدار ما تركتم في نفسي من الحب.

If I had money, I would (be able to) express my love for you using something other than words.[43]

S. 19) *law kuntu astaṭīʿu la-waḍaʿtu ʿalā ẓahrihā (the ship) wa fī ʿanābirihā kulla al-lājiʾīna.*

لو كنت أستطيع لوضعت على ظهرها (السفينة) وفي عنابرها كل اللاجئين

If I could, I would put all the refugees on its [i.e. the ship] deck and in its cabins.[44]

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[39] *The Times English Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1993), p. 384.
[40] Sweetser (1990), p. 115.
[41] Dancygier (2006), p. 83.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Al-Ṭanṭāwī (2012), p. 34.
[44] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 126.

The two examples suggest that the speaker would be able to do what is expressed in the apodosis if he meets the condition that is set up in the protasis.

As can be seen, Content relation in conditionals has a strong connection to the concept of Causality, either direct or indirect. i.e. the content of the protasis acts as a cause and the content of the apodosis acts as an effect. Due to this, this kind of relation involves a sequential order between the two clauses. i.e. the protasis occurs temporally before the apodosis regardless of the position of them. That is to say the action expressed in the protasis, whether it is located initially or finally in the sentence, happens before the one expressed in the apodosis. This is due to the logical fact that a cause occurs before its effect.[45] This emphasises the view held by Dancygier who claims that Sequentiality and Causality are inseparable notions, and she holds the view that Sequentiality is one of the factors that impose a causal reading in conditionals.[46] Let us consider the following English example taken from Dancygier: (S.20)

S. 20) If you take an aspirin, your temperature will go down. [47]

Here, an aspirin has to be taken first in order to cause your temperature go down. One support for this view is that when the sequential temporal order between the two propositions is dismissed, the causal interpretation is cancelled as a result or at least is not explicit: (S.21)

S. 21) If Mary goes to the dentist, she will be late.[48]

Here, it is obvious that the speaker predicts that by Mary going to the dentist, she will be late. However, when we reverse the order for the same example: (S.22.a)

S. 22.a) If Mary is late, (then) she went to the dentist.[49]

The causal interpretation between the contents is not considered here to run from the protasis to the apodosis since the speaker is demonstrating an inferential statement in which Mary being late means she went to the dentist because we cannot say: "If Mary is late, she went to the dentist as a result*", which is different from (S.22) since it is acceptable to say "if Mary

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[45] Comrie (1986), p. 86.
[46] Dancygier (2006), p. 78, 80-81.
[47] Ibid., p. 76
[48] Ibid., p. 86
[49] Ibid.

goes to the dentist, she will be late as a result".[50] More elaboration will be provided in the following section while analysing inferential statement in conditionals.

5.3.2. Inferential conditional:

Inferential conditionals are seen as those conditionals whose apodoses are inferred from protases. Thus, the protases present a premise and the apodoses expresses the conclusion which can be deduced from the premise.[51] That is why linguists tend to consider the following formula as an indication of an inferential; "premise-conclusion"[52] or "premise-expression".[53] One important feature for Inferential conditionals is that they are concerned with the propositions to be valid (= sufficient) in the "reasoning process involving both P and Q".[54] Therefore, they are seen to involve a logical operation since the speaker uses his/her logic to justify or explain the state of a particular situation.[55] Let us consider the following English example before we proceed with our analysis. (S.22):

S. 22) If he has not arrived yet, (then) he may have had an accident.[56]

Here, the speaker draws a possible conclusion "having had an accident" which is a valid reason to be borne in mind, according to the speaker's thought, for being late, which is the proposition expressed in the protasis. However, one may argue that "having had an accident" cannot be deemed the only possible reason for being late, as there could have been other reasons. Therefore, it is sometimes more accurate to say that Inferential conditionals present the most relevant reasoning relation between the two clauses.[57] I said "sometimes" because in some cases, an Inferential conditional sentence denotes the only reasoning relation as in (S.23):

S. 23) If she is divorced, (then) she has been married.[58]

Here, the state of "being divorced" undoubtedly concludes the state of "being married" before,[59] which is the only conclusion to be valid for the proposition expressed in the protasis.

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[50] Ibid.
[51] Dancygier (2006), p. 87. Sweetser (1990), p. 116 calls the type "epistemic". This term has been critiqued by Elder (2014), p. 71 who describes it as misleading because the epistemic modal verb can be inserted in the apodosis of Content conditionals just as in Inferential ones.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 284.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 2.
[56] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 43.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Sweetser (1990), p. 116.

One main semantic differenc between Content and Inferential conditionals is the nature of the link between the two clauses; Content conditionals concern the way in which the protasis affects the apodosis in terms of causality or enablement, while Inferential conditionals focus on the method of providing the information given, i.e. the logical method.[60] Let us consider the following made-up Arabic examples: (S.24-25)

S. 24) *idhā dhākara Khālidun jayyidan fa-sawfa yanjaḥu fī al-ikhtibāri.*

إذا ذاكر خالد جيداً فسوف ينجح في الاختبار

If Khālid studies well, he will pass the exam.

S. 25) *idhā najaḥa Khālidun fī al-ikhtibāri fa-qad dhākara jayyidan.*

إذا نجح خالد في الاختبار فقد ذاكر جيداً

If Khālid passed the exam, he must have studied well.

In (S.24), the propositional content of the apodosis comes out as a result of the proposition of the protasis, i.e. Khālid's being able to pass the exam will be caused by his studying well. That is to say the speaker is interested in showing the result that can emerge from the content of the protasis. By contrast, in (S.25), the speaker is interested in showing his logical conclusion for what is expressed in the protasis, which is the case of Khālid have being able to pass the exam. This may come as a result of the proposition expressed in the apodosis. Because of these different semantic relations between the two sentences, (S.24) can be classed as a Content conditional, while (S.25) is better classed as an Inferential conditional. This distinction between the two classes has also been recognised by those who are interested in English conditionals.[61] They assert that Content conditionals can be formulated as follows: "if p (the protasis), as a result q (the apodosis)" which means that there is a causal link from the protasis to the apodosis. Inferential conditionals, by contrast, can be formulated as follows: "if p, it means that q" which means that considering the protasis will lead to providing the conclusion expressed in the apodosis. It is also formulated as "if p, it is because of q" which makes it plain that the protasis is caused by the apodosis. Thus, there is a reverse causal link that moves from the apodosis to the protasis.[62] Because of this, (S.22.a) above is categorised as having an inferential relation between the two clauses since the causal link is

[59] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 2.
[60] Elder (2014), pp. 70-71.
[61] Dancygier (2006), p. 86; Elder (2014), pp. 75-76.
[62] Ibid.

presented in reverse. i.e. the case of Mary being late is likely to be caused by going to the dentist.

According to the data of MWA conditionals, it is generally acceptable in Inferential conditionals to insert the lexical expression *hādhā yaʿnī* (this means)when *-fa*preceded by [63] the apodosis involves a declarative statement as in (S.26):

S. 26) *in hiya aṣarrat ʿalā al-rajuli wa adkhalathu li-yashraba al-shāya fa-hādhā yaʿnī annanī sa-abqā ʿalā hādhā al-waḍʿi li-fatratin ṭawīlah.*

إن هي أصرت على الرجل وأدخلته ليشرب الشاي فهذا يعني أنني سأبقى على هذا الوضع لفترة طويلة

If she insists that the man should come in to have tea, this means that I will remain here [waiting for her outside] for a long time.[64]

The phrase *hādhā yaʿnī* is, of course, not always overtly inserted. This suggests that those Inferential conditionals, which do not explicitly exhibit this phrase, accept its implicit interpretation. Consider (S.27 and S.28):

S. 27) *in kunta taẓunnu anna suhayra tadhkuraka fa-anta ghalṭānu.*

إن كنت تظنّ أن سهير تذكرك فأنت غلطان

If you think that Suhayr still remembers you, then you are a mistaken.[65]

S. 28) *idhā iʿtaqadta annanī siyāsiyyun aḥnī raʾsī li-l-ʿawāṣifi dāʾiman fa-anta ʿalā khaṭaʾin.*

إذا اعتقدت أنّني سياسيّ أحني رأسي للعواصف دائماً فأنت على خطأ.

If you think that I am the type of politician who bows his head easily, then you are mistaken.[66]

In both examples, the nature of the link between the two clauses accepts the interpretation of "this means" before the apodosis in order to imply an inference; in (S.27), thinking that Suhayr is still remembering you means that you are mistaken, in (S.28), having the thought that the speaker is a weak politician who bows his head means that the addressee is wrong.

As can be seen from the examples above, the apodoses are declarative statements which convey a truth value. Therefore, the apodoses cannot be in the imperative or interrogative

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[63] Dancygier (2006), p. 88 speaks of inferential English conditionals. She maintains that an inferential conditional can plausibly accept the phrase "it means that" between the two clauses.
[64] Jubūr (2000), p. 47.
[65] Jubūr (2000), p. 121.
[66] Ḥannā (2004), p. 100.

mood since these "do not have a truth value".[67] However, rhetorical questions are exceptional and can occur in the apodosis of Inferential conditionals. These are defined as those questions that deliver statements in their implication in order to make a point rather than expecting an answer.[68] Let us consider the following examples and their interpretations. (S.29-30):

S. 29)   *idhā kāna amalī lan yataḥaqqaqa, mā jadwā dafni al-raʾsi fī al-rimāli.*

إذا كان أملي لن يتحقق ما جدوى دفن الرأس في الرمال.

If my dream will not come true, what is the point of burying my head in the sand?[69]

S. 30)   *man dhā alladhī ayqaẓanī in lam takun anta?*

من ذا الذي أيقظني إن لم تكن أنت؟

If you have not woken me up, who has?[70]

In (S.29), the speaker assumes that her dream is unlikely to come real; therefore, she is wondering rhetorically what the point is of burying her head in the sand.[71] However, she does not mean to utter an informational question; she is actually attempting to convey a point by expressing it in this particular way, which is drawing a negative statement as she wants to say: there is no point of burying my head in the sand and remaining silent and a coward. In (S.30), the speaker is not really asking the addressee a question and waiting for an answer. He wants to convey a message that indicates that the addressee is the one who has woken the speaker up. Hence, the sentence can be paraphrased as follows: if you are not the one who has woken me up, no one has done it, so surely you have done it. In both examples, the underlined interpretations can act as conclusions for their premises that are expressed in the protases. The same observation has been seen in English Inferential conditionals where the apodosis involves a rhetorical question. Consider (S.31 and S.32):

S. 31)   If we do not help, who will?[72]

S. 32)   If John was in the house at the time, does that make him the murderer?[73]

(S.31) can be read as follows: "If we do not help, no one will". In (S.32), the apodosis conveys a denial which can be read as follows: "surely, that does not make him a murderer".[74]

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[67] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 286.

[68] Quirk *et al.* (1972), p. 401. Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 286 call it "assertoric question".

[69] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 165.

[70] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 105.

[71] The expression "to bury the head in the sand" is a metonym that signifies the state of deliberately ignoring unpleasant facts.

[72] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 286

[73] Ibid.

One of the salient features of inferential conditionals is the dominant occurrence of the connector *fa-* at the beginning of the apodosis this connector emphasises the force of inferencing similar to that denoted by the English adverb 'then'. In my view, it seems that inserting the connector *fa-* before the apodosis signifies that the protasis and the apodosis are strongly interrelated since their link would appear otherwise not straightforward (see: S.26-28 mentioned above). This also explains the common phenomenon of the English adverb 'then', which can be seen as an equivalent of *fa-*, in the context of Inferential conditionals, and which is to preserve the strong link between the two clauses.[75] Consider (S.33):

S. 33) In other words, if it is not Halcion and it is no dream, then it has got to be literature.[76]

The data of MWA shows that the acceptability of inserting *fa-* before the apodosis of Inferential conditional is conditioned by the apodosis being in the declarative mood since *fa-* can be dropped when the apodosis is a rhetorical question as exemplified in S.29 above.

Another remarkable feature that helps to distinguish Inferential conditionals from the other types is that their apodoses can be appropriately lexicalized by verbs that denote an act of thinking such as *aᶜtaqid* (think). Consider (S.34 and S.35):

S. 34) *wa lākinnanī aᶜtaqidu anna amīna al-shuᶜbati sa-yaghḍabu fī-mā idhā ᶜarafa bi-sahratinā hādhihi al-laylata.*

ولكنني أعتقد أن أمين الشعبة سيغضب فيما إذا عرف بسهرتنا هذه الليلة.

However, I think that the head of the unit will be angry if he knows about our staying up late that night.[77]

S. 35) *wa idhā kānati al-ḍarūratu taqḍī bi-an natruka li-l-tārīkhi al-adabiyyi an yaḥkuma ᶜalā hādhihi al-riwāyati (sharq al-mutawassiṭ), fa-aᶜtaqidu annahu mina al-jubni wa al-ᶜāri an nahruba mina al-qaḍāyā al-sākhinati wa al-hāmmati.*

وإذا كانت الضرورة تقضي بأن نترك للتاريخ الأدبي أن يحكم على هذه الرواية (شرق المتوسط) فأعتقد أنه من الجبن والعار أن نهرب من القضايا الساخنة والهامة.

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[74] Ibid.

[75] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 10. Dancygier (2006), pp. 179, 182.

[76] Dancygier (2006), pp. 179.

[77] Dabābnah (2000), p. 16.

If it is necessary to let literary history to judge this novel (East Mediterranean), then I believe it will be cowardly and shameful to evade [addressing] such controversial and significant issues.[78]

It seems that the verb *aʿtaqid* draws a potential dividing line between Inferential and other types of conditionals since the former is related to the speaker's deductive view which is expressed by these kinds of verbs. Another support for my potential view is that if we take out the verb *aʿtaqid* from the examples above, the sentence is best interpreted as holding a causal link between the contents of the two clauses. Hence, it will belong to the Content domain of conditional sentence. I will re-write (S.34) again without inserting the verb *aʿtaqid*:

S. 34.a) *idhā ʿarafa amīnu al-shuʿbati bi-sahratinā hādhihi al-laylata sa-yaghḍabu.*

إذا عرف أمين الشعبة بسهرتنا هذه الليلة سيغضب

If the head of the unit knows about our staying up late that night, he will get angry.[79]

Here, the speaker does not infer his/her personal deduction. Instead, he attempts to build a causal link between the contents of the two clauses (i.e. the head of the unit knowing about our party makes undoubtedly him angry), while, in the original sentence with the verb *aʿtaqid* in (S.34), the speaker attempts to show that the case of becoming angry is his personal inferential view, (i.e. the statement "the head of unit knows about our party tonight" leads him to conclude "the head is going to get angry"). Likewise, English displays similar behaviour in Inferential conditionals. It has been demonstrated by some linguists that when the apodosis is lexicalised by verbs that express an act of thinking or belief such as 'I think', 'I am convinced', 'I would say', the conditional statement is more appropriately seen as inferential. Consider (S.36- 37):

S. 36) If he comes, I think that there will be trouble.[80]

S. 37) If her brother falls onto the hands of the police, I am convinced she will not go through with the scheme.[81]

Another characteristic of Inferential conditionals is their behavior in terms of Sequentiality (putting one thing after another) which has already been mentioned as having a strong relation with Content conditionals. It seems to me that the trend of Arabic Inferential

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[78] Munīf (2003), p. 189.
[79] Dabābnah (2000), p. 16.
[80] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 287.
[81] Ibid.

conditionals is not to exhibit sequential temporal order between the events/actions expressed in the two clauses, which means that the content of the protasis does not have to occur before the one in the apodosis. Consider (S.38):

S. 38) *idhā kāna dhālika tafkīrahu fa-huwa sādhijun.*

<div dir="rtl">إذا كان ذلك تفكيره فهو ساذج</div>

If this is what he thinks, then he is naive.[82]

It would not be acceptable to consider that the person that is talked about has become naive as a result of the speaker discovering his way of thinking. Instead, the two states of affairs can be seen as simultaneous. It would, however, be plausible to say that the two actions expressed in Inferential conditionals can appear in reverse sequence, i.e. the action/state in the apodosis occurs before the one in the protasis. Since I did not find an example in my data that supports this point, I will consider the following made-up Arabic sentence: (S.39)

S. 39) *in lam yaḥḍur Khālidun al-iḥtifāla fa-rubbamā qad dhahaba ilā ziyāratī ummihi.*

<div dir="rtl">إن لم يحضر خالد الاحتفال فربما قد ذهب إلى زيارة أمه.</div>

If Khālid does not attend the ceremony, then he might have gone to visit his mother.

We can conclude as Dancygier and Elder point out in the context of English that Inferential conditionals hold reverse temporal order or at least need not present sequential order between the events expressed in the two clauses, besides the reverse causal link as elaborated above.[83] This will help to establish a potential distinction between Inferential and Content conditionals. Consider the following English examples: (S.40-42):

S. 40) If you drop this glass, it will break.[84]

S. 41) If Mary is late, she went to the dentist.[85]

S. 42) If the baby is asleep, Mary [must be] typing.[86]

(S.40) is a representative of Content conditionals since it a presents causal link that runs from the protasis to the apodosis, and it indicates that the action expressed in the protasis necessarily occurs before the one expressed in the apodosis. In other words, dropping the

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[82] Dabābnah (2000), p. 16.
[83] Dancygier (2006), p. 77, 88; Elder (2014), p. 73.
[84] Dancygier (2006), p. 82.
[85] Ibid. p. 86.
[86] Ibid. p. 77.

glass must precede breaking it in order to be a valid cause. (S.41) and (S.42) are representatives of Inferential conditionals since the former presents a reverse causal link that runs from the apodosis to the protasis, and it exhibits reverse temporal order, i.e. being at the dentist occurred before Mary being late, while, the latter presents simultaneous actions; the baby being asleep occurs at the same time as Mary typing. However, it could be said there is a sequential order in inferential process in conditionals because the knowledge expressed in the protasis always precedes the conclusion expressed in the apodosis, i.e. my knowledge about the state of someone or something always precedes my deductive conclusion. This is actually different from the sequentiality notion adopted on the content level, which enforces a sequential order between the events themselves.[87]

To sum up, it seems that there are several factors that provide potential distinctions between Content and Inferential conditionals; namely accepting the insertion of some particular verbs or phrases, the nature of their relation with the causal link and their relation with the sequential order.

Finally, some of the inferential examples in the data can provide 'even if' readings (i.e. a concessive interpretation). Declerck and Reed call this particular case "non-preclusive inferential".[88] This basically means that one might expect the proposition expressed in the protasis to preclude the occurrence of the one denoted by the apodosis so there is already a previously expected understanding on the speaker's part, such that the addressee may think that a particular event or fact (which is in the protasis) would prevent the occurrence of another event or fact (which is in the apodosis).[89] Let us now put this in practice and consider the following example: (S.43)

S. 43) *law nazalnā bi-ʿiddati al-jayshayni ilā al-niṣfi ḥusbānan li-l-mubālaghati wa jahli al-ḥaqīqati la-mā kāna niṣfu hādha al-ʿadadi bi-al-shayʾi al-qalīli.*

لو نزلنا بعدة الجيشين إلى النصف حسباناً للمبالغة وجهل الحقيقة لما كان نصف هذا العدد بالشيء القليل.

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[87] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 12; Dancygier (2006), pp. 86, 88 speak of English inferential conditionals.
[88] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 290.
[89] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 290.

[Even] If we reduced the munitions of the two armies by half, bearing in mind the exaggeration and ignorance of the truth, half of that number would not be little.[90]

In (S.43), it is important to consider the context in which this sentence is uttered: the speaker is describing the Roma army which was divided into two parts. According to the historian, the number of the soldiers of the two parts was estimated at around 310,000. Then, the speaker assumes that if we were to cut this number in half; as it could be exaggerated), so then making it 155,000, the addressee would infer it was not a huge army. Therefore, the speaker takes this possible inference and then draws the conclusion that this number of soldiers is still very high compared to the Muslim army which was estimated at around 50,000 soldiers. As we can see, this kind of logical inference is primarily driven by pragmatic principles because it involves a strong communicative link between the speaker and the addressee. These kinds of sentences are better to be described as "indirect inferential" because the speaker does not directly infer the conclusion from the premise. Instead, he/she predicts that the addressee may infer a particular conclusion which precludes the premise. In English, by contrast, non-preclusive inferential conditionals are normally motivated by the compound particle '(even) if'. Consider (S.44)

S. 44) (Even) if he was there at the time of the murder, he did not do it.[91]

In this example, '(even) if' plays the role of indicating that the proposition expressed in the protasis does not prevent the occurrence of the one expressed in the apodosis.

5.3.3. Speech act conditional:

The term 'Speech act' refers to an utterance that requires the enactment of a performance; it is sometimes called a "perfomative utterance".[92] It means "the uttering of a linguistic expression whose function is not just to say things, but actively to perform acts",[93] such as asking a question, making a request or suggestion and giving advice.[94]

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[90] Al-ᶜAqqād (2000), p. 126.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Leech (1988), p. 176.
[93] Huang (2012), p. 290.
[94] For more regarding the definition of Speech acts, see Trask (1999), pp. 228, 285; Sadock (1974), pp. 9-10. I would like to pay attention to an important point here: since the notion of speech acts is related to pragmatics, it plays an essential role in providing some discourse functions. However, in this section, I will only concentrate on the nature of the link of the two clauses within the domain of speech acts without aiming to go deeper in analysing their discourse function aspects unless it is necessary to point these out.

Some linguists prefer to call the type of conditional linked to it "Discourse conditionals".[95] In this type of conditional, the two clauses show a weak dependency,[96] and the relation between them is deemed to be indirect because the contents are not interdependent on each other in terms of occurrence or existence, or at least the dependency is weak because of its implicitness.[97] That is why this type of relation between the two clauses is seen as an indirect one.[98] However, this does not mean that they are not relevant. They actually show a harmony that is pragmatically motivated which requires an implicit interpretation in order to clarify the connection between the two propositions that are expressed in the protasis and the apodosis. This type of conditionals is sometimes labelled as a "Relevance conditional".[99] In terms of the Sufficiency Hypothesis, "the protasis is asserted to be a sufficient condition for a speech act about the apodosis",[100] which means that the consideration of the performative utterance presented in the apodosis is sufficiently justified by the content of the protasis. In doing so, Sweetser provides the following reading which is acceptable for all Speech act conditionals: "if (the protasis), then let us consider that I perform this speech act (i.e. the one represented as the apodosis)".[101] Let us now consider the following English example before we proceed with our analysis (S.45):

S. 45) If I have not already asked you to do so, please sign the guest book before you go.[102] This sentence can be read as follows "for the purpose of our interaction, we will consider that I will make the following request if I did not previously make it".[103] In other words, the request "sign the guest book before you go" is pragmatically driven by the possible circumstance of not previously asking this before. In this way, we can clearly grasp the relation between the two clauses. The sufficiency hypothesis is operative in an indirect way because of the need of some implicit phrases and structures to be considered. Functionally, the speaker has uttered the sentence in this way, apparently in order to be polite with the addressee, rather than to produce a direct, imperative sentence. As can be clearly seen, the

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[95] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 13.
[96] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 13; Dancygier (2006), pp. 89.
[97] Quirk *et al.* (1985), p. 1095.
[98] Ibid. See also Bhatt and Pancheva (2006), p. 664; Elder (2014), p. 79.
[99] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 320.
[100] Van der Auwera (1986), pp. 202-203.
[101] Sweetser (1990), p. 121.
[102] Sweetser (1990), p. 118.
[103] Ibid. p: 118.

relational dependency between the two clauses is not explicit; therefore, an implicit reading has to be considered in order to find a sufficient correlation between the two propositions.

Concerning the present data, MWA conditionals unmistakably show interaction with Speech act in the relation between the protasis and the apodosis. Based on the conventional typology of speech acts, the utterance in the apodosis normally presents one of the following different types of sentence: declarative, interrogative or imperative[104] (Figure 9) below. This division is justified by formal and semantic criteria as well as functional ones. From a formal perspective, each one of these types displays distinctive syntactic features. In the declarative domain, the sentence exhibits the fundamental elements of the sentence, which are namely: subject + predicate. In the case of Arabic, these consist of either a noun plus another element (i.e. nominal sentence) or verb and noun (i.e. verbal sentence).[105] In the interrogative domain, the sentence normally starts with a particle of question, and a question mark is normally used to close the sentence in the written format or there is an interrogative intonation pattern in the spoken format.[106] In the imperative domain, the sentence starts with a verb with no overt subject, and it cannot be modified by auxiliary verbs.[107]

On the semantic side, the distinction between the three types can be seen in the fact of each one of them carrying a different interpretation (i.e. moods): declaratives denote a statement which can be true or false, interrogatives deliver a question which requires an answer, imperatives are associated with the uttering of commands.[108] On the functional side, each type generally performs a different communicative role set up between the speaker and the addressee. Declarative utterances imply that the speaker instructs the addressee to add the content in his/her pragmatic information; interrogative utterances are seen as an instruction that is delivered by the speaker to the addressee to provide a response to the utterance; imperative utterances mean that the speaker instructs the addressee to carry out the action that is induced by the utterance.[109]

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[104] Al-Moutaouakil (2012), p. 276. For this division from a universal point of view, see Van Der Auwera (1985), p. 53; Dik (1997 a), p. 301.

[105] Badawi *et al.* (2004), p: 306; Alsuhaibani (2012), p. 61.

[106] Quirk *et al.* (1985), p. 815; Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 685.

[107] Grundy (2000), p. 59; al-Suhaibani (2012), p. 116.

[108] Van Der Auwera (1985); p. 54; Plamer (1986), p. 26

[109] See these functional distinctive features for each type of utterance in Dik (1997 a), p. 302; Hengeveld and Mackenzie (2008), p. 71.
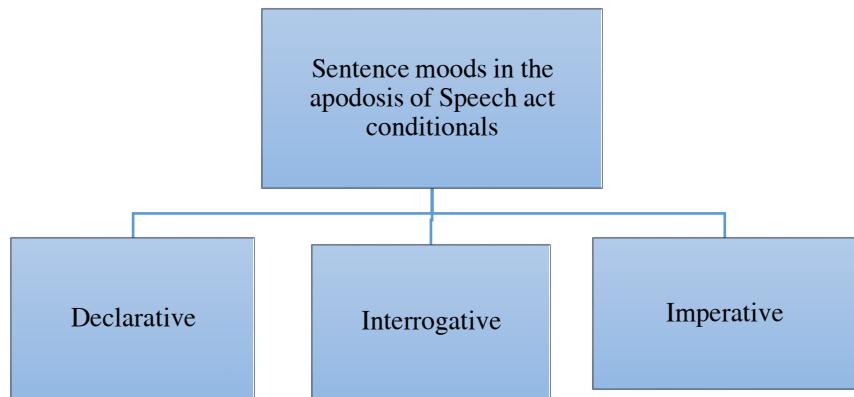
Figure 9. Sentence moods in the apodosis of Speech act conditionals.

A. **Declarative mood**:

In this type of structure, the speaker utters a conditional sentence that serves some communicative purposes, such as (i) informing the addressee by giving him/her advice or making a suggestion (ii) declaration of performing action.

i) Informing the addressee (S.46 and S.47):

S. 46) *idhā aradti raʾyī al-ḥaqīqiyya fa-yajibu an taṣmudī wa tuḥāribī li-l-nihāyati.*

إذا أردت رأيي الحقيقي فيجب أن تصمدي وتحاربي للنهاية.

   If you want my real advice, you must stand firm and fight to the end. [110]

S. 47) *law aradtī raʾyī fa-innī lā anṣaḥu bi-naqli ayyin mina al-khabarayni ilayhi wa huwa fī ḥālatihi tilka.*

لو أردتِ رأي فإني لا أنصح بنقل أي من الخبرين إليه وهو في حاله تلك

   If you want my advice, bearing his current condition in mind, I would not tell him any

   of the two pieces of news.[111]

Here, the speaker's message to the addressee is to instruct and inform her to bear in mind a piece of advice; "the necessity of being resistant" in (S.46), "the recommendation of not telling the person any news while he is in that condition" in (S.47). As can be seen, the speaker paves the way for his intended information (advice), which is expressed in the

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[110] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 48.
[111] Ibrāhīm (2010), p. 136.

apodosis, by setting up an ostensible conditional statement in the protasis which actually does not affect the truth of the apodosis.[112] Hence, we can read (S.46) and (S.47) as follows respectively: "my advice, even if you do not want to follow it, is that you must stand firm". "I do not recommend that you to tell him any news while he is in that condition. This is my opinion even if you do not want to follow it".

ii) Declaring of performing action. (S.48):

S. 48) *wa idhā kāna lā-budda min mawqifin izāʾa hādhā fa-innanī aqifu ḍidda ayyi ʿamalin yuwaẓẓafu li-tazyīfi shakhṣiyyatī aw nuṣūṣī.*

وإذا كان لا بد من موقف إزاء هذا (سرقة مسرحيته التي ألفها) فإنني أقف ضد أي عمل يوظف لتزييف شخصيتي أو نصوصي.

If it is necessary to take action against this (i.e. plagiarising the play he wrote), I oppose any action taken to forge my character or my writings.[113]

Here, the content of the apodosis represents an allegation which leads to the speaker's performative utterance. The protasis acts as a preparatory point for what comes after, which is the declaration of the speaker's attitude against immoral behaviour that falsifies his character and writings. It is possible that the protasis presents the reason why the speaker utters that performative action expressed in the apodosis,[114] i.e. the necessity of posing an action toward plagiarising his play is the reason for his declaration of that particular attitude. Declerck and Reed exemplify this by the following English sentence (S.49):

S. 49) If my niece comes to the party, I warn you to stay away from her.[115]

The protasis of this sentence expresses the reason for the performative utterance given in the apodosis.

One common example in Speech act conditional in English is what is known as "biscuit conditionals": (S.50)

S. 50) There are biscuits on the sideboard if you want them.[116]

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[112] One reason behind this is that this type of conditional expression is regarded as "indirect" in Quirk *et al.*'s sense. See also: Elder and Jaszczolt (2013), p. 17.
[113] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 45. See more examples in: Munīf (2003), pp. 39, 176.
[114] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 326.
[115] Ibid., p. 327.
[116] Austin (1961), p. 210.

The role of the apodosis here is to pass information to the addressee in a similar way to the Arabic examples above (S.47-48). Sweester maintains the following reading for (S.50): "if you want biscuits, then (let us consider that) I inform you that there are biscuits on the sideboard".[117] Yet, the speaker may intend to convey further message to the addressee beyond the surface information. That is to say the speaker is allowing the addressee to feel free to have some biscuits. Thus, the following reading can be considered: "I hereby offer you some biscuits on the sideboard, if you want them"[118] or "there are biscuits on the sideboard, have some if you want".[119] We can see this phenomenon in MWA conditionals. The following example is a comparable case: (S.51)

S. 51) *idhā taqaddamnā fa-al-jayshu aw al-alghāmu bi-al-intiẓāri.*

إذا تقدمنا فالجيش أو الألغام بالانتظار

If we move forward, there are the army [of the enemy] or mines awaiting [for us].[120]

This sentence is uttered by a revolutionary talking to his group. He wants to inform them that if they decide to go forward, they must be aware that they are going to be faced either by enemy troops or mines. He is actually giving his addresses a warning. Hence, the sentence can be acceptably read as follows: I warn you there is the army of the enemy or planted mines, if you decide to move forward.

B. **Interrogative mood**:

The interrogative mood represents the second form of the apodosis in a speech act relation between the two clauses. Generally speaking, in this type, the speaker aims not to utter a sentence (in the apodosis) that carries a truth value because it does not refer to any sort of belief with respect to its existence.[121] Hence, in conditional sentences, the link between the protasis and the apodosis is not related to the truth of both of the two clauses. The truth value can only be seen in the protasis proposition which plays a role in inducing the speaker to utter that particular question in the apodosis.[122] Hence, the relation between the two clauses shows relevancy. For the sake of clarity, we will consider the following English example (S.52):

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[117] Sweetser (1990), p. 119.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Elder (2014), p. 81.
[120] Jubūr (2000), p. 56.
[121] Van Der Auwera (1985), p. 50; Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 287.
[122] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 328; Gabrielatos (2010), p. 264.

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S. 52) If you are not going to do it, who is?[123]

This sentence can be read as follows: "I hear you are not going to do it. This induces me to ask the question; who is going to do it?"[124] It must be stressed that the question has to be an information question in which the speaker seeks an answer.[125] This excludes rhetorical questions that retain their truth value. We mentioned earlier that these rhetorical questions belong to the Inferential conditional class, which was discussed in the previous section.

Generally speaking, Arabic, like in many other languages, has two sub-types of information question: Polar questions (*taṣdīq.* lit. verification) and Content questions (*taṣawwur.* lit. conception). The first one seeks an answer that confirms an idea which may or may not pertain to the response, which would be either *naʿam* (yes) or *lā* (no). The second one seeks, as a result of limited knowledge about an activity or state, an answer that reveals the identification of an entity, which can be a subject, object, complement and so on.[126] In the present data, both sub-types of information question are found in the apodosis. Let us take them in turn:

i) Apodosis with a polar question:

This is usually marked by the particle *hal.* (S.53-54)

S. 53) *ufakkiru law annanī ʿummirtu ḥattā al-thamānīna hal sa-atamattaʿu bi-mithli nashāṭihi wa ḥayawiyyatihi?*

أفكر لو أنني عمرّت حتى الثمانين هل سأتمتع بمثل نشاطه وحيويته؟

I am thinking if I lived as long as eighty, would I enjoy my activity and vitality as the same as him?[127]

S. 54) *hal hunāka mā naqūluhu la-hu idhā ʿāda?*

هل هناك ما نقوله له إذا عاد؟

Is there something we should tell him when he gets back?[128]

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[123] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 328.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 328 call it "non-assertoric question".
[126] See: Quirk *et al.* (1972), pp: 50, 52; Dixon (2012), vol. 3. p. 377. For the case of Arabic see: al-Hāshimī (1978), pp. 85-86; Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 685.
[127] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 43.
[128] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 35.

In (S.53), the sentence can be read as follows: the situation of reaching eighty makes me ask whether I would be able to maintain my activity and vitality so I could enjoy my life. Likewise, (S.54) can be paraphrased as follows: since there is a probability that he will be back, I wonder if there is an important thing you would like me to pass it to him.

The question expressed in the apodosis can, however, be negative. In this case, it is composed of the question particle *a* (=*hamzah*) and a negative device such as *laysa*:[129] (S.55)

S. 55) *wa in ḥadatha ʿaksu dhālika yā Māwardī, a-laysa al-afḍalu qaṭʿa al-ṭarīqi ʿalā mā sa-yantābuka min tilka al-makhāwifi allatī tuḥīṭu bika.*

وإن حدث عكس ذلك يا ماوردي، أليس الأفضل قطع الطريق على ما سينتابك من تلك المخاوف التي تحيط بك؟

Māwardī, if the opposite was true, would it be better to stop worrying?[130]

The difference between the positive and negative question is that the particle *naʿam* (yes) is used with the former to give an affirmitve answer, while the latter requires the particle *balā* (yes, certainly) for an affirmative answer because a negative answer is implied in the question. [131]

ii) Apodosis with content questions:

In this form of the apodosis, the question is marked by interrogative pronouns, such as *man* (who), *limādhā* (why), *mādhā* (what) *mā* (what) or interrogative adverbs such as *kam* (how many/much):[132] (S.56-60):

S. 56) *in kānat ʿiṣābātu al-Asadi allatī yusammūnahā al-jaysha al-sūriyya hiya al-aqwā fī al-manṭiqati fa-limādhā lam yuwazzaf hādhā al-jayshu al-ʿaẓīmu li-taḥrīri al-arāḍī al-sūriyyati al-muḥtallati.*

إن كانت عصابات الأسد التي يسمونها الجيش السوري هي الأقوى في المنطقة فلماذا لم يوظف هذا الجيش العظيم لتحرير الأراضي السورية المحتلة؟

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[129] *laysa* is the only negative device that has been attested in the current data in this particular context.
[130] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 185. See another example in: ibid. p. 31.
[131] Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 701; Buckley (2004), p. 270.
[132] For a list of Arabic interrogative devices, see Mace (1998), p. 159; Buckley (2004), p. 670.

If al-Asad's gangs, which are known as the Syrian Army, are the strongest in the region, then, why do not we benefit from this great army to liberate the occupied Syrian lands?[133]

S. 57) *idhā iftaraḍnā anna kulla al-iʿtirāḍāti ʿalā ruʾyāki qad saqaṭat mādhā yanbaghī ʿalaynā al-āna an nataṣarrafa.*

إذا افترضنا أنَّ كلَّ الاعتراضات على رؤياك قد سقطت ماذا ينبغي علينا الآن أنْ نتصرّف.

If we assumed that all the objections to what you think had fallen, how should we act now?[134]

S. 58) *idhā shāhadta ʿājizan ṭalaba musāʿadataka, mā tafʿalu?*

إذا شاهدت عاجزاً طلب مساعدتك ما تفعل؟

If you come across a helpless person asking for your help, what will you do? [135]

S. 59) *in kuntum kadhālika limādhā idhan saraqtum aʿmālanā?*

إن كنتم كذلك لماذا إذن سرقتم أعمالنا؟

If you are like that, then why did you steal our work? [136]

S. 60) *idhā tazawwajta, kam waladan tufakkiru an tunjiba?*

إذا تزوجت كم ولداً تفكر أن تنجب؟

If you get married, how many children do you think you will have? [137]

C. Imperative mood:

The third mood which occurs in the apodosis is imperative, i.e. uttering a command that directs the addressee to perform a particular act. It is cross-linguistically acceptable that imperative constructions express directive Speech act functions, such as requests, giving advice, and warnings.[138] Imperative sentences can be further divided into two sub-types: positive and negative. Both types have been recorded in the apodosis of MWA conditional

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[133] Sawādī, Sāmiyah, 'Injāzāt Jaysh Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad', *al-Quds al-ʿArabī*, 28/2/2014, p. 17.
[134] Ḥannā (2004), p. 88.
[135] Jawdat (2004), p. 12.
[136] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 48.
[137] Jawdat (2004), p. 12.
[138] König and Siemund (2007), p. 303.

sentences with the possibility of inserting and non-inserting the connector *fa-*. Another observation that emerges from the data is that the imperative mood has commonly been seen in the apodosis of conditional sentences which are expressed by *idhā* or *in*. Let us take each type individually:

i) Positive imperative:

Two positive imperative forms have been attested:

a) *fiˁlu al-amr* (the verb of command) referring most often to the second person as the case of *irḥalī* in (S.61), *daˁ* in (S.62) and *iqfiz* in (S.63):

S. 61) *wa lākin idhā aradti an tarḥalī fa-irḥalī fawaran.*

ولكنْ إذا أردتِ أنْ ترحلي فارحلي فوراً.

But if you wish to leave, do it immediately.[139]

S. 62) *fa-idhā kunta qad rafaḍta Saˁdan fa-daˁi al-zamana yudāwī jirāḥī.*

فإذا كنت قد رفضت سعداً فدع الزمن يداوي جراحي

If you have refused Saˁd's offer [to be my husband], (then) let time heal the wounds.[140]

S. 63) *wa in lam tastaṭiˁ fiˁla dhālika iqfiz mina al-nāfidhati yā Māwardī.*

وإن لم تستطع فعل ذلك اقفز من النافذة يا ماوردي حالاً

Māwardī, if you cannot do that, jump out of the window. [141]

b) *lām al-amr* (*lām* of command) + jussive (i.e. hortative forms),[142] referring to second person as in (S.64) or first person plural as in (S.65) or third person as (S.66):

S. 64) *wa idhā kunta kamā dhakarta min anṣārihi fa-l-tuʾajjil ijrāʾaka ḥattā al-ṣabāḥi ḥattā nastawḍiḥa mawqifahu.*

وإذا كنت كما ذكرت من أنصاره فلتؤجّل إجراءك حتّى الصباح حتى نستوضح موقفه

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[139] Ḥannā (2004), p. 63.
[140] Al-ˁUlayyān (2010), p. 169.
[141] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 175.
[142] Ryding (2005), p. 632.

If you are, as you said, one of his supporters, then delay this matter till the morning so that his position becomes clearer.[143]

S. 65) *idhā ṣārat ladaynā jarīmatun fa-l-nabḥath ʿan al-mustafīdi min wuqūʿihā.*

إذا صارت لدينا جريمة فلنبحث عن المستفيد من وقوعها

If a crime takes place, then we must search for the beneficiary.[144]

S. 66) *idhā lam tanqulī ilā al-Qāhirati fa-l-yakun fī makānin qarībin minhā.*

إذا لم تنتقلي إلى القاهرة فليكن في مكان قريب منها

If you do not move to Cairo, then it must be a place near to it. [145]

As far as the data is concerned, and contrary to the previous form of imperative, the connector *fa-* has recorded a regularity of occurrence.

ii)   Negative imperative:

This is typically formed by *lā   al-nāhiyah* (the particle of prohibition) + jussive[146] as in (S.67):

S. 67) *wa ʿalā ayyi ḥālin in iḥtajtum ilā shayʾin fa-lā tataraddadū fī ṭalabihi minnī.*

وعلى أي حال إن احتجتم إلى شيء فلا تترددوا في طلبه مني

In any case, should you have any queries or suggestions, please do not hesitate to contact me. [147]

Comparable cases to those of Arabic imperative mood from English conditionals are exemplified by the following: (S.68-69)

S. 68) Prove it if you can.[148]

S. 69) If you phone Mary, ask her to dinner.[149]

One may ask what drives the speaker of natural languages to utter speech act sentence in the apodosis of conditional sentence. It seems there are two factors:

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[143] Ḥannā (2004), p. 116.
[144] ʿMurāqib Ikhwān Lībyāʾ, *al-Quds al-ʿArabī*, 28/2/2014, p. 7.
[145] Al-Kaylānī (1981), p. 96.
[146] Al-Hāshimī (1978), p. 83.
[147] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 57.
[148] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 16.
[149] Van der Auwera (1986), p. 199.

First, the speaker wants to give a reason for the performative sentence that they use in the apodosis. This reason is expressed by the content of the protasis clause. For example, (S.57) mentioned above can be read as follows: "because it is possible to consider that all of your objections had fallen I am driven to ask the following question". Similarly, (S.64) can be interpreted as follows: "because of the statement you have already addressed that you are one of his supporters I request you to delay your steps till the morning". Hence, this interpretation suggests that there is a causal relation between the two clauses as Sweetser points out in the case of English Speech act conditionals. However, the Causality is not set up between the two contents of the two clauses. Instead, the causal reading suggests that the content of the protasis acts as a motivator for uttering that particular relevant speech act performance expressed in the apodosis. In other words, the state in the protasis causes the following speech act (which is in the apodosis).[150] Consider the following English example, (S.45) mentioned above:

S. 45) If I have not already asked you to do so, please, sign the guest book before you go.[151]

This sentence can be read as follows: since there is a possibility that I have not asked you to sign the guest book, I am making the request to do it now. Hence, the Causality is established at different level from those maintained in the context of Content and Inferential conditionals. In other words, it is not related to the propositional content of the two clauses.

The second factor that contributes to Speech act conditionals is the desire to show courtesy in uttering the sentence, i.e. to make the performance in the apodosis courteous by uttering a particular relevant proposition in the protasis.[152] This can be clearly seen in some examples above. For instance, in (S.46), the speaker prefers to frame his basic statement (which is in the apodosis) using a conditioning sentence in order to produce it in more courteous way which can be read as follows: "considering that you are interested in my advice I recommend you to resist and challenge your difficulties". Without providing a statement expressed in the protasis, the proposition of the apodosis would be direct, which can be seen as a lack of politeness. (S.47) exemplified above can also be deemed to follow the same stream. Sweetser again adopts this factor as one of the motivators of Speech act conditionals, providing the following English example: (S.70)

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[150] Sweetser (1990), p. 118; Dancygier (2006), p. 90 speak of conditional speech act in English.
[151] Sweetser (1990), p. 118.
[152] Sweetser (1990), p. 118; Dancygier (2006), p. 90 speak of conditional speech act in English.

S. 70) If it is not rude to ask, what made you decide to leave IBM?[153]

The speaker of this sentence shows of politeness by introducing the question with a polite expression which, consequently, implicitly provides the addressee with the option of whether he/she wants to answer or not.[154]

On final point that needs to be addressed here is the interaction between conditional Speech acts and the notion of Sequentiality between the two clauses. On the whole, this type of conditional does not retain the assumption of Sequentiality between the two propositions expressed in the two clauses.[155] That is to say the speaker is not concerned with whether the event of the protasis occurs before the one expressed in the apodosis or vice versa. However, Sequentialty can happen at a different level. It can occur when we consider the time of the speech act (performance), which seems always to have present time value. The following English illustrates this matter: (S.71)

S. 71) If you went to the party, was John there?[156]

The protasis clearly carries a past time value. The apodosis is performed as a question that expresses an inquiry about the presence of John in the party. This question can be seen to be happening now. Hence, the sentence can be read as follows: "The possibility of being at the party yesterday induces me to ask now whether John was there or not". In this manner, the two clauses display a sequential temporal order; the protasis occurred before the performance in the apodosis. The Arabic example mentioned above (S.62) can be used here as a comparable case:

S. 62) *fa-idhā kunta qad rafaḍta Saˁdan fa-daˁi al-zaman yudāwī jirāḥī.*

فإذا كنت قد رفضت سعداً فدع الزمن يداوي جراحي

If you have refused Saˁd's offer [to be my husband], let time heal the wounds.[157]

The protasis of this (S.62) presents a past action, which seems likely in terms of its occurrence, "rejecting Saˁd as the speaker's future husband", while the apodosis presents a performative sentence in the form of a request, which is regarded to have a present time value. Hence, the sentence holds sequential order between its parts. Nevertheless, this

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[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Dancygier (2006), p. 89.
[156] Sweetser (1990), p. 120.
[157] Al-ˁUlayyān (2010), p. 169.

sequential order is not always applicable since some Speech act conditionals can display simultaneity between the two clauses as in (S.59) mentioned above:

S. 59) *in kuntum kadhālika limādhā idhan saraqtum aᶜmālanā.*

<div dir="rtl">إن كنتم كذلك لماذا إذن سرقتم أعمالنا؟</div>

If you are like that, then why did you steal our work? [158]

The propositional content of the protasis refers to a present state of affairs. This temporally coincides the speech act performed in the apodosis. Hence, we can conclude that even though if we consider the time of the speech act given in the apodosis, not its content, the issue of Sequentiality between the two clauses in Speech act conditionals seems unstable.

5.3.4. Metalinguistic conditional:

The term Metalinguistic in a conditional context (Dancygier used the term "Metatextual") is concerned with where the role of the protasis is to comment on "linguistic characteristics such as form, pronunciation or choice of words" that are given in the apodosis.[159] It gives attention on the appropriateness of a single word or expression. The protasis in a Metalinguistic conditional does not affect the propositional content of the apodosis in terms of real-world occurrence.[160] Consider the following English example: (S.72-74)

S. 72) I have come to offer my congratulations, if that is the right word.[161]

S. 73) His style is florid, if that is the right word.[162]

In (S.72), the protasis follows an assertive statement which is given in the apodosis. This statement contains the word "congratulations". Since the speaker appears uncertain about the appropriateness of this word, he follows it with a comment on this word to check its suitability. Similarly, the speaker of (S.73) utters the protasis to comment of the appropriateness of the word "florid" given in the apodosis.

I have found some examples in MWA conditionals in which their clauses present a metalinguistic relation. Consider the following examples: (S.74)

S. 74) *mimmā yastaḥiqqu al-dhikra anna baᶜaḍa al-falāsifati kāna yataṣawwaru anna hādhā al-ḥubba lā yaqtaṣiru nufūdhuhu ᶜalā ḥayāti al-insāni wa la-ḥyawāni wa lākin*

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[158] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 48.
[159] Elder (2015), p. 62.
[160] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 19; Dancygier (2006), p. 103.
[161] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 19.
[162] Quirk *et al.* (1972), p. 1096.

yataʿaddāhu ilā ḥayāti al-ṭabīʾati nafsihā, ilā ḥayāti al-māddati aw ilā wujūdi al-māddati idhā rāʿaynā al-diqqata.

ومما يستحق الذكر أن بعض الفلاسفة كان يتصور أن هذا الحب لا يقتصر نفوذه على حياة الإنسان والحيوان ولكن يتعداه إلى حياة الطبيعة نفسها، إلى حياة المادة أو إلى وجود المادة إذا راعينا الدقة.

It is worth mentioning that some philosophers conceived that the influence of love is not [only] limited to human and animal life, but also extends to natural life itself, to material life or, if we wish to be precise, to material existence.[163]

The speaker of this sentence provides an assertive statement that reports some philosophers' view toward the concept of 'love'. This statement is not dependant on the proposition expressed in the protasis *idhā rāʿaynā al-diqqata* (if we wish to be precise). By contrast, the speaker is concerned with the accuracy of the expression *ilā wujūdi al-māddati* (to material existence) and aims to show his awareness of this by the commenting on it in the phrase presented in the protasis. As can be seen there is a metalinguistic communicative purpose which the speaker wants to achieve.

It is worth mentioning that some of the Arabic Metalinguistic conditional examples display further functional aspects. One of the common aspects is that the role of the comment expressed in the protasis is to strengthen the assertability of the proposition given in the apodosis. This is syntactically marked by the form "conditional particle + *lam* + imperfect in the jussive mood" in the protasis. It seems that the most common particle used here is *in*. The following sentences are good examples of this phenomenon: (S.75-77)

S. 75) *lam yaqilla maṣīru shaqīqatī al-tāliyati Nadā ʿan maṣīri Suʿāda in lam yakun akthara waṭʾatan wa abshaʿa qaswatan.*

لم يقل مصير شقيقتي التالية ندى عن مصير سعاد إن لم يكن أكثر وطأة وأبشع قسوة

The fate of my next sister Nadā was as horrible and as shocking as Suʿāda's destiny, if not more tense and harsh.[164]

S. 76) *al-tārīkhu al-ʿarabiyyu lā-siyyamā mundhu al-fatrati al-ʿuthmāniyyati yaḍijju bi-al-ʾaḥdāthi al-muḍallilati, in lam naqul al-zāʾifati.*

التاريخ العربي، ولا سيما منذ الفترة العثمانية، يضج بالأحداث المضللة، إن لم نقل الزائفة

Arab history, particularly since the Ottoman era, is replete with misleading events, if not false [one].[165]

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[163] Maḥfūẓ (2003), p. 59.
[164] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 22.

S. 77) *akādu ajzimu fawqa dhālika bi-anna al-jamāʿāti al-wahhābiyyata mukhtaraqatun*

mina al-mukhābarāti al-sūriyyati, in lam takun ṣanīʿatahā.

أكاد أجزم فوق ذلك بأن الجماعات الوهابية مخترقة من المخابرات السورية إن لم تكن صنيعتها.

On top of that, I can almost assure you that the Wahhabi groups are infiltrated by the Syrian intelligence, if not created by them.[166]

In (S.75), the speaker depicts the hideous situation in which her sister Nadā suffered in her life. The speaker uses the negative expression in the protasis to affirm that Nadāʿs situation had an even greater severity than her sister Suʿād. Hence, the sentence can be read as follows: my expression (in the apodosis) implies that my sister Nadāʿs fate was as harsh as Suʿād's fate, but this could be inaccurate as it seems that Nadā suffered even more harshly than Suʿād.

In the (S.76), the speaker gives his critique of Arab history, especially since the beginning of the Ottoman period. He expresses his doubt about this history because much of what have been written is deceptive. He strengthens his statement by a protasis which acts as a comment on the accuracy of the word *muḍallilah* (misleading). This comment indicates that what has been written is actually false. Similarly, the speaker of (S.77) strengthens the statement he gives in the apodosis: *al-jamāʿāti al-wahhābiyyata mukhtaraqatun mina al-mukhābarāti al-sūriyyati* by the protasis which has a metalingustic role, i.e. it comments on the appropriateness of the word *mukhtaraqatun.*

Declerck and Reed call this sort of English conditional sentence "boosting-P conditionals" because the protasis strengthens the statement given in the apodosis by constituting a stronger expression than the one in the apodosis. This is typically introduced by the particle 'if' followed by the negative marker 'not' (i.e. if not).[167] Consider the following examples (S.78):

S. 78) She is one of the best students, if not the best.[168]

This sentence can be paraphrased as follows: she is one of the best students, perhaps even the best.[169]

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[165] Munīf (2003), p. 198.
[166] Al-Afandī, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, 'Fī Madḥ al-Wahhābiyyah wa Dhammi Ḥizb Allah', *al-Quds al-ʿArabī*, 28/2/2014, p. 19.
[167] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 342.
[168] Ibid.

Dancygier, speaking of English conditionals, notices that Metalinguistic conditionals have the tendency to present the "apodosis + protasis" order more than other orders. This is due to the fact that the comment expressed in the protasis focuses on a part of the apodosis proposition, and thus has to follow it.[170] This seems to correspond to what has been found in the data of MWA Metalinguistic conditionals. 9 out 11 Metalinguistic examples take the "apodosis + protasis" order (consider S.74-77 provided above), while only two examples take "protasis + apodosis". One of these examples is illustrated in (S.79):

S. 79) *lākinnahu laysa miṣriyya al-intimāʾi bal huwa niṣfu miṣriyyin wa niṣfu sūdāniyyin, aw in shiʾnā al-diqqata fa-huwa min uṣūlin taʿūdu li-qabīlati al-kunūzi wa hum yuqīmūna fī al-manāṭiqi al-ḥudūdiyyati al-mushtarakati bayna Miṣra wa al-Sūdāni.*

لكنه ليس مصري الانتماء بل هو نصف مصري و نصف سوداني أو إن شئنا الدقة فهو من أصول تعود لقبيلة الكنوز وهم يقيمون في المناطق الحدودية المشتركة بين مصر والسودان.

He is not wholly Egyptian. Rather, he is half Egyptian and half Sudanese. To be more accurate, he originally belongs to the tribe of Kunūz, who live on shared the border between Egypt and the Sudan.[171]

In (S.79), the speaker aims to utter an accurate statement regarding the descent of the person who he is talking about as his tribe live on the shared border between Egypt and Sudan. This statement is preceded by a protasis *in shiʾnā al-diqqata* which serves a metalinguistic purpose, i.e. indicating that what is coming after is likely to be the precise and appropriate expression to describe that person.

The relation between Metalinguistic conditionals, on the one hand, and Causality and Sequentiality on the other, can be explained as follows: the causal link between the two clauses can be established in an indirect way. That is to say the possibility of the inappropriateness of a particular word or expression mentioned in the apodosis plays a role in the form of a "cause" that forces the speaker to provide his her precautionary comment in order to prevent such a possibility. Thus, the causal link is not established between the two propositions directly, instead, it is perceived in the speaker's mind. The issue of Sequentiality

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[169] Ibid. Dancygier (2006), pp. 142-144 has discussed this usage in English under what she calls "elliptical if-clause" and labeled it as "scalar metatextual conditionals" because what comes in the protasis is seen to have a higher degree in a scale than the expression presented in the apodosis.

[170] Dancygier (2006), p. 106.

[171] Ibrāhīm (2010), p. 63.

seems not to be assumed by Metalinguistic conditionals. That is to say the two states of affairs provided in the two clauses do not have a temporal order.

Metalinguistic conditionals are sometimes dealt with as being part of Speech act conditionals[172] (which have been analysed in 5.3.3). The reason behind this is that both have the purpose of conveying communicative message between the interlocutors.[173] Hence, both have been classed under "conversational conditionals" in some English linguistic studies.[174] In my analysis above, I follow Dancygier's view that Speech act and Metalinguistic conditionals should be clearly distinguished, and the similarity between them does not mean they are identical. This is because of the following distinguishing features:[175]

i) The protasis of Speech act conditionals can be associated with different sentence types in the apodosis; namely: declarative, interrogative and imperative sentence, while the protasis of Metalinguistic conditionals typically accompanies a declarative sentence. According to the present analysis, the data confirms the validity of this claim in the context of MWA conditionals.

ii) The nature of the comment provided by the two is slightly different; the protasis of a Speech act conditional makes a comment on the appropriateness of the act itself (e.g. asking question), while the protasis of Metalinguistic conditionals comments on the appropriateness of a word or phrase mentioned in the apodosis. Dancygier gives the following: (S.80)

S. 80) If I have not already asked, when did you last see my husband - if I can still call him that.[176]

The clause "if I have not already asked" acts as a polite expression for the sake of checking the appropriateness of delivering a question in this particular context, hence, it is viewed as speech act. Meanwhile, the clause "if I can still call him that" acts as a comment on the use of the phrase "my husband", whether this is appropriate or not. Hence, it is a metalinguistic comment. This distinctive feature can also be clarified by the following two Arabic examples mentioned above: (S.46) and (S.76):

S. 46) *idhā aradti raᵓyī al-ḥaqīqiyya fa-yajibu an taṣmudī wa tuḥāribī li-l-nihāyati.*

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[172] Sweetser (1990), p. 118.
[173] Sweetser (1990), p. 118.
[174] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 4.
[175] See these three features in Dancygier (2006), pp. 105-106.
[176] Dancygier (2006), p. 106.

<div dir="rtl">

إذا أردت رأيي الحقيقي فيجب أن تصمدي وتحاربي للنهاية.

</div>

If you want my real advice, you must stand firm and fight to the end. [177]

S. 76) *al-tārīkhu al-ᶜarabiyyu lā-siyyamā mundhu al-fatrati al-ᶜuthmāniyyati yaḍijju bi-al-ʾaḥdāthi al-muḍallilati, in lam naqul al-zāʾifati.*

<div dir="rtl">

التاريخ العربي، ولا سيما منذ الفترة العثمانية، يضج بالأحداث المضللة، إن لم نقل الزائفة.

</div>

Arab history, particularly since the Ottoman era, is replete with misleading events, if not false [one].

It is clear that the protases of the two sentences act as comments on some aspect of the propositions expressed in their apodoses. However, the protasis of (S.46) comments on the appropriateness of the performance of the speech act, which is giving an opinion or a piece of advice, in which the speaker does not want to convey in a direct way. Thus, the utterance presented in the protasis hedges the one given in the apodosis.[178] By contrast, the nature of the comment presented in the protasis in (S.76) is different. It focuses on whether the word *al-muḍallilati,* given in the apodosis, is accurate or not. The comment does not give any attention whether giving such an utterance or opinion, which is presented in the apodosis, is suitable or not.

iii) Speech act conditional sentences equally accept the "protasis + apodosis" and the "apodosis + protasis" orders as shown in many examples given in (5.3.3) above, while Metalinguistic conditionals, as mentioned above, typically have the "apodosis + protasis" order.We have seen this order constitutes 9 out 11 of the total of metalinguistic conditionals.

Finally, the English Metalinguistic conditional has been attested to present medial protasis position as in (S.81):

S. 81) The number of the students, if you can call convicts that, is about 2000 now.[179]

This pattern, by contrast, has not been observed in the current data of MWA.

5.3.5. Identifying conditional:

In this type, the protasis sets up a description or statement that acts as an identifying entity which plays the role of revealing the nature (or the description) of the content expressed in

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[177] Al-ᶜUlayyān (2010), p. 48.
[178] That is why Elder (2014), p. 114 calls speech act conditionals as "illocutionary force hedge".
[179] Dancygier (2006), p. 153.

the apodosis. This type of conditional is rarely given attention by linguists.[180] Athanasiadou and Dirven assert that even though Identifying conditionals do not present a causal relation between the protasis and the apodosis, the two parts are fairly interrelated in the sense that the description presented in the protasis is meant to fit what is uttered in the apodosis.[181] Thus, we can say that the proposition expressed in the protasis is sufficient for considering the content of the apodosis via the relation between the identifying and identified entities. Let us take the following English sentence as an example (S.82):

S. 82) If any part of the Bible is assuredly the very Word of God speaking through his servant, it is John's Gospel.[182]

Here, as can be observed, the protasis presents a particular description, which is the certainty of that part being the "Word of God speaking through his servant", that can be a sufficient description to fit, in the view of the speaker, one part of the Bible, which is John's Gospel.

In addition to the absence of the causality aspect, it seems that identifying conditionals lack sequential order. That is to say that they do not involve a temporal sequence between the propositions expressed in the protasis and the apodosis. This suggests that the dependency between the propositional contents in the two clauses is not as those presented in Content and Inferential conditionals.

MWA data shows a possibility of the occurrence of Identifying conditionals. According to the data, this type is dominantly expressed by the particle *idhā*. Moreover, it is noticeable that the apodosis is usually introduced by the emphatic *inna* which is preceded by the connector *fa-*, with an exception to the sub-type (iii) presented below. The analysis suggests that the identified entity in the apodosis can be classified in different categories:

i) Identifying a desired action: (S.83)

S. 83) *wa idhā kānat wizāratu al-tarbiyati wa al-taʿlīmi bi-ṣadadi iṣdāri qānūnin jadīdin li-l-taʿlīmi bi-jamīʿi marāḥilihi fa-innahu mina al-ḍarūriyyi tadāruki mā sabaqa min salbiyyātin tataʿallaqu bi-al-muʾassasati al-taʿlīmiyyati wa bi-al-muʿallimi wa bi al-tansīqi maʿa kulli muʾassasāti al-dawlati al-maʿniyyati.*

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[180] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 7 is the only source, as far as I know, that considers "Identifying conditional" as a distinctive type of English conditionals, which is pragmatically driven.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 8.

و إذا كانت وزارة التربية و التعليم بصدد إصدار قانون جديد للتعليم بجميع مراحله فإنه من الضروري تدارك ما سبق من سلبيات تتعلق بالمؤسسة التعليمية وبالمعلم وبالتنسيق مع كل مؤسسات الدولة المعنية.

If the Ministry of Education is about to issue a new education law at all stages, it will be necessary to avoid the previous drawbacks in connection with both the educational institution and the teacher and in co-ordination with all state institutions concerned.[183]

ii) Identifying an essential characteristic: (S.84)

S. 84) *wa idhā kānat Miṣru al-Qadīmatu hiya hibatu al-Nīli – kamā qīla – fa-inna mīzatahā al-asāsiyyata nashiʾat min khilāli qudratihā ʿalā al-taḥakkumi bi-miyāhi al-Nīli.*

وإذا كانت مصر القديمة هي هبة النيل ــ كما قيل ــ فإن ميزتها الأساسية نشأت من خلال قدرتها على التحكم بمياه النيل

If Ancient Egypt was the gift of the Nile – as has been said, its central feature lied in its capacity to control the waters of the Nile.[184]

iii) Identifying a reason:

In this category, the apodosis may be introduced by the lexical element *fa-li-ʾanna* (because). This category seems to present a reverse causal link. i.e. because what is said in the apodosis, the protasis is seen to take place in the real world. Consider (S.85):

S. 85) *fa-idhā kānat hādhihi al-riwāyatu lāqat ihtimāman fa-li-anna al-kathīrīna yurīdūna an yastaʿīdū ṣūrata marḥalatin tārīkhiyyatin kāmilatin*

فإذا كانت هذه الرواية لاقت اهتماماً فلأن الكثيرين يريدون أن يستعيدوا صورة مرحلة تاريخية كاملة

If this novel has gained a remarkable level of popularity, it is because many people want to retrieve the image of a complete historical stage.[185]

5.4. Discussion:

In this section, I will aim to answer the following questions:

1. How is the relationship between the two clauses in MWA conditionals semantically and pragmatically presented? Are there different types of relationship? In other words, what kinds of typology do MWA conditionals exhibit with regard to the link between the two clauses? The answer to this question will be given in 5.4.1.

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[183] Jād, Fuʾād, ‘Al-Iʿtiqād al-Sāʾid’, *al-Ahrām*, 9/4/2013, p. 5.
[184] Munīf (2003), p. 25.
[185] Munīf (2003), p. 184.

2. How do the connector particles that link the two clauses interact with the syntax and the semantics of conditional sentences in MWA? The answer of this question will be given in 5.4.2.

5.4.1. The relation typology:

The analysis produced above asserts that the protasis and the apodosis hold a number of semantic and pragmatic relations. It also gives evidence for the applicability of the "Sufficient Condition Thesis" theory, which has already been adopted for English conditionals, to MWA conditionals. As a result, five sub-classes of conditionals are determined, namely: Content, Inferential, Speech act, Metalinguistic and Identifying. This result is supported by several modern studies that provide a practical analysis for English conditionals.

English conditionals			MWA conditionals
Sweetser (1990)	Dancygier (2006)	Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000)	Present study
Content	Causality	Course of event	Content
		Hypothetical	
Epistemic	Epistemic/Inferential	Inferencing	Inferential
Speech act	Speech act	Conversational	Speech act	Speech act
	Metatextual		Metacommunicative	Metalinguistic
----	----	Identifying	Identifying

Table 21. Correspondence between the conditional categories of the present study and others applied to English conditionals.

In considering this table, we can make the following two remarks:

First, both Sweetser and Dancygier overlook Identifying conditionals in Englsih, while Athanasiadou and Dirven deem them to be a distinctive type. The present study of MWA conditionals is in agreement with Athanasiadou and Dirvens' finding. However, these authors do not link identifying conditionals to the "Sufficiency Theory". Nevertheless, they assert that the two clauses of these types of conditionals retain a great degree of dependency

since the protasis acts as an identifying entity while the apodosis acts as the identified entity.[186] Hence, the protasis involves at least an acceptable degree of consideration in order to convey the message that the speaker desires to deliver through the content of the apodosis.

Second, the table representation asserts that the relationship between the protasis and the apodosis is not only one type. Rather, the two clauses interact semantically and pragmatically with each other to develop different types. This seems to go against the view that was adopted by some Arabic grammarians who tended to represent conditional sentences as if they only involve a causal relation (*sababiyyah*) between the contents expressed in the two clauses.[187] Similarly, my findings oppose Comrie who insists that the content of all conditional statements must be as interpretable as a cause-effect relation between the two clauses.[188] Looking back on the analysis, we have seen that causality has a strong association with Content conditionals since the realisation of the content of the protasis affects the content of the apodosis, i.e. a causal link exists between the events expressed. However, what about the other types? Do they retain a causal meaning between the two clauses? It seems that there are two possible answers:

a. The first answer is to say that the other four types of conditional sentences do not display a causal link between the two clauses because causality must occur between the two events or the two states of affairs expressed, which is only applicable in the case of Content conditionals. Hence, this answer would reject the Arabic grammarians and some Western linguist's views, which have been mentioned above. This, however, is in line with Athanasiadou and Dirven, who believe that not all conditionals present a causal relation between the two clauses, and that, rather, there is a scale of this relation "ranging from cause to reason to other conceptual categories".[189]

b. The second potential answer, which seems to be supported by Sweetser,[190] is to say that there is a connotation of a causal relation between the two clauses but it is beyond the scope of the contents expressed. In other words, the causal link is not explicit as it is in Content

conditionals; rather it occurs at different levels of the utterance i.e. at the logical level in Inferential conditionals, at the performance level in Speech act conditionals, at the metalinguistic level in Metalinguistic conditionals and at the identification process level in Identifying conditionals as explained in the analysis. Therefore, this answer would accept the Arabic grammarians' and some Western linguists' view that have been mentioned above, but it suggests more elaboration, revealing what kind of causal link underlins the relation between the two clauses, as we did in our analysis.

One final point regarding the semantic link between the two clauses is that it has been argued out, in some of the English literature, that Inferential conditionals can be divided into "Direct" and "Indirect". In the former, the reasoning process goes from the protasis to the apodosis, whereas, in the latter, the process is reversed, going from the apodosis to the protasis.[191] According to the analysis undertaken above in connection with MWA conditionals, all Inferential conditional examples retain a logical inferential process that is identical to that occurring with Direct Inferential conditionals. As far as the present data of MWA is concerned, Indirect Inferential conditionals have not been attested, unlike in the case of English as elaborated by some western linguists.[192] They say that Indirect Inferential conditionals usually denote an *ad absurdum* meaning which can be illustrated as follows: the speaker, for argument's sake, assumes that the proposition given in the protasis is true, which actually it is not, then, he/she cancels this truth value by uttering an absurd (= false) proposition in the apodosis which, as a result, invites the addressee to infer that the protasis is not true.[193] Let us consider the following examples (S.86-87):

S. 86) If they are Irish, I am the Pope.[194]

S. 87) If he passed his exam, I am a Dutchman.[195]

(S.86) can be read as follows: since I am obviously not the Pope, they are certainly not Irish. Similarly, (S.87) can be interpreted as follows: since I am obviously not a Dutchman, it is impossible that he passed his exam. As can be seen, the reasoning process emerges from the apodosis in order to cancel the truth of the protasis.

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[191] Declerck and Reed (2001), pp. 42-44, 285-297.
[192] As far as I know, Declerck and Reed can be regarded the best example of such linguists because they give a great deal of attention to this sub-type of English Inferential conditionals. Quirk *et al.* (1985), p. 1094 prefer to call this type of conditional "rhetorical conditional".
[193] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 297.
[194] Quirk *et al.* (1985), p. 1094.
[195] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 296.

5.4.2. The connective devices:

According to the Arabic grammar tradition, the protasis and the apodosis must be connected by the particle *fa-* in some certain formal cases which introduce the apodosis.[196] This is conditioned when the conditional structure presents the "protasis + apodosis" order.[197] The given reasons behind the obligatory use of this connector in these cases are: (i) because the structure of the apodosis does not accept the jussive mood, or (ii) because the strcuture of the apodosis cannot be valid for being used as a protasis.[198] Semantically, *fa-* acts as a linker that strengenthens the dependency between the propositions expressed in the two clauses since they may sometimes appear to be not related.[199] These cases are as follows:

i) Nominal sentence: (S.88)

S. 88) *in taʾtinī fa-anta shujāʿun.*

إن تأتني فأنت شجاع.

 If you come to me, then you are brave.[200]

ii) Imperative verb: (S.89)

S. 89) *in jāʾa Aḥmadu fa-qum la-hu.*

إن جاء أحمد فقم له.

 If Ahmad comes, then stand up for him.[201]

iii) Before the particle *qad* (S.90)

S. 90) *in jāʾa ʿAliyyun fa-qad yafūzu [fī al-musābaqati].*

إن جاء علي فقد يفوز في المسابقة.

 If ʿAli comes, then he might win [in the competition].[202]

iv) Before the future particle *sawfa* and *sa-*:(S.91)

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[196] Al-Zamkhshari (2003), p. 327; Ibn Mālik (1990), vol. 4. p. 76; Ḥasan (1979), vol. 4. pp. 458-459; Fischer (2001), p. 228.
[197] Buckley (2004), p. 748.
[198] Ibn Mālik (1990), vol. 4. p. 75-76; al-Shamsān (1981), pp. 287-290; Abū al-Makārim (2007), pp. 175-176.
[199] Ḥasan (1979), vol. 4. pp. 458-459.
[200] Alotaibi (2014), p. 118.
[201] Ibid., p. 120.
[202] Ibid., p. 124.

S. 91) *in jāʾa ʿAliyyun fa-sa-yafūzu fī al-sibāqi.*

إن جاء علي فسيفوز في السباق.

If ʿAli comes, then he will win in the competition.[203]

v) Before the negative particles: (S.92)

S. 92) *in jāʾa Aḥmadu fa-lan yuqābilhu ʿAliyyun.*

إن جاء أحمد فلن يقابله علي.

If Aḥmad comes, then ʿAli will not meet him.[204]

This *fa-* is sometimes substituted by the particle *idhā al-fujāʾiyyah* (*idhā* for surprise)[205] in CA conditionals as in the following Qurʾānic verse: (S.93)

S. 93) *wa in tuṣibhum sayyiʾatun bi-mā qaddamat aydīhim idhā hum yaqnaṭūna.*

و إن تصبهم سيئة بما قدمت أيديهم إذا هم يقنطون.

And if an evil afflicts them because of what their hands have perpetrated, then they are in despair.[206]

However, in the present data of MWA, *idhā al-fujāʾiyyah* (*idhā* of surprise) has never been found. This might be seen as one of the practical differences between CA and MWA conditionals. The only connectors that have been attested are *fa-* and *la-*. Since the latter has received attention in Chapter 4 as being preferred in the context of *law*-Tentative and Counterfactual conditionals, the focus will be given to the former in the following lines.

The data analysis suggests that this connector *fa-* is not as restricted as it was in CA conditionals because it is occasionally omitted in many examples that match the obligatory cases identified by the CA grammarians. This view generally is in the line with some previous studies,[207] but it goes against some others that have presented *fa-* as an obligatory connector in MWA conditionals.[208] This can be clearly seen in several cases. I will provide some examples for only two cases to show how omitting *fa-* has become a matter of choice:

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[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibdi., p. 122.
[205] It introduces a sudden or unexpected event. Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 460.
[206] *The Holy Qurʾān*, Sūrat al-Rūm (30): 36. The transaltion is quoted from Ali (1983), p. 1061 with amendment from me.
[207] Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 655; Sartori (2011), p. 3.
[208] Mace (1998), p. 174; Buckley (2004), pp. 748-750; Schulz (2004), p. 363; Abu-Chacra (2007), pp. 310-311; Alotaibi (2014), p. 118.

i) In the case of introducing the apodosis by the future particle *sa-*. Compare between (S.94) and (S.95):

S. 94)   *idhā kānat hādhihi raghbatuka fa-sa-ursilu al-junda baʿda tanāwulika ṭaʿāma al-ifṭāri li-iḥḍāri baʿḍi al-nāsi ilayka.*

إذا كانت هذه رغبتك فسأُرسل الجند بعد تناولك طعام الإفطار لإحضار بعض الناس إليك.

If this is your wish, I will send the soldiers to summon some people to you after you have your breakfast.[209]

S. 95)   *idhā ḥaḍara wāliduhā ilā al-mustashfā sa-yaʿlamu kulla shayʾin.*

إذا حضر والدها إلى المستشفى سيعلم كل شيء

If her father comes to the hospital, he will find out everything.[210]

ii) In the case of introducing the apodosis by a negative particle. Compare between (S.96) and (S.97):

S. 96)   *in lam tarḥam nafsaka lan narḥamaka abadan.*

إن لم ترحم نفسك لن نرحمك أبداً

If you are not merciful with yourself, we will never be merciful with you.[211]

S. 97)   *fa-idhā rafaḍa wālidī ayya shayʾin fa-lan ajruʾa ʿalā muʿāraḍatihi.*

فإذا رفض والدي أي شيء فلن أجرؤ على معارضته

If my father says no to anything, I will not dare oppose him.[212]

According to the data, *fa-* can also introduce the apodosis of conditional sentences that are initiated by the particle *law*.[213] This phenomenon seems to draw a potential distinctive line between CA conditional sentences and the actual use of conditionals in MWA. According to the principles of CA grammar, the connector *fa-* does not occur in a *law* apodosis,[214] and if it occurs, it is seen as an uncommon usage. This is supported by al-Saad's investigation of *law* in the *Qurʾān*. He only found one example in which the apodosis of *law* is connected by *fa-*: (S.98)

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[209] Ḥannā (2004), p. 13.
[210] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 35.
[211] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 110.
[212] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 48.
[213] This view is in agreement with Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 647
[214] Peled (1992), p. 39.

S. 98) *fa-law anna la-nā karratan fa-nakūna mina al-muʾminīna.*

فلو أن لنا كرة فنكون من المؤمنين.

If we only had a chance of return [to the world], we shall truly be among the believers.[215]

By contrast, I found 14 examples in MWA data where *fa-* accompanies the apodosis of *law* as a connector. Consider (S.99):

S. 99) *fa-anta law faʿalta dhālika ʿalā al-dawāmi fa-sa-yantahī bika al-maṭāfu ilā maṣīrin rubbamā lā targhabu fī-hi.*

فأنت لو فعلت ذلك على الدوام فسينتهي بك المطاف إلى مصير ربما لا ترغب فيه

If you always do so, you will be misled to a fate you might not desire.[216]

This finding in relation to MWA indicates the lack and inadequacy of some modern Arabic studies, such as Beeston,[217] Buckley[218] and Alotaibi,[219] which present the emphatic *la-* as the sole apodosis introducer in *law* conditional sentences.

Having discussed the intercation between cases of inserting the connector *fa-* and some formal properties in MWA, I will now shed light on the interction between this connector and the five types of semantic relation between the two clauses, which are analysed above. The data analysis observes that Content and Speech act conditional examples do not show any preference for either inserting or ommiting *fa-* before the apodosis. By contrast, in Inferential and Identifying conditionals, *fa-* is very common as an apodosis introducer as observed in the analysis. In the case of Metalinguistic conditionals, it seems it is difficult to provide an conclusive view on this paticualr matter since only two example are found in the data, which presents "protasis + apodosis" order with *fa-* before the apodosis as exemplfied by (S.81) above.

Taking the element 'then' in English as an equivalent case to the connector *fa-*,[220] it seems there are some similarites and differences between the two particles. As for the similaitries,

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[215] *The Holy Qurʾan*, Sūrat al-Shuʿaraʾ (26): 102. The translation is adopted from Ali (1983), p. 959 and Jones (2007), p. 339.
[216] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 113.
[217] Beeston (1968), p. 85.
[218] Buckley (2004), p. 740.
[219] Alotaibi (2014), p. 144.
[220] Badawi (2004), pp. 551-553 states that *fa-* has the meaning of 'then' in the conext of logical sequence and logical reasoning.

'then', like in *fa-*, does not have any resrtriction in introducing the apodosis of Content conditionals. Consider (S.100):

S. 100) If my old computer is breaks down, (then) I will buy a new one.[221]

The reason given for this is that Content conditionals present sequential events, which are also expressed by 'then'. Hence, it is acceptable to insert this connector.[222] Moreover, Inferential conditionals in English favours to inserting 'then' before the apodosis. This is because 'then' is also preferred in a reasoning context in which Inferential conditionals are presented, indicating at the same time a sequential order between the premise given in the protasis and the conclusion presented in the apodosis. Consider (S.101):

S. 101) If two and two make four, then two is an even number.[223]

The differences between the two cases in both langauges can be seen as follows:

Unlike the relation between *fa-* and Speech act conditionals in Arabic, 'then' generally is not accepted as a connector between the two clauses in Englsih Speech act conditionals, and the Metalinguistic category seems to follow the same pattern.[224] Therefore, the following examples are deemd incorrect: (S.102-103)

S. 102) *If you are hungry, then there are biscuits on the sideboard.[225]

S. 103) *If I may be honest, then you are not looking good.[226]

The unacceptablity of 'then' here is motivated by the fact that the sequential order is not necessary here between the two states. i.e. it does not have to be true that the addressee is hungry before biscuits appear on the sideboard as in (S.102).[227] The same can be said about (S.103). Neverthless, in some particular contexts, 'then' can be inserted. One of these cases is when the content of the protasis is contexually bound in which the two clauses accept sequentail order interpertation as in (S.104):

S. 104) You have seen the latter. If you think it is fake, then check it out.[228]

Dancygier comments on this example: "p indeed has to hold before q does".[229]

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[221] Dancygier (2006), p. 179.
[222] Dancygier (2006), pp. 179.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Ibid. See also: Dancygier (1992), p. 71; Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 14; Bhatt and Pancheva (2006), p. 672.
[225] Dancygier (2006), p. 179.
[226] Bhatt and Pancheva (2006), p. 672.
[227] Dancygier (2006), p. 180.
[228] Ibid.

English Identifying conditionals, unlike those of Arabic, seem to not present 'then' as a connector between the two clasues.[230] This may be because the propositions expressed in the two clauses are not seen to present sequential events.

Finally, having examined the relation between the connector *fa-* and the five types, my analysis may be deemed to be contribution to al-Shamsān, who critiqued the CA grammarians by focusing on the formal cases where *fa-* must be inserted before the apodosis. He then suggested that this issue should be deeply invistgated through the lens of the semantic aspect.[231]

5.5.   Conclusion:

This chapter has presented an empirical analysis of the relationship between the two clauses in MWA conditionals. It has been shown, through the lens of the "Sufficiency Theory" framework, that the protasis and the apodosis can present different types of relations; namely: Content, Inferential, Speech act, Metalinguistic and Identifying. The first two seem to present a very strong dependency between the two clauses as a result, it seems, of the causal link between them. By contrast, the last three can be deemed to hold a less dependent relation because of either the absence of a causal link or the existence of a potential indirect causal link between the propositions of the two clauses. I would state, as Dancygier claims,[232] that Content conditionals can be seen as the prototypical relation in a conditional context because of the centrality of the causal link between the two events themselves (i.e. the propositional content) and the explicit sequential order between them; hence, Content conditionals have the highest level of dependency between the protasis and the apodosis. Having observed this, Arabic and English agree in that conditional sentences can present a variety of semantic and pragmatic links between the two clauses. These links, however, show differences in terms of how the dependency/ relevancy between the two clauses is presented; some present high dependency and a strong connection while others hold lower dependency, but, paraphrasing Athanasiadou and Dirvens' words, totally absent dependency relations do not occur.[233]

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[229] Ibid.

[230] All identifying conditional examples provided by Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), pp. 7-9 do not present 'then' as a connector between the two clauses.

[231] Al-Shamsān (1981), p. 291.

[232] Dancygier (2006), p. 187.

[233] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 3.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the connector *fa-* has become, in MWA conditionals, only semi-systematic in structural cases in which *fa-* was deemed obligatory in CA conditionals. (i.e. it can be either inserted or omitted in MWA conditionals). Nevertheless, I have maintained that this connector interacts semantically with the five types of relation mentioned above. Thus, it is preferred by Inferential and Identifying conditionals, while it is accepted without restrictions or preference by content and Speech act conditionals. A conclusive answer for Metalinguistic conditional cases has not been found due to a an in number of them in the current data. In the following chapter, the role of MWA conditional sentences will be investigated within a wider context, aiming to reveal their discourse functions.

Chapter Six

Discourse Functions

6.1. Introduction:

After analysing and discussing how conditional sentences interact with the concepts of Modality, Time Reference and the semantic/pragmatic relation between the two clauses, I will now explore the interaction between conditional sentences and the context. Therefore, this chapter deals with the discourse functions that emerge from this interaction. It is worth saying that these functions reflect the pragmatic status of conditional sentences within a wider context. The discussion will centre on the notion of Information Structure as this forms an important part of the Discourse Functions domain. Before proceeding with the analysis, I will provide brief theoretical considerations for what this study means when discussing the notion of Information Structure in the field of functional linguistics, and what sort of functions are related to this notion. I will also provide the criteria against which MWA conditionals will be analysed.

6.2. Theoretical considerations: Information Structure:

The notion of Information Structure (IS) basically belongs to functional linguistics. It is mainly concerned with the way that information is represented and organised in a particular text. It also deals with the techniques that aim to meet the communicative needs of the interlocutors.[1] These techniques have to identify the speaker's assessment of the addressee's ability to understand the background of a particular utterance that is made in a particular context.[2] Hence, IS is seen to serve pragmatic functions.[3]

IS is encoded by several linguistic units which interact with the context. Linguists, following different approaches, identify a number of dichotomies which sometimes overlap. They are Topic vs. Focus/Comment, Theme vs. Rheme, and Given vs. New (Table 22).

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[1] Féry and Krifka (2008), p. 124.
[2] Chafe (1976), p. 27.
[3] Lambrecht (1994), p. 2; Huang (2012), p. 157.

Topic	Focus/Comment
Theme	Rheme
Given	New

Table 22. The IS dichotomies.

Nevertheless, the overlap does not necessarily mean that they act functionally in the same ways all the time. This, then, indicates the complexity of the notion of IS itself and the values related to it. In the following lines, I will shed some light on the general definitions of these terms.

6.2.1. Topic-Focus (Comment) vs. Theme-Rheme:

The term Topic is defined as the element that tells us what the sentence is about. Focus/Comment is defined as the element that tells us what is predicated about the topic. Hence, Topic can be seen as the constituent that sets up the scope of the utterance, while Focus pays attention to the most important information that pragmatically needs to be conveyed in the given setting.[4] The common test that distinguishes Topic from Focus is *wh*-question test (viz. information question). In the answer to the *wh*-question, the element that is already given in the question and refers to the aboutness is the Topic and the one that assigns information related to the about-element which is provided by the answer is the Focus. This is illustrated by the following two groups of dialogue (S.1 and S.2):

S. 1) A: *man al-marīḍu?*

من المريض؟

 Who is sick?

 B: *Al-marīḍu Aḥmadu.*

المريض أحمد.

 Aḥmad is the one who is sick.

S. 2) A: *kayfa ḥālu Aḥmada?*

كيف حال أحمد؟

 How is Aḥmad?

 B: *Aḥmadu marīḍun.*

أحمد مريض.

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[4] Dik (1978), pp. 141, 149; Gundel (1985), p. 85; Moutaouakil (1989), pp. 18, 71

Aḥmad is sick.

In (S.1), the scope of the utterance is asking who is ill, hence the element al-marīḍ in the answer is the Topic as it is coreferential with the constituent in the preceding question. Meanwhile, the element Aḥmad represents the most important information that would be required by the person who is asking, hence it is the Focus of the sentence. The situation is different in (S.2) because the scope of the sentence given in the question is different as well. Here, the questioner wants to know about Aḥmad's condition. Thus, Aḥmad is the Topic of the sentence. The element marīḍ is the Focus since it provides the information that the questioner needs to know.[5]

The Topic-Focus dichotomy is sometimes labelled by other linguists as Theme-Rheme.[6] In addition to the aboutness feature linked to the concept of Topic above, Halliday provides a structural condition that he believes forms another characteristic for Topic (he uses the term 'Theme'). He says "the Theme is what is being talked about, the point of departure for the clause for the message".[7] Hence, according to Halliday, the Topic/Theme holds two combined features: aboutness and starting point of the intended message, i.e. it must be placed in the initial position in a sentence. This view has been criticised by some other researchers. Downing, for example, states that "the point of departure of the message is not necessarily the same as what the message is about".[8] She illustrates this by the following example (S.3):

S. 3) In 390 B.C., the Gauls sacked Rome.[9]

The starting point of this sentence is "In 390 B.C." which is obviously not the topic that is talked about; instead, this adverbial phrase provides the temporal setting for the following discourse. The element that holds the sentence's aboutness is "Gauls" or both "Gauls" and "Rome". However, if we change the clause order for the same example as in (S.3.a):

S. 3. a) The Gauls sacked Rome in 390 B.C.

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[5] See a practical representation on the question test in: Dik (1978), pp. 143-144; Moutaouakil (1989), p. 22.
[6] Halliday (1967), p. 211; Abdul-Raof (1998), p. 93; Thomson (2004), p. 143.
[7] Halliday (1967), p. 212. Siewierska (1991), p. 149 attributes this to Chomskyan generative grammar as well.
[8] Downing (1991), p. 122. See also: Gundel (1985), p. 95.
[9] Ibid.

the point of departure can be the same as the Topic of the sentence, which is "the Gauls". Arabic has evidence for supporting Downing's claim. Consider the following examples (S.4 and S.5):

S. 4) *fāṭimatu fī al-ghurfati.*

فاطمة في الغرفة.

　　　　Fāṭimah is in the room.

This sentence can be an answer to two possible questions: the first one is: where is Fatimah? Hence, the constituent Fāṭimah, which is located initially, is the topic of the sentence. The second question: who is in room? Hence, the prepositional phrase "in the room", which is located in final position, is the Topic of the sentence. As obviously seen, the Topic here occurs equally in the initial and the final position. Hence, the initial position cannot be regarded as a strong criterion for identifying Topics as Halliday points out.[10] However, "it has often been claimed that there is a universal principle, or at least a strong cross-linguistic tendency, for topic expressions to be the first constituent in a sentence".[11] Therefore, it can be concluded that the element that denotes the aboutness (Topic/Theme) is preferably placed in the initial position but not always as exemplified above. I will show in the analysis how this preferred position by topical constituents affects the clause order in conditional sentences.

In Simon Dik's Functional Grammar, Theme and Topic are two distinctive concepts. Structurally, Theme is the first element in an utterance that is placed initially and outside of the main predication, while Topic is defined as the internal targeted scope of the utterance i.e. occurring within the scope of the main predication. Functionally, Theme constitutes the framework of discourse for the subsequent predication, while Topic presents the aboutness entity that must be commented on by something within that particular setting.[12] Consider the following example (S.5):

S. 5) *Zaydun, abūhu musāfirun.*

زيد، أبوه مسافر

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[10] It would be useful to refer to some linguists who have rejected Halliday's view. See for example: Gundel (1985), p. 95; Moutaouakil (1989), p. 115; Féry and Krifka (2008), p. 129.
[11] Lambrecht (1994), p. 199. See also Gundel (1985), p. 95 for the case of English and Moutaouakil (1989), p. 77 in the case of Arabic.
[12] Dik (1978), pp. 132, 143; Moutaouakil (1989), pp. 71, 102, 115.

Zayd, his father is travelling.[13]

Here, we have two NP constituents: Zayd and abūhu. The former is structurally in the initial position of the utterance and located outside of the main predication (*isnād*) and it functionally serves the frame-setting of the utterance which is that what is following is related to Zayd, hence it is characterized as a Theme. The latter, by contrast, is placed at the beginning of the main predication and it denotes the scope of the main message aimed to be delivered, which is that what is predicated is about Zayd's father. However, this distinction is criticised as not being discrete since Themes are viewed as being part of the main predication in some languages such as Hungarian, which has led some researchers within Functional Grammar to conclude that the distinctions between Theme and Topic need further refinement and investigation.[14] Another problem with this distinction is that Theme and Topic may coincide in one constituent of a sentence that denotes the meaning of aboutness,[15] as exemplified in (S.3.a) above. As a result, I will not consider this distinction in my present analysis because of the shortcomings mentioned.

In general, the Arabic grammarians tended to refer to Topic/Theme as *musnad ilayh* (predicated to it) or *al-muḥaddath ʿanh* (the person/thing that is talked about), which includes the grammatical constituents *mubtadaʾ* (subject of the nominal sentence) and *fāʿil* (subject of the verbal sentence). Whereas, Focus/Rheme is termed as *musnad* (predicate) or *al-muḥaddath bi-hi* (the linguistic unit that expresses the predicate), which includes the grammatical constituents *khabar* in the nominal sentence and *fiʿl* (verb).[16] Table 23 illustrates these correspondences:

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[13] The example is cited in Moutaouakil (1989), p. 115.

[14] Siewierska (1991), p. 151. Moutaouakil (1989), p. 115 admits that there are some similarities which cause confusion between Theme and Topic in Arabic such as both notions denote "spoken about" and both are typically in the nominative case. He, then, provides some examples from Arabic.

[15] Downing (1991), p. 127.

[16] These terms and their translations are taken from different sources; namely: al-Jurjānī (1992), p. 189; Moutaouakil (1989), p. 74; Abdul-Raof (2006), pp. 122-123, 154, 298; Goldenberg (2007) pp. 308-310. Out of these general correspondences there are some exceptions. For example, Abdul-Raof (1998), pp. 61, 113 states that Theme can be neither *mubtadaʾ* nor *fāʿil*. He then approves the view that Theme can the object of the sentence.

IS Function Sentence type	Topic/Theme *musnad ilayh*	Focus/Rheme *musnad*
Nominal sentence	*mubtadaʾ*	*khabar*
Verbal sentence	*fāʿil*	*fiʿl*

Table 23. Correspondences between IS function terms and Arabic sentence constituents according to CA grammarians.

6.2.2. Given vs. New:

Given and New are two pragmatic notions that show a great interaction with the context. Given information is normally defined as an entity which the speaker assumes is known by the addressee at the moment of the utterance. Hence, it is seen as shared knowledge between the interlocutors. New information, by contrast, is assumed by the speaker to be unknown or identifiable to the addressee.[17] We can take the following example for illustration: (S.6)

S. 6) John hit a boy on the head.[18]

Here, the constituent "John" is assumed to be known to the addressee, while "boy" is assumed to be an unidentifiable and, hence, new entity. One piece of evidence is that this sentence can be the answer to a question like: 'What did John do?'. The sources of Givenness may be linguistic/textual or extra-linguistic. Linguistic/textual means there is a previous mention of a particular entity in the preceding context either directly or indirectly. Extra-linguistic means that there is an indication that the entity is recoverable from the environment surrounding the situation in which the sentence is uttered.[19] Let us consider the following examples: (S.7 and S.8)

S. 7) A: Where did you meet Sandra?

　　　 B: I met her last year in Bologna.[20]

S. 8) I bought it last week.[21]

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[17] Chafe (1976), p. 31; Huang (2012), p. 131.
[18] Prince (1981), p. 231.
[19] Halliday and Hasan (1976), p. 326; Chafe (1976), p. 31; Prince (1981), p. 236; Abdul-Raof (1998), p. 110.
[20] Siewierska (1991), p. 156.

In (S.7), the entities "I", "met" and "her" are deemed to be Given because they are already textually mentioned in the previous context (previous sentence) in the form of "you", "met" and "Sandra" respectively. By contrast, in (S.8), the pronouns "I" and "it" are assumed to be extra-linguistically encoded in the addressee's mind since this sentence can be uttered by a speaker who saw the addressee looking at a painting on his wall. "I" as an exophoric reference is in the consciousness of the addressee since he is familiar with the concept of "I" and its referent in this context.[22] The pronoun "it" refers to that certain painting that is treated by the speaker as Given information because he believes that it has been encoded in the addressee's mind through non-linguistic context. i.e. via an object in the environment.[23] Having said this, it becomes clear that the view that restricts the concept of Given information to its recoverability from the preceding linguistics context only is not accurate.[24]

In connection to the other IS categories, Given is often associated with Topic/Theme, while New is held by Focus/Rheme.[25] However, this does not mean that they are exactly the same. Halliday and Matthiessen aim to draw a distinction between these categories. They say:

> "Given-New and Theme-Rheme are not the same. The Theme is what I, the speaker, choose to take as my point of departure. The Given is what you, the listener, already know about or have accessible to you".[26]

With regards to the constituents' order in a sentence, Given is typically located initially and New follows it.[27] There is a functional reason behind this, which is that the speaker desires to accomplish his communicative goal by developing his statement from what is known to the addressees or what can be accessible to the addressee in order to familiarise them with the scope of the utterance and then guide them to the new information that they seek.[28] This may account for the tendency of Topic/Theme to occur in the initial place in the sentence mentioned above. However, some other researchers believe that the reverse order New-

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[21] Chafe (1976), p. 31.
[22] See: Abdul-Raof (1998), p. 110.
[23] Ibid.
[24] This view is held by Kuno (1978), p. 283.
[25] Haiman (1978), p. 583; Siewierska (1991), p. 156; Abdul-Raof, (1998), p. 103; Gundel and Fretheim (2010), p. 176.
[26] Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), p. 93.
[27] Li and Thompson (1975), p. 165; Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), p. 93.
[28] Abdul-Raof, (1998), pp. 96, 99.

Given is also possible despite the fact that it is in less frequent use.[29] Due to the apparent relationship between Givenness and Topicality, it has been emphasized by some linguists that the entity that is referred to as Topic/Theme is normally definite or generic.[30] Both are considered to be known or identifiable by the addressee.[31] Consider the two following Arabic examples where the Topic *jaddī* is definite in the first one and the Topic *al-rijālu* is generic in the second one: (S.9-10)

S. 9) *jaddī lā yakdhibu.*

<div dir="rtl">جدي لا يكذب</div>

My grandfather does not lie.

S. 10) *al-rijālu lā yuʾtamanūna wa lā yuḥāfiẓūna ʿalā ʿahdin.*

<div dir="rtl">الرجال لا يؤتمنون ولا يحافظون على عهدٍ.</div>

Men cannot be trusted and do not keep promises.[32]

However, in practice speaking, an indefinite NP can be also a Topic/Theme, where it does not hold the feature of Givenness in the sense of shared knowledge because the addressee is not willing to identify the referent of the entity. In other words, he/she does not have direct access to the identity of the entity that indicates topicality. As a result, this has led some researchers to reject the view that maintains obligatory linkage between topicality and Givenness mentioned above.[33] Two examples, one from Arabic and the other from English, are offered to support this view (S.11 and S.12):

S. 11) *waladun fī al-bayti al-mujāwiri kasara al-nāfidhah.*

<div dir="rtl">ولد في البيت المجاور كسر النافذة</div>

A boy in the neighbouring house broke the window.

S. 12) A guy I met recently collects beer cans.[34]

In (S.11) and (S.12), the persons that are talked about are *waladun* (a boy) and "guy" respectively. Both are indefinite constituents which means they cannot be known by the

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[29] González (2001), p. 31.
[30] Gundel (1985), p: 89; Abdul-Raof, (1998), p. 105.
[31] Abdul-Raof, (1998), p. 106.
[32] The two examples and their translation are cited in Abdul-Raof (1998), pp. 102, 105.
[33] Gundel (1985), pp. 89-90; Dancygier (2006), p. 134.
[34] The example is cited in Gundel (1985), p. 89.

addressee or be shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee. In other words, they are not in the consciousness of the addressee. We can then conclude that Givenness (meaning shared knowledge between the interlocutors) cannot be regarded as a consistent criterion to identify Topic, hence it is not necessary to be definite or generic. Instead, it can be said that there are degrees of statuses that moves from Givenness to Newness, and Given Topic is seen the most acceptable typical statues while New Topic is seen the least acceptable typical one. This thesis is adopted by Lambrecht. The reason he provides for the preference of Topic to be given is that "if the hearer cannot mentally identify the referent of the topic, she cannot determine whether the predicate is true of this referent or not". [35] I will take this position into consideration throughout the analysis.

To sum, Topics are normally known to the addressee, but they also can be unknown. Different sources, linguistically and extra-linguistically, directly or indirectly, can play arole in encoding the information delivered in the addressee's mind.

6.3. The analysis:

After this brief discussion of the most common concepts that are linked to IS, I will proceed with my analysis of the functional use of MWA conditionals. This will be assuming that Theme and Topic are the same in the sense that both denote the scope of the utterance (i.e. what is talked about). In addition, I will employ the clause order criterion in order to explore how the clause position interacts with Topicality and Focality in the context of MWA conditionals. Schiffrin asserts the importance of this criterion while providing discourse analysis of conditionals and assessing their functions.[36] Therefore, the examples analysed in this chapter will be divided structurally on the basis of this criterion, and hence will yield three structural categories: initial protasis, final protasis and medial protasis. Moreover, the preceding context will be crucially considered so as to examine the informational statuses of the topical propositions presented in terms of how the addressee can access these propositions.[37] i.e. how the contents of conditionals are realised in the addressee's mind.

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[35] Ibid. See also: Siewierska (1991), p. 159.
[36] Schiffrin (1992), p. 171.
[37] Schiffrin (1992), p. 174 emphasises the importance of the preceding discourse as a major source of Topicality and Giveness.

6.3.1. Initial protasis:

According to the data, this order is the dominant one. It scores a frequency of 460 out of 628, which represents 73% of the total. By contextually investigating the examples that belong to this order, it appears that placing the protasis in the initial position of the sentence is influenced by the Topic-Focus order.[38] That is to say that the speaker's aim, in choosing this order, is to direct the addressee to the main Topic of the whole utterance first, hence the addressee can establish the background of the sentence before it is commented on. Also, the initial protasis signals the angle from which the speaker is about to project his/her message,[39] which here is the angle of conditionality. Here, the Topic of the sentence corresponds with the departure point of the whole message conveyed, which aligns with Halliday's point of view mentioned above. Let us now look at some examples where the initial protasis denotes the Topic of the conditional sentence. Consider (S.13 and S.14):

S. 13) *idhā dhahabta ilā bayti aṣālata sawfa atbaᶜuka baᶜda qalīlin.*

إذا ذهبت إلى بيت أصالة سوف أتبعك بعد قليل

If you go to Aṣalah's house, I will follow you shortly.[40]

S. 14) *law kāna al-ustādhu al-Khafīfu jāddan wa lā budda an yakūna fa-laysa baynī wa baynahu khilāf.*

لو كان الأستاذ الخفيف جاداً في هذا الوصف ـ ولابد أن يكون ـ فليس بيني وبينه خلاف

If al-Khafīf was serious about this description –and he must have been, then I do not disagree with him.[41]

In (S.13), the speaker starts his utterance by the protasis in order to alert the addressee's attention to the main Topic that he aims to comment on, which is the addressee's potential of going to Aṣālah's house. Likewise, the protasis of (S.14) provides the addressee with the main proposition of the utterance, which is the question of whether the person whose surname is al-Khafīf is being serious or not.

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[38] Comrie (1986), p. 86.

[39] See Downing (1991), p. 129 for the functions of the initial elements in general.

[40] Jubūr (2000), p. 61.

[41] Maḥmūd (1996), p. 119.

According to the data, the propositional content denoted by the topic can be accessed (identified) through different informational statuses with regards to the addressee's awareness about it. (i.e. in terms of Givenness and Newness). Figure 10 illustrates this:
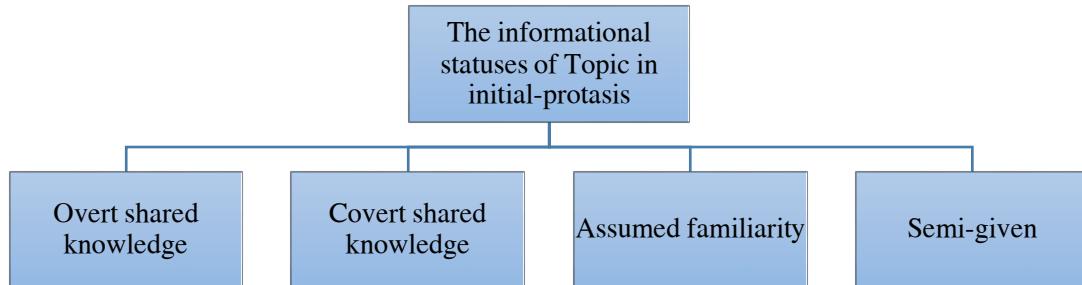

Figure 10. The informational statuses of Topic in initial protasis with relation to the addressee's awareness.

i. Overt shared knowledge:

In this case, the whole prediction in the protasis, which is the Topic of the conditional sentence, is already and directly established in the addressee's mind, hence, he/she is, or considered, aware of the content of the proposition of the protasis. I mean by "overt" that there is explicit evidence in the text which informs us of the awareness of the addressee. According to the data of MWA conditionals, the indication of the awareness of the addressee about the topical proposition can be acquired through two sources:

a. The previous context.

It is very common that the speaker repeats a proposition, which is already directly mentioned in the previous context, in the protasis in order to be commented on in the apodosis. Consider the following examples: (S.15)

S. 15) *al-qaḍāyā al-kubrā wa al-khaṭīratu wa ʿalā raʾsihā al-jūʿu aṣbaḥat taqtaribu bi-surʿatin kabīratin min manṭiqatinā. wa idhā badaʾat thawratu al-jiyāʿi marratan ʾukhrā wa hiya qādimatun lā maḥālata fa-inna al-natāʾija lan taqtaṣira ʿalā al-manāṭiqi al-faqīrati waḥdahā.*

القضايا الكبرى والخطيرة وعلى رأسها الجوع أصبحت تقترب بسرعة كبيرة من منطقتنا. و إذا بدأت ثورة الجياع مرة أخرى وهي قادمة لا محالة فإن النتائج لن تقتصر على المناطق الفقيرة وحدها

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Major and serious issues, especially hunger, have rapidly approached our region, and when the revolution of the hungry [people], which is inevitably coming, begins once again, the consequences will not be limited to poor areas alone.[42]

There are two segments of sentence in this example. In the first one, the speaker is giving a warning that some problematic issues are likely to happen very soon in the Arab World. One of the main issues is the spread of hunger. Then, in the second segment, which is conditional, the speaker repeats in the protasis, though in different words, the issue of hunger and its likelihood of occurrence in order to establish the main Topic of the whole conditional sentence. This is followed by a Comment, or Focus information, in the apodosis which states that the occurrence of hunger will not only affect the poor areas.

Another example that supports this case– given in the previous context– is taken from the dialogue context where different interlocutors are involved. Here, the repeated proposition is not necessarily already given by the same speaker who utters the conditional sentence, yet it can be previously given by the addressee(s). Consider the following dialogue: (S.16)

S. 16) Munīr: *yabdū lī anna numuwwa al-nabātāti bi-hādhihī al-ṭarīqati murtabiṭun bi-al-ashiᶜᶜati al-zarqāʾi.*

Ṣabāḥ: *lā aẓunnu, fa-al-majhūlu alladhī raʾaynāhu lam yusalliṭ al-ashiᶜᶜata al-zarqāʾa ᶜalā al-nabātāti. laqad sallaṭahā ᶜalaynā mubāsharatan.*

Muḥyī: *in takuni al-nabātātu qad taʾaththarat bi-al-ashiᶜᶜati fiᶜlan fa-hādhā yaᶜnī annanā raqadnā zamanan ṭawīlan jiddan.*

منير: يبدو لي أن نمو النباتات بهذه الطريقة مرتبط بالأشعة الزرقاء.

صباح: لا أظن؛ فالمجهول الذي رأيناه لم يسلط الأشعة الزرقاء على النباتات، لقد سلطها علينا مباشرة.

محي: إن تكن النباتات قد تأثرت بالأشعة فعلاً، فهذا يعني أننا رقدنا زمناً طويلاً جداً.

Munīr: It seems to me that the growth of plants in this way is linked to blue rays.

Sabah: I do not think so. The unknown person that we have seen did not shine the blue rays on the plants. They were aimed at us directly.

Muḥyī: If the plants really had been affected by the blue rays, it means that we slept for an extremely long time.[43]

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[42] Munīf (2003), p. 137.
[43] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 19.

In this dialogue, three interlocutors are involved. The first one is Munīr who states that the growth of the plants is connected to the effect of the blue rays. Ṣabāḥ replies that this cannot have happened as the unknown person has aimed the blue rays on their bodies and not towards the plants. Muḥyi, the third interlocutor, replies by giving a conditional statement. He repeats the proposition "If the plants had been affected by the blue rays", which is previously mentioned in the other interlocutors' speech, in the protasis in order to set up the Topic of his conditional statement and draw attention to it before proceeding with the Focus Information of "it means that we slept for an extremely long time".

  b. Linguistic markers.

In this case, the speaker explicitly indicates that the content of the protasis is shared information between the interlocutors, and as such, the addressee is familiar with this particular information. The linguistic markers used are typically in the form of references, either demonstrative pronouns or phrases. These references usually indicate that the content of the protasis is already given in the preceding context. Therefore, it can be reasonable to claim that the content is doubly emphasized as Given information. According to the data, demonstrative pronouns (*asmāʾ al-ishārah*), especially the pronoun hādhā are the most common references used for the indication of Givenness. Consider the following: (S.17)

  S. 17) Al-ẓābiṭ: *yuqālu inna al-fatāta allatī ṣanaʿtahā tamarradat ʿalayka.*

    Al-muharrij: *idhā kāna hādhā ḥaqqan fa-innī sa-aḥtarimu tamarrudahā.*

<div dir="rtl">

الضابط: يُقال: إن الفتاة التي صنَعتها تمرّدَتْ عليك.

المهرّج: إذا كان هذا حقاً فإنّي سأحترم تمرّدها.

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The officer: It is said that the girl you trained has rebelled against you.

The comedian: If this is true, I will respect her rebellion.[44]

In this dialogue, the conditional sentence is uttered by the comedian. In the protasis of this sentence, the speaker refers, by the administrative pronoun *hādhā,* to a proposition that is already uttered by the addressee in the preceding context, which is the truth of the girl is being rebellious against the one who trained her. This topical proposition is not given by the one who uttered the conditional sentence. It is actually given by the addressee in a statement that precedes the conditional sentence. Hence, we can read the conditional sentence as

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[44] Ḥannā (2004), p. 115.

follows: I am talking about the truth of the assumption you have just said; if it is true, it is something I will respect.

Another pronoun that is attested in the data is *dhālika* (that) as in (S.18):

S. 18) Nazīh: *wa lākinnanī aᶜtaqidu anna amīna al-shuᶜbati sa-yaghḍabu fī-mā idhā ᶜarafa bi-sahratinā hādhihi al-laylata.*

ᶜĀṣim: idhā kāna dhālika tafkīrahu fa-huwa sādhijun lā yaḥiqqu li-aḥadin al-tadakhkhulu fī ḥayātinā al-khāṣṣati.

نزيـــه: ولكنني أعتقد أن أمين الشعبة سيغضب فيما إذا عرف بسهرتنا هذه الليلة.

عاصم: إذا كان ذلك تفكيره، فهو ساذجٌ، لا يحق لأحد التدخل في حياتنا الخاصة.

Nazīh: However, I think that the head of the unit will be angry if he knows about us staying up late this night.

ᶜĀṣim: If this is what he thinks, then he is naive. No one has the right to intervene in our private life [45]

In this dialogue, there are two conditional sentences. The second one is the case I am examining now as the first one belongs to the final protasis position, which will be analysed in the next section. In this dialogue, ᶜĀṣim's conditional statement retains the pronoun *dhālikā* in its protasis, referring to a proposition that is already provided by the addressee (Nazīh) in the preceding context, which is that the head of department will be angry if he knows that the students stayed up during the night.

Sometimes, reference to a previously given proposition can be made phrases. Consider (S.19):

S. 19) al-muharrij: *lan yarḍā mawlāya al-maliku ᶜan hādhā al-taṣarrufi. wa idhā kunta kamā dhakarta min anṣārihi fa-l-tuʾajjil ijrāʾaka ḥattā al-ṣabāḥi ḥattā nastawḍiḥa mawqifahu.*

المهرج: لن يرضى مولاي الملك عن هذا التصرف. و إذا كنت كما ذكرت من أنصاره فلتؤجّل إجراءك حتى الصباح حتى نستوضح موقفه (الوزير).

The comedian: The King will not accept this behaviour, and if you are, as you said, one of his supporters, then delay this matter till the morning so that we can more clearly understand his position (the minister).[46]

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[45] Dabābnah (2000), p. 16.

In this sentence uttered by the comedian, the phrase kamā dhakarta "as you said" plays the role of indicating that the proposition is already shared information between the interlocutors, which is that the addressee is one of the King's supporters. The speaker is reactivating a proposition that has been provided by his addressee (al-ẓābiṭ) in a previous context, and then sets up his main Topic before he utters the Focus Information in the apodosis. For clarity, the addressee in an earlier paragraph stated that he is responsible for guarding the King and the kingdom.[47]

ii. Covert shared knowledge.

In this case, the whole prediction in the protasis, which is the Topic of the conditional sentence, is already established in the addressee's mind, but in an indirect way. That is to say there is implicit evidence which signals the awareness of the addressee. It is actually deduced from the whole context surrounding the text. According to the data of MWA conditionals, this covert shared knowledge can be acquired through two sources:

a. Extra-linguistic context.

Shared information between the interlocutors can be established through non-linguistic context, i.e. it is not indicated by prior verbal context or explicit linguistic markers. Chafe points out that the environment in which the utterance is produced involves some objects or perceptions that are already in the speaker's and the addressee's minds.[48] Let us put this into practice by considering the following example (S.20):

S. 20) *wa in muttu fa-ḥāwilū qadra al-imkāni iḥḍāra judhdhatī ilā hunā.*

<div dir="rtl">وإن متّ فحاولوا قدر الإمكان إحضار جثّتي إلى هنا.</div>

If I die, then try, to the best of your abilities, to bring my body here. [49]

This sentence was uttered in the following context. There was a warrior whose name was ʿAlī al-Waḥsh. This man usually went alone near to his enemy's territory and fought against them. One day, before he set off, he said the above sentence to his friends. The Topic of this sentence is the fact of his death being a possible event. The speaker appeared to believe that the addressee was already aware of the possibility of such a tragic event. The source of this

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[46] Ḥannā (2004), p. 116.
[47] Ibid. p. 113.
[48] Chafe (1976), p. 31.
[49] Jubūr (2004), p. 100.

awareness is not a linguistic one (i.e. previous context or linguistic markers), rather, it is the environment surrounding the whole discourse. That is to say in the area where the fighting was taking place, there were only two possible outcomes for the fighters involved in the fighting; either they would die or live. Therefore, the proposition presented in the protasis can be regarded as shared information between the interlocutors even though it is not explicitly indicated.

b. Inference:

In this case, the topical proposition that is held by the protasis clause is not mentioned in the previous context in a straightforward manner. Rather, it is inferred from some earlier statements. Hence, when the speakers utter the proposition located in the protasis as being the Topic of the whole sentence, they may believe that this proposition is already stored in the addressee's mind since it can be seen as shared information that is accessed through the inference process. In this sense, the Topic, which is expressed by the protasis, can be classified as a 'Sub-topic' not as a direct 'Given-topic'. This view is adopted by some Functional Grammar linguists who distinguish between these two concepts. This is linked to the psycholinguistic effort that it takes to identify the Topic of the sentence, which is greater in the Sub-topic than it takes for the Given-topic.[50] It also corresponds to the notion 'Semi-active topic' in opposition to 'Active topic which is directly and explicitly given by the preceding context.[51] This is due to the fact the process of activating the Topic needs some time as a result of the inferencing activity in the addressee's mind. According to the data, this type of Topic is not as common as the one given explicitly by the preceding context. Let us consider the following example. (S.21):

S. 21) *idhā ḥaḍara wāliduhā ilā al-mustashfā sa-yaʿlamu kulla shayʾin.*

إذا حضر والدها إلى المستشفى سيعلم كل شيء.

If her father comes to the hospital, he will find out everything.[52]

We should consider the context in which this sentence was uttered in order to understand the inference process. Here, a mentally disturbed patient committed suicide in hospital. A man from the hospital called her family asking whether the father is at home so that he could

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[50] Dik (1997 a), p. 323-324; González (2001), pp. 149-150.
[51] Chafe (1992), vol. 2. p. 216; Siewierska (1991), pp. 157-158.
[52] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 35.

speak with him. Aḥlām, one of his daughters, replied that her father was not at home. The caller gave her some information about the case without giving more details as she asked him; instead he chose to utter the sentence above. The Topic of this sentence, which is the father coming to the hospital, is not directly given by the previous context i.e. it is not explicitly repeated. However, it can be deduced from the sentence uttered by the caller when he asked for the father, bearing in mind that he did not tell the daughter any more details. This could, in the addressee's mind, imply the necessity of the father going to the hospital. It can be, then, seen that the caller sets off his sentence with a piece of information that is deduced from an earlier statement. Another example from the data in a similar vein is (S.22):

S. 22) *sa-abqā ʿindaka al-laylata, rubbamā law ʿudtu ilā baytī lā astaṭīʿu an anāma ḥattā al-ṣabāḥi.*

سأبقى عندك الليلة، ربما لو عدت إلى بيتي لا أستطيع أن أنام حتى الصباح

I will stay with you tonight [as] if I go back home, I might not be able to sleep until morning.[53]

Here, there are two complete statements; the first one is an asserted statement *sa-abqā ʿindaka al-laylata*, and the second one is a conditional statement that follows it. The propositional content expressed in the protasis is not directly retrievable from the previous context. However, it is possibly deduced from the statement prior to it *sa-abqā ʿindaka al-laylata*, which is opposed to the statement given in the protasis. In other words, saying that my intention to stay with you implies that my return home is unlikely.

Following in a similar vein, Lowe, speaking of English conditionals, describes such phenomena as "incompletely retrievable possible world conditionals"[54], which means that the speaker delivers a piece of information in the protasis which he/she assumes that the addressee is aware of, but has not been explicitly established in the preceding context. Rather, it is inferred and understandable from some previous statements. He provides the following example: (S.23):

S. 23) John: I will demand a jury trial. If I fail and it goes to an Admiralty Court, my first question will be whether impressment is ever legal.[55]

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[53] Dabābnah (2000), p. 47.
[54] Lowe (1992), p. 346.
[55] Ibid., p. 348.

The proposition "I fail" expressed in the protasis is not a direct repetition of a previous statement. However, as Lowe points out, this proposition can be deduced from the statement that was mentioned before, which is "I will demand a jury trial". That is to say when a lawyer requests a jury trial, his request can either be granted or rejected.[56]

iii. Assumed familiar protasis.[57]

This is the third status of the topical proposition given by initial protasis. In this case, the speaker assumes that the propositional content presented in the protasis is familiar to the addressee. Therefore, the Topic of the whole clause is, as the speaker thinks, already stored in the addressee's awareness, hence it can be seen as an identifiable proposition which allows the addressee to follow the speaker's new comment on it. Here, the nature of the proposition is different from the one explained above since this proposition is not given in the preceding context or linguistically/extra-linguistically provided. According to the data, an assumed familiar protasis is common in contexts where the speaker talks about general concepts and facts. Consider the following example (S.24):

S. 24) *idhā akhadhnā silkan daqīqan wa lamasnā bi-hi nuqtata ḥissin bāridatin aḥsasnā bi-al-burūdati.*

إذا أخذنا سلكاً دقيقاً ولمسنا به نقطة حس باردة أحسسنا بالبرودة.

When (ever) we touch a cool point with a thin wire, we feel the cold.[58]

In the sentence, the speaker is describing a scientific process where whenever we make a physical connection between a thin wire and a cool point, we can feel the cold. Although the speaker has not mentioned anything about the propositional content of the protasis in the context that precedes it, he seems to assume that the addressee is familiar with the set of entities he is talking about, i.e. the addressee already knows the meaning of the words: *akhadhnā silkan daqīqan wa lamasnā bi-hi nuqtata ḥissin bāridatan*, either individually or collectively. This accords with Roberts's point of view of the definition of Topic in general.

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[56] Ibid.
[57] I have borrowed this term from González (2001), p. 37.
[58] Maḥfūẓ (2003), p. 127.

He considers that the familiarity of the topical proposition can be established by a set of familiar entities.[59] Another supportive example is provided in (S.25):

S. 25) *fa-idhā khadasha al-qiṭṭu uṣbuʿa al-ṭifli thāra minnā al-ḍaḥiku, ammā idhā ʿaḍḍahu kalbun taḥarraka fī nufūsinā al-ḥuznu.*

فإذا خدش القط أصبع الطفل ثار منا الضحك، أما إذا عضه كلب فهشم أصابعه تحرك في نفوسنا الحزن

And if the cat scratches the child's finger, we burst out laughing, but if a dog bites him and crushes his fingers, sadness stirs in our souls.[60]

The context in which this utterance is said is about providing an explanation for the phenomenon of laughter. The speaker is aiming to provide psychological reasons for why we experience laughter in our life. One of the possible reasons he gives is that laughter is a result of our intention to balance ourselves psychologically when faced with issues of joy and sadness. This is why we laugh when some small trouble afflicts those close to us while we feel sad when something significant befalls them. After he supplies this reason, the speaker supports it by giving the example above. In the example, there are two conditional sentences. The protases of the two sentences form the Topic of the utterance. They are that of the child being scratched by a cat in the first sentence and the child being bitten by a dog in the second. The speaker assumes that the addressee has already stored these actions in his/her mind since they are typical recurrent actions in our world. Hence, it is easy for the addressee to recall the propositional content of the Topic of the whole sentence without receiving a previous indication in the preceding context.

In some other contexts, the proposition of the protasis presents a specific case in which the speaker assumes its familiarity to his/her addressee and hypothesises its possible future occurrence. (S.26) below is a good example to illustrate this matter:

S. 26) *idhā shāhadta ʿājizan ṭalaba musāʿadatika, mā tafʿalu?*

إذا شاهدت عاجزاً طلب مساعدتك ما تفعل؟

If you come across a helpless person asking for your help, what will you do?[61]

The Topic of this sentence is the possibility that the addressee may come across a person who needs his help in the future. This proposition is given by the protasis. Although this

[59] Roberts (2010), p. 1928.
[60] Maḥmūd (1996), p. 56.
[61] Jawdat (2004), p. 12.

proposition has not been provided in the preceding context, the speaker seems to consider it recognisable and familiar to the addressee's mind. This is evidenced by the addressee's immediate reply, given in the text, to the question: *ḥasaba ḥājati al-ᶜājizi ilayya* (it depends on his needs). If the addressee had not been able to identify the situation given by the speaker, he would not have been able to reply to him.

iv. Semi-given protasis.

In this case, the whole predication located in the protasis is not shared information between the speaker and the addressee. However, some elements that are held by the predication are regarded as being given in the preceding context. In this case, the speaker aims to establish part of the frame-setting of the whole sentence, which is already stored in the addressee's mind. This means that some other parts of the predication are considered as New information or assumed to be familiar to the addressee. Let us consider the following sentences (S.27 and S.28):

S. 27) *law anna hādhā al-baḥra kāna mawjūdan fī Ḥalaba la-zādat ᶜarāqatuhā wa ahammiyyatuhā.*

لو أن هذا البحر كان موجوداً في حلب لزادت عراقتها وأهميتها.

If this sea was in Aleppo, then its deep heritage and significance would be more.[62]

S. 28) *ijlis ilā jaddika al-Sirdāri yaḥkī laka ḥikāyātin lan tamalla samāᶜahā. in lam yukmil la-ka ḥikāyata al-miṣriyyi al-sāḥiri fa-lan taẓfara minnī bi-muwāfaqatin ᶜalā istimtāᶜika bi-l-laᶜibi maᶜa aqrānika fī al-ḥayyi.*

اجلس إلى جدك السردار، يحكي لك حكايات لن تمل سماعها، إن لم يكمل لك حكاية المصري الساحر فلن تظفر مني بموافقة على استمتاعك باللعب مع أقرانك في الحي.

Sit at your grandfather Sirdar, so that he may tell you of tales that you will never tire of hearing. If he does not complete the tale of the Egyptian magician, I will not give you permission to enjoy playing with your peers in the neighbourhood.[63]

In (S.27), the protasis holds the following predication of the preference for the existence of the sea in Aleppo. The propositional content of this predication is neither entirely Given nor New. However, there is actually an element in the predication that is previously mentioned in

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[62] Jawdat (2004), p. 83.
[63] Ibrāhīm (2010), p. 58.

the context, which is *al-baḥr*. This element has been mentioned by the speaker on earlier pages several times.[64] This signifies its familiarity to the addressee before the conditional sentence is uttered. Hence, the predication in the protasis is partially encoded in the addressee's mind.

In (S.28), the context of this sentence is as follows: a father is talking to his son and advising him to sit with his grandfather and listen to the stories he likes to tell others. The father then, in the scope of the protasis, draws his son's attention to a particular story, which is about anEgyptian magician. The father intimates that if his son does not manage to listen to the whole story, he will be banned from going out and playing with his peers. As can be obviously seen, the word *ḥikāyah* located in the protasis is already given as it forms one single representative of the plural word *ḥikāyāt* which is uttered before the conditional sentence. However, the whole predication of not listening to the whole story of the Egyptian magician is not stored in the addressee's mind, and hence it is not shared information between the interlocutors.

To sum up, the initial protasis typically presents the Topic of the conditional sentence. This Topic is normally accessible and identifiable by the addressee as being either shared (directly or indirectly), familiar or partially Given information.

6.3.2. Final protasis:

In Arabic, the protasis can occur in the final position of a conditional sentence, i.e. it follows the apodosis. This order goes against the universal order (if p, q), which is regarded as optional in some languages and obligatory in some others.[65] According to the data, 'apodosis + protasis' order scores 151 tokens out of 628, which represents 24% of the total. In addition, it is worth noting, according to the data, that this order acceptably occurs in the context of Content, Speech act and Metalinguistic conditionals. By contrast, Inferential and Identifying conditionals do not use this order apart from a very few cases with a connection to Inferential conditionals as will be shown in (S.31) below. There seems to be a logical reason behind this. This is that the conclusion presented by the apodosis of Inferential conditionals cannot be introduced before the premise, and it is not plausible for the identified clause held by the

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[64] Ibid. pp. 79, 82.
[65] Comrie (1986), p. 83

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apodosis to be located before the identifying one.[66] In the following lines, I will examine the conditional clauses in terms of their IS functions and organisational functions. Overall, final protasis, unlike initial protasis, can present either of the following two functions: setting up the Topic of the sentence or providing the Focus information.

a) Final protasis as Topic:

In this case, the final protasis expresses the Topic which the whole sentence is about, while the apodosis serves as the function of Focus information that the speaker desires to convey to the addressee. As such, the Topic is placed in the final position after the Focus. This, thus, allows for the "New-Given" order, which is not the typical order as mentioned above (6.2.2).[67] Also, it dissociates the notion of Topic from the function of being the departure point of the message. This contrasts with the initial protasis position discussed above, where the topic is the same as the departure point of the message. Instead, the starting point is actually presented by the Focus information that is held by the apodosis. According to the data, this is the most common trend found in MWA conditionals with regard to the final protasis position since many examples with this function have been attested. Let us now consider the following examples (S.29, S.30 and S.31):

S. 29) *qad tuqliᶜu ᶜani al-ghināʾi idhā baqiyat ᶜalā hādhihi al-ḥālati al-kaʾībati.*

قد تُقلع عن الغناء إذا بقيت على هذه الحالة الكئيبة

She might quit singing if she stays in this depressing situation.[68]

S. 30) *hal takhṭifuhā anta idhā kāna abūhā sa-yuzawwijuhā.*

هل تخطفها أنت إذا كان أبوها سيزوجها

How dare you persist to marry her (take her away with you) knowing that her father is going to marry her [to someone else].[69]

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[66] Athanasiadou and Derven (2000) state that "preposing the consequent would not make any sense in identifying pragmatic conditionals".

[67] See page 204 above.

[68] Ḥannā (2004), p. 98.

[69] Al-ᶜUlayyān (2010), p. 156.

S. 31) *wa lākinnanī aᶜtaqidu anna amīna al-shuᶜbati sa-yaghḍabu fī-mā idhā ᶜarafa bi-sahratinā hādhihi al-laylata, innahu mutazammitun.*

ولكنني أعتقد أن أمين الشعبة سيغضب فيما إذا عرف بسهرتنا هذه الليلة، إنه متزمت.

I think that the head of the unit will be angry if he knows about our staying up late this night. He is unyielding.[70]

In (S.29), the speaker talks about a girl who has become isolated and stopped socializing with others. He indicates that she may give up singing, which is signified by the apodosis, if she remains in a depressed condition. The Topic that is talked about is the propositional content expressed by the final protasis. Applying the question test, we can be sure of the topicality of the protasis since the conditional sentence can be an answer of the following question: What will happen to her if she stays in this condition? Besides, this topical proposition is already given in the previous context and the Focus is New information.

(S.30) is an example of Speech act conditionals. Here, the Topic of the sentence is expressed by the protasis which is located finally and the Focus information is denoted by the initial apodosis. This is due to the fact that the propositional content of the final protasis is given in the preceding context and, thus, already established in the addressee's mind.

(S.31) provides an example of Inferential conditionals, which, as I mentioned earlier, is very rare to find with the final protasis position. In this sentence, the speaker expresses his logical conclusion with regard to what will happen if the head of the department is informed about their staying up late at night. The speaker then gives the reason for this conclusion, which is that this person, the head of the department, is strict and unyielding. The topicality of the protasis can be tested through the sentence's capability of being a suitable answer to the following question: What do you think will happen if the head of the unit knows that we stayed up late at night? The topical proposition presented in the protasis has already been indirectly established in the previous context as the speaker said before uttering the conditional sentence: *kānat laylatan jamīlatan* (it was an beautiful night), referring to the party that made them stay up all the night. In the data examined, there are many examples that follow the same pattern in which the final protasis represents the Topic of the conditional sentence.

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[70] Dabābnah (2000), p. 16.

b) Final protasis as a Focus:

The final protasis can also express Focus rather than topical information. The Topic, in this case, is expressed by the initial apodosis. According to the data, this case is not common since only a few examples have been attested. Here, the protasis represents the information that the addressee needs to know about the Topic (i.e. Focus Information). Let us examine the following examples: (S.32)

S. 32) *wa ashāra ilā anna al-qiṭāʿa al-siyāḥiyya yumaththilu al-qiṭāʿa al-thāniyya fī nisbati saʿwadati al-waẓāʾifi fī al-mamlakati wa sayuṣbiḥu al-qiṭāʿa al-awwala li-tawẓīfi al-suʿūdiyyīna qarīban idhā tawāfarati furaṣu al-taḥfīzi al-munāsibah.*

و أشار إلى أن القطاع السياحي يمثل القطاع الثاني في نسبة سعودة الوظائف في المملكة، وسيصبح القطاع الأول لتوظيف السعوديين قريباً إذا توافرت فرص التحفيز المناسبة.

He pointed out that the tourism sector represents the second sector in terms of the percentage of Saudization in the Kingdom, and it will be the primary sector in employing Saudis soon if the appropriate stimulus to create opportunities becomes available. [71]

In (S.32), the speaker is talking about the Saudization of the job market in Saudi Arabia. In this particular paragraph, he is reporting part of the speech of the President of the Saudi Commission for Tourism and Antiquities who indicated that the tourism sector is now second in the number of Saudis that it employs. He then said that this sector will be soon the primary employer if a stimulus is made available that will encourage the creation of job opportunities. The apodosis here represents the topic of the sentence, which is the Saudization of the jobs in Saudi Arabia or, more precisely, the situation of Saudization in the tourism sector. Meanwhile, the final protasis produces the Focus information, which is the case of the stimulus making new jobs available. The conditional sentence here can be an answer to a question like this: When (or in which case) will the tourism sector become the top of provider for jobs in terms of Saudization?

The following is another example from the data to support the idea that a final protasis can be a Focus. Consider the following example: (S.33)

[71] Yūsuf, Fatḥ Allāh, 'al-Suʿūdiyyah Tuʿīd Tashkīl Khārīṭatihā al-Iqtiṣādiyyah bi- al-Tawassuʿ fī Istithmārat al-Qiṭāʿ al-Siyāḥī', *al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ*, 21/1/2014, p. 19.

S. 33) *hum yaᶜtaqilūna al-nāsa in takallamū aw li-mujarradi al-ishibāhi bi-him.*

هم يعتقلون الناس إن تكلموا أو لمجرد الاشتباه بهم

They arrest people if they talk or once they suspect them.[72]

Here, the initial apodosis denotes the Topic of the whole sentence, which is the police arresting people, and this proposition is already established in the mind of the interlocutors as it has been the major concern for them through the previous context and dialogue. We can support this by considering the sentence as an answer to the following: in which cases do the police arrest people?

One question can be posed here and needs to be answered: why do the speakers deviate from the typical and universal order? In other words, what makes the apodosis important to be brought in in initial position of the conditional sentence followed by the protasis, especially in the case of the final protasis being the Topic? By surveying many examples in the data, I found several functional reasons that are contextually bound and motivate the speaker to place the apodosis in the initial position. We can take the following functions:

i. **Preserving the coherence of the text.** Consider (S.34):

This may be seen as the most common function that the speaker desires to achieve by locating the apodosis before the protasis. The following example illustrates this aspect: (S.34):

S. 34) *lan takūna al-wasaṭiyyatu madrasatan wa lā madhhaban wa lā naẓariyyatan, qad takūnu hādhihi khātimatu al-maṭāfi wa hiya natījatun silbiyyatun fiᶜlan law jazamnā bi-hā.*

لن تكون الوسطية مدرسة ولا مذهباً ولا نظرية، قد تكون هذه خاتمة المطاف، وهي نتيجة سلبية فعلاً لو جزمنا بها.

"Moderation will not be a school of thought, a sect or a theory"; this [statement] could be the end of the discussion and it would be a negative result if we affirmed it.[73]

These sentences follow a long, previous discussion by the speaker regarding the definition of the term *wasaṭiyyah* (moderation). He concludes that *wasaṭiyyah* cannot be a school of

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[72] Jubūr (2000), p. 56.
[73] Al-Ghadhāmī (2013), p. 91.

thought or a sect or a theory. He then follows this by saying that this may be the end of the discussion about this term, implying it is still a vague term, but he also comments on this by saying that this would be a negative and disappointing result. This comment is retained by the apodosis and so it is consequently placed at the beginning of the conditional sentence in order to keep the text as coherent as possible.[74]

Retaining the coherence of the text by linking its segments together can also be driven by some contextual-bound factors:

a) Presenting a direct result from a previous statement. Consider (S.38):

S. 35) *diqqatu tafkīrika wa buʿdu naẓarika mathāru iʿjābī ayyuhā al-wazīru al-ḥādhiqu, li-dhālika uʿlinu tarshīḥaka li-khilāfati al-ʿahdi idhā tamma al-ittifāqu ʿalā al-takhalluṣi mina al-maliki.*

دقّة تفكيرك وبعد نظرك مثار إعجابي أيها الوزير الحـاذق، لذلك أعلن ترشيحك لخلافة العهد إذا تـمّ الاتفاق على التخلّص من الملك

O shrewd minister, the accuracy of your thinking and your farsightedness arouses my admiration. As such, I hereby announce your nomination to succeed the power if it is agreed to get rid of the King.[75]

This sentence is uttered by the head of the army talking to the one of the King's ministers. He says that he admires the way that the minister thinks. This results in him declaring his nomination of the minister as a successor to the King, provided all parties agree on taking the present King's life. As can be seen, the apodosis present the result as New information, but the speaker prefers to directly link this result with its preceding introduction without any separation in order to keep the text as coherent as possible (i.e. his decision to choose the minister is as a result of his admiration of the minister's intelligence). The Topic of the

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[74] This example is problematic in terms of which clause is the Topic of the whole sentence; is it the initial apodosis or the final protasis? If it is the initial apodosis, it will be a Topic that carries Semi-given information; if it is the final protasis, it will be a Topic that carries Covert shared knowledge, since the the speaker's assertiveness might be deduced/ inferred from the previous statement uttered at the beginning of the text *lan takūna al-wasaṭiyyatu madrasatan wa lā madhhaban wa lā naẓariyyah* (moderation will not be a school of thought, a sect or a theory). Nevertheless, my intuition would go with the first possibility (i.e. the initial apodosis).

[75] Ḥannā (2004), p. 23.

conditional sentence, which is conveyed by the protasis, is given, shared information since the matter (the King's elimination) was discussed previously by all the parties.

b) Providing a reason that is linked to the previous discourse. Consider (S.36):

S. 36) *ammā raʾyī (fī ubuwwatika) alladhī tuqsimu ʿalayya bi-anna uʿlinahu bi-ṣarāḥatin fa-innī akhāfu an taghḍaba idhā abdaytuhu la-ka.*

<div dir="rtl">

أما رأيي [في أبوتك] الذي تقسم علي بأن أعلنه بصراحة فإني أخاف أن تغضب إذا أبديته لك.

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My opinion [on your paternity], which you are obliging me to announce frankly, I feel afraid that you might get angry if I reveal it.[76]

Here, the speaker is starting his statement with a clause that can be seen as an orienter that is attributed to the Topic of the conditional sentence as a whole (which is giving an opinion). This orienter clause is referring to the addressee's desire to know the speaker's opinion about his fatherhood (it is not mentioned in the sentence, but it was referred to in the wider discourse of the sentence). The speaker does not seem want to reveal his opinion, as he refers to the addressee's insistence on knowing by using the word *tuqsimu*, implying to gain a pledge or an oath from someone. The speaker then gives the reason for his refusal to reveal his opinion, which is denoted by the initial apodosis; it is because he is concerned with the addressee's anger if he declares his opinion. The apodosis here provides us with the Focus information while the protasis denotes the Topic.

c) The apodosis carries a direct response to the addressee's statement.

In this case, the speaker delivers by the means of the apodosis, an uninterrupted reply to what the addressee is saying, which he believes is incorrect. Let us consider the following dialogue:

S. 37) Al-qāḍī: *innaka la-qātil. hal tunkiru dhālika?*

Niḍāl: *lam yaḥduth an dhabaḥtu ṭiflan.*

Al-qāḍī: *bal tafʿalu law utīḥat laka al-furṣatu.*

<div dir="rtl">

القاضي: إنك لقاتل. هل تنكر ذلك؟

نضال: لم يحدث أن ذبحت طفلاً.

القاضي : بل تفعل لو أتيحت لك الفرصة.

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The judge: You are a murderer, do you deny that?

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76 Al-Ṭanṭāwī (2012), p. 22.

Nidal: I have never killed a child.

The judge: You would do if you had the opportunity.[77]

As can be seen, the conditional sentence (the third sentence) is preceded by two statements, which is as follows. First, the judge is accusing Niḍāl of being a murderer. Second, Niḍāl denies the judge's accusation that by saying that he has never killed a child. The judge then responds that he believes that Niḍāl would definitely do so if he had the chance. The clause *bal tafᶜalu* indicates a direct response to what Niḍāl just said i.e. his denial. Hence, this clause is brought initially before the protasis because the judge aims to disprove Niḍāl's denial in straightforward manner to ensure that the intended message is delivered without any interruption. This makes the psychological impact on the addressee more effective since if the protasis was placed initially, it is likely that the psychological impact would be weaker due to the interruption between Niḍāl's denial and the judge's response by a hypothetical clause, which is *law utīḥat la-ka al-furṣah*. As a result, the dialogue would not be perfectly coherent and linked. Here, the apodosis expresses the topic of the sentence which is already given, while the protasis expresses the Focus information.

ii. Presenting the mood of the apodosis as being the salient aspect of the sentence.

As seen earlier in several examples, the apodosis presents different sentence moods: declarative, interrogative and imperative. Hence, in some cases, the speaker presents the apodosis in the initial position of the conditional sentence in order to direct the addressee's attention to the mood, which assigns him the role of his appropriate reaction.[78] I will present two examples; one is for the interrogative mood and the other is for the imperative mood respectively: (S.38-39)

S. 38) *mādhā sa-yaḥduthu law intashara al-khabaru bayna zamīlātī.*

<div dir="rtl">ماذا سيحدث لو انتشر الخبر بين زميلاتي</div>

What would happen if news spread among my colleagues?[79]

S. 39) *uᶜdhirīnī in aḥrajtuki aw jaraḥtuki.*

<div dir="rtl">اعذريني إن أحرجتك أو جرحتك</div>

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[77] Gāda al-Ḥaq (1998), p. 26.
[78] See Dwoning (1991), p. 129 for the functions of initial elements in general.
[79] Al-ᶜUlayyān (2010), p. 136.

Please, forgive me if I have put you in an awkward situation or if I upset you.[80]

In (S.38), the mood conveyed by the initial apodosis is interrogative. Here, the speaker is concerned with the question of what will happen in case her private secrets were spread in her friendship community. The speaker, then, aims to draw, as a priority, the addressee's attention to this question and start her message from it as she wants to imply: it is what will happen that I am concerned about more. In (S.39), the speaker prefers to starts his utterance with an imperative mood as, it seems, he thinks that asking the addressee (his lover) for forgiveness is the most important and relevant to say in his particular situation.

iii. Setting up the Topic of the conditional sentence.

In this case, the speaker aims to bring the propositional content of the apodosis to the initial place only to introduce the Topic of the conditional sentence. Hence, the sentence preserves the typical order "Topic-Focus". Consider the following sentence: (S.40)

S. 40) *lan natamakkana min taṣawwuri maᶜnan taʾsīsiyyin li-naẓariyyati al-wasaṭiyyati idhā lam nanṭaliq min naẓariyyati al-ᶜadālati.*

<div dir="rtl">

لن نتمكن من تصور معنى تأسيسي لنظرية الوسطية إذا لم ننطلق من نظرية العدالة.
</div>

We will not be able to envisage a constituentive sense of the moderation theory if we do not proceed from the theory of justice.[81]

In this sentence, the speaker starts his utterance with the apodosis followed by the protasis. He provides the addressee with what he thinks should be encoded first by his recipient, which is the Topic of the sentence. The Topic spoken about is the difficulty of establishing a constituent meaning for the theory of *wasaṭiyyah*. This sets up the background of the sentence in the addressee's awareness, which paves the way to receive the Focus information, which is here: the case of the theory of justice not being a foundation for our investigation.

To sum up, the protasis being in the final position can convey two discourse functions: Topic and Focus. This indicates that Topic is not necessarily located in the initial position.

6.3.3. Medial protasis:

In this case, the protasis acts as a parenthetical proposition which is located in the middle between parts of another proposition. In other word, it interrupts another complete sentence

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[80] Ibid., p. 101.
[81] Al-Ghadhāmī (2013), p. 98.

by a condition which the speaker thinks is relevant to that complete sentence. This case is, according to the data, an unusual structural behaviour in MAW conditionals since only 17 occurrences have been recorded, representing only 3% of the total. The following examples illustrate this situation: (S.41-42)

S. 41) *hādhā al-amru in ḥaṣala yakūnu ᶜalāmata shuʾmin yā mawlāya.*

هذا الأمر – إنْ حصل – يكون علامة شؤمٍ يا مولاي.

Sir, if this happens, it will be an ominous sign.[82]

S. 42) *wa qāla mūsā: inna al-raʾīsa al-muqbila idhā kāna al-Sīsiyya fa-sa-yakūnu murashshaḥan bi-waṣfihi al-qāʾida al-ᶜāmma al-sābiqa li-l-quwwāti al-musallaḥati.*

وقال موسى: إن الرئيس المقبل – إذا كان السيسي– فسيكون مرشحاً بوصفه القائد العام السابق للقوات المسلحة.

Mūsā said: "If the next president is al-Sisi, he will have been nominated as the former commander in chief of the armed forces".[83]

In (S.41), the context that precedes this sentence is relevant. The King asked his chamberlain to tell him a funny joke. The chamberlain replied: what if his joke is not funny? The King replied by saying that the Minster's chamberlain will ride on his back (the King's chamberlain) in front of the whole crew, which is embarrassing. Then, the chamberlain uttered the sentence above. Therefore, the phrase *hādhā al-amru* refers to the action of Minster's chamberlain which may happen, and if it happens, it will be a sign of misfortune for the King's throne As can be seen, the protasis *in ḥaṣal* is located between the constituents of another sentence. That is the subject/topic *hādhā al-amru,* which is Given, and its predicate/focus *yakūnu ᶜalāmata shuʾmin,* which is New.

In (S.42), the speaker is talking about who possibly will be the President of Egypt in the future. He is saying: in case al-Sīsī wins the election, he will have been nominated as the former leader of the Armed Forces Hence, his nomination will be valid since he already left his position as leader. According to the previous context, the subject/topic *al-raʾīsa* is Given and the predicate/focus *fa-sa-yakūnu murashshaḥan bi-waṣfihi al-qāʾida al-ᶜāmma al-sābiqa li-l-quwwāti al-musallaḥati* is New. The protasis is placed between these two segments.

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[82] Ḥannā (2004), p. 35.
[83] 'Al-Raʾīs al-Maṣrī al-Muʾaqqat', *al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ,* 21/1/2014, p. 6.

6.4. Discussion:

This section discusses the key findings from the analysis of the conditional sentences in MWA which address the following research question:

How do conditional sentences act contextually and functionally in the text?

To find an answer to this question, two main criteria have been considered: the clause order and the preceding context. These criteria have shown us how the speaker makes a choice of a particular clause order when uttering a conditional sentence, and consequently, how the speaker perceives the propositional content with connection to the addressee's awareness. The following lines will highlight the main findings that emerge by applying these two criteria.

The analysis has presented the initial protasis as dominant over the other possible orders, final protasis, and medial protasis. This follows the universal rule that generalises this order as typical. That is to say it has been observed cross-linguistically that the most common pattern in conditional structures is the placing the protasis in the initial position. In this respect, Greenberg's statement that recognises the universal tendency of this usage holds true with respect to Arabic conditionals: "In conditional statements, the conditional clause (protasis) precedes the conclusion (apodosis) as the normal order in all languages".[84] Moreover, this order has been statistically examined and viewed as the most common by Sartori in the context of Modern Literary Arabic, and Ford and Thompson, in English context. Table 24 compares my study with the aforementioned two studies:

Study Protasis position	English Ford and Thompson (1986)	Arabic Sartori (2011)	Arabic The present study
Initial	337 (77%)	199 (70.4%)	460 (73%)
Final	113 (23%)	84 (29.6%)	151(24%)
Medial	N/A	N/A	17 (3%)
Total	490	283	628

Table 24. Distribution of clause order in conditional sentences in MWA with comparison to Ford and Thomson (1986) and Sartori (2011)

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[84] Greenberg (1963), p. 84. See also Comrie (1986), p. 83; Dik (1990), p. 238.

Hence, this result refutes Badawi *et al.*'s view that the "apodosis + protasis" order is the most common order in MWA conditional sentences. [85]

We have also seen in the analysis above that initial protases of MWA conditionals typically represent the discourse function 'Topic', which is the entity that is spoken about in a particular sentence. Apparently, as Haiman states, this is due to the similarity between Topic characteristics and protasis characteristics in that both "constitute the framework which has been selected for the following discourse".[86] As a result, the speaker appears to aim at orienting the addressee's attention and bring his focus to the central scope of his utterance.[87] That is why some linguists classify the initial protasis as part of what they call "the clauses with Orientation function".[88] Hence, it can be concluded, as Comrie did following Haiman, that "since topics tend cross-linguistically to occur sentence-initially, it would follow that conditional protases should also occur sentence-initially".[89]

In terms of the Given-New division, we have seen that the content of the protasis, which receives a topical function, can be accessed by the addressee through various informational or cognitive statuses. This may be manifested through (i) overt shared knowledge that can be acquired via the preceding context or linguistic markers, (ii) covert shared information that can be achieved through extra-linguistic context or inferential process, (ii) previous familiarity, and (iv) a partially-Given proposition. This may suggest the appropriateness of the notion 'Shared Accessibility' as a strong feature of the protasis. This has been proposed by Dancygier in the context of English conditionals. Hence, overt shared knowledge or Given information forms part of the aforementioned notion.[90] This, as a result, would weaken the view that mainly connects the topicality of the protasis with the concept of shared knowledge which is obtained only via its recoverability from the preceding context. This view, which seems narrow, has been held by Ford and Thompson in their study of English conditionals in written texts.[91]

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[85] Badawi *et al.* (2004), pp. 640, 659.
[86] Haiman (1978), p. 585.
[87] Ford (2005), p. 12.
[88] Dik (1997 b), pp. 395-396; Ford (2005), p. 12.
[89] Comrie (1986), p. 86.
[90] Dancygier (2006), pp. 134-137.
[91] Ford and Thompson (1986), p. 356.

It has also been shown by the present analysis that in one set of examples the final protasis has the function of 'Topic' while in another set it has the function of 'Focus', although the latter seems to be unusual in MWA. In addition, I aimed to reveal the functional factors behind those conditional structures in which the speaker deviates from the typical order (initial protasis) to the other order (final protasis). These factors have a significant connection with the preceding context. That is to say, that the speaker desires, by bringing the apodosis forward, to preserve the coherence of the text by creating a dynamic interaction between some of previous parts of the text and the propositional content expressed in the initial apodosis. This is exemplified in S.34 and 37 above. This reflects the findings of Dancygier who has noticed, in the context of English conditionals, that the initial apodosis is significant since it "allows guaranteeing the overall coherence of the text by continuing the main theme of the conversation or being a direct response to previous discourse".[92] She illustrates this with the following English example: (S.43)

S. 43) I will take you to the park tomorrow morning if it stops raining.[93]

This apodosis is brought forward because the speaker wants to keep the text coherent and contextually connected to what has previously been said. That is to say, this sentence is an answer to the following question: Can we go to the park tomorrow morning?

The medial protasis case has been identified as an unusual behaviour in the current data, acting as a parenthetical clause which comments on element(s) of another statement. Figure 11 illustrates the overall outcomes of the present study with respect to the clause order types and their discourse functions:

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[92] Dancygier (2006), p. 148.
[93] Ibid.

Types of clause order

Initial protasis — Topic

Final protasis — Topic

Final protasis — Focus

Medial protsis — Parenthetical clause
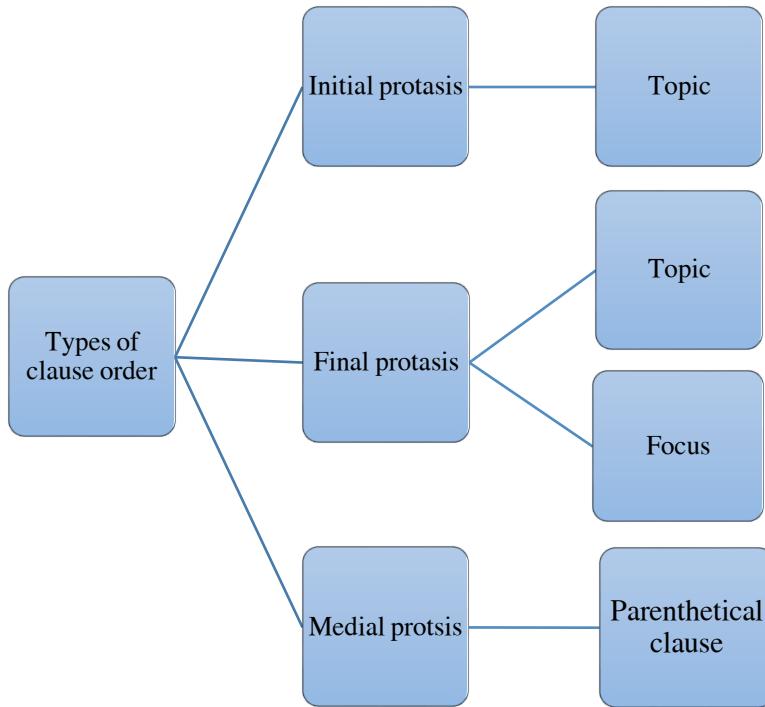
Figure 11. Types of clause order and their discourse functions in MWA conditionals.

Since the issue of the relation between topicality and givenness on the one hand, and conditional sentences on the other hand has already been investigated in detail in cross-linguistic studies, especially in English conditionals, in the following section I will discuss and compare my findings with the most well-known studies.

Haiman asserts that all protases in conditional sentences are Topics regardless of their positions whether they are in initial position or final position. The reason behind this view is that he believes that Topic and protasis are identical in that both retain the discourse function Given. He states: "Conditionals, like topics, are givens which constitute the frame of the reference with respect to which the main clause is either true… or felicitous".[94] Hence, the protases of the following English examples are the Topics of the sentence and also givens: (S.44-45):

S. 44) If Max comes, we will play poker.

S. 45) There is food in the fridge if you are hungry.[95]

Concerning the present analysis, even though the findings show that there is a tendency for the protasis to have the function Topic, it does not confirm that this is a regular trend (viz.

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[94] Ibid. p. 564.
[95] Ibid.

obligatory) in both protasis positions (initial and final). This finding is different from Haiman who generalises this trend. However, it could be reasonably said that the typicality of the protasis as the Topic of the sentence is only applicable when the protasis is located initially, as demonstrated in the analysis above. By contarast, the final protasis can also relays as the 'Focus' function, and the apodosis, which is located initially, relays the function 'Topic'. This is supported by Comrie's claim that protasis in English can be Focus and that, cross-linguistically, it tends to occur sentence-finally.[96] He supports his argument with the following example: (S.46):

S. 46) I will leave if you pay me.

He illustrates that the protasis is Focus in case this sentence is in response to (S.47):

S. 47) Under what circumstances will you leave?[97]

It is worth noting that Haiman regards the protasis as a contrastive topic that is "selected by the speaker apropos of thoughts that he has not yet communicated to his listener".[98] It is contrastive since it is "selected from a list of possible conditions".[99] Hence, it is old, shared information between the interlocutors. This implies that the propositional content of the protasis is not conditioned by direct indication in the previous context. This can correspond to what has been presented in the analysis where I have shown that the previous context forms one factor, among other factors, which contributes to the accessibility of topic presented by the protases of Arabic conditionals.

Akatsuka agrees with Haiman, viewing the protasis as a contrastive Topic. However, she disagrees with him on contrastive Topic as given entity/proposition. In her opinion, contrastive Topics can be New information.[100] She provides the following examples to support her opinion: (S.48. a and b):

Context: Person A notices that person B is looking for someone. A says to B:

S. 48. a) If it is Maria you want to know about, she is washing the dishes.

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[96] Comrie (1986), p. 86.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Haiman (1978), p. 584.
[99] Ibid., p. 572.
[100] Akatsuka (1986), pp. 348-349.

S. 48. b) As for Maria, she is washing the dishes.[101]

Akatsuka says we cannot consider Maria as having been mentioned in the previous context, nor can we see her as a Given because person A is not certain if Maria is the person that B is looking for.[102] Therefore, Akatsuka adopts two criteria for the topicality of the protasis: the preceding context and the speaker's attitude.[103] The latter indicates that given knowledge has to exist in the interlocutor's mind as well.[104] Hence, and as she illustrates, it is wrong to replace "As for", with "Speaking of", in (S.48. a and b) since the latter implies Givenness. In the next lines, I will discuss two points in relation to Akatsuka's view.

The first point is that it appears that Akatsuka does not consider the speaker's assumption of the addressees' familiarity with the propositional content as being a candidate for accesssable shared information. I disagree with her because I have shown through the analysis that the entity or proposition that is assumed to be familiar to the addressee (i.e. assumed familiarity), even if not talked about previously in the context, constitutes one of the cases that can be accessed or identified by the addressee. Hence, "Maria" should not be seen as New information because there is a possibility that the addressee knows "Maria". In this context, we can recall Chafe's conception for Givenness where he defines it as "information is that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance".[105]

The second point is related to considering the protasis as a new Topic. It seems that Akatsuka does not consider the whole content of the protasis in (S.46. a) as a Topic. She designates the entity "Maria" as the sole pivotal element of the clause. Even if we assume that "Maria" is the Topic of the sentence and it is New information, as Akatsuka believes, she overlooks the predicate and its complements 'want to know about' as being part of the whole content. In my opinion, this predicate is extra-linguistically given (i.e. acquired via the non-textual context that "person A is seeing person B is looking for someone"). In doing so, the proposition denoted by the protasis is not completely New. This is similar to what I identify above as a 'Semi-given Topic' and it can be applicable to (S.46. a), since part of the

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[101] Ibid., pp. 347-348.
[102] Ibid. p. 348.
[103] Ibid. p. 342.
[104] Ibid. p. 349.
[105] Chafe (1976), p. 30. See similar: Abdul-Raof (1998), p. 104.

proposition that is expressed by the protasis is given by a non-textual source, and the other part (i.e. Maria) is not given at all.

Like Schiffrin in her analysis of English conditionals, I too consider the clause order parameter as an important criterion for examining the conditional sentence in terms of IS functions.[106] This goes against the views of Haiman and Akatsuka, who seem to believe that labelling the protasis as a Topic is not affected by the clause order, i.e. the protasis is Topic whether it is located in the initial or final position of the sentence. Dancygier's analysis of English conditionals seems to provide similar findings to those of Schiffrin.[107] My analysis of MWA conditionals may be better seen as an analogous to the results given by Schiffrin and Dancygier with respect to the functions of initial and final protases, i.e. initial protasis presents Given information and thus it is Topic, and final protasis presents either Given (Topic) or New (Focus) information. As I have already provided English examples for the protasis as being Given in initial and final positions, as illustrated by Haiman above (See S.44 and S.45 above), I will now give two English examples that demonstrate final protasis with New information that thus holds the function of Focus information. One comes from Schiffrin and the other comes from Dancygier. Consider (S. 49-50):

S. 49) Henry: I do not go out of my way.

Zelda: Well you would go out of your way!

Henry: I would if it called for it.[108]

S. 50) I will take you to the park tomorrow morning if it stops raining.[109]

In the case of (S.49), Schiffrin points out that the protasis "if it called for it" is a new piece of information, i.e. which has not been established through the previous context. Meanwhile the apodosis holds the propositional content of "going out of one's way", which is mentioned earlier in the context of both Henry and Zelda, and therefore represents the Topic of the sentence. As for (S.50), Dancygier indicates that the initial apodosis "taking someone to the park tomorrow morning" is the Topic of the sentence when it is in response to the following question: "Can we go to the park tomorrow morning?" For the sake of comparison, I will

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[106] Schiffrin (1992), pp. 171, 179-193.
[107] Dancygier (2006), pp. 137, 153-159.
[108] Schiffrin (1992), p. 159.
[109] Dancygier (2006), p. 148.

repeat an example from my data analysis which is very similar to the English examples S.49 and S.50 above. Consider (S.33):

S. 33) *hum yaʿtaqilūna al-nāsa in takallamū aw li-mujarradi al-ishtibāhi bi-him.*

هم يعتقلون الناس إن تكلموا أو لمجرد الاشتباه بهم

They arrest people if they talk or even if they just suspect them. [110]

The proposition *in takallamū aw li-mujarradi al-ishtibāhi bihim* in (S.33) can be seen functionally as New and Focus information comparable to the propositions "if it called for it" in (S.49), and "if it stops raining" in (S.50) above.

Finally, it is worth saying that my findings also confirm al-Mutawakkil's hypothesis that the protasis of Arabic conditionals can be acceptably applicable as either Topic or Focus. However, he does not seem to link this to the clause order parameter as I did in my analysis. This has led him to believe, contrary to the present study, that an initial protasis can also have the function 'Focus'.[111] He provides the following artificial example: (S.51):

S. 51) *idhā qadimat Hindun sa-yakhruju Khālidun.*

إذا قدمت هند سيخرج خالد

If Hind comes, Khalid will leave.[112]

He suggests this sentence as a response to a statement such as: *sa-yakhruju Khalidun idhā istafazzahu aḥadu al-ḥāḍirīn* (Khalid will leave if he is provoked by one of those present). The Topic of (S.51), which is Given and expressed by the final apodosis, is the possibility of Khalid's leaving in the future, while the Focus is expressed by the initial protasis that expresses the possibility of Hind's coming. In other words, this sentence can be an answer to the following question: Will Khalid leave if he is provoked by one of those present? Nevertheless, his hypothesis is not supported by practical evidence from real Arabic examples.

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[110] Jubūr (2000), p. 56.
[111] Al-Mutawakkil (1987), p. 108.
[112] Ibid., p. 109.

6.5. Conclusion:

In this chapter, MWA conditionals have been functionally analysed within a broader context. The analysis has shown that conditional sentences fulfil some functional and pragmatic purposes. It has been demonstrated that the protasis position in a conditional sentence is a crucial parameter in order to uncover the functional status of the propositional content expressed. The initial protasis position holds a strong relationship with the discourse function 'Topic', while the final protasis position can present either topical or focal propositions. It seems that both Arabic and English conditionals follow this pattern. Cognitively, the speaker, by uttering the topical initial protasis, orients the addressee's awareness to a propositional content which is seen as either contextually and extra-linguistically given, semi-given or assumed to be known by the addressee. This suggests that there should be an accessible cognitive environment which is shared by the two interlocutors, similar to Dancygier's premise.[113] Together, these findings refute the view that the protasis is always the Topic of the sentence, and also the view that the Topic must be given in a previous conext. In addition, although the final protasis position is not as common as in the initial protasis position, I found that the speaker is implicitly driven by some functional reasons to deviate from the typical order. The most important reason is maintaining the coherent organisation of the text; this allows for smooth movement between the text segments. This plays an additional role in revealing the dynamicity of conditional statements and their interaction with the text. The following chapter will examine special sets of conditional structures in which the conditional particles interact with some other elements.

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[113] Dancygier (2006), p. 137.

Chapter Seven

The interaction between the conditional particles and other linguistic elements

7.1. Introduction:

In the previous chapters, I analysed those conditionals whose particles are seen as being independent from other linguistic elements. In this chapter, I will specifically focus on conditional structures that have their particles compounded with some particular linguistic elements in MWA. The analysis will show how the change in the syntax of the conditional particles leads to the change in the meaning of the sentence. Following Dancygier, I will focus my analysis on those particles that provide concessive and exceptive meaning in the scope of conditionality.[1] The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first two are practical analyses of Concessive conditionals (section 7.2) and Exceptive conditionals (section 7.3). The data examined in this chapter comes from group 2. The total number of examples considered in this chapter is 166 tokens, distributed as follows: 141 tokens of Concessive conditionals and 25 tokens of Exceptive conditionals. Finally, the significant findings will be discussed in light of the relevant literature in section 7.4.

7.2. Concessive conditionals:

7.2.1. Theoretical considerations:

It is important, before analysing the data of the present study, to shed light on the concept of concessive clauses because they show great interaction with concessive conditionals.[2]

Concessive clauses are defined as those adverbial clauses that indicate contrast between two propositions expressed in two separate clauses where the speaker commits to the truth of the two

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[1] Dancygier (2006), p. 160 also adds the interaction between the conditional particle and the connector 'then', which is comparable to the Arabic connector *fa-*. We discussed this issue in Chapter 5.

[2] König (1986), p. 230.

propositions.[3] This meaning is further clarified by considering the following English example (S.1):

S. 1) Even though it is raining, Fred is going to go out for a walk.[4]

In this sentence, the speaker is expressing a negative relation between two propositions: "it is raining now" and "Fred's intention of going out for a walk". The speaker considers both propositions factual and both to be inevitably occurring even though they are seen as incompatible. That is to say "if it is raining, one normally does not go out for a walk".[5] In this sense, concessive clauses differ from ordinary conditional sentences. (I will use the term 'ordinary conditionals' in this Chapter for the sake of clarity to distinguish them from concessive conditionals and concessive clauses. Ordinary conditionals were the focus of the previous three chapters). In ordinary conditional sentences, the speaker does not, in many cases, commit him/herself to the truth of the two propositions expressed in the two clauses (i.e. they express non-factuality).

In English, the common concessive conjunctions are: 'although', 'even though', 'though', 'despite' and 'in spite', 'nevertheless',[6] while Arabic concessive clauses can be denoted by conjunctions like: *maʿa anna, bi-al-raghmi, ʿalā al-raghmi, bayda anna, illā anna.*[7] All these conjunctions have the sense of the English conjunctions just mentioned. I will not provide examples for all the Arabic concessive conjunctions mentioned above since the goal of this section is not centred on analysing Arabic and English concessive clauses. They are considered only as a facilitator for the purpose of comparison with concessive conditionals. Consider the following made-up examples: (S.2-3)

S. 2) *Khālidun tajāwaza al-imtiḥāna maʾa annahu kāna ṣaʿban.*

خالد تجاوز الامتحان مع أنه كان صعباً

Khālid passed the exam even though it was difficult.

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[3] Huddleston and Pullum (2002), p. 734; König (1994), p. 679.
[4] König (1994), vol. 2. p. 679.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Quirk, *et al.* (1972), p. 749; König (1985), p. 263; Huddleston and Pullum (2002), p. 734.
[7] Holes (1994), p. 235; Badawi *et al,* (2004), pp. 611-615.

S. 3) *Khālidun tajāwaza al-imtiḥāna bi-al-raghmi min ṣuʿūbatihi*

خالد تجاوز الامتحان بالرغم من صعوبته

Khālid passed the exam in spite of its difficulty.

Now, I would like to give the focus to Arabic concessive conditionals. Overall, there are two main particles that are combined with the three typical conditional particles (*idhā, in* and *law*) to indicate concessive meaning. These particles are: *ḥattā* and *wa-*. Hence, five concessive conditional particles are established by this combination: *ḥattā wa-in, wa-in, ḥattā (wa-) law, wa-law* and *ḥattā-idhā*.[8] The last has not been attested in the data of the present study and most of the literature I have surveyed. As far as I have discovered, only Badawi *et al* and Esseesy have mentioned that *ḥattā-idhā* can denote concessive meaning even though there are very few examples in his corpus.[9] Hence, I will discuss this later in section 7.4.1. In English, there are, as König points out,[10] three particles that play roles in denoting concessive conditional meaning; they are: 'whether', 'however' and 'even if'. The last will be the only particle to be taken into consideration during the analysis as an equivalent of the Arabic particles and will be used as a means of comparison. Before I proceed with the qualitative analysis, it may be relevant to present, according to the data, a statistical comparison between the particles used to express MAW concessive conditionals. (Table. 25):

Particles	*wa-in*	*ḥattā wa-in*	*wa-law*	*ḥattā (wa-) law*	Total
Frequency	54 (81%)	13 (19%)	40 (54%)	34 (46%)	
Total	67		74		141

Table 25. The statistical distribution of the concessive conditional particles.

This table tells us that the particles *in* and *law* are almost equally frequently used to express concessive conditional meaning. However, this illustration reveals an interesting practical

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[8] Badawi *et al*, (2004), p. 669; Buckley (2004), p. 751. König (1985), p. 267 states that concessive connectives are made, in many languages, through composition of ordinary conditional connectives (e.g. if) and other focus particles (e.g. even).

[9] Badawi *et al*, (2004), p. 661; Esseesy (2010), p. 324.

[10] König (1985), p. 264.

difference between the two particles. This behaviour is related to the composition of these particles with the particle *ḥattā*. As obviously seen, *wa-law* and *ḥattā (wa-) law* usages present almost similar frequencies. By contrast, *wa-in* and *ḥattā wa-in* usages show a signification gap between them. Thus, the former occurs almost 4 times of the latter. This statistics also show that *ḥattā* is more commonly attached to the particle *law* than *in*.

Concessive conditionals are seen in an imprecise position between ordinary conditionals and concessive clauses.[11] That is to say concessive conditionals take some aspects of their characteristics from concessive clauses and some other characteristics from ordinary conditional sentences. That is why concessive conditionals are sometimes treated under the heading of concessive clauses, while, in some other sources, they are included with ordinary conditional sentences.[12] However, I will argue that concessive conditionals are semantically very close to concessive clauses. This will be supported by analysing concessive conditionals in MWA on the basis of the semantic characteristics that have been cross-linguistically identified for this particular structure.[13] Besides, a comparison between concessive conditionals on the one hand with concessive clauses and ordinary conditionals on the other hand will be provided to show the precise relation between the three domains. In addition, since it is customary in English linguistics literature to explore those conditional structures that implicitly denote a concessive conditional reading (I will call these 'implicit concessive conditionals'), I will devote section (7.2.2.2) this phenomenon after analysing explicit concessive conditional sentences.

7.2.2. The analysis:

7.2.2.1. Explicit concessive conditionals:

Concessive conditionals are identified through five main semantic features. I will take these features in turn to show how MWA concessive conditionals interact with these features. They are as follows:

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[11] Esseesy (2010), p. 317.
[12] König (1986), p. 231.
[13] The main sources I have consulted to gather these semantic characteristics are: Fraser (1971); Haiman (1974); König (1985), (1986); Harris (1988); Dancygier (2006); Esseesy (2010).

a- Concessive conditionals normally do not present entailment of both propositions expressed in the two clauses in terms of factuality. Instead, they only entail the proposition expressed in the apodosis as being true/factual while the protasis indicates non-factual events. Let us consider the following examples (S.4-S.5):

S. 4) *anta taʿrifu anna ʿawdatī [ilā bilādī] bi-lā shahādatin intiḥārun, sa-aḥṣulu ʿalayhā wa-law taʾakhkharat biḍʿa sanawātin*

<div dir="rtl">أنت تعرف أن عودتي [إلى بلادي] بلا شهادة انتحار، سأحصل عليها و لو تأخرت بضع سنوات</div>

You know that my return [to my country] without a degree is nothing but suicide. I will get it even if I get delayed for a few years.[14]

S. 5) *sa-ʾaʿūdu bi-hi ḥattā law iḍṭurirtu ilā ḥamlihi ʿunwatan*

<div dir="rtl">سأعود به (الوزير) حتى لو اضطررت إلى حمله عُنوةً</div>

I will be back with him (the minister) even if I have to carry him away by force.[15]

In (S.4), the final protasis is indicated by the concessive conditional particle *wa-law*, which denotes a potential neutral proposition in terms of its occurrence. By contrast, the proposition held in the apodosis is seen, according to the speaker's belief, as undoubtedly true; hence, it is entailed, i.e. the speaker believes he is going to achieve his goal and gain his degree whether now or later. Similarly, in (S.5), where the speaker is talking to the King, the protasis is initiated by the particle *ḥattā wa-law*, holding also a potential proposition "the speaker having to force the minister to come back with him". By contrast, the proposition uttered in the apodosis signals the speaker's belief of being able to bring the minister to the King whatever happens, i.e. it presents a factual, or at least semi-factual, statement according to the speaker's belief. In this manner, concessive conditionals can be seen as presenting a hybrid relation between the two clauses in terms of their possible-world statuses i.e. mixed between factual or semi-factual and non-factual propositions in both sentences above.

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[14] Dabābnah (2000), p. 34.
[15] Ḥannā (2004), p. 10.

Likewise, the 'even if' conditional particle demonstrates the same semantic contribution in which the proposition of the apodosis is presented as being factual while the one expressed in the protasis is not. Consider the following examples: (S.6-7):

S. 6) Even if it rains, the match will not be cancelled.[16]

S. 7) Even if Peter comes, I will not stay.[17]

In both sentences, the propositions expressed in the protases are presented as being possible actions; "being raining" and "Peter's coming". However, the apodoses present two actions over whose occurrence the speakers have no doubt.

By comparison, concessive clauses and ordinary conditionals are different in terms of the possible worlds of the propositions they hold. The former always present two propositions in which the speaker believes are undoubtedly true statements (i.e. both are factual), and the latter typically present a parallel relation between two propositions which may or may not occur/true. Consider the following examples respectively: (S.8-9)

S. 8) *tuṭʿimu al-ḥamāma bi-al-raghmi min inhimāri al-amṭāri.*

تطعم الحمام بالرغم من انهمار الأمطار

She feeds the pigeon in spite of the pouring rain.[18]

S. 9) *idhā taʾakhkhartum khasirtum al-rajula.*

إذا تأخرتم خسرتم الرجل.

If you delay, you will lose the man.[19]

Nevertheless, concessive conditionals may show overlap with concessive clauses in expressing factuality in the two clauses. According to the data, a certain number of concessive conditional sentences attested present the propositions in the two clauses as being factual or "Actual", as

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[16] Dancygier (2006), p. 162.
[17] König (1986), p. 236.
[18] Buckley (2004), p. 387.
[19] Ibid., p. 737.

Haiman terms it.[20] Hence, the concessive conditional particles are appropriately paraphrased with concessive clauses conjunctions (e.g. *ʿalā al-raghmi* in Arabic and 'although' in English) not with 'even if' which typically implies potentiality.[21] This aspect plays an important role in signifying that concessive conditionals hold a strong relationship with concessive clauses. Consider the following example (S.10):

S. 10) *ashiqāʾī kullun abdā raʾyahu wa-in taḥaffaẓa al-baʿḍu.*

<div dir="rtl">أشقائي كلٌّ أبدى رأيه وإن تحفظ البعض</div>

All my brothers gave their opinions, even though some were reserved.[22]

This sentence contains two factual statements which refer to the past: "the brothers having given their opinions" in the apodosis and "some of the brothers were reserved" in the protasis. Here, as can be obviously seen, the particle *wa-in* is equivalent to the English concessive conjunction 'even though' and can be substituted by *ʿalā al-raghmi*. This, however, would impose some modifications in the structures of the protasis: *ʿalā al-raghmi min taḥaffuẓi al-baʿḍi* as an alternative in order to express factuality directly.

The phenomenon of factuality vs. non-factuality of concessive conditionals and their overlap with concessive clauses has been also observed cross-linguistically and, thus, has an echo in their equivalents in English. Haiman asserts that whenever the factuality of the protasis is considered, concessive conjunctions (i.e. 'even though') are mainly used, yet the concessive conditional particle 'even if' might be used, though this is not common. He provides the following examples: (S.11. a-b):[23]

S.11. a) Even though it rained, the show went on.

b) Even if it rained, the show went on.

In both examples, the speaker commits him/herself to the truth of the two events expressed: "the rain occurred and the show was not cancelled". i.e. it actually rained and the show went on.

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[20] Haiman (1974), p. 344.
[21] In this manner, I follow Peled (1992, p. 157), who consistently applies this analysis of CA concessive conditionals. With respect to MWA, Buckley (2004, p. 751) mentions that the Arabic concessive conditional particles can possibly have the meaning of either 'even if' or 'even though'. However, he does not provide a deep analysis of this issue as the present study aims to provide.
[22] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 13.
[23] Haiman (1974), p. 351-352. See also König (1985), p. 273.

There is no doubt about the occurrence these two past events and 'though' and 'if' here are reflecting the meaning of 'when'.

Similarly, whenever the non-factual aspect (or 'potential' in Haiman's terms) is considered, the concessive conditional (i.e. 'even if') is mainly used.[24] Haiman provides the following example: (S.12)

S. 12) Even if Max returns the money, his reputation is ruined.

The reason behind the non-factuality of the proposition "Max being returning the money" is because it refers to the future.

Consequently, 'even if' can have two functions: expressing (i) factuality and (ii) non-factuality. This can be seen as a comparable case to the Arabic concessive conditional particles mentioned above. In the case of the second—i.e. expressing non-factual propositions—concessive conditionals are unmistakably distinctfrom ordinary conditionals and concessive clauses.

Table. 26 provides a comparison between the three categories in terms of factuality:

Clause type	Protasis	Apodosis
Ordinary conditional	–/+	–/+
Concessive conditional	–/+	+
Concessive clauses	+	+

Table 26.   The comparison between ordinary conditional, concessive conditional and concessive clauses with relation to the aspect of factuality. Note: (+) indicates the presence of factuality, (-) indicates the absence of factuality.

Let us see now how concessive conditional particles in MWA behave in the scope of the factuality and non-factuality of the protasis. My analysis of the present data (141 concessive conditional sentences) is presented in Table 27:

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[24] Ibid.

Particle Possible worlds	*wa-in*	*ḥattā wa-in*	*wa-law*	*ḥattā (wa-) law*	Total
Factual	42	0	4	2	49
Non-factual	12	13	36	32	92
Total	54	13	40	34	141

Table 27. Comparison between concessive conditional particles with regard to their possible world status: Factuality and Non-factuality.

In general, this table indicates, first, that the factual protasis has a closer relation with the particle *wa-in*, while non-factual ones are preferred by the other particles. Consider the following examples (S.13):

S. 13) *lam yakun yufakkiru jayyidan fī al-mawti wa-in kāna taraddada ᶜalā lisānihi.*

لم يكن يفكر جدياً في الموت و إن كان تردد على لسانه

He was not thinking seriously about death, even though he repeatedly spoke about it.[25]

Secondly, according to the data, the particle *ḥattā wa-in* is totally absent in the context of factuality. Thirdly, the particles *wa-law* and *ḥattā (wa-) law* seem not commonly to engage with factuality as well since only 6 examples out of 74 have been attested. Consider the following examples (S.14 and S.15):

S. 14) *inna mā yuṭribuka yuṭribunā ḥattā wa-law kānat mashāᶜirunā dūna mashāᶜirika ᶜumqan wa taʾaththuran.*

إنَّ ما يُطربك يطربنا حتّى ولو كانت مشاعرنا دون مشاعركَ عمقاً وتأثّرا

What excites you excites us, even though our feelings are not as deep and as influenced as yours are. [26]

S. 15) *lākinna tilka al-shuᶜlata (al-rabīᶜ al-ᶜarabī) intasharat fī aqṭābi al-dunyā wa tarakat mafᶜūlahā fī akthara min baladin ḥattā wa-law takhallā al-ᶜarabu ᶜanhā wa taʾāmarū ᶜalayhā.*

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[25] Al-Kaylānī (1981), p. 157.
[26] Ḥannā (2004), p. 58.

لكن تلك الشعلة (الربيع العربي) انتشرت في أقطاب الدنيا وتركت مفعولها في أكثر من بلد حتى ولو تخلى العرب
عنها وتآمروا عليها .

This flame, i.e. the Arab Spring, has spread all over the world, and it left its mark on more than one country, even though the Arabs abandoned it, and plotted against it.[27]

The rhetorical purpose behind (S.14) is very important to consider here. This sentence is uttered by a minster who is speaking to his king. The minster is flattering the king in order to enter into his good graces. As such, he is driven to utter a statement that presents his position in a show of deference to the king and exhibit it as a fact. Hence, he indicates that the feelings of the king are definitely greater than his retinue's even though they have something in common which is that they are excited by the same thing that excites the king. This pragmatic meaning cannot be obtained if the protasis receives a non-factual interpretation since it shows the minster's hesitation with the factual status of the proposition if he was to say: "even if our feelings are not as deep and influenced as yours are" i.e. it shows the proposition as potential.

In (S.15), the speaker is describing a situation that started in the past and is still ongoing, which is the Arab Spring (he refers to it metaphorically by using the word *shuʿlah* "flame"). The two propositions expressed in the two clauses are facts since their starting points took place in the past: the diffusion of the Arab Spring revolutions (the apodosis) and the Arab countries abandoning these revolutions and aiming to stop them (the protasis).

By contrast, table 28 shows non-factual protasis is denoted by all Arabic concessive conditional particles although *wa-law* and *ḥattā wa-law* are undoubtedly dominant. The following examples illustrate the use of the four particles in the scope of non-factuality. Consider (S.16-19):

S. 16) *innahum wa-in akhadhū bi-hādhā al-iqtirāḥi yaʾtūnaka bi-aḥadin min ṭawāqimi al-mutarjimīna li-yqūma bi-tanfīdhi hādhihi al-muhimmati al-ʿilmiyyati al-shāqqati.*

إنهم وإن اخذوا بهذا الاقتراح، يأتونك بأحد من طواقم المترجمين ليقوم بتنفيذ هذه المهمة العلمية الشاقة

They, even if they approve of this suggestion, will come to you with one of the translation crews to implement this arduous, scientific task.[28]

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[27] Siyām, ʿAbd al-ḥamād, 'Al-Rabīʿ al-ʿArabī Yadhbul fī Mawʾlih wa Yatafattaḥ fī Biqāʿ Ukhrā min al-ʿĀlam', *al-Quds al-ʿArabī*, 28/2/2014, p. 18.

S. 17) *sa-tabqā ajnabiyyan ḥattā wa-in ḥaṣalta ʿalā miʾati jinsiyyatin min bilādi al-firanjah, sa-yanẓuru ilayka al-ākharūna wa hum yushīrūna ʿalayka: dhāka huwa al-gharību.*

ستبقى أجنبياً. حتى وإن حصلت على مائة جنسية من بلاد الفرنجة، سينظر إليك الآخرون وهم يشيرون عليك: ذاك هو الغريب.

You will always remain a foreigner. Even if you get one hundred nationalities from the countries of the Frankish lands, the others will look at you and point: "this is the foreigner".[29]

S. 18) *sa-talfuẓu anfāsaka anta wa-law kunta fī al-abrāji al-mushayyadati.*

ستلفظ أنفاسك أنتَ ولو كنت في الأبراج المشيّدة

You will expel your final breath even if you are in the tallest towers.[30]

S. 19) *lastu anā man tafʿalu hādhā abadan abadan ḥattā wa-law kāna fī-hi mawtī.*

لست أنا من تفعل هذا أبدا أبدا حتى ولو كان فيه موتي

Never [in my life] would I ever do this even if it meant my own death.[31]

We can then conclude, according to the data, that in the context of concessive conditionals factual protasis is preferred to be initiated by the particle *wa-in*; hence, it is paraphrased by the English equivalent 'even though'. By contrast, a non-factual protasis, which may be seen as more prototypical and more common than a factual protasis, is usually denoted by the other particles *ḥattā wa-in*, *wa-law* and *ḥattā (wa-)law*, yet the latter two are the dominants.

b- Concessive conditionals do not provide causal connections between the propositions expressed in the two clauses. Not only this, but also the two propositions are presented as being incompatible and opposed to each other. That is why concessive conditionals are sometimes

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[28] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 55.
[29] Ibid. p. 130.
[30] Ibid. p. 16.
[31] Al-ʿUlayyān (2010), p. 63.

labelled as "irrelevance conditionals"[32] or "anti-conditioning clauses".[33] Therefore, this feature takes concessive conditionals a step away from being similar to ordinary conditional sentences which, as seen in Chapter 5, typically require a causal link between the two clauses in Content conditionals. Even if the causal link is not appreciated, the two propositions of the ordinary conditionals are seen semantically or pragmatically related through the channel of the Sufficiency Theory in conditional. On the other hand, this feature of concessive conditionals has something in common with concessive clauses since the latter also reject causal connection and present the incompatibly of the two clauses.[34] Let us consider the following examples that illustrate the comparison between concessive conditionals, concessive clauses and ordinary conditionals respectively: (S.20-22)

S. 20) *a-lā tarīna annī al-aqwā wa-in kuntu akādu amūtu ᶜalā firāshi al-maraḍi?*

ألا ترين أني الاقوى و إن كنت أكاد أموت على فراش المرض؟

Do not you see that I am the strongest, even though I am almost dying on the sickbed?[35]

S. 21) *kāna al-awlādu yuḥibbūnahā raghma ṣurākhihā.*

كان الأولاد يحبونها رغم صراخها.

The children loved her despite her shouting [at them].[36]

S. 22) *sa-akūnu saʾīdan idhā sāraktuka baᶜda al-humūmi.*

سأكون سعيداً إذا شاركتك بعض الهموم

I will be happy if I share with you some of your concerns.[37]

(S.20) is a concessive conditional while (S.21) is an ordinary concessive clause. Obviously, the two statements expressed in each of them do not indicate a causal relation between the contents, and, further, they suggest the implausibility of being related. In (S.20), the speaker expresses his

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[32] König (1986), p. 233; Esseesy (2010), p. 322.
[33] Beeston (1968), p. 86.
[34] Dancygier (2006), p. 161.
[35] Al-Kaylānī (1981), p. 159.
[36] Buckley (2004), p. 385.
[37] Ḥannā (2004), p. 102.

undeniable strength and power even whilst he is deadly sick lying in bed. That is to say that being sick in bed is normally opposed to having strength. In (S.21), likewise, the two statements of the concessive clauses appear to be incompatible since shouting at a child normally causes them to dislike that person and not love him/her. By contrast, (S.22) expresses ordinary conditional meaning which indicates a semantic property that is different from (S.20) and (S.21). That is to say that the two propositions expressed in the protasis and the apodosis are deemed relevant – if you share someone with his concerns, you may feel happy. Evidence from English can be illustrated by the three following examples (S.23-25):

S. 23) Even if it rains, the match will not be cancelled.[38]

S. 24) Even though it is raining, I am not cold. [39]

S. 25) If it rains, the match will be cancelled.[40]

(S.23) and (S.24) express concessive conditional and concessive clause meanings respectively. Both sentences exclude causality between the propositions they express. This is to say that the rain does not cause the cancellation of the match as in (S.23) and does not cause the speaker to be cold as in (S.24), whereas (S.25) shows the strong relation between the two propositions i.e. the rain will cause the cancellation of the match.

c- Even though concessive conditionals do not directly hold causal links as mentioned above, they suggest negative expectations in terms of causality. This also contributes to the similarities between concessive conditionals and concessive clauses. This negative expectation can be cognitively understood through the following:[41]

The proposition of the protasis is viewed as an expected cause of the non-occurrence of the proposition of the apodosis. In other words, the speaker expects the addressee to believe that there is a negative causal link between the two clauses (i.e. if p then not q). Hence, concessive conditionals and concessive clauses are used to prevent this assumption believed by the addressee to imply that whatever happens, the propositions of the apodosis will take place in the actual world. (i.e. whether p or not p, q occurs/is true). König formulates this semantic

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[38] Dancygier (2006), p. 162.
[39] Haiman (1974), p. 352.
[40] Dancygier (2006), p. 164.
[41] König (1986), p. 232; Dancygier (2006), p. 162.

implication logically for both concessive conditionals and concessive clauses as follows:[42] "Normally (if p then not-q)".

Let us put this into practice by considering some of the sentences mentioned above. In (S.20), the speaker aims to correct the addressee's assumption with regard to the speaker's current situation, i.e. being sick in bed may negatively affect the strength of the speaker (the addressee believes the speaker is weak because of his sickness). In (S.21), the addressee may assume that the woman was not liked by the children due to her shouting at them, which is a normal reaction. Therefore, the speaker aims to preclude this negative assumption by indicating that the children's attitude was not negatively affected by her behaviour, i.e. her shouting. This feature, by contrast, is not held by ordinary conditional sentences. This is simply because the causal link is overtly considered as explained in feature (b) and exemplified by (S.22).

In the context of English, it is maintained that the particles 'although/even though' and 'even if' hold the feature of negative expectation.[43] Consider the following examples (S.26-27):

S. 26) Although Max may come, we will have fun.[44]

S. 27) The match will be on even if it is raining.[45]

The speaker of (S.26) presupposes that Max's possible attendance may ruin the atmosphere. In (S.27), the speaker's implication is to reject the effect of the rain on the match which could imply, in the addressee's mind, the rain normally causes the non-occurrence of matches.[46]

Table 29 summarises the comparison between the three categories, ordinary conditional, concessive conditional and concessive clause, with regard to features (b) and (c), which assert that concessive conditionals are closer to concessive clauses than ordinary conditionals:

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[42] König (1985), p. 265.
[43] Dancygier (2006), p. 162.
[44] Haiman (1974), p. 357.
[45] König (1986), p. 232
[46] See further explanation in Dancygier (2006), pp. 162,164.

Feature / Clause type	Causal link	Negative expectation of the causal link
Ordinary conditional	+	–
Concessive conditional	–	+
Concessive clause	–	+

Table 28. The comparison between Ordinary conditional, Concessive conditional and Concessive clause with respect to two features: causal link and negative expectation of the causal.

d- In Concessive conditionals, the proposition expressed in the protasis, which appears incompatible with the one expressed in the apodosis, may be considered the least likely candidate and therefore the most surprising one among other alternative candidates under consideration in a given context.[47] This feature is crucial as it draws an explicit distinction with concessive clauses, and it shows the pragmatic aspect of these structures. This semantic feature is usually termed as "the scale of the unlikelihood of the focus particles",[48] and is denoted by particles like 'even' in English and *ḥattā* in Arabic. What is meant by "the scale of the unlikelihood of the focus particle" can be seen by considering the following English examples: (S.28-29):

S. 28) Even Bill likes Mary.[49]

S. 29) Even Max tried on the trousers.[50]

(S.28) basically means that Mary is liked by Bill. However, it also implies that there are other people who like Mary, and Bill is among them even though it is implied that he is the least likely person for her to have this attitude toward, and it is seen as surprising.[51] In a similar vein, (S.29) asserts that Max did try on the trousers and implies that the trousers were tried on by someone else, and Max is seen a more unlikely and surprising person to do this than the other person.[52] This semantic role is also assigned by the Arabic coordination particle *ḥattā* one of whose

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[47] König (1985), p. 270.

[48] König (1986), p. 232; Dancygier (2006), p. 162.

[49] Dancygier (2006), pp. 162.

[50] Bennut (1982), p. 404.

[51] Dancygier (2006), p. 162. See also: König (1986), p. 232.
Declerck (2001), p. 465 states that "*even* always puts the relevant conditional high on the scale of unexpectedness".

[52] Bennut (1982), p. 405.

common aspects is to precede the entity that is thought to be unlikely.[53] Consider the following two examples, the first of which is from CA and the second one from MWA (S.30-31):

S. 30) *māta al-nāsu ḥattā al-anbiyāʾu wa al-mulūku.*

<div dir="rtl">مات الناس حتى الأنبياء والملوك</div>

People perish, even prophets and kings.[54]

S. 31) *manaḫtuhunna kulla shayʾin ḥattā iswārata ummī.*

<div dir="rtl">منحتهن كل شيء حتى إسوارة أمي</div>

I gave them everything, even my mother's bracelet.[55]

(S.30) indicates that death is seen as a normal end for ordinary people, and even noble people such as prophets and kings, will meet this end. *ḥattā* plays the role of implying that some may think that prophets and kings do not end with death.[56] In (S.31), the speaker expresses her generosity towards her daughters since she gave them everything she had in her life to keep them happy. Even the most precious thing, her mother's bracelet, was given to them. The proposition "giving the bracelet", which is in the scope of *ḥattā*, is considered the least likely thing that she would abandon. In doing so, the particle of focus expresses three semantic properties:

1- Assertion: the overt and direct meaning.

2- Presupposition: there are other possible alternatives that are considered to carry out the action.

3- Implication: the entity which is in its scope is seen, by either the speaker or the addressee, as the least likely one to carry out the action.[57]

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[53] Some CA grammarians, such as Ibn Hishām (1965), vol. 1. p. 127; al-Ashmūnī (1993), vol. 3. p. 178, recognised the scalarity aspect of *ḥattā*, in the case where it is a coordination particle, in which the entity that occurs in its scope has to represent the extreme of a scale, either in the highest or lowest rank. Esseesy (2010), p. 319 also refers to the extreme value and "the unlikelihood" aspect of *ḥattā* as an important feature.

[54] The translation is cited in Esseesy (2010), p. 319.

[55] The example and its translation cited in Buckley (2005), p. 295.

[56] See; Esseesy (2010), p. 319.

[57] See more explanation for these three semantic properties of 'even' in: Fraser (1971), pp. 152-154; König (1985), p. 270.

Now, let us consider this feature, "the scale of unlikelihood", in relation to MWA concessive conditionals. Consider the following examples (S.32-33):

S. 32) *aᶜrifu annahu mutazawwijun wa ḥattā law kāna aᶜzaba lā yajūzu la-hu hādhā al-taṣarrufu.*

<div dir="rtl">أعرف أنه متزوج. وحتى لو كان أعزب لا يجوز له هذا التصرف</div>

I know that he is married, and even if he were single, this behaviour is unacceptable.[58]

S. 33) *arghabu fī al-naqli min hādhihi al-qaryati bi-asraᶜi waqtin wa bi-ayyati ṭarīqatin ḥattā law dafaᶜtu kulla amwālī allatī iddakhartuhā thamanan li-hādhā al-mawqifi.*

<div dir="rtl">أرغب في النقل من هذه القرية بأسرع وقت و بأية طريقة حتى لو دفعت كل أموالي التي ادخرتها ثمنا لهذا الموقف.</div>

I would like to move from this village as soon as possible and in any way, even if the price for this was all of my savings.[59]

In (S.32), the speaker is talking about a person whose name is Abū al-Nūf (he is referred to by the third person pronoun *annahu*) who was seen dancing with a woman unrelated to him. The speaker knows that Abū al-Nūf is married; hence he sees his behaviour in dancing with that woman as unacceptable and shameful. The speaker also states that even in the case of him not being married, which is, according to the speaker's belief, considered the unlikeliest and lowest value in terms of its occurrence and its unacceptability in relation to dancing with a strange woman, Abū al-Nūf's action is still, according to Islamic norms, unacceptable. As we can see, the two alternatives are the status of being single and the status of being married. In (S.33), the speaker expresses her desire in leaving the village, where she is working, very soon. She strengthens her desire by referring to the least likely thing she could do, which is paying all her saved money in the hopes of gaining what she wants. Other alternatives are: if I paid a lot of my money, if I paid half of my money, if I paid a little of my money.

Interestingly, this feature is maintained even when the particle *ḥattā,* which is the origin of it, is absent. In other words, the action which exists in the scope of *wa-in* and *wa-law* can be regarded as extremely unlikely to occur. Consider (S.34) where the proposition "paying my life as a price

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[58] Dabābnah (2000), p. 93.
[59] Al-ᶜUlayyān (2010), p. 118.

for my leaving" may be appropriately seen as the least likely action, among other alternative actions, to happen:

S. 34) *hādhā al-makānu lam yaʿud al-makāna al-munāsiba li-iqāmatī fī-hi sa-ansaḥibu wa-law dafaʿtu ḥayātī thamanan li-hādhā al-mawqifi.*

<div dir="rtl">

هذا المكان لم يعد المكان المناسب لإقامتي فيه سأنسحب ولو دفعْتُ حياتي ثمناً لهذا الموقف
</div>

This place is no longer the right place for me to stay. I will leave, even if my life is paid as a price for this action.[60]

English concessive conditionals also demonstrate the same behaviour with respect to the scale of unlikelihood using the particle focus 'even'. Consider the following example (S.35):

S. 35) Even if you drink (only) a little, your boss will fire you.[61]

The speaker of (S.35) is warning the addressee against drinking alcohol. He is aiming at discouraging the addressee from doing this by indicating the highest degree of unlikelihood of the action, which is drinking "only a little". This action is considered the least likely among other alternatives such as drinking some or drinking a lot, which are assumed in the case of getting fired.[62] Thus, the rhetorical implication of this sentence is to encourage the addressee to stop drinking alcohol.

By contrast, ordinary conditionals and concessive clauses do not seem to be assigned to this feature. This may be because the speaker who utters them does not consider any other alternatives to the proposition indicated in the protasis. Hence, there is no need for ranking it in the most unlikely position, which means the scale of unlikelihood is not considered at all (Table 31 below). As a result, it seems to me that concessive conditionals that present factuality in their protases (i.e. are paraphrased by 'even though') do not pay attention to the scale of unlikelihood due to their resemblance to ordinary concessive clauses whose main goal is to show the incompatibility of the propositions expressed in the protasis and the apodosis. One explanation for this phenomenon seems to be that the speaker is certain of the factuality of the protasis proposition, which leads to excluding other alternative values. Let us see how factual concessive

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[60] Ḥannā (2004), p. 41.
[61] Sawada (2003), p. 424. Brakets in the orginal.
[62] Ibid.

conditionals do not present the proposition of the protasis as the least likely value among others. Consider (S.36):

S. 36) *fa-qad baqiya al-amalu ḥayyan fī qalbihi wa-in ghallafathu ẓilālu al-shakki wa al-khawfi.*

<div dir="rtl">

فقد بقي الأمل حياً في قلبه وإن غلفته ظلال الشك والخوف

</div>

Hope has remained alive in his heart, even though it has been shadowed by doubt and fear.[63]

The context that precedes this sentence indicates that the speaker has uttered this sentence after his request to marry a girl whom he loves was refused by her mother. Thus, he wants to say that there is still hope in his heart to marry her although he is in real doubt that his request will be accepted in the future. Since the speaker believes in the factuality of the proposition expressed in the protasis, it seems it is unlikely that there are, in his mind, other alternative values to compare with.

Clause type	Accepting the scale of unlikelihood
Ordinary Conditional	–
Concessive conditional	+
Concessive clause	–

Table 29. Comparison between Ordinary conditional, Concessive conditional and Concessive clause with respect to accepting the scale of unlikelihood.

e- Contrary to ordinary conditional sentences, concessive conditionals exclude the inference of what is known as "conditional perfection". This term means that the positive conditional statement can invite the inference of its negative counterpart, formulated as follows: If p (then) q implies: If not-p (then) not-q, which can be read as follows: the statement "if the protasis is true (then) the apodosis is true" implies the following statement "if the protasis is not true (then) the apodosis is not true". Consider the following English example (S.37):

S. 37) If the weather is fine, we will go to the seaside. [64]

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[63] Al-Kaylānī (1981), p. 112.

This sentence perfectly implies the following sentence (S.38):

S. 38) If the weather is not fine, we will not go to the seaside.[65]

This is not applicable to concessive conditionals. Consider the following (S.39-40):

S. 39) Even if John is late, the coach will leave on time.[66]

S. 40) *Even if John is not late, the coach will not leave on time.

Arabic also supports this unique feature held by concessive conditionals. Consider (S.41):

S. 41) *hādhā al-makānu lam yaʿud al-makāna al-munāsiba li-iqāmatī fī-hi sa-ansaḥibu wa-law dafaʿtu ḥayātī thamanan li-hādhā al-mawqifi.*

هذا المكان لم يعد المكان المناسب لإقامتي فيه سأنسحب ولو دفعْتُ حياتي ثمناً لهذا الموقف

This place is no longer the right place for me to stay. I will leave, even if my life is paid as a price for this action.[67]

It is inadmissible to claim that this sentence implies that the speaker will not leave the place if he is not compelled to sacrifice his life in return.

The reason behind the contradiction between concessive conditionals and the conditional perfection feature is closely linked to the feature (b) mentioned above mentioned above. As Dancygier points out, because of the absence of the causal connection between the two propositions, the negation of the protasis will not lead to the negation of the apodosis.[68]

Concessive clauses share this semantic property with concessive conditionals. For instance, (S.26) mentioned above "although Max may come, we will have fun" does not imply that if Max does not come, we will not have fun, i.e. we will have fun anyway.

Two additional noteworthy remarks will be made here before closing the analysis of explicit concessive conditionals in MWA:

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[64] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 467.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid. p. 466.
[67] Ḥannā (2004), p. 41.
[68] Dancygier (2006), p. 164.

First, concessive conditionals unmistakably allow the three clause orders that are permitted by ordinary conditionals: protasis + apodosis, apodosis + protasis and medial protasis as exemplified by (S.17), (S.14) and (S.16) respectively. However, concessive conditionals show a preference for apodosis + protasis order compared to the other two orders. This is a significant shift from the typical order protasis + apodosis that is retained by the ordinary conditionals as seen in Chapter 6. The statistics shows that the apodosis + protasis order is found in 102 occurrences out of 141, while there are 30 representatives for protasis + apodosis, while medial protasis has only 9 representatives (Table 30):

Position of protasis	Final		Initial		Medial		Total
Particle	*in*	*law*	*in*	*law*	*in*	*law*	
Number of occurrences	46	56	16	14	5	4	141 (100%)
Total	102 (72.3%)		30 (21.3%)		9 (6.4%)		

Table 30. Clause order frequencies of concessive conditional particles that are composed with *in* and *law*.

Second, concessive particles composed with *law* show some syntactic features that are different from those composed with *in*. These features are:

a- The particle *ḥattā* when preceding *law* allows two variants: (i) inserting *wa-* between them: *ḥattā wa-law*, and (ii) omission of *wa-*: *ḥattā law*. Examples of each have been already mentioned above (e.g. S.19 for the former and S.33 for the latter). By contrast, *in,* when composed with *ḥattā,* has one version. This does not permit omission of *wa-* as seen in many examples above (e.g. S.17).

b- Unlike in all examples given above, *wa-law* can introduce an adverbial modification or prepositional phrase rather than a complete sentence.[69] Consider (S.42-43):

S. 42) *al-aqdāru tansiju la-nā mā lam natakhayyalhu wa-law fī aqalli aḥlāminā.*

الأقدار تنسج لنا ما لم نتخيله ولو في أقل أحلامنا

Fates weave for us what we would not imagine, even in our dreams. [70]

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[69] Peled (1992), p. 161; Buckley (2004), p. 752.

S. 43) *lākin lā tantaẓir minnī ayya musāᶜadatin fī ayyi shayᶜin taṭlubuhu wa-law qirshan wāḥidan.*

<div dir="rtl">

لكن لا تنتظر مني أي مساعدة في أي شيء تطلبه ولو قرشاً واحداً

</div>

But do not expect any help from me, with anything you need, even if it is a penny. [71]

7.2.2.2. Implicit concessive conditionals:

I focused in the previous section on explicit concessive conditionals, i.e. those that are overtly marked by concessive conditional particles. However, since it has been proven that some conditional structures can have concessive interpretation, it is important to shed light on this particular issue although there is no explicit syntactical interaction between the conditional particles and other elements. In the English literature, linguists have attempted to seek out the factors behind this phenomenon. Haiman, for example, maintains that the concessive interpretation can be marked implicitly by the clause order since the general tendency for the 'even if' clause (the protasis) is to be placed finally, following the apodosis as discussed above. Hence, he seems to draw an analogy between explicit concessive conditionals and implicit ones. He presents the following example (S.44):

S. 44)   I would not marry you if you were the last man on earth.[72]

He states that this sentence accepts the 'even if' interpretation. However, he maintains that the other order (protasis + apodosis) is also possible despite its rarity as in (S.45):

S. 45)   If prison broke his body, it could not shatter his indomitable spirit.[73]

This, in my opinion, cannot be regarded as a reliable criterion since the two orders are possible. Besides, as we have seen in Chapter 6, ordinary conditional sentences also allow for apodosis + protasis order with no concessive interpretation. Hence, this leads to creating undeniable ambiguity and possible overlap between ordinary conditionals and concessive conditionals, which should not happen, since both are semantically distinct.

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[70] Al-ᶜUlayyān (2010), p. 31.
[71] Ibid. p. 81.
[72] Haiman (1986), p. 221
[73] Ibid. p. 216.

König maintains that there is an unmistakable criterion that distinctively draws a line between the two domains in case an overt concessive conditional particle is not used. This criterion is connected to the scale of unlikelihood explained above. He states that "whenever a conditional protasis contains an expression marking a suitable extreme value on some scale for propositional schema, the conditional is interpreted as a concessive conditional".[74] This will subsequently lead to the necessity of considering that there are presupposed alternative values that can possibly express the action. (S.44) above is a good example of this. The speaker of this sentence asserts that she would not marry the addressee even if the addressee were the only man remaining alive on earth. Since the proposition of the protasis is seen as highly improbable and is classified as an extreme value on the scale, the connection between it and the proposition of the apodosis is incompatible. This semantic feature is related to the domain of concessive conditionals rather than pure conditionality as elaborated above in feature (d). As a result, the conditional perfection feature, which is retained by ordinary conditionals, is excluded here. Consider the following (S.46):

S. 46)   I will get him, if it is the last thing I do.[75]

The concessive interpretation rejects that the negative counterpart of this sentence would be: "*I will not get him, if it is not the last thing I do".

Arabic conditional structures also allow for an implicit concessive interpretation. Interestingly, I found some examples in the data whose protasis was initiated by the particle *idhā*, which is a case that has not been examined in the data of explicit concessive conditionals as mentioned earlier. Consider (S.47):

S. 47)   *sa-antaẓiruka ḥīnaʾidhin idhā taʾakhkharta ʿan intiẓārī.*

سأنتظرك حينئذٍ إذا تأخّرت عن انتظاري

I will then wait for you at that time [even] if you are late.[76]

The proposition of the apodosis expresses, as it seems from the speaker's belief, factual content,

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[74] König (1986), p. 236
[75] Dancygier (2006), p. 165.
[76] Ḥannā (2004), p. 109.

which is not influenced by the proposition expressed in the protasis. As such, there is no compatibility between them i.e. she will wait for her lover whether he returns early or later. This, then, excludes any causal relation between them and, thus, conditional perfection, since the negative counterpart of it would not be: "*I will not wait for you if you are not late". Furthermore, the scale of unlikelihood of the proposition of the protasis can be considered here, such that it is unlikely to expect someone who loves you to be late while you are waiting for him/her. Another alternative that can be presupposed is "even if you are not late". Because of all the aforementioned semantic constrains, (S.47) is more likely to be given a concessive interpretation.

The other particles, *in* and *law*, are also attested in the context of implicit concessive conditionals. Consider (S.48-49):

S. 48) *in lam adullahum anā [ʿalā makāni Nanrūtā] fa-sa-yadulluhum ghayrī*

إن لم أدلهم أنا [على مكان ننروتا] فسيدلهم غيري

[Even] if I do not guide them [to where Nanruta is hiding], someone else will.[77]

S. 49) *anta taʿrifu annanī lā usāwimu ʿalā mabādiʾī law imtalaktu amwāla al-dunyā kullahā.*

أنت تعرف أنني لا أساوم على مبادئي لو امتلكت أموال الدنيا كلها

You know that I would not bargain (leave) my principles, [even] if I possessed all the money in the world.[78]

In (S.48), the speaker wants to express a proposition that he believes will inevitably occur, which is the possibility of somebody else telling the enemy about where Nanrūtā (one the of the play's characters) is hiding. This proposition will not be influenced by what the speaker states in the protasis i.e. his action of not revealing where Nanrūtā is hiding. Therefore, the two propositions can be described as incompatible with no causal link between them. Besides, conditional perfection is not considered here as we cannot say in this particular context: "if I do not tell them where Nanrūtā is staying, nobody will tell them". By applying the feature "the scale of

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[77] Al-Anbārī (2001), p. 115. I had to add that word between brackets in order to make the sentence contextually clear.
[78] Dabābnah (2000), p: 77.

unlikelihood", the protasis proposition seems, according to the context surrounding the situation, to have been characterised by the addressee as being the less likely value compared to its alternative "the possibility of not telling them" which seems likley to be given by the others. The alternative to this value is "the possibility of telling them". As can be seen, pragmatic and contextual considerations are crucial to be taken into account in order to arrive at the concessive reading of ordinary conditional structures.

In (S.49), the speaker expresses his dignity as even if he owned a great deal of money, he would not sell out his principles. Hence, the two propositions are seen in conflict, and the causal link is totally absent although it is negatively expected. In other words, the speaker predicts that the addressee may expect from the case of the speaker being rich that he would abandon his personal attitudes and principles. Another point supporting the concessive reading is that the proposition of the protasis (owning all the money in the world) is seen as in the extreme position on the scale of unlikelihood.

When it comes to interpreting this issue, whenever an ordinary conditional structure can contextually accept the five feature of concessivity explained above, it is more appropriate fot it to be interpreted concessively rather than conditionally. Therefore, we cannot rely on the clause order criterion as Haiman maintains. Nevertheless, preferring the concessive reading in conditional structures seems dependent on the pragmatic context. This is to say that we cannot be sure that a sentence holds the five features of concessivity unless the contextual considerations are examined. (S.47), for instance, is uttered by a girl who is talking to her beloved and she is trying to show her keenness to marry him. Hence, it is contradictory for her to leave in case he is late as it may show she does not care. (S.49) is uttered by someone who is in a high position and is known as an honest and sincere person. The notion that pragmatic context should be considered agrees with Sweetser and Dancygier, speaking of English, who believe that a concessive interpretation is driven by pragmatic force. In other words, the communicated assumption held by the interlocutors is the more appropriate guide to the interpretation of concessivity.[79] Let us consider the examples provided by them[80] (S.50-51):

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[79] Sweetser (1990), p. 134; Dancygier (2006), p. 165.

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S. 50) I would not marry you if you were a monster from Mars.

S. 51) I would marry if you were a monster from Mars.

The context in which these two sentences are given indicates that they are uttered by a fictional person who has been waiting all her life to marry a Martian monster. As a result, (S.50) should be interpreted concessively: "I would not marry you even if you were a Martian monster". This implies that she can never have a relationship with the addressee. On the other hand, (S.51) cannot impose a concessive interpretation as it means the speaker would marry the addressee in case he meets her desired criteria for a husband (being a Martian monster).[81] It should also be borne in mind that there must be one interpretation that fits the context where the sentence is uttered, i.e. it is not a matter of choice between two options after the context is revealed.[82]

Nevertheless, there seem to be some exceptions to the necessity of the pragmatic context. First is the case where a sentence contains a lexical element that implies the scale of unlikelihood and excludes conditional perfection. Therefore, the contextual and pragmatic consideration is not really needed. (S.46) uttered in English above is a good example of this, since the word "last" directly refers to the value of the protasis which is ranked in the extreme position in the scale. I could not find in the MWA data even one example that illustrates this type of case.

Second, sometimes our prior knowledge about the natural link between the two propositions in the real world plays a role in determining the exact reading (either conditional or concessive) of a sentence, which suggests that contextual considerations are not always essential. That is to say our background knowledge of the status of the relation between the two propositions is sufficient to distinguish between the conditional reading and the concessive reading.[83] Compare between the two following English examples taken from Sweetser (S.52-53):

S. 52) Will you go hiking tomorrow if it rains?

S. 53) Will you go hiking tomorrow if the weather is sunny?[84]

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[80] Ibid.
[81] Dancygier (2006), p. 165.
[82] Danceygier (2006), p. 166.
[83] Sweetser (1990), p. 134; Dancygier (2006), p. 166.
[84] Sweetser (1990), p. 134

Considering our given knowledge in the real world about the anticipated causal link between the two propositions in each sentence, (S.52) suggests that the concessive reading is more plausible. This is due to the fact that going hiking seems incompatible with the rain, i.e. will you go hiking even if it rains. By contrast, (S.53) suggests that there is compatibility between going hiking and the weather being sunny i.e. if the weather is sunny, will this cause you to go hiking? We can exemplify this by the following made-up Arabic sentences where (S.54) preferably implies a concessive reading, while (S.55) signals a causal conditional reading:

S. 54) *hal sawfa takhruju li-l-tanazzuhi ghadan in kāna al-ṭaqsu mumṭiran.*

<div dir="rtl">

هل سوف تخرج للتنزه غداً إن كان الطقس ممطراً
</div>

Will you go out for a walk tomorrow if the weather is rainy?

S. 55) *hal sawfa takhruju li-l-tanazzuhi ghadan in kāna al-ṭaqsu mushmisan.*

<div dir="rtl">

هل سوف تخرج للتنزه إن كان الطقس مشمساً
</div>

Will you go out for a walk if the weather is sunny?

(S.54) can be seen as an equivalent of (S.52) in terms of the semantic interpretation as both require a concessive reading, whereas (S.55) corresponds to (S.3) as both require a conditional reading.

7.3. Exceptive conditionals: [85]

The Arabic conditional particles *idhā* can be preceded by the exceptive particle *illā* (except). This collocation basically means 'except if'. A common English equivalent of 'except if' is the conditional particle 'unless' which is, therefore, regarded as a comparable lexical item to *illā idhā*.[86] By examining the 25 examples attested in the data, it can be concluded that *illā idhā* holds the following features:

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[85] I borrowed this term from Von Fintel (1991).
[86] Cantarino (1975), vol. 3. p. 345; Buckley (2004), p. 715.

a. The propositional content of the protasis is seen as the only one that, if it occurs, can cancel the occurrence of the proposition of the apodosis. Hence, the relation between the two propositions is negative and unique. i.e. "if only p, not-q".[87]

b. The proposition of the protasis can be seen, according to the speaker's belief, as either factual or non-factual, while the apodosis seems preferably to present an assertive statement.

c. Structurally, the apodosis + protasis order is the dominant order as it is used in all the 25 examples examined. This goes against the typical order for ordinary conditionals discussed before. In addition, all the 25 examples demonstrate regular occurrences of the perfect form, either main or auxiliary verbs, in the protasis.

d. The protasis is always an affirmative statement, while the apodosis can be either an affirmative or negative statement, although negative ones is common.

Let us now look at some the examples attested in MWA. Consider (S.56- 57):

S. 56) *kānat aḍwāʾu al-ḥujrati al-kabīrti lā taʿrifu al-intifāʾa illā idhā ṣarakha min makānihi man yaḥsibūna li-wujūdihi alfa ḥisābin.*

كانت أضواء الحجرة الكبيرة لا تعرف الانطفاء إلا إذا صرخ من مكانه من يحسبون لوجوده ألف حساب

The lights of the large room would not be switched off unless the person of whom [the prisoners] are afraid shouted from his place. [88]

S. 57) *kāna awwla mā nabbaha ilayhi an yatrukā al-ḥadītha la-hu illā idhā kāna hunāka thammata taʿlīqun mukhtaṣarun.*

كان أول ما نبه إليه أن يتركا الحديث له، إلا إذا كان هناك ثمة تعليق مختصر

The first thing he warned [them] is to leave him to talk [without interrupting him] unless there is a brief comment [on his talk]. [89]

In (S.56), the two propositions expressed are seen to present two factual actions: the lights' being switched off and the shouting of the person they fear. The factuality aspect seems to be triggered by the habitual past time aspect. The negative and the unique causal relation between the two

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[87] Comrie (1986), p. 79 adopts this reading for the English particle 'unless'.
[88] Jawdat (2004), p. 108.
[89] Dabābnah (2000), p. 61.

propositions can be read as follows: the "switching off of the lights of the large room" would not occur except if that person shouted. Because of the factuality sense, it seems acceptable to paraphrase *illā idhā* as: 'only when'.

In (S.57), both propositions are affirmative; "the case of leaving him to talk" and "the case of there being a brief comment on his talk". The negative and the unique interpretation can be read as follows: the case of interrupting his talk is not supposed to happen except if there is only a brief comment on his talk. In other words, the interruption to his talk is only permitted under the circumstance that his addressees will need to provide some remarks on his speech. Nevertheless, (S.56) differs form (S.57) in some aspects: (i) the protasis of the latter expresses a non-factual statement, which may or may not be true; (ii) holding a future time reference while the former refer to a habit in the past, and (iii) presenting an affirmative proposition in the apodosis.

'Unless', as a comparable item to *illā idhā*, is glossed in some literature as: "(only) if p, not-q" or 'except if'. This means: (only) if the proposition of the protasis occurs/is true, will the proposition of the apodosis be cancelled.[90] Consider the following English usage of 'unless': (S.58)

S. 58) Unless you point out the consequences, people ignore the warning.[91]

In this sentence, the propositional content of the apodosis is blocked by the one given in the protasis; there is only one case which prevents people from being ignore the warning. This is the case of informing them of the consequences. Without it, people do not listen to any warning. Hence, 'unless' provides the sense of negation 'if not' as a result of the 'except if' sense.[92] In this case, 'unless' in (S.58) can be replaced by 'if not' as in (S.59):

S. 59) If you do not point out the consequences, people ignore the warning.[93]

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[90] Quirk *et al.* (1972), p. 746; Comrie (1986), p. 79; Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 447. Dancygier and Sweetser (2005), p. 183 indicate that the apodosis should be looked at as an assertive statement. Hence, they modify the 'unless' reading as follow: "q; (only) if p, not-q". This means: the proposition of the apodosis is assertive, holding the assumption that (only) if the proposition of the protasis occurs/is true, will the proposition of the apodosis be cancelled. However, Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 448 state that Dancygier and Sweetser's reading is reasonable but it is not applicable to all 'unless' sentences in English.
[91] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 447.
[92] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 450.
[93] Declerck and Reed (2001), p. 448.

In addition, 'unless' holds an exceptive aspect in its semantic interpretation. That is why some linguists interpret it as follows: "except if p, q".[94] This means that "the event described by the unless-clause (the protasis) is understood to be an exceptional circumstance under which the situation described in the main clause (the apodosis) will not occur".[95] This can be seen to support the view mentioned above that 'unless' is equivalent to *illā idhā.*

Contrary to what we have stated about *illā idhā,* the protasis and the apodosis of 'unless' sentences can be either affirmative or negative. Therefore, four possibilities can occur with 'unless' sentences. They are as follows:[96]

i. Affirmative protasis and apodosis. Consider (S.58) mentioned above.

ii. Negative protasis with affirmative apodosis. Consider (S.60):
   S. 60) You will be in trouble unless you do not tell anybody about it.

iii. Affirmative protasis with negative apodosis. Consider (S.61):
   S. 61) I will not do it unless you pay me.

iv. Negative protasis and apodosis. Consider (S.62):
   S. 62) I will not do it unless you cannot find anyone else to help you.

Another difference between the two particles in the two languages is related to the clause order. We have seen that *illā idhā* allows only apodosis + protasis, whereas 'unless' allows the protasis initially and finally (compare S.58 and S.60 mentioned above), although there is a tendency for final protasis.[97]

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[94] This view is held by Geis and Von Fintel, cited in Dancygier (2006), p. 170.
[95] Dancygier and Sweetser (2005), pp.188.
[96] All examples are taken from Declerck and Reed (2001), pp. 447-452.
[97] Dancygier and Sweetser (2005), pp. 183, 186.

7.4. Discussion:

The analysis above reveals that there is significant interaction between syntax and semantics in Arabic conditionals. Thus, when two or three linguistic components are put together, they yield a semantic change. The interaction between the particles *ḥattā* and *wa* on the one hand and the conditional particles *in* and *law* on the other imposes the meaning of concessive conditional. This is, then, a hybrid domain of two other domains: conditionality and concessivity.

Nevertheless, semantically, we have seen in the analysis that concessive conditionals share with concessive clauses some particular features (b), (c) and (e), while they are clearly distinguished from ordinary conditionals in all the features mentioned above with the exception of the fact that the protasis of concessive conditionals can be non-factual as conditionals normally are. It can be concluded that concessive conditionals should not be treated semantically as part of the conditionality system. This conforms to the claim made by some English linguists such as Haiman who maintains that "even-if conditionals are not really conditionals at all, but something else - pseudoconditionals, or the like",[98] and Dancygier who states that that concessive conditions are not related to conditionality "because q happens in spite of p, not because of p".[99] Therefore, they can be reasonably seen as a particular sub-class of concessive clause because of the agreement on many of the fundamental principles. This also appears to accord with König, who claims that English concessive conditionals "are particularly difficult to keep apart from factual concessive clauses".[100] It seems, however, the core feature that strongly connects concessive conditionals to concessive clauses is that both present an incompatibility between the two situations expressed, which is different from ordinary conditionals whose role is to link a set of situations and make them relevant.[101]

Another form of support for grouping concessive conditionals with concessive clauses can be provided by the undeniable overlap between the two domains in the case when the protasis and apodosis present factual propositions. Therefore, the Arabic concessive conditional particles can be substituted by concessive clause conjunctions such as *ʿalā al-raghmi* in Arabic and 'although'

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[98] Haiman (1986), p. 220.
[99] Dancygier (2006), p. 164.
[100] König (1994), vol. 2. p. 680.
[101] König (1985), p. 266.

in English as exemplified above in the analysis. Thus, concessive conditionals with facual meaning lose the value of "the scale of unlikelihood" due to this overlap.

In the following lines, I will consider further some of the relevant literature concerning mainly the semantic features of the concessive conditional, the particles used and clause order.

7.4.1. The particles:

First, the analysis reveals that the concessive conditional is marked by four particles: *wa-in, ḥattā wa-in, wa-law,* and *hattā (wa)-law.* Furthermore, it shows that although *in* and *law* have almost the same number of occurrences, the focus particle *ḥattā* accompanies *law* more frequently than *in.* This result has been overlooked in most of the literature except Esseesy's study where he compares *ḥattā wa-in* and *ḥattā (wa-) law*, showing that *ḥattā (wa-) law* is more frequent than *ḥattā wa-in*.[102] Table 31 illustrates the similarity between my results and his:

Particles	Esseesy's study (2010)	The present study
ḥattā wa-in	19 (17%)	13 (28%)
ḥattā (wa-) law	91 (83%)	34 (72%)
Total	110	47

Table 31. Comparison between the present study and Esseesy with regard to the frequencies of *ḥattā wa-in* and *ḥattā (wa-) law.*

Second, this analysis also reveals that the particle *wa-in* is most commonly used in the context of factual protasis (i.e. paraphrased by 'even though'). This seems, however, to be in disagreement with Buckley's study which does not provide a single factual sentence associated with *wa-in.* Cantarino, by contrast, has providedsome examples that confirm this view.[103] One possible explanation for this phenomenon seems related to the time references that are typically involved in *wa-in* factual sentences. The two time references regularly occurring in this context are past

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[102] Esseesy (2010), p. 326.
[103] Cantarino (1975), vol. 3. pp. 332-333.

and present. Both are seen to involve the speaker's confidence in evaluating the situation in terms of its certain occurrence.[104]

Third, contrary to the previous point, the analysis demonstrates that it is not preferred to use the particles *ḥattā wa-in*, *wa-law* and *ḥattā (wa-) law* in the context of factuality, with the exception of a few examples as mentioned in the analysis. I admit that I am unable to provide an explanation for the case of *ḥattā wa-in*. However, for the latter two particles, we can assume that this may be due to the distance between *law* and factuality in ordinary conditionals as shown in Chapter 4.

Fourth, the analysis reveals that the particle *idhā* is totally absent from the scope of concessive conditionals as does most of the relevant literature except for Badawi *et al* and Esseesy which have attested some conditional examples in MWA whose protases are initiated by the compound particle *ḥattā-idhā* with the sense of concessivity.[105] Here, I will only focus on Esseesy's study. He shows that *ḥattā-idhā* scores 7 occurrences out of 36, while the remaining 29 instances indicate the ordinary factual conditional meaning which can be paraphrased by 'when' in English.[106] Esseesy provides the following examples for *ḥattā idhā* as a factual particle and non-factual concessive particle respectively (S.63-64):

S. 63)   *ḥattā idhā fariḥū bi-mā ūtū akhadhnāhum baghtatan.*

حتى إذا فرحوا بما أوتوا أخذناهم بغتة

Until when they were rejoicing over what they had got, we laid hold on them suddenly.[107]

S. 64)   *uridu minka an tuṭˁimanī mahmā kāna fī al-bayti ḥattā-idhā kāna kisrata qarqūshatin aw baṣalatin.*

أريد منك أن تطعمني مهما كان في البيت حتى إذا كان كسرة قرقوشة أو بصلة

I would like you to feed me whatever you have in your house, even if it is a piece of crispy bread or an onion.[108]

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[104] Jaszczolt (2009), pp. 65, 79.
[105] Badawi *et al*, (2004), p. 66; Esseesy (2010), p. 324.
[106] Esseesy (2010), p. 326. I showed in Chapter four that *idhā*, as a particle for ordinary conditionals, when preceded by the preposition *ḥattā*, exclusively denotes factuality.
[107] *The Holy Qurʾān*, Sūrat al-Anˁām (6): 44. Translation quoted from Esseesy (2010), p. 321.

Fifth, concerning the comparison with CA concessive conditionals, the particles composed with *ḥattā*, with concessive meaning, never occur in the *Qurʾān* as indicated by Esseesy.[109] Also, according to Peled who examined number of CA written materials other than the *Qurʾān*, only two particles are used: *wa-in* and *wa-law*.[110] This, then, can be seen as a significant linguistic evolution in Standard Arabic that draws a distinction between CA and MWA. In other words, it is reasonable to claim that *ḥattā wa-in* and *ḥattā wa-law* with concessive meaning are a feature of MWA usage due to their commonness. Esseesy also claims that the exact date of this evolution is difficult to determine even though he attests three occurrences of *ḥattā* with concessive reading in pre-modern literature, which leads him to assume that this change occurred at some particular historical point before the beginning of the Modern Arabic period.[111] However, in my opinion, in order to experimentally examine this issue, a large corpus-based and diachronic study is required in order to identify whether *ḥattā* preceding the conditional particles with a concessive meaning actually occurred in the early period of CA or not. If it occurred, then the question will be: how often was it used? If, on the other hand, it did not occur, then the question that needs to be answered is: when exactly, or at least approximately, did this change take place in the history of Arabic? This, nevertheless, is beyond the scope of the present study. For the time being, one possible explanation I can provide for the frequent appearance of *ḥattā* in the scope of concessive conditionals in MWA is that this transformation may have occurred as a result of direct translation (calque) from European languages, especially English, of the collocation 'even if' since *ḥattā,* as a coordinator, is equivalent to 'even' as explained above.

7.4.2. Clause order:

The analysis reveals that the most common clause order is apodosis + protasis, overriding the other two orders protasis + apodosis and medial protasis. This result agrees with Haiman, who argue that apodosis + protasis is the typical order for English concessive conditionals.[112]

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[108] Esseesy (2010), p. 324.
[109] Esseesy (2010), pp. 320, 326.
[110] Peled (1992), p. 157.
[111] Esseesy (2010), p. 320.
[112] Haiman (1986), p. 221.

The prototypicality of the apodosis + protasis order is also supported by Badawi *et al.* and Esseesy.[113] Esseesy directly states that "from my native speaker intuition, the favoured linear clause order for concessive conditionals in Arabic is that the matrix clause (the apodosis) precedes the *ḥattā law-* clause".[114] One plausible explanation for the dominance of the apodosis + aprotais order over the other two is semantic. This is that the proposition of the apodosis is always factual/true and unaffected by the proposition presented in the protasis.[115] Another possible explanation is the fact that the proposition of the protasis is deemed peripheral compared to the one expressed in the apodosis which seems to indicate the main proposition and is more asserted. This can be understood in light of Cantarino's statement "in normal concessive constructions…the subordinate clause (protasis) expresses a hypothetical situation and even one that is contrary to fact. Both are used as a means to stress the validity of the statement of the main clause (apodosis)".[116]

However, the prototypicality of the apodosis + protasis order does not mean that this order is suitable for all concessive conditional sentences. Dancygier states that some sentences will lose their functional values if they follow this order. Consider the following English examples where the protasis + apodosis order is used (S.65-66):

S. 65) Even if she called yesterday, I was out at the time.[117]

S. 66) Even if he attacks me, I have got a gun.

She reads (S.66) this as follows: "You say she called yesterday but I do not know anything about it, so I conclude that I was out at the time" and (S.67) as follows: "If he attacks me, I still will not be in danger, because I have got a gun". As can be seen, there are deep structures that are not explicitly uttered in the two sentences. These structures are exhibited as a continuation for the protasis proposition. This, Dancygier says, is the underlying interpretation, which is very important, and it cannot be obtained if we reverse the order.[118] In other words, we cannot say: "*I was out at the time even if she called yesterday but I do not know about it"; nor "*I have got a

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[113] Badawi *et al.* (2004), p. 669; Esseesy (2010), p. 317.
[114] Esseesy (2010), p. 317.
[115] Ibid., p. 318.
[116] Cantarino (1975), vol.3. p. 332. See similar statement in Buckley (2004), p. 751.
[117] Dancygier (1988), p. 118.
[118] Ibid.

gun even if he attacks me but I will not be in danger", whilst considering that the apodoses are logical conclusions for the protases.

Another issue that needs to be addressed here is why speakers sometimes deviate from the typical order in concessive conditionals i.e. they follow the protasis + apodosis order. By examining the 30 examples that exhibit this order, I found a textual reason that stands behind this. All the protases of 30 examples present topical propositions that are contextually tied to the previous discourse. Hence, they are seen as shared information between the interlocutors, which establishes smooth movements between the text segments. I will consider the following example (S.67):

S. 67)   *fa-taṭallaʿa al-Māwardī ilā ʿaynayhā mutafaḥḥisan fa-saʾalathu in kāna yushghilu raʾsahu bi-shayʾin? fa-ajābat nafsahā: bi-al-taʾkīdi, ḥattā law lam yakun min shayʾin fa-lā budda min ījādihi bi-asraʿi al-ṭuruqī.*

فتطلع الماوردي إلى عينيها متفحصاً، فسألته إن كان يشغل رأسه بشيء؟ فأجابت نفسها: بالتأكيد، حتى لو لم يكن من شيء، فلا بد من إيجاده بأسرع الطرق.

Al-Māwardī looked closely at her eyes and she quickly asked him whether he was concerned about something and then she herself replied: Certainly, even if there is nothing to be concerned about, it will be necessary to invent something as soon as possible.[119]

In this sentence, the phrase *lam yakun min shayʾin,* which is held by the protasis, signals the topic of the whole sentence as it is the proposition that is spoken about. This topical proposition is already backgrounded in the previous context by the phrase *yushghilu raʾsahu bi-shayʾin.* Thus, it is reasonably acceptable to place the protasis at the beginning of the sentence in order to build coherence between the text segments.

7.5. Conclusion:

In this chapter, the analysis has centred on the issue of the interaction between the Arabic conditional particles and other particles which do not independently give the meaning of conditionality. This syntactic interaction leads to semantic change in the conditional system. As a

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[119] Al-Jubūrī (1997), p. 95.

result, two semantic domains are recognised and analysed in the context of MWA: concessive conditional and exceptive conditional. Concessive conditional is typically denoted by the particles *wa-in, ḥattā wa-in, wa-law* and *ḥattā (wa-)law,* all of which can be paraphrased by the English particle 'even if' in the case of non-factual protasis or by 'even though' in the case of factual protasis. This potential ambiguity usually requires contextual considerations in order to be resolved. Exceptive conditional are mainly expressed by the particle *illā idhā,* which can be rendered by the English particles 'unless' or 'except if'. The meaning of these particles centres on the uniqueness of the proposition expressed in the protasis in terms of its effect on the proposition of the apodosis, i.e. only if the protasis is true, is the apodosis not true.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

This research has involved an empirical analysis of the semantics and functions of conditional sentences in MWA. The reason I focused on the semantic and functional aspects of Arabic conditionals is because of the existence of undeniable gaps in the research that I identified by reviewing classical and modern Arabic grammar works. These gaps emerged due to the fact that Arabic grammarians and modern linguists of Arabic have concentrated intensely on the syntactic aspects of the conditional system, while the semantic and the pragmatic aspects have not been considered within the main scope of their analyses. Although there were some attempts by some modern linguists to investigate the Modality meanings denoted by MWA conditional structures, their treaties lack adequate typologies.

To overcome these gaps and deficiencies, I applied a framework that was influenced by the works conducted by Comrie (1986) and Dancygier (2006). Although these two studies mainly targeted the English conditional system, the analysis of the present study has confirmed the applicability and validity of this framework for Arabic conditionals. Notwithstanding, some additions were made by benefiting from other works in English linguistics to further improve the analysis of Arabic conditionals. Consequently, this framework helped to fill the gaps found in previous studies. It also acted as a lens through which I managed to draw some comparisons between Arabic and English conditionals. As for the latter, this study has shown some similarities as well as differences between the uses of conditionals in the two languages as will be highlighted below.

The fundamental principle of this framework involves identifying general parameters which provide a guideline for analysing conditionals. The specific parameters adopted in this study are: Modality and Time References, the connection between the two clauses, the discourse functions and the interaction between the conditional particles and other linguistic elements. In the analysis, I aimed to identify an adequate typology (types and sub-types) for conditionals through the lens of each parameter.

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As for Modality, it has been confirmed that the Arabic conditional is–as is the case of English–a Modality marker, which can denote a range of meanings that reveals the speaker's attitude towards the truth-value of the propositions expressed in the two clauses. Five semantic classes which appeal to the Factual vs Non-Factual dichotomy have been determined: Factual, Likely, Open, Tentative and Counterfactual. One thing I have observed with regard to these classes is that they are not systematically marked by the conditional particles nor by syntactic properties. Although, some syntactic-semantic correlations have been recorded, they cannot be considered as being decisive indications due to their lack of regularity. In addition, the three conditional particles, *idhā, in* and *law,* are recorded interchangeably, yet they are distributed differently in relation to the semantic classes mentioned above. For example, the particle *idhā* is dominant in three semantic domains: Factual, Likely and Open; while the particle *law* is dominant in Tentative and Counterfactual domains. The study revealed that hybrid conditionals exist in Arabic, in which there is possibility that the two clauses denote different Modality meanings from each other.

An additional noteworthy result that emerged from this study is that the time reference of the conditional sentence is not marked solely by the conditional particles, as previously believed by Arabic grammarians. Rather, the interaction between several elements (e.g. the particles, the verbal forms, and the semantic classes) may help us identify the temporal reference of a particular conditional sentence, while the context seems to be the key factor and is crucially required to provide a clear understanding of the time of the actions/events expressed.

Another outcome that has been found in this study is that the two clauses (the protasis and the apodosis) hold a range of semantic and pragmatic relationships. These relations differ from each other in terms of the strength of the dependency between the two clauses. For example, the Content and the Inferential connections seem stronger than the Speech act, Metalinguistic and Identifying connections. This is due to the absence of a direct causal link between the events expressed in the two clauses in the latter group. Considering these various types of relations, I was led to conclude that restricting conditionality to the scope of direct causality (i.e. the event expressed in the protasis acts as a cause of the one expressed in the apodosis) is inadequate.

With regards to the discourse functions of MWA conditional sentences, this study revealed that the protasis plays some functional roles which interact considerably with two textual elements; namely, that of clause order and the preceding context. The analysis has shown that while the protasis acts functionally as Topic in two possible orders –initial and final– it can also function as Focus only when it is placed in the final position of the sentence. This result clearly opposes Haiman's thesis that "conditionals are Topics".[1] Moreover, the topical information is most often accessible to the addressee via various channels, which usually are contextually bound. It has also been seen that clause orders are driven by pragmatic and textual considerations which are strongly linked to the preceding context. Having arrived at this analysis, we can say that conditional sentences act dynamically in the text to accomplish some communicative purposes.

This study has further found that compounding conditional particles with other non-conditional particles leads to creating semantic changes in the conditional system. This includes compounding the particles *ḥattā* and *wa* with the conditional particles *in* and *law* to give the meaning of concessive conditionals (i.e. 'even if' in English). Additionally, compounding the particle *illā* with the conditional particle *idhā,* expresses the meaning of exceptive conditional (i.e. 'unless' and 'except if' in English).

The analysis in this study is founded on authentic usage of MWA conditional sentences in order to arrive at reliable results.. These results are unlikely to be captured when relying on an artificial set of data.[2] Examples of these findings include identifying a range of syntactic patterns that tend to correlate with particular semantic classes, and determining the commoner and lesser-used clause orders and their functional roles. The data of the present study cover a variety of textual genres (fiction and non-fiction) and domains (culture, politics, science, history, etc.). This was deemed necessary because restricting the analysis to one specific genre or domain may give the reader the impression that the results obtained only belong to a single genre or domain. In addition, examining such natural language data has allowed me to draw some conclusions, either agreeing or disagreeing with the views of a number of scholars in relation to the characteristics of conditionals. For example, I disagree with the binary 'Real conditional versus Unreal

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[1] Haiman (1978).
[2] Athanasiadou and Dirven (2000), p. 24, in their studies about English conditionals.

conditional' due to its oversimplification. The authentic data allowed me to identify more sub-classes.

This study aimed to provide a synchronic analysis of the conditional in the modern period of Standard Arabic. However, attempts have sometimes been made to identify how the uses of conditionals in MWA are sometimes different from those in CA. This kind of method aims to inform us of the significant changes that have occurred in the linguistic system of Arabic. My results confirm the findings of some previous studies; examples include: (i) the irregularity of the connector *fa-* in cases where it was regular in CA; (ii) the particle *idhā* with Tentative conditional meaning; (iii) the particle *in* with Likely conditional meaning, (iv) the rarity of some verbal patterns which were very common in CA grammar (e.g. *in* + imperfect + imperfect) and (v) the frequent occurrence of *ḥattā* in the context of concessive conditionals.

This study has benefited greatly from the application of a variety of universal linguistic concepts and connected them to Arabic conditionals. Examples of these concepts are: (i) the Sufficiency Conditionality Theory as applied to the relationship between the two clauses, (ii) the Possible Worlds, applied to the Modality meanings of conditionals, and (iii) the Information Structure concepts employed in the analysis of the discourse functions of MWA conditionals. This approach had two practical advantages for the present study. First, it linked some of the findings with a number of cross-linguistic findings in other languages (English conditionals in my case). Second, it helped me look at Arabic conditionals from some angles that are different to previous studies.

In attempting to draw some conclusions, with respect to the comparison between Arabic and English, one has to bear in mind that these two languages have different geneticorigins and that they have a great number of distinct linguistic features. However, the analysis confirms that conditional sentences in the two languages also have common characteristics (as well as differences). Examples of the common characteristics are the following. First, we have seen that in both languages, conditional sentences may overlap with clauses of time, especially, in the context of Factual and Likely conditionals. In other words, *idhā* in these context can be replaced by *ʿindamā* in Arabic, and 'if' can be replaced by 'when' in English. A second common characteristic that emerges from the analysis is that both languages have the capacity to express

the five Modality meanings identified in Chapter 4, namely; Factual, Likely, Open, Tenative and Counterfactual, with the possibility of presenting overlaps among the form-meaning relations. A third characteristic is that both languages allow for mixed time references wherby the conditional sentence combines different time references (e.g. the protasis refers to the present while the apodosis refers to the future) and hybrid conditionals, whereby the conditional sentence combines two different Modality meanings in the two clauses (e.g. the protasis denotes an open proposition while the apodosis denotes a likely proposition). This might suggest that this phenomenon can be applied as a parameter or a lens to make comparison between several languages. A fourth common characteristic between the two languages is that, functionally speaking, the content of the protasis largely acts as 'Topic', although it is also possible for it to act as 'Focus'.

Examples of the differences between the two languages include the following. First, while the connector *fa-* in Arabic functions as an optional apodosis introducer in the context of Speech act conditionals, English Speech act conditionals do not permit, in principle, for 'then' to be inserted before the apodosis. Second, while the English particle 'if' can accompany the five Modality meanings expressed by conditional sentences, the situation is different in Arabic. Thus, not all of the Arabic conditional particles can express all the five meanings. Rather, the three particles included in this study are distributed differently in connection to Modality meanings. Third, we have seen that in Counterfactual English conditionals the speaker can omit 'if' and apply subject-operator inversion. This does not appear to be possible for Arabic conditionals. Finally, these similiraties and the differences between the two languages can be seen as preliminary findings. Thus, in order to carry out a study that details a greater number of shared characteristics in the use of conditionals, a comparative linguistic analysis between Arabic and English should be undertaken. This could be achieved by conducting a parallel corpus-based analysis in which large corpora are examined. Such an undertaking would enrich the translation field by identifying the contrastive and contextual-based equivalents between the two languages.

This study has shown that the MWA conditional sentence is semantically and pragmatically complex, due to a number of reasons. First, it overlaps with some other sentence types, such as adverbial clauses of time (e.g. *ʿindamā* 'when'), concessive clauses, and concessive conditional

clauses. Second, its syntactic-semantic correlations are not systematic. Third, it denotes a variety of meanings and pragmatic functions. Fourth, its semantic and pragmatic functions interact signficantly with the context. Finally, the study revealed that the analysis of conditional examples sometimes shows ambiguity and overlap between two possible interpretations. For example, a sentence can be ambiguous between two time references. To tackle this problem, this requires a deep investigation of the context . In doing so, this study supports the thesis of Dancygier and Elder, who explicitly acknowledge the complex nature of conditional sentences in English.[3]

Two further implications should be noted here. First, this study shows the usefulness of employing Western linguistic theories in the analysis of Arabic, since they enrich the analysis with new insights and pave the way for conducting a comparison with other languages. Second, conducting a linguistic study on the basis of authentic data provides the analysis with a degree of strength, reliability and relevance that cannot be obtained when only artificial examples are considered.

Following this research, I have identified several areas for further exploration which would enhance the analysis of Arabic conditionals:

1- Investigating Arabic conditional sentences in the spoken discourse of MSA and then comparing the results with those that emerged from the analysis of MWA conditional sentences. One can then observe whether the patterns and functions determined in the spoken discourse are exactly the same or if there are differences.

2- Arabic has several spoken dialectal varieties as clarified in Chapter 1. It would be fruitful to compare the use of conditionals in one variety or more with that of MWA, following the framework adopted in this study. Fortunately, there are several studies that have documented the features of conditional sentences in a number of dialects.[4] However, there have not been a deep comparative analysis between these dialects and MWA. This recommendation is

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[3] Dancygier (2006), p. 2; Elder (2014: a), p. 2.

[4] Examples of these studies include: (i) Ingham (1991) on Najdi daiclects; (ii) Brustad (2000), who covers four dailects: Moroccan, Egyption, Syrian and Kuwaiti; (iii) Al-Hilal (2011), focuses on the syntax of conditional sentences in the Deir Ezour dialect.

supported by Holes's work where, in a short supplementary, he attempts to draw some comparison between Damascene dialect and non-literary MSA conditionals. He concludes that "dialects and non-literary MSA conditional sentences appear in many respects to be two sides of one coin; even though on the surface the morphological detail is different, at a deeper level there is a similar relationship between corresponding forms and textual functions".[5]

3- Further research can aim to explore the rhetorical purposes that the speaker desires to achieve by uttering Arabic conditionals. This sort of study would target the primary, intended meaning of a sentence as the main goal. One way of conducting this would be to look at conditional sentences through the lens of Speech Act theory.

In conclusion, I believe that this study contributes to the field of Arabic linguistics and, more specifically, to the field of Arabic conditionals through providing new insights into their use. Through this, the reader will gain a better understanding of the use of conditional sentences in Arabic, and, potentially, in the wider field of linguistics.

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[5] Holes (2004), pp. 298-299.

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